Origins of Yukon First Nations Beading Styles: Searching Floral Patterns from 1500s France to 1800s Yukon

by

Dr. Ukjese van Kampen

Rovaniemi 2022

UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND
LAPIN YLIOPISTO

Acta electronica Universitatis Lapponiensis 324

DR. UKJESE VAN KAMPEN

Origins of Yukon First Nations Beading Styles: Searching Floral Patterns from 1500s France to 1800s Yukon

Academic dissertation to be publicly defended with the permission of
the Faculty of Art and Design at the University of Lapland
in the Esko ja Asko hall on 22 April 2022 at 12 noon.

LAPIN YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND

Rovaniemi 2022

University of Lapland
Faculty of Art and Design

Supervised by:

Professor Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja, University of Lapland

Pre-examined by:

Professor emeritus Markku Henriksson, University of Helsinki

Professor Lívia Šavelková, University of Pardubice

Opponent:

Professor emeritus Markku Henriksson, University of Helsinki

Acta electronica Universitatis Lapponiensis 324

Layout: Taittotalo PrintOne

ISBN 978-952-337-287-0
ISSN 1796-6310

Permanent address to the publication:
http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-337-287-0

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervising professor Dr. Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja, Professor of Art History in the Faculty of Art and Design at the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi, Finland. Her guidance in completing this dissertation has been invaluable as well as her promotion of my Indigenous people's educational methodology. I would also like to thank my two pre-evaluators: Dr. Livia Savelkova at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology of Pardubice University in Pardubice, Czech Republic and Dr. Markku Henriksson, Professor Emeritus at the University of Helsinki in Finland who was also my opponent for me defence. And I would also like to thank my First Nation, Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Education Department for financial assistance in the first eight months of 2016 and Lapland University for awarding the Esko Riepula Grant for the finalising of my dissertation in the fall of 2021.

During my research, I visited several museums, convents and other institutes as well as communicated via email to other institutes. I used material from visits to various museums and institutes from my previous 2008 MA and 2012 PhD research. The museums, convents, and institutes that I dealt with for this dissertation, in order of visits, are: Communauté Des Ursulines. Beaugency, France February 2017; Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife March 2017; Musée des Ursulines de Québec, Québec City, Québec March 2017; Centre Marie de l'Incarnation, Tours, France April 2017; Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France April 2017; Finnish National Cultural Museum, Helsinki and Hämeelina, Finland May 2018; Musée de la Civilisation, Québec City, Québec February 2020; Canadian Museum of History, Hull Québec February 2020.

The Le Monastère des Augustines of Québec City, Québec and Musée Marguerite-Bourgeoys/Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours of Montreal, Québec both provided online information, links, and photographs.

And I would once again for this second PhD, like to thank my wife Pam van Kampen who proofread my chapters before I sent them to Dr. Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja for her review. Pam was able to make me clarify areas and question some of the content.

As in my previous dissertation, I dedicate this work to my two daughters: Shadunjen (Sunchild in Southern Tutchone) and Yataya (Little Sky in Northern Tutchone) van Kampen.

Abstract

This dissertation shows the path of 1600s regional floral embroidery designs from France to the Yukon. These patterns became the first floral designs that my culture, the Yukon First Nations people, adopted in the mid-late 1800s. Before floral designs Yukon First Nations people created a geometric style of imagery that was applied to their clothing and tools. This begs the question: where did the floral imagery originate from?

I begin with an examination of Athapaskan geometric designs before the adoption of floral designs. I then examine the Upper Yukon River Floral style that my people adopted in the mid-late 1800s. From here I move back in time to what I have identified as the Cree/Métis 'A' style. It was the Cree/Metis that first brought floral designs into the region which they themselves adopted earlier and from peoples further from the east. After examining the Cree/Metis, Anishinaabe, and styles of First Nations people in the Great Lakes region I will jump further back in history all the way to 1600s France where I believe the styles originated from. I will analysis the French Regional and Baroque Styles and it was these styles that were brought from France to New France by various Catholic orders. Now moving forward in time I will show the adopting of the French styles by the Huron and Iroquois. I will show through diffusion that these styles generally stayed the same over time as they spread west and north, eventually arriving into the Yukon. I then analyse various floral styles adopted by Yukon First Nations and show how they changed by the mid-1900s.

Keywords:
Yukon First Nations, Athapaskan, floral designs, beading, Ursuline Sisters, New France, Huron, Cree, Métis, Anishinaabe, Baroque

Introduction: How a Yukon First Nation male Wolf clan member became interested in floral bead designs

0-1 The Background leading up to this Dissertation

I grew up in the Yukon Territory in northern Canada in the 1960s and 1970s. It was a time of cultural loss and confusion. The Canadian Government's assimilation policies to take care of the "Indian Problem" were extraordinarily successful in the Yukon. The policy was designed to erase all aspects of First Nations culture so that at the end we would be just like the white people, albeit still brown skinned and lower classed. The government used Christian mission schools to do their work. First Nations children were forcibly taken to the schools and once there all cultural traits of my people were forbidden. We could not speak our language, practice our spirituality or our laws and learn from our stories. Thus, our history was lost and so was our art. On top of that we lost our ability to live on the land which we had done for the previous 14 millennia or more. I grew up in a cultural void. However, one First Nation craft was still done and that was floral beadwork. White people told me when I was a young teen that Catholic nuns taught us the floral beading.

I have always done artwork. The style I worked in was the Northwest Coast Indian art style because the Tlingits did this art style. This was the only art style I could see in the Yukon other than small animal carvings and floral beadwork. I thought I was Tlingit until 1983 when I was 23 years old. Then I learned that in fact I was Northern Tutchone. Northern Tutchone is one group of the Athapaskan people and Athapaskans live from the Hudson's Bay in the east into central Alaska to the west and cover the northwestern Canadian provinces. After getting over the surprise that I was from a different First Nations people, I decided that since I was Northern Tutchone, I should be doing Northern Tutchone art. When I looked for Northern Tutchone art, I found nothing. There were floral beading designs, so I started with those. In 1989 I found Kate Duncan's *Northern Athapaskan Art* which was published in 1989 by University of Washington Press. At the time this was really the only book that discussed Athapaskan art.

I continued to search for my people's art by visiting museums and asking to see Tutchone art. What was shown to me was floral beadwork. It seemed that my people's art consisted of floral bead designs taught by Catholic nuns. Was there something before the arrival of the nuns? There must have been, so I carried on my search. By the beginning of the 2000s I started working on university degrees. I earned a BFA in 2002 and a MA in 2006. I did my BFA to improve my art skills but for the MA I researched my own people's art. The result was a curated art exhibition at the Yukon

Arts Centre in 2006 titled *Masks: A Historical to Present Perspective.* I further wrote a thesis also in 2006 titled *Early South-Central Yukon First Nations Art Style*. This was the first document that focused on the art from the south-central Yukon. I also coined the three periods of Yukon First Nations art: the earlier "Geometric" period, the "Beaded" period starting in the mid-1800s and the "Current" period starting at the beginning of the 1900s till present.

With a fresh MA in my hand, I began a job hunt in the Art, Heritage and Culture sectors in the Yukon and elsewhere. The biggest employers in the Yukon are the various levels of government, governments that seem to be capitalist based. The impression I get is that the various levels of government do not believe that the Art, Heritage and Culture sector can produce a financial return and thus they instead focus on other economic development ventures and place Art, Heritage and Culture on the back burner. Even the local university's focus is on the politics and governance of First Nations and little on the early Art, Heritage and Culture. Presently Northwest Coast Indian art is accepted as the traditional Yukon First Nations art style even though it was only becoming the norm by the mid-1980s. There is no interest in what artwork my people did before this adoption. As my area of interest and knowledge was the early art, this translated into not being able to find any work in my area of expertise.

Since I could not find any employment I decided to pursue further education. After two years of job hunting in 2008 I started a PhD in Native American Studies at Leiden University in the Netherlands. Leiden University allowed me to mostly remain in the Yukon to conduct my research, complete my dissertation in English and encouraged me to draw on my own knowledge and experience as a person coming from the society that I was researching. For this dissertation I expanded my research to cover the whole Yukon and thus included the Gwitch'in from the northernmost Yukon as well as the Inland Tlingits from the southern Yukon. My dissertation is titled *History of Yukon First Nations Art* (2012). This work is the first overview and most thorough examination of Yukon First Nations art. The Yukon Government as well as some First Nations governments have so far reprinted this dissertation over 250 times for distribution to their various departments and libraries. The supervising professor I mainly worked with was from the Archaeology Department and before my defence I was administratively switched to that department. Therefore, in 2012 I made a successful defence and earned my PhD in Archaeology.

This accomplishment was followed by the same indifference and inability to find steady employment in my field as after the completion of my MA. Because I could not find steady employment I decided to start a second PhD. I was accepted by my professor at the University of Lapland in January 2016. For this PhD I decided to research the origins of the early Yukon First Nations floral beading styles. While I wrote about the various styles in my first dissertation, it was a basic overview. I decided to take a closer look at the source of the floral designs that my people

created by maybe as early as the 1860s. I reread some of the books used for my first dissertation and read other books on the topic. I also carried out several research trips to places like Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Hull and Quebec City, Quebec, as well as in Helsinki, Finland and Beaugency, Amiens and Tours, France. As a result of this research my findings are quite different from some of the conclusions in my first dissertation. I also discovered huge time gaps in the floral design path from France to the Yukon. These will be explained in the coming chapters.

I would like to add that as in my first dissertation, I draw on my own experience of growing up in the Yukon and knowing many beaders. Some are family members, including my mother. I have been seeing floral designs all my life. Before starting my first PhD I conducted unofficial research on this topic. I am a curator, writer and lecturer and have given workshops on early Yukon First Nations clothing styles, floral beading designs and history. My conversations with many Elders and beaders expanded my knowledge of Yukon First Nations beading styles even before the start of this dissertation. As a curator I have curated several art and historical exhibitions. This included curating and co-curating two exhibitions at Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' Da Ku Cultural Centre that was based on the Beaded Period of my people. In addition I have a collection of early Yukon and regional First Nations artifacts as well as a collection of early postcards from the area.

0-2 Research Methods

I am creating this dissertation with my primary audience, the indigenous people, whom I am a member of, of northwestern Canada and the eastern part of Alaska, in mind. Therefore, I am not using academic wording which might be difficult for a good portion of my targeted audience to read this study. I also use an Indigenous approach to research. An excellent referenced I have used is Shawn Wilson's book: *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. To begin with, Wilson writes about many inaccuracies that white scholars have written about Indigenous peoples. I have seen this in my own research: highly acclaimed scholars writing totally inaccurate descriptions of Yukon First Nations people. I have described this in more detail in my first dissertation *History of Yukon First Nations Art* in the Introduction.

In my experience I have found that western scholars are quite capable of producing acceptable inaccurate publications and I have grown to become cautious of their work. Below is a series of selected quotations from the former British Columbia Open University's History 120 (now Thompson Rivers University); Canadian History to 1867. This is a distance Education course and the content is passed on to the student through a series of 16 audiotape cassettes. These cassette tapes were produced in 1999 and I took this course in 2001. On the cassette tapes they are talking about the Athapaskan people of the Yukon and Northwest Territories:

> Some trading occurred but it hardly compared to what went on, on the coast. These northern tribes were more likely to steal each other's goods than to exchange them peacefully.
> Women in the Kutchin tribe killed female infants to spare them the degeneration that was the woman's lot in life.
> The dead weren't even buried, but left to rot in the open. This was very unusual. Among all other Canadian Natives, burial rites were very sacred ceremonies.
> ...the livelihood of the Athapaskan tribes depended on following the wandering moose and caribou so they weren't able to create villages and lived on the very margin of survival. However we have to be cautious with generalizations, if we look at the arctic neighbours of the Athapaskan tribes we see that environment doesn't explain everything. (Open University 1999: Tape two)

Above is one of a series of education material that gives either inaccurate or very questionable information about Yukon First Nations. If I was to carry one repeating what other academics have written without a lot of my own research and analysis, I would be guilty of following that same academic path and doing a disservice to my people. In the course of this dissertation I refer to other published inaccuracies and comment on them. I want to point out that this dissertation is not about identifying the misinformation given by previous scholars but pointing to the fact that Indigenous research methods are in order for this research.

Echoing the above sentiment is Ernie Lyall, the author of *An Arctic Man*. He was a Hudson Bay employ and Peace Officer who spent 65 years in the north. He repeats a widely circulated quote which is about southern experts' writing about the north and states:

> There's a saying up here that goes something like this-if you come up here from the south and you stop over someplace in the north for an hour you can write an article for a newspaper; if you stay overnight you can write a big article for a magazine; if you stay three days, you're an expert and you can write a whole book.

I will give a series of brief examples of some methods that Indigenous scholars use. The two quotations are from my previous dissertation:

> Communication that I have conducted with my people, mostly Elders, has not involved studying their behaviors and practices (I grew up with these) but **working *with*** them to gain a bigger understanding of Yukon First Nations art. This is why I think that Elders sometimes told me stories that were not previously recorded by White researchers; there was an inherent trust. It

> is with dismay that I reflect on the fact that some researchers have come to interview and live with Yukon First Nations people; once the research was "complete" and their degrees attained, the results were often not shared with the people who contributed to the research. (van Kampen 2012: 8-9)
>
> Feeling and relationship with my people is more important than an often unobtainable objectivity. Although I strive for a certain amount of objectivity, I believe that it has its shortcomings and can negatively affect my relationship with my people. For example, I need to allow for different versions of a story or various descriptions of the meanings of objects when these are given by Elders. This does not pose a conflict of "truth" in our worldview. The concept of reliability and validity has at times made way for credibility and authenticity. Slow, unstructured time spent with members of my community is often more valuable than working in a time frame with clear goals in mind. There have been many situations where I had to let go of control of my goals when spending time with Elders. Elders sometimes tell me what I need to know and not what I am trying to find out. It has been important to have a relationship with the people I interview first. (van Kampen 2012: 9)

At times my connections with Yukon people who are creating floral designs are very close. They have included my family members, women who have babysat me as a young child, friends, and other people that I have been involved with in some capacity, such as colleagues or people attending various workshops and conferences. Hence the sometimes used words: "we are..." This is because I am part of this community. Furthermore, while not beading myself, I do create floral designs. I have been asked by Elders to give them painted floral designs. Wilson states in *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*:

> I think that my entire upbringing, culture, teachers, experience and lots of things (some I cannot explain) came together to allow me to form a relationship with these ideas. (Wilson page 14)
>
> And:
>
> I have a natural advantage in that participant observation in Indigenous communities has taken place all my life. (Wilson page 40)

Based on the above I am an insider to my own culture and understand things that a non-Indigenous researcher may not be able to understand. For example I would like to point out that Northern First Nations people have a unique gift of understanding that different approaches to an issue can all be correct, even if to an academic, indeed

even a western thinking person, they appear to be totally contradictory. An example is my conversations with Kwanlin Dun Elder Johnny Smith. Johnny Smith was a devout Christian and yet at the same time believed in our past oral histories. He believed in our Game Mother who gave birth to many types of animals and later removed the fangs from many of them so they could no longer eat humans. The teeth were removed so that humans would not become extinct and be the prey to those animals anymore. While believing these oral traditions at the same him he also praised the Lord and believed in Jesus Christ.

To follow up what I have been stating about the differences between the methods of passing on knowledge I recommend that you read the Coyote story in Wilson's book on page 17-19 that gives a humours story of research and different views of teaching.

In my first dissertation I identified three Yukon First Nations art periods, the Geometric, the Beaded and the Current Period. This dissertation is dealing with the Beaded Period and it starts in the 1840s, when we first obtained beads via trading with the Alaskan Tlingits, who in turn obtained them from the Russians. It replaced the earlier Geometric Period designs. The Beaded Period continues to the early 1900s when we see a change in the designs. It became more personalized with First Nations women creating their own styles. This is also the time they switched to making easier designs for the tourist trade. It ends with the almost total abandonment of the earlier adopted floral designs after World War Two.

While I formally started researching this topic at the start of my PhD studies in 2016, I have been thinking about this subject for decades. A lot of questions started popping up when I was working on my first PhD between 2008 and 2012. Some of the information I was reading was not fitting together very well and even some of that information did not seem correct at all. These uncertainties were the motivation to explore the subject. My aim was to identify the origins of the early Yukon First Nations floral beading styles which, I believed, came from 1600s France via the Ursuline Sisters of Tours. I wanted to connect the dots between 1600s French floral designs, New France, the Great Lakes region First Nations designs, and the Plains Cree and Métis designs into the late 1800s Yukon. I discovered some major gaps in the route as well as a new floral beading style, the Grey Nun style that I include in the analysis. In the end I cannot answer all the questions but surely can say that the adoption of our early Yukon floral designs is not the way as described by previous academics.

The history I am describing starts before the 1840s in the present Yukon region, before the introduction of beads. It progresses with the introduction of floral bead work from Fort Yukon. From Fort Yukon I proceed to the Cree/Metis "A" and Anishinaabe styles in the 1800s after which I describe the Baroque and French Regional styles, 1600-1900s. Next, I trace forward in time, and towards west in space, and describe the Baroque style in New France, followed by again the Anishinaabe and

Cree/Metis "A" styles. I complete the journey by revisiting the Fort Yukon and the Upper Yukon style. For further clarification, see the illustration below. The red line shows the initial path of analysis from the Yukon to the Cree/Metis and Anishinaabe and then jumps to France. The green line then shows the French Regional style that moves from France to New France and finally ending up in the Yukon. The blue line shows the path of the other major floral style, the Baroque, as it takes two paths into Canada. In some areas the two styles blend creating a hybrid style.

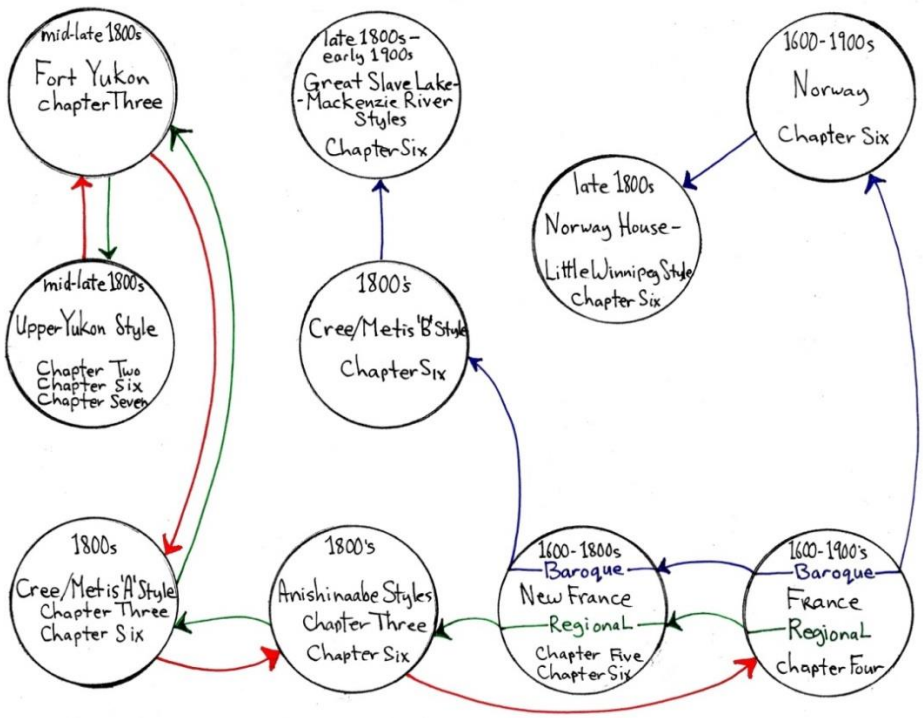


Illustration # 1. Path of floral designs from France to the Upper Yukon River region.

This is not a complete picture as there are gaps in time and in the path the designs travelled across Canada. Regardless, I believe the results of my research will give the most up to date picture of how the early floral designs spread across Canada.

0-3 The Region of Study and Cultural Practices as it is Relates to this Dissertation

The floral designs that I am focused on are in the lands occupied by the Athapaskan (Athabascan, Athapascan) peoples of the Upper Yukon River region. This region is the home of the Han, Northern and Southern Tutchone and Tagish peoples. While

not in the Upper Yukon River valley itself, but connected to these people, are the Gwich'in, Ahtna, Tanana, Kaska, Inland Tlingit, and Tahltan peoples. Following are some relevant terms and cultural practices shared by these peoples. It is not meant to give a full overview.

One of the misunderstandings about Yukon First Nations people is the assignment of "tribe". The tribal identification that is now in place in the Yukon as seen in Map # 2 was imposed on us by white ethnographers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Previously in the south-central Yukon we identified ourselves by either the Wolf or Crow clans (moieties). People would identify what clan they belonged to and if a geographic location was given, it would most likely be where they spend their summers at their fish camps. Such a person would say they were Crow clan and named the place they came from. For instance, they were Wolf clan and came from Klukshu. Terms like Tutchone never existed and were labeled by anthropologists and ethnographers. Tutchone Elders do not know the word 'Tutchone' and only guess at why we were given this identification. The word was probably a mispronounced Tlingit word identifying us as 'Wood' or 'Stick' people. In the south central Yukon, we called ourselves 'people' which was spelt Dan, Dun or Dün, depending on what part of the area we lived and the Athapaskan dialect we spoke. The clan system spreads beyond the Upper Yukon River region and in the far north of the Yukon there are three clans; the third and middle clan is for people from outside the clan system so they can be integrated into the community.

There is now an additional division overlaying the Yukon and that is the 14 First Nation governments. While there are a great deal of benefits for Yukon First Nations people, the Yukon Land Claims have divided Yukon First Nations people even further. Now you are a member of this or that First Nation. This, along with the 'tribe' divisions further divides us as a people. In this dissertation I am dealing with the floral designs that came into the Upper Yukon before any of these divisions existed and will generally ignore those later applied 'boundaries'. This is because people spread across the area in what is now known as the Yukon, Alaska, British Columbia and the Northwest territories and did not have those present boundaries limiting them. Some of this has held over in today's political structure and a person may be a beneficiary of more than one First Nation. I am, for example, a beneficiary of three First Nations: Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, Kwanlin Dun First Nation and Carmacks-Little Salmon First Nations. This means I can be a full member of any of those three First Nations. But before lands claims had established these boundaries, my family had a much wider range. We had camps and spent time in almost all south-central Yukon communities and into Alaska. So you can see my family's range, and indeed many families covered the whole area of the Upper Yukon River beading style. Therefore when I write "we" or "us" I am meaning the people in the Upper Yukon River region and it is this same area that my family, during the time I am dealing with, utilized.

I have to tell a couple more points about our clan system: you are considered related to all your clan members and thus you help them when needed and can expect help in return, even if you are not from that community or have no blood relationship. Likewise, if one of your clan members offends or is indebted to someone from the other clan, then everybody in your clan owes to that other clan. You cannot marry anybody in your clan, in fact, this is considered a taboo and when broken, harsh consequences can be expected. This could even mean death. If a couple did marry in their own clan, knowing the consequences, they would often flee the area and travel great distances to stay safe. Children always trace their ancestry through their mothers and inherit their clan which makes our system matrilineal. For example, I am Wolf clan because my mother is Wolf clan. My children are Crow clan because my wife, even though she is European, is adopted into our clan system because of our marriage, and thus she is Crow.

I will also briefly describe the year-round in the Yukon. Because of the harsh environment with historical winter temperatures falling below 60 degrees Celsius people had to live a seminomadic life pattern. The sparse resources meant that people had to live in small groups, 30 people being the maximum size. It took approximately 110 square kilometers to support one person, so a group of 30 people would have to cover an area of 3300 square kilometers to have the resources needed to survive. The summers were spent at family fish camps and along with the harvested fish, big game animals were killed, and berries were picked. A large percentage of the fish and meat was dried and then stored in caches for winter use. Berries were also stored. Once it became too cold to fish or pick berries, people stored their summer clothing and equipment and retrieved winter equipment and clothing. Thus, began the nomadic part of the year-round. Families would travel to the areas where moose, caribou and sheep lived and during the winter were moving camps often, following these big game animals. If they were not successful in the hunt, people would return to the summer caches where the dried fish and meat was stored. Once summer returned the families returned to the fish camps. The summers were spent leisurely. It was a time that families travelled to visit other families and formed larger camps. It was also a time of trading, dancing, games and potlatching.

The prominent event for Yukon First Nations people is the Potlatch. Today the potlatch is most often a ceremony conducted at the death of a member of the community but in the past it was a gathering for various reasons. These reasons ranged from name giving, gift giving, marriage and other important events. There are separate events to the Potlatch such as dance competitions and trading formalities. The Potlatch is called by one of the two clans. In the case of a deceased person their clan members will plan the potlatch and hire the members of the opposite clan to do the work. The clan calling the potlatch contribute to the funding of the event and will pay the opposite clan member workers from the money raised from their own members. After the death a family/clan meeting is called and amongst other

things hiring of opposite clan workers is discussed. The opposite clan members will gather the food through buying and hunting/fishing. There are cooks and servers to prepare the feast. Grave diggers and pall bearers are hired, and the preparation of the body is overseen by a clan Elder of the deceased person. The food is gathered and prepared, the grave dug, and body prepared. On the day of the potlatch everybody gathers at the location and the service is conducted. The body is then transported to the graveyard for the burial. After the burial everybody returns to the building and the meal is served. Elders are getting served first. During the meal members of the deceased person clan contribute money or gifts. When they go up to give their contribution, it is acknowledged and announced. The bigger the contribution, the bigger the applause. The family also may have purchased gifts beforehand. After the meal, the money that was collected and put in a large bowl is counted. This amount is announced and then the money and gifts are distributed to the hired workers. Oftentimes, when the person goes up to collect their pay, they must do a bit of a dance. After all the workers are paid, Elders who have come from far away get money to help them out. After that, the rest of the money is given to people that are felt to need some assistance. Once all the money is given out the empty bowl is turned over to show that there is nothing left. Now the potlatch has ended and in one year there will be a headstone potlatch. Often at this potlatch more gifts are distributed as the family has a year to accumulate these gifts.

0-4 My method of Analysing various floral designs

My method of analysing floral designs originates from many sources, which includes tacit knowledge from growing up in a First Nations community and spending time with Elders, and more formal get-togethers and interviews with Yukon First Nations people for research. I also collect artifacts, photographs, books, postcards, and other forms of reference to my people. These collections form part of the analysis for my research. Besides reading the relevant literature, I have visited many museums and other institutions that hold indigenous collections. I have also attended various lectures about Yukon archeological and various culture topics. All these sources have become the ingredients of this dissertation.

I have looked at many floral patterns over the years and break them down structurally into basic identifiable elements that make up the overall design. One of the first elements I look at is if there is a main or central flower. If there is, how is that flower treated? Is that flower beaded in greater detail or is it a basic flower with just a center and petals? Second; is there stem work coming out of that central flower and if so, what type of stem work? Wispy or solid stems, in "S", "Y", or "X" style, or a stem with outcrops (identified a few ways such as the outcrops being called grouse or mouse tracks). Third; how are the secondary flowers and leaves treated? Are they

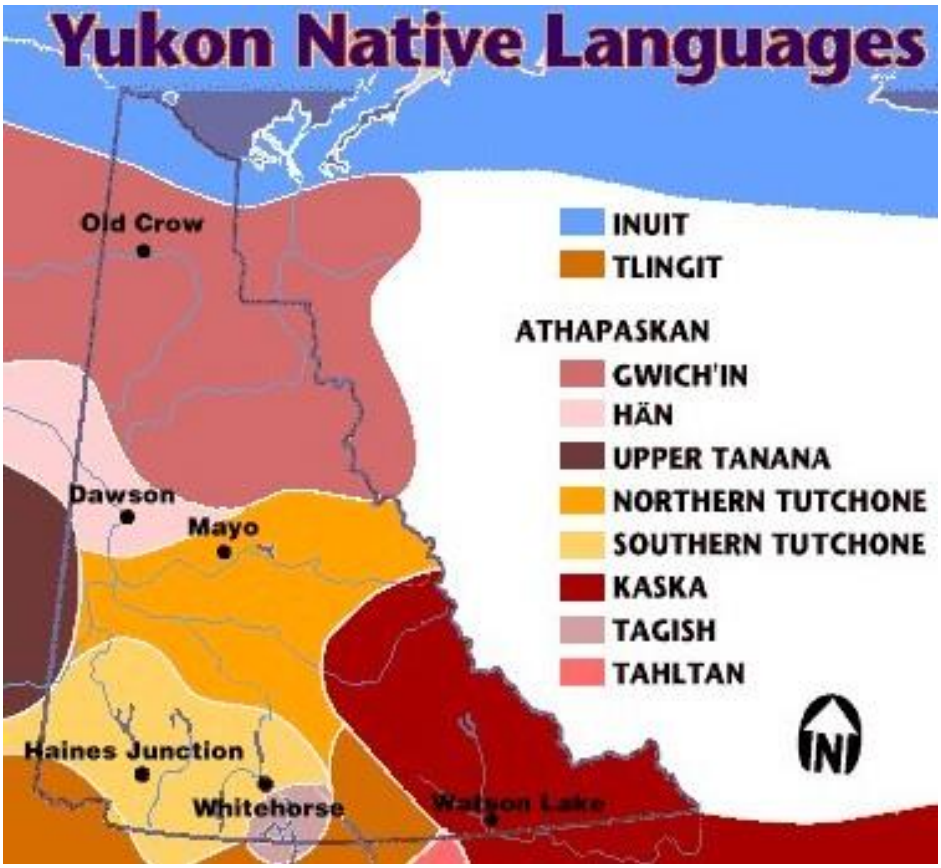
detailed or simple? How many variations are there? How are the colours separated on the petals/leaves (including on the central flower) dealt with? Are the petal/leaf motifs solid colours or are they split in colour. Are they bordered with another colour or treated some other way? Is there negative space in any of the flower/leaf motifs? How spaced apart is the combination of motifs in the overall design? How much of the background is showing through? Finally, what type of surface is the beadwork placed on and is it an appliqué? I give only some consideration to the colours used because overall this was not always a personal choice, but limited to those colours that could be traded in. This changed in the Yukon after the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 when there were many more trading posts established in the Yukon and there was a greater choice of colour. There were overall only a couple of colours common for a design element, like white for the stem work and green for leaves.

I created all the drawings unless otherwise noted. I decided to use drawing instead of photographs because of the increased clarity. Some of the details of the designs are hard to make out in the photographs and sometimes the colours have faded. These are not exact renderings. For example, I did not draw every fringe on the tunics and dresses but copied more loosely the fringes across the breast. I feel this does not take away from describing the design elements of the item. I have learned more from drawing the designs than if I just looked at the design and described it. I include images from my own personal collection of old postcards, prints, images from old books and artifacts in this dissertation.

I sometimes will be using the terms "interior" and "coastal". With interior I mean all those areas inland from the Pacific coast areas and specifically those areas east of the coastal mountains in the southwestern part of the Yukon and the northwestern part of British Columbia. With "interior people" I am mean Athapaskans but this also includes the Inland Tlingit people. When they moved into the interior, the environment forced them to adopt the Athapaskan lifestyle and material culture in order to survive the much harsher environment. They did however continue to speak Tlingit and maintained their clan system. The Athapaskans to the east of the coastal mountains have two moieties, or as we say, clans: Wolf and Crow. The Tlingits' two moieties are the Eagle and Raven and under those moieties are a number of clans such as the Frog, Killer Whale, Wolf, etc. When I refer to Coastal I am speaking of the whole coast area of northwestern North America and to the west of the Coastal Mountains. See Map # 1 below.

Map # 1. 1872 map with Regional terms for Yukon, Alaska & Northern British Columbia. UvK Collection.

I will be mentioning various Athapaskan peoples. The Athapaskan groups of people are identified by the language they speak. You can see these identifications below in Map # 2 on the Yukon Native Language Centre's Yukon Languages map. There were various names of the different Athapaskan peoples used in the past and I will point these out as they arise.



Map # 2. Yukon Native Language Centre's map. Courtesy Yukon Native Language Centre.

I will add that this map does not include the Mountain Dene people who mainly live in the Kaska community of Ross River but also the Northern Tutchone communities of Pelly Crossing and Mayo. These people were on the Yukon side of the Northwest Territories border. When the 1921 Treaty 11 was signed they decided to remain in the Yukon. The Mountain Dene moved further west and settled in the above named communities. As I describe in *History of Yukon First Nations Art* they brought with them Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style of beading, but it does not play a part in this dissertation.

Over the course of this dissertation I will describe the floral designs of many indigenous groups. Some of these people are identified by various names and I will be using the names interchangeably. Often I will use the name that the information source is using and sometimes provide the present day identification. An example is using the Canadian identification of the Ojibwa, or the United States identification of the same peoples: the Chippewa. Another example is how many of the Anishinaabe

now self-identify by this name, rather than the previous colonial Ojibwa (Canada) or Chippewa (USA).

I often write 'Cree/Métis', combining these two peoples, because their floral designs are the same. Since both the Cree and Métis often occupied the same areas and both worked for the Hudson's Bay Company and were involved with the fur trade, knowing which group created the floral designs without the family knowledge is impossible. The Cree are First Nations people from central Canada while the Métis are a society that resulted in the intermarriage of fur traders and local First Nations women. The First Nations women did not stay with their people but joined the trader in their community. There were enough of these intermarriages to result in a people that were not White or First Nations. Their combined culture resulted in the Métis people. This group is recognized as one of the three Aboriginal peoples of Canada. Having white and indigenous parents do not make you Métis. To be Métis you have to descend from a Métis community. I have a Tutchone mother and a white father so I am officially a First Nations person from the Tutchone people and by blood a half breed, not Métis.

Many 'tribes' were subdivided into more regionally identified groups. For instance, the Cree are divided into subgroups, for examples the Swampy Cree occupy more northern area such as northern Manitoba, Quebec and Ontario in the Hudson's Bay geographic areas; the Plains Cree occupy the southern Canadian Prairie Provinces, while the Woodlands Cree are in between.

0-5 Overview

In Chapter One-Before Floral Beading, I will begin by giving a picture of my people's clothing decoration before the introduction of floral designs. In Chapter Two-Upper Yukon River Floral Designs, I will illustrate the floral beading style we adopted using information from scholarly publications and my own research. In Chapter Three-Cree, Métis, Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) and further Eastern Floral Designs, I will show through the design structures how these styles are the direct ancestors of the Upper Yukon River Floral Styles. In Chapter Four-French Regional and Baroque Styles, I will show the two main floral designs that originated in France and in Chapter Five-French Styles Arrive in New France and Adopted by First Nations People, I describe the two styles that arrived in New France via the various Catholic orders. In Chapter Six-Pattern Diffusion, I will show the similarities of styles as they spread across Canada and I will briefly look at some of the other styles that developed during this time. And finally, in Chapter Seven-Changes in the Upper Yukon River Style, I will give a brief description of why my people left the original adopted floral designs and changed to simpler and more individual designs.

