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FORT ST. JAMES

COSTUMING AND ANIMATION

by Great Plains Research Consultants

1983

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Abstract

This report delineates prototypical male and female costumes from Fort St. James in the northern interior of British Columbia in 1896. After an historical overview of this fur trade post, which is provided to establish an appropriate context for understanding the subsequent costume description, the report attempts a cursory analysis of the local population and social structure between 1889 and 1896. The conclusion of this examination is that the prototypical male and female at Fort St. James in 1896 were both local Carrier Indians who worked at unskilled labour.

Based on detailed analysis and examination of New Caledonia fur trade district documentation and photographs, circa 1885 to 1912, the report provides separate descriptions of the most common clothing worn by male and female Carrier labourers at the post. Each article of each costume is described individually in terms of fabric, cut, construction, colour, and manner(s) in which worn. Line drawings supplement each article description. Recommendations for additional social history research on Fort St. James conclude the report.

Introduction

In December, 1982, Parks Canada, Western Region, engaged Great Plains Research Consultants to prepare a detailed report with accompanying graphics on prototypical 1896 male and female costumes from Fort St. James, a Hudson's Bay Company fur trade post in the northern interior of British Columbia. While the report was envisioned as part of a larger social history of the post, interpretive programming requirements for the next summer season necessitated immediate completion of the costuming phase.

Those who have attempted to research nineteenth century Western Canadian costumes will appreciate the difficulties that beset us. There are extremely few works on nineteenth century clothing in Canada as a whole, and virtually none for those parts of the country west and north of Ontario. The material which does exist, mainly as brief articles of varying quality, seldom deals with details such as construction techniques, appropriate colours, and the manner in which specific articles were worn. Moreover, the available information rarely, if ever, addresses the issue of apparel style in remote locations such as the New Caledonia fur trade district in which Fort St. James was situated. Period catalogues that illustrate clothing styles are invariably American or British in origin. And, as one would expect, primary sources do not contain an abundance of detail about local costumes. Archaeological investigation

at Fort St. James has revealed only scant information about post garb. Contemporary photographs of the fort people are rare. In short, our conclusions are, appropriately enough, like a pointillist painting in which small dabs of colour and substance convey a convincing impression only when viewed as a whole.

Inasmuch as prototypical costumes can be researched only if knowledge is available about local social structure, a thorough demographic analysis of Fort St. James in 1896 became our first project task. We sought all materials containing references to local population characteristics, such as sex, age, ethnicity or race, education, and religion, that might have played a role in influencing the costumes worn. Such data are not readily available for Fort St. James. In 1896 there was, of course, no Dominion census taken, and thus we were obliged to attempt analysis of preceding and succeeding censuses. These proved of limited use. In general, census districts followed federal electoral boundaries in the late nineteenth century, and were broken down further into sub-districts. In the case of sparsely populated areas, such as the northern interior of British Columbia, the sub-districts tended to include immense tracts of land. Furthermore, unincorporated communities such as Fort St. James were not reported separately from the sub-district in which they were situated. Any attempt to retrieve comparative data from the 1891 and 1901 censuses is frustrated by an apparent shift of Fort St. James from either the Cariboo or New Westminster sub-district to the Cassiar-Skeena sub-district. The impossibility of overcoming this imprecision nullifies the value of most of the available census data. All that remains certain is that all of the sub-districts in question

had predominantly Indian populations. This conclusion is supported unequivocally by primary source documents.

As many of the post records were destroyed in a twentieth century fire, we are fortunate to have any precise population statistics for Fort St. James in the 1890's. The most complete 'census' of personnel at the post was conducted in 1891, and is contained in an Inspector's Report (HBCA, B.188/e/7). There are no subsequent reports of this nature for the 1890's, but considerable information can be found in the staff records (HBCA D.24/42) and in the Fort St. James post journal covering the period 1893-8 (HBCA B.188/a/23). These records are, by definition, less precise than censuses, but much information can be derived from them through inference. Our discussion of the circa 1896 post population is based almost exclusively on these materials, supplemented only by comparative fur trade post statistics and by occasional references to Fort St. James found in contemporary accounts. The data are, in short, very site-specific.

Clothing styles and the manners in which they are worn have as much to do with work habits and social position as they do with personal characteristics and we have therefore attempted an analysis of the seasonal rounds and social structure of Fort St. James in the 1890's. During that decade the post continued to function chiefly as a fur trade entrepot within the New Caledonia District - albeit in a much diminished manner - and retained traces of the hierarchical social structure traditionally associated with Hudson's Bay Company establishments. But while the division of the post population into officer, servant and labourer ranks continued apace, despite the failure of the workforce to remain at former levels, the general inability of the commanding officer to attract and retain permanent servants

quickly began to scramble the usual duties of servants and labourers. In at least one recorded instance, a Carrier from Stuart Lake functioned in servant and labourer roles on alternate days. In short, just as Fort St. James had lost much of its stature as a fur trading centre, it had also begun to lose the rigidity of its old social structure for very pragmatic reasons. To say that the diminutive size and relative remoteness of the post hastened the development of even more amicable social relations than had always existed would be no exaggeration. At times the lines between the recognized social strata blurred quite remarkably. Despite these lapses from the traditional order, there is no question of total homogeneity in clothing styles at Fort St. James. Clearly one's clothing was related closely to one's work and earnings. It was still, in 1896, a reliable index of social position.

Analysis of the population of Fort St. James and of the larger region in which it was situated revealed that the prototypical post resident in the late 1890's was an Indian male of Carrier descent who worked chiefly as a labourer. In terms of females and their costumes, Carrier women who worked in the post gardens, carried out domestic duties, or were employed as personal servants far outnumbered white women. These, then, are the type of people who should be represented most commonly in the Fort St. James animation programme and whose apparel must be documented and fabricated first in order to provide the core of authenticity around which to construct an entire visitor programme at Fort St. James.

The primary sources that reveal the costumes of these people are few in number and variable in quality. Ideally, one would wish to be able to view dozens of high resolution photographs of routine daily activities at the post in the

1890's and to consult the post indents to determine the nature of the clothing goods being imported for sale at the Company store. Unfortunately, there are extremely few extant photographs of Fort St. James in that decade. Many more are available for 1910 and beyond, but it is clear that modification to the common garb of post residents had taken place in the interim. Inasmuch as Fort St. James served as the distribution centre for the New Caledonia district, and therefore was responsible for all ordering of sale items, we have found it instructive to consult the extant indents and related documents pertaining to the trade at various Fort St. James outposts. These outposts are also known to have served populations very similar in character to that of Fort St. James, which suggests that the same types and quantities of goods would have been available for purchase.

Photographs related to these outposts are also comparable to those available for Fort St. James in the 1890's and have formed the basis of many of our interpretations. The limited number of published primary accounts of the fort and ethnographic studies of the local Carriers tend to corroborate our conclusions arising out of post-generated sources. In sum, while the extant sources are not all that one might desire in order to describe complete male and female costumes, we believe that the available information is of such a character as to allow us to make reasonable and informed judgments about local apparel.

Clothing, like all artifacts, is an evolutionary contrivance. Even in a single social stratum, it is possible to detect significant change in what is deemed appropriate apparel. The smaller the unit of society and the shorter the span of time, the subtler the changes. Personal idiosyncrasies unquestionably account for many stylistic departures, but wide-spread costume modifications

tend to result from a range of influences acting upon the wearer. Sources of supply, cost, work requirements, seasonal climatic changes, and even egotism are some of the most important factors. When one considers a small, demographically-stable and relatively remote community such as Fort St. James for less than a decade, these modifications tend to be most apparent in minor details such as accessories and colours. To aid comprehension of the factors most responsible for apparel change at the post, we have furnished overviews of the evolving function of Fort St. James and of the related influences that affected local clothing choices. These overviews should help the reader to place our selection of costumes in historical perspective.

The prototypical costumes may be described briefly. The male labourer at Fort St. James wore a mainly textile outfit similar to those worn by most other residents. It consisted of a hat, neckerchief, shirt, trousers, hose, undershirt, drawers, belt or suspenders, and moccasins. Only the footwear was traditional. He embellished the costume with overalls, vest, suit-coat, mitts or gloves, and a tobacco pipe, depending on the occasion. Carrier women at Fort St. James wore a blouse and skirt, a shawl, head-scarf, and moccasins. Although virtually no details about underclothing are extant, there is some evidence that suggests that in many cases they wore petticoats. Fringes often adorned shawls, and ribbons the dress or skirt. Common colours of both of these costumes at Fort St. James were darker blues, black, rich reds with white or at least extremely pale colours becoming increasingly popular as the decade wore on. The styling of these clothes was undeniably derivative of fashions from the outside world, which can be readily explained by reference to the distant sources of supply and to local preferences for ready-made articles.

The fit was generally very loose and the appearance informal, although primping seems to have been mandatory on special occasions. Variations resulting from personal preferences and from sometimes ingenious combinations of staple costume items were frequent.

In this report we have described both the male and female prototypical costumes article by article and have tried to explain carefully the variations that were current at the post. Line drawings supplement the text. These graphics are accompanied by margin notes that seek to describe basic fabrication considerations such as tightness of fit, dimensions of cuffs and lapels, means of fastening, and so on. We have also included recommendations for additional research into the character of other costumes found frequently at the fort and into the activities and characters of the people who wore them. While these prototypical costumes should form a strong base on which to develop an animation programme, the inclusion of other costumes representative of different social strata and age groups would unquestionably strengthen the variety and verisimilitude of the interpretive programme at Fort St. James.

Fort St. James, 1806 - 1889

In the land-intensive enterprise of fur trading, territorial exploration and the expansion of hegemony were traditionally more important than other commercial considerations such as the degree of competition, pricing policies, the type and quality of trade goods, and the existence of an able workforce. The availability of a reliable labour pool was invariably a capricious element of concern, dependent on far more than the wages a firm could offer. The incidence of foreign wars, the current economic climate, and the recruiting talents of rival companies all affected the number and quality of men available for hire. Trade goods and the prices charged for them mattered only when one's competitors marketed equally good or better items at lower cost in the same trade region. Competition could only be avoided by driving rivals from the field through commercial or physical aggression, or both, or by gaining an absolute trade monopoly over certain lands. The latter development was preferred. It was, in fact, the keystone of effective fur trading. It enabled a single company to harvest the fur fields without competition, to market a limited number of mediocre trade goods at high cost, and to reap sufficient profit to retain the labour and loyalty of the finest available men. It was with the acquisition of a trade monopoly in mind that the North West Company - the only serious challenger to the vast commercial claims of the venerable Hudson's Bay Company in

the North West - decided to push its trading activities beyond the Rocky Mountains where the British firm had no legal claims.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the fur trade feud between the North West Company of Montreal and the Hudson's Bay Company of London focussed on the rich beaver fields that comprised the Athabasca District, known as the eldorado of the fur trade. Near the sodden delta lands that mark the great junction of the Peace, Athabasca and Slave rivers on the western tip of Lake Athabasca, both companies erected and manned trading establishments. The site possessed extreme strategic importance and the battles that ensued over control of it were characterized always by acrimony, often by malevolence, and occasionally by murderous violence. Through a combination of commercial shrewdness and villainy, the North West Company emerged the victor in this regional trade war. The lucrative rewards that followed upon effective banishment of the Hudson's Bay Company from the district were not enough, however, to compensate for diminishing returns at the Saskatchewan River posts and, simultaneously, to provide adequate dividends to the new partners admitted to the company upon absorption of a smaller rival, the XY Company, in 1804. For these reasons, the company considered expanding its trade horizon westward again, beyond the mountains, into an untapped region successfully claimed by no one. If, as the partners hoped, the British government would allow them access to Hudson Bay in exchange for an assurance that they would not compete with the old company in that region, they would also be able to open trade relations with the Orient by penetrating the mountains. Assuming the presence of adequate furs and friendly Indians, the partners singled out transportation as the critical element in their acquisition of a transmontane trade monopoly.

Some knowledge of the river systems beyond the mountains did exist. As early as 1792-3 Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the North West Company, had travelled up the Peace River, crossed the height of land that separated the Arctic and Pacific watersheds, and advanced down the treacherous Fraser River to the West-Road and overland to the Bella Coola, and so on to the ocean. The commercial impracticality of this route failed to alter Mackenzie's belief in the intrinsic soundness of the transmontane strategy. His enthusiasm was not shared by his colleagues in the company, however, and additional survey work on the Peace, Parsnip and Finlay rivers represented the westernmost advance of the North West Company until 1805.

In that year, confident that their representative in London would convince the government to grant them access to the Bay, the partners of the revitalized company commenced their expansionary drive across the Rockies. Simon Fraser and John Stuart crossed to the headwaters of the Fraser River in order to establish a series of trading posts that could accommodate some of the new company partners and serve as staging centres for the search for that elusive navigable route to the Pacific shore. Fraser ventured as far as McLeod Lake, where he constructed Fort McLeod, the first post in what became known as the Department of New Caledonia. With James McDougall left behind to run the post, Fraser headed back to the Peace River Canyon to establish the Rocky Mountain Portage which was to serve as a supply base for the western chain of posts. That winter McDougall journeyed as far as Stuart Lake and learned that the local Carriers were obtaining American trade goods through coastal middlemen. When spring came, Fraser travelled to Stuart Lake and built Fort Nakasleh, or Stuart Lake post as it was known, to thwart this traffic with the Americans. Within the next year or so,

he built two additional posts in New Caledonia, forts Fraser and George. The combined effect was to draw the native trade inland and therefore to ensure profitable fur returns for New Caledonia. Stuart Lake, being well situated for the distribution of goods to other posts and well supplied with salmon, became the most important trading centre in the New Caledonia Department.

When James McDougall of Fort McLeod first visited Stuart Lake during the winter of 1805-6, he reported seeing about 50 natives near the lower end of the lake.¹ To this obviously partial estimate of the local population at the time of contact the Oblate historian A. G. Morice, who spent many years at Stuart Lake in the service of his church, added women and children to reach an estimate of about 300. He then included the native villages of Tache, Pinche, and Grand Rapids farther up the lake and concluded that there must have been about 1,000 natives living on or near Stuart Lake when the first traders arrived.² Half a dozen years later the trader Daniel Harmon estimated the population of Babine lake alone to be around 2,000 natives living in several villages.³ The combined figure of 3,000 Indians on just two lakes in the Department, which stretched from 50 degrees to 59 degrees north, and from the Coast Range on the west to the Rockies on the east, contrasts sharply with the 13 men Harmon brought out with him in 1810 and with the 21 servants he is known to have wintered with in 1812.⁴ The post on Stuart Lake and its outposts were but white enclaves within Indian territory, a situation that was to persist for all of the nineteenth century.

The North West Company devoted its first year on the west side of the Rockies to consolidating its hold on the resources of the Pacific slope. In 1806 the partners sent David Thompson across the mountains by way of the

Saskatchewan River system and he subsequently built Kootenae House on Lake Windermere. Several more posts were constructed under his direction in the next few years, extending the grasp of the company down into the Oregon territory. In 1810 his journey through Howse Pass was blocked by hostile Piegans who feared the arming of their traditional Kootenay enemies and Thompson struck northward across the Athabasca Pass, which took him directly to the long-sought Columbia River. During the 1811 season, he navigated it to the coast. In 1814 his employers purchased the property of the rival Pacific Fur Company at Astoria on the coast, and so achieved undisputed control of the entire fur trade of the Pacific slope. The significance of this new Columbia Department, as it was called, greatly exceeded that of New Caledonia, which eventually became merely a district. After 1814, all supplies for the district came in by boat from London, were moved by canoe from Fort George (formerly Fort Astoria) to Fort Okanogan, and then were taken by pack-train to the upper Fraser River. Furs continued to move outward down the Peace River system to Fort Chipewyan, and thence to Montreal.

Trading in New Caledonia was never an onerous task. Harmon, who served as trader at Stuart Lake between 1810 and 1818, claimed that trade activities occupied only a fifth of his time.⁵ Perhaps because the Carriers had been introduced to trade goods through the coastal Indians, they never hesitated to participate in the barter. Simon Fraser, who noted that the Indians "are amazingly fond of goods," offered them further encouragement through introduction of the debt system, which essentially gave the natives goods in advance of receipt of their furs.⁶ Special inducements such as gifts of plains leather and liquor contributed to even greater native participation in trade. The ease with

which the Carriers seemed to adopt imported goods ensured a steady and reasonably lucrative trade in New Caledonia.

The structure of the trade remained stable until the coalition of the North West Company and its old rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. Under control of the latter, the name of the Stuart Lake post was changed to Fort St. James and its hinterland was expanded through construction of Fort Babine on the lake of the same name in 1825 and of Fort Connolly near Bear Lake in the following year. These posts ensured that the Sekanis, the Babines, the Fraser Lake Carriers and the Stuart Lake Carriers were effectively within the commercial orbit of Fort St. James.

Administration of the Indian trade and the distribution of trade goods and provisions to the other posts of New Caledonia required a limited, though fairly constant, number of servants at Fort St. James. Between 1812 and 1836, the usual complement of servants appears to have been about 25 men, with seasonal labour demands increasing this figure somewhat. Among them were whites, Red River half breeds, and some Iroquois. By the mid-1850's, however, desertions and retirements among the white servant population made it imperative that local Carriers be engaged to perform essential post functions.⁷ This would seem to mark the introduction of the Carriers to the operation of a wage economy, which provided at least a limited number of them with greater exposure to non-native culture and with increased purchasing power.

Beginning in the 1860's, and extending through the early 1870's, it appeared that Fort St. James would be transformed from a small, isolated post in what Morice called the Siberia of the fur trade, into a community of considerable size and functional diversity. While the Cariboo goldrush of 1860 never reached as far north as Fort St. James, the discovery

of placer gold in the Omineca River system started a stream of gold-seekers coursing through the post. The implications of this movement were considerable. The Company found it now had to pay much better wages to its servants in order to prevent them from leaving the post to become miners or to act as guides. Different foodstuffs found their way into the storeroom as the demands of the prospectors created a sizeable market for such items as bacon, flour, rice, beans, tea and sugar.⁸ It was not long before these goods found their way into the Indian trade. This influx of mainly white miners peaked in 1871 when some 900 men were working on the deposits on Germansen Creek, about 100 miles north of Fort St. James, having arrived via the Fraser and Skeena rivers. Morice observed that the Skeena and Stuart rivers were "dotted with boats and canoes full of prospectors".⁹ Within a decade, the rush had played itself out. Diminishing returns on Germansen, Manson and Vitalle creeks had, by 1875, left a population of only 49 whites and 16 Chinese at the Omineca diggings.¹⁰ A poor 1876 season further reduced their numbers.

As long as the gold fever persisted, however, there was much speculation about opening up the New Caledonia country. The signs of incipient change were everywhere. In the mid 1860's the Western Union Telegraph Company sent in a survey party seeking a route for its projected trans-Siberian telegraph line across the Bering Strait. Free traders moved into the district with the expiration of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly in 1869-70 and one actually took the audacious step of locating at the Stuart Lake Indian village of Pinche, only to be swiftly out-manoeuvred by the veteran traders of the Company. In 1871 photographer Charles Horetzky and botanist John Macoun reached Fort St. James as representatives of the fledgling Canadian Pacific Railway,

which was seeking a practical route across the mountains to the Pacific coast for its transcontinental line. Horetzky found the post to be much like all other Hudson's Bay Company forts and noted that "the store or trading shop is usually supplied with excellent articles of clothing, blankets, cottons, and, in fact, all the stock necessary for the prosecution of the Indian trade, which is here, as at every other establishment of the Company, rapidly increasing."¹¹ He could not help but remark on a singular feature of the post which resulted from the visits of the gold prospectors. This was a saloon "where brandy smashes, cocktails, and three card 'monte' helped to ease the reckless miner of his hard-earned gains."¹² As it turned out, Horetzky's recollections were his greatest legacy to the post, as political tinkering soon shifted the railway route far to the south of Fort St. James. The rapidity with which hundreds of whites invaded New Caledonia encouraged missionaries to follow in an effort to protect the local natives from undue corruption. In 1873 the Oblates constructed Our Lady of Good Hope mission at Fort St. James, and proceeded to discourage the traditional potlatch ceremonies of the Carriers, their polygamous social arrangements, and their increasingly frequent travels to distant communities like Quesnel, where corruption was more readily available in liquid form.

The tumultuous events in New Caledonia in the decade and a half after 1860, and the tremendous changes they seemed to foreshadow, ultimately proved to be little more than aberrations from the normally placid fur trade routines that had characterized the district since 1806. The gold rush seems to have had so few lasting effects that it might never have happened. The grand scheme of laying a trans-Siberian telegraph line across the district was abandoned utterly when a trans-Atlantic cable was installed. Free traders came and

went, but never in sufficient numbers to have a noticeable effect on trade relations. The Canadian Pacific Railway exploration journey was conducted in vain. Only the missionaries remained as a permanent influence in New Caledonia. The remarks of Indian Commissioner Peter O'Reilly, who travelled through New Caledonia in 1891, aptly sum up the fleeting nature of the changes wrought by the earlier swell of non-natives. He wrote that "I found the distances travelled far greater than I had been led to expect, and the trails in many cases were almost impassable, which is to be accounted for by the fact this part of the Country is very little travelled by white men".¹³ Fort St. James remained an isolated outpost serving the needs of an increasingly anachronistic trade.

The Post and Its People, 1889 - 1896

Until the 1890's Fort St. James exhibited the traditional Hudson's Bay Company establishment structure of officers, servants, and labourers. Membership in any one of these strata implied a certain stature in the community, corresponding largely to one's responsibilities and authority, a certain level of wealth, and a certain type of occupation. As the corporate device it was designed to be, this hierarchy had much more to do with efficient fur trade administration than with social relations. Yet while the social distinctions implicit in the structure could and did fade on innumerable occasions, particularly in small communities like that of Fort St. James, nothing could erase the material differences that varying levels of purchasing power made visible. Patterns of consumption well defined one's place in the intimate communities that made up fur trade society.

The evolving structure of Fort St. James society in the 1890's, which seems to have been marked by a greater degree of homogeneity, has broad implications for the study of prototypical costumes. As a prelude to the examination of apparel associated with the typical male and female post employee, this chapter attempts an elementary analysis of the local population. Through consideration of the personnel of the fort and their occupations during the last decade of the nineteenth century, we believe we have sharply defined the

most common types of Fort St. James male and female characters, their origins and their occupations.

