Engaged Histories: Wendat Women's Souvenir Arts
of Cultural Preservation and Entrepreneurial Invention

by

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ABSTRACT

The nineteenth century souvenir arts of the Wendat (Huron) women of Wendake, Quebec, works of virtuosity in technique and design, were sought after as collectibles by European visitors and Euro-Canadians, and today appear in substantial numbers in European, Canadian, and American museum collections. Although souvenir wares have been the object of study in the fields of anthropology and art history, an in-depth systematic analysis of the tradition, situated within a history of Wendat visual arts, had yet to be written. This study addresses two problems: First, the lack of a corpus of material to place nineteenth-century souvenir arts in the context of art from earlier periods created for ceremonial and community use and drawn both from archaeological and ethnological collections. Second, it addresses the need to explore the relationship among modes of production and to carry out a close reading of the imagery and women's egalitarian status in Wendat society from pre- and early-contact periods through the nineteenth century. I argue that souvenir arts, produced during a period of intense change and challenges to Wendat identity and economic self-sufficiency caused by increasing settler populations and colonial pressures of assimilation, offer a site for the exploration of Wendat women's economic and social roles in their community. I base these arguments in archival and historical research and in consultation with Wendat community members, who have provided important insight into symbolic content of the souvenir

works and their significance for the Wendat as well as for European buyers. The development of souvenir arts was intertwined with the diplomatic and political agenda of Wendat community leaders, reflecting Wendat women's agency in creating commercial works that inspired the admiration of European collectors, and could serve as ceremonial gifts that contributed to harmonious relations with settler communities.

The research database of over 220 examples of Wendat and Eastern Great Lakes objects, on which my arguments are based, is the foundation for Appendix B and the illustrations referred to in the text. In keeping with the collaborative research methods of the thesis, I will present a copy of the thesis to Wendat Grand Chief Conrad Sioui, together with a DVD of the database.

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Figure 92. James Henry Audubon, passenger pigeon. *Audubon: Early Drawings*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Figure 93. Tray, Wendat, 1851, bark, moosehair, cotton thread. Eylardie collection, Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, Hc219.

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Figure 95. Centre panel, reticule base, Quebec convent work, late eighteenth century. Birchbark, moosehair, cotton thread, h. 3 cm, d. 12 cm. Cambridge University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge Z35131.

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Figure 98. Tray, Wendat, 1840s, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, w. 27 cm, d. 2.5 cm. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 92-12-10.

Figure 99. Doll, man, Wendat, 1847, wood, fabric, black-dyed hide, h. 26 cm, w. 6 cm. Døllner collection, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen Hu 245.

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Figure 101. Wall pocket, Wendat, 1841, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, l. 17 cm, w. 24 cm. Olfers collection, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin IV B 249. Phillips, *Trading Identities*, pl. 36.

Figure 102. Henry Daniel Thielcke, *Presentation of a Newly Elected Chief of the Huron Tribe, Canada*, 1839. McCord Museum, Montreal M20009.

Figure 103. Cigar case, Wendat, 1847, dog-walking motif, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, l. 13.5 cm, w. 8.5 cm. Døllner collection Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen Hc. 152d.

Figure 104. Cigar case, Wendat, 1847, fruit-harvesting motif, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, l. 14.5 cm, w. 8 cm. Døllner collection, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen Hc. 152c.

Figure 105. Tray, Wendat, early 1850s, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, h. 25 cm, w. 30.5 cm. Serre-Carrey collection, Musée du quai Branly, Paris 71.1937.16.11.

Figure 106. Cigar case, Wendat, 1858, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, h. 15 cm. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin IV B 12475. Phillips, *Trading Identities*, pl. 2.

Figure 107. Cigar case, Wendat, 1861, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, h. 14.5 cm, w. 8 cm. Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, Hc. 476.

Figure 108. Cigar case, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen Hc. 476, reverse.

Figure 109. Box, Wendat, 1878, bark, moosehair, pink cotton fabric lining, cotton thread, h. 7 cm, l. 23.25 cm, w. 14 cm. Canadian Commission, Musée du quai Branly, Paris 71.1878.40.2. 1-2.

Figure 110. Round box, probably Quebec convent work, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, bark, moosehair, cotton thread. Hôpital-General, Quebec.

Figure 111. Tray, detail, bird motif. Serre-Carrey collection, Musée du quai Branly, Paris 71.1937.16.11.

Figure 112. Tray, Wendat, mid-nineteenth century, bark, moosehair, cotton thread. Essex Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts E77.743.

Figure 113. Panther figure, artifact number 67, Robitaille Site, Ontario, BeHa-3, pl. 105; serpent figure, artifact number 975.225.40, St. Louis Site, Ontario pl. 106; Wendat, 1620–35, copper. Lisa Anselmi, *Native Peoples' Use of Copper-Based Metals in NE North America* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag, 2008), 564.

Figure 114. Tray, detail, grey fox motif. Serre-Carrey collection, Musée du quai Branly, Paris 71.1937.16.11.

Figure 115. Tree-climbing grey fox.

Figure 116. Apple orchard.

Figure 117. Tray, detail, birch tree, Wendat, 1851, bark, moosehair, cotton thread. Eylardie collection, Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, Hc219.

Figure 118. Birch tree.

Figure 119. Cigar case, Wendat, ca. 1840–57. National Museum of the American Indian 6/355.

Figure 120. Tray, detail, motif of struggle, ca. 1840–57. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Archaeology, Philadelphia 92-12-10.

Figure 121. Tray, possibly Wendat, French Canadian, or Abenaki, mid-nineteenth century, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, w. 26 cm. Musée des confluences, Lyon D979-3-0040.

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Figure 123. Tray, Wendat, 1847–52, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, from the Elgin collection, now in the Thaw collection, Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown T283. Box, Wendat, 1847–52, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, from the Elgin collection, now in the

Thaw collection, Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown T0039. (The canoe in this image is not included in the discussion of the Elgin tray artist).

Figure 124. Wendat, address to Lord Dufferin, 6 October 1873, paper, pen. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Mikan No. 2978070.

Figure 125. Address to Princess Louise and the Marquess of Lorne, 22 August 1883, bark, tanned hide, white and purple wampum, h. 34.5 cm, w. 33.25 cm. British Museum, London Am1887.1208.19.

Figure 126. Frederick John Meyer, *Edmund Kean*, lithograph, 1827, h. 36 cm. w. 25.8 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Mikan no. 3030046.

Figure 127. Folke Cronholm, unnamed Wendat woman, 1905–06. Folke Cronholm collection, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm 0321.ab.0869.

INTRODUCTION

We bought little boxes, baskets, and pincushions, all made out of birchbark by Mrs. Paul and her husband; some of them very prettily embroidered.

—The Hon. Amelia Murray, 1856

During the nineteenth century, women of the Wendat community of Wendake (Lorette) of Quebec were well known for their moosehair embroidery on hide and birchbark, exquisitely worked domestic objects such as calling card boxes, cigar cases, and trays, and moccasins. Once sought after by European travellers and members of the Euro-Canadian community, today numerous examples of their work can be seen in museums across Europe, Canada, and the United States. This souvenir arts tradition is the focus of my thesis. In spite of its renown in the nineteenth century and strong museum presence, this Wendat visual arts tradition has not yet been the focus of a systematic study.

I focus on the souvenir arts production of the Wendat community of Wendake, Quebec. I situate these works within broader traditions of Wendat visual arts. As I will discuss in the section “Moosehair Embroidered Souvenir Arts by Other Indigenous Communities,” chapter 5, commodity arts in moosehair, bark, and hide were probably made by other Indigenous communities of the Eastern Woodlands. Visitor and tourist destinations such as Niagara Falls were a site for the exchange of artistic ideas for Indigenous communities (See the section “Count Albert von Pourtales” in chapter 3.)¹ However, full exploration of interrelationships among different souvenir arts production is a research project beyond the scope of this thesis.

¹ Examples of such attributions are seen in the catalogue of the *Spirit Sings* exhibition, pp. 29, 30.

My analysis of this corpus of material brings forward the question that interests me most: through new readings of gender, can we hypothesize Wendat women's active role in community affairs relating to economics and colonial relations? My work explores the role of women and their visual arts in both economic development and diplomatic relations, knowledge that is not found in written texts. Written European source texts provide a point of view based on missionary purpose and the colonial project, whereas analysis of Wendat women's creative traditions as a site of encounter offers evidence based on Wendat women's responses to European presence and the concomitant pressures for change. Thus, such analysis allows us to explore women's social position and role from the precontact to contact period, locating areas of continuity and areas of change.

My research is informed by Wendat community knowledge and Indigenous perspectives from the work of scholars such as Georges Sioui, Deborah Doxtator, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. In his 1992 book *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, Georges Sioui describes what he sees as of primary interest to Native peoples: the study of the persistence of "essential Amerindian values," of what "is original about Native culture."² Reflecting Sioui's statement of Indigenous interest, my purpose is to identify and explore the continuity of Wendat forms, designs, and meanings during times of great social upheaval. I do this by exploring nineteenth-century souvenir arts in the context of over 500 years of Wendat visual arts. At the same time, my study identifies innovative and successful adaptations to new circumstances, which were also part of Wendat tradition.

² Georges Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), x, xxiii.

Deborah Doxtator's discussion of Indigenous knowledge contained in the processes of making objects helps to explain the continuity and dynamic change in Wendat visual arts. Her explanation of Indigenous epistemology, drawing on the work of Christopher Jocks, provides understanding of community knowledge as something people do, requiring "a network of knowers."³

Theorizing an Expanded Field of Inquiry

Nancy Shoemaker, Native American studies scholar, describes theories as "devices for articulating research questions and zeroing in on important issues," useful to "form meaningful explanations."⁴ I draw on five main areas of theory that contribute to my analysis of Wendat visual arts: visual culture, art history, memory, gender, and history.

The field of visual culture, which appeared as a new interdisciplinary formation in the 1990s, opens the way for a fresh approach to the study of Wendat visual arts. As described by W. J. T. Mitchell and Nicholas Mirzoeff, the field and its tools of analysis offer new possibilities for exploring the breadth of genres and materials in Wendat visual arts and the political and social meanings they contain. Mitchell writes: "It is useful at the outset to distinguish between 'visual studies' and 'visual culture' as, respectively, the field of study and the object or target of study. Visual studies is the study of visual

³ Christopher Jocks, "Combing Out Snakes: Violence and the Construction of Knowledge in the Longhouse Tradition" (paper presented at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Native Traditions in the Americas Group), in *Basket, Bead and Quill*, ed. Deborah Doxtator (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1995), 12.

⁴ Nancy Shoemaker, *Clearing a Path* (New York: Routledge, 2002), viii.

culture.”⁵ He explains the scope of visual culture as “a study of all the social practices of human visuality, and not confined to modernity or the West.”⁶ This offers an approach that opens the way for connections to be made not only across disciplines but also among the different genres that are the objects of my research, across a range of media, and including concepts of art based on Indigenous belief systems. Mitchell describes the “broader field” that visual culture addresses, moving beyond art history’s distinctions between “mass media, culture, kitsch, commercial art, and ‘fine art’ proper.”⁷ Visual culture’s broad approach accommodates the diverse genres and media in works by women artists that are the focus of my study.

Based on this visual culture approach, my research brings together archaeology, in the study of precontact Wendat visual arts; anthropology and ethnology, in the study of early postcontact objects; anthropology and art history, in the study of souvenir arts; and history, in my approach to documentary sources. This interdisciplinary approach overcomes the divide between pre- and postcontact periods, the former usually studied in the field of archaeology, the latter in anthropology and art history. This divide has in many ways limited research in Indigenous visual arts, conceptually (in aspects of formal analysis), and in the development of comprehensive art histories. Removing the divide opens the way to address gaps in knowledge. First, the full chronological depth of Wendat visual arts and continuity over centuries becomes evident. Second, situating pre-

⁵ W. J. T. Mitchell, “Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture,” in *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*, ed. Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2002), 232.

⁶ Mitchell, “Showing Seeing,” 241.

⁷ W. T. J. Mitchell, “An Interview with W. T. J. Mitchell,” in *Visual Culture: the Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn*, ed. Margaret Dikovitskaya (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), 240.

nineteenth-century Wendat material within a dynamic network of interconnected Eastern Great Lakes Indigenous visual arts traditions, into which European visual arts were integrated, offers fresh perspectives on the nature of these traditions and intercultural exchange. Third, following the history of particular forms and motifs over time provides understanding not only of continuity but also innovation, adaptation, and the emergence of new visual arts traditions.

James Elkins's discussion of the interdisciplinary operations of visual culture offers several models, from the magpie theory ("arranging the seductive pieces lifted from different places") to "transdisciplinary fields" of mingled disciplines.⁸ Elkins describes Stephen Melville's sense of true interdisciplinarity, in which the "new field would allow its very conceptual order or disorder to locate the object it studies."⁹ The study of Wendat visual arts in a continuous stream of Wendat art history is made possible by the advent of visual studies and visual culture theory, and could be seen as true interdisciplinarity.

In discussing materials known archaeologically within visual culture's interdisciplinary approach, I have found useful models in two scholarly exhibition catalogues that present precontact eastern Woodlands art: *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand* and *Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians*. In *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand* the authors' purpose is to "bring to public attention the antiquity and character of a Native American aesthetic and symbolic domain," making connections between pre- and

⁸ James Elkins, *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 27, 28.

⁹ Elkins, *Visual Studies*, 26.

postcontact material culture.¹⁰ In this catalogue, David W. Penney's "The Archaeology of Aesthetics" is an interdisciplinary exploration of archaeological material that draws on ethnography and anthropology from the perspective of an art historian.¹¹

In *Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians* Penney explores the iconography of works from the Woodlands period (1000 BC–AD 1000), identifying continuities in form and meaning with postcontact art works.¹² Penney writes:

This art historical survey of the eastern Woodlands begins with the Late Archaic period [3000–1000 BC] because the cultural patterns and institutions that resulted in the emergence of an indigenous North American art tradition began to develop during that time. . . . The Late Archaic, Early Woodland, and Middle Woodland periods thus comprise the first major phase of North American art history.¹³

This approach places works from the archaeological record within a continuous stream of eastern Woodlands visual arts. In "Continuities of Imagery and Symbolism in the Art of the Woodlands" he makes specific connections. He writes about imagery of the "celestial bird and horned monster" found in the Ohio Hopewell archaeological sites of the Middle Woodland period, 200 BC–AD 400, stating that these representations were "consistent with historic-period representations of underworld spirits such as the Horned Serpent and Underwater Panther."¹⁴

¹⁰ James Cuno, "Foreword," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2004), 7.

¹¹ David W. Penney, "The Archaeology of Aesthetics," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2004), 43–55.

¹² David W. Penney, "Continuities of Imagery and Symbolism in the Art of the Woodlands," in *Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1985), 149–150, 185, 188.

¹³ David W. Penney, "Introduction," in *Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1985), 12.

¹⁴ Penney, "Continuities of Imagery," 185.

Penney approaches the objects in the archaeological record with the “sensibility of an art historian.”¹⁵ The questions arising from his study of fifteen engraved Adena tablets are similar to those that I explore in my study. For example, Penney’s research revealed

The image engraved on each [tablet] is unique . . . yet nearly all share a common visual lexicon. In some a fragment of the design in one engraving is reproduced in another but in a different composition and combined with other design fragments.¹⁶

The identification of a shared visual lexicon and its continuity through time is an important element of my research; likewise, his interest in individual artists, and the “evidence of relationships between the individuals who created these works.”¹⁷ Penney’s research demonstrates the valuable results of an interdisciplinary approach and the new perspectives it can offer.

Visual culture is also concerned with what Mitchell calls

. . . “vernacular visibility,” all the social constructions of the visual field that lie outside image-making, and artistic image-making. Before people make images . . . they look at each other and look at the world. Visual culture . . . is the study of that aspect as well as the study of visual arts.¹⁸

Vernacular visibility supports my analysis of the shifts in relations between Wendat and European communities and the role of Wendat visual arts, reflecting Wendat agency and intention as they looked at European visitors and negotiated the world of the colonial project, to meet the economic and social challenges of these shifts.

¹⁵ David W. Penney, “The Archaeology of Aesthetics,” in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2004), 44.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Penney, “Archaeology of Aesthetics,” 45.

¹⁸ Mitchell, “An Interview,” 240.

A visual culture framework encourages consideration of issues of gender, race, and class through its exploration of the engagement of power with culture and an exploration not only of the object but also the context of visibility around the object. Consideration of the practices of the production and reception—in Mitchell's terms, "showing and seeing"—is important for research on the Wendat souvenir arts tradition because it had great significance as a site for the creation of meaning and negotiation of relations between Wendat and settler communities.¹⁹ The souvenir works were made by Wendat artists for display in the settler community, and to reflect the taste of this group. They contained a range of significations to European viewers throughout the history of their production: notions of the noble savage, of the exotic, and of antimodernism. At the same time, they were meaningful to the Wendat producers, in their distinct style of self-representation and continuity of a Wendat aesthetic that contained symbolic meanings based on an Indigenous worldview. As such, in a context of intercultural contact, these productions were a site of meaning creation in their communities. By valuing non-European artistic traditions as a focus of study, a visual culture research orientation opens the way to centre the perspectives of Wendat producers.

Central to this study is consideration of Wendat agency in negotiating relations with the settler communities that sustained and supported a distinct Wendat identity. I use visual arts as a site of this negotiation. I explore how Wendat visual arts continued existing traditions of diplomacy and political relations and at the same time developed them to suit the changing circumstances of colonial contact and the need to assert and define Wendat identity. Visual culture, as explained by Mirzoeff, helps to theorize this

¹⁹ Mitchell, "Showing Seeing," 237.

political role of Wendat visual arts. In this sense, explains Mirzoeff, politics refers to culture as the place “where people define their identity and [where culture] changes in accord with the needs of individuals and communities to express that identity.”²⁰

In addition to theorizing the political role of Wendat visual arts, visual culture also offers a framework for a postcolonial, decolonizing approach to Wendat art history. Mirzoeff cites Martin J. Powers in describing visual culture “as a fractal network, permeated with patterns from all over the globe.”²¹ These multiple patterns are a model for multiple histories of visual arts, and move away from privileging the European definitions of art within metanarratives. In addition, Mirzoeff explains that the fractal network form of visual culture “has key points of interface and interaction,” layers that open as the network is examined more closely. What he describes as the “complex operations” of race, class, and gender are examples of such layers.²² This research explores some of these complex operations and their interplay in the production and reception of Wendat visual arts, further situating it in the framework of visual culture.

Art historical works have also provided important models for my study. In 1962, George Kubler, a trained art historian, published a small book, *The Shape of Time*, which proposed a radically new, interdisciplinary way to think about artistic traditions across time. One of his best-known works, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, is an interdisciplinary study that engages archaeology, anthropology, and art history. In a review of this book, Gordon Willey said: “[Kubler] considers American archaeology with

²⁰ Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), 24.

²¹ Ibid., 25.

²² Ibid.

‘the training of the art historian.’”²³ Kubler sees visual arts without the disciplinary separation of archaeology, art, or artifact and speaks of visual forms that include all these terms. His interdisciplinary approach draws together visual forms, which include “both artifacts and works of art, both replicas and unique examples, both tools and expressions.” From these he develops a theorization of formal change,²⁴ which moves away from the European art historical “organic” model comprising an early phase, an age of full formation, and then one of decline; and also from the cultural evolutionist approach,²⁵ which has been used to explain formal change in non-European artistic traditions. He states: “the biological metaphor of style as a sequence of life-stages was historically misleading, for it bestowed upon the flux of events the shapes and the behavior of organisms.”²⁶ His idea of the “history of things” takes a different form:

The “history of things” is intended to reunite ideas and objects under the rubric of visual forms: the term includes both artifacts and works of art . . . in short all materials worked by human hands under the guidance of connected ideas developed in temporal sequence. From all these things a shape in time emerges. A visible portrait of the collective identity, whether tribe, class, or nation, comes into being. This self-image reflected in things is a guide and a point of reference to the group for the future, and it eventually becomes the portrait given to posterity.²⁷

Instead, he theorizes that visual culture production can be grouped in formal sequences, a “network of gradually altered repetitions of the same trait” comprising a

²³ Gordon R. Willey, “Book Review,” *American Anthropologist* 65, no. 3 (June 1963): 699.

²⁴ George Kubler, *The Shape of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 9.

²⁵ Andrew Nurse describes the cultural evolutionist approach, based on “the assumption that human evolution proceeded from simpler to more complex technologies and from less to more rational forms of culture.” Andrew Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau* (PhD diss., Queen’s University, 1997), 97–98.

²⁶ Kubler, *Shape of Time*, 8.

²⁷ Kubler, *Shape of Time*, 9.

system of formal relations.²⁸ He describes this network as a mesh, with a “fiber-like structure of temporal stages, all recognizably similar, yet altering in their mesh from beginning to end.”²⁹ These visual forms are guided by “connected ideas developed in temporal sequence,” from which can emerge “a visible portrait of a collective identity.”³⁰ He explores the continuity of these connected ideas expressed in visual forms using the metaphor of electrodynamics, the “transmission of some kind of energy . . . with increments and losses in transit,” when a sequence may appear to diminish and then reappear.³¹

His interdisciplinary approach offers a theory and framework that encompasses the diversity of materials, forms, and designs of over 500 years of Wendat visual arts, and creates the possibility of bringing them together in a way so they become the portrait of collective identity that he describes.

Art historical method, the close study of formal arrangement, design, and the identification and analysis of iconography, is critical to my exploration of the continuity of artistic traditions and of the meanings of souvenir works to the community.³² I have developed a corpus of Wendat examples in order to explore these questions, to study dating, iconography, and stylistic evolution. A particularly important model for my approach to this analysis is Dorothy Burnham’s *To Please the Caribou*, a 1992 study of Naskapi hunting coats. This is a model for my close analysis of the material qualities and

²⁸ Ibid., 37.

²⁹ Ibid., 38.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Margaret Dikovitskaya, *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), 75.

styles of Wendat material culture in two ways. First, Burnham's method of analysis is to "work out a logical development" and thus establish a chronological order of styles; she uses dated works to establish a framework and from there places works with less provenance.³³ Using dated Wendat works, I mapped an arrangement of stylistic change from which dates can be suggested for works without provenance. Second, through her research into a tradition that is closely linked with European clothing styles she confirms "the essentially aboriginal cultural significance of the coats."³⁴ My research demonstrates that the Wendat souvenir arts, closely linked to European artistic influences, nevertheless contain strongly significant Wendat cultural meanings.

Burnham's work focuses on the "importance of artifact context and documentation."³⁵ Her method is to examine all the known examples of the early period of the production of Naskapi hunting coats, then all those with histories or suggestions of histories of the middle period, and finally outstanding examples that appear to fit with the datable ones.³⁶ I have followed this approach, developing sequences to group the works in chronological period and style. By bringing together Kubler's theorizing of formal sequences and Burnham's method of analysis I have developed an approach to the study of Wendat visual arts that identifies specific style sequences and their characteristics and places them in a chronology and historical context that recognizes their Indigenous as well as European cultural significance.

³³ Dorothy Burnham, *To Please the Caribou* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1992), 3.

³⁴ Burnham, *To Please the Caribou*, vii.

³⁵ Judy Thompson et al. *Fascinating Challenges: Studying Material Culture with Dorothy Burnham* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001), 253.

³⁶ Burnham, *To Please the Caribou*, 3.

My hypothesis is that, in Kubler's terms, seven formal sequences of Wendat visual arts can be broadly described, each with defined but interrelated styles, several being coeval. The works in each group are connected by a common stylistic denominator, which may appear in multiple media or only in one characteristic medium. In the ceramic works of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there are two style sequences: *geometric* and *figural*. In the works on hide, the geometric sequence continues and the *semiabstract linear* style sequence emerges in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, to continue into the 1840s. The *stylized floral* style sequence on hide emerges in the late 1820s and seems to end in the mid-1850s. The *simplified floral* style sequence, on hide, begins in the 1880s and continues into the early twentieth century. The *naturalistic floral* style sequence, on bark, appears to begin in the 1820s, continuing through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, with a gradual move to abstraction. The *genre* sequence, on bark, appears to begin in the 1830s, continuing into the early twentieth century.

European and Euro-Canadian collectors have created the groupings of Great Lakes and Wendat objects that are the focus of this research. To theorize the motivations behind their collecting practices and the meanings of the works they collected, I draw on Jean Baudrillard's description of the game of collecting and the passion of possession in "The System of Collecting" and Susan Stewart's conceptualizing of souvenirs in *On Longing*. Baudrillard conceptualizes how a thing becomes the object of passion, once it is "divested of its function and made relative to the subject," possessed by the collector. All the collector's or subject's objects "constitute themselves as a system," and through this

system the collector forms his personal microcosm of the world.³⁷ This understanding of collecting as a system that mirrors a particular understanding of the world helps to explain the role of curiosity cabinets and natural history collections, and the fascination they held for collectors.

Stewart takes another perspective. She writes of collecting in relation to memory, metonymy, nostalgia, and loss, stating that the “capacity of objects to serve as traces of authentic experience is, in fact, exemplified by the souvenir.” Stewart conceptualizes the role of the souvenir as emblematic of nostalgia, the “longing for its place of origin” and the collector’s experience of that place.³⁸ She explains the desire for objects that are “souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative.”³⁹ Wendat souvenirs filled these roles for European visitors, as demonstrated in the collections and the journals and letters written by collectors.

To theorize gender in relation to postcolonial analysis, I look to two writers, Gunlög Fur and Nancy Shoemaker. My purpose is to decentre earlier interpretations that privilege the influence of European artistic traditions in this discussion of cultural exchange. Instead, I wish to foreground the continuity of Wendat visual arts and the agency of Wendat women artists as they changed their art in response to shifting circumstances around them, while maintaining their Wendat world view.⁴⁰ The question

³⁷ Jean Baudrillard, “The System of Collecting,” in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 7.

³⁸ Susan Stewart, *On Longing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), xii.

³⁹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 135.

⁴⁰ Richard W. Hill, Text panel. National Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1994, cited in *Trading Identities*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 49.

of the continuity of Wendat women's traditional role in their society and the extent of the influence of missionary pressures is central to this discussion. This approach draws on Nancy Shoemaker's view of the histories of Native peoples. She argues against the concept of the linear assimilationist model of change—in which social structure and community and traditions were one thing before the crisis of contact, and were another thing after—and argues that crisis may not automatically lead to permanent change.⁴¹ I argue that although high rates of conversion and a shift in social organization towards a European model were reported, this was not necessarily the complete story. Wendat visual arts, some European visitors' reports, and government records of interactions with the Wendat nation suggest resistance to conversion and cultural assimilation and support an argument for cultural continuity.

The question of cultural difference in understanding gender roles is integral to all aspects of my research. To read history against the grain in relation to gender means questioning settler and European textual representations of Native women and instead finding meaning based on what is known of Native understandings of gender. Gunlög Fur's "Some Women Are Wiser than Some Men" discusses ways to see past the misunderstandings resulting from the imposition of European gender roles in representations of Native women. She suggests focusing on "encounters between representatives of different cultures," to look for apparent anomalies.⁴² These

⁴¹ Nancy Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in *In the Days of Our Grandmothers*, ed. Mary-Ellen Kelm and Lorna Townsend (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 95.

⁴² Gunlög Fur, "Some Women Are Wiser Than Some Men," in *Clearing a Path*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York. London: Routledge, 2002), 81.

anomalies may reveal the reality of Indigenous women's roles and responsibilities, as opposed to the overlay of a European interpretation that creates misunderstandings. She argues against the concept of separate spheres as categories for Native social structures, and that biological sex was not central to defining social responsibilities in Native communities.⁴³ Reading European archival documents against the grain and identifying an author's bias is a means to gain insight into changes—or continuities—in Wendat social structure, and can present fresh interpretations. This approach offers the possibility that the social structure based on egalitarian gender roles described by the Jesuits at the time of early contact, in which women took an active role in the production and distribution of goods, may have persisted into the nineteenth century.

The second central question of the thesis, as described earlier, is an inquiry into Wendat women's economic and social roles and their agency and power in their community. I argue that evidence for this inquiry is not found in written texts. This question engages with women's history, which in non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities alike is often absent in the text records of larger events in the public sphere. However, in *The Age of Homespun* Laurel Thatcher Ulrich writes:

History gives us more than big patterns. Sometimes the most useful insights come from pondering the harnesses and treadles that move the interlocking threads of daily life. Here the big questions have less to do with overarching change than with the way ordinary people created meaning out of a world cross-snarled and twined.⁴⁴

Ulrich's approach to women's history, based on the details of the everyday, informs my research. She writes that "objects tell stories," and her close study of a series

⁴³ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁴ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 8.

of objects in *The Age of Homespun* gives depth and understanding to the history of the time, particularly from the perspective of women.⁴⁵ She writes about the “ordinary household goods” that contain “the stories of individual people.”⁴⁶ Wendat souvenir works can be seen as such household goods, containing the stories of their makers as well as their collectors. In my study of Wendat ceramics, moccasins, and souvenir arts, I explore what we can learn from these objects, about the meanings women created as they dealt with change at the level of the everyday, in times of peace or conflict. Women’s work and evidence of agency in their communities, often invisible in the public record, is visible in the record of daily life.

I take Ulrich’s approach in the use I make of community and personal documents throughout my research, and in the case study of the Elgin trays in chapter 6. Although I argue that their visual arts are a main source of insight into Wendat women’s history, settler community documents also provide details of the everyday in Wendat and settler communities. The journals and letters of European men and women, the journals and account ledgers of Wendat men, and colonial administrative correspondence contain the texture of small events, evidence of the interactions between men and women in the Wendat and settler communities.

Towards an Integrated Narrative: An Overview of the Literature

From the first sustained European contact with the Wendat confederacy of southern Ontario, the culture and history of Wendat communities have been subjects in

⁴⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 8.

European texts.⁴⁷ My research draws on a rich literature that includes missionary records; Champlain's narrative of his travels and military alliances with Huron warriors in the first decades of the seventeenth century; Baron de Lahontan's early eighteenth-century narrative; the early twentieth-century fieldwork and research by anthropologists Marius Barbeau and Frank Speck; Bruce Trigger's landmark history of the Wendat, *The Children of Aataentsic*; and Ruth Phillips' ground breaking reevaluation of Wendat souvenir arts and visual culture in *Trading Identities*.⁴⁸ This literature provides a wealth of information from a range of perspectives.

My methodological approach to the twentieth-century texts written about the Wendat and their artistic traditions analyzes and reassesses these works, reflecting as they do shifts in perspectives on Aboriginal material culture over time. Earlier texts represented Wendat souvenir arts as appropriations of European artistic traditions that replaced their own and as craft traditions in the European hierarchy of high art and craft. More recent thinking, such as Phillips's approach in *Trading Identities*, which identifies "auto-ethnographic content" and iconographic meanings that suggest indigenous agency,

⁴⁷ The early seventeenth century Wendat confederacy was generally located in Huronia, an area to the north of Toronto, on the eastern shore of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay, and to the west of Lake Simcoe.

⁴⁸ Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, vols. 1–5 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1929); Baron Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahontan, *Voyages de Baron de La Hontan dans l'amerique septentrionale* (Montréal: Éditions Élysée, 1974); Marius Barbeau, "On Huron Work, 1911," *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1912); Marius Barbeau, "Supernatural Beings of the Huron and Wyandot," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 16 (1914): 288–313; Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Ottawa Department of Mines, Government Printing Bureau, 1915); Marius Barbeau, "The Origin of Floral and Other Designs Among the Canadian and Neighboring Indians," *International Congress of Americanists* 23 (1930): 512; Marius Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes 1: Les brodeuses* (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1943); Frank Speck, "Huron Moose Hair Embroidery," *American Anthropologist* 13, no. 1 (January-March 1911): 1–14; Frank Speck, "Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 13 (1911): 208–28; Frank Speck, "The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art," *Anthropological Series 1* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1914); Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

centres on the perspective of Native communities.⁴⁹ I approach my analysis from this position. My study adds a further layer to this literature, since I write from an early twenty-first century perspective that enhances the presence of Indigenous knowledge and decolonization.

Decolonizing the Archive

The early Recollet, Jesuit, and Ursuline missionaries, soldiers, and explorers provide primary sources that describe the culture and social structure of the Wendat community in the early-contact period. Sources such as *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, the *Jesuit Relations*, Gabriel Sagard's *Le grand voyage du pays des hurons*, the *Correspondance* of Marie de l'Incarnation, and the archives of the Monastère des Ursulines provide invaluable observations about customs and practices in all areas of Wendat life. The texts provide close descriptions of the Wendat community way of life, from marriage practices to material culture to trade, diplomacy, and war. The challenge of a decolonizing approach is to read against the grain and against the biases inherent in these texts. For example, the missionary documents were written from the spiritual perspective of the counter-Reformation Catholic Church, a period when the church, especially the Jesuit order, was focused on education and conversion, committed to expanding and reviving Catholicism. The seventeenth-century Jesuits often described Indigenous peoples from a humanist perspective, in terms of the noble savage,⁵⁰ although many "considered pagan Indian life a thoroughly miserable existence."⁵¹

⁴⁹ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 137, 139.

⁵⁰ George R. Healy, "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 15, no. 2 (April 1958): 144, 148–149.

⁵¹ Healy, "French Jesuits," 145.

The task in reading these primary documents is to sift through the information about communities, looking past the layers of European perceptions based on notions of cultural hierarchy, to get an idea of the reality of Indigenous social systems, cosmology, and distinct world view. For example, although the European population in the Eastern Woodlands in this period was small, European newcomers often wrote of their experiences as if they were a moving force. As Allan Greer writes of the Jesuits, “it is important to make a special effort to counteract the Jesuits’ tendency to exaggerate the degree to which they controlled events.”⁵² This skeptical approach is helpful with many of the primary sources.

Baron de Lahontan, a soldier writing in the first decade of the eighteenth century, travelled in the Great Lakes region and spent time with Wendat community members as well as other nations. His text is a rich source of information. He describes Indigenous ways of life as a “condition superior to contemporary civilisation,” and as a French soldier of the *troupes de la marine*, he may have found the life and belief system of the warriors who were his companions sympathetic. He reports many positive aspects of life in the communities he lived with.⁵³ However, since his memoirs (bestsellers in the period), were also designed to critique French religion and society, the text contains its own biases that require evaluation when referring to their content.

Archives such as the Archives départementales de la Charente-Maritime in La Rochelle contain seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century merchants’ records of the fur

⁵² Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 91.

⁵³ Healy, “French Jesuits,” 143.

trade. For example, documents, from the fonds of the Fleuriau family,⁵⁴ offer factual information such as details of ships' cargos to and from New France, as well as a further perspective to integrate with those of the soldier, administrator, and missionary: that of the French businessman. These men were eager to develop new markets and were sensitive to the tastes and purchasing power of Indigenous communities. Drawn by the wealth of furs they had to offer, they were at the same time awed by Indigenous peoples' appearance and demeanour. The letters are all the more interesting because they were private business letters exchanged between business partners who went to New France and their companies in La Rochelle, and were not intended for publication or persuasion.

Moving ahead a century, sources in the Archives nationales de Paris offer insight into the history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French collections, collecting practices, and the reception of Indigenous materials. The documents dating from the time of the French Revolution, such as the records of the meetings of the temporary commission of the Arts (*les procès verbaux des séances de la commission temporaires des Arts*) and the inventories of the objects found in the curiosity cabinets are particularly important.⁵⁵ They provide not only inventories of works in private cabinets of curiosity that entered the collection of the new Republic, but also the notes written by the bureaucrats and functionaries who were responsible for this transfer, offering insight into what was valued and why in this period.

⁵⁴ B 4202, B4203, Fonds de la famille Fleuriau, Archives Départementales Charent-Maritime, La Rochelle, France.

⁵⁵ F17*7, *les procès verbaux des séances de la commission temporaires des Arts*; F17/1219-1230, *Inventaire, Instruments physique provenant des Cabinets de Versailles et déposée au Menus*; AJ 15, 501-514, *Inventaire des Archives du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle*. Archives Nationales, Site de Paris, France.

The nineteenth-century archives of the Conseil de la nation huronne-Wendat, recorded by several Wendat chiefs, contain detailed reports of daily events and exchanges with the British community. They provide an invaluable record of events from a Wendat point of view, standing as a counter narrative to the colonial documents. The nineteenth-century letters and journals of travellers and diplomats, and the records and correspondence of the military and colonial administrators, available at Library and Archives Canada, are also a mine of information.

Colonial documents after the War of 1812 reveal the shift in attitude towards Indigenous people, when they lost their status as military allies and came to be regarded as occupants of land that was targeted for settler use.⁵⁶ European descriptions of communities and interpretations of Native leaders' words altered, shifting to negative and derogatory terms that represented Indigenous communities as requiring government care and supervision. Reading the documentary evidence of this period with recognition of these biases brings to light the mid-nineteenth-century struggle, located in the small print of the colonial archives, between Native leaders in the Great Lakes area and the British colonial administration. Wendat leaders' nineteenth-century diplomatic strategies, in which Wendat women's visual arts played a part, developed in this context.

Writings from the Salvage Paradigm

The advent of the discipline of anthropology in the second half of the nineteenth century gave rise to a new ethnographic literature. Frank Speck and Marius Barbeau's early twentieth century field research in the Wendat (Quebec) and Wyandot (Oklahoma)

⁵⁶ *Copies or Extracts of Coorespondence since 1st April 1835 between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governors of the British North American Provinces, respecting the Indians in those Provinces*. London: House of Commons, 1839.

communities are key sources. Their field notes and the articles they wrote about their work were shaped by the “salvage” paradigm of the era. In the late nineteenth century theories of cultural evolution developed in the new discipline of anthropology and from this emerged salvage anthropology, which was the need to collect the material culture of supposedly vanishing races as evidence of cultural evolutionary phases before they died out. They collected material and information to preserve as complete a record as possible of Wendat culture, believed to be disappearing.⁵⁷ At the conclusion of his 1911 report for the Geological Survey, summarizing his fieldwork in Wendake and his collection of examples of material culture as well as narratives of the oral tradition, Barbeau wrote: “it may be noted, in concluding this short account, that it seems advisable, and even most urgent, that the present research should be completed in the near future, and an attempt be made to exhaust the sources now easily accessible.”⁵⁸ As he wrote in a later article, “the indications point convincingly to the extinction of the race.”⁵⁹ From Barbeau’s perspective, Wendat arts related to the early-contact period had virtually vanished. He describes Wendat arts of the early twentieth century as unrelated to the arts of earlier generations of the community: “All [were] introduced by the traders and the missionaries.”⁶⁰ Barbeau’s study of the origins of moosehair embroidery, *Saintes Artisanes*, is however, helpful as a history of Quebec convent embroidery traditions and a brief discussion of the work of the Wendat, because it is based on original archival research in the archives of convents that had attempted to convert Indigenous women

⁵⁷ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 150.

⁵⁸ Barbeau, “On Huron Work,” 386.

⁵⁹ Barbeau, “Our Indians: Their Disappearance,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 38, no.7 (1931): 707.

⁶⁰ Barbeau, “Origin of Floral and Other Designs,” 512.

since the mid-seventeenth century. However, he situates the Wendat souvenir arts as “of a minor order” (d’ordre mineur), “borrowed by the Indigenous peoples who . . . seized this business” (emprunt chez les indigenes qui . . . s’emparerent de ce commerce).⁶¹

Speck wrote two articles about his 1908–1909 research at Lorette: “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery” and “Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron,” both published in 1911. His extensive analysis of the techniques then in use is an essential source. His perspective differed from that of Barbeau; he did connect the Wendat production of that period to work of “the earliest times.”⁶² He stated “a number of old specimens in museums and in the possession of the Huron themselves indicate the antiquity and the native origin of both the technique and some of the designs.”⁶³

The contributions of the early anthropological texts are invaluable in their descriptions and documentation of collections. However, the bias of the salvage paradigm led these writers to privilege so-called “authentic” items believed to be closest to precontact art and to devalue works that showed signs of European influence. I suggest that the same evidence that Barbeau uses to argue for a rupture in Wendat visual arts can be read as demonstrating continuity in artistic expression when brought together with earlier works and guided by a different conceptualization of Indigenous art histories.

The accurate understanding of materials and techniques is critical to the analysis I undertake. Speck’s “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” Geoffrey Turner’s *Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America*, and Robin Odle’s “Quill and Moosehair Work in the Great Lakes Region” in *The Art of the Great Lakes Indians* provide a foundation

⁶¹ Barbeau, *Saintes Artisanes*, 103.

⁶² Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 2.

⁶³ Ibid.

for this area of my research. Turner's analyses of Wendat moosehair-embroidered souvenir objects covers works from a greater range of collections than Speck's; however, he situates the work within the framework of European artistic traditions. About bark work, Turner writes: "although the materials and in most cases the workmanship, are Indian, the designs are inherited from seventeenth-century France." His observation of the Wendat floral bark work is that "one can trace a steady evolution of design, away from the convent models and towards simplification and greater realism."⁶⁴ However he does not mention Wendat women artists' development of new and complex formal arrangement in the bark work floral motifs of the 1840s to 1860s, which moved in new directions from the convent work of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Odle describes in detail Indigenous techniques of tanning, smoking, and dyeing as well as quill work, moosehair appliqué on hide, and twined weaving. Odle situates quill work and moosehair in precontact traditions, and writes: "Moosehair embroidery, though not a widely distributed precontact northern art, became an important source of income (during the contact period) for the nuns and Indian girls in the convents at Quebec."⁶⁵ Odle's contextualizing of the convent and Indigenous souvenir moosehair embroidery places it in a continuous development with precontact Indigenous work.

The Historians' View

A number of historical works provide detailed context for my research. Bruce Trigger's *Children of Aataentsic: a history of the Huron people to 1660*, published in 1976 and reprinted with a new preface in 1987, remains the classic study of the early

⁶⁴ Geoffrey Turner, *Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America* (Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum, 1955), 50.

⁶⁵ Robin Odle, "Quill and Moosehair Work in the Great Lakes Region," in *The Art of the Great Lakes Indians* (Flint, MI: Flint Institute of Arts, 1973), xxxi, xxxvi.

history of the Wendat confederacy. The comprehensive scope of this text, the wealth of historical data it contains, and the complexity of Trigger's approach provides a foundation for all areas of my research. His *The Huron: Farmers of the North* is an additional resource.

Wendat scholar Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina's 1984 history of the Wendat, *La nation huronne*, provides a history written from a Wendat community perspective. As such, it includes a longer cultural history than Trigger's work, comprising the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. In particular, her detailed account of Wendat diplomatic traditions is invaluable. Her listing of speeches given by Wendat leaders from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, with their full content, provides evidence for the continuity of cultural narrative that I aim to demonstrate. Wendat scholar Georges E. Sioui's *For an Amerindian Autohistory* takes an approach that repositions Amerindian culture; his "Amerindian autohistory" is "the study of correspondences between Amerindian and non-Amerindian sources."⁶⁶ He argues specifically against notions of social evolution based on privileging of technology and against the notion of the vanishing Indian.⁶⁷ Sioui writes:

In my opinion, two ideas generally accepted by the dominant society . . . account for the impasse in American cross-cultural communication. First is the belief in the superiority of European culture and morality, which has served as a foundation for the acquisition of other peoples' territories and resources. Its scientific name is the theory of social evolution, which puts forward, as a truth, the principle that those peoples who possess the most "advanced" technology and the "capacity of writing" are in the vanguard of the process of "evolution," and thus have the right, inherent to their culture, and the responsibility, to bring about the "development" of the "less advanced." I call this theory the evolution myth. The second idea, which hinges on the first, is that of the inevitable disappearance

⁶⁶ Sioui, *Amerindian Autohistory*, xxii.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, xx.

of the Native. Such annihilation was regarded as the logical and normal outcome of the shock that occurs between a highly “advanced” civilization and another . . . very “backward” one.⁶⁸

In *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* he offers rich insights into Wendat traditional beliefs, written from a basis of community knowledge, and with a contemporary perspective. Siouï gives an interpretation of Wendat oral tradition based on a Wendat world view, in contrast to Barbeau, whose narratives are informed by Western critiques of the oral tradition and perceptions of the vanishing race. These histories written by Wendat academics from the perspective of the community demonstrate the continuity of Wendat traditions and culture, their presence in the community today, and most importantly, model approaches that place the Wendat at the centre of their own history.

Trigger’s remarkable *Children of Aataentsic*, ending as it does a few decades after the 1649 dispersal of the Wendat confederacy, inadvertently gives the impression of the ending of what would appear, through his detailed narrative, as the most significant era of Wendat history. In fact, equally extraordinary narratives appeared after that. These postdispersal histories reveal the continuity of Wendat traditions of commerce, diplomacy, visual arts, and elements of their social structure, with the centrality of women’s role in the community. I thus use Trigger’s work as a foundation and then draw on Siouï and Tehariolina’s vision of continuity of Wendat traditions and vision of the world.

I have found three sources particularly helpful in exploring the history of collecting practices: Krzysztof Pomian’s *Collectors and Curiosities*, Arthur MacGregor’s

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century, and Antoine Schnapper's *Le géant, la licorne, et la tulipe*. Their broad scope provides insight into collecting practices over the span of the centuries of my study, reflecting shifts in European thinking and reception. Historical research by scholars such as Jean-Pierre Sawaya in "Les amérindiens domiciliés et le protestantisme au XVIIIe siècle: Eleazar Wheelock et le Dartmouth College" and *La fédération des sept feux de la vallée du Saint-Laurent XVIIe–XIXe siècle*, and Arnaud Balvay in *L'épée et la plume* offer a similarly detailed level of archival research. However, their approach foregrounds the perspectives of Native communities, supporting my study's focus. Their research provides fascinating new insights into Indigenous and settler community relations and the agency of Indigenous leaders and communities that enable me to extend the dimension of visual arts and women's role in the community.

The Pre- and Early-Contact Visual Culture Record

There are several foundational texts in the archaeological study of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian sites. Richard MacNeish's *Iroquois Pottery Types* and J. Wright's *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition* established a typology of potsherds that characterized pre- and postcontact Wendat sites. However, these texts assume fixed groups that can be identified with specific ceramic style characteristics and thus they arrange works from the precontact period with less allowance for the possibility of intercommunity exchange of styles or diversity. In their article "The Death of Owasco," John P. Hart and Hetty Jo Brumbach argue for an approach that assumes permeable cultural boundaries, the movement of peoples, and the exchange of artistic traditions. Their work accords better with my research and the

variation, diversity, and inconsistency that characterizes Wendat visual arts production pre- and postcontact.

Peter G. Ramsden's "The Hurons: Archaeology and Culture History" provides an overview of precontact Huron material culture while James Bruce Jamieson's "The Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians" explores the archaeology of the mid-sixteenth century St. Lawrence Iroquoian communities. Together their histories of archaeological research in St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Wendat village sites offer an invaluable foundation. However, their work implies that St. Lawrence and Wendat communities vanished after each community's dispersal. Jamieson writes that the St. Lawrence Iroquoians "cease to exist as a separate group before the end of the 16th century"⁶⁹ and Ramsden writes that the establishment of European communities "marks the height of French contact, and also heralds the end of their [Huron] cultural sequence."⁷⁰ Although they describe dispersal, their vocabulary suggests the trope of the vanishing race. While drawing extensively on their data, my study argues for a different interpretation, bringing the archaeological material together with the ethnographic record in a continuous art historical tradition that extends into the early twentieth century.

Bruce Bourque's "Evidence for Prehistoric Exchange on the Maritime Peninsula" foregrounds Indigenous agency in the early-contact period and questions the prevalent notion that "exchange patterns of precontact times were qualitatively different in their intensity and dynamism from those of the contact period," arguing instead for cultural

⁶⁹ James Bruce Jamieson, "The Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians," in *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to AD 1650*, ed. Chris J. Ellis and Neal Ferris, Occasional Publication of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeology Society, no. 5 (London, ON: Ontario Archaeology Society, 1990), 404.

⁷⁰ Peter G. Ramsden, "The Hurons: Archaeology and Culture History," in *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to AD 1650*, ed. Chris J. Ellis and Neal Ferris, Occasional Publication of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeology Society, no. 5 (London, ON: Ontario Archaeology Society, 1990), 384.

dynamism and complexity in precontact intercultural exchange.⁷¹ His findings support my argument that intercultural exchange and the adoption and adaptation of new ideas within the fields of creative design were elements of precontact Indigenous communities' visual arts traditions, and revealed agency and choice on the part of Indigenous artists.

Robert Pearce's *Archaeological Investigations of the Pickering Phase in the Rice Lake* and "Turtles from Turtle Island: An Archaeological Perspective from Iroquoia" give specific information about Eastern Great Lakes communities in the pre- and early-contact period, with insight into Iroquoian spiritual and social beliefs and detail relating to the Wendat. He situates his study of Iroquoian turtle symbol meanings within the context of a continuous history, from the "Archaic into the historic and modern era."⁷² My study builds from his research, to connect the meanings of figural objects in the pre- and early-contact period with later stylistic traditions. A further resource in pre- and early-contact Wendat items from the archaeological record is *The Relation of Seneca False Face Masks to Seneca and Ontario Archaeology* by Zena Pearlstone Mathews. Her study brings precontact material together with ethnographic sources and postcontact artistic production, looking for evidence of stylistic continuities. Like Pearce, her research question and her approach are based on pre- and postcontact continuity of source communities and their visual arts. Their methods and insights into the important meanings in Wendat designs support my study and the tracing of connections of styles and symbolic meanings over time.

⁷¹ Bruce Bourque, "Evidence for Prehistoric Exchange on the Maritime Peninsula," in *Prehistoric Exchange Systems in North America*, ed. Timothy G. Baugh and J. E. Ericson (New York: Plenum Press, 1994), 42, 40.

⁷² Robert Pearce, "Turtles from Turtle Island: An Archaeological Perspective from Iroquoia," *Ontario Archaeology* 79/80 (2005): 101.

The Wendat Visual Arts in the Field of Art History

In the field of art history, Ruth Phillips' work, *Trading Identities*, is the key text concerning Wendat moosehair-embroidered souvenir arts, their historical context and iconographic meanings. *Trading Identities* effectively shifts European disciplinary systems of thinking to recognize the souvenir arts as a cultural florescence of artistic production and an expression of Indigenous agency. Phillips writes:

I have come to regard the scholarly apparatus that inscribes the inauthenticity of commoditized wares as a central problem in the way that art history has addressed Native art. The authenticity paradigm marginalizes not only the objects but the makers, making them a ghostly presence in the modern world rather than acknowledging their vigorous interventions in it. At the same time, when commodified arts are excluded from art-historical research, we are deprived of a rich source of information about the processes by which transcultural aesthetic expressions emerge. . . . And perhaps most seriously, in its disregard of community values the discourse of inauthenticity represents a failure of real respect for the pluralist aesthetic to which most of us now at least pay lip service.⁷³

Phillips explores broad questions concerning souvenir arts in relation to aesthetics, intercultural exchange, and intertextuality, and breaks new ground as she moves away from traditional anthropological and art historical disciplinary views. In addition, her extensive writing in the area of Great Lakes material culture as well as museum exhibition practices has offered a model in every area of my research. Works such as *Patterns of Power*, "Dreams and Designs: Iconographic Problems in Great Lakes Twined Bags", and "A Casket of Savage Curiosities" have been helpful in their focus on Great Lakes collections and the meanings of objects to Great Lakes communities.

George Hamell's study of Indigenous spiritual beliefs and their expression in visual arts in "Trading in Metaphors: The Magic of Beads" contains detailed information

⁷³ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, x.

about Eastern Woodlands symbolic meanings in the early-contact period, which I draw on to discuss continuity of expression in nineteenth-century works, while David Penney's discussion of iconography in "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation," foregrounding Indigenous agency in developments in the visual arts, provides strong support for my arguments.

Anthropologist Ted Brasser discusses the history of Indigenous visual arts in *Pleasing the Spirits*, *Native American Clothing: An Illustrated History*, and *Bo'jou, NeeJee!* However, he sees the influence of European artistic traditions as having "a destructive effect upon the creativity" of Indigenous communities,⁷⁴ and although he makes connections between precontact visual arts and postcontact designs, he sees the continuity of earlier symbols as "mere decorative folk art," no longer carrying their spiritual meaning and importance.⁷⁵ His perspective is from the authenticity paradigm, seeing more value in objects that show less evidence of European contact. My study draws on his research, but with different conclusions. The continuity of early-contact motifs, symbols that represent spiritual meanings, I interpret as continuity of identity and preservation of cultural heritage. My study builds from the art historical research of these authors in two ways. First, as I have discussed, I situate the souvenir works within a longer history of Wendat visual arts. Second, conversations with Wendat community members have provided knowledge that informs interpretations of the souvenir works.

Enriching the context of the art historical discussion of the appearance of floral imagery in Indigenous visual arts, Jack Goody's *Culture of Flowers* offers fresh

⁷⁴ Ted Brasser, "Pleasing the Spirits," in *Pleasing the Spirits*, ed. Douglas C. Ewing (New York: Ghylen Press, 1982), 27.

⁷⁵ Brasser, "Pleasing the Spirits," 17.

interpretations and the possibility of situating these movements within a global context. This has the effect of decentring European traditions. He does not explore North American Indigenous visual arts and the absence of floral representation in pre- and early-contact work, which he states was beyond the scope of his book. However, his theories about the absence of floral imagery in countries in Africa and in Europe during specific periods give a fresh perspective on these developments in the Eastern Woodlands.

Collections

A substantial catalogue and journal literature of Great Lakes Indigenous art includes examples of Wendat objects, and these texts are important in providing documentation of individual items from particular collections. This body of work, from Judy Thomson's *The North American Indian Collection, A Catalogue* to Judy Hall's "Caldwell and Drummond: First Nations Collections by British Military Personnel in North-Eastern North America," and "The Earls of Caledon: Nineteenth Century Irish Soldiers and Adventurers in North America" add substantially to knowledge of key collections in major institutions.⁷⁶ I draw on these texts in the course of my discussion.

This broad range of sources is the foundation of my research. However, they each report an aspect of Wendat culture and history, in most cases in a particular slice of time, from a particular disciplinary perspective. Together, they create a literary record of a series of ruptures with the past, and do not explore the areas that interest me: the role of Wendat women, the continuities in the stream of Wendat visual arts, the symbolic

⁷⁶Judy Thomson, *The North American Indian Collection: A Catalogue*. Berne: Berne Historical Museum, 1977; Judy Hall, "Caldwell and Drummond: First Nations Collections by British Military Personnel in North-Eastern North America." Paper presented at the 28th American Indian Workshop, Musée du quai Branly, Paris, 10–13 May, 2007; Judy Hall, "The Earls of Caledon: Nineteenth Century Irish Soldiers and Adventurers in North America." *American Indian Art Magazine* 37, no. 2 (2012): 66–75.

significance of these art objects, and the integrated nature of visual arts in all areas of Wendat life, including political strategies that supported community interests. My study explores and expands these areas of knowledge.

My purpose in this study is to show the culturally complex history of Wendat artistic production by mapping its stylistic changes, analyzing its imagery, and the reception of the art by contemporaries and later generations of scholars. The history of the Wendat souvenir arts is one of interwoven influences from European and non-Wendat Indigenous arts traditions; the production of the numerous styles within the tradition overlaps, discontinues, and then recommences. My study is not a search for the origin of the souvenir arts in precontact Wendat history, or the construction of a linear, step-by-step history of styles. Rather, my purpose has been to explore the multidimensional art history or visual culture history that emerges from this study and to recognize and create space for the untidiness of a rich narrative that abounds with anomalies, “foreign” influences, contradictions, and diversity. This aspect of my research is in the nature of a typology but an untidy one, informed by John Hart and Hetty Brumbach’s critique of traditional archaeological approaches to the precontact material culture of the northeast: “by breaking the pattern of trying to fit variation into existing culture-historical constructs, we will probably find that the past is much more complicated than previously imagined.”⁷⁷

⁷⁷ John P. Hart and Hetty Brumbach, “The Death of Owasco,” *American Antiquity* 68, no. 4 (2003): 750.

Exploring Wendat Collections

and the Formation of a Wendat Visual Arts Database

My approach has been to locate works with known provenance in the seven style sequences and map their interconnected production in a way that allows me to determine more reliably the date and origin of works with unknown provenance. By conducting museum-based research in pre- and postcontact Wendat collections, I have assembled this body of work in an image database.

I have gathered information and images of material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the archaeological record in order to gain a better understanding of the souvenir tradition and to explore evidence of continuity of imagery. I considered mid- to late-sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century material from sites in southern Ontario, in the region inhabited by Wendat communities at the time of contact. I focused on material collected from village sites that are in close proximity to Ste. Marie and St. Louis, the Wendat communities established by the Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth century. This means that the material culture I examined can be identified with reasonable certainty as having originated within Wendat communities. These examples illustrate the technical and aesthetic characteristics of Wendat visual culture before contact, from which I explored connections and continuity between pre- and postcontact visual culture traditions. The archaeological collection at the Museum of Ontario Archaeology in London was a rich source for collections from Wendat sites in the immediate area known to Champlain, Sagard, and the Jesuit missionaries in the early decades of the seventeenth century, while the archaeological collection at the Canadian

Museum of Civilization provided further Wendat examples as well as examples from the St. Lawrence Iroquoian communities.

I have studied collections of Wendat souvenir arts, which appear in collections in museums across Canada, Europe, and the United States, in significant numbers. For example, of the over 550 Wendat items at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, over 200 are souvenir arts. During a research fellowship at the Canadian Museum of Civilization I had the opportunity to study their collections, which include a number of works with provenance. A visit to the Royal Ontario Museum gave me an opportunity to look at several works from the June Bedford collections, which though undated, were diverse in their interpretations of form and design. In addition, I visited collections at the Musée canadien des civilisations, Québec and the Musée huron-wendat, Wendake. Through visits to the museums at the Musée de l'hôpital-général, the Musée des Ursulines de Québec and the Musée de l'hôtel-dieu, I also gained a greater understanding of convent textiles, which were among the early sites of transcultural exchange.

During a three-month research trip, I visited a number of museums in Europe. At the Musée du quai Branly in Paris I studied the Eastern Great Lakes collections, objects that were originally in the Bibliothèque nationale and the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, and include a number that were collected before 1763. I also visited fascinating collections in museums in the French provinces: the Musée internationale de la chaussure, Romans; the Musée du nouveau monde and Museum d'histoire naturelle, La Rochelle; the Musée d'Angoulême, Angoulême; the Museum d'histoire naturelle, Lille; the Château-musée, Dieppe; and the Museum d'histoire naturelle, Rouen. My study of the extensive nineteenth-century collections at the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, and the

Bernisches Historisches Museum offered important information, with dated works with provenance in both institutions. The visit to the Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm was equally exciting. Their 1906 Folke Cronholm collection is a rare assemblage, including a full Wendat ceremonial chief's regalia, as well as a photographic and text archive recording details of Cronholm's visit to the community. The British Museum collections included several dated bodies of work, including the important 1725 Sloane pouch, a rare early eighteenth-century work. In addition, with the assistance of curators at the National Museum of the American Indian, I was able to study online a number of Wendat works from their extensive collection, and include examples in this study.

Due to the great volume of Wendat souvenir production and its dissemination in collections all over the United States, Canada, and Europe, there are collections whose works have not been included in this research.⁷⁸ However, the sample I present is extensive and includes representative styles and forms. The works from the collections not visited might strengthen some arguments, weaken others, or open new lines of thought; however the consistent appearance of specific identifiable styles suggests that the sample I have is, to a significant extent, from the current research, representative of the tradition.

The fresh evidence from the French and Stockholm collections, with a number of examples with documented dates and provenance, together with the evidence of other

⁷⁸ Some of the collections that are not included are at the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, England, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden, the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, the Übersee Museum, Bremen, the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, the Städtisches Museum, Braunschweig, the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, London, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery, Exeter, the Hancock Museum, Tyne and Wear Museums, Newcastle-upon Tyne, Scotland, the Brooklyn Museum, New York, and the Glenbow Museum, Calgary. It may also be that there are collections in public and private museums that are not known due to lack of published research.

known European and North American collections, has been critical to creating a better understanding of stylistic development. Through iconographic and formal analysis, from this corpus of material I have identified styles from which comparisons can be made to understand more clearly Wendat responses to the changing circumstances of their relations with European colonizing nations. As with Burnham's problem in the study of the caribou coats, due to the collection practices of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, few Wendat works have known collection dates or sources. Because of this, the works with provenance are a core around which I have arranged my typology and stylistic analysis. Works from the archaeological material have general dates and locations. Works from the eighteenth century have only general histories and I have included in my discussion several examples as well as the one rare dated work. I have included a number of the dated works from the nineteenth centuries and, following Burnham's model, I have included outstanding works that appear to fit with the dated examples. As in Burnham's model, I studied the specifics of embroidery stitches, construction techniques, and materials used in individual items which offer evidence of their time period, information I have included in a Glossary.

Community-Based Research Grounded in Ethical Practices

My approach to the research is grounded in the practices recommended in the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples and the methodologies described by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Tuhiwai Smith emphasizes the importance of research reflecting the interests and questions of the community. Knowledge of Wendat values and cultural understanding, especially in discussion of the meanings of objects and motifs, is important in order to inform the research with the

perspective of the producing community.⁷⁹ Consultation with members of the Wendat community was a foundation for my research. Mireille Sioui, Manon Sioui, Sylvie Paré, and Teharihulen Michel Savard were generous in sharing their knowledge of Wendat visual arts traditions and community cultural history, grounding interpretations of these works. Their knowledge of the symbolic content of nineteenth-century work, and their description of the transmission of this information through stories and the memories of time spent with grandparents and family who passed on information about ways of life, demonstrate the ongoing significance and meanings of these works to the community and their value and relevance in the present.

Current scholarly work with Indigenous communities emphasizes the ethical responsibility of ensuring that research benefits the communities as well as academic scholarship. Fundamental to this and reflecting the collaborative practices of Canadian research methods and ethics for the study of Indigenous histories is the sharing of knowledge with Indigenous communities. The research database of over 220 images of Wendat and Eastern Great Lakes objects on which my arguments are based, constructed in the form of a searchable, bilingual image database, is the foundation for Appendix B and the illustrations I refer to in the text. This database represents the outcome of fieldwork in archaeological museums, ethnographic collections, and archives. I use this database to test my arguments, but it also stands alone as a product of my research. It contributes a historical heritage resource to the Wendat community and a research tool for curators. It includes works from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections and contains examples of the earliest works identified with reasonable certainty as

⁷⁹ Sioui, *Amerindian Autohistory*, x.

created by the Wendat of the region east of Georgian Bay and west of Lake Simcoe pre-1600, and the 1608 treaty allies of Samuel de Champlain. As part of the collaborative research practice of this thesis, I will present a copy of the dissertation and a DVD of the database to Grand Chief Conrad Siouï, of the Wendat nation.⁸⁰

Exploring Wendat Art History

Throughout this dissertation, I situate the souvenir arts tradition within the history of European collecting and within a Wendat art history dating from the precontact period. In my analysis of the Wendat visual arts, I develop an understanding of their diversity and extent, and the important role played by Wendat women artists in the commercial development of the souvenir wares and the preservation of Wendat culture and identity.

In chapter 1, I present an overview of the historical and social contexts of the Wendat visual arts that are the focus of this research, with descriptions of Wendat gender roles and community social systems as well as Wendat cosmology. In chapters 2 and 3, I explore the history of European description and collection of Wendat visual arts. I discuss how European missionaries and explorers wrote about the Wendat communities with whom they lived, traded, allied themselves militarily, and struggled to convert. The collectors' perspectives on Wendat artworks and relations with the Wendat community changed over the centuries, reflecting shifts in European thinking and world view as colonial control increased. Understanding shifts in Europeans' criteria for collecting provides a necessary foundation for the analysis of design and form that follows. Chapters 2 and 3 locate the artworks and their period of collection within the flow of historical events. In addition, through analysis of the various collecting paradigms and

⁸⁰ The images included in the CD are used with the permission of the North American and European institutions whose collections are the focus of my research.

detailed accounts of several of the collectors, I provide a starting point to explore the meaning and significance of the works both to Wendat creators and to European buyers.

In chapter 2, I discuss the earliest European collectors and explorers in the region of early-contact Wendat communities, from explorer Jacques Cartier in the mid-sixteenth century to French soldier Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, in the early years of the eighteenth century. No examples of material culture acquired by European visitors of this period can presently be identified in collections, hence visual arts traditions of the time can be known only through textual description or from what is drawn from the archaeological record found at Wendat village sites.

In chapter 3 I continue the discussion of European collections and reception of Wendat works from the mid eighteenth-century collection of the Fayolle family now at the Musée du quai Branly, to the early twentieth-century collections made by Marius Barbeau collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec.

In chapters 4, 5, and 6 I explore continuities and innovations of style and form in Wendat visual arts, from sixteenth century works in the archaeological record to early twentieth-century commercial and ceremonial works. In chapter 4 I discuss sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century precontact and early-contact Wendat works located in the archaeological collections, together with ethnographic text descriptions from the early seventeenth century. As part of my argument for continuity in Wendat visual arts, I present geometric and figural sequences in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ceramics and their relationship to the geometric sequence in eighteenth-century twined pouches and prisoner ties.

In chapter 5, I explore developments in floral design in four floral sequences, situating the Wendat floral tradition within the global history of floral representation to contextualize the Wendat adoption and adaptation of European pictorial modes. Through discussion of the four sequences in works from dated collections, I present my findings of continuity of Indigenous colour traditions and developments in floral representation.

In chapter 6, I turn to the iconography of genre scenes, identifying themes that have not yet been discussed in the literature and explore possible symbolic meanings through consultation with contemporary Wendat. From the perspective of community knowledge and oral tradition, I argue that these innovative art forms established a distinct Wendat style of self-representation, constitute a separate sequence from the earlier convent works, and hold different meanings for Wendat and Europeans.⁸¹ Through this discussion I further my argument for continuity and renewal of earlier stylistic traditions.

A case study of two bark trays from the collection of Lord and Lady Elgin is the focus of chapter 7. As I explore the story of their acquisition and suggest a diplomatic context, I illustrate my argument for the significant economic role played by Wendat women and the continuity of women's voice in matters affecting the community. Through a detailed study of sources from the Wendat archives, Elgin family journals and letters, and colonial records, this close study of the trays and the relations between the two communities that they represent instantiates these relations, leading to a deeper understanding of the political complexities of the period and Wendat agency in maintaining their distinct identity in a time of increasing government pressures of

⁸¹ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 20.

assimilation. The identification of a corpus of works by the Elgin tray artist is an outcome of stylistic analysis of the trays.

CHAPTER 1

CULTURAL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL TRADITIONS

OF EARLY-CONTACT WENDAT SOCIETY

European missionaries and explorers wrote detailed accounts of the Wendat communities they visited in the early seventeenth century. This text record offers an understanding of the social context and world view that was the matrix of Wendat women's visual arts production, as well as an understanding of Wendat political, trade, and military relations with other Indigenous nations.

The Wendat peoples were part of the Iroquoian-language group living in southern Ontario in the pre- and early-contact period; Wendat presence in this region can be identified to AD 1100.¹ By the early seventeenth century, the Wendat were a confederacy made up of five nations; Georges Siouï writes that “Wendat, pronounced approximately as ‘one dot,’ was the word used by the five confederated nations of Wendake . . . to describe themselves.”² Wendake was the region north of Toronto, east of Georgian Bay and west of Lake Simcoe. The five nations were the Attignawantan, also known as the Bear People; the Ataronchronon, or the “nation beyond the intervening swamp”; the Tahontaenrat, or Deer People; the Attigneenongnahac, or Cord-Making People; and the Arendahronon, or Rock People.³

¹ Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, AD 500–1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7.

² Georges Siouï, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, rev. ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 5.

³ Siouï, *Huron-Wendat: Heritage*, 89–90. Other translations have been suggested for the Tahontaenrat: “the place of white thorns or bushes” or “the white-eared people” (ibid., 90).

The Iroquoian-language group included the Wendat, the Tionontaté (Petun), the Neutral, the Susquehannock, the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, the Haudenosaunee or Five Nations, and the Erie.⁴ The names used by Europeans to refer to the Wendat and other nations in this group are often different from the Indigenous names preferred by those communities today. The early French used the name *Huron* to refer to the Wendat, a word that could mean either wild boar, possibly a reference to Wendat hair styles, or it could mean rustic, possibly a Eurocentric reference to the Wendat way of life. The French also used the name *Petun*, tobacco-growing people, to refer to the Tionontaté.⁵ The French terms can be unflattering in their connotations and in this study I use the name Wendat to refer to the peoples of the Wendat confederacy pre-1650 and to the section of that confederacy who settled outside Quebec City, now the community of Wendake.

The St. Lawrence Iroquoians were the peoples of the towns of Hochelaga and Stadacona, met by Jacques Cartier during his mid- sixteenth-century voyages. By the end of the sixteenth century these communities had dispersed. While *St. Lawrence Iroquoian* was the name given by historians, Wendat academic Georges Sioui uses the term *Laurentian Nadoueks*, as he states, “Nadoueks being the name given by many Algonquian tribes to all peoples of ‘Iroquoian’ stock.”⁶ However in this study I use the name St. Lawrence Iroquoian, which is more broadly known.

⁴ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 91–99.

⁵ Warrick, *Population History*, 9.

⁶ See Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 178, for use of the name *St. Lawrence Iroquoian*; Sioui, *Amerindian Autohistory*, 82–83, for use of the name *Nadouek*.

The Haudenosaunee, also known as the Five Nations,⁷ were a confederacy of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk nations, living in what today is upper New York State. They are now known as the Hodenosaunee (meaning *People of the Longhouse*), and this is the name I use.⁸ Indigenous nations of the central Algonquian-language group, which included the Montagnais, Naskapi, Odawa, Ojibwe, and Algonquin, were also among the early-contact period southern Ontario Indigenous communities, and were among the Wendat nation's trading partners and military allies.⁹

In the spring of 1649, after several years of conflict with nations of the Five Nations Confederacy or Haudenosaunee, the Wendat nations dispersed, with groups making different choices for their future. Some groups accepted offers of adoption by nations of the Five Nations Confederacy. Other groups relocated to join the Neutral, the Erie, or the Tionontaté (Petun), nations with whom the Wendat had close relations, while a group of Christian Wendat moved first with Father Ragueneau to Gahoendoe Island, and later to Quebec, although there were ongoing hostilities with Iroquois nations.¹⁰

The Neutral and the Erie, with the Wendat who had joined them, were attacked and dispersed by the Five Nations. The Tionontaté (Petun) and the Wendat who had joined them, who together were to become known as the Wyandot, were also attacked.¹¹

⁷ The Five Nations became the Six Nations when the Tuscarora joined the confederacy in the early eighteenth century.

⁸ The name *Onkwehonwe* is used by the Six Nations Reserve in Canada, as the name *Haudenosaunee* can also refer to the people of the Longhouse Religion.

⁹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 336–337, 244, 351.

¹⁰ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 770–775, 784–787, 802, 810–811, 815.

¹¹ The Tionontaté had always been close neighbours of the Wendat. Gary Warrick refers to the pre-1650 Wendat communities as the “Wendat-Tionontaté,” stating that “it is virtually impossible to distinguish ancestral Wendat and Tionontaté sites located outside their respective historic homelands” (Warrick, *Population History*, 8).

From Michilimackinac Island in 1650, they began a series of relocations around the Great Lakes.¹² Marius Barbeau, an anthropologist working for the Geological Survey (later the National Museum of Canada), described the movements of the Wyandot through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their settlement in Oklahoma, where they are today:

After incessant migrations about the Great Lakes, the western bands of the Hurons, thereafter described as Wyandots, definitely established their settlements, in 1701, along the shores of the Detroit river. Early in the eighteenth century most of these Wyandots moved to the southern shore of Lake Erie, to the present site of Sandusky, Ohio. The Ohio band of Wyandots was transferred, in 1843, to the site of the present Kansas City, Kansas, and, in 1868, to Wyandotte reservation, Oklahoma.¹³

The Christian Huron who had relocated near Quebec City made several moves in that area. In 1675 their population was about 300, including a number of Christian Mohawks. In 1697, they settled at Jeune Lorette, about eight kilometres from Quebec City. The name was given by Jesuit priests.¹⁴ Today the community is known by its Wendat name of Wendake.¹⁵ The souvenir arts of this community are the focus of my study.

In the early twentieth century the Wendat language was still being spoken by the older generation in the Wyandot communities in Oklahoma and in Amherstburg, Ontario, and to a lesser extent among the Wendat of Wendake. When Marius Barbeau visited these communities in 1911 and 1912 he recorded in text and on phonograph the songs,

¹² Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 770, 776, 791, 820.

¹³ Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, ix.

¹⁴ L'abbé Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette* (Montréal: La Cie de Publication de la Revue canadienne, 1900), 27–28.

¹⁵ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 818. The Tahontaenrat remained together as an entity and accepted Seneca invitations to live with them. They established a village on Seneca territory and were permitted to continue their own customs (ibid., 791). Others of the dispersed Wendat, around 400, agreed to join the Onondaga and the Mohawk (ibid., 814, 826).

legends, myths, and origin stories of the Wendat oral tradition in Wendat; translators from the communities provided English and French translations.¹⁶ The Wendat language did not continue into the next generation, however, and in a later article Barbeau described the Huron-Wyandot language as “disappeared since 1920” (*disparu depuis 1920*).¹⁷

An overview of pre- and early-contact Wendat social organization, kinship structure, and women’s political and social roles provides important historical context for the various discussions presented in my study. Early seventeenth-century sources describe Wendat women’s traditional positions of status and authority. The clan and clan segments rooted in the family were the basis of Wendat social and political structure. Women gave children their clan identity, and clan segments were made up of members of extended families living in one community who were descendants of a common female ancestor.¹⁸ Political offices were inherited matrilineally, which gave further importance to women’s position in social organization.

The clan segment had two headmen: a civil leader and a war leader. Sources diverge slightly on the exact role women played in their election. Bruce Trigger writes that the role was unclear but suggests that as with the Iroquois, Wendat women’s

¹⁶ Marius Barbeau, “Wyandot Tales, Including Foreign Elements,” *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 28, no. 107 (1915): 83, fn 2.

¹⁷ Marius Barbeau, “Dialectes Huron-Iroquois,” *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth International Congress of Americanists* (1960): 740. Several of the men and women in the Wendat community who spoke the Wendat language and shared with Barbeau the narratives of the Wendat oral tradition were also engaged in the production of the souvenir arts, including Mme. Etienne Gros-Louis, also known as Marie Robigaud, the mother of Caroline Gros-Louis, and Maurice Bastien, who engaged in the manufacture of moccasins and snowshoes (Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, xii). Today the Wendat and Wyandot language is taught in the Wendake and Wyandot communities, in schools and adult classes.

¹⁸ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 54–55.

opinions counted within their clan segment.¹⁹ Karen Anderson is definite that clan leaders were appointed by clan matrons and adds that the power of Wendat matrons to depose clan leaders was “indirectly confirmed by Jesuit reference to problems of leaders who converted [to Christianity].”²⁰ Norman Clermont writes that the chiefs were created by the women, who could also remove them from power.²¹ The numerous descriptions of events where the matrons’ decision carried the day suggest that they played a definitive role.²² Women’s power, rooted in the domestic space of the longhouse, extended into the public sphere, where women could comply—or not—with council decisions, and “send authoritative messages to male councillors.”²³

In *The Huron: Farmers of the North*, Trigger describes Wendat women’s political role and social responsibilities:

While public political activities were exclusively men’s business, women played an important role in political decision making. They not only appointed and could dismiss chiefs, but their views, and especially those of older women, were conveyed to the local council through the men who attended it. If these opinions were not listened to, the male participants could anticipate serious trouble when they returned to their longhouses. In general, women had a special interest in issues relating to community life, while men were more concerned with relations between communities. Women were the guardians of family and community traditions, while men, who spent more time visiting far off peoples, were more used to, and tolerant of, cultural differences. Yet men and women both had a significant input into most discussions of public policy. For example, chiefs had to obtain permission from women before they could take teenage boys away from

¹⁹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 54–55.

²⁰ Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot* (London: Routledge, 1991), 107, 123.

²¹ Norman Clermont, “La place de la femme dans les sociétés Iroquoiennes,” *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 13, no. 4 (1983): 288.

²² Richard White describes events of 1738 that emphasize the continuing political power of Wendat clan matrons. The clan matrons of the Huron-Petuns then living near Detroit successfully opposed French efforts to relocate the Huron-Petun to Montreal. The Petun were the Tionontaté, a neighbouring community to the Wendat in their homeland off Georgian Bay, before the 1649 dispersal. They differed from the Wendat politically but not culturally (Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 94).