Chapter One-Before Floral Beading

1-1 Early Yukon Nations Clothing Styles

The early clothing style was unique to Northern Athapaskans. My great-grandmother Annie Ned was quoted by various people, saying Yukon First Nations had superior clothing for this region. This is what Annie Ned says about the past when the coastal Tlingits wanted interior clothing:

> "Yukon people are hunting, and they've got nice skin clothes--Oh, gee, porcupine quills, moose skins, moccasins! Everything nice. Coast Indians saw those clothes and they wanted them!" (Cruikshank 1990: 280)

Annie Ned said this because our hide clothing was artistic. Our clothing was made from mostly caribou or moose hides but clothing could be made from most local fur animals including arctic hares. The animal skins would be tanned and then cut into the required shapes and made into various types of clothing. Annie Ned was born in the 1880s at about the time when the first official exploration of the Yukon occurred in 1883 and at a time when hide clothing was still relatively common. She passed away in 1995. Pre-contact Yukon First Nation regional groups formed a sub-style to the overall Athapaskan clothing styles. This is similar to the Athapaskan language and its sub-groupings. The language was spoken over a vast area, from Hudson's Bay to the east and almost to the Bering Sea in Alaska to the west. While everybody spoke Athapaskan, each group spoke its own dialect. Because of the fairly homogenous environment Athapaskan people lived in, they had a similar year round lifestyle and material culture over a vast area. This is seen in the clothing and art styles. However, each region showed differences in the details. If a people moved into this subarctic environment, such as the Inland Tlingits, they would have to adopt the Athapaskan lifestyle and material culture. People who neighboured Athapaskans, such as the northern Cree living in the subarctic environment, also had a material culture similar to the Athapaskans. The similarity of Athapaskan clothing patterns and the collecting of traded items from areas other than their origin have resulted in some scholars and collectors misidentifying Athapaskan clothing. Since the Gwich'in (also identified as Gwitch'in, Kutchin, Loucheaux, Loucheux and other less used names) clothing was some of the earliest to be collected, whenever a scholar or collector came across a hide tunic that was a pull-over type, had porcupine quill embroidery decorating the breast band and various natural seed beads on the fringes hanging down from

the breast band, it was immediately labelled as Kutchin or Loucheaux. However, it could have been Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Southern Tutchone or any other group that may be hundreds of kilometers away from the Gwich'in territories. To date, my 2012 dissertation *History of Yukon First Nations Art* is the only document I know of that attempts to identify the regional tunics by style. Next is an overview taken from my first dissertation, but I do incorporate some recent observations about the clothing styles.

1-2 Major Differences in Northern Athapaskan hide clothing

All the tunics and dresses were of a pull-over design. Generally speaking, men's tunics were more decorated than women's dresses and had a pointed front and tail. Women's dresses generally were straight around the bottom and longer than the tunic. Men wore the trouser with the boot as part of the overall garment. Women wore a high boot. Both had porcupine quill work down the front. See the illustration below (figure # 1-4) for the differences between men's and women's clothing. While there are several sets of summer clothing to examine in museum collections there are no sets of adult winter clothing that I have seen. It appears that the winter clothing was not traded. This is probably because it never got cold enough along the Northwest Coast, where the Tlingits live, to warrant clothing that was designed for the extreme cold temperatures in the interior of Alaska and Yukon. The Yukon temperatures dropped routinely to minus 50 degrees Celsius and colder! In 1947 a temperature of minus 63 degrees Celsius was recorded at Snag, Yukon. The summer clothing is made of tanned hide while the winter clothing is a double set of caribou hide with the fur left on. Edward Curtis describes the clothing in his book *The North American Indian.* In the book Curtis writes about Mackenzie who talks about the Athapaskan Chipewyan:

> Says Mackenzie: "this dress is worn single or double, but always in the winter, with the hair within and without. Thus arrayed a Chepewyan will lay himself down on the ice in the middle of a lake, and repose in comfort; although he will sometimes find a difficulty in the morning to disencumber himself from the snow drifted on him during the night. (Curtis 1928: 49)

Another possibility why the winter clothing was not traded is that warm clothing was not required in the summer when the trading occurred and the winter clothing was often stored away for the summer in the caches, to be pulled out during the autumn. Finally, there was nothing that could be traded that was better than our winter clothing and we continued to use these garments into the early 1900s. This was at least three decades after we were almost fully using traded fabric summer

clothing. In figure # 1-1 is a photograph of women in the old style winter dress clothing. This is from an old postcard sold in Dawson City, Yukon. The text in front, stating that it is from Dawson, is incorrect. This scene was taken at Rampart House on the Porcupine River in the northern Yukon. Rampart House was in Gwitch'in territory and we can assume that these are Gwitch'in women.

Figure # 1-1. Postcard published by Cribbs Drug Store, Dawson City. Y.T. circa 1900. UvK Collection

The dress style in the postcard looks remarkably close to the Han style from the Dawson City area that was drawn and photographed in Harper's New Monthly Magazine No. 598 from March 1900. Below in figure # 1-2 and # 1-3 are two examples of women's dresses from Harper's New Monthly Magazine. These images were photographed or created by the author of the article, Tappan Adney. The first photograph is not very sharp because of enlargement. A woman in a hide dress is dealing with items on a sled. In front of her is the wooden frame for the Yukon style domed skin house. She is either unloading furs to put over the skin house or she is putting the furs into the toboggan she just packed up from the skin house. Note the patterns around the base of the dress as well as the patterns going from the top to the bottom of the skirt area.

Figure # 1-2. Han woman at camp in hide dress. Tappan Adney Harper's New Monthly Magazine No. 598 March 1900. UvK Collection

The image in figure # 1-3 is a drawing that shows a man and woman in snowshoes. The woman is wearing the typical hide dress and appears to have a dagger sheath hanging on her breast. The man however is not wearing hide clothing. In the text Adney writes that only a few years before they were all wearing hide clothing, but now, through trade, were obtaining material and making their clothing from fabric. The older men still preferred the hide clothing as well as the women and children. Perhaps the idea of wearing the fabric clothing for the younger men was stylish or maybe they felt it gave them better access to the white man's world. The man is wearing on his chest a 'shot' bag. This bag formally carried items needed to start fires but with the introduction of matches these bags were later used to carry the musket balls and wadding for the musket. The man is wearing a powder horn on his right side.

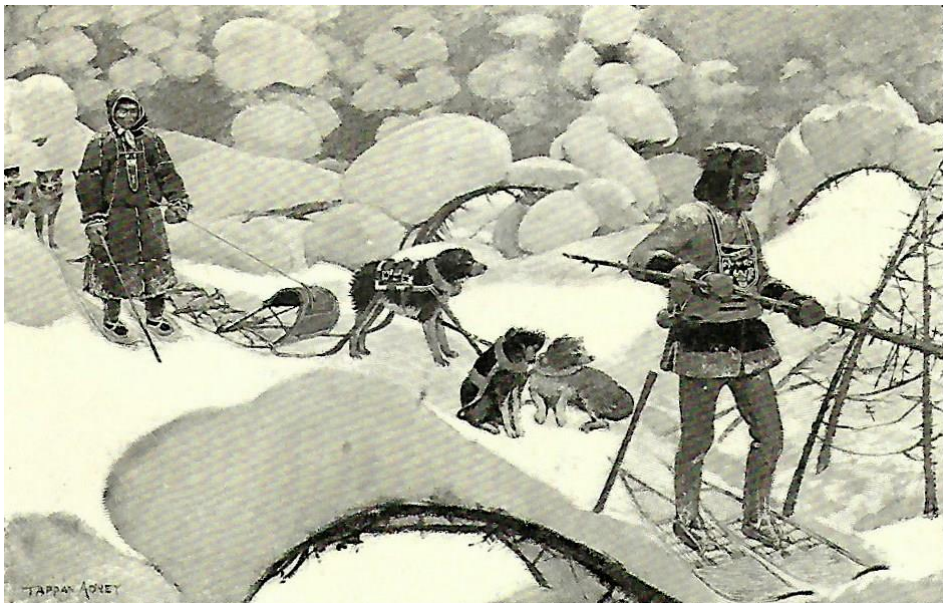


Figure # 1-3. Han woman in hide dress and Han man in cloths made from traded fabric. Tappan Adney Harper's New Monthly Magazine No. 598 March 1900. UvK Collection

As mentioned earlier, all Athapaskan hide clothing were pull-over designs with the men wearing tunics with a pointed front and tail and the women wearing a long dress that went straight across the bottom. Because of these basic patterns many early museums have misidentified many sets of hide clothing because nobody looked beyond these patterns of the clothing. I have noted regional styles in the various hide clothing that I examined. Here I give a guide to pointing out the differences to help identify which region the garment was made. I ask the following questions as pointed out in figure # 1-4: is the hide smoked, giving a brown tanned colour or unsmoked, giving the hide a white colour? Is red ochre painted on the tunic (C)? How is the breast band treated? Is it thick? What colours are used in the porcupine quills? Are the designs simple or complex (D)? How are the fringes treated? Are they wrapped or left hanging naturally? Are beads attached (E)? Is there quill or paint work going from the breast band to the collar (B)? Is there fur around the cuffs and collar (A & F)? How is the front treated? Are there fringes attached? Are there painted patterns along the bottom (G)?

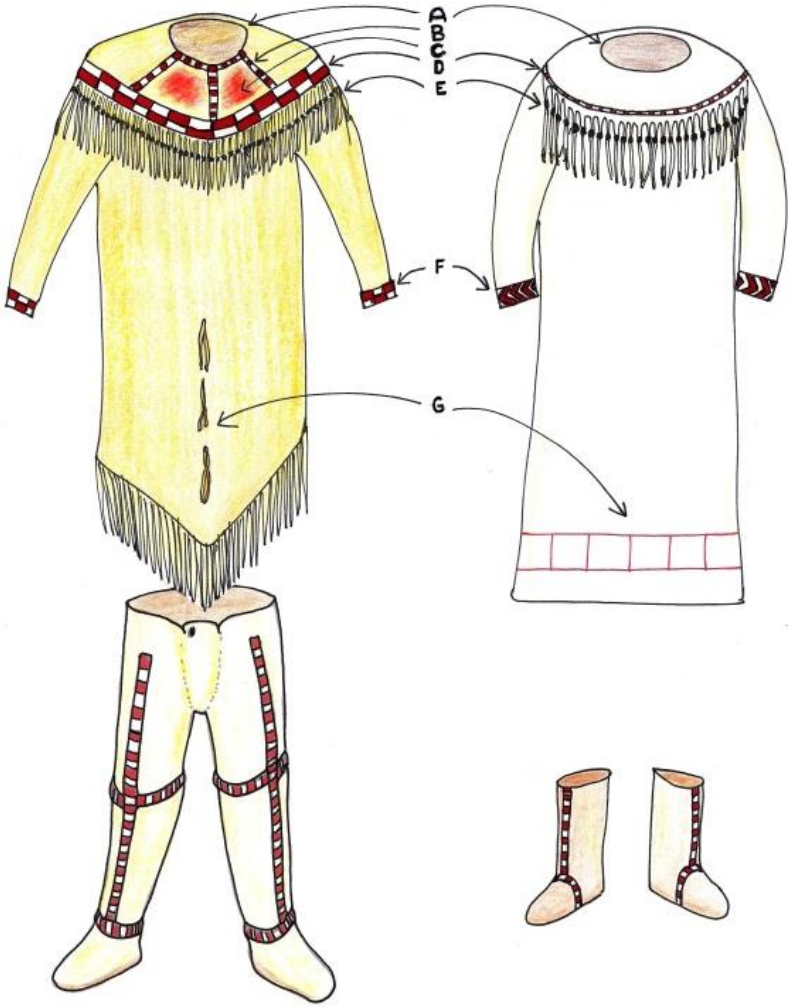


Figure # 1-4. Athapaskan clothing. Points used when identifying region. UvK Drawing

This guide is for the more common early hide clothing. There are other hide garments that I have identified in my previous writings as fancy, like dance clothing or dance aprons, but those are beyond the scope of this dissertation. You can consult my 1st dissertation if you would like to see examples of the fancier clothing. I will mention though that the porcupine embroidery bands that go across the fancy tunics, dresses or dance aprons are all done in the regional styles and using the same examination method it may be possible to also identify which region those fancy or dance clothing were made. There are always exceptions to the rules that I point out. There have been clothing items collected from the regions I have described that do not fit into that region's style. I offer a couple of possible reasons for these exceptions. The traditional Yukon First Nations practice for a man marrying a woman is that he must go and live

with his wife's people for at least the first year. This gives extra help to the wife's family but also provides the husband with the knowledge of her family's hunting, fishing, and trapping areas. This allows him twice the possible harvesting area than before he was married. The clothes he wore would be from his area until his wife made him a new set of clothing. Likewise, after the first year the new couple moved to where the resources seemed most promising and this may include the couple travelling to the husband's area. Once there, it is unknown if the wife learned the style of the area or if she continued making the clothing in the style from the area she was raised. If the former, then one can only presume that she made the clothing in her style until she learned the new style. Not only were couples mobile but whole bands covered a wide area in the quest for resources. The idea of tribal lands is a modern idea and people's travels often overlapped other people's areas. An example in the Yukon is the Han, Northern Tutchone and Gwitch'in all using the resources of the Peel River area in northwestern Yukon-northeastern Northwest Territories. As a result, something collected on the Peel River could come from any one of these three or other nearby groups. Finally, I must point out that individuality was important and sometimes people from the same group would decorate their clothing, bags, tools, etc. differently. This resulted in individual variations. The examples I describe here are generalized and common styles.

In the following illustration (figure # 1-5) is one of the earlier recorded images of the Athapaskan hide clothing. It is from Fort Yukon and was created by Frederick Whymper in 1867. In the article Whymper states that there are about 500 natives that came to trade. Most were wearing the hide style clothing.

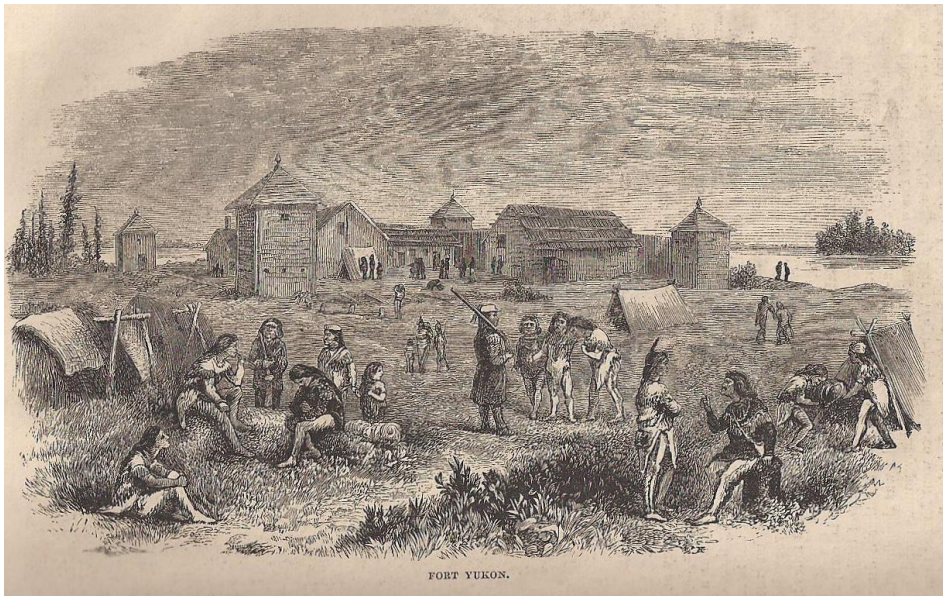
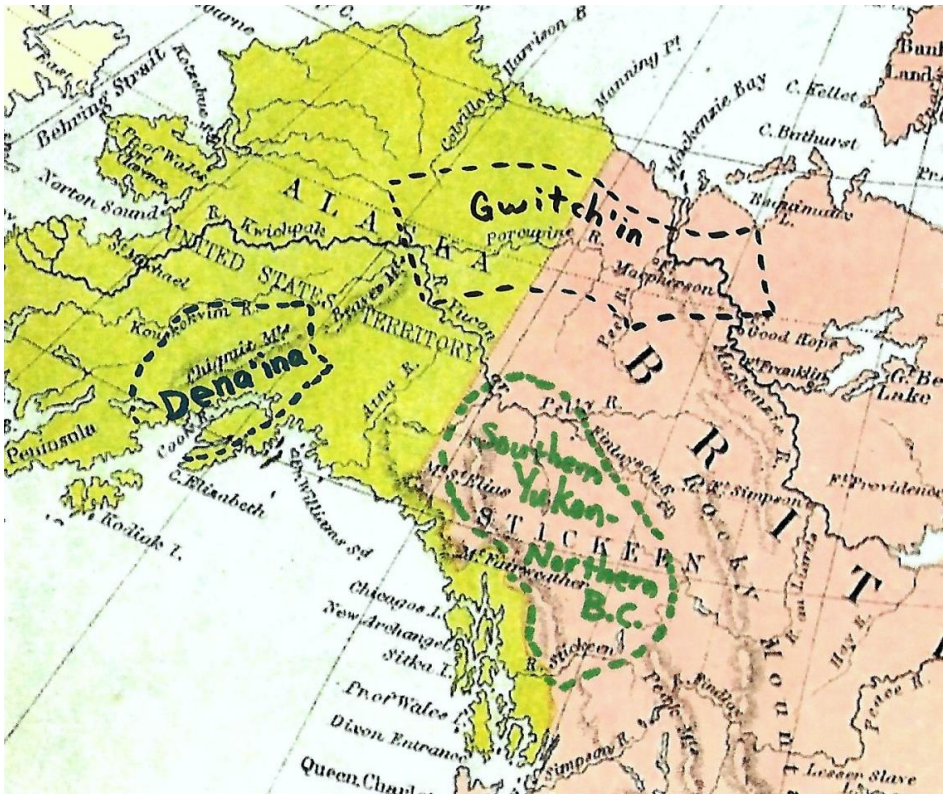


Figure # 1-5. Fort Yukon by Frederick Whymper. 1867. From Harper's New Monthly Magazine's article "An Artist in Alaska" No. 227 April 1869. UvK Collection

Below, starting with figure # 1-6 I will illustrate three common Athapaskan tunic styles and point out the differences. The three regional styles are the Dena'ina people formally known as the Tanaina people from around Anchorage in Alaska, the Gwich'in, (also Gwitch'in) formally known as the Kutchin and Loucheux from northeastern Alaska, northern Yukon and the northwestern part of the Northwest Territories, and the southern Yukon styles which include the Tutchone, Inland Tlingit and Tahltan from northern British Columbia. Note that the Inland Tlingits are not Athapaskans. When they moved inland into the southern Yukon and northern British Columbia, they had to adopt the Athabaskan material culture and lifestyle in order to survive in an environment that was greatly different from the Northwest Coast. The areas between three regional styles were a blending of the different styles that were on either side of them. Further research would be required to specifically identify those style traits. The old map shows the three regional Athapaskan groups that I will examine.



Map # 3. 1872 map showing Yukon-Alaska region with regional clothing styles. UvK Collection.

1-3 Dena'ina Regional Style

This region is from around the Cook Inlet area of south-central Alaska and is inhabited by the Dena'ina people. This style has several common traits that I will point out shortly. Many of the tunics and dresses were collected by the Russian American Company during their trading operations in Alaska in the 1700 and 1800s. These tunics ended up in museums in Russia as well as Finland which was part of Russia at the time. Some of the tunics/dresses were sold or traded to other European museums and many have ended up in Germany. As to the breast band patterns, the maker used muted earth colours in a narrow band. The patterns are a series of repeating motifs of geometric designs often spaced by lighter coloured areas. There are sepia type colours with brown patterns over lighter tanned or white colours and the breast band is mounted on a non-smoked or very lightly smoked hide and thus showing a light cream, off- white colour. The patterns themselves are very geometric in nature using small blocks or lines of embroidery.

Some of the pattern blocks are made up of a series of smaller sections combined to make the overall design. Many of the tunics collected from this area appear to be slightly longer in design than tunics farther to the east and south. The breast band can go straight across the chest or have a shallow "V" type pattern. The first illustration below in figure # 1-6 on the left is a woman's garment and was originally collected by the Russian American Company and is now in Berlin. It has fringes that were cut out of a strip of hide in quite wide sections. Note that the other tunic fringes are narrower and are decorated with either silverberry seeds or with wrapped porcupine quills. It is not uncommon for the Dena'ina to use the wide undecorated fringes on the woman's garments and I have not seen examples of this in other groups. Nor have I seen the wide fringes on Dena'ina men's tunics other than the next example of where the bottom half of the fringes are displayed unwrapped. This is a uniquely Dena'ina trait. Other Dena'ina fringes are decorated with Silverberry seeds functioning as beads. It seems that the Dena'ina preferred to leave the area above the breast band clear of decoration as I have not seen any examples of Dena'ina embroidering lines from the breast band to the collar line as in other regions. They do sometimes paint a series of lines with red ochre from the breast band to the collar. All the Dena'ina women's garments I examined have straight bottoms while all the men's tunics have pointed front and backs. You will see a fur collar on the woman's dress, which is a uniquely Dena'ina trait. Judy Thompson in *Fascinating Challenges* (Hall, Judy and Tepper 2001:56) states that from the 1880s Dena'ina started using beads in their breast bands. The only example I have seen of the Dena'ina using beads on their hide clothing is from the Alaskan State Museum in Juneau. In the interior of the Yukon, First Nations people were using beads on their clothing as early as the 1840s without any direct contact with white people. With the Dena'ina having

contact with the Russians maybe as early as the late 1700s and the rare use of beads on the garments only starting in the 1880s, there must have been strong reluctances to switch from porcupine embroidery to beading.

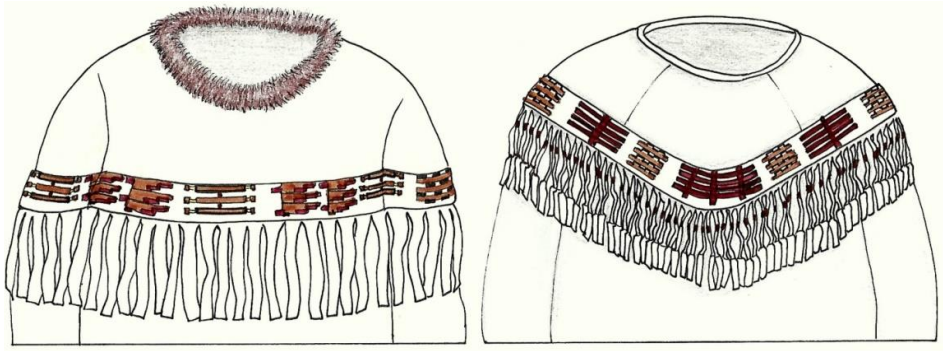


Figure # 1-6. Left: Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin IV 9386. Right: Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin IV 9086. UvK Drawing

1-4 Gwich'in breast band designs

A big contrast to the Dena'ina designs is the Gwich'in tunics. The Gwitch'in occupies the territory from northwestern Northwest Territories, through the northern Yukon and into the northeastern area of Alaska as shown on the map in Map # 2. The left tunic in figure # 1-7 is from the Canadian Museum of History and has on the label "H.B.Co." "Loucheaux". As mentioned, the early name to identify the Gwitch'in was Loucheaux. This tunic has a broad breast band that is filled with very colourful repeating geometric patterns. The broader breast bands often have a wave effect that can be seen in the example below. Sometimes the breast band goes straight across the chest as in the right tunic and often is a thinner band than the wave type. The broader breast band patterns are made up of a complex series of colourful repeating geometric patterns that do not have spaces between the motifs as seen in the right tunic with the thinner breast band. The thinner patterns incorporate white coloured areas as part of the whole pattern that is made up of a variety of block, 'X', 'V' and 'W' patterns. There are almost always three embroidered strips traveling down from an embroidered area from the collar front. The tunic on the right is from the National Museum of Nature History at the Smithsonian in Washington DC. It is identified as Kutchin and was collected on the Yukon River by the Hudson's Bay Company fur trader Bernard Ross for the Smithsonian in the 1850s or early 1860s. This would mean that it was most likely collected at Fort Yukon before it had been transferred to the United States in 1867.

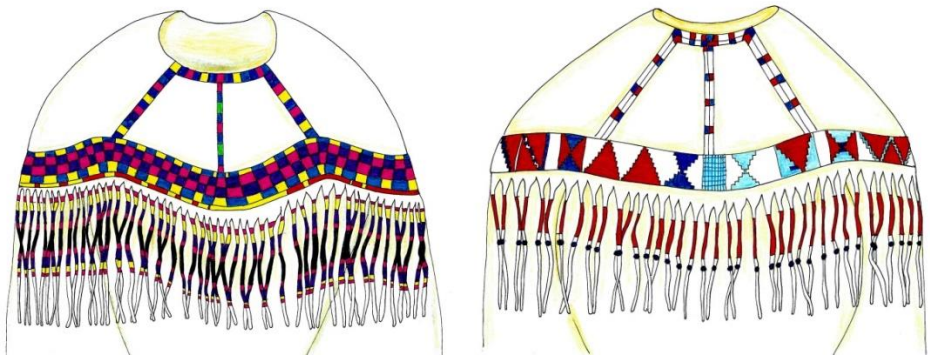


Figure # 1-7. Left: VI-I-73s Hull, Quebec. Canadian Museum History. UvK Drawing
Right: National Museum of Natural History. Washington, DC. 2030. UvK Drawing

Next in figure # 1-8 is a more recent postcard image of Athapaskan clothing. These were worn by French Catholic Missionaries from the Oblats de Marie-Immaculée (O.M.I.) who were doing missionary work in the Northwest Territories from the mid-1800s. By the very end of the 1800s the O.M.I. also established themselves in the Yukon Territory. I estimate that this photograph was taken in the early 1900s. It lists the hide clothing as Loucheux, and this photograph was most likely taken either at the O.M.I. Mission at Fort Good Hope just south of the Gwich'in territories or on a O.M.I. missionary trip into Gwitch'in territory. The O.M.I. produced a lot of postcards from their missionary work and had postcards produced in France. In the photograph both missionaries are wearing hoods. These hoods were a common part of the Athapaskan clothing style. You can also clearly see the bottom-trouser garment with the decoration down the front. These appear to be traded pony beads. Blocked by what appear to be a scarf on both men are the breast band decorations.

Figure # 1-8. Oblats de Marie-Immaculée postcard. Early 1900s. UvK Collection

1-5 Southern Yukon Regional Style

The people to the southern part of the Yukon and northern British Columbia are the Tutchone, Tagish, Inland Tlingit and Tahltan peoples. There seemed to be a lot of intermixing of the people and it is hard without further research to identify each people's style. That is beyond the scope of this dissertation and I have decided to deal with the southern Yukon and Northern British Columbia as one area as it differs from both the Dena'ina and Gwitch'in. I will call this the Southern Yukon Regional Style. Within this area there are different ways in creating the breast band designs. Every article and related information about southern Yukon hide clothing in collections I have examined and read were collected from the Tlingits along the Alaska coast. They had obtained the clothing from the interior peoples through trade and were prized by the Tlingits. Information on some of the tunics states that they were collected in Sitka and do not identify in which area they were originally made. Other tunics were collected from Klukwan in Chilkat Tlingit territory and these tunics most certainly were obtained from either the Southern or Northern Tutchone based on the trade routes the Chilkat Tlingits used. In this section I will examine two tunics from this region and will examine more tunics from this region in the next section "Introduction of trade beads into the Yukon."

One of the traits unique to the region is the use of a "V" which is sometimes a deep "V" breast band. The other trait is that on some tunics there are large blocks of patterned coloured areas on the breast band. There is also often red ochre painted on

the chest areas. The added red ochre is not painted in any design or pattern. Was it originally painted over the whole chest area but has worn off over time to leave only sections with paint, or was only a certain area painted? Was it intended to be almost splattered on? See figure # 1-9 for two examples of tunics from the Tutchone part of the region. Note that the breast band pattern designs tend to use bigger blocked shapes than the Dena'ina or Gwich'in and is less colourful that the Gwitch'in but more colourful than the Dena'ina. The left tunic was collected by Emmons in 1909 from Klukwan, a Chilkat Tlingit village in southeastern Alaska. It is listed as originating from the Yukon Basin suggesting the Northern and Southern Tutchone traditional territory. It has a slight point at the chest and what appears to be a simple checkered pattern of orange dyed quills. This is deceiving as the individual blocks have patterns within them and on close examination are more complex than they first appear. This block pattern is quite common and appears on other southern Yukon items such as bone gopher (ground squirrel) skinning knives and bone arm bands. In figure # 1-10 is an example of the block pattern applied to a bone gopher skinning knife. This knife was collected from Hutshi, a now abandoned village in the northern part of Southern Tutchone territory.

The tunic on the right was also collected by Emmons in 1909 from the Chilkat Tlingits and is listed as coming from the Yukon River valley. This would make it either Southern or Northern Tutchone. Once again, the patterns on these tunics appear to be made up of large simple blocks of dyed porcupine embroidery but the blocks themselves are made up of a series of smaller patterns. Both tunics have areas on the chest that have been painted in red ochre, in a splatted manner without definition or lines.

Figure # 1-9. Burke Museum, Seattle, Washington. 1168.
Right: Burke Museum, Seattle, Washington. 2430. UvK Drawing

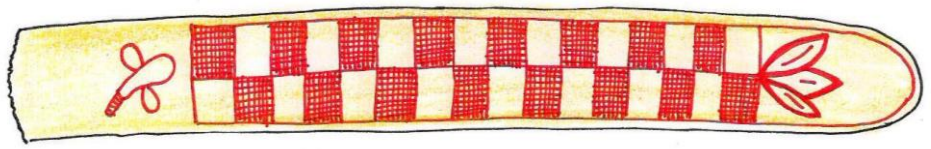


Figure # 1-10. Royal Ontario Museum. Toronto, Ontario. HK 2330. UvK Drawing

1-6 Introduction of trade beads into the Yukon

The following examples of hide clothing decoration will show the introduction and use of trade beads into the whole Yukon region. Most likely, earlier trade beads had made their way into the Yukon before the1840's. These earliest beads were large 'pony' beads that came to the Yukon from the Russians in Alaska via the coastal Tlingits in trade or maybe along the Yukon River. The Russian American Company and its predecessor, the Shelikhov-Golikov Company, had been operating in Alaska since the late 1700s. These trade beads started to replace the silverberry seed beads and the sometimes quill wrappings on the fringes. See below an example of the trade beads. On the top in figure # 1-11 is an early image of a Tanana Indian and what appear to be pony beads above the tunic fringes. The breast band appears to be made of geometric porcupine embroidery patterns. The Tanana are from the eastern part of central Alaska and western part of central Yukon. This image is from Harper's New Monthly Magazine from 1869 and was probably created in Fort Yukon.

In the bottom image of figure # 1-11 are blue pony beads placed below the traditional silverberry seeds on the fringes as well as the three bands going down from the collar to the breast band, which is made from white and black pony beads. The breast band pattern on this garment is made up of a series of repeating chevrons. While not as colourful as other Southern Yukon Regional Style tunics shown it is reflective of other less coloured tunics originating from the region. The bold geometric chevrons also fit in the Southern Yukon Regional Style area. This tunic was collected on the Stikine River which would place it in Tahltan as well as Tlingit territory. The upper Stikine River is Tahltan while the lower Stikine River is Tlingit. It is in the Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen collection in Berlin, Germany and is listed as Tlingit. The museum has many obviously Athapaskan garments listed as Tlingit because they were collected from the Tlingit who in turn traded them in from the interior people such as the Tutchone and Tahltan.

Later trade beads replaced the porcupine embroidery altogether. In the northern Yukon, the Gwitch'in and Han either used only beads or a combination of beads and dentalium shells traded in from the Pacific coast. These dentalium shells were gathered by the Haida people on the islands of Haida Gwaii, the former Queen Charlotte Islands off the west coast of British Columbia. The Haida traded the shells to the Tlingits who in turn brought them into Athapaskan territory where some were kept and others traded to other Athapaskan groups. See figure # 1-12 below for two examples of the new use of beads.

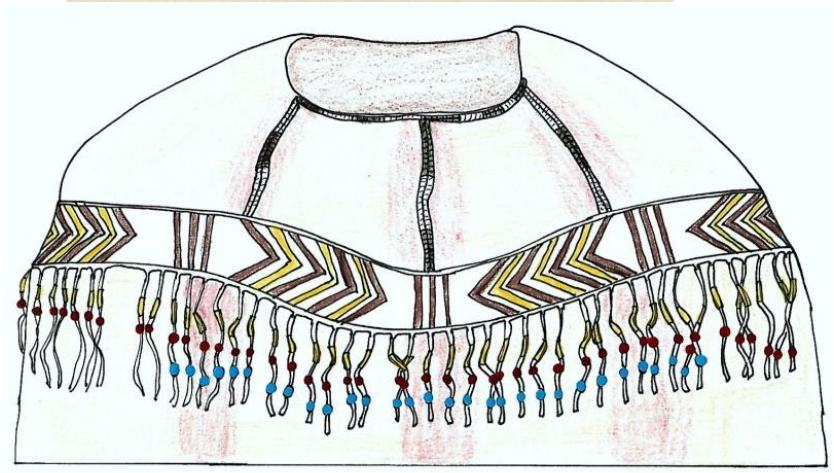


Figure # 1-11. Top: Tanana Indian by Frederick Whymper. 1867. From Harper's New Monthly Magazine's article "An Artist in Alaska" No. 227 April 1869. UvK Collection. Bottom: Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. IV A 527. UvK Drawing

Figure # 1-12. Left: Gwitch'in dress. 1855. National Museum of Natural History. Washington, DC. UvK Drawing Right: Han tunic. 1857-0. National Museum of Natural History. Washington, DC. UvK Drawing

On the left is a Gwitch'in woman's dress from the National Museum of National History Smithsonian in Washington, DC. The breast band design is simpler than a man's tunic breast bands. The narrow band is made up of the fringes only with white and red pony beads attached to the fringes. There is not a beaded band as shown in the example to the right but if there is a beaded band it is always thinner than the man's breast band. The band of fringes goes across the upper arm and then up to the collar and across. In this case the breast band does not travel across the chest. Red ochre is still used as a decoration on the dress.

The tunic above in figure # 1-12 right is also from the National Museum of National History and is listed as Han. The Han is just to the south of the Gwich'in and north of the Northern Tutchone and Tanana peoples. The Han's style at the time of the adoption of beads, replacing the porcupine embroidery, is close in appearance to the Gwich'in and one may not be able to tell the two peoples' hide clothing apart based on decorative styles.