The Changing Demographic Pattern

When William Traill arrived at Fort St. James with his wife Harriet and their seven children in 1889 to take up his new post of Chief Trader of the District of New Caledonia, the fort's officer and servant classes were much diminished from what they had been during the halcyon days of the trade. Instead of the 25 or more skilled servants common to the post in the first half of the century, Traill found four engaged (permanent) servants, one temporary and one retired servant, and a Chinese cook whose precise status remains unclear.¹⁴ In addition to Traill, the officer class embraced only Alexander Campbell Murray, the chief clerk, and his apprentice, John McDonald.¹⁵ The local native population, from which most of the temporary labourers were drawn, consisted of about 150 people living in a near-by village.¹⁶

The Traills stood apart from the society as a whole, and especially from their social peers and immediate subordinates. Whereas the trader's family had not more than a trace of mixed blood, all of the other families were unambiguously of mixed racial origin. A. C. Murray, the chief clerk, was married to a mixed blood woman.¹⁷ James Boucher (or Bouche), the post interpreter, was married to an Indian woman and had two resident daughters. Samuel Sinclair, a 24-year old Winnipeg man, was married to one of Boucher's daughters.¹⁸ Servant William Flett had an Indian wife and two daughters.¹⁹ Donald Todd, another servant, would soon be married to a local Indian, just as would Jimmy Alexander, the temporary servant.²⁰

Ferdinand McKenzie, the retired servant, was also married to an Indian woman.²¹ Moreover, most of the servants appear to have been half breed men, some from Red River and others from various outposts of the North West. The Oblate priests from the mission had, of course, no families. Harriet Traill, who had not particularly wanted to leave her husband's last posting at Fort Vermilion, where she was able to enjoy the company of the resident clergy and a white family named Lawrence, missed mingling with 'society'.

These familial distinctions would not be important had they not obliquely reflected a basic prejudice of the chief trader which carried on into his administration of the post. Traill seems to have little or no confidence in the ability of natives to carry out any but the simplest, most routine tasks in an adequate manner. When he wrote to his superiors at Fort Victoria to inform them that due to a shortage of men, he must hire local Carriers, his displeasure was almost palpable.²² This attitude seems confirmed by his additional statement that he had had a half breed servant who handled most of the routine skilled jobs around the fort, but this man unfortunately died.²³ Traill also seems to have applied a different standard of behavior to his servants, for in 1892 he told a colleague about his growing annoyance with Donald Todd, who was spending far too many evenings at the Indian village.²⁴ Happily for the Traills, perhaps, they were able to leave Fort St. James in the spring of 1893.

A. C. Murray, the chief clerk, was placed in charge of New Caledonia, although his rank did not change. He was very different from his predecessor, which may have allowed him to cope more successfully with the worsening manpower problem. While Murray's superiors believed him to be a capable and conscientious officer, they expressed grave doubt about the quality of his memory and lamented his

extreme lack of tact.²⁵ The latter characteristic may be observable in his inability to re-engage three servants whose contracts expired in the summer of 1893, leaving the post with a single engaged servant.²⁶ In his favour, however, he possessed long familiarity with the New Caledonia district and strong bonds with the Indian community. Unlike Traill, for example, Murray not only sanctioned Todd's visits to the Indian village, he and his wife later acted as witnesses to the servant's marriage to an Indian woman.²⁷

As Traill's comments indicated, New Caledonia was suffering from a shortage of skilled labour by the 1890's. While all the reasons for this cannot be adduced, it is certainly likely that the northern goldfields continued to attract young men. Survey crews also worked their way through the district in the early 1890's, and they may have been able to hire the best skilled labour. The problem was made more acute by the necessity for economic retrenchment in the district, a movement which began with Traill's arrival at Fort St. James.²⁸ Beaver were growing scarcer after some 85 years of continuous trapping, while prices for the pelts declined in the general economic downturn of the late 1880's and early 1890's. Fort St. James may have been in no position to compete for skilled labour. As a result, local Carrier labourers became increasingly common at the post, while the traditional distinction between the labourers and servants all but vanished.

Workforce Activities and Personalities, 1893 - 1896

Cursory examination of the Fort St. James journals reveals an annual work cycle, the most striking aspect of which was a sharp contrast between the busy summer months and comparatively lax winter season. It seems likely that closer study

would disclose the existence of subtler, yet distinctive, spring and autumn routines.

Transportation and provisioning occupied much of the summertime. The men had to put the boats in order so that they could transport the winter's fur returns to the Lake Babine portage for outward shipment down the Skeena. The distribution of mail, provisions, and trade goods took more time. Salmon had to be caught, gardens weeded, hay cut, and buildings repaired. The winter, by contrast, was less hectic and the work less labourious. While repairs still had to be made, rabbits trapped and wood chopped, the sense of urgency that marked the summer activities was absent. In view of the seasonal nature of the Fort St. James animation programme, the following account of the men who carried out post duties focusses on the summer.

In late February, 1893, the post journal records that Traill hired a local Indian named Prince to help saw lumber for the construction of a schooner that would ply Stuart Lake later that summer, while another Carrier, Jimmy Ahoul, is mentioned as carting hay to the fort for the horses and other livestock.²⁹ In mid-May Carriers Joseph Naquon and his wife cleaned and re-caulked the scow that was to take the Traill family to Quesnel.³⁰ Later, servant Donald Todd came in from Fraser Lake with an Indian named Stoney Creek Johnny, who provided occasional labour at the post, and George Holder, a part-time trapper who subsequently assisted with construction of the schooner.³¹ Roderick McBeath, a boat-builder, had been brought in for this purpose in 1892.³² Early in July, Murray hired Leon Prince to assist with the re-packing of the furs for outward shipment, and additional natives were temporarily hired for various everyday duties, like hoeing potatoes in the fort garden.³³ Later in the same month Holder took two Indians

with him to haul hay from the meadows a few miles distant, while another Carrier, Louis Grostete, helped pack furs.³⁴ After the departure of the three servants who refused to re-engage, Grostete and another Indian named Cyprian were hired to repair a scow.³⁵ Cyprian later did some grading work around the fort.

A. C. Murray had sufficient confidence in the ability of the local Indians to engage three of them to take the schooner out on her maiden voyage on the lake to the Lake Babine portage. Unfortunately, they grounded the vessel, and he had to commandeer 15 natives to refloat it.³⁶ Ultimately Murray found that he had to sail the schooner himself. When he returned with goods from the portage, local Indians helped to carry them up to the warehouse.³⁷

The comments about post labour during the remainder of the year indicate the special nature of the schooner piloting and the usually mundane character of the work commonly undertaken by the local natives. In August, for example, Louis Grostete and another Indian named Bazil (either Bazil Sagalon or Bazil Apoo) cleaned out the root cellar so the new garden crops could be stored over winter.³⁸ Somewhat later, Grostete and Cyprian harvested the barley crop.³⁹ Still later Grostete, Leon Prince and Cyprian were hired to re-mud the stable.⁴⁰ It may be that Grostete was hired on at least a semi-permanent basis as early as 1893, as the journal records that on 6 September he was not at work, clearly suggesting that he customarily was.⁴¹ He later worked at various jobs on the schooner, and ultimately became the skipper in 1896.⁴²

The advancement of Louis Grostete from a position of unskilled labourer to that of skipper in just a few years may be a sign that Murray was having difficulty hiring permanent servants. While Grostete may have been extremely competent and reliable in the performance of his duties, his was a

career pattern that rarely appeared at Hudson's Bay Company establishments. Certainly there seems to be a pattern of considerable transience among the servants Murray was able to hire between 1893 and 1896.

In 1894 and 1895 the main employees at Fort St. James were Donald Todd, George Holder, C. H. French, and a man named Hanson. Holder and Hanson were semi-permanent employees who trapped during the winter months and rarely worked at the post until the late spring or early summer. The post journal notes that in 1894 Holder did not arrive until the end of July and that he left six months later for Fort McLeod, not returning to Fort St. James until June of 1895. He did not work that autumn, and it was the summer of 1896 before he was mentioned again as employed at the post.⁴³ Apparently he was not well liked by the local Indians, and one event in particular suggests he was not a native. In January of 1897 Holder and Louis Grostete got into a fight and, when it looked as though the other Indians were about to step in, Holder picked up an axe to ward them off.⁴⁴ Further evidence about Holder's unorthodox relationship to Fort St. James surfaced when he and a servant named Thomas Budd were accused of sexually harrassing local Indian women. Traill, who was still in command of the post at the time, mentioned to Father Morice that while he could certainly discipline Budd for his actions, he could not touch Holder, as he was a "free agent," whose castigation, if any, would have to come from the Indians.⁴⁵ Unlike Holder, Hanson seems to have mingled quite freely with the natives of Stuart Lake. He and a couple of Indians often brought furs back to the fort and during the summers of 1894 and 1895 he worked with Donald Todd at the Lake Babine portage.⁴⁶

C. H. French, who may have served earlier as an engaged servant at Fort Babine,⁴⁷ arrived at Stuart Lake in June

of 1894 and skippered both the Lake Babine and the Lake Stuart schooners that summer.⁴⁸ During the winter and early spring of 1895 he constructed a car track and wharf at Fort St. James to assist the unloading of goods.⁴⁹ He spent the next winter at Babine, and assumed command of the post from John McDonald in the spring of 1896.⁵⁰

The irregularity with which all these men, with the exception of engaged servant Donald Todd, worked at Fort St. James in the late 1890's prompted Murray to hire Vitalle la Forte on a monthly basis in 1896. La Forte was an interesting character who had been a scout with a telegraph company in the 1860's before taking up prospecting in the Omineca district north of Fort St. James.⁵¹ C. H. French noted that la Forte had spent most of his time near Fort Grahame and that he might have worked on a casual basis there.⁵² Occasionally he worked at Fort St. James in the 1880's, but did not return until 1896 when the journal notes that he was working on a chimney.⁵³ Later in the year, he was cooking at the post.⁵⁴

By 1896, then, most of the routine labour around the fort was performed by local native men. Examination of the 1896 journal entries confirm this impression. At the start of the year a local Carrier named Bazil Sagalon was working alongside Donald Todd hauling wood to the post,⁵⁵ and three months later Sagalon was cutting fence rails.⁵⁶ Paul, another Carrier from the village, started the year as cook, a capacity that he filled until September.⁵⁷ Presumably this departure explains la Forte's temporary employment as cook. Murray hired additional Indians in February to cut cordwood,⁵⁸ and late in that month temporary servant James Alexander left the post with Patrick Michael, a Carrier, to transport bacon to McLeod Lake.⁵⁹ In March the journal mentioned a Carrier

named Attol, who was cleaning out the root cellar.⁶⁰

Early in May many of these same men were employed to plant seed potatoes in the fort garden.⁶¹

By early June Louis Grostete, now skipper of the schooner following French's departure, had finished his preparations for the season on the lake.⁶² Between schooner trips, he worked at odd jobs around the post, like weeding the garden. In late July an Indian helped make up the pack returns, while Joseph Naquon and George Holder cut and raked hay at the meadow.⁶³ August saw James Alexander and Frederick Naquon begin two trips up the Finlay River to Fort Grahame.⁶⁴ Another schooner trip followed in September, on which Grostete was accompanied by Indians named John Tylie and David Michael who helped carry the cargo to the warehouse.⁶⁵ The day after their arrival at Fort St. James, these same men threshed grain.⁶⁶ In the same month the journal records that Vitalle la Forte and a Carrier named Antoine Prince worked as carpenters on the post store.⁶⁷ Other local Indians regularly transported mail from the post to Quesnel and to the New Caledonia outposts, often in the company of Murray or the new clerk, Ralph Grassham.⁶⁸

The work of women at Fort St. James is rarely mentioned. It is known that the officers' wives had Indian servants, for in 1894 the journal noted that an old Indian woman named Margaret Yawholah, "who for a number of years had been a servant to the officers' wives here died this morning."⁶⁹ Her place seems to have been taken by a woman named Isabella, about whom nothing else is known.⁷⁰ Another rare mention of women working at the post occurred in September of 1896, when the journal observed that Mary Bird was helping Mrs. Murray harvest onions in the garden.⁷¹ This reference also indicates that Mrs. Murray was not

unaccustomed to work; other notes indicate she sometimes worked in the flower garden, washed windows, and swept floors, but always with the assistance of the "girls."⁷² Presumably these domestic duties represent the common type of labour engaged in by native women at Fort St. James in the late 1890's.

A final, highly unusual, character found infrequently at Fort St. James in the late 1890's was Sanchez, a Mexican who packed goods between the post and McLeod Lake. The size of his crew remains unknown, but in 1895 Frances Prince, a Stuart Lake Carrier, assisted him.⁷³ Sanchez would come up from Quesnel each June with his pack train, carry goods between forts St. James and McLeod until September, and then return to Quesnel.⁷⁴ His stays at Fort St. James would be limited to one or two days per trip, each of which took about two weeks return.

Conclusion

Between 1893 and 1896 the regularly employed population of Fort St. James seldom, if ever, included more than 15 people. While there were four half breed servants at the post until mid-1893, temporary servants became the norm after that date. Thus, it is clear that local Carrier males comprised the majority of the workers who would have been seen regularly around the post. While the girls who assisted with various domestic duties may never be positively identified, there is evidence to suggest that Carrier women were engaged at the post. These are the reference to the death of the Indian servant, the mention of Naquon's wife assisting with canoe re-caulking, and the general lack of other women at the post in the late 1890's. One may safely conclude that both Carrier males and females should be represented routinely at Fort St. James.

Carrier Labourer Apparel, 1887 - 1912

Introduction

The briefest examination of the history of the Carriers of British Columbia's northern interior discloses in no uncertain terms that they experienced a swift process of acculturation following contact with the fur trade early in the nineteenth century. The process was most apparent in material possessions, and notably in apparel.

When the Hudson's Bay Company traders arrived at Stuart Lake, they found that the Carrier males went virtually naked in the summer season and that the women wore only an apron of deer or salmon skins that fell to their knees.⁷⁵ During colder weather, they wore clothing made of animal skins. The men usually donned leggings that reached to their thighs, while both sexes draped knee-length robes of skin over their shoulders and then secured the garments at the waist with a cord.⁷⁶

By 1810 the trader at Fort St. James, Daniel Harmon, was able to record that the local Carriers "prefer, and make use of blankets, capots, or Canadian coats, cloth or moose and red deer skin."⁷⁷ The similarity between these early trade preferences and the natives' traditional cold-weather garb is readily apparent. A. G. Morice, the most reliable local historian, later recalled one of the ways in which the Company traders fostered greater appreciation of western textiles and articles of clothing. At the annual New Year's

Day festivities, the chief trader would always present a local chief with a full suit of clothes.⁷⁸ Similarly, successful hunters, who were all-important in provisioning the post, might receive a capot or cloth leggings and a breech-cloth for their efforts.⁷⁹ By the last quarter of the century, the New Caledonian post indents invariably contained a high proportion of ready-made clothing articles, fabrics, and accessories.⁸⁰ In 1899 a New England journalist who was visiting Fort St. James could cogently summarize the effects of more than 90 years of trade by writing that the local Carrier "cuts his hair short, wears textile clothing, the only remnant of his native dress being the moccasin."⁸¹ In light of such comments, Alexander Cameron McNab, the post manager between 1898 and 1901, seems to have been completely correct when he observed that "there is nothing that is romantic or particularly interesting about the Indians up there. The Indians of Fort St. James ... are and were quite sophisticated."⁸²

That the local Carriers had wholeheartedly adopted western textile apparel by the late nineteenth century - with a few minor exceptions - is beyond doubt. What is not so clear is the basis for the individual selection of articles from the plethora of trade goods to which the Hudson's Bay Company had access. Certainly one must begin by recognizing the uncompetitive nature of the mercantile system of which the Carriers were a part. Only on the rarest occasions did free traders manage to penetrate into New Caledonia and, if the one who set up at Pinche is typical, they failed to last. Thus, the Carriers had to choose among goods selected by the post clerk who annually filled out the requisition forms, or indents. To keep the post inventory and accounting system manageable, the clerk ordered a limited number of variations of each clothing article. Nonetheless, within this selection

there was a considerable price spread. In general, it can be said that lower priced articles dominated the post inventory. The cost of these goods relative to the low purchasing power of a Carrier labourer (about \$12.60 per month)⁸³ ensured that a common type of apparel could be discerned among labouring people of the post. One must also note that when a particular type of good - distinguished by cost, colour, quality or fabric - failed to sell at the post, it was rarely re-stocked. This tended to keep the range of selection within any single line of goods to a low level, as the Company preferred to stock only items whose performance in the marketplace was already established. The considerable scope that one can see in labourers' costumes at Fort St. James results from a multiplicity of combinations of very similar articles, rather than from diversity in the type of available merchandise. Or, to put it another way, diversity of ensemble was much more common than diversity of style in individual articles. In these ways, the Company managed to regulate the nature of the clothing available to the labourers.

Climate undoubtedly affected the selection of clothing at Fort St. James. The post lies within the Nechako physiographic region of British Columbia and experiences quite striking seasonal variations in temperature and precipitation. Of these two factors, temperature was the more important. The warm to hot summer months encouraged the adoption of lighter fabrics like cotton, while the cold winters prompted the wearing of heavier woollens often arranged in layers for added warmth. Additional outerwear was also needed during the winter. Spring and autumn called for a mixture of cotton and wool articles. Interestingly, the annual precipitation of ten to thirty inches seems to have had little effect on clothing purchases.

The age of the clothing buyer made some difference in the type of clothing purchased and the manner in which it was worn. Generalizations are difficult to make about the impact of this factor, but it may be reasonable to say that children and elderly people wore their clothing in a less meticulous fashion. The young men of the post appear to have been fastidious in the composition and appearance of their outfits, while the younger women present an image only slightly less demanding. Of course these observations are most relevant to non-work situations such as annual holidays.

Clothes and related accessories were probably also used as symbols of status within the Carrier working community. The purchase of expensive silk scarves, the ornamentation of shawls, skirts and moccasins, the acquisition of silver watch fobs and costly meerschaum pipes, and the special ordering of unusual hats are all incidents which suggest that the Carriers did not perceive every article of apparel in a strictly utilitarian fashion.

Finally, there seems little doubt that the manner in which apparel was worn related closely to the activities in which people were engaged. There are few photographs showing labourers at work, yet it is certainly plain that men sometimes rolled up their shirt sleeves when working and removed their footwear before entering the water of the lake, and that women sometimes donned aprons, presumably to protect their other garments from soiling while carrying out various duties.

Thus, when one considers the apparel worn by Fort St. James Carrier labourers, one must bear in mind the fundamental considerations that these people were able to select their outfits from a finite number of affordable articles and that they possessed a common sense of appropriate clothing for particular situations. Most, but

not all, of the variety in their costumes derived from fabric, pattern, ornamentation, and idiosyncrasy.

Prototypical Male Costume

The basic elements of the Carrier labourer's most common summer outfit were a hat, neckerchief, shirt, trousers, hose, moccasins, undershirt, drawers, a belt, and suspenders. During cooler weather, particularly in late spring and early autumn, they would have added a loose-fitting blouse as an outer garment. On special occasions, notably holidays, a vest and a suit coat were added to the basic ensemble. Various accessories, which will be described, completed the outfit.

The Hat

Hats were ubiquitous at Fort St. James. There does not seem to have been an outdoor activity during which the wearing of a hat was not thought appropriate. We have no information respecting the wearing of headgear indoors. The many varieties of hats available at Fort St. James include high-crowned felt hats, straw hats, "Cobden" hats, Scotch caps, and cowboy hats.⁸⁴ Of these, the high-crowned felt hat was the most popular (see Figure 26).

(a) Recommended Hat: the high-crown should be constructed of soft - not stiff - black felt. The diameter of the brim, which was round in shape, should be approximately 40.0 cm. This will vary according to the size of the wearer's head, of course, but the width of the brim on either side of the crown should be about 11.0 cm to 13.0 cm. The crown should be round in shape and approximately 13.0 to 14.0 cm high. At the base of the crown, resting on the upper

side of the brim, there should be a band, 2.5 cm to 4.0 cm wide, which encircles the crown. The band must be made of a dark, but not black, leather or lustrous and fairly heavy fabric. The ends of the band should be stitched together, although we cannot be certain of the appropriate manner. Overlapping the ends would not be outlandish, and if a smaller band of identical material were sewn to encircle the joined ends of the hat-band in a vertical fashion, the band stitching itself could be concealed. No other ornamentation is apparent.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The hat should sit level on the head, but tilted toward the back of the skull so that the wearer's forehead is exposed. It should not be cocked in any manner. The top of the crown may be creased on both sides, and also at the front and back. There should be no top crease in the crown. The brim is worn slightly turned up at the sides, certainly not more than 1.5 cm. The condition of hats should range from new to worn, clean to dirty.

(c) Optional Colours: While black hats dominated among the trade goods, there were also a number of other shades which were generally kept in stock. These included, in approximate descending order of popularity, "dark drab," light-coloured, and brown. These colours should be introduced to add variety to the animation programme.