²³ Anderson, *Chain Her*, 127.

the community on trading or military expeditions. This gave women a significant voice in the conduct of foreign affairs. Because of the belief that silence denoted strength, and the inability of any council decision to bind any person contrary to his or her own assent, even the exclusion of women from public political activity did not necessarily imply political inferiority. As in many other aspects of their life, the Huron recognized that men and women had different interests but gave each other the freedom to control what was of interest to them.²⁴

The Wendat system of government was based on a leader's power of persuasion to sway public opinion; leaders held no powers of coercion. Consensus was necessary to decide public issues, and in this the Iroquoian concept of personal freedom, what Trigger describes as "the individual freedom that was fundamental to Indian culture," is evident. No one, man or woman, was bound to a decision they had not agreed to.²⁵

The confederacy council, composed of most or all civil headmen, held its main meeting each spring, with the purpose of strengthening the confederacy, resolving disputes between the tribes, and maintaining relations with other nations.²⁶ Anyone who wanted to express an opinion at these councils could, and women did make public addresses there.²⁷ As Trigger describes, women's political role was one of substantial influence, especially in matters relating to children and family; whatever men might decide would only come about if women elders also agreed.²⁸

Trigger writes that the most basic distinction in Huron society was that made between the sexes, and every task was either men's or women's work.²⁹ Women were

²⁴ Bruce Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North*, 2nd ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1990), 87.

²⁵ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 55, 378.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 58–59.

²⁷ Anderson, *Chain Her*, 124.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 34.

responsible for children and all family matters, such as adoption and integration in the matrilineage.³⁰ They were also responsible for agricultural production and control of distribution, a key role. In the time before the Wendat dispersal in 1649, women's produce made up 75 percent of the nation's food supply, supplemented by men's hunting and fishing.³¹ Eleanor Leacock argues that women's control over the distribution of the foods they produced, including meat, gave them power "to veto declarations of war and to intervene to bring about peace." Leacock points out that in Iroquoian societies "household management" was also the management of the "public" economy.³²

Women also grew surplus corn to trade with other nations, reflecting the nations' traditional focal position as traders in the Eastern Woodlands and women's central role in this.³³ By the nineteenth century, European settlement had removed Wendat people's land base and largely ended their traditional ways of hunting and farming. Wendat women then saw opportunity in the market for tourist commodities. They used their skills to respond to it, and the community expanded their trade networks to sell their products widely at tourist destinations, including Niagara Falls (New York), Kingston, Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec. There are parallels between earlier agricultural production and nineteenth-century commodity production, in economic agency and the need for women to work to support their families and community.

³⁰ Clermont, "La place de la femme," 287.

³¹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 34.

³² Eleanor Burke Leacock, "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society," *Current Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (June 1978): 247–75.

³³ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 65.

Clermont describes Iroquoian society as one without rape, where women were in charge of sexual relations and reproductive functions were highly valued. This meant that the birth of girls was preferred, and compensation for a woman victim of murder was higher than for a man.³⁴ Archaeological remains indicate that 66 per cent of women died between 16 and 25, indicating a high mortality rate in childbirth, adding to the importance of the birth of a girl.³⁵ The birth of a girl gave strength to the matrilineage, and their descendants gave strength to that family; boys would go to live with their wives' family.

The kinship structure of the extended family, focused on the longhouse, was the institutional setting in which men and women lived most aspects of their daily lives.³⁶ Trigger writes that the extended family ideally was made up of a woman, her daughters or her sisters, their husbands and children.³⁷ In this system, a woman did not depend on her husband for agricultural produce, because women controlled this through kinship work groups; nor was she dependent on her husband for hunted or trade goods, as these came from kinship exchange networks.³⁸ In a matrilineal society, men needed wives more than women needed husbands, as without a wife and the connection to her kinship network, a man would not have access to produced goods.³⁹

³⁴ Clermont, "La place de la femme," 287.

³⁵ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 440.

³⁶ Anderson, *Chain Her*, 142.

³⁷ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 45.

³⁸ Anderson, *Chain Her*, 114.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

Wendat Cosmology

Knowledge concerning the oral tradition of the Wendat peoples is only partial; however, the narratives that are known demonstrate women's central role, in concert with men. I will present a broad outline of this oral tradition to give a general understanding of its scope and content.

What information is available is drawn mainly from the work of Marius Barbeau. He conducted extensive interviews in 1911 and 1912 with the Wendat of Lorette, Quebec; Amherstburg, Ontario; and Wyandotte, Oklahoma.⁴⁰ Another important source is the work of Wendat historian Georges Sioui, who informs our understanding of Wendat cosmology from the perspective of contemporary community knowledge.⁴¹ The total knowledge available only presents a partial understanding of a complex of spiritual beliefs, narratives, and rituals. Barbeau himself writes that his records of Wendat oral tradition, although the most complete written collection, are scanty and disconnected fragments, which "but faintly reveal the significance and grandeur of the native lore taken as a whole."⁴² Barbeau's information came from a limited number of sources and was filtered through a Western world view. His recordings, gathered from a limited number of people whose families had had generations of intercultural contact, processed through layers of translation, represent a mediated version of this discursive tradition. However, Wendat scholar Georges Sioui's interpretations of these narratives, which foreground the matricentric values that he identifies as the core of the early Wendat cultural traditions,

⁴⁰ Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*.

⁴¹ Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: Heritage*.

⁴² Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 7.

help to identify the overlay of Western influences and understand the narratives from a Wendat perspective.

Barbeau divides the stories recounted to him into several categories. The traditional narratives, which the Wendat believed in as truth—for example, creation stories, etiological stories concerning natural phenomena, and the “sociological” narratives concerning the origin of powers—he called myths. The stories the Wendat acknowledged as fiction he called tales, similar to folk tales. Legends or anecdotes of important historical events and wars were described as traditions.⁴³

The creation narrative begins with the “endless sea under the pristine sky-world.” From this sky world a semidivine sky-dweller woman fell into the water region where birds and sea animals rescued her and built an island for her on Big Turtle’s back. The island was enlarged to a continent, and Small Turtle was sent to the sky to create the stars, sun, and moon. On the island, the woman bore “mysteriously begotten boy-twins.” In an alternative story, she bore a daughter, Aataentsic, who died bearing twins. One twin was good, the other bad, and “their mission was to prepare the island for the coming of man.” All good things stem from the good son, all evil from the “wicked brother.” In the end, the two fought a duel, the good brother won, but the evil elements the other brother had created remained, and the dead mother and the evil twin were in charge of death and the underworld.⁴⁴ There is a second version of the creation story which is very similar to the Christian story of the Garden of Eden, illustrating the syncretic aspect of some of the narratives.⁴⁵

⁴³ Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

Other narratives in Barbeau's "myth" category tell of supernatural beings, the *ukis*, with powers to either help or harm man. The friendly *ukis* were the supernatural guardians of the individual clans and societies. Larger than the *uki* were the spirits of the sky, the Thunderers, though it was the *uki* who played a more direct role in the affairs of people.⁴⁶ The "sociological" narratives told of the origins of powers and social standing, the origin of the clans and phratries, also believed as historical truth. The tales or fictional narratives included stories of tricksters and heroes, human adventures, and human-like animals. Stories such as the cycle of the Fox and the Raccoon⁴⁷ fell in this group. The last category was the anecdotes, narratives of historical events, such as *The Wyandots at War with the Senecas*. This was an account of a confrontation with the Iroquois, described as a battle over Wendat land in which the Wendat were the victors.⁴⁸

Sioui's perspective on the Wendat oral tradition differs from Barbeau's, for example in the interpretation of the creation myth. Sioui writes that Barbeau, from the perspective of the Judeo-Christian tradition, assigns values of absolute good and evil to the twins, and the evil power of death to Aataentsic, their mother. Sioui's interpretation is important in that it asserts Wendat rather than Euro-Canadian world views. Interpreting the story from the perspective of the matricentric Wendat tradition, Sioui states:

The patricentric Judeo-Christian tradition developed a myth that deals in absolutes (good and evil), whereas the matricentric Wendat tradition developed a myth that reflects the more complex interaction of real life.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 9–10, 330–34.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 180–83.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 271, 275–80.

⁴⁹ Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: Heritage*, 18.

Sioui describes the twins as equally representing male and female. Tawiskaron represents brutal masculine force, but also innocence; he loses the duel with his brother because he doesn't lie. Tawiskaron also has his mother's and grandmother's gift of clairvoyance; he knows that humans need adversity to live, that the "infinite and unthinking benevolence" of his brother Tsestah is harmful to them—it would make them soft and weak. Tsestah is nurturing. He supplies fire and other benefits, but he lacks intuition, the gift of women. Sioui's perspective, based on the Woodlands world view, places Aataentsic and her role as ruler of the underworld in a balanced cosmology of masculine and feminine, where there are no absolutes, and where death is the necessary lot of mankind. Death, pain, and adversity, Sioui states, are the source of compassion, "the fountain of all social virtues . . . of society itself."⁵⁰ This is in contrast to Barbeau's Western perspective, which associates Aataentsic with evil as the source of death.

Sioui's presentation of the Wendat oral tradition demonstrates its stature, significance, and important function in the lives of Wendat peoples today, at a different level of moral and historical understanding from Barbeau's categories of myth or folk tale. Sioui writes that Wendat stories in general have a moral, and that "one could say their only function is to constitute a moral code." He outlines this moral code, and emphasizes the importance of the stories, stating that the legends and tales constitute history in that they contain the wisdom of a people.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: Heritage*, 18–19.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 36–41.

Autonomy of Wendat Women

As this outline suggests, Wendat women's rights, duties, and responsibilities gave them a position in their society which was different from European women's in theirs, consistent with matrilineal societies in general and with Iroquoians' fundamental belief in personal freedom of choice as the right of women as well as men.⁵² However, it is important not to overstate Iroquoian women's autonomy or, indeed, the subjugated position of European women. Iroquoian women followed social customs and were expected to carry out duties and responsibilities; in European society, women's ability to exercise personal choice was more limited, but this was mitigated by other factors such as social class.

Norman Clermont writes that the Iroquoians privileged personal autonomy highly: "There were no relationships that were strictly obligatory, subordinate, or truly dependent" [il n'y avait pas de relations strictement obligatoires, subordonnées ou réellement dépendants]. He states that the social contract and customary rights were defined by cultural expectations, implicit social pressure, and tacit historical understandings.⁵³ Deborah Doxtator describes the Haudenosaunee philosophy that the "world is made up of reciprocal relationships between two sides."⁵⁴ The Iroquoian peoples valued personal responsibility and freedom of choice for women in the same way as men. This was very different from the more hierarchical European understandings of the relationships between men and women. For example, Doxtator writes that "the

⁵² Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 55, 378.

⁵³ Clermont, "La place de la femme," 289.

⁵⁴ Deborah Doxtator, "Basket, Bead and Quill, and the Making of "Traditional" Art," *Basket, Bead and Quill* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1995), 14.

Rotinohsyonni [Iroquois] idea of mother” was not the same as the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Euro-North American ideas of subservience to “father.”⁵⁵

This brief summary outlines what is known of early-contact Wendat social structure, from the records of the early-contact period and the historians who have studied these works. This is brought together with knowledge of the Wendat oral tradition, transmitted through generations of culture keepers, recorded by Barbeau in the first decades of the twentieth century, and discussed by Sioui from the Wendat community perspective. This is the history that has prompted my questions about the role of Wendat souvenir arts and the importance of women as entrepreneurs and in the preservation of Wendat cultural traditions.

⁵⁵ Deborah Doxtator, *What Happened to the Iroquois Clans?* (London: University of Western Ontario, 1996), 73.

CHAPTER 2

COLLECTING WENDAT ART:

WESTERN PARADIGMS IN SEVEN VARIATIONS

PART I

I will send you over some of the Indian work the next ship that sails and if you send . . . over any measure of the foot anybody that wants a pair of worked moccasins for slippers I will get them done, they make them of the hide of the moose deer beautifully worked with the hair which is dyed different colours and the quills of the porcupine they work also very beautifully with glass beads on worsted sashes.

—James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of Caledon, 1838

Let me know if you like the book cover I sent Bell if so I can send you and my Grandmother one. It is more useful and ornamental than the gloves or moccasins and looks better for a drawing room table. I am going to treat myself to a smart worked leather waistcoat.

—James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of Caledon, 1840

Set within European collections, in the sixteenth-century curiosity cabinet or the nineteenth-century drawing room, the story of the moment and place when a Wendat object was collected tells us what made it a souvenir and what kind of connection existed between the receiver and the producer.¹ That is what gives these works their special quality; they represent a moment of connection, even at several removes from the original purchase. In letters to his family, James Du Pre Alexander, the third Earl of Caledon, wrote chatty descriptions of Wendat souvenir works, of which he bought a quantity. His letters illustrate his moment of connection and, in addition, are representative of

¹ Within many Indigenous belief systems, some nouns that in the Western world view would be seen as inanimate, can be animate. An animate noun would be referred to in terms that would not objectify it. Further linguistic research is necessary to learn which things in the Wendat belief system would be thought of as animate and which as inanimate before this can be addressed. In this thesis, I refer to Wendat material culture as objects, with the awareness of these non-Western understandings. For discussion of this subject, see A. Irving Hallowell's article "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View," in *Readings in Indigenous Religions*, ed. Graham Harvey (London: Continuum, 2002), 18–48.

European visitors' admiration of the visual arts of Wendat women: their brilliant colours, exotic materials, techniques of construction and artistic design, and quality as well-made objects.

European visitors began collecting objects from Indigenous communities in the Eastern Great Lakes region in the mid-sixteenth century. During almost four hundred years of collecting history, these works were received and interpreted within varying paradigms of collecting that reflected different beliefs about Aboriginal peoples, different understandings of the world, and different ways of ordering knowledge. Understanding these shifts in collecting paradigms helps to explain why certain kinds of objects are in collections today. The collections are not, of course, a representative sample of all categories of objects made by Wendat and other Indigenous communities in the Eastern Woodlands. Other kinds of things were made but were either not collected, or if collected, were not preserved. What was collected and preserved was decided by European criteria of value and beauty—collectors' tastes, preferences, interests, and prejudices—rather than what was valued by the Indigenous makers.² These European criteria changed over time.

Analysis of the various collecting paradigms provides a necessary starting point for exploring the meaning and significance of the works both to Wendat creators and to European buyers, because they contextualize the nature of the relationships between Wendat creators and the European recipients, and the nature of European reception and market demand in successive periods. Understanding these shifts provides a necessary foundation for the analysis of design and form that follows in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

² Janet Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9.

Changes in Wendat aesthetic traditions reflect Indigenous women's art traditions and what Indigenous women valued within them. They also reflect how Indigenous women integrated European influences, felt through the impact of market demands. A waistcoat commissioned by the Earl of Caledon demonstrates this exchange. In her article "The Earls of Caledon: Nineteenth Century Irish Soldiers and Adventurers," Judy Hall describes how Caledon asked his mother to send patterns for works he commissioned of a Wendat artisan in Wendake. Hall cites Caledon's letter, in which he wrote "I am much obliged . . . for the patterns and I have taken them to Lorette. I have left them there as the woman that works them has gone on a visit to Lake St. Charles [Quebec]."³ It would be fascinating to know what the patterns were and whether they influenced the designs on items made for Caledon. The floral motifs on a waistcoat he had commissioned, now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, display differences from earlier designs on hide (see fig. 1). The red, blue, and white colours conform to Indigenous colour conventions, but the design field is more densely filled with blossoms and leaves that are larger in scale and more naturalistic than earlier floral motifs. This example demonstrates how the reception, the desires and taste of the market, and Wendat response created a visual arts dialogue between Wendat creator and European buyer. This illustrates the importance of understanding collectors' criteria of value as they changed over the centuries.

Through seven case studies, I explore the changing contexts of collection. Using original source documents whenever possible, I bring the voice of the individual collectors and their moments of connection into this study. Each example represents a

³ Judy Hall, "The Earls of Caledon: Nineteenth Century Irish Soldiers and Adventurers in North America," *American Indian Art Magazine* 37, no. 2 (2012): 69.

European voice typical of its period and collecting paradigm, or in some cases, cluster of paradigms. The case studies also demonstrate that there were no clear-cut boundaries between the different collecting practices and their overlaps. Through these examples, I explore the variations in collecting impulses and understandings of the works that were formed within contemporary regimes of thought and their underlying ideologies.⁴ As Arthur MacGregor puts it, in different ways these “encapsulate the spirit of a particular moment.”⁵

The first of these collections, made by Jacques Cartier in the mid-sixteenth century and Samuel de Champlain in 1608, were formed according to the logic of the Renaissance and the curiosity cabinet, while Charles Philippe Fayolle’s collection represents the eighteenth-century natural history model. Fayolle is also an example of the European collector who acquired works indirectly, in his case through friends and family who visited the Eastern Woodlands. Other collectors-from-a-distance purchased works through dealers or in flea markets. Count Alfred von Pourtalès, who in 1832 toured North America for almost a year, is an example of the touristic collector. His express purpose was to meet Aboriginal peoples of the West and see their way of life, which he did, acquiring clothing of different communities along the way. The Earl of Caledon was stationed in the English army’s Quebec City garrison from 1838 to 1842. His collection brings together qualities of curiosity cabinet, natural history, and personal memoir; the perspective of the military man inflects these different motivations. The early twentieth century collection of Marius Barbeau, made between 1911 and 1919, represents the

⁴ Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 10, x.

⁵ Ibid., ix.

discipline of professional ethnology, while the collection of Folke Cronholm, made in 1905 and 1906, represents the continuity of the collection as personal memoir together with the diplomatic gift.⁶

The Collection as a Mirror of Its Time:

Reflecting Shifts in Taste and Thought

Several sources are helpful in exploring the paradigm shifts in collecting practices. I draw on Krzysztof Pomian's detailed discussion, in *Collectors and Curiosities*, of the history of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century curiosity cabinet and the natural history collection. His writing focuses on the taste of collectors and the state of mind shown in these two distinct paradigms. He includes in his analysis the "political, economic, and social problems" that were the context of collections, an approach which helps us understand the motivations of individual collectors within their larger historical framework.⁷ Although collections from different countries fall under such overarching paradigms as the curiosity cabinet and natural history, each nation's history gives a distinct nuance to its collections. As Pomian writes, the "collections of a given country at a given time are . . . the coextension of that country's culture at that particular time. They incarnate this culture and make it visible to us."⁸

Collections are made up of objects, chosen, and arranged according to particular ways of understanding and ordering knowledge of the world. Michel Foucault's theorization of history in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* offers a way to explain the

⁶ MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, ix.

⁷ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 275.

⁸ Ibid.

range of paradigms of collecting and the different orders of knowledge that framed them. Foucault theorizes a series of epistemes, each a distinct historical “structure of thought that the men of a particular period cannot escape,” shaped by its own cultural and sociopolitical context.⁹ Rather than a single, continuous, progressive flow of history, these epistemes change over time. Each is “the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems.”¹⁰ Foucault described three main epistemes—Renaissance, classical, and modern—which are reflected in the collections of Wendat and Great Lakes material that I discuss. Through the examples that I present, however, I demonstrate that these collecting paradigms and their boundaries are not fixed. Some collections reflect the characteristics of more than one paradigm, because paradigms overlap within an episteme, shaped by the culture and context of a particular place and time.

While Foucault’s explanation of history and theorization of epistemes frames the overview of collecting practices and the paradigm shifts, Jean Baudrillard and Susan Stewart’s conceptualizations of souvenirs and collecting offer understandings on the level of the individual. In “The System of Collecting,” Baudrillard’s description of the game of collecting, the passion of possession, and the effect of collecting on objects helps to explain the strong motivations underlying collecting and the impact of the practice on objects. He identifies a cluster of collectors’ motivations: curiosity, taste, prestige, social intercourse, a pastime.¹¹ Removed from their relationship with the world and from their

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972), 191.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Jean Baudrillard, “The System of Collecting,” in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 16.

original function, souvenirs become the objects of passion, possessed by the collector, “made relative to the subject,” forming his personal microcosm of the world.¹² They are displaced from time, detached from the present.¹³ The quest to make a complete series, to fill gaps, is fundamental to the game.¹⁴

In *On Longing*, Susan Stewart articulates the souvenir’s metonymic function, in which the part substitutes for the whole; it becomes a partial double that substitutes for and is a sample of the lived experience.¹⁵ In its metonymic role, the souvenir can signify both cultural difference and distance in time and space, but the collector seeks the souvenir in order to change this distance to “proximity to, or approximation with, the self.”¹⁶ As a substitute for a past place and experience the souvenir can be emblematic of nostalgia, the “longing for its place of origin” and the collector’s experience of that place.¹⁷

Stewart explores the transformation of a collected work into a souvenir through narrative, suggesting that the story that accompanies a collected object or group of objects actually creates them as souvenirs, “objects generated by means of narrative” and created by “the fictions and abstractions of the bourgeois self . . . and the exchange economy.”¹⁸ Further, by the act of collecting, the collected work is removed from “the

¹² Baudrillard, “System of Collecting,” 7.

¹³ Ibid., 16.

¹⁴ Ibid., 13–14.

¹⁵ Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

¹⁶ Ibid., xii.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., xii–xiii.

present flow of events” and its context; the collected work becomes objectified and, Stewart suggests, is destined to be forgotten.¹⁹

Collectors and the Curiosity Cabinet:

Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain

The journals of Jacques Cartier’s voyages to the Bay of Chaleur and the St. Lawrence River in 1534, 1535–36, and 1540–42,²⁰ and Samuel de Champlain’s voyages to Acadia, the St. Lawrence region, and his founding of the settlement of Quebec, between 1608 and 1635, offer the first accounts of collections of Eastern Woodlands material culture. The Cartier and Champlain collections are important not only as case studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century modes of collection, but also as demonstrations of the temporal depth and continuity of Wendat and European relationships of production and collecting. Archaeological evidence indicates that by the time of Champlain’s voyages some members of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian communities encountered by Cartier in his visits in 1534–42 had become part of Wendat communities near Georgian Bay.²¹ It was the Georgian Bay Wendat alliance of nations with which Champlain had military and trade agreements and with whom he stayed for the winter of 1615–16.²² As discussed earlier, a group from the Wendat nations known to Champlain moved to Quebec in 1649 and formed the Wendat community of Wendake (Lorette), Quebec, from whom eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collectors acquired objects. Thus

¹⁹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 151.

²⁰ Jacques Cartier, *Voyages de découverte au Canada* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1968), 1, 22, 26, 67, 71–72, 91–92.

²¹ Jamieson, “Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 385–404.

²² Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 114–15.

the Cartier and Champlain collections form a link between early-contact patterns of Eastern Woodlands material culture production and European reception of these objects, and the nineteenth-century Wendat production of souvenir arts and European reception of these works.

In Cartier's account there is a description of the objects that members of Indigenous communities gave him, but no mention of his giving them to Francis I, the king he served. Samuel de Champlain, however, states that he gave his collection to Henry IV and he also records the king's response. It is probable that the works collected both by Cartier and Champlain entered the king's curiosity cabinet, which was transferred to the cabinet of the Jardin Royal des Plantes Medicinales or Jardin du Roi, established in 1635 by Louis XIII, collections that were later known as the curiosity cabinet of the King [Cabinet du Roi].²³

It is thus possible that works collected by Champlain may now be in the Musée du quai Branly in Paris, which holds the collections from the Royal curiosity cabinet that were placed in the Bibliothèque nationale during the French Revolution. It has also been suggested that some of the Indigenous works collected by Cartier might have entered the Bibliothèque nationale. However, Antoine Schnapper's landmark archival research, published in his book *Le géant, la licorne, et la tulipe* suggests that this is unlikely. He states that in 1589 or 1590, the royal collection was "misappropriated [dilapidée] . . . in unknown circumstances" [dans des conditions mal connues].²⁴ He cites archival sources

²³ MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, fn 30, 302; Archives nationales de France, site de Paris, AJ/15/501, 510. The Jardin du Roi was established for teaching chemistry and pharmacy and to produce plants to heal the sick. It also included the king's natural history collection, referred to in some documents as the "Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle," which included the material culture of Indigenous peoples (AJ/15/510/364, Archives Nationales, Paris).

²⁴ The translations from French to English are mine, unless otherwise stated.

that state that the Royal Cabinet, either at Fontainebleau or Paris, “had virtually vanished” [s’était bien “évanouy”].²⁵ Today the collections of Cartier and Champlain can thus best be reconstructed through their descriptions in primary source documents. From these texts, we know the works featured intricate workmanship and exotic materials and both Cartier and Champlain would have conveyed to the King the positive value of indigenous people’s skills in their accompanying written and oral narratives.

Jacques Cartier

Jacques Cartier (c. 1491–1557) was born in Saint-Malo, in what was then the Duchy of Bretagne on the west coast of France.²⁶ Saint-Malo, now attached to the mainland, was then a fortified island. The Malouins had a heroic, seafaring tradition; in the early sixteenth century and possibly before, Malouin fishing fleets travelled to the Grand Banks, off Newfoundland. Cartier followed this seafaring tradition and was a qualified pilot and “master seaman” [maître de navire] in 1521; he thus had considerable transatlantic travel experience before he made his first documented voyage to North America in 1534.²⁷ Given the activity of the Malouin fishing fleet, it is likely that he had travelled at least to the Grand Banks and had already travelled to South America before 1534, possibly on a Spanish or Portuguese ship, as was the custom among the Malouins. In 1527 he brought a young Indigenous woman from Brazil back to Saint-Malo, where she was baptized Katherine of Brazil. Katherine des Granches, Jacques Cartier’s wife, was her godmother.²⁸ This incident suggests a context for Cartier’s actions in 1534 when

²⁵ Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne, et la tulipe* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 181.

²⁶ René Maran, “Biographie de Jacques Cartier,” in Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 138–39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 142.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.

he kidnapped Taiguragny and Domagaya, sons of Donnacona, the leader of the people of Stadacona (modern Quebec City) and in 1536 when he kidnapped Donnacona and nine or ten others and brought them to France.²⁹ Collecting Indigenous people as evidence of exploration seems to have been as much a tradition as collecting objects of material culture or natural history. Cartier and his family, staunch Catholics, may have been motivated to convert people to Catholicism and provide them with a French education, and it is also possible that Indigenous peoples were considered as a potential commodity.³⁰ The African slave trade was establishing itself in the early sixteenth century and Cartier's kidnapping of Indigenous men may have been a foray in this direction, an idea that may have faded when ten of the men who came to France died within four years of their arrival.

The Indigenous communities Cartier met had had previous experience with European vessels, not all of it positive. Although they were interested in trading furs for knives, hatchets, and beads, they kept their distance from the French vessels and in one instance, hid all the young women in the woods as soon as the French men were seen to be coming ashore.³¹ Cartier knew what goods to bring as trade items and on all his voyages had a supply of "knives, combs, strings of beads, and other things of little value" [couteaux, chapelets de verre, peignes et autres choses de peu de valeur].³² Cartier's visit appears to have been the first one carried out under the orders and protection of a French

²⁹ Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 18–19, 63.

³⁰ Maran, "Biographie de Jacques Cartier," 192.

³¹ Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 14–15, 17, 33.

³² *Ibid.*, 17.

king.³³ However, knowledge of what trade goods to bring could have come from the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English fishermen who had been working off the Grand Banks off Newfoundland and possibly also visiting the St. Lawrence River for a significant period of time before Cartier's 1534 visit. In 1542, French sailors reported that the Native peoples of Newfoundland spoke the languages of these European countries.³⁴ Although this may have been the limited knowledge of a language required for trade, acquired from meetings during the European fishing season, it suggests that contact and traditions of exchange between Indigenous and European fishing communities were well established by the time of Cartier's first documented visit.

Cartier gave a written and verbal account of his first two voyages to Francis I at the same time that he presented the people he had kidnapped/collected to the king and it is probable that he would also have presented any objects he had collected.³⁵ *Le Canada de Louis XIV*, the catalogue of an exhibition curated by Anne Fardoulis-Vitart, lists objects collected by Cartier and given to Francis I in 1535 as “pouches, shoes, belts and ornamental braided cord and other works made in the style of the Barbary people” [bourses, chausses, saintures et esguillettes et autres ouvrages faicts a la facon de Barbarye],³⁶ but without citing primary or secondary sources for the direct quote.³⁷ In the

³³ H. P. Biggar, *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930), 453–54.

³⁴ Biggar, *A Collection of Documents*, 453–54.

³⁵ Jacques Cartier, *Voyages au Canada* (Montréal: Comeau et Nadeau, 2002), 129.

³⁶ *Esguillettes* is possibly the old French spelling of *aiguillette*, an ornamental braided cord worn on military uniforms, often worn in loops over the shoulders.

³⁷ Anne Fardoulis-Vitart, *Le Canada de Louis XIV* (Ville de Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Musée des antiquités nationales-manège royal, 1980), 129. The catalogue then states that these works went into the Cabinet du Roi in the Jardin des plantes médicinales and from there to the Bibliothèque nationale, but without citation. In *Curiosity and Enlightenment* Arthur MacGregor mentions the “North American

catalogue, two pairs of moccasins now at the Musée du quai Branly (discussed in chapter 4) are listed as “probably brought back by Jacques Cartier” [probablement rapportés par Jacques Cartier] (see figs. 2, 3).³⁸ However, Fardoulis-Vitart does not provide evidence to support this attribution. In “North America in the European Wunderkammer before 1750,” Christian Feest states that these moccasins are likely to predate 1750, but that there is no reason to attribute them to Cartier’s collection.³⁹ It is possible that pouches, belts, shoes, and ornamental braid were collected by Cartier and may have been mentioned in other documents he wrote, however in my reading of two accounts of his voyages the works that are described in detail are gifts of necklaces of wampum, a crown of leather worked with wampum, and wampum arm bands or cuffs, and my discussion of his collection will be limited to those.⁴⁰

Cartier’s relations state that during his second voyage in 1536, the Stadaconans gave him wampum; “to our Captain they gave the gift of twenty-four necklaces of wampum which is the greatest of riches that they have in the world” [à nostre Capitaine . . . lui fisrent présent de vingt-quatre colliers d’Esurny qui est la plus grande richesse qu’ils aient en ce monde].⁴¹ During his third voyage, Agona, the leader who replaced Donnacona after Cartier’s kidnapping, gave him

material collected by Jacques Cartier” and later “Cartier’s moccasins, belts and bags from north-eastern North America,” but does not give a primary source, only Anne Fardoulis’s “Le Cabinet du Roi et les anciens Cabinets de Curiosités dans les collections du Musée de l’homme,” an unpublished Diplôme from the University of Paris. So far I have been unable to locate this thesis. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, 16, 38, 354.

³⁸ Fardoulis-Vitart, *Canada de Louis XIV*, 173.

³⁹ Christian Feest, “North America in the European Wunderkammer before 1750,” *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 46 (1992): 84–85.

⁴⁰ Cartier, *Voyages au Canada*; Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*.

⁴¹ Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 64.

... a piece of leather tanned yellow, embellished all around with wampum [which is their riches, and the thing that they value as the most precious, as we value gold] that was on his head in the place of a crown, and he placed it on our Captain's head; then he took off his wampum wrist bracelets [cuffs] and in the same way, placed them on the arms of the Captain. [. . . un morceau de cuir tanné de couleur jaune, et garni tout autour d'Esurny (qui est leur richesse, et la chose qu'ils estiment être la plus précieuse, comme nous faisons de l'or) qui étoit sur sa tête au lieu du Couronne, et le plaça sur la tête de notre Capitaine; ensuite il ôta de ses poignets deux bracelets e'Esurny, et les plaça pareillement sur les bras du Capitaine.]⁴²

However Cartier takes off the crown and puts it back on Agona's head, so this crown would not have been brought back to France.⁴³

It is interesting to note that these gifts were made at moments of tension in Cartier's relations with the Stadaconans. The gift of twenty-four necklaces of wampum was made to Cartier almost immediately after he had kidnapped Donnacona and was holding him on his ship. Cartier received the wampum crown and wrist cuffs from Agona on his next trip, his third voyage, after he gave Agona the news that Donnacona had died and that the other nine men whom he had also kidnapped would not be returning. They had died also, although Cartier lied to Agona and said they were married and living happily in France.⁴⁴ The gifts in the first case may have been intended to convince Cartier to return Donnacona to his people, which Cartier may not have understood. That Cartier returned the crown to Agona in the second case suggests that he did not understand the tradition of gifts to smooth times of tension or that he was distancing himself from Agona. While Agona was keeping up a front of friendship in these gifts, in fact he was alienated and this was the beginning of the deterioration of relations between Cartier and

⁴² Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 72.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

the Stadaconans.⁴⁵ In neither case could these highly valuable objects be seen as gifts of friendship, but rather as attempts by Stadaconan leaders to use Great Lakes traditions of negotiation to deal with Cartier's deceit and breaches of trust. In Cartier's meeting with the Hochelagan leader, however, he was given a crown in the spirit of welcome:

He [Agohanna, the King and Lord of this country] had around his head a kind of red band for his crown, made of the hide of the hedgehog [possibly a red-dyed porcupine quilled crown] . . . and Agohanna took his crown from his head and gave it to the Captain. [Il (Agohanna, le Roy et Seigneur du dit païs) avoit à l'entour de la teste une manière de lisière rouge pour sa couronne, faite de poil d'hérissons . . . et prit le dit Agohanna la lizière et couronne qu'il avoit sur sa tête, et la donna au dit Capitaine.]⁴⁶

Cartier's relation does not report that Cartier gave this crown back, so it may have been given to Francis I and may have entered the Royal curiosity cabinet. In this instance, the gift was made in a spirit of forming diplomatic relations between leaders and representatives of nations.

Along with the multitude of other objects in the sixteenth-century Royal curiosity cabinet, the works collected by Cartier and probably placed there would have constituted a microcosm of the world for Cartier and the king, "a model of universal nature made private."⁴⁷ From the perspective of the Great Lakes leaders, those gifts, particularly the wampum, may have been intended as active records of ongoing diplomatic relations—or the breakdown of those relations. But, through the act of collecting, the objects were

⁴⁵ Ibid. Some interpretations of Cartier's journals describe a plot between Cartier and Agona against Donnaconna in 1536. Marcel Trudel, "Donnaconna," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Cartier's interpretation of the motivations and strategies of Donnaconna, his sons, and Agona, seem uncertain. Cartier makes contradictory statements; on one hand he says that Agona shows no signs of displeasure that Donnaconna does not return from France in 1541 and is in fact happy, but Cartier then says that Agona was only dissimulating, as was demonstrated by what followed, ie. the hostility of the Stadaconans toward the French. Jacques Cartier, *Voyages au Canada*. Paris : Lux Éditeur, 2000, 132-133.

⁴⁶ Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 45–46.

⁴⁷ Francis Bacon, *Gesta Grayorum*, 123, as cited in MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, 11.

divested not only of the function for which they were created, but also of the narratives of their collection and their meanings for the Indigenous leaders who gave them as gifts. On two occasions, as I have argued, the Stadaconans presented the gifts as responses to Cartier's deceit, following Great Lakes traditions of diplomatic negotiation. On one occasion, to the Hochelagans, they were symbols of good faith, the Hochelagans not yet having experienced French misrepresentations, and also within traditions of diplomacy. The gifts, received as souvenirs, were removed from their relationship with the world; they were "made relative to the subject," the collector, and formed his personal microcosm and perspective of the world.⁴⁸ To Cartier, these gifts—the crown, the bracelet or cuffs, and the necklaces of wampum, made of materials specific to North America, the shell wampum and the porcupine quill—would have been curiosities, man-made objects fabricated with wondrous skills or materials. The repeated phrase, that the wampum was like gold to the Indigenous communities they met, would have added to its value and its wondrous quality, that a material such as shell, of little value in European eyes, could be valued so highly.

Cartier's narrative does mention one of the visual arts of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians of Hochelaga during his visit of 1535–36: their weaving. He writes:

Several women each carrying a square mat, in the style of a tapestry, spread them on the ground in the middle of this area, and invited us to sit down. After this was arranged, the King and Lord of this place, seated on a large deerskin, was carried in by nine or ten men, who placed him on the mats beside the Captain. [Revinrent plusieurs femmes qui apportèrent chacune une natte quarrée, en façon de tapisserie, et les étendirent sur la terre au milieu de la dite place, et nous firent metre sur icelles. Après lesquelles choses ainsi faites, fut apporté par neuf ou dix

⁴⁸ Baudrillard, "System of Collecting," 7.

homes le Roy et Seigneur du dit païs . . . lequel estoit assis sur une grande peau de Cerf, et le vinrent poser dans la dite place sur les dites nattes près du Capitaine.]⁴⁹

Cartier's description identifies a precontact Great Lakes visual arts tradition—weaving—that continued in postcontact Wendat traditions. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century text descriptions of weaving are discussed later in this chapter.

“One Hundred Gold Louis”: Samuel de Champlain's Quilled Belt

Samuel de Champlain was born c. 1570 in Brouage, France and died in Quebec in 1635. He may have been a Huguenot, Brouage being a Huguenot town in that period and Samuel being a Protestant name. In the documents about him and written by him, he appears to be Catholic; however, it was a time of flexibility in religious affiliation and he may have converted. Henri IV himself, whom Champlain served, was born a Huguenot and switched to Catholicism in 1593.⁵⁰ Champlain was from a navy background; several members of his family were in the Marine, his father serving as a captain. An uncle, Guillaume Allene, was a Huguenot, a master pilot, and a merchant of La Rochelle. He voyaged along the coasts of Africa, South America, and Newfoundland in the 1560s and 1570s.⁵¹ Allene left a property to Champlain near La Rochelle, suggesting that they were close. This was Champlain's background, a family whose members were expert in trans-Atlantic exploration, with knowledge of the northeastern shores of North America.

Champlain's early visits to the Great Lakes region were seasonal but he later settled in Quebec. On his voyage of 1608 he collected three objects that he presented to

⁴⁹ Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 45.

⁵⁰ Conrad E. Heidenreich and K. Janet Ritch, eds., *Samuel de Champlain before 1604* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2010), 3–4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

Henri IV on his return to France, as he narrated in his account of his travels. One was a woven porcupine quill belt. Champlain wrote:

I had a belt made of porcupine quill, that was very well woven, in the style of the region, which His Majesty found very pleasing, with two small birds as big as blackbirds, who were scarlet, and also the head of a particular fish that was caught in the large lake of the Iroquois, which had a very long beak with two or three rows of very sharp teeth. [J'avais une ceinture faite de poils de porc-épic, qui était fort bien tissée, selon le pays, laquelle Sa Majesté eut fort agréable, avec deux petits oiseaux gros comme des merles, qui estoient incarnats, & aussi la teste d'un certain poisson qui fut prins dans le grand lac des Yroquois, qui avoit un becq for long avec deux ou trois rangées de dents fort aigues.]⁵²

The belt was an example of intricate workmanship in material unknown to Europeans: the quill of the North American porcupine (or *porc-épic*, spined pig). Several points suggest that the belt was of Wendat origin. First, Champlain had just spent time with Wendat leaders and concluded a military alliance with them. In addition, the belt was made with weaving and quill work techniques in which Wendat women artists had great skill, as described in several texts discussed later in this chapter. Finally, woven quill and moosehair Wendat works are known in eighteenth-century collections, such as a twined fibre and moosehair pouch now in the collection of the British Museum (see fig. 4).⁵³

Quilled belts made by women of Eastern Woodlands communities, such as the one Champlain gave to the king, were described by Jesuit missionary Louis Nicolas in the *Codex Canadensis* and in “Histoire naturelle des Indes occidentales” (c. 1675),⁵⁴ drawings and text descriptions of Indigenous peoples, material culture, plants, and animals of the Great Lakes region. Nicolas writes that the women dye the quill “with

⁵² Champlain, *Works*, vol. 2, 115.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 68, 109, 208–10, 215.

⁵⁴ François-Marc Gagnon, *The Codex Canadensis with the Writings of Louis Nicolas* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 83.

various fruits and some herbs or roots, which give yellow, violet, black, reddish and red, so that there is no scarlet as beautiful and brilliant,” reminiscent of the scarlet colours described by Champlain.⁵⁵ Nicolas also informs us of the value Europeans placed on quill belts such as the one acquired by Champlain. Of quill work belts and headbands Nicolas writes:

A thousand fine designs are seen on these objects. The natives esteem these works highly, and to tell the truth they are considered very fine in France. A belt of this material and of this delicate work is worth as much as 100 louis d’or, and I dare to say that it is like those paintings that are priceless. One sees a hundred other decorations, on shoes and stockings, on breeches and on tobacco bags . . . they are so rare and so precious that one could say that the work is much finer than the material used, which itself has no beauty except what is given by the dye, and by the forms and shapes that are given to it in designs that are not used in Europe. I can affirm that I have seen Greek-style wreaths of this material that monarchs would not have scorned to put on their head, and various beautiful belts that they would have been pleased to wear.⁵⁶

From this description, made approximately 65 years after Champlain wrote his descriptions of Algonquin and Wendat women’s arts and gave his belt to the King, we know that it was an object of great value in both Indigenous and European communities.

In general Nicolas found the “New World” inferior to the old, which makes this admiration even more noteworthy.⁵⁷ Gagnon notes that one of the rare areas of “possible superiorities of the New World,” according to Nicolas, was their decorative arts, and this Nicolas attributed to Indigenous women.⁵⁸ Gagnon writes that “the talent of Indian women in this field seems to him at least equal to, if not greater than, that of

⁵⁵ Ibid., 314.

⁵⁶ Gagnon, *Codex Canadensis*, 314.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 74.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 75.

Europeans.”⁵⁹ This is an important indication of the reception of the works collected in the seventeenth century, and is consistent with other seventeenth-century descriptions of Eastern Great Lakes visual arts, including those of Champlain, of works by Algonquin and Huron women.

Knowing this context of seventeenth-century European reception of Indigenous women’s arts, we return to Champlain’s descriptions of his gifts to the king. The highly valued quilled belt was presented to the king along with two birds and a fish. The two birds and the fish held the appeal of their marvellous physical characteristics-- the brilliant red of the birds and the unusual teeth of the fish. All three objects would have connected the King to the experience of a distant land. Champlain’s accompanying verbal description of his experiences (the supplementary narrative discourse described by Stewart), which attached the objects to their origins and at the same time created a myth of these origins, would have completed the transformation of the object into a souvenir. Stewart theorizes that the story that accompanies the souvenir and the collection actually creates them as souvenirs, “objects generated by means of narrative.”⁶⁰ The narrative and the souvenir’s ability to change distance to closeness to self may also have functioned to reduce the sense of physical and cultural distance between France and North America, and to encourage the king to continue to invest in voyages of exploration. In his visit of 1611 Champlain was given “four choker necklets” [quatre carquans de leurs porcelains]

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Stewart, *On Longing*, 136, xii–xiii; for Champlain’s delivery of gift to Henry IV, see Champlain, *Works*, vol. 2, 110.

and it is possible that these necklets were presented to the young King, Louis XIII, or to a representative of the crown.⁶¹

During his winter spent with the Wendat in 1615–16, Champlain described the trade networks that were part of their economic system: “they traded corn, meal, wampum, and fishnets for hides, with the Algonquin and Nippising and other nations, who are hunters” [ils eschangent (peaux de bestes sauuages) pour leur bled d’inde, farines, pourcelines, & fillets à pescher, avec les Algommequins, Piserenis, & autres nations, qui sont chasseurs].⁶² In this statement he contrasts two distinct and complementary Indigenous ways of life, the Wendat as sedentary farmers, the Algonquin, Nippising, and others as hunters following a seasonal round. He describes the Wendat way of life, including the weaving done by the women: “they strip the hemp and spin it, and they [possibly men] use the thread to make fishing nets” [tillent la chanure, & la fillent, dont du fillet ils font les rets à pescher].⁶³

It is evident from Champlain’s description that women’s production of farm produce, wampum objects, and twine was essential to these trade networks and the diplomatic traditions that smoothed the wheels of commerce. His narrative provides the context of established precontact traditions of commerce and diplomacy into which the French were integrated and out of which the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wendat utilitarian and souvenir production developed. Men’s and women’s complementary roles continued throughout. Missionary Gabriel Sagard’s description of the distances Wendat

⁶¹ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 2, 194.

⁶² Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 131.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 136.

men travelled for commercial exchange demonstrates the extent of these trade networks.

Sagard writes:

They travel in groups to several regions and countries, at distances of more than four hundred lieus⁶⁴ . . . where they trade their merchandise in exchange for hides, paints/dyes, wampum, and a mix of other things” [ils (les Hurons) vont par troupes en plusieurs regions et contrées, esliognées de plus de quatre cens lieus . . . où ils trafiquent de leur marchandises, et eschangent pour des pelleteries, peintures, pourceleines, et autres fatras].⁶⁵

This is fascinating information about the established and flourishing international Wendat trade networks into which French markets were integrated. These networks extended in a 1280 km radius from the Wendat villages located to the east of Georgian Bay and constituted a preexisting context for the patterns of trade and new markets that opened up with the arrival of the French.

Champlain gives detailed descriptions of the material culture of the Wendat. He describes the elaborate designs created by the Wendat women to embellish their clothing:

The *passemens de Milan* to enrich their clothing are made of glue and the scrapings of hides, with which they make bands of red and brown paint amidst the bands of glue, which always appear milky white, never losing their design no matter how dirty they get. [Les passemens de Milan pour enrichir leurs habits sont de colle & de la raclure desdites peaux, dōt ils font des bandes en plusieurs façons, ainsi qu’ils s’auisent, y mettant par endroicts des bandes de peinture rouge, brun, parmy celles de colle, qui parroissent tous-jours blanchastres, n[‘]y perdant point leurs facons, quelques salles qu’elles puissent estre.]⁶⁶

Passement is described by Mrs. Bury Palliser in *The History of Lace* as a general term for lace, predating the term *dentelle*, and *passemens de Milan* was a well-known early seventeenth-century elaborately styled lace made of gold or silver (see fig. 5). In 1613 it

⁶⁴ A *lieu* was a European measurement of distance travelled. Before 1674, it was the distance a man could cover on foot in one hour, 3.248 kilometres.

⁶⁵ Gabriel Sagard Theodat, *Le grand voyage du pays des Huron* (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1865), 54. In this thesis, I refer to this author by his more commonly used surname, Sagard.

⁶⁶ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 132–33.

was the object of a French sumptuary edict, forbidding its use.⁶⁷ Champlain seems to have seen similarities between Wendat designs and the fine patterns of European lace, which gives an idea of the intricate techniques, designs, and aesthetic of eastern Great Lakes visual arts in the early-contact period. European admiration for Indigenous women's arts, expressed by Champlain in the early seventeenth century, continued into the later seventeenth century, as demonstrated by Louis Nicolas' *Codex Canadensis*.

Champlain's description of the traditions of decorated clothing also offers insight into the transcultural exchange of these traditions among Indigenous communities. He describes the dress and ornament of clothing of the Huron (Wendat), Montagnais, and Algonquins in terms of their similarities. However of these three, he thinks the Montagnais and Algonquin communities take most care with this work. He writes:

Among these nations there are those who are more skilled than others in preparing hides and ingenious in inventing *compartiments* [designs composed of several figures, round or square, symmetrically arranged] to put on their clothing: more than all others, our Montagnais and Algonquins take the most pains, they put bands of porcupine quill dyed in a very beautiful colour of scarlet on their clothes: they value these bands very highly and take them off to use on other garments when they want to change. [Il y en a entre ces nations qui sont bien plus propres à passer les peaux les uns que les autres, & ingénieux pour inuenter des compartiments à mettre dessus leurs habits: Sur tous autres nos Montagnais, & Algommequins, ce sont ceux qui y prennent plus de peine, lesquels mettent à leurs robes des bandes de poil de porc-épi, qu'ils taindent en fort belle couleur d'escarlatta: ils tiennent ces bandes bien cheres entr'eux, & les destachent pour les faire servir à d'autres robes, quand ils en veulent changer.]⁶⁸

His description suggests that the techniques and motifs used by these three nations, close allies in trade and military affairs, were similar, or at least not strikingly different.⁶⁹ This

⁶⁷ Mrs. Bury Palliser, *The History of Lace* (New York: Dover, 1984), 26–27, 52.

⁶⁸ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 132–33.

⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, 68, Huron and Algonkian as allies. Friendly relations suggested between Nipissing, Petun, Neutral, ibid., vol. 3, 53, 98.

would suggest that the cultural boundaries between these communities were permeable, that Great Lakes material culture was not clearly defined by distinct community styles, and that motifs and techniques were to a certain extent shared. Although this makes identification of the specific nation of origin of objects in the early-contact period difficult, it does tell us more about the dynamic nature of Great Lakes intercultural communication and exchange.

Louis Nicolas' *Codex Canadensis* was produced around 25 years after the 1649 dispersal of the Wendat. In it is depicted an Odawa (Ottawa) man (a nation closely connected in trade and a military ally to the Wendat), which gives a visual image of the dress of these communities.⁷⁰ The image shows a "Man of the Outaouaks [Odawa or Ottawa] nation" [Sauvage de La Nation outaouaks] (see fig. 6).⁷¹ The geometric motifs of the tattoos, pipe, tobacco pouch, and headband show similarities to Wendat ceramic motifs and motifs on moccasins that I discuss in chapters 4 and 5.

Champlain emphasizes the importance of wampum in the dress of Wendat women. He writes:

[The women] are laden with wampum, both necklaces and chains that they wear over their garments, hanging from their belts, as bracelets, and earrings, having their hair neatly combed, dyed, and oiled . . . or sometimes they attach flat, foot-square plates covered with wampum, which hang behind . . . and I can assure you that at dances I have attended, I have seen some girls who wear more than twelve pounds of wampum. [(Elles) sont chargées de quantité de pourceline, tant en colliers, que chaisnes, qu'elles mettent deuant leurs robes, pendans à leurs ceintures, bracelets, & pendans d'oreilles, ayant les cheveux bien paignez, paints, & graissez . . . ou quelquesfois ils attachent des platines d'un pied en carre, couuertes de ladite pourceline, qui pend par derriere . . . & puis [je] asseurer auoir

⁷⁰ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 43, fn 1.

⁷¹ Gagnon, *Codex Canadensis*, 109.

veu en des dances où i'ay esté, telle fille qui auoit plus de douze liures de pourceline sur elle(s).]⁷²

An image of a Huron family on the *Novae Franciae Accurata Delineatio*, a map by Italian Jesuit priest Father François-Joseph Bressani, illustrates the wampum-covered hair plates described by Champlain (see fig. 7).⁷³ Champlain's description reveals several things. The highly valued wampum was an extensive element in women's personal dress, demonstrating that they took pride in their appearance and were held in high esteem by their family and community. Further, it indicates that Wendat women had the time to weave or string wampum beads in belts, cuffs, chains, and hair ornaments, aside from the time of their essential responsibilities of food production and family care. This suggests a complex society, with division of work and possibly specialization, value given to visual arts, and the development of expertise in these arts.

Champlain particularly notes the scarlet colour of the quillwork used to adorn clothing, a colour difficult to obtain and highly valued in Europe. The scarlet dye used in Europe came mainly from the cochineal insect, imported from South America and Mexico. It is uncertain which plant in the Great Lakes area would have provided the scarlet colour; possibly, it was gallium tinctorium, also known as red bedstraw.⁷⁴ From the number of eighteenth-century Great Lakes works that feature scarlet quill and moosehair, this was an important colour in the region. The rarity of the colour to Europeans would have added to the value of the works in their eyes.

⁷² Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 134–35.

⁷³ Gagnon, "Symbol and Reality," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Ruth Lerner (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2009), 9.

⁷⁴ Swedish botanist Peter Kalm travelled in Canada in 1750 and described its use by both French Canadian and Indigenous women. Cited in Ruth Whitehead, *Micmac Quillwork* (Halifax: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1982): 66–67.

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century

Text Descriptions of Wendat Visual Arts

As well as the works collected and described by Cartier and Champlain, text descriptions of Wendat visual arts were also recorded by early missionaries to the Wendat communities. Those written by Gabriel Sagard in 1624 and by Jesuit priests, among them Père de Charlevoix in 1721, help to fill in the gap in the material culture record, between the pre-1640 ceramics collections of the archaeological record and the objects in museum collections dating from the mid-eighteenth century.

Gabriel Sagard spent the winter of 1623–24 living in the “country of our Hurons” [pays de nos Hurons], in one of the Wendat towns, Tequeunonkiayé. This was a well-fortified town of 30 to 40 longhouses, accommodating 200 or 300 families.⁷⁵ It was not the main Wendat town; as Sagard wrote, “the main town [had] two hundred large longhouses” [la principale ville . . . deux cens grandes Cabanes].⁷⁶ In his detailed account of his time spent there, he describes several areas of Wendat visual arts.

Sagard mentions woven mats, some brightly coloured, in a number of uses. He writes about “a small rush mat that they carry, they say, for long journeys” [une petite natte de jonc qu’ils ont accoustumé de porter quant-et-eux en de longs voyages].⁷⁷ Later he writes: “when winter comes, they [the Huron women] make mats of rushes, with which they decorate the doors of their longhouses, and they make other mats to sit on, all very well made” [quand l’hyuer vient, elles font des nattes de joncs, dont elles garnissent les portes de leurs Cabannes, et en font d’autres pour s’asseoir dessus, le tout fort

⁷⁵ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 57.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 80.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 48.

proprement].⁷⁸ Woven mats are also a tradition of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians described by Cartier during his visit to Hochelaga in 1535, suggesting that this was one of many shared Great Lakes traditions.⁷⁹ Wendat women also made nets for fishing, important both for their own food and for trade. Sagard writes: “during the winter, the fine hemp cord spun by the women and girls is used to make nets for fishing” [pendant l’huyuer, du filet que les femmes et filles ont filé, ils font les rets et filets à pescher].⁸⁰

Sagard describes two other areas of Wendat visual arts—what he calls relief on pipes and calumets as well as painting on their bodies and on the front of their longhouses:

They [the Hurons] like painting and they do well at it, making great efforts . . . and they make . . . images of men, animals, birds, and other ornaments, as much in relief in stone, wood, and other similar materials as in painting on their bodies. They do not do this for worship or idolatry, but to please the eye, they embellish their calumets and pipes, and embellish the fronts of their longhouses. [Ils (les Hurons) aiment la peinture et y réussissent assez industrieusement . . . et font neantmoins des representations d’hommes, d’animaux, d’oyseaux et autres grotesques, tant en relief de pierres, bois et autres semblables matieres, qu’en platte peinture sur leurs corps, qu’ils font non pour idolatrer; mais pour se contenter la veuë, embellir leurs Calumets et Petunoirs, et pour orner le devant de leurs Cabanes.]⁸¹

Sagard’s description of Wendat sculpture matches closely the ceramic and stone pipes found in great numbers in Wendat longhouse sites, today known from the archaeological record. These pipes are in the form of birds, men, and animals, elaborated with geometric and curvilinear designs. Examples are discussed in chapter 4. He also describes Wendat women’s tradition of making ceramic pots for cooking and storage:

⁷⁸ Ibid., 90–91.

⁷⁹ Cartier, *Voyages de découverte*, 45.

⁸⁰ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 86.

⁸¹ Ibid.

They [the Huron women] make pottery, especially round pots, without handles and without feet, in which they cook their meat or fish. [Elles (les Huronnes) font de la poterie, particulièrement des pots tous ronds, sans ances et sans pieds, dans quoy elles font cuire leurs viands, chair ou poisson.]⁸²

Later he goes into more detail, describing their pottery-making technique, how they prepare the clay, how they fire it, and the qualities of the pots:

They [our Hurons] had, as they have still, the materials and techniques to produce clay pots, which they fire in their fireplaces. These pots are very good, and don't break over the fire, even if there is hardly any water in them; but they cannot handle moisture and cold water, they are not able to hold up and break at the smallest tap that one gives them. Otherwise they are durable and last a long time. The Wendat women make them, using clean soil, which they clean and grind well with a mortar, and mix in with a little grease. They form all the ingredients into a ball, make a hole in it with their fist, then they enlarge it by tapping it with a small wooden palette, for as long a time as necessary to perfect it. These pots are made without feet or a handle, and they are as round as a ball, except the mouth that extends a bit from the side. [Ils (nos Hurons) avoient (comme ils ont encore) l'usage et l'industrie de faire des pots de terre, qu'ils cuisent en leur foyer, et sont forts bons, et ne cassent point au feu, encore qu'il n'y ait point d'eau dedans; mais ils ne peuvent aussi souffrir long-temps d'humidité et l'eau froide, qu'ils ne s'attendrissent et cassent au moindre heurt qu'on leur donne, autrement ils durent fort long temps. Les Sauuagesses les font, prenant de la terre proper, laquelle ils nettoient et pestrissent tres-bien, y meslans parmi un peu de graiz, puis la masses estant reduite comme une boule, elles y font un trou avec le poing, qu'ils agrandissent tousiours, en frappant par dedans avec une petite palette de bois, tant et si long temps qu'il est necessaire pour les parfaire: ces pots sont faits sans pieds et sans ances, et tous ronds comme vne boule, excepté la gueuele qui sort vn peu en dehors.]⁸³

Sagard also describes how the Huron made bark baskets, game bags, tobacco pouches, and their brightly coloured porcupine quill work, and how they wove their sashes and wrist cuffs:

They also make reed baskets and others with birchbark to carry beans, wheat and peas, that they call Acointa, as well as meat, fish and other small provisions: they also make as a kind of leather game bag or tobacco pouch, on which they work admirable designs, with porcupine quill dyed red, black, white, and blue, which colours they dye so vividly that our colours cannot come close. They also make

⁸² Ibid., 90–91.

⁸³ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 98–99.

bark containers for eating and drinking, to put their meat and soup in. In addition, they make the sashes, choker necklets, and wrist cuffs worn by both men and women. [Elles font semblablement des panniers de jonc, et d'autres avec des escorces de Bouleaux pour metre des fezoles, du bled et des pois, qu'ils appellent Acointa, de la chair, du poisson et autres petites provisions: elles font aussi comme une espece de gibesiere de cuir, ou sac à petun, sur lesquels elles font des ourages dignes d'admiration, avec du poil de porc espic, coloré de rouge, noir, blanc et bleu, qui sont les couleurs qu'elles font si viues, que les nostres ne semblent point en approcher. Elles s'exercent aussi à faire des escuelles d'escorce pour boire et manger, et metre leurs viands et menestres. De plus, les escharpes, carquans et brasselets qu'elles et les homes portent, sont de leurs ourages.]⁸⁴

The Odawa were close neighbours and allies of the Wendat villages that Sagard was visiting and he inserts a description of the visual arts of the women of the Odawa town he visits into his description of the visual arts of the Wendat towns he stayed in.

The women of the Odawa themselves add colours to the reeds, and make designs composed of several figures, round or square, symmetrically arranged, worked with such precision there is nothing to find fault with. They prepare and soften the hides of the beaver and moose and others, as well as we know how to do here. They make their coats and wraps with these hides and paint them with lacy designs and coloured patterns that are very charming. [Les femmes des Cheueux Releuez (Odawa) mesmes, baillent des couleurs aux joncs, et font des compartimens d'ourages avec telle mesure qu'il n'y a que redire. Elles couroyent et adoucissent les peaux des Castors et d'Eslans, et autres, aussi bien que nous sçaurions faire icy, dequoy elles font leur manteaux ou couvertures, et y peignent des passements et bigarures, qui ont fort bonne grace.]

Sagard's description of Odawa work is consistent with Champlain's and also with the motifs of the tattoos, pipe, and tobacco pouch in the image of the Odawa man of the *Codex Canadensis* (see fig. 6). As I discussed earlier, Champlain's text suggests that Odawa and Wendat women had similar design and material traditions, and Sagard's text bears this out, in his description of Wendat women's weaving, similar to the description of the Odawa work above:

When winter comes, the [Huron women] make reed mats, with which they arrange the doors of their longhouses, and make other mats to sit on, all very well

⁸⁴ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 90–91.

made. [Quand l'hyuer vient, elles (les Huronnes) font des natts de joncs, dont elles garnissent les portes de leurs Cabannes, et en font d'autres pour s'asseoir dessus, le tout fort proprement.]⁸⁵

Sagard's description of the uses of wampum by the Wendat to adorn themselves, particularly women and girls, suggests that this was a significant visual arts tradition of the pre- and early-contact period. The wampum seen in collections today are associated generally with diplomatic relations; however it appears that in the early period, it was a visual arts expression with a wider range of creativity. Sagard writes:

Their wampum is strung in different ways, some in necklaces as thick as three or four fingers, or made like the girth of a horse, with all the fibres covered and strung with wampum. These necklaces have around three and a half pounds in a loop or more, which they put in quantities around their neck, according to what they can afford and how rich they are. Others are strung like our rosary [or possibly ornamental glass jewellery], attached and hung on their ears, with cross ties of grains of wampum as big as nuts that they attach on their two hips. They come out bedecked from head to toe, with leg loops or diagonal belts over what they are wearing. I have seen others who wear wampum also in arm bracelets, and in large plaques over their stomach, and others behind, adjusted in ovals. Others wear wampum shaped like a comb to card wool, attached in their braided hair. Some among them also have belts and other finery, made of porcupine quill, dyed crimson red and very well woven. Feathers and painting are used in plenty, according to the desire of each. [Leurs Pourceleines sont diuersement enfilées, les vnes en coliers, larges de trois ou quatre soigts, faicts comme une sangle de cheual qui en auroit ses fisseles toutes couuertes et enfilées, et ces coliers ont enuiron trois pieds et demy de tour, ou plus qu'elles mettent en quantité à leur col, selon leur moyen et richesse, puis d'autres enfilées comme nos Patinotres, attachées et penduës à leurs oreilles, et des chaines de grains gros comme noix, de la mesme Pourceleine qu'elles attachent sur les deux hanches, et viennent par deuant arrangées de haut en bas, par dessus les cuisses ou brayers qu'elles portent: et en ay veu d'autres qui en portoient encore des brasselets aux bras, et de grandes plaques par deuant leur estomach, et d'autres par derriere, accommodez en rond, et comme vne carde à carder la laine, attachez à leurs tresses de cheueux: quelqu'vnes d'entre'elles ont aussi des ceintures et autres parures, faictes de poil de porc-espci, teincts en rouge cramoisy, et fort proprement tissuës, puis les plumes et les peintures ne manquent point, et sont à la deuotion d'un chacun.]⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ibid., 90.

⁸⁶ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 133–34.

The belts and finery made of crimson porcupine quill sound similar to the crown that the Hochelagan leader gave to Cartier.

In the *Jesuit Relations* of 1656–58, Père Simon le Moine described the weaving tradition of the Wendat women:

The Savages carry their pouch, their wallet, and their pocket behind the back. It is a pouch, that they put around their neck by means of a strap, in which they put their tobacco and their other small necessities that they need every day. This pouch or sack usually has no seams. The Huron women make them as artistically as a work made with a needle. [Les Sauvages portent leur pochette, leur bourse, & leur efcarcelle derriere le dos. C'est vn fac, qu'ils paffent à leur col, par le moien d'une couroie, dans lequel ils mettent leur petun, & les autres petits befoins, dont ils ont plus ordinairement à faire. Cette pochette, ou ce fac, n'a pour l'ordinaire, aucune coufure. Les Huronnes les font auffi artiftement au'un ouufrage fait à l'aiguille.]⁸⁷

In 1721, Jesuit priest Père de Charlevoix visited Quebec City and Wendake (then called Lorette), and described the weaving of the Wendat women as well as their other visual arts:

The artisanal works of the women, which they usually carry out in the longhouses, are made from the interior lining of the bark of the tree known as the White Wood, and they work with it as we do in France with hemp. The women produce another kind of work: they make dyes and they make many objects out of bark, on which they work small designs in porcupine quill. They make small cups and other wood utensils, they paint and embroider deer hides, they knit [twine or finger weave] belts and garters out of buffalo wool. [Les petits ouvrages des Femmes, et ce qui les occupe ordinairement dans les Cabanessont de faire du Fil des pellicules intérieures de l'écorce d'un Arbre, qu'on appelle le Bois Blanc, et elles le travaillent à peu près, comme on fait parmi nous celui en chanvre. Ce font encore les Femmes, qui font les teinture: elles travaillent aussi à plusieurs ouvrages d'écorce, où elles font de petites figures avec du poil de Porc-Epi; elles font de petites Tasses, ou autre Utencilles de bois, elles peignent et brodent des Peaux de Chevreuils, elles tricotent des ceintures et des jarretieres avec de la Laine de Bœuf.]⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Reuben G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 1657–58, vol. 44–45 (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 294–96.

⁸⁸ Père François-Xavier de Charlevoix, de la Compagnie de Jésus. *Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*. Tome troisieme (Paris: Rollin Fils, 1744), 333–34. The

The material that Charlevoix compares to French hemp was the soft fibre lying under the rigid exterior bark of a particular tree, from which the Wendat women made cordage or thread. Charlevoix's description of Wendat women's twining or finger weaving, which he calls knitting, supports the provenance of the twined pouch from the Hans Sloane collection at the British Museum. Sloane's manuscript catalogue firmly attributes this pouch to the Wendat, and states it was made before 1725.⁸⁹ Charlevoix's description also supports attributions of eighteenth-century twined sashes and belts to the Wendat, as well as prisoner ties and burden straps.

A tunic with porcupine quill bands from the early seventeenth-century cabinet of curiosities of English botanists John Tradescant the Elder and John Tradescant the Younger is thought to be from the Great Lakes region and may illustrate the kind of art work made by the Wendat and Algonquin communities described by Champlain, Sagard, and other seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century European writers (see fig. 8). The Tradescants were English gardeners and botanists who worked for several aristocratic households and the English king; John Tradescant the Elder (and after his death, his son) held the position of Keeper of His Majesty's Gardens. Tradescant the Elder, in particular, travelled extensively to acquire exotic plants for his employers' gardens. As part of an international network of collectors, he also had his own personal interest in collecting rarities—unusual natural and man-made objects from faraway places.⁹⁰ Arthur MacGregor states in *Tradescant's Rarities* that the two men “amassed their collection of

translation of buffalo wool from *Laine de Boeuf* is a possibility; it could also be wool from cows, but this seems less likely.

⁸⁹ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 61.

⁹⁰ Arthur MacGregor, *Tradescant's Rarities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 4, 6, 9, 13, 20.

rarities as a parallel and subsidiary exercise to their botanical activities.”⁹¹ By 1625

Tradescant the Elder was “in touch with many potentially fruitful contacts” for adding to this collection, which is now in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology in Oxford.⁹²

The Tradescant tunic is made of caribou skin. At that time caribou “occurred throughout eastern Canada north of the St. Lawrence, as well as in the Maritime Provinces and northern Maine, and at some time in northern Michigan and Minnesota.”⁹³ Decorative bands of porcupine quill work are attached along the seams and on the one remaining epaulet. Most have raw edges, “which suggests that they were cut from other clothing and reused.”⁹⁴ The quills are dyed dark blue, red, brownish-black, yellow, and orange.⁹⁵ Among the different quill work techniques are woven quill bands and skin strips quill-wrapped in pairs. These two techniques and the colours are characteristic of Eastern Great Lakes material culture.⁹⁶ The woven quill bands match Champlain and Nicolas’ description of the highly valued quilled bands made by the Wendat, Montagnais, and Algonquin communities and the belt Champlain gave to the king. The bands Champlain described were taken off one piece of clothing and reused on another, as with this tunic. The tunic’s skin strips, quill-wrapped in pairs, are similar to those seen “on a Huron

⁹¹ Ibid., 17.

⁹² Ibid., 20.

⁹³ Geoffrey Turner, “Skin Shirt,” in MacGregor, *Tradescant’s Rarities*, 129. The technical analysis of the Tradescant shirt is by Harold B. Burnham and Dorothy K. Burnham, while the discussion of provenance is by G. E. S. Turner.

⁹⁴ Turner, “Skin Shirt,” in MacGregor, *Tradescant’s Rarities*, 124.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 124.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

pouch, catalogued in 1725, in the Sloane collection.”⁹⁷ The colourful, red-dyed quills are mentioned by Champlain while Wendat women’s colour palette of red-, blue-, and black-dyed woven quill work is mentioned by Sagard. The extensive fringes of beaver claws of the Tradescant tunic are similar to the dew claws or ergots in Eastern Great Lakes dress described by Nicolas in the *Codex Canadensis*.⁹⁸

The Tradescant collecting history also offers a possible explanation for the British acquisition of an object from what would then have been considered a French colony. MacGregor writes: “evidence quoted elsewhere in this volume implies strongly that credit for accumulating virtually the whole collection must go to the elder Tradescant.”⁹⁹ Acquisition of plants and seeds was often through trade with other gardeners and Tradescant the Elder acquired a plant from “the French colony about the river of Canada” from the “ever generous ‘Mounser Robyne.’” This was Vespasian Robin, the herbarist of the French kings in Paris, with whom he appears to have had an active exchange.¹⁰⁰ Robin may also have been the source from whom Tradescant the Elder acquired this tunic, possibly from the “French colony.”

Collecting in the Mode of the Curiosity Cabinet

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century curiosity cabinet reflected the belief in the possibility of the magical and the marvellous, and the desire for a world in microcosm. The metonymic aspect of the curiosity and its characteristics of intricate, ingenious

⁹⁷ Ibid., 129–30.

⁹⁸ Gagnon, *Codex Canadensis*, 338.

⁹⁹ MacGregor, *Tradescant's Rarities*, 23. This would suggest a pre-1638 collection date for this tunic, as John Tradescant died in 1638.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 11–12.

design demonstrated these sought-after qualities. At the same time the cabinet's contents represented the land of origin through their materials, and represented the people through evidence of their culture. They thus formed a tangible link between France and the physically distant space claimed by the French king.¹⁰¹ The Cartier and Champlain collections were formed during an age of exploration, when French kings were interested in discovering new resources. Objects made with unfamiliar materials and techniques of construction were brought back to the kings, particularly ingeniously made items representing exotic lands, societies, and climates, and demonstrating quality of workmanship.¹⁰² Curiosity cabinets also conferred prestige on their owners. Cartier and Champlain's collections were evidence of the intellectual curiosity of French kings and their country's wealth, power, and honour in exploration.¹⁰³ From Champlain's descriptions, the works he gave to the king demonstrated the criteria of collecting of the period: the qualities of the well-made object and highly skilled workmanship and the rarity of materials, such as porcupine quill and moosehide, materials unknown in Europe, in brilliant colours.

Pomian describes the desire behind the formation of a curiosity cabinet as a reflection of an era when the quest for knowledge was no longer controlled by theology, but before such quests were ordered by Enlightenment rules of scientific rationality.¹⁰⁴ The curiosity cabinet reflected an indiscriminating desire to "see, learn or possess rare,

¹⁰¹ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 24; Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

¹⁰² Ibid., 71, 34–36

¹⁰³ Ibid., 10.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 61–62.

new, secret or remarkable things” as a way to attain totality.¹⁰⁵ Their purpose was to bring together specimens of every class of thing, and in a world view where “the boundary between the natural and the supernatural was . . . smudged,” these cabinets could contain scientific instruments, paintings, weapons, natural objects, and items of clothing together with unicorn horns or relics of saints.¹⁰⁶ The criteria were that works collected should be rare and made with “delicacy and excellence of . . . workmanship.” In contrast, the purpose of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century natural history collections was to provide a basis for analysis within the newly explored laws of nature.¹⁰⁷

The works in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections were received within a concept of the primitive that was specific to the early years of contact. Père Paul Le Jeune’s 1633–35 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*, the annual reports sent by Jesuit missionaries in the field to their superiors in Paris, offer an illustration. Widely read in France, these works were intended to encourage the financial contributions that supported the mission efforts and to support Jesuit theology and politics. Le Jeune worked among the Montagnais, Wendat, and other groups in New France in the mid- to late-seventeenth century. His *Relations* set out the problems facing the missions in New France. He described the epidemics among the “Savages,” a people “crying for the bread of the word of God,” a barbarous people “who die every day in the slavery of Satan for lack of preachers of the Gospel.”¹⁰⁸ Le Jeune’s text informed French expectations of Native peoples in New France. His form of primitivism described a promised land that was not a

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 58–59.

¹⁰⁶ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 73.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 75–76.

¹⁰⁸ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 7, 225, 245.

Golden Age but an opportunity for abundant conversion. This was the land of “pauvre sauvages”—poor, childlike “savages,” who were sick, dying, living in poor conditions, in dire need of and ripe for conversion, to be pitied and assisted, and with the potential to be raised to a higher level of civilization with French help. As Hayden White argues in his essay “Forms of Wildness,” in the European world view there was one God who ordered all, and differences between men could only be explained as “evidence of species corruption.”¹⁰⁹ To Europeans, with their limited understanding of Indigenous cultures, values, and world view, Native peoples were seen as inferior because they did not seem to meet the ideal of humanity in a universe ordered by moral norms rather than by physical causal forces.¹¹⁰ This perspective would also have informed the choices and narratives of early collectors such as Champlain, informing their comparative understanding of Indigenous and French peoples and their reception of Eastern Great Lakes material culture.

The European Enlightenment and the Notion of the Noble Savage

The concept of the *noble savage* figured in the text of Baron de Lahontan, a French nobleman and soldier-explorer who spent almost ten years in New France in the late seventeenth century, adding another dimension to the reception of Indigenous material culture. His memoir *Nouveaux voyages* was one of the most influential narratives of exploration, and an international bestseller. First published in 1703 in French and English, this three-volume work was so popular that it was issued in 18

¹⁰⁹ Hayden White, “The Forms of Wildness,” in *The Wild Man Within* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 9.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

editions in three languages between 1703 and 1750.¹¹¹ It sets forward a new image of North American Indigenous peoples. Lahontan's noble savage is a rational being, combining cogent thinking and reflective critique with a life lived in natural law and personal freedom, and criticizing French greed for wealth. He wrote :

The Savages know neither yours nor mine, since one could say that what belongs to one person belongs to the other. . . . They call silver the Serpent of the French. They say that the French kill for it . . . that husbands sell their wives and mothers their daughters for this metal . . . finally, they say that the title of *Savages*, which is how we label them, suits us better than the title of men, since there is nothing of the wisdom of men in our behaviour. [Les Sauvages ne connoissent ni le tien, ni le mien, car on peut dire que ce qui est à l'un est à l'autre . . . ils l'appellent (l'argent) le Serpent des François. Ils disent qu'on se tuë . . . qui les Maris vendent leurs femmes, & les Meres leurs Filles pour ce métal . . . Enfin, ils disent que le titre de *Sauvages*, dont nous les qualifions, nous conviendrait mieux que celui d'hommes, puis qu'il n'y a rien moins que de l'homme sage dans toutes nos actions.]¹¹²

Lahontan described peoples who have many admirable qualities, many virtues and freedom that Europeans, who saw themselves as civilized, lacked. He wrote:

They [the Savages] mock the total subordination that they see in our society. They treat us as slaves, they say that we are pitiful . . . in reducing ourselves to the servitude of a single man that can do anything, and who has no law but his will. [Ils (les Sauvages) se raillent de la grande subordination qu'ils remarquent parmi nous. Ils nous traitent d'esclaves, ils disent que nous sommes des misérables . . . en nous réduisant à la servitude d'un seul homme qui peut tout, & qui n'a d'autre loi que sa volonté.]¹¹³

At the same time he identifies flaws that he sees in Native peoples, and in this his text reflects a form of cultural relativism. He writes:

The Savages' greatest passion is their implacable hatred for their enemies, that is, all nations with whom they are engaged in open war. They also show great

¹¹¹ Gordon Sayre, *Les sauvages américains* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 15.

¹¹² Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale ou la suite des voyages de M. le Baron de la Hontan*, vol. 2 (Montréal: Éditions Élysée, 1974), 99–100.

¹¹³ Lahontan, *Mémoires*, 100.

courage, but also they are very lazy in all things. One could say that they abandon themselves completely to their own will. [La plus grande passion des Sauvages, est la haine implacable qu'ils portent à leurs ennemis, c'est-à-dire, à toutes les Nations avec lesquelles ils sont en guerre ouverte. Ils se piquent aussi beaucoup de valeur, mais à cela près ils sont de la dernière indolence sur toutes choses. L'on peut dire qu'ils s'abandonnent tout-à-fait à leur temperament.]¹¹⁴

In his writing, Lahontan uses what he saw as the admirable qualities of savage primitive life to critique European society; nevertheless, his texts, so broadly read, informed and formed European understandings of Indigenous peoples, and, like Le Jeune's representation, the reception of material culture collections. In the shift to the eighteenth-century early Enlightenment period, Lahontan's view contrasts with that of the seventeenth-century Jesuits, whose relations with Indigenous peoples were based on the views of the Counter Reformation and the renewal of the Catholic Church. To the seventeenth-century Jesuits, Indigenous peoples were souls to be saved, communities to be brought to a "civilized" French way of life, admitting little or no merit in Aboriginal beliefs and customs. Eighteenth-century collectors and collecting practices (discussed in the next chapter) reflected the Enlightenment values of a rational, analytic approach to the world, focused on man at the centre rather than the Christian God.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European collecting paradigms in the Eastern Great Lakes region in this era yield a fresh approach to the twined pouches, belts, and quilled moccasins we will see in chapter 4. They give insight into the perspectives of the collectors and their relations with the Indigenous communities from whom they received these objects. From Champlain's admiring descriptions of the intricate designs made by Algonquin and Huron women to Louis Nicolas' valuation of quilled belts, worth 100 gold

¹¹⁴ Lahontan, *Mémoires*, 104.