In the southern Yukon region, the bold porcupine geometric embroidery patterns were not replaced but copied. Below are a couple of examples of this trend. The tunic in figure # 1-13 Top is from the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago and was collected in 1902 by George Emmons. This tunic's breast band is pointed at the center of the chest and has the Greek style key or meander pattern making up the colourful beaded design. This meander pattern seems to be unique to the Southern Yukon Regional Style area and was placed on other items. See figure # 1-14 for an example of the motif engraved on bone arm bands.

Judy Thompson describes the tunic in *Pride of the Indian Wardrobe* on page 101-102 and writes:

> A rare example of this type of clothing is now in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (figure 64). It consists of a shirt and moccasin-trousers

> collected by G. T. Emmons in 1902 from a Tlingit chief in Sitka, Alaska. The chief had acquired them in 1900 from Tlingit at the head of the Lynn Canal, who in turn had received them in trade from an interior Athapaskan group (VanStone 1982: 51).

This reference is taken from Thompson's book and is quoting the museum text by VanStone. The head waters of the Lynn Canal suggest that this garment was most likely collected from the Chilkat Tlingits from the village of Klukwan at the head of the Lynn Canal. They in turn traded with the Southern and Northern Tutchone people. The tunic chest area has the faded remains of red paint which is typical of the Southern Yukon Regional Style.

Figure # 1-13. Top: Tutchone tunic. Field Museum of Natural History. Chicago. 79349. Bottom: Tutchone tunic. Sheldon Jackson Museum. Sitka, Alaska. IV.B.4 UvK Drawing

Figure # 1-14. Peabody Museum. Boston Massachusetts. 31-63-10/K96. UvK Drawing

The tunic in figure # 1-13 Bottom is in the Sheldon Jackson Museum collection in Sitka Alaska. The breast band pattern is a bold zigzag design created with large red, white, and blue beads. The hide tunic was at first listed as interior Alaska; 'Unlocated Athapascan' but later was changed to 'Athapascan Porcupine River' which would make this Gwich'in. This is an example of a tunic that may be misidentified as I believe the tunic is from the south of the Yukon. The zig-zag pattern in the breast band is common in the south-central region and was engraved on gopher skinning knives, embroidered, and painted on various hide items and was added to early 20th century made items. I have not seen an example of such bold zigzag patterns used on garments outside the Southern Yukon Regional Style area. Another reason I believe this tunic to be from the south is that the hide is made of moose which was quite scarce in Gwich'in territory in the past. Furthermore, there were many other examples of south-central Yukon tunics in the coastal Tlingit region, because of all the trade.

There is a tunic listed as a Northern Athapaskan shirt in the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta. The museum purchased this dress in 1965. See figure # 1-15 of the tunic on the left that is made of porcupine embroidery and there are no beads used on the garment. It is unique in that there is a collar added to the head hole and there are fringes coming out of the front and back of the pointed bottom. Furthermore, the sleeve cuffs are lined with fur which is normally a Dena'ina trait. What I found amazing is the incredible amount of work required to create this quill work breast band. The geometric pattern on this dress is close to the Inland Tlingit dress on the right. The purpose of showing these two garments together is to illustrate the continued use, for at least a while, of the geometric designs. The second garment is in the Canadian Museum of Civilization and is identified as a woman's dress but has the pointed bottom front and back edges. This makes me question if it is a dress and not a misidentified tunic. While the breast band is similar to the Glenbow garment it is made totally from beads and there is no porcupine embroidery on the breast band. The breast band pattern is common and can be seen on many other tunics and

dance shirts that were worn by men. An interesting aspect of this garment is that it has a beaded geometric breast band, but the fringes appear to be wrapped with porcupine quills and the cuffs are using the Tlingit scroll style beading designs. This garment was collected by H.H. Cheney and was received at the Canadian Museum of History in December of 1931. When and where this garment was made, and by whom, is not listed. The CMC has listed this garment as probably Inland Tlingit. The catalogue card states:

> "Inland Tlingit" attribution based on comparison with documented specimens from Teslin Lake which have very similar "stylized leaf" motif as found on the cuffs of this specimen.

See figure # 1-16 below for the detail of cuff bead designs. This bead style is in the Tlingit style, so I agree with this attribution. Kate Duncan in *Northern Athapaskan Art* states that the Tlingit scroll style beadwork started in the 1880s and since this garment has those Tlingit scroll designs on the cuffs, we can assume that this garment was made no earlier than the 1880s. Another option could be that the garment was made earlier, and the cuffs were added later. This is a practice that is evident in the southern Yukon.

Figure # 1-15. Left: Northern Athapaskan tunic. Glenbow Museum. Calgary Alberta. 92210. Right: Inland Tlingit dress. Canadian Museum of History. Hull Quebec. VI-J-82. UvK Drawing

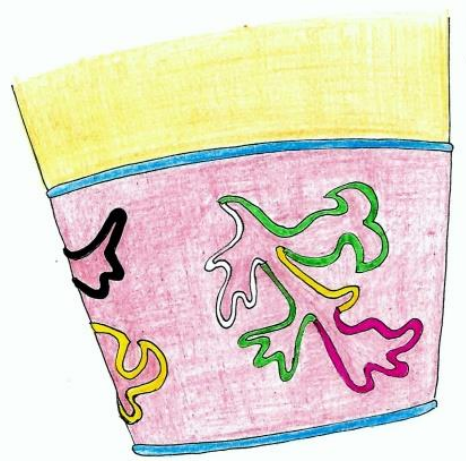


Figure # 1-16. Inland Tlingit. Canadian Museum of History. Hull Quebec. VI-J-82. UvK Drawing

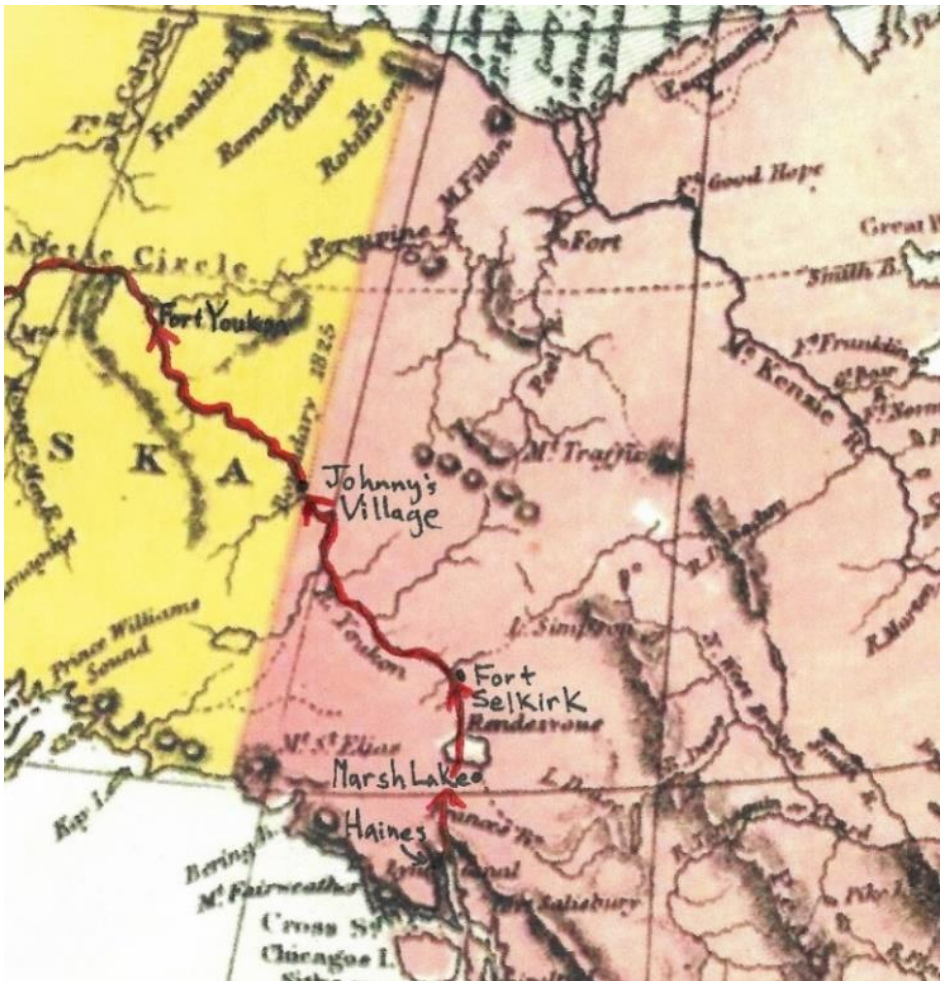
Above is a small sampling of the various clothing styles before the adoption of beaded floral designs in the Yukon Region. As I noted earlier beads were in the Yukon at least by the 1840s and most likely earlier. Our adoption of the new medium on our clothing was basically a replacement of the porcupine quill embroidery and silverberry seed beads. This went along with what was already happening because of the trade: steel axes replaced stone axes, steel knives replaced copper daggers, steel pots and kettles replaced bark cooking vessels and so forth. The style stayed geometric since there were no other visual references for the users for the beads, other than what were already known. Sometime before the 1880s Yukon First Nations would make a transition from the Geometric Art Period to the Beaded Period and by the 1880s were skilled in creating beaded floral designs. The adoption of this new art will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Two- Upper Yukon Floral Designs

2-1 Earliest Floral Designs in the Region

This chapter examines the earliest recored examples of floral bead designs made in the Yukon Region. As mentioned in the previous chapter Yukon First Nations people were already using glass beads on the clothing as early as the 1840s. Since there were only a few white people entering the Yukon before the 1880s there is little historical record concerning the floral bead designs. Therefore, it is hard to gauge when Yukon First Nations people first adopted floral bead designs and where they first saw the designs to copy. This chapter starts with the first recordings of First Nations floral bead designs in the Yukon region to which I include east-central Alaska. I will anaylse the floral beading style that was adopted in the upper Yukon River region and then compare that style with the other styles in later chapters. Then the origins of the Upper Yukon River floral designs will become clearer. You will also see a direct connection with the Cree/Métis floral designs that arrived in Fort Yukon in the 1840s.

The first offical exploration of the Yukon occurred in 1883 by Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka of the United States Army when they conducted an illegal reconnaissance of the Yukon region of Canada. The reconnaissance involved photographing people along the route from the American village of Haines in Alaska and then travelling into Canadian Territory to the start of the Yukon River in the southern Yukon. The group then rafted down the Yukon River back into the American Alaska Territory. These photographs were later copied into engravings and used as illustrations in publications that were produced as a result of the reconnaissance. These illustrations are some of the first images to come from what is now known as the Yukon Territory. Below are some of the main areas where Lt. Schwatka mentions First Nations people during his exploration down the Yukon River.



Map # 4. Lt. Schwatka route and where he writes about First Nations people in the Upper Yukon River Valley.UvK Collection

The Schwatka reconnaissance was not the first time white people entered the Yukon Territory. Earlier, in the late 1830s, Robert Campbell was working at establishing Hudson's Bay Company trading posts in northern British Columbia. The first post he established in the southern Yukon was at Francis Lake in 1842. Later he moved operations to Pelly Banks where he established a post in 1846 and finally on to Fort Selkirk in 1848. This post was pillaged in 1852 by Chilkat Tlingits because it interfered with their trade monoply with the interior Yukon First Nations people. This ended the Hudson's Bay Company's activities in the Yukon until the early 20th century. There are no images from Robert Campbell's time in the Yukon but there are written descriptions. He describes hide clothing and Russian glass

beads but no floral designs. Because of Schwatka's exploration of the Yukon in 1887 George Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada conducted an exploration of the Yukon. It seems he had little interest in Yukon First Nations people and thus not much can be learned from him. We therefore start with Lieutenant Schwatka's descriptions of 1883.

As Lieutenant Schwatka journeyed down the Yukon River his group recorded the sites and people they saw. Below are two illustrations of Yukon First Nations people that are showing examples of floral beaded works. The first photograph was taken in Fort Selkirk and shows several First Nations men in canoes. I have detailed the images below to clarify the floral designs. In the left image of figure # 2-2 a man is holding a paddle and it appears he has a beaded fire bag hanging around his neck. The front man in the right hand canoe in figure # 2-1 appears to be wearing a possibly beaded bandoleer or the strap for a bag. They are in fact wearing a mixture of clothing. The standing man in the left photograph appears to have lines running down the front of his trousers and this may be the traditional hide trousers with the porcupine embroidery running down the front. The front man in the canoe in the right photograph of figure # 2-2 is wearing a western shirt that has a series of pinstripes running down the shirt. The man behind him may also be wearing a fire bag.

Figure # 2-1. First Nation men in canoes at Fort Selkirk 1883. Lt. Frederick Schwatka collection, 94/102 #19, Yukon Archives.

Figure # 2-2. Details of First Nation men in canoes at Fort Selkirk 1883. Lt. Frederick Schwatka collection, 94/102 #18, Yukon Archives.

This photograph shows that at least by 1883 there are beaded fire bags in use in the upper Yukon River area. Schwatka does not describe any bead work or even the native clothing but as we can see in the photograph, western clothing was also used. He does sometimes mention those "tattered and filthy beyond measure" western traded clothing (Schwatka 1885:228). Schwatka does write about the beads he saw when he examined an abandoned trading post just on the United States side of the Alaska-Yukon border:

> The Indians evidently must have surmised that the trader would return, as they respected the condition in which he left the building, in a manner most creditable to their honesty, no one entered or disturbed in since he left. They evidently care little for beads as ornaments, for I saw none of them wearing that much coveted Indian adornment, while great quantities were scattered around the trader's floor, having been trampled into the ground. At no place on the river did I find such an eagerness for beads as characterizes the American Indians of milder climes, but nowhere did I see such total disregard for them as was shown here. (Schwatka 1885: 259-260)

On the one hand Schwatka states that he is impressed with the Indians' honesty by leaving the cabin untouched and on the other hand he states that the Indians do not care for the beads since they left them *untouched* on the cabin floor. The beads

were left on the cabin floor because the First Nations people did not enter the cabin and would not have been able to touch the beads. Because of the location of the trading post and the time period I will assume that these beads were from American trading companies and not Russian. The Russians sold Alaska to the United States in 1867. These beads also would not have been from the Hudson's Bay Company as they had to vacate Russia Alaska upon the sale to the United States. At the time of Schwatka's exploration, the Americans would have been in control of trading operations for a decade and half.

I do not think Schwatka paid any attention to the clothing worn by First Nations people except western clothing that was traded into the area. His photographer took photographs of First Nations people who appear to be wearing beaded items such as fire bags and possibly bandoleers. Figure # 2-3 depicts an engraving from Schwatka's book *Along Alaska's Great River* on page 253. It shows a Han man at Johnny's Village which is on the Canadian side of the Alaskan border. You can see the Han fisherman wearing what appears to be a beaded strap, possibly for a fire bag. I therefore dismiss his claim that upper Yukon First Nations people had a total disregard for beads since he had already seen people wearing articles with beadwork.

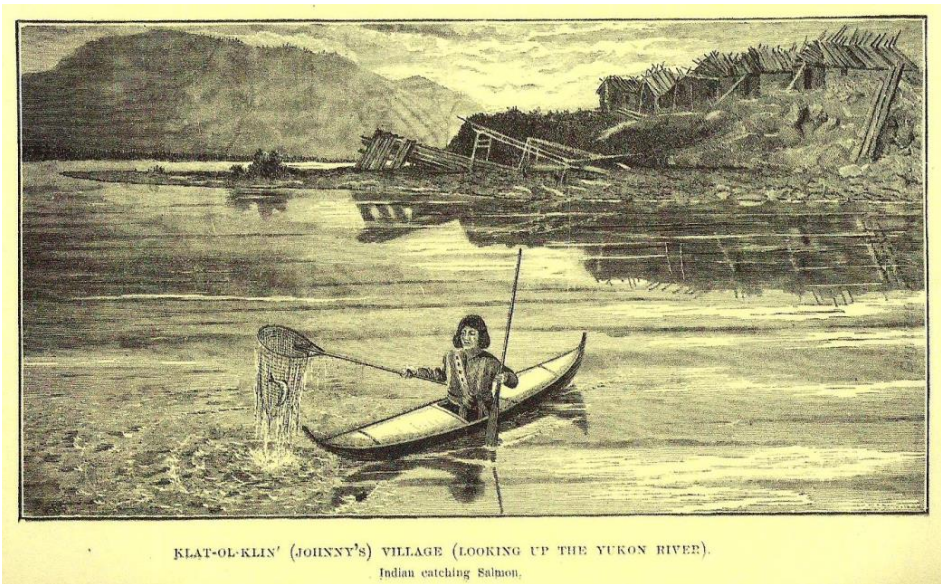

KLAT-OL-KLIN' (JOHNNY'S) VILLAGE (LOOKING UP THE YUKON RIVER).
Indian catching Salmon.

Figure # 2-3. Han fisherman with beaded strap. Page 253, Along Alaska's Great River.

So where did the Han and Northern Tutchone people from this part of the Yukon River see examples of floral beaded designs to use as a guide in creating their own? The obvious answer is Fort Yukon, further down the Yukon River. The coastal Tlingits had a trade network that stretched from their homeland as far north as

Fort Selkirk. The Tlingits packed their goods to the various villages in the south-central Yukon. People in the surrounding areas of the villages would gather at these locations to trade. Tlingit trade goods would then be traded further away with the original recipients of the trade goods becoming middlemen. This is how trade items such as dentalium shells from Haida Gwaii (former Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia) made their way into Gwitch'in territory, approximately 2600 kilometers away. Both Fort Selkirk and Fort Youcon (Yukon) were established about the same time, 1848 and 1847 respectively, and brought trade directly to people of the upper Yukon River regions. Fort Selkirk operated for four years before being pillaged by the competing Tlingit traders. The Northern Tutchone's short period of trade with the Hudson's Bay Company did not end the interest in continuing trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. People from Fort Selkirk as well as the Han people of the Dawson area travelled down the Yukon River to trade at Fort Yukon. Exactly when they started to travel to Fort Yukon is unclear, but they were there by 1867 when W. H. Dall, a Smithsonian scientist along with the hired artist Frederick Whymper, visited Fort Yukon and wrote about the various First Nations peoples that were there. Dall reported that the Han Kutchin from further up the Porcupine River, Gens de Bois from up the Yukon River and most likely the Han people from the Dawson City area were at Fort Yukon, as well as the Tutchone Kutchin or the Gens de Foux from even further up the river. He also called the Tutchone Kutchin the Crow people.

Thus far, the evidence shows that Han and Tutchone were in Fort Yukon by 1867. It is during this visit that Whymper made the drawing of floral beadwork and in 1869 turned the image into an engraving. See figure # 2-4 left for my drawn and coloured version. It appears to be either a fire bag or a shot bag that is worn when out in the wilderness. The colours are what I would think would have been used for the beading of the floral designs and must not be taken as the actual colours. This is the first recorded example of floral bead designs in the region.

The drawing also shows an Athapaskan copper dagger with a sheath with a geometric checkerboard design on it. I want to note that we are seeing two art period examples in this drawing, the previous Geometric Period decoration and the first recorded Beaded Period artwork. We are beginning to see a transition from the Geometric Period to the Beaded Period.

There are no references to the maker of this bag, but I have seen historical images of Cree or Métis wearing such bags. See figures #3-5 center & right for similar examples. After the adoption of floral bead designs these bags were commonly worn by Yukon and Alaska Athapaskans. This bag may be a Cree/Métis or an Athapaskan bag. If Athapaskan, it would mean that Yukon and/or Alaska Athapaskans were creating floral bead designs by the 1860s.

There are other examples of floral designs recorded in the later years. Figure # 2-4 right is an illustration from an image made around 1884 of a Tennahah Native

American couple. They are wearing floral designs on their hide clothing. I am assuming that the Tennahah is a mispronunciation of Tanana and if correct this would put this couple on the Tanana River in east-central Alaska. The Tanana people also live in the western part of central Yukon. I want to add that these early images only hint at the floral beading designs used and that they lack detail. From the 1860s to the 1880s we can see that the floral designs were placed on tunics, fire or shot bags and bandoliers.

Figure # 2-4. Left: Engraving by Whymper. 1869. UvK drawing. Right: Tennahah Tribe-Man and woman. Print by A. Hoen & Co. Lith. Baltimore. Alaska: its population, industries, and resources. 1884. UvK Collection.

By the 1880s floral bead designs as well as fabric were firmly established in the Upper Yukon River region. It is shown in the previous illustrations by Lieutenant Schwatka that many people wore fabric clothing and had floral bead designs. Later I will point out some of the changes in clothing styles. Also, the introduction of trade tools such as knives, axes, files, cooking items and so forth all played a role in the move from the geometric to the floral styles.

While there are few illustrated examples of floral beadwork for the region before the turn of the 20th century, there is sufficient evidence to confirm that floral bead

work was used on clothing and accessories. There was little contact with white people before the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 and that contact was almost exclusively with male traders, prospectors, and an occasional missionary. Fort Selkirk, along with its associated posts of Frances Lake and Pelly Banks, were all short lived and were all gone by 1852. There is no apparent connection with these posts and floral bead designs. Lapierre House was established in 1846 on the Porcupine River and Fort Yukon in Alaska in 1847. Lapierre House was in fact in Gwitch'in territory and they had a different floral beading style than the Upper Yukon-Tanana which will be discussed in a later chapter. The non-Hudson's Bay Company trading post of Fort Reliance was established in 1874 and was 13 kilometres downstream from what later would become Dawson City on the Yukon River. This post operated off and on until 1886, trading at first with Han people and later the incoming prospectors. There were only white males operating this post. After the discovery of gold in the Forty Mile River area a mining town was established in 1886. This was just on the Yukon side of the Alaska-Yukon border and once again there were only white male prospectors and miners. By 1887 there lived approximately 160 miners and by 1894 about 600 whites on the Yukon side of the border. The first Northwest Mounted Police post in the Yukon was established in Forty Mile in 1894 and the first Anglican mission in the upper Yukon River region was established in Forty Mile in 1887 by Reverend Ellington. This ended in 1888. Bishop Bompas arrived in Forty Mile in 1892 with his wife Charlotte, one of the earliest white women in the Yukon, and re-established the mission. That year Bishop Bompas also dispatched Reverend Canham and his wife to Fort Selkirk in 1892 to set up a mission after a trading post was established there in 1892. See Map # 5 for some of the locations of these rivers and communities.

I am arguing that Yukon First Nations in the south-central Yukon were skilled at creating floral bead designs before there were any white people entering the area that had any connections to and passing on the designs. The early white people in the area were dealing with the fur trade, exploration and prospecting and would have no interest in the female craft of beading. This is contrary to the comments I heard as a youth, which was that nuns taught Yukon First Nations people how to do bead work. This may have happened in eastern Canada, but it did not happen in the Yukon. The earliest white females in the area were the wives of the Anglican missionaries and I have seen no record of them teaching floral bead designs. In any case, we were creating floral bead designs before their arrival. The style that was used in the upper Yukon River was the same style used in the Tanana River region of Alaska. Kate Duncan identifies this style as coming from the Yukon-Tanana Region. I on the other hand am identifying this style as the Upper Yukon River Style. It is the same as the Tanana River style and I believe they have the same origins.

Map # 5. 1922 Map of Yukon and area, communities, and land features. UvK Collection

The Upper Yukon River style refers to the geographic area from Fort Yukon up the Yukon River to the Marsh Lake and Tagish Lake areas in the southern Yukon. This includes all the tributaries flowing into the Yukon River such as the White River, the Stewart River, the Pelly River, Teslin River and Takhini River. See map # 1 in the previous chapter. The dividing line between the "Middle" Yukon and the "Upper" varies with different scholars. For my purposes I simply use Fort Yukon as the dividing line as I am mainly dealing with the floral designs upriver from Fort Yukon.

There was also diffusion of the style beyond the Upper Yukon River area into areas that had different beading styles. The Tahltan and the Tlingit were the obvious groups who had their own style but just as often used the Upper Yukon River style. And again, I will often refer to Upper Yukon River examples in the Tanana River. The time period for the Upper Yukon River style is from the 1860s until World War

Two. The style pretty much stays the same until the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 when more outside influences began causing style changes. I explain some of those changes in Chapter Six-The Changes in the Upper Yukon River style. In that chapter I also explain about the personalization of the designs after the gold rush, as more examples from the outside world were seen by Yukon First Nations beaders.

2-2 Analysis of the Upper Yukon River Floral Beading Style

My analysis of the Upper Yukon River floral beading style is based on examining artifacts collected from the region from the late 1800s until the late 1930s. Jackets, coats and dance shirts were commonly beaded on, along with bags, moccasins, and mukluks. Other items included, but were not limited to, hats, gun cases, wall pockets, octopus bags, baby belts, cartridge belts, and mitts/gloves. The bead designs depended on the shape of the item. Was it square like a dog blanket, more rectangle like the long strip up the front of a jacket or a baby belt, or the oval shape of a moccasin top? The introduction of fabric as well as seeing the various clothing styles of the traders coming into the Yukon region resulted in clothing pattern style changes. Figure # 2-5 shows illustrations of the major style changes concerning the evolution of tunic, jacket, coat, and dance shirts.

Figure # 2-5. Hide tunic to English Hunting Shirt to Chief's coat and Dance shirt and on to the Button Coat. UvK drawing.

Starting from the left is the traditional garment used by men, the hide tunic. This garment fell into disuse early during the contact time and by the 1880s it was not used anymore along the upper Yukon River valley. It was replaced by fabric trade shirts. The first major style change came with the "English Hunting Shirt" which was still a hide pull-over jacket, but the pointed front and back tails are gone, and floral beadwork replaced the geometric patterns. I do want to point out the earlier image of the Tennahah Native American couple in figure # 2-4 right. This is an example of a transition garment. The man is wearing a pull over Athapaskan tunic but instead of the geometric porcupine quillwork or the geometric bead designs the creator used floral designs. The same floral designs are added to the woman's dress. On the man's tunic the floral designs are added on the epaulettes as well as the bib in front in the same manner as the English hunting shirt. If it were square across the bottom it would be an English hunting shirt and likewise if it had a breast band it would be a typical hide Athapaskan tunic. There are a couple of examples of these transitional "English Hunting Shirt" tunics in museum collections.

The English hunting shirts were most likely used for more formal occasions as was the purpose for all early fancy Yukon First Nations clothing. The English hunting shirt came into use as early as the 1870s. There are several early photographs of men along the middle & lower Yukon River wearing the English hunting shirt. Examples collected from the upper Yukon River would have most likely been from the 1890s. It seems the English hunting shirt lost popularity at the end of the 1800s as I have not seen any examples of this shirt made after 1900. They may have evolved into a hide pull-over shirt, as in the early 1900s there are a few examples of these. These are not shown in the above figure 2-5 but see figure # 2-6 below of two postcards show the early 1900s hide pull-over shirt worn by Patsy Henderson. Patsy Henderson was a boy accompanying Skookum Jim's group when Jim discovered the gold on Bonanza Creek near what would later become Dawson City. Henderson would tell the discovery story to tourists at the Carcross train station in later years and became one the most photographed Yukon First Nations people. While he wore a few different garments he most often used a pull over hide shirt. This type of shirt was worn by several men around the same time.

There are a couple of items I want to point out in the postcards. In the left postcard Henderson is wearing bear's ears. The bear ears were often worn during dances and celebrations. The drum Henderson is holding has various Athapaskan style designs on them but unfortunately the postcard is not clear enough to make out the details of the designs. He is wearing what appears to be a fringed sash and high hide boots. The top of the boots is decorated with a typical Athapaskan zig-zag motif. The postcard to the right is postmarked August 31st, 1942 and was mailed from Whitehorse, Yukon via the United States Military Postal Service. This is just when the United States Army was arriving in the Yukon to begin construction of the Alcan Highway (Alaska-Canada Highway but now Alaska Highway). In this

postcard Henderson is dressed the same but is wearing a different headdress and holding two coastal Tlingit rattles. These rattles were most likely traded in from the coastal Tlingit people. Because of the importance of individuality for Yukon Athapaskan peoples during dances and celebrations everybody wore a different style headdress. Therefore, I would describe the style as an individual headdress style. In older photographs of dances or celebrations every person is wearing a different style headdress. While the headdress Henderson is wearing looks like a Catholic pope's hat I believe it is an individually created headdress. Henderson is also wearing a necklace that looks like a shaman's necklace. In the front flap of his shirt, going down from the neck, you can just make out the typical Upper Yukon River style floral design that I will explain later in this chapter.

Figure # 2-6. Two postcards showing Patsy Henderson wearing his hide clothing while storytelling at Carcross for tourists circa 1930s. UvK Collection.

The next change was the "Chief's Coat"; the pull-over hide coat is swapped for a coat that is open in the front. To close it buttons or ties were attached. This garment had floral beading designs on the epaulettes, like the English hunting shirt, but it could also have beaded designs across the whole top of the back. The Chief's coat seems to have appeared around the same time, or shortly after, the English hunting shirt. The earliest example is from 1887 on the middle Yukon River. These coats were common in the early 1900s but seemed to lose their popularity before World War II. With fabric becoming common the pull over tunic and English hunting shirt may have influenced the creation of the dance shirt. These dance shirts may have come into use during the late 1800s but the earliest examples I have seen are from the early 1910s. These dance shirts were used up until the late 1940s, at which time they ceased being made and used. This may not have been because a lack of popularity, but the coming of World War II caused a major upheaval which resulted in the loss of Yukon First Nations culture. Later I will write more about the history of dance shirts when I examine Johnny Joe's dance shirt.

Starting with World War II and shortly afterwards there was a major loss of Yukon First Nations spirituality, art, lifestyle, laws, social structure, and languages. This was a result of the Canadian Government having greater access to collect Yukon First Nations children and take them to the various Mission schools. This access came about by the building of the Alaska Highway, the Canol Road, the Haines Road, and the Aishihik Road by the United States Army. Before World War II there was only one mission school in Carcross and one hostel school for half breeds in Dawson City. Within a few years after World War II five new mission schools were built in the Yukon region. The Canadian Government assimilation policies were enforced, and the result was extreme culture loss by Yukon First Nations people.

I will add one additional garment to this list and that is the hybrid dance shirt. There are several photographs starting from 1907 and into the 1930s showing western fabric shirts that have been modified into a dance shirt. The earliest example is from the 1907 Eagle, Alaska potlatch that was attended by the Han people from Moosehide, Yukon as well as Han people from the Alaska side of the border. See figure # 2-7. Note the wide variety of headdresses and decorated shirts

Figure # 2-7. 1907 Han Potlatch at Eagle, Alaska. Yukon Archives

In the photograph are a variety of manufactured clothing with a couple that appear to have the breast bands of the earlier hide tunics. Other shirts have some sort of decorations added to them for dancing. The person on the far right is wearing what looks like the later type of dance shirt that became popular. I must wonder if these early hybrid dance shirts had an influence on the dance shirts that became popular in the southern Yukon, northern British Columbia, and coastal Tlingit areas.

Another photograph showing the hybrid dance shirts is from Mayo, Yukon from a 1935 Christmas dance. See figure # 2-8 below. This is three decades later but the use of hybrid dance shirts is still common. Again, imitation breast bands are reminiscent of the older hide tunics.

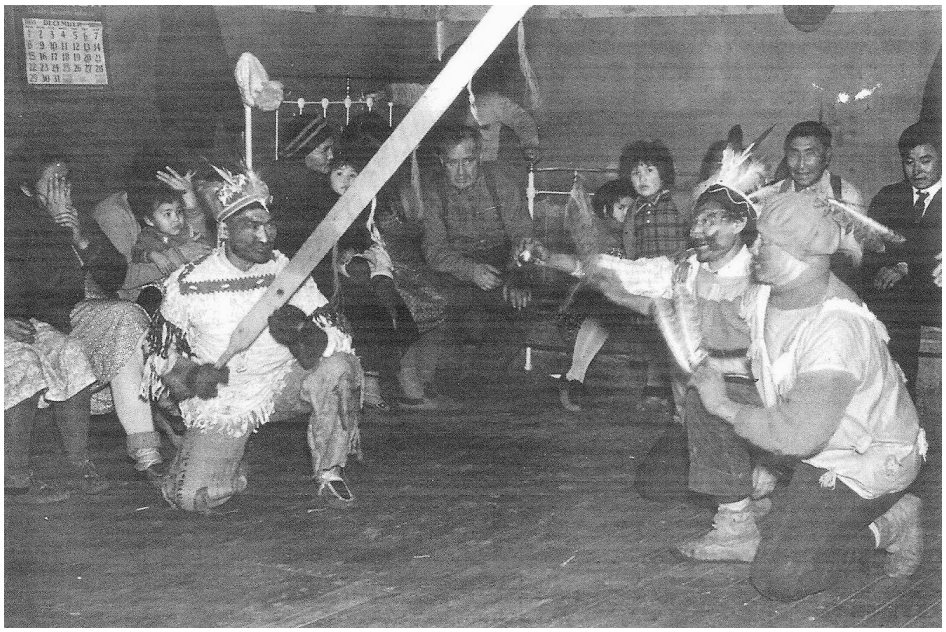


Figure # 2-8. Christmas celebration at Old Village near Mayo, Yukon 1935. G.A. McIntyre Collection. Mayo Historical Society.

The two above examples are from the central Yukon where the typical dance shirt does not seem to have been used. They were used mostly in the southern Yukon, northern British Columbia and in the coastal Tlingit areas of Alaska.

Finally, the button jacket, which was sometimes made of animal hide, but more often from fabric. The button jacket was open in the front, had floral beading designs on the epaulettes and buttons decorating them. There was often fur around the cuffs and collar. This may have been influenced by the popular button blankets. Some peoples commonly used buttons on their clothing such as the Kaska, Han and the Ahtna and Tanana in Alaska. The button jackets did not appear to be commonly used in the southern Yukon.

Before I start the analysis of the actual floral bead designs I will show a photograph illustrating the range of how the floral designs were used. This is a postcard of the 1912 Carcross Potlatch shown in figure # 2-9 below.

Figure # 2-9. 1912 Carcross Potlatch postcard. UvK Collection.

This potlatch shows Tagish, Southern Tutchone, and Inland Tlingit people on raising a tombstone to Dawson Charlie. Starting from the right is a Southern Tutchone man, Paddy Smith, my great grandfather and the first husband of Annie Ned. Paddy Smith is wearing a fur skin robe and plays a drum. Next is Billy Bone, an Inland Tlingit who is holding a ganhook or dancing paddle or dancing stick. He is wearing a coastal Tlingit smock with a wolf clan image on it. The sponsor of the Potlatch is Skookum Jim, a Tagish man, who obtained the smock from the coast. Skookum Jim is shown next, holding a totem pole which was also obtained from the coast. He is wearing bear's ears and two octopus' bags. The octopus' bag may be from either the interior or the coast. I now switch to the left side of the postcard. On the very left is Johnny Fraser, a Southern Tutchone/Chilkat man. Johnny Fraser is wearing what appears to be a hybrid shirt discussed previously. The breast band is "V" shaped which is a common design for many of these shirts from the south-central Yukon. It is reminiscent of the older hide tunics. He is holding a ganhook that appears to have a series of tussles attached to it. The third person from the left is a Tutchone man, Big Salmon Jim. He is wearing the Tutchone style dance shirt and he is also holding a rattle. I will examine this dance shirt later in the chapter. The man standing in the middle is Sam Smith. He is Tagish and is wearing a shirt with a double headed bird crest design on it. This is a coastal Tlingit crest that has its roots with dealing with the Russians when they had the Russian American Company in Alaska. Inland Tlingits typically put their clan crest on their dance shirts while Athapaskans did not. The Athapaskan Tagish and Inland Tlingit cultures were quite

blended and in material terms looked very much the same. The person standing to the right of Sam Smith is Tagish Jim and he is wearing a shirt with a vertical panel on it. The design appears to be a series of four-petal flowers or maybe stylized crosses.