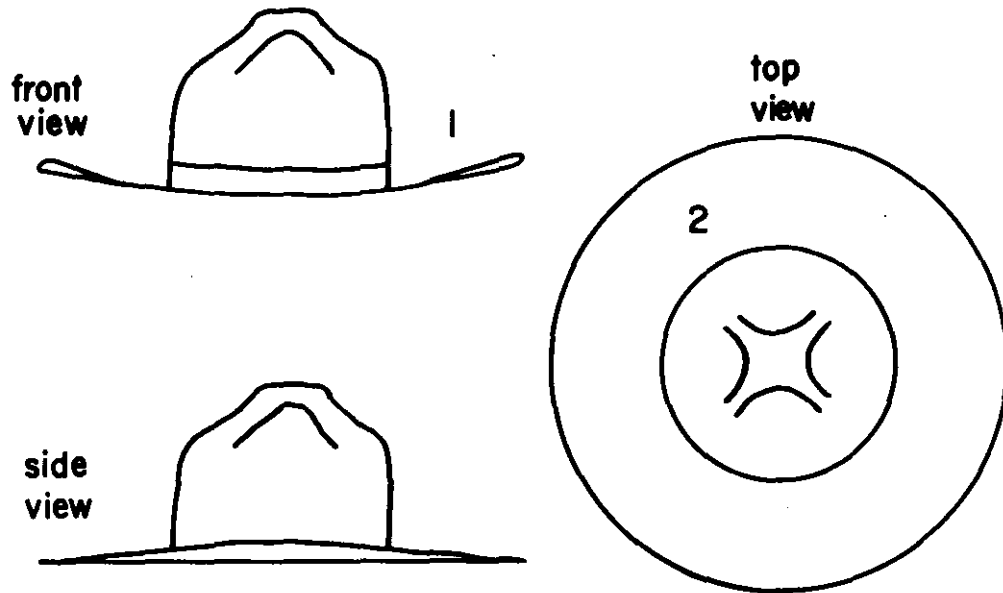
(d) Optional Hat: Although the documentary and photographic evidence leans in favour of the high crown felt hat, straw hats were also popular among many of the post employees. Woven of natural-coloured straw, the hat had a slightly oval crown some 10.0 to 11.5 cm high that came to a slight peak at its front and was flatter as the back of the top was reached. It possessed a slight top crease, if any. The crown was encircled by a dark (contrasting) band, about 2.5 cm wide, of lustrous fabric that was attached in the same

Figure 1: Men's Hats

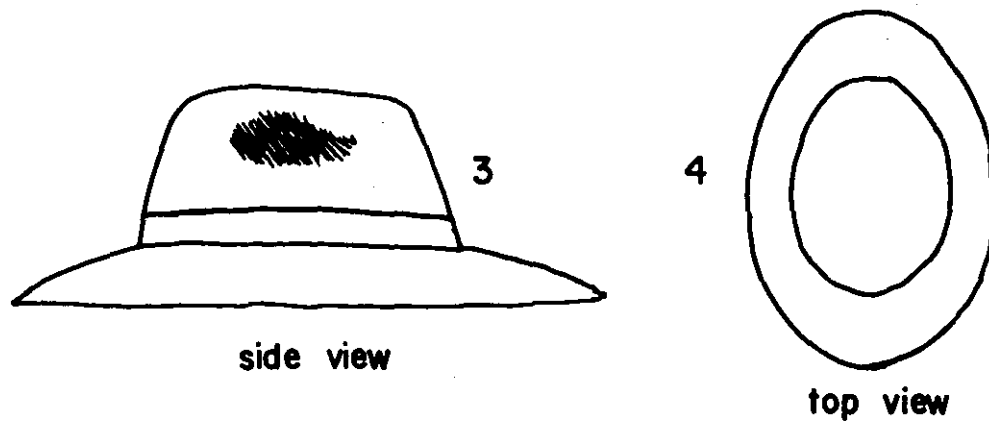
- 1 The crown of the recommended felt hat is 13.0 cm to 14.0 cm high, and the brim is 11.0 cm to 13.0 cm wide with side edges turned up not more than 1.5 cm. The hat-band is 2.5 cm to 4.0 cm wide.
- 2 The brim of the hat is circular in shape, and the crown is creased on all four sides to form a peak at the centre of the crown.
- 3 The optional straw hat, with a 10.0 cm to 11.5 cm high crown and a 2.5 cm band, has a 7.5 cm to 9.0 cm wide brim turned down both front and back.
- 4 The shape of the straw hat is slightly oval.

MEN'S HATS

FELT HAT



STRAW HAT



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manner as that on the felt hat. The brim was smaller, being about 7.5 to 9.0 cm wide on each side of the crown. The usual manner of wearing the straw hat consisted of slightly dipping the brim both front and back, with even less brim turned down on each side. Like the felt hat, the straw one rested level (not cocked) on the head with the forehead of the wearer exposed.

The Neckerchief

The neckerchief was as popular an item of clothing as the hat. It was, in fact, an almost indispensable article which was worn with both work clothes and the finest apparel (see Figures 24, 25 and 26). This is apparent from both documentary and photograph evidence.

(a) Recommended Neckerchief: It consisted of a piece of light-weight, printed cotton approximately 53.0 to 61.0 cm square. While the fabric prints are indistinguishable, common colours would have included red and white, and plain white.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The neckerchief is first folded corner to corner on the diagonal to form an equilateral triangle. It is then placed around the neck, but always outside the shirt collar, and tied in front so that the two ends lie flat in an inverted V-shape on the upper chest.

(c) Optional Fabrics and Colours: The neckerchief may also be fashioned in cambric, imitation silk, and real silk. Real silk neckerchieves seem to have been black or "fancy," while some of the cambric ones came with undefined borders.

(d) Optional Modes of Dress: While most neckerchieves were worn so that the two ends lay in the approximate centre of the upper chest, a frequent variation consisted of moving

the ends to one side of the chest. When a vest was worn, the neckerchief was often tucked into the top of the vest in the centre of the chest.

The Shirt

Labouring men at Fort St. James commonly wore shirts, both for work and special occasions (see Figure 25). The most popular style by far was the "regatta" or "yacht" shirt, which was reasonably priced at about one Made Beaver (approximately \$0.28).⁸⁶ For summer wear, they were made of light-weight cotton.

(a) Recommended Shirt: The shirt was made of light-weight cotton fabric made in the two up, one down warp face twill weave. Alternating, equal-sized stripes approximately 1.5 cm wide covered the shirt in a vertical, not horizontal, manner. Medium blue and white stripes were predominant.

The collar of the shirt does not appear to have had a mounting stand, as it sat low on the neck and lay rather flat. The collar was the turned-down variety, about 4.0 cm high, with short-to-medium points. The points were rarely buttoned down, and no buttons for that purpose were commonly visible. Seen from the front, the two ends of the collar were always separated by the width of the placket (about 3.0 cm), even when the collar was buttoned together.

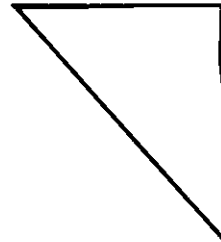
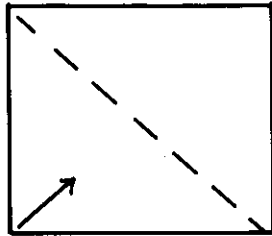
It was a long-sleeved shirt. The sleeve tapered slightly from the shoulder, where it was set in, to the cuff. Despite this, the general appearance remained unfitted without being baggy. The sleeve had a single pleat where it met the cuff to which it was stitched.

The cuff was about 5.0 to 6.5 cm in width, with a 10.0

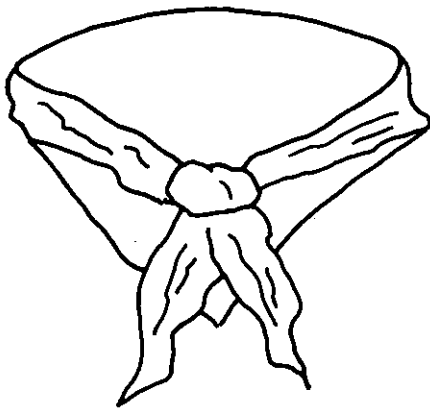
Figure 2: Men's Neckerchief

- 1 The recommended neckerchief is folded corner to corner on the diagonal.
- 2 Front and rear views of the neckerchief tied around the neck.
- 3 It is worn slightly to one side of the mid-chest.

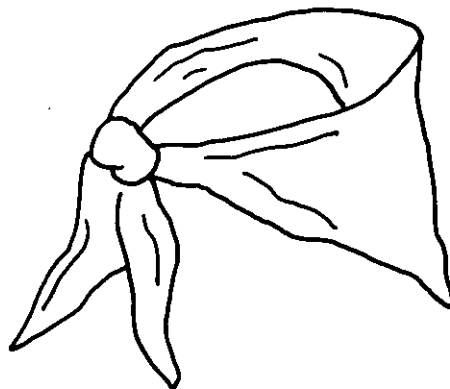
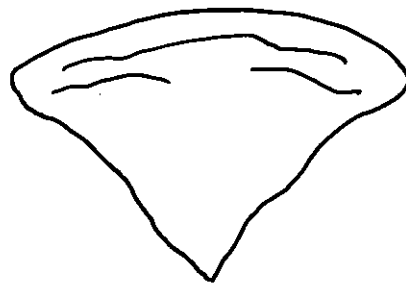
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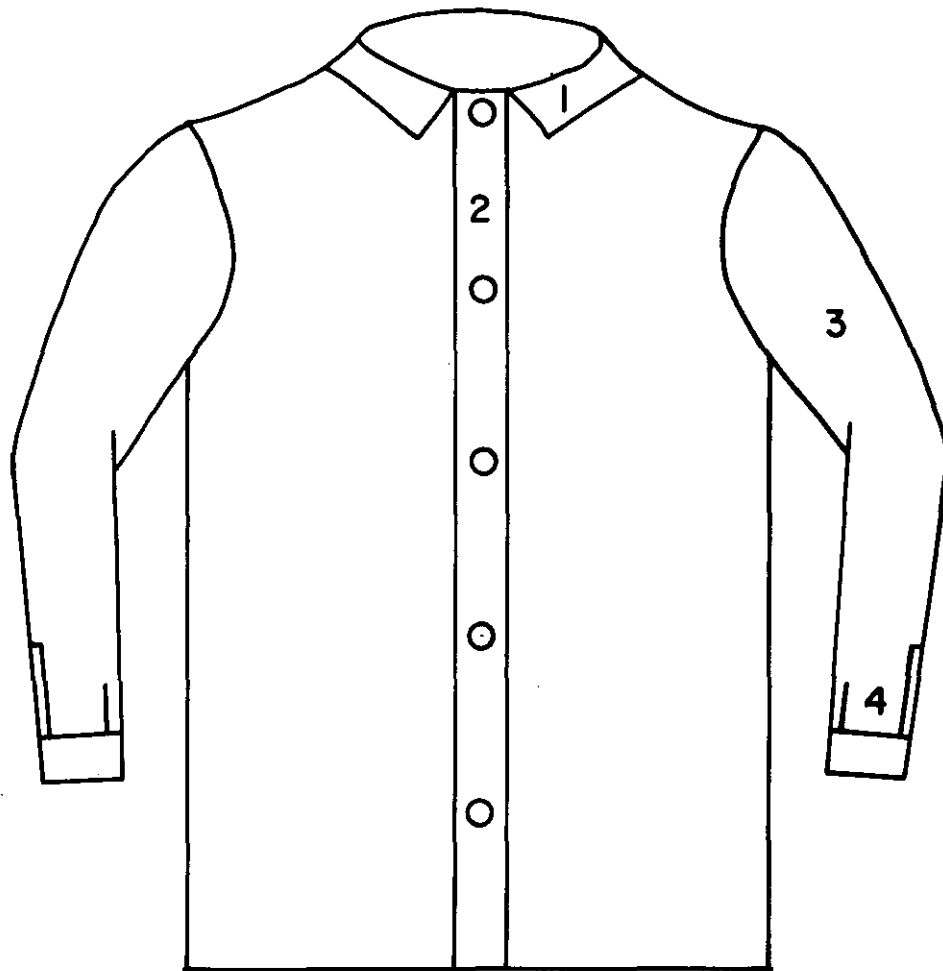
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Figure 3: Men's Shirt

- 1 The recommended shirt collar is the turned-down variety without a stand; about 4.0 cm wide; lies flatly against the neckline and shoulders; the relatively short points of the collar are always separated by the width of the front placket, even when the collar button is fastened.
- 2 Front placket opening with five evenly spaced 2.5 cm round buttons (sewn-on).
- 3 Set-in sleeves that taper slightly to the cuff.
- 4 A placketed cuff, about 5.0 to 6.5 cm in width, closed with a single, sewn-on button.

MEN'S SHIRT



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to 11.5 cm placket opening that was closed with a single, sewn-on button.

The centered placket of the shirt ran the full length of the garment. It was closed with buttons that began at the collar and extended down the placket at about 10.0 cm intervals to a point some 15.5 to 20.0 cm from the bottom of the shirt, which was cut straight across and reached to about mid-thigh. The buttons of the shirt were all identical agates about 1.5 cm in diameter, with four holes set within a slight depression on the face of the button. The buttons were stitched on so the sewing holes formed a diamond, not a square.

It should be noted the shirt had only a routine shoulder seam, rather than a yoke. In addition, no pockets were visible.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: Shirts were usually worn with the sleeves fully extended (not rolled up), buttoned to the top (including collar), and tucked into the waistband of the trousers. Shirts should never appear neat and certainly they must not be freshly pressed. Wrinkles form an integral part of the shirt's appearance. With the exception of special occasions, shirts should never be excessively clean. When engaged in heavy labour, or when working in excessively warm weather, the animators may roll up their sleeves to a point just above the elbows in approximately 5.0 cm folds, and may open their collar button only. Both are acceptable variations, and may be used separately or together.

(c) Optional Colour: Regatta shirts invariably came in a striped pattern, yet it is not presumptuous to suggest that more colour combinations must have been available. While specific post information is lacking in this respect, we recommend perhaps a grey and white combination and a red and white combination. This recommendation is based on known

preferred colour schemes at the post.

(c) Optional Shirt: In the cooler days of early and late summer, it would have been common for labourers to don a heavier and warmer shirt known as the Baltic Union.⁸⁷ So named for its approximately equal blend of cotton and wool, this shirt was tailored in very much the same manner as the regatta shirt, except for felled seams and cuffs. Colours are known only inferentially. The most common pattern for a Baltic Union shirt was called Shepherd's plaid. This is something of a misnomer as it was actually an invariable 0.5 cm check of black and grey. All instructions for the appearance of the shirt are the same as for the regatta variety.

Trousers

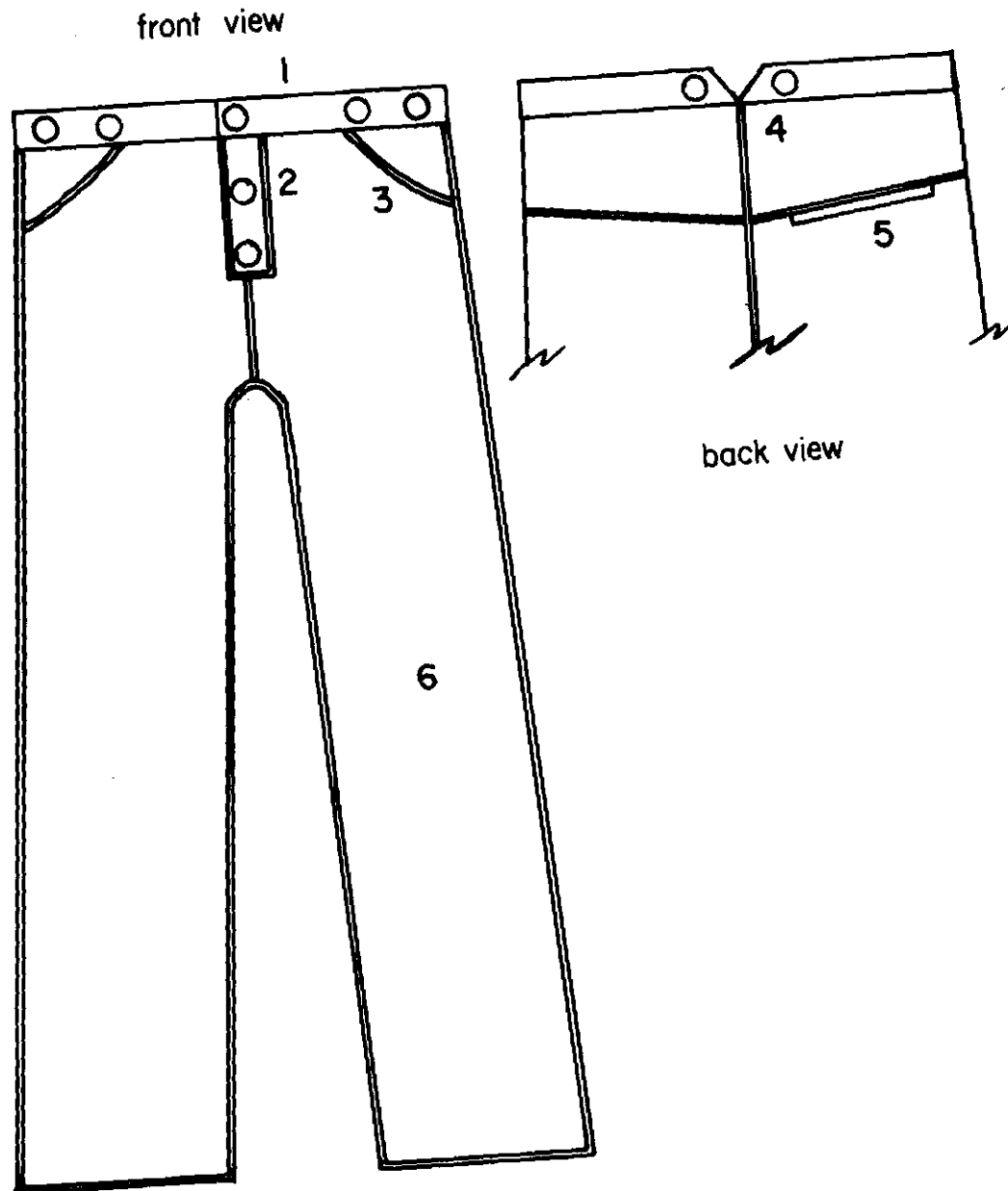
The most common trousers belonging to Fort St. James labourers appear to have been made of blue denim.⁸⁸ Some of them were imported from Levis Strauss and Company of San Francisco. At a price of about \$1.00 per pair, they were among the least costly trousers available, with only duck and cottonade rivaling them in cost. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that denim proved most popular because of its durability (see Figure 24).

(a) Recommended Trousers: Made of standard blue denim, these trousers had a waistband approximately 4.0 cm in width. There were no belt loops. Instead, the trousers had suspender buttons. In front were two buttons on each side of the fly opening. These were placed about 7.5 cm apart, with the first one on each side being located about 10.0 cm from the fly. At the back of the trousers were two additional suspender buttons, placed about 6.5 cm apart on either side of a V-groove place at the exact centre of the waistband.

Figure 4: Men's Trousers

- 1 The recommended trousers had a 4.0 cm waistband without belt loops; also shown is the placement of the front suspender buttons.
- 2 The fly was a 15.5 cm placket closed with three metal buttons with attached metal posts for anchoring with thread. The fly was taped.
- 3 Showing the cut of the front inside pockets.
- 4 Rear view showing placement of rear suspender buttons, inverted V-shaped notch in waistband, and back vertical seam.
- 5 Manner in which the rear inside pocket was placed in relation to the horizontal seam.
- 6 Trouser legs were approximately 25.5 cm wide and straight cut, with no cuffs on the bottom.

MEN'S TROUSERS



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The buttons were about 2.5 cm in diameter and made of a light-coloured material which cannot be positively identified. These may have been composed of vegetable (imitation) ivory, as many such buttons turn up in the post records. It has not been possible to determine the number of holes in each button or their precise configuration. It would not, however, be a glaring error to attach them in a manner similar to shirt buttons.

The trousers had two pockets in front and one on the right side of the seat. Those in front were cut about 6.5 cm down along the leg seam and extended less than half the distance to the fly across the upper leg in a shallow arc. They were inside pockets. The rear pocket, which was also an inside pocket, was cut along the seam line that ran across the seat of the trousers about 7.5 cm down from the waistband. The pocket opening was about 13.0 cm wide. Both front and rear pockets seem to have been about 15.5 cm deep.

The fly was a 15.5 cm placket with three buttons made of metal with attached metal posts for anchoring with thread. The top button was also the waistband button. The fly was taped.

All seams on these denim trousers were felled for added strength, which was essential in a work garment. This cannot be determined historically for Fort St. James, yet common sense makes it appropriate and necessary.

The bottoms of all pant legs are finished, without cuffs.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: Trousers must ride high on the hips. This is particularly noticeable when either suspenders or Assomption belts were worn. Pant legs should be roughly ankle length and quite wide (perhaps 25.5 cm or more across). The general appearance must be one of loose fit. If the pant legs are too long for the intended wearer,

as was often the case at the fort where clothes were not tailored to fit, the bottoms may be turned up to the appropriate length.

(c) Optional Manner of Wear: For the sake of variety and accuracy, it would be well to leave some denim trousers an inch or two longer than needed by the wearer, so that the bottoms will gradually fray. In addition, it would be quite plausible to have a pair of cotton cloth or woolen work gloves protruding from the rear pocket. Finally, should tears develop in the trouser material, they may be patched with similar material and use of the garment continued. Not everyone at the post would have always had new clothes.

(d) Optional Trousers: While denim trousers are suited to working situations, the people of Fort St. James generally seem to have worn light tweed trousers on special occasions.⁸⁹ It has not, unfortunately, been possible to ascertain the type of tweed weave or the appropriate colour(s). Something like a grey herringbone twill does not seem inappropriate. Whatever the ultimate choice of colour, it must not clash excessively with those of related garments. The appearance of these trousers would probably have been somewhat more finished than that of the denims, but would not have varied in any important ways. Possibly the rear seam would have run vertically down the seat rather than across as in the other trousers. There would still have been no cuffs, and the appearance would have been baggy and less than immaculately pressed.

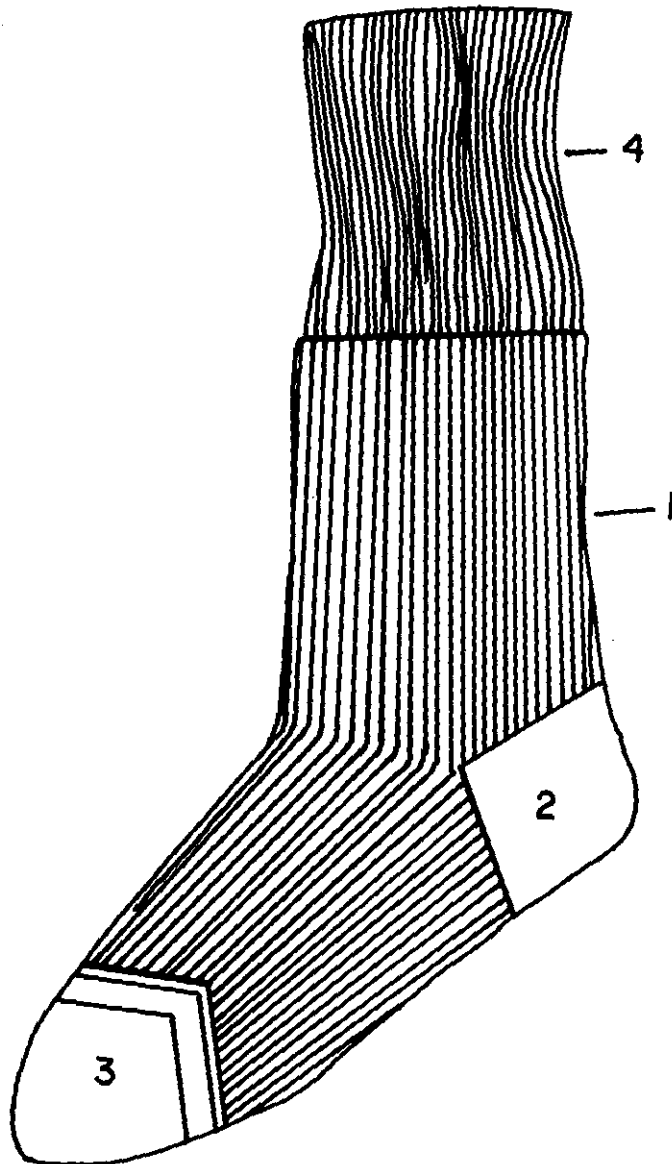
Men's Hose

Long and half hose seems to have been readily available in New Caledonia in the 1890's.⁹⁰ Half hose was, if anything, more popular. It was made of worsted material.