Louis, in a small way we can see these works through the eyes of the collectors of the time.

CHAPTER 3

COLLECTING WENDAT ART:

WESTERN PARADIGMS IN SEVEN VARIATIONS

PART II

In this chapter, I present several case studies of key collectors, and explore the sequence of several paradigms, the overlaps between them, and additional motivations for collecting that nuanced these broader historical movements. As well as the Cartier and Champlain collections discussed in chapter 2, I discuss the collections of Charles-Philippe Fayolle; Count Albert von Pourtalès; and James Du Pre Alexander, the third Earl of Caledon, within the curiosity cabinet and natural history collecting paradigms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Next, I discuss the collection of anthropologist Marius Barbeau, acquired in the early twentieth century, within the understandings of the salvage paradigm. Lastly, I discuss the collection of Folke Cronholm, of the same period. The latter was received within both the ceremonial traditions of the Wendat community and romanticized European understandings of Indigenous peoples. These collections represent interactions between European and Indigenous communities in successive periods, and help to explore the shifts in these relationships.

I begin with the collection of Charles-Philippe Fayolle, and follow that with discussion of collections formed after the era of New France, with the advent of British forces and colonial administration in Quebec.

Charles-Philippe Fayolle

Charles-Philippe Fayolle began his collection around 1750, in the period of the French Enlightenment, and added to it until his death in 1804. It was personal and

private, a creation of Fayolle family members.¹ In her ground-breaking study of the French royal collections, *Les objets ethnographiques de la bibliothèque municipale de Versailles*, Estelle Bégué writes that Fayolle's is remarkable as a collection in that while it was added to, and had some losses, it has remained a coherent ensemble from the time of its formation.² This makes it an excellent case study to illustrate the eighteenth-century Enlightenment shift towards natural history collecting as well as offering a micro history of relations between settler and Native communities in this period.³

Fayolle was a commissioner in the section of the French Marine associated with the colonies.⁴ He collected man-made and natural objects at a time when France's merchant marine was heavily engaged in international trade, both in the fur trade in New France and to a much greater extent the triangular trade [*traite triangulaire*] in Africa, South America, and the Caribbean.⁵ In rank, his position in the French administrative hierarchy was the equivalent of a ship's captain. He was in direct contact with those who sailed; one of his sons-in-law was a ship's captain in the Marine, two other sons-in-law

¹ Estelle Bégué, *Les objets ethnographiques de la bibliothèque municipale de Versailles*, mémoire de recherche, vol. 2, 1ère année de 2ème cycle (Paris: École du Louvre, 2008), 8–9.

² Estelle Bégué, *Les objets ethnographiques de la bibliothèque municipale de Versailles*, vol. 1, Mémoire de recherche, 2nde année de 2ème cycle (Paris: École du Louvre, 2009), 10.

³ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2009, I, 10.

⁴ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2008, 7.

⁵ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2008, 8. The “*traite triangulaire*” refers to the slave-trade-based movement of European ships from European homeports to Africa to exchange European goods for slaves, who were then traded in North and South America and the Caribbean for goods to take back to Europe. Ships departing for overseas ventures were an everyday occurrence in ports such as La Rochelle. All levels of society invested in their cargos—the carpenter, the local wine merchant, and tradesmen (Fleuriau, fonds, B 423, no piece numbers; documents list shipments of cargos to New France, shipments of furs from New France). Whole industries and much of the population in ports like La Rochelle were engaged in trans-Atlantic trade in some way. In addition, this was the age of the great French expeditions of circumnavigation; ships of the French Marine sailed from New Zealand to Papua New Guinea in search of knowledge and the advancement of world mapping, and carried scientists to gather specimens of natural history. During these expeditions, objects were exchanged with Indigenous peoples.

and a son served in different areas of the *marine de guerre*, the section dealing principally with the colonies.⁶ They were the main sources of his collection of Indigenous clothing, weapons, and domestic objects from the Great Lakes and Louisiana.⁷ The period of French presence in North America helps date this material. In 1763, the French gave up their interest in New France and Louisiana, and the Marine and other French troops withdrew, suggesting that the North American works in the Fayolle collection were collected between 1750 and 1763.

In 1786, for unknown reasons, Fayolle sold his collection to the Marquis de Sérent, who was acting on behalf of the Comte d'Artois, brother of the King of France.⁸ Sérent was the tutor of the sons of the Comte and the collection was bought for their education. After the collection's sale, according to the terms of the purchase contract, Fayolle continued to look after it and was paid a salary that was taken from the purchase price.⁹ It does not sound like an arrangement in his favour. After the Revolution, the collection became part of the *saisies de la révolution*, possessions confiscated from aristocrats.

When the collection was seized by the new French Republic and became national property [les biens nationaux], Fayolle, who was not an aristocrat and so was looked on favourably by the new Republican bureaucracy, kept his head and was appointed to a new republican institution, the Commissaire de la Commission des Arts.¹⁰ The job of the

⁶ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2008, 7, 9. The French Marine (the land forces of the navy) was the only regular army in New France from 1690 to 1755.

⁷ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2008, 9, fn. 19, 21.

⁸ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2009, I, 10.

⁹ Ibid., I, 11.

¹⁰ Ibid., I, 11; Archives nationales de France, site de Paris, cabinets de Versailles, F17, 1221–23.

commissioners was to form the “national curiosity cabinet” [cabinet national des curiosités] out of the curiosity cabinets/ natural history collections seized from the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. The Fayolle-de Sérent collection was transferred to the Muséum de Versailles in 1795 and in 1806 to the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles.¹¹

Fayolle was put in charge of natural history and thus was effectively in charge of his collection.¹² That Fayolle remained conservator of his collection throughout the Revolution and after reveals the strength of his dedication; that he was given this position by the zealous new bureaucrats of the Republic attests to his knowledge.¹³ Eastern Great Lakes works in the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles were added after 1806 as gifts, not as collected by the Fayolle family.¹⁴ These works seem to reflect the interests of nonmilitary collectors and are mainly souvenir domestic objects made for European visitors rather than for use in the community.¹⁵

Fayolle’s collection reflects the natural history paradigm that was coming to the forefront in collections of this period; however, a more personal collecting motivation may also have been present: French soldiers’ need for Indigenous clothing to survive in

¹¹ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2009, I, 11, 95. Three inventories were done of the material in the collection of the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, one in 1792 when the objects were seized, one in 1806, just before the collection went to the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, and one in 1869, just before it went to the Trocadero museum (Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2008, 13). The items in the 1792 inventory from the eastern Great Lakes and Mississippi were probably collected before 1763, the end of French presence in the region.

¹² Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2009, I, 11.

¹³ Documents in the Archives nationales, site de Paris, indicate that the Commissioners conducting the inventories of the Saisies de la Révolution, the Royal Cabinets among them, were looking for expert knowledge. They sought out people who had knowledge of the collections and collections made by people who had knowledge of their field. (Archives nationales, site de Paris, F17 1223, document, Citoyen Besson, Comité d’instruction publique; F17 1221, Depense du museum d’histoire naturelle, expenses for the “Appointment of Professors” [Appointmens des Professeurs]).

¹⁴ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2009, I, 148.

¹⁵ Ibid., I, 147–48.

the harsh Eastern Great Lakes winters. Arnaud Balvay's *L'Epée et la Plume* provides a detailed history of the close connections between the residents of the French forts and Indigenous communities in the Eastern Great Lakes region in this period and offers fresh insights into Fayolle's collection. The relationship between North American Indigenous villages and French forts in this period created what has been described as a "fort society."¹⁶ The French Marine served as garrisons in the isolated forts along communications and trade routes, often with inadequate provisions and clothing.¹⁷ The forts were built close to Native villages because these communities were located in excellent defensive positions, close to water, and because the French needed the military aid of Native warriors. There were close relations of mutual support in all levels of trade and military alliance, as well as intermarriage. As Balvay observes, two communities formed one society.¹⁸ French soldiers depended on their close neighbours for survival: in military support, for food, for clothing.

It is thus possible that the moccasins, pouches, ties, and knife scabbards in the Fayolle collection were not exotic to Fayolle's sons and sons-in-law but may have been objects of personal use, if not by them specifically, then by other soldiers. A collector such as Fayolle with personal connections to the Marine may have seen these Aboriginal items not just as curiosities but also as illustrations of relations between French military and Indigenous communities on the level of the everyday. Frequently lacking adequate European clothing, the soldiers in the Marine often dressed like their Indigenous neighbours in the Native garments that were better suited to the climate, particularly

¹⁶ Arnaud Balvay, *L'Epée et la Plume* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006), 69.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

moccasins and leggings.¹⁹ Soldiers traded what they could—their European clothes and their labour—for Indigenous clothing and also for furs that they could sell. The metal cones on the moccasins and pouches in the Fayolle collection may even have been made by French soldiers who produced ornaments out of scrap copper to use in trade.²⁰

When the collection was in private hands at the Fayolle residence in Versailles, the North American material may have been seen differently, as objects brought back by family members who had possibly worn moccasins and other Native garments, not as curiosities but as the means to survive. They may have been accompanied by a narrative of the specific context of collecting, such as who made them and what was traded for them, as Stewart has suggested in her description of the personal souvenir. In this context, the Great Lakes works may have been received by the Marine officer and soldier collectors in the context of a society made up of different cultures that lived according to an Indigenous mode de vivre.²¹ Once Fayolle's collection moved into the hands of the royal family and then the Republic, the works would have been received as exotic objects from another land, in the curiosity mode that was still a part of collecting practice. Further research in the Archives of the French Marine to learn more about the details of the travels of Fayolle's son and sons-in-law could add to knowledge of the collection and the relationships between Indigenous communities and French soldiers as well as relationships between Indigenous communities.

The Fayolle collection reflects the late seventeenth- to early-eighteenth-century shift from the curiosity mode of collecting to a natural history focus. According to

¹⁹ Balvay, *L'Epée*, 229.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 216.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 285.

Krzysztof Pomian in *Collectors and Curiosities*, in 1742 there were seventeen natural history collections in Paris and by 1790 there were 467.²² Natural history collections were generated within the Enlightenment quest for knowledge based on objective observation and scientific method, detached from the belief in the wonder of the curiosity cabinet. In France in particular, this was an academic mode of collecting.

Foucault's description of the classical episteme in *The Order of Things* helps to explain the systematic nature of late-eighteenth-century collecting and the shift from the logic of Renaissance thinking. According to Foucault, distinct historical periods can be identified by their specific approaches to the ordering of knowledge. Renaissance thought in the period up until the end of the seventeenth century sought order through resemblance.²³ Classical thought, from the start of the eighteenth century, ordered knowledge by establishing relations of equivalence or difference between things, through comparison, measurement, and order.²⁴ Systems of classification and taxonomy were based on analysis, as nature entered into the "scientific order." This analysis ordered material culture through discrimination among things, through "measurement with a common unit," connecting them in "successive degrees of a series" that moved from the simple to the complex.²⁵

The natural history collection moved away from the curiosity cabinet's magical implications of associations and order based on resemblances to the *inventaire raisonné*,

²² Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 12.

²³ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 17.

²⁴ Ibid., xxiv, 52, 54.

²⁵ Ibid., 17.

based on systematic comparative cataloguing.²⁶ Enlightenment thinking was guided by a belief in “the possibility of knowing and understanding the universe” [la transparence de l’univers], hence the demand for method and order and “a rigorous display” [une présentation rigoureuse].²⁷ The purpose was to make nature understandable, to “show how its simple and universal principles operated” in orderly, disciplined display.²⁸ Archival records of the period indicate that collectors were increasingly interested in complete suites of material that included examples of every type in a particular category. Citizen Gaillard wrote “some objects are difficult to find in order to complete the collections or educational suites: it is necessary to take advantage of the opportunities that present themselves in order to acquire them” [certains objets sont rares ou difficiles à rencontrer pour compléter des collections ou des suites instructives: il faut savoir profiter des occasions quand elles le présentent pour les acquir].²⁹ This aspect of Enlightenment collecting practices reflects Baudrillard’s description of collecting as a personal microcosm of the world.³⁰

The urge for complete collections or instructional series is illustrated by documents of the *Comité d’instruction publique de la convention nationale*, the bureaucratic arm of the new French Republican government responsible for transferring objects from the curiosity and natural history cabinets of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie to the *Cabinets de la République*. A document in the archives states:

²⁶ Roland Kaehr, *Le mûrier et l’épée* (Neuchâtel, Suisse: Musée Ethnographie, 2000), 85; Foucault, *Order of Things*, 17.

²⁷ Kaehr, *Le mûrier*, 26.

²⁸ Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 233.

²⁹ Archives nationales de France, site de Paris, F17 1223.

³⁰ Baudrillard, “System of Collecting,” 7.

Certain objects necessary to complete the collections or instructional series are rare or difficult to find: it is necessary to take advantage of the opportunities to acquire these objects when they present themselves. [Certains objets sont rares ou difficiles à rencontrer pour compléter des collections ou des suites instructives: il faut savoir profiter des occasions quand elles le présenter pour les acquérir.]³¹

From his study of the rise in the number of natural history collections in Paris, Pomian argues that this increase reflected changes in the social and economic profile of the population. He writes that natural history collecting appeared in scholarly circles in Paris beginning in 1700 to 1720.³² However after 1750, courtiers began to dominate, along with increased numbers of artists, bourgeoisie, and money dealers engaged in collecting.³³ The purpose of collections was also redefined as educational and on an increasingly public level.³⁴ *L'encyclopédie d'Yverdon* (1772) states that “a young man will learn more in one hour in a cabinet of natural history than he could in ten years of travel” [un jeune homme s'instruit mieux en une heure dans un cabinet d'histoire naturelle, qu'il ne pourroit le faire en dix ans de voyage].³⁵ The history of the Fayolle collection illustrates this shift, from its use to educate the French princes to its role as the new Cabinet de la République established at the *Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles* in 1792 intended for the educational of the French people. As the Fayolle collection illustrates, a country's most significant eighteenth-century natural history collections often became the foundation of its public museums through donation, purchase, or confiscation. In another example, Sir Hans Sloane, British physician and man of science, President of the Royal

³¹ Archives nationales, site de Paris, F17 1223, document, Le citoyen Gaillard, La commission des arts, Comité d'instruction de la convention nationale, 1793.

³² Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 131.

³³ Ibid., 124, 131.

³⁴ Ibid., 126–127, 131.

³⁵ *L'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*, vol. 12 (1772), 580, as cited in Kaehr, *Le mûrier*, 28.

Society after Isaac Newton, left his collection to the British Museum in his will, to become its founding collection.³⁶

During the eighteenth century, collectors valued natural curiosities more highly than objects made by Indigenous people—a change from the quilled belt valued at 100 gold Louis by Nicolas. In “*Artificial Curiosities*,” Adrienne Kaeppler discusses the collections of Captain Cook and the distinction made in the eighteenth century between natural curiosities (samples of minerals, plant, or animal specimens) and artificial curiosities (objects made by the non-European peoples encountered on voyages of exploration). She writes: “the importance of ‘natural curiosities’ collected on the voyages was immediately recognized.”³⁷ However, objects of material culture or “artificial curiosities” were seen as

... curious mementos of their voyages; sometimes they were gifts to the great patrons of the voyages and to private collectors of Britain; or, at a more mundane level, many were simply acquired to be sold at a profit. Ethnographic specimens at this time were for the most part unimportant appendages to the great collections of specimens of natural history.³⁸

Natural history curiosities were viewed as more useful to study of the laws of nature and hence more important. This is demonstrated by the higher prices paid for natural history materials when compared to ethnographic works.³⁹ In *Le mûrier et l'épée*, Roland Kaehr cites Valmont de Bomare, writing in the *Manuel du naturaliste de Duchesne* (1770), who demonstrates this priority and a reluctant interest in Indigenous peoples' material culture:

³⁶ William Stukeley, “Sir Hans Sloane and the British Museum,” *The British Museum Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (March 1953): 2.

³⁷ Adrienne L. Kaeppler, “*Artificial Curiosities*”: *Being an exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain Cook, R.N., at the Bern* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 1.

³⁸ Kaeppler, “*Artificial Curiosities*,” 5, 37.

³⁹ Kaehr, *Le mûrier*, 25n21.

I was obliged to mention several objects that have no immediate connection with natural history. They were medals, vases, and antiquities, some clothing and weapons of the Savages. [J'ai été obligé de faire mention de plusieurs objets qui n'ont pas un rapport immédiat avec l'Histoire Naturelle. Il s'agit des médailles, des vases & & morceaux antiques, des habillemens & armes des Sauvages.]⁴⁰

Fayolle's collection reflects these collection trends. The ethnographic works were much fewer in number than the natural history objects overall. Among the ethnographic works, those from North America were fewest; the greatest volume seems to have been from Africa, reflecting the focus of French trade and French navy/military presence.

Bégué describes Fayolle as a man who collected to “satisfy an enlightened amateur's interest in science.”⁴¹ However, in his dedication to his collection, sustained through the dangerous years of the Revolution, Fayolle demonstrated a great passion underlying the apparently detached, scientific, Enlightenment quest for knowledge of the period. As we have seen, as a collector, Fayolle represents both the natural history model of collecting, based on an interest in science, and also illustrates the practice of the remote collector of Indigenous curiosities. There were other collectors who followed the practice of the remote collector in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, acquiring works through intermediaries such as sailors, ship's captains, traders or colonial administrators, or flea market dealers. Such objects were souvenirs of places and peoples at a remove. In contrast, for the people from whom collectors-at-a-remove acquired the works, the objects were souvenirs of those meetings. To collectors-at-a-remove, the intercultural connection was absent; rather, their collections carried the idea or possibly the narrative of that moment, experienced by someone else.

⁴⁰ Kaehr, *Le mûrier*, 28.

⁴¹ Bégué, *Objets ethnographiques*, 2008, I, 10.

Count Albert von Pourtalès

Count Albert von Pourtalès (1812–61) came from an aristocratic Protestant family in the canton of Bern, Switzerland. In 1832, as a young man, he made a tour of what is now the western United States. In 1953, the von Pourtalès estate, Schloss Oberhofen, became an annex of the Bern Historical Museum and twenty years later a collection of sixteen Wendat items made of moosehair embroidery on hide and bark were found there, together with von Pourtalès family letters that included many letters written during Count Albert's 1832 travels.⁴² It is thus highly likely that he was the collector of the Wendat materials.

Von Pourtalès travelled in North America with two companions, the American writer Washington Irving and Charles Latrobe, a British Huguenot who had spent time mountaineering in Switzerland and later became a colonial official in Australia. Their original plan was to travel in the east and after arriving in New York in May 1832 they went to Boston and the White Mountains of New Hampshire and from there to Niagara Falls, where von Pourtalès probably collected Wendat souvenir works.⁴³ On the steamer back from Niagara Falls, they met Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, an Indian commissioner who was on his way to Oklahoma to try to reduce the tensions between the Indigenous nations that had followed the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830.⁴⁴ Ellsworth invited Irving, Latrobe, and von Pourtalès to travel with him, and so the trio travelled west.⁴⁵

⁴² Judy Thompson, *The North American Indian Collection: A Catalogue* (Berne: Berne Historical Museum, 1977), 119.

⁴³ Graf Albert von Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour with Washington Irving: The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtales*, George F. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

They travelled to St. Louis and Fort Gibson in what is now Oklahoma where they made a six-week trip on the plains on horseback, after which they came back to Fort Gibson and returned to New York in December 1832. Von Pourtalès then returned to Switzerland.

For von Pourtalès, the highlight of his tour was his six-week journey on the plains; his writings suggest that he saw it as an adventure, a journey through the wilderness. He and his group met Osage hunters and visited their communities; the Métis hunters who accompanied them on the journey supplied their food.⁴⁶ He describes the land as “almost unknown country,” a dangerous place as yet uninhabited and with the threat of attack by Pawnees.⁴⁷ In a series of letters to his mother, von Pourtalès gives insight into his perceptions of the communities he has met. He had a romantic fascination with Indigenous peoples and quickly acquired a frontier outfit, an “Indian hunting frock of dressed deerskin . . . dyed a beautiful purple . . . embroidered with silks of various colors.”⁴⁸ He was well received by the Osage, reporting that they “are hospitable, generous, and love the whites with all their hearts.”⁴⁹ He was adopted by the Osage, describes smoking a calumet with them, and notes the duty of the adopting family to house, feed, and look after the adoptee.⁵⁰

Von Pourtalès had his own views on how Indigenous nations could be helped. He writes: “I would not have them leap into the maze of civilization and modern religion. . . .

⁴⁶ von Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour*, 17–18. Ellsworth wrote that von Pourtalès was in the United States because his parents wanted to end “previous attachments” in Switzerland, possibly a romantic association his parents thought was unsuitable.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 66–67.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 37.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 76.

I would instead have them pass through a kind of middle ages . . . through my example and advice to cultivate indispensable arts and develop agriculture.”⁵¹ He approached his time in the plains with a kind of hard primitivism, the belief that man was happiest when not burdened with arts and sciences, had the fewest needs, and lived the simplest life.⁵²

Quoting Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he refers to things such as mattresses and sheets as superfluous luxuries that turn man into “a dull brute.”⁵³ His admiration of Indigenous nations is focused on men and what he sees as their attributes of hardiness, their hunting skills, and their independent way of life, which he perceives as free of the “annoying duties that civilization imposes on us.”⁵⁴ He wants to be like them, and as Osage men made their own moccasins, he learns the technique too, and writes: “like a real hunter I learned how to make this elegant and useful footwear myself.”⁵⁵ Yet at the same time he sees himself as superior, in a position to give advice and serve as an example on what he saw as the road to civilization. His admiration is that of an outsider, not understanding the social structures of Indigenous communities, seeing only what he perceives as Indigenous men’s freedom from responsibility. His construct of Indigenous men’s masculinity is similar to the British fur traders’ construct of the buffalo hunter, the “standard-bearer of manly Indianness” of the same period, as described by Elizabeth Vibert in her study of

⁵¹ von Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour*, 20.

⁵² George Boas, “Primitivism,” in *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, P. P. Weiner, ed., vol. II (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1973), 578.

⁵³ von Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour*, 4, 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 81–82.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

the plateau region of North America, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo.”⁵⁶ British traders also constructed a positive image of Indigenous masculinity, yet at the same time positioned their middle-class British values as superior.⁵⁷

Von Pourtalès’s perceptions are based on the vanishing-race myth. He writes: “the Indians grow fewer in number each day and are losing their national character. . . . With the progressive advancement of American civilisation, within fifty years a buffalo hunt will be as rare as a wolf hunt in the Canton of Fribourg.”⁵⁸ He thinks the United States government is pushing the Osages “into the wilderness and the grave.”⁵⁹ The concept of the vanishing Indian, integral to the mode of salvage-paradigm collecting, was formalized during the mid-nineteenth century but also applied earlier. Once Aboriginal nations were no longer valued as military allies they came to be seen as obstacles to settlement and were increasingly situated as inferior cultures disappearing before the inevitable onrush of the dominant European settler nations and their project of colonization and progress. The vanishing Indian myth served the colonial project through its representation of the land as empty wilderness, uninhabited and available to the settler nations.

To travellers such as von Pourtalès, the myth of the vanishing Indian seemed an evident reality. Von Pourtalès witnessed government policies that forced the removal of Native peoples, already diminished by epidemics, to reserved lands west of the Mississippi. The objects he collected were a memento of these peoples and a way of life

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Vibert, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” *Gender and History* 8, no. 1 (April 1996): 4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁸ von Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour*, 22.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

that he saw as vanishing. They were treasured, expensive objects, difficult to obtain, from a distant location, and their materials, indigenous to North America and ingenious in technique, held a lingering element of the wonder of the curiosity cabinet. He probably also purchased moosehair-embroidered bark work for his mother, to whom he wrote so many letters during his travels. Such a purpose fits a long-standing pattern. As Ruth Phillips and Dale Idiens note in their essay on the eighteenth-century collection made for the Scottish Farquharson family, discussed later in this chapter, men in the Great Lakes region collected souvenir works to send back to their female relatives and patrons, and these women may have played key roles in the formation of Indian cabinets.⁶⁰ This pattern is also evident from the souvenirs by the third Earl of Caledon, sent to his mother between 1838 and 1842.

Some of von Pourtalès's moosehair-embroidered clothing, however, such as the moccasins, mitts, gloves, and pouch, may have reflected his interest in Indigenous masculine identity, evident from his purchase of Indigenous clothing to wear when he was in the West as a way of adopting an Indigenous plains way of life. Bought for their function to "envelope the present within the past," they would have referred to personal autobiography for their original collectors. Now in museum collections, they have been separated from their use either as functional objects or as stimulus for personal narrative.⁶¹

Von Pourtalès probably purchased the moosehair embroidered bark and hide objects during his time at Niagara Falls, a prime destination for nineteenth-century

⁶⁰ Ruth B. Phillips and Dale Idiens, "A Casket of Savage Curiosities," *Journal of the History of Collections* 6, no. 1 (1994): 22.

⁶¹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 151.

visitors. A popular book of the period by T.G.Hulett, *Every Man His Own Guide to the Falls of Niagara*, published in a number of editions, describes the range of Indigenous souvenir objects available at stores there and their high quality. The guide lists the souvenirs available at the Old Curiosity Shop:

T.G. and W.E.Hulett, brothers, one of the Old Curiosity Shop, the other of the Indian shop opposite the Cataract Hotel, have made arrangements with the traders of most of the Indian tribes in North America, for a constant supply of their choicest manufactures; among some of the articles will be found bead work of every description, bark work beautifully embroidered with moose hair and porcupine quills- such as card cases, card receivers, boxes, cigar cases, bark shoes and gloves, canoes, reticules, purses, pocket books, wampum belts, ladies' belts, etc. etc."⁶²

Hulett also lists the different Indigenous communities whose goods were sold there, including the "Esquimaux, Labrador and North Western [Anishnaabe] tribes of Indians" as well as "Conewaga [Kahnawake], St. Regis [Akwasasne] and Lake of the Two Mountain [Kahnesetake] Indians."⁶³ The types of souvenir works that Hulett describes are not known to be made by the Inuit, hence his knowledge of the communities whose works were available at the stores may not be entirely reliable or complete.

The extensive network of Indigenous communities who traded to tourists is known from other sources. In *Trading Identities* Phillips writes of the "entrepreneurial energy" of members of Indigenous communities such as the Quebec Abenaki, Mi'kmaq, as well as the Kahnawake and Akwasasne communities mentioned by Hulett, who in the summers travelled widely across north eastern Canada and the United States to sell their

⁶² T.G.Hulett, *Every Man His Own Guide to the Falls of Niagara* (Buffalo: Faxon & Co., 1843), 32.

⁶³ Ibid.

souvenir works.⁶⁴ Phillips cites descriptions of Aboriginal women selling souvenir wares on Goat Island near Niagara Falls.⁶⁵

These goods were not only sold directly to stores by Indigenous traders; they were also shipped in bulk. German traveller Johann Georg Kohl, who visited Wendake between 1854 and 1856, describes the "great tuns and chests full of mocassins embroidered with flowers, cigar-cases, purses, &c, all made by the women in the village, and which were, I believe, destined to be sent to Montreal, and thence probably to Niagara and New York."⁶⁶

The coming together of Indigenous traders from the different communities who visited Niagara Falls to sell their souvenir wares would probably have prompted inter-community interest in what others were producing and what was selling well, in the competitive setting of the marketplace. This was a rich opportunity for inter-community exchange of designs, forms, media, and technique. Possibly some of the developments in Wendat embroidery were prompted by such intercultural exchange. Although there is no documentary evidence yet, the material culture record suggests that such exchanges took place, as I will discuss further in chapter 5.

⁶⁴ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 33-34.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁶⁶ Kohl, *Travels in Canada and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania*, trans. Mrs. Percy Sinnet, vol.1, (London: George Manwaring, 1861), 180.

James Du Pre Alexander, Third Earl of Caledon

Like the Fayolle family in the mid-eighteenth century, European soldiers serving in the Great Lakes region from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries collected within both the curiosity and natural history paradigms. My case study of the Caledon collection explores this overlapping of paradigms, and in addition, other collecting motivations that arose from more specific circumstances of particular collectors.

The prolonged period of war and tension spanning the Seven Years' War of 1756–63, the American War of Independence from 1775–83, the War of 1812, and the Rebellions of 1837–38, was a time of adventure and risk during which European soldiers were involved in encounters with Indigenous peoples, either in trade or war, as opponents or allies. Military men engaged in these wars often became collectors. Many stationed in Quebec, some in the area of Detroit, bought Wendat souvenirs during a visit to Wendake or tourist sites such as Niagara Falls, and other objects may have been received as gifts. They collected works as personal souvenirs, as prestige objects that had aspects of a trophy through association with foreign travel and danger, and as gifts for their women relatives or for patrons.⁶⁷ Some soldiers collected for their aristocratic superiors; the collections by German mercenaries described by Phillips in *Trading Identities*⁶⁸ are examples of this.

The situation of British military collectors appears to have been different from that of the French Marine. British soldiers collected under new conditions that followed

⁶⁷ Stewart, *On Longing*, 147, 148.

⁶⁸ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 111.

the British takeover of Quebec. The *Annales* of the Quebec Ursulines describe the high prices the convent sisters charged the British for bark work souvenirs in the late eighteenth century: “we sell them [souvenir wares] at high prices to the English” [nous les vendons bien cher à Messieurs les Anglais].⁶⁹ This account implies that the British were better provided for in terms of equipment, supplies, and pay than the French Marine had been earlier and hence, for the most part, collected items more as souvenirs than as essential objects for their own everyday use.⁷⁰

James Du Pre Alexander, the third Earl of Caledon, served in the Coldstream Guards, who were stationed in Quebec from 1838 to 1842 and assigned to keep the peace after the Rebellion of 1837–38. During this period he inherited the title from his father but continued to serve in the military. Caledon followed in the tradition of military collectors connected to aristocratic families such as Alexander Farquharson, who served in the Great Lakes around 1760, and Colonel Jasper Grant, who was stationed in the Great Lakes in 1800 and 1809. Caledon’s collection engaged with both the curiosity and natural history collecting paradigms, and was also motivated by the interests of women relatives and friends and a desire for personal souvenirs of a time and place. His collection also reflects another aspect of the souvenir of an exotic and non-European land: the desire for a trophy or memento of a dangerous environment, associated with sport hunting and the military life.

⁶⁹ Marius Barbeau cites Mère Esther de l’Enfant-Jésus who wrote that the convent’s main income was the money they earned from sales of their bark work. She wrote that as long as they were in fashion, the income from their sales was a great help, “car nous les vendons bien cher à Messieurs les Anglais” (*Les Ursulines de Quebec*, Vol. 3–4, 360–361, as cited in Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes*, 84).

⁷⁰ Jasper Grant describes the Native communities who came to the fort at Amherstberg from distant regions to receive the annual gifts as allies of the British Crown. Ruth Phillips, *Patterns of Power* (Kleinburg: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), 15.

In “A Casket of Savage Curiosities” Phillips and Idiens describe this pattern of collecting Indigenous objects, ranging from “souvenir art to ceremonial objects and clothing accessories,” as they were acquired by members of the Farquharson family active in the British military in the Great Lakes area and Maritime Peninsula in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷¹ In this period, these objects were seen as curiosities, curiosity cabinets seen “as signs both of intellectual culture and of social status among the British upper classes.”⁷² In letters written around 1760, Alexander Farquharson refers to “Indian Curiosities” in one letter and offers to “pick up everything I can find that is either rare or curious” in another.⁷³ He also refers to collecting shells, suggesting a natural history motivation.⁷⁴ This collection demonstrates the overlapping of natural history and curiosity-cabinet collecting practices. It also demonstrates the connection between “curiosity collecting and the culture of women,” in that Alexander Farquharson collected curiosities specifically for Lady Sinclair.⁷⁵

British officer Jasper Grant collected objects of Indigenous material culture and also natural history, and in *Patterns of Power* Phillips writes that “such ‘cabinets of curiosities’ played several roles, reflecting the value of such a cabinet at that time, but also as a souvenir of nine years spent in a strange and exotic land.”⁷⁶ Grant collected specimens of plants and animals that he sent home to Ireland, reflecting the passion for

⁷¹ Phillips and Idiens, “‘A Casket of Savage Curiosities’,” 21.

⁷² Ibid., 22.

⁷³ Ibid., 23, 24.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 45, 22.

⁷⁶ Phillips, *Patterns of Power*, 12.

natural history of the era.⁷⁷ He collected tulip cones, black walnuts, hickory nuts and a black grape cherry, as well as a live black squirrel, and sent them to relatives in Ireland, with a practical purpose. The cherries were to plant to produce cherry brandy while the squirrel was intended as a pet for Grant's nephew.⁷⁸ The seeds were planted by his brother in Ireland, although apparently many did not grow.⁷⁹ As Phillips states, these were described as "natural" and "artificial" curiosities, both reflecting European interest in the "exotic non-European world."⁸⁰ Women's interest in acquiring Indigenous objects is also seen in the Grant collection. As Phillips suggests, Jasper Grant's wife Isabella, who accompanied him to the Canadas, also seems to have placed a high value on the collection.

Caledon's collection was formed almost thirty years after the Grants' time in the Canadas, and in it are still reflected both curiosity and natural history interests, as well as the influence of women relatives. In "The Earls of Caledon," Judy Hall writes that the Caledon collection of sixty-four objects includes works that by stylistic analysis were collected by later relatives of Caledon's, possibly his son James Alexander. However, from the letters and a journal he kept, we know that a substantial number were collected by the third Earl of Caledon between 1838 and 1842.⁸¹ Caledon visited Wendake a number of times, commissioning made-to-measure embroidered hide works, examples of which are now located at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec.

⁷⁷ Phillips, *Patterns of Power*, 17.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 17–18.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁸¹ Judy Hall, "The Earls of Caledon: Nineteenth-Century Irish Soldiers and Adventurers in North America," *American Indian Art Magazine* 37, no. 2 (2012): 66.

Eleven of the hide items, including moccasins, gloves, mitts, and a waistcoat, are decorated with moosehair embroidery. Although Caledon's letters state that he also collected moosehair embroidered bark work, none is known in collections. He writes to his mother, for example, of the need for freshness of the bark work: "I should have sent you some more things but at present they are very scarce and except the bark work is fresh and new it does not look well."⁸² A few days later he writes further about the works he is sending home: "I merely write with these few things to say that they were the best I could get with the exception of one portefolio which was very beautiful too dear for a material that is by no means durable."⁸³ He seems to be referring to the bark work, as the work on hide was much less fragile. He speaks knowledgeably of an exotic material and its qualities, reflecting his interest not only in the beauty of the work but also, with a critical eye, in the particular characteristics of the materials, as a curiosity.

Caledon's comments give an idea of his notions of monetary values; no matter how beautiful something was, if it was not durable, he would not pay a high price for it. He also had an eye for quality of workmanship. He describes a leather book cover he has sent: "I sent Bell a book cover the other day if you like it I can get plenty more made as good or better workmanship than that one. I think that the leather work is much prettier than the bark as it is more durable and not brittle."⁸⁴ Later, he writes more about the book cover: "Let me know if you like the book cover I sent Bell if so I can send you and my Grandmother one. It is more useful and ornamental than the gloves or moccasins and

⁸² Caledon, *1838-42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1838: B/8/16.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1838: B/8/17.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1840: B/8/24.

looks better for a drawing room table.”⁸⁵ This comment provides insight into what appealed to him personally; visual attractiveness in his eyes was linked to durability. The bark work, being fragile and more suited for life on a shelf, seems not to have had as much appeal to him as the useful—and visually attractive—mitts, moccasins, slippers, and hide book covers. They also inform us of the influential role Bell and his grandmother played in the works he sent home.

The Caledon collection, like the Farquharson and Grant collections, reflected the divisions in the curiosity cabinet between artificialia—intricate techniques of work with difficult materials (for example, moosehair and porcupine quill work); and naturalia—flora and fauna foreign to Europe such as moose, caribou, and birchbark from the white birch. Caledon’s natural history collecting may have been informed by the discourse of the period; he refers to “Grosse[‘s] *Natural History of Canada*,” of which he says: “I don’t much like it I think it contains too much twaddle.”⁸⁶ His natural history collecting was considerable and covered a number of categories: specimens of animal hair, bird skins, seeds of trees, and live animals.⁸⁷ Hall explains that he refers to the “collections of plants and seeds, animal hair, birds . . . two live bears, a moose, beavers, and a buffalo” as curiosities, demonstrating the continued overlap between these collecting categories.⁸⁸ Caledon writes of a box of pine seeds: “I hope that Corbet got a tin box of seed I sent from here. . . . They were different species of pines from the Columbia River.”⁸⁹ It

⁸⁵ Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1840: B/8/24.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1840: B/8/24.

⁸⁷ Hall, “Earls of Caledon,” 72.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1842: B/8/43.

appears that he intended these to be planted, reminiscent of Grant's natural history collection, to be used rather than kept in museums. This aspect of usefulness is further illustrated by how he plans to use the caribou, saying that it "will go well in harness."⁹⁰ A curiosity to Caledon seems to have meant anything, natural or man-made, that was foreign to Europe and of interest due to its ingenious manufacture or intriguing qualities.

In a collecting motivation reminiscent of the experience of French soldiers a century earlier, but more out of practicality than dire need, Caledon also acquired Indigenous clothing of the type used by Indigenous communities when European uniforms either did not arrive or were not adequate for the climate. One year when his winter clothing had not yet arrived, Caledon wrote that he "got an Indian to make me leather hunting shirts to place over my shirt" and later he wrote: "under my coat I wear always a seal skin waist coat lined with skin of the caribou or reindeer."⁹¹ This suggests a degree of acceptance and even relish for aspects of the Indigenous way of life and an ability to adapt to the environment that led him to embrace the experience of the climate and geography as well as some of the customs of hunting and fighting alongside Indigenous military allies and hunting companions.

As the Farquharson, Grant, and Caledon collections have demonstrated, aristocratic women of this period showed an interest in the finely made works by Indigenous women and pleasing their women relatives was a personal collecting motivation for a number of officers.⁹² Phillips and Idiens suggest that "genteel eighteenth-century women took a special—and fashionable—interest in Indians, and . . .

⁹⁰ Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1840: B/8/23.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1838: B/8/14, D2433/D/5/20?.

⁹² Phillips and Idiens, "'A Casket of Savage Curiosities,'" 22.

they probably played a leading role in the formation of Indian cabinets.”⁹³ While Alexander Farquharson collected works to send to Lady Sinclair, Grant mentions Lady Sarah Amherst, noted for her interest in natural history, as a collector of curiosities, in his letters.⁹⁴ The Grant Indian cabinet appears in the will of Isabella Grant, left to her daughters, not her sons, which, states Phillips, “suggests the possibility that the Collection may have been a special interest of her own.”⁹⁵ Caledon writes of numerous objects made to measure in Wendake for his mother and women friends and relatives. This suggests that although not generally themselves the collectors, or present in the Eastern Great Lakes in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, women’s interest in finely made Indigenous objects was a strong motivation for collection.

The military/adventure collectors seemed to have been motivated by prestige as much as scientific exploration, reflecting a world of travel, hunting, and battle in the context of the developing European empires. Interaction with the Indigenous communities with whom some of these collectors were aligned as military allies and against whom some were fighting provided both kinds of experience. Some of Caledon’s activities illustrate this aspect of collectors and their relationships with Indigenous communities. On a trip to the “Far West” he met a large group whom he refers to as Plains Sioux, whose warlike appearance and demeanour made his party nervous. His experience of buffalo hunting and the moments when he was charged by a wounded

⁹³ Phillips and Idiens, “‘A Casket of Savage Curiosities’.”

⁹⁴ Ibid., 22, fn 9, 32.

⁹⁵ Ruth Phillips, *Patterns of Power* (Kleinburg, On.: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), 20, fn 1.

buffalo as he was reloading and his horse falling, must have been terrifying and exhilarating.⁹⁶

Caledon was a big-game hunter; his desire for moose trophies is a constant theme throughout his letters, illustrating this collecting interest. In one letter he writes: "I am in great hopes of getting some moose heads to send home."⁹⁷ The moose, however, were not always easy to locate and kill and he mentions difficulties several times.⁹⁸ Later he has better luck; he writes that the snow was deep and "the poor beasts could not get away."⁹⁹ He only mentions bringing home one head to hang on the walls of his family's castle in Ireland.¹⁰⁰ This would have been shown to a family social circle and all visitors, carrying the prestige of exploits in an exotic and possibly dangerous environment.

Cornelius Krieghoff's painting, *An Officer's Trophy Room* (1846), depicts the room of Dr. Staunton, and illustrates the military context of collection, the meanings it conveyed as a display, and a well-known Wendat souvenir. The room is a military cabinet of curiosities. A Wendat moose foot wall pocket, made of a cured moose foot complete with hoof, with two hide pockets embellished with floral moosehair embroidered motifs to hold letters or papers, has its position on the wall (see fig. 9). In *Krieghoff: Images of Canada*, Dennis Reid discusses the detailed representation of Dr. Staunton's possessions and how, through these, the painting tells us about his interests. The objects reflect his everyday life of hunting, shooting, and fishing, including trophies

⁹⁶ Caledon, 1838–42 *Journals and Correspondence*, 1840: B/8/33; Hall, "Earls of Caledon," 70. Caledon travelled to Minnesota and North Dakota, where he met members of the Dakota nation.

⁹⁷ Caledon, 1838–42 *Journals and Correspondence*, 1840: B/8/22.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 1841: B/8/29.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 1842: B/8/42.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1841: B/8/30.

such as moose antlers, while the bust of Shakespeare reflects his literary interests and the Shakespeare club he belonged to. The stuffed birds suggest an interest in natural history.¹⁰¹ Souvenirs from Indigenous communities are mementos of meetings with the exotic Other, reflecting the interest in the curiosity. The moose foot wall pocket adroitly combines hunting trophy, natural history specimen, and souvenir, an ingenious invention that may have acted as a substitute for the difficult-to-attain moose head. It illustrates once more the entrepreneurship of the Wendat; it was practical commercially—one moose could provide four trophies—and it demonstrates how well the Wendat community knew the interests of British buyers. The moose foot wall pocket as trophy may reflect what Stewart describes as the need to fill the immediate environment with things, as “a matter of ornamentation and presentation . . . a projection of self-fashioning.”¹⁰² Caledon’s rooms in the Quebec garrison may have appeared much like those of Dr. Staunton.

A further motive for collecting was a primitivist interest in the noble savage, a conceptualizing of Native peoples that appeared in the early eighteenth-century writing of Baron Lahontan and in Scottish Enlightenment texts of the later eighteenth century.¹⁰³ In his discussion of civil society and ideas of progress, Adam Ferguson describes Native peoples as an earlier stage of mankind’s progress, as examples of simpler society, warlike but with honour.¹⁰⁴ Caledon’s relationship with the Wendat chiefs and the “Sioux”

¹⁰¹ Dennis Reid, *Krieghoff: Images of Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre and Art Gallery of Ontario, 1999), 53–54.

¹⁰² Stewart, *On Longing*, 157.

¹⁰³ Phillips and Idiens, “‘A Casket of Savage Curiosities’,” 22.

¹⁰⁴ Adam Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 8th ed. (Philadelphia: William Fry, 1819), 36.

reflects something of this respect, both for diplomatic traditions and bravery. He describes an elderly Wendat chief who Caledon notes had “been in London and had dined with ‘King George,’” and reports the chief’s views on the possibility of war with America. The chief is in favour and “is in great hopes that we shall have a war.”¹⁰⁵ Caledon also describes travelling to the village where “the great chief Nicholas Vincent lives.”¹⁰⁶ His reference to the great chief and the visit to King George and his discussion about the possibility of war suggests respect for Wendat leaders.

Caledon’s descriptions of the Dakota he encountered on his trips to the West are coloured by awe and admiration, reflecting the notion of the noble savage. He writes: “No description can do justice to the appearance of these men perfectly naked with the exception of breechcloth and painted all manner of colours . . . faces striped and some painted slate colour.” He is impressed by their war songs and daring horsemanship, and he describes how a man obtains the feathers of a war eagle through bravery and daring, for example for killing an enemy or a grizzly bear. He describes their camp, noting that “the discipline . . . is pretty severe.”¹⁰⁷ His interest in Indigenous clothing, hunting moose in the East (with Wendat guides) and buffalo in the West, suggests his admiration for aspects of the Indigenous way of life, which in some ways would have aligned with European military values.

The works made by the Wendat at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries began a shift toward the production of objects such as those made specifically for European souvenir consumption. These were useful objects that were also collectable

¹⁰⁵ Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1838: B/8/6.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1838: B/8/9.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 1841: B/8/33.

and ornamental in the European understanding of the word, moving out of the curiosity or natural history cabinet and into the domestic space of the parlour. Caledon's description of the book cover, "more useful and ornamental than the gloves or moccasins and looks better for a drawing room table," illustrates this shift.¹⁰⁸ European visitors such as Caledon continued to collect moccasins, leggings, and other objects, made through the creativity and entrepreneurship of Native women specifically to satisfy these collecting desires.

Caledon's collection seems to contain elements of both curiosity cabinet and natural history collection. Although unicorn horns and bones of saints are absent, unlike sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cabinet collections, a fascination with unfamiliar materials and techniques from an exotic land are still present. This reflects Antoine Schnapper's argument. He makes a distinction between the curiosity cabinet and the natural history collection based on the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, rationalist thinking, but notes that it is difficult and "always arbitrary" [toujours arbitraire] to separate these motivations.¹⁰⁹

In summary, these transitional collectors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries followed the two overarching and overlapping paradigms—curiosity and natural history—and at the same time they were influenced by their interest in sport hunting and trophies, personal mementos, admiration for some aspects of Indigenous ways of life (as described by Caledon), and by the collecting desires of women relatives. By the mid-nineteenth century the Great Lakes region was no longer a site of military

¹⁰⁸ Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1840: B/8/24.

¹⁰⁹ Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 241.

tension, and settler society and tourism were growing. Upper-class habits of travel in North America, dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, also expanded. From the 1830s and 1840s onward, the rise of the European middle class and the growth of tourism brought a new kind of nonmilitary collector who was also interested in the exotic Other and in acquiring personal mementos of the Wendat world.

Although the natural history paradigm continued to motivate tourist collectors, they increasingly sought useful and decorative domestic objects based on European designs. These objects moved from the natural history collection into the drawing room and family space, as suggested by Caledon's "portefolio," where they also served as nostalgic mementos of personal experience and place. Stewart argues that the effect of the souvenir is to change distance to closeness. These domestic objects, collected in a period of expanding colonial empires, created closeness between colonizing countries such as England and the regions and the peoples who were the focus of their imperial project, and fit these peoples within European notions of cultural hierarchy.

Marius Barbeau and Folke Cronholm

As we have seen, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Wendat souvenir arts were seen as valued collectibles, yet towards the end of the nineteenth century, tourist demand for these works diminished. In this period the discourse around concepts of evolution introduced by the new disciplines of anthropology, ethnology, and art history brought another shift in collecting practices. I will discuss two collections as case studies. The first is the anthropological collection made by Marius Barbeau, who conducted ethnographic research at Wendake for the National Museum of Canada between 1911 and 1914, governed by the salvage anthropology paradigm. The second is the personal

collection of Swedish diplomat Folke Cronholm, which continued to be informed by a romantic European vision of Indigenous peoples that was influenced by lingering notions of the noble savage as well as by Wendat community traditions that dated from the eighteenth century or earlier.

These two collections were motivated by opposing desires: one informed by the continuity of centuries-old ceremonial traditions, the other predicated on the disappearance of the Indigenous identity that formed these traditions. Together they illustrate the complexity of the Wendat community's situation in the early twentieth century; the Wendat both engaged with settler communities through business relationships and at the same time continued Wendat traditions within the community. The visiting anthropologists did not mention or perhaps did not recognize that this rich ceremonial tradition was alive and well.

Marius Barbeau (1883–1969) grew up in the Beauce region of Quebec and was taught until the age of eleven by his mother, who had been educated at the Ursuline convent in Quebec City. He studied law at Laval University and won a Rhodes Scholarship, which took him to Oxford, and he later studied in Paris.¹¹⁰ During his university career, he drew from both the British and the French anthropological thought of the period. At Oxford, he withdrew from his law courses and enrolled in anthropology, studying with Robert Marett, a “self-proclaimed Darwinian,” who “accepted the idea that humans were “biologically divided into ‘races’.”¹¹¹ Marett's views were based on the

¹¹⁰ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 76–77.

¹¹¹ Frances Slaney, “Artistic Labour and the Embodiment of Culture,” *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Writings on the Politics of Twentieth-Century Canadian Culture* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2008), 7.

tradition of British evolutionary anthropology and progressive stages of culture.¹¹² For him, “specific art objects were both individual and racial expressions of evolution towards European civilization,” in what he saw as a “unilineal process.”¹¹³ In “Artistic Labour and the Embodiment of Culture,” Frances Slaney writes that Barbeau’s career “indicates that he largely accepted Marett’s vision.”¹¹⁴ Barbeau later went to France where he attended the lectures of Marcel Mauss, who “rejected Darwinianism” and saw “evolution as shifting social patterns rather than biological forms.”¹¹⁵ Slaney writes that Barbeau “glossed over contradictions between his mentors’ perspectives.”¹¹⁶

In 1911, he began work in the Anthropology Division of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa under Edward Sapir, a student of Franz Boas. Although Barbeau came under the influence of Boas’s diffusionist approach, which rejected the cultural evolutionist position and its attendant hierarchies, Barbeau seems to have integrated cultural evolutionism into his understanding of diffusionism. He interpreted diffusion as a one-way movement embedded in cultural hierarchies, with stronger, more developed European influences dominating less developed Indigenous cultures.¹¹⁷ These views are evident in the texts and collections produced by his first field research, conducted in 1911 in Wendake. He returned there to carry out further studies and collecting in 1919, before

¹¹² Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 102.

¹¹³ Slaney, “Artistic Labour,” 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁷ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 129.

transferring his research to Northwest Coast Indigenous peoples and their material culture.

A corollary of theories of cultural evolution and notions of purity and authenticity was the salvage paradigm and salvage anthropology. In this concept, the need to collect the material culture of “vanishing” races of Native peoples was affirmed, as evidence of cultural evolutionary phases before these peoples died out. Cultural evolution in museum display showed these principles to the public by “reassembling the objects comprising the artifactual domain (bones, fossils, minerals, tools, pottery, etc.) in gradual and continuous lines of evolutionary development . . . to display the orders of nature and culture.”¹¹⁸

The purpose was to preserve a record of what were seen as less evolved cultures that were thought to be extinct or soon to be extinct, displayed as stages of evolutionary development. In *Tradition and Modernity*, Andrew Nurse explains the role of the Anthropology Division:

[as] created in response to long-standing, persistent demands from Canadian, British and American anthropologists concerned about the “disappearance” of aboriginal cultures in the modern age. Its mandate was scientific, educational and cultural: it would preserve the aboriginal cultures of Canada for the benefit of future generations of Canadians and the anthropological community.¹¹⁹

Indigenous peoples were seen as disappearing, or being so influenced by “white man’s civilisation” that their traditions were vanishing.¹²⁰

In the cultural evolutionist theories of the time, Native American peoples were regarded as being at an earlier phase of the social and cultural development of Europeans. Belief in unilinear evolutionism, in the “direct progression from primitive society through

¹¹⁸ Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory* (London: Routledge, 2004), 165.

¹¹⁹ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 127.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

various intermediate stages to modern society,” represented a general consensus amongst anthropologists and others.¹²¹ Wendat works were among the items of material culture sought by anthropologists for study at institutions such as the National Museum of Ottawa (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) in Ottawa as the salvage paradigm came to dominate the active collecting practices of early-twentieth-century museums. In the context of perceived loss and the expected disappearance of Indigenous peoples, an object as souvenir could be seen to represent a whole people or culture. Ethnographic artifacts came to represent an imagined authentic past of a thought-to-be-vanishing Indigenous culture.¹²² These ideas of the vanishing Indian and authenticity had been present in the collecting desires of the 1830s; in her journal after a visit to Lorette, Lady Mary Lambton, for example, muses that the Wendat of Wendake were not real Indians: “pretty waterfall but hardly any real Indians.”¹²³ In contrast, anthropological collections made around the turn of the twentieth century were based on a more radical project of salvage and informed by a sense of the urgent need to gather examples of Indigenous cultures before these cultures vanished altogether.

Guided by the salvage paradigm and cultural evolutionist beliefs, Barbeau collected material and information at Wendake in order to preserve a complete record of what was seen as traditional Wendat culture.¹²⁴ His collection of Wendat arts at the Canadian Museum of Civilization reflects this collecting paradigm and the broadly held

¹²¹ Adam Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society* (London; New York: Routledge, 1988), 2, 76–77.

¹²² Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

¹²³ Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, *Journal of Lady Mary Louisa Lambton*, archival ref. no. R977-17-6-E (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 1938), September 6–9, 1838, 77.

¹²⁴ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 150.

evolutionist understandings of the period. Barbeau's collecting criteria were very broad; he collected everything from clothing made for sale as souvenirs to works made for use in the community. He collected samples of embroidery motifs on moccasin vamp; numerous souvenir objects, such as moccasins and pouches, basketry, weaponry, bows, arrows, and knives; and household tools such as spatulas, pestles, winnowing trays, and carpentry tools. He was interested in Indigenous medicine and he collected many specimens of medicinal plants, sometimes with instructions on their use. The clothing he collected includes many pairs of leggings, ornamented both with ribbon work and moosehair embroidery.

In keeping with cultural evolutionist theories and notions of authenticity, Barbeau interpreted Wendat moosehair-embroidered patterns and motifs as the outcome of intercultural exchange with French and then English settler communities. As such, they were to him inauthentic and of little anthropological and ethnographic interest. Barbeau thus framed Wendat material culture within the authenticity paradigm associated with cultural evolutionism, defining as most authentic those works closest to the traditions of the time of early contact. Any works that showed European influence were accordingly devalued. He writes:

Both Iroquois and Huron survivors at the present day are no more than half-breeds, who have forsaken most of the old native traditions, excepting the language. . . . The Hurons of Lorette and the Wyandots of Detroit and Oklahoma have not retained even that much.¹²⁵

Visitors and tourists also continued to collect Wendat material culture, though in reduced numbers. The tradition of diplomatic exchange involving the presentation of Wendat art also continued. An outstanding example, not yet described in the literature on

¹²⁵ Barbeau, "Our Indians: Their Disappearance," 699.

Wendat art, is the collection formed by Swedish diplomat Folke Cronholm in 1905 and 1906. In it we see the continuation of the nostalgic desire for an imagined authentic experience of what Susan Stewart calls “the family, the village, the first-hand community.”¹²⁶ This antimodernist longing for a sense of community integrated with nature had intensified during the second half of the nineteenth century, as the European rural way of life was disappearing with industrialization and urbanization.

Stewart describes this Victorian mood as a “veneration of pastoralism, decentralization, and a collective ‘folk spirit’.”¹²⁷ It led to a desire for souvenirs of this past time made by members of Native communities. Within concepts of popular primitivism, these works stood as souvenirs of an earlier stage of civilisation, a “survival of an elusive and purer, yet diminished past.”¹²⁸ The Wendat souvenir would have been especially heavy with nostalgia when bought in Lorette, a small rural village set in a picturesque landscape, with French Canadian country architecture and a community producing artisan work that was technically difficult and similar to, yet different from, European works. The collection of Wendat works by and for European women may also have been motivated by these women’s appreciation for fine embroidery work, work in which they themselves were often expert practitioners as well as connoisseurs. From the time of early contact such exchanges had a dialogic aspect.

Folke Cronholm spent considerable time in the Wendake community, only five years before the beginning of Barbeau’s fieldwork at Wendake. Serving as chargé d’affaires for the Swedish consul in Quebec, he was a career diplomat who later became

¹²⁶ Stewart, *On Longing*, 140.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 141.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

chargé d'affaires in Mexico City. During his years in Quebec he came to know the Wendat community well. In 1905, he received a letter from the Chiefs of the Wendat to congratulate him on his adoption as Honorary Chief of the nation. Cronholm's friendship with the Wendat, his good morals and qualities of bravery and spirit were cited as reasons for this honour. A number of moosehair-embroidered ceremonial objects were presented to him as gifts, as part of the ceremony of his adoption as Honorary Chief.

In addition, his collection also contains photographs of Cronholm with members of the Wendat community. The photographs are taken in or near Wendake; in some, European dress is worn; in others, traditional Wendat dress. Cronholm is often in the ceremonial clothing he was given on the occasion of his adoption. Some of the Wendat men and women are named, others are not. In some of the photos, the European style Wendake homes are seen, and in one, telegraph poles are evident, while in others the background is a teepee, with Cronholm in a canoe and all those in the photo in traditional Wendat dress. The collection thus came into being as a complex meeting point of traditional forms of representation and ceremony with modern technology's photographic imagery and European romanticism.

The ceremony welcoming him to the nation was held on 11 December 1905. The ceremony, in which Cronholm awarded a Chief's regalia, was followed by a fine dinner, to which Cronholm invited almost 100 guests from the Wendat community, the British military, and Quebec society. The gifts he received, now at the Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, include a moosehair-embroidered Chief's coat, an embroidered feather headdress, embroidered leggings, pairs of moccasins, silver arm bands, a silver medallion of a kind known in the Wendat community as a *couette*, a knife scabbard, and two text

documents of the ceremonial address that was part of the adoption ceremony (see fig. 10). One of the Cronholm addresses is written on a birchbark scroll elaborated with moosehair embroidery and a second version is written on paper with painted motifs (see fig. 11). Unlike Barbeau, Cronholm received the gifts presented to him as authentic. He experienced events that were based on Great Lakes Indigenous ceremonies: the meeting of chiefs to smoke the calumet pipe and deliberate over the election, the gift of clothing, the awarding of a Wendat name, and the feast that followed. The traditional adoption of a warrior brother is recorded in eighteenth-century European texts, and it seems likely that this was a precontact practice that was extended postcontact to some members of settler communities.¹²⁹

The Cronholm collection is rare in that it is accompanied by a photographic archive of his visit. The photos were taken by a professional photographer. An image of Cronholm, mounted, with bow and arrow, illustrates his full engagement with the role of adopted chief and warrior (see fig. 12). In another photograph, Mme. Caroline Gros-Louis, her mother, Mme. Gros-Louis (Mme. Robigaud) and sisters are in European dress (see fig. 13). These images illustrate the continuity of traditional ceremonial events of intercultural and international relations in tandem with the community's successful engagement with settler society. Some of the photographs seem staged for the camera and reveal a strong element of romanticism; for example, one photograph shows a camp

¹²⁹ John Long, an English trader active in the area around Michilimackinac in the later decades of the eighteenth century, was adopted by the nations he calls the Chippeway and Wasses in a ceremony he describes in detail as a way of receiving a "brother warrior": "after the war song, if the person does not discover any sign of fear, he is regarded with reverence and esteem; courage in the opinion of the Savages, being considered not only as indispensable, but as the greatest recommendation. He is then seated on a beaver robe, and presented with a pipe of war to smoke, which is put round to every warrior, and a wampum belt is thrown over his neck." After the ceremony, the adoptee would be given a new name. John Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (Toronto: Coles, 1971), 45, 46, 48–49.

scene, with a Chief of the Wendat community, women who may be members of the Gros-Louis family, and Cronholm in a canoe, on the shore of the St. Charles River (see fig. 14).

In this period the works of German writer Karl May were enjoying huge success in Europe. Published in the 1890s, most of his stories of the American West and his depiction of his Native American hero, Winnetou, were based on an antimodernist longing for a simpler life close to nature. These books may have had an influence on Cronholm's understanding of Native American culture, in the same way that James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* gave mid-nineteenth-century European readers a romanticized view of Indigenous peoples. Cronholm had close connections with the German government and, as a diplomat, it is likely that he spoke or read German and could have read May's books, if they had not yet been translated into Swedish.¹³⁰ The European tours of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show in the 1890s were also hugely popular, a further representation of Indigenous peoples and a heroic frontiersman.¹³¹ For Cronholm, in addition to his diplomatic role, the context of European interest in Indigenous communities in that period may have informed his experience of the ceremony of adoption, the feast and speeches, and the connections he formed with members of the Wendat community.

As well as demonstrating a European desire for life close to nature, the adoption ceremony and photographic record of Cronholm's visit to Wendake also demonstrate the continuity of Wendat traditions of social exchange with European dignitaries. It is

¹³⁰ Rotogravure Picture Section, *New York Times*, September 16, 1917. Cronholm was recommended for decoration by the German government. Herbert D. Seibert, *The Business and Financial Record of World War Years* (New York: Herbert D. Seibert, 1939), 222.

¹³¹ Rivka Galchen, "Wild West Germany," *The New Yorker*, April 9, 2012, 40.

reminiscent of the Earl of Caledon's descriptions of visits with Chief Nicolas Vincent and other members of the community, their visits and dining with him in his barracks in 1838, or Lord and Lady Elgin's visit to the Wendake home of Marguerite Vincent La8inonke and Chief François-Xavier Tahourenché, 24 June 1852, which I discuss in chapter 7.¹³² What is fascinating is that the Wendat tradition of adoption, continuing centuries of Wendat ceremonial practice, was current only five years before Barbeau's first visit to the community, when he followed collecting practices of the vanishing race and authenticity paradigm.

In a significant finding, the handwritten text on the back of a photo identifies Caroline Gros-Louis as the artist who embroidered Cronholm's Wendat Chief's dress. This is a step toward reducing the anonymity of Indigenous women artists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and it also helps to identify a family tradition of artistry. In his notes written during his time in the Wendat community, Marius Barbeau describes how Caroline Gros-Louis's mother, Mme. Robigaud, instructed her in the exact method of executing a moosehair embroidery stitch.¹³³

There are interesting points of overlap between the Barbeau and Cronholm collections, notably the red wool leggings embroidered with dyed moosehair in each (see figs. 15, 16). They are both of red wool cloth with moosehair-embroidered black velvet panels. However the Cronholm leggings are considerably more elaborate, with larger velvet bands and more complex embroidery. This may reflect the difference in purpose;

¹³² Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1838: B/8/5; Ibid., 1838: B/8/9; Chief François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché, *Journal de François-Xavier Picard Tahourenche* (Archives, Conseil de la nation huronne-Wendat, Wendake, QC), June 24, 1852.

¹³³ Archives, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ethnology Division, III-X-15, M Pt. 2, Box 61, Folder 5; "clover pattern a la Huron . . . made by Caroline Gros-Louis under instructions of Marie Robigaud, her mother" (list of Culture Area III specimens, III-H-3, Marius Barbeau's notes).

the Barbeau pair was made in the commercial souvenir tradition for a museum collector whereas the Cronholm pair was made as a gift, presented within the ceremonial traditions of the community. In both collections, the names of the women artists are given. In Barbeau's case, this may not have been a shift toward recognition of individual artisans so much as the anthropological gaze focusing on producers as objects of collection and academic study themselves. Folke Cronholm's recording of Caroline Gros-Louis' name seems to have been in recognition of her and her family and the relationship that he had formed with the community.

The Barbeau and Cronholm collections illustrate different receptions of the Wendat works, reflecting two main approaches to Native material culture in the early twentieth century, the one anthropological and the other diplomatic/touristic. One was informed by the notion of purity and authenticity associated with the cultural evolutionist theories of anthropologists such as E. B. Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan and the historical particularism of Franz Boas. Phillips describes this tradition of collecting and exhibition: "authenticity was defined in relation to non-Western objects as an essentialist marker of value posited on the dialectic of purity and contamination."¹³⁴

The anthropological approach was also influenced by the newly formed discipline of art history and its notions of art based on the Kantian hierarchy of fine art and craft. In this hierarchy, any cultural production made for a utilitarian purpose is not seen to have the transcendent quality and link with the spiritual that define fine art. This was further defined by a hierarchy of media and gender. Only the media of painting, sculpture, and

¹³⁴ Ruth B. Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place?" in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Begg (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 45.

architecture could be seen as fine art; women were not thought capable of works of artistic genius and were excluded from the role of artist. The Wendat souvenir arts, utilitarian works by women in the media of textiles, were therefore categorized by the disciplines of art history and anthropology as craft, tourist commodity, or artifact.

Barbeau's description of Wendat embroidery reveals the shift from the collecting perspective of the earlier-nineteenth-century military collectors such as the Earl of Caledon. Caledon writes of the moosehair embroidery with great admiration, describing how the Wendat made moccasins "of the hide of the moose deer beautifully worked with the hair which is dyed different colours and the quills of the porcupine."¹³⁵ However, Barbeau situates moosehair embroidery as a "spurious American art," belonging to French renaissance arts taught by the Quebec convents, and the Indigenous souvenir production as "merely its collateral development."¹³⁶ He locates the tradition within the cultural evolution perspective of anthropology, devaluing it aesthetically, denying its creation as an expression of a flourishing community, and labelling it as the product of a diminished, vanishing people.

On the other hand, Cronholm's "magnifique uniform de chef Huron," given to him by the Wendat community as a diplomatic gift, is described in a newspaper article of the period as "a true work of art" [un véritable objet d'art].¹³⁷ This illustrates the continuity of earlier aesthetic evaluation and reception given to Wendat and other Indigenous works and recognition of their vibrant, continued cultural expression.

¹³⁵ Hall, "Earls of Caledon," 69.

¹³⁶ Marius Barbeau, "Origin of Floral and Other Designs," 512.

¹³⁷ "Uniforme de chef Huron," *Le soleil*, June 7, 1906.

Conclusion

The case studies of collecting practices in chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate that although overarching ideologies guided the larger framework of practices and motivations, individual collections reflect both the history of the particular country and time and the specifics of the life of the collector. These case studies reflect broad changes in European regimes of thought over four hundred years, including a range of primitivisms as well as collecting practices. Nevertheless, continuity is present in the objects collected and what the collectors found appealing. Champlain's description of the well-woven belt, the Fayolle soldiers' selection of well-made moccasins, ideal for wearing in the northern climate and terrain, the Earl of Caledon's beautifully worked moccasins and gloves, Barbeau's collection of objects made for community use as well as commercial souvenir sale, and a newspaper's description of the chief's attire presented to Cronholm as a work of art, all demonstrate that over time European interest was consistently drawn to the well-made object, made with techniques and materials specific to the place and people.

What is also evident from the research is that the various lines of collecting practice and desire are intertwined. The curiosity cabinet and the natural history collection are difficult to separate, while the collections of military men, personally engaged with communities, drew on both these collecting paradigms with the added nuance of connections with Indigenous warriors/hunters and their traditions. Lastly, early-twentieth-century salvage collecting occurred almost simultaneously with a collection formed through centuries-old diplomatic ceremonial traditions.

The active role played by Indigenous communities and individuals in the European practice of collecting connects these case studies. Although many collections were formed through purchases at a remove from communities, it seems that many others were formed through personal relations between the collector and specific community members. From the time of Cartier, some of these relations could be diplomatic. Others, also long-standing, arose from the shared way of life of fort society in New France, or through the common interests and values of military collectors and men of Indigenous communities. In all these relationships, it was the work made by women that was the keystone of the connection. What each collection represents are relationships, either brief or extended, between individuals and groups. Seeing the objects today, usually on museum storage shelves, far from the time and place of their creation, they are detached from the network of relationships that brought them into being. Approaching collections through the methods of microhistory, in as detailed a way as archival sources will permit, reconnects them to the everyday lives of individual men and women in the Wendat and settler communities. This approach animates the works themselves and gives three-dimensionality to the women who created them and the men and women who received them.

CHAPTER 4

WENDAT VISUAL ARTS: GEOMETRIC AND FIGURAL FORMAL SEQUENCES

FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

They also make as a kind of leather game bag or tobacco pouch, on which they work admirable designs, with porcupine quill dyed red, black, white and blue, which colours they dye so vividly that our colours cannot come close. . . . In addition, they make the sashes, choker necklets and wrist cuffs worn by both men and women. [Elles font aussi comme une espece de gibesiere de cuir, ou sac à petun, sur lesquels elles font des ouurages dignes d'admiration, avec du poil de porc espic, coloré de rouge, noir, blanc et bleu, qui sont les couleurs qu'elles font si viues, que les nostres ne semblent point en approcher. . . . De plus, les escharpes, carquans et brasselets qu'elles et les homes portent, sont de leurs ouurage.]

—Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des hurons*

They carry their wallet, their pouch and the pocket behind the back. It is a sack that they put around their neck by means of a strap, in which they put their tobacco and other small necessities that they need every day. This pouch or sack usually has no seams. The Huron women make them as artistically as a piece of needlework. [Les Sauuages portent leur pochette, leur bourse, & leur escarcelle derriere le dos. C'est vn sac, qu'ils passent à leur col, par le moien d'une courroie, dans lequel ils mettent leur petun, & les autres petits besoins, dont ils ont plus ordinairement à faire. Cette pochette, ou ce sac, n'a pour l'ordinaire, aucune cousture. Les Huronnes les font aussi artistement qu'un ouufrage fait à l'aiguille.]

—Père Simon le Moine, *Jesuit Relations*

Wendat arts from the precontact period through the nineteenth century are highly diverse in style and function. They display styles that range from abstract to naturalistic. Artistically elaborated objects were made for everyday life, community ceremonials, diplomatic exchanges, individual spiritual use, and trade. The dispersal of the Wendat after 1649 affected the unity of their artistic traditions. A further problem in the study of the Wendat visual arts of Wendake has been a tendency to approach them in isolation from their roots in the Georgian Bay area. My purpose is to consider Wendat visual arts in the context of predispersal traditions.

The difficulty of adequately discussing the range of visual arts traditions produced by the Wendat in three chapters is clear. However, to limit the discussion to works from a narrower time frame would be to lose the perspective gained through temporal depth. In the following three chapters I present broad stylistic groupings that sample the rich array of material from interrelated Wendat traditions. It is also important to keep in mind that the number of makers responsible for the creative developments and innovations in this three-century period was small. From 1650 through the nineteenth century, the community that settled in what is now Wendake, Quebec had a population that was usually under 300.¹

In this chapter, I begin with description of examples of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Wendat works in ceramic and stone known from the archaeological record. This material includes works in the geometric and figural style sequences. A description of examples of eighteenth-century Wendat textiles follows. These objects continue the geometric style sequence. I will discuss eighteenth-century Wendat works that have provenance, of which there are only two in the current research, and also those about which little is known but whose stylistic similarities suggest a Wendat attribution. An analysis of these two style sequences and my argument for a Wendat art history of continuity and selective innovation develops from this. My analysis expands our knowledge of how the Wendat constructed meaning through visual arts and helps to establish the traditions of line, form, and spatial arrangement that were the framework into which European influences were adopted and adapted.

¹ *Annual Report, Indian Affairs, Year Ending 30 June 1869* (Ottawa: Reports of Indian Affairs, 1869), 25.

Wendat Ceramics and Sculptural Traditions

The archaeological record of Wendat material culture from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, brought together with the early-contact written texts, gives a clear picture of the high quality of skilled craft and intricate surface design of Aboriginal material culture before European contact. However, this is not a complete record of Wendat visual arts of this period. As discussed in chapter 1, the descriptions of Sagard, Champlain, Nicolas, and the authors of the *Jesuit Relations* tell us what is missing. For example, Sagard describes the complex woven designs and pouches of hide decorated with vivid red, black, white, and blue quillwork made by Wendat women,² and as I described in chapter 2, he writes of Wendat artistic traditions:

They make . . . images of men, animals, birds, and other ornaments, as much in relief in stone, wood, and other similar materials as in painting on their bodies. They do not do this for worship or idolatry, but to please the eye, they embellish their calumets and pipes, and embellish the fronts of their long houses.³

As they relate, at the time of the earliest direct contact between European and Wendat communities in the early seventeenth century, Wendat women's skills and artistry in dyeing, weaving, and working complex patterns and motifs with moosehair and/or quillwork on headbands, belts, and pouches, as well as creating lavish adornments with wampum, were much admired. As we will see in chapter 5, this would not be the case in the ethnographic reports written by Marius Barbeau. Sadly, none of these early textiles is known in collections.

To make connections between Wendat material culture of the precontact period and objects made postcontact, it is important to consider which works can be identified

² Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 91.

³ Ibid., 86.

with a reasonable degree of certainty as originating in the Wendat communities east of Georgian Bay encountered by the French in the early seventeenth century. Given that archaeological collections from village sites are often fragmentary, that cultural boundaries are permeable, and that the “configurations of traits visible at any particular slice of time at any particular place . . . are transient,” it can be difficult to equate precontact archaeological collections with specific postcontact groups.⁴ That being said, it seems reasonable to identify as Wendat the archaeological material from sites that were geographically and temporally close to the Wendat communities encountered by Europeans in the early seventeenth century.

I have chosen works dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century as a starting point, focusing on those found in Wendat village sites in the Huronia region east of Georgian Bay and west of Lake Simcoe in Ontario, dating from ca. 1500 to ca. 1640. This was the territory of the precontact Wendat confederacy and is the area visited by Champlain and the missionaries of the early seventeenth century.⁵ It was a group from these communities who formed the Wendake (Lorette) community after the dispersal of their confederacy in the mid-seventeenth century. The proximity in time and space between these sites and the Wendat villages of the early-seventeenth-century ethnographic record suggests that these communities were the producers of many of these ceramics. The objects from archaeological sites that are my examples are drawn mainly

⁴ John Hart and Hetty Jo Brumbach, “The Death of Owasco,” *American Antiquity* 68, no. 4 (2003): 747–748.

⁵ These works were collected from the Keffer site, ca. 1500, near Maple, just south of Huronia (Ramsden, “The Hurons,” 382); the Fallis site, early sixteenth century (*ibid.*, 381); the Forget site, Midland, Huronia, ca. 1590, in Tay Township, Huronia; the Flanagan site, ca. 1590 in Medonte Township, Huronia; and St. Louis, ca. 1640, in Medonte Township.

from collections at the Museum of Ontario Archaeology and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.⁶

Ceramic potsherds from cooking and food storage pots are the pieces most frequently found, followed by pipes with geometric designs as well as pipes with figural designs associated with spiritual practices.⁷ A Wendat potsherd from the Forget site in the collection of the Museum of Ontario Archaeology illustrates motifs characteristic of Wendat work in the geometric stylistic sequence in ceramics (see fig. 17). Parallel oblique, horizontal, and vertical lines, cross hatching, and chevrons were made by “dragging a narrow pointed object through the wet clay,” while rows of punctates or dots were made by “pushing the end of a pointed object into the clay.”⁸ These patterns are located within design fields defined as compartments by further patterns of parallel lines, framed by vessel lips shaped as scallops, with punctates added in groupings or rows. In “The Hurons: Archaeology and Culture History,” Peter Ramsden describes characteristic Wendat surface designs; they

. . . usually take the form of relatively simple straight line motifs consisting of various combinations of vertical, oblique or, less commonly, horizontal lines. These motifs may be accompanied by secondary decoration consisting of short

⁶ A Wendat village site in Whitchurch-Stouffville, Ontario, known now as the Mantle site, was located in 2003. Excavations were carried out between 2003 and 2005 and over 18,000 artifacts were found, now located at the University of Toronto. The Mantle village contained “82 house structures,” had a population of around 2000, and there is “evidence of a waste-stream system.” This community had contact with other Iroquoian communities; there are “a series of modelled human effigies on ceramic vessels usually found on contemporaneous Oneida villages in New York State,” offering an area for future research (R. Williamson, A. Clish. *The Mantle Site: Urban Planning in Sixteenth Century Ontario*. Conference Paper. Canadian Archaeological Association, Toronto, 2006). The village was inhabited between 1500 and 1520. An iron axe head was found, its metal of Spanish origin. This suggests that there were established trade routes from east coast Basque whaling stations inland (July 2012, globaltoronto.com). Jennifer Birch focuses on the Mantle village site in her discussion of late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Wendat communities and their movement in her PhD thesis. Jennifer Birch, PhD Diss: *Coalescent Communities in Iroquoian Ontario*. Hamilton: McMaster University, 2010.

⁷ Ramsden, “The Hurons,” 363.

⁸ Ibid., 365.

gashes or punctates, at the top or bottom of the collar or between decorative panels.⁹

A diagram from Ramsden's text illustrates characteristic Wendat motifs (see fig. 18). The lip in the Forget example has a projection known as a castellation. In some vessels there can be more than one castellation, leading to what Ramsden describes as a "scalloped effect."¹⁰

A Wendat potsherd from the Quesnel site illustrates how complex interconnected geometric patterns were built up from simple linear elements, within compounds of parallel line systems that then formed a common Wendat motif, the chevron (see fig. 19). Chevrons, frequently seen in Wendat ceramics, often appear beneath a castellation, as in this example. In their analysis of potsherds from the Auger and Ball sites, Wendat villages in the Georgian Bay area, dating from AD 1600 to ca. AD 1630, Jenneth E. Curtis and Martha A. Latta state: "more than half the castellations in each assemblage exhibit downward pointing chevron motifs."¹¹ Castellations with similar motifs appeared in other contemporary Wendat sites.¹²

Ceramics with geometric motifs characteristic of St. Lawrence Iroquoian traditions appear in some Wendat sites.¹³ The St. Lawrence Iroquoians were the peoples of Stadacona and Hochelaga met by Jacques Cartier in the mid-sixteenth century. During

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ramsden, "The Hurons," 368.