There are several unidentified people remaining, but I point out those people who are widely known. The sponsor of the potlatch is Skookum Jim, and he is one of the discoverers of gold in 1896 which started the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898. Johnny Fraser was to become chief of the Champagne Southern Tutchone people and was widely known. Paddy Smith married Annie Ned, my great grandmother, and she became quite famous. She lived over 100 years old and was a recipient of the Order of Canada, as was their son Elijah Smith. Elijah was the leader in starting the Yukon Land Claims process.

This photograph illustrates the high mark of the Beaded Period. A few decades earlier we changed from hide clothing with geometric designs to the floral designs on fabric. In a few decades this uniquely Yukon style would be gone. Below I show several examples that illustrate the main traits of the Upper Yukon and Tanana River floral beading styles starting with an Upper Yukon River sled bag in my drawing in figure # 2-10 below.

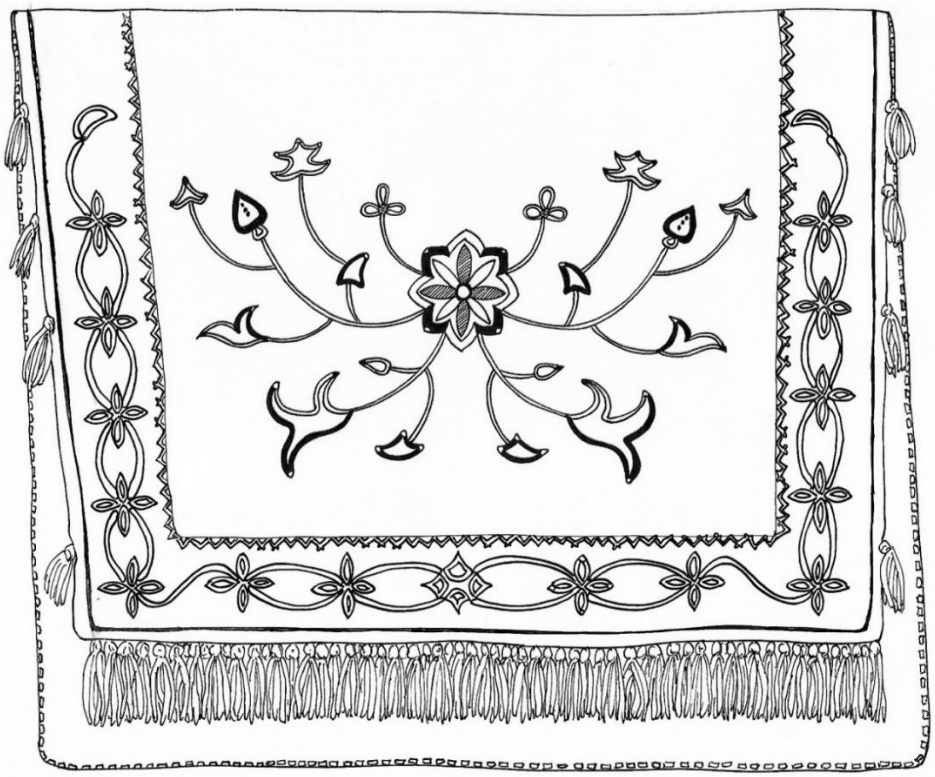


Figure # 2-10. Upper Yukon sled bag. Ca. 1900. Milwaukee Public Museum. UvK drawing.

The floral design, if placed on a square or rectangle shape, is centered with a usually larger central flower that was often more complex in design than the remaining smaller flowers. From this central flower a series of stem works radiate out. Sometimes secondary stems branch off from the main stems. At the end of the stems are often either smaller simpler flowers or leaf designs. Sometimes four petal flower motifs are placed at varies locations over the stem itself. Much of the background shows with a large amount of open space. You can see all these ingredients on the drawing. On the sled bag the flap is bordered with floral bead designs. When the design is placed in a long narrow space it will be filled with mainly stem work. There are few stem styles that can be used. In this case it forms an "X" and is divided into four petal flowers.

While the details are different this sled bag design has the same feel as the design on the bottom of Big Salmon Jim's dance shirt in figure # 2-9. Below is another example of a floral design placed on a square/rectangle area. The wall pocket in figure # 2-11 below was purchased by me at an antique store in Dawson City, Yukon. This is in Han territory. The pocket area has a complex central four petal flower. There is stem work starting at the central flower and changing to slightly smaller and simpler four petal flowers at the top corners. This wall pocket's floral design is a slightly later version from what was first adopted by the Upper Yukon people. This piece is reflecting an early 1900s trend to add some realism to the flowers. You can see this by a green flower stem of the central flower as well as flower stems on the floral design on the upper part of the wall pocket. These are rendered more like a flower growing in nature. White is the most common colour for the early stem designs and green becoming popular after 1900. Another aspect is the 'floating' flowers in the bottom corners that do not have stems going to them.

Figure # 2-11. Beaded hide wall pocket. Han. Circa early 1900s. UvK Collection.

I will now break down some of the basic shapes of the flowers, leaves and stem work commonly used in the Upper Yukon and Tanana River areas. The central flower shows a wide variety of styles, but I will show four common designs in figure # 2-12 below. Starting from the left is a six petal rosette. Next is a four petal rosette with a center. Sometimes the rosette does not have a centre. The next is an overlapping five petal rosette. These three basic floral designs are also used as secondary flowers but are often rendered slightly smaller than the central flower. Finally, is the cabbage rosette. The cabbage rosette only appears in the Upper Yukon area after 1900 and was mostly used by the Kaska and other peoples closer to the Laird River areas. This design has since increased in popularity in the rest of the Yukon.

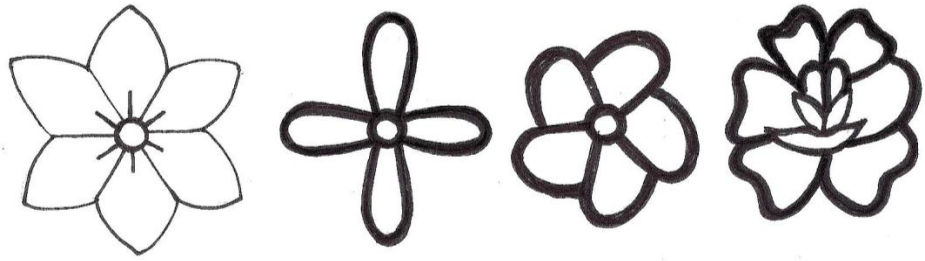


Figure # 2-12. Central flower motifs. UvK Drawing.

The next group in figure # 2-13 below is a series of secondary motifs that are often at the end of a stem work and sometimes are in the middle, that is, the stem attaches to the bottom of the leaf or between the petals of the flower and then continues at the other end of the leaf or other side of the flower center. There are many variations of the basic motifs.

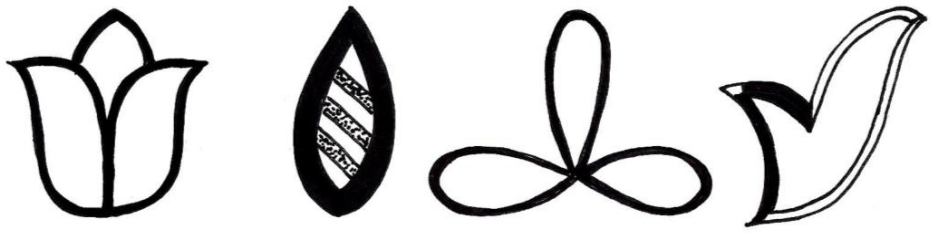


Figure # 2-13. Secondary leaf and flower motifs. UvK Drawing.

Starting from the left is a 'split-bell', a 'teardrop' (if it is a bit longer and curved it would be a 'dropping teardrop'), a 'three petal motif' that could be thought of as a clover and last is what I call a 'leaf with an outcrop'. This motif can be expanded into more outcrops and enlarged.

In figure # 2-14 below is a series of basic stem works. As mentioned above there are also many variations of the stem works. From the left is a 'Y' stem, next is an 'S' stem followed by a variation of the 'Y' stem that I call a 'dropping Y' stem. Next are an 'X' stem and finally a basic stem with outcrops. These outcrops have been called mouse or grouse tracks. The stems connect the central flower to the secondary flower/leaves.

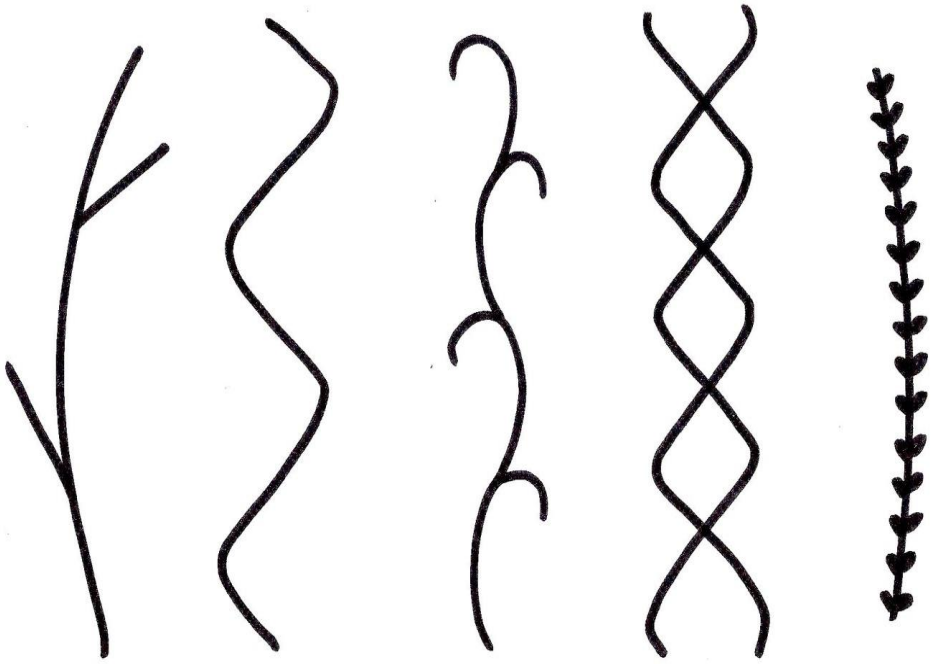


Figure # 2-14. Stem works. UvK Drawing.

I will next examine an English Hunting shirt, a jacket, a dance shirt, a cartridge belt, a baby belt, and a wall pocket. This will give a basic overview of the Upper Yukon River style. First a typical English hunting shirt collected by S. B. McLenegan in 1893 at the headwaters of the Yukon River. It is presently in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, California. Being collected at the headwaters of the Yukon River would put this shirt most likely in Southern Tutchone and Tagish people's territories. I have drawn the shirt in figure # 2-15 and will break down the designs into its basic parts. As I cannot see the floral designs epaulettes I will only deal with the design on the bib. This is a typical upper Yukon floral design with a central flower, stem work coming out of the central flower and the stems being capped with secondary flower and leaf motifs. Some of the secondary flowers are placed over top of the stem work. All the flowers are four petal rosettes while the other secondary flower/leaf motifs are made up of four various designs. All the four

petal flowers are divided within the petal as shown in figure # 2-16 below. There is a pink rose, a side view of an overlapping two petal flower, a scroll type flower and finally scroll type leaf. The stem work is a typical white stem with outcrops. The whole design is placed on red fabric and of course much of it is showing.

Figure # 2-15. Upper Yukon hunting shirt. Collected 1893. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley CA. LMA 2-10889. UvK drawing.

In figure # 2-16 is my drawings for the three flower types and the three leaf/bud type motifs with the stem work that make up the design in the hide shirt above.

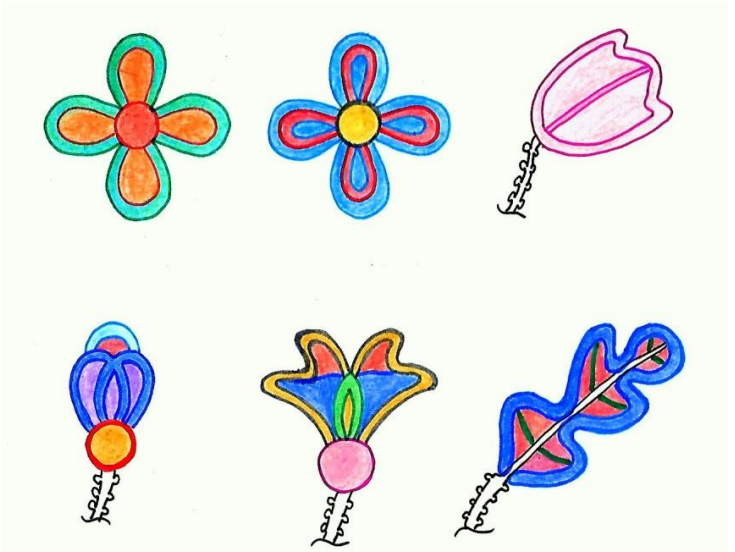


Figure # 2-16. Floral designs from Upper Yukon hunting shirt. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley CA. LMA 2-10889. UvK drawing.

The central flower as well as the four other 4-petal flowers are all the same size. Maybe the same flower template was used for the two different flower designs. The central flower is orange coloured with a green trim around the edge of the petals and a copper coloured center. The secondary flowers have blue and red petals, the red following the form of the petal and overlaying the stem work. The center is a beige colour. The next flower appears to be the profile of a pink rose. The design is a simple rose at the end of a stem. Below the flowers are the other secondary motifs. The first is possibly a bud but also appears to have overlapping petals. Is the second motif a bud that has bloomed? I wonder since both have buds or a receptacle at the bottom of the flower. The third is clearly an oak type of leaf. This leaf that does not grow on any trees in the Yukon and may be a copy of a leaf design seen on Cree and/or Métis beaded designs or it may be reminiscent of a dandelion leaf. The overall design has six different motifs in addition to the stem work. The design covers the available area but has lots of background showing. Other than that, the secondary four petal flowers are more complex and the same size as the central flower. This design is typical Upper Yukon.

The next garment is an early twentieth century jacket that is in the MacBride Museum collection in Whitehorse. The front panel, cuffs, bottom hem, and whole upper body of the jacket have floral bead designs on a red cloth. Johnny Joe donated this to the MacBride Museum and is shown in figure # 2-17. Johnny Joe was a Southern Tutchone man and his grandmother, who was from Hutshi in the northern central part of the Southern Tutchone territory, made many of the items for Johnny

Joe. The jacket's cut is of more modern style and has elaborate bead designs that consist of floral work and what may be depictions of animals or other beings. This jacket is in the Upper Yukon River style but an early 20th century version.

Figure # 2-17, Johnny Joe's coat. 1977.46.1, MacBride Museum. Whitehorse, Yukon.

On the left in figure # 2-18, on the long panel, is a zigzag or "S" style stem work traveling down the whole space. At each bend is a leaf design that I describe as a leaf with an outcrop. The leaves are alternating in colours Some of the main leaves have a blue bordering colour, other times a yellow bordering colour, as is the case of the outcrop. The centers are filled with either silver or gold colour beads. The design on the right is an image placed on the breast pockets. This design appears to me to be zoomorphic in nature but all the Elders I showed this image to felt that it was an early flower design. Because of the individual nature of our art creation, sometimes the meaning of the design is lost once the creator has passed away. To me it looks zoomorphic because the design appears to have a head in the form of the three petal clovers on top. It appears to have a set of legs and either huge hands at the end of the

outstretched arms or the outstretched arms are holding the silver-black oak leaf type of objects. Also, are there wings coming out of the body between the up-stretched arms and legs?

Figure # 2-18, Details from Johnny Joe's coat. 1977.46.1, MacBride Museum. Whitehorse, Yukon.

In any case since Johnny Joe's grandmother has long passed away we will not know her inspiration for creating this image. But if we look at it as pure design the 'hands' from the upstretched arms are a split-coloured oak leaf design with the center negative space allowing the red fabric to show through. The 'wings' and 'legs' are also split coloured leaf designs but in the case of the 'wings' the leaf is laterally split with the two colours without a centre part as is done in the 'legs'. As mentioned before the head is a three petal clover.

There are various leaf designs on the jacket and many of them are split-coloured, both transversally and longitudinally. Some leaves have the center filled with beads and a couple of the other designs have negative spaces, so the background is showing. Some leaf designs are not strictly the early Upper Yukon style but are also common in the Tagish and Southern Tutchone territories in the early twentieth century. See figure # 2-19 for detailed drawings of some of the various leaf motifs.

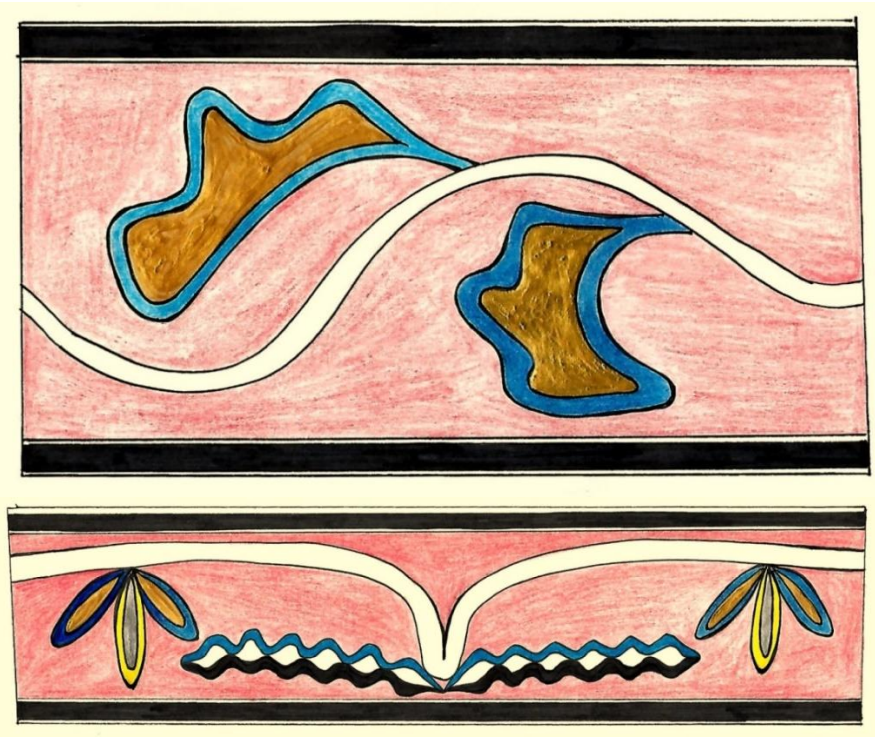


Figure # 2-19, Details from Johnny Joe's coat. 1977.46.1, MacBride Museum. UvK Drawing.

The top drawing is a section from the sleeve cuff and the bottom drawing is a section from the bottom of the jacket. In all cases the beading is on red fabric with a black border which is trimmed in white beads. This can be better seen in figure # 2-17. In the top drawing you can see that the creator has placed a series of scroll leaf motifs along a white "S" stem work. The scroll motifs are one colour all around and the center has been filled with gold-coloured beads. The bottom drawing shows a couple of different motifs and they are attached to what I would for now call an inverted "U" stem work. One of the motifs is the more common three petal clover design. Note the various colours used and the centers are either made of gold or silver beads. At the 'V' point of the "U" stem there are two oak style leaf motifs. This motif is colour-split longitudinally with blue on the top half and black on the bottom half. The center is filled with white beads.

This garment has over a dozen different types of floral and scroll leaf motifs but not a single rosette. If there is a central flower it would appear to be on the shoulder area where indeed there is a sort of central design. This garment is an example of omitting the central flower as the center piece of the design. This practice becomes common among the Tagish and some of the Southern Tutchone people by the early twentieth century. The area around the bottom of the jacket, the sleeve cuffs and the

panel down the front are all better suited to the long single stem design with the leaf motifs coming from the stem.

Next, I am examining a dance shirt that may also have been made by Johnny Joe's grandmother. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as traded cloth was beginning to replace hide clothing, cloth dance shirts became popular to wear during potlatches and ceremonies. In *My Old People Say,* McClellan says:

> Many Yukon "dance shirts" resemble the well-known style from the coast tribes. They probably represent a cross between the old interior skin shirt and imported western-style garments, including a dash of military. Indeed, the coastal Tlingit often describe their own dance shirts as "gunana" (foreign), in this case referring to their inland neighbors of the Yukon and British Columbia. They are rather long, tailored affairs, usually of red or black and often beaded bib-like yokes. (McClellan 2001: 322)

This seems to indicate that at the very least the dance shirts were influenced by the early interior made hide tunics, to be adopted on the coast. Thus, the status of the earlier valued hide clothing was carried on with the dance shirts. There are two distinguished dance shirt styles, the Athapaskan dance shirts with mostly floral designs and the coastal and Inland Tlingit dance shirts that often had clan or other animal images on them. The Athapaskan Tahltans also added clan images to their dance shirts. The Tlingit made dance shirts with floral designs, but it seemed that other than the Tahltans, Athapaskans did not put clan or other images on their dance shirts. Later in this section I will show a variety of dance shirts.

An example of a possibly interior made dance shirt can be seen in the postcard in figure # 2-20. Interior, because there are many photographs of a dance shirt that looks just like this one but worn by different people and at different time. It may be one shirt that has been passed around or this shirt was duplicated a few times. In previous figure # 2-9, a Tutchone man, Big Salmon Jim, is wearing a dance shirt that looks identical to the shirt Johnny Fraser is wearing in figure # 2-20. Johnny Fraser, who was also in the postcard in figure # 2-9, is standing on the left of this postcard. He is holding the drum and wearing a floral-patterned dance shirt. Elders I spoke to stated that Johnny Fraser had received the dance shirt and the frontlet from the Chilkat Tlingits from Klukwan, Alaska. Klukwan is a Chilkat Tlingit village close to present day Haines Alaska and many of the Tlingit traders that came to the south-central Yukon were from Klukwan. I was told that someone from Klukwan had died and that person's items were given to Fraser. Nobody seems to know who made the dance shirt. It may even have been made in the interior and later returned there through Johnny Fraser. Fraser was the chief of the Champagne people and had strong ties with Klukwan. The Elders also said that later all of Johnny Fraser's First Nations items were sold to tourists. This postcard was taken in the late 1940s,

most likely during the Winter Carnival. It shows a whole cross section of Southern Tutchone ceremonial clothing from that time-period. Johnny Fraser is wearing the frontlet from Klukwan. The woman in the center is my great grandmother Annie Ned and is Southern Tutchone. She identified herself as a Yukon Indian woman. Annie is wearing the Chilkat blanket. When I showed this photograph to Elder Marge Jackson, she stated that her father, Little Jim, got this blanket from Haines, Alaska. She said they cost lots. Later, when the blanket was folded and put in an outside log storage cache, squirrels got to it and chewed out sections. Those areas were repaired with the large white circles seen at the front of the blanket. The blanket was later stolen. Marge stated that other local people also had these Chilkat blankets. Annie Ned is wearing a hide jacket and a button blanket. In her headdress she is wearing the popular feather plume, as is Johnny Fraser on the left. Lydia Kushniruk and Stella Jim, Annie's daughters, are standing to the right of Annie.

Figure # 2-20. Johnny Fraser and dance group, possible at the Winter Carnival, circa 1940s. UvK Collection.

Another well-known dance shirt is the one that belonged to Johnny Joe and is almost identical to Johnny Fraser's dance shirt. In figure # 2-21 we can see Johnny Joe wearing his dance shirt and a fancy hat at the MacBride Museum in the 1960s. This is the time he donated the dance shirt to the MacBride Museum. In figure # 2-22 you can see the details of Johnnie Joe's dance tunic at the MacBride Museum. The design looks exactly like Johnny Fraser's dance shirt, but there are a couple of differences.

Figure # 2-21. Johnny Joe with dance shirt. Photograph 92.96, MacBride Museum Photograph.

Figure # 2-22. Detail of Johnny Joe's dance shirt, front bib & bottom of shirt. 1977.046.002 MacBride Museum.

In Johnny Joe's dance shirt, there is trimming with small fringes extending from the middle of the bib area to just under the arms. Also, in the detail photographs we can see some fringes coming out of the back of the arm. There are no fringes coming out of the bib area, nor on any other area of Johnny Fraser's shirt. Other than these noted items the dance shirts are identical, especially the details of the

bead work. This creates the problem of Johnny Fraser's dance shirt originating in Klukwan while Johnny Joe's dance shirt originated from the Southern Tutchone settlement of Hutshi. Dinah Jim, Johnny Joe's granddaughter, stated that Johnny Joe's aunt was the maker of his dance shirt. At the time of our conversation Dinah Jim did not remember her name. Johnny Joe and his family were originally from Hutshi, his dad being Chief Joe and mother Ts'ahl ma, both of Hutshi. Based on the identical beadwork I conclude that Johnny Fraser's dance shirt was originally made in the Yukon by the same person or members of the same family of the aunt of Johnny Joe. Did she have a pattern she copied for the second dance shirt or did she make the two at the same time? Or was she working with other people when making the dances shirt(s)? There is also the possibility that the fringes were added later, and that Fraser and Joe were wearing the same dance shirt. Garments were often modified after they were considered finished. I also want to point out that rarely did any person make anything that was identical to another person's work. Individuality was especially important for Yukon First Nations people and the only times I came across any two objects that were similar is when they were collected at the same time, from the same place, and so most likely made by the same person. It is known that relatives working together would make items that looked the same, especially when an Elder was teaching a younger person how to make something. Once the person learned the skills they would often modify or change the designs to suit their own tastes and make the creation their own. That person would then credit the earlier designs to the person they learned it from.

Back to Johnny Joe's dance shirt and a look at the floral and leaf motifs. The bib area has a variety of motifs that are not connected by stem work. This was common with Inland Tlingit and Tagish people. Since the Southern Tutchone has overlapping territories with the Tagish, an exchange of styles is expected, and I discuss this later in Chapter Six. The bib area is not in the Upper Yukon River style although there are motifs that are laterally split with the two colours in the Upper Yukon River style. But the scroll type motifs to the side are Tlingit motifs. In the photograph below the bib is the beaded area around the bottom of the dance shirt. This section is in the Upper Yukon River style with an eight-petal central flower with stem work radiating out to secondary flower and leaf motifs. Above the central flower are transversely split coloured split-bell floral motifs and four left scroll type leaf motifs with each leaf a different colour. It is fair to say that because of the interaction between the Tutchone and Tagish and Tlingit this dance shirt reflects those contacts. In Chapter Six-Changes in the Upper Yukon River Style I will identify this as the Southern Yukon Hybrid style.

Below is an image of various style dance shirts. While not in the Upper Yukon River style the postcard does give an example of the range of variations in dance shirt designs. Figure # 2-23 is of a postcard that was produced by the Missions des Oblats, the Catholic missionaries in the Yukon. The Oblats de Marie-Immaculée (O.M.I.),

as mentioned in the previous chapter, had a practice of producing postcards for raising funds back in France. There are five dance shirts in this postcard, and all are quite different. This photograph was most likely taken in Teslin where the OMI had a mission and dating probably around the 1940s or the 1950s. The caption on the back says: "Indiens Klinkets du Yukon éxécutant une danse". The two dancers in the front are holding feather dance wanes and feather dance fans. The feather fans are white and may have been made from swans, one of the most spiritual birds in the southern Yukon. You can see clan crest designs on three of the dance shirts, which was a common Inland Tlingit practice. It appears that the woman standing behind the drummer, as well as the front right male dancer, are wearing the more Tutchone patterned dance shirts. The floral designs on that man's dance shirt are Tlingit around the bottom but there is stem work in the bib area in the Upper Yukon River style. The woman's dance shirt also has stem work. This reflects the influence coming from the Upper Yukon River style. The elder woman standing in the back is wearing a button blanket, a garment that replaced the earlier gopher (ground squirrel) robes that were common until the availability of trade fabric and buttons. The geometric pattern on her button blanket is either made from small white buttons or fabric.

Figure # 2-23. Indiens Klinkets du Yukon éxécutant une danse. Missions des Oblats postcard. UvK Collection.

My drawing of the following cartridge belt in figure # 2-24 is from the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington. This belt is listed as "Interior Tlingit?; Western Sub-Arctic?". It was apparently collected in 1890 but does not say where it was collected. Based on the style it could be Interior Tlingit (Inland Tlingit) and made in the Upper Yukon River style, but it is more likely Southern Tutchone.

Figure # 2-24. Interior Tlingit?; Western Sub-Arctic? Cartridge belt. Burke Museum, Seattle Washington. 1984-124. UvK Drawing.

The cartridge belt was worn around the waist by the hunter and a flap covered the cartridges for protection. The hunter would lift the flap and take the cartridge out to load the rifle. The flap is decorated with a central five-petal rosette and there is stem work coming out of each side with secondary four-petal rosettes, a bell shaped flower and leaf designs at the ends of the stems and leaves coming out on the sides of the stems. The belt part of the cartridge belt is decorated with the typical "S" style stem motif with a series of bell shaped flowers attached to the stem. The floral bead designs are placed on red fabric, something that was by now quite common for the Upper Yukon River style.

Next in figure # 2-25 below is a baby belt in the Upper Yukon River style. This is a unique baby belt because it was recently created by Champagne and Aishihik First Nations member Vivian Smith, based on a baby belt made by her mother Elsie Smith. Elsie lived from 1919 to 1986 and made a belt that was reported to be collected by the Canadian Museum of History, but I could not find the artifact in their files. Vivian Smith's belt was featured in the Da Ku exhibition catalogue of the Gúyàt exhibition in 2013 which I co-curated. Elsie Smith worked in the "Old Style" and as you can see the baby belt incorporates all the typical Upper Yukon River style design elements. There is a central flower with stem work coming out of the central flower. There are secondary flowers and leaves at the ends of the stems and leaves attached to the side of the stems. One interesting point is that the stems do not continue the whole length of the belt but have smaller "S" stem works at the ends. These end stem works also follow the Upper Yukon River style but are more complex in design than the central floral design.

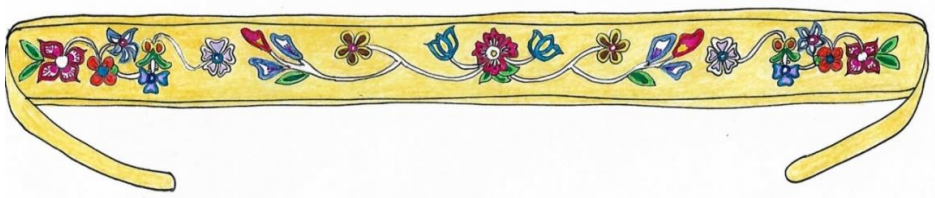


Figure # 2-25. Southern Tutchone baby belt made by Vivian Smith. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Collection. UvK Drawing.

The final Upper Yukon River style example is another unique piece from the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation Collection and is also featured in the Gúyàt exhibition. It is an early wall pocket and is described as a shaving bag. It was made by Ł.aanteix for her husband Joe Kane. Ł.aanteix was born sometime in the 1870s-1880s and passed away around 1950. The wall pocket is old and well worn. As you can see below it is decorated with floral motifs. What is unique about this wall pocket is that the floral designs are rendered with porcupine quills. Porcupine quillwork was common until the end of the 1800s and rare after that. While there is no date as to when this wall pocket was made it could easily have been made at the end of the 1800s. If Ł.aanteix was born in the 1870s-1880s she could very well be married before 1900 and made this for her husband. Why did she not use beads to make the floral designs? This is not known but maybe there was a shortage of beads when she started this wall pocket. The trade with the coastal Tlingits was ending and this could account for the lack of beads until the new trading posts opened after the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898. Or maybe she decided to create the design with porcupine quills to render it more unique. In any case she created the floral designs in the Upper Yukon River style by using the "S" stem with leaves at the end of smaller secondary stems in the bottom part of the bag. Some of the leaves are split coloured. In the smaller sections in the top of the bag are split coloured leaves with smaller sections of "S" stem work and a series of three motifs in the center attached by a simple stem work. See figure # 2-26.

Figure # 2-26. Southern Tutchone wall pocket made by Ł.aanteix̲. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations collection. UvK Drawing.

As I showed with the examples of early floral patterns from the Upper Yukon River region there are common elements in almost all the floral designs:

- The common use of a central flower.
- From that central flower stem work comes out and ends with a secondary flower or leaf motif.
- There could be secondary stem works coming out of the main stem and/or leaves attached directly to the main stem.
- Sometimes the space was long and narrow, and a central flower was not used. In this case the stem still had a flower or leaf at the end of it as well as the secondary stems or leaves attached to the stem.
- The design was placed on either hide, red, dark blue or black fabric,
- A lot of the background would be showing from behind the design.

2-3 Differences between the Upper Yukon River style and the Tanana River style

In the mid to late 1800s the early floral beading style for the Upper Yukon River and the Tanana River looked the same but by the beginning of the twentieth century the two areas went in different style directions. Below in figure # 2-27 is an example of the typical early twentieth century Tanana River area floral beading style. This postcard shows Tanana Chief Thomas of Nenana with his younger wife. She may be a second wife as it is reported that the hide clothing was made by a first wife who was older. The boy standing to the left is Chief Thomas's son. I have no information on the other two children.