Figure 5: Men's Hose

- 1 The recommended hose is made of light-to-medium grey worsted wool done in a rib stitch.
- 2 Heels are reinforced.
- 3 Toes are reinforced.
- 4 Hose tops are done in a tighter stitch for added elasticity.

MEN'S HOSE



G. PURPUR

Colours are unknown.

(a) Recommended Hose: The few photographs that clearly show hose suggest they may have been made of a light-to-medium grey worsted wool made with a rib stitch for added elasticity and durability.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: Hose are pulled up to their full height which, in the case of half hose, was mid-calf.

(c) Optional Foot Coverings: Labourers at the post had access to full length hose, which was knee-high. In addition, Carriers are known to have wrapped their feet in squares of heavy cloth prior to putting on their moccasins. Unfortunately, we know nothing else of this practice.

Moccasins

Moccasins were unquestionably the most common form of footwear in New Caledonia (see Figure 25). The comfort these articles could provide on a long walk was unparalleled by that of any other form of footwear to which post residents had access. In the main, moccasins were hand-crafted, although some were imported from Winnipeg.⁹¹

(a) Recommended Moccasins: The moccasin commonly worn was made of natural-tanned moose or caribou hide. It consisted of three pieces of leather bound together with sinew. These pieces were called the bottom, the tongue, and the upper.

The bottom piece was cut so that when folded there was a T-seam at the back and a straight seam running from the middle of the top of the foot to a point just under the toes. An oval tongue, sewn to the bottom piece, covered the instep and included a small flap at the top which was cut straight across. The upper piece was sewn to the bottom piece just below the ankle and had flaps on each side that could be

folded to the front of the leg and thereby provide protection and warmth on all sides. Often the tongue was embellished with a bead design, while additional ornamentation could include sewing a small band of leather on each side of the moccasin just below the seam joining the bottom to the upper part, and overlaying it with beads or coloured cloth. Rawhide laces were sewn to the bottom-piece. All leather used in the moccasin was a natural tanned colour.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The rawhide laces were passed through holes in either side of the tongue flap and then through identical holes in either side of the upper flap before being wound tightly around the lower calf until short enough to tie securely.

The upper piece of the moccasin extended to the bottom of the calf and could be worn turned down in summer.

The Undershirt

The very common undershirt was worn summer and winter.⁹² Little can be seen of this article in photographs since it is usually completely covered by the shirt and other articles. Some comments may, however, be made about its manufacture and appearance.

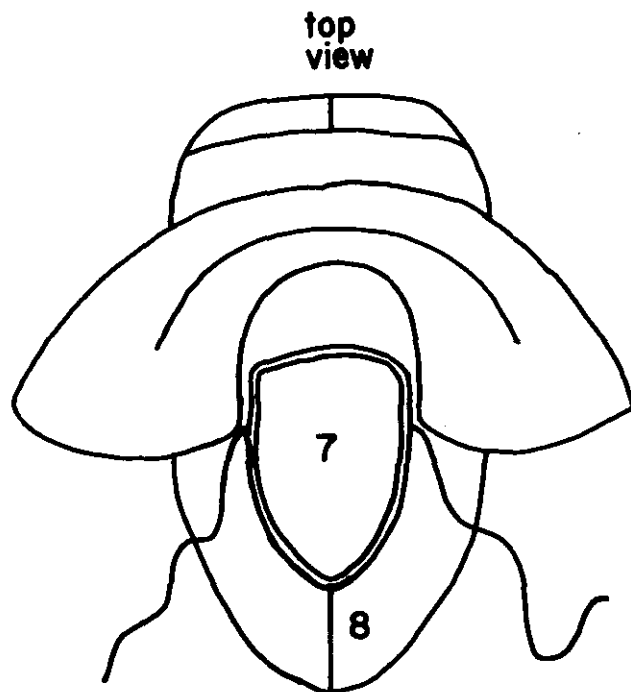
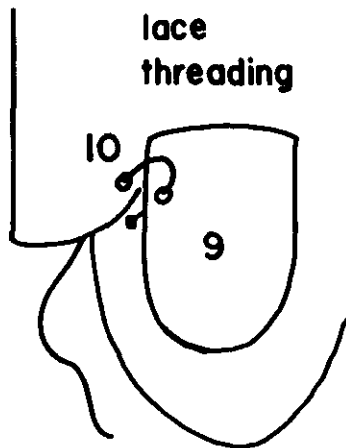
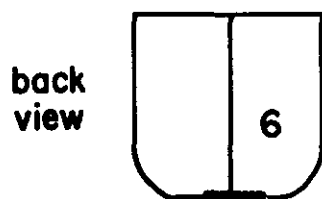
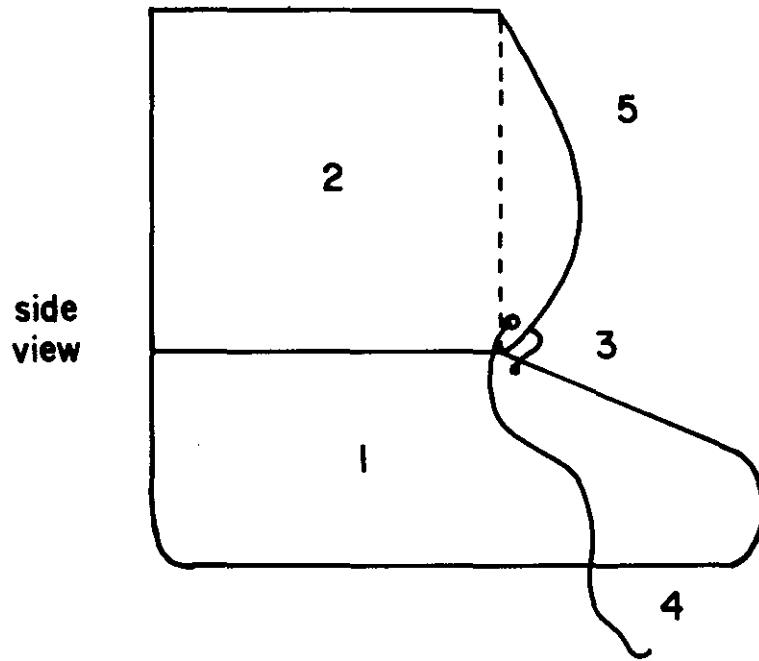
(a) Recommended Undershirt: Undershirts were usually made of flannel, which was brought into the fort by the piece. This means that this article was usually home-manufactured and therefore it should not appear as though machine-made. White seems to have been the most common colour.

Base on patterns from the 1897 Sears-Roebuck catalogue, undershirts were commonly made as the pull-over type with three buttons about 1.5 cm in diameter spaced evenly along a front placket some 20.0 cm long. There was only a thin

Figure 6: Moccasin

- 1 The bottom-piece of the moccasin.
- 2 The ankle-flap, or upper, of the moccasin.
- 3 A side-view of the rawhide lace holes in the bottom-piece and the upper.
- 4 The laces used were made of rawhide.
- 5 Showing the curve of the upper flap and the line on which the flap folded.
- 6 Detail showing the T-seam at the back of the heel.
- 7 Tongue as seen from above, showing stitching and lacing patterns.
- 8 The toe-seam extending from the front of the tongue to just under the toes.
- 9 Detail showing tongue only partially stitched to the bottom-piece.
- 10 Detail showing the lacing pattern through tongue and upper flap.

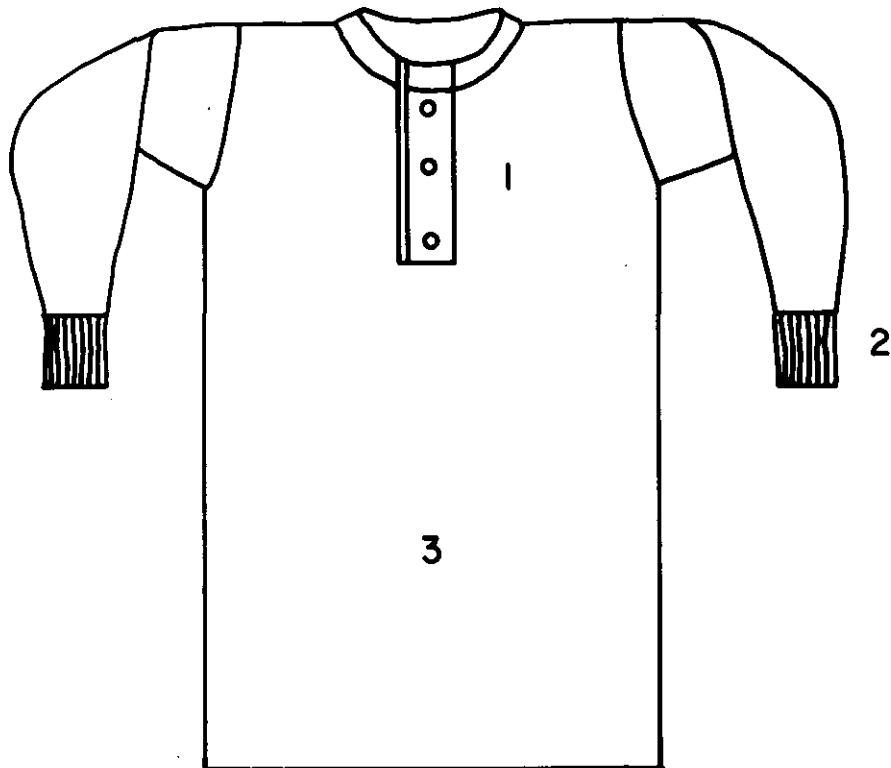
MOCCASIN



G. PURPUR

Figure 7: Men's Undershirt

- 1 The recommended undershirt is the pull-over type with a 20.0 cm front placket closed with three 1.5 cm buttons.
- 2 Both cuffs were ribbed.
- 3 The undershirt was long enough to be tucked in and had a straight-cut bottom.

MEN'S UNDERSHIRT**G. PURPUR**

collar or band around the neckline. The garment had long sleeves with ribbed cuffs and was long enough to be tucked into trousers. Ordinary shoulder seams were most frequently used.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: These garments were usually worn under a shirt, although on rare occasions they might be worn by themselves. The sleeves appear to have been rather on the short side for most wearers (perhaps due to shrinkage?) and were never rolled up, even when the covering shirt sleeves were. The ribbed cuffs were often frayed, and should be left in that state until the problem becomes acute. Then they may be replaced with new cuffs that are stitched to the abbreviated sleeves to approximate the original length of the sleeves.

(c) Optional Colours: Although only white undershirts appear in photographs, much of the imported flannel was scarlet or silver-grey. Either colour might be substituted for white in the interests of variety.

Drawers

Whether or not drawers were worn by New Caledonian labouring society threatens to remain one of the great unsolved puzzles of fur trade social history. The extant documents indicate that few pairs of drawers were imported.⁹³ At the same time, drawers were customarily made of various types of flannel, which was always imported in generous quantities, and might have been home-manufactured. If so, it is difficult to explain why no flannel drawer legs show at the bottom of men's usually short trousers when almost all contemporary advertised drawers had full-length legs. There are also no cases of flannel being visible above a trouser waistline, although it must be added that most waistlines

were high and generally concealed by vests or sashes. Still, there does exist a single, admittedly indistinct, photograph of an elderly man whose button-fly may be partially undone, as an anomalous light-coloured material certainly appears above the crotch area. In short, there appears no certain means of getting to the bottom of the problem.

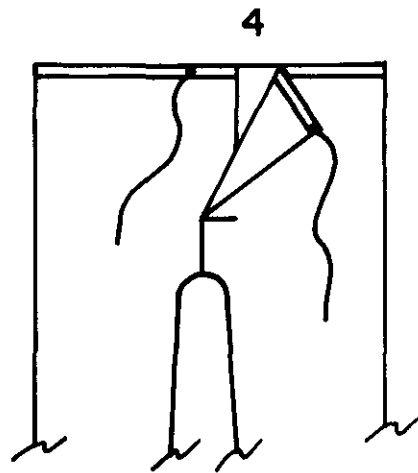
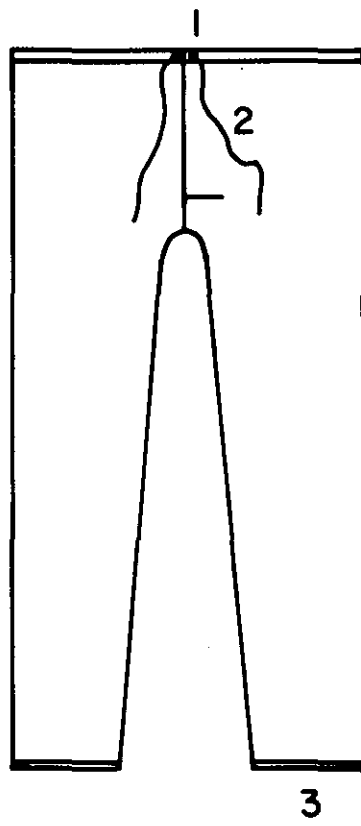
The documentary impasse means that no definitive answer may be offered, yet circumstantial evidence seems to lean toward the wearing of drawers. First of all, it is recognized that local Carriers had adopted virtually all articles of western textile clothing. Secondly, the natives had the example of at least a small number of men, some of whom were Carriers from Stuart Lake,⁹⁴ who ordered ready-made drawers. Third, their affinity for the flannel undershirt in all seasons might be taken to imply an acceptance of flannel drawers. And finally, the abrasive quality of denim - particularly new denim - has never been a trifling matter.

But even if we accept these statements as wholly reasonable, they are no substitute for empirical evidence. We still lack a pattern for the drawers. In view of the general availability and acceptance of full-length drawers, we feel these are most appropriate.

(a) Recommended Drawers: The drawers would have been hand-made of white flannel, and would have lacked the machine-made look and complexity of ready-made ones. They should probably have a draw-string waist, made by folding the material over a light cotton cord and stitching along the underside of the cord. The cord, then, would wrap completely around the waist of the wearer and tie in front, although somewhat off to one side of the fly opening. The fly, which would consist of nothing more than a closing flap (without buttons) would have been approximately 18.0 cm in length,

Figure 8: Men's Drawers

- 1 The recommended drawers had a simple, draw-string waistband made by folding the fabric over the cord and stitching it inside.
- 2 The fly was a simple flap that closed when the draw-string was tied.
- 3 The cuffs were plain without ribbing.
- 4 Detail showing fly flap and stitching.

MEN'S DRAWERS

G. PURPUR

thus forming a baggy crotch in the drawers. There would be no rear vent.

The legs should be made to fit loosely like those of the trousers. There should probably not be any cuffs on them. Instead, the edges would simply be folded over perhaps 0.5 cm and stitched. All seams should be felled.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The drawers, which are of course always worn under trousers, should fit loosely. The ends of the legs should be tucked into the wearer's hose so they remain concealed from view.

The Belt

L'Assomption belts, or sashes, were popular among the Carriers well into the twentieth century. While not an optional article of apparel, they were worn on specific occasions in place of suspenders. It was extremely rare for a man to wear both suspenders and the belt.

(a) Recommended Belt: While both broad and narrow belts were stocked in New Caledonia,⁹⁵ by the turn of the century the tendency was clearly towards the narrower variety. This was a sash approximately 6.0 m long and 15.5 cm wide. It was made of woven cloth, usually in a herringbone sort of pattern, and was commonly red and white in colour. At each end of the belt was a yard of fringe.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The Assomption belt appears to have been wrapped at least twice around the lower back, or until the ends were short enough to be tucked in securely. It was placed over the trousers so they could be secured, and was used in place of, and not with, suspenders.

It is most important to note that the belt was only worn on certain occasions. For example, because of the lower back support it offered, it was often worn when the men were

portaging goods and unloading the schooner. It was also appropriate wear on holidays and other special occasions. It should never be worn in combination with a suit-coat or blouse.

Suspenders

It was customary for Fort St. James labourers to wear suspenders when engaged in light work around the fort or, more formally, with a vest and suit-coat on special occasions (see Figure 25). Suspenders were worn as an inexpensive and more modern substitute for the Assumption belt.

(a) Recommended Suspenders: The usual type of suspenders consisted of two equal strips of elastic webbing about 90.0 cm long and 3.0 cm wide. Two ends of the strips were crossed at an approximately 60 degree angle and stitched together to form a small triangle. Attached to this join was a small fabric rectangle to which was secured a 18.0 cm double-ply X-shaped piece of light, russet leather. This piece secured the suspenders to the rear trouser buttons (see Trousers for details of button type and location). The leather piece should not be more than 0.5 cm thick and should have a 3.0 cm slit through each end.

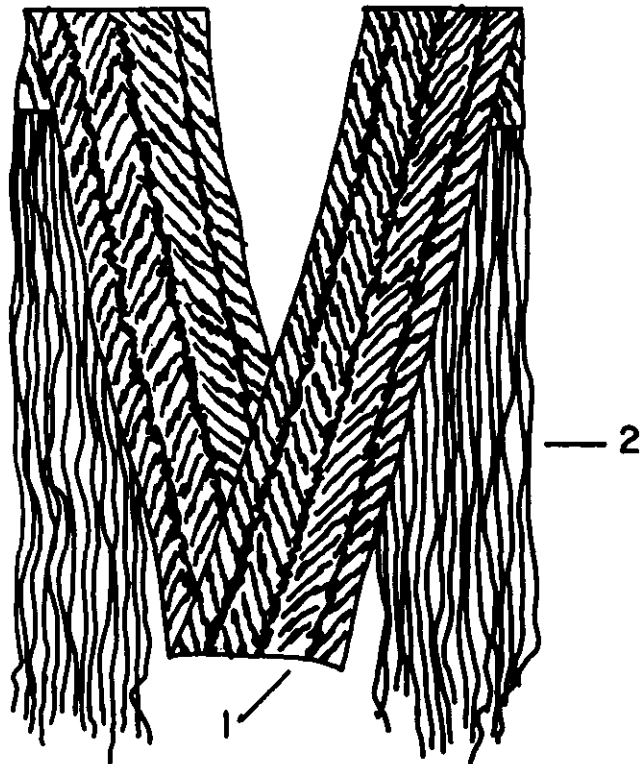
The remaining ends of the webbing strips are handled in much the same manner once standard metal slide buckles have been put on. These ends are not, of course, stitched together as the suspenders are secured by two separate sets of buttons on the front of the trouser waistband (see Trousers section).

The suspenders were usually available in medium to dark colours, and often in horizontally-striped patterns. Blue and white strips might be appropriate, with red and white used as an alternative.

Figure 9: Assomption Sash

- 1 The recommended Assomption belt was 6.0 metres long and 15.5 cm wide, made of woven cloth often in a herringbone pattern.
- 2 A yard of fringe adorned each end of the sash.

ASSOMPTION SASH

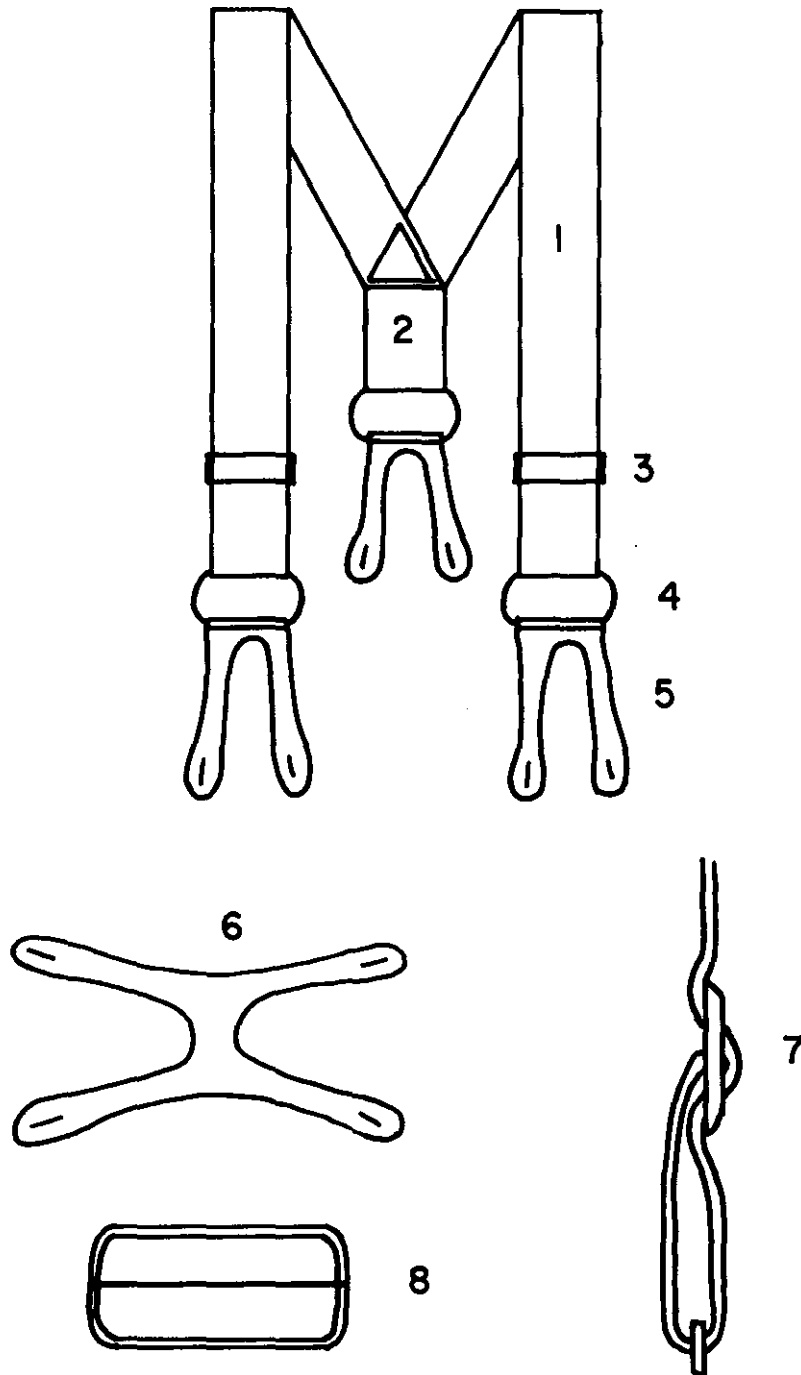


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Figure 10: Suspenders

- 1 The recommended suspenders were made of elastic webbing about 90.0 cm long and 3.0 cm wide.
- 2 At the back the two strips of webbing were stitched at about a 60 degree angle to form a triangle, below which was attached a rectangular fabric piece that joined the metal ring to which the leather button thong was sewn.
- 3 Standard slide buckles were placed on the front ends of the elastic webbing strips.
- 4 Small metal rings served as connectors between the webbing and the leather button thongs.
- 5 The leather thongs for attaching the suspenders to trouser buttons were shaped like an inverted V once sewn to the metal rings.
- 6 The leather thong was an elongated X-shaped piece of light, russet leather that was passed through the metal ring and stitched together to form a double-ply inverted V shape.
- 7 Detail showing the manner in which the slide buckle worked.
- 8 The shape of the standard slide buckle.