¹¹ Jenneth E. Curtis and Martha A. Latta, "Ceramics as Reflectors of Social Relationship: The Auger Site and Ball Site Castellations," *Ontario Archaeology* 70 (2000): 5.

¹² Ibid., 10.

¹³ Ramsden, "The Hurons," 382.

that century, they dispersed for as yet unknown reasons.¹⁴ In “The Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” James Jamieson describes these ceramics as “finely manufactured and decorated,” often characterized by circular punctates and chevron designs, as seen in potsherds from the Salem site, Summerstown (see fig 20).¹⁵ These annular rings or circular punctates were probably made by pressing a hollow tube of some kind into the clay. The rows of circles appear as a motif in later centuries, in some eastern Great Lakes moccasins and in nineteenth-century Wendat moccasins and pouches, as seen in a pair of moccasins now in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly and a pair of moccasins now in the collection of the Château-musée de Dieppe (see figs. 21, 22).¹⁶ I will discuss the evidence of shared motifs amongst southern Iroquoian groups and the possibility of continuity of sixteenth and seventeenth century St. Lawrence Iroquoian motifs in eastern Great Lakes and Wendat works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries later in this chapter.

A Wendat pipe with a sculpted turtle effigy from the Flanagan site, dating from ca. 1590, illustrates characteristics of the figural stylistic sequence in ceramics and stone (see fig. 23). The figural style sequence, sculpted effigy figures of human faces and forms, birds, turtles, and animals, is seen in ceramic pipes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, but generally not the ceramic pots.¹⁷ Ceramic pipes were produced in great numbers and widely used in precontact south-central Ontario Iroquoian

¹⁴ Ibid., 383.

¹⁵ Jamieson, “Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 389.

¹⁶ Jamieson, “Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians.”

¹⁷ Curtis and Latta, “Ceramics as Reflectors,” 8–9.

communities. Ramsden writes that pipe fragments were commonly found at Wendat sites.¹⁸

This turtle effigy sculpture brings two visual arts traditions together in one artwork, verisimilitude in figural representation and geometric forms.¹⁹ As Robert Pearce describes in “Turtles from Turtle Island: An Archaeological Perspective from Iroquoia,” the turtle is modelled with great detail and naturalism, with head, legs, and tail under a large carapace.²⁰ The designs on the carapace are not naturalistic; they are asymmetric, with different motifs on right and left halves, divided by a vertebrae-like median.²¹ The motifs include chevrons, concentric lozenges, and systems of oblique parallel lines, similar to those on Wendat potsherds. The basic chevron motif on one side forms two patterns: parallel rows of chevrons form individual units that, when viewed together, create the zigzags interpreted in historical period examples as power lines.²²

On the other side of the median, the basic chevron forms two different patterns. When viewed as a group, the individual units of concentric diamonds form the hourglass shape associated in historical period examples with the Thunderbird, the upper world

¹⁸ Ramsden, “The Hurons,” 369.

¹⁹ The gender of pipe makers is debated; Sagard states that Wendat women made the pottery but does not give information about pipe making. For purposes of this study, what is significant is that figural and geometric styles were familiar to Wendat men and women and were part of their visual arts traditions. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 45; William Noble, *Iroquois Archaeology and the Development of Iroquois Social Organization* (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 1968); Alexander Dietrich von Gernet, *Analysis of Intrasite Artifact Spatial Distributions: The Draper Site Smoking Pipes* (research report no. 16, London: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1985), 119, 159; Sandra Woolfrey, Prince Chitwood, and Norman E. Wagner, “Who Made the Pipes? A Study of Decorative Motifs on Middleport Pipe and Pottery Collections,” *Ontario Archaeology* 27 (1976).

²⁰ Pearce, “Turtles from Turtle Island,” 94.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ruth B. Phillips, “Dreams and Designs: Iconographic Problems in Great Lakes Twined Bags,” in *Great Lakes Indian Art* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 53–68.

manito of Great Lakes spiritual beliefs, discussed in chapter 1, and, according to Jesuit missionary François de Peron, also a clan totem.²³ The turtle, central to the Iroquoian creation story, is also one of the clan totems.²⁴ There are traces of red colouring on the shell, and possibly ochre. This colour and material is associated with objects containing spiritual value, a further indicator that this work was intended to convey a spiritual meaning.

Pearce discusses the symbolic importance of the turtle in eastern North America and situates the Flanagan-site turtle pipe bowl effigy within Wendat spiritual beliefs. He describes the central role of the turtle in the Iroquoian creation story. Aataentsic, the mother from whom mankind descended, fell from the sky-world towards the Earth. The Turtle saw her fall and told the water creatures to bring earth from the sea bottom and put it on his back, thus providing a safe landing for Aataentsic. The first recorded version of this Iroquoian creation story was made by the Jesuits among the Wendat, giving added weight to the spiritual significance of turtle imagery and this artwork in Wendat communities.²⁵ Images of turtles could represent the turtle from the creation story. They could also represent the Turtle clan.²⁶ Pearce writes that in Iroquoian-speaking communities, which were organized in clan structures, “the Turtle clan was preeminent and always appeared first.”²⁷ He argues that “at least some of the turtle effigy pipes and

²³ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 10: 47; vol. 15: 181; Elisabeth Tooker, *Ethnography of the Huron Indians 1615–1649* (Washington: US Government Print Office, 1991), 21n.

²⁴ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 77–78; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 37–47, 80, 83–85.

²⁵ Pearce, “Turtles from Turtle Island,” 88.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

images of turtle in other media might have been totems signifying an individual's membership in the Turtle clan."²⁸ Pearce's discussion of the turtle motif helps to establish the complexity of Wendat visual arts as expressions of meaning related both to spiritual beliefs and social structure and the importance of the figural style as a mode of representation in the pre- and early-contact period.

Another example of figural representation is a sculpted pipe bowl effigy face from the Forget site (see fig. 24). With smoothly contoured facial features, this small sculpture resembles the "hanging mouth" facial type described by Zena Pearlstone Mathews in her study of pipe bowls, one among several types she identifies in describing Wendat pre- and early-contact pipes.²⁹ Mathews suggests that the effigy figure, which faced the smoker, was a guardian spirit, and that the smoke was a way to communicate with the spirit world.³⁰ This is a further example of the use of a figural style as a mode of representation in the precontact period related both to spiritual beliefs and social practices. A stylized representation of a bird in a seventeenth-century effigy pipe from the Thomson Walker site offers a further example of Wendat figural art (see fig. 25). Mathews states that the personal guardian spirits of the Wendat were most commonly described as birds, so this bird effigy may have played that role.³¹

Examples of the figural style in Wendat collections did not seem to continue beyond the early-contact period of the early seventeenth century. However, as we will see

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Zena Pearlstone Mathews, *The Relation of Seneca False Face Masks to Seneca and Ontario Archaeology*. (New York: Garland, 1978), 108.

³⁰ Ibid., 163–64.

³¹ Ibid., 180.

in the discussion of the genre sequence in chapter 6, representations of people, birds, and animals reappeared in the souvenir arts. As Kubler argues, sequences can follow a formal, continuously chronological order or display interruptions in their production. Style can be a “common denominator among a group of objects,” and in this definition, style is chronologically unrestricted.³² Sequences can end, yet aspects of their meanings may continue in a distinct, later sequence. For example, the figural sequence of imagery of birds, men, women, and animals in three-dimensional ceramics, made for community use connected with spiritual practices, appears to have ended in the seventeenth century. However, the genre sequence—moosehair-embroidered images of people, animals, and birds on bark objects—may continue the spiritual significance of the birds and animals of the figural sequence, although its strong narrative content and its commercial purpose distinguishes it from the earlier figural sequence.

Shared Artistic Traditions

Archaeological research provides evidence of shared motifs among southern Iroquoian groups. In “Ceramic Vessels of the Wendat Confederacy: Indicators of Tribal Affiliations or Mobile Clans?” Joyce M. Wright discusses intercultural exchange between pre- and early-contact Iroquoian communities. The Wendat sites of AD 1400–1500 in general were more broadly spread than the postcontact period Wendat sites. These earlier sites were located in more southern areas, such as the Humber valley, lower Trent valley, and the upper Trent River, as well as the more northern Georgian Bay area of Simcoe County.³³ Wright observes the presence of non-Wendat pottery types in fifteenth- and

³² George Kubler, *The Shape of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 4.

³³ Ramsden, “The Hurons,” 363.

sixteenth-century Wendat sites; from a quarter to a half of the pots in the southern sites show stylistic characteristics of other Indigenous nations.³⁴ Styles characteristic of other Great Lakes nations—Neutral, St. Lawrence Iroquoian/Onondaga, Erie, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Susquehannock—are present in various precontact southern Wendat sites. The more northern sites show fewer outside influences in pottery, suggesting fewer contacts with other Iroquoian groups.³⁵ It appears that when there was contact, sharing did happen; this intercultural exchange between Indigenous groups suggests a Wendat/Great Lakes tradition of openness to external designs and influences.

In “The Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” James B. Jamieson discusses cultural connections between Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian communities in the pre- and early-contact periods: “by the mid-16th century [before the dispersal of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians] some St. Lawrence Iroquoian sites also begin to exhibit Huron influences.”³⁶ Further, he notes “significant amounts of St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery on late prehistoric Huron-Petun sites,”³⁷ meaning that there was an increased amount of pottery with St. Lawrence Iroquoian designs found in the region occupied by the late precontact and early-contact Wendat in Huronia. Jamieson suggests that the communities “may well have been allies and trading partners at this time, not

³⁴ Joyce M. Wright, “Ceramic Vessels of the Wendat Confederacy: Indicators of Tribal Affiliations or Mobile Clans?” *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal canadien d’archaeologie* 30 (2006): 40.

³⁵ Wright, “Ceramic Vessels,” 67.

³⁶ Jamieson, “The Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario* (London, On.: London Chapter of the OAS, 1990), 390.

³⁷ Jamieson, “Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 402.

enemies. . . . This pottery may have been made by St. Lawrence Iroquoian women whom [sic] had married into Huron families.”³⁸

Ramsden suggests that parts of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian community joined the upper Trent valley Wendat communities, indicated by “locally made St. Lawrence style ceramics,” and that this reflected “an intensification of trade or population exchange, through marriage, alliance or warfare, with the St. Lawrence Iroquoians.”³⁹ The Trent valley is farther south than the Georgian Bay Wendat communities that are my focus; however, Gary Warrick states that “the abandonment of upper Trent Valley . . . about AD 1580 provides archaeological evidence that the Arendahronon [one of the Wendat nations of the Wendat confederacy] moved into Wendake from the east.”⁴⁰ It seems possible that St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery traditions continued in the Georgian Bay Wendat communities, either through the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian potters or possibly the transfer of styles. Warrick suggests that captives were usually discouraged from continuing to produce material culture that would indicate their membership in their old group. He puts forward the idea that a “foreign” pottery style found in a village site would suggest “peaceful interaction, trade, and friendly immigration, not warfare” and indicate periods of peaceful exchange between the two groups.⁴¹ Warrick goes on to say

³⁸ Ibid., 403.

³⁹ Ramsden, “The Hurons,” 383, 382.

⁴⁰ Warrick, *Population History*, 206. In his text, Warrick refers to the early-contact Georgian Bay area as Wendake. There was a shift Wendat populations in the sixteenth century as the Wendat became more closely located in the Georgian Bay area. Ramsden describes the period between 1500 and 1600 as the Realignment Period, with the “restructuring of traditional tribal groupings, population migrations, and the coalescence of small villages into large, cosmopolitan ones.” There are various theories to account for this change, which are attributed to the impact of indirect contact and competition for European trade and also to changes within Wendat society and their relations with other Indigenous groups.

⁴¹ Ibid., 202.

that foreign pottery “identifies a foreign potter making pots in the style of her birthplace or copies of foreign pots by local women.”⁴² Warrick’s discussion suggests the possibility that elements of St. Lawrence Iroquoian designs continued into following centuries in the eastern Great Lakes and Wendat artistic repertoire, borne out by the appearance of rows of circles on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wendat moccasins seen in figures 21 and 22, similar to the vertical row of circles on pot rims.

In terms of my discussion of continuity in Wendat visual arts, Ramsden, Warrick and Jamieson’s research suggests that some St. Lawrence Iroquoian motifs may have continued into Wendat visual arts traditions. The movement of peoples and the evidence of cultural influences demonstrate the permeability of cultural boundaries in eastern Great Lakes communities and the possibility that new design ideas were adopted and adapted. This supports the suggestion that the rows of circles in eighteenth-century eastern Great Lakes textiles and nineteenth-century Wendat textiles may have been a continuation of St. Lawrence Iroquoian motifs. This would also suggest that the adoption and adaptation of European motifs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a continuation of Wendat traditions of intercultural exchange.

Eighteenth-Century Wendat Textile Traditions

Before beginning this discussion of the geometric style sequence as it appears in woven works and surface design on hide, I first describe the materials, techniques, and tools associated with these works.⁴³ I provide an overview here, with a more detailed description of techniques and materials provided in the glossary.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Stitching and weaving techniques in porcupine quill and moosehair have been described in detail in several sources. Charles C. Willoughby, “Textile Fabrics of the New England Indians,” *American*

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century eastern Great Lakes material culture, moosehide was used to make heavier moccasins; and deer hide, lighter in weight, would be used for finer moccasins or clothing. Sinew from moose, deer, or caribou was used in moosehair or porcupine quillwork, with cotton thread used from the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ In the precontact period, bone awls were used to create surface designs on hide; these were replaced by metal needles that were among the earliest trade goods brought from Europe.

In the eighteenth century, dyed porcupine quills were used by Wendat and other eastern Great Lakes communities for surface design. Broader quills were used in patterns such as zigzag or sawtooth. Nineteenth-century Wendat souvenir arts were prized for their moosehair work and in some examples, quill was used with moosehair. Moosehair and quill were dyed vivid colours using plant leaves, roots, and flowers. Blue, red, and ivory were favoured colours. Green shades and browns were used in nineteenth-century bark work. Ruth Whitehead provides a detailed discussion of vegetable dyes in *Micmac Quillwork*.⁴⁵

Moosehair is gathered from the nape of the neck and the top of the tail. Whitish hairs are used, as they are more easily dyed. The hairs, up to 185 mm in length,⁴⁶ are

Anthropologist, n.s., 7, no. 1 (January–March 1905): 85–93; Frank G. Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 1–14; Speck, “Notes on the Material Culture,” 208–28; William C. Orchard, *The Technique of Porcupine-Quill Decoration among the North American Indians* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, 1916); Turner, *Hair Embroidery*; Fanny Robert, “Étude sur les chaussures indiennes d’Amérique du nord,” *Journal de la société des Américanistes* 47 (1958): 67–110.

⁴⁴ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 30.

⁴⁵ Whitehead, *Micmac Quillwork*, 66–71.

⁴⁶ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 22.

moistened just before they are used, to make them more pliable.⁴⁷ In *Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America*, Geoffrey Turner gives a detailed description of moosehair work. Moosehair applied to the surface of hide is called *appliqué*. The most common stitch, used with both quill and moosehair, is known as *couching* (the oversewn line stitch). It appears in eastern Great Lakes works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the oversewn line, several strands of moosehair are grouped together and attached to the surface of the hide by cotton or sinew stitches to form a line. These lines of moosehair can form patterns of curves and scallops and are often seen in multiple parallel lines.⁴⁸

Weaving “on a sinew warp” is a second category; and what was referred to as false embroidery (moosehair wrapped around the woof thread of twined textiles), is a third.⁴⁹ The technique of twining does not require a needle or an awl. It is a form of finger weaving, with dyed moosehair used to create motifs on twined pouches or woven work such as burden straps or belts. In these works the structural material is vegetable fibre.

Moccasins are an enduring field for Wendat visual arts, and are a critical technology as well as a site for artistic creativity and the expression of identity. Innovations in techniques of construction are evident in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wendat and other eastern Great Lakes styles. The one-piece moccasins of the eighteenth century, with one centre seam running vertically up over the toe towards the ankle and another vertical seam running up the heel, is thought to be the earliest style,

⁴⁷ I had the opportunity to try moosehair appliqué techniques and working with moosehair at a workshop at the Musée huron-wendat, during the Textile Conservation Conference at Quebec City, October 2009.

⁴⁸ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 22, 30–33.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 30.

seen in an pair of eastern Great Lakes moccasins now in the collection of the Musée des beaux arts, Angoulême (see fig. 26). The vamp insert style appears in early-nineteenth-century Wendat works, such in a pair of moccasins now in the collection of the Château-musée de Dieppe (see fig. 27). The two methods of construction and their associated styles of motif overlapped during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In centre-seam moccasins, there seem to have been two ways of arranging the excess folds of hide over the toes. In one method a thin strip of hide was strung through holes along the edges of the seam over the toe and pulled tight into gathers as a drawstring. A seam ran from this tie towards the top of the foot. This seam was covered by a band of zigzag porcupine quillwork, bordered with one or more parallel lines of oversewn or running-surface stitch quillwork with possible additions of lines of quill in different combinations of parallel straight or zigzag lines. In a second method, the excess hide was gathered in regular folds along the centre seam itself without a drawstring.

In nineteenth-century Wendat moccasins, the vamp insert construction replaced the centre seam. There were two styles of vamp insert. In the first style, generally associated with older works, the vamp insert seam was sewn with minute stitches, no puckers, and parallel lines of oversewn moosehair on either side of the seam, making it invisible. The moccasins in the collection of the Château-musée de Dieppe demonstrate this technique (see fig. 27). In this style of vamp insert the moosehair embroidery field extends past the vamp seam onto the lower piece of the moccasin. In the second style of vamp insert, the vamp is sewn on top of the lower piece of the moccasin, illustrated in a moccasin in the collection of the Musée international de la chaussure (see fig. 28). The lower piece has a thread of cotton running along the edge where it meets the vamp piece,

appearing to be used as a drawstring to form small, regular puckers. This is reminiscent of the pronounced folds of centre-seam moccasin construction. A second line of stitching attaches the vamp insert to the main piece, the join being visible and the puckers a stylistic rather than structural feature. The regularity and tiny size of these puckers added a visual dimension of parallel folds to the overall design. In this style, the moosehair motifs remain on the vamp insert and do not extend past the seam onto the lower moccasin piece.

Metal cone pendants with horse-, caribou-, or possibly moosehair were used to decorate the cuffs of moccasins, the fronts of pouches, the edges of epaulettes, and on coats and souvenirs, from the seventeenth through to the late twentieth century. They replaced moose ergots, which were used in the pre- and early-contact period as pendants. Writing around 1675, Louis Nicolas describes these ergots on moccasins and the sound they made:

Even the ergots of the beast [moose] are used by the natives, who make prized necklaces from them. They use them on their garters, where they put finely worked ones threaded on little strings. They make a kind of rosette from them, similar to those worn by persons of quality on their garters and on their shoes, where our Indians always put them, as well as on their instep and around their leg. In this outfit, walking solemnly at a steady pace, these performers seem to be playing castanets.⁵⁰

Known Wendat Eighteenth-Century Objects

The eighteenth-century material culture that can be firmly identified as Wendat in the current research is limited to four objects: a twined vegetable fibre pouch from the collection of Hans Sloane, collected before 1725, now in the British Museum (see fig. 4); and three dolls—a man, woman, and baby (not shown), dated 1788 (see figs. 29, 30). The

⁵⁰ Gagnon, *Codex Canadensis*, 338.

pouch was part of Sir Hans Sloane's collection, which became the founding collection of the British Museum. It is dated through Sloane's manuscript catalogue, which states that it was collected before 1725 and identifies it as Huron.⁵¹

The dolls are dated from an inscription on the baby doll, giving the place, Lorette, and the date, 1788. The designs and techniques of the Sloane pouch and the 1788 Wendat dolls offer two possibilities in relation to Great Lakes works without provenance. They suggest Wendat provenance of eighteenth century moccasins and twined ties about which little is known but which have similar styles to the pouch or the dolls. It is also possible that the styles seen in these two Wendat objects were common to several communities closely connected by ties of trade, gifts, or movements of population.

The Sloane pouch, the 1788 Wendat dolls, and the other eighteenth-century works in this tradition that have a possible Wendat attribution continue the geometric style sequence with some elements of curvilinear design. The continuity of the geometric stylistic sequence and the similarities in the geometric surface design between ceramics, twined pouches, and moccasins may be disguised by differences in media. Mathews discusses a similar problem in her exploration of cultural continuity between faces on precontact pipes of Southern Ontario Iroquoian nations and False Face masks of the postcontact period.⁵² She found that to an extent different media could affect style and lead to apparent differences between objects from the same "cultural and artistic complex."⁵³ When we are alerted to this issue, however, we can look past the media to see similarities in the motifs and arrangement of the design field.

⁵¹ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 61–62.

⁵² Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3.

The pre-1725 Wendat twined pouch is made of woven vegetable fibre with dyed moosehair twined around the woof threads. The Sloane catalogue's description of the purse is a translation from the handwritten label which is still in the purse. The catalogue describes it as "an Indian *purse* made by the Huron Savages of Canada with the crin or hair of the *Orignac* wch [sic] they dye with roots" [une bourse faite par les Sauvages hurons de Canada avec du crin d'orignac qu'ils teignent avec des racines].⁵⁴ The moosehair is added during the weaving process but is not structural. The pouch demonstrates the techniques described by Pere LeMoine in the *Relations* of 1656–58, probably twining, discussed in chapter 2: tobacco pouches without seams, made "as artistically as needlework."⁵⁵ It can therefore be used to represent twined works in the geometric sequence.⁵⁶ The Sloane pouch illustrates the continuity of sixteenth-century Wendat ceramic designs in a later period and in other media. It also demonstrates the continuity of the colour choices described by Sagard; fragments of a once-vivid red can be seen on the inside of the pouch and the main colours of the body are white and what could be faded black (see fig. 4). The motifs reflect those of Wendat ceramics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the repetition of geometric motifs built from the chevron, the play of positive and negative space, and the appearance of zigzag power lines. In particular it continues the concentric lozenge motif, smaller lozenges within a larger one that was seen in the ceramic turtle effigy (see fig. 23). In the pouch and the turtle, a basic shape—the chevron—is built up to form larger units. In a play of positive

⁵⁴ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 61.

⁵⁵ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 44–45, 294–96.

⁵⁶ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 61.

and negative space, smaller components become larger units, and the forms shift between the parts and the whole, creating a sense of movement.

The Indigenous technique of twining, described in chapter 2, wrapping the more fragile, nonstructural moosehair around the vegetable fibre wool thread as part of the weaving process to create a surface design, is often described as “false embroidery.”⁵⁷ This technique would in fact be more closely associated with European tapestry work than with European embroidery. False embroidery, suggesting that the European style of stitching silk or cotton thread with a needle through a fabric to produce a design is the true embroidery and other forms of surface elaboration of a textile are in some way less, could be seen as a Eurocentric term. In this thesis I use the term “twining” to describe the technique.

The male doll in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization shows a complete outfit of Wendat clothing, including a black hide pouch, a woven quilled belt, and a pair of center seam moccasins in the style of the Wendat of Wendake community in this period. His head is of smoothly carved wood with red coloring, while his hands are made of what appears to be cornhusk. There is no hair on the sides of his head however there was once a band of hair on the center of the head, of which only a few strands remain. He wears black and purple beaded loop earrings, including some wampum beads. He has several strands of black and white beads strung across his chest. There are metal arm bands on both upper arms and wrists. He carries a wooden hatchet, and at his belt is a knife in a scabbard. His smock shirt is of a floral pattern and he wears red leggings. In addition, to the belt of what looks like metal that he wears around his shirt, he also wears

⁵⁷ Ibid., 38.

a woven quilled belt, seen from the back. The belt has concentric lozenge geometric motifs similar to Wendat ceramics and the Sloane pouch (see fig. 31). The belt also matches Champlain's seventeenth-century description of a preference in Algonquin and Wendat visual arts for bright red, very skilfully woven quillwork that could be detached and reused on new objects. Both Champlain and Louis Nicolas stated that the quillwork bands were highly valued in their producing communities.⁵⁸ We can speculate that not only technical skill and beauty but also possible symbolic meanings of the geometric symbols may have been the reason such objects were so prized. The motifs in quillwork are suggestive of wampum belts. Since wampum belt symbols had specific meanings, it is possible that these valued bands of woven quill had symbolic significance as well.

The male doll's blackened hide pouch is elaborated with unfolding spirals, a motif seen on early- and late-eighteenth-century moccasins without provenance and in nineteenth-century Wendat moccasins with provenance, while the metal cones with red-dyed animal hair are characteristic of nineteenth-century Wendat moccasins and pouches. The doll's moccasins have the centre seam characteristic of eastern Great Lakes eighteenth-century moccasins and demonstrate the early eighteenth-century high-top style seen in the image of Onkwehonwe sachem *Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row* by Jan Verelst, 1710 (see fig. 32).

The woman doll also has a smoothly carved wooden head and hands of what appears to be cornhusk. She has long black hair and red coloring on her cheeks, around her ears, and on her neck. She wears black and white beaded loop earrings and has four strands of black and white beads around her neck. She wears a floral print smock shirt in

⁵⁸ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 133; Gagnon, *Codex Canadensis*, 74.

the same pattern as the man's. She wears a red wool wrap skirt with horizontal bands of decorative ribbon and center seam cuffed moccasins. Her shirt is belted and tucked in the belt at her back are what may be three joined small metal cones.

Eastern Woodlands Textiles of Unknown Provenance

Having described the two known Wendat works of this period, I will now present examples of eastern Great Lakes objects that do not have provenance but that have characteristics which suggest either a Wendat community of origin, or origin in a non-Wendat community that shared aspects of their visual arts.

There are a number of eighteenth-century twined pouches as well as burden straps or ties in European collections, elaborated with geometric motifs similar to those on Wendat pre- and early-contact ceramics and similar to the motifs of the Sloane pouch. I present here an example of each group: a pouch and a tie, both from the pre-1793 collection of the Bibliothèque nationale at the Musée du quai Branly (see figs. 33, 34). These are usually attributed either to Haudenosaunee or Wendat communities. Although the resemblances to Wendat ceramic patterns suggest a Wendat origin of this tradition, as I discussed in the section on ceramics, geometric patterns were shared by southern Ontario Iroquoian communities in the pre- and early-contact period. Thus it is difficult to identify the specific community of origin by style alone. In the seventeenth century, a time of epidemics and war, populations relocated to different regions and dispersed into other Indigenous communities, both peacefully and prisoner-adoptions. Intercommunity sharing of artistic techniques and designs would probably have been frequent. During the wars between the Haudenosaunee and the Wendat of the mid- to late seventeenth century in particular, the Haudenosaunee took large numbers of Wendat prisoners, many of

whom, particularly women, were adopted.⁵⁹ It is also possible that the Algonquin, Montagnais, and other nations who were associated with the Wendat through conflict or allegiance used this technique.

Moccasins, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musée du Quai Branly

Two pairs of moccasins from the pre-1793 collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, now in the Musée du quai Branly, are among the earliest examples of centre-seam moccasins, with geometric motifs similar to motifs on Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics (see fig. 2; see also figs. 3, 21). Cut high up the ankle and tied with thongs that in one example are threaded through the hide, they are similar to the pairs worn by the sachems in Verelst's portraits, suggesting an early seventeenth-century date (see fig. 32).⁶⁰ In "North America in the European Wunderkammer before 1750," Christian Feest discusses these two pairs of moccasins, which in his opinion, "while likely to predate 1750, cannot be conclusively dated."⁶¹

Rather than cuffs, both pairs of moccasins have top borders elaborated with quill patterns. The Indigenous colour choices characteristic of eastern Great Lakes objects are evident in the red, black, and white quillwork. One pair of moccasins displays the characteristic St. Lawrence Iroquoian vertical rows of circles (see fig. 3). As we have seen in the St. Lawrence Iroquoian potsherds in figure 20, a vertical row of three annular rings is arranged below castellations and creates distinct areas, while a vertical line of

⁵⁹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 615, 627, 638, 640, 733, 755, 757, 764, 783–84.

⁶⁰ This date is supported by the history of the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale of France. Early French explorers and colonial administrators, among them Cartier and Champlain, acquired moccasins, belts, and other works, either as gifts or purchase. These were given to the French kings, often interested collectors of such work. The Jardin du Roi, begun in 1634, was the cabinet or area in which these works were housed. In 1792 the material from the Jardin du Roi became part of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and later became part of the Musée du quai Branly collection.

⁶¹ Feest, "North America in the European Wunderkammer," 84.

three circles marks the end of the design sequence in this pair of moccasins. The rows of circles in the body of this pair of moccasins, similar to the vertical line of annular rings on St. Lawrence Iroquoian pots, are placed in relation to vertical rows of unfolding spirals that issue from the heel and toe seams. I suggest that these spirals, appearing on moccasins, were an innovation from within the Indigenous design repertoire. Lisa Anselmi in *New Materials, Old Ideas*, discusses the appearance of copper spirals, “thin rectangular strips of metal that had been rolled into a tube, then coiled into a loose spiral.” She writes that “these forms are primarily recovered from burial contexts associated with early-contact period Seneca and Susquehannock sites.” She adds that spiral forms have also been recovered from Onondaga, Mohawk, Neutral, and Wendat (Warminster Site) contexts, and, more rarely, from Algonquian contexts (see fig. 35).⁶² These spirals date from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁶³ This motif, part of the geometric style sequence, seems to have ended around 1625, but then reappears in the eighteenth century and continues into the nineteenth century, in hide moccasins and pouches, demonstrating the continuity of sequences after apparent endings, and also the sharing of motifs among Iroquoian and Algonquian groups.

Continuity of design and arrangement from Wendat ceramic pot collars to quillwork of early-eighteenth-century moccasins is also seen in the other pair of pre-1793 moccasins from the Bibliothèque nationale collection at the Musée du quai Branly (see fig. 2). On the moccasins, the pattern of white-framed rectangles divided by a diagonal,

⁶² Lisa Anselmi, *New Materials, Old Ideas: Native Use of European-Introduced Metals in the Northeast* (PhD diss., Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), 212.

⁶³ Anselmi, *New Materials*, 213.

filled in with black on the upper side, red on the lower, with horizontal bands of zigzag quill and parallel lines of straight seam appliqué quillwork on either side, is similar to Ramsden's description of Wendat motifs of parallel lines, seen in the compartments of a potsherd from the Keffer site, ca. 1550 (see fig. 36). The intricate woven quillwork and the band of scarlet-dyed quills seem similar to Champlain's description of quillwork bands.⁶⁴ A curvilinear motif of five joined loops, forming a rounded star, appears in the body of the moccasin, made with what appears to be a surface running stitch. This demonstrates alignment of curvilinear design with geometric motifs similar to the unfolding spirals with the geometric zigzag quillwork in the Musée du quai Branly moccasins of figure 3 and the punctate circles aligned with geometric motifs in the pottery in St. Lawrence Iroquoian works. The curvilinear motif of the five joined loops and the spirals could be seen as the beginnings of the semiabstract linear style sequence, which had its full development in the early nineteenth century, to be discussed in chapter 5.

The upright cuffs of these two pairs of moccasins and the collars of Wendat pots are stylistically similar, both in their arrangement of elements in relation to each other and in the similarity of designs. The rims of the potsherds are notched in a series of short diagonals in the same way that the top edges of the moccasins are marked with diagonally wrapped quillwork. Below the pot rim's edging are horizontal parallel lines, while below the moccasins' quillwork edging are horizontal lines of appliqué quillwork. The program of parallel lines in zigzag patterns on the collars of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Wendat pots play the same focal point role at the top of a container as does

⁶⁴ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 133.

the program of parallel bands of zigzag pattern in quillwork on the upright cuffs of the moccasins.

The design impulse to elaborate the collar and rim of the pot continues in the attention drawn to the seams in the moccasins. The heel and toe seams of the moccasins at the Musée du quai Branly, seen in figure 3, are emphasized with zigzag bands of quillwork, parallel with zigzag lines of oversewn quill, with the lines of unfolding spiral issuing from them. To the viewer, the moccasins would have been as visually interesting when the wearer was departing as when he or she was approaching.

Connecting these two pairs of eighteenth-century moccasins with Wendat objects with provenance of the nineteenth century, for example a pair of 1832 Wendat moosehair-embroidered moccasins from the von Pourtalès collection, demonstrates the continuity of the filled circle and unfolding spiral a century later (see fig. 37). This similarity suggests that while the eighteenth-century moccasin motifs I have discussed were part of a broad eastern Great Lakes regional visual arts repertoire shared by Wendat women and women of other communities, it is also possible that they were of Wendake Wendat origin.

This discussion of examples of eighteenth-century moccasins suggests that the Wendat geometric style sequence continued in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Great Lakes moccasins. Elaborated with geometric designs and straight lines, diagonals, circles, and scallops similar to those found on ceramics at Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian sites, these were used in the community and sold as souvenirs. The earlier centre-seam moccasins have geometric motifs in woven bands of quillwork and borders of parallel straight lines of stitches with scalloped lines beside them. The convention of

compartmented designs in Wendat ceramics is similar to the design fields of moccasins and pouches; the borders of parallel and scalloped lines seen in moccasin and pouch examples from the late eighteenth century onwards accentuate the compartments. Although geometric designs are less prominent in nineteenth-century moccasins, which move towards floral designs, these frequently incorporate groupings of circles, reminiscent of the annular rings or punctate circles on early St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics.

Although my research generally supports the view that in the eighteenth century it is difficult to make a firm attribution based on style, arguments to support Wendat origin of particular examples are effective if these arguments can be supported by documentation. Three pairs of late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth-century moccasins illustrate this. A pair of moccasins in the Sir John Caldwell collection dating from 1780 and a pair from the collection of Captain Malcolm with a probable date of 1803–26 were collected by military officers who were active in the area around Detroit where a community of Wendat had settled in the eighteenth century (see fig. 38; see also fig. 39).⁶⁵ One moccasin from the collection of the Drummond family, whose documentation suggests a possible origin in Quebec in 1777–78, shares stylistic and technical similarities with these two pairs (see fig. 40).

In “Caldwell and Drummond: First Nations Collections by British Military Personnel in North-Eastern North America,” Judy Hall explores the history of Sir John Caldwell in North America, his activities in the Detroit area around 1780, and the Aboriginal communities with whom he conducted diplomatic negotiations, noting the

⁶⁵ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 820.

presence of Huron chiefs at these meetings.⁶⁶ Supporting a Wendat attribution of the Caldwell moccasins, the bands of woven quillwork are similar to the woven quill band around the waist of the 1788 Wendat doll. Lending further support for a Wendat attribution of the Caldwell moccasins, a pair of moccasins in the Andrew Foster collection at the National Museum of the American Indian, ca. 1790, has loom-woven panels similar to those of the Caldwell moccasins. Phillips and Michael Witgen (Ojibwe) suggest a Huron-Wendat attribution of the Foster moccasins, the community then living in the region of Detroit.⁶⁷ In “*Bo’jou, NeeJee!*” Ted Brasser describes the Caldwell moccasins as “Huron type.”⁶⁸ In *Pleasing the Spirits*, Douglas C. Ewing attributes the Caldwell moccasins to the “Wyandot, formerly called Huron,” as the Wendat of the Detroit area were then called.⁶⁹ In his essay “Documenting the Speyer Collection,” William C. Sturtevant cites Norman Feder, who identified what he saw as characteristic of Wendat work:

It is my personal feeling that much of the collections mentioned are of Huron origin. The loom quillwork on moccasins and moosehair embroidery; the burden straps with false embroidery in moosehair . . . all appear to be Huron.”⁷⁰

From Feder’s description, the Caldwell moccasins are characteristic of Wendat work.

⁶⁶ Judy Hall, “Caldwell and Drummond: First Nations Collections by British Military Personnel in North-Eastern North America,” paper presented at the 28th American Indian Workshop, Musée du quai Branly, Paris, May 10–13, 2007.

⁶⁷ Ruth B. Phillips and Michael Witgen (Ojibwe), “Infinity of Nations,” <http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/infinityofnations/woodlands/242000.html> (accessed September 10, 2012).

⁶⁸ Ted Brasser, “*Bo’Jou, NeeJee!*”: *Profiles of Canadian Indian Art* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, ca. 1976), 107.

⁶⁹ Douglas C. Ewing, *Pleasing the Spirits* (New York: Ghylen Press, 1982), 255.

⁷⁰ William C. Sturtevant, “Documenting the Speyer Collection,” in *Studies in American Indian Art: A Memorial Tribute to Norman Feder*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Budapest: *European Review of Native American Studies*), 167.

In the example of the Malcolm moccasins, Captain Malcolm would also have been in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence region, possibly during the War of 1812. According to collection records, the Malcolm moccasins entered the collection at the Bernisches Historisches Museum between 1803 and 1826.⁷¹ In *The North American Indian Collection*, Judy Thompson describes the moccasins, noting the loom weaving of the quilled band, puckered centre-seam construction, and fringe of moosehair in metal cones, all characteristics of Wendat work.⁷² A detail of the Malcolm collection moccasins shows the zigzag quillwork over the heel seam, illustrating the deep red colours achieved through eastern Great Lakes dyeing techniques (see fig. 41).

The Caldwell and Malcolm moccasins both have features that link them to Wendat traditions: the woven insert that covers the centre seam, broadened so that it has the appearance of a vamp; what look like removable bands of loom woven-quillwork on the vamp and cuffs; a compact cone and animal hair fringe (possibly horsehair); and lozenge and chevron motifs similar to those on the Sloane pouch. The Wendat attributions for the Caldwell and Malcolm collection moccasins have linked them to the Wendat community near Detroit, rather than Wendake.

A single moccasin from the Drummond collection, now at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), has similar features to the Caldwell and Malcolm moccasins and matches Feder's check list of Wendat characteristics. However, the history of the Drummond collection suggests they may have come from the Wendake community. The moccasin has a suggested date of 1777–78. Judy Hall discusses the Drummond collection

⁷¹ Judy Thompson, *The North American Indian Collection* (Berne: Berne Historical Museum, 1977), 119.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 123.

in “Caldwell and Drummond: First Nations Collections by British Military Personnel in North-Eastern North America,” describing the difficulties of untangling the collection histories of families.⁷³ Difficulties in attribution arise because, as she writes, “often several members of the same family had connections in North America, but the collection is often attributed by the descendants to their most well-known ancestor.”⁷⁴

Hall describes archival documents that support a 1777–78 date for the ROM Drummond moccasin. Members of the Drummond family were in Quebec in the 1870s; Colin Drummond was deputy paymaster-general to the British military in Quebec from 1765 to his death in 1776. His wife, Catherine Oliphant, stayed in Quebec until 1780, and then returned to Britain.⁷⁵ On 16 March 1778, Adam Drummond, their oldest son, wrote to thank his mother from his boarding school in England: “I have received the Guinea and Mackasons of which I return you many thanks for but I want a pair of leggings and the rest of the savage dress.”⁷⁶ Hall notes that the single ROM moccasin is similar to the Caldwell moccasins, attributed to the Wendat, and may be from the pair referred to by Adam Drummond.⁷⁷ Like the Caldwell and Malcolm moccasins, the Drummond moccasin has the characteristic Wendat loom woven quill panels on the cuffs and vamp. These panels are elaborated with the lozenge motif seen on the Sloane pouch, and the colour choices described by Sagard. The Drummond family was in Quebec in this period, suggesting they may have bought the moccasins from the Wendat of Wendake. This

⁷³ Hall, “Caldwell and Drummond,” footnote 39, p. 20.

⁷⁴ Hall, “Caldwell and Drummond,” 15.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 13, citing a letter from the Lord Strange collection, Canadian Museum of Civilization Archives.

⁷⁷ Hall, “Caldwell and Drummond,” 13.

provenance and date would suggest the continuity of geometric motifs and loom weaving techniques in the Wendat community near Quebec in the late eighteenth century.

Based on this discussion of moccasins ornamented with bands of woven geometric quillwork appliquéd to cuffs and vamp seams, I suggest that this style of moccasin was produced by both the Wendat community in the Detroit region and the Wendat of Wendake. As I have discussed, the Caldwell moccasins were probably collected during Sir John Caldwell's diplomatic negotiations in the Detroit area, where Wendat chiefs, very probably of the Detroit Wendat communities (later known as the Wyandot), were present. Captain Malcom could have collected his quilled-band moccasins either from the Detroit Wendat (Wyandot), but he may also have passed through Quebec and collected them there from the Wendat of Wendake, as the Quebec garrison there was a center for British allies in this period and Wendake was a popular destination for the officers.

The moccasins from the Drummond collection, now at the ROM, demonstrate a similar style of appliquéd geometric woven quillwork as those seen on the Caldwell and Malcolm moccasins. However, while it is possible that the military collectors acquired these moccasins in the Detroit area, in the case of the Drummond moccasins this is much less likely (see fig. 40). They were bought by Colin Drummond's widow, Catherine Oliphant, to send to her son in England, and it is unlikely that she was in the Detroit region. They would almost certainly have been bought from the Wendat near Quebec, where she was living.

Furthermore, the woven band of quillwork around the waist of the Wendat male doll in the Canadian Museum of Civilization—attributed to the Wendake community

through the inscription of the name of the Lorette (Wendake) community on the back of the baby doll in the set of three dolls-- uses the same technique and motifs as the quilled bands on the moccasins of the Caldwell collection, the Malcolm collection, and the Drummond collection. Finally, to further support the attribution of this style to both Wendat communities at Detroit and Wendake, the hand coloured lithograph print by Edward Chatfield, *Three Chiefs of the Huron Indians*, depicts three Wendat chiefs of Wendake (see fig. 42).⁷⁸ It can be clearly seen that Chief Michel Tsioui and Chief Stanislas Coska, on the left, wear quilled-band moccasins with geometric motifs. What is fascinating is that although it is difficult to see the exact detail from this print, it looks as if Chief André Romain, on the right, wears a pair of black-dyed moosehair-embroidered moccasins with a vamp insert, suggesting floral motifs-- demonstrating that the two styles were coeval.

Continuity and Diversity:

Analysis of Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century Wendat Visual Arts

The tendency to privilege verisimilitude in representation that influenced European understandings of artistic evolution also influenced judgements of Indigenous artistic traditions. The geometric patterns of precontact Wendat ceramics, eighteenth-century Wendat moccasins and woven works, and the stylized and then figurative floral or genre images of the nineteenth-century souvenir works seemed to illustrate this understanding of artistic evolution. Geoffrey Turner, in one of the key early works on moosehair embroidery, describes Wendat traditions in this way: “one can trace a steady evolution of design . . . towards simplification and greater realism.” The earlier

⁷⁸ There is no mention of an original painting in the Library and Archives record.

moccasins he refers to have complex designs of multiple stylized foliate motifs. The later moccasins, more evolved in his view, have a reduced number of elements in simple, more naturalistic floral motifs.⁷⁹

In the context of the more general rejection of evolutionist approaches we need to detach the categories of geometric and figurative designs from the notion of artistic evolution and linear progression, in which geometric design is positioned as less developed and verisimilitude is assumed to be the ultimate goal. I argue instead that geometric and figurative designs can be interpreted as related or interconnected systems of representation. In the early twentieth century, for example, anthropologist Alanson Skinner suggested that geometric designs are “the ultimate conventionalization of floral motives, as the stylized foliate designs are conventions of floral patterns.”⁸⁰

In his essay “Pleasing the Spirits,” Ted Brasser has described the “self-directed” character of designs on moccasins, birchbark dishes, wooden bowls, effigy pipes, woven bags, and other items of Woodlands origin. He argues for the religious symbolism of these designs and “the association of these decorations with their owner’s visions and their guardian spirits,” as confirmed by statements made by different individuals in Plains and eastern Woodlands communities.⁸¹ Brasser argues that since the sacred power of knowledge from visions or dreams would be reduced if “the meaning of vision-derived symbols” were shared with others, the dream content could be suggested but not revealed

⁷⁹ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 50.

⁸⁰ Alanson Skinner, “Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians” and “Ethnology of the Ioway Indians,” *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 5, Milwaukee (1923): 26; Leslie Leech et al., “Woodland Indian Ribbon-Work,” in *The Art of the Great Lakes Indians* (Flint:Flint Institute of Arts, 1973), xxix.

⁸¹ Brasser, “Pleasing the Spirits,” 19.

through stylized or geometric representations.⁸² Brasser's argument is useful to an understanding of Wendat visual arts traditions and the how ritual significance of aesthetic choices may have been guided by similar considerations.

The origin and meaning of Wendat floral imagery has been the focus of the major studies of Wendat art. It was discussed by Marius Barbeau in "On Huron Work, 1911" (1912), "The Origin of Floral and Other Designs Among the Canadian and Neighboring Indians" (1930), and *Saintes artisanes 1: Les brodeuses* (1943); Frank Speck in "Huron Moose Hair Embroidery" (1911) and "Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron" (1911); Ted Brasser in *Bo'jou NeeJee!* (1976); and Ruth Phillips in *Trading Identities* (1998), particularly her chapter "The Floral, the Feminine, and the Folk." The focus on the floral has obscured the importance of geometric and figural imagery in Wendat art, which is the focus of this chapter. Geometric, figural, and floral modes of representation need to be considered in a longer-term, multigeneric overview.

Stylistic Analysis and the Identification of Individual Artists

One of the most significant outcomes of the analysis of this corpus is the possibility it suggests for recognition of individual hands. Although my work represents only a first tentative stage it provides the basis for further research. In *Huron Potters and Archaeological Constructs: Researching Ceramic Micro-stylistics*, Holly Martelle studied microvariation in pottery decoration, investigating "microstylistic variability," the study of "how individuals and groups of individuals . . . produce distinct categories of items and define the limits of an established style."⁸³ Her methodology and research

⁸² Brasser, "Pleasing the Spirits," 21–22.

⁸³ Holly Anne Martelle, *Huron Potters and Archaeological Constructs: Researching Ceramic Microstylistics* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2002), 141.

offers a foundation for identification of individual hands in Wendat textiles and barkwork. This identification is important because it enables us to see Wendat arts as the work of individuals rather than as a homogenous corpus of material. It also counters the objectifying effect of “ethnographic” or “anthropological” study. Although the scope of this thesis has permitted me to begin this process of identification, I expect that future research will lead to the identification of more individual artists.

Population Loss and Missionary Education:

The Impact on Cultural Continuity

Having presented the Wendat geometric style sequence and examples that I suggest demonstrate its continuity into the eighteenth century, I next consider what can be known about the social context of the Wendat community during this time. What of the women who would have passed on these arts traditions, in a context combining population losses from multiple epidemics and the effects of missionization and convent schools? I explore these questions through the letters of Marie de l’Incarnation, one of the founders of the Ursuline convent school in Quebec. I first give her description of the impact of the epidemics, then her description of the education of Indigenous girls at the school, from the school’s opening in 1639 until the early eighteenth century, after which there were few Aboriginal students.

There were devastating population losses in the early years of contact; research suggests a mortality rate of 80 to 90 percent.⁸⁴ Marie de l’Incarnation gives a compelling

⁸⁴ Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*, pt.1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 55–56, 90, 93, 103, 110–112; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 86–91; Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), chap. 2; Henry Dobyns, *Their Numbers Became Thinned: Native American Populations Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Warrick, *Population History*.

eyewitness account of the death toll. She arrived in Quebec in 1639 and stayed until her death in 1672. She writes:

When we arrived in this country, everywhere was so crowded, it seemed it would be a people of countless number . . . but they are few in comparison to what they were, since scarcely one in twenty remains. [Lorsque nous sommes arrivé en ce pays, tout étoit si rempli qu'il sembloit aller croître en un peuple innombrable . . . mais c'est peu en comparaison de ce qui étoit, car de vingt à peine en est-il resté un.]⁸⁵

She describes the Indigenous communities in the area around Quebec, which would have included Montagnais and Algonquin peoples. However, this also gives a visual image of the massive depopulation experienced by those close to areas of European contact, along the trade routes and the areas where the missionaries made contact, foremost among them being the Wendat.

Against the background of this ongoing population loss and the dispersal of the Wendat confederacy in 1649, Wendat girls began to attend the Ursuline convent school from the 1640s. By 1650 there were a number of Wendat students as well as students from other communities.⁸⁶ However, the Indigenous students did not stay at the school for long periods of time. Marie de l'Incarnation describes them as “birds of passage” [oiseaux passagers], who stayed only for a few months.⁸⁷ On average, they left after one month, unless they were orphans or had parents who strongly desired that their daughter receive a French education, and these were few.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Marie de l'Incarnation, *Correspondance* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1971), 735.

⁸⁶ Claire Gourdeau, *Les délices de nos cœurs: Marie de l'Incarnation et ses pensionnaires amérindiennes 1639–1672* (Québec: Septentrion, 1994), 57, 60.

⁸⁷ Gourdeau, *Délices de nos cœurs*, 60.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 60, 98.

In *Les délices de nos cœurs*, a study of Marie de l'Incarnation's letters, Claire Gourdeau writes that the cloistered way of life and the way of life of Indigenous women were two opposite feminine universes. In the Indigenous way of life, "the family group and the gender division of tasks are of utmost importance" [la cellule familiale et la division sexuelles des tâches sont primordiales].⁸⁹ Women and girls in Indigenous communities played an essential role in group survival and their sense of belonging and responsibility to their communities, by the Ursuline nuns' account, was very strong. The total number of girls who chose to convert to Christianity and a francisized way of life was only seven or eight, after all the years of missionary work.⁹⁰ This strongly suggests that although the Wendat girls may have come to the convent school and been exposed to a different cultural tradition, their adhesion to their families and their way of life was largely unchanged. Gourdeau describes the decrease in Indigenous students at the Ursuline convent, and writes that "at the start of the eighteenth century, the number of Indigenous women/girls at the Ursuline convent was low" [au début du dix-huitième siècle . . . les amérindiennes ne fréquentent pratiquement plus le couvent des ursulines].⁹¹

Gourdeau describes a gradual disenchantment among the nuns as they recognized the difficulties—and even the impossibility—of francisizing the Indigenous girls.⁹² In 1668, Marie de l'Incarnation writes:

We have had more experience than any other [of trying to francisize or civilize them], and we have noticed that of a hundred of them who have passed through our hands we have hardly civilized one. . . . I do not expect that of them [to be

⁸⁹ Gourdeau, *Délices de nos cœurs*, 13.

⁹⁰ Marie de l'Incarnation, *Correspondance*, 828.

⁹¹ Gourdeau, *Délices de nos cœurs*, 31.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 23, 91.

civilized and to keep French manners and politeness], since they are Savages, and that is enough to have no such hopes. [Nous en avons l'expérience plus que tout autre [d'essayer les franciser ou civiliser], et nous avons remarqué de cent de celles qui ont passé par nos mains à peine en avons nous civilisé une. . . . Je n'attens pas cela d'elles [d'être civilisées et de retiendre la politesse Francoise], car elles sont Sauvages, et cela suffit pour ne le pas esperer.]⁹³

Marie de l'Incarnation interpreted the Indigenous girls' adherence to their own way of life as lack of civilization. Today it would be recognized as adherence to cultural traditions and resistance to imposed cultural change. Marie de l'Incarnation was reporting the pattern of girls returning to their communities and lack of interest in a French way of life in 1670, after the epidemics in the 1630s and 40s and in the midst of the ongoing wars in the region. This suggests resilience and strength, in maintaining community throughout extreme disruptions.

Having considered what we can know from first-hand accounts of the adherence of Indigenous women, including the Wendat, to their community and traditions, I will develop the discussion of the continuity of the geometric style sequence in Wendat and other Great Lakes communities. The argument for continuity of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Wendat geometric designs and weaving traditions into eighteenth-century textiles is based on the two known Wendat works: the Sloane pouch and the Wendat dolls of 1788. However, these objects offer strong evidence. Geometric motifs similar to those of the turtle effigy pipe continue in the Sloane pouch at the British museum (see fig. 4; see also fig. 23). Similar geometric motifs appear in the 1788 Wendat doll's belt (fig. 31); in the Caldwell moccasins, ca. 1780 (fig. 38); in the Drummond moccasins, with a suggested date of 1777–78 (fig. 40); and in the Malcolm moccasins, 1803–26 (see fig. 39). These moccasins also demonstrate the techniques of weaving and

⁹³ Marie de l'Incarnation, *Correspondance*, 809.

the colours of red, black, blue, described by Sagard and others, and seen in the Sloane pouch.

The Wendat and southern Ontario Iroquoian spiral motif, seen in the copper spiral, ca. 1615 (fig.35) also appears on moccasins in the Musée du quai Branly (fig3), the Wendat doll's pouch (fig. 29), on a second pair of moccasins from the Drummond collection now at the Bata Shoe Museum (fig. 43), and in numerous examples of nineteenth-century Wendat work that I discuss in chapter 5. In "Trading in Metaphors: The Magic of Beads," George Hamell writes of native copper as one of the "'other world' substances obtained by Real Man-beings, that is, real human man-beings, through reciprocal exchange with Under(water) World Grandfathers . . . variously of serpent, panther, or dragon form."⁹⁴ This suggests that the spiral motif may represent the Under(water) World being. Although use of this motif in Wendat objects with provenance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries makes clear that this was a motif in the Wendat design repertoire, possibly with this spiritual meaning, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was also found at Iroquoian and Algonquin sites, and the Under(water) World being was a shared belief. Hence the appearance of this motif, without documentation to support a Wendat origin, could also mean an origin in other Iroquoian or Algonquin communities.

As I have demonstrated, unprovenanced examples of eighteenth-century eastern Great Lakes textiles, for example the moccasins, woven ties, and pouches from the Musée du quai Branly, are similar to the Wendat precontact geometric styles, the Sloane pouch, the doll's belt, and later Wendat moccasins. They also continue the techniques and

⁹⁴ George E. Hamell, "Trading in Metaphors: The Magic of Beads," in *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference* (Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Centre, 1983), 6.

colours of quillwork described in the early texts. This demonstrates the continuity of the geometric sequence across media and forms in works that are identified as Wendat; it also suggests objects without provenance that could either be Wendat in origin, or be produced by other communities, evidence of shared eastern Great Lakes visual arts.

A further example of the continuity of precontact Wendat artistic practices into which innovations drawing on European designs were later integrated are Wendat colour conventions. In the early seventeenth century, Sagard describes them:

They work admirable designs, with porcupine quill dyed red, black, white and blue, which colours they dye so vividly that our colours cannot come close. [Elles font des ouvrages dignes d'admiration, avec du poil de porc espic, coloré de rouge, noir, blanc et bleu, qui sont les couleurs qu'elles font si viues, que les nostres ne semblent point en approcher.]⁹⁵

In the earliest known eastern Great Lakes moccasins discussed earlier in this chapter, works of the eighteenth century, geometric designs appeared in these colours. Black and ivory accompanied brilliant red, with the addition of shades of blue, the vivid blues later appearing in equal weight to red.⁹⁶

In “A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade,” Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell discuss the meanings of colours in Indigenous beliefs systems. They write that white signified life, mind and knowledge, the “cognitive aspects of life.”⁹⁷ They suggest that sky blue, the colour of the daytime sky, and green, the colour of growing grass and leaves, also reflected life, mind, and knowledge. Black, on the other hand, reflected “death, mourning, and asociability,” while

⁹⁵ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 90–91.

⁹⁶ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 133.

⁹⁷ George R. Hamell and Christopher L. Miller, “A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade,” *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 2 (September 1986): 324–25.

red was “associated with animation, emotion, intense experience . . . the emotional aspect of life.”⁹⁸ From Sagard’s text we know that these colours were used by the Wendat, and in “Trading in Metaphors: The Magic of Beads,” George Hamell argues that these meanings were and are part of a “shared Northeastern Woodland Indian thoughtworld,” that “the thoughtworlds of the Northeastern Woodlands Siouans, Algonquians, and Iroquoians were fundamentally identical.”⁹⁹ He further argues that “a reflex of this thoughtworld is very much alive among the present-day Northeastern Woodlands Siouans, Algonquians, and Iroquoians.”¹⁰⁰ Working from this assumption, the blue, white, black, and red colours that symbolized eastern Great Lakes spiritual beliefs and world view continued in the Wendat eighteenth-century geometric designs on textiles and then later in the nineteenth century semiabstract linear and stylized floral style sequences on hide that I discuss in chapter 5.¹⁰¹

As this discussion suggests, rather than a search for origins or a linear stylistic development, the study of Wendat art history suggests a complicated past. This is a narrative of tangled exchange of techniques, materials, motifs, designs, and the syncretic use of symbols, between Indigenous groups pre- and postcontact, adding European influences after contact.¹⁰² Contact with European arts did not necessarily mean their wholesale adoption. At the time of contact, highly skilled Indigenous women worked in established visual arts traditions and techniques with quill, moosehair, hide, and woven

⁹⁸ Hamell and Miller, “A New Perspective.”

⁹⁹ George R. Hamell, “Trading in Metaphors: The Magic of Beads,” in *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade bead Conference* (Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Centre, 1983), 5.

¹⁰⁰ Hamell, “Trading in Metaphors,” 5.

¹⁰¹ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 91.

¹⁰² Hart and Brumbach, “Death of Owasco,” 750.

textiles, demonstrated by evidence from the archaeological record and the text documents cited in chapter 1.¹⁰³ After contact, Indigenous women selected from the available European styles, materials, and techniques to choose what fitted into the creative purposes and needs of specific historical moments, such as the tastes of the buyers in the rich souvenir markets that opened up in the late eighteenth century. They integrated European forms and surface designs into their sequences of things, within an Indigenous world view.¹⁰⁴ Although the Quebec convent influence is evident in the souvenir arts in the nineteenth-century naturalistic representational style and the technique of stitching moosehair through bark, I position it as one among other influences in a history of sharing motifs and design traditions. Indirect contact with European artistic traditions may have begun as early as the 1580s, when extensive fur trade interaction made the Gulf of St. Lawrence a busy shipping lane between April and September. Trade goods moved inland to the Georgian Bay area, possibly bringing exposure to European floral textiles.

Tzvetan Todorov's conceptualization of cultural contact may explain the adherence to cultural beliefs through a time of crisis: to know another culture does not necessarily mean to transplant oneself to it and forget one's own. Rather, it is "a movement of going and then coming back" [un mouvement d'aller et de retour].¹⁰⁵ Nancy Shoemaker argues that European contact was not a question of crisis bringing sweeping change; it was not one thing before contact and another thing after. Her argument supports Todorov's view. Marie de l'Incarnation's experience with the strength and

¹⁰³ Willoughby, "Textile Fabrics," 85–93; Orchard, *Technique of Porcupine-Quill Decoration*.

¹⁰⁴ Richard W. Hill, Text panel, exhibition, National Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1994, cited in Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 49.

¹⁰⁵ Tzvetan Todorov, "Le croisement des cultures" Special issue, *Communications* 43 (1986): 20.

coherence of Indigenous families suggests that the cultural production of the eighteenth century and onwards may have drawn on European cultural influences, but it was produced from within a Wendat cultural tradition that continued through and after the period of the worst epidemics.

Conclusion

When we consider style sequences as interconnected networks, we can more easily identify repetitions of the same traits over centuries, although they may appear in different media and genres, and see each sequence as a network that demonstrates gradual alterations in the repetitions of the same characteristics over time. Given the diversity of materials and styles in Wendat visual arts, Kubler's approach helps to illustrate the examples of persistence in Wendat designs.¹⁰⁶

My research suggests that the innovation that brought about change in these sequences could have been generated within the Wendat community or through contact with other Indigenous visual arts traditions and the sharing of motifs between communities. Evidence of both sharing and continuity is found in four motifs I have discussed. The first is the precontact circle motifs from the St. Lawrence Iroquoian tradition found in St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Wendat pre- and early-contact sites, through the different possible connections suggested by Warrick and Jamieson, and appearing again in the circle motifs on eighteenth-century eastern Great Lakes textiles and in nineteenth-century Wendat textiles. The second is the spiral motif, seen in the copper spirals shared by many pre- and early-contact southern Iroquoian communities and reappearing in eighteenth-century eastern Great Lakes textiles and in nineteenth-

¹⁰⁶ Kubler, *Shape of Time*, 37–38.

century Wendat textiles. The third motif is the system of parallel lines and the creation of design compartments, seen in Wendat ceramics, then the Wendat Sloane pouch, other eighteenth-century eastern Great Lakes textiles without provenance, and then as the borders of nineteenth-century moccasins, referred to here briefly and discussed in chapter 5. A fourth is the chevron motifs, seen in Wendat potsherds, in the Sloane pouch, in the twined objects without provenance, and the quilled moccasin bands. I have only briefly considered these examples of continuity of Wendat motifs and the sharing of designs among eastern Great Lakes communities in the pre- and early-contact period. This is an area with great possibilities for future research.

My research foregrounds the regional nature of many eastern Woodlands techniques and designs. These were often shared among Indigenous communities, especially in the period up to the early nineteenth century. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, floral style sequences developed that were more closely identified with the Wendat of Wendake, although intercultural sharing is likely to have continued through trade, intermarriage, or adoption (see chapter 5). Particular motifs characteristic of Wendat work can be followed through different media produced in different periods. What seems evident from a study of the work of the preceding centuries, however, is that while there was this continuity, these distinctive traditions emerge from a background of regionally shared Indigenous techniques, media, and motifs. In making attributions based on motif, technique, and construction, it is important to recognize the interconnected nature of Great Lakes communities and the evidence of shared traditions and it is difficult to positively identify a work from the late eighteenth century or earlier as definitely

Wendat.¹⁰⁷ Works such as the pouch from the Sloane collection or the dolls in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization that have provenance dating from the time of their collection are the rare exception. I would argue that in the works without provenance, it is not until the nineteenth century—with the black hide moosehair-embroidered souvenir works in the three floral style sequences, and the moosehair-embroidered barkwork that will be discussed in the next two chapters—that objects can, with a good degree of reliability, be identified with the Wendake Wendat community.

Champlain described the Algonquin and Montagnais/Innu communities as highly skilled in the technique of woven quillwork. They had access to the same materials and they had close contact with the Wendat through the centuries; thus, some eighteenth-century textiles could also be from those communities. The geometric designs of the Wendat ceramics and the Sloane pouch demonstrate that the Wendat were interested in these kinds of designs, exemplified in the woven quill bands of eighteenth-century moccasins and in twined pouches. This might suggest a Wendat origin of the moccasins and pouches, but they could also be Montagnais/Innu or Algonquin nations with whom the Wendat had close connections of marriage, trade, and military alliance, or from other southern Ontario Iroquoian communities whose pre- and early-contact ceramics had similar geometric motifs.

The material culture of this early period was produced in a time of great movements of populations. Relocations from war and epidemics were extensive, whole segments of one nation could be adopted by another nation, bringing together different

¹⁰⁷ Ironically, the earliest dated Wendat works in the archaeological record can be more easily identified as Wendat through their geographic and chronological connections with postcontact communities described by early European visitors.

visual arts traditions.¹⁰⁸ My research suggests that communities had permeable boundaries in terms of sharing materials, techniques, and designs. Work that was collected in one region may have been made by a woman originally from a different community and culture, or by a woman whose work was informed by a person or object from a different community and culture. That being said, certain techniques, styles, and motifs are associated with the Wendat from known Wendat ceramic traditions and the two known Wendat eighteenth-century works, suggesting a set of characteristics of eighteenth-century Wendat textiles. Objects that have these characteristics and a collection history that connects them to the Wendake Wendat community would have a probable Wendat provenance.

¹⁰⁸ Trigger recounts how, at the time of the Wendat dispersal in 1649, many were taken prisoner or voluntarily joined the Iroquois. He states: “500 to 1000 Tahonaenrat [one of the nations of the Wendat confederacy] joined the Seneca in 1651 and about 400 Huron later left Quebec to join the Mohawk and Onondaga.” Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 826.

CHAPTER 5
THE EVOLUTION OF STYLE IN
FLORAL MOOSEHAIR-EMBROIDERED DESIGN

His young wife was busy stitching a pair of moccasins and said that she would get \$5.00 for them. The stitching was extremely lovely and painstaking. [Seine junge Frau was beschäftigt ein paar Schue zu sticken so ihr bestelle waren u. wofür sie wie sie sagte 5\$ erhalten werde. Die Stickerey was wirklich ausgezeichner schön & mühsam.]

—Lukas Vischer, 1 October 1825, quoted in Christian Feest, “Lukas Vischer in Washington”

Introduction

I group floral designs in Wendat visual arts into four style sequences. Three of these are in works on hide; the earliest was the *semiabstract linear* style sequence that emerged in the late eighteenth century and continued into the 1830s, following the eastern Great Lakes colour palette of red, blue, black, and white. The *stylized floral* style sequence on hide developed in the 1830s and continued into the 1850s, representing a move towards verisimilitude. It was naturalistic within the limits of the media, with strong individual creativity in the interpretations of form but Indigenous choices in colour continued. The *naturalistic floral* style sequence on birchbark and wool fabric appeared at around the same time as the stylized floral designs on hide, with a higher degree of verisimilitude, possibly through the greater range of techniques permitted by the bark and wool media. This sequence continued, with innovations, to the last decades of the nineteenth century. The naturalistic floral sequence represented a significant change. A broader colour palette was a significant aspect of this shift, moving to naturalism in colour choices, with a range of greens, browns, and golds, as well as blue, red, white, and black. Vivid aniline and chemical colours were added to the colour range after 1845.

Lastly, the *simplified floral* style sequence on hide appeared in the 1880s or possibly slightly earlier, and continued into the early twentieth century. This sequence was characterized by conformity in the design of identifiable, simplified floral motifs, which overlapped in some examples with earlier motifs. Naturalistic use of colour was combined with nonnaturalistic use of aniline and chemical colours.

To carry out a closer analysis and to help group works in sequences, I have identified examples of works from each style sequence in dated collections. Works of unknown date but with similar style characteristics can then be associated with dated works in a particular sequence. The identification of characteristics and their association with particular dates is not intended to suggest an idea of progress but to show the stylistic preferences of particular times and the continuity of motifs. These stylistic groupings are untidy. Works in later collections often include a motif or arrangement associated with an earlier collection. Stylistic preferences and innovation of the individual maker combines with interest in continuity of earlier styles. The exploration of styles by dated collection reveals the inventiveness and originality of individual work.

I begin my exploration of these four sequences with a historiographical outline of earlier discussions of the tradition of floral representation in Wendat arts, and then situate this literature in a broader discussion of floral representation globally. This historiography is important as an indicator of the way Wendat art has been received, and of the early twentieth century imposition of Eurocentric values that privilege naturalism. The ethnographers and anthropologists whose texts I discuss represent a new chapter in European reception of Wendat works.

As we have seen, early Europeans viewed Wendat arts with great admiration. European visitors in the early to mid-nineteenth century also valued them highly and Wendat souvenirs—as demonstrated by collectors such as Lady Durham and Lady Elgin—were treasured objects associated with good taste and status. In the later nineteenth century, with the increased numbers of European travellers seeking souvenirs and the higher volume of production, these were still objects valued by collectors.

However, the new late-nineteenth-century academic disciplines of anthropology and ethnography, based on essentialist notions of authenticity and the salvage paradigm, privileged Indigenous material culture that showed the least influence of European culture. With a new professionalism, museum collectors situated Wendat material culture as evidence of a disappearing race. Wendat souvenir arts, the outcome of generations of intercultural exchange, clearly carrying the signs of their Indigenous and European artistic heritage, were devalued. Even in the present day, we still see these arts to a degree through the ethnographer's eye, although recent texts such as Ruth Phillips' *Trading Identities* have made significant shifts in this perception.

Frank Speck, who represents the early twentieth-century ethnographic paradigm, wrote two articles providing detailed discussion of the works he studied in his visit to Wendake (Lorette) in 1908–09 and 1911.¹ In “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery” he provides a careful analysis of technique and motifs. He recognizes the continuity of Wendat artistic traditions: “A number of old specimens in the museums and in the possession of the Huron themselves indicate the antiquity and the native origin of both the technique and some of the designs,” and suggests that some of the floral designs are

¹ Speck, “Notes on the Material Culture,” 208.

of Wendat origin, stating “as to the floral designs . . . it seems that with the Huron at least three are native.”² In “Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron” he looks at material culture, clothing, and other objects that he saw at the time of his visits to Wendake, some produced in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and discusses the history of Wendat visual arts mainly from this base. He writes:

The main significance of the information obtained from the Huron of Lorette, aside from the purely objective aspect, is in the fact that it enables us to point out some comparative traits between the Huron, their Iroquoian kindred, and the neighboring Algonkian tribes.³

He makes an analysis of material culture and motifs, and discusses the shared aspects of dress. He observes that some of the motifs seen on Wendat moccasins were also used on Naskapi painted coats or on Penobscot wood carvings.⁴ In addition, he notes: “I have recently seen two specimens of the moose hair embroidery among the Penobscot, the figures and techniques of which are identical with those of the Huron.” He goes on to say that he has seen the same designs among the Maliseet of St. John River.⁵ His general conclusion was that there was “practically nothing distinctively Huron, as we know the older tribes of this group from the Jesuit accounts,”⁶ although he does state that the moosehair-embroidered bark work is more “distinctively Huron.”⁷ His observations are reminiscent of the shared visual arts and culture described by Champlain, reflected in my

² Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 2, 4.

³ Speck, “Notes on the Material Culture,” 209.

⁴ Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 14.

⁵ Speck, “Notes on the Material Culture,” 14n2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 224.

chapter 4 Conclusion: distinctive Wendat traditions emerged in a regional context of shared techniques, media, and motifs.

In his discussion of Wendat choices of colour, Speck's privileging of naturalism is evident; he writes: "there seems to be no regular attempt to reproduce the flowers in their natural hues. . . . Most of the figures appear in unnatural colours . . . blue, red, or white as often as green," and he focused on naturalism in these designs: "in the mind of the Indian artist the idea in these designs is purely realistic."⁸ As I discuss below, I have come to a different conclusion about colour choices in Wendat collections from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries and when they are used. I suggest that there are three categories of colour use. First is a colour palette based on Indigenous aesthetics and beliefs, seen in the geometric, semiabstract linear, and stylized floral style sequences on hide. Second is a distinctly different naturalistic approach, which was based on European understandings of pictorial representation in the naturalistic floral style sequence on bark. Third is a style of colour use that appears in the simplified floral style sequence on hide, drawing on the full range of colours available in creative ways. In this chapter I discuss how these varied approaches to colour appear in the different stylistic sequences.

Although Speck's research is a rich source of information about material culture of that period, it is limited by the narrow time frame of the objects on which it is based. The earliest Wendat moosehair-embroidered work he considers dates from after 1857; hence he does not see the Wendat moosehair embroidery tradition of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a continuation of earlier visual arts traditions.⁹ His work

⁸ Speck, "Huron Moose Hair Embroidery," 9.

⁹ Ibid., 13.

is also limited by its assumptions, which were based on the prevailing salvage paradigm and understandings of the vanishing race of the period. Finally, his evaluations are based on an essentialist notion of authenticity. He values what is closest to the early seventeenth century descriptions of the Jesuit accounts.

Marius Barbeau wrote two articles about Wendat material culture based on his research in the Wendake and Wyandot communities in 1911, 1914, and 1919.¹⁰ Barbeau had different understandings of Wendat floral motifs in moosehair embroidery. Initially he thought that Wendat moosehair embroidery reflected artistic traditions minimally affected by European influences, and hence fit the criteria for purity and authenticity. However, he later decided that the works were not authentic but were a product of foreign contact, a “spurious American art” devalued as decadent and derivative.¹¹ He refers to the moosehair embroidery in terms of patterns of decorative arts and ornamentation, their purpose being to please the eye. This is decorative art in the sense of craft, not art as understood in the European tradition as communicating ideas.

In “On Huron Work, 1911” Barbeau writes of the “advanced decadence” of Wendat decorative arts.¹² In the article “The Origin of Floral and Other Designs Among the Canadian and Neighboring Indians,” he writes critically of precontact decorative arts: “they were everywhere most elementary,” while he described postcontact bead, silk, ribbon, moosehair, and porcupine quillwork as “a mere corollary of the introduction of

¹⁰ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 265.

¹¹ Edward Sapir, Sapir fonds, *Correspondence* (box 620, folder 19, Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Library, Archives and Documentation), April 23, May 2, 1911; Barbeau, “Origin of Floral and Other Designs,” 512.

¹² Barbeau, “On Huron Work,” 385.

the foreign garments” and the floral patterns of “our northern tribes” as a “spurious art.”¹³ The term “spurious” occurs in “Our Indians: Their Disappearance,” where he also refers to the decorative work done by women as “spurious art.”¹⁴

Barbeau’s writings have been influential; in *Saintes Artisanes*, in particular, he focused on the visual arts traditions of the Quebec convents and attributed the artistic production of Indigenous communities such as the Wendat, who had contact with the sisters, to their influence.¹⁵ Barbeau’s mother had attended a Quebec convent school and she “entered the Hospice des Soeurs de la Charité as a novice”; however, she left the convent before her final vows and a year later married Charles Barbeau.¹⁶ Marius was close to his mother and she taught him at home until he was eleven.¹⁷ This family background and connection with Quebec convents through his mother, together with his extensive research and expertise in French-Canadian folk culture and arts,¹⁸ may have been the source of his privileging of the convent arts. By recognizing only Quebec convent artistic traditions and labelling Wendat souvenir arts production of the nineteenth century as “never truly creative” [jamais vraiment créatrice], Barbeau’s writing marginalized Wendat visual culture production, obscuring its richness and diversity, until the tradition was reexamined by Ruth Phillips in *Trading Identities*.¹⁹

¹³ Barbeau, “Origin of Floral and Other Designs,” 512.

¹⁴ Barbeau, “Our Indians,” 699.

¹⁵ Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes*, 16–17.

¹⁶ Nurse, *Tradition and Modernity*, 74–75.

¹⁷ Ibid., 76.

¹⁸ Ibid., 331.

¹⁹ Barbeau, *Saintes Artisanes*, 103.

Sixty years after Speck and Barbeau, in his exhibition catalogue *Bo'jou NeeJee!*, Ted Brasser provides a broader overview of changes in Indigenous visual arts in the regions of the eastern Woodlands, Great Lakes, and Plains, from the early-contact period to the late nineteenth century. Brasser still, however, frames Indigenous arts from a Western perspective, within the Western narrative of golden age and decline. In his account, the arts of the mid-nineteenth century represent the height of artistry while the works that followed were a decline.²⁰ He does not draw on Wendat works from the archaeological record, which would give a different perspective and a longer view. Further, in his discussion of the adoption and adaptation of European floral design, he argues that the “selective adaptation of new ideas” by Indigenous communities occurred among communities with only occasional European contact.²¹ His suggestion is that among communities with continuous contact with mission schools, adoption of European artistic styles was more rapid. Like Barbeau, he views floral motifs as imported.

Indigenous agency in the appearance of floral styles in eastern Great Lakes arts is discussed by David Penney in “Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation.” He states: “the notion of influence is inadequate, because it characterizes Indian artists as the passive recipients of acculturated traits instead of active participants in the genesis of their creations.”²² Penney identifies the “discourse of exchange and marketplace” as a possible explanation of how floral images came to “represent an Indian identity that could be marketed to whites by the Huron for advantage

²⁰ Brasser, “*Bo'jou, Neejee!*” 42.

²¹ Ibid.

²² David Penney, “Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 1 (1991): 59.

in a cash economy.”²³ Penney’s conceptualizing of change in Indigenous visual arts harmonizes with the history of floral motifs in Wendat souvenir wares that I discuss in this chapter.

Jack Goody’s general discussion of the spread of floral representation in a global context in *The Culture of Flowers* is relevant in approaching a history of Wendat visual arts. Situating Wendat art history within the ebb and flow of global narratives of floral representation over the millennium described by Goody, rather than the century-long movement within an Indigenous-European binary, helps to dispel Eurocentric notions of cultural evolution.

Precontact Wendat and Great Lakes visual arts demonstrate a developed aesthetic in which traditions of representation focused on humans, animals, and geometric designs rather than on floral representation. The evidence is limited to designs on ceramic pots and pipes that have survived; however, this evidence of a design tradition that did not include floral representation is extensive. These systems of representation demonstrate similarities to those of societies in Africa south of the Sahara where, as Goody describes, the “floral component of culture is minimal” and traditions of representation were centred on humans and animals. Further, he writes that “the nature that appeared in the indigenous art of the Germanic and Celtic peoples was animal rather than vegetable,” without representation of flowers or foliage.²⁴ Goody hypothesizes that floral representation appears in cultures where flowers are produced for their own sake rather than as food, where there are cultures of luxury that may also value flowers in spiritual

²³ Ibid., 63.