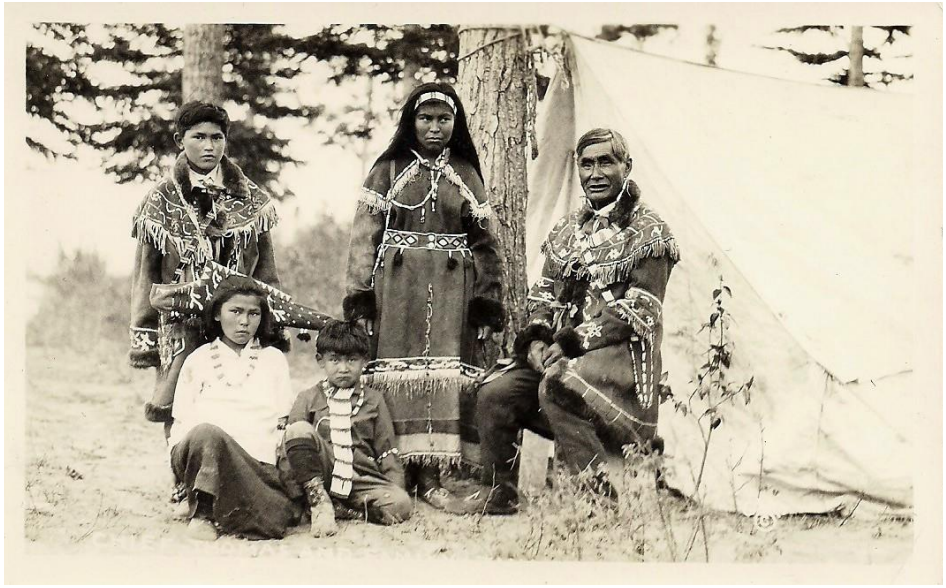


Figure # 2-27. Tanana Chief Thomas and family. Early twentieth century. Cann's Studio Inc. Fairbanks, Alaska postcard. UvK Collection.

You can see a lot of beading on hide clothing. I point this out because there is no early twentieth century or even late nineteenth century photographs from the Upper Yukon River region where everybody is wearing almost exclusively hide beaded clothing, except for Patsy Henderson in figure # 2-6. If you look at figures # 2-1, 2-6, 2-8, 2-9, 2-21, and 2-23 you will see mostly fabric clothing and if there is hide clothing, the beading is often on the fabric attached to the hide clothing.

The two regions started off with the same floral designs but because the Upper Yukon region had greater access to coastal trade and interaction with Coastal

Tlingits the floral designs were applied to different materials. As mentioned earlier, by the time Lieutenant Schwatka travelled down the Yukon River in 1883, people in the expedition noted that the First Nations people were commonly wearing fabric trade clothing. The Coastal Tlingits from the regions over the mountains on the coast were trading with the Russians by the late 1700s and that trade was making its way inland. But the Tanana River valley is further inland from the coast and would receive any trade items through at least one middleman, if not more. In the south-central Yukon, the Coastal Tlingits travelled directly to and traded the local people. The people who received the trade items kept what they desired and then traded the leftovers to people even further inland.

There was close interaction between south central Yukon First Nations people and the coastal Tlingit. Over the summer months the Tlingits were often inland trading and intermixing and marrying interior people. The Tanana people on the other hand were surrounded by other Athapaskan peoples who had much of the same material culture and these groups experienced fewer outside influences.

The link between the Upper Yukon and Tanana was established with the introduction of floral bead designs through Fort Yukon. In the mid-1800s both groups travelled to Fort Yukon, saw floral beaded designs and when they returned to their areas began creating their own floral beaded designs. What floral beaded designs they saw will be the subject of the next chapter.

2-4 Why did Yukon First Nations adopt the Floral Designs?

There is no recorded explanation as to why Yukon First Nations rapidly adopted floral designs and gave up the geometric designs. Many times I have asked Elders why this or that design or image was created and placed on drums, arrow quivers, clothing, etc. This included various floral designs. Universally the answer was: "To make it fancy." Before beads women had to collect porcupine quills and/or use feather spines. Once enough were collected they had to be prepared. Feather spines had to be cut as well. Both had to be dyed. Finally the embroidery could start. Once beads became available there was no collecting or preparing and there was a greater choice of bright colours. Beading with a needle was a lot easier than embroidery with porcupine quills or feather spines and the end results were more pleasing to the eye. Since the previous designs were basically to make things look fancy, beaded floral designs were even fancier. Perhaps there was also the factor of showing one's wealth. A successful trader or rich person would be noticed easier because of the display of their beads.

There seems to have been no sacred or other valued purpose for the pre-floral geometric designs. They were quickly abandoned and almost fully replaced by the floral designs. The floral designs were limited to beading. Some bone items such as

drinking tubes, ladles, skinning knives, etc. still had geometric designs engraved on them but the frequency of these designs diminished over time. Geometric designs were also still being painted, especially at the edges of drums, but like the bone items, they also were added less frequently over time.

Chapter Three – Cree, Métis, Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) and further Eastern Floral Designs

3-1 Floral Designs arriving in the North

In the previous chapter I mentioned that there is a presence of floral beadwork in the Fort Yukon area by 1867 and upstream from the fort on the Yukon River by 1883, when Schwatka travelled down the river. Whymper's visit to Fort Youcon (Yukon) in 1867 and Schwatka's exploration of 1883 both left us with these visual records. So the question now is: where did the Yukon River First Nations people get the designs from? It is my belief that when the Upper River people, as well as the Tanana River people travelled to Fort Yukon to trade they saw floral bead designs on the hired Hudson Bay's Company Métis and later Cree worker's clothing and bags. I also believe that the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Selkirk had little effect on the adoption of floral designs. This chapter is looking at the style that may have been brought by the Cree and Métis Hudson's Bay Company workers and the similarity of that style with floral styles from farther east in Canada. I will also show floral styles that are structuraly the same as the Upper Yukon River style. This includes floral designs from the Cree, Métis, Anishinaabe (Ojibwa, Chippewa) and other groups from the Great Lakes region. See map # 2.

How were floral bead patterns first brought to Fort Yukon? According to Kenneth Coates in his *Best left as Indians* he writes that The Hudson's Bay Company John Bell has established the Peel River Post in 1840 at the mouth of the Peel River as it flowed into the Mackenzie River. This later would be renamed Fort MacPherson. The Hudson Bay's Company knew that the Gwitch'in people were obtaining furs from the people to the west beyond a range of mountains, but that area was totally unexplored, and they wanted to move into those regions. The Peel River people were in a middleman position and did not want to lose that lucrative situation and so were not agreeable to leading the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) westward. Coates writes:

> HBC Governor George Simpson ordered Bell to continue his quest, but he received little help from the Natives. They frequently misrepresented the difficulty of the terrain and the problems of transmontane transport. Similarly, individual Natives agreed to guide the company's men, only to abandon them long before they reached their objective. On at least two occasions, Indians from the west of the Richardson mountains visited Peel's River, and offered seductive descriptions of the prospects for trade in their home area.

> Encouraged by such reports and prodded by Governor Simpson, Bell finally crossed the mountain barrier in 1842, but was abandoned by his guide once again. Bell solved his problem in 1845 when, acting on Simpson's advice, he hired Native tripmen who knew nothing of the area being explored, whose personal interests did not conflict with the purposes of exploration. Bell finally reached the "Youcon" River, believed at the time to be the Colville. (Coates: 1991: 23)

Who the Native tripmen were is not established, only that they were not from the area. They would either be Athapaskans from further up the Mackenzie River beyond relations with the local Gwitch'in people or Cree and Métis Hudson's Bay Company workers. Bell returned to the Peel River Post and Alexander Hunter Murray was assigned to establish the trading post which he travelled to in 1847. According to Craig Mishler's *The Crooked Stovepipe* (1993) Murray's Hudson Bay's Company crew were a couple of French-Canadian Métis workers, Antoine Houle, and Baptiste Boucher and 5 or 6 Orkney islanders. In the *Journal of the Yukon 1847-48* it lists 8 Hudson's Bay Company men, 1 woman (John Hope's wife), 2 Peel River men and 4 Indians. Although not mentioned by name in *Journal of the Yukon 1847-48* Murray's interpreter is Antoine Houle written about in *The Crooked Stovepipe*.

There is little written about Baptiste Boucher, a Métis of Cree descent who may have been the son of Baptiste Boucher of Fort St. James from British Columbia. There has been a lot written about Antoine Houle who seems to have had a huge impact on the culture of the First Nations people around Fort Yukon. This impact was in the form of fiddle music and dancing the jig which are now deemed traditional cultural forms in northern Yukon, Alaska, and the Northwest Territories. Houle was the son of Francois Houle, a French-Canadian Métis interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company who was stationed at Fort Liard. At 14 years old Antoine Houle was recruited by the Hudson's Bay Company and sent north to live with Gwitch'in chiefs to learn their language and to become an interpreter. Four years later, while still a teenager, Houle travelled with Murray as interpreter to Fort Yukon. Confusingly, there was another man named Francois Houle in the Hudson's Bay Company but the one from Fort Liard accompanied Robert Campbell in his journeys into the Yukon and Fort Selkirk. He has been identified as Native from Athabasca and half Iroquois and half French-Canadian. This may have been Antoine's father.

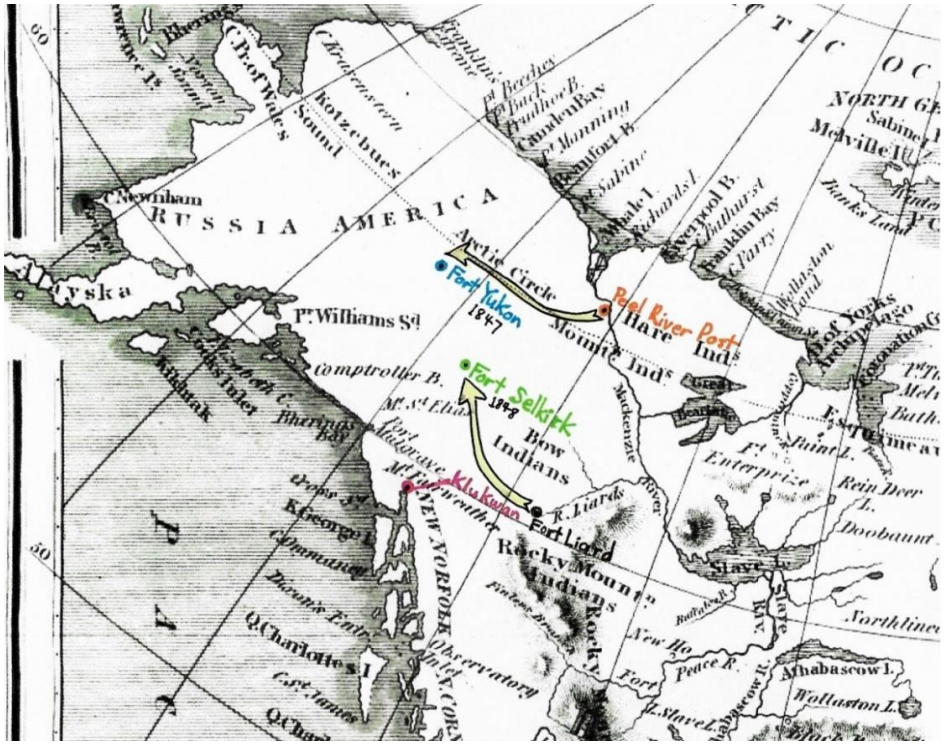
In *The Crooked Stovepipe* Mishler notes that not much has been written about the early days of fiddle music and jigging in Fort Yukon but points out that Antoine Houle orders two coils of violin strips in 1848 and again ordering three sets of stings, three separate times, in 1850. Therefore, Houle must have been wearing out violin strings because of playing a lot of music. While at Fort Yukon Houle had at least two wives and a concubine and intermixed with the local First Nations people. Being Métis and not white, as well as being able to speak the language, allowed him to be

easily accepted into the First Nations community. Having two wives also shows that he was a person of high status and would have influence with First Nations people.

Along with the Orkney islanders the Métis workers started a fiddle music and jigging tradition that was adopted by First Nations people of the north. This carries on to the present time. Houle's contribution to the spread of fiddle music and jigging is acknowledged by Mishler in *The Crooked Stovepipe* but what is not mentioned is Houle's possible contribution in the spreading of the Métis floral bead designs. Before we examine what type of floral bead designs were used by the Métis we have to establish if the Métis and Cree indeed had a floral beading tradition before Murray and Houle ended up in Fort Yukon and was this the style that was adopted by the regional Athapaskan peoples? I will do this later in this chapter.

Fort Selkirk was established in 1848 and local peoples traded there until 1852 when the Chilkat Tlingits from Klukwan, Alaska pillaged the fort to remove it as a trading competition. Having a Hudson's Bay Company trading post for those 4 years would have allowed the local people to get used to the company and its operations. But the First Nations people also knew that the Fort Yukon trading post was in operation and when Fort Selkirk operations ceased they could simply journey there to trade. In Alexander Murray's *Journal of the Yukon 1847-48,* as well as in the Government of the Yukon Occasional Papers in Yukon History No. 2 *Journal of Occurrences at the Forks of the Lewes and Pelly Rivers May 1848 to September 1852,* both Campbell at Fort Selkirk and Murray at Fort Yukon state that First Nations people reported to them news of the company's other fort. This is because First Nations people travelling back and forth between Fort Selkirk and Fort Yukon. Dall records confirm that Tutchone people from the former Fort Selkirk and Han people from the future Dawson City area were visiting Fort Yukon in 1867. See map # 6 for the Hudson's Bay's Company's movements from Peel River Post to Fort Yukon and from Fort Laird to Fort Selkirk.

In the late 1840s central Yukon First Nations people had contact with the Fort Selkirk Hudson's Bay Company workers as well as the Fort Yukon Hudson's Bay Company, but is there evidence that these workers wore any floral designs? Or did the workers wives create floral designs? There is no direct evidence that First Nations people saw any floral designs until Whymper's visit to Fort Youcon (Yukon) in 1867 when he recorded images of floral designs. The crew that Robert Campbell, including himself, brought with him in the multi-year journey to establish Fort Selkirk was as far as I can gather, 13 white and Métis Hudson's Bay Company workers as well as at least 5 or 6 First Nations hunters and their families from Fort Liard. It appears that the Hudson's Bay Company workers were all single. The Fort Liard hunters are the Slavey people and have had contact with white people since at least the establishment of Fort Liard as a trading post by the Northwest Company in 1807. In Murray's group to Fort Yukon there was only one woman in the expedition, John Hope's wife. I could not find anything about John Hope's wife's capabilities, but I am sure she was kept busy as the post seamstress.



Map # 6. Hudson Bay's Company moving into Yukon River valley region. 1840s. 1834 map. UvK Collection.

There is no mention in Campbell's journal that Hudson's Bay beads were traded but he does state that the local First Nations people have Russian trade items such as guns, tools, and beads. At the time, the local First Nations people used beads on the breast bands of tunics and on the fringes. They were also used on other items that have fringes such as arrow quivers. There is no evidence of floral designs. Nor does it seem that the Fort Liard hunter's wives were doing beaded floral designs. If they were not creating floral designs, could that be because when they moved into the area, they did not bring beads with them? They could have been limited to the amount of items they could bring with them as their primary purpose was to be with their husbands, who were camp hunters. There is also no mention of the wives of Métis workers creating any floral designs. This may be because they also did not bring beads with them, were quite busy at the hunting camps or at the post keeping the men's clothes in good repair as well as sewing other items that were needed by the company. An example of this is illustrated in *Journal of Occurrences at the Forks of the Lewes and Pelly Rivers May 1848 to September 1852* in Note # 26 on page 153:

> Campbell informed Anderson at Fort Simpson that he permitted Andrew Flett, an Orkneyman on contract as a middleman (on a boat crew) to marry Cahchoza, daughter of a Fort Liard Indian, because the post required the services of a woman for sewing and making clothing for the men at the post. Cahchoza would be a replacement for the deceased Lolique Forcier whose death apparently left the post without the female assistance that the post required. (Yukon Occasional Papers in Yukon History No. 2: 153)

I would think that Calchoza would now spend most of her time employed at the fort. The Fort Liard and Métis hunters did not hunt from the fort but established hunting camps sometimes as far away as 160 kilometers. They would travel there with their families and the women would be taken up with camp life. How much they interacted with local First Nations women is most likely minimal as the hunting camps, including the First Nations camps, were spread out over a wide area.

W. Dall reported during his visit to Fort Youcon in 1867 that the previously mentioned Antoine Houle, a Métis interpreter for the Hudson Bay's Company, had several wives in various Native American villages. Houle had now been at Fort Yukon for 20 years and this illustrates that before 1867 Métis men were intermarrying with local women and these women may have seen the floral beading designs on those clothing that the men brought with them from the south. These relationships were ongoing. Between 1890 and 1892 the Anglican Church at Rampart House post recorded the birth or six babies to Hudson Bay's Company employees; one had a full Native father. Was he perhaps Cree? The remaining five were either mixed bloods or white. The mixed bloods were most certainly Métis.

What did the Cree/Métis floral beading style from the 1840's look like? I will point out that there are a few different Cree/Métis styles. This is not surprising as the Cree and Métis lived in a vast area of Canada and being involved with the fur trade had contact with many different peoples. As a result, there were different floral beading styles. There was already a strong relationship between the Métis and the Northwest Company when the merger with the Hudson's Bay Company happened in 1821. The enlarged Hudson's Bay Company added many Métis and other First Nations people to their staff which previously had been mostly workers from Ireland and Scotland. This merger resulted in the wider art and design influence of Métis and other First Nations, such as the Cree. The style that arrived with the Cree/Métis workers/guides to Fort Yukon I will designate as Cree/Métis Style 'A'. It is this basic style that I will link from the Yukon on to the east of Cree and Métis territory, from the Ojibwa (also identified as Ojibwe, Chippewa & Anishinaabe) territories and from around the Great lakes. I will also show similar styles from the time period from other First Nations groups and material culture.

This Cree/Métis Style 'A' is the same as the Upper Yukon and Tanana River styles that I described in the previous chapter. The Cree/Métis Style 'A' covered a wide range of territory as I will show below in Map # 7. I will also briefly discuss what I am identifying as the Cree/Métis Style 'B' in Chapter Six, page 161. This Cree/Métis Style 'B' is the same as the Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style from the Northwest Territories that I describe in Chapter Six, page 189. I will also show examples of what I am identifying as the Proto Cree/Métis style later in this chapter. Finally, I will briefly discuss the Cree/Métis Norway House style in in Chapter Six, page 200. These other Cree/Métis styles do not play a role in the early Yukon First Nations adoption of beaded floral designs.

Overall, there are few examples of any floral designs made before the 1840s to the west of the Great Lakes and I will show those examples I know from 1850s and before. I will follow those examples with that group's floral designs from after the 1850s and even going into the early 1900s to show the consistency of the design within that cultural group. Most of the examples I found from the 1850s and before were in the following publications: *The Spirit Sings* by the Glenbow Museum in Alberta; *Art of the American Indian Frontier* by David W. Penny; *Floral Journey* by Lois S. Dubin; *Out of the North* by Barbara A. Hail and Kate C. Duncan; *Northern Athapaskan Art* by Kate C. Duncan; *The Athapaskans: Strangers of the North* by the National Museum of Man (Now Canadian Museum of History); and *"Bo'jou, Neejee!"* by Brasser, Ted J. of the National Museum of Man. These publications showed at least 33 examples of floral designs on clothing that were created in the 1850s and before from all cultural groups. Of these 12 were identified as Cree, Métis or both or are likely to have originated with the Cree/Métis. In addition, I include two examples that are in museum collections, one which I have examined in person. Below I will show examples of the floral designs used by the Cree, Métis and Cree/Métis starting from the first half of the 19th century and carrying on into the early 20th century.

See below Map # 7 showing the approximate Cree Territory before and after the 1800s. The Cree expanded west along with the fur trade even as far as British Columbia.

Map # 7. Locations of Indigenous groups and of particular items noted in this chapter. 1872 Map. UvK Collection

3-2 Floral Designs in long narrow spaces

Floral designs were applied to bags, clothing and other items of various shapes. I will first describe the designs on long, narrow spaces. The long narrow patterns were applied to the straps of bags; musket powder horns, the bibs of tunics, along leggings, and any other long narrow space where the seamstress decided to place the floral design. I will focus on the Cree/Métis styles and other groups from the Canadian Prairie Provinces region, which is Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta as well as the western part of the Great Lakes region. And I will show any floral design links from further east and as well as with the Upper Yukon River style.

The first example in figure # 3-1 shows the Cree/Métis Style 'A' and is a painting by Paul Kane. This painting was competed between 1847 and 1848 and is titled *Francois Lucie a Cree Half-Breed Guide*. Kane did the sketch of Lucie when he was in Fort Edmonton the winter of 1847-48. This painting proves that the Cree/Métis 'A' style was already made in the Fort Edmonton area by the late 1840s. See number 1 'Ft. Edmonton' on map # 7. Francois Lucie may have been an HBC worker as he is also mentioned by George Simpson when he passed through Fort Edmonton in 1841 on his round the world trip. Francois Lucie was associated with Fort Edmonton and the Hudson's Bay Company. I think we can we assume that other Native people associated with the Hudson's Bay Company were wearing the same type of beadwork. In the painting Lucie is wearing two items that have floral designs

on them. One appears to be the strap of a musket powder horn and the other a bag strap.

Figure # 3-1. Paul Kane Francois Lucie a Cree Half-Breed Guide 1842-1848. WikiArt.org

The musket powder horn band has the typical 'S' stem that travels along the whole length of the strap. The band ends with two tentacles that are common on other straps as well, like on ends of musket/gun cases. This may be related to the octopus bag tentacles. Below I show a Cree powder horn bandolier that I recently saw on an internet auction site. It is quite similar to the one Francois Lucie is wearing without the end-tentacles. This powder horn bandolier has a variety of 3 pedal flower motifs and two different style leaf motifs on red fabric, all commonly seen in the Cree/Métis style. The second band that Francois Lucie is wearing is more complex in design. There are smaller and thus more floral motifs on the red fabric. It appears that the bands are attached to a hide panel bag. This bag has a strip of black fabric across the top and there are fine repeating floral motifs covering the bag in a horizontal pattern. I want to point out the similarity of the straps with the example shown in Fort Yukon from Dall's visit in 1867, as shown below in figure # 3-2, right.

Figure # 3-2. Left: Cree Powder Horn 1800s auctioned 2010 Right: Engraving by Whymper. 1869. UvK drawing.

The distance from Fort Edmonton to Fort Yukon via the land route is about 3500 kilometers. 20 Years after the Francois Lucie painting was made the bag on the right is recorded with a similar floral design on the strap. I also want to point out the floral design on the bag. It is not symmetrical and is like other Cree/Métis bags. I will refer to those other bags later in this chapter. This link shows that it was Hudson's Bay personnel that brought the floral style with them, as they were the only non-local people in the area.

I will show some other examples of structural similarities between the Upper Yukon River; Cree/Métis; Ojibwa; and Huron styles. The first image in figure # 3-3 is a studio photograph of a Woodlands Cree taken in Winnipeg in 1875. (Number 3 on map # 7) He is wearing a hide jacket with fringes coming down from the epaulette area. In the front is a section coming down his chest from the collar. In the space a larger central flower and stem work coming out of that flower, travelling both up and down ending in a smaller flower. Between the stems are a variety of

secondary flowers as well as leaf designs. A lot of the background is showing. These make up all the basic ingredients of the Upper Yukon River style and this bib style is often on fabric dance shirts commonly used in the southern Yukon, northern British Columbia and SE coastal Alaska areas.

The second example I am showing is an Ojibwe floral design on men's leggings. While the two are on different clothing and not totally identical, the structure of the two are constructed the same. Both have a flower design at each end of the stems and in the centre. The stem weaves between the flowers and from the stems are a number of secondary flowers and leaf motifs. The photograph of the Cree man was taken in 1875 and the Ojibwe men's leggings are dated from 1866 to 1870. There may be as little as 5 years or less spanning the two works. The photograph of the Cree man was taken in 1875 but the coat he is wearing may have been made sometime earlier.

The photograph was taken in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The Cree's territory was north of Winnipeg and the Ojibwe territory surrounded Lakes Superior of the Great Lakes. This set of leggings was collected in Minnesota. The two groups historically intermarried and a new group formed known as the Northern Ojibwa. As there was a lot of interaction between the two groups it would only make sense that there was a cultural exchange between them. That the design is on two different types of clothing is not an issue. Of more relevance is that the design fits into a long narrow space. From these two examples we can see a definite sharing of floral designs between two different groups of First Nations people, in the very least including Manitoba and Minnesota. See map # 7 for the approximant territory of the Ojibwe.

Figure # 3-3 Left: Woodlands Cree. Winnipeg J. Penrose. 1875 Albumen print photograph, carte de visite format, verso with studio imprint of J. Penrose, Photo Studio, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Right: Ojibwe floral design on men's leggings. 1866-1870. I.Q.629. Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, Autry National Centre

Below in figure # 3-4 are examples that are similar to the above designs. The leggings on the left are in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian and they list them as created circa 1900. The leggings were originally collected by Lieutenant George T. Emmons (1852-1945, US Navy 1881-1899) at an unknown date and purchased by George Heye from George T. Emmons in 1905. The leggings are identified as Takutine and were collected via the Tlingits. The Takutine are considered people from the Big Salmon River basin, north to the Pelly River and east to the Upper Liard River. Today these people would be identifed as Kaska. See number 4 on map # 7.

The design is awfully close to the two examples shown above. All three examples have three main flowers and stem work that is connecting the flowers. There are secondary flowers and leaf motifs coming out of the stem work. The only differences are that the Takutine example has an additional stem coming out of the top flower. The secondary flowers are five-petal, and the main flowers are the standard four-petal found in the Upper Yukon River style.

Coming earlier and farther from the east is a Huron example. The floral designs are placed in a similar space as the three previous examples. This Huron piece is made up of two separate floral and stem designs which is not in the Cree/Métis/ Upper Yukon style. I will take a closer look at the Huron style in the next chapter. See map # 7 for approximant Huron territory after the 1700s.

Figure # 3-4. Left: Takutine (Kaska) leggings. Circa 1900. 004322.000. National Museum of the American Indian. Right: Huron-Wendat 1839-1841. III-H-415. Canadian Museum of History. UvK Illustration.

There are 60 years between the Kaska and Huron examples and approximately 5,500 kilometers. Between the Cree and Kaska examples is about 25 years time difference and about 3,000 kilometers. The movement or diffusion of the floral designs may have been fuelled by the vast trade network of the Hudson's Bay Company with much of that travel coming from Winnipeg to the west. Winnipeg, formerly known as Upper Fort Garry and before that as Fort Garry, was the center of the fur trade and an administrative center for the region during that time period.

This may be important, as the floral style established in the Manitoba area and the western part of the Great Lakes would have spread west without being influenced by the style changes caused by the tourist trade in Upper and Lower Canada.

Below are additional examples of placing floral designs into a long narrow space. These include Ojibwe designs. The Ojibwe cover the whole area on the north side of the Great Lakes as well as almost fully surrounding Lake Superior. The Cree, Cree/Métis designs cover the areas west of the Ojibwe as far as the eastern part of British Columbia. Like the Cree, there are various Ojibwe designs but the overall structure of the floral stem work relationship stays the same. The Ojibwe often fill background with white beads and make the flowers and leaves more realistically. I will refer to this as the Ojibwe style and spend time looking at this later in section 3-4 of this chapter.

Figures # 3-5. Left: Ojibwe men's leggings. 1885. Southwest Museum of the American Indian. 1911.G.2a,b UvK Drawing
Center: Cree-Métis bag (northern Manitoba). 1865. National Museum of the American Indian. 151690 UvK Drawing
Right: Swampy Cree. III-D-588a Canadian Museum of History

In all cases above one can see the "S" stem work but the Swampy Cree make the stem work a bit fancier, by splitting the stem at equal points along the stem. In all examples above, 4 or 6 pedal flowers are used as well as various profiled flowers, buds, and leaves. Above in figure # 3-5, center, the Cree/Métis example, as well as in the Swampy Cree work on the right, the floral design on the bags is not asymmetrical but are much like the example from Fort Yukon shown in figure # 3-2 right, above. See the approximate Swampy Cree territory on map # 7. This style spread into British Colombia and below is an example of beaded strips that were collected in Penelakut village on the west coast of Vancouver Island. They are now part of the in Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The museum had no information of date and manner of collection. Because the style is so out of place for the Pacific coastal region, I am suspecting that it was traded into the area. There were exceptionally long indigenous trade networks in place before colonization. There are dentalium shells in the Prairie Provinces that were traded in from Pacific coastal regions. It would only make sense to see items from the prairies appearing in the Pacific coastal region. See # 5 for Penelakut village on map # 7.

Figures # 3-6. Beaded strips. From Penelakut village, British Columbia. IV A 2442 Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

The basic design of the above example is a long 'S' style stem that travels the length of the area with a primary flower or leaf motif sprouting out at equal lengths. Between the flowers are secondary motifs, either leaf, clover, or bud designs. When you examine Upper Yukon floral designs that are placed in the same type of space, you can see the similarities. Earlier examples of this style are in the previous chapter in figure # 2-3, 2-4 left, and 2-17. I would like to point out that after adopting the classic Cree-Métis style, in many cases in the Upper Yukon region the 'S' stem was straightened and the flowers were placed over the stem, not sprouting out. This may be because the earliest Cree floral designs seen by Yukon First Nations may have been like the example shown in figure # 2-4 left, in the previous chapter and in figure # 3-4 left, in this chapter. The flowers are on top of the stem work as in the example above in figure # 3-5 middle. This may be an adaptation to dealing with narrower spaces which did not easily allow for the flower to sprout out.

3-3 Floral Designs in Square or Rectangle spaces

Interestingly, the first examples are octopus bags, as they show some of the earliest examples of floral designs used by First Nations in the Prairie Provinces region. Intermixed with the octopus' bags are other bags such as fire & shot bags and sled bags. There are also other items that have square or rectangle spaces. In this section I will introduce what I am identifying as the Proto Cree/Métis style. These examples are some of the earliest examples of Cree/Métis floral designs and do not fit comfortably into the Cree/Métis 'A' or 'B' styles. This style is rarely seen on bags after the 1860s.

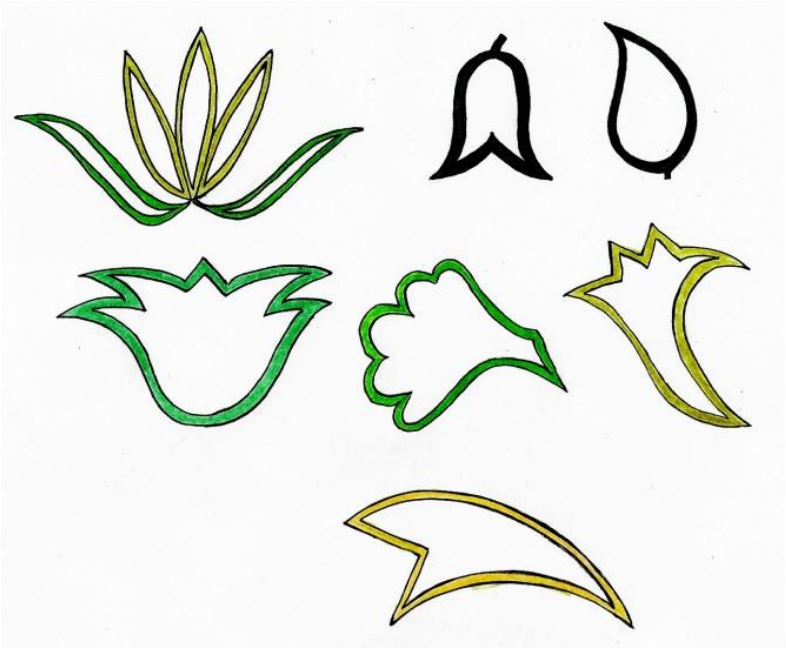
The first example of a design in a square space in the Proto Cree/Métis manner is an octopus bag. It is in the Finnish National Cultural Museum in Helsinki and was collected in Russian America. It might have been brought by the Hudson's Bay Company to Sitka. See # 6 on map 7. HBC Governor, George Simpson, was on good terms with the Russian America Company and especially with Arvid Etholén, the Finnish Chief Manager of the Company, between 1840 and 1845. At that time Finland was under Russian control and Etholén was a well-known collector. George Simpson visited Sitka in June 1842, but if Simpson himself was collecting artifacts on this trip, why would he trade something rare and recently collected, such as an octopus bag? Perhaps it was a kind jester as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company had just signed a trade agreement in 1840 and George Simpson represented the Hudson's Bay Company side of the negotiations.

The provenance of the piece is not exact. The National Museum of Finland notes state that the piece was made before 1834 but also showing a ? symbol. It lists the piece as registered with the museum on the May 5th, 1847. It may have departed Sitka in May of 1845 and took a year to arrive at Saint Petersburg, before moving on to Helsinki. If this bag were created in the 1830s, it would be one of the earliest examples of an octopus bag. See my 2018 photograph of the bag # 3-7.

Figures # 3-7. 1830s octopus bag. VK335. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki Finland

The bag is embroidered with yellow and green silk yarn on a red broad-cloth and has green wool tassels hanging down the bottom, decorated with blue and white trade beads. The floral designs do not fit into any commonly used styles and is unique in several ways. It is a combination of scroll type motif as well as leaf and bell and split shaped motifs, which are connected to the "S" shaped motifs along the edges. Below are some of the motifs that are related to the floral and leaf designs found in early Yukon First Nations beadwork.

The motif on the left in figure # 3-8 is a 3 pedal flower shown from a side view. It appears to have two leaf designs coming from the base. Next is a bell shaped flower similar to the split bell flower. Both are drooping. On the right is a simple leaf pattern. Below those patterns are 4 types of 'scroll' patterns. These scroll patterns were common with the Cree/Métis 'A' style, Upper Yukon River style, as well as popular with Tlingit beadwork. I will describe these types of Tlingit beading designs in Chapter 7, page 211. My rendition of colours is only approximate to the colours on the octopus bag.



Figures # 3-8. Floral designs from Octopus bag. VK335. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki Finland. UvK drawing.

There are no stem or floral designs added to the bag's legs/tentacles. This is unusual for most octopus bags. Every other octopus bag example shown in this dissertation will have those floral stem designs placed on the tentacles.

The above embroidered designs do remind me of the embroidery work that was taught by the Ursuline Sisters at their schools and convents. It also reminds me of at least one late 1800s hide hunting shirt. The following examples have a similar feel, but I do not know if they have commonality in their origins.

The photograph on the left in figure # 3-9 below is an example of student's exam embroidery work created at one of the Ursuline Sister's convents in France. This was just one of the many embroideries and needlework styles the students had to master. The example is from the 1800s and is in the collection of the Ursuline convent in Beaugency, France. The drawing on the right is a hide hunting shirt in the collection of the former Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkley (Now the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology). It was collected by H. M. W. Edmonds in the late 1800s from Alaska. While not identical in design, both the octopus bag and tunic have prominent 3-pedal flowers and a lot of negative space showing through. Since I drew this shirt from a black and white photograph the colours are assumed.

Figures # 3-9. Left: 1800s Ursuline whitework embroidery. Beaugency, France Right: late 1800s Alaskan Athapaskan hunting shirt. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum. UvK drawing.