SUSPENDERS



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(b) Manner in Which Worn: The suspenders are placed over the shoulders so that the single leather piece is on the lower back and the other two pieces fall near the waistband in front. The buttons are passed through the slits in the leather pieces and the suspenders are thus secured. Individual adjustment is possible using the metal slide buckles.

The Vest

Vests were popular among the labourers, and should be included in the costume as an optional item that may be worn with or without an accompanying suit-coat and for both work and special occasions (see Figures 25 and 26). There do not seem to be any hard and fast rules about the purpose of the garment.

(a) Recommended Vest: The vest should be single-breasted with a 9.0 cm lapel-like collar. It was cut straight across the bottom, with an inverted V-notch cut in the hem at the centre line of the back of the garment. The front has a taped placket opening with five evenly-spaced 2.5 cm buttons that start at the hemline and end at the bottom of the collar-lapel. The arm-holes were cut with a slight arc. There were three pockets: two 10.0 cm wide inside pockets about 10.0 cm deep above the hemline and a smaller, 7.5 cm inside pocket on the right upper chest between the first and second buttons. All seams were stitched with a 0.5 cm border. The back of the vest was made of an undetermined, lustrous material.

It would appear the bulk of the vest was cut from tweed material.⁹⁶ The vest was probably unlined. Colours are not available, but greys, blues, and black are recommended.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The vest may be worn completely buttoned, completely open, or with all but the lowest button fastened. It should not fit tightly around the chest.

(c) Optional Feature: Some vests had an extra piece of fabric extending for about 10.0 cm across the centre of the lower back and fitted with a metal roller buckle that could be used to adjust the fit of the vest.

The Suit-Coat

Labourers often wore suit-coats on special occasions. The high cost,⁹⁷ about \$7.00, put this article beyond the reach of many, however, and it should not be provided to every labourer.

(a) Recommended Suit-Coat: The suit-coat, which often matched the optional tweed trousers described above, was of mid-thigh length. The bottom was cut straight across. There was a taped placket front opening which had four 2.5 cm buttons spaced about 15.5 cm apart, starting at the bottom of the lapel and extending to within 15.5 cm of the hemline. The lapel was of medium width, perhaps 9.0 cm and came down to the base of the sternum. There were two inside pockets on the front of the jacket. These were about 15.5 cm wide and at least as deep. They were cut approximately 17.0 cm from the bottom of the coat. At the rear of the coat was a single, centre vent approximately 25.5 cm long.

Common colours would have included dark blue, medium grey, and black.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The most common way to wear the suit-coat was to fasten the uppermost button and let the coat flare out slightly from the body. It could also be worn

Figure 11: Men's Vest

- 1 The recommended vest has a lapel-type collar about 9.0 cm wide that lay flat against the neck and shoulders.
- 2 The upper inside pocket is 7.5 cm wide and cut between the first and second buttons on the right side of the chest.
- 3 All seams are double-stitched to form a 0.5 cm border.
- 4 At the rear centre line of the vest is cut a deep inverted V notch.

MEN'S VEST

showing front and lower back of vest

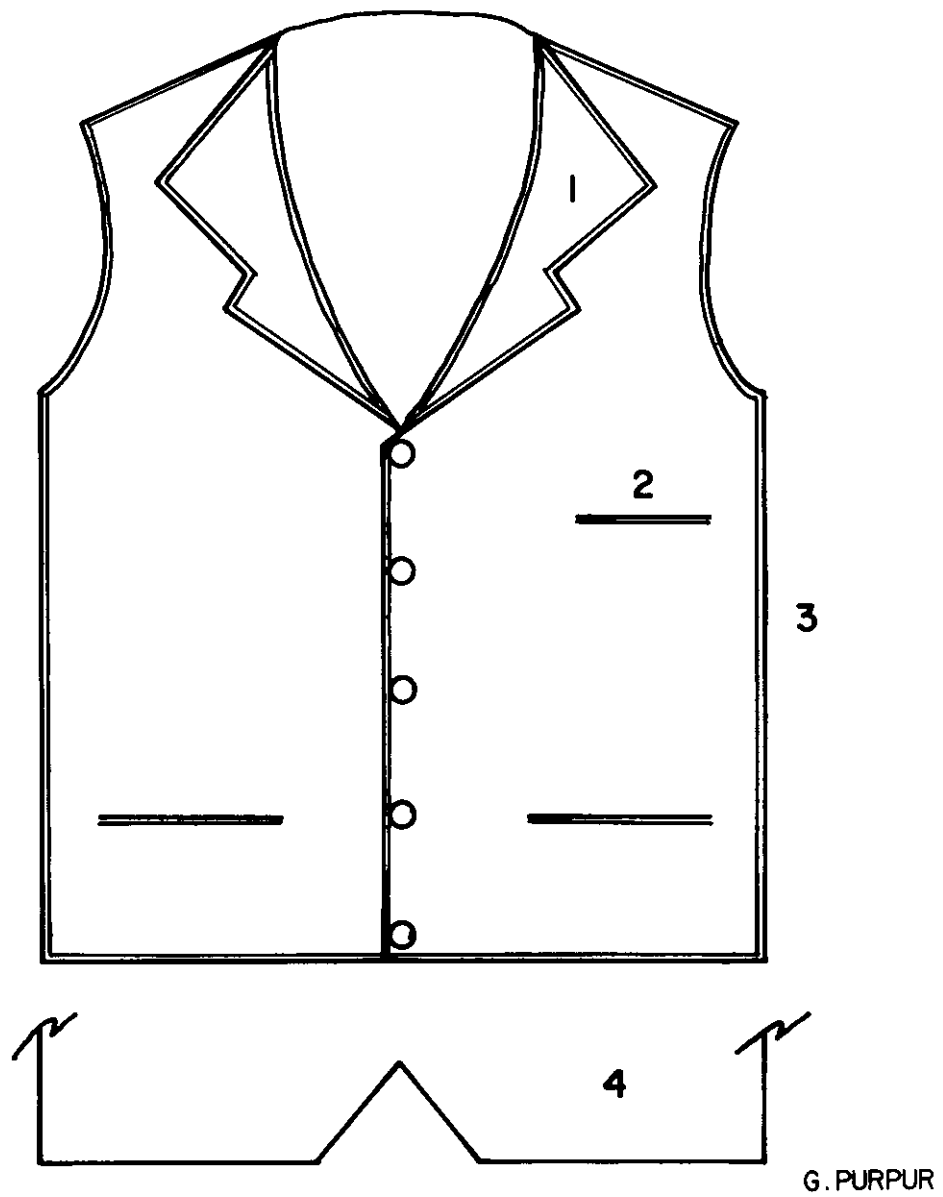
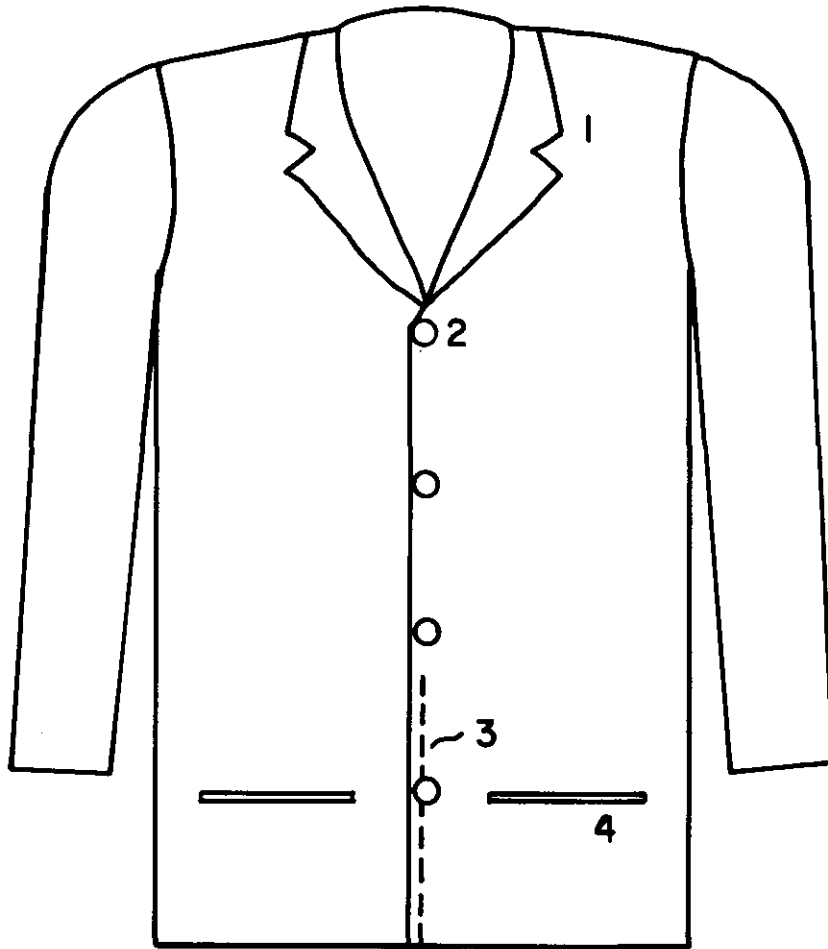


Figure 12: Men's Suit-Coat

- 1 The recommended suit-coat has a 9.0 cm lapel that reaches to the base of the sternum.
- 2 Four equally-spaced round 2.5 cm buttons extend from the base of the lapel to about 15.5 cm of the hemline.
- 3 Two front inside pockets about 15.5 cm wide and equally deep very low on the suit-coat.

MEN S SUIT - COAT



G. PURPUR

completely open with a vest.

Since the suit-coat was not available to all labourers, its use should be confined to special occasions, although a dilapidated coat may be worn for work.

The Overalls

The post indents and inventories are full of mentions of overalls for both boys and men⁹⁸ (see Figure 27). These were used over conventional work clothes to protect them from being soiled excessively when the labourers were engaged in particularly filthy tasks such as working in the saw pit.

(a) Recommended Overalls: The basic design of the overalls corresponds closely to that for the denim work trousers, with a few notable exceptions. First, the pant legs should be sufficiently wide to slip over normal trouser legs without binding. Secondly, our only photograph of overalls (on a boy) show them to have had, at least in some cases, a front bib or apron. This simple apron started at approximately the centre line on either side of the body at the waistline and extended upward in a tapering fashion to a point some 20.0 cm under the chin. The top of the tapered apron piece, about 17.0 cm wide, was cut straight across and had two roller buckles (perhaps with teeth) near its corners. This bib also had a large patch pocket, perhaps 18.0 cm wide and equally deep, placed on the right side near the waistline. Although we have no certain evidence about construction of the back of the overalls, it is clear that there were two straps (probably crossed) about 4.0 cm wide, securely stitched at the waistline, which were drawn across the shoulders and inserted through the metal buckle to secure the apron. The ends of these straps would be cut and stitched at about a 45 degree angle.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: Overalls were work clothes for the worst working conditions, and their use should be limited to such situations. In addition, their appearance should reflect such use. For example, stains should never be completely removed and the legs should be creased and perhaps even frayed along the bottom. The fit should be loose.

The Blouse

Another optional article is the blouse (see Figure 26). This short, smock-like garment was worn for additional warmth only. As long as it is not worn too often, it does have a place in a summer animation programme.

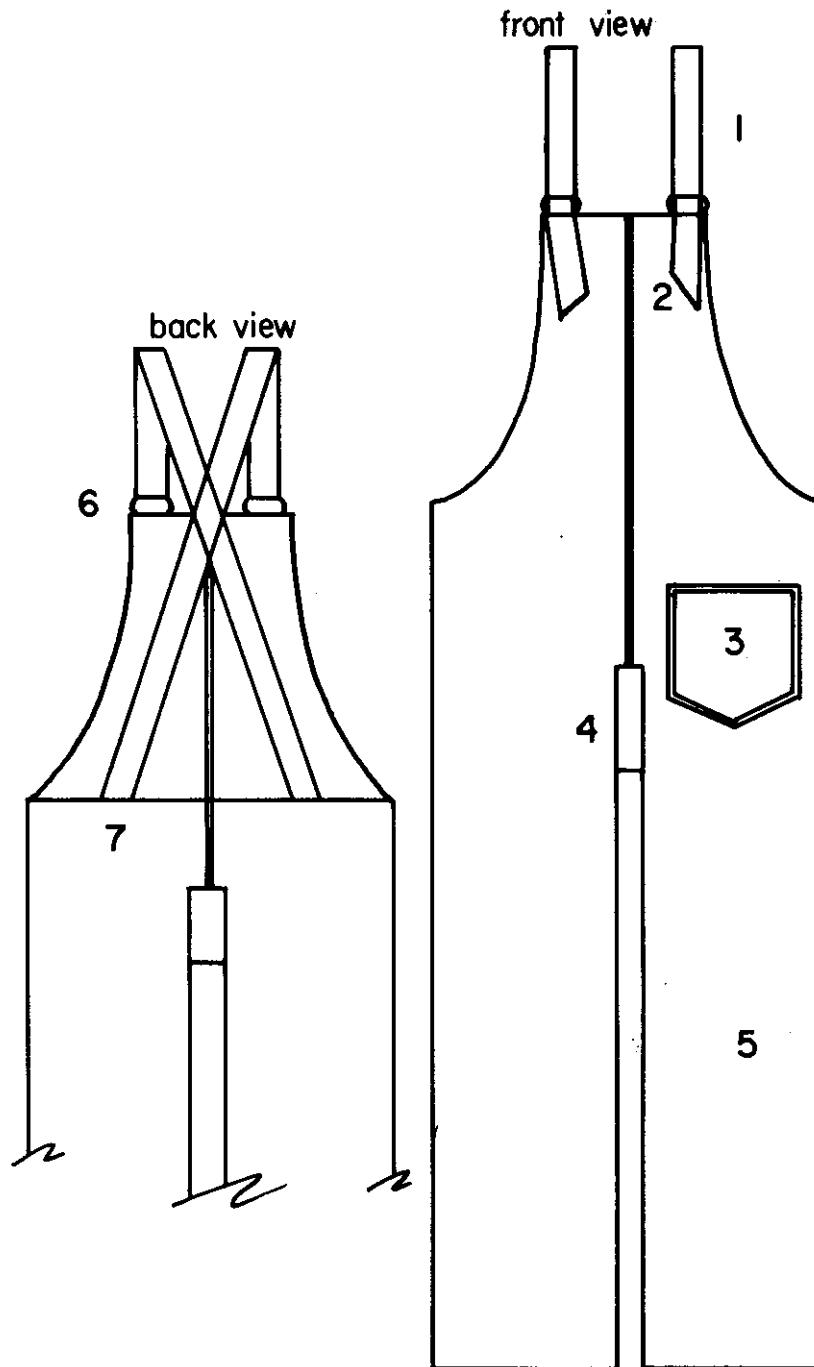
(a) Recommended Blouse: The common blouse was a loose coat of medium weight gingham which reached to about crotch level. It was cut straight across the bottom and had a centred front placket opening with four buttons placed at equal intervals from mid-chest to almost the hemline. Blouse buttons were larger than those used on shirt, and 2.0 cm might be a suitable diameter. They were sewn on. The top of the blouse was finished with a very narrow, short pointed collar. It is not clear if there was a yoke, but the shoulder seam seems to have been placed slightly ahead of the top of the shoulder. There were two large patch pockets at the lower front of the garment, which were about 15.5 cm wide and 20.0 cm deep. There was also a single top patch pocket, approximately 13.0 cm wide and 11.5 cm deep.

Blouses should never be made of anything but gingham in large, bright patterns.⁹⁹

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The blouse was worn over the shirt, and conceivably, the vest, on cool days only. The top button was usually left unfastened. The blouse had an extremely baggy and ill-fitted look.

Figure 13: Men's Overalls

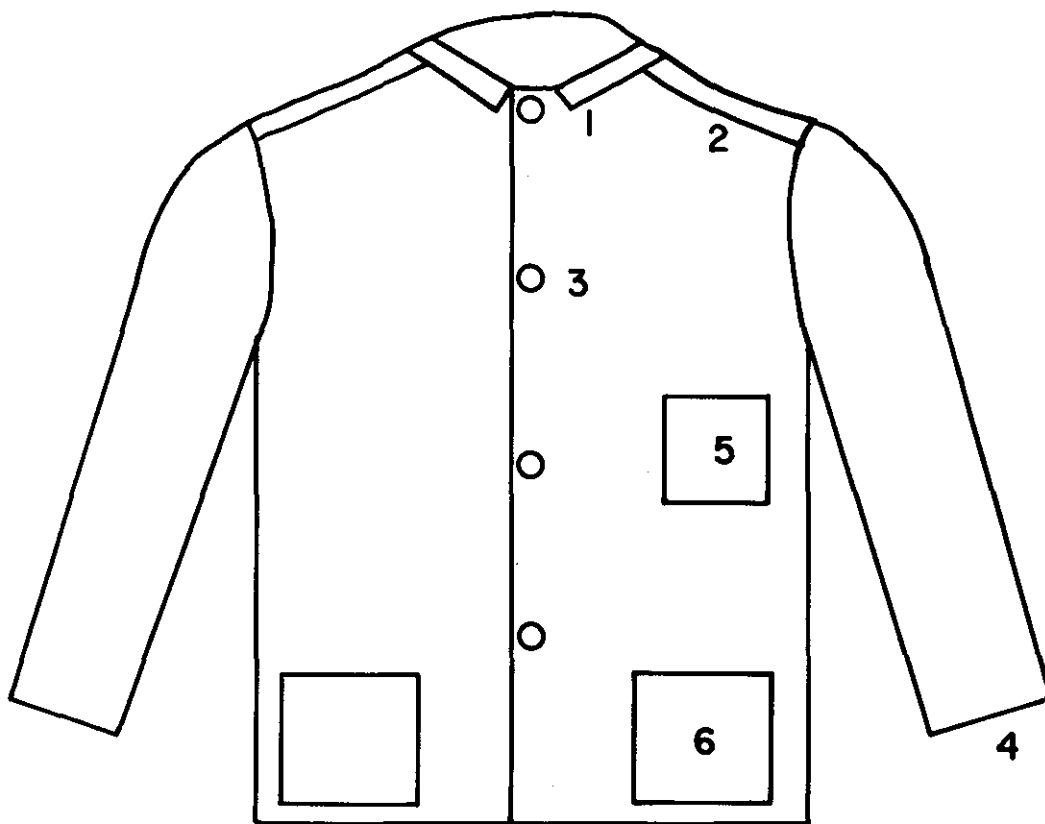
- 1 Front view of overalls apron showing straps that come over shoulders and are secured with roller buckles.
- 2 The apron was about 17.0 cm at the top and cut straight across; it flared to the waistline and had a centred seam.
- 3 There was one large patch pocket (18.0 cm wide) on the right side of the front of the overalls.
- 4 The crotch piece was sewn in separately and extended to the seat of the overalls.
- 5 The overalls legs were wide enough to fit easily over the usual 25.5 cm trouser legs; they were cut straight without cuffs.
- 6 Rear view of the shoulder straps and their cross-over near the upper back.
- 7 The straps were stitched into the rear of the waistband.

MEN'S OVERALLS

G. PURPUR

Figure 14: Men's Blouse

- 1 The recommended blouse had a very narrow, short-pointed collar without stand.
- 2 The shoulder seam fell slightly in front of the shoulder.
- 3 The blouse had a front placket opening, secured with four evenly spaced round buttons that extended from the collar to about 18.0 cm from the hemline, which was cut straight across.
- 4 Sleeves were straight cut and fairly wide; without cuffs.
- 5 The upper patch pocket, about 13.0 cm wide and 11.5 cm deep, was placed rather low on the chest.
- 6 There were two large (15.5 cm wide and 20.0 cm deep) front patch pockets just above the hemline.

MEN'S BLOUSE

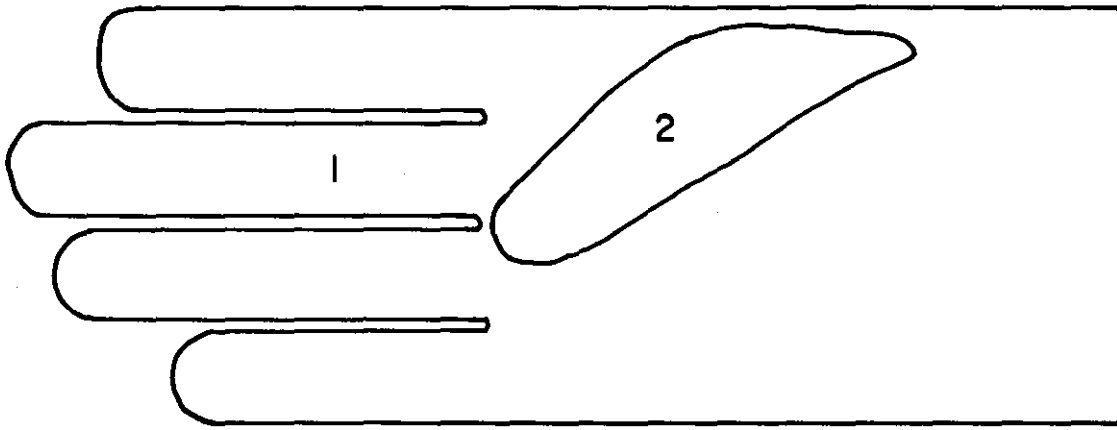
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Figure 15: Men's Glove

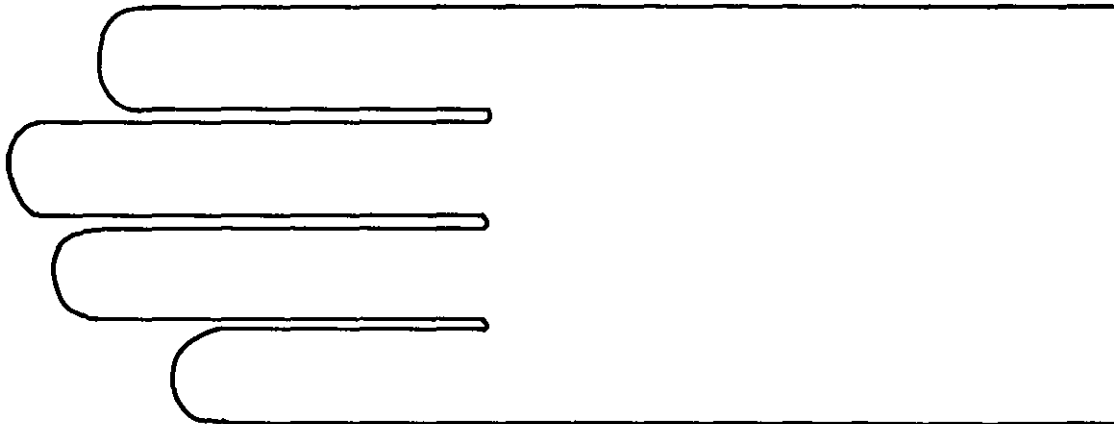
- 1 The recommended glove was essentially two identical pieces connected with insert bands around all fingers.
- 2 The thumb was simply two pieces stitched together without an intervening band of material.