²⁴ Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 22, 15, 133.

ceremony. In Africa in the rain forest and the savannah, where floral representation is not a traditional art practice, leaves, bark, and roots are the important spiritual and medicinal elements of plants, rather than flower blossoms.²⁵ In a similar way, North American Indigenous communities historically used tobacco leaves²⁶ and berries²⁷ for medicinal and spiritual purposes, but from what is known, it seems that the flowers themselves held less importance. The practice of flower gardening and floral representation in imagery has been strongest in the far and near East, while in Africa, floral representation was introduced through contact with Islamic culture.²⁸ In Western Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire flower gardens and floral representation virtually disappeared and floral representation was only later reintroduced, through colonization by Islamic forces and trade with China.²⁹

Goody argues that the growth and use of domestic flowers and their representation in art and literature are part of the growth of “cultures of luxury” and then “cultures of mass consumption.”³⁰ This hypothesis is born out in the case of the appearance of floral representation in Wendat souvenir art. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Wendat women introduced stylized and later naturalistic floral imagery in their souvenir arts, in response to the growing European culture of consumption and the new European markets that developed in eastern Canada.

²⁵ Goody, *Culture of Flowers*, 12, 20, 14.

²⁶ Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, 158–61.

²⁷ Hamell and Miller, “A New Perspective,” 322.

²⁸ Goody, *Culture of Flowers*, 102, 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, xii.

In *Trading Identities*, Phillips offers a new approach to Wendat and other Indigenous northeastern souvenir arts. Her arguments put forward interpretations based on the continuity of Indigenous belief systems and the autonomy of Indigenous artistic traditions. She situates the souvenir arts as a florescence of artistic design and potentially a resistance to assimilation, rather than a decline and evidence of loss of Indigeneity.³¹ This repositioning confronts notions of authenticity, celebrates the intercultural exchange that was the source of these traditions, and serves to “disrupt our stereotypical expectations of Indianness.”³² Her shift in approach confronts not only the authenticity paradigm but also “constructs of gender . . . class and race,” and situates the souvenir arts as “vigorous interventions” in the modern world.³³ Phillips’ term *dual signification*, seeing in souvenir arts a communicative mode that expects “commoditized visual arts to mean in the same way that other art forms do,” has opened the way for new recognition of multiple levels of meaning in souvenir arts. The connections between the symbolic content of souvenir arts and the meanings of objects made for ceremonial and other community uses become evident.

A strength of Phillips’ research flows from her double focus: the “consideration of the historiographic factors that have influenced past modes of academic evaluation,” and multivocality, which includes the voices of Indigenous communities. Her research foregrounds histories of the souvenir arts “told from the perspective of the members of the producing communities,” and also includes contemporary artists within this

³¹ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 20, 158, 159.

³² Ibid., ix.

³³ Ibid., x.

conversation.³⁴ This model has informed my research, in my discussion of earlier texts and my conversations with Wendat artists and community members, whose knowledge and insights have given me a deeper understanding of community history and beliefs.

The French Convent Moosehair Embroidery Tradition

The Quebec and Trois Rivières Ursuline convents and the nursing sisters of the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu began their production of moosehair-embroidered souvenir bark objects in the early eighteenth century; they continued to produce these until the early decades of the nineteenth century. Current research suggests that these works preceded Wendat production of bark work souvenirs by almost a century, and overlapped with Wendat production in the first decades of the nineteenth century.³⁵ The history of convent production clarifies the extent to which the nuns drew on Indigenous material culture traditions, into which they integrated European pictorial traditions. A study of the stylistic characteristics of the convent tradition allows us to recognize the different choices in styles of representation made by Wendat women in their bark work production and shifts in meanings brought about by these changes.

Convent souvenir bark work was elaborated with floral designs or vignettes of Indigenous men and women in romanticized scenes of daily life. This chapter explores convent and Wendat floral designs. In chapter 6, I present the convent figural tradition and the Wendat genre sequence.

³⁴ Ibid., xi.

³⁵ Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes*, 84, 102–103.

In *Trading Identities*, Phillips explores the history of convent moosehair-embroidered souvenir production, its genesis in intercultural exchange, and its appeal to European buyers, reflecting shifts in ideals and images of Indigenous peoples. She writes:

These wares evolved as a result of the successive appropriations and inventions of at least three ethnically distinct groups of women: French-Canadian nuns, genteel Euro-American ladies, and Huron, Mi'kmaq and Maliseet women. The genre is a quintessential example of transcultural production, and its two-hundred-year-long history illuminates with special clarity the processes by which images of otherness are constructed in colonial situations.³⁶

The materials and techniques of moosehair-embroidered convent works were based on Indigenous material culture. In eastern Great Lakes communities, bark containers known as *ouragans* were made for household use—for eating and storing food. Some bark containers made for domestic use were engraved using the *sgrafito* technique (designs etched by scraping away a layer of bark). The Quebec nuns learned the techniques of making bark containers from women in the Indigenous communities with whom they came in regular contact, among them the women and girls of the Wendake community. Indigenous women would also have introduced moosehair as a medium for surface designs to the convents. In the transcultural exchange described by Phillips, the nuns' European embroidery techniques came together with Indigenous women's skills in their moosehair and quill-working media and techniques, and in making bark containers for domestic use. It appears that the sisters did not engage in the production of moosehair appliqué on hide as souvenirs, but focused on bark work using European needle embroidery techniques.³⁷

³⁶ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 104.

³⁷ I have found no record to date of nuns wearing moccasins. When Indigenous students arrived at the convent, a criterion of French ideas of civilization was to wear French clothing, to transform their exterior with visible signs of the French way of life. The Indigenous students wore shoes made of cowhide, died black (Gourdeau, *Délices de nos coeurs*, 65–66).

Mère Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau, author of the *Annales* of the Hôtel-Dieu, one of the nursing orders that established a hospital-convent in Quebec City in 1639, records the beginning of their bark work souvenir production in 1714. She writes that in 1714, the Reverend Mother St. Joseph of the Ursuline convent of Trois Rivières and Reverend Mother Geneviève Juchereau du Chenay de St. Augustin, of the Hopital Général, came to visit, to learn about “pharmaceuticals” [l’apothicairerie].³⁸ They stayed some time and before they left, Mère St. Joseph taught two of the Hôtel-Dieu sisters how to embroider on fabric and also how to do moosehair embroidery on bark. Mère Juchereau writes:

Mère St. Joseph also demonstrated how to make bark containers in the Indigenous style, to teach us how to work with bark. Several of our sisters became interested in trying this, and they perfected the technique so well that from the next year on, their works were much sought after as well made and in good taste, to the extent that since that time, each year we have sold them for a small price. Their work also provides gifts to present to people to whom we have obligations. [Ce fut encore la Mere St Joseph qui fit devant nous quelques boîtes sauvages, pour nous apprendre comment on travailloit en écorce; ce qui donna envie à quelqu’unes de nos soeurs d’essayer a en faire, et elles s’y perfectionnerent si bien que, des l’année suivante, leurs ouvrages furent recherchez comme étant fort proprement faits et d’un bon goût, de sorte que depuis ce tems la nous en avons vendu tous les ans pour une petite somme, et cela nous a fourny aussy dequoy faire des presents aux personnes a qui nous avons obligation.]³⁹

As Phillips writes in *Trading Identities*, the context suggests that “Mère St. Joseph’s *boetes sauvages* were the elegant, embroidered birchbark curiosities for which the convents of Quebec were famous later in the eighteenth century.”⁴⁰ The Hôtel-Dieu sisters learned well; in 1714 they made some *ouvrages sauvages* for Père Germain, the Superior of the Canadian Mission [Superieur des missions de Canada], and in return he

³⁸ Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau, *Les annales de l’hôtel-dieu de Québec, 1636–1716* (Quebec: l’Hôtel-Dieu, 1939), 391.

³⁹ Ibid., 392–93.

⁴⁰ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 105.

gave them a small silver chalice, which suggests that the bark boxes were highly valued.⁴¹ This gives an approximate start date of the convent production and also indicates that the Trois Rivières Ursuline order was producing souvenir arts before 1714. Phillips suggests that the Trois Rivières Ursuline convent “may have been the place of origin of bark and moosehair work.”⁴²

There are few moosehair-embroidered bark souvenir objects with documented Euro-Canadian provenance and probable Quebec convent origin. However, I will discuss three examples of eighteenth-century moosehair-embroidered work that may be of convent origin: a pouch in the collection of the Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zurich, a small book in the British Museum, and a reticule base now in the collection of the Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (see figs. 44, 45, 46).

The pouch has the strongest date and provenance that may suggest a convent origin. The date is provided by a note found in it, written in German. Dated 14 March 1780, the note was signed by a Captain Weiss, and states: “A piece of Corsican/coarse work in Quebec, consists of tree bark and the hair of the big animal original [moose], which are dyed by the savages” [Ein Stück von der Corsen Arbeit in Quebec, besteht aus Baum Rinde und Hahren des großen Thiers Original, die von den Wilden gefärbt werden].⁴³ As Christian Feest explains, the translation and meaning of *Corsen* poses questions. It can mean either Corsican work or coarse work. Since this is a work of fine embroidery, “Corsen Arbeit” probably means Corsican work, which leaves questions

⁴¹ Juchereau, *Annales de l'hôtel-dieu*, 397.

⁴² Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 106.

⁴³ Email correspondence with Dr. Christian Feest, November 2, 2011, who kindly shared this information and the translation.

about who made the pouch.⁴⁴ One possibility is that “Corsican” is a reference to a French Canadian maker; Captain Weiss may have been drawing a parallel between French presence in Corsica, which was at the time under French rule, and Quebec, which had been under French rule until 1763. This question remains unclear. What we do know is that the embroidery is unlikely to be of Indigenous origin, as Captain Weiss identifies only the dye process as carried out by Indigenous suppliers. The embroidery appears to be from the Quebec Euro-Canadian community, and since the convents were known for this work, it seems probable that it originated there.

The motifs of the pouch are arranged in two fields, the flap and the body of the pouch. In each, an undulating vine runs horizontally across the field, dividing it in two. Stems with leaves and blossoms extend from these two vines to fill both fields in a balanced but asymmetrical arrangement. A larger blossom is at the centre of the lower design field. Three stitches have been used. Satin stitch in laid satin technique fills in leaves and some petals, while alternately long and short satin stitches are used to fill in some of the blossoms and give the effect of graduated colours. It looks as if the brick stitch may also have been used for shading, while the stem stitch has been used for the vines and stems (see figs. 47, 48).⁴⁵ A line of stem stitch on the lower field follows the line of the edge of the flap. I suggest that dyes reflect an Indigenous colour palette: blue predominates, with white and an orangey colour that may be a faded red. Since Indigenous women were dyeing the moosehair, the colours would probably reflect their vegetable dyes and palette of green-blue, orange-red, and black. There appear to be two

⁴⁴ Email correspondence with Dr. Christian Feest, November 2, 2011.

⁴⁵ N. Victoria Wade, *The Basic Stitches of Embroidery* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1960), n.p.

small berries in the lower field, in what may have been red. The blossoms are limited in variety and the stems and vine appear stiff, however the formal arrangement is skillful in the harmonious and balanced appearance of the motifs and their consistent scale as they fill the two design fields. The appearance is of an all-over pattern, rather than individual motifs arranged in a field.

The small book with moosehair-embroidered birchbark covers now in the collection of the British Museum probably dates from the same period. The British Museum's object record discusses the identification of a watermark on the book's paper and states that it is similar to paper dated from 1753 and paper dated from 1788. The book's front cover is in a different style and formal arrangement from the pouch. It has a central motif of two entwined stems with smaller stems branching off and four different flower blossoms on the stems. In each of the book cover's corners there is a sprig with one blossom, all four blossoms being the same. Long and short satin stitch is used in the blossoms and the leaves to give shading, although it could also be the brick stitch; at times it is difficult to tell these two stitches apart. The laid satin stitch is used for the wider base of the main stem and the stem stitch is used in the more narrow stems. What looks like a knot stitch appears to have been used to form a small centre in some of the blossoms. In European embroidery with thread, the French knot stitch would be used (see fig. 49). However due to the short length of moosehair, the berry stitch, as it is called by Turner, was used. The hair was knotted and then both ends were passed through the bark.⁴⁶ To the eye it appears almost exactly like the French knot.

⁴⁶ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 39.

The arrangement of motifs on the back book cover is the same as the front. On the spine of the book there are four blossoms, separated by twined lines of split stitch. The maker of the book appears to have had a higher degree of skill, in the fineness of stitches, the higher degree of detail in the graduated colours, the greater variety of motifs, and the smooth curves of the stems, than the maker of the pouch. The blossoms are small in size relative to the design field and the leaves. The overall appearance is one of delicacy. As in the Zurich pouch, the blues, white, and orange or faded red seem to be from the Indigenous colour palette.

A reticule base now in the collection of the Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology is worked with both floral and figurative motifs (see fig. 50; I discuss the floral motifs here, and the figurative motifs in chapter 6). In figure 50, yet another formal arrangement and embroidery style are used. In each floral motif panel, a single blossom on one stem is framed by several leaves, filling the design field. The brick stitch is used to give shading, laid satin stitch is used for the leaves, and the stem stitch for the stems. As in the other two examples, the Indigenous colour palette is used. Blue is the predominant colour, with white and orange (which may be a faded red). This suggests that the moosehair for this work, as in the other two examples, was obtained from Indigenous women.

In her description of the origins of convent production, Phillips states:

Prior to contact, Native people did not embroider directly on the surfaces of bark containers either with quills or moosehair, nor did they make the lidded boxes and other fancy wares that became typical of the eighteenth-century curio trade. The origin of these wares was a true contact zone event.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 104.

Although the nuns probably were the source of the use of moosehair embroidered on bark, it seems unlikely that they originated the use of moosehair as a medium for surface design. Their cloistered life suggests that knowledge of this material and its use in visual arts was introduced to them by their Indigenous students. The Sloane collection twined pouch demonstrates the Wendat use of dyed moosehair in the Indigenous technique of twining in the early-contact period, and it may have been from seeing such a pouch or other twined object that the nuns learned of the material and then adapted it to the European style of needle embroidery. In her discussion of Mi'kmaq quillwork, Ruth Whitehead argues that while the Ursulines “pioneered a particular *type* of moosehair embroidery—one requiring steel needles—the native peoples were using other techniques to embroider with moosehair long before the Ursulines arrived.”⁴⁸

Captain Weiss's note from the 1780 pouch states that Indigenous women supplied the dyed moosehair and this may have continued throughout the convent production. It seems unlikely that the nuns would have had the opportunity or knowledge to acquire and dye it. The cloister allowed only limited, controlled contact with the exterior. The *Vieux récit* of the Ursuline Archives describes the earliest days of the convent. When the Ursuline sisters first arrived in 1639, one of the first things they did was to build a cloister of cedar, for Indigenous girls and women and French girls who wanted to come for instruction.⁴⁹ The nuns' contact with outside visitors was limited to those permitted by the Bishop or the Superior. These would even have included the Jesuit priests who taught the nuns the languages of their Indigenous students. They could only have contact with

⁴⁸ Whitehead, *Micmac Quillwork*, 30–31.

⁴⁹ *Les annales de monastère des Ursulines de Québec*, vieux récit, tome premier (Québec: Monastère des Ursulines, 1639), 5.

such visitors through a grill in the wall of the parlour, a room that was part of the entrance to the convent but outside the cloister.⁵⁰ Even within the cloister, nuns who were not directly engaged with teaching the students who lived in the cloister were not allowed to talk to students without permission of the Superior.⁵¹

In the same way that Indigenous women were selective in what they chose to adopt and adapt from European traditions, the sisters were selective in what they adopted of Indigenous art traditions. They chose to integrate moosehair into their design tradition rather than porcupine quills, possibly because it was more similar to cotton or silk thread. They chose to work in bark rather than hide. In Kubler's terms, the combination of European embroidery techniques with the media of bark and moosehair merged several formal sequences: Indigenous bark containers engraved with the sgraffito technique, Indigenous moosehair-twined textiles, and European silk-embroidered textiles, to create a new sequence.⁵²

The new art sequence came about as the solution to a problem: the nuns needed objects to give as gifts to benefactors and as a source of income; they used their embroidery skills to find a solution.⁵³ It is also possible, however, that the production of moosehair-embroidered bark containers started as an experiment stimulated by the problems of importing silk and embroidery materials from France. Embroidering with moosehair is, however, a difficult technique and the nuns first needed to acquire what Kubler calls technical control of materials by devoting the time and practice needed to

⁵⁰ Gourdeau, *Délices de nos cœurs*, 86.

⁵¹ Gourdeau, *Délices de nos cœurs*, 43.

⁵² Kubler, *Shape of Time*, 15.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 8.

achieve the virtuosity of technique that is characteristic of their work.⁵⁴ From this beginning, as Phillips suggests, the continued use of moosehair after European embroidery supplies were easily available suggests that these media themselves now held a market appeal, “strongly identified with the Aboriginal peoples of North America and their free, hunting life.”⁵⁵

The three convent works that I have discussed each have different styles of floral representation, evident in the formal arrangement of the floral motifs, the stitches used, and the degree of naturalism. There are several possibilities to explain these differences. As Christian Feest observes, these differences could reflect individual styles of talented nuns or different styles among the Hôtel-Dieu, Trois Rivières, and Quebec City convents. He also suggests the possibility that by the late eighteenth century, moosehair embroidery on bark had been adopted by Indigenous communities, for example the Wendat and Abenaki, and the differences could reflect different Indigenous communities of origin.⁵⁶ The possibility of Indigenous adoption of moosehair embroidery in the early nineteenth century is suggested by Phillips, who cites Jeremy Cockloft, a European visitor to Wendake in 1811, who describes the “Indian boxes for his sisters inlaid with beads.” As Phillips states, the “‘inlaid beads’ were almost certainly moosehair.”⁵⁷

The earliest Wendat floral bark work with provenance, the 1832 von Pourtalès collection at the Bernisches Historisches Museum, does have stylistic similarities with the floral motifs of the Cambridge Museum reticule, although it is different stylistically from

⁵⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁵ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 107.

⁵⁶ Email correspondence with Dr. Christian Feest, October 30, 2011.

⁵⁷ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 130.

the floral motifs of the British Museum book and the Zurich pouch. It is likely that Wendat women produced moosehair-embroidered bark objects earlier than 1832. However, as I discuss in chapter 6, the differences between the representation of the men and women in the eighteenth-century Cambridge Museum reticule, in the panels beside the floral motifs, and nineteenth-century representation of men and women in Wendat bark work, are marked. This suggests that the reticule base and other figurative eighteenth-century work, which seem consistent in their style of figural representation, are not connected to the nineteenth-century Wendat work and are probably not of Wendat origin. The diversity of style in the eighteenth-century bark work is another interesting area for further research, with these several possibilities of convent or Indigenous community origin to be teased apart.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the convents moved away from the souvenir business as opportunities increased in the two areas that were their primary focus: teaching and producing devotional works for the church. The entry in the Ursuline *Annales* explains this:

Having received since 1823 many students from the United States of America . . . seeing the increase in the numbers of students living in the school the number of nuns not having increased in proportion, we have decided to abandon the art of gilding and substitute . . . the ornamenting of the church. [Ayant reçu depuis 1823 plusieurs sujets d'éducation des Etats-Unis d'Amerique . . . vu l'augmentation du Pensionnat le nombre des religieuses n'ayant pas augmenté en proportion, nous avons décidé d'abandonner l'art de la dorure, y substituant . . . les ornements d'église.]⁵⁸

The same reasons for giving up the gilding work probably applied to the bark work, which appears to have tapered off around this time. Barbeau cites from the

⁵⁸ *Les annales de monastère des Ursulines de Québec*, vieux récit, tome 2 (Québec: Monastère des Ursulines, 1825), 74.

Ursuline *Annales* some of the latest recorded convent souvenir objects made around 1830:

For Lord and Lady Aylmer, the nuns made embroidered bark work, that they gave to them as gifts of recognition. They [Lord and Lady Aylmer] had been great benefactors of the convent. [A Lord et lady Aylmer, les Mères ont fait des travaux en écorce et brodés, qu'elles leur ont donnés en cadeaux de reconnaissance. Ils avaient été de grands bienfaiteurs de la maison.]⁵⁹

Wendat Floral Style Sequences: A Florescence of Souvenir Arts

I open my exploration of Wendat floral style sequences with a detailed description of an example from each.

Semiabstract Linear Style Sequence

The earliest dateable Wendat souvenir objects in a floral style sequence are moosehair-embroidered hide moccasins, pouches, and mitts of gloves from the early nineteenth century, in the semiabstract linear style sequence. This style sequence dates from the early years of the nineteenth century and possibly before, and continues into the 1840s, when it overlaps with the stylized floral style sequence.

A pouch acquired by Adolph Gerber before 1827, now in the collection of the Bernisches Historisches Museum, illustrates this style sequence (see fig. 51). The Gerber pouch demonstrates the oversewn stitch of the appliqué technique: several strands of moosehair are attached to the surface of the hide. The pouch contains many of the same motifs of the semiabstract linear style sequence that we see in the moccasins, with a continuity of earlier motifs from ceramics in the parallel lines, compartmentalized design fields, and rows of circles. The spirals and the shape of the pouch itself continue the style

⁵⁹ Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes*, 87–88.

of pouch seen in the 1788 male doll, and the spirals are also reminiscent of the early eighteenth-century moccasins.

Characteristic features of the semiabstract linear style are the closely spaced border of small metal cones filled with red moosehair and the rows of parallel lines beside bands of half-circles filled with unfolding spirals or circles. A central motif of oval lobes emerges from a central line, topped with a pair of unfolding spirals, similar to the central motif seen on moccasin vamps in this sequence. The central motifs are arranged for the wearer's point of view; looking down, the wearer would see the motif of oval lobes moving towards the pair of spirals. Association of the spirals with the Under(water) World Being suggests the rows of spirals as waves; the spirals are also a possible reference to a serpent. The eastern Great Lakes colour palette of red, blue, white, and black is characteristic of this style sequence, although the originally vivid colours are often quite faded.

Stylized Floral Style Sequence

Judging from the known dateable works, the stylized floral style sequence on hide objects developed in the 1830s. A pair of gloves from the collection of the third Earl of Caledon, now at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, illustrates this style (see fig. 52). The oversewn stitch is used; parallel lines create a pattern of motifs on the two gloves that match but are not identical. A narrow white zigzag stitch is an innovation that characterizes this style sequence, as a border around the design field and as edging for some of the blossoms and stems. These are not, in general, identifiable flowers, but are stylized representations of flowers, with stems, leaves, blossoms, and buds. There is diversity in the different floral motifs, from the closed shape of the buds to the details of

layers of petals in the open blossoms, including the interior of the flower in the representation of stamen and style. A three-dimensional look is achieved through thicker or finer lines of oversewn moosehair. Groupings of three or four dots are reminiscent of the punctates on ceramics; however, in this style sequence, circles are not usually seen and spirals or unfolding spirals are only occasionally seen. The colour choices continue to be based on the eastern Great Lakes palette of blue, red, and white on black hide.

Naturalistic Floral Style Sequence

The Wendat naturalistic floral style sequence on bark is one of two most closely related to the convent work, the other being the genre style discussed in chapter 6. The earliest known dated example of the Wendat naturalistic floral style sequence on bark or wool fabric on bark is from 1832: a wall plaque now at the Bernisches Historisches Museum, probably collected by Count Alfred von Pourtalès during a visit to Niagara Falls in 1832 (see fig. 53). Although the von Pourtalès wall plaque, one of four such examples in the collection, is the first dated Wendat bark object in the current research, the long learning curve required to acquire skill in the technique and formal arrangement suggests that this style sequence was being produced in the community before 1832. This indicates that the Wendat and convent production overlapped.

Five stitches appear in this wall plaque. The laid satin stitch is used for some of the leaves, while in some leaves and blossoms rows of satin stitch appear either in different shades of the same colour (to give dimension) or in contrasting colours (to accurately represent the variety of shades in a particular flower). Long and short satin stitches are used to give the appearance of graduated colour in some of the leaves. The stem stitch is used for the stems but is broader than in the convent works.

A berry stitch, the knotted stitch I described earlier, is used to form large centres of several of the flowers. This stitch may have been present in a few knots at the centre of some of the convent floral motifs I described; in contrast, in Wendat works it is used extensively. In the orange flower it provides a large green centre with another band of ivory-coloured knotted stitches around it. The knotted stitch gives texture and resembles the look of the centre of some flowers, a move towards greater naturalism. An unbroken border of small green leaves in long and short satin stitches defines the design field. I have not seen such borders in eighteenth-century work attributed to Quebec convents, which suggests that this is a Wendat innovation. It is characteristic of the Wendat naturalistic floral style sequence.

Naturalistic representation is the purpose in this style sequence, with the possibility of identifying particular species of flowers. This example of Wendat work uses more variety in the stitches, which helps to achieve more detailed representation than the convent works I have described. The blossoms are larger in scale than in the convent works we looked at, although the Wendat motifs in the von Pourtalès wall plaques, of which there are four, probably all by the same artist, have the same stiff feel. In a further distinction from the convent work, a range of naturalistic colours is characteristic of the Wendat naturalistic floral style sequence. In this plaque we can see various shades of green, peach, red, black-green, ivory, pale blue, brown, and beige.

Simplified Floral Style Sequence

The earliest firmly dated examples of the simplified floral style sequence on hide are two pairs of moccasins from the Ten Kate collection, now at the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden (see fig. 54). Ten Kate was a Dutch anthropologist who carried out

fieldwork in different North American Indigenous communities from between 1882 and 1888, and the moccasins date from this same period.⁶⁰ Their simplified style uses the appliqué technique on hide, as in the earlier semiabstract linear and stylized floral style sequences. However, this style differs from the two earlier style sequences in its reduced complexity. Each motif is simpler: there is less detail, the number of motifs in each design field is reduced, the stitches are generally larger, and there are fewer parallel and zigzag lines. This style sequence would have been quicker to execute and was possibly a response to the high-volume production of the period. This style sequence diverges further from the earlier styles on hide in that it uses a range of colours, including the aniline and chemical dyes invented after 1857, purple/mauve in particular, rather than the eastern Great Lakes colour palette. The use of this range of colours is not always naturalistic. In this style, motifs identified by Speck in his article “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery” can be seen, in this example mainly the cat’s paw motif and what Speck described as branches.⁶¹

Corpus of Dateable Works

There are a number of Wendat works that are dateable, either through documentation or collection history. I will explore several of these examples, grouped according to style sequences, with some examples of undated works. This study will give a clearer idea of the chronological extent of each style sequence, its earliest and latest works, and the gradual changes that occurred within the sequences.

⁶⁰ Pieter Hovens, *The Ten Kate Collection 1882–1888* (Leiden, The Netherlands: National Museum of Ethnology, 2010), 21, 24.

⁶¹ Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 8.

Semiabstract Linear Style Sequence

The semiabstract linear style sequence changed over the decades. Here, I discuss the earliest dated example, a moccasin, originally one of a pair, from the 1808–16 collection of Sir Gordon Drummond and now in the Bata Shoe Museum (see fig. 43). I will then discuss objects from dated collections up to the late 1840s.

Sir Gordon Drummond was probably the second generation of collectors in the Drummond family. In 1778 his mother sent a pair of moccasins to his older brother Adam at boarding school; they were possibly the ones I discussed in chapter 4 in the context of the geometric style sequence (the Royal Ontario Museum Drummond collection moccasins, seen in fig. 40). Sir Gordon Drummond served in the Canadas during the War of 1812 and after, and was in the Canadas from 1808 to 1816. In the Bata Shoe Museum Drummond moccasin, the basic elements of the semiabstract linear style that was fully developed in the next decade can be seen (see fig. 43). There are elongated oval lobes on the vamp and in the central motif on the vertical cuffs, while filled circles and unfolding spirals form a border on the vamp. These moccasins mark the move towards vamp insert construction. A line of ivory zigzag quillwork covers the seam of the vamp, marking the border between the vamp field of design and the main body of the moccasin. In a small missing section of ivory quillwork, the join of the vamp seam can be seen. The row of unfolding spirals and filled circles continues the eastern Great Lakes tradition seen in the early eighteenth-century Musée du quai Branly moccasins (see fig. 3). The central vamp quill design makes a link between the geometric and semiabstract linear sequences. The two ovals of quill rather than a geometric pattern fill the centre of the vamp area, an innovation that may have opened the way to the curved motifs of later semiabstract linear

patterns. These ovals also suggest the parallel lines of scallops around a central motif, a design that in later Wendat moccasins and pouches becomes elaborate built-up systems of curved lines.

The new style of vamp may have been introduced to accommodate the semiabstract linear designs. The vamp provided a wider design field than would be allowed by a central seam. The seam and its borders continued to be elaborated. The quillwork located to the outside of the vamp seam of the Bata Shoe Museum Drummond moccasin is similar to later vamp-insert black-dyed moosehair-embroidered moccasins, also made without gathers, in which the embroidery continues to the outside of the vamp seam.

A pair of moccasins collected by Lukas Vischer at Wendake in 1825, now in the Museum des Kulturen, Basel, develops the motifs seen in the Drummond moccasins: the unfolding spirals, the elongated oval lobes, the circles (see fig. 55).⁶² The motifs continue outside the vamp seam, as in the Drummond moccasins. The series of half-moons as a border is characteristic of this style sequence and is something new, not seen in the Drummond moccasins. The moccasins demonstrate the formal arrangement and core elements of the semiabstract linear style sequence, several suggesting connections with pre- and early-contact ceramics and eighteenth-century textiles, discussed in chapter 3. Such connections are the focus on borders: the rows of half-circles and filled circles lining the cuffs, the row of parallel lines created by the metal cones, the parallel lines bordering the invisible vamp seam, the filled circles, and the unfolding spirals.

⁶² Christian Feest, "Lukas Vischer in Washington: A Swiss View of the District of Columbia in 1825," in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 49 (1973/1974), 80–81; Judy Thompson, *North American Indian Collection*, 119.

Filled and unfilled fronds emerging from a central stem on the vamp are an innovation that marks the semiabstract linear style sequence. The stacking of frond motifs on the vamp in two or three distinct zones building from the ankle towards the toe is characteristic of this style. The pair of unfolding spirals forms the first zone, followed by the oval lobes emerging from a central stem, topped by another pair of spirals and a three-lobed motif. The blue, red, and white colours of the moosehair against the black background of the hide continue the Wendat colour traditions described by Sagard, possibly with the spiritual connotations outlined by Hamell. The motifs are arranged for the point of view of the wearer, so that as the wearer looks down, the vamp motifs are arranged to flow from the ankle to the toes.

Vischer gives fascinating insight into the high monetary value of Wendat moccasins to European buyers, writing in his journal that such moccasins cost five dollars.⁶³ This would have been five silver Spanish American dollars, a considerable sum.⁶⁴ Vischer described the stitching as “beautifully well done and painstaking” [ausgezeichneter schön & mühsam].⁶⁵ He also wrote that women of Wendake had possession of the money, which he stated was the custom there.⁶⁶ In “Some Women Are Wiser Than Some Men,” Gunlög Fur discusses ways to see past the misunderstandings resulting from the imposition of European gender roles in representations of Native women and argues that biological sex was not what defined social responsibilities in

⁶³ Christian Feest, “Lukas Vischers Beiträge zur Ethnographie Nordamerikas,” *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 22 (1968): 50.

⁶⁴ Christopher Faulkner, *The Holey Dollars and Dumps of Prince Edward Island* (London, UK: Spink, 2012), 15.

⁶⁵ Feest, “Lukas Vischers Beiträge,” 50. Translation by Prof. Gillian Bose, Carleton University.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Native communities.⁶⁷ The Lukas Vischer journal suggests that the egalitarian social roles described by the Jesuits at the time of early contact, including women's responsibility for family property and their role in business activity, may have persisted into the nineteenth century.

A pair of moccasins from the Adolf Gerber collection in the Bernisches Historisches Museum illustrates a later development of this style sequence (see fig. 56). Little is known about Gerber. However, as Judy Thomson writes in the catalogue of the Bernisches Historisches Museum collection, he "brought the items back with him from Canada and gave them to the museum," and Thomson gives them an accession date of 1826.⁶⁸ The Gerber moccasins illustrate the overlap of developments within styles that is characteristic of Wendat visual arts. The Vischer and Gerber moccasins were produced at almost the same time; however the new developments of the Gerber moccasins became the direction of this style sequence into the 1830s and 1840s.

The Gerber moccasins have borders of single or multiple lines of scallops in deep half-circles, in open rather than tight formations, with solid circles or unfolding spirals within them. The design fields that include the vertical cuff are larger and overall more densely filled than the Vischer moccasins. The moccasins still make a stylistic gesture towards the centre seam, in the V-shaped opening leading to the vamp from the cuffs. The multilobed groupings of the vamp flow into each other in a stacked arrangement.

⁶⁷ Fur, "Some Women," 83.

⁶⁸ Judy Thompson, *North American Indian Collection*, 119. Maurice Vallé, whose book *Le régiment Suisse de DeMeuron au Bas-Canada* explores the role of Swiss mercenary regiments during the War of 1812, said that at this point in the research, the name of Adolf Gerber has not been located on the lists of either the DeMeuron Regiment or the de Watteville Regiment, the other Swiss regiment engaged in the Canadas in the same period (email conversation with Maurice Vallé, June 2, 2012).

White dots or very small circles at regular points as accents are a motif that appears throughout the semiabstract linear style sequence.

The Gerber moccasins illustrate the invisible vamp insert style, discussed in the Construction section of the glossary and seen in the Drummond moccasin, with the borders and motifs extending past the vamp seam onto the lower moccasin, using the broadest possible design field. The cones with red animal hair tufts, in a tightly set line attached close to the hide, are characteristic of most, but not all, invisible seam construction moccasins. Current research indicates that the invisible seam vamp insert construction does not appear in dated collections after 1832.⁶⁹

Two pairs of moccasins from the von Pourtalès collection illustrate the diversity that is characteristic of Wendat souvenir production. One pair is of the early invisible vamp seam construction; however, as well as moosehair motifs, there are bands of porcupine quill zigzag stitch worked with motifs seen in the quilled bands of the geometric style sequence (see fig. 57). Porcupine quillwork is often associated with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century work, but analysis of these collections demonstrates that quillwork was used into the early 1830s. It may have been chosen to fill space with solid areas of colour more quickly.

Another pair of moccasins from the von Pourtalès collection, mentioned earlier, illustrates puckered-seam vamp insert construction, which may be a continuation of the eighteenth-century drawstring centre-seam moccasins (see fig. 37; see also fig. 58).⁷⁰ As

⁶⁹ The vamp joins the lower in a smooth, pucker-free seam, which is almost invisible. The two sides are butted against each other and a thread weaves back and forth into their edges. Lines of oversewn stitch are run very close on either side of this seam, so that to the eye it looks like another line of oversewn stitch.

⁷⁰ Close examination of the nineteenth-century puckered-seam vamp moccasins suggests that they were constructed by running a line of stitches along the edge of the lower piece. The hide was then drawn

these moccasins illustrate, in puckered-seam construction, motifs and parallel lines stay within the vamp. The design of these moccasins illustrates a shift to more movement and denser arrangements within the fields, with lobes usually filled in and tightly grouped. Swooping curved lines connect the motifs, creating a dynamic feel as the designs push towards the borders. Puckered-seam moccasins do not generally have cones. Ribbon often binds the cuff edges of puckered-seam moccasins, whereas quill or moosehair wraps the vertical or folded cuff edges of the invisible seam moccasins.

The shift towards more densely filled design fields is taken to its fullest application in a distinctive development that appears in only a handful of undated objects, possibly the innovation of one artist, illustrated in a pair of moccasin cuffs now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (see fig. 59). In this eye-catching work, the artist steps outside the boundaries of the Indigenous colour palette and fills the design field with a lush arrangement. The motifs have a more floral appearance; fronds and lobes look almost like ferns, flowers, and leaves. They wrap around each other in dense profusion, with cross hatching and fringes that add to the diversity of motifs. The style is full of movement and life, and the colours are still vivid; it is the work of a master of technique and design. Only one small unfolding spiral is included, nestled against the row of white seed beads beside the ribbon border. This is consistent with the less frequent appearance of spirals in the 1840s stage of this style sequence. The colour choices are an anomaly for this style. They include yellow, lavender, and green, as well as the red and white of the Indigenous colour palette. Altogether, this is a remarkable work. Several other examples of this style are seen in Appendix B.

along this thread into small, even gathers. The vamp piece was then stitched on top of the lower in a second seam.

The 1847 collection of Danish army surgeon Henrik Døllner, now in the collection of the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen contains works from both the semiabstract linear style and stylized floral style sequences. It is thought that Døllner purchased his collection in Niagara Falls and it seems probable that several Wendat women artists made the works he acquired. In an example of overlapping style sequences, some women may have preferred the earlier style and it continued at the same time as the development of the more naturalistic stylized floral style sequence.

A pair of mitts illustrates the semiabstract linear style in an interpretation that again reflects the individuality of Wendat artists (see fig. 60). The mitts have pronounced unfolding spirals and separated lobe motifs, with a new motif grouping three triangles and radiating blue lines, and a new arrangement of three filled circles in a horizontal row.

The Stylized Floral and Naturalistic Floral Style Sequences

The late 1830s shift towards greater verisimilitude in floral imagery is seen in these two style sequences. The shift reflected the taste of the English visitors who were arriving in the Canadas in increasing numbers, providing a growing market for Wendat artists. It is important to note that the naturalistic turn in work on hide datable to the mid-nineteenth century was still contained within a stylized Indigenous abstract aesthetic and in the eastern Great Lakes colour palette. This is especially marked when compared to the high degree of naturalism of moosehair embroidery on bark produced in the same period. The greater naturalism achieved in the bark work may be attributed to the wider range of techniques the media allowed.

The stylized floral style sequence on hide and the naturalistic floral style sequence on bark reflect the English passion for the botanical that was a consuming interest

particularly from the 1840s. Ann Shteir writes that “in the midst of industrializing England, enthusiasts indulged their taste in horticulture, floriculture, and botany. . . . Wax flowers, knitted flowers, paper flowers, and shell flowers, floral fabric designs, tile designs, and naturalistic wallpapers were part of the visual field.”⁷¹ The Wendat semiabstract linear designs of the earlier sequence would have held less appeal at a time when the taste for verisimilitude in the representation of plants dominated.

The stylized floral motifs on hide and the naturalistic floral work on bark had a multifaceted appeal. They contained notions of the exotic, embedded in primitivism that associated Indigenous peoples with the childlike and the feminine; they connected to women buyers through botany’s place in the feminine sphere of the home. The floral motifs would also have appealed to antimodernist feelings prevalent in nineteenth-century European and Euro-North American middle and upper classes. These feelings reflected reactions against the rapid industrialization then taking place in North America and Western Europe. Rural populations flocked to the city while mechanized mass production was replacing work handmade by artisans.

The characteristics of Wendat moosehair-embroidered work came together to create a strong appeal: the rarity of fine handmade work, the individuality of each piece, the materials of birchbark and moosehair symbolizing an imaginary wilderness untouched by industrialization, the makers themselves symbolizing an imagined earlier era with echoes of the noble savage, a “primitive” people in a community living close to nature, remote from crowded cities.

⁷¹ Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 151–52.

The Stylized Floral Style Sequence

The Caledon collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilisation (1838–42), the Gordon Augustus Thomson collection at the Ulster Museum (1841–43), the Døllner collection at the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (1847), the Elgin moccasins in the Thaw Collection at the Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown (ca. 1847–54), and two sealskin coats in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization provide the corpus of material for analysis of the stylized floral style sequence produced from the late 1830s to the mid-1860s.

The Caledon collection, as I discussed earlier, was acquired by James Du Pre Alexander, the third Earl of Caledon, between 1838 and 1842. Many of the Caledon objects are stylistically close to one another. Judy Hall writes that the “possibility that some of the objects commissioned by Alexander [the Earl of Caledon] were made by a single unidentified Huron-Wendat woman is suggested in a letter he wrote to his mother on February 21, 1841.”⁷² Thus they may represent one woman artist’s interpretation of the stylized floral style of this period. Illustrated by a white-dyed hide moccasin and a cigar case from the Caledon collection, this style is characterized by a more naturalistic representation of flowers (see figs. 61, 62). In general, the floral elements of the Caledon works are more compact than the motifs in the semiabstract linear style sequence and the move towards naturalism may only have been limited by the moosehair appliqué technique. Although still stylized, they have clearly depicted stems, petals, and leaves. There are a great number of smaller floral elements within each field, shown in swirling profusion. The arrangements of the blossoms are different from the semiabstract linear

⁷² Hall, “Earls of Caledon,” 69.

style; for example, elements on the moccasin vamps grow from a central vine rather than in three distinct zones. The arrangements on the moccasin cuff and on the cigar case are either floral motifs branching from a central stem or two stem distinct arrangements, each with floral motifs radiating from a central point. The floral elements are filled in rather than outlined.

A new stitch is in evidence in this style sequence, illustrated in the Caledon examples: a narrow zigzag used as edging of floral elements and around borders of design fields, which gives a lacy effect. This stitch becomes the overlapping stitch later described by Speck. There are other new elements: groups of thin lines ending in a bud, groupings of dots, usually in fours, and solitary dots, slightly larger. These motifs are reminiscent of the circle punctates of the Wendat ceramics tradition. The borders of scallops are more intricate and layered, with internal loops rendered in decorative stitching. The deep half-moons, filled circles, and plentiful unfolding spirals of the semiabstract linear style are absent, although a lone unfolding spiral is seen in some examples. The eastern Great Lakes colour palette continues from the 1820s and 1830s: red, shades of blue, white, and in some examples what looks like orange or yellow.

A pair of mitts collected by Irish traveller Gordon Augustus Thomson between 1841 and 1843 is consistent with the style of the Caledon and Døllner collections of the same decade (see fig. 63). However there are small differences, suggesting that they were made by a different artist, and once more demonstrating the innovation within the parameters of a given style sequence that is characteristic of Wendat work. The border is a complex system of wide curves, and the scallops create serpentine shapes. The floral elements are more detailed and the leaves and stems elaborating the border are larger and

more varied, adding to the complexity of the design. There is a preference for detailing the petals and parts of each flower in contrasting colours and some petals form triangles with points. Although these do not seem to resemble any known flowers, they give an impression of naturalism.

As well as the example of the semiabstract linear style that I described earlier, the 1847 collection of Danish army surgeon Henrik Døllner also contains objects worked in the stylized floral style sequence, illustrated in a magnificent pair of blackened hide leggings (see fig. 64). The motifs of the leggings have an even higher degree of naturalism than the other examples of this style sequence. In this detail, a blue convolvulus can be identified, veins have been detailed in petals and leaves, and yet there is also a narrow border of zigzag quillwork, usually associated with earlier objects.

To demonstrate how stylistic analysis can suggest dates for works without provenance, the motifs in the stylized floral style sequence on an undated moccasin in the Musée internationale de la chaussure, mentioned earlier, connect it to the Caledon and Døllner objects, suggesting a date in the 1840s (see fig. 28; see also fig. 65).⁷³ The narrow zigzag stitch edging the border and one of the blossoms, the naturalistic floral blossoms, and the details of stems, petals, and leaves are elements of this style sequence. However the vamp arrangement has three distinct zones joined by a connecting stem and two prominently placed unfolding spirals, elements of the earlier semiabstract linear style

⁷³ A pair of moccasins at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Rouen shows this same combination of old and new (Rouen 180704003). They are very like the white-dyed moccasins in the Caledon collection, however there is an eight-pointed star on the vine-arrangement vamp, a reference to earlier geometric motifs, and the lobes are more individual in several of the floral elements. A pair of moccasins in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology show a similar combination of earlier and later style (CUMAA Z1295). The vamp arrangement is a distinct three zones, while the floral elements, the layers of scallop border, the cluster of three dots, and the narrow zigzag edging are characteristic of the more recent style. These examples can be seen in Appendix B.

sequence. Although the naturalistic representation of the floral motifs is dominant, there is continuity with the semiabstract linear style.

A style trend I date to the late 1840s or early 1850s is demonstrated by the moccasins acquired by Lord and Lady Elgin during their time in Canada, between 1847 and 1854 (see fig. 66). These moccasins have been attributed to Marguerite Vincent La8inonke. However, Mireille Sioui's description of the mid-nineteenth-century processes of production and the distribution of work among women in the community through the Vincent/Picard family business suggests that it is also possible that they were made by another artist in the community, as I will discuss later in this chapter.⁷⁴

In the Elgin moccasins, the motifs and arrangements of the stylized floral sequence are evident in the narrow zigzag edging of flowers, the detailing of leaves and petals, the white buds on the sides of stems, and the linear flow established by these well-defined stems. However, the zigzag is now a more emphasized border defining the design field, thicker and denser with two rows of narrow, tightly spaced stitches. In a revival of motifs from the early phase of the semiabstract linear style sequence, the artist creates a border of deep half-circles with filled red circles inside the loops. The vibrant blue of the moosehair is an excellent example of the depth of colour achieved with natural dyes.

The late phase of the stylized floral style sequence is seen in two sealskin coats, both in the Museum of Civilization and produced at around the same time (see figs. 67, 68). In the later phase of the stylized floral style, in the late 1850s and 1860s, a shift towards simplification in stitching and formal arrangement is evident, demonstrated in use of the overlapping stitch. This stitch is first seen in the narrow zigzag lines in the

⁷⁴ Mireille Sioui, in discussion, Congrès d'études Wendat et Wyandot, Wendake, Quebec, June 14, 2012.

Caledon moccasins. It was used to form buds on stems and then later developed into larger floral motifs where it is known as the overlapping stitch. Floral motifs made in this stitch came to predominate in the late stylized floral style sequence, with decreased use of the parallel rows of oversewn line.

The late 1850s date of the coat in the Canadian Museum of Civilization collection, seen in figure 67, is suggested by the pale lavender colour of the moosehair in the triangle inserts near the hem, indicating the use of aniline dye. The other sealskin coat, seen in figure 68, was collected in 1869 by Alfred Engels. The earlier coat continues the more complex style of detailed parallel rows of oversewn line, with contrasting colours for outer and inner rows to define blossoms and a spiral appearing at the base of one of the triangle inserts above the hem. The overlapping stitch appears in the buds along stems and on some smaller flowers. The 1869 Engels coat shows less use of oversewn line, less complexity in the blossoms where they are used, and increased use of overlapping stitch in the blossoms and leaves. By the 1880s the overlapping stitch was predominant, as we will see in the discussion of the simplified floral style sequence. This stitch would have been faster to execute and its use may have been a response to the growing demand for souvenir wares.

Naturalistic Floral Style Sequence on Bark and Wool

It is difficult to know the opening years of moosehair-embroidered Wendat bark work souvenir production, as I discussed earlier in this chapter. In 1811, Jeremy Cockloft described bark containers worked in a technique that sounds remarkably like moosehair embroidery. *In Travels through Canada and the United States of North America: In the*

Years 1806, 1807, and 1808 John Lambert described Wendat souvenir arts, including bark work:

Besides articles of provisions, a quantity of furs, skins, moccasins, and baskets of birchbark, are brought to market by the Indians, from the neighbouring village of Lorette, whose chief subsistence rests more upon these commodities than upon the culture of the ground.⁷⁵

However, the earliest dated bark work according to current research is in the 1832 von Pourtalès collection, and my discussion of this style sequence begins with these works. In the naturalistic floral style sequence on bark or wool over bark, Wendat artists moved away from the Indigenous palette of red, blue, white, and black towards naturalistic colours, while three-dimensional effects were achieved through the berry stitch and graduated colours. Slips were also used. These were separate, embroidered pieces that were raised over a layer of padding to give added three-dimensionality and a lifelike appearance. Some flowers seem based on actual species.

This sequence has many similarities with the convent work that preceded it and overlapped with it in its early years of production. In addition, Wendat artisans drew on European traditions of representation in convent textiles. Half-open and fully blooming roses, seen in an eighteenth-century convent altar cloth by Mère Duplessis now in the collection of the Hôtel-Dieu, are a favorite motif in the Wendat naturalistic floral style sequence (see fig. 69).

Wendat bark production and convent work differed in their approaches to commerce, as well as in the stylistic development that took place over the decades of Wendat production. In terms of economic development, the convent production was

⁷⁵ John Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada, and the United States of North America: in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808* (Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 1813), 89.

limited by the cloister. The nuns' works would only be seen by travellers who visited the Quebec City or Trois Rivières convents. However, the Wendat community demonstrated innovative strategies and continued their tradition of travel and commerce, expanding the scale of business and volume of sales. The industry became an economic success that to a large extent supported the community.⁷⁶ They broadened the earlier convent market geographically, in the social groups targeted, and in the range of goods sold. Wendat businesses reached the increasing numbers of tourists visiting destinations like Niagara Falls, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, Kingston, and New York. They sold wholesale to merchants there, and Wendat vendors sold directly at Quebec markets.⁷⁷ Wendat men, following precontact trading traditions that had successfully transferred to the fur trade, used these same skills in the production and marketing of the souvenir works on bark and hide.

What convent and Wendat production had in common was the work's professional nature. The convents were professional in their production of decorative works for the church and in their bark work, and the value accorded to these works was reflected in their high prices. The precious nature of the moosehair-embroidered works is evident in the high price of works sold by Ursuline sisters to the British after the conquest in 1763. In *Saintes Artisanes*, Barbeau cites from the Ursulines *Annales*:

In spite of all the misfortune that has happened to this country, we do not lack the necessities of life. . . . We only have what we earn from the little bark works. . . . The income that we draw from them is a big help to making our living, as we sell them at a high price to the English. [Malgré tous les malheurs arrivés à ce pays, on ne manquerait pas des choses nécessaires à la vie . . . nous n'avons

⁷⁶ Jean Tanguay, "Marguerite Vincent La8inonkie, 'La femme habile aux travaux d'aiguille'" (Rapport supplémentaire, 2007–29, Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 2007), 14.

⁷⁷ Denys Delâge, "La tradition de commerce chez les hurons de Lorette-Wendake," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 30, no. 2 (2000): 47.

que celui que nous gagnons aux petits ouvrages en écorce . . . le gain que nous en tirons nous est d'un grand secours pour vivre, car nous les vendons bien cher à Messieurs les Anglais.]⁷⁸

In 1809 an entry in the Ursulines *Annales* reveals that works made by the younger sisters paid for repairs to a painting in the dining hall. It also indicates the high price of the bark work:

We had a skilled artist do some retouching of the entire Le Maître painting in our church, which cost 15 Louis and also of Madame our founder, who will always be dear to us; they cost 6 Louis les deux; we also made the most of the same artist by having made a new Christ for the Refectory which cost 12 and a half Louis. Our young sisters paid for this last work through their bark work. [Nous avons fait retoucher en entier Le Maître Tableau de notre église par un habile peintre qui a couté 15 Louis et Madame notre fondatrice qui nous seront toujours chere; ils ont couté 6 Louis les deux; nous avons aussi profité de meme peinture pour faire faire en neuf un Christ pour le Refectoire qui a couté 12 Louis et demie. C'est nos jeunes soeurs qui ont par leur ouvrages en ecorses payée ce dernier.]⁷⁹

Wendat women artists' professionalism can be seen in their ongoing development of new forms and designs, reflecting individual or family-atelier innovations over generations; in the consistently high standards of technique and execution; and finally, in the high prices paid for the souvenir objects in an international market. Jane Ellice, a friend of Lady Mary Lambton (later Lady Elgin), who visited the Canadas in 1838, wrote of the Wendat bark work that she "bought some bark things for home—horridly dear."⁸⁰

The naturalistic floral sequence was guided by general conventions of arrangement, vocabulary of motifs, and technique. Working within these conventions, Wendat women artists achieved a high degree of individuality, as we have observed in the analysis of hide objects, and it may be possible to identify work by particular artists.

⁷⁸ Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes*, 84.

⁷⁹ *Annales du monastère des Ursulines* (vieux récit, tome premier, Quebec: *Monastère des Ursulines*, 1639–1894), 395.

⁸⁰ Patricia Godsell, ed. *The Diary of Jane Ellice* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1979), 81.

Stylistically, while there are similarities between Wendat and some of the convent floral styles of the early years, distinctly Wendat styles had developed by the mid-nineteenth century, as I will discuss.

In order to describe the development of Wendat styles in this sequence, I present objects from dateable collections, from the early 1830s to the 1870s. I group examples of undated works with these dated objects. This does not represent a complete analytic summary of the styles of this period. Although the production of bark work was extensive, the dated works with provenance are few. Further, there was such stylistic diversity that my groupings can only be suggestive. The individuality and innovation characteristic of the works—probably a large part of their attraction for European buyers—also makes the groupings untidy. However, this analysis may give an opportunity for debate and point to directions of future research.

Four wall plaques from the 1832 von Pourtalès collection, one of which has already been discussed, are our earliest dated examples of this style sequence (see fig. 53). They all follow a similar arrangement. There are strong parallels with one of the late eighteenth-century convent styles, seen on the side panels of a late-eighteenth-century convent reticule base in the collection of the Cambridge University Museum of Art and Archaeology, discussed earlier (see fig. 50). In the von Pourtalès plaque, the orientation to the centre of the field, the static feel, and the arrangement of blossoms, stems, and leaves seem to draw from this style of convent floral work. Like the convent works I have described, in the early Wendat works the blossoms are smaller in relation to the size of the whole flower arrangement and to the design field itself, compared to later Wendat works where the blossoms dominate the design field.

The von Pourtalès designs are characterized by their open arrangement in groupings that radiate from a central point with from four to seven blooms in each. They are arranged with balanced asymmetry. Three of these plaques, as in figure 53, illustrate a convention characteristic of the Wendat naturalistic floral style sequence: an unbroken chain of leaves acts as a frame, following the lines of the bark edge of the object. This leaf border may be an innovation that already makes the sequence distinctive from the convent works. Rather than the geometrical precision that is characteristic of even slightly later Wendat works, the leaf borders of these plaques are uneven, suggesting either a less practised hand, or the early years of this stylistic innovation.

Two undated works, a calling card case at the Musée du nouveau monde, La Rochelle, and a playing card case in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, may be from this same early period (see figs. 70, 71). They are similar in motif and arrangement. Both feature a central motif of flowers in a vase, with identically curved handles and a similar placement of white and orange flowers and thin green leaves overhanging the sides of the vases, and with orange and white stitches used to construct the shape of the petals. In both, a similar central flower in berry stitch is backed by two leaves. The cluster of three small, white, five-petal flowers on the right of the playing card box is similar to the cluster on the left of the calling card box. As in the von Pourtalès wall plaques, the overall effect is of stiffness, especially in comparison to later Wendat works. In what may be a connection to Wendat ceramic traditions, the vase in the La Rochelle card box has a motif of three circles together, reminiscent of the groupings of three circle punctates characteristic of Wendat pot collars.

Collected fifteen years later, a cigar case in the 1847 Døllner collection shows a different style within the naturalistic floral sequence: expanded arrangements of blossoms are set against oversized leaves in groupings bursting with energy (see fig. 72). This is a different artistic vision from the 1832 von Pourtalès work and the two card cases.

Mid-nineteenth-century Wendat works project great confidence; they go beyond the formal simplicity of the convent styles, creating complex compositions with numerous interconnected elements, in harmonious colour arrangements that possess a strong sense of life and movement. A pair of book covers and a wall plaque from the Døllner collection illustrate the innovative developments of this period (see figs. 73, 74). They display a high degree of virtuosity in this style sequence, in the connection between each part to the whole arrangement, the sense of life that permeates, and the high degree of naturalism in the flowers and particularly in the bird in the wall ornament.

Two trays from the Elgin collection of the same period reflect characteristics of mid-century work in the same high level of naturalism and harmony of colour, form, and movement (see figs. 75, 76). They are dated between 1847 and 1854 and are attributed to Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, although there is the possibility that they were created by another woman of the community. The larger tray is embroidered with the initials of Lady Elgin, M. L. E. (Mary Louisa Elgin), while the smaller tray is embroidered with the initials of Lord Elgin's titles, E. K. (Elgin and Kincardine). A precisely placed chain of maple leaves floats down the centres of the side panels of Mary Louisa Elgin's tray, and the centre panel leaf border is so precise that a straight line is formed along its centre. The blossoms, stems, and leaves are balanced in a play of light and dark colours, with heavy and light forms that create rhythm through regular repetition, all in gentle, constant

movement. The blue trumpet-like flower seen in Lady Elgin's tray could be the hedge bindweed, a flower native to the area, or it could also be the convolvulus.⁸¹

A tray at the Fenimore Art Museum, also from the Elgin collection, is similar in so many respects to the Elgin trays that it could be attributed to the same artist, and an oeuvre of this artist's work may be possible to identify (see fig. 77). The blue convolvulus in the centre of one of the Elgin trays and in the Fenimore tray appear almost identical. The Døllner collection wall plaque (fig. 74) has many stylistic similarities with the Elgin trays. There is the same sense of lightness and movement in the formal arrangement and the balanced negative and positive space gives the airy feel. The arrangement of the white clover on the plaque and the strawberries on Lady Elgin's tray is similar, and both arrangements open into intertwining stems, leaves, and tendrils that form a loose garland around the bird in the plaque and the coat of arms in the tray. The fine detail and the graduated colour in the passenger pigeon's feathers and the vines are characteristic of the works by this artist.

Moosehair-embroidered objects made of wool-covered bark were also produced within this style sequence, but not in the same numbers as bark objects. A miniature sofa in black wool-covered bark, now at the Musée de la civilisation du Québec, Quebec, is a charming example of this work (see fig. 78). A pre-1857 date is suggested by its use of vegetable dye colours only. Graduated colours in the short and long stitch or brick stitch in leaves and blossoms, the laid satin stitch in leaves, and extensive use of the berry stitch are characteristic of this style sequence in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁸¹ William A. Niering and Nancy C. Olmstead, *National Audubon Society Field Guide to North American Wildflowers* (New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1995), 475.

Works from the collection of Marie-Jean Béraud-Villars date from after 1857, indicated by the presence of aniline dye in several examples (see figs. 79, 80). This fascinating collection illustrates the range of moosehair-embroidered objects available for visitors to choose from, and shows a sketchier interpretation of the naturalistic floral style sequence. It includes what looks like a tea set, including three coasters and two small six-sided containers that look like cups. The short and long stitch and berry stitch are still in evidence, but the elements are larger, there are fewer in each arrangement, and the stitches are longer, giving less detail. This was possibly to fill in space more efficiently in response to production pressures. It is also possible that there was a range of items for sale at different prices, reflecting different levels of complexity in design and degree of difficulty in execution.

The coasters in the Béraud-Villars collection were definitely used; circular moisture marks show where a cup or mug was placed. Knowing that some of these bark works were intended to become an active part of a domestic environment gives them an added dimension. In a letter written in 1838 during her stay in Lower Canada, Lady Durham writes: “a few specimens of Indian Bark Work . . . the two flat pieces for Papa [Lord Durham] I thought might be useful to put his cup upon.”⁸² This coaster may reflect that use.

Individual creativity is demonstrated in a cigar box in the Béraud-Villars collection, a more detailed work with innovative use of the berry stitch and a new shell-like motif (see fig. 81). The curlicues and the whirligig effect of the flowers give a strong sense of movement.

⁸² Patricia Godsell, ed., *Letters and Diaries of Lady Durham* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1975), 38.

Throughout this discussion, we have seen the individuality of an artist's work within the conventions of a style sequence. Two different treatments of the blue convolvulus motif illustrate this. In a cigar box from the Christie collection at the British Museum, made between 1857 and 1865, the berry stitch used in the petals of the blue convolvulus gives a raised texture (see fig. 82). In a tray at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Archaeology, the artist also uses the berry stitch for the blue petal, and in addition, foreshortens a section of the petal to show its underside and partially hides the yellow interior of the flower, giving the appearance of three-dimensionality and recession in space (see fig. 83).

The later period of the naturalistic floral style sequence is illustrated by an exuberant fuchsia-and-white feather fan complete with stuffed bird, sold at the fashionable hatter and furrier, Renfrew and Marcou, between 1864 and 1875 (see fig. 84).⁸³ In this example, fewer colours are used, and the colours show evidence of the use of aniline and chemical dyes. The berry stitch does not appear, the laid satin stitch is used for the leaves, and the long and short stitch gives the graduated colours of the petals. The reduced use of the berry stitch, which would have been labour intensive, may have reflected the pressures of higher-volume production.

This fan, accompanied by its made-to-measure box (not shown), demonstrates the luxury status of Wendat souvenir arts, the close contact the Wendat had with the European community's fashions, and the continued European interest in the exotic and picturesque. Sometimes known as a "Brazilian fan," this was an accessory carried to

⁸³ The store name Renfrew and Marcou was used between 1864 and 1875, which gives the date of this fan. Horace Têtu, *Résumé historique de l'industrie et du commerce de Québec de 1775 à 1900* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1909), 12; Jean Benoit, "George Richard Renfrew," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, vol. 12, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=6392&terms=de.

balls,⁸⁴ moving Wendat artwork out of the realm of souvenir and into the world of upper-class fashion accessory. This was bought not just for the domestic realm, to be hung on the parlour wall or worn at home. This was an object to be carried as a display of status and wealth—and also possibly a conversation piece.

The use of this fan and the situation of Wendat objects in settler communities resonate with the position of a Wendat caribou-foot moosehair-embroidered wall pocket appearing in a painting by Cornelius Krieghoff at the National Gallery of Canada, dating from the same period (see fig. 85).⁸⁵ In a still life arrangement depicting domestic luxury, the wall pocket is arranged together with such rarities as crystal stemware, fine silver, a melon and a lemon, cigars, a bottle of German hock, French brandy, and two Cavalier King Charles spaniels, a breed associated with British royalty. Displayed on a red tablecloth, this vignette suggests an elegant, lived-in Victorian parlour. The Wendat had positioned their artwork to appeal to a broad market, from middle-class tourist souvenirs to luxury objects for the affluent upper classes.

Four trays in the collection of the McCord Museum demonstrate the use of aniline dye, indicating a post-1857 date, in floral designs that demonstrate the sketchier style of the late nineteenth century (see fig. 86). There are fewer elements and these have been simplified; the stitches are fewer and larger, while tufting, or bristle—a technique associated with the more northern communities, the Cree and Dene, and described by Turner as the “late Huron style”—appears in areas where formerly berry stitching would

⁸⁴ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 250.

⁸⁵ For example of caribou or moose foot wall pocket, see Appendix B, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau III-H-467.

have been used.⁸⁶ Tufting is frequently seen in Wendat work in the twentieth century, suggesting a late-nineteenth-century date for these trays. Cross-stitch (used at the centre of the flowers on the tray) would be a quick way to give colour, indicating the need to reduce production time in the later period.

The Well-Appointed Parlour

A small number of Wendat tablecloths are known in Western museums. These are fine woollens from the British fur trade tradition, elaborately worked with moosehair-embroidered floral designs. They form a rare body of work dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. A tablecloth in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization is an excellent example (see fig. 87). Such tablecloths graced the Victorian parlour, a centrepiece of the home and a place for the display of collectibles reflecting the refinement of the family. The emerging well-to-do middle class followed the cultural codes of the upper classes; the taste for the exotic reflected in the objects collected in the Victorian parlour echoed the aristocratic curiosity cabinet and the erudite natural history collection. The virtuosity of Wendat women's visual arts is gloriously reflected in these tablecloths. This demanding art form required technical skill and an aesthetic sensibility, which when brought together with the finest woollens of the British textile industry produced luxury items of great beauty. They demonstrate the ability of Wendat artists to identify Victorian tastes for the botanical, the exotic, and the rare, to define themselves within that paradigm, and to market their cultural identity as part of the product.

A technique—known as “slips”—used in the tablecloths dates back to medieval embroidery practices. Flower motifs in raised berry stitch were made separately on

⁸⁶ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 53.

cardboard backing and then sewn to the background fabric as part of a larger pattern. The slips are raised a centimetre above the surface of the fabric, giving a three-dimensional element. The technique, dating from the mid-fourteenth century, was characteristic of later medieval ecclesiastical as well as domestic embroidery. It allowed one woman or a number of women to work more easily on a large piece of fabric such as a tablecloth.

Moosehair-Embroidered Souvenir Arts

by Other Indigenous Communities

It is probable that girls and women from Eastern Woodlands Indigenous communities other than the Wendat, or possibly also women from settler communities, also produced moosehair embroidered bark and hide work. In her journal, Lady Mary Lambton mentions her bark work teacher, “a little French Canadian woman”; while the Rev. Buckley describes the bark work made by Maliseet women during his tour of New Brunswick in 1870–71.⁸⁷ He writes: “I have seen some cigar cases made by the Indian women with flowers on the sides of moose hair, and nothing could surpass them for beauty; other ornaments the women also make and baskets.”⁸⁸ These observations support Speck’s comments about the production of moosehair-embroidered souvenir arts by other communities. In analyzing floral bark work styles it is important to consider the possibility that stylistic differences could also reflect a non-Wendat community of origin.

Knowledge of these objects-- both techniques of production and their commodity value-- could have entered the stylistic traditions of other groups in a number of ways.

Girls and women from a number of Indigenous communities, in addition to the Wendat,

⁸⁷ Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, *Journal of Lady Mary Louise Lambton* (archival ref. no. R977–17–6-E, Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 1938), September 24, 1838, p. 82.

⁸⁸ Rev. Michael Bernard Buckley, *Tour in America: Diary of a Tour in America*, ed. Kate Buckley (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1886), 120–21.

received instruction in European needlework alongside Wendat girls at the Ursuline convent school. The Ursuline records of the Indigenous students who were taught there are incomplete; documents in the Ursuline archives record the Indigenous students who were living at the school, but not always their nation of origin. In addition, they do not record the girls and families who received instruction or learned prayers at the grill of the parlour outside the cloister.⁸⁹ However, there is enough information to indicate several other nations who may also have drawn European needlework techniques and pictorial traditions into their artistic repertoire.

In *Les écolières des Ursulines de Québec*, Marcel Trudel's study of the Ursuline records from 1639 to 1686, he lists the numbers of girls from Huron (18), Iroquois (11), Abenakis (5), Algonquin (2), Eskimo (2), Montagnais (4), and Nipissing (1) nations who lived in the school.⁹⁰ The length of their stays was short, usually several months.⁹¹ Girls would have been taught European embroidery techniques and it is possible that they incorporated elements of European traditions into their artistic productions.

Opportunities for the exchange of arts traditions between Aboriginal communities would have arisen through Indigenous diplomatic and trade connections, another way in which the tradition of moosehair embroidered production may have been adopted by communities other than the Wendat. The seven Indigenous Catholic communities of the St. Lawrence formed the federation of the Sept Feux: the Wendat of Wendake, the community of Pointe-du-Lac, Wolinak, Odanak, Kahnawake, Kanehsatake, and

⁸⁹ Marcel Trudel, *Les écolières des Ursulines de Québec* (Montréal : Éditions Hurtubise HMH ltée, 1999), 50.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 60.

⁹¹ Gourdeau, *Délices de Nos Coeurs*, 53.

Akwesasne. These were Wendat, Iroquois, Algonquin, Nipissing, and Abanaki villages. This federation began around 1660 and ended toward 1860. Regular meetings were held between these nations, to conduct matters of politics and diplomacy.⁹² The nations of the Sept Feux also had strong political and diplomatic connections with the nations of the Wabanaki Federation of the Maritime peninsula, the Malecite, the Passamaquoddy, the Mik'maq, and the Pentagouets of Penobscot.⁹³ Women were present at these diplomatic delegations, accompanying their husbands and also contributing to discussions.⁹⁴ Such occasions were marked by the giving of gifts such as wampum, in belts and necklaces, and ceremonial clothing would have been worn by members of these delegations. The highest levels of arts in all forms would have been on display at such meetings. It seems likely that artistic exchange would have resulted from these connections, offering another opportunity for moosehair embroidery techniques to be adopted by other communities.

Wendake itself was an international community, offering further opportunities for intercultural exchange. During his visit to the school in Wendake in the early 1850s, German visitor Johann Georg Kohl wrote of the children from different nations who attended. He wrote that “most of them were Hurons...but some were Algonquins, some Abenakis, and others Iroquois, and there were also a few Amalekites, or Micmacs from New Brunswick.”⁹⁵ He goes on to say that although the villages were widely scattered, there was frequent visiting between them, and that marriages often arose.⁹⁶

⁹² Jean-Pierre Sawaya, *La Fédération des Sept Feux de la Vallée du Saint-Laurent* (Sillery : Les Editions du Septentrion, 1998), 13.

⁹³ Ibid, 137.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 70.

Marguerite Vincent La8inonkie, whose entrepreneurial skills and teaching of embroidery arts I will discuss more fully in chapter 7, demonstrates this intercultural connectedness. She was the daughter of Louis Vincent Sawantanan of the Wendat community and Marie des Anges Chalifour. She was born in the Bay Quinte Mohawk community, and lived there for the early years of her life.⁹⁷ The design tradition and skills of this community would quite probably have been familiar to her. It is possible that works such as a beaded and moosehair embroidered pincushion in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian which combines Haudenosaunee beadwork and Wendat moosehair embroidery, is a product of such intercultural exchange (Appendix B, beaded and moosehair embroidered pincushion, c. 1840-1857, National Museum of the American Indian, catalogue number 224677).

These historical links, political, educational, and through marriage, would have resulted in sharing of visual arts traditions and probably ideas about souvenir arts. What moosehair embroidery is known by other communities? In the catalogue of the Spirit Sings exhibition, Ruth Whitehead attributes a set of moosehair embroidered moccasin pieces to Mik'maq communities, identifies a moosehair embroidered pin case as Mik'maq-Maliseet type, and two moosehair embroidered bark cases, two fan handles and a tea cosy as Maliseet.⁹⁸ Stylistically, however, they resemble Wendat objects of the same

⁹⁵ Kohl, *Travels in Canada*, 177.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 178.

⁹⁷ Pierre Drouin and Margot Rankin, after a report prepared by Jean-Pierre Sawaya, *Marguerite Vincent "Lawinonkie"*, Formulaire de Demande-Personne, 2000-42), 2154.

⁹⁸ Julia D. Harrison, co-ordinating curator, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples, A Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 29,30.

period, and at this point in the research it is difficult to be certain of their community of origin without documentary evidence. My close study of Wendat artistic traditions could open the way for future research in the history of artistic exchange between Eastern Woodlands Indigenous communities, however it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Simplified Floral Style Sequence

The floral motifs of two pairs of moccasins in the Ten Kate collection, discussed earlier, illustrate the simplified floral style sequence that emerged in the 1880s or possibly earlier and continued into the early twentieth century (see fig. 54). The Ten Kate moccasins use vamp insert construction, with folded cuffs and floral vamp motifs. In *The Ten Kate Collection*, Pieter Hoven writes that these are made of commercially processed hide, due to “the loss of hunting lands and native-tanned hides.”⁹⁹ The stitching is less complex than designs of the mid-nineteenth century and earlier. The overlapping stitch, in which several strands of moosehair are folded back over a thread stitch to form buds and blossoms, is predominant. The main form of arrangement of the simplified style is a central sinuous vine with branches ending in brightly coloured floral motifs.

A moccasin from the collection of the Duke of Leinster now in the National Museum of Ireland, from the same period and with the moosehair in better condition, helps to illustrate this style (see fig. 88). A main stem connects blossoms, with zigzags bordering the vamp and cuff. A single floral sprig is at the centre of the vamp. The elements are simplified and reduced in number and the stitches are at times larger. This

⁹⁹ Hovens, *Ten Kate*, 25.

style sequence demonstrates taste shifts in the souvenir market, the pressures of increased demand on Wendat producers, and the need to move towards mass production. It is characterized by a reduced number of elements in each arrangement, larger stitches, and colours other than the red, blue, and white of the earlier eastern Great Lakes colour palette, with the use of aniline and chemical dyes. It was not necessarily a move towards naturalism.

In terms of sequences, these moccasins continued only the basic elements of the designs of the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century. The complex, appliquéd, oversewn line work of the mid-nineteenth century, in densely arranged floral designs, with outlines and compartments in contrasting colours and festoons of scallops at the borders, no longer appears. There is slight colour differentiation in the blossoms made with the overlapping stitch, perhaps reflecting an intention of naturalism. The shapes seem similar to blossoms seen in the naturalistic floral style sequence on bark work of this period and the different colours may be intended to parallel the graduated colours of the naturalistic floral bark work.

The later nineteenth century move towards simplification in design may have reflected the high volume of sales in this period and the need to reduce the time required to make each item. In 1845, the artisan industry was already highly successful; the Wendat were hiring French Canadian workers to farm their fields so they could devote their time to commodity production.¹⁰⁰ By 1870, sales had increased dramatically. Approximately 60 of the 76 families in the community made their living from sewing, the community was thriving, and newspaper articles of the period described the elegant

¹⁰⁰ Delâge, "Tradition de commerce," 45.

homes of the community and their “*fortunes bourgeoise*.”¹⁰¹ In 1879, a Quebec journalist described the system of production, the diversity of products, and the quantities produced: the order books of bulk sales for moccasins and embroidered shoes alone totaled 30,000 pairs—supplied by a community whose total population was under 300.¹⁰²

Two collections of Wendat work, exemplify the shift to more simplified designs in conventional motifs that characterized the simplified floral style sequence. These are the chief’s outfit made by Caroline Gros-Louis as a gift for diplomat Folke Cronholm’s formal adoption ceremony, and works—made by Prudent Siouï and Caroline Gros-Louis—bought by anthropologists Marius Barbeau and Frank Speck. Moccasins at the Canadian Museum of Civilisation, made by Prudent Siouï in the commercial tradition and sold to Marius Barbeau, demonstrate the conventions in a recognizable flower, a daisy (see fig. 89). They are similar in style to that of the Ten Kate and Duke of Leinster moccasins, but the stitches are smaller and show precise placement, giving the design a more finished appearance even though there are few elements. This may be a reflection of the greater skill of the artist.

Caroline Gros-Louis’ embroidery on the ceremonial chief’s headdress she made for Folke Cronholm is of the same simplified floral style sequence as the Barbeau moccasins (see fig. 90). The precise placement of stitches and exactness of the overall arrangement shows a command of materials, technique, and a fine sense of artistic design. Gros-Louis’ designs of ceremonial objects are more complex than the motifs of her commercial souvenir works, such as examples of moccasin vamps collected by

¹⁰¹ Delâge, “Tradition de commerce,” 46, 47; Pierre Drouin and Margot Rankin, *Marguerite Vincent “La8inonkie”* (formulaire de demande-personne 2000-42, Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 2000), 2159. Based on a report prepared by Jean-Pierre Sawaya.

¹⁰² Delâge, “Tradition de commerce,” 47.

Barbeau (see fig. 91). The oversewn line stitch is used for the stems, the overlapping stitch for the blossoms. Parallel lines of oversewn stitch appear less frequently, but they do appear in a three-lobed motif on Cronholm's headdress (see fig. 90). Although the simplified floral style sequence shows less variety than the endless invention of the mid-nineteenth-century motifs, the appeal is in the perfect regularity of stitches, the exact alignment of leaves and buds, and in the ceremonial works, the sinuous curves of the stems.

Change in Wendat Visual Arts as Strategic Initiatives

In my analysis of Wendat visual arts in these four floral style sequences, change stems not from more or less intense phases of contact, but from historically specific needs, tastes, and economic opportunities. After 1649 and the dispersal of the Wendat confederacy, the relocation of part of the Wendat confederacy to the area near Quebec City brought that group into considerable contact with missions. However, tracing the history of Wendat adoption of floral styles indicates that it was selective, and became more engaged only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the opening of new markets for trade. This suggests that the Wendat adopted and adapted European visual art forms according to their motivations, tastes, and needs.

From the known research, the appearance of floral motifs in Wendat material does not take place until after more than 200 years of European contact and trade. Basque and Breton seamen brought trade goods, including fabric as well as copper kettles, in the sixteenth century. Evidence of this trade activity on the Gulf of St. Lawrence and its estuary was found in Wendat villages in southern Ontario: "kettles or kettle fragments of

red copper.” This suggests that these communities also traded for fabric, yet floral designs were not adopted in the Wendat ceramics produced in this period.¹⁰³

Recollet and Jesuit missionaries settled in several Wendat communities in the Georgian Bay area during the first half of the seventeenth century prior to the Wendat defeat and dispersal by the Haudenosaunee. Floral motifs would have been present in the church vestments used by the Jesuits, yet no floral designs appear in the quantities of potsherds and pipe pieces found at Wendat sites. Rather, the pots are decorated with geometric motifs of parallel horizontal, diagonal, and vertical lines, lozenges, and patterns of indents. The pipes are elaborated with geometric patterns or are shaped as stylized animal or human forms. As discussed in chapter 1, Champlain describes the motifs used by Montagnais and Wendat women on clothing as *compartiments*, designs of round or square forms in symmetrical arrangements, which, from his choice of words, does not appear to include floral patterns.¹⁰⁴ Sagard describes Wendat paintings of men, animals, and birds, but does not mention floral patterns.¹⁰⁵

Wendat girls and women were taught the arts of embroidery at the Ursuline school; however, the descriptions of works by Wendat women after this contact do not mention floral design. In his 1721 description, Charlevoix refers to small designs worked in quill or painted or embroidered on hide and in twined works.¹⁰⁶ It is not possible to know if Charlevoix was referring to geometric patterns or if these designs were floral.