The 1800s Ursuline whitework, the late 1800s hunting shirt, as well as the early 1800s octopus bag may have a design connection, originating from the Ursuline Sisters schools of New France starting from their arrival in 1639. I will discuss the Ursuline Sisters possible influence in Chapter Five-French Styles Arrive in New France and Adoption by First Nations People. The Ursuline Sisters were cloister nuns and did not accept the invitation to move west when requested by the Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée. But the Grey Nuns of Montreal did and were the first nuns to move west in 1859. In 1867 they moved up to the Fort Providence, Northwest Territories. Many Grey Nuns were students themselves at the Ursuline convents in Quebec and it is the style they passed on in their classes. Initially the hardships were great for the Grey Nuns, between arrival 1867 and 1882, and at times just surviving was the only concern of the mission. After 1882 the mission conditions became stable and established enough to start activities such as teaching floral embroidery and beading. By this time, it appears that the Cree/Métis 'B' style had diffused onto the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River region. Despite this the Grey Nuns had some influence in the area starting from at least the 1880s. There are examples of other similar designs. See below for two examples of the Grey Nun style from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife (# 7 on map 7). I will describe the Grey Nun style briefly in Chapter Six, section 6-10 The Grey Nun Style.

Below in figure # 3-10 is a babiche bag that is estimated to be made between 1930 and 1946. The maker is listed as unknown. It is identified as made by the Tłı̨chǫ Dene people, formally known as the Dogrib people. These patterns were created in the 1930s and most likely earlier. This example is now considered to be a style from the old days. Babiche bags were used to carry killed small game animals. They were light weight and could expand to accommodate multiple small game.

The top and middle baby belts in figure # 3-11 are modern copies of the older style and was made by Tłı̨chǫ Dene woman Elizabeth Zoe in 2000. Zoe is from Behchokǫ̀ (formerly Rae-Edzo) in the Yellowknife region. The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre museum website information on this belt states:

> A child carrier made of wool stroud fabric with moose hide tying straps at both ends. The maker said that the beadwork pattern is "like they did in the old days". She copied the pattern from a baby belt made for her many years ago.

Unfortunately, I have no additional information on the smaller bottom belt. The style not part of this analysis, so no description is needed.

Figures # 3-10. Babiche Bag. Maker unknown. 1930-1946. 987.094.002 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Figures # 3-11. Top: Baby Belt. Made by Elisabeth Zoe in 2000. 2000.008.001 Middle: Baby Belt. Made by Elisabeth Zoe. 2000.008.002 Bottom: Baby Belt? 981.022.001 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Another octopus bag was collected by Mr. Edward M. Hopkins who was the private secretary of George Simpson in 1841. This bag was most likely from the Kamloops area of south central British Columbia (# 8 on map 7). Mr. Edward M. Hopkins was accompanying George Simpson in a round-the-world trip between 1841 and 1842. This octopus bag has the name "S. Black" on it referring to Samuel Black who

was the Chief Factor in charge of the inland posts of the Columbia District since 1837. Black had worked for the Northwest Company in Alberta from 1805 until 1820 at which time he went to the British Columbia area. After the merger of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies in 1821, Black worked for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1823 until his murder in the Kamloops area in February 1841. George Simpson and Edward Hopkins arrived in the area after Black's murder. It is assumed that the bag was collected from Black's family. It is reported that Black had married a Métis wife and had daughters with her. I do not know when or where the marriage took place. It is reported by the Pitt River Museum in Oxford, England, that the bag was made around 1835. That makes this octopus bag one of the oldest recorded and raises the question where the Métis wife came from. When did she make the bag? Did she stay with her husband the whole time in British Columbia after his move there in 1820 or did she return home at times?

I want to point out that two of the three oldest recorded octopus bags were collected in western North America: British Columbia and Alaska, and not in the Manitoba area where scholars generally assign the origin of octopus bags. Of course, it seems clear that the first bag was brought to Alaska by George Simpson, but the origin of the second bag is unclear. Did Black's wife make the bag in British Columbia or while she visited her family in Métis territory in the Manitoba area, where she could have seen local examples? Below is my drawing of the Pitt Rivers Museum octopus bag.

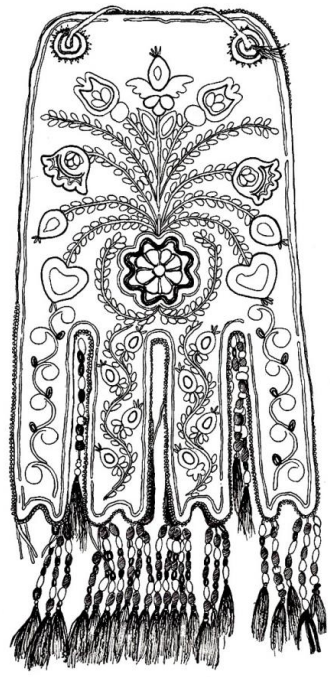
Figures # 3-12. Octopus bag, both sides. Collected 1841 Kamloops area, British Columbia. Pitt Rivers Museum 1893.67.183. UvK drawing.

While the octopus bag from the National Museum of Finland is embroidered on red cloth, the Pitt Rivers Museum example is embroidered on black fabric. The design uses a lot of stem work and allows a lot of the background to show through. As I mentioned earlier, this Proto Cree/Métis style of stem work is slenderer stem-focused than the Cree/Métis Style 'A'. Perhaps being embroidered versus embroidered accounts for the difference. There are four pedal flowers as well as split bell and bell shaped flowers. There are leaf shaped motifs attached to all the stems. The structures of the two designs are different in that the Pitt River example has a central design for each side of the bag while the National Museum of Finland bag has the design covering most of the surface area. The two bags use different motifs but both bags allow a lot of the background to show. Other than this last aspect a commonality between the two is its embroidery.

Another early dateable octopus bag is what Kate Duncan identified as the James Bay Cree style in her book *Out of the North*. This bag is listed as collected in the 1840s and states that two bags were presented to Sir George Simpson by Cree Indians about the time of the Franklin Expedition (1845). Based on George Simpson's biography I would say they were collected in 1841 when he was in Manitoba as part of his round-the-world expedition.

The floral design has the central large flower with a series of small leaf stem works coming from the top and bottom. At the end of most stems is a flower or bud. This octopus bag has most of the major ingredients of the Cree/Métis Style 'A'. The floral beading has a large central floral motif that has a series of stem works coming from the flower, as well as a lot of the background showing through. On the bag legs/tentacles there is the commonly created "S" stem work with buds of floral motifs branching off the stem. See above for the drawing of one of the octopus bags presented to Sir George Simpson in the 1840s.

Kate Duncan in *Out of the North* writes: "British whitework embroidery with "leaf stems" is likely the European prototype for this style which may have developed in the Red River area under the influence of British women, particularly those associated with the Anglican missions there." (Hail and Duncan 1989: 69) But my research indicates that whitework originated in France. Later in Chapter Four-French Regional



Figures # 3-13. Out of the North Fig. III-8. Octopus bag, James Bay Cree Style.
Given to George Simpson at Red River in the 1840s. LFG HBC 2260 UvK drawing

and Baroque Styles, I give several examples of French lace work. Hail describes how "In the southern Subarctic, descendents of French-Canadian workers in the fur trade and their Cree and Ojibwa wives emerged in the early nineteenth century as a distinct ethnic group at Red River and later on the Saskatchewan River, and were largely Roman Catholics and bilingual in French and Cree." (Hail and Duncan 1989: 22) This seems to indicate that the whitework has mainly French origins for the Métis. While Kate Duncan identifies this bag as the James Bay Cree style, I will identify this bag as Proto Cree/Métis style which later evolves into the Cree/Métis 'A' style. This is because of the similarity to the Upper Yukon River style. Below I will show one more example of the Proto Cree/Métis style. This is an octopus bag that is identified as Red River Métis and is listed as made in 1845. As it is embroidered and from the same time period as the previous octopus bags, it also has the narrow stem work and a lot of the background showing. One side uses more floral designs than the other and is quite symmetrical, except for the topmost flower.

These early octopus bag floral designs have the same look as late 1800-early 1900 French floral embroidery. In Chapter 5: Floral styles in France and Europe I will be showing some examples of these.

Figures # 3-14. Red River Métis Octopus bag. Circa 1845. V-Z-14 Canadian Museum of History

I will point out a few features that make up the Proto Cree/Métis style:

- The designs are all embroidered and not beaded.
- The design may use a central/anchoring rosette/flower or be a 'floating' flower.
- From that central/anchoring rosette stem works come out and end with a secondary flower or leaf motif.
- There could be secondary stem works coming out of the main stem and/or leaves attached directly to the main stem.
- The octopus bag's legs often have a 'S' style of stem work along the length. There may or may not be flowers along the stem work.
- The design is placed on either red, dark blue or black fabric,
- A lot of the background would be showing.

The previous bags are all examples from the early to mid-1800s. Now I will show some examples that appear after the mid-1800s. There is a notable style change that occurs at this point. The octopus bags are now mostly beaded and not embroidered with silk. As a result, the motifs are much more colourful and generally thicker, covering more of the space. Is it the adoption of beads over embroidery that caused such a dramatic style change or were there other outside influences as well?

The next octopus bag is from the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology and it is listed as created between 1850 and 1900. This bag, below in figure # 3-15, does follow the Cree and Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) trend of not having the floral design on the bag symmetrical. They are the standard 4 and 5 pedal flowers with various split bell motifs, buds and 3 pedal clovers. The motifs would be standard for many Cree/Métis floral designs. The tentacles of the bag have the typical "S" stem work with leaf or bud motifs sprouting out from the stem while the stems with the 4 pedal flowers are over top of the straighter stems. This design is remarkably similar to the earlier examples in figure # 3-5 middle and left above.

The next octopus bag below in figure # 3-16 is listed as Métis and is slightly different in design. The flower design on the bag is almost symmetrical as are the motifs in the legs/tentacles. The floral design covers more of the bag surface with less of the background showing through. The design on the right also has a large central flower which is common in many other bag designs. Similarities to the above bag are the standard 4 pedal flowers, various split bell motifs, buds and 3 pedal clovers. A notable difference between the Cree and Métis bag is that the Métis bag's design is covering much more of the background.

Figures # 3-15. Octopus bag. 87-116a-cree-Métis 1850-1900 Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology

Figures # 3-16. Métis type octopus bag 1840-70 VI-Z-196 Canadian Museum of History

These next two examples below are from the Canadian Museum of History. The one on the left is listed as Swampy Cree from between 1840 and 1865 while the bag on the right is listed as Cree and was made in 1875 or earlier. Both are from Manitoba.

Figures # 3-17. Left: Swampy Cree III-D-607 1840-1865 Canadian Museum of History Right: Manitoba Cree III-D-724 1875 or earlier. Canadian Museum of History

The bag on the left is typical of the Cree treatment of square spaces in placing floral designs that are not symmetrical. The bag on the right is a symmetrical design and in addition has the whole background covered in beads. Were these Cree closer to the Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) and influenced by them? While the Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) often covered the whole area with beads they still mostly made asymmetrical floral designs. This Cree bag is symmetrical. It seems the Cree and Métis worked in both styles easily. However, the Upper Yukon people seem to have only adopted the symmetrical floral designs, showing lack of early asymmetrical floral designs in the Yukon. This is regardless of the fact that the first floral example from Fort Yukon, shown in figure # 2-4 right, is an asymmetrical design.

My only logical explanation as to why Yukon First Nations did not adopt the asymmetrical designs may have to do with the visual imagery created before the introduction of floral designs. When you look at the patterns created by Athapaskans before the adoption of floral designs you see repeating motifs and geometric imagery. Perhaps the balance offered by repeating motifs, such as in the breast bands of tunics, carried on with the floral patterns. To the Athapaskan perspective the asymmetrical look was perhaps not in sync with their esthetic world view. In my previous dissertation I discuss these repeating patterns:

> ...Such patterns would be the seasons, waves in the water, clouds, our heartbeats and so forth. I find it interesting that the early Yukon First Nations visual patterns can be quite simple, like the repeating dot motif, but also more complex such as the quill work on the breastbands of clothing. This resonates with the early music patterns, which also have aspects of higher complexity. The early Yukon musical instruments were limited to the drum and some rattles, the former being rarer. The patterns created by the drum can be simple, like the repeating dot motif: bang...bang...bang. They can also be slightly more complex, such as the pattern, or rhythm, used for stick gambling: bang-bang...bang-bang...bang-bang.
>
> Repeating dots were not only engraved or painted but later they were added in the form of buttons to provide the border on all button blankets. These button blankets were used while dancing to the repeating drum beat sound pattern. Maybe the repeating dots, or in this case buttons, were the visual link to the physical action of drumming and dancing. (van Kampen, 2012 54-55)

Based on the Athapaskan's strong sense of order in their designs it may have been hard for women to accept the asymmetrical patterns and therefore almost only used the symmetrical patterns they saw. This would later change once beaders became more individual in their floral designs starting in the early 1900s. Beaders were also influenced by other outside floral designs. I discuss this more in Chapter Seven-Changes in the Upper Yukon River style.

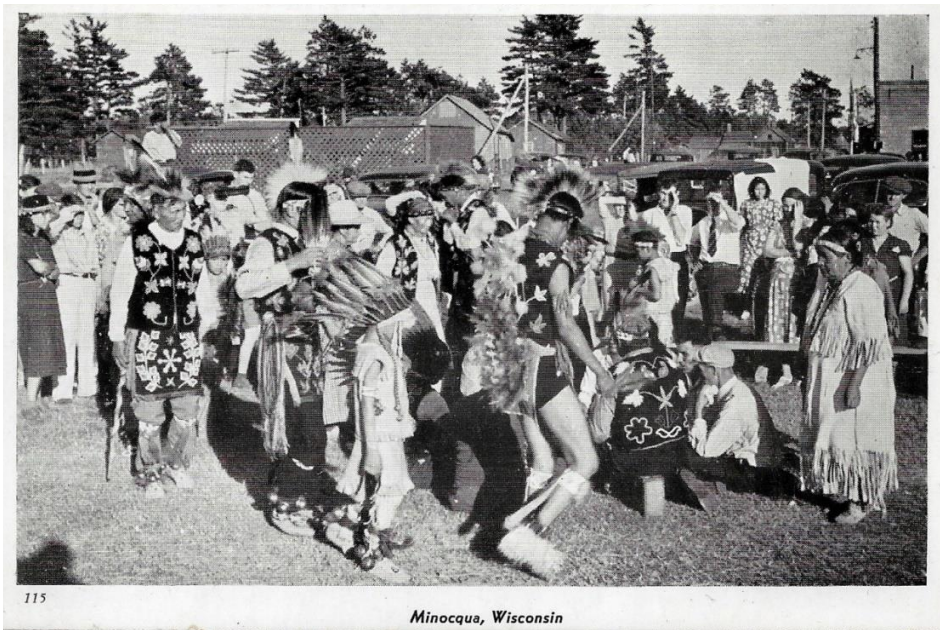
3-4 Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) and Great Lakes Style

While appearing to be of a different style, the Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) floral designs are structurally the same as the Cree/Métis style. The designs are similar because the flower or leaf motifs sprout out from the main stem with a lot of the background showing through. In addition, there is often a main flower that the stem work sprouts from providing the space is square and not long. As to differences, the leaf and

some of the flower designs are less stylized and looking more realistic. The motifs are overall larger than the Cree/Métis examples. These larger flower and leaves tend to cover more of the background. There are not more flowers and/or leaves, just larger. Due to the size of the motifs the bandolier straps are often wider. Except for the trousers the floral designs tend to cover the whole garment as seen in the postcard in figure # 3-18 below. The background space is often filled with white beads. When this is done stems are dark as opposed to the often white stems in the Cree/Métis style. While not always centered, in more square spaces there is often a main flower from which the stem work sprouts. You can see the similarities and differences in the images below.

Figures # 3-18. Left: Anishinaabe Beaded Bandolier Bag. 1875-1900. Example from online auction house.
Right: Chief Snow Cloud (John Rogers). Tichnor Quality Views postcard. Early 1900s. UvK collection.

On the left is a typical Anishinaabe Beaded Bandolier bag dated between 1875 and 1900. The stem and leaf pattern on Chief Snow Cloud's trousers on the right is in the same style as the bag. In both examples here is no central flower but an asymmetric design. This was a common trait but not universal in the area as you can see in the postcard below. There the floral designs are symmetrical on some of the dancer's vests and aprons.



Figures # 3-19. Ojibwe Dancers. 1930-1940s in Minocqua, Wisconsin (# 9, map 7). Postcard published by Northwoods Postal Views. UvK Collection

Below are examples of other groups using this same style from the late 1800s into the 1900s. You can see by the beading examples below in figure # 3-20 that this style spread over a wide area. Based on the dates of the first examples from the 1880s, this is a later style that may have evolved from the earlier Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) style from the area. Or it could be a combination of the Anishinaabe style, and the one used by the Iroquois and Huron (approximate territory shown on map 7). Note that the Anishinaabe lived as far east as the Lake Ontario region and were neighbours to the Huron and Iroquois. Regardless of its origins, these are the traits: stem work along the length of the space with flower and leaf motifs sprouting out. The background is fully covered with white beads. In the example on the left there are two Plains Cree men photographed around 1900 in Round Lake, Saskatchewan. Round Lake

is a Cree community located in south-eastern Saskatchewan approximately 50 kilometres from the Manitoba border. See # 10 on map 7.

The mid-20th century postcard on the right shows Emma Big Bear from Marquette, Iowa (# 11 map 7). Marquette is in the northeastern Iowa bordering Wisconsin. The postcard states Emma Big Bear is a Winnebago and a descendant of the well-known Wisconsin Chief Decorah. Emma Big Bear is wearing two large bandoliers with the typical Anishinaabe floral bead style as described above. Marquette, Iowa is almost 1000 kilometers from Round Lake, Saskatchewan and yet the two styles are identical.

Figures # 3-20. Left: Two Plains Cree men. Round Lake Saskatchewan. Circa 1900. Museum of the American Indian postcard. Published 1977. UvK collection. Right: Emma Big Bear. Winnebago from Marquette. Early-mid 1900s. Goergen Studio postcard. UvK Collection.

The purpose of showing this Anishinaabe floral bead style is my belief that this style evolved from an earlier regional floral style. This earlier style is the possible direct link between the floral styles of the Iroquois and Huron of Ontario and Quebec, and the Upper Yukon River floral beading style. In the next chapter I will be examining the floral styles from those regions.

In conclusion, there is a definite connection between the Cree/Métis style and Anishinaabe floral bead style and the Upper Yukon Style. There is a wide range of variations in each style. Both the Cree/Métis and Anishinaabe worked in multiple styles. This is not surprising considering the vast land area these groups occupied. On map # 7 you can see that there was a certain amount of overlap of various indigenous groups. I have been bypassing styles that are not connected to the Upper Yukon River style as that is outside the topic of this dissertation. Also, I want to point out that the territorial borders of the various indigenous groups changed over time. For example, the Cree and Métis people expanded toward the west bringing their styles with them. See map # 7.

In Chapter Five I will look at the region to the east of these styles, present day Ontario and Quebec. It was this area that the first examples of floral designs appear and most likely originating with the Ursuline Sisters in Quebec City. I will examine them to see if there is a relationship to the styles with this chapter.

Chapter Four-French Regional and Baroque Styles

4-1 Before the Adoption of European Floral Styles

There is no evidence of any floral designs created by the people around the Great Lakes before the arrival of the Ursuline Sisters to Quebec in 1639. The pre-contact decorative art of the region was similar to the art of the Yukon, using porcupine quills, red ochre and other natural materials and creating geometric designs. Interestingly, there is little evidence of First Nations people creating any floral designs for about a century after the Ursuline Sisters arrival. I will try and create a picture by first looking at what the Ursulines did in relation to floral designs. There is little recorded information on any floral embroidery during the early contact period. What I am presenting is somewhat circumstantial.

In trying to establish the timeline for the adoption floral designs on clothing there is a lack of First Nations floral designs in museum collections from around the Great Lakes area from before the early 1800s. Paintings from the 1700s and early 1800s often show important First Nations people in western clothing and any indigenous made items are decorated with geometric designs, not floral designs. There are many artistic images of First Nations people from around the Great Lakes. An example is the painting of the famous Mohawk chief Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) (1743-1807) shown in figure # 4-1. There are over a dozen or more paintings, engravings, and drawings from the 1700 and 1800s of Thayendanegea and not a single example that shows Brant wearing any floral imagery. He is always shown wearing western clothing, often a blanket and silver gorget. The indigenous accessories are items such as feathers and armbands. It seems that floral designs were not added to people's clothing from anywhere around the Great Lakes before or during Joseph Brant's time.

In Chapter Five-French Styles Arrive in New France and Adoption by First Nations People, are some examples of floral designs on early clothing from the region in figures # 5-12, 5-13, 5-14 and 5-17. Except for figure # 5-14 which is undated and Mohawk, the remaining clothing is all Huron-Wendat. The dates range from 1839 to 1875. With the exception of a pocket flap I will discuss shortly, there are no examples of floral designs on clothing from before 1839. This illustrates to me that floral designs were not a part of the indigenous costume before the early 1800s. But the Huron were creating floral designs on other items before 1839 and what may be one of the earliest examples of floral designs is placed on a carafe in figure # 5-11. It dates to circa 1725. I say may be one of the earliest examples because the carafe is

listed as with Huron or Ursuline. Both groups were creating such designs during this time period.

The pocket flap I referred to earlier in figure # 6-5 is dated 1816 or before. I did not include this item with the clothing as it is shown by itself and may have been a wall pocket or bag flap.

Figure # 4-1. wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Brant#/media/File:Joseph Brant. painting by George_Romney 1776

Further west the Chippewa (Ojibwa, Anishinaabe) used geometric and not floral designs before the 1830s to 1840s. Other groups around the Great Lakes and further away also demonstrated the same preferences. An example of this is a set of Cree dolls that is shown in the Glenbow Museum book *The Spirit Sings* on page 77. The dolls themselves were made in England between 1770 and 1790 and ended up in Cree territory. A set of traditional clothing was made for them. While the dolls' clothing may or may not represent what the Cree were wearing at that moment,

they do show what they wore in the time period before the dolls were made. The same practice occurred in the early 1900s in the Yukon. First Nations people made dolls for tourists which represented the earlier hide clothing from several decades preciously. The dolls are wearing hide clothing with painted geometric patterns, as well as beaded and porcupine embroidery designs. There is no hint of floral designs. Other early 1800s Cree garments reflect the painted geometric style.

Before the arrival of the Ursuline Sisters and other Catholic orders, First Nations people were not creating floral imagery. A likely explanation is that the available material did not allow for the easy creation of rounded forms. As in the Yukon many Canadian First Nations people were creating more geometric type designs. The porcupine and feather spine embroidery lends itself more toward geometric patterns. To understand the floral designs First Nations people adopted I feel it is important to understand where these designs came from and why this resulted in two main overall styles in Canada and the various different floral patterns that were created.

4-2 French Regional Styles

In this chapter I will briefly go over the regional floral designs in France and discuss the Baroque style. These two styles were brought to New France by the Catholic nuns. Once in New France, I will argue how these styles were adopted by various First Nation tribes. Later, these styles were modified to different degrees and became the basis for the Cree/Métis 'A' and 'B' styles. Later yet they became the Upper Yukon River and Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River styles.

During my travels in Europe and especially France, I noticed similar structural designs as used by my people in the past. These designs varied throughout the regions of France, much like Canadian First Nations beading across the country. Each region in France may or may not have had its own floral style and some regions did not use floral designs in their costumes at all. On Map # 8 below I point out those floral styles of the areas from where the various Catholic nuns and settlers originated. They came to Canada in the 1600s, from places such as Tours (1) (where the founding Ursuline Sister, Marie of the Incarnation was born); Normandy (Normandie) (A) and Dieppe (2) (where both Ursuline and Augustine Sisters came from); Troyes (3) (where the founding mother, Marguerite Bourgeoys of the Congregation of Notre-Dame was from); as well as Brittany, (Bretagne) (B) Angers (4) and Paris (5). On the map is shown La Rochelle which was a second departure point from France to New France. It is this port where settlers from Poitiers (7) departed to New France. With each region I will show two or more historical photographs or images as well as some simple drawings showing the main floral design elements. Unless noted, all the postcards are part of the author's collection.

While the images of some postcards date from the 1840s, most of the postcards are about 120 years old. These postcards are showing the traditional costumes of the regions. I think these traditional dresses remained consistent for long periods of time. When I looked at the history of French fashions the focus was on Paris and the rapidly changing tastes that occurred there. When the regional styles are shown under titles such as "French national costumes" it refers to the lack of fashion changes. Likewise, northern Athapaskan people's clothing, which shared a similar style over a wide area, remained consistent until contact with white people.

Map # 8. France 1879. Collegiate Atlas. William Collins, Sons, & Company. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh 1872. UvK Collection

4-3 Tours and Normandie (Normandy)

Marie of the Incarnation (Marie Guyart) was born in 1599 in Tours, France (#1 on the map above). Marie of the Incarnation (figure # 4-2 below) was a master embroider who came from a family involved in the silk trade. As a young girl she learned to do embroidery and paint, perhaps from her grandmother whose husband was a master tapestry maker. While Marie of the Incarnation was a master embroider it appears that Tours did not have a strong floral embroidery tradition. When you examine older photographs from the Tours area, such as in figure # 4-3, you will see a lack of floral designs on the clothing with the exemption of the headdress. Given the plainness of their regional costumes I can only assume that Marie of the Incarnation also embroidered designs from other regions in France and perhaps Italy. Regional styles were not limited to floral embroidery or needlework on clothing other than on headdresses which were unique to various areas. The headdresses the Tours women are wearing are all similar in appearance, but they also have floral needlework designs similar to the Bretagne floral designs on their dresses. See figure # 4-4.

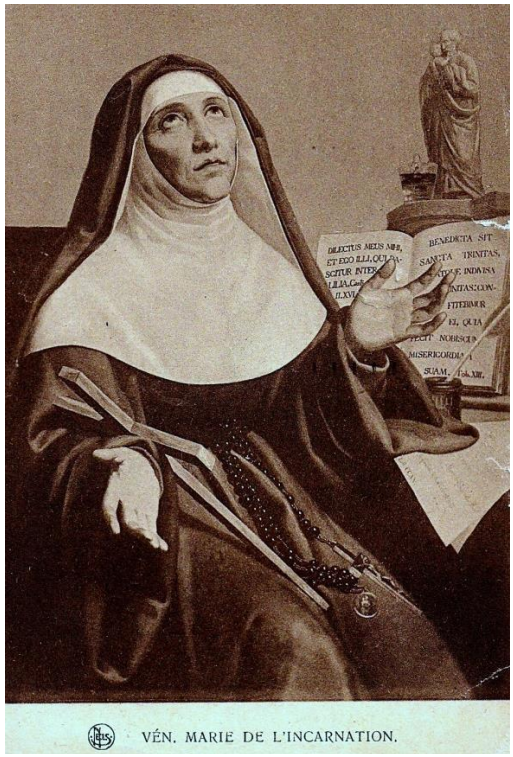


Figure # 4-2. Marie de L'Incarnation. Nels postcard. Belgium. Circa 1900 UvK Collection

Figure # 4-3. Left: Bonnets de Tourine. Charles Collas & Company, Cognac. Cognac, France. Circa 1900.
Right: Nos Tourangelles. N. P. Postcards. France. Postmarked 1910. UvK Collection

Figure # 4-4. Detail of postcard i n figure # 4-3. UvK Collection

The Normandie region is along the west coast of France and has a variety of costumes, some with and some without floral designs. There is also a variety of headdress styles. Below are two examples of costumes from Dieppe followed by two postcards from elsewhere in Normandie.

Figure # 4-5.Left: Costume Normands. C.V.-Dieppe Femme de Pecheur du Pollet. Unknown publisher. Circa 1900.
Right: Ancien Costume-Femme Polletaise. Collections ND Phot. Paris France. Circa 1900. UvK Collection

Figure # 4-5 shows women from the Pollet Quarter of the city of Dieppe, France. The image on the left is a postcard of a lithograph that was produced around 1840. The woman is wearing a blouse that has a floral pattern down the front, at the bottom hem and on the sleeves. The floral design is made up of clusters of flowers that are not linked by any stem work but are either connected to each other or singular on the blouse. In the original lithograph her blouse is light blue, and her dress is red. Most images from this period show women dressed simpler and without floral designs on their clothing. This makes me think the woman in this image are well to do. Along the front of the blouse the floral designs are baroque-like.

On the postcard to the right another Pollet woman is shown but this image was taken about 60 years after the lithograph on the left. She appears to be wearing an embroidered shawl. On other postcards of this person, wearing the same costume,

the rest of her clothing is simple. The leaf/floral designs along the hem of the shawl are embroidered with a large, connected leaf/flower border with little bits of stem work. The remainder of the shawl is lightly embroidered allowing a lot of the background to show. There is a pattern with fine stem work. Below is my drawing of the design for clarity.

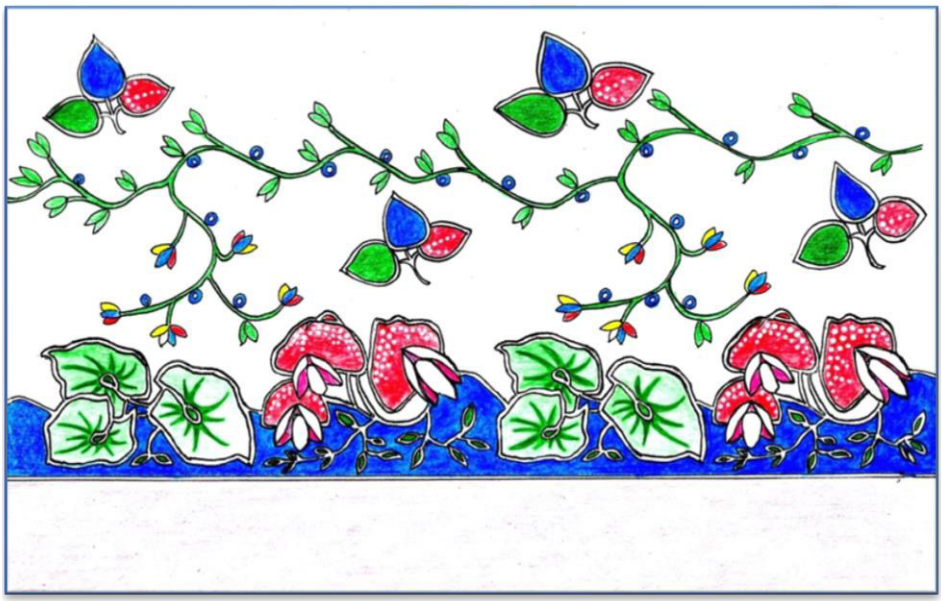


Figure # 4-6. UvK drawing of Ancien Costume postcard above in figure # 4-5 right. UvK drawing

The border area of the shawl has a series of alternating leaf and flower designs, each with three parts. Above that border area are floating three-leaf motifs with a series of smaller stemmed leaves. This pattern carries on for the rest of the shawl. The simple stem pattern is a common design that extends from Normandie to New France. There is no satisfactory colour image of this postcard. There is a colourized version of this postcard, but colours were added later, and the tone does not match the uncoloured postcard. The background of the shawl appears to be a light colour. An embroidered shawl over a plain or slightly decorated dress was a common style over much of Normandie and neighbouring regions.

The next two images are from other parts of Normandie. The first postcard is postmarked Calvados which is the area surrounding Caen in Normandie and dated either 1906 or 1908. The caption for this postcard is: La "filet"dentelle a l'aiguille: The needle lace "net". The scene shows a group of girls working on a needle lace shawl with floral designs. Needle lace work was widespread in the region. All the older girls are wearing shawls with various types of floral designs on them. The girl on the far

right is wearing a shawl closest to the shawl design in figure # 4-5 right. That design has a busy border area and floating floral patterns covering the shawl area with a lot of the background showing through. The girl standing to the left of her is also wearing a floral shawl, but this one has a thicker concentration of floral designs along the border as well as over the rest of the shawl with less of the background showing through. The next two females to the left are also wearing shawls and from what I can see they are heavily embroidered with floral designs and little of the background showing through. Are some of the influences baroque? Or is the use of thick floral designs a regional tradition? The lace works the girls are working on is thick with floral designs and those patterns are covering most of the surface area.

Figure # 4-7. Scenes de la vie Normande. La "filet"dentelle a l'aiguille. A.D. 48 postcard. Postmarked 1906. UvK Collection

The next postcard has a 1909 postmark and is a village just outside of Caen. It shows two women sitting by a yarn/thread spinning wheel. The caption states: "Au Pays Roumois": "In the Roumois region". Both women are wearing shawls that are heavily embroidered with the whole surface fully covered with designs. The postcard on the right of figure # 4-8, also from Normandie, is of three girls beside a yarn/thread spinning wheel. The postmark is illegible for location and date but is addressed to an address in Rouen. The caption states: "les trois amies au Rouet-La Fileuse": the three friends at Le Rouet-The Spinner. I think Rouet is a type-o as there is no Rouet in Normandie. It should likely read Rouen. Rouen is almost halfway between Dieppe and Caen. There

is a lack of floral designs on these girl's costumes with only the center girl having what appears to be some floral patterns on her blouse, appearing from under her shawl. They wear different headdresses. Some areas of Normandie favoured tall headdresses.

Figure # 4-8. Left: La Normandie- "La C.P.A.' Types et costumes. 59 Au Pays Roumois. Right: Les trois Amies Rouet-La Fileuse. Postmarked illegible, circa 1900. UvK Collection

4-4 Bretagne (Brittany)

Bretagne is the region strongest in incorporating floral designs in their various fashions. Like the Upper Yukon River and Cree/Métis 'A' style, most of the Bretagne floral designs make use of a lot of stem work to connect the various floral and leaf designs. There is a lot of the background showing through. What is not as common to the Bretagne style, but is with the Upper Yukon River style, is the inclusion of a central flower from which point stem works radiate. Below on the left is a postcard with the caption on the back stating: Autour des Lits Clos Bretagnes: Around the Lits Clos Bretagne. The photograph was taken by J. Nozais, a photographer who worked out of Nantes, France and was active in the first half of the 20th century. In this photograph a young Bretagne girl is leaning against a wool spinning wheel inside a house. She is wearing a dark dress with a white hat, collar, and apron. The

dress is embroidered around the bottom, around the cuffs, as well as on the breast. The design around the bottom uses a common formula for placing floral patterns in long narrow areas such as dress bottoms, cuffs, up the centre of jackets, pant legs, straps, belts, and bandolier bands. These stem works can be identified as 'S', 'Y' and 'X' stems, in this case an 'S' stem. The stem patterns have a series of flowers, leaves, or buds that sprout out from the stem. It is a convenient design for any long strip of fabric/hide that needs to be decorated.

My drawing of a generic pattern is shown below in figure # 4-10. The floral design on the breast is freer and spreads over the available space.