MENS GLOVE

palm view



back view

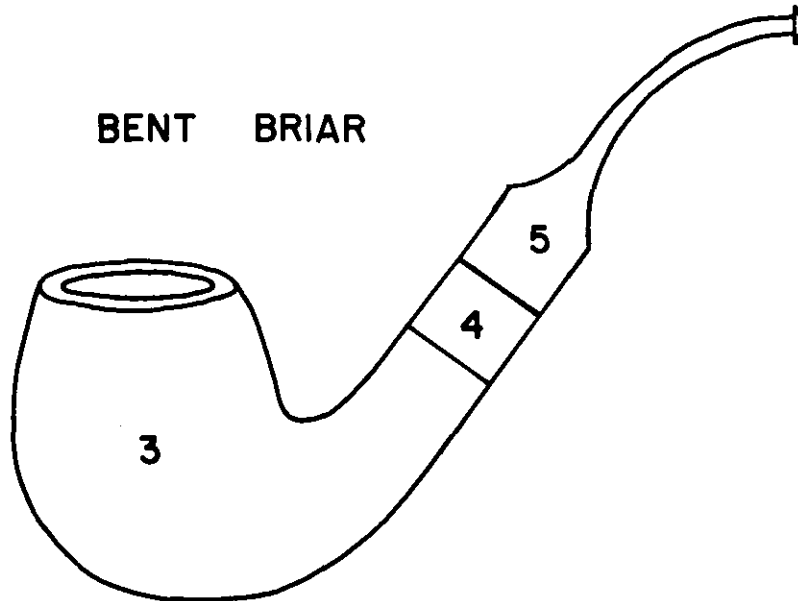
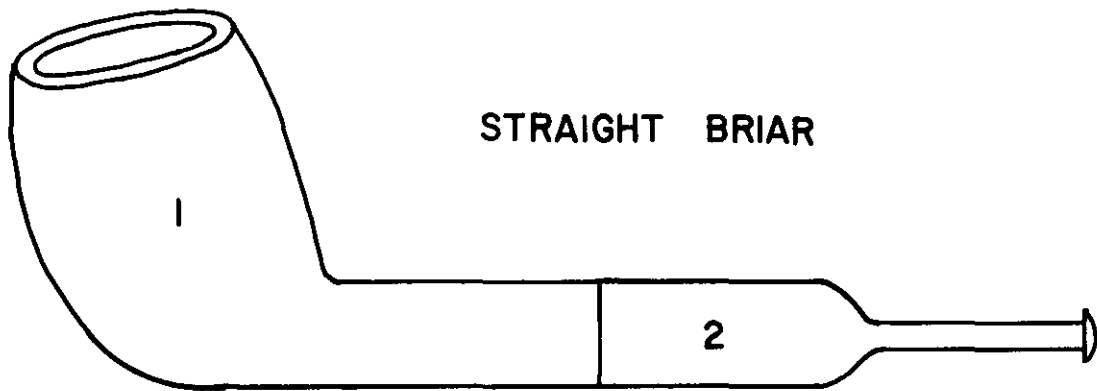


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Figure 16: Men's Pipes

- 1 The recommended pipe was a straight briar with a rubberoid mouth-piece.
- 2 The optional pipe was a bent briar with a silver band between the wooden bowl and the rubberoid mouth-piece.

PIPES



G. PURPUR

Gloves

Although we have little photographic evidence suggesting the common use of gloves, there is documentary material which suggests that the Carriers always wore gloves when doing manual labour¹⁰⁰ (see Figure 28). This discrepancy has led us to include gloves as optional articles of apparel.

(a) Recommended Glove: The most common glove to appear in post documents was made of cheap cotton or wool. It was unadorned, with a straight open cuff. Colours might include browns, greys, black, and perhaps blue.

(b) Optional Glove: In rare instances Carriers purchased expensive buckskin gloves. Unfortunately, no description of them exists.

(c) Manner in Which Worn: Gloves should be worn sparingly.

The Pipe

It was common to see labourers in photographs with pipes clenched between their teeth (see Figure 27). For this reason, we are recommending a pipe as optional equipment perhaps to be given only to those animators who smoke.

(a) Recommended Pipe: There is no doubt that the most common type of pipe in New Caledonia was the common clay variety, which provided an extremely dry smoke at reasonable cost. These pipes were basically indoor pipes, however, due to their fragility. They would never have been smoked out of doors. Because of this, we are recommending the common straight briar as the prototypical labourer's pipe. Tobacco included H.B.C. Imperial Blend, as well as several other brands, and matches were readily available.

(b) Optional Pipe: The second most common outdoor pipe was the large bent briar with a metal (usually silver) band

about 1.5 cm wide between the stem and the mouth-piece which was rubberoid. In rare cases, an individual would purchase an expensive meerschaum or merely a meerschaum bowl, but this was also an indoor pipe.

(c) Manner in Which Used: Use of a pipe while working depends on the individual. Some people are incapable of holding a pipe for long between their teeth while doing manual labour. It is probably wise to confine pipe smoking to work breaks and special occasions. The pipe should almost invariably be placed toward one corner of the mouth.

Men's Hair

While it is difficult to judge the length and style of men's hair because of their predilection for hats, we do know that they wore it short, which presumably means above the ear.¹⁰¹ A side or centre part, not too neat, would be fine. In addition, there was enough hair oil brought into the district to allow some labourers the privilege of oiling their locks.

Prototypical Female Costume

The basic elements of the Carrier female's common summer costume were a head-scarf, neckerchief, blouse, skirt, hose, moccasins, and a petticoat. To this ensemble, they might add optional articles such as a shawl, an apron, and a pipe.

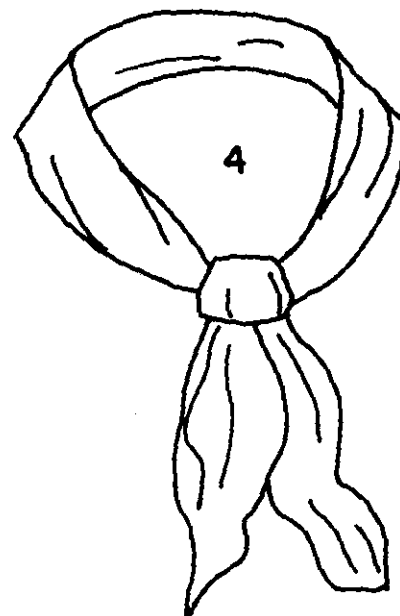
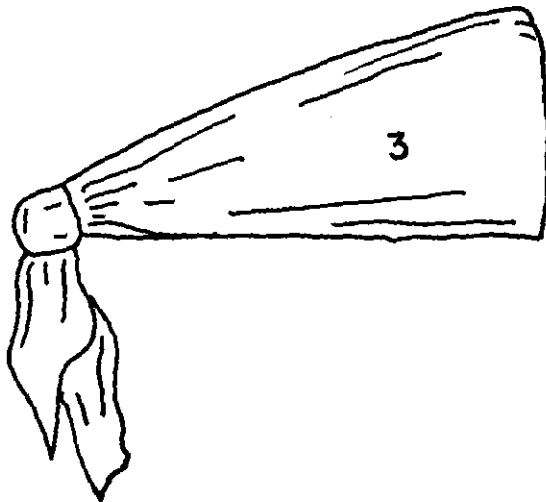
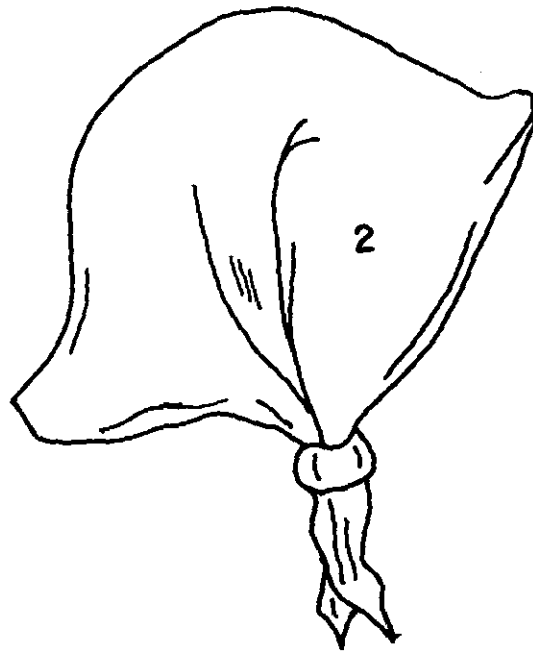
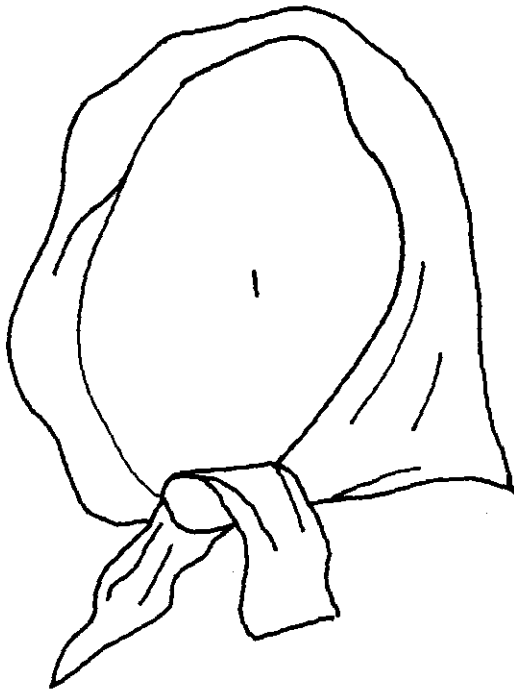
The Head-Scarf

The head-scarf was very similar in appearance to the standard neckerchief (see Figures 27 and 28). It was a versatile article which could be worn for protection from rain, wind

Figure 17: Women's Head-Scarf

- 1 Front-view of the most common way of wearing the head-scarf. The scarf framed the face, slightly in front of the forehead.
- 2 Side-view of the most common way of wearing the head-scarf.
- 3 The second alternate way of wearing the scarf around the head; note that the point which previously hung to the nape is now hidden in the fold.
- 4 The manner in which the head-scarf could be worn around the neck, rather than the head.

WOMEN'S HEAD SCARF



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and cool weather, for modesty, for keeping the hair out of one's eyes, and simply for carrying it from one place to another.¹⁰²

(a) Recommended Head-Scarf: The head-scarf was always made of cotton fabric, either calico or cambric, in either a check pattern or a solid colour. Common colours, in roughly descending order of popularity, were red, blue, white, grey, and black. The head-scarf was about 90.0 cm square with finished edges.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: Among the various ways of wearing the head-scarf, the simple over-the-head fashion seems to have been most common. This consisted of folding the head-scarf corner to corner on the diagonal and then placing it over the skull so that it came out slightly in front of the forehead and more or less framed the face. The bulk of the scarf should cover the whole skull so that the V-point is located slightly below the nape. The head-scarf was tied loosely under the chin so that the ends hung down in a wide, inverted V-shape.

(c) Optional Modes of Wear: There are three other ways in which the head-scarf may be worn.

The first consists of folding and draping the scarf in the same basic manner as the recommended mode, but is changed slightly by placing the front of the scarf so that it rests about one-third of the way back from the forehead.

The second way involves folding the scarf in the same manner as before, then folding it again so that the V-point is concealed. The resulting scarf, which seems to have been about 13.0 cm wide, is then placed against the forehead with all hair concealed beneath, and pulled tightly back just above the ears to a knot at the base of the skull. This leaves most of the hair exposed on the top of the head.

The final manner of wearing the head-scarf was simply to drape it loosely around the neck and to tie it loosely in front so that the ends remain more or less together and hang to about the navel.

The Neckerchief

The female neckerchief was identical to that worn by the men in size, shape, fabric and colour (see Figure 28). It was also worn in the same way. It should be noted that a neckerchief is not invariably worn in combination with the head-scarf, particularly when the latter article is draped around the neck.

The Blouse

It was much more common for Carrier women to wear a blouse and skirt than a dress¹⁰³ (see Figure 27). The usual style was derivative of contemporary fashions, as shown best by the slight fullness of the sleeves. Blouses were almost always hand-made articles.

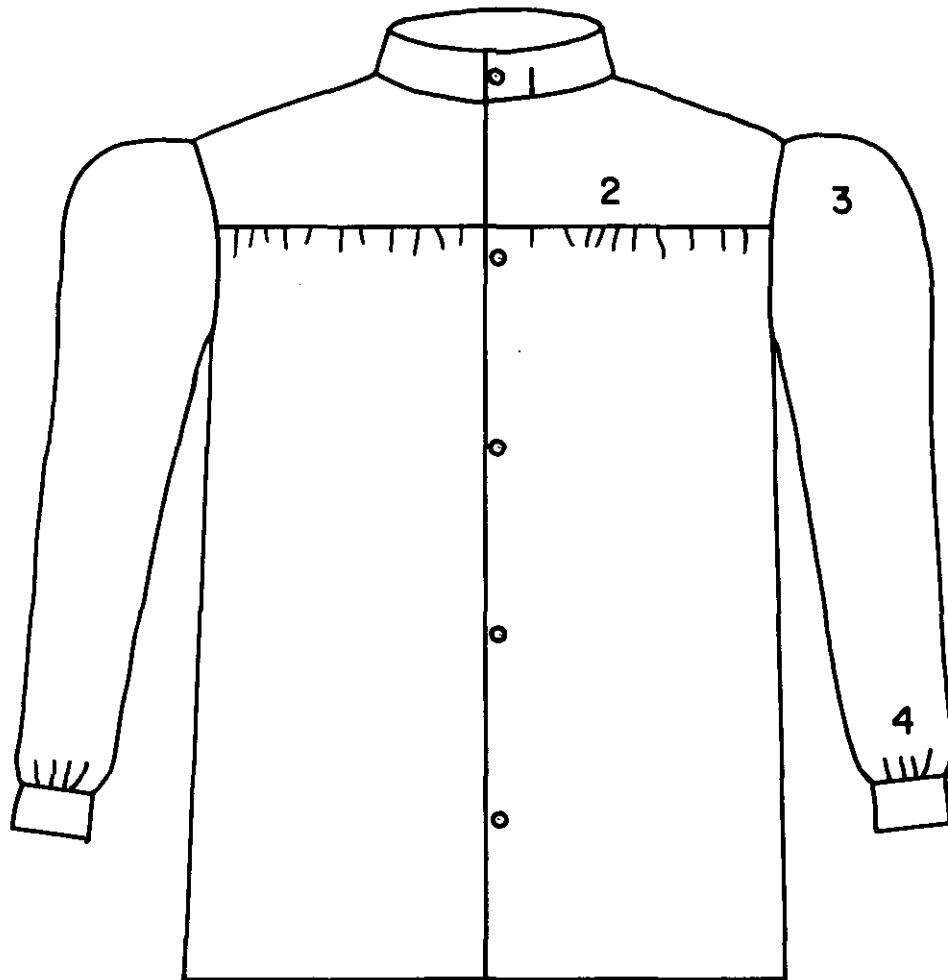
(a) Recommended Blouse: The blouse for summer wear was made of light-weight cotton, usually printed, and came in striped, checked or plaid patterns. Common colours were darker reds and blues, and white was always popular. The particular colours and pattern chosen must be co-ordinated with those of the skirt, as Carrier women seemed to have a good sense of appropriate pattern and colour combinations. They would not, for example, have worn a striped blouse with a checked skirt.

The common blouse was a loose-fitting garment with long sleeves. These set-in sleeves tapered somewhat from a width of perhaps 18.0 cm at the shoulder, but never achieved a

Figure 18: Women's Blouse

- 1 The blouse collar had a small stand, perhaps 3.0 cm in width.
- 2 The shoulder seam was dropped about 9.0 cm to allow the front of the blouse to pass easily over the bust. The material of the bottom-piece was gathered.
- 3 The sleeves had a slight puff about them, yet they were not in any sense baggy.
- 4 At the cuff the sleeve was pleated four or five times.

WOMEN'S BLOUSE



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puffed look. At the cuff, four or five buttons were required. The cuff was about 4.0 cm wide and often made of a differently coloured material. Sleeves generally reached to about 4.0 cm from the wrist.

The blouse had a very plain centre front opening that closed with buttons. There was no placket. Rather, the material seems to have been folded back on itself to form a slightly stiffer band. Sewn-on buttons were placed at 10.0 cm intervals between the collar and a point about 15.5 cm from the bottom of the garment, which was cut straight across and reached to the crotch. There were no pockets on the blouse.

The blouse had its shoulder seam dropped about 9.0 cm off the front of the shoulder to allow the material to pass loosely over the bust. Material of the bottom-piece was gathered.

The collar had a small stand and was perhaps only 3.0 cm in width. The collar button was usually fastened.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The blouse should be worn with all buttons fastened, tucked into the waistband of the skirt, and with the sleeves unrolled. The general appearance should be one of looseness. The blouse should not be ironed often, as creases were a normal part of the look.

The Skirt

Skirts were an integral article of the female costume.¹⁰⁴ They were worn in combination with a blouse (see above), and were equally derivative of contemporary styles (see Figure 27).

(a) Recommended Skirt: The skirt was made of cotton fabric in patterns and colours to co-ordinate with the blouse (see above for details).

The skirt reached to the ankles, and was gathered at the waist so that it flared considerably. Seen from the side, the hem of the skirt rode higher in front than at the rear. The difference was perhaps as much as 7.5 cm.

There was a seam running up the back of the skirt to the point where it met a 28.0 cm placket opening which was secured with hook and eye fasteners placed at regular intervals. The waistband was quite narrow, probably not more than 4.0 cm in width.

At a point about 20.0 cm above the hemline, a flounce of contrasting material was usually added. This ran completely around the base of the skirt. The width of the flounce was approximately 4.5 cm.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: The skirt is worn for all occasions with a blouse that is tucked in. The skirt must not be excessively pressed, as creases, particularly around the bottom, were common.

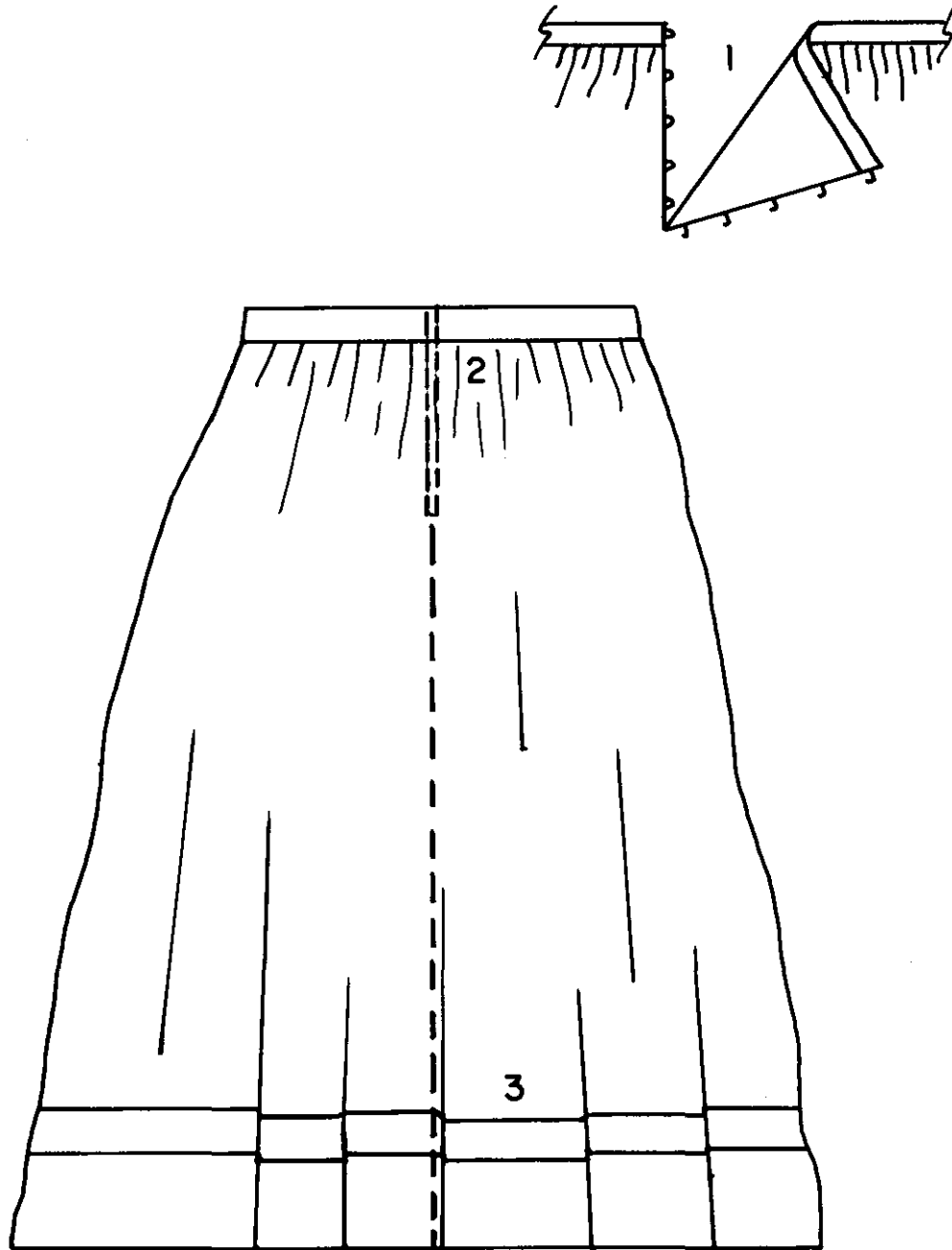
Hose

While we lack specific references that would enable us to provide a detailed description of these articles, it is known that New Caledonian posts usually stocked women's cotton hose.¹⁰⁵ These came in solid colours and stripes, although we have no information about colours. We also do not know what length was available. While these deficiencies in the historical record are lamentable, they should have no impact on the animation programme, as women were always careful to cover their ankles in public.