¹⁰³ Laurier Turgeon, “French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians during the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 55, no. 4 (October 1998): 609, 601.

¹⁰⁴ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 132–33.

¹⁰⁵ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 86.

¹⁰⁶ Charlevoix, *Journal d'un voyage*, 333–34.

The Ursuline and other convent orders began their moosehair-embroidered floral bark work souvenir arts in the early eighteenth century, learning the techniques of making bark containers and introduced to the moosehair medium from Indigenous women, probably among them the women and girls of the Wendake community. Indigenous girls or women, including the Wendat, may have helped to make these items, however from the material culture evidence, geometric designs continued in eastern Woodlands production—in textiles, moccasins, and pouches—into the late eighteenth century. I argue that the adherence of the Wendat (and from the evidence, other communities) to their own textile and other artistic traditions suggests the strength of these traditions. It also suggests that the integration of European and other design influences (such as floral design, which came possibly towards the end of the eighteenth and definitely at the start of the nineteenth century) were the outcome of strategic choices, and probably market influences.

When Wendat artists began to engage with floral design ideas in the semiabstract linear style sequence, they continued to produce the geometric style sequence at the same time, so that both style sequences appear on Wendat moccasins. The engagement with European influences in pictorial representation was not an immediate and complete shift. The timing of the appearance of these new artistic directions in Wendat works suggests that social change and economics were part of the stimulus: the combined forces of new European markets for souvenirs; the gradual ending of the fur trade; the loss of hunting territory and the economic base of hunting and fishing, due to increasing waves of immigrants.

Continuity of Design

What can we know of the earliest Wendat floral designs and their connections with precontact design traditions? We know from Edward Chatfield's 1825 portrait, *Three Chiefs of the Huron Indians*, that the stylized floral motifs, either the semiabstract or stylized floral style sequence, were used in Wendat ceremonial garments as well as in souvenir objects. The epaulettes of the Chiefs' coats are elaborated with stylized floral patterns (see fig. 42). Were the stylized floral motifs a relaxing of the Wendat abstraction to meet European tastes? Did early Wendat woven designs on clothing include curvilinear styles? Was it possible for woven or twined techniques to create curvilinear designs? Champlain writes that the Wendat created *les passements de Milan* to adorn their hide clothing, *passements* being lace work in curvilinear foliate designs, supporting this possibility (see fig. 5).¹⁰⁷

These questions raise the possibility that curvilinear designs such as the unfolding spiral motif seen both in the Bibliothèque nationale moccasins and on the nineteenth-century souvenir moccasins may have had their origins in the clothing designs of the early-seventeenth-century Wendat/Montagnais/Naskapi traditions. Curvilinear design may have been of precontact origin; but perhaps it is possible that elements of European artistic traditions were already integrated into Great Lakes visual arts, in technique and design, by the time of Champlain's early visits. After Jacques Cartier's visit in 1534–36 and the Roberval settlement in 1542–43, French ships "outfitted to trade" were a regular presence in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.¹⁰⁸ Fabric and haberdashery such as ribbon and

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Bury Palliser, *History of Lace* (New York: Dover, 1984), 52; Champlain, *Works*, vol. 3, 132.

¹⁰⁸ Turgeon, "French Fishers," 591.

embroidery materials were traded for furs in 1565 and it is possible that floral prints on fabrics or in ribbon had reached Wendat communities through trade several decades before direct contact with European settlers in the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹

In “Domesticating the Exotic: Floral Culture and the East Indian Calico trade with England,” Beverly Lemire discusses the development of textile trade with India and its impact on the English domestic world. Lemire describes how, once regular trade routes to the East Indies had been established by the Portuguese, cottons and silks printed in “stylized motifs of the flora and fauna little known in Europe” became fashionable and reached the south of England around the mid-sixteenth century.¹¹⁰ Whether these printed textiles would have been among the fabrics shipped by the French to trade for furs in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century is difficult to know.

Viewing the continuity in the history of early arts traditions and the introduction of innovations, two of the most significant elements in the four sequences I have discussed are colour and formal arrangement. Here, I discuss these two aspects and then open a broader discussion of the sequences.

Colour choices moved between a nonnaturalistic palette of red, white, black, and blue—suggesting the symbolic meanings connected to an Indigenous aesthetic and world view discussed in chapter 4—and colour choices that reflected European verisimilitude. Often these two sets of colour choices operated at the same time in the community, with works on birchbark and fabric reflecting verisimilitude, and works on hide continuing the Wendat colour preferences of red, black, white, and blue described by Sagard. Thus

¹⁰⁹ Turgeon, “French Fishers,” 600, 601, 609.

¹¹⁰ Beverly Lemire, “Domesticating the Exotic: Floral Culture and the East Indian Calico Trade with England, ca. 1600–1800,” *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture* 1, no.1 (2003): 67.

Wendat art simultaneously manifested an awareness of European taste and continuity with traditional Indigenous taste and, possibly, symbolic meanings.

In the earliest known eastern Great Lakes moccasins and textiles, from the eighteenth century, the geometric designs discussed in chapter 4 appeared in a limited range of colours. Black and ivory accompanied brilliant red, with the addition of shades of blue; vivid blues later appeared in equal weight to red. If geometric designs carried symbolic meaning, it is likely that the colours did also (possibly those suggested by Miller and Hamell), in addition to the decisions and choices towards floral representation. The bright blue and red in the semiabstract linear and stylized floral style sequences of the moosehair-embroidered moccasins of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries discussed earlier in this chapter connect them to the earlier geometric designs. The stylized floral style sequence of the late 1830s to 1850s on hide moved towards naturalism in the forms of the motifs, but preserved the blue, red, and white colour choices of the earlier period.

The colour red may also relate to the medicinal as well as spiritual meanings and value of plants, particularly those with red-coloured fruit. Mireille Sioui, of the Wendake community, explained the importance of traditional medicine made from plants. The raspberry, particularly the root, was used by knowledgeable women to help at the time of childbirth. Strawberry leaves, juice from the fruits, and flowers were used to heal bowel disease. Today strawberry juice is still part of the Moon of Strawberries ritual in June.¹¹¹ The colour red and the representation of red fruit may reflect the importance of these plants to the spiritual and physical health of the community.

¹¹¹ Mireille Sioui, in conversation, Wendake, April 29, 2011.

The semiabstract linear and stylized floral designs of Wendat souvenir moccasins and pouches, seen in the examples in this chapter, share design characteristics with the precontact fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Wendat ceramic tradition, such as the complex borders of rows of parallel lines, the bilateral balancing of motifs that are similar in weight and appearance on each side of a central median, and the continuous flow of one element into another. Wendat ceramic designs are characterized by the arrangement of intersecting sets of straight parallel lines while the stylized floral moccasin patterns are characterized by patterns of curved parallel lines, which can obscure their common characteristics. In both, the eye is led actively to search for a beginning or end, as each part flows into another. The apparently random arrangement is controlled and contained within strong borders of parallel lines in both the ceramics and the semiabstract linear and stylized floral designed moccasins and pouches. The simplified floral style sequence on hide in the later nineteenth century still continues the borders of the design field but with less emphasis on systems of parallel lines, and fewer motifs.

In contrast to the colour choices of the geometric, semiabstract linear, and stylized floral style sequences based on the Wendat aesthetic, the naturalistic floral sequence on bark of the mid- to later nineteenth century, and some examples of the simplified floral style sequence on hide of the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, are worked in naturalistic colours. These two distinct colour traditions, one based on Indigenous design traditions of abstraction and symbolic meaning, the other reflecting the influence of European visual arts traditions of naturalism in form and colour, continued concurrently for a few decades in the mid-nineteenth century. After the 1850s, the colour system of blue, red, white, and black on hide is much less in evidence.

Wendat souvenir arts were produced by several generations of women in the Wendake community. From the current research, we know the names of only three of these artists: Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, Caroline Gros-Louis, and Prudent Siouï. We know of the documented roles played by Marguerite Vincent and Caroline Gros-Louis in the community, and their importance in both commercial and the ceremonial production of Wendat visual arts. The stylistic analysis demonstrated in this chapter identifies the hands of other artists, through their stylistic signatures, in the examples of individual creativity, innovation, and consistent virtuosity of technique that were at the heart of the tradition. Use of stylistic analysis to identify individual oeuvres is an area of future research.

These characteristics, unique work and high quality, may also have been part of the allure these objects held for generations of European visitors. During the nineteenth century period of souvenir art production, the Wendat community population was between 180 and 300.¹¹² At any one moment in time, possibly fifty women would have been of an age and experience to produce the expert works. The diversity of designs, possibly innovations of individual women and continued in their families, suggests that artistic creativity as well as market forces drove production.

An important element of identification of works by individual creators in the period of souvenir production from the 1830s onward is an understanding of the organization of this process in the community. Mireille Siouï explained that the Vincent-Picard family, whose business supplied souvenir arts to merchants in Quebec, Ontario,

¹¹² Charles Bagot, *Journaux de l'Assemblée législative de la Province du Canada*, du 28 novembre 1844 au 29 mars 1845, appendice E.E.E., 1844–45, cited in Delâge, "Tradition de commerce," 44. The population of Lorette in 1868 was 297 (*Annual Report, Indian Affairs, Year Ending 30 June 1869*, Ottawa: Reports of Indian Affairs, 1869, 25).

and New York in this period, organized the production among a number of families in the community.¹¹³ Women worked at home, piecework style, producing specific components of embroidered items, such as moccasin vamp or bark work sections, which were then assembled by others. Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, a leading figure in the Vincent-Picard family business, is an artist to whom several souvenir objects have been attributed, including trays and moccasins from the collection of Lord and Lady Elgin.¹¹⁴ It is possible that these objects may have been commissioned from other women artists in the community. It is important to acknowledge the depth of artistic ability in the community, and the number of women producing works of virtuosity in technique and design. Mireille Siouï narrated the story of the continuity of this tradition of community production and the transmission of traditional knowledge into the twentieth century. She states:

It is also important to know how this way of doing things continued into the twentieth century with the emergence of commercial artisan industries, for the making of gloves, mitts, and moccasins. To ensure their livelihood and that of their families, many Huron women worked in these businesses. When they could not do the work at the place of business, they would carry out the work of sewing, moosehair embroidery, and beadwork at home. By carrying out this work in their homes, the Huron women contributed to the transmission of traditional knowledge. [Il est important aussi de savoir que cette manière de faire a continué au 20^e siècle avec l'avènement d'industries artisanales commerciales de fabrications de gants, mitaines et mocassins. Pour assurer leur subsistance et celle de leur famille, beaucoup de femmes huronnes ont travaillé dans ces industries. Lorsqu'elles ne pouvaient pas se rendre travailler sur place, elles exécutaient ces ouvrages de confection, de broderie de poil d'orignal et/ou de perles de verre à la maison. En effectuant ces travaux à la maison, les femmes huronnes ont contribué à la transmission des savoir-faire traditionnels.]¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Mireille Siouï in discussion, Congrès d'études Wendat et Wyandot, Wendake, June 14, 2012.

¹¹⁴ Tanguay, *Marguerite Vincent La8inonkie*, 4.

¹¹⁵ Email communication with contemporary artist Mireille Siouï, June 21, 2012.

Our understanding of the continuity of visual arts traditions and study of the stylistic developments is situated in, and enriched by, this community history.

Conclusion

Bruce J. Bourque's narrative of the Tarrantines, a group of east coast Indigenous traders, provides an earlier example of cultural change decided by the political and economic strategies of an Indigenous community.¹¹⁶ In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Tarrantines bought French shallops and sailed back and forth with cargoes of furs from Abenaki communities in the Gulf of Maine, where European traders had not yet arrived, to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where Europeans traders were active from the 1580s. The Tarrantines adopted French clothing and developed a pidgin language for trade. Their nontraditional strategies enabled them to bridge two worlds and turned the changes brought by European contact "to their own advantage."¹¹⁷ Bourque argues that cultural change in the case of the Tarrantines reflected a set of cultural and economic choices rather than an explanation based on diffusion or the overwhelming influence of a dominant culture. The timing of Wendat adoption of floral motifs seems to reflect similar cultural and economic choices.

Bourque challenges the prevalent notions that social change and cultural dynamism and complexity in Indigenous communities were greater after contact with Europeans than before. This was not a question of transition from independent Native status to "acculturated ethnic group within a European order."¹¹⁸ Instead, change came from dynamic intercultural shifts and innovative strategies in response to particular

¹¹⁶ Bourque, "Evidence for Prehistoric Exchange," 37.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 40–41.

¹¹⁸ Bourque, "Evidence for Prehistoric Exchange," 40–41, 42.

situations that turned these changes to Indigenous people's advantage.¹¹⁹ I suggest that the Wendat adoption and adaptation of European artistic influences was one such strategy. It was not a gradual diffusion, part of stable, gradual cultural change, but a novel strategy in response to the "rapidly changing cultural climate" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹²⁰ In some ways the Wendat were similar to the Tarrantines; they learned French, adopted aspects of French dress, and adapted European customs to Great Lakes traditions of diplomacy. Two hundred years after direct European contact in their communities, they developed trade items that reflected European taste, something sufficiently like European designs for European cultural comfort and recognition, and sufficiently different to be exotic and desirable.

Penney's argument, in "Floral Decoration and Cultural Change," discussed earlier in this chapter, may help to explain the timing of the appearance of mimetic floral styles in Wendat souvenir art. The early semiabstract linear designs appeared towards the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the nineteenth century, when a new market of increasing numbers of European visitors was emerging; naturalistic floral designs on bark work appeared in the 1830s, at around the time that the convents ceased production of their bark work and when even more European visitors and settlers were arriving. The fact that change occurred at these particular moments suggests strategic choices by the Wendat in the when and how of artistic innovation.

This discussion of the four floral style sequences helps to illustrate the persistence of styles and motifs in Wendat designs and also the moments of change. Each sequence is

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 41.

an interconnected network in which we can identify not only repetitions of the same traits but also how these traits change. We can also see the appearance of traits from an earlier or overlapping style sequence in a new style sequence. Analysis through Kubler's style sequences gives us a better understanding of the community's visual arts memory, and how motifs seem to have been passed on through generations, with change introduced in each generation at the same time as older motifs persisted. This foregrounds the richness of individual creativity within established conventions of design and technique that were at the same time open to innovation. In what might appear to be a uniform style there is in fact significant diversity. Inventiveness and openness to new ideas are as much characteristic of Wendat art as the continuity of materials and motifs, while the quality of the well-made object remains throughout.

It is through this diversity that the hand of individual artists can be identified, and this is an area with great potential for future research. Close analysis of dated collections is invaluable in this study, helping to recognize sets of characteristics associated with particular periods and artists, and identifying moments of change, as well as assisting in dating works without provenance.

CHAPTER 6

THE GENRE SCENES IN WENDAT MOOSEHAIR EMBROIDERY

The Indians, keen observers of men as they are [know] white men better than white men know them, because white men do not take the trouble to study Indians that they take to study us.

—William Tolmie, Hudson's Bay Company officer, as quoted in Bruce Russell, "White Man as Seen by the Haida"

Introduction

In this chapter I will address the genre sequence of moosehair-embroidered works on birchbark and wool over bark, that represent genre scenes of Wendat life. The sequence was produced in the same period as the naturalistic floral style sequence. In it, Wendat artists depicted narrative scenes showing vignettes of men, women, and children of the community engaged in daily activities, with floral motifs and trees as their environment, and images of animals and birds of the region. This sequence is most often seen on multiple-panelled trays, cigar cases, and fan handles. In this chapter I will argue that these scenes follow three themes, the last of which has not previously been noted. The first includes scenes of people of the Wendat community in everyday activities, explored by Phillips in *Trading Identities*.¹ The second, images of animals and birds of the region, I suggest could also be symbolic of eastern Woodlands spiritual beliefs. The third, scenes depicting physical struggle between men and women, has not previously been identified in academic texts.

As with the naturalistic floral style sequence, the genre sequence is guided by general conventions of arrangement, vocabulary of motifs, and technique. While the semiabstract linear and stylized floral style sequences on hide demonstrate cultural

¹ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 134–42.

continuity mainly in their forms, materials, techniques, and formal arrangement, the genre scenes reproduce Wendat culture through motifs associated with traditional spiritual beliefs, such as strawberry fruits and flowers, other berries and fruit, birds, and animals. In addition, they represent men, women, and children in the dress of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, engaged in everyday activities of the community, such as hunting, harvesting, sitting by campfires, basket-selling, all of which demonstrate a distinct Wendat way of life.

The volume of this moosehair-embroidered genre imagery in the second half of the nineteenth century suggests a change in European taste. This sequence combines the exotic and the European; the bark works reflect the exotic Other in their materials and their source in an Indigenous community, while their forms reflect the Victorian love of ornamental domestic containers of all kinds. The scenes of community life close to nature would have also appealed to antimodernist feeling in nineteenth-century European and Euro-North American middle and upper classes discussed in chapter 5 in relation to the naturalistic floral style sequence.

Wendat Bark Work: A Distinct Formal Sequence?

In Kubler's terms, is the Wendat genre bark work tradition continuous with the convent tradition of narrative scenes of men and women that was produced in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? I suggest that it both is and is not. In the basic form, media, techniques, and commercial purpose it continues the convent tradition. However, Wendat women expanded the tradition stylistically, in the range of forms and, as discussed in chapter 5, in the commercial reach of their wares. They explored new problems of representation: self-representation to the European Other rather than

European representation of the Indigenous Other to the European, as in the convent production of genre narrative scenes. In their awareness of the desires of the European market, they demonstrated what William Tolmie, a Hudson's Bay Company officer in British Columbia, wrote of Native communities in the nineteenth century: that Indigenous communities knew European settlers better than the settlers knew them.² Wendat women artisans made artistic innovations to solve these problems. From the outset, in comparison to convent sisters, Wendat makers of figurative works developed different scenes and different details of dress. These innovations continue the mode of self-representation seen in Wendat souvenir dolls, as I discuss later in this chapter.

The Figural Sequence

First, I discuss possible continuities between the figural sequence from the archaeological record and the nineteenth-century bark work genre sequence. While the figural images of scenes of everyday life in moosehair-embroidered souvenir bark works are, as far as recent research can show, a nineteenth-century tradition, figural representation in Wendat visual arts dates back to the effigy figures on clay pipes from the early sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries. The effigies are pictorial compositions of human or animal figures modelled in naturalistic and stylized representations; the pipes were made for use within the community and are associated with ritual practices. Various symbols and images of animals were also painted on wooden boards above the entrances to longhouses, as described by Sagard and cited in chapter 1; no examples of this tradition are known to have survived.³ The effigy pipes and eighteenth-century

² Bruce Russell, "White Man as Seen by the Haida," *M: The Magazine of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* 10 (2011): 19.

³ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 86.

souvenir dolls made by the Wendat community such as those discussed in chapter 5 and seen in figures 29, 30, and 31, are two known traditions of figural representation that precede the nineteenth-century genre works on bark. The pipes and the nineteenth-century genre works do not seem to be one formal sequence as described by Kubler, that is, as “works of art . . . arranged in a temporal series as connected expressions.”⁴ However, I argue that figural ceramics and their significance to the Wendat are an earlier sequence of representation of animal and anthropomorphic imagery suggesting meanings the genre bark work sequence may have held for its makers. Similarly, the souvenir dolls can be argued to offer precedents for the genre sequence.

Figural Sequence in Ceramics

In the earlier Huron village sites, a smaller number of pipes contained figural images, while most were geometric.⁵ Von Garnet states that at the ca. 1520 Draper site, a village occupied continuously for approximately 50 years, with a population of between 600 and 3,000, sixty-eight figurative effigy pipes were found; fragments representing approximately 3,274 pipes were found in all.⁶ Of the sixty-eight pipes of animal or human figures, fifty-nine were unique in imagery, indicating a high degree of creativity and suggesting individual rather than specialized production.⁷ Pipes with naturalistic human and animal effigy figures are more frequently found in sites dating to the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In her study of Iroquoian false face masks and

⁴ Kubler, *Shape of Time*, 17.

⁵ James F. Pendergast, “The Lite Site: An Early Southern Division Huron Site Near Belleville, Ontario,” *Ontario Archaeology* 17 (1972): 42.

⁶ von Gernet, *Analysis of Intrasite Artifact*, 108, 119, 35.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

human and animal sculpture on pipes, Mathews states that from the mid-seventeenth century, there was an increase in the number of pipes and the number of sculpted human and animal figures.⁸

Turtle Pipe Bowl Effigy

The sculpture of a turtle integrated in a pipe bowl brings together in one artwork two visual arts formal sequences: verisimilitude and geometric forms (as discussed in chapter 4; see fig. 23). The turtle faces the pipe-smoker, possibly due to the spiritual significance of tobacco. Mathews explains:

Tobacco is the element by which Iroquoians communicate with the supernatural and . . . Iroquoian guardian spirits are animals, birds and serpents. . . . It is certainly not accidental that these beings, when rendered on pipes, are situated so that they face the smoker.⁹

The form is highly naturalistic, from the reptilian eyes to the texture of the skin at the neck, the curve of the legs, the angle of the claws and neck, the tail, and the profile of the shell. The shell fits into the curve of the hand that holds the pipe; it would have been an intimate object to smokers, feeling alive in their hand, especially when warmed by the heat of burning tobacco. Holding the turtle in the palm of my hand as I looked at its motifs, it almost seemed to move. There are few examples of such naturalistic animal figures in Wendat archaeological collections, yet the virtuosity of this sculpture suggests a long learning curve, many practice examples, and a tradition of such representations.

Possible Meanings of Figural Imagery of Wendat Pipe Sculptures

Birds also appeared in pipe designs which, within the possibly spiritual role of effigy pipes, suggests that they had a connection with the spirit world, as we saw in

⁸ Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, 29, 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 164.

chapter 4 (see fig. 25). Mathews writes that, according to reports of the *Jesuit Relations*, personal guardian spirits were most often birds, and among the Wendat were often associated with the passage of the soul to the afterworld.¹⁰ Possibly the larger-than-life birds of the figurative bark works were also linked to spiritual traditions.

As well as animal and bird images, sculpted stylized forms of people, both faces and full body, are seen on pipes found at Wendat sites. In the depiction of people, as in the example of the ca. 1600 pipe bowl from the Forget site, contours of the face and body are smoothed, while circles or gashes indicate eyes and mouth, giving essential if minimal pictorial information that yet create a recognizable being (see fig. 24). James F. Pendergast describes the motif of a stylized human face, “two punctate circles and a horizontal gash” integrated in sculpted, stylized forms in pipe bowls found at late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century sites.¹¹

Mathews explores the possibility that the human forms meant that a pipe was owned by a shaman, however, she concludes that this is not supported by the evidence: “there is . . . no reason to assume that the presence of a human representation on a pipe indicates that it was owned by a shaman.”¹² Firstly, the pipes were far too numerous and secondly, the social structure of seventeenth-century Huronia was not based in shamanism.¹³ Instead, she suggests:

As every Iroquoian acquired and used a guardian spirit in the same fashion as a shaman, it is feasible that all beings on pipes represent these spirits. . . . It is conceivable that all decorations and shapes of smoking pipes had meaningful

¹⁰ Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, 180.

¹¹ Pendergast, “Lite Site,” plate 2, fig. 7, pp. 49, 26.

¹² Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, 164–65, 188.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 188.

connotations to the Iroquoians, although these meanings may be lost to us. It has become increasingly apparent that traditionally, Native Americans rarely employed designs which were purely decorative and it would seem incongruous that pipes, containers for tobacco, would be given meaningless designs.¹⁴

The interpretations of genre narrative motifs in Wendat bark work and Mathews' conclusion that Indigenous creators did not usually make designs that were "purely decorative" suggest that the representation of figures in bark works may contain layers of meaning grounded in *both* the spiritual beliefs and the everyday life of the community, and that they were further nuanced by Wendat understandings of European tastes and interests.

The spiritual content and meanings of Wendat eighteenth-century woven pouches support Mathews' argument. The geometric images on woven pouches have been interpreted as representing visions received during the dream quest, conveying spiritual powers for the dreamer that embodied a connection with their otherworld helper. Ruth Phillips states in "Dreams and Designs" that men would ask their wives to include certain motifs drawn from their dreams, in the beadwork done for them.¹⁵ Images acted as a connection between humans and the spiritual powers that would help them, reflecting an eastern Woodlands world view and humans' close relationship with personal spirits through these images.

As well as their spiritual content, the bark works represent connections with the animal and bird life of the Wendake surroundings and may also have been reflections of the everyday on which the community depended for food and materials for all areas of life. The bird represented in a bark wall plaque in the Døllner collection may be a

¹⁴ Ibid., 187–188.

¹⁵ Phillips, "Dreams and Designs," 61.

passenger pigeon, which nested in southern Quebec and across North America in the nineteenth century (see fig. 74; see also fig. 92).¹⁶ A bird illustrated in a bark tray now in the collection of the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, may be an artist's creative vision, although it does have a resemblance to the woodcock [bécasse], mentioned by François-Xavier Picard in his journal (see fig. 93; see also fig. 94).¹⁷

My research suggests that the Wendat women who made the narrative bark works played a key role both economically and as culture bearers and that their motifs record not only their Wendake environment and Christianized world but also their seventeenth-century home near Georgian Bay. In Mary Louise Pratt's terms, Wendake was a contact zone; that is, a place and time where groups who had been separated by geography and history (colonizers and the Wendat who were the focus of European colonizing efforts) interacted. In Pratt's terms, the bark works are autoethnographic, that is, referring to "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's terms. . . . Autoethnographic texts are texts the others construct in response or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations."¹⁸ Autoethnographic texts are constructed by those who are the focus of colonization. Such works engage with the colonizer's cultural traditions in this dialogue, intending to communicate in some way with the colonizer, and so use a degree of adaptation of the colonizer's forms of communication.¹⁹

¹⁶ W. Earl Godfrey, "Passenger Pigeon," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/passenger-pigeon>.

¹⁷ François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché, *Journal de François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché* (Wendake: Archives au conseil de la nationne huronne-wendat), Paul Picard, April 15 and 17, 1843.

¹⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 1992), 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

Autoethnographic texts are intended to be read by the Indigenous creating community as well as the colonizer, but hold different meanings for each community.²⁰ The bark works had these two intended audiences and different meanings for each, including what I suggest may be resistance to colonizing pressures. In its commercial role, the imagery mediated representation of the social reality of the community to create motifs that fit with expectations of European buyers, as I discuss in this chapter. Although the commoditized bark works were not made for a ceremonial or spiritual purpose within the community, the artists came from a visual tradition that worked in symbolic, pictographic terms. The imagery used in the commoditized objects would also have significance to the Wendat women who made them, grounded in their expression of their spiritual beliefs and world view, even if this is not clear today due to the incompleteness of the available information. This reflects the “dual significance” described by Phillips, where to Indigenous art producers, “commoditized visual arts . . . mean in the same way that other art forms do.”²¹ In this discussion I suggest possible meanings, intended for two different audiences.

Convent Tradition

The eighteenth-century convent moosehair-embroidered bark work contains some of the earliest imagery of Indigenous men and women and Wendat artists adapted this idiom of expression to create their autoethnographic bark works. Given the high number of girls and women from the Wendat community at the Ursuline school in the mid-

²⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

²¹ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 20.

seventeenth century, it is likely that the nuns drew on them as a basis for their narrative works.

As an introduction to the convent work, I describe the styles of figural representation and embroidery techniques of two examples in detail. The reticule base in the collection of the Cambridge University Museum of Art and Archaeology, its floral imagery discussed in chapter 5, depicts everyday life vignettes of Indigenous men and women (see fig. 95; see also fig. 96). A work basket now in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum depicts a fuller narrative, showing the “seasonal round of Indian life,” as Phillips writes in her discussion of the basket in *Trading Identities* (see fig. 97).

The reticule base and work basket are of different styles. Of the two, Wendat genre work is closest to the Royal Ontario Museum work basket in figural style and stitching techniques. The long and short stitch and/or the brick stitch and the laid satin stitch are used in the reticule base figures, giving shading and naturalism. The detailing is precise. In the centre panel, we can see the black of the eyes of the two figures, their shaped noses, detail of leggings, and quilled bands on the front of moccasins. In the side panel, we can see the white of the man’s eye and a black pupil/iris, the red, white, and blue colours of his pipe stem, and the ornaments in his hair arrangement. The shape of the limbs of the figures is visible, not only in the unclothed figure on the left in the centre panel, but also in the clothed figures. In the depiction of the position of distinct legs and arms, we can see that the artist aimed to depict a naturalistic representation of the human form, within the limitations of the media. The bird in the centre panel is naturalistic in size in relation to the human figures, a point of difference with Wendat works, where birds are at times almost as big as people, a difference I explore later in the chapter.

In the convent work basket, in the summer season shown in this image, the artist uses the laid satin stitch for the figures and for the canoe, water, and other objects. An oversewn line is used for edges and detail. Although there is less fine detail than in the reticule base, we can see a full depiction of community life, described by Phillips:

Landscapes of forest, lake, and snow are painstakingly represented, unified by a continuous ground line. Indian figures, accompanied by their dogs, paddle in canoes and walk through the pine trees while birds swim in the water and alight on the top of bark wigwams. Other figures sit on the ground smoking long-stemmed pipes beside trade kettles suspended between forked sticks. Women carry cradleboards on their backs, men pull toboggans over the snow, and children hold out tomahawks.²²

We can see the coloured ribbon work of the hem of the woman's dress on the right and what may be wampum around her neck. There is red in the cheeks of each figure and possibly a black stitch for the eyes, but they are not executed with the finesse of the reticule base. Representation of the human form is minimal. The shape of the clothing is used to give a basic outline; the position of legs and arms is generally hidden by the clothing.

The convent bark works, made for sale or as gifts, combine Indigenous materials and techniques of construction with the two-dimensional European tradition of figurative, narrative representation. This combination would have intensified the souvenir experience for the buyer, conveying an image of the place and people in a style of representation inflected with particular religious and colonial purposes, with exotic materials that give tangible evidence of place. Phillips explains the connection between the convent visual images as emblems and *topoi*, the verbal meanings in eighteenth-century texts. Topoi supply a generally recognized model of reality; they are a kind of

²² Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 112–13.

stereotyping of what was common knowledge at that time.²³ Phillips describes how the connections between visual images in the moosehair embroidery and the verbal topoi in the texts can make for complex readings of images and can contain contradictions.²⁴

Two texts, works by Jesuit priest Père LeJeune and Baron Lahontan, and two convent bark works, illustrate the relationship between the written work and the convent bark imagery and the underlying ideologies that the convent works represent—which the Wendat works and their different choices of representation seem to resist. LeJeune’s writings were widely read in France and Europe and were instrumental in forming European stereotypes of Native peoples.²⁵ His understanding of Indigenous cultures and ways of life, described in his texts, would have given the nuns an expectation of a promised land that was not a Golden Age, but rather one that offered rich opportunities for converting people who represented a lower level of man. He had described the need for nuns to “come seeking little souls in the rigors of an air much colder than that of France.”²⁶ The nuns would thus have seen themselves as coming to work among *pauvre sauvages*, who were to be pitied and assisted; they were sick, dying, and in need of conversion that would, with French help, raise them to a higher level of civilization.

The reticule base in the collection of the Cambridge University Museum of Art and Archaeology, its floral imagery discussed in chapter 5 and its figural motifs just

²³ Dermot McElholm, review of *Topoi, discours, arguments*, ed. Ekkehard Eggs, *Poetics Today* 23, no. 3 (2002), 559.

²⁴ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 116.

²⁵ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 1633–1635. The *Jesuit Relations* were the annual reports sent by Jesuit missionaries in the field to their superiors in Paris. They were edited in Paris to reflect the agenda of the Jesuit order, with the purpose of encouraging financial contributions to support missionary activity as well as Jesuit theology and politics.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, 261.

described, illustrates these topoi and the influence of LeJeune's text (see figs. 95, 96).

The images combine a range of motifs. An unclothed hunter/warrior or noble savage figure is situated with a clothed reclining figure holding what may be a drinking gourd or a bottle, with no apparent connection between them. In the eight side panels, floral motifs alternate with what seem to be motifs of Indigenous life and Christianity. In one, a Native woman in traditional dress stands, looking off into the distance with her hand shading her eyes, holding what appears to be a paddle, a symbol of what was to Europeans an exotic form of transport, the birchbark canoe. In another panel a bird, realistic in scale to the human figures, perches in a tree; in the third is what looks like a wild turkey; and in the fourth is a lamb. The lamb may represent Christ or the "pastoral world of classical Arcadia."²⁷

The evidence suggests that reticule motifs represent Indigenous peoples as potential converts. The seated man with the bottle is possibly a reference to LeJeune's description of the impact of alcohol while the lamb in the side panel is a possible reference to the Lamb of God and conversion.²⁸ Marie de l'Incarnation, Mother Superior in the Ursuline convent for much of the seventeenth century, used the lamb as a verbal motif of Christian conversion, which would support this interpretation of the motif on what is a Quebec convent production.²⁹

Another influential writer in the formation of European expectations of Native peoples was Baron de Lahontan, a French nobleman and soldier-explorer who spent

²⁷ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 117.

²⁸ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 5, 49.

²⁹ Marie de l'Incarnation, *Word from New France*, tr. Joyce Marshall (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), 375.

almost ten years in New France. As discussed in chapter 2, his memoir, the *Nouveaux voyages*, was first published in 1703 in French and English and was produced in 18 editions in three languages between 1703 and 1750.³⁰ An international bestseller, his concepts and physical description of the noble savage informed European expectations of Native peoples, particularly among the French and English. Lahontan's model of the noble savage is based in a life of simplicity with respect for the values of equality.

Lahontan writes:

I must note that the Savages have neither yours nor mine, neither superiority nor subordination, and live in a state of equality according to the way of nature. [Il faut remarqué que des Sauvages n'ayant ni *tien* ni *mien*, ni supériorité, ni subordination, & vivant dans une espece d'égalité conforme aux sentimens de la nature.]³¹

Perhaps the most visible connection between the nuns' work and Lahontan's text is his physical description of the noble savage: he describes Native men as natural men: unclothed, with little interest in clothes, and feeling no shame. He specifies what each warrior carried:

All that each Savage carried was a light blanket, a bow and arrows, or a gun with shot and powder, & ten pounds of corn flour in a small sack. [Chaque Sauvage avoit pour toute charge une legere couverture, un arc avec des fleches, ou un fusil avec plomb & poudre, & dix livres de farine de bled d'Inde dans un petit sac.]

This is the very image of the noble savage seen in the reticule base.³² Thus Lahontan's noble savage and LeJeune's savage-open-to-conversion, well known to both French and English readers, are strong suggestions as interpretations of the convent-embroidered commodities.

³⁰ Sayre, *Les sauvages américains*, 15.

³¹ Lahontan, *Mémoires*, 146.

³² *Ibid.*, 156.

The Picturesque

The artistic discourse of the period and interest in the picturesque is also evident in the convent works. The picturesque aesthetic and its conventions of representation guided British artistic production of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its influence extended into the artistic traditions of other European countries. The picturesque, a “mode of vision for the educated classes,” was a “triumph of illusion,” a kind of make-believe. It called for the construction of a picture that looked like a picture, with deliberate inclusions and exclusions, representing the landscape as if it were a painting, not as it actually was.³³ Elements were arranged according to the formal landscape tradition exemplified by Claude Lorraine, following the convention of framing repoussoir elements, of strong foreground, middle ground and background, and often with a stream or road leading the viewer’s eye from the foreground to the distance.³⁴ However, the picturesque experience required that it look irregular, including elements of roughness, contrast, and mixture.³⁵ In the colonial picturesque, the “garden-as-painting” of the English landscape picturesque became the “world-as-gallery” of the eighteenth and nineteenth century traveller, as they searched for picturesque views and scenery.³⁶

The composition and representation of nature in the convent works reflects the ideals of the picturesque, a privileging of the wilderness that displaced older concepts of

³³ David Watkins, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape, and Garden Design* (London: John Murray, 1982), vii–viii.

³⁴ Ian McLean, “Under Saturn,” in *Double Vision*, ed. Nicholas thomas and Diane Losche (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 152.

³⁵ Sidney K. Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), xi–xii.

³⁶ Tony Hughes-D’Aeth, “Pretty as a Picture: Australia and the Imperial Picturesque,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 57 (1997): 99–107.

“ideal order and divine design.”³⁷ As Phillips observes, the Native figures, and their clothing, with their “visible ethnic differences were exploited within the picturesque as pleurably exotic manifestations that, like rough and irregular features of landscape, added necessary interest to painting.”³⁸ Represented in the framework of the picturesque, the figures in the reticule base do not convey genre scenes of everyday life. The formal composition and the small scale of the figures in relation to the floral elements, which tend to dominate the field, give the impression of an imaginary, mythical world.

The Wendat Genre Sequence

In the convent bark work, the nuns combined Indigenous materials and bark containers used in daily life, with European embroidery techniques and European pictorial tradition. In this process of early eighteenth-century intercultural exchange, the convent sisters selected and invented from materials used in the communities of the region—the dominant culture at that time. When Wendat women artists began their commodity production of moosehair-embroidered bark work in the early nineteenth century or earlier, they were themselves living through a time of transition. European communities were becoming the dominant population in the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence region. Wendat women artists used the embroidery techniques and pictorial conventions of the convent bark work tradition, and then, in a further layer of intercultural exchange, invented their own conventions of motifs in the vignettes of daily life.

I have identified three main themes in the vignettes appearing in Wendat genre works: scenes of everyday life; motifs symbolic of Wendat spiritual beliefs; and motifs

³⁷ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 117.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

that represent the social issue of physical struggle between men and women. Each bark work was embroidered with several vignettes. All outward-facing visible sides of an object were used as design fields. Motifs from two or sometimes three of these themes would be shown together in one work, creating a complex program of motifs in each embroidered object. A tray in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology illustrates such a program: in the central panel is a large bird that looks like a robin, which suggests the spiritual role of birds in early Wendat beliefs as well as the everyday, while the side panels offer similar layers of content, reflecting both everyday life and possible symbolic meanings: a woman seated by a campfire, smoking, with a large bird overhead; a man walking with a dog; a scene of physical struggle between a man and a woman; a seated woman holding a basket with a grey fox in a tree; and trees laden with fruit in several of the panels (see fig. 98).

In Wendat figural representation, in the University of Pennsylvania Museum tray and in general, the laid satin stitch is used, with oversewn stitches used to suggest fabric patterns. Elements of dress are depicted, such as the ribbon work on the hem of a woman's skirt, but in general there is less finesse in detail when compared to some convent objects such as the reticule base discussed above. In Wendat genre work in general, artists did not aim for a naturalistic representation of the human form. As in the Bedford convent work basket (fig. 97), the shape of the clothing suggests a human form, while arms and legs are blocked out rather than showing realistic positioning of limbs.

Discussion of this tradition with contemporary artist Manon Sioui suggests the breadth of meanings contained in Wendat art works. She states that in a tradition not based in writing, the transmission of a story could be expressed in a design. She suggests

that the images contain symbolic, spiritual meanings and wisdom, and the purpose of the motifs is to transmit this content. For example, a tree bearing fruit could be intended to represent the tree of life, from the creation story.³⁹ The references of these motifs may not be clear now, but the images and their meanings suggest the traditional responsibility of Wendat women to speak out in the community about important issues.

Although the bark work vignettes appear to have been a new field for the Wendat artists, it continued the concept of commercial self-representation to the European Other that had been established in the Wendat doll-making tradition from the eighteenth century. The dolls representing a Wendat man and woman in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization were discussed earlier (see figs. 29, 30). The three-dimensional representation of dolls is translated into the two-dimensional form in the bark work, while the detail of pouches, headwear, baskets, and pipes is similar to the accessories that accompanied the dolls. Both forms would have appealed to the European desire for a memento that depicted the exotic Other, with details of the dress and way of life of Indigenous peoples. The dress of the dolls and the figures in the genre bark works show change over time, as the clothing becomes more European in style. The male doll at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, dated to 1788, has an appearance less influenced by European contact. He wears a floral shirt, bead and shell wampum belts, a pouch decorated with double curve motifs, a band of woven quill work with cone and moosehair fringe around his middle, leggings, and centre-seam moccasins in the upright style. His head is shaven except for a long section, and his face has marks that suggest tattoos or face paint. A man and woman with a cradleboard and baby at the Nationalmuseum,

³⁹ In conversation with Wendat contemporary artist Manon Sioui, Wendake, April 28, 2011.

Copenhagen, acquired in 1847, are dressed in traditional winter clothing of the nineteenth century: a capote or wool coat for the man and a wrapped blanket for the woman (see figs. 99, 100).

Establishing a Chronology Through Dated Collections

The earliest dated Wendat genre work known in the current research was collected in 1841: a wall pocket from the Olfers collection, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (see fig. 101). This coincides with an era of greater European artistic activity in Wendake. Wendat women's decision to produce two-dimensional figural narratives on bark may have been partially stimulated by the increasing number of European artists active in Wendake in the mid-nineteenth century, depicting the landscape and scenes of community members. The numbers of visitors also increased toward the mid-century; in 1840, the third Earl of Caledon commented about the new ease of travel and noted that a great number of English were visiting.⁴⁰ Phillip Bainbrigge was painting watercolour portraits of Christine and Nicolas Vincent and women of the community in everyday dress in 1838. Other amateur artists, such as J. A. Vesey, James Hope-Wallace, and Millicent Mary Chaplin, also produced watercolours of Wendat community members in this period, while professional artist Henry Daniel Thielcke painted a tableau portrait of the community, commissioned by Judge Symes in 1838 (see fig. 102). The Thielcke portrait was intended for Wendat and European viewers alike; copies were made from an engraving and given to community members.⁴¹ The names of

⁴⁰ Caledon, *1838–42 Journals and Correspondence*, 1840: B/8/22, 28; 1840: B/8/23.

⁴¹ *Revue canadienne*, vol. 2, tome 40 (http://www.archive.org/stream/p2revuecanadien40montuoft/p2revuecanadien40montuoft_djvu.txt), 147–48.

the Wendat men and women in the tableau portrait were listed in *La Revue Canadienne*.⁴² Not only were European visitor-artists interested in taking home images of Wendat community members, which would have indicated to the enterprising Wendat artists the strength of this market; but also Wendat men and women were involved in the portrait process and so knew the form of dress that was of interest to Europeans.

Wendat women's self-representation in their souvenir arts was, however, distinct from traditional modes of imaging identity and difference. In *Trading Identities* Phillips discusses the process of self-representation contained within souvenir production. She writes that these works required Aboriginal artists "to see themselves as the objects of the European gaze and to privilege, within their self-representations, those features that most interested the European other."⁴³ Phillips writes that the production of souvenirs was instrumental in the construction of a new consciousness of self and other, as European "pictorial techniques of objective description" entered Indigenous visual arts traditions as ways to represent difference. This was different from Indigenous conceptual ways of signing identity and difference—through clan membership and personal *dodems*, and representation in pictograph form.⁴⁴ The European interest in the customs and manners of Indigenous peoples was catered to through the depiction of pouches, shirt patterns, hats, leggings, and pipes in the figurative works.

To explore this sequence, I present a series of works from dated collections to identify stylistic changes over time and associate undated works with different periods of production. I then explore the iconography and possible meanings of the motifs.

⁴² Ibid., 345–47.

⁴³ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 87.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 87.

A wall pocket from the 1841 Olfers collection now at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, referred to earlier, is the first firmly dated figural work in the current research (see fig. 101).⁴⁵ From the confidence of its execution this was an established tradition. In the image, a woman in a European-style hat, wearing a fabric smock shirt, a wrap skirt, and leggings, carries a woven basket as she stands beside a strawberry plant that is as tall as she is, among flower blossoms that are of similar oversize proportion. The knotted berry stitch is used in the strawberries and the centres of the flower blossoms, the laid satin stitch is used for the woman's clothes, and the short and long or brick stitches are used for the flower blossoms. A border of small green leaves, characteristic of Wendat images, follows the edge of the bark pocket. The style of figural representation is similar to the style of the Royal Ontario Museum work basket, however the hat is evidence of intercultural exchange, not seen in convent imagery, while the strawberry motif suggests connections with Wendat spiritual traditions and healing practices.

Two cigar cases from the 1847 Döllner collection reflect the interest of European buyers in the manners and customs of Native peoples (see figs. 103, 104). They depict details of headwear, sashes, pouches, patterned dresses, and ribbon work. Stylistically they are similar, in the fine detail of faces, dress, and tree foliage; however, the use of stitches differs, suggesting two different artists. In figure 103, the satin stitch is used for some of the clothing and the faces, with an oversewn stitch to give the effect of fabric pattern in the woman's smock. The long and short or brick stitch is used in the man's tunic and parts of the tree, giving a sense of volume. In figure 104, the satin stitch is used

⁴⁵ A wall pocket was a wall ornament for domestic interiors. It was a pocket for holding letters or slips of paper.

for the faces and some of the clothing. The long and short stitch is also used but the stitches are larger, while the oversewn stitch on the woman's smock includes a woven stitch.

The cigar box in figure 103 is rectangular and has scenes on all six sides, which act as a guide to Wendat motifs: a fruit tree, oversized birds and strawberries, a successful hunt, a black fox killing a small bird, dog walking, and men and women harvesting. On one side of the cigar box in figure 104 we see fruit harvesting.

A tray now in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, collected in 1851, referred to earlier, is equally detailed, suggesting that close detail is characteristic of the late 1840s and early 1850s (see fig. 93). The tray demonstrates a general effect of fineness and detail, expertise in the precise placement of figures and landscape elements, and naturalistic rendering of the bird. There is an overall impression of airiness, the elements filling the design field but without an impression of crowding. It illustrates many of the motifs seen in the Döllner cases and is notable in the high degree of verisimilitude of the bird in the centre panel. The bird has some resemblance to a woodcock. It is highly detailed, with graduated colour in short and long or brick stitches. The border of strawberries in the panel around this bird suggests a spiritual significance. The unusual foliage in some of the trees, green with a darker green delineating the stems, is similar to the foliage in one of the trees in the cigar case seen in figure 103. Following Giovanni Morelli's theory that small details such as the technique of painting an ear or fingernail can be the signature of one artist, the technique used to depict the leaves in these two works is distinct and indicates the hand of a particular woman.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works* (London: John Murray, 1900), 44.

A tray in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly is probably in the same date range as the Døllner and Eylardie works (see fig. 105). It is similar in the fine detail and graduated colours of the feathers of the bird in the centre panel and the range of motifs in the side panels. The use of vegetable rather than aniline dyes suggests an upper limit date of 1857. This date is supported by information about the collector, Emile Carrey. In 1847 he negotiated an annual exchange of parliamentary documents between the Washington Senate and the French Bibliothèque de la chambre des pairs, the upper chamber of the French Parliament.⁴⁷ It is possible that he visited Wendake in this period, the same year as the formation of the Døllner collection.

A cigar case in the Museum für Völkerkunde, dated to 1858 by its inscription, has a slightly sketchier stitching style and less detail, suggesting the beginning of a trend (see fig. 106). The laid satin stitch predominates, with a short and long stitch or brick stitch in the leaves and tree trunk. The form and arrangement of the tree, birds, and fruit on the top of the case are similar to a scene on the base of a cigar case in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, dating from 1861, suggesting that they are by the same artist (see fig. 107). On the other side of the 1861 cigar case, a tree shows an innovative, unconventional style. With an impulse towards the representation of movement, the tree has no ground line; it swirls around a central point (see fig. 108). In a further innovation, although the moosehair has worn away, two animals, possibly porcupines, can be seen climbing the tree. This is an example of a commonly used motif interpreted differently, given a creative variation that sets it apart.

⁴⁷ Assemblée Nationale. Base de données des députés français depuis 1789.
http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/sycomore/fiche.asp?num_dept=8507#biographie

A box given by the Canadian Commission to the 1878 International Paris Exhibition illustrates the innovative style characteristic of later nineteenth-century works: a movement towards a limited palette, depicting a reduced repertoire of figures in less detailed shapes (see fig. 109). The figures seem like repeated blocks of colour that form abstract patterns. Aniline dyes are evident in the mauveine and acid yellow colours. The general effect is of harmony and balance in colour and shape, suggesting an artistic impulse towards abstraction and, from the European consumer side, an interest in such designs. Probably in response to the greater demand for goods in this period, the artists made a virtue out of necessity. They developed a new style that was pleasing to the eye but in a different way from the earlier works that required more attention to detail.

Motifs as Expression of Themes

These examples of the genre sequence provide illustrations of the main Wendat genre motifs in three main themes: everyday life, spiritual beliefs, and scenes of physical struggle, and the many points of difference between Wendat images of self-representation and convent representations of the Other. The convent works, based in European traditions of representation, encode an interpretation of “Indianness” within the picturesque, and relate to their producers’ and buyers’ understanding of assimilation and the mythical Other. The theme of everyday life seen in Wendat vignettes and the possible symbolic meanings of many of the motifs were a departure from convent conventions.

A central difference between convent and Wendat bark figural works is that while convent works show Christian iconography, Wendat works show no evidence of Christian symbols, although the community was known for its deeply held Christian beliefs. The convent reticule base described earlier showed the motif of a lamb, possibly

associated with the Lamb of God. A round box in the collection of the Hôpital-Général in Quebec City depicts Christian iconography from the Book of Revelations (see fig. 110). The naturalism with which the lamb is depicted is stylistically similar to the naturalism of the convent reticule described earlier, and suggests that this is convent work. The long and short stitch is used to convey a sense of volume, while delicate stitching of the legs, head, and ears creates a realistic representation. Within a baldaquin, the lamb lies on a book from which are suspended seven seals.⁴⁸ This image represents the seven scrolls sealed with seven seals that can only be broken by the slain lamb. These scrolls release the prophecies of the end of time and the return of Christ to the earth.⁴⁹ The absence of Christian symbols in Wendat-embroidered motifs indicates that the souvenir arts were a medium through which Wendat women expressed a continued connection with their cultural traditions despite assimilationist pressures.

The Wendat motif of fruit gathering, such as tree fruit and strawberries, seen in figure 104, helps to explore this question. These motifs may have two levels of meaning and reflect two of the genre themes. They may represent the everyday, the seasonal activities of the community and their relationship with their environment. This representation of the everyday was also consistent with European buyers' expectations of Indigenous society, a rustic life close to nature. But they may also represent the mythological/spiritual, conveying meanings based in traditional Wendat beliefs, the origin stories recorded by Jesuit priests in the seventeenth century and by Marius Barbeau in the early twentieth century. Possible interpretations of the presence of strawberries and

⁴⁸ A baldaquin is a canopy of state over an altar or throng, usually made of cloth.

⁴⁹ Rev. 5:1–9 NASV.

scenes of women gathering them relate to the myth of strawberries along the path to the afterworld, to the Matron of Souls, or to the creation myth of paradise on earth, symbolized by the large fruit and flowers.⁵⁰

In the Wendat creation tale, before the earth's creation, human-like people lived in villages in the Sky-world and depended mainly on fruit trees and Indian corn for subsistence.⁵¹ When the earth came into being after the fall of the Sky-woman, she bore twin sons, the bad brother Tawiskaron and the good brother Tse'sta.⁵² Earth was a paradise where everything man could need was available, including abundant fruit such as strawberries, created by the good brother, Tse'sta. However, the bad twin changed this world forever, making life difficult so that man had to work for food and survival.⁵³

Oversized strawberries appear in many of the bark works. Hamell writes that the significance of berries in Northern Iroquoian narrative and ritual is in their "inherent power of physical and spiritual renewal," and that, occupying as they do the threshold between the village clearing and the surrounding forest, berries hold a liminal position between the earth and the sky in stories and ritual.⁵⁴ In Iroquois spiritual beliefs, they are believed to have been brought to Earth-island from the Sky-world by Sky-woman and, similar in many aspects to those of the Wendat, the Sky-woman becomes the Matron of

⁵⁰ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 139.

⁵¹ Barbeau, "Supernatural Beings," 289.

⁵² Ibid., 292. This is an interpretation of good and bad that is either Barbeau's or an overlay of Christian belief in good and evil. As Georges Sioui's narrative of the same story in chap. 1 explains, Indigenous beliefs do not support such absolutes.

⁵³ Barbeau, "Supernatural Beings," 292.

⁵⁴ Hamell, "Trading in Metaphors," 8–9.

the Souls who tends the fields of strawberries on the way to the afterworld.⁵⁵ The woman walking, basket in hand, tending strawberries, in the wall pocket seen in figure 101 may illustrate this. Hamell reports that the Delaware Algonqians, close neighbours of the Northern Iroquoians, believed travellers to the spirit world are greeted there by “women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries, and bilberries, large as apples.”⁵⁶ For Wendat, too, the strawberry plant in the bark works may thus also have been a reference to the role women played in healing.

The appearance of what look like apple trees in many bark objects, often with women and men harvesting, filling baskets with fruit, as seen in figure 104, may also be a reference to traditional creation beliefs as well as a representation of the work of everyday life. According to another version of the creation story, narrated by Wendat artist Sylvie Paré, when Sky-woman fell from the Sky-world, she reached up and held onto a tree in the Sky-world, and this was the apple tree, which came with her to earth.⁵⁷ This suggests that the appearance of apple trees may be both a reference to the creation story and the importance of the fruit to the Wendat in their daily lives. What seems clear from this discussion is that the scenes relate to Wendat spiritual beliefs, and women’s role in these stories, rather than Christianity. In addition to possible spiritual significance, the harvest scenes also represent agricultural use of the land, and work, which I discuss later in this chapter.

Birds are one of the most common motifs found in the nineteenth-century Wendat figurative bark works; their prevalence and large size in relation to human figures are

⁵⁵ Hamell, “Trading in Metaphors,” 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁷ In conversation with Wendat contemporary artist Sylvie Paré, Montreal, April 19, 2011.

distinctive differences from convent works, and again reflect the themes of everyday life and spiritual beliefs. In her discussion of effigy pipes, Mathews states: “personal guardian spirits, which may have any form, are most commonly described as birds, as least for the Huron.”⁵⁸ In the Wendat origin story, birds—either geese, swans, loons, or seagulls—rescued Sky-woman when she fell from the sky and held her on their wings above the water while the animals made the land on Big Turtle’s back.⁵⁹ The appearance of birds as effigy figures in pipes, associated with meditation and communication with the spiritual realm, suggests that birds on trays also have a spiritual significance.

Wendat bark objects draw on European conventions of naturalistic pictorial representation of space and objects, for example depicting recession in space. However, the hierarchic scale in Wendat works is a significant departure from these conventions. Larger-than-life animals, most particularly birds, are a dominant element, suggesting the spiritual importance of these beings. The oversized birds seem to communicate with men and women, as illustrated in the panel of a tray at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris (see fig. 111).

This hierarchy of size between birds and people, which is consistent across decades of representation by Wendat women artists, may express Wendat or broader Great Lakes spiritual beliefs and understanding of relations between people and the spirit world. In “Ojibwa ontology, behavior, and world view,” A. Irving Hallowell argues against “projecting upon those [non-Western] cultures categorical abstractions derived from Western thought.” He discusses a Northern Ojibwa world view and its perspective

⁵⁸ Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, citing from Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol 17, 153; vol. 33, 193, 180.

⁵⁹ Barbeau, “Supernatural Beings,” 289–90.

that is fundamentally different from Western concepts of being: it includes other-than-human beings in the category of persons; it recognizes the possibility of transformation between other-than-human and human form; it qualifies as animate things that in Western thought are seen as inanimate.⁶⁰ Aspects of the Northern Ojibwa world view described by Hallowell are consistent with Wendat beliefs, particularly the connection with birds as guardian spirits, a category of other-than-human being. The motif of a large bird, possibly an eagle, is often seen on Wendat trays, for example in the Musée du quai Branly tray in figure 105, and may refer to the Thunderbird or Thunderer spirits of the Sky-world, discussed in chapter 1. What may be a black panther in the centre panel of a tray at the Peabody Essex Museum may also be related to cosmological meanings (see fig. 112). This motif may symbolize the Mishipishu, the spirit of the Underwater world in the Great Lakes spiritual beliefs (discussed in chapter 4), which was portrayed either in the form of a panther or serpent. This imagery in souvenir art may have reflected knowledge of earlier Wendat beliefs in tandem with the practice of Christianity in the community. The panther motif on bark souvenir ware is suggestive of copper images of what may be a panther found at the Wendat Robitaille Site, dating from ca. 1620 to 1635 (see fig. 113). A copper serpent image was found at the Wendat St. Louis site, from the same period.⁶¹ In *Native Peoples' Use of Copper-Based Metals in NE North America*, Lisa Anselmi describes the serpentine form as “interpreted as a Mishipizheu figure, crafted using native copper.” She writes: “Most effigy forms were perforated or formed with attachment

⁶⁰ Irving A. Hallowell, “Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View,” in *Readings in Indigenous Religions*, ed. Graham Harvey (London: Continuum, 2002) 21, 23, 34–37.

⁶¹ M. Latte, “The Robitaille Site: A Contact Period Huron Village,” *ARCH Notes*, No. 71–9 (November 1971): 3.

areas, suggesting possible use as pendants or amulets.”⁶² Whether the panther motif on bark in the nineteenth century would have carried the same spiritual meanings as the motif in the early seventeenth century is difficult to know.

A prevalent animal motif in Wendat bark work is a tree-climbing grey fox, illustrated in a side panel of the tray from the Musée du quai Branly (see fig. 114). Today the tree-climbing grey fox is generally found in southern Canada (see fig. 115). However, “archeological evidence suggests that the grey fox was almost as common as the red fox in southern Ontario as far north as Midland just prior to European occupation.”⁶³ The fox also figures in Wendat stories recorded by Marius Barbeau. The two stories in which the fox appears are narratives with a moral, with the fox and the racoon as the main characters in both. The racoon plays tricks on the fox, who is helped by other animals.⁶⁴ There is no mention of the fox climbing trees. This suggests that while the grey fox motif may be a reference to Wendat oral tradition, it also refers to the natural environment of Wendake. In addition, the fox played an important commercial role in the community in the nineteenth century. Mireille Sioui’s grandfather, Chief Emery Sioui, from the Wendat reserve known as the *Quarante Arpents*, raised fox and mink. He bred a particular kind of blue-grey, silver fox with a cross on its back and sold the furs in Canada and the United

⁶² Lisa Anselmi, *Native Peoples’ Use of Copper-Based Metals in NE North America* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 2008), 164–65.

⁶³ K.A. Judge and M. Haviernick, *COSEWIC Assessment and Update Status Report on the Grey Fox *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* in Canada* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 2002), iv.

⁶⁴ Barbeau, “The Fox and the Racoon,” in *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 180–91.

States.⁶⁵ This suggests that the fox motif may have been a reference to a Wendat business enterprise.

Another interesting scene found in a number of examples is a man walking a dog on a lead or a dog walking with people, illustrated in figure 103. Mireille Siouï explained the importance of dogs and their different roles in community life. Dogs were companions, they helped in the hunt, and they pulled sleds in wintertime. The Wendat also kept a kind of dog called “the white dog” that was killed and eaten at a ceremonial feast at the time of the new year in January. Wool used in weaving was also obtained from these white dogs.⁶⁶ In the bark works, the dogs appear only in their role as companions, and not in their work or ceremonial aspect. That they were only shown in their role as companions is possibly a reflection of the limited representation of work in Wendat life in the genre scenes.

Conventions of Representation in the Genre Sequence

How Wendat artists depicted their physical environment also distinguished their souvenir work from convent production. Wendat artists drew on convent compositional devices, such as the framing trees and foliage, themselves general references to the seventeenth-century French pastoral scenes and classical landscapes of Claude and Poussin. This was consistent with the picturesque’s indirect representation of nature through reference to earlier works. However, Wendat artists’ conventional landscape is less the wilderness suggested by the convent works and more an image of managed land.

⁶⁵ Observation by Mme. Mireille Siouï and Mme. Hélène Siouï, Congrès d’étude Wendat et Wyandot, Wendake, Québec, June 14, 2012.

⁶⁶ Mireille Siouï stated that in the 1970s, her younger sister Marjolaine Siouï visited an Aboriginal nation in British Columbia that used white dogs for the same purpose. She tasted the meat and saw some clothing woven from the wool. In conversation with Mireille Siouï, April 29, 2011.

Wendat figures are set in a landscape, standing on an earth-coloured ground line of green, brown, and gold. The figures are neatly spaced between what look like identifiable trees of the eastern Great Lakes region, representing a local environment. The trees and shrubs bear fruit, which are harvested by Wendat men and women. An apple tree in a harvest scene in a cigar box at the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen appears to illustrate an apple orchard (see fig. 104; see also fig. 116). A tree in the Eylardie tray at the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, with its pale bark, may be a birch tree (see fig. 117; see also fig. 118). Above all, this is an inhabited world, an environment that the Wendat engage with, work with, and alter. This is in contrast to convent figural works, which represent a wilderness with Native peoples as one among many elements of the landscape.

Wendat artists were selective in the motifs they developed, possibly aware of what Europeans were interested in seeing from observation of European artists' works. Wendat figures are surrounded by and interact with elements of the landscape, such as birds and animals, but give no indication of productive work beyond fruit picking and hunting. The activities that are shown were characteristic of an ethnic picturesque, presenting a stereotype of the Native hunter/gatherer. The main work activity of the community, fabrication of snow shoes and embroidery of moccasins, was not represented, nor was the actual work of hunting, dogs and men pulling sleds carrying deer or moose back to the village. The absence of depiction of work that looked like actual labour enhanced the imagery's quality as a picture.⁶⁷ This particular construction of rusticity seems to have been a deliberate choice, itself characteristic of the picturesque: "the appearance of rusticity belies the self-consciousness employed to fashion the

⁶⁷ Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque*, 97.

picture.”⁶⁸ The images of the community presented a life that was not functional; it was “an experience one would prefer to view rather than live in,” again characteristic of the picturesque.⁶⁹

Difference in dress is a further Wendat assertion of identity in the bark work. The convent image of the noble, undressed savage does not appear. Wendat figures are dressed in traditional clothing with accessories of the everyday: men’s belt pouches, and women’s baskets for gathering fruit, pipes, and leggings; and with a reference to production, some women carry baskets for sale hanging from poles carried over their shoulders. Men carry guns and what may be moose callers. Often men and women hold objects that may be drinking gourds or bottles. The men do not seem to wear ceremonial clothing; they wear simple tunics and, often, toques, an element of French Canadian dress. Embroidered captain’s coats, used as ceremonial wear, or brassards, the silver armbands worn by men, or the silver coquettes, discs worn by women as a necklace, do not appear in the works known in the current research.

Apart from a gradual decrease in the detail of clothing and landscape from earlier to later works, the format of figurative representation in the Wendat works changed little over time. The earliest dated examples of the genre work are from the 1840s, made in the period when Lady Mary Lambton, Lord Durham, and the Earl of Caledon were visiting Quebec, in their journals and letters describing the land and Native peoples in terms of the picturesque. Later genre works from the 1860s may have been collected more in the context of the vanishing race, possibly related to a market that developed from around

⁶⁸ Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque*, 31.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 99.

1860 to 1920. Moira McCaffrey writes that in this period museum and private collectors hurried to buy items that they thought were the last vestiges of a race about to become extinct.⁷⁰

Wendat scholar Jonathan Lainey describes the particular, highly visible context of intensive ethnological collection in Wendake (Lorette) at this time. Precious historical objects such as medals, wampum belts, *ceintures fléchées*, and other items held by members of the Lorette community were mentioned in many publications and in that period, “when one spoke of the Hurons, one spoke also of their material culture” [quand on parle des Hurons, on parle aussi de leur culture matérielle].⁷¹ There was pressure from antiquarians and collectors on the Wendat to sell these objects and visitors came regularly to the community to buy such works.⁷² Given the European focus on the Wendat community as a source for all things that were evidence of what was seen as a vanishing race, the moosehair-embroidered scenes of traditional community life may have continued unchanged as a response to this interest. There were only a limited number of wampum belts, *ceintures fléchées*, and medals, and they were not necessarily available for sale; but the ample production of scenes of traditional life made by members of the so-called vanishing race offered to buyers an opportunity to own what they may have seen as “souvenir as memorial.”⁷³ These same works, from the perspective of the Wendat makers, asserted their continued existence.

⁷⁰ Moira T. McCaffrey, *Wrapped in the Colours of the Earth / Aux couleurs de la terre* (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992), 34.

⁷¹ Jonathan Lainey, *La “monnaie des sauvages”* (Sillery: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 139.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 140.

⁷³ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 134.

One theme that appears in the Wendat genre sequences jars with the general impression of community activity and harmony. This motif, which seems to depict a man and woman in physical struggle, is seen on a cigar case at the National Museum of the American Indian and on a tray at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Archaeology (see figs. 119, 120). This motif was well known to both Manon Sioui and Mireille Sioui, although it has not yet been discussed in the academic discourse.⁷⁴ The unexpected nature of this image may explain the omission, or the reason may be that the figures of the man and woman were understood to be dancing, as I thought at first. Of the five examples of this I have seen some use only vegetable dyes while others include aniline, suggesting a date range from the 1840s to the late 1850s or later.

Violence in nineteenth-century Indigenous communities was most commonly caused by drinking. John Long's description of such violence in *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* gives a clear understanding of the pervasive nature of this problem and the injuries and deaths that resulted.⁷⁵ One might think that this motif depicts such episodes. The Wendat community at Wendake, however, was known for its longstanding tradition of abstinence from alcohol. Long writes "they are an exception to the generality of Indians, seldom drinking any spirituous liquors."⁷⁶ In his *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette*, Abbé Lindsay's history of the Wendake community, the author also describes the community's "abstinence from alcoholic drinks" [abstinence de boissons

⁷⁴ In conversation with Mireille Sioui, Wendake, April 29, 2011; in conversation with Manon Sioui, Wendake, April 28, 2011.

⁷⁵ Long, *Voyages and Travels*, 7, 56, 145-146.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 154.

enivrantes].⁷⁷ If, as the historical record suggests, violence resulting from alcohol is not the probable explanation of this motif, what might the alternative explanations be?

One possibility is that this troubling motif could also recall an historical scene produced by the Jesuits' encouragement of husbands to physically chastise their wives if they did not accept patriarchal social and family structures. In *Chain Her by One Foot*, Karen Anderson outlines this aspect of Jesuit activity in Great Lakes communities.⁷⁸ She writes that Wendat women were subjected to violence by Wendat men, who were acting on Jesuit pressures to control their wives using force if necessary, as part of their Christian conversion. While there have been critiques of Anderson's arguments, and I do not accept her conclusions regarding Wendat women's subjugation,⁷⁹ it does seem possible that violence against women was encouraged by the Jesuits and that an incident, remembered and retold, may have become part of the oral tradition which then appeared in nineteenth-century artwork.⁸⁰

Wendat women today offer alternative suggestions. Following Manon Sioui's interpretations of the symbolic content of the genre motifs, the scenes of violence may have conveyed larger political meanings. In the mid-nineteenth century, Wendat women who married men outside the Wendat community lost their rights to the annual gifts given by the Indian Department to Indigenous military allies as well as their Reserve land.⁸¹ During this same period, as Mireille Sioui explained, some Wendat men also

⁷⁷ Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette*, 93.

⁷⁸ Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot*, 192-94.

⁷⁹ K.I.Koppedrayar, Review, *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 29.57 (1996), 246.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 227-229

married non-Indian women. After two generations of consecutive weddings with non-Indian women, the Government declared them “absentees.” As such they lost all their Indian rights, and the Government sold their Reserve lands to non-Indian people.⁸² In her view, the motif of struggle between men and women may have reflected this issue.⁸³

Offering another possibility, Mireille Sioui commented that while traditional social structures and women’s positions of respect and autonomy continued in most cases, there were also exceptions and physical struggle could occur. She suggested that possibly the motifs were a form of therapy, a way to work through the pain of witnessing or experiencing these struggles. As both Mireille Sioui and Manon Sioui have said, at a time when not everyone used writing to express meaning, pictorial representation such as the bark motifs was a form of self-expression.⁸⁴ These images may have been women’s ways of speaking to the community about these issues. In *The Children of Aataentsic*, Trigger states: “in family matters Huron women had a strong voice.”⁸⁵ It was also the Wendat women’s role to speak out on issues affecting the community as a whole, and there is documentary evidence of matrons fulfilling this role both in the Wendat confederacy in 1635 and after the dispersal, among the Huron-Tionontaté in 1730.⁸⁶ It is

⁸¹ Marguerite Picard and others to Lord Elgin, James Bruce. *Petition*, 21 October 1850. RG 10, c11511, vol.186. pp. 108186-108188. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada.

⁸² Email correspondence with Mireille Sioui, August 24, 2012.

⁸³ Email correspondence with Mireille Sioui, June 2012.

⁸⁴ In conversation with Mireille Sioui, Wendake, April 29, 2011; in conversation with Manon Sioui, Wendake, April 28, 2011.

⁸⁵ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 523.

⁸⁶ In 1635 Jesuit priest Père LeJeune attempted to open a school for Indigenous boys in Quebec. Twelve boys from the Wendat village of Ihonatiria were selected. However, “when the time came to depart, the women of the households that those twelve boys came from raised so many objections that only three of

also difficult to know what meanings this motif was intended to have for European buyers, or what meanings buyers drew from it. At this point in the research, we cannot establish one particular interpretation among the range I have discussed.

The images of Wendat men and women are true to life; however the clothing of the bark work figures was not altered to reflect changes in dress that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. The bark genre work continued production until the late nineteenth century, with figures still dressed in the style of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.⁸⁷ After the mid-nineteenth century, while women tended to continue to wear traditional dress, men increasingly adopted European clothing. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, women also adopted European clothing. This reflects Wendat understandings of European taste, a taste formed by notions of authenticity, primitivism, and antimodernism, all within the desire for the experience of the picturesque. Wendat women artists adjusted how they depicted themselves and chose which aspects of their lives to depict in order to sell successfully to their market. These are images of the Other by the Other, aware of how they are seen by settler communities and turning this to their purposes.

The choices in self-representation made by Wendat artists, staying within nineteenth-century European notions of authenticity, may have catered to the English quest for the picturesque. The journals of Lady Mary Lambton and Jane Ellice, written

the twelve boys were permitted embark.” Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 523. In the 1730s, the French were trying to persuade the Huron-Tionontaté who were living near Detroit to move to Montreal, where they would come under Jesuit influence. White writes that “clan matrons took such a prominent role in opposing French attempts to move the Huron-Petuns [Tionontaté] to Montreal that Governor de Beauharnois’s nephew and agent . . . resorted to secret councils restricted to men in an unsuccessful attempt to break the influence of the women.” Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 194.

⁸⁷ Cory Willmott, “From Stroud to Strouds,” *Textile History* 36, no. 2 (November 2005): 203.

during their stay in Quebec in 1837, reveal that the essentialist notion of authenticity was well established by this point, close to the time of the earliest dated Wendat figurative works. The journals describe the quest for landscape views of the picturesque and sublime and a preference for views of Indigenous peoples in an appearance uninfluenced by European contact. Lady Mary writes: “rode to Lorette, an Indian village 9 miles off . . . pretty waterfall but hardly any real Indians.” This reflects her interest in the picturesque and her expectations of how a “real Indian” should look and act, possibly informed by *The Last of the Mohicans*, widely read in this period.⁸⁸ The representation of figures in traditional clothing when many in the community had adopted European dress may have been an artistic choice to meet the demands of the marketplace.

It is interesting that Wendat artists chose to represent themselves in more everyday than special occasion or ceremonial dress in the souvenir works. The tableau painted by Henry Daniel Thielcke, ca. 1839, *Presentation of a Newly Elected Chief of the Huron Tribe, Canada*, depicting the honorary adoption of Judge Symes, shows members of the Wendat community in special occasion dress (see fig. 102). The men wear black redingotes, black top hats, and silver arm bands and medals, while the men in the bark work wear variously coloured shirts with feathers in their hair, toques, or pointed long caps; there is no sign of medals, redingotes, or feather headdresses. The women in the painting also wear black top hats, while in the bark work they are generally bare headed. In other ways the women in the painting and the bark work wear similar outfits: patterned calico shirts and wrapped ribbon-decorated stroud skirts, leggings, and moccasins. The stroud skirt was worn by “Native women of many nations from the Eastern seaboard to

⁸⁸Lambton, *Journal*, 8 September 1838, p.77; Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 81.

the Mississippi River and the eastern border of Lake Superior” from the mid-to-early eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century.⁸⁹ In her article “Stroud to Strouds,” Willmott notes that the decoration of the stroud with ribbons and beadwork was in accordance with a woman’s wealth and status.⁹⁰ This suggests that the women in the Døllner and other works were well to do and of high status, since the detail of ribbon work is clearly visible in the moosehair embroidery.

The figurative works include flowers but as a rule they are stylized rather than naturalistic and are part of the landscape rather than the central focus. The figures of men and women are also stylized. They are not intended to show individual people or details of facial features but basic types: men, women, and children. In general, the figures are two-dimensional in profile with both legs visible, even in seated figures. The representation of recession does occur in some group scenes: a figure is depicted half the size of others giving the impression of being in the background, suggesting the influence of European pictorial traditions. The general style of these works changes over time. Between the 1840s and 1860s, small stitches and considerable ethnographic detail are used. Figurative works after the 1860s tend to have larger stitches with fewer figures, fewer accessories, in a more stylized appearance of reduced detail. This may have been a response to the large demand for work allowing less time to spend on each item, consistent with the shift in the moosehair embroidery of the moccasins, where the stylized floral motifs became more simplified and less complex. The floral designs on the figurative bark work were as a rule more two-dimensional than the naturalistic, three-

⁸⁹ Willmott, “From Stroud to Strouds,” 203.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 203.

dimensional floral design category on bark work. The figurative work in a pair of book covers in the Døllner collection and the Eylardie tray are exceptions (see figs. 73, 93). The creator of these works represented floral motifs with naturalism in works with animals and Wendat figures. Colour choices in the genre works were naturalistic, rather than the possibly symbolic colours of the geometric, semiabstract linear, and stylized floral sequences discussed in chapters 4 and 5. However, a new style in the genre sequence emerged toward the end of the century, more abstract in form of representation and less naturalistic in colour, as I discussed in chapter 5 in my description of the box in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly, in figure 109.

The arrangement of figures in the genre works follows conventions that create balance and harmony. Each work, whether a cigar case, tray, or box, usually has numerous scenes with a number of elements in each scene; hence these conventions of arrangement were important to make the scenes ordered to the eye and understandable. The placement of design elements to follow the shape of the object was a priority. Trays, for example, have from four to eight side panels around a central panel. A chain of leaves that is the top border of the elements in each panel follows the line of the outer edge of the panel, be it straight, scalloped, chevron, or hook shaped. Unity in the relation of the parts to the whole is characteristic, through the balance of the elements within the panels and of the panels to the whole tray. The sense of movement is likewise unified; most figures are walking, usually in the same direction. The leaf chain that follows the shape of the exterior edge, with the uniform ground line that follows the straight line of the base of the panel and anchors the elements depicted in the panels, visually links the side panels and connects them to the centre panel.

Moosehair-Embroidered Souvenir Arts

by Other Indigenous Communities

An eight-sided tray in the collection of the Musée des confluences is stylistically different from works generally attributed to the Wendat of Wendake (see fig. 121). As Phillips and Feest discuss in reference to the development of the convent souvenir tradition (see chapter 5), souvenir arts production was a point of exchange of materials, techniques, and motifs between Indigenous and Euro-Canadian communities. In examples such as this, analysis of style of technique and motif can suggest a non-Wendat origin, possibly French Canadian or Mi'kmaq. One of the most noticeable differences in this tray in comparison with Wendat genre sequence is the naturalistic scale of the size of birds and human figures. In Wendat works, birds in particular are larger than life, as I have discussed above. This may reflect a difference in the symbolic meaning of the trays. To a European maker, the birds and animals might not have held the symbolic meaning that they would have held to a Wendat maker, hence the naturalistic size. In addition, the artist represents men and women with an interest in naturalistic shaping of arms and legs. In another difference in style, rather than the border of small green leaves characteristic of Wendat work, the border in this tray is made of single stitches arranged in threes.