Figure # 4-9. Left: Autour des Lits Clos Bretagnes. J. Nozais photograph. Circa 1900. Right: Quimper-Costume de Jeune fills de Fête. GB. Dated 1909. UvK Collection

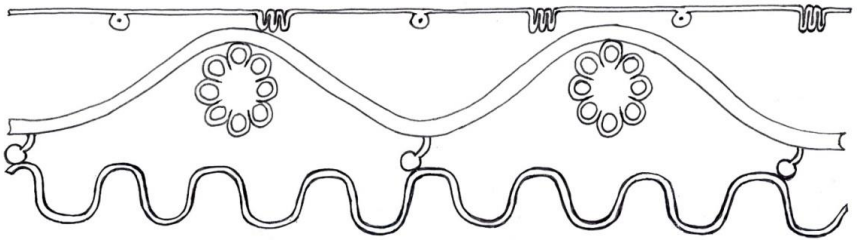


Figure # 4-10. Stem-floral design around bottom of Autour des Lits Clos Bretagnes' dress. UvK drawing.

In the above drawing the design around the bottom of *Autour des Lits Clos Bretagnes* dress is made up of three sections: a top thin line, a shallow waved thick "S" stem pattern with 8 petal rosettes attached at the top of each wave and a wavy thinner "S" pattern along the bottom. The top and bottom sections are forming the borders of the design.

The design on the breast of *Autour des Lits Clos Bretagnes'* dress shown below is an asymmetric series of stems and leaf designs. An apron covers the bottom of the design, so it is unclear if the design starts with stem work or if the stem work originates from another image. I suspect it is the former, as most floral designs from Bretagne are done in that fashion. This same approach can be seen in the Huron-Wendat examples illustrated later in figure # 4-38 left.

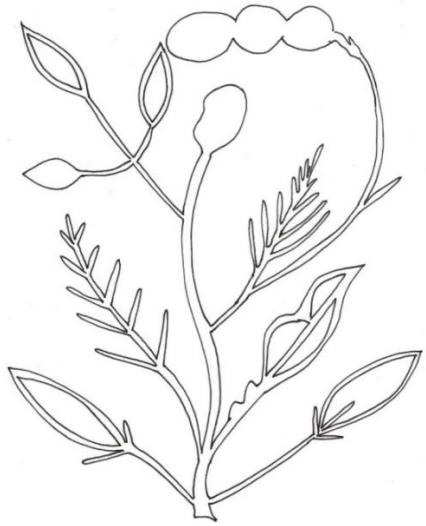


Figure # 4-11. Central floral design on girl's shirt on Autour des Lits Clos Bretagnes postcard. UvK Drawing

In the photograph above to the right in figure # 4-9 is a young Bretagne woman wearing a regional dress. The caption states: 226 Quimper-Costume de Fête G.B.: party or feast costume and the postcard editor initials of G.B. On the back side is written "1st December 1909". The girl in the Costume de Fete is wearing a dark dress with a white hat and what appears to be a white apron or maybe a wrap-around. The lower half of the sleeves are decorated with floral design as is the breast section. On the breast is a main floral design centered between two smaller floral designs. At the bottom of the bib and on the top of the dark portion of the cuff are additional floral designs extending into the lighter coloured fabric. Placing a central floral design that

is floating on a rectangle or square area is a common practice that extends all the way to the north of Canada.

Below in figure # 4-12 I will show another decorative approach to floral designs from another part of Bretagne. The two following postcards are from Plougastel-Daoulas, which is beside Brest in the westernmost part of Bretagne. From the various images I have seen from this area the wearing of a shawl over a plain blouse and dress is common. The shawls have various types of stem work and floral combinations along the edge and I have enlarged the image of the postcard in figure # 4-12 right in figure # 4-13 left to show the details of the floral design on her shawl.

Figure # 4-12. Left: Jeune Fille de Plougastel-Daoulas (F). Coll. E. Hamonie, St.-B. Circa 1900. Right: 1087. Une Familie de Plougastel-Daoulas. Villard, Quimper. Circa 1900. UvK Collection

In the image on the left is a simple stem pattern that starts from the bottom side of a rosette, travels around that rosette, and then crosses over to the other side to connect to the top of the next rosette. I describe this as a deep 'S' pattern. The rosettes have varying amounts of petals, between 10 and 18. There are simple leaf motifs coming out of the stem at the halfway point between the rosettes.

Figure # 4-13. Left: Detail of postcard from figure # 11 right.
Right: les enfants Bretagnes de Marie-Claude Monchaux "Petit bébé de Pont-I'Abbé en costume de baptême". UvK Collection

The postcard on the right, even though a more recent production, is of a painting dated 1861. This painting was done by Marie-Claude Monchaux who was born in 1933 and has created paintings and books on the various regional costumes of France. I am assuming that she used an old image to create this postcard. If this were from a photograph, she would have had to assume the colours. The back of the postcard states that the baby is from Pont-I'Abbé which is just to the south of Quimper in the west of Bretagne. The image shows the bib area of the baby's baptismal costume with a floral design which is remarkably close to the designs created by the Cree/Métis 'A' and Upper Yukon River style.

4-5 Troyes, Poitiers, and La Rochelle

Marguerite Bourgeoys from Troyes, France (figure # 4-14) founded the Congregation of Notre-Dame in New France in 1658. Her schools taught needlework, sewing and other domestic skills but the Troyes area itself lacked floral , as seen in the postcards in figure # 4-15 below.

Figure # 4-14. "Go forth, my daughters..." Marguerite Bourgeoys Religious images circa 1950. UvK Collection

Figure # 4-15. Left: Payannes des Environs de Troyes sous l'ancien Costume. L. Brunon, Troyes. Circa 1900.
Right: Payannes des Environs de Troyes sous l'ancien Costume. L. Brunon, édit-photo., Troyes. Circa 1900 UvK Collection

In the above postcards the text states: "Payannes des Environs de Troyes sous l'ancien Costume": "Peasant from the Surroundings of Troyes in the old Costume". These old costumes consist of a shawl over a dress with a fancy headdress. The shawls and dresses are generally plain with the headdress the focus of the regional costume identity.

The style for Poitiers is plain. Here also the headdress makes up for the outstanding feature. Shawls were popular and some have designs on them. They are hard to make out. Below in figure # 4-16 top is a postcard of young girls acting like grandmothers.

Figure # 4-16. Top: J. Robuchon, Phot., Poitiers-12296 bis. Bottom: Institution des Sourdes-Muettes-Larney, pres Poitiers-Atleier de Broderie. UvK Collection

The caption for the bottom postcard reads: Institution for Deaf-Mute-Larney, near Poitiers Embroidery workshop. This was an institution for young deaf-mute girls that started in 1847. This and other postcards from the institution show adults and nuns working on lace. There are several nuns throughout the group as well as several embroidered religious items. The Poitiers people wore simple costumes, but they did embroidery and needle work for other purposes.

Below on the left is a photograph of a La Rochelle mother and daughter and to the right, a single woman. The mother and daughter are dressed in the Normandie style, with an embroidered shawl over a plain dress. The headdress seems to be unique to that area. The woman on the right is dressed more plainly but is also wearing the same style headdress. Again, the headdress forms a focal point of regional costume identity.

Figure # 4-17. Left: La Rochelle –Types Rochelle- L.C. Postmarked 1905.
Right: La Rochelle –Types Rochelle- L.C. Postmarked illegible, circa 1900. UvK Collection

4-6 Ursuline's Embroidery in France

I will show some examples of Ursuline's embroidery and needlework in France. When researching the floral designs in Beaugency, Tours and Amiens I noticed that there seemed to be two main approaches to the Ursuline embroidery and floral designs. At first I called them the Typical and the Untypical Ursuline Style. This referred to the common style for embroidering their sacred items versus what they were taught in their convents. They were taught sewing, needlework, and embroidery using different styles and techniques. When the French regional styles and the Baroque are added to the mix, the result is a wide range of floral designs. Below are some examples from the Ursuline convent in Beaugency and the Musée de Picardie in Amiens. I will first show a series of stoles.

Figures # 4-18. Left: Stole. Communaute Des Ursulines. Beaugency, France. Middle: Stole. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France. Right: Stole. MP.D. 2003.4.38. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France.

All three stoles have the same layout: leaves and flowers sprouting from the 'S' stem work that runs up the long narrow space. The bottom area is wider and Catholic symbols are placed in that area. Next examples are chasubles.

These three chasubles shown in four images below in figure # 4-19 have different approaches to the floral designs. The chasuble on the left I would identify as a regional style because the flowers in the white areas are all floating as there are no stems connecting them. This approach is like the alter front created by Marie of the Incarnation in figure # 4-24. In the darker areas are 'S' stem works with flowers and leaves growing off the stem. The chasuble on the right is quite different and has more of a Baroque feel to it. There are a series of thick connecting scroll type designs with little of the background showing. The final chasuble shown at the bottom of figure # 4-19 looks more regional with the use of the 'S' stem work up the front part of the garment and with the cape in the back. The design on the cape starts on the lower center with three stems coming out of the base and spreading out over the whole area. There are bud type leaf motifs sprouting out from the stem and a lot of the background is showing.

Figure # 4-19. Top Left: Chasuble. Ursulines d'Angers. MP.D. 2003.4.42. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France. Top Right: Chasuble. Ursulines d'Angers. MP.D. 2003.4.39. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France. Bottom Left and Right: Chasuble Communaute Des Ursulines. Beaugency, France. Photograph provided by Communaute Des Ursulines.

Figure # 4-20. Left: Voile de calice. MP.D. 2003.4.20. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France. Right: Voile de calice. Portrait of St. Ursulines with arrow in breast in center. MP.D. 2003.4.35. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France.

The two voile de calices (chalice veils) above are typical for chalice veils and some alter fronts, having a central image and the veil borders heavily decorated by various floral designs. The veil on the right has flower vases in each corner. The use of the vase for flowers is somethings that reoccurs in floral designs throughout Canada except for the Yukon. The use of a central focal point is quite common in Ursuline and later in First Nations floral designs. For the First Nations the center focal point is a larger flower but in Catholic examples it is often a Christian symbol or holy pictorial image.

The final Ursuline items I examined are those from the Communaute Des Ursulines, Beaugency, France. These are from the 1800s and are the works of students from Beaugency as well as other Ursuline convents in France. Various types of needle work and embroidery were taught to the students. This gives you an idea of the wide range of designs a graduating student from an Ursuline school could create. For more images of earlier needlework, see the bottom left of figure # 4-21, in figure # 4-22 and an Augustine example in figure # 4-30.

Figure # 4-21. Various Ursuline students practical study examples. 1800s. Communaute Des Ursulines. Beaugency, France.

4-7 Notes on French Regional and Baroque Styles

I have given a brief overview on the early costume styles of the regions in France where nuns originated before coming to Canada. There was a wide range of traditions between and even within regions. When Marie of the Incarnation arrived in 1639, there were just over 300 people in Quebec. When Marie Lemaire des Agnes arrived in 1671 there were about 6700 people. While people possibly came from all over France it seems many were from the Dieppe area, which was the major departure point for travel to New France. All the Augustinian nuns and Mother Cecilia Richer de Sainte-Croix were from Dieppe. Between 1663 and 1673 King Louise XIV of France sponsored a program to bring the 800 'King's Daughters' to supplement the small population of the colony. These women were mainly from Paris, Normandy, and central-western regions.

Not including the Baroque imported from Paris, I think there are three main French regional styles which eventually impacted the beading style in present Canada . First, those of Normandy and related areas. This style would be a decorated shawl over a plain type of dress. Second, an even more basic dress type from the Troyes and Tours areas. Third, the heavily floral decorated clothes from the region of Bretagne. In those areas with simpler costumes, the headdress played a bigger role in regional identification. For the regions with un-embroidered costumes, it appears that they may have used embroidery on household items such as tablecloths and curtains. Many of these would have been made of lace and had floral designs on them.

I will four show some examples of lacework from Normandie, in particular the lace from Argentan and Alençon. These two locations became famous for their own lace styles in the 1600s.

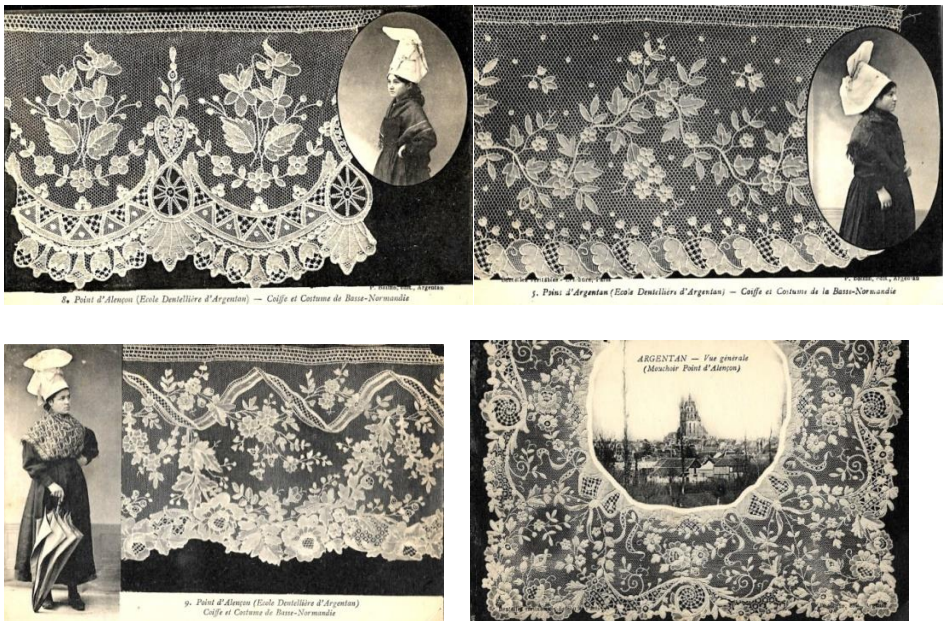


Figure # 4-22. Various Argentan lace postcards. P. Boiffin, edit. Argentan and Le feu, Paris. Circa 1900. UvK Collection

The lace work shown above is done in several styles. The top two images are much like the Bretagne style. The bottom left is like the Dieppe example in figure # 4-6 and the bottom right has is more in a Baroque style with busy floral patterns. To better understand the Baroque style, I show some examples below in figure # 4-23. This is the technique that was brought to New France by the Paris Ursuline's.

The Baroque style was popular from about 1600 to the 1750s, just around the time the nuns from France were travelling to New France. In *Art Through the Ages eighth edition,* it states this about Baroque art:

> The art from this later period we call "Baroque," although there is no one Baroque style or set of stylistic principles. The origin of the word is not clear. It may come from the Portuguese word *barroco*, meaning an irregularly shaped pearl. Certainly, the term was originally used in a disparaging sense, especially of post-Renaissance architecture, which nineteenth-century critics regarded as decadent Classical: unstructured, overornamented, theatrical, and grotesque. But the use of "Baroque" as a pejorative has faded, and the term has long been current in art-historical vocabulary as a blanket designation for the art of the period roughly covering 1600 to 1750. (Croix & Tansey 1986: 719)

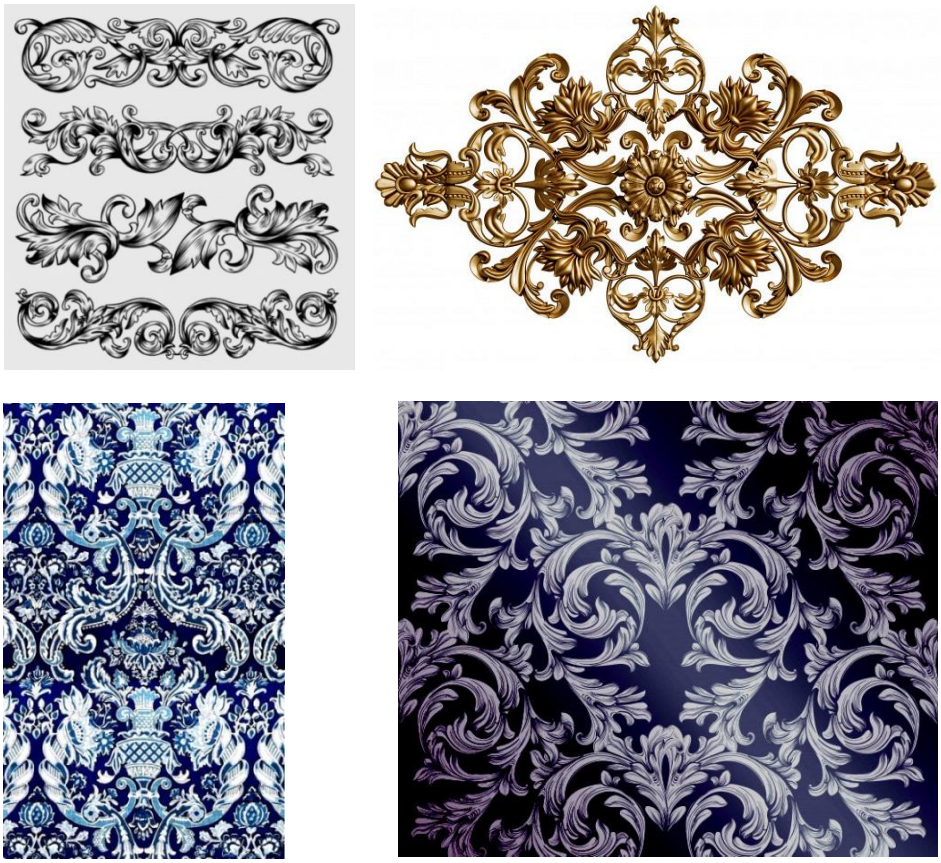


Figure # 4-23. Various Baroque forms. www.freepik.com

Above in figure # 4-23 are some examples of Baroque forms to serve as a guide when looking at Baroque embroidery.

The forms fit the description stated in *Art Though the Ages* of being unstructured, overornamented, theatrical, and grotesque. A few traits of this style include it being thickly applied motifs with little ability for the background to show through. There is little or no use of stem work and there may or not may be a central flower or other central motif.

Chapter Five-French Styles Arrive in New France and Adoption by First Nations People

5-1 Arrival of the Catholic Orders to New France

This section gives a brief background on the three Catholic orders that arrived in the 1600s to New France. It will also discuss to various degrees the source of floral designs that were adopted by First Nations people. The first Catholic order I will discuss are the Ursuline Sisters who arrived in 1639 and taught embroidery in their cloisters. The next order is the Congregation of Notre-Dame who started public schools and taught women's skills starting in 1658. The final Catholic order are the Augustinian Sisters who arrived at the same time as the Ursulines and started the Hôtel dieu (hospital). There is no record of them teaching embroidery, but they did do embroidery and had First Nations children in their hospitals.

5-2 Ursuline Sisters arrive

On May the 4th 1639 three Ursuline Sisters, three Augustinian nuns and a lay sister departed Dieppe, France, for Quebec. They were aboard the Saint Joseph, the flagship of the fleet of three French vessels. The Ursulines were to start a convent for young girls and the Augustinians were to start a hospital. The sisters arrived in Quebec on August 1st after a 3 month challenging ocean crossing journey.

Marie of the Incarnation from Tours was the leader of the Ursulines. Accompanying her was Sister Marie Saint Joseph, also from Tours. The third companion was from Dieppe, named Mother Cecilia Richer de Sainte-Croix. The three Augustinians were all from Dieppe. As shown earlier in this chapter one of the regions that lacked in floral designs was Tours. Yet Marie of the Incarnation was a master embroider. She had learned at a young age from her grandmother who was the wife of a master tapestry maker and before becoming a nun she earned a living by doing freelance embroidery. Her embroidery continued after she entered the convent. On page 163 of the book *Marie Guyart,* it is written: "Marie had artistic ability and considerable skill with needlework. Often she was set to work on embroidery designs for chapel use: chasubles, antependiuns and vestments." (Uory 1978: 163) To do her work Marie had a private work room and the sales of her embroidery supported the convent. What designs did Marie create? In the book *Marie Guyart,* it states that the fabric factories in the region borrowed patterns and designs from Italian samples and

then each factory produced its 'own' designs from these. Interestingly, the Ursuline order was founded in Brescia, Italy in 1535. Maybe the Ursuline style was directly influenced by these Italian works.

In *Marie Guyart*, Marie writes about the challenges of Christianising the First Nations girls in Quebec. The school classes were made up of a mix of First Nations girls, mostly Huron at first but later girls from other tribes, and local French girls. The seasons often played a role in when the First Nations girls attended classes. Most girls were in class when their families were away hunting during the winter and went home for the summer. Maybe this is a contributing factor to the slow adoption of floral designs by First Nations women.

There are several embroidered floral designs in the Ursuline Quebec convent made by various nuns. Some are attributed to Marie of the Incarnation. At the Ursuline convents the female students learned the skills of being a housewife and in *Marie Guyart* on page 396 it is written that students were taught to read, write, knit, and say prayers. Embroidery is not mentioned, and knitting does seem a bit out of place as the Ursulines have a strong tradition of embroidery and needlework. Also, during this time knitting was often done by males rather than females. Is knitting a mistranslation from French to English? In France various sewing, needle work and embroidery were taught as part of the curriculum at Ursuline convents and this tradition would have been carried on in New France.

On page 454-455 of *Marie Guyart* there is mention of teaching embroidery in Quebec:

> "...She also had some handsome linens made for the altar by two young sisters; having been born in Canada they had never before seen embroidery of that style; however, under the tutelage of their beloved superior, they succeeded well, for she was a good teacher in this as well as in all else." (Uory 1978: 454-455)

This statement shows Marie of the Incarnation taught embroidery in Quebec. Yet this statement only indicates that "young sisters; having been born in Canada..." were taught. She indicates that these young French girls were born in Quebec and joined the convent. It seems they were not First Nations girls, otherwise she would have mentioned this fact. However, since, there were First Nations girls in the convent, at least for some of the time, they would have seen the embroidery work. The statement also states that the girls had never seen that style of embroidery before. Does this imply that there were already some types of embroidery the girls would have seen, but not in the style the Ursulines were teaching? If this were the case, they would have seen a different French regional style. At that time period the ships sailing from France to Quebec departed from only two ports, Dieppe, and La Rochelle. There was an established floral style in Dieppe and Normandy and women from that area

would have been wearing their regional costumes. The La Rochelle region had a floral embroidery tradition with their shawls in the style of Plougastel-Daoulas, albeit covering rather plain costumes. Settlers were coming from Poitiers, which was close to La Rochelle, and also wore plain costumes.

The works done by Marie of the Incarnation can be seen in Quebec. Below in figure # 5-1 is an example of an alter front from the Musée des Ursulines de Québec. This piece is listed as completed around 1650 and is titled *The Education of the Virgin*. While the embroidery is by Marie of the Incarnation, the center medallion was painted by an unknown artist and listed as a copy of one of Peter Paul Ruben's paintings.

Figure # 5-1. Marie of the Incarnation (attributed to) Education of the Virgin. Circa 1650. Musée des Ursuline de Quebec

The composition is a series of individual flowers spaced evenly around the medallion. There is a flower laden stem travelling to the edge of the alter front from each side of the medallion. As in France, usually each embroidered flower species can be identified. The center medallion is oil on canvas and titled *The Education of the Virgin.* While not too important, I could not find a Peter Paul Rubens painting that was like the above image. There have been a few *The Education of the Virgin* paintings by various artists. The closest to the composition of the above painting I have seen is of the same title and from the French School of the 1600s. The Peter

Paul Rubens painting of the same title is quite different unless he created a lesser-known painting of the same title.

This alter piece proves that floral embroidery was created at least by the 1650s in New France. The floral designs are not exactly like the styles I have presented so far in this dissertation. Yet, there are some similarities to the Upper Yukon River style. First there is a central focus point, in this case a painting. Second, there is a lot of the background showing. And while there is only one per side, there is the use of stems. The big difference between this alter front and a design on an Upper Yukon bag is the lack of stems radiating out from a central flower, or in this case, central painting. I would identify this work as French Regional style.

When you examine the Ursuline floral embroidery created in Quebec, there is a major style change. I do not believe that the style evolved but instead was introduced by the Paris Ursuline nuns who brought with them the Baroque floral tradition. An example of a Paris Ursuline nun's work is examined below. Ursuline Mother Marie Lemaire des Agnes from Paris arrived in Quebec on 19 September 1671, five months after the death of Marie of the Incarnation. She brought with her a high professionalism of needlework and embroidery that was to carry on the discipline that Marie of the Incarnation had brought to New France. But as you can see, in a different style. See below an example of Marie Lemaire des Agnes's work.

Figure # 5-2. Marie Lemaire des Agnes (attributed to) Holy Trinity with Swaddled Christ Child. Later than 1671. Musée des Ursuline de Quebec

While both altar fronts have a central focus point, floral designs and from a rectangle space, they are quite different. Marie Lemaire des Agnes' alter front has a larger central medallion, very thick raised embroidery, more use of stem work and less of the background showing through. The scroll type leaves are like the examples shown in figure # 4-23 and the crowded design has all the features of baroque embroidery style. The style emerged in the mid-1500s in Italy and was spread to France (and elsewhere) by the 1600s by the Catholic Church, as a counter to the Protestant Reformation movement. The Baroque style replaced the Renaissance style and was adopted by Royal courts. The French royal families were centered in and around Paris so it would make sense that nuns from the area, such as Marie Lemaire des Agnes, would be embroidering in the Baroque style. Other examples of Marie Lemaire des Agnes' embroidery have the same general style such as the work titled *Immaculate Conception* shown below.

Figure # 5-3. Marie Lemaire des Agnes (attributed to) Immaculate Conception. Later than 1671. Musée des Ursuline de Quebec

There is a large central medallion, lots of thick scroll type stem work and little of the background showing. This is common in Marie Lemaire des Agnes' work. In fact, when looking at the upper left and right scroll pattern with the hanging set of flowers you will see this pattern is featured on both works, as is the larger pattern in the lower left and right.

To reiterate, I suggest that Marie of the Incarnation brought to New France an earlier regional embroidery style while Marie Lemaire des Agnes brought from Paris the latest in embroidery styles: the Baroque. So there were two main styles that were brought to New France by the Ursulines. Where possible, I noted the origin of the

nuns between the arrival of Marie of the Incarnation in 1639 and Marie Lemaire des Agnes on 1671. Marie Lemaire des Agnes was one of four nuns who arrived from the Paris convent and brought the number of Paris Ursulines up to at least six. There were four nuns from Tours, three nuns from Dieppe and the remaining nuns were from Brittany and Magny, south of Troyes in north-central France. One of the Paris nuns originated in Bourges, south of Paris and east of Tours in central France. It seems all the Augustine nuns arrived from Dieppe.

I do not imagine that all the nuns taught embroidery. One example is Sister Anne Bataille of Saint Lawrence, listed on page 310 of *Marie Guyart.* She worked in the convent bakery, did laundry, and cleaned the pig sty. There is no mention of her doing any teaching at the convent. Keeping a convent running would require dedicated staff, or in this case dedicated sisters. Though not teaching, I do think that all nuns learned to embroider, as well as do needle work and other creative women's work. In figure # 4-21 above you can see the various works by Ursuline students. It stands to reason that a Postulant or Novitiate entering the convent would be taught those different styles of embroidery and needle work.

5-3 Congrégation de Notre Dame

The Congregation of Notre-Dame was founded in New France in 1658 by Marguerite Bourgeoys (1620-1700) who came from Troyes, France. Marguerite Bourgeoys arrived in New France in 1653 and is also Canada's first female saint. The Congregation of Notre-Dame were not cloister nuns like the Ursulines. This meant that the Congregation of Notre-Dame could go out and set up schools in the local villages, whereas the Ursuline students had to attend or stay in the convent. In 1678, Marguerite started a small school in the Iroquois village of "la Montagne" (Montreal). Unfortunately, the Congregation of Notre-Dame's Mother House burnt down in 1893 and the majority of Old Regime archives were lost. It is still known that sewing, dressmaking, and mending were taught by the Congregation of Notre-Dame's sisters in their schools. It is unknown if embroidery and needle work was also taught but, as it was part of the Ursuline studies, and some of the Congregation of Notre-Dame sisters first studied at the Ursuline convents, it can be assumed they learned and thus taught embroidery. Supporting this idea is the biography of Jeanne Le Ber. Jeanne Le Ber (1662-1714) was born in Ville-Marie (Montreal) on January 4, 1662. She spent three years studying at the Ursuline convent in Quebec, from 1674 to 1677. When she turned 18, she started her life as a religious recluse, completely withdrawn from the world. While she observed her reclusion, she also did embroidery, and she may have been one of the contributing founders of the workshop of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

An example of embroidery of the Congregation of Notre-Dame workshop is The Banner of the Five Nations seen below in figure 5-4. This banner was made in 1752, about 40 years after Jeanne Le Ber's death. It was intended for the mission of The Presentation (Oswegatchie, present-day Ogdensburg, NY) and was commissioned by the Sulpicians in 1752. The Society of the Priests of Saint-Sulpice, known as the Sulpicians, are a Catholic society founded in France in 1641. The society was founded to educate priests and do parish work. They established themselves in New France in 1651 and replaced the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal in 1663.

The banner commemorates the visit to the mission by the Bishop of New France, Bishop Pontbriand. On May 29, 1752, he baptized and confirmed one hundred and twenty Amerindians. The Banner evokes the political alliance that the Sulpician François Picquet (1708-1781) forged with several hundred Iroquois warriors, largely from the Onondaga nation. Following the capture of the mission fort in 1760, during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the banner was probably transported to Oka, Quebec. Preserved in the church of the Annunciation, it was transferred to the Sulpicians in 2006.

This banner does not look like the majority of the previous shown Catholic or French embroidery but does have similarities to the Dieppe example shown in figure # 4-6. It has the edge thickly embroidered with floral designs and the remaining area mostly open. As shown in other figures such as # 4-19 top left there are floral and other motifs 'floating' in the space. This could be an example of the region of Troyes or another area in France. It could also be a modified style developed in New France by the Congregation of Notre-Dame workshop. A frame of flowers encloses the Catholic and Onondaga symbols. The flowers consist of branches of vines and its fruits, a hillock from which springs a tree crowned with a lily and possibly a pomegranate. The top symbol is a cross on an orb, the symbol of the Church, and is attached on the right to what constitutes the sacred fire of the Iroquois League, of which the Onondagas are guardians. On the left, the cross is linked to the tree of peace, a symbol of the agreement between the Iroquois nations, but also the symbol of the Onondaga nation. The second path of pearls brings together, on the left, the rhombus containing three fleur de lys, symbol of the French crown under Louis XV (1710-1774), with motifs on the right. There is a flower in the center with the monogram of the Eucharist "IHS" and the monogram of the Sulpicians, AM. There is also a wolf, a turtle and a brown bear representing three of the nine Onondagas clans placed in the lower right side of the banner.

Figure # 5-4. Banner of the Five Nations. Congregation of Notre-Dame workshop. 1752

5-4 Monastère des Augustines

While there is no written source indicating that the Augustinian sisters taught floral designs to any of the First Nations girls that were sick in the hospital in the 1600s and 1700s, it is still a possibility. In the first years of their establishment in Quebec, the first hospital they founded was in Sillery near the Jesuits' mission. The place was selected because of the proximity of the First Nations. They stayed there until 1644 and then moved into the present site of the Hotel-Dieu de Québec, downtown. However, from 1641 until 1644 the Augustinian sisters had a small seminar for young First Nations girls who were unable to go to the Ursulines monastery downtown for lessons. It is possible that the Augustinian sisters taught embroidery of floral design as part of the curriculum, since it was the practice that the other nun orders taught embroidery, needle work, sewing, etc. While not a major focus for the Augustinians, there were some talented embroiders. Even without the possible teaching, the Augustinian sisters did treat First Nations people in their hospital until at least the fall of New France, after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. Female patients would have seen the various floral decorated Augustinian items and become familiar with the designs.

Ariane Blanchet-Robitaille, the curator of Le Monastère des Augustines, provided history of the Augustines and images of their embroidery. Below in figure # 4-28 is an example of embroidery created between 1707 and 1760 by Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessi. The date of 1707 is deduced from her age of 20 years when she entered as a novitiate of Hotel-Dieu de Quebec. At that time, she took the name Saint Hélèna. 1760 was the year of her death, so this tablecloth was embroidered by her sometime between being an Augustine novitiate and the time of her death. When Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessi passed away she was the last nun at the Hotel-Dieu to be born in France. Born in Paris, she came to New France in 1702.

I would call this a French regional style. I did not find any references as to where Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessi learned to embroider but I suspect that it was not in Paris, even though the Baroque style was popular at the time she was there. Since she entered the Augustinian Hotel-Dieu when most of the original nuns were from Dieppe, I suspect that she may have learned this style from them. This tablecloth uses an originating point as a flower in the corner from which stem work comes off in both directions, with secondary flowers coming off the stem work. Interestingly, this is the basic layout for some Yukon beaded sled bags.

Figure # 5-5. Tablecloth. Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessi 1707-1760. Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec City.

Figure # 5-6. Left: Bag. Marie-Angélique Viger. 1788-1832. Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec City.
Right: Attributed to Marie-Angelque Viger. Tabernacle veil. Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec City. 1832.

The bag on the left above was made by Marie-Angélique Viger who was born in 1770. She studied apothecary with the Ursulines of Trois-Rivières and in 1788 she joined the Augustines of Hôtel-Dieu de Québec and took the name of Sister Saint-Martin. She made her vows the following year. She died in 1832. The Tabernacle veil on the right is also attributed to Marie-Angélique Viger. Both these items fall into the French regional styles and not Baroque. I assume she learned this embroidery

style from the Ursulines. The examples above have a central point of focus with stem work and lots of the background showing. The veil on the right is busier with more stems and flowers and it makes me wonder if Marie-Angélique Viger's style evolved. Was this work completed later, showing more experience, or was the higher level of detail dictated by purpose or commission?

Figure # 5-7. Embroidered lace. Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessi 1707-1760. Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec City.

The final piece of Augustinian floral design is an embroidered lace in figure # 5-7 above. Lace work was widespread in northwestern France. This becomes apparent when looking at figure # 4-21 where lace needlework was taught at the Ursuline convents. It is also depicted on postcards from Normandie in figure #4-22 and figure # 4-16 in Poitiers, where people are shown doing lace work.

Even if the Augustinian sisters never taught the floral embroidery to First Nations patients, those First Nations girls would have seen and become familiar with the designs. If they started embroidery work later, they may have remembered the floral patterns,

5-5 Early Floral Designs in New France and the Eastern Great Lakes regions

The French brought with them a wide range of items that were decorated with floral motifs. Any interaction that First Nations people had with the French would have exposed them to floral designs on clothing, in churches, and even on kitchen items. Below are examples that First Nations people would have seen, either attending church services, in stores or in homes.