Figure 19: Women's Skirt

- 1 The back of the skirt had a vertical seam which ran from the hemline to the point where it met a 28.0 cm placket opening which was secured with hooks and eyes placed at regular intervals.
- 2 The waistband was no more than 4.0 cm wide. Material was gathered at the waistline.
- 3 About 20.0 cm above the hemline, and running all round the skirt, was a flounce of contrasting material. The hem of the skirt rode higher in front than in the rear.

WOMEN'S SKIRT



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Moccasins

The moccasins worn by Indian women were identical to those of the men, and should be manufactured and worn in the same manner¹⁰⁶ (see Figure 28).

The Petticoat

Like most of the other articles in the women's costume, the petticoat was hand-made at the post.¹⁰⁷ This was the only undergarment for women that we have any information about, and it was used principally to provide the skirt with the desired fullness (see Figure 28).

(a) Recommended Petticoat: Since descriptions of the construction of local petticoats are lacking, we have been obliged to rely on contemporary catalogues as our main source of information. With respect to the situation at Fort St. James, we know only that the petticoats were invariably made of flannel, usually scarlet, blue, red or yellow in colour.

The petticoat must be cut approximately 5.0 cm shorter than the skirt under which it will be worn. It was of the same basic shape as the skirt, but left open at the back. The material was gathered at the top and sewn to a 5.0 cm waistband. Cotton draw-strings were passed through the waistband and tied at the back.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: Petticoats were worn either singly or in as many as four layers of contrasting colours. For the summer animation programme, it would probably be advisable to wear not more than two.

The Shawl

Shawls form an optional article in the female costume because they do not appear to have been worn for work, but rather

reserved for special occasions¹⁰⁸ (see Figure 27). They were expensive, too.

(a) Recommended Shawl: The shawl was made from either striped cotton material or wool, with the latter predominating. They varied in size from 100.0 cm square to 150.0 cm square, and should be chosen on the basis of the size of the woman being outfitted. All had fringe, approximately 9.0 cm long, attached on three sides only. The fringe should be made in a contrasting colour. Tartan plaids seem to have been the most popular form of shawl.

(b) Manner in Which Worn: There were several ways of wearing the shawl. The most common was to drape the shawl over the shoulders so that unfringed side went around the back of the neck. In front the shawl could be left open so that the blouse was visible, or pinned together with a brass safety pin. The pin would be placed near the upper sternum.

In hot weather, shawls were usually wrapped around the waist and loosely tied in front. On occasion, the shawl was brought fully over the skull to indicate shyness in the presence of men.

Shawls may be worn by women as they come to the post from the Indian village for work, or on special occasions such as holidays. They should not be worn while engaged in manual work.

The Apron

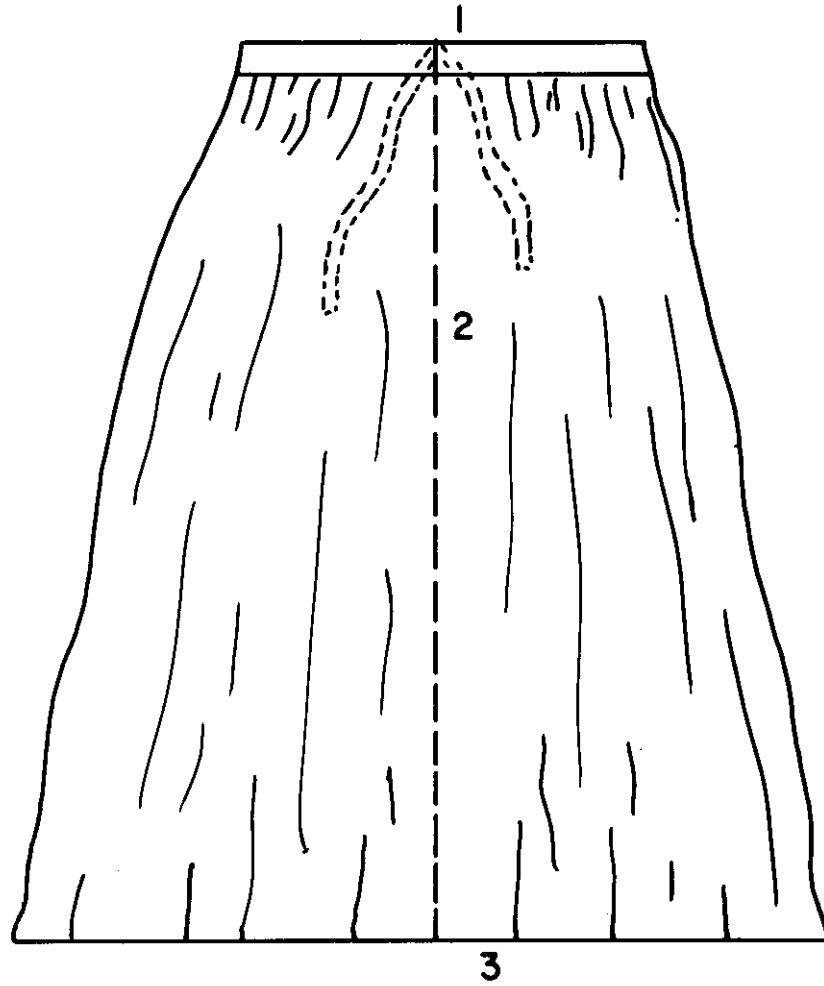
The apron is an optional article that should only be worn by women when they are engaged in domestic duties at the post (see Figure 27). As far as we know, all aprons were hand-made by the women.¹⁰⁹

(a) Recommended Apron: While the apron must be cut to fit the woman who will be wearing it, it is fair to say that

Figure 20: Women's Petticoat

- 1 The material of the petticoat was gathered at the top and sewn to a 5.0 cm waistband with cotton draw-strings through it which tied at the back.
- 2 Of the same basic shape as the skirt, the petticoat was split all the way down the back.
- 3 It must be cut approximately 5.0 cm shorter than the skirt under which it is to be worn.

WOMEN'S PETTICOAT

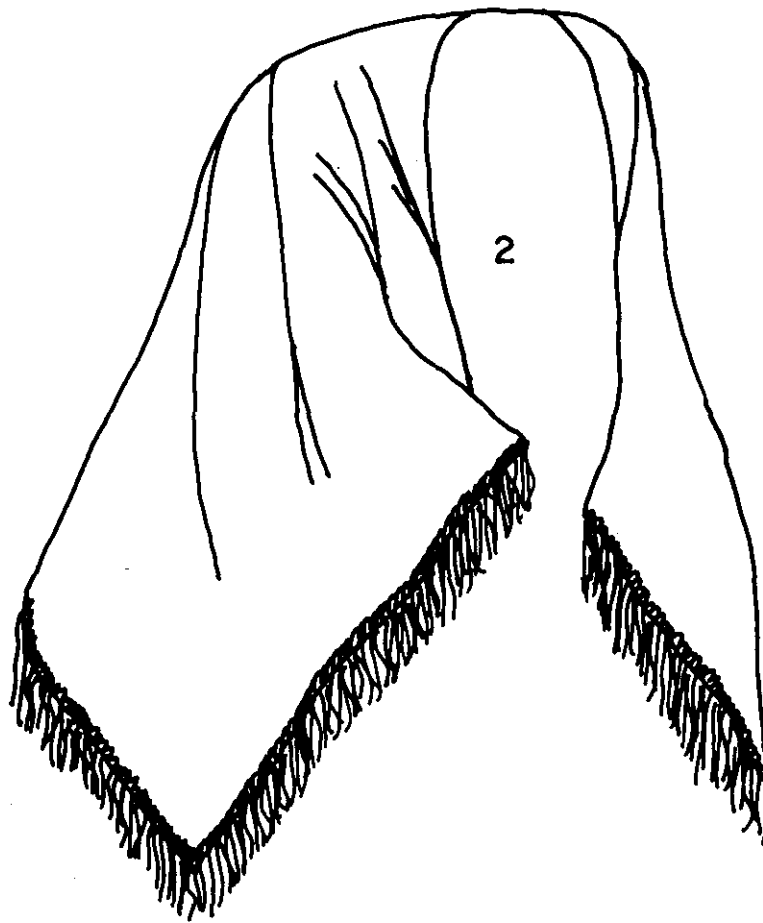
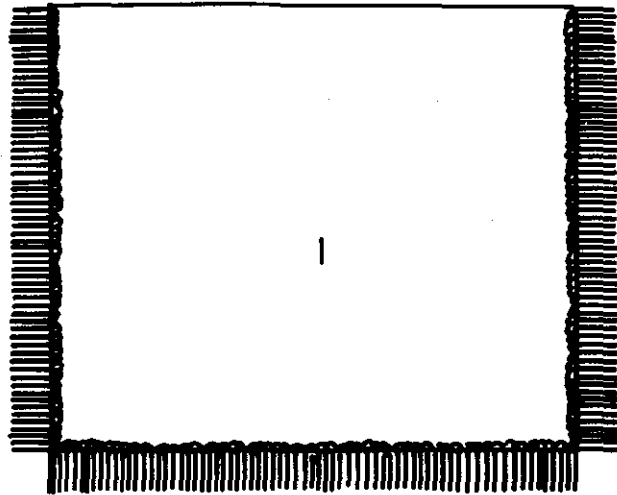


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Figure 21: Women's Shawl

- 1 The recommended shawl was between 100.0 cm to 150.0 cm square, with 9.0 cm fringe sewn on three sides only.
- 2 The manner in which the shawl was worn normally.

WOMEN'S SHAWL



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it should be cut from material that is slightly less than twice as wide as the waistline of the woman. It is a simple garment, made of unbleached cotton that is gathered at the waist so that the apron falls over the skirt to about 5.0 cm from the skirt hemline. The narrow waistband, about 4.0 cm in width, reaches far enough around to cover one-quarter of the back on each side, and then continues as straps that are tied at the centre of the back in a bow. All edges are turned under 0.5 cm and stitched. A 4.5 cm flounce of contrasting material is added just below the knee.

(b) Manner in Which Worn; The apron is usually confined to the indoor setting, yet it could conceivably be worn while working in the garden and used as a "basket" for carrying radishes or carrots to the house.¹¹⁰

The Pipe

Smoking a pipe seems to have been common enough among older native women¹¹¹ (see Figure 28).

(a) Recommended Pipe: The pipes which we are able to see were both smaller bent pipes with a metal (probably silver) band between the stem and the rubberoid mouth-piece. Presumably the women smoked the same tobacco as the men.

(b) Manner in Which Used: The pipe should be clenched between the teeth at one corner of the mouth.

Female Hair

The normal wearing of head-scarves makes it difficult to describe female hairstyles in detail, but some general comments are possible. The hair was either parted down the centre or on one side. If parted down the centre of the skull, the part should not be done too exactly. The

usual length of the hair seems to have been about to the shoulder, although it is difficult to be sure as it was almost always pulled back and tied in some fashion. Some plain and some brass-backed combs were brought into New Caledonia,¹¹² and these might be used on occasion. Women also seem to have worn "chenille"¹¹³ hair nets at times, although we lack more information.

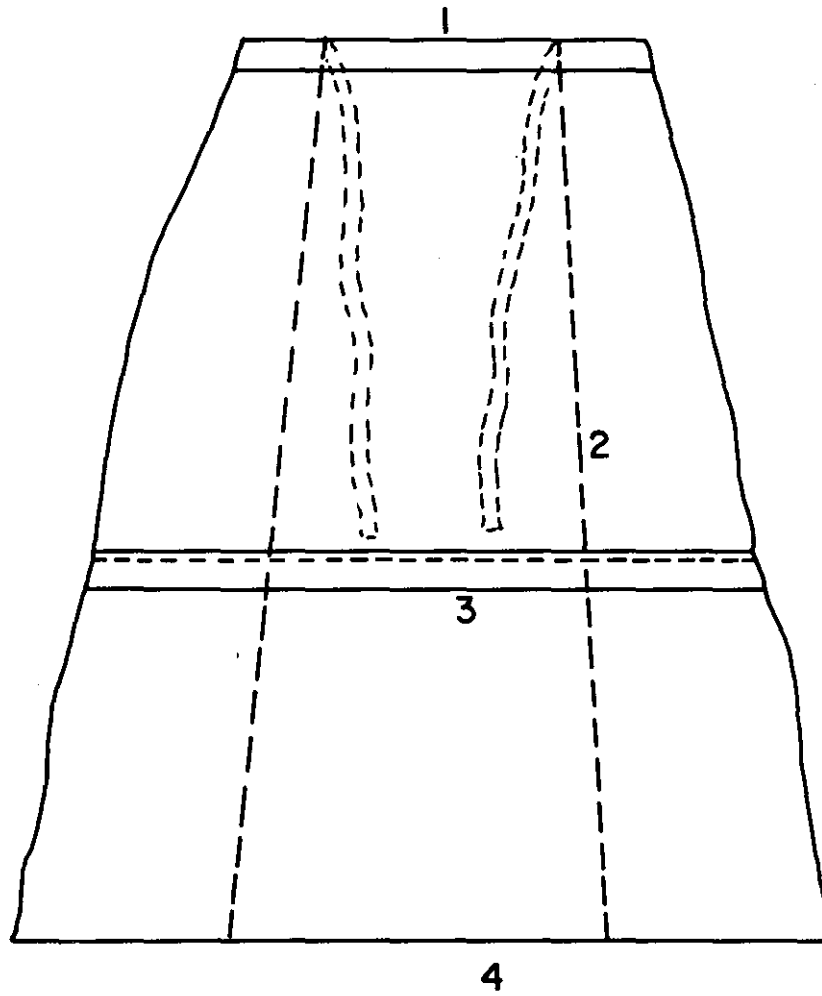
Scents

Although we cannot be sure that native women wore scents, it was not uncommon for New Caledonia posts like Fort McLeod, where there no white women of whom we have knowledge, to import pints of "Rummel's Lavender Water."¹¹⁴ For this reason, the infrequent use of such a scent, perhaps on a holiday occasion, would be apt.

Figure 22: Women's Apron

- 1 The recommended apron was made of unbleached cotton that was gathered at the 4.0 cm waistband. The apron was secured with straps or strings that formed an extension of the waistband and were tied in a bow at the rear.
- 2 The waistband extended far enough around the wearer to cover about one-quarter of the back on either side.
- 3 A 4.5 cm wide flounce of contrasting material was added just below the knee.
- 4 The apron was approximately 5.0 cm shorter than the skirt over which it was worn.

WOMEN'S APRON

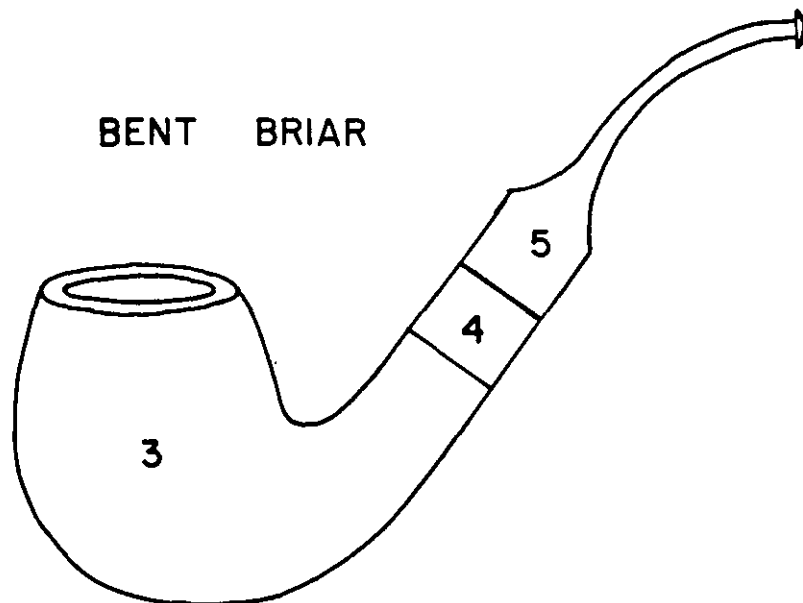
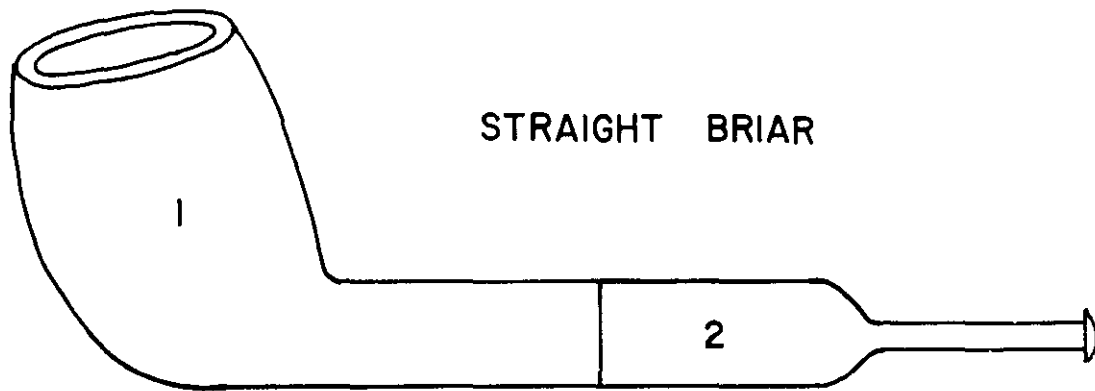


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Figure 23: Pipe

The recommended women's pipe was a bent briar as shown on the lower half of the page. Figure 3 illustrates the shape of the wooden bowl; Figure 4 the silver band between the bowl and the mouthpiece or bit, and Figure 5 is the rubberoid bit.

PIPES



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Research Recommendations

This examination of prototypical costumes at Fort St. James in the 1890's has revealed several areas of social history which, if researched in depth, could contribute substantially to the success of an interpretive programme at the post. We would make the following recommendations concerning the general orientation of that research.

Recommendation One

Our investigations have established that there were essentially four distinctive types of costume at Fort St. James in the 1890's. Those types related to the labourer, servant, and officer classes, as well as to the seldom-considered children of the post. We strongly recommend that an examination of the remaining three types of costume worn by males and females be initiated.

Recommendation Two

This study has been able to touch but briefly on the nature of the work undertaken by men and women at Fort St. James. While it has been possible to note what the most regularly-performed tasks were, it was not feasible within the available timeframe to deal with their technical aspects, without which they can hardly be performed authentically.

For example, we are cognizant of the importance of salmon fishing to the local people, yet we know virtually nothing about the ways in which the fish were caught, cleaned, preserved, and prepared for consumption. This would clearly be a difficult exercise, requiring the use of much comparative historical material on the Carriers of British Columbia's northern interior and on the late-nineteenth century Hudson's Bay Company.

Further related to the issue of local work is a need for detailed study of the seasonal rounds at Fort St. James. The documentary material that is extant is sufficiently detailed to provide interpretive planners with a day by day schedule of work for male animators in particular. The nature of the interpretive programme at Fort St. James suggests that this level of detail need be retrieved only for the summer months.

We recommend, therefore, that a study of the technical aspects of Fort St. James daily tasks be undertaken in the context of the summer round.

Recommendation Three

The nature of leisure activities at Fort St. James is little known. Most of the readily available information focusses on atypical activities related to special occasions such as the Dominion Day holiday and New Year's Day celebrations. Those forms of recreation, if that is the word, would appear to have little to do with routine leisure at the post. In addition, very little seems to be known at present about the religious participation of the post personnel. While this is not strictly a leisure activity, it requires elucidation due to the significant departure it represents from normal work routines. We would urge that a study of leisure be undertaken in conjunction with the examination of work routines to

establish the cyclical patterns in the lives of fort personnel.

Recommendation Four

Sufficient information is extant on many of the principal characters who lived at Fort St. James in 1896 to permit greater analysis of their individual personalities and habits related to work, recreation, clothing, smoking, and other prosaic matters. That such information could lead to the creation of a more vivid and authentic animation programme goes without saying. We would recommend that such analysis be conducted to the degree possible on a range of characters who frequented, or lived at, the post.

Recommendation Five

Since the foregoing recommendations deal with the usual incidents in the life cycle of post personnel, all that would be required to link the various elements together would be study of social relations at Fort St. James. This would be a somewhat difficult task, yet we believe that enough material exists to develop an understanding of the nature of community at the post. This recommendation should be seriously considered in the interests of developing a holistic animation programme for Fort St. James.

Appendix A. Representative New Caledonia Costume Photographs

Figure 24: HBC Boatman [Charles Murdoch - Fort Grahame scow steersman?] (Parks Canada, Western Region Collection)

This photograph illustrates particularly the neckerchief, trousers, and blouse, but more importantly it is a typical example of the look that animators should attempt to achieve in wearing their own costumes. Ill-fitting clothes, wrinkled and worn, were an everyday facet of life at Fort St. James in the 1890's.



Figure 25: Dominion Day Sports, Fort St. James, Stuart Lake, n.d. (Parks Canada, Western Region Collection)

In this photograph, which well shows the native predominance of the post population, the unmistakeable regatta shirt and the moccasins are of special interest. Also visible are suspenders, the neckerchief, the bent briar pipe, the vest, and a rarely-photographed straw hat.



Dominion Day Sports

Fort St James, Stuart Lake ①

Figure 26: J-B Boat at Fort St. James (1909) (Parks
Canada, Western Region Collection)

The high-crown felt hats are clearly shown in this photograph of Fort St. James labourers at work. The rear of the trousers and the vest are apparent, and gloves can be seen in a rear trouser pocket. Note the neckerchief of the man emerging from the hold.