The Role of Wendat Women Artists

The stylistic diversity and consistently high levels of virtuosity that we have seen in these works, together with the great volume of work that was produced by a small group of women, speak to the important role played by these artists in their community. Perhaps the closest parallel to the magnitude of Wendat production during the second half of the nineteenth century, and the centrality of the role of professional women artists,

is the role Inuit women have played in the production of prints, wall hangings, and sculptures a century later. At the time of its souvenir arts production, Wendake, like Inuit communities such as Kingait (Cape Dorset), had a very high number of artists as a percentage of the population. These artists, like those in Inuit communities today, produced a high volume of art works for commercial purpose each year. To both communities, art became virtually a sole means to economic survival after the destructive impact of European newcomers. There is a further parallel, in how the commercial art tradition grew from traditional material culture.

Like artists in Inuit communities, Wendat women artists created works to meet the aesthetic understandings of European and Euro-Canadian buyers, yet maintained the sense of difference and the Other through materials and subject matter. Works by both Inuit and Wendat communities appeal to the buyers' perception of wilderness. For European buyers of Wendat material and southern buyers of Inuit material, an antimodernist perception of primitivism was and is located in the images of eastern Woodland pastoral and southern perceptions of a wild North.

Several issues in the discourse of Inuit art today have parallels with issues relating to the souvenir works by the Wendat community: understandings of authenticity; art versus souvenir; European concepts of individual artistic genius versus commercial production. These European understandings of art in the past labelled works by Wendat artists as craft, while those by Inuit creators moved rapidly to the category of fine art. The difference is that works by Inuit artists are in stone and print, media traditionally associated with European fine arts, while Wendat women artists worked in materials associated with craft.

Conclusion

The sample of Wendat bark work that I have presented in an array of European domestic objects demonstrates an understanding of Victorian tastes and represents a tradition that was distinct from the souvenir work in hide. Moosehair on hide work was mainly in the form of objects of Indigenous origin—moccasins and pouches—elaborated with motifs that adapted European floral imagery to Wendat conventions of colour and design that met consumer taste for the exotic, well-made souvenir. Bark work was mainly in the form of objects of European domestic origin, elaborated with more naturalistic floral motifs, reflecting the influence of Asian floral design on European taste.⁹¹ As in hide work, innovations in bark work design did not follow a linear development; early styles were produced concurrently with new looks, and particular motifs and arrangements persisted along with change.

The impact of the pressures of volume production is evident in some later bark work, in the simpler designs and motifs that seem more like sketches than the detail of earlier works. However, this also introduced the innovation of an abstract aesthetic. Using limited palettes in blocks of colour, the arrangements of elements form almost abstract designs. What is apparent is that although there was a specific set of motifs—for example images of birds in a tree, a woman sitting by a campfire, a man walking a dog, men hunting, women gathering berries or apples, the broken tree with a new bough—these could be arranged in a wide range of groupings and with different stylistic approaches. This is seen in the naturalistic images of flowers; some are formal, static, and inhabit limited space, while others are full of movement and push the edges of the design

⁹¹ Goody, *Culture of Flowers*, 3.

field. The stylistic diversity of the work suggests that a significant number of women were engaged in its production, and also that while the range of vignettes was limited to established motifs that were known to the European market, the artists were moved to find individual expression and to express this repertoire in new and different ways.

The choices in Wendat self-representation and differences from European representation that these choices demonstrate the continuity of elements of traditional social structure in nineteenth-century Wendake. Theirs was a language of representation that differs in significant ways from the convent imagery. Teharihulen Michel Savard, Wendat artist and conservator at the Musée Huron-Wendat, observes that the genre works met the interests of European buyers of the period, as mementoes of a visit and a place, and at the same time, through these works Wendat women artists represented the people of the community as they saw themselves, as individuals of a distinct nation. Teharihulen Michel Savard draws a parallel between the genre bark works and the self-portraits of Zacharie Vincent. Working in the second half of the nineteenth century, the same period when the genre bark works were produced, Vincent painted portraits of himself in Wendat ceremonial dress as an individual of the Wendat nation, and sold them successfully to European buyers.⁹²

Another aspect of this analysis is that while the focus of the chapter is a study of the genre sequence and its characteristics and changes over time through close examination of techniques and arrangement, the lives of the women producing the works are always evident. The virtuosity of the needlewomen, both in technical skills and

⁹² Teharihulen Michel Savard, contemporary Wendat artist, in conversation, Gatineau, April 2011; Anne-Marie Sioui, "Zacharie Vincent: un oeuvre engagé?", *Recherches amérindienne au Québec* 11, no. 4 (1981): 335.

aesthetic sense, and the fact of the time-consuming, meticulous nature of the work, done to support families and community, comprise the underlying context of which the viewer is always aware.

CHAPTER 7

THE ELGIN TRAYS AS DIPLOMATIC GIFTS:

A SUMMATION OF CONTINUITY IN VISUAL ARTS AND CULTURE

In 2010, Library and Archives Canada received a remarkable assemblage of artifacts and documents acquired by Lord and Lady Elgin during the years when Lord Elgin was Governor General of Canada, 1847 to 1854. Amongst the items are two birchbark trays embroidered with floral motifs, Lord and Lady Elgin's initials, and coat of arms (see figs. 75, 76). These trays, together with their documents, are evidence of a further important role that moosehair-embroidered bark works played: as an innovative adaptation of Wendat traditions of diplomacy, designed to meet the changing circumstances of the European presence. In the same way that the genre bark works offer insight into the individuality of artistic expression and creativity, in interpretations of the everyday and evidence of traditional beliefs, the moosehair-embroidered diplomatic bark works bring nuanced understanding of the strategic initiatives of community leaders to maintain and support the distinct identity of the Wendat. The mid-nineteenth century was a time of growing European settlement and major changes in colonial policies towards Indigenous nations, with increasingly rigid policies of assimilation. The Wendat development of these diplomatic initiatives may have been a way to negotiate the resulting political tensions.

A case study of the two Elgin trays illustrates the main themes we have explored: continuity in visual arts traditions, the agency of women, and the ability of the Wendat to strategically adapt their diplomatic and commercial affairs in times of change. Further, the Elgin trays and the relations between the Wendat community and the British colonial

administration and settler community provide new insight into the historical connections between the Wendat community of Wendake (Lorette) and settler communities. This case study is thus informed by Bruce Trigger's recognition that the actions of Indigenous communities demonstrate "the rational pursuit" of their own interests, and refutes the entrenched notion that the actions of Native communities were "less rational than Europeans."¹

The corpus of material I examine in this chapter includes not only the Elgin trays themselves, but also two paintings that record the Wendat presentation of diplomatic gifts to European or Euro-Canadian dignitaries; examples of birchbark text scrolls that were often part of Wendat diplomatic ceremonies; and archival documents: journals, diaries, and colonial correspondence that record the everyday interactions of the people involved in their production, reception, and collection. These documents provide a close-up look or micro-history that leads to more general conclusions about relations between the Wendat and settler communities.² For example, the correspondence of colonial administrators gives a fascinating eyewitness account of changes in attitudes towards Native peoples as British policy shifted almost from month to month in response to events in what was then the Province of Canada. The detailed examination of documents allows us to escape the limitations of linear narrative and the binary opposition of colonizer and colonized, settlers and Indigenous peoples. Instead it provides an opportunity to see the complexities in both European and Wendat perspectives, to understand the importance of the role of the individual in shaping intercultural relations,

¹ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, xix.

² Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 2–3.

and to complicate the understandings of the macro historical level, which tend to simplify and lose the texture of everyday relationships.

Ulrich remarks in her account of the diary kept by midwife Martha Ballard that apparent trivia “[reach] to the marrow of eighteenth-century life.”³ She argues that the power of Ballard’s diary is in its dailiness.⁴ This approach based on trivia restores what Ulrich calls a lost substructure; it transforms “the nature of the evidence upon which much of the history of the period has been written.”⁵ Similarly, the Elgin trays, considered as a historical record, together with the letters, diaries, and journals from the Wendat and settler communities and the correspondence of the colonial government, offer insight into both Wendat-settler relations in the mid-nineteenth century and the larger political environment in which the Wendat souvenir arts were produced.

The Elgin Trays Described

The two Elgin trays are the focus of this case study. They are made of moosehair-embroidered birchbark, elaborated with floral motifs in the naturalistic floral style sequence and British heraldic symbols. In Lord Elgin’s tray, each of the side panels has a border of small green leaves, while the initials of his title, E & K, Earl of Elgin, and Kincardine under an earl’s coronet are in the centre panel, surrounded by a garland of lavender thistles, white flowers, and pink and white flowers. The heraldic motif is represented with accuracy. In British heraldry, an earl’s coronet has

... rising from a golden circlet, eight lofty rays of gold, each of which upon its point supports a large pearl. Also between each pair of rays, at their bases, there is a golden conventional leaf, the stalks of all three leaves being connected with the

³ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife’s Tale* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

rays. . . . In representations, five of the elevated rays with their pearls and four of the leaves are shown.⁶

A crimson cap is enclosed within the circlet. In Lord Elgin's tray, this model of representation is followed almost exactly. Five of the elevated rays are shown with their pearls, and four pale red stitches may represent the four leaves. The dark red showing below the gold circlet represents the crimson cap.

The sprays of lavender thistles and flowers, bordered by another line of small green leaves, are stitched with fine detail in an exquisite example of the naturalistic floral style sequence. The base of the thistle gains texture from a criss-cross of over stitch, layered over the laid satin stitch. The long and short stitch or the brick stitch is used in many of the leaves and flower petals to achieve graduated colours and shading. The berry stitch appears only at the centre of the blossoms and to depict jewels in the coronet.

In Lady Elgin's tray, each of the side panels has a border of large tree leaves, possibly maple, while in the centre panel the initials, which appear to be M. L. E., are below an earl or countess's coronet.⁷ These initials may stand for Mary Lambton Elgin, Lambton being Lady Elgin's family name before she married. The heraldry in this tray is as exact as in the other, and the floral motifs are of an equally high degree of naturalism. A difference between the coronets is that in this tray, the gold rays are topped by blue and yellow stitches that may represent jewels rather than pearls. In the side panels, the border of tree leaves is represented in colours of the seasons: pale green, dark green, and autumnal shades. The delicate veins of the leaves stand out in contrasting shades. As in Lord Elgin's tray, in the centre panel a border of small green leaves provides edging

⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., s.v. "Earl."

⁷ *Ibid.* The coronet of an earl and a countess are the same.

around a garland, in this tray formed by groupings of blue convolvulus, strawberry fruit and flowers, what may be a rose at the top centre, and two other floral motifs. The three strawberries are at different stages of ripeness. The berry stitch is used extensively in this tray—in the strawberries, the convolvulus, the rose petals, a white flower, and the jewels in the coronet. Long and short stitch or brick stitch is used in the tree leaves and in the floral motifs.

Some of the floral motifs in the two trays may have symbolic meanings. The thistle is the emblem of Scotland and of the Order of the Thistle. Lord Elgin was Scottish and also a member of this order of chivalry. The strawberry in Lady Elgin's tray may refer to Wendat spiritual beliefs.

The heraldic motifs are highly unusual in the moosehair-embroidered bark work. Where do they fit in the tradition of Wendat visual arts? As we have seen, during the nineteenth century the Wendat developed a highly successful commercial production of embroidery. Students of these arts have not, however, acknowledged the important use of moosehair embroidery as a component of the diplomatic gifts presented to dignitaries who visited the Wendat community. The moosehair-embroidered birchbark scroll certificate of adoption and the address given to Swedish Consul General Folke Cronholm in 1905 is an excellent but almost unknown example (see fig. 11). Lord and Lady Elgin's embroidered bark trays are better known, but their probable diplomatic significance has not been recognized. Whether they were given to Lord and Lady Elgin by the Wendat as diplomatic gifts or commissioned by Lord and Lady Elgin, the iconography of the trays, the heraldic imagery, the initials, the association of floral motifs expressing Wendat traditional beliefs with floral motifs symbolizing European nations, and the negotiations

that were taking place in this period between the colonial government and Indigenous communities, place these trays within the sphere of Wendat diplomacy.

Diplomatic Context

Received by Lord Elgin in the context of diplomatic meetings with Chief François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché, the Elgin trays represent a long history of diplomatic gift exchange. Diplomatic bark ceremonial scrolls or gifts of wampum were presented together with an oration to European dignitaries at Wendake or when deputations of Wendat leaders visited Quebec City. The reception of colonial dignitaries at Wendake had begun in the seventeenth century, when the community's shrine of Notre Dame de Jeune Lorette served as a pilgrimage site. Visitors of note were welcomed at Wendake with a feast and formal oration. Pilgrimages to Notre Dame de Jeune Lorette ended after the British takeover of Quebec, but the tradition of visits to the community by colonial dignitaries continued under the English regime.⁸

Gifts of wampum by Wendat leaders to further close relations between communities date back to the presentation of wampum to the Ursuline sisters in 1651,⁹ and continued in the nineteenth century. In 1891, for example, Chief Paul Picard Tsa8enhohi presented a string of wampum with an accompanying oration to the Count of Paris during a visit to Quebec.¹⁰ The tradition of presenting bark ceremonial scrolls was well established in the nineteenth century. The earliest French and English explanatory glosses for wampum—*parole/voix*, *word/voice*—make clear the role wampum played in

⁸ Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-dame de la Jeune Lorette*, 234.

⁹ Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, *La nation huronne* (Quebec: Pelican, 1984), 321–22.

¹⁰ Ernest Gagnon, *Le comte de Paris à Québec* (Québec: C. Darveau, 1891), 135–136.

representing the formal verbal communications of Native leaders.¹¹ The Elgin trays and the diplomatic bark scrolls, with their symbolic textual and imagistic language, played a similar role, memorializing meetings, diplomatic exchanges, and agreements between representatives of nations, adapting the mnemonic aspect of the wampum and the oral tradition to the Western tradition of writing. Further, the European heraldic and national motifs embroidered on the Elgin trays set them apart from the commercially produced Wendat souvenir wares, which were known for their floral motifs and images of Wendat figures in scenes of daily life.

The Attribution of an Oeuvre: The Elgin Tray Artist

Representing as they do the Wendat tradition of diplomatic presentations, the trays need to be understood in the context of the mid-nineteenth-century situation of the Wendat and the individuals who enacted the exchange. The history of these people, the Vincent and Elgin families, supports our understanding of the trays' role as diplomatic documents. As I have discussed in earlier chapters, it has also been suggested that Marguerite Vincent La8inonke (1783–1865) was their creator. Marguerite Vincent's position as the mother of Chief François-Xavier Picard, living in the home that was the site of meetings with Lord Elgin and possibly present during these meetings, and a woman noted for her skill in moosehair embroidery, supports this attribution of moosehair-embroidered works that also played a political role. However, community knowledge of mid-nineteenth-century moosehair embroidery production, brought forward through discussion with Mireille Siouï, suggests that the artist who created the trays could also have been one of the artist-needlewomen who produced works for the Vincent-

¹¹ Lainey, "Monnaie des sauvages," 27.

Picard family souvenir enterprise.¹² However, we can identify the trays' creator as the Elgin tray artist, and through stylistic similarities between the Elgin trays and a group of other mid-nineteenth-century works, potentially form the basis for the identification of this artist's oeuvre. All but one of these works were collected by the Elgin family and are now located in the Thaw collection at the Fenimore Art Museum and at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (see figs.122, 123).

Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, whose Wendat name means *la jeune fille Huron* [the young Huron girl], was also known as *la femme habile aux travaux d'aiguille* [the woman skilled in needlework]. She was a force in the Lorette community in the mid-nineteenth century, during the period when Lady Mary Lambton spent a year in Quebec with her father, Governor General Lord Durham, in 1838 and returned from 1848 to 1853 as Lady Elgin, wife of Governor General Lord Elgin. In my discussion of bark works that functioned in a diplomatic context, I position the role played by Marguerite Vincent in the development of the souvenir arts production as part of the history of strategic actions and forward thinking of a leading Wendat family. If she was not the creator of the Elgin trays, she may well have been responsible for the commissioning of these works and, with her family, for the diplomatic content of their iconography.

Marguerite Vincent is linked to the trays both in her role as an artist and her family's development of the souvenir industry, and as a member of a family of hereditary chiefs noted for their diplomatic and political activism. Her family of hereditary grand chiefs was politically active. Her father, Dartmouth College-educated Louis Vincent, moved forward with Wendat land claims in 1791 and founded a school in Wendake in

¹² Mireille Sioui in discussion, Congrès d'études Wendat et Wyandot, June 14, 2012.

1794.¹³ Her half-brother, Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi (1769–1844), was grand chief and her son François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché was a chief.¹⁴ Chief Nicolas Vincent was a highly respected diplomat who devoted much of his life to a judicial battle to reestablish the Wendat nation's land title. In 1819, 1824, and 1829 he represented the Wendat nation of Lorette concerning land claims to the Chamber of Assembly of Lower Canada and in 1825 he visited George IV at the court in London for further discussion of land claims.¹⁵ This demonstrates the Wendat tradition, carried on by members of the Vincent family, of political activism and diplomatic meetings with heads of state to further Wendat political aims.

Marguerite Vincent was famous for her excellence in needlework and won recognition as a teacher of moosehair embroidery, as a businesswoman, and as an artistic innovator.¹⁶ Her story illustrates the role Wendat women artists and their creative works played in this negotiation, at the centre of commercial and diplomatic engagement between settler and Wendat communities. The commercial works were created for and appreciated and bought by European settler societies, while the bark diplomatic/ceremonial scrolls, written in text possibly by men, were often worked with moosehair embroidery by Wendat women.

Marguerite Vincent's home, the home of the Vincent hereditary chiefs, was where Chief François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché received Lord and Lady Elgin during their

¹³ Jean-Pierre Sawaya, "Les amérindiens domiciliés et le protestantisme au XVIII^e siècle: Eleazar Wheelock et le Dartmouth College," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* (Fall/automne 2010): 15.

¹⁴ Drouin and Rankin, *Marguerite Vincent "La8inonkie,"* 2154.

¹⁵ Lainey, "Monnaie des sauvages," 148.

¹⁶ Tanguay, "Marguerite Vincent La8inonkie," 2–4, 12–15.

visits to the community. In addition to its role as a site of diplomatic meetings, the Vincent home played a central role in the commercial production of moosehair-embroidered souvenir works. The tradition of diplomatic gifts and related documents is thus a new area of study and one that offers important evidence of the continuous agency of the Wendat community in the realm of politics and diplomacy during the nineteenth century. Through ceremonies that were memorialized by these gifts, the community maintained diplomatic relations with successive colonial governments in which they expressed their identity as a nation and their sovereignty in the face of settler hegemony. Study of these diplomatic traditions and documents demonstrates that although the Wendat population was small in relation to the rapidly growing numbers of settlers, this did not bring a loss of the distinct political identity or polity. On the contrary, the Wendat of Wendake were and continue to be a politically organized nation, whose leaders made and continue to make astute decisions in managing their public affairs in diplomacy and in commerce.

Historical Context of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

It is important to understand the significance of the Elgin trays not only within the political events of the mid-nineteenth century but also in the context of the earlier history of Wendat relations with colonial powers as military allies of the French and then the English.

The tradition of bark scrolls or certificates was consistent with the Wendat nation's long history of pursuing its own cultural, economic, and political interests in relations with French and English colonial powers. In *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701*, Gilles Havard writes that in the eighteenth century "colonial power was not

exercised fully in the mission villages [Wendake being one of the mission villages]; the villagers were not subject to French justice, paid no seigneurial dues.”¹⁷ For much of the eighteenth century they fought beside the French in raids against the English colonies as autonomous allies, with goals that were parallel to but distinct from those of the French.¹⁸ For example, the Wendat involved in the Deerfield raid of 1704 were engaged in a personal war. They were not fighting against a specific threat to their land but primarily to capture prisoners for the purpose of adoption.¹⁹

The Wendat continued as military allies of the French until the British took power in Quebec in 1763, when they shifted their military support to the English.²⁰ Marguerite Vincent La8inonkie’s half-brothers Joseph and Stanislas Vincent were members of the Voltigeurs canadiens and as such were cited for bravery during early-nineteenth-century conflicts; they took part in the defence of Canada against the United States and fought for the English in the 1812–14 war.²¹ After the end of the War of 1812 the British no longer saw the Wendat as essential military allies, and the Wendat found themselves in tension with British colonial administrators, particularly over land rights. They continued to pursue their political interests as an autonomous nation, negotiating both with Indigenous nations and the British. While to mid-nineteenth-century European visitors they may not have seemed “authentic Indians,” the diplomatic addresses I discuss clearly assert the

¹⁷ Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 37.

¹⁸ Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amhurst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 2.

¹⁹ Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*, 2.

²⁰ Lainey, “Monnaie des sauvages,” 29.

²¹ Jean-Pierre Sawaya, *Ignace-Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi* (formulaire de demande-personne 2000-41, Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 2000), 2116–18.

community's sense of Wendat identity. George Colpitts' study of seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century French and English trade narratives describes this gap between European description of changes in Indigenous society and the reality in Native communities. He analyzes the trade discourse to discover the European cultural and ethnographic assumptions about Indigenous peoples that these texts reveal and how these assumptions change over time.²² He concludes that Europeans first saw Indigenous peoples as independent, then positioned them in the framework of assimilation, and finally as dependent on colonial government; and that these shifts were influenced not by any actual changes in Indigenous societies but by changes in the way they were described in European texts.²³ The creation and reception of the Elgin trays and Wendat diplomatic traditions exhibit similar shifts. The period during which the Elgin trays were made and received was made difficult by a number of factors: the hardening of assimilationist policies; the growing belief that the Wendat of Wendake were not "authentic" because they were too assimilated; and the increasing pressure for land, from settlers, the lumber industry, and the encroachments of private game clubs. Both the Elgin and Vincent/Picard families were committed to traditions of diplomacy, speaking for their nations and furthering their nations' interests. While Lord Elgin himself showed insight into the difficulties facing Indigenous peoples in their relations with colonial government, he did represent the colonial policy of the period that supported their assimilation.²⁴ In this same period, Marguerite Vincent La8inonke's family was active in asserting Wendat

²² George William Colpitts, *Vice, Virtue, and Profit in the Indian Trade: Trade Narrative and the Commercialization of Indian Trade, 1700–1840* (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2000), 17.

²³ *Ibid.*, 340.

²⁴ Theodore Walrond, ed. *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1873), 158.

rights to their land, this claim and the land itself embodying their identity as a nation.

Lord Elgin represented a government that was moving towards industrial schools and the residential school system, whereas the Wendat community had had schools in their communities, with Wendat teachers, since 1794.²⁵

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Wendat hunting territory was gradually eroded through the encroachment of the forestry industry and growing settler populations. The traditional gifts that they received from the crown as military allies ended, and they faced pressures of assimilation from the colonial government.²⁶ In chapters 4, 5, and 6, I discussed the significance of the souvenir arts tradition as a source of income and as a site for the continuity of expression of cultural traditions and identity. These works are an indication of what I suggest was a set of strategies for the engagement with settler societies. These strategies were demonstrated in many ways: through the value the Wendat placed on European education while at the same time honouring their national customs, language, and beliefs; through their representation of their territorial rights in land claims to the Assembly of Lower Canada, to the English crown, and to representatives of colonial governments; and through their souvenir industry, which recognized and developed the settler population as a market.²⁷ Their refusal to assimilate continued into the twentieth century with successful resistance to government pressures of emancipation.²⁸

²⁵ Thaddeus Osgood, *The Canadian Visitor* (London: Hamilton and Adams, 1829), 24.

²⁶ Delâge, "Tradition de commerce," 42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁸ Patrick Brunelle, "Les hurons et l'émancipation," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 30, no. 3 (2000): 79–80. Emancipation was a term used by the Canadian government to mean the release of Indigenous peoples from their position as wards of the Canadian government to become full citizens. The

The mid-nineteenth century was a pivotal time for French, English and Indigenous peoples. In the period between 1837 and 1854, a major shift took place in British colonial policy towards the Native peoples of Upper and Lower Canada, the consequences of which are still felt today. There was a total reconsideration of the role of Native peoples in British policy. From their position as necessary military allies whose abilities and support were essential to the stability of the British colony in North America, the needs of the British colonial project moved Indigenous peoples to a position as subjects whose docility, “civilization,” and conversion to agricultural practices and European education became the priority.²⁹ It was marked by tensions around many issues, such as the strain in French-English relations in Canada evidenced by the 1838 Rebellion and its aftermath and the achievement of “responsible government.” It was a period of government movement towards policies of emancipation³⁰ and Industrial schools (the forerunners of residential schools).³¹

Canadian government’s *Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians* of 1869 was an attempt to Canadianize and assimilate Indigenous peoples into settler society, offering Indigenous men the same rights as other British subjects. This required, however, the relinquishment of Indigenous status and rights.

²⁹ *Copies or Extracts of Correspondence Since 1st April 1835, between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governors of the British North American Provinces respecting the Indians in those Provinces* (London: Ordered, by the House of Commons to be Printed, 1839) 1–10.

³⁰ Legal emancipation was part of the Canadian policy of enfranchisement, a “policy tool for assimilation.” Legal Indian status and Canadian citizenship were seen as incompatible. As a Canadian citizen, a person had a right to vote and could own land outside his reserve. For a Native person, emancipation meant assimilation within the dominant culture. However, to do this they had to give up legal recognition of their Indigenous identity. They would lose any of the rights the Canadian government was obligated to fulfill for Indigenous peoples. Alan C. Cairns, “Aboriginal Peoples’ Electoral Participation in the Canadian Community,” *Electoral Insight* (Ottawa: Elections Canada, 2003).

³¹ Industrial schools were the forerunners of the residential school system. They were boarding schools for children from Indigenous communities. Their purpose was to assimilate Native American children into the society of the dominant culture. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded in 1878, was a model for later residential schools. Chippewa Indians of the River Thames (London, ON) Industrial School Treaty, Feb. 12, 1849 “Indian Treaties and Surrenders, from 1680 to 1890,” <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/PageView/91942/0268>.

It is probable that the diplomatic meetings and gifts of this period were designed by the Wendat to help work through their conflicts with colonial governments by building diplomatic connections. Conflicts over land and education are two examples of the struggles taking place between the Wendat and the colonial government. Wendat chiefs from the Vincent and Picard families met colonial heads of state from the Durham and Elgin families in diplomatic circumstances, while the chiefs from the same families as well as others in the community worked to protect the boundaries of Wendat territory. This continued in the nineteenth century, a possible resistance to the Industrial schools discussed by Lord Elgin in connection with emancipation.³²

Education as Resistance, Education as Assimilation

The Elgin trays would have been received within the varied European understandings of Indigenous identity of the period, which were informed by notions of authenticity, perceived by well-bred European travellers through their understanding of the picturesque and the sublime. Exploration of these varied sources makes clear the gap between settler perception and Indigenous self-knowledge. Education was a central point of difference. The Wendat valued education within the European system as a means to an end, namely, cultural continuity and sovereignty. For their part, the British colonial government saw educating Indigenous peoples as a means of assimilating them.

The value the Wendat leadership placed on European education as a strategy for resistance was a key element in their international relations policy and was a continuation of Great Lakes traditions. In the early-contact period, allied Indigenous nations and nations that formed confederacies frequently exchanged children, bringing up children in

³² Osgood, *Canadian Visitor*, 158.

each other's communities, so that better understandings of languages and cultural traditions were maintained.³³ In later periods, Wendat community members educated in European schools had knowledge of British culture as well as political and bureaucratic systems. This served the community in continuing Great Lakes diplomatic traditions in a colonial context and helped Wendat leaders to further Wendat interests and maintain the community's boundaries, both geographically and as a people. At the same time, knowledge of Wendat traditions and beliefs was highly valued; the work of members of the community who were keepers of wampum, language, songs, and traditions was highly valued and respected by the community.³⁴

Lord Elgin's writings on education were grounded in the European beliefs in progress and cultural hierarchy of the period; however, they also make clear that he had an idea of the difficulties with the "Canadian system," which treated Indigenous peoples "partly as independent peoples and partly as infants under its guardianship," writing that it was likely "in the long run to prove as disastrous to them [Indigenous peoples] as that of the United States." This statement suggests that he was able to see the situation between Indigenous peoples and colonizers to some degree from an Indigenous perspective. However, he saw emancipation—to Indigenous nations, a loss of national identity and community—as a possible way out of this dilemma, showing the gap in understandings of Indigenous identity between the Indigenous and European communities. Industrial schools, later called residential schools, were seen as a means of assimilation and were tied in colonial policy to emancipation. After a period of education

³³ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 64, 173, 183, 188–89, 190, 204.

³⁴ Jean-Pierre Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché* (formulaire de demande-personne 2000-43, Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 2000), 2175–76.

in an Industrial school, it was thought that an Indigenous person would be prepared to “start in independent life,” apart from the “tribe of which he was a member.”³⁵ This is an expression of Elgin’s views on assimilation and the beginning of the idea of emancipation of later government policy, clearly at odds with Wendat identity and nationhood.

In the terms of postcolonial discourse, expressed by bell hooks in “Marginality as Site of Resistance,” Lord Elgin’s view of Industrial schools and their assimilationist purpose was from the perspective of the European colonizer, at the centre, looking at Indigenous communities, at the margin. bell hooks describes her university education, and the power “to separate useful knowledge that [she] might get from the dominating group from participation in ways of knowing that would lead to estrangement, alienation, and, worse, assimilation and cooption.”³⁶ Wendat leaders from the early days of contact placed a high value on the education offered by European teachers. Their decision to send students to European schools seems to have been informed by the power described by hooks, to take the useful knowledge that the dominating culture had to offer, without becoming alienated or assimilated. The Wendat community had entrusted their children to education with the Ursuline sisters and the Jesuits since the seventeenth century, at a time when Indigenous peoples greatly outnumbered European newcomers and settlers depended on Native communities for survival. This was possibly with the intention of better trade and diplomatic relations, following the Indigenous tradition of children being

³⁵ Walrond, *Letters and Journals*, 158.

³⁶ bell hooks, “Marginality as Site of Resistance,” in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990), 342.

sent to live with families in allied nations as a way of establishing and maintaining cordial relations, to further Wendat economic and political goals.

After the English takeover of Quebec in 1763, there was a dramatic shift in power and a diplomatic realignment. The Wendat chiefs worked strategically to build relations with the British government. In the late eighteenth century, students from Wendake, with students from other Indigenous nations on the St. Lawrence, attended Dartmouth College, a Protestant school in New Hampshire. In a very different situation from the residential schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Indigenous students together with students from New England settler communities received a liberal arts education. Louis Vincent—from a family of Wendat chiefs and father of Nicolas Vincent, later Grand Chief, and Marguerite Vincent, the moving force behind the nineteenth-century souvenir arts—was one of these students. He was the first member of an Aboriginal community in the Canadas to receive a BA, graduating in 1781 as a minister, teacher, and interpreter; he spoke French, Wendat, English, and Mohawk.

Sending students to this school was a strategic decision by the chiefs of the St. Lawrence nations. The students' knowledge of English culture gave them an advantage in dealings with British political and legal systems. Members of the new generation of leaders in their community were familiar with European society and taste, and at the same time they grew up in a culture rich in Indigenous visual arts, with strong traditions of trade and diplomacy, and with the importance of community and a sense of the Wendat as a distinct nation at the core.³⁷ This is evident from Louis Vincent's actions on

³⁷ Sawaya, "Amérindiens domiciliés," 11–16.

his return: he set up a school, outside the influence of the Jesuit priests, and moved forward with a legal process of land claims.

The voices of British visitors and their perception of Wendat identity are amply recorded. The voices of the Wendake community and their knowledge of their own Indigenous identity were recorded in the writings of German academic Johann Georg Kohl, who visited Wendake between 1854 and 1856. He describes the Wendat as “educated and civilized.”³⁸ Kohl was not the average traveller. He describes himself as a German intellectual. He was trained as a lawyer, and his field of study was geography and urban transport. He was inventive and open-minded.³⁹

He visited the school in Wendake and spoke to the Wendat teacher and the children. He recorded the teacher’s and students’ responses to his questions and noted how everything about the teacher and students went against his understanding of cultural identity. He describes the children’s “free and bold attitude.”⁴⁰ He notes with surprise that the cultivated man who was the teacher identified himself as Huron; in Kohl’s words, he “acknowledged his savage origin,” as do the children, when Kohl questions them.⁴¹ He is surprised that Native people of mixed blood, as he describes the teacher and many of the children, identified with their Indigenous rather than European heritage. He writes of the appearance of the children: “some of them were as fair and rosy-cheeked as Europeans. Some however had the brown faces and harsh coal-black hair of the pure Iroquois.”⁴² He

³⁸ Kohl, *Travels in Canada*, 180.

³⁹ Johann Georg Kohl, “A German Traveler in Minnesota Territory,” trans. and ed. Frederic Trautmann. *Minnesota History* (Winter 1984), 139.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁴² Kohl, “A German Traveler,” 177.

is surprised that they are “always able to tell from what race they were descended” (by which he meant which nation). He reports that while most of the students identified themselves as Huron, “some were Algonquins, some Abenakis, and others Iroquois, and there were also a few Amalekites, or Micmacs from New Brunswick.”⁴³ What is most important about these diaries and journals is what they tell of the opposing understandings of identity between European and Indigenous peoples, and the difficulty Europeans had, as spelled out by Kohl, of understanding or even recognizing Indigenous peoples’ confident self-identification with their national heritage.

Some Wendat children went on from the community school to attend the Ursuline School, the Petit-Séminaire, and the Séminaire de Québec. For example, Chief François-Xavier Tahourenché, who presented the address to Lord Elgin, and was the grandson of Dartmouth graduate Louis Vincent Sawantanon, attended the school in Wendake (Jeune-Lorette) with his brother, studied classics at the Petit-Séminaire in Quebec, and became a teacher and surveyor. He later used his professional training to help the Wendat community protect its lands. Along with others in the community, his son, Paul Picard, followed the same path. He studied at the Séminaire de Québec and was the first of the Wendat community to become a notary or lawyer; his sisters attended the Ursuline school.⁴⁴

The Vincent and Picard family histories illustrate the Wendat community’s tradition of engaging with European institutions and building from these engagements to further the interests of their nation’s identity and sovereignty. It demonstrates the

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché*, 2175–76.

differences between European perceptions of Native communities and education and how the Wendat and other Indigenous nations of the St. Lawrence viewed education. The Wendat saw the value of both for their children: European education, and also an education in their own language, customs, and beliefs. This dual education for Wendat children suggests a strategy for cultural continuity—to argue for land claims, maintain their distinct identity, and educate their children in their own community, from a position of education in the European-based system.

While Wendat leaders planned for the education of their children in their own school or sent students to the schools that were also attended by settler community children, the problems that exist today in the tragic aftermath of residential schools and ongoing poverty of many Native nations were foreshadowed in the rapid changes in British colonial policy in relation to Indigenous nations. This is demonstrated in government correspondence of 1837. The letters between the Earl of Gosford, then Governor General of British North America, and the Secretary of State for the colonies, Lord Glenelg, explore the beginnings of this change. The Governor was asked to put two questions to the Chiefs of the Nations of the Canadas: first, could the gifts given as military allies be commuted to money; and second, could part of this money then be retained by the government to pay for schools to teach Native children?⁴⁵ Gosford was instructed that the Chiefs' wishes were to be respected, and "any change of the present System [of gifts] . . . should be made with the free Consent and Concurrence of the Indians themselves, signified through their Chiefs."⁴⁶ Behind these questions is the

⁴⁵ *Copies or Extracts*, 11.

⁴⁶ *Copies or Extracts*, 40.

British government's desire to phase out the gifts, the Indian Department that administered them, and the role of Native nations as military allies, "to relieve . . . the British Public, from all unnecessary Expenditure on account of this Service."⁴⁷ In 1837, with the tension of the Rebellion of 1838 in the air, the government was still anxious to keep good relations with Indigenous leaders, first in case their military aid was required, and second, for fear of an uprising of Native nations, of "great Discontent among the Indians, and perhaps . . . Consequences of a very serious Nature."⁴⁸ Luckily for the British, as it happened, Indigenous warriors continued their tradition as military allies; Mohawk warriors of St. Regis fought and defeated a rebel force in 1838.⁴⁹

The Chiefs of the Nations of the Canadas, who met with the Earl of Gosford at meetings specifically to discuss these two questions, were unanimous in their replies. They wanted the gifts to remain, fearing that if their people were given money, the young men and even the leaders would drink it away in a matter of days and be without clothing or means to feed their families for the rest of the year. The chiefs were clearly in favour of education. For example, Tekanasontie, Grand Chief of the Village of Caughnawaga, said: "we are aware that our Children will reap great Benefit in receiving an Education."⁵⁰ The Chiefs stated, however, that they were very poor, and could not have the cost taken out of their gifts. It was also a question of being on equal footing with

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13. The role of the Indian Department, created in 1755 as a branch of the British military in North America, was to maintain good relations with Indigenous nations, secure their military allegiance to Britain, and administer the distribution of gifts to maintain this allegiance. This had been first in the war against France then against American troops in 1812. The Indian Department remained a military responsibility until 1840 and the Act of Union, joining Upper and Lower Canada, when the Governor General assumed oversight of the Indian Department.

⁴⁸ *Copies or Extracts*, 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 9–10.

⁵⁰ *Copies or Extracts*, 46.

settler communities. As the Chiefs of St. Regis stated, “we hope in this respect to be put on a Footing with our Brethren the White Skins, who, we are informed, have their Children educated at the public Expense. If Schools are established amongst us on such a Footing, we will cheerfully send our Children to them.”⁵¹ The chiefs’ reply demonstrates their awareness of the social situation in their communities, their awareness of the value of education for their children, and their desire to be on an equal footing financially, in the question of education, with the people of settler communities. Unfortunately, the chiefs’ replies regarding education were reported in such a way as to give a negative spin. L. J. Duchesnay, the Superintendent of the Indian Department, wrote that it was impossible to gather children among those who live in the “Woods,” or those who are not living in villages. He also states: “they never would willingly contribute in any way towards paying Part of the Expenses of a Schoolmaster and other Expenses attending a School.”⁵² This distortion of the chiefs’ replies to questions regarding education is disturbing, especially in light of the subsequent history of residential schools.

After the Rebellion of 1838, no longer needing Native warriors as allies and no longer valuing their abilities in the field of battle, the government wanted to substitute agricultural tools for the guns and ammunition that were the traditional gifts, so as to encourage settled farming. Guns were thought to encourage their “wild and savage state.”⁵³ Indigenous peoples were expected to become farmers, to be like the waves of settlers arriving in great numbers in this period, all desiring land. The government moved Indigenous peoples from their status as nations that were essential military allies to a

⁵¹ Ibid., 42.

⁵² Ibid., 46.

⁵³ *Copies or Extracts*, 37.

childlike status where custodial care was required. The earlier respect for the chiefs' wishes was gone. During Lord Elgin's tenure, the move towards residential schools was initiated; in 1847, Indian Affairs consulted with Rev. Egerton Ryerson on setting up Indian Industrial Schools, based on a move towards assimilation and emancipation, to legally end the distinct status and identity of Indigenous peoples.

Land Claims

Two statutes passed in 1850 illustrate further moves towards assimilation. This legislation shows how much things had changed from 1837 to the early 1850s. The first was *An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of Indians in Lower Canada*, which established a commissioner to hold the Indian lands in trust for Indian people but with full power to do what the commissioner wished with that property. The second was the *Act where the Better Protection of Indians in Upper Canada imposition, the property occupied or enjoyed by them from trespass and injury*. By this Act no one could deal with Indian lands unless the Crown approved.⁵⁴ At this point, as the Government represented its position, its main concern was to protect Indigenous peoples and their lands from abuse only until such time as they gave up their Indigenous identity and culture, to become what the government saw as assimilated, part of the dominant society. In fact, the government gave itself control over what happened to the land, although settlers and the lumber industry, the government's first interests, had been

⁵⁴ The Royal Proclamation of 7 October, 1763, made by George III at the end of the Seven Years War had actually begun the British move toward taking control of Indigenous territories. The Proclamation forbade settlers from settling west of a line drawn along the Appalachian Mountains. While the Proclamation appeared to have as its intention the desire to maintain good relations with Indigenous nations, in fact, it gave the British Crown a monopoly on land acquisitions from Indigenous peoples.

encroaching since the 1820s.⁵⁵ In 1857 the *Civilization of Indian Tribes Act* was passed, which expressly made assimilation its goal.⁵⁶ Moving Indigenous groups from a hunting way of life to farming was one of the goals of assimilation, which also justified the removal of their hunting territories for settlement and commerce.

Chief Nicolas Vincent made several representations to the Assembly of Lower Canada, mapping Wendat territories and arguing against settlers who denied the Wendat access to this territory.⁵⁷ In 1837, representatives of the Federation of the Sept-Feux (the political organization of Indigenous nations of the St. Lawrence River valley, of which the Wendat were members) presented an address to Governor Gosford, describing the negative impact of settlers and the forestry industry on their territories:

Our ancestors used to make their living from the hunt, but that is impossible for us and it will be even more so for our children; the advance of European immigration has invaded our hunting territories, and has destroyed the immense forests with which these lands once were covered, and has made the wild animals vanish, that were the source of a good business for us, providing for all our needs in life. Now . . . this resource has been torn from us. [Nos ancêtres étaient habitués à vivre du fruit de leurs chasses, mais cela est impossible pour nous, et le sera encore bien davantage pour nos descendants; la marche de l'émigration européenne a envahi toutes nos terres de chasse, et en abattant les immenses forêts dont elles étaient couvertes, a éloigné toutes les bêtes sauvages dont la chair nous faisaient faire avec les aventuriers un commerce profitable, qui suffisait à tous les autres besoins de la vie. Maintenant . . . cette resource nous est ravie.]⁵⁸

⁵⁵ In 1824, Grand Chief Nicolas Vincent made an address to the Lower Canada House of Assembly in which he asserted the rights of the Wendat to their hunting territories and argued against the newly arrived settlers who denied them access; in 1843 a petition was presented to Governor General Sir Charles Metcalfe, outlining the difficulties faced by the Wendat community as a result of pressures of increased numbers of settlers and the forestry industry. Jean Tanguay, "Les règles d'alliance et l'occupation huronne du territoire," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 30, no. 3 (2000): 28.

⁵⁶ See <http://caid.ca/GraCivAct1857.pdf>. This was a precursor to the modern *Indian Act*.

⁵⁷ Jocelyn Tehatarongnantase Paul, "Le territoire de chasse des hurons de Lorette," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 30, no. 3 (2000): 12.

⁵⁸ The Seven Nations to Archibald, Earl of Gosford, Kahnawake, 3 February, 1837, *Correspondence and Other Papers Relating to Canada, 1854–58* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, Series British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies-Canada, vol. 21, 1969), 62; cited in Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché*, 2175.

In 1843, Stanislas Bastien and others made a petition to Governor General Metcalf, concerning the loss of their hunting territory to colonization and the forestry industry and difficulties in finding alternative ways of supporting their families.⁵⁹ Chief François Xavier Tahourenché, who presented the address to Lord Elgin in 1852, was a surveyor whose efforts in monitoring the Ministry of Land and Forest ensured that the nation's boundaries were accurately represented.⁶⁰

This was the political environment at the time of the production of the Elgin trays. It demonstrates the pressures of assimilation and loss of territory facing the Wendat community. It supports the suggestion of a diplomatic role of the trays within the Great Lakes and Wendat tradition of bark scrolls and the Wendat tradition of creating connections with other nations to improve their relations and the success of political or trade negotiations.

Lord Elgin and Chief François Xavier Picard Tahourenché

Through their representation of Elgin family emblems and motifs of Wendat traditional beliefs, the trays symbolize a connection between nations and between the individual representatives of those nations, demonstrated by the meetings between Lord Elgin and Chief François-Xavier. The two men grew up in family traditions of service to their community and upheld these traditions, but held opposite views on questions of Indigenous identity and sovereignty.

Lord Elgin, like his wife, was fluent in French and made a deliberate choice to use French in Quebec in his correspondence, which facilitated meetings with the Wendat

⁵⁹ Stanislas Bastien et al. to Charles Theophilus Metcalf (archival ref. no. RG10, vol. 598, Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), Lorette, November 15, 1843, 47026–47028.

⁶⁰ Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché*, 2176.

community.⁶¹ He supported the assimilation of Native peoples, but his thoughts on the subject indicate that he was unusual for a colonial figure of his time, as he foresaw that Indigenous peoples were as likely to suffer from Canada's policies of assimilation as they did from American policies of relocation.⁶² He describes Indigenous peoples as "an inferior and native race," and settler societies as "an intrusive and superior one," and he expressed the view that the choices made by colonial governments in Canada in "reconciling the interests" of these two groups had not been "satisfactorily solved"; in his view, in the long run, those choices were likely "to prove as disastrous to them as [those made by] the United States."⁶³ He supported assimilation, saying that the industrial schools could train "a certain proportion" to become civilized, and be enfranchised, by which he meant that enfranchised Natives would give up their status as members of an Indigenous nation and be given funds from the common property of their tribe and then cease to have any rights there. This would then give such people a way to start an "independent life."⁶⁴ Lord Elgin's perspective is embedded in the cultural evolutionist beliefs of the period; he saw assimilation as a positive way forward. His writings contain a range of cultural stereotypes and the belief in progress. The settler communities are seen as "energetic," "superior," whereas the tribes are "*permitted* to dwell among the scenes of their early associations and traditions" (my emphasis). However, he identifies the paradox: the Government treats Indigenous peoples partly as "independent peoples,"

⁶¹ Sydney Checkland, *The Elgins, 1766–1917* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 120.

⁶² In 1830 the Indian Removal Act was passed by the United States government. It gave the government power to force Indigenous nations east of the Mississippi River to give up their lands and move west, leaving their lands free for settlers. Relocation was often forced by the government, resulting in wars between Indigenous peoples and the United States government.

⁶³ Walrond, *Letters and Journals*, 158.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

partly “as infants under its guardianship.” He describes this situation as involving many anomalies and contradictions.⁶⁵

Chief François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché continued the Vincent and Picard families’ tradition of representing the Wendat nation in public affairs, building political and diplomatic relations with dignitaries of the period as well as connections with the business world and literary community. As a teacher, fluent in English and French, he taught Wendat children at the school in the community; as a surveyor and businessman, he helped to maintain Wendat land rights and continued Wendat traditions of commerce, keeping business in the community. As a culture keeper, known for his knowledge of the rites and ceremonies of the Wendat nation, which was cited as one of the many reasons for his election as Grand Chief in 1870, he shared his cultural knowledge with future generations.⁶⁶

The two met on both formal and informal occasions. On a formal political level, Chief François-Xavier Picard made a visit at the head of a deputation to the Château St. Louis in Quebec in January 1852, where he delivered an oration to Lord Elgin, and in June of the same year Lord and Lady Elgin were received in the Picard family home.⁶⁷ This visit was informal but still in an official context. This was the former home of Grand Chief Nicolas Vincent and was a central meeting point for diplomacy and exchange. As well as being a place where Huron-Wendat souvenir arts were made and exhibited, it was also a place where princes, heads of state, ambassadors, and Governors General were

⁶⁵ Walrond, *Letters and Journals*, 157–58.

⁶⁶ Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard, Tahourenché*, 2179.

⁶⁷ Tahourenché, *Journal*, 13 janvier 1852, 24 juin 1852.

formally received, including Lord and Lady Durham in 1838.⁶⁸ This was part of a long tradition of such receptions of colonial dignitaries within the community, dating from the French regime in the late seventeenth century.⁶⁹

The History of Wendat Birchbark

Adoption Certificates and Addresses

The bark scrolls and the ceremony that surrounded them (either of honorary adoption or public address) brought together the two methods for collective memorizing: the method of the oral tradition, which comprised mnemonics together with rituals of song and oratory; and the method of writing. One is a reminder of meaning, the other a signification of it.⁷⁰

The distinction between the two kinds of ceremony—honorary adoption certificate and public oratory or address—may have been defined by the public position of the recipient. The ceremony of adoption seems to have been reserved for those who had a more personal relationship with the Wendat community, while heads of state of foreign countries, for example French Intendants, Governors General, or Princes of the realm, were given a bark text document that recorded the public address made by the Wendat chief.

Three examples of bark text documents are in museum/archive collections: the bark scroll address given to Lord Dufferin in 1873, the bark scroll with text given to Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne in 1883, and the bark scroll certificate of adoption given to Swedish Consul General Folke Cronholm (see figs. 124, 125; see also

⁶⁸ Sawaya, *Ignace-Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi*, 167.

⁶⁹ Lindsay, *Notre-dame*, 234–36.

⁷⁰ Yuri Lotman, *Universe of the Mind* (London: Tauris, 1990), 246–47.

fig. 11). Other addresses, now in private collections, were memorialized on bark presentation documents and sent to the recipient rather than being given in person. One was sent in 1897 to Queen Victoria to celebrate the sixtieth year of her reign; another was sent in 1901 to the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall (the future King George V and Queen Mary), during their visit to Quebec; and another was sent in 1937 to King George VI of England to celebrate his coronation.⁷¹

As well as birchbark presentation documents of public address or adoption, the journal of Paul Picard describes ceremonies in which officers in the British Army stationed in Quebec City were honoured with a Wendat *nom de guerre*, ceremonies that were well attended, by members of the Wendake community, by the officers of the garrison and their wives, and by other visitors.⁷² A feast, paid for by the officer who was honoured, accompanied these ceremonies. The diplomatic bark scrolls and the bestowal of a Wendat *nom de guerre* continued earlier seventeenth- and eighteenth-century protocols involving gifts, usually of wampum, accompanied by public oratory given by formal delegations, to consolidate and maintain ties between nations as allies.

The bark addresses acted on several levels, combining the aspect of souvenir with a diplomatic role. This syncretic practice, created by the Wendake community over centuries, adapted existing ceremonies. It created meaning for both Wendat and European groups and kept recognition of the Wendat of Wendake as a nation in the public eye of the European community, when in numbers—at some points during the nineteenth century, under 300 people—they were very few in proportion to the population of the

⁷¹ Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché*, 2187n33; Tehariolina, *La nation huronne*, 329, 335.

⁷² Tahourenché, *Journal*.

settler communities. The scrolls were public documents that accompanied ceremonies recording a meeting between the representatives of nations. At the same time they were private souvenirs that memorialized a personal visit. As physical objects they were mementos of an exotic country and people, embedded in European understandings of the wilderness (symbolized by the birchbark material, often embroidered with moosehair).

From the perspective of the Wendat creators of this genre, they continued Great Lakes traditions of public gift as memory device, harmonized with European traditions of text documentation. The bark scrolls recorded the oration that was central to these ceremonies of adoption and public address, phrased in the elaborate style characteristic of Wendat public speech. Speeches would vary according to circumstances, but consistent in addresses to heads of state was a statement of the historical relationship between the Wendat and the French or English Crown, referring to the active military support given by the Wendat nation in the past and the continuity of this allegiance.

The diplomatic traditions of public address and adoption show the parallels between how these bark documents were used and the role played by the Elgin trays, and adds to knowledge about Wendat agency in asserting their identity, through diplomacy that involved the public performance of their customs and made their cultural heritage visible to a European audience. These diplomatic traditions (speeches and presentation of a birchbark document) continued into the twentieth century.

An early example of Wendat ceremonies of public oratory was the reception given in February 1721 to M. Begon, the powerful Intendant of New France, the head of state appointed by the French king. A military reception, a feast, and a public oratory or

speech was presented to him at Wendake.⁷³ An adoption ceremony accompanied by a bark presentation document is recorded in the painting by Henry Daniel Thielcke, 1839, *The Presentation of a newly-elected Chief of the Huron, Quebec, Canada*, discussed earlier. Judge Robert Symes IlosaSathi (the Peacemaker), who had assisted the Wendat during the cholera outbreak of 1834, is shown receiving a bark document, surrounded by the Huron Tribal Council and members of the Wendat community (see fig. 102).⁷⁴ Another illustration of the tradition is seen in the lithograph of actor Edmund Kean by Frederick John Meyer, when he was adopted on October 7, 1826 and given the name Alanienouidet (see fig. 126). The ceremony of adoption was a sign of honour and belonging to those who had close connections with the Wendat; they were adopted and integrated into the kinship system.⁷⁵

The layers of meaning encoded within the Elgin trays and Wendat diplomatic documents were communicated through both Indigenous and European systems of collective memorization: symbol and text. Yuri Lotman's theorizing of differences between literate and nonliterate cultures explains the syncretic nature of the Elgin trays and diplomatic documents and the complex intercultural exchange in their use of symbols and text. He places writing in a context outside value-laden, civilized/noncivilized hierarchical associations by defining it as a mechanism or tool for collective memorizing, but not the only mechanism for this task. Cultures that value recording unique events or unusual occurrences create a constant multiplication in the number of texts, and use

⁷³ Lindsay, *Notre-dame*, 236–37.

⁷⁴ *Revue canadienne*, vol. 2, tome 40 (Montreal: La Cie de Publication de la Revue canadienne, 1901), 335–36.

⁷⁵ Sawaya, *La fédération des sept*, 80.

writing as a tool for memorizing; while cultures that value memory that preserves information about the established order (rather than its violations) repeat the production of texts rather than constantly increase their number, and use mechanisms such as mnemonic symbols. Ritualization and sacralization of memory accompany mnemonics to preserve the knowledge of laws and customs through performance.⁷⁶ This theorizing of symbols and written text helps to explain the complex nature of the Wendat tradition of bark presentation documents, which bring together both the Indigenous tradition of mnemonics and performance and the European tradition of literacy in writing.

Lotman writes that the world of orally recalled memory is full of symbols. “The material objects which represented the mnemonic sacred symbols are found not in verbal texts but in ritual ones,” in much the way the bark documents were presented, in a similar way to the tradition of gifts of wampum, as part of the ritual of performance in oratory and rhetoric.⁷⁷ The symbols do not signify meaning, says Lotman, but “remind one of it.”⁷⁸

Lotman’s theory offers a way of understanding the Wendat souvenir artwork, and the diplomatic works in particular, in the layers of meaning of the mnemonic symbols they contain. The use of symbols was connected with Wendat modes of communication as early as 1637, when Père LeJeune theorized about their language: “metaphor is largely in use among these Peoples; unless you accustom yourself to it, you will understand nothing.”⁷⁹ Thinking in terms of symbols, mnemonics, and metaphors when analyzing the

⁷⁶ Lotman, *Universe of the Mind*, 246–47.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 249.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 250.

⁷⁹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 10: 219.

meaning of motifs that appear in text and image in Wendat diplomatic art works helps to reveal their layers of content.

Functional Role of Wampum

The Wendat bark certificates marking ceremonies of adoption and public address continued to exist in Great Lakes traditions, fulfilling the role of wampum at these events. The Elgin trays' European symbols of heads of state and Wendat traditional floral motifs, mnemonics that also echo the role of wampum, indicate that the trays played a similar role. English trader John Long described the role of wampum in the Great Lakes adoption ceremony when he was adopted into the Wasseton nation in 1777. After a feast and a war song, he was seated on a beaver robe, smoked a pipe with the gathered warriors, and was then given a belt of wampum and a Wasseton name.⁸⁰ The Wendat ceremony contained the same core elements with adaptations to contemporary circumstances: a speech was made rather than a war song, reflecting times of peace, and a bark document inscribed with the text of the oratory replaced the gift of wampum, reflecting Western modes of public record.

The eighteenth-century Great Lakes ceremony described by Long was intended to strengthen the adopting nation, to welcome a proven warrior into the tribe as a brother within Indigenous people's traditions of kinship. The Wendat ceremony played a similar role. The welcome of a colonial dignitary as an honorary chief made a formal connection between communities on the basis of kinship connection. The gift of a *nom de guerre* to a British officer created ties between the Wendat warriors and the British soldiers they may have fought beside. As a brother and member of the Wendat nation, Wendat interests

⁸⁰ Long, *Voyages and Travels*, 45–46.

became the interests of the adopted person. These ceremonies extended the diplomatic and political influence of the Wendat community, strengthening its ties with colonial powers.

The presentation documents that accompanied a speech given by a Wendat chief to the representative of a colonial power are a continuation of the Great Lakes traditions of ceremonial meetings between leaders of nations to discuss points of concern, such as treaties, alliances, or plans for war. Delegations from each nation would meet, their leaders made speeches to represent their nation, and belts of wampum were exchanged. These wampum belts often carried symbols that recorded the content of speeches and agreements. For example in the ceremony when the Mohawk chiefs of the Lac des Deux-Montagnes in 1781 presented the *Two-Dog Wampum* to Colonel Campbell, an accompanying speech stated that the wampum was a contract and that the mnemonic symbols in the wampum were reminders of the content of this contract.⁸¹

Another traditional use of wampum that continued into the nineteenth century and related to the bark documents of addresses was the tradition of wampum as a gift to express the closeness of communities, a tradition dating to the days of early contact. In 1651, Chief Taiearonk gave substantial gifts of wampum to the Ursuline sisters to console them when their church, school, and residence were burned to the ground and they lost all their possessions. The gifts were meant to encourage the sisters and their superiors in France to rebuild their school, and stay in Quebec. The chief used terms of family ties to express the Ursuline sisters' connections to their church in Europe, the Wendat community's understanding of the pull to return home, and their assurance of

⁸¹ Lainey, "Monnaie des sauvages," 264–65.

care for the sisters, again with terms of family, if they remained in Quebec.⁸² Through the gifts of wampum and address that accompanied them, the Wendat community extended their support to the sisters, and officially recognized the relations of support between the Wendat and the Ursuline communities. In a similar way, through ceremonies of adoption or address, and the bark documents and gifts that accompanied them, the nineteenth-century Wendat community marked their connections with representatives of settler communities. Wampum beads continued to be used in ceremonial gifts in the nineteenth century, and may have marked a particular closeness or special regard for the recipient.

The birchbark scroll with ink inscription given to Her Royal Highness Princess Louise and the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne during their visit to Lorette in 1883 is directly connected to the gifts of wampum that marked treaties and meetings between leaders of nations through the attachment of small strings of wampum at each corner. Wampum belts, necklaces, or strings were often taken apart and reused for different purposes, taking on new meanings in their new context, and the wampum in this address was probably used in an earlier object.⁸³ The unusual addition of wampum to the document gives it special significance, possibly in recognition of Princess Louise, the daughter of Queen Victoria. The document states how important her visit was to the community, saying that they had never hoped to see and to welcome to the community the daughter of the “august mother,” Queen Victoria.

Consistent with this, on June 17, 1886, Grand Chief Paul Picard Tahourenché gave a public address and a gift of wampum to Cardinal Eleazar-Alexandre Taschereau, to

⁸² Tehariolina, *La nation huronne*, 160–62.

⁸³ Lainey, “Monnaie des sauvages,” 76–78.

congratulate him on being made Cardinal, the first Canadian to have attained this position. In his address he congratulates the Cardinal, and asks him to accept a “chapelet fait de grains de porcelaine (8ampums)” [a rosary made of beads of wampum].⁸⁴ In this example, the Grand Chief, who had been a student of the Cardinal while at the Séminaire de Québec, brought together the role of wampum as gift with his recognition of the Catholic church. This suggests the strength of the Catholic church to the Grand Chief, and possibly the community.

A gift of rare wampum, described earlier in this chapter, was also given to the Comte de Paris, the head of the former French royal family, on his visit to Lorette in 1890, suggesting that the Huron-Wendat made special recognition of visitors of royal blood, as opposed to their representatives. Chief François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché made a public oration to the Comte de Paris and presented him with a small crown of wampum for his wife the Comtesse, made from an ancient wampum necklace belonging to Chief François-Xavier's daughter Clémentine. In his address, the chief stated that this gift was emblematic of the crown that the Comtesse would wear one day in France, a reference to the Comte's claim to the French throne. The next year the Comte sent to Clémentine a bracelet of gold with diamond fleur-de-lys, which today is in the Huron-Wendat Museum at Wendake.⁸⁵ Through this oratory and exchange of rare wampum and valuable jewellery, the former being the traditional Great Lakes symbol of treaties and gifts of friendship between nations, the latter bearing the motif long associated with the

⁸⁴ Sawaya, *François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché*, 2176.

⁸⁵ Tehariolina, *La nation huronne*, 167.

French monarchy, Chief François-Xavier and the Comte de Paris reenacted the historical allegiance between the Wendat nation and France.

The bark adoption certificate presented to Folke Cronholm, the Swedish consul general who visited Lorette in 1905 and 1906, is part of a rich ensemble that illustrates this Wendat tradition. Symbols of the Wendat nation were embroidered on the scroll. Brought together with the text, they combined Indigenous and European modes of memory keeping. The scroll was given to him accompanied by gifts of chief's apparel, a moosehair-embroidered captain's coat, leggings, and moccasins, and a feather headdress. These works were embroidered by Caroline Gros-Louis, a Wendat woman noted for her artistry in needlework (see chapter 5). A photograph of Cronholm taken around the time of the ceremony illustrates the continuity in regalia from the adoption recorded in Edmund Kean's portrait of 1826 and in Judge Symes's portrait in Thielcke's tableau of 1840 (see fig. 127). The oration or public address made by Chief Gaspard Picard Ondiaralete on the occasion of Cronholm's adoption refers to the Swedish king who appointed Cronholm as his representative and to the Wendat nation that he himself speaks for, once more situating this document in the tradition of dialogue between nations.

These examples of public oratory, gift exchange, and presentation documents illustrate the finesse of the Wendat leaders in negotiating the distinctions between European royalty, heads of state, and representatives of government at all levels. At the same time, through the continuity of centuries-old traditions that were adapted to changing times, the use of Wendat symbols, wampum, and public oratory then recorded

in writing, asserted with great diplomatic tact, the status of their community as a distinct national entity.

The Elgin Trays as Diplomatic Documents and Souvenirs

The Elgin trays take their place within this body of diplomacy and tradition of gift exchange, symbolized by the emblems of European heraldry embroidered on each tray brought together with motifs central to Wendat cultural traditions. The trays depict the heraldry of the Queen's representative, Lord Elgin, and symbols of the Wendat nation and beliefs. The interwoven floral motifs on both trays refer to both European and Wendat symbols: the thistle that is the national flower of Scotland, a reference to the Scottish origin of both Lord and Lady Elgin (and possibly to the Ancient and most Noble Order of the Thistle, of which Lord Elgin was a member); and the strawberry fruit and flowers that are associated with traditional Wendat beliefs. The significance of the strawberry in Northern Iroquoian narratives and ritual, discussed in chapter 6, is in its "inherent power of physical and spiritual renewal."⁸⁶ The powerful role of women in Iroquoian cosmology, in the creation of life and in the transition to the afterworld, is reflected in the influential position of women in Iroquois and Wendat culture. The abundance of strawberry flowers on Lord Elgin's tray, arranged to alternate with thistles, suggests a statement of diplomatic connection between nations, while the three strawberries on Lady Elgin's tray, in different stages of ripeness, suggest the cycle of life and renewal.

The choice of the thistle, the national flower of Scotland, rather than an emblem of England, suggests that the trays carry a nuanced meaning, a personal recognition of the

⁸⁶ Hamell, "Trading in Metaphors," 8–9.

Elgin family that yet connects these two people to larger political systems. Heraldic devices are a complex symbolic language with layers of meaning; they can refer to a family structure within a larger political system and they can also refer to and identify a nation.

Lady Elgin and Marguerite Vincent La8inonke

A second level of symbolic communication, through the women's art of needlework embodied in the trays, acts as a connection between Wendat and settler communities. Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, of the Vincent family of hereditary chiefs and Lady Elgin, artist and politically influential daughter of Governor General Lord Durham and wife of Governor General Lord Elgin, had a shared interest in needlework and in addition, each advocated for the betterment of their communities. Marguerite Vincent excelled in this needlework, which in the British social structure of the period was regarded as an essential, defining accomplishment of well-born women, a "specifically feminine art form."⁸⁷ Vincent's role in relations between Native and English communities is discovered in the archives of colonial communications, and Lady Elgin's in the oral traditions and archives of the Elgin family and through her friendship with Harriet Martineau, a politically engaged feminist writer and friend of the Durham and Elgin families. Lady Elgin represents a period in British history at the dawning of the women's movement, marked not only by her influence in issues relating to women but also in her close friendship with feminist and political activist Harriet Martineau. Together with Martineau, a political writer who advocated for Poor Law reform and the right of working class women to education and improved working conditions, Lady Elgin

⁸⁷ Deborah Anna Logan, *The Hour and the Woman* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 59.

originated the *Weekly Volume*, a series of inexpensive, popular books intended for working class men and women.⁸⁸

It may not have been unusual for women in the Wendat community to act for their community in public affairs; women speaking publicly, particularly women elders on issues which affected the community, was part of Wendat social structure. In 1640, Marie de l'Incarnation recorded the public speech of a woman elder at a meeting of the Wendat confederacy; the woman elder stated that the Jesuits were responsible for spreading disease in the communities.⁸⁹ In another earlier example, women elders refused to let young boys of the community be sent to the Jesuit school in Quebec.⁹⁰ In another example, in 1740–41, women elders of the Huron-Petun spoke in public meetings to veto decisions to move the community then at Detroit to Montreal, where they would be under Jesuit influence.⁹¹

Continuing this Wendat tradition, Marguerite Vincent was similarly politically active. For example, in 1823 she made a public representation to the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, to argue for the reinstatement of the gifts of cloth, “useful presents from his most grateful Majesty,” that had traditionally been given to the Wendat as military allies of the French and then English crown. Described by Amelia Murray, a friend of Lord Elgin, as “extremely intelligent, and speaks good Canadian French,” Marguerite

⁸⁸ Linda H. Peterson, ed., *Autobiography: Harriet Martineau* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2007), 421.

⁸⁹ Marie de l'Incarnation, *Word from New France*, 81–82.

⁹⁰ Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 523.

⁹¹ White, *Middle Ground*, 194–95.

Vincent impressed Lord Dalhousie.⁹² He referred to her as “Her Majesty” and recommended that her request be granted.⁹³ She was known for her expertise in needlework; as a teacher, she taught sixty women of the community her special skills in moosehair embroidery. In keeping with her family’s tradition of leadership and responsibility to the community, she turned her needlework skills to business development and played a leading role in organizing and expanding the souvenir arts industry in response to the economic difficulties of the community. She was highly successful in this and the production and sale of souvenir arts greatly expanded.

Lady Elgin’s Role

The respective achievements of Lady Elgin’s father and husband as Governor General were linked. During his term as Governor General (1838), her father, Lord George Lambton, Earl of Durham was responsible for the Durham Report, the famous document advocating a move towards Canadian autonomy. During his term as Governor General (1847 to 1854), her husband Lord Elgin brought about many of the changes recommended in his father-in-law’s report. Lord Elgin’s letters indicate that both he and Lady Elgin believed in the political change initiated by her father, the move towards responsible government in Canada. His letters indicate her influence in supporting him in this work. Lord Bruce, son of the current Lord Elgin, believes that Lady Elgin felt a particular responsibility to carry this as her personal charge from her father to her husband. Lord Bruce describes Lady Elgin as a highly educated woman of substance, with a clear sense of duty and responsibility, particularly with regard to Canada.

⁹² Amelia Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba, and Canada* (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), 79.

⁹³ Bastien et al. (Library and Archives Canada, archival ref no. RG10, vol. 49), 30754–30757.

Travelling with her father through Canada in 1838 had given her a sense of embodied connection. Moreover, through her association with Queen Victoria, she felt she carried a matrilineal responsibility to the Queen, on whose behalf she believed they ruled.⁹⁴

Lady Mary Lambton (who would be Lady Elgin), her mother Lady Durham, and family friend Jane Ellice (the wife of Lord Durham's secretary) wrote journals that covered their time in Canada in 1838. Taken together, their writing offers a rich description of British upper-class perceptions of the milieu of Canadian horses, scenery, architecture, Indigenous peoples, settler society, and customs. These perceptions are embedded in the British concepts of the picturesque and framed by essentialist notions of authenticity, with references to feelings of antimodernity. Read from the perspective of the Wendat community, the journals tell of increasing settler habitation, the forestry industry, the loss of land and animal habitat, and the loss of an economy based on hunting that had been the successful source of livelihood for the community. They also tell of how dependent the community was on the business of selling to European visitors and the resulting need to cater to this taste. From a visitor's perspective immersed in the picturesque gaze, Lady Mary's diary describes the impact of the lumber industry on the land near Quebec, and reveals her notions of antimodernity. She writes of a trip to Coves in Quebec "to see how the ships are laden with timber . . . the Coves beautiful but spoilt by all the timber floating and the dirty houses."⁹⁵ Modernity expressed by the lumber industry's impact on the environment disrupted the enjoyment of picturesque views of an

⁹⁴ Lord Bruce, in conversation with Dr. Henrietta Lidchi, Keeper of the Department of World Cultures, National Museums of Scotland, October 29, 2009.

⁹⁵ Lambton, *Journal*, 83.

environment largely untouched by man, where the only presence of man could be Indians, themselves part of the natural environment.

This is a first-hand account of the industrialization of the region, leading to the Wendat community's loss of territory and livelihood from hunting, necessitating their increased reliance on the souvenir arts and the expansion of this industry. The irony was that these arts depicted images of an untouched life close to nature for the very Europeans who were behind the loss of land. These souvenir works, created by members of a "vanishing" race and reminiscent of a preindustrial pastoral world, fit into this antimodernist yearning. Beyond English visitors' searches for the picturesque and the Wendat community's self-representation of images of pastoral communities in harmony with nature that catered to this, was an uneven struggle between the leaders of the Wendat community who struggled to retain their rights to land, and the growing lumber industry that was eating into Wendat hunting territory, destroying the habitat of game animals.

The story of the Elgin trays is a narrative of the people involved in their production and reception. It helps to understand the relationship between the Elgin family and the Wendat community, because the history of their political and diplomatic relationship coheres around these objects.⁹⁶ The story of the trays also suggests a shared passion for needlework between Lady Elgin and Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, and illustrates the richness of Wendat artistry and how this contributed to successful relations with European nations. At the centre of this network, the trays open a path to explore the contacts between the settler and British communities from the perspective of individuals,

⁹⁶ Chris Gosden and Frances Larsen, "What Is a Museum?" in *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5.

while in the larger sphere of colonial relations they shed light on the Wendat diplomatic tradition and the role it played in the history of Aboriginal nations and colonial powers.

The diaries and journals associated with the Elgin trays—those of Lady Mary Lambton, Lady Durham, and Jane Ellice—tell of their authors' quest for an experience of the picturesque, and their encounters with Indigenous communities that they saw from a perspective founded in this framework. They described feelings of admiration and awe of nature in the physical world, evoked by places they visited, of which Niagara Falls was the epitome. Native peoples, untouched by European contact, were expected to be part of this experience of nature, and the wording of the diaries gives the impression that the authors evaluated the "Indianness" of communities, depending on how much their appearance reflected the influence of European contact. What Jane Ellice described as the savage look of the young men of Lorette gives a hint of this.⁹⁷

The diaries of these three authors tell us much about European views of identity at the time of their writing in 1838. A comparison to what we know of Wendat self-identification from documents of the time, such as the travel writing of Johann Georg Kohl of about 1854, when he met Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, is instructive. The British upper class and nobility comprised the market to whom the Wendat artisans were selling. This was the market for whom Wendat artists such as Marguerite Vincent La8inonke were producing. Johann Kohl's perception of the same community was from his visit there between 1854 and 1856, in the same years during which the Elgin trays were created. His perception, that of a German intellectual, is very different and was based on conversations he had with the Wendat community schoolteacher and school

⁹⁷ Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 37.

students. These different accounts give an idea of the challenges faced by the Wendat community and their leaders and culture keepers, to maintain their territory against the weight of ever-increasing European populations, to assert their territorial rights and their distinct cultural identity in a way that would be heard and not invite repression. At the same time, these personal accounts also show how highly regarded the Wendat souvenir works were. The trays demonstrated virtuosity in a needlework tradition associated with European traditions and were highly valued in European terms. They were a distinct and unique gift that would be treasured by Lady Elgin and possibly were intended to carry a message to Lord Elgin, expressing wishes of harmony and respectful communication between the Wendat nation and the British crown.

The notions of the picturesque that governed how these visitors saw the Huron-Wendat community also tells of what their taste was, what attracted them in souvenirs. The Wendat women's representation of their community, the ethnographic detail of special occasion dress, feathered hats, floral shirts, moccasins, sashes, fringed pouches, pipes, and baskets suggest a performance of Indianness and an awareness in the community of visitors' tastes.

Authenticity, "Indianness," and the Picturesque

I like the view from the Citadel so much. You may look and gaze, muse and reflect upon the surrounding objects for months without tiring. There is something indescribably interesting about it . . . ever changing lights and shadows [make] it look like a succession of different views instead of one and the same.

—Patricia Godsell, *The Diary of Jane Ellice*

Jane Ellice's description of the view from the Citadel in Quebec City encapsulates the conventions of the picturesque that molded mid-nineteenth-century aristocratic visitors' experience of the Canadas and the peoples of the Canadas—Indigenous nations and French Canadians. Ruth Phillips in *Trading Identities* discusses the picturesque aesthetic in the late eighteenth century, how "visible ethnic differences were exploited within the picturesque," as if to add interest to a painting.⁹⁸ Lady Mary's journal, Lady Durham's diary, and Lord Elgin's letters to his wife almost a decade later all show a questing gaze, the search for the scene that would fit the criteria of the picturesque. Finding these views was like a trophy hunt, a search for landscape views that looked artistically composed, that had elements of wildness, and contained hints of the sublime—awe with a soupçon of fear. Niagara Falls provided this combination, and to some visitors so did a visit to a Native community. Lady Mary and Jane Ellice's writings show their shared notions of Indianness, couched in terms of authenticity, possibly formed by books such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, which Jane Ellice was reading during her visit; Lady Mary probably read it also.⁹⁹ This perception of Native communities was also part of the quest for the picturesque; the ideal was the authentic Indian of the West, providing an element of fear and a hint of nostalgia,

⁹⁸ Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 118.

⁹⁹ Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 81.

as notions of the “vanishing race” were already implanted. Albert von Pourtalès’ diary of his visit to Oklahoma in 1832 demonstrates this: “the Indians grow fewer in number each day and are losing their national character. . . . With the progressive advancement of American civilization within fifty years a buffalo hunt will be as rare as a wolf hunt in the Canton of Fribourg.”¹⁰⁰

The abstract of the hunt for the picturesque and sublime, mixed with notions of the wild Indian and the vanishing race, are brought to earth in these women’s writings by connections to everyday concerns of budgets, fashion, and comparison shopping. Jane Ellice’s shocked comments about the high cost of bark work, Lady Durham’s comparison shopping for particular styles of bark work, and perceptions of Indianness brought into the ephemeral world of fashion by Jane Ellice’s adoption of Wendat hair styles in dressing her sister Tina’s hair, are fascinating. They connect these women’s travels and perceptions with twenty-first-century tourists, who with digital cameras continue the search for the perfect view with elements that represent the picturesque, novel, and exotic, and hunt out souvenirs that remind of a foreign country and people.

Jane Ellice writes of an eastern North American version of the picturesque, although her description hints at wildness, when she describes the people of Lorette and describes their “picturesque dress of all the brightest colours”:

Very short petticoats just below the knee-scarlet leggings buttoned down the side-Moccasins-Small feet-black braided hair-large straw hats-Tin earrings. The old Squaws seemed satisfied with a great dirty blanket around them which looked pleasant, clean and cool under a burning Sun. Some of the young men looked very savage, dressed in skins, knives in their long belts, bows and arrows etc.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ von Pourtalès, *On the Western Tour*, letter September 14, 1832.

¹⁰¹ Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 37.

Ellice's perception, squarely within the framework of the picturesque, sees markers of dress and adornment that are distinctly non-European. She shares von Pourtalès' view of the real Indians of the West: to her, the Wendat of Lorette were not quite authentic. She remarks about a friend's experiences "travelling for several months among the real old Indians in the 'far West.'"¹⁰² Lady Mary is more reserved in her journal, but shares von Pourtalès and Jane Ellice's view of Indianness. About the Wendat of Wendake she simply writes "pretty waterfall but hardly any real Indians," neatly summing up an assessment of the place and people. The falls matched the standards of the picturesque but the Wendat community, to her, lacked the necessary element of wildness.¹⁰³

The ladies' writings also give several further insights into their thoughts about the Wendat and their souvenir arts. First, to Jane Ellice, the women of Lorette were pretty and their hairstyles, probably as an interesting, exotic element of the picturesque, were intriguing to emulate. She writes of her sister Tina: "I dressed Tina's hair a la Squaw fashion which is very becoming to her pretty wavy locks. Pretty hair is certainly a very great ornament and not expensive."¹⁰⁴ Jane Ellice is more appreciative of Indigenous women's self-presentation, style, and looks than she is of the Euro-Canadian women, whom she describes in scathing terms, saying after one social event: "I saw nothing the least pretty among the whole. All the ladies stoop and look awkward and dress abominably."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ibid., 34.

¹⁰³ Lambton, *Journal*, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 129.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 40.