Figure # 5-8. Display at Canadian Museum of History of painted canvas and tabernacle from the Church of Saint-Pierre from Ile d'Orleans, Quebec. Circa 1700. Canadian Museum of History

The above display is from the 1700 Church of Saint-Pierre on the island of Ile d'Orleans, just outside of Quebec City. These artifacts are now on exhibition at the Canadian Museum of History in Hull, Quebec. Ile d'Orleans was settled by people from Normandie and Poitou regions of France. The painted floral designs on both the canvas and tabernacle are made up of thin stem work with either fruit and grapes on the canvas painting or flowers and leaves on the tabernacle. Ile d'Orleans was originally named *Île de Bascuz (Island of Bacchus) because of the wild grapes growing there.* This may have been the reason that the canvas has the grapes painted on it instead of flowers. On the tabernacle in figure #5-9 below, you can see three different ways the artist added the stem work to the long narrow spaces.

Figure # 5-9. Tabernacle from the Church of Saint-Pierre from Ile d'Orleans, Quebec. Circa 1700. Canadian Museum of History

In the next image below is an apothecary and wet jar made in 1700s France by Rouen Faience (Pottery). Rouen is the capital of Normandy region, so once again there is a Normandie connection to floral designs imported to New France. The bottom of the left jar has a central flower and stems coming out of the flower.

Figure # 5-10. Apothecary and wet jar. Rouen Faience circa 1700. Maison des Jesuitesde Sillery 1991.18,1991.19.1-2. Musée de la civilisation

5-6 Catholic to First Nations Floral Designs

Next I will be looking at the early examples of Catholic 'Native American' souvenir art that was created by the Ursulines to sell to tourists and to send back to France to raise money. I will then examine Huron floral embroidery and Iroquois floral beading styles. The Huron people were the first to have in depth contact with the French and would be the first to start adopting French floral designs. The Iroquois contact with the French became common after the Great Peace of Montreal of 1701. It appears the huge rise of both the Huron and Iroquois floral design production in the early 1800s was largely motivated for tourist sales.

The adoption of floral designs by First Nations and its evolution is not clear. When First Nations started creating floral designs and what styles they first created has not been defined with certainty. As these themes fall outside the topic of my dissertation I will attempt to keep the information basic.

In Ruth B. Phillips' book *Trading Identities,* she clearly illustrates that the Catholic convents were creating and selling 'Indian' items as early as 1720 to earn income. This Catholic trade in 'Indian' souvenirs peaked between 1750 and 1800 with the Catholics ending the manufacture and sales by about 1830. Other white people continued to create 'Indian' souvenirs and gifts after this period. The Catholics produced dolls, model canoes, pin cushions, work bags, moose hair embroidered bark wares such as baskets and boxes, as well as several other 'Indian' souvenir items.

The Catholics were the first to embroider directly on bark containers with either quills or moose hair. The nuns adopted the local material to create those items that would earn them money. While the material was North American the designs on these baskets, boxes and other items were distinctly European. The Catholics added their floral designs to those objects. First Nations people later began making these same items to also sell to tourists. It became a source of income to make up for the loss of the hunter-gather livelihood as a result of the loss of wilderness around Quebec. Since both the First Nations and Catholics were making these tourist products it has become hard for museum staff to know which group created the items. They list some of these artifacts as "Huron-Wendat or Ursuline". Those items made after 1830, when the Ursulines stopped creating them for sale, are generally identified as Huron-Wendat or other First Nations groups. Yet these items were still being made by other white people, so some artifacts may be misidentified. In *Trading Identities* Phillips writes about the Ursuline nuns no longer creating First Nations tourist objects:

> Sometime during the early nineteenth century, for reasons which have not been recorded, the nuns gradually stopped making bark and moosehair souvenirs. The latest reference found by Barbeau to the sale of these wares by nuns at Quebec City was entered in 1818, and the latest mention of the gift of an embroidered bark box to patrons dated to 1830 (1943:87). (Philips 1998: 130)

A possible reason for the decline of Ursuline nuns working on these products may have to do with the First Nations people overtaking the tourist market. This is however speculation on my part.

Below are some examples that were credited to people from either the Huron-Wendat or the Ursulines, including an alter ornament and moose hair embroidery on bark containers.

Figure # 5-11. Top Left: Alter ornament Huron or Ursuline. Late 1700s. 59-6 Musée de la civilisation.
Top Right: Carafe holder. Huron or Ursuline. Circa 1725. 68-3039 Musée de la civilisation.
Bottom Left: Paper holder. Huron-Wendat 1820. 88-4839 Musée de la civilisation.
Bottom Right: Huron-Wendat style 1867. III-H-400 Canadian Museum of History

The four artifacts above range from 1725 until 1867, well over a century. They all have floral designs. The three bark pieces are similar to each other while the alter ornament's floral design is more unique. The bark pieces have stem work with five petal flowers and simple leaves coming out of the stems. The alter ornament in figure # 5-11 top left is a type of Baroque. Below is what the museum online notes state about this piece:

> This embroidery probably comes from an altar facing and rather reflects a Euro-Quebecois confection or a confection in the Euro-Quebec religious tradition. It could have been made by the Ursulines of Quebec. Since this piece was kept in the Picard family and was part of the estate of Pierre-Albert Picard, we can assume that it had a link with the village chapel. We know that his grandparents took care of the chapel or certain actions relating to the village factory... (Musée de la civilisation website: https://collections.mcq.org/objets/859)

This alter ornament piece is out of place compared to the bark pieces. The floral pattern does not look like other First Nations floral items and I therefore think this was created by a French artisan. The remaining three each has their own story. The bark piece in figure # 5-11 top right is the earliest work and is identified as a Carafe holder. While not impossible for a First Nations family to own a carafe and carafe holder, I think that it was more commonly used in French families, even more so by the various Catholic orders. Since the Ursulines were making bark items in the early 1700s and it appears that the Huron-Wendat women were not actively bringing items to the market until the early 1800s (In her book *Trading Identities* Phillips states the year is 1810) my guess would be that this is an Ursuline made artifact. The text from the Musée de la civilisation website is as follows:

> Small circular basket, low. Wall and bottom made of a double piece of bark and fixed by a spiral seam of conifer roots. Decorated with embroidery of moose hair dyed on the exterior wall. Marked with the initials XL on the wall.
>
> This container is decorated with patterns with the Beauharnois coat of arms. Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois (1671-1749), was the fifteenth governor of New France. (Musée de la civilisation website: https://collections.mcq.org/objets/5637)

The description implies a French made and owned bark carafe holder. The bark paper holder in figure # 5-11 bottom right has an embroidered image showing a First Nations man and woman drinking alcohol and cooking. Ruth B. Phillips writes about the issue of First Nations people depicting themselves drinking alcohol in her book *Trading Identities*:

> Richards Rhodes has recently analyzed terms for drinking in several Algonkian languages and has concluded that the concepts to which they refer etymologically also contain positive references to ancient indigenous patterns of "binge consumption." This cultural pattern lies behind the eat-all and other feasts celebrated throughout the Woodlands to celebrate important

> seasonal and life-cycle events. Despite the terrible addictive consequences that occurred when such patterns of feasting and ritualized, excess consumption were applied to alcohol, during the nineteenth century binge consumption probably retained positive references to well-being and plenty. (Philips 1998: 140-141)

This artifact is listed as made in 1820 and given what is written above, I would think that this is a Huron-Wendat made item. The bark box in figure # 5-11 bottom right is listed by the Canadian Museum of History as a Huron-Wendat style artifact made in 1867. In her book Ruth B. Phillips writes about this artifact. She argues that this birch bark box was in fact made by a non-Native woman named Sarah Rachel Uniacke of Nova Scotia.

The purpose of showing these artifacts is to make clear a couple of important points. First, the Ursulines invented the convent-made souvenirs in the early 1700s and this was adopted by other Catholic orders and even other non-Native people. The Huron-Wendat themselves began creating the same style of souvenirs in the later 1700s-early 1800s. The Ursulines stopped making the souvenirs in the 1830s. In *Trading Identities* (1998: 130) Phillips states: "Sometime during the early nineteenth century, for reasons which are not recorded, the nuns gradually stopped making bark and moosehair souvenirs." Other non-Native people continued creating these items and this has caused a lot of confusion about the people making the items.

Second point, even with different groups of people making the same sort of items, the style remained quite consistent for well over a century. It began to spread beyond Quebec in the 1800s. All the bark souvenirs had floral designs on them. Many of these bark and moose hair items had the traits of using a thin stem work with flowers, often five petals, and leaves sprouting off the stems. A lot of the background is showing. Depending on the size and space available, there were scenes often showing First Nations people. On smaller bark items the space was filled and as a result little of the background showed. These smaller works also had a lack of stem work. This may have also contributed to the immensely popular souvenir beading style that was to flood the area in the 1800s. I will discuss this more later.

The use of thin stems, flowers and leaves sprouting out from the stem was not limited to souvenir items. Both the Huron and Iroquois applied the thin stem and flower/leaf combination on other items, such as clothing. Below in figure # 5-12 is an example of a Huron jacket in the Canadian Museum of History. Along the sleeve cuffs, around the bottom of the jacket and in the other various shapes you can see the simple stem work and the flowers and leaves sprouting out from the stems. This example is almost identical to the carafe in figure # 5-11 top right above. The coat is made up of moose and seal skin, moose hair, silk, and paper.

The Canadian Museum of History notes state that this coat was part of the collection of Musée de L'impression sur Étoffe: Museum of Printing on Cloth,

in Mulhouse, France. Mulhouse is in eastern France only 10 kilometers from the German border. The coat was donated to the museum in 1872 by M. Alf. Engel and sent to the south of France during World War II. Later during the war all the records of the museum were destroyed by bombing. The coat was added to the Canadian Museum of History's collection in 1972.

Figure # 5-12. Front, back and detail. Jacket. Huron-Wendat. III-H-480 Canadian Museum of History

In figure # 5-13 left below you can see on the woman's dress the same thin embroidered stem work with flowers and leaves sprouting from the stem. This dress is from the Bastien family of Wendake. This frock coat was worn by Madame Claire Bastien, sister of the Huron Grand Chef Maurice Bastien (the former), who is also the founder of the company Bastien et Frères. As such, this dress comes from a family of high standing.

Figure # 5-13. Left and right: Huron-Wendat circa 1875. 2009-3-1 Musée de la civilisation.

Below in figure # 5-14 is a Mohawk shirt. I drew this from the book *Iroquois Crafts* written by C. A. Lyford in 1945 but the book does not give a history of this shirt. Nevertheless, this Mohawk shirt is basically using the same style as I have been showing, but with some modifications. The stems that are sprouting out from the main stem are all making a loop and there are no flowers, just leaves.

Figure # 5-14. Mohawk Buckskin Shirt. UvK sketch of photograph in Iroquois Crafts. Figure # 16, Page 24. UvK drawing

All this shows a tradition of creating floral images with flower and leaves sprouting from the stems which the French brought to New France. Patterns were also invented for souvenirs and gifts by the Ursulines. First Nations people adopted these basic floral patterns and applied the designs to their clothing and other items, which could be used for the souvenir market by the late 1700s-early 1800s.

As mentioned, not all spaces with floral images were long and narrow. The use of the flowers/leaves sprouting from stems was also modified to shapes such as square and rectangle. Below are two examples of placing the stem work and flowers/leaves in a square or rectangle space.

Figure # 5-15. Left: Moose hoof wall pocket. Huron-Wendat 1816 or earlier. III-H-466 Canadian Museum of History
Right: Pocket flap Huron-Wendat 1760. 59-55 Musée de la civilisation.

Above on the left is a moose hoof wall pocket that was collected by General Sir Gordon Drummond between 1813 and 1816. General Sir Gordon Drummond (1772-1854) was born in Quebec and moved to England for his education. He served in the British Army in many locations such as in the Netherlands, West Indies, the Mediterranean, and Jamaica before being stationed in Canada in 1808. He was sent to Ireland in 1811. In 1813 he was sent back to Canada for the War of 1812 and fought, was wounded, and captured in that war. He returned to England in 1816 . It is this time in Canada that dates are given for the collection of the wall pocket. The wall pocket was put up for auction and purchased by the Canadian Museum of History in 1978.

The example above in figure # 5-15 right shows a central flower motif with stem work sprouting from it. Figure # 4-13 right above is an example of this as well as figures # 3-16 left, and # 3-17 left and right. This pocket flap was part of a frock coat that was handed down through generations of Huron chiefs during the 1700 and 1800s. The design on the left below in figure # 5-16 does not have a central flower or other item where the stems sprout from. It is as if the floral design is floating on the space. These methods is the same as in Bretagne, see figure # 4-9 left above, and is common in First Nations floral designs further to the west. See examples in figure # 3-5 right and # 3-15 right.

Figure # 5-16. Left: Cradle board. Huron-Wendat 1847. 68-3105 Musée de la civilisation. Right: Cree Squaw and Papoose "American Indians" by Frederick Starr, 1899. American Indians by Frederick Starr (scienceviews.com)

Not all floral designs were beaded or embroidered. In the above cradle board on the left the floral design is engraved and painted. Cradle boards were often decorated with floral designs and in this case with a design that is following traits of the earlier examples using stem work with a lot of the background showing. On the right is an image of how cradleboards are used. It depicts a Cree woman and child drawn by American anthropologist Frederick Starr.

Of course, the Baroque has a big influence on what First Nations were creating. Below are a series of floral designs that I believe have their origins in the Baroque. The above examples range in date from 1760 to 1847 while the examples below range in date from 1838-1841. Both styles were done at the same time. In the examples shown below the stems play a greatly diminished role; the flowers are dealt with in more equal terms; the size of the flowers is generally consistent and where the embroidery is done there is little of the background showing through.

The example below, a vest with a high collar from between 1839 and 1841, has a distinct British military appearance to it. Quebec had been under British rule since the Treaty of Paris of 1763. According to the Canadian Museum of History the items below were commissioned by James Du Pre Alexander between 1839 and 1841. Alexander was a captain in the British Army and later became the Third Earl

of Caledon. His regiment was stationed in Quebec from 1838 to 1841 during the Lower Canada Rebellion. In his letters home he stated that he was commissioning the Lorette Huron-Wendat women to make him black dyed hide clothing with moose hair embroidered floral motifs. The examples below are the results of the women's work. The Canadian Museum of History acquired the items in 1969.

This garment appears to have French floral embroidery designs on a British officer's style tunic. The pocket flaps are similar to the image shown in figure # 3-4 right. While the floral designs going up the front of the vest appear to be one continuous 'S' stem, they are in fact not connected. It appears to be 5 separate sets of closely knit floral. The mitts on the right are two clusters of floral designs placed close together, so they also appear as one continuous pattern.

Figure # 5-17. Left: Vest. Huron-Wendat 1839-1841. III-H-407 Canadian Museum of History Right: Mitts. Huron-Wendat 1838-1839. III-H-408 Canadian Museum of History

The floral designs in figure # 5-16 left and #5-18 were used at the same time. The many cradle boards I have seen show a wide range of designs. The bowl or vase in figure # 5-18 is a motif that appears in various beaded and embroidered works across Canada with the exception of the Yukon. Perhaps Yukon First Nations saw the Cree and Métis floral designs on their clothing when they came north, and vases were not part of these. In addition, the Yukon was dominated by the Anglican Church, which also seems to have rarely used the vase motif.

In conclusion, there were two main floral design approaches, one that follows along the French Regional style that was to become the Cree/Métis 'A' style and the Baroque style which was to become the Cree/Métis 'B' style. There are of course variations to these main styles.

5-7 Floral Designs for the Tourist Market

Figure # 5-18. Cradle board. Iroquois: Mohawk No Date. 68-3077 Musée de la civilisation.

Because of the close contact between the Huron and French, and later the Iroquois and the French, these First Nations people began creating floral designs. It appears that the souvenir market may have been a strong reason for the adoption. Because of increased tourism the souvenir market became massive. In the 1850s 60,000 tourists visited Niagara Falls alone. To feed this market First Nations people produced a tremendous amount of beaded and other decorated items for this trade. Dolores N. Elliot, in her article Two Centuries of Iroquois Beadwork published in 2003 in the journal *BEADS: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* states that over the past 200 years as many as 200,000 beadworks were produced by the Iroquois alone! When you include other groups in the region such as the Huron, Maliseet, Ojibwa, and others then you are looking at a massive amount of beadwork that was created and sold.

This tourist trade beadwork was adapted so it would fit on the various articles that were for sale. These souvenir works were generally smaller in size, although some could be quite big. Bags were about half the size of a normal sized purse or even smaller. There were many pin cushions as well a picture frames, whimsies, model canoes, wall pockets, etc. I think the thick floral designs became the standard. Animals and birds were also beaded and fit onto the spaces. The Iroquois also developed a raised beading style. Perhaps the Iroquois and others saw the raised embroidered works by the Ursuline Mother Marie Lemaire des Agnes as seen in figure # 5-2. See below two examples of souvenir art from my collection. This style of beading seems to have been limited to around the eastern Great Lakes where the tourist trade was strongest. After all, in the mid-1800s the west was still 'wild' and lacked any real tourist trade.

Figure # 5-19. Iroquois souvenir art. Circa late 1800s-early 1900s. UvK Collection.

5-8 Conclusions

I have argued that there were two main floral styles that arrived in Canada in the 1600s, the French regional and the Baroque. Because of the exposure to the floral designs on French women's clothing, items seen in stores and involvement with the various Catholic orders, by the 1700s local First Nations people were creating their own floral designs based on the two French styles. The basic structures of the two styles would later spread west and be modified in various ways as it was adopted by First Nations peoples and patterns were altered as people grew to understand the design structures. In the 1700s the Ursulines began a souvenir industry of 'Native' art to raise money. They set the groundwork for the Huron, Iroquois, and others to take over the souvenir market in the early 1800s. The floral designs were modified to fit into the smaller spaces of the souvenir pieces and often did not look like either of the two main floral styles. Nevertheless, the designs are Baroque in nature. At the same time First Nations created items for their own people. These items were similar to the two originating French styles.

Chapter Six-Pattern Diffusion

6-1 Connecting Floral Styles from Europe to the Upper Yukon

In the previous chapters I was analysing floral designs set in distinct areas and times. In this chapter I will show the relationships between the floral designs of the relevant areas. I am connecting the dots from France to Canada and across Canada into the Upper Yukon River region. Some images have already been shown in previous chapters, but I want to reinforce the pattern similarities. I will start off with the French regional floral styles, moving to New France and the adoption of that style by first the Huron and then later by other First Nations peoples, until finally showing Yukon examples. In the next section I will do the same with the French Baroque style coming from France to New France, adoption by First Nations people across Canada and finally terminating with the Gwich'in people of Old Crow, Yukon and Fort Yukon, Alaska. Towards the end I will introduce influences from Norway into Canada. This is to reinforce my argument that floral designs adopted by Canadian First Nations also had origin in other areas in Europe.

I want to remind the reader that there are many floral styles and approaches in application. I am only showing examples here that are generally following the same patterns over geographic areas and time.

6-2 Square or rectangle spaces

Starting off in Bretagne, France, figure # 6-1 and # 6-2 are examples of designs with a central floral image, a curved stem combined with leaves, buds, and some flower motifs. These images are all from old postcards from Bretagne and are representational of the long embroidery traditions of the region. Despite the wide range of floral designs, they all have a central flower with a curved unanchored stem design. The three examples below are from Quimper in the western part of Bretagne, close to Brest. There is use of a main stem with a main central flower. The secondary stem/flower combinations are smaller and free floating in the space. A lot of the background is showing. There are also floral designs along the bottom of the bib area. These designs are slightly different from what is done in the Yukon, where a central flower with stem work radiates out to secondary flowers and leaves. However, there is a central flower on the top of a main stem, and in figure # 6-2 you can see secondary stems radiating out from the central flower. Along the bottom edge is a

stem with a series of outcrops or nibs along the top and a series of leaves along the bottom. Stems with outcrops appear across Canada in various forms, either spaced out or placed close together. With a main flower in the centre and the use of stems it would not be hard to expect a slight style change over time and distance, resulting in a central flower with stems radiating out from it seen in Yukon beadwork.

Figure # 6-1. Left: Quimper, Bretagne floral design. 1909 postcard.
Right: Quimper, Bretagne floral design. undated postcard, circa 1900. UvK Collection

Figure # 6-2: Quimper, Bretagne floral design. 1912 postcard. UvK Collection

I have not seen any examples of Bretagne style dresses from New France in Canadian Museums. I have seen the stemmed flower designs on Augustine items in New France. Below are three Augustine examples of stemmed flower, bud, and leaf designs. These images were provided by the Le Monastère des Augustines

from Quebec City, Quebec. All three have the same basic structure and two of the designs (figure # 6-3 and # 6-4 left) spread out into three flowers, like in figure # 6-2. Two of the examples have ribbons around the base of the stems. The two designs in figure # 6-4 are thinner than the design in figure # 6-3. The first object in figure # 6-3 is a Chalice Veil and was made by Regnard Duplessis-Marie-Andree between 1707 and 1755 in Quebec City. This design is more cluttered with less of the background showing than the next two examples in figure # 6-4. The object at the top of figure # 6-4 was made by Viger de St-Martine in 1832. It is a corporal case used in Catholic mass rituals. The corporeal is a square white linen cloth laid on the altar, on which the chalice and other items are placed during the celebration of the Catholic Eucharist Mass. The left item in figure # 6-4 was made by Viger Marie-Angelque between 1788 and 1832 and is listed as an envelope. I am not sure if they are used for the same purpose as a corporeal case.

Figure # 6-3 Top: Chalice Veil. 2010-2523 Regnard Duplessis-Marie-Andree 1707-1755 Le Monastère des Augustines

Below in figure # 6-4 are First Nations floral images following the same approach in design as the above examples. Figure # 6-5 shows two Huron-Wendat wall pockets that are dated from before 1816. These examples are structurally like the Bretagne examples in figure # 6-1 but also have spaced outcrops along some of the stems. The Huron pocket has three sets of three white dots in the open spaces of the design. I do not know the reasoning for this, but they are a common trait of early Huron floral designs.

Figure # 6-4 Left: Envelope 2009.568.1-2 Viger de St-Martine. 1832
Right: Corporal purse 2010.2513 Viger Marie-Angelque. 1788-1832 Le Monastère des Augustines

Figure # 6-5. Left: Huron-Wendat wall pocket. Before 1816 Canadian Museum of History III-H-467 Canadian Museum of History
Right: Huron-Wendat wall pocket. Before 1816 Canadian Museum of History III-H-466 Canadian Museum of History

The history of the moose hoof wall pocket on the left is described in Chapter 5 and shown in figure # 5-15 left.

Figure # 6-6 shows a pair of Huron-Wendat moccasins with the same floating stem structure, with leaf and flower designs sprouting off the main stem on the flap of the right moccasin. Note that one stem has a greater number of the outcrops than the other stems. Because the flap has a series of closely spaced floral designs it looks like one continuous floral pattern, but it is not. They only appear to be connected.

Figure # 6-6. Huron-Wendat moccasins. Circa 1830 Canadian Museum of History III-H-463a,b Canadian Museum of History

The Huron-Wendat examples are all from before 1830 from what is now Quebec. Next are floral examples from further west but still using the same basic structure in floral designs. On the left in figure # 6-7 is a Red River Métis (possibly Cree) Octopus bag that is dated slightly over a decade after the Huron moccasins above. This Octopus bag is one of the many artifacts collected by Colonel John F. Crofton of the 6th Royal Foot Regiment between 1846 and 1847, while he was stationed in the Red River area of Manitoba. The octopus bag, along with other artifacts, were originally listed as Cree but later changed to Métis in 1982 by Ted Brasser. The earlier records listed the items as being gifted by 'local Indian Chiefs' to Col. Crofton, but the artifacts went through a number of dealers and information was "by hearsay". Further, they were collected in the Red River area, hence the new listing as Métis. Regardless, this artifact is Cree or Métis, and the floral structure is like the previously shown examples. All are floating and have a main curved stem with secondary stems sprouting flowers and leaves and a lot of the background showing.

Sometime after the 1840s First Nations artisans in the west started adopting a standard four, five and occasionally six petal flower rosette designs while the French and Huron used a series of different flowers, sometimes with more petals and sometimes with side views. These standard rosette designs can be seen in figure # 6-7 on the right. This is a lead shot bag that is listed as Anishnaabe and is from the 1800s. From appearance I would think it is from the latter half of the 19th century. This bag

is to the east of the Cree/Métis territories and made later than the octopus bag in figure # 6-7 left. The floral design on the bag is structurally like those designs I have been showing earlier: a floating stem in the middle of the space leading to flowers, leaves and buds. The difference is that the stem is thicker with a great concentration of beaded outcrops off the stems and it is more crowded in structure. In the Alaska-Yukon-Northwest Territories these little outcrops are described as either mouse or ptarmigan tracks. This is more of a descriptor of technique rather than an actual description of tracks along the stem. These outcrops have been used all the way back to France. The 'tracks' give the design a fuller appearance and in the more confined spaces it does not allow much of the background to show. However, the basic floral design structure is still the same as described earlier. In this case the stems lead off to three flowers in the same manner as in figure # 6-2, 6-3 and 6-4 left. This is simply a continuation of a tradition that started from the east. The design on the strap is not continuous along the strap, which is common. It is made up of four different patterns along its length. The maker of this shot bag was creative in the strap design.

Figure # 6-7. Left: Octopus bag. Red River Métis 1846-1947. V-Z-14 Canadian Museum of History Right: Lead Shot Bag. Anishnaabe Circa 1800s III-G-546 Canadian Museum of History

In figure # 6-8 is the view of both sides of a Swampy Cree pouch. The Swampy Cree live in the northern parts of Ontario and Manitoba. The pouch is listed as made in or before 1879. Since it is embroidered in a simple design it may be from the 1840s, as it is similar in style to the octopus bag shown in figure # 6-7 left.

Figure # 6-8. Left and right: Bag. Swampy Cree 1879 or earlier. III-D-663 Canadian Museum of History

Next in figure # 6-9 are two more examples of a floating floral design with a main stem and stems sprouting out with flower, leaf, or bud motifs. The artifact on the left is listed as Swampy Cree and the floral design on the pouch is like the examples in figures # 6-5, 6-7 left and 6-8. The bag in figure # 6-9 has the inclusion of red berries which do not appear on the three previous mentioned examples. This bag is beaded, unlike examples # 6-5 and # 6-8, which are embroidered. The treatment of the strap is an 'S' stem and repeating floral motif along the length but with a variation to the 'S' stem design. The pink flower stem crosses over the main stem and gives the appearance of two stems, which is not the case. The pink flower stem sprouts before the green leaf, passes it and then crosses over the main stem. This design pattern is quite rare.

The baby cradle board from 1847 in figure # 6-9 right is an example of the Huron using the floating floral design on items other than clothing. This floral design is engraved and painted on. A minor difference with all the previous examples is that the main stem is not curved but otherwise it is following the previously pointed out traits. There are a wide range of mostly floral designs on the many cradle boards I have seen.

Figure # 6-9. Left: Pouch. Swampy Cree No date given. III-D-588 Canadian Museum of History Right: Baby cradle board. Huron 1847. 68-3105 Musée de la civilisation.

In figure # 6-10 are two Anishnaabe Bandolier bags from the 1800s. These bags have a different appearance because of the Anishnaabe method of beading the whole background white. However, the basic floral structure is the same as the previous examples we have been examining. There is the stemmed floral design with secondary flower and leaf designs sprouting out from the main stem. There are larger florals and leaves than the Cree/Métis and Huron flowers and the designs are on larger bags and straps than what we have been looking at so far. The flower and leaf designs are also handled differently than the Cree/Métis and Huron styles; the leaves are presented in a more realistic manner with the depiction of veins. The common leaves appear to be a type of maple leaf, but other leaf patterns are also made. The Anishnaabe also made different flower designs by creating six petal flowers, three double-petal flowers and other complex designs.

Figure # 6-10. Left: Bandolier bag. Anishnaabe 1800s. III-G-53 Canadian Museum of History Right: Bandolier bag. Anishnaabe No date listed. 68-3380 Musée de la civilisation.

These Anishnaabe bags may have been traded to neighbouring peoples such as the Cree, or perhaps adopted by other First Nations artisans.

6-3 Floral designs with Vases and other 'Bases'

There is a tradition of using a vase as a base for floral designs on Catholic items in France. See figure # 6-11 for an example of vases on an Ursuline altar front from the Musée de Picardie in Amiens. In each corner of the altar front is a vase with flowers in them. The image on the right shows a detail of one of the vases.

Figure # 6-11. Ursuline altar front. mp.d2003.4.35a Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France.

In Canada there are a series of floral designs that have a vase, flower, or some other motif, such as a leaf cluster acting as an anchoring device. In figure # 6-12 below on the left is a Mohawk baby cradle board and it has a vase with a flower bouquet. Many of the Iroquois (Mohawk) baby cradle boards in various museum collections date from the 1800s and later. They all have different details in the designs with many having a central vase for the flowers. The use of the vase in beadwork is less common but there are enough examples. The image on the right with the flowers resting in a vase is an Anishnaabe octopus bag dated between 1865 and 1869.

Figure # 6-12. Left: Baby cradle board. Iroquois; Mohawk. No date. 68-3077 Musée de la civilisation.
Right: Octopus bag. Anishnaabe 1865-69 III-G-544 Canadian Museum of History

In figures # 6-13 and # 6-14 are four examples with various types of flower motifs used as a base. The times of creation of these various styles of bags/pouches range from 1840 to 1913. The placement of the floral patterns on each bag/pouch is handled differently. The beaded Swampy Cree work bag in figure # 6-13 left appears to me to be a wall pocket and is described as a "beaded double pocket" and has two different floral designs on one bag. The top floral design is on a black background and has no base, while the bottom floral design is on a red background and possibly a type of flower base. This work bag shows that the creator made floral designs with and without a base and used a variety of flower, leaf, and stem motifs. This double pocket was collected from Moose Factory at the south end of James Bay in Ontario by a Hudson's Bay Company Factor between 1840 and 1865.

The beaded pouch in figure # 6-13 right is a much later example dated between 1908 and 1914, almost three quarters of a century after the previous example. Fort Albany is on the shores of James Bay and is north of Moose Factory. It is in Swampy Cree territory. Some of the notable differences in design between the two are the straighter stems and the use of outcrops on the stems in the Fort Albany example.

The Fort Albany example incorporated mostly a split bell type flower and a simple rounded type of flower design. The Swampy Cree example on the left does not use outcrops on the stems but does have ferns which give a similar appearance to using outcrops. The Fort Albany example also covers more of the background than the Swampy Cree example with the flowers and buds in some cases touching the edge of the open space.

Figure # 6-13. Left: Work bag, Swampy Cree 1840-1865. III-D-607 Canadian Museum of History Right: Pouch, Cree, Ft. Albany 1908-1914 III-D-87 Canadian Museum of History

In figure # 6-14 are two embroidered examples using a rosette style flower as a base for the rest of the design. The designs are quite different in that on the octopus bag the six petal flower design is the base at the bottom part of the bag and leafed stems come out of the top ending at three flowers. In the Eastern Woodlands Cree bag on the right the base flower is not as detailed and is placed in the center of the space. I have described the octopus bag in Chapter 3 and both sides are shown in figure # 3-14.

Figure # 6-14 Left: Octopus Bag. Red River Métis 1846-47. V-Z-14 Canadian Museum of History Right: Pouch, Eastern Woodlands Cree, no date. III-D-57 Canadian Museum of History

The octopus bag has a series of curved stems with tiny leaves growing from the stems and a total of four main flowers. The Eastern Woodlands bag has ten bud type flowers springing from the top of the central flower and in addition has an unbased floral design below the central flower, which has three stems and two outside stems ending with 5 petal rosettes. It appears that the central flower is supported by the bottom center stem. There is a series of red, blue, and gold coloured berries throughout the design. At the top, inside of the bag, is an additional floral design with a main seven petal flower at the top of the stem. No dates are given but they were collected by Arthur James Clarke and is listed as "Hudson Bay Indians". From this information it would most likely be a bag a Swampy Cree bag.

6-4 Central Flower in Square/Rectangle Space

In France there are not many images of a main floating flower in the center of the space. Previously shown in Chapter 4 in figure # 4-13 right is the baby bib from Bretagne, France with the date of 1861 on it. I show a detail of the image again in figure # 6-15 left. At the center of the design is a flower with stems sprouting from the top part of that flower and leading to red flowers. There is an un-based

stem and flower design at the bottom of the bib and flowers that are sprouting from each corner. The use of a central flower with stems sprouting from it was common in Canada and I will show examples in the following figures. The use of flower designs in the corners was sometimes used in Canada, mainly on, but not limited to, pillowcases. In figure # 6-15 right is an Athapaskan example of flowers growing out of the corners.

Figure # 6-15 Left: Detail of les enfants Bretagnes de Marie-Claude Monchaux "Petit bébé de Pont-I'Abbé en costume de baptême".
Right: Bag. Athapaskan 1920s. UvK collection

The central flower is sometimes at the bottom of the space but most of the time in the middle. Regardless, the design is the same with stems growing out of the main flower and extending into other flowers, leaves and buds.

You can see the flower in a lower position in figure # 6-16 left. This Anishinaabe bag is dated between 1860 and 1880. The main flower is not quite at the base like the previous examples. It is more a central floating flower with stems coming out the side and not just the top like in figure # 6-15 left above. The main flower is a four petal rosette as are all the other flowers, with the exemption of one three petal flower. There are also a series of buds and other smaller flowers. The stem work is green which is the second most common colour after white.

The bag on the right in figure # 6-16 is also Anishinaabe but no date is given. This pattern is the template for the floral designs on Upper Yukon River bags. This bag shows a common style of floral designs that was used by the Anishinaabe and then further west by the Cree/Métis. From there the designs were used by the people in the Yukon and Alaska regions. Below in figures # 6-17 and 6-18 are four examples of the Upper Yukon and Alaska bags and their floral designs. Note that the Upper Yukon bags all have larger flaps, some totally covering the bag while the Anishinaabe bag barely covers the top half.

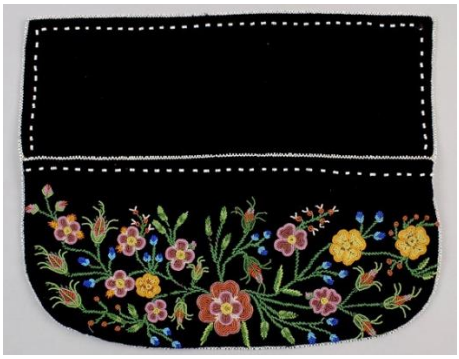



Figure # 6-16. Left: Wall pocket. Anishnaabe 1860-1880. III-G-1143 Canadian Museum of History Right: Shoulder bag. Anishinaabe. No date. 68-3141 Musée de la civilisation


Figure # 6-17. Left: Sled bag. Tanana, Alaska. No date. 91-3-1 Alaska State Museum Right: Sled bag. Athapaskan from Upper Yukon River valley. No date. 2001.24.1 Anchorage Museum.


Figure # 6-18. Left: Pouch. Han, Yukon. 1908. 953.160.7 Royal Ontario Museum Right: Sled bag. Listed