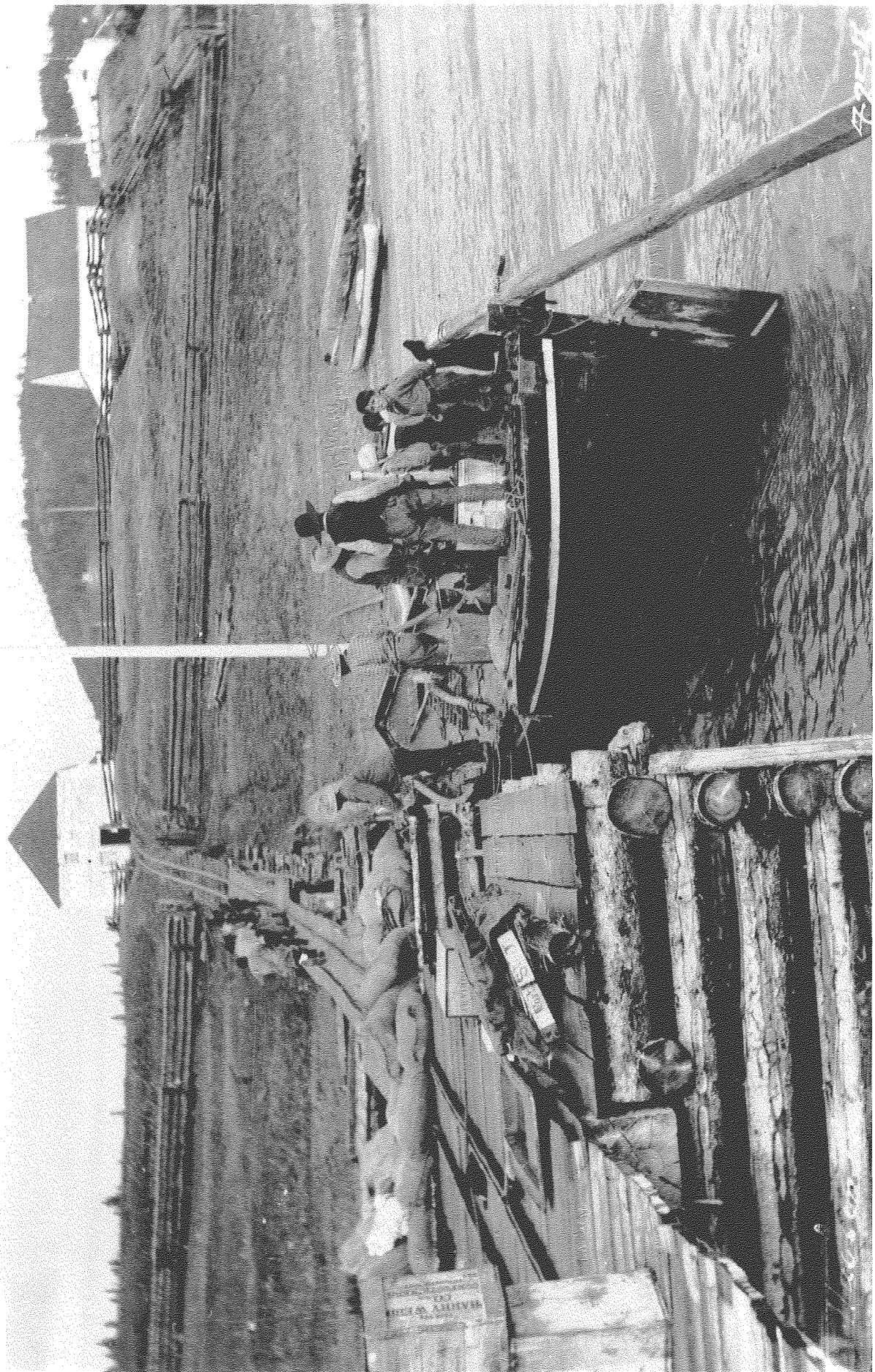


Figure 27: Dominion Day Celebrations, Fort St. James,
Stuart Lake, 1 July 1912 (Parks Canada, Western
Region Collection)

This rare, excellent photograph of a group of native women at Fort St. James shows several articles of the female costume. Note the various manners in which the head-scarves are worn, the ubiquitous shawls, the invariable blouse and skirt ensembles, and particularly the pipes.



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Heart Lake

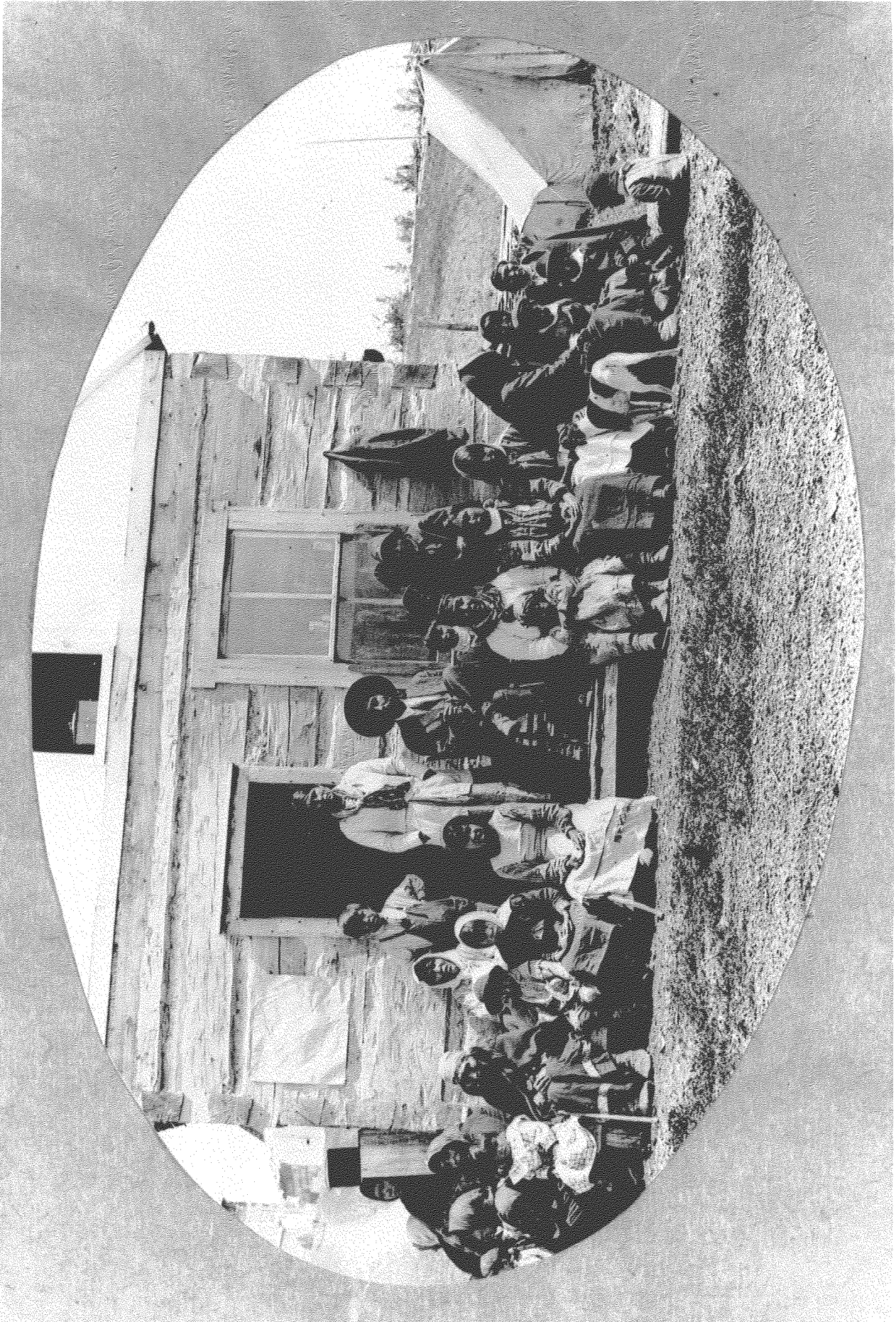
Fort St. James

Communion Day Celebration

(3)

Figure 28: Group of Indians at Stuart Lake, n.d. (Parks Canada, Western Region Collection)

Another interesting view of native women, among others, in an informal setting. Note the moccasins worn by most individuals, the various female hairstyles and manners in which hair was worn, the flounces on the skirts, and the patterns of the clothing fabrics. Note also the small boy on the left wearing overalls.



Endnotes

Readers should note two points about the endnotes as they relate specifically to the chapters on male and female costume description. First, the primary sources that deal with apparel in New Caledonia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century are few in number and generally present very similar runs of data on an annual basis. This similarity of format derives from their statistical character: they are all indents, inventories, or special orders ledgers. Because there are often as many as a dozen different references to a certain type of clothing article, which would result in extremely cumbersome endnotes, we have merely provided sample references to which interested readers may turn. The proper citations for the primary sources are given in the bibliography of this report. Secondly, with the exception of the photographs which we consulted at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Archives, all those which we used can be inspected at Parks Canada, Western Regional Office, where they will be found in ring binders containing general New Caledonian views. The photographs in the Parks Canada collection have been acquired from numerous repositories and private collections across the country and are not always well identified by source. The time constraints on this project precluded contact with all the repositories in question for verification of correct photograph citations. The same issue of repetition that is found among the primary documents applies to the photographs, and we have chosen to handle the problem in the same manner.

- 1 A. G. Morice, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia (formerly New Caledonia), 1660 - 1880 (London: John Lane, 1906), p. 65. (hereinafter referred to as Northern Interior.)
- 2 Ibid., p. 66.
- 3 Ibid., p. 92.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 92 - 4.
- 5 Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958), p. 45.
- 6 Hudson's Bay House, "Fort St. James", unpublished typescript, 1955, unpaginated.
- 7 Morice, Northern Interior, pp. 112 - 113.
- 8 Ibid., p. 306.
- 9 Ibid., p. 322.
- 10 Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of British Columbia, 1792 - 1887 (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1887), p. 558.
- 11 Charles Horetzky, Canada on the Pacific (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1874), pp. 79 - 80.
- 12 Ibid., pp. 83 - 4.
- 13 Canada. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ending 31 December 1891 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1892), p. 176.
- 14 We have not been able to determine the status of cooks, or even whether they were hired on a contract basis in the manner of a servant or simply on a month-to-month basis. Traill stated in a letter to Archibald McNaughton (HBCA, B.188/b/15, fos. 365 - 6) that he would be willing to pay \$30 per month for a cook, and more if the cook could also do the washing and ironing. This is line with servants' wages.

- 15 Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Archives (hereinafter GAIA), M1241, Traill Family Papers, 1863 - 1914, Correspondence Outward, 23 September 1889.
- 16 Canada. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ending 30 June 1893 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1894), pp. 122 - 3.
- 17 Diocese of Prince George, Chancery Office. Marriage Registers, 1873 - 1960 and Baptismal Register (St. Joseph's).
- 18 GAIA, M1241, Traill Family Papers, 1863 - 1914, Harriet Traill Notebook, File 23, p. 4.
- 19 Ibid., p. 3.
- 20 Diocese of Prince George, Chancery Office. Marriage Registers, 1873 - 1960, pp. 75 - 9.
- 21 Ibid., p. 48.
- 22 Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereinafter HBCA), B.188/b/15, Correspondence Outward (New Caledonia), fos. 267 - 8, Traill to T. R. Smith, 28 July 1880.
- 23 GAIA, M1241, Traill Family Papers, 1863 - 1914, Harriet Traill Notebook, File 23, p. 2. She notes that servant William Flett died in the spring of 1890. He is probably the half-breed servant of whom William Traill spoke.
- 24 HBCA, B.188/b/15, New Caledonia (Stuart Lake), Correspondence Outward, 1890 - 1893, fos. 283 - 4, Traill to William Sinclair, 19 April 1892.
- 25 HBCA, D24/42, Staff Records, Confidential Report in Reference to the Bay Officers attached to the District of New Caledonia, Western Department, Outfit 1888.

- 26 HBCA, B.188/a/22, Fort St. James, Journal, 1892 - 1893, fo. 36d. Samuel Sinclair and his family left with the Traills on 29 May 1893. Murray noted in the journal that Sinclair could not be induced to remain. Similarly, journal entries for 7 June and 12 June, 1893 (fo. 37d) note that Thomas Budd's departure was imminent and that he, also, could not be convinced to stay. A third servant, Colin Mackenzie, agreed to stay until the schooner was finished but only at an increased rate of pay and with his fare to Winnipeg assured. After July, however, Donald Todd was the sole engaged servant at Fort St. James.
- 27 Diocese of Prince George, Chancery Office. Marriage Registers, 1873- 1960, p. 79.
- 28 See HBCA, B.188/b/15, New Caledonia Outward Correspondence, 1890 - 1893, fos. 182 - 4. Traill wrote to Charles Ogden at Fort George that "only by the greatest foresight and economy can we hope to make a profit for the Company." See also HBCA, B.188/b/15, fos. 371 - 8, where Traill states that "nothing but cheaper transportation can put the business of this district upon a satisfactory and profitable basis." In 1892 pressure was put on Traill to reduce New Caledonian expenses (see HBCA, B.188/b/15, fos. 380 - 9) and show a profit. In 1891 the visiting inspector had also suggested that Traill reduce his staff. Murray was cognizant of the need to reduce district expenses and there is evidence to suggest that he acted accordingly (see especially HBCA, B.188/b/17, New Caledonia Correspondence Outward, fos. 211 - 17, Murray to R. H. Hall, 11 January 1897).
- 29 HBCA, B.188/a/22, Fort St. James, Journal, 1892 - 1893, fo. 31d.
- 30 Ibid., fo. 35.

- 31 Ibid., fos. 38 - 9.
- 32 GAIA, M1241, Traill Family Papers, 1863 - 1914, Harriet Traill Notebook, File 23, p. 4.
- 33 HBCA, B.188/a/22, Fort St. James, Journal, 1892 - 1893, fo. 39d and fo. 40d.
- 34 Ibid., fos. 41 and 41d.
- 35 Ibid., fo. 42d.
- 36 Ibid., fo. 43.
- 37 HBCA, B.188/a/23, Fort St. James, Journal, 1893 - 1898, fo. 2.
- 38 HBCA, B.188/a/22, Fort St. James, Journal, 1892 - 1893, fo. 43d.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 HBCA, B.188/a/23, Fort St. James, Journal, 1893 - 1898, fo. 1.
- 41 HBCA, B.188/a/22, Fort St. James, Journal, 1892 - 1893, fo. 44.
- 42 HBCA, B.188/a/23, Fort St. James, Journal, 1893 - 1898, fo. 55.
- 43 Ibid., fo. 50.
- 44 HBCA, B.188/b/17, New Caledonia Correspondence Outward, 1895 - 1897, fos. 199 - 200. A. C. Murray to R. C. Loring, 2 January 1897.
- 45 HBCA, B.188/b/15, New Caledonia Correspondence Outward, 1890 - 1893, fos. 568 - 9. Traill to A. G. Morice, 23 January 1893.
- 46 HBCA, B.18/a/23, Fort St. James, Journal, 1893 - 1898, fo. 12d.
- 47 Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter PABC), C. H. French Autobiography, unpublished manuscript, 1940, p. 54.
- 48 Ibid., p. 55.

- 49 HBCA, B.188/a/23, Fort St. James, Journal, 1893 - 1898,
fo. 22 and fos. 28d and 29.
- 50 French Autobiography, op. cit., p. 63.
- 51 Ibid., p. 70.
- 52 Ibid., p. 61.
- 53 HBCA, B.188/a/23, Fort St. James, Journal, 1893 - 1898,
fo. 55.
- 54 Ibid., fo. 60.
- 55 Ibid., fo. 43.
- 56 Ibid., fo. 46.
- 57 Ibid., fo. 56.
- 58 Ibid., fo. 44d.
- 59 Ibid., fos. 44d and 45.
- 60 Ibid., fo. 46.
- 61 Ibid., fo. 48d.
- 62 Ibid., fo. 49d.
- 63 Ibid., fos. 52 and 52d.
- 64 Ibid., fo. 53d.
- 65 Ibid., fo. 55.
- 66 Ibid., fo. 56.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid., fos. 47d, 48 and 52.
- 69 Ibid., fo. 11.
- 70 Ibid., fo. 29.
- 71 Ibid., fo. 55.
- 72 Ibid., fos. 13 and 32.
- 73 Ibid., fo. 33.
- 74 Ibid., fos. 32d, 38d, and 39.
- 75 Harmon, Daniel Williams, A Journal of Voyages and
Travels in the Interior of North America (Toronto: The
Courier Press, 1911), pp. 243 - 5.
- 76 Ibid., p. 244.
- 77 Ibid.

- 78 Morice, Northern Interior, op. cit., p. 151.
- 79 Ibid., p. 154.
- 80 See, in particular, HBCA, B.119/d/3, McLeod Lake Outfit, 1889; B.119/d/4, McLeod's Lake Inventory of Goods, 1889; B.119/d/4, McLeod's Lake Inventory of Goods, 1890; B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of Goods, 1890; B.119/d/6, Fort McLeod, Inventory of Goods, 1893 - 4; PABC, A/D/20/S + 9, Fort St. James Accounts and Private Orders of People Attached to the H. B. C. Post, 1879 - 1884; and PABC, A/B/20/N42-8, New Caledonia, Miscellaneous Orders, Post, 1876.
- 81 Russell W. Porter, "A Hudson's Bay Trading Post", New England Magazine, August, 1899, p. 719.
- 82 Alexander Cameron McNab, Notes of a Conversation with A. C. McNab in October, 1929, and July, 1930, in Vancouver, available at Parks Canada, Western Region.
- 83 This calculation is based on 1 Made Beaver being worth 28 cents. This figure is derived through comparison of article prices in both dollars and Made Beaver. In 1895, A. C. Murray hired two Indians to work at a rate of 45 Made Beaver per month, which is equal to \$12.60. The rate for more arduous tasks was 60 Made Beaver, or \$16.80. See HBCA, B.188/b/16, New Caledonia Correspondence Outward, 1893 - 1895, fo. 372.
- 84 See, for example, HBCA, B.119/d/4, McLeod Lake Inventory of Goods, 1889, p. 5.
- 85 The McLeod Lake Requisition of 1890 (HBCA, B.119/d/4), for example, indicates that 11 dozen handkerchieves were ordered. These were also worn as neckerchieves.

- 86 There are many references to regatta shirts in the indents and correspondence. See, for example, PABC, Fraser Lake Correspondence Outward, William Sinclair to A. C. Murray, 8 April 1895. In addition, an Inspector's Report of 1891 (HBCA, B.280/e/1, Fort George) notes that "the print shirts were not suitable, the old style of yacht shirt being in demand." Yacht shirt is another term for regatta shirt.
- 87 Baltic shirts were popular in New Caledonia. See, for example, HBCA, B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of Goods, 1890, p. 137.
- 88 For an example of a blue denim trouser order, refer to HBCA, B.119/d/4, McLeod's Lake, Inventory of Goods, 1889, p. 11. Much blue denim material was also brought in by the piece (approximately 150 metres). See HBCA, B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of Goods, 1890, p. 132.
- 89 Refer to HBCA, B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of Goods, 1890, p. 138, which indicates that 23 pairs of tweed trousers were ordered.
- 90 Ibid., p. 134.
- 91 Trade in mooseskins was prevalent in New Caledonia in the 1890's. See HBCA, B.188/b/15, New Caledonia Correspondence Outward, 1890 - 1893, Traill to T. R. Smith, 6 February 1891, wherein Traill observes that "leather is an article that is indispensable to the trade elsewhere throughout the district." For a reference to the importation of moccasins, see HBCA, B.266/b/80, Stuart's Lake, Memorandum to Stuart's Lake requisition of July 11, 1892, p. 338.
- 92 See, for example, a photograph in the Parks Canada, Western Region collection referred to as HBCA, Brigden's 66 - 220.

- 93 Thirteen pairs of drawers were ordered at McLeod Lake in 1890. See HBCA, B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of Goods, 1890, p. 132.
- 94 See, for example, PABC, A/D/20/S + 9, Fort St. James Accounts and Private Orders, 1879 - 1884, entries for Murdoch Wassataolin.
- 95 Six broad Assomption belts and 12 narrow ones were listed in the 1890 Fort McLeod requisition (HBCA, B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of 1890, p. 130.) It seems that narrow belts grew in favour as the century advanced.
- 96 For example, see HBCA, B.119/d/4, McLeod's Lake, Inventory of Goods, 1889.
- 97 Suit-coat prices were rarely recorded, but see PABC, A/D/20/S + 9, Fort St. James, Accounts and Private Orders, 1879 - 1884, p. 41.
- 98 Refer to endnote 88.
- 99 HBCA, B.188/b/15, New Caledonia Correspondence Outward, fo. 230. Traill attached a memorandum to the effect that gingham blouses in large, bright patterns were most in demand.
- 100 A. G. Morice, "Notes - Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological - on the Western Dene", Transactions of the Canadian Institute, No. 7 (March 1894), p. 164.
- 101 Porter, op. cit., p.719.
- 102 It is rare to find a New Caledonia photograph of Carrier women, circa 1890 - 1912, in which head-scarves do not figure prominently.
- 103 Refer, for example, to the Swannell collection photograph number 3883 from the Parks Canada, Western Region collection, reproduced in this report as Figure 27.
- 104 Ibid.

- 105 See, for example, HBCA, B.119/d/4, McLeod's Lake, Inventory of Goods, 1889, p. 5.
- 106 In the several New Caledonia photographs which show moccasins, there are no visible differences between men's and women's moccasin styles.
- 107 No petticoats were found in New Caledonia indents and inventories; however, Harriet Traill noted that Mrs. Boucher wore multi-hued petticoats in four layers. In addition, the fullness which one observed in photographs of skirts could not have been produced without an undergarment similar to a petticoat.
- 108 This is based on the ubiquitousness with which shawls appear in photographs of special occasions like Dominion Day, whereas Morice observed that the women never wore their shawls while working. Undoubtedly, this related to both the impracticality of wearing one while engaged in labour and the high cost of the article.
- 109 There are no mentions of aprons in any New Caledonian documents, yet some are observable in Fort St. James photographs. See, for example, Figure 29 reproduced in Appendix A.
- 110 This is merely a common-sense conjecture.
- 111 See, for example, Figure 28 in Appendix A.
- 112 HBCA, B.119/d/4, McLeod's Lake, Inventory of Goods, 1889, p. 3, records "brass-backed," "T. R.," "Cramber," and "Tooth" combs.
- 113 Such an item is recorded in HBCA, B.188/b/10, Vol. II, Fort St. James Correspondence Outward, 1888, Goods Tariff, Fort George.
- 114 See, for example, HBCA, B.119/d/4, Fort McLeod, Requisition of Goods, 1890, p. 135.

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