Another theme of the Durham group's writings was cost and connoisseurship. The high cost of the bark wares shocked Jane Ellice; she wrote while in Quebec that she "bought some bark things for home—horridly dear."¹⁰⁶ The women took a knowledgeable approach to their acquisition of these works. Both Jane Ellice and Lady Durham make observations that show they had knowledge of a range of souvenir arts. Ellice describes a pair of moccasins won by Tina at a horse race as "the prettiest I ever saw."¹⁰⁷ When buying "Indian bark work" in Quebec, Lady Durham writes:

I send you a few specimens of the Indian Bark work. I think the Porcupine quills like Mrs. Cokeby's old boxes are prettier, but they are chiefly made at Halifax, and we have not yet found any nice ones. The two flat pieces for Papa I thought might be useful to put his cup upon.¹⁰⁸

This suggests that they had seen bark works and moccasins in England that had been brought back by other visitors and returning home with their own collections was important. The souvenir works were a required purchase, something that all three women felt they had to buy. They were objects recognized in Britain as evidence of a successful tour of the picturesque sights of the Canadas.

This analysis of the reception of Wendat souvenir arts by aristocratic visitors demonstrates their concepts of Indianness. Wendat souvenir arts seem to have been marketed to such concepts, both to affirm a distinct identity and to appeal to a specific European taste. The Elgin trays would have been received within this context, as an art form with which Lady Elgin was very familiar and had some skill, in the context of a people who were exotic yet "civilized," within the formal context of diplomatic gifts.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 125.

¹⁰⁷ Godsell, *Letters and Diaries of Lady Durham*, 74.

¹⁰⁸ Godsell, *Letters and Diaries of Lady Durham*, 38.

There is no indication in her journal or her upbringing that would suggest that she saw the Wendat souvenir arts differently from anyone in her circle; however, if the more mass-produced bark works that she purchased as souvenirs were highly valued, then the Elgin trays, a tour de force demonstration of virtuosity in the art form, qualities she would have recognized, would have been highly valued and appreciated.

Bark Work Lessons

Exploration of Lady Mary Lambton's 1838 journal and her life in Quebec in 1847 as Lady Elgin give insight into her character, her interest in bark work, her later connection with the Wendake community, and the role of the Elgin trays. She was nineteen during her stay in the Canadas in 1838. She returned nine years later in 1847 as the wife of Governor General Lord Elgin. She visited Wendake several times in 1838 and took lessons in bark work in the fall of that year.¹⁰⁹ In 1852 she and Lord Elgin had several official visits to the Wendat community and Chief François-Xavier Tahourenché, in the house where Marguerite Vincent then lived. It is possible that this is when they were given the Elgin trays. Whether her visits to Marguerite Vincent's house or her own leanings towards feminism, demonstrated by her close friendship and communication with her father's friend, feminist and political activist Harriet Martineau, gave her a different insight into understandings of Wendat identity, it is difficult to know.

The journal she kept from 1837 to 1839 is the record of daily events of a young woman born into the British aristocracy. This was a life of travel—from London, to Lord Durham's family estate in Lambton in Scotland, to Cowes in August—following the calendar of Lord Durham's involvement in politics and Lady Durham's responsibilities

¹⁰⁹ Lambton, *Journal*, September 22, 1838, p. 81.

as a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria. The family was very close and shared as much time together riding, driving, and entertaining as their busy lives would allow. At nineteen, Lady Mary was a politically well-informed adult. Physically active and a skilled rider, she rode regularly and her activities suggest she was adventurous. She liked to drive the family in their carriages and was very attached to the two black Canadian ponies and their pony carriage, bought in Toronto and brought back to London in 1838, where they would have been highly unusual. She was well educated, both in the manner of women of her class and period and, suggested by her abilities, beyond that. She had lessons at home, in whichever part of the country or Canada she was, from a drawing teacher and music teacher. Madame, the French governess, is mentioned regularly. In 1839 she studied German—possibly in relation to the Queen’s marriage to the German Prince Albert. Open to new things and eager to learn, she had an inquiring mind. Lessons with a qualified teacher were part of her way of doing things and how she developed her interests.

Her journal records her regular practising of her new skills. She writes of learning lithography and of how to use a portable printing press. During the months they were in Cowes and sailing regularly she learned the signals for ships’ communication. Her lessons in bark work in the fall of 1838 are consistent with her fascination with technique, especially in how intricate things were done. Her father clearly held a high opinion of both his daughters’ abilities; she and her sister Emily helped him to edit his Report on the Canadas, and stitched the binding to have the copies ready to present to the Government in February 1839.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Lambton, *Journal*, 111.

That Lady Mary and Jane Ellice's younger sister Tina took lessons in "Canadian bark work" indicates that in their milieu, this was a valued skill. In Lady Mary's case it was possibly part of her interest in how intricate things worked.¹¹¹ However, her sister and Tina would have been interested more from the connection to embroidery, an essential accomplishment for well-bred young women. From Jane Ellice's description, the bark work was considered not so much difficult as intensely irritating. On October 19, 1838, Jane Ellice and Tina, joined Lady Mary at Château St. Louis, where a French Canadian woman was giving them lessons in bark work. Jane Ellice writes that they "went to the Chateau where Tina took a lesson in Bark work—not very difficult, 'main bien étrivant,' so said the instructress."¹¹² *Étrivant* is a neologism, a French Canadian word that means *pour agacer, tourmenter* [to get on someone's nerves, to irritate].¹¹³ This is similar to the description of lessons in moosehair embroidery on bark that was given by Lady Simcoe when she visited the Ursuline convent in 1791: "[moosehair] is so short that it must be put through the needle for every stitch, which makes it tedious."¹¹⁴

The identity of the "little French Canadian woman" who taught the bark work lessons is a mystery.¹¹⁵ Is it possible it was a woman from Lorette, who spoke French very well and dressed in what to Lady Mary were French Canadian style clothes, hence was mistaken as French Canadian? This does not seem likely, since images of women

¹¹¹ Ibid., 81.

¹¹² Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 1221.

¹¹³ Jacques Viger, *Néologie canadienne, ou dictionnaire des mots creés en Canada* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1998), 108.

¹¹⁴ Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), 67.

¹¹⁵ Lambton, *Journal*, 82.

from Wendake of the period indicate that they retained elements of their traditional dress when dressed for a special occasion and for every day. See, for example, the dress of the women in the tableau by Thielcke on the occasion of the adoption of Judge Symes in figure 102.

It is interesting, in reflecting on these British travellers' reception of the Canadas and French Canadian and Indigenous cultures, to bear in mind what was written about this by Lord Durham and the other authors of the Durham Report:

It is not anywhere a virtue of the English race to look with complacency on any manners, customs or laws which appear strange to them: accustomed to form a high estimate of their own superiority, they take no pains to conceal from others their contempt and intolerance of their usages.¹¹⁶

His words reveal what was then a known and accepted trait of British visitors to foreign countries, which can give additional insight into the perception of Indigenous peoples and the reception of their souvenir wares. To be accepted, such wares had to be exotic but sufficiently familiar. The Wendat works were exotic in their content and materials, but familiar in their technique of finely done embroidery, a marker of British upper-class status. Aristocratic women visitors were connoisseurs and experts themselves in embroidery, and were connoisseurs of needlework skills.

Conclusion

The case study of the Elgin trays focuses what has come in preceding chapters and in its summation of the main themes of my research, brings my thesis to its conclusion. The trays illustrate these themes: a continuous Wendat art history, centuries-old traditions of negotiating and maintaining relations with settler communities, the

¹¹⁶ Godsell, *Diary of Jane Ellice*, 8, citing the Durham Report.

central role of women and their influence and responsibilities in Wendat social structure, the importance of floral imagery, and the role of art commodity production.

From a perspective grounded in Wendat cultural history and oral tradition, study of the Elgin trays' creation and presentation tells us about the agency of the Wendat community in their political and diplomatic strategies to maintain a distinct identity as a nation. The mid-nineteenth-century diplomatic practices that they evidence demonstrate the strategic adaptation of continuing Great Lakes traditions to the shifting circumstances of European presence and political acumen in a mode of communication that negotiated relations with colonial powers. In this exploration of the trays' diplomatic meanings we see the connections between nineteenth century chiefs such as Nicolas Vincent and François-Xavier Tahourenché, and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century leaders such as Ochateguin, who negotiated military and trade relations with Champlain,¹¹⁷ and Kondiaronk, the Wendat leader who was a key figure in negotiating the Peace of Montreal of 1701.¹¹⁸

Situated within the history of the diplomatic and commercial role of the visual arts and women as creators and entrepreneurs, the results of the Elgin trays study also foreground women's continued responsibilities and influence within the community. Looking at the floral imagery of the Elgin trays in the context of analysis of Wendat art history discussed in chapters 4, 5, and 6, we see Wendat adaptations of European taste and pictorial styles, and evidence of the important role of art commodity production and its stylistic diversity. At the same time, we see continuities with earlier periods of Wendat

¹¹⁷ Champlain, *Works*, vol. 2, 68, 105, 186.

¹¹⁸ Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal*, 170–73.

visual arts, in media, techniques, and traditions of intricate design. Further, they illustrate the role of women's artistic production as a point of connection between Wendat and European communities. Both in terms of symbolic content and in the high value ascribed to the work by creators and recipients, we see continuity between the Elgin trays and the quilled belts described by Nicolas given as gifts in the seventeenth century.

The recognition of individual artists has been a theme throughout my discussion of Wendat visual arts. The Elgin trays are an example of how this can be done through stylistic analysis. Focus on the differences in an individual artist's handling of stitches and motifs, identifying what is unique in their artistic vision by comparing a number of works in a similar style sequence, is a fruitful approach that opens an important area for future research. In what it establishes of continuity in artistic practices and cultural values and of individuality of creative vision, the Elgin study, against the background of the preceding chapters, fulfills Georges Sioui's statement of the questions of greatest interest to Native peoples: the study of the persistence of "essential Amerindian values," of what "is original about Native culture."¹¹⁹ The important contributions to this research by Wendat community members demonstrate the depth of understanding and perspective of Wendat visual arts and cultural context within community knowledge. This emphasizes the importance of future community-based research to continue to foreground Wendat knowledge and perspectives of historical events.

Research into the story of the Elgin trays also demonstrates my interpretation of the collections that are the corpus of my research, which is that they represent a network of relationships between individuals and groups in Wendat and settler communities.

¹¹⁹ Sioui, *Amerindian Autohistory*, x, xxiii.

Through micro history and object-based analysis we can animate works such as the trays and bring into focus the connections between individual men and women such as Marguerite Vincent La8inonke, François-Xavier Tahourenché, and Lord and Lady Elgin. Analysis of the Elgin trays also demonstrates the use of the style sequences and characteristic motifs that I identified in my detailed study of collections. From this study, the diplomatic nature of the Elgin trays, distinct from the commercial examples, becomes evident.

Finally, in the collections research and analysis of styles and motifs, what emerged was a range of art forms of great breadth and diversity, with meanings based on Wendat cultural traditions, the full study of which exceeds the scope of a dissertation. This is demonstrated by the extent of the visual arts and community history that emerge from the study of the Elgin trays alone. The most significant conclusion of my study may be what it reveals of the extent and complexity of Wendat visual arts traditions, their continuity over centuries, and the areas it suggests for future research.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Mathews, *Relation of Seneca False Face Masks*, 204. Mathews states of her study of Iroquoian pipes and Seneca false face masks that “demonstrations of the complexity of these art forms may be its most revealing contribution.”

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

Terms

wampum. This term wampum can refer to different types of beads or beaded objects.

However, it “properly denotes a particular type of white and purple cylindrical shell bead drilled from opposite ends with steel awls.”¹ The quahog shell was most commonly used. Wampum beads are woven or strung on vegetable fibre or other material to form single strands or broad lengths. The broad lengths of wampum are often referred to as belts. Wampum were given in the course of diplomatic engagements, as gifts and as a historical record of the words of an agreement between Indigenous leaders. Wampum belts used as a record of an agreement were often worked with motifs to act as mnemonics for the content of the agreement. In this way, a wampum belt was attached to information and meaning, which would be passed on through generations in the oral tradition. Wampum could be reused for different occasions. Wampum also became an item of exchange for Europeans in the fur trade, and was made by Europeans for this purpose.²

Moccasin Construction

moccasins. Moccasins are an enduring field for Wendat visual arts. There were ongoing innovations in techniques of construction. Footwear, in Indigenous and European cultures, is a critical piece of technology as well as a site for artistic expression and

¹ Lainey, “Monnaie des sauvages,” 225. Lainey cites Willian N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

² Lainey, “Monnaie des sauvages,” 18, 23.

the expression of identity. Indigenous peoples' tanning techniques were ideal for the environment. These techniques made the hides more water resilient, better insulation against cold, and more supple.³ Smoking processes gave a range of colors and protected the hides against insect damage.

moccasin construction. Moccasin construction in the eastern Great Lakes changed over the centuries. The painting of Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row by Jan Verelst in 1710 demonstrates an early example of the one-piece style (see fig. 32). A pair of moccasins from the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale at the Musée du quai Branly illustrates the techniques of construction and surface design of this period (see fig. 3). The one-piece moccasins had one centre seam running vertically up over the toe toward the ankle, with another vertical seam running up the heel. There seem to have been two ways of arranging the excess folds of hide over the toes. In one method a thin strip of hide was strung through holes along the edges of the seam over the toe and pulled tight into gathers as a drawstring, as seen in figure 3. A seam ran from this tie toward the top of the foot. This seam was covered by a band of zigzag porcupine quill, bordered with one or more parallel lines of over sewn or running surface stitch quill with possible additions of lines of quill in different combinations of parallel straight or zigzag lines. In another method, the excess hide could be gathered in regular folds along the centre seam itself without a drawstring (see fig. 38). In early examples, the band of zigzag quillwork over the centre seam was narrow. This seems to have become more elaborate and multiple bands of zigzag and

³ Morgan Baillargeon, Hide Tanning Workshop, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, September 23, 2011.

rows of over sewn stitch were added, so that in some examples the design program takes up almost the entire area over the toes.

centre-seam construction. The centre seam construction worked for styles that involved quill zigzag and lines of oversewn stitch in vertical patterns; however the presence of the centre seam underneath the design field meant that it was not suitable for curvilinear patterns such as those seen in early nineteenth-century Wendat designs. Possibly to accomodate these surface design innovations, the triangular hide insert was adopted, with a seam that joined it to the lower piece of the moccasin.

vamp insert construction (a). In Wendat moccasins, there were two styles of vamp insert construction, as I mentioned earlier. In the first style, generally associated with older works, the vamp insert seam was sewn with minute stitches, no puckers, with parallel lines of oversewn moosehair on either side, making it invisible, as seen in a pair of moccasins from the collection of the Château-musée de Dieppe (see fig. 27). In this style of vamp insert the moosehair embroidery field extends past the vamp seam onto the lower piece of the moccasin.

vamp insert construction (b). In the second style of vamp insert, the vamp is sewn on top of the lower piece of the moccasin, illustrated in a moccasin in the collection of the Musée international de la chaussure (see fig. 28). The lower piece has a thread of cotton running along the edge where it meets the vamp piece, appearing to be used as a drawstring to form small, regular puckers. This is reminiscent of the pronounced folds of the centre-seam moccasins. A second line of stitching attaches the vamp insert to the main piece, the join being visible and the puckers a stylistic rather than structural feature. The regularity and tiny size of these puckers added a visual

dimension of parallel folds to the overall design. In this style, the moosehair motifs remains on the vamp insert, they do not extend past the seam onto the lower moccasin piece. The style of the invisible seam, with the design extending over the seam into the body of the moccasins, seems to date from early nineteenth-century works, while the visible seam style seems to continue throughout the nineteenth century and later. These two styles may also have overlapped in production.

Construction Materials

hide. Moose hide was used to make heavier moccasins while deer hide, lighter in weight, would be used for finer moccasins or clothing. Caribou hide could also be used. To tan the hides, the animal brain was used as a softening agent, followed by hours of working the hide with bone or metal tools to break down the fibres and make it pliable. The hide could then be smoked over slow fires, using different kinds of wood to give different colours and scent.⁴ Dye made from the husk of nuts from the black walnut tree or the butternut tree was used to attain the black and deep brown that was characteristic of Wendat hides. Vegetable dye may also have been use.⁵

birchbark. Birchbark was used by Great Lakes Indigenous communities from before contact, to make containers known as *ouragans* for food storage, cooking, and serving.⁶ The souvenir objects, elaborated with moosehair embroidery in naturalistic floral or figural motifs, continued Indigenous techniques for making containers and boxes.

⁴ Morgan Baillargeon, *North American Aboriginal Hide Tanning* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2010), 13–24, 104.

⁵ Morgan Baillargeon, Hide Tanning Workshop, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, September 23, 2011.

⁶ Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes*, 89.

wool fabric. Wool trade cloth was used to make souvenir works. It was used as a covering, backed with bark, to make cigar or card boxes, or in luxury souvenir works such as moosehair embroidered tablecloths.

sinew. Sinew from moose, deer, or caribou was used in moosehair or porcupine quillwork. The fibres of the sinew were separated to obtain very fine thread. Sinew has a gloss and is more rigid than thread.

cotton thread. Cotton thread was used to work with moosehair from the end of the eighteenth century.⁷ In some moccasins both sinew and thread appear, the early nineteenth century still use sinew for some areas of stitch.

moosehair. Moosehair is gathered from the nape of the neck and the top of the tail. The whitish coloured hairs are used, as they are more easily dyed. The hairs are up to 185 mm in length.⁸ The hairs are moistened just before they are used, to make them more pliable.⁹ As Turner points out, it can be very difficult to distinguish between fine quill and moosehair, even under a microscope. Turner states that porcupine quill has a smoother surface and a higher gloss than moosehair.¹⁰ In recent years analysis of quill and moosehair under high-level magnification has been carried out, in efforts to achieve clarification in which works were made with quill and which with moosehair. In 2009 the Canadian Conservation Institute carried out a study on a representative body of Wendat souvenir works from the collection of the Canadian Museum of

⁷ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 30.

⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁹ I had the opportunity to try moosehair appliqué techniques and working with moosehair at a workshop at the Musée huron-wendat, during the Textile Conservation Conference at Quebec City, October 2009.

¹⁰ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 23.

Civilisation in Gatineau, items such as moccasins, a moose foot wall pocket, a knife sheath, and a bark tray. The results confirmed that all the works were made using moosehair rather than quill.¹¹

porcupine quill. In eastern Great Lakes eighteenth-century hide objects such as moccasins and pouches, porcupine quill was generally used for surface designs. In nineteenth century Wendat souvenir hide objects such as moccasins and pouches used mainly moosehair, however on some, dyed porcupine quill was used as well as moosehair. Broader quills were used to make patterns such as zigzag or saw tooth. In zigzag or saw tooth, quills were strung between two parallel lines of stitches. These stitches were made with sinew or vegetable fibre and later with thread. In woven quill bands, fine quills were woven between vegetable fibre warp and woof threads to form geometric designs in panels that often appeared on moccasin vamps or cuffs. These were often detachable and could be reused on other objects.

dyes. Vivid colours were obtained from plant dyes. Blue, red, black, and ivory were favoured colours, in the eastern Great Lakes Indigenous palette. Green shades and browns were used in nineteenth century bark work. Ruth Whitehead provides a detailed discussion of vegetable dyes in *Micmac Quillwork*.¹² In 1845 a yellow chemical dye was invented and came into use.¹³ From 1856 to 1865, the family of aniline dyes was discovered: aniline purple in 1856; magenta in 1859; aniline blue in

¹¹ Maureen MacDonald, *Identification of Fibre Samples from Huron-Wendat Objects for Canadian Museum of Civilisation, Gatineau, Quebec* (Ottawa: Canadian Conservation Institute, May 25, 2009), 2–6.

¹² Whitehead, *Micmac Quillwork*, 66–71.

¹³ Friedrich Ludwig Knapp, “Chemistry Applied to Arts and Manufactures,” ed. Edmund Ronalds and Thomas Richardson. *The Chemical Gazette* 4 (1846): 48.

1861; Hofmann violet in 1863; Britannia violet in 1865.¹⁴ A number of other chemical dyes were discovered after this, discussed in industrial journals of the period.¹⁵

Construction Tools

awls. In the pre-contact period, bone awls, such as the St. Lawrence Iroquoian examples cited by Jamieson, were used to make perforations in the surface layer of hide.¹⁶ In his study of Wendat moosehair embroidery, Frank Speck cites Wendat sources as saying that needle and thread replaced awl and sinew.¹⁷

needles. Metal needles were among the earliest trade goods brought from Europe and replaced the use of awls.

Embroidery

techniques. In *Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America* Turner gives a detailed description of moosehair embroidery techniques. He identifies three categories of work: moosehair applied to the surface of hide, what he calls appliqué or couching, also known as oversewn lines; weaving “on a sinew warp”; what was referred to as false embroidery, appearing on twined textiles.¹⁸ In “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” Frank Speck gives a detailed description of moosehair stitching techniques on hide and on bark from his research carried out at Wendake in 1908 and 1909.

¹⁴ William Crookes, ed., *The Chemical News and Journal of Physical Science* 21–22 (1870): 66.

¹⁵ William Crookes, ed., *The Chemical News and Journal of Physical Science* 37 (1878): 196, 204, 276.

¹⁶ Jamieson, “Archaeology of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,” 396.

¹⁷ Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 3.

¹⁸ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 30.

appliqué work. In work on hide, the stitches are usually attached to the surface layer of hide. Turner describes this as appliqué work.¹⁹ The nineteenth-century souvenir work techniques on hide appear to be a continuation of pre-contact Wendat visual arts; they are similar to the techniques used in working with quill, which from Gabriel Sagard's description was an established practice in 1624 when he stayed in the Wendat village of Tequeunonkiaye.²⁰

flower petal stitch. This stitch developed in the late nineteenth century. Turner describes it as "a small bundle of moose hairs is caught under a narrow stitch at the apex of the petal and folded back on itself to the base, where a single stitch secures both upper and lower halves."²¹ This appears on both bark and hide.

overlapping applique stitch. This stitch also appear in hide souvenir objects from the late 1830s, when it was first used to form a narrow zigzag border around motifs in oversewn line stitch. Later it was used to form petals, buds, and other motifs.²² In this stitch, a line of a small bunch of moosehair is folded back over the thread stitch. Speck writes "the thread stitches are entirely out of sight, being concealed in the folds of the hairs."²³

oversewn line, also known as couching. Used to stitch lines of moosehair or fine quill on hide, the oversewn line stitch is one of the most commonly used stitches, appearing in eastern Great Lakes hide objects from the late eighteenth century into the early

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 57.

²¹ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 32.

²² Speck, "Huron Moose Hair Embroidery," 5.

²³ Ibid.

twentieth century. As Turner describes it, “a bundle of hairs is laid on the surface to be decorated and attached at intervals by a sinew or cotton thread stitched over the hair at right angles to it.”²⁴ Speck is more specific; he states that four to six moosehairs are used to make a narrow line and six to ten are used to make “more solid flower figures.”²⁵ Speck describes how bunches of hair are attached to the hide, with invisible joins.²⁶

bark work. Stitching techniques on bark objects are different from those used on hide.

There are two stitching techniques. In earlier examples, the moosehair is stitched through the bark using needles and the ends of the moosehair appear on the reverse. The elastic quality of the bark means that the bark tightens around the moosehair. A second layer of bark backing is attached to cover the reverse and protect the moosehair ends. Turner describes this technique as probably originating in the Quebec convents.²⁷ Speck describes the second technique of moosehair embroidery on bark. Similar to the appliqué stitch on hide, the moosehair is attached to the surface of the bark with cotton thread stitches.²⁸ The second technique appears in bark objects of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The appliqué technique may have been a quicker, a response to the demands of higher volume production.

berry stitch. This stitch was used on bark and produced a raised, textured effect. Turner writes that a knot is formed in a moosehair and then both ends of the hair are passed

²⁴ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 31–32, 38–39. This stitch is also used in the motifs of the moccasins from the eighteenth century Great Lakes collections at the Musée du quai Branly.

²⁵ Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 30.

²⁸ Speck, “Huron Moose Hair Embroidery,” 6.

through the bark.²⁹ This was a time consuming technique, and the bristle or tufting technique, which gives the same raised and textured effect, may have replaced it. The berry stitch is not usually seen in later nineteenth-century works.

borders. A decorative and protective border completed moosehair embroidered bark objects. Bark objects required two layers of bark; the outer layer was embroidered with the moosehair motifs while the backing layer protected the moosehair ends and helped to hold them in place. To hold these two layers firmly together and protect their edges, a bundle of white or ivory undyed animal hair,³⁰ possibly horse hair, was placed along the bark edges and held in place by brown cotton thread stitches, at right angles to the bark edge and the animal hair. Characteristic of both convent and Wendat bark edging was a decorative checker motif, achieved by a weave of the dark thread in the white hair at intervals along the border.³¹

bristle or tufting. This technique appears in works toward the end of the nineteenth century. Turner describes it as a bundle of moosehair attached in the centre with a loop of thread drawn tight. The ends of the hair are then fanned out and the process is repeated.³²

bud. Turner describes how a raised bud is produced at the end of a stem, by first making a core as for a petal, and then placing a layer of moosehair over this core.³³

²⁹ Turner, *Hair Embroidery*, 39.

³⁰ Ibid., 50, 66.

³¹ Ibid., 50.

³² Ibid., 32–33.

³³ Ibid., 32.

criss cross. This is an innovation that appears in later-nineteenth-century bark work. It is an accent stitch, usually of a contrasting colour, using four long stitches that form an X or a cross, each stitch of equal length.

twining. This technique is used in woven vegetable fibre textiles, in which dyed moosehair is used to create motifs on twined pouches or woven work such as burdens traps or belts. This has also been referred to as false embroidery and is described by Turner.³⁴ A form of finger weaving, it does not require a needle or an awl. In these works the structural material is vegetable fibre. Dyed moosehair is wrapped around the horizontal or woof thread during the twining process. Christian Feest provides an excellent description of this technique: “The dominant textile form in northeastern North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the double weave. In this technique, a pair of active threads are woven around two passive warp thread in order to create baskets, bags, belts, and other woven objects. For surface decorations, usually geometric designs, porcupine quill or moosehair was wound around an outside weft in a technique known as “false embroidery.” Textiles imported from Europe had for the most part, replaced this native production by the end of the eighteenth century.”³⁵ An example of Wendat twining with moosehair motifs is the Sloane pouch at the British Museum (see fig. 4). The term “false embroidery” has a suggestion of ethnocentricity, assuming Western European techniques of applying surface decoration as the “true” techniques or the norm, and others as false.

³⁴ Ibid., 38, 57–62.

³⁵ Christian Feest, *First Nations, Royal Collections* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2007).

pendants. Metal cone pendants with horse, caribou, or possibly moosehair were used to decorate the cuffs of moccasins, the fronts of pouches, the edges of epaulettes, and on coats and souvenirs. The characteristic Wendat application of metal cones is a row of compact, closely spaced small cones with red-dyed animal hair tassels attached by a narrow hide strip inside the cone and then to the hide, forming a border. This style is characteristic of black-dyed Wendat moccasins from the first decades of the nineteenth century, specifically those moccasins of centre seam or invisible-seam vamp insert construction. From the examples I have seen, metal cones are not generally seen in the puckered seam, vamp insert moccasins, a style which appears to be later in date. These two styles of moccasin construction are discussed later in the Glossary. A second style of pendant is seen in individual placements, on moccasins, caribou or moosefoot wall pockets, or on clothing. Several beads, black and white being the most common colours, are strung on the hide strip that attaches the hair inside the cone and the cone to the object.

Appendix B: Database: Wendat Visual Arts: DVD

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: 1400-1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: St. Lawrence Iroquoian

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, Gatineau, Que.

Catalogue #: Borden no. BgFp-4:675a-d

Style: Geometric

Motif: archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: Varied

Collector:

Excavated from the Salem Site near Summerstown, on the St. Lawrence River just east of Cornwall. The date is approximate.

BgFp-4:675

Figure 1

Item Name: **Pot**

Date: 1400-1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: St. Lawrence Iroquoian

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: Borden no. Be-Fv-1:010010.3

Style: Geometric

Motif: archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 13.5cm

Collector:

McKeown Site, near Prescott, Ontario. The date is approximate.

Figure 2

Item Name: **Pot**

Date: 1400-1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: St. Lawrence Iroquoian

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilisation, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: VIII-F:34961

Style: Geometric

Motif: archaeological

Media: ceramic

Dimensions: 13.8cm

Collector:

Found by a diver in the bed of the St. Lawrence
River at Brockville, Ontario. The date is
approximate.

Figure 3

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: c.1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario
Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Keffer site, Borden no. AkGv-14,
611425

Style: Geometric

Motif: parallel lines, compartments,
archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 12cm x 8cm

Collector:

The Keffer site is located near Maple,
approximately 90 kilometers south of the Wendat
villages known to the Jesuit missionaries. The
date is approximate.

Figure 4

Item Name: **Bird Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1400-1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Canadian Museum of

Civilisation, Gatineau , Que

Catalogue #: VIII-F-8577

Style: Figural

Motif: archaeological, bird

Media: steatite

Dimensions: 6.5cm x 7cm

Collector:

Found in the south shore of the Ottawa River,
opposite Aylmer, Quebec. The date is
approximate.

VIII-F:8577

Figure 5

Item Name: **Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1400-1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Canadian Museum of

Civilisations, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: VIII-F-8578

Style: Figural

Motif: archaeological, bird

Media: Steatite

Dimensions: 7.5cm x 9cm

Collector:

Brant Reserve, Brant County, Ontario. The date
is approximate.

Figure 6

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: 1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Keffer site, Borden no. AkGv-14,
770414-1

Style: Geometric

Motif: parallel lines, annular rings, punctates,
archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 8cm x 8.5cm

Collector:

The Keffer site is located near Maple,
approximately 90 kilometers south of the Wendat
villages known to the Jesuit missionaries. The
date is approximate.

Figure 7

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: 1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Keffer sites, Borden no. AkGv-14,
600306

Style: Geometric

Motif: parallel lines, annular rings, punctates,
archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 13cm x 6cm

Collector:

The Keffer site is located near Maple,
approximately 90 kilometers south of the Wendat
villages known to the Jesuit missionaries. The
date is approximate.

Figure 8

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: 1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Keffer sites, Borden no. AkGv-14,
570260

Style: Geometric

Motif: parallel lines, compartments,
archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 25cm x 9cm

Collector:

The Keffer site is located near Maple,
approximately 90 kilometers south of the Wendat
villages known to the Jesuit missionaries. The
date is approximate.

Figure 9

Item Name: **Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Keffer, Borden no. AkGv-14,
652915.1

Style: Figural

Motif: snake, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 6.5cm x 2.75cm

Collector:

The Keffer site is located near Maple,
approximately 90 kilometers south of the Wendat
villages known to the Jesuit missionaries. The
date is approximate.

Figure 10

Item Name: **Pipe**

Date: 1500

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario
Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Keffer site, Borden no. Ak Gv-14,
740582-3

Style:

Motif: archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 10cm x 7.5

Collector:

The Keffer site is located near Maple,
approximately 90 kilometers south of the Wendat
villages known to the Jesuit missionaries. The
date is approximate.

Figure 11

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: 1590-1620

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario
Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Forget site, Borden no. BeGx-21,
FD 37115

Style: Geometric

Motif: castellation, parallel lines, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 22cm x 12cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Forget site is in Tay Township, Midland, not
far from the Wendat village sites known to the
Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the
seventeenth century.
Dates are approximate.

Figure 12

Item Name: **Potsherd**

Date: 1590-1620

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Forget site, Borden no. BeGx-21,
F9-1895-2630

Style: Geometric

Motif: Parallel lines, chevrons, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 8cm x 8cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Forget site is in Tay Township, Midland,
close to the Wendat village sites known to the
Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the
seventeenth century.

Dates are approximate.

Figure 13

Item Name: **Pipe**

Date: 1575-1625

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: St. Louis site, Borden no. BeGw-20,
ST619

Style: Geometric

Motif: lines, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 4cm x 4cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The St. Louis site near Midland is in an area of
Wendat villages known to the Jesuit
missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth
century.

The date is approximate.

Figure 14

Item Name: **Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1590

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Flanagan site, Borden no. BdGw-27, F.172

Style: Geometric, Figural

Motif: parallel lines, chevrons, diamond, turtle, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 6.5cm x 5cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Flanagan site is in Medonte, the area where the Wendat villages known to the Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth century, were located.

The date is approximate.

Figure 15

Item Name: **Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1590

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Flanagan site, Borden no. BdGw-27, F.166

Style: Figural

Motif: lines, turtle, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 5cm x 5.5cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Flanagan site is in Medonte, the area where the Wendat villages known to the Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth century, were located.

The date is approximate.

Figure 16

Item Name: **Pipe**

Date: 1590

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Flanagan site, Borden no. BdGw-27, F.174

Style: Geometric

Motif: punctates, chevrons, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 7cm x 1.75cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Flanagan site is in Medonte, the area where the Wendat villages known to the Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth century were located.

The date is approximate.

Figure 17

Item Name: **Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1590-1620

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Forget, Borden no. BeGx-21, F62-431

Style: Figural

Motif: face, archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 4cm x 4cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Forget site is in Tay Township, Midland, a few hours walk from the Wendat villages known to the Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The dates are approximate.

Figure 18

Item Name: **Pipe effigy figure**

Date: 1590

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of Ontario

Archaeology, London, Ontario

Catalogue #: Flanagan site, Borden no. BdGw
-27, F.172

Style: Geometric, Figural

Motif: chevron, parallel lines, diamond,
archaeological

Media: Ceramic

Dimensions: 6.5cm x 5cm

Collector: Wilf Jury

The Flanagan site is in Medonte, the area where the Wendat villages known to the Jesuit missionaries in the first half of the seventeenth century, were located. The date is approximate.

Figure 19

Item Name: **Pipe**

Date: 1653

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: DC.16

Style: Figural

Motif:

Media: Wood

Dimensions:

Collector: Ole Worm

This date is quite close, as there is a documented collection history.

Figure 20

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1700-1775

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.138

Style: Geometric

Motif: Zigzag; circle, half-circle, spiral

Media: Black-dyed hide, dyed porcupine quill, tendon, metal, animal hair

Dimensions: 20cm x 21cm; 24cm x 24cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The works in this collection date from before 1793. The two moccasins are different sizes.

Draw-string central seam construction.

Figure 21

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1700-1775

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.137

Style: Geometric

Motif: spiral, zigzag, circle

Media: Black-dyed hide, dyed porcupine quill, tendon, metal, animal hair, fibre, white beads

Dimensions: 23.5cm x 14cm; 21.5cm x 12.5cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The two moccasins are different sizes.

Central seam with drawstring construction.

Figure 22

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1700-1775

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.265

Style: Geometric

Motif: Zigzag, five-loop motif, compartments circle

Media: Black-dyed hide, dyed porcupine quill, tendon, vegetable fibre

Dimensions: 20cm x 19.5cm; 19cm x 18.5cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The two moccasins are different sizes.

Figure 23

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1725- 1793

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.129

Style: Geometric

Motif: Zigzag, 'J' curve, diamond, cones

Media: Black dyed hide, porcupine quill, vegetable fibre and thread, metal.

Dimensions: 26cm x 10cm x 10cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

One moccasins, center seam, possibly drawstring. It was collected before 1793, but 1725 is approximate.

Figure 24

Item Name: **Twined pouch**

Date: 1700- 1793

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes region,
possibly Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.63

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond, triangle, compartments

Media: Vegetable fibre, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 10cm x 12cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The Indigenous North American works in the
Bibliothèque nationale de France date from
before the French Revolution, before 1793 but
more exact dates can only be suggested. The
work is very like the 1725 Sloane pouch.

Figure 25

Item Name: **Twined pouch**

Date: 1700-1775

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat, possibly
Haudenosaunee

Current Location: Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

Catalogue #: No. 720-2

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: vegetable fibre, moosehair

Dimensions: 10cm x 10cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

Detail

Figure 26

Item Name: **Twined pouch**

Date: 1700-1793

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes region, possibly Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.62

Style: Geometric

Motif: Zigzag, step

Media: Vegetable fibre, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 18.5cm x 23cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The Indigenous North American works in the Bibliothèque nationale de France date from before the French Revolution, before 1793 but more exact dates can only be suggested. It is very like the pre-1725 Sloane pouch.

Figure 27

Item Name: **Twined pouch**

Date: 1700-1793

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes region, possibly Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.71

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Vegetable fibre, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 13cm x 15cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The Indigenous North American works in the Bibliothèque nationale de France were collected before the French Revolution, before 1793 but more exact dates can only be suggested. It is similar in technique to the pre-1725 Sloane pouch.

Figure 28

Item Name: **Twined pouch**

Date: 1725

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: British Museum, London. c. The Trustees of the British Museum.

Catalogue #: Am, SI Misc 203

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond

Media: Vegetable fibre, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 12cm x 12.5

Collector: Sir Hans Sloane

The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

This work has definite date and nation of origin. It was collected before 1725. This can help to date other similar works. The Wendat were one of the communities whose work was part of the Great Lakes tradition of twined weaving. This is one of two images to show both sides.

Figure 29

Item Name: **Twined pouch**

Date: 1725

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: British Museum, London.

Catalogue #: Am, SL Misc 203

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond

Media: Vegetable fibre, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 12cm x 12.5

Collector: Sir Hans Sloane

The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved. This work was collected before 1725.

Its definite date and nation of origin can help to date other similar works. The Wendat were one of the communities whose work was part of the Great Lakes twined weaving tradition.

Figure 30

Item Name: **Pouch**

Date: 1725-1793

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.142

Style: Geometric, Stylized Floral

Motif: Square, floral, circles, zigzag

Media: Cotton fabric, moosehide, porcupine quill, greasy green and yellow beads, black beads, vegetable fibre.

Dimensions: 22.25cm x 16.5cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The date of 1725 is approximate, but this pouch was collected before 1793.

Figure 31

Item Name: **Burden strap**

Date: 1700- 1793

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes, possibly Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris

Catalogue #: 71.1878.32.252

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Dyed moosehair, woven vegetable fibre

Dimensions: 5.7cm x 30cm x 38cm

Collector: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The Indigenous North American works in the Bibliothèque Nationale du France were collected before the French Revolution, before 1793 but more exact dates can only be suggested. The technique and geometric motifs are like the pre-1725 Sloane pouch.

Figure 32

Item Name: **Dolls**

Date: 1788

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau

Catalogue #: III-H-429, 430, 431

Style: Genre

Motif:

Media: Wood, cotton fabric, cotton thread, tin, hide, glass beads

Dimensions: Man: H: 28 cm, W: 9cm; woman: H: 25 cm, W: 8cm.

Collector:

Figure 33

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1750- 1792

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1934.33.18

Style: Geometric

Motif: Zigzag, 'J' curve, drawstring center seam.

Media: Indigenous tanning technique, smoked moose hide, animal hair, metal, porcupine quill, vegetable fibre or tendon

Dimensions: 9.5cm x 24.5cm x 10.5cm

Collector: Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles

Cones single or double in a characteristic spaced arrangement. This moccasin is in the 1792 inventory of the Fayolle collection.

Figure 34

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1750-1792

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1934.33.214

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif: Zigzag

Media: Tanned hide, wool thread for embroidery, grey fabric

Dimensions: 17.5cm x 14.5cm

Collector: Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles

In ink on soles, pour le pied droit, pour le pied gauche. Mix of Indigenous and European shoe styles and motifs. In the 1792 inventory.

Figure 35

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1750-1800

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.8

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond, zigzag, circle

Media: Smoked moosehide, metal, animal hair, ochre, cotton, vegetable fibre, greasy blue beads,

Dimensions:

Collector: Musée de la Marine du Louvre

Central seam, possibly drawstring.

One-piece construction. The motifs are similar to those of the Sloane pouch.

Figure 36

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1750-1800

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.8

Style: Geometric

Motif: circle, half-circle

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector:

Detail

Figure 37

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1750-1800

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.61

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond; cones

Media: Smoked moosehide, metal, animal hair, cotton, vegetable fibre, black and white beads, cotton fabric.

Dimensions: 24.5cm x 10.5cm

Collector: Musée Marine du Louvre; Musée d'archaéologie nationale

This date range is suggested through stylistic comparison with dated works.

Woven bands of quill work, like Champlain's description of works by the Huron and Algonkin communities. Diamond motif like woven pouches and effigy turtle.

One piece construction. Spaces between cones are part of the design.

Figure 38

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1750-1800

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Angoulême, France

Catalogue #: 934.1128

Style: Geometric

Motif: 'J'curve

Media: Tanned hide, porcupine quill, metal,
animal hair, vegetable fibre and tendon

Dimensions: 23cm x 11cm x 9cm

Collector: Dr. Jules Lhomme

This date is suggested through stylistic comparison with dated works. ie. moccasins from the Caldwell collection, c. 1776, Canadian Museum of Civilization III-H-432 a,b.

Figure 39

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1750-1800

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Musée des Beaux-Arts,
Angoulême, France

Catalogue #: 934.1128

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Tanned, smoked hide, porcupine quill,
metal, vegetable fibre or tendon

Dimensions:

Collector: Dr. Lhomme

Side view, see main entry

Figure 40

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1770-1780

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization

Catalogue #: III-H-432a,b

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond, parallel lines

Media: Tanned and smoked hide, woven
porcupine quill, metal cones, animal hair

Dimensions:

Collector: Sir John Caldwell

Attributed to the Wendat community of the
Detroit region.

Figure 41

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1775-1825

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Museum of Natural History,
Lille, France

Catalogue #: 990.2.3224

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Smoked, tanned hide, white beads, dyed
porcupine quill, red and green ribbon, metal
cones

Dimensions:

Collector: Alphone Moillet

This date is suggested through stylistic
comparison with dated works

Figure 42

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1778

Maker: Unknown

Nation Of Origin: Wendat , possibly

Current Location: Royal Ontario Museum

Catalogue #: 1986.218.3

Style: Geometric

Motif: diamant

Media: Hide, moosehair, metal cones, animal
hair

Dimensions: 23 cm

Collector: Drummond family collection

From their geometric style, the woven technique
characteristic of Wendat 18C work, the lozenge
motif like the Huron Sloane pouch at the British
Museum, and family letters, this moccasin was
possibly collected by Gordon Drummond's
mother, in the late 18 C.

Figure 43

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1780-1820

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Seneca

Current Location: Museum d'Histoire Naturelle,
Rouen, France

Catalogue #: 180705027

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Tanned, smoked moose hide, blue
ribbon, small white beads, cotton thread,
porcupine quill, possibly moosehair also

Dimensions: 23cm x 11cm

Collector: Unknown

This date is suggested through stylistic
comparison with dated works.

Archives: "Don- 1838 de la tribu de Seneca" The
1838 may refer to the date that the moccasins
were given to the Museum . It is likely that they
were collected earlier.

Figure 44

Item Name: **Prisoner tie or burden strap**

Date: 1750-1869.

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes, possibly
Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris

Catalogue #: 71.1934.33.77

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Dyed moosehair and porcupine quill,
woven vegetable fibre

Dimensions:

Collector: Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles
The Indigenous works at the Bibliothèque
municipale de Versailles includes the collection
of Charles Phillipe Fayolle, begun in the 1750s.
He collected until his death in 1804. Material
continued to be added to this collection in the
nineteenth century. Inventories were done of the
Fayolle collection in 1792, 1806, and 1869. This
work is in the 1869 inventory. The technique and
geometric motifs are like the 1725 Sloane pouch.

Figure 45

Item Name: **Birchbark playing card box**

Date: 1820-1840

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization Gatineau, Quebec

Catalogue #: III-H-438

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: vase, playing card symbols

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread.

Dimensions: 8cm x 5cm x 11.5cm

Collector: Speyer Collection

Figure 46

Item Name: **Card case**

Date: 1830-1857

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of the New World,
LaRochelle, France

Catalogue #: 02.1.2

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Vase, floral, thistle, rose

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Robert Duperrier, Paris

Robert Duperrier is a collector and dealer. The date is suggested by comparison with works in the Elgin collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2008.118.9; 2008.118.10, and the use of vegetable dyes.

Figure 47

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 152b

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: flower

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 14.5cm x 5cm

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 48

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc.152b

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Other side. See main entry

Figure 49

Item Name: **Cigar box**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 152c

Style: Genre

Motif: Strawberry, basket, grey fox, bird, pipe, harvest

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 2.5cm x 8cm x 14.5cm

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 50

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc.152c

Style: Genre

Motif: Bird, pipe, grey fox, hunter

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Other side. See main entry

Figure 51

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc.152a

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 15cm x 7.5cm

Collector: Mr.Døllner

Figure 52

Item Name: **Gloves**

Date: 1832

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: 1974.403.26.1-2

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: Spiral, circle, half-circle

Media: Smoked deerskin, dyed moosehair, ribbon, cotton thread

Dimensions: 25cm x 10.5cm

Collector: Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès
There is no evidence that they were worn.

Figure 53

Item Name: **Mitts**

Date: 1832

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: 1974.403.20.1-2

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: 'J' curve, diamond, circle, half-circle, spiral

Media: Black-dyed smoked hide, dyed moosehair, metal, ribbon, wool fabric lining

Dimensions: 22.5cm x 10.5cm

Collector: Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès

Figure 54

Item Name: **Gloves**

Date: 1838-1841

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-409 a-b

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Tanned, black dyed, smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, white wool fabric.

Dimensions: 12cm x 30cm

Collector: James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of
Caledon

III-H-409 a,b

Figure 55

Item Name: **Pocket flap**

Date: 1838-1843

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-415

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 4.5cm x 17.5cm

Collector: James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of
Caledon

III-H-415

Figure 56

Item Name: **Vest**

Date: 1841

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-407

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Black wool cloth, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread

Dimensions: 43.8cm x 51cm

Collector: James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of
Caledon

Figure 57

Item Name: **Leggings**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc.146b

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif: half-circle, circle

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, metal cones, animal
hair.

Dimensions: 66cm x 31cm

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 58

Item Name: **Mitts**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 146d

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: spiral, circle

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread, animal hair.

Dimensions: 20cm x 11cm

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 59

Item Name: **Doll, woman**

Date: 1800-1880

Maker:

Nation Of Origin:

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly

Catalogue #: 71.1878.33.11

Style: Genre, Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Fabric, metal, wooden body, head, hands, cotton thread, dye

Dimensions: 18cm x 6.5cm x 4.8cm

Collector: Raphael Bischoffsheim

Figure 60

Item Name: **Doll, man**

Date: 1800-1880

Maker:

Nation Of Origin:

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly

Catalogue #: 71.1878.33.14

Style: Naturalistic Floral, Genre

Motif:

Media: Fabric, metal, wood, cotton thread, dye

Dimensions: 18cm x 5 cm x 4.8cm

Collector: Raphael Bischoffsheim

Figure 61

Item Name: **Dolls and canoe**

Date: 1832

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: 1974.410.67

Style: Genre, Geometric

Motif: Narrative, diamond

Media: Fabric, birch bark, cotton thread, metal, wood, porcupine quill

Dimensions: 22cm; 18.5cm

Collector: Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès

The dolls are of carved wood. Their arms and legs are articulated at shoulder and hip. They have metal earrings.

These dolls are similar to those in the Dollner collection of 1847.

Figure 62

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1800-1830

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Château-Musée de Dieppe

Catalogue #: 925.3.60

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: Circle, half-circle, spiral

Media: Black dyed hide, dyed moosehair, metal, animal hair

Dimensions: 24.5cm x 10cm x 6cm

Collector: Léon Gatayes

This date is suggested through stylistic comparison with dated works. The spiral-curves suggests an earlier date than others in this style. ie. collection Lukas Vischer, Museum der Culturen, Basle IV_a_33_a_b, 1825.

Figure 63

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1803-1826

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: 1800.403.6.1

Style: Geometric

Motif: Diamond

Media: Smoked, tanned hide, porcupine quill, metal cones, animal hair, ribbon, thick black thread, white beads

Figure 64

Dimensions: 25.5cm x 10cm

Collector: Capt. Malcolm

Bright red quill work on heel seam.

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1803-1826

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Eastern Great Lakes, possibly
Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: Can 6.1-2

Style: Geometric

Motif: Small cones, weaving

Media: Smoked and tanned hide, porcupine quill,
small metal cones, animal hair, vegetable fibre,
sinew

Dimensions: 25cm x 11cm x 8.5cm

Collector: Capt. Malcolm

Woven quill bands.

Figure 65

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1808-1816

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bata Shoe Museum

Catalogue #: P83. 170

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear, Geometric

Motif:

Media: Black-dyed smoked, tanned hide, dyed
porcupine quill, possibly dyed moosehair, metal
cones, animal hair

Dimensions:

Collector: Sir Gordon Drummond

Bata Shoe Museum 2012. Photo: David
Stevenson and Eva Tkaczuk.

A similar motif is seen on a pouch in the
collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum,
Oxford1951.2.28.

Figure 66

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1820-1830

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: International Shoe Museum,
Romans, France

Catalogue #: 1968.3.680

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif:

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, burgundy silk ribbon.

Dimensions:

Collector: Victor Guillen

This date is suggested through stylistic
comparison with dated works, the Lukas Vischer
collection, 1825.

There is only one moccasin. An exchange was
made with another shoe collector; one moccasin
of the pair was exchanged for another shoe to
add to the collection.

Photography: Christophe Villard

Figure 67

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1820-1840

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-427a-b

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: spiral, half-circle

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Speyer Collection

The date is approximate, based on stylistic
comparison with dated works.

Figure 68

Item Name: **Moccasin cuffs**

Date: 1820-1840

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilisation, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-461a,b

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: spiral

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, red ribbon, white
beads

Dimensions:

Collector:

The date is approximate, based on stylistic
comparison with dated works.

Figure 69

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1826

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: Can 12.1-2

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: spiral, half-circle, circle

Media: Black dyed hide, tanned and smoked,
dyed moosehair, sinew thread stitching

Dimensions: 25cm x 8.5cm x 11cm

Collector: Adolph Gerber

These moccasins appear in a catalogue of works
added to the collection before 1826. The sinew
thread suggests an early date.

Figure 70

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1830-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum d'Histoire Naturelle,
Rouen, France

Catalogue #: 180704003

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Tanned and whitened hide, dyed
moosehair, white cotton commercial thread, red
ribbon

Dimensions: 21cm x 9cm

Collector: Unknown

This date is suggested through stylistic
comparison with dated works. This pair of
moccasins is very similar to a pair collected by
the Earl of Caledon between .1838-1843, now at
the Canadian Museum of Civilisation, Gatineau,
Quebec, III-H-449

Figure 71

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1832

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: Po 74.403.17 (a,b)

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: Abstract floral

Media: Blackened, tanned and smoked hide,
dyed moosehair, porcupine quill, red silk ribbon,
Dimensions: 24cm x 8cm

Collector: Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès

Figure 72

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1832

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: Po 74.403.18 (a,b)

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: circle, half-circle, spiral

Media: Black dyed, tanned and smoked hide, porcupine quills, moosehair, vegetable fibre, metal cones.

Dimensions: 28cm x 11 cm x 15cm

Collector: Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès

Figure 73

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1835-1845

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum of the New World, La Rochelle, France

Catalogue #: MAH 2009.0.375

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif: half-circle, circle

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread.

Dimensions:

Collector:

The date is suggested by comparison with dated works, for example works in the Caledon collection, Canadian Museum of Civilization, III-H-449.

Figure 74

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1835-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: International Shoe Museum,
Romans, France

Catalogue #: 1968.3.679

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif: half-circle

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, burgundy silk ribbon.

Dimensions: 24cm x 9cm x 6cm

Collector: Victor Guillen

This date is suggested through stylistic comparison with dated moccasins, the Caledon collection (III-H-449) at the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Elgin collection (T38a,b) at the Fenimore Art Museum.

There is only one moccasin. An exchange was made with another shoe collector; one moccasin of the pair was exchanged for another shoe to add to the collection.

Photography: Christophe Villard

Figure 75

Item Name: **Moccasin**

Date: 1838-1842

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau

Catalogue #: III-H-449

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif: circle, half-circle

Media: Whitened hide, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Jame Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of
Caledon

Figure 76

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1838-1843

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-414 a-b

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: spiral

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 5.0cm x 24.1cm

Collector: James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of Caledon

III-H-414 a,b

Figure 77

Item Name: **Moccasin pieces**

Date: 1838-1855

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-465 a,b

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

The date is approximate, based on stylistic comparison with dated works, the Caledon collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Elgin collection at the Fenimore Art Museum.

Figure 78

Item Name: **Pouch**

Date: 1826

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bern Historical Museum

Catalogue #: Can 11

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: circle, spiral, half circle

Media: Tanned, smoked and black dyed hide, dyed moosehair, metal cones, animal hair, sinew.

Dimensions: 18.5cm x 21.5cm

Collector: Adolph Gerber

Figure 79

Item Name: **Pouch**

Date: 1830-1840

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England

Catalogue #: 1951.2.28

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Blackened, smoked hide, dyed moosehair, metal cones, linge, tissu, ribbon

Dimensions: L: 16 cm, W: 19 cm.

Collector: Henry Wellcome

Figure 80

Item Name: **Pouch**

Date: 1830-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-464

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread, red trim, cord.

Dimensions: 11cm x 18cm

Collector:

The date is approximate, based on stylistic comparison with dated works

Figure 81

Item Name: **Pouch**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 146g

Style: Semi-Abstract Linear

Motif: circle, half circle

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread, metal cones, animal hair

Dimensions: 18.5cm x 23.5cm

Collector: Mr.Døllner

Strap: 80cm

Figure 82

Item Name: **Souvenir work**

Date: 1840-1855

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilisation

Catalogue #: III-H-489ab

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: floral

Media: Bark, cotton thread, fabric, dyed
moosehair

Dimensions: 11.8cm x 7.1cm

Collector:

Figure 83

Item Name: **Wall pocket**

Date: 1832

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern

Catalogue #: 1974.403.24

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread

Dimensions: 20cm x 17cm

Collector: Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès
These are the earliest dated moosehair
embroidered Wendat bark works, in the current
research.

Figure 84

Item Name: **Box**
 Date: 1847
 Maker:
 Nation Of Origin: Wendat
 Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen
 Catalogue #: Hc.152d
 Style: Genre
 Motif:
 Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread.
 Dimensions: 4.5 x 13.5 x 8.5
 Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 85

Item Name: **Portfolio**
 Date: 1830-1840
 Maker:
 Nation Of Origin: Wendat
 Current Location: New Orleans Museum of Art
 Catalogue #: 45
 Style: Stylized Floral
 Motif: spiral, half-circle, dots
 Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread
 Dimensions:
 Collector: Whitecloud Collection

Figure 86

Item Name: **Card case**

Date: 1830-1840

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 131955

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Vase

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Miss Foulke

Figure 87

Item Name: **Basket**

Date: 1830-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, La Rochelle, France

Catalogue #: H 4041

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral, strawberry

Media: Birchbark, dyed moosehair, cotton

Dimensions: 12.5cm x 10cm x 9.5cm

Collector: Comtesse de Fleuriau

This date is suggested through stylistic comparison with dated works, the von Pourtalès collection wall plaques at the Bern Historical Museum.

Figure 88

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1835-1845

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 29576

Style: Genre

Motif:

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Joseph Keppler

The style of this tray is unusual in Wendat production in several ways. A winter scene is itself unusual, as is moosehunting. The flowers in the leaf border, the depiction of the trees, the black vine are all unusual in the Wendat genre style.

Figure 89

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1840-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 232167

Style: Genre

Motif: bird, eagle, canoe, strawberry

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Grace Nicholson

Figure 90

Item Name: **Cigar box**

Date: 1840-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 060355

Style: Genre

Motif: Harvest

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Joseph Keppler

Figure 91

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1840-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia

Catalogue #: 92-12-10

Style: Genre

Motif: dog, grey fox, struggle

Media: Bark, moosehair, thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

Figure 92

Item Name: **pin cushion**

Date: 1840-1857

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 224677

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Red wool fabric, dyed moosehair, white beads, translucent beads, cotton thread.

Dimensions:

Collector:

This pincushion is unusual in that it brings together raised the beadwork technique, a well-known souvenir style produced by Haudenosaunee communities, in particular Seneca, and moosehair embroidery techniques associated with the Wendat community of Wendake.

Figure 93

Item Name: **Box**

Date: 1840-1857

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 231226

Style: Genre, Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Flower, bird

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

Figure 94

Item Name: **Fan**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc.152g

Style: Genre

Motif: strawberry, basket

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread, feathers

Dimensions: 25cm x 21.5cm

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Style suggests same maker as Døllner square edged cigar box, Hc.152d.

Figure 95

Item Name: **Book covers**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 152h

Style: Naturalistic Floral, Genre

Motif: Bird, grey fox

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 30.5cm x 22.5cm

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 96

Item Name: **Wall plaque**

Date: 1847

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hu.38

Style: Figural, Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Bird, flower

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread.

Dimensions: 23.5 x 25.75

Collector: Mr. Døllner

Figure 97

Item Name: **Wall-pocket**

Date: 1838-1842

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilisation, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-467

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Caribou or moose foot, dyed moosehair,
tanned, smoked, black-dyed hide, cotton thread,
linen, silk, beads, tin

Dimensions: 20.5cm x 47.5cm

Collector: Drummond collection, possibly
Lieutenant Gordon Drummond

This work is from the stylized floral style
sequence of the 1830s-1850s and was probably
collected by the son of General Sir Gordon
Drummond. Sir Gordon Drummond's son, also
Gordon Drummond, was a Lieutenant in the
Coldstream Guards in 1837. The Coldstream
Guards were stationed in Quebec from 1838
-1842. Several of the Coldstream Guards visited
Wendake and were awarded noms de guerre.

Figure 98

Item Name: **Glasses case**

Date: 1838-1843

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-410 a,b

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media: Black dyed and smoked hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 13cm x 23cm

Collector: James Du Pre Alexander, third Earl of Caledon

III-H-410 a,b

Figure 99

Item Name: **Wallet**

Date: 1840-1855

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-491

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 8.5cm x 2cm x 11cm

Collector:

Figure 100

Item Name: **Pin cushion**

Date: 1840-57

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-486

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread, blue fabric

Dimensions: 4cm x 7.1cm

Collector:

The dyes used appear to be vegetable rather than aniline, hence before 1857. After 1857, aniline dyes were in common use.

Figure 101

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1830-1840

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Natural History Museum,
La Rochelle, France

Catalogue #: H 4042

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread

Dimensions: 16cm x 15cm

Collector: Comtesse de Fleuriau

This work is similar to the wall plaques in the von
Pourtalès collection, de 1832.

Figure 102

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1830-1850

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Natural History Museum, La
Rochelle, France

Catalogue #: H 4043

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral, strawberry

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread

Dimensions: 16cm x 15cm

Collector: Comtesse de Fleuriau

This work is similar to the wall plaques in the von
Pourtalès collection, collected in 1832.

Figure 103

Item Name: **Address**

Date: 1873

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Library and Archives Canada

Catalogue #: 1978-49-178

Style:

Motif:

Media: Paper, ink

Dimensions: 30.2cm x 40.3cm

Collector: Lord Dufferin

Address to Lord Dufferin, Governor General of Canada, 6 October, 1873.

Vol.1, Addresses to Lord Dufferin. Library and Archives Canada. In French and Wendat.

Figure 104

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1850-1870

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1968.40.11

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Birchbark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 13cm x 7.5cm x 2cm

Collector: Marie-Jean Béraud Villars

This date is suggested by stylistic comparison with dated works, for example the bark works from the Christie collection at the British Museum, c. 1857.

Figure 105

Item Name: **Cigar box**

Date: 1850-1870

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1968.40.11

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector:

See the main entry.

Figure 106

Item Name: **Box**

Date: 1850-1870

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1901.46.2

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 7cm x 11.02cm

Collector: Le Duc de Loubat

This date is suggested through stylistic comparison with dated works, for example the box at the Peabody Salem Museum, E37680, 1858.

It is difficult to know if aniline dye was used, due to the loss of moosehair.

Figure 107

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1850-1870s.

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris

Catalogue #: 71.1934.33.41.

Style: Genre

Motif: pipe, flowers, birds

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 15.5 x 8.1 x 3.25

Collector: Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles

Figure 108

Item Name: **Calling card box**

Date: 1850-1873

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England

Catalogue #: 1941.8.219.1-2

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Flowers

Media: Birch bark, wool, cotton thread, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 10cm x 6.7cm

Collector: Sir Arthur Evans

The collection was donated in 1873, giving the latest date for this case.

The date of 1850 is suggested by style. The peach-pink colour of one of the flowers suggests aniline dye, which would make the earliest date 1857.

Figure 109

Item Name: **Bark Box**

Date: 1853

Maker: Unknown

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

Catalogue #: 922.1.83.a_1

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

The box was given by the Wendat of Wendake to Six Nations Confederacy Chief George Henry Martin Johnson and his wife, parents of E. Pauline Johnson, the poet, on the occasion of their wedding in 1853.

Figure 110

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1861

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 476

Style: Genre

Motif: beaver, dog, pipe

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 14,75cm x 8cm

Collector: Unknown

Figure 111

Item Name: **Cigar box**

Date: 1861

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

Catalogue #: Hc. 476

Style: Genre

Motif: Birds, dog, pipe

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector: Unknown

Other side. See main entry

Figure 112

Item Name: **Bark box**

Date: 1878

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.40.2.1-2

Style: Genre

Motif: Birds, narrative

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair cotton thread

Dimensions: 23.25cm x 14cm x 7cm

Collector: The Canadian Commission, Paris International Exhibition, 1878

This box was a gift from the Canadian Commission at the International Exhibition, Paris, 1878.

Figure 113

Item Name: **Slippers**

Date: 1850-1860

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: McCord Museum, Montreal.

Catalogue #: M16946.1-2

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Red wool fabric, ribbon, leather

Dimensions:

Collector:

Figure 114

Item Name: **Coat**

Date: 1857-1865

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.162.2

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif: floral

Media: Wool fabric, metal, dyed moosehair, black dyed hide, cotton thread, glass beads, animal hair, porcupine quill

Dimensions: 82cm x 80cm x 7cm

Collector: Musée de la Marine du Louvre

There is a hood and trousers that make up the outfit. From the size, it was made for a child. Mauve aniline dye is seen in the animal hair and quill work, giving the earliest date of this outfit. The detail of oversewn stitch in the motifs suggests not after 1865. Compare to Engels coat, floral motifs, less detail (Canadian Museum of Civilisation III-H-480).

Figure 115

Item Name: **Hood**

Date: 1857-1865

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.162.1

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector:

See main entry for coat.

Figure 116

Item Name: **Trousers**

Date: 1857-1865

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.162.3

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector:

See main entry, the coat.

Figure 117

Item Name: **Coat**

Date: 1857-1865

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1909.19.162.2

Style: Stylized Floral

Motif:

Media:

Dimensions:

Collector:

See main entry, the coat

Figure 118

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1878

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1878.33.15

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Cotton fabric, commercial cotton thread, smoked and tanned moose hide, dyed moosehair

Dimensions: 20.5cm x 5.5cm x 7cm

Collector: Raphael Bischoffsheim

Simplified floral style sequence motifs, later nineteenth century style. The date is approximate, suggested by the collector's history.

Figure 119

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1882-1888

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Holland

Catalogue #: 2012-9; 2012-8

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif: floral

Media: Tanned hide, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 23cm

Collector: Ten Kate

Figure 120

Item Name: **Tablecloth**

Date: 1850-1858

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-459

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Strawberries

Media: Black wool, dyed moosehair, possibly aniline, cotton thread.

Dimensions:

Collector: Mr. and Mrs. James Gibb

The history of the collectors suggests this date range.

Figure 121

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1857

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: McCord Museum, Montreal.

Catalogue #: M16935

Style: Genre

Motif: Bird, eagle, harvest

Media: Bark, moosehair, thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

Inscription:

To Dear Maria or Marianna (?)

from Jane (?)

7th Feb (?) 1857

Figure 122

Item Name: **Glasses case**

Date: 1857-1870

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 223896

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Bark, black wool fabric, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

Figure 123

Item Name: **Work basket**

Date: 1860-1880

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 216860

Style: Genre

Motif: insect, camp fire, bird

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

Figure 124

Item Name: **Tablecloth**

Date: 1861

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-460

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Red wool fabric, dyed moosehair, possibly aniline dyes used, cotton thread, cord edging.

Dimensions:

Collector: Mrs. Seddon

This tablecloth was bought at the International Paris Exhibition of 1861.

Figure 125

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1880-1910

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: McCord Museum, Montreal.

Catalogue #: M18512

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif:

Media: Bark, moosehair, thread

Dimensions:

Collector:

The technique of tufting is used here, suggesting a date at the end of the nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Figure 126

Item Name: **Box**

Date: 1890

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 137116

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Flower

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Mrs. Hicks Arnold

Bought at Niagara Falls around 1890

Figure 127

Item Name: **Cigar case**

Date: 1890

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo by Photo Services.

Catalogue #: 137109

Style: Genre

Motif: Camp fire, bird

Media: Bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions:

Collector: Mrs. Hicks Arnold

Purchased at Niagara Falls around 1890 by Mrs. Hicks Arnold.

Figure 128

Item Name: **Coaster for cup**

Date: 1857-1875

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1968.40.6

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 13cm

Collector: Marie-Jean Béraud Villars

Purple aniline dye gives the earliest date for this coaster. It also suggests dates for other works in the Béraud Villars collection, if they were all made in the same period.

Figure 129

Item Name: **Tablecloth**

Date: 1857-1870

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-458

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Strawberries

Media: Black wool, possibly broadcloth, dyed moosehair (aniline dyes used), cotton thread, edging.

Dimensions:

Collector: June Bedford, an antiquities dealer
The date is approximate, based on stylistic comparison with dated works.

Figure 130

Item Name: **Tray**

Date: 1850-1870

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France

Catalogue #: 71.1968.40.4

Style: Naturalistic Floral

Motif: Floral, strawberry

Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread

Dimensions: 26.5cm x 21.5cm x 5cm

Collector: Marie-Jean Béraud Villars

This date is suggested through comparison with dated works, for example the Christie collection at the British Museum, Am. 2605; Am.2610. From the condition of the moosehair it is difficult to know if aniline dyes were used. If only vegetable dye were used, this would suggest that it was made before 1857.

Figure 131

Item Name: **Tray**
 Date: 1851
 Maker:
 Nation Of Origin: Wendat
 Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen
 Catalogue #: Hc. 219
 Style: Genre, Naturalistic Floral
 Motif: Birds, strawberry, pipe, basket, grey fox
 Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, cotton thread
 Dimensions: 26cm
 Collector: Eylardi

Figure 132

Item Name: **Address**
 Date: 1905
 Maker:
 Nation Of Origin: Wendat
 Current Location: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm
 Catalogue #: 1936.22.0017
 Style: Simplified Floral
 Motif:
 Media: Birch bark, dyed moosehair, tanned and smoked hide, cotton thread, ink
 Dimensions:
 Collector: Folke Cronholm
 Given to Swedish consul Folke Cronholm on his adoption as an Honourary Chief, with the name Tsa8enhohi. Text in French and Wendat.

Figure 133

Item Name: **Address, detail**
 Date: 1905
 Maker:
 Nation Of Origin: Wendat
 Current Location: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm
 Catalogue #: 1936.22.0017
 Style: Simplified Floral
 Motif:
 Media:
 Dimensions:
 Collector: Folke Cronholm
 See main entry

Figure 134

Item Name: **Address**

Date: 1936

Maker: Eugene Sioui

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Library and Archives Canada

Catalogue #: Mikan no. 2837450

Style: Genre

Motif:

Media: Birch bark, oil, pen, black ink,

Dimensions:

Collector: Lord Tweedsmuir

Address made to Lord Tweedsmuir, 3 August, 1936.

Figure 135

Item Name: **Chief's outfit**

Date: 1905

Maker: Caroline Gros Louis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Etnografiska Museet,
Stockholm

Catalogue #: 1936.22.0015.A-F,H

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif:

Media: Wool fabric, dyed moosehair, cotton
thread, smoked, tanned hide, beads, woven
wool, cotton fabric

Dimensions:

Collector: Folke Cronholm

Given to Swedish consul Folke Cronholm on his
adoption as an Honourary Chief, with the name
Tsa8enhohi.

Figure 136

Item Name: **Headdress**

Date: 1905

Maker: Caroline Gros Louis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Etnografiska Museet,
Stockholm

Catalogue #: 1936.22.0015.G

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif:

Media: Dyed feathers, wool fabric, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, red felt

Dimensions:

Collector: Folke Cronholm

Given to Swedish consul Folke Cronholm on his
adoption as an Honourary Chief, with the name
Tsa8enhohi.

Figure 137

Item Name: **Epaulettes**

Date: 1911-1920

Maker: Caroline Gros Louuis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-314a,b

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif:

Media: Black dyed, tanned, smoked hide, dyed
moosehair, cotton thread, metal (tin?) cones,
animal hair.

Dimensions: 6.3cm x .3cm x 18.7cm

Collector: Marius Barbeau

Caroline Gros Louis made similar epaulettes for
the chief's coat in the Folke Cronholm collection,
Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

Figure 138

Item Name: **Headdress**

Date: 1911-1920

Maker: Caroline Gros Louis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-118

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif:

Media: Black felt, red ribbon edging, cotton and
silk threads, m'hair, feathers

Dimensions: 38.5cm x 33.5cm

Collector: Marius Barbeau

Caroline Gros Louis also made the headdress in
the Folke Cronholm collection of the
Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

Figure 139

Item Name: **Couette**

Date: 1911-1920

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-385

Style: Geometric

Motif:

Media: Metal- tin?

Dimensions:

Collector: Marius Barbeau

Figure 140

Item Name: **Dolls and canoe**

Date: 1911-1920

Maker: Nicolas Gros Louis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-320 a-j

Style: Genre

Motif:

Media: Birch bark, cotton fabric, cotton thread, feathers, tin, wood

Dimensions: 17.5cm x 29cm x 75cm

Collector: Marius Barbeau

III-H-320 a-j

Figure 141

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1911-1920

Maker: Caroline Gros Louis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: III-H-84 a-b

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif: half-circle

Media: Tanned, smoked hide, died moosehair

Dimensions:

Collector: Marius Barbeau

Figure 142

Item Name: **Moccasins**

Date: 1911-1920

Maker: Caroline Gros Louis

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que

Catalogue #: H-III-421 a-b

Style: Simplified Floral

Motif:

Media: Tanned hide, red fabric, dyed moosehair, cotton thread.

Dimensions:

Collector: Marius Barbeau

Figure 143

Item Name: **Camp scene, Chief Gaspard Picard Ondiaralete, women, names not known**

Date: 1906

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm

Catalogue #: 0321.ab.0857

Style:

Motif:

Media: Black and white photograph

Dimensions:

Collector: Folke Cronholm Archive

Text: "Huron Indians camping on the St. Charles River Canada 1906"

Figure 144

Item Name: **Possibly Caroline Gros Louis; Folke Cronholm, mounted**

Date: 1906

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm

Catalogue #: 0321.ab.0869

Style:

Motif:

Media: Black and white photograph

Dimensions:

Collector: Folke Cronholm Archive

Figure 145

Item Name: **Mme. Gros Louis (Marie Robigaud) and her daughters**

Date: 1905-1906

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm

Catalogue #: 0321.ab.0387

Style:

Motif:

Media: Black and white photograph

Dimensions:

Collector: Folke Cronholm

Text: "Madame Gros Louis and daughters Huron Indians, Indian Lorette Quebec Canada"

Figure 146

Item Name: **Wendat man and Folke Cronholm, riding**

Date: 1906

Maker:

Nation Of Origin: Wendat

Current Location: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm

Catalogue #: 0321.ab.0873

Style:

Motif:

Media: Black and white photograph

Dimensions:

Collector: Folke Cronholm Archive

Text: "With the Huron Indians Canada 1906"

Figure 147

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Waistcoat, Wendat, Wendake, Quebec, 1841, black-dyed hide, moosehair, fabric, metal. 51.5 cm x 45.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization III-H-407. Photograph by Marie-Louise Deruaz.

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Figure 47. Satin stitch: laid satin and long and short stitches. N. Victoria Wade, *The Basic Stitches of Embroidery* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), n.p.

Figure 48. Brick and stem stitches. Wade, *Basic Stitches of Embroidery*, n.p.

KNOTTED STITCHES

1. FRENCH KNOTS

(A) Shows the thread held in position while the needle is taken under and over once. (B) The thread is then pulled rather tight while the needle is taken down through the material and brought out ready for the next knot. (C) Reverse side. Should be worked in a frame in order to get the best results.

2. BULLIONS

A long form of French knot. (A) A stitch is made the desired length of the bullion and left as a loop. (B) The needle is taken under and over the loop several times. Then the thread is pulled rather tight while the needle is drawn through. (C) The bullion being completed. Should be worked in a frame in order to get the best results.

Figure 49. French knot. Wade, *Basic Stitches of Embroidery*, n.p.

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Plate 106: Artifact number 975.225.40, *Wendat* St. Louis Site, Courtesy of the Huronia Museum, Midland Ontario.

Figure 113. Panther figure, artifact number 67, Robitaille Site, Ontario, BeHa-3, pl. 105; serpent figure, artifact number 975.225.40, St. Louis Site, Ontario pl. 106; *Wendat*, 1620–35, copper. Lisa Anselmi, *Native Peoples' Use of Copper-Based Metals in NE North America* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag, 2008), 564.

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Figure 119. Cigar case, Wendat, ca. 1840–57. National Museum of the American Indian 6/355.

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Figure 121. Tray, possibly Wendat, French Canadian, or Abenaki, mid-nineteenth century, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, w. 26 cm. Musée des confluences, Lyon D979-3-0040.

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Figure 123. Tray, Wendat, 1847–52, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, from the Elgin collection, now in the Thaw collection, Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown T283. Box, Wendat, 1847–52, bark, moosehair, cotton thread, from the Elgin collection, now in the Thaw collection, Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown T0039. (The canoe in this image is not included in the discussion of the Elgin tray artist).

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à son Excellence Lord Dufferin Gouverneur
Général du Canada, etc. etc.

Monsieur le Sec.

Les Chefs, les Guerriers, les Femmes et les enfants
de cette Tribu nous vous saluent tous.
Le jour est bon quand on voit au milieu de nous
le digne Représentant de Notre Auguste Mère qui demeure
de l'autre côté du Grand Lac renommé, on retrouve ses antiques
souveirs mœurs si modestes, et dont les Hurons sont si fiers.
Qui, Monsieur, quoiqu'ils ne habitent plus les bords
des Lacs, sont toujours restés fidèles à leurs anciennes traditions.
Depuis la renommée nous a appris avec quelle habileté
vous conduisez les affaires au travers auquel nous sommes. Notre
espérance dans la réussite de la grande œuvre d'éducation et d'enseignement
est tout entière à un bon succès nous font anticiper
sur les nous vous assistent de toute bonne attention et
nous vous laissons avec le plus de nos amitiés d'impérissables
souvenirs.

Après le Grand Conseil selon les intentions des
anciens de Notre Auguste Mère et des Vénérables et souverains nos
pères et nos ancêtres, des plus honnêtes succès.
Nous vous le rendons avec à Lady Dufferin
et à toute sa famille de bon cœur et de bon cœur.

Ononkio

Oklosamens, Okishen, Okishonien de
Sadak aseli lonbanononkanon. Osaki nousa on
teonsa Kaksa de anenhen chalonarati ara cho tha-
gentenrat deche alensadaton thensichai thasenais
onse Kansenba hondeon ondeda elsetka.
Oho, ahistén, sase ichien de chimehe aloha
ken asken keationati kheakason.
Oletonhara d'eronhalemon ascholonmati lon-
salaselsik aseli nousa lonatonharatik nonachaseli elora-
tinen taen telonbachelnska ason nonachon hanontak
onen kiorhendi sase otionhenti shonsasentio
Sonsa ichitshon letalors Sonsa ithai ti-
chiakastli tasahetsarons asken Dufferin Okishonien.
— Etto ansoch.

Paul Tahomhendi, (proumipwéché)
Monsieur agnition (ours) et chef
Philippe Vincent, Oshonathasté
Gaspard Schabert
etc. etc. etc.

Village Huron 6 Octobre 1873.

Figure 124. Wendat, address to Lord Dufferin, 6 October 1873, paper, pen. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Mikan No. 2978070.

Figure 125. Address to Princess Louise and the Marquess of Lorne, 22 August 1883, bark, tanned hide, white and purple wampum, h. 34.5 cm, w. 33.25 cm. British Museum, London Am1887.1208.19.

Figure 126. Frederick John Meyer, *Edmund Kean*, lithograph, 1827, h. 36 cm. w. 25.8 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Mikan no. 3030046.

Figure 127. Folke Cronholm, unnamed Wendat woman, 1905–06. Folke Cronholm collection, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm 0321.ab.0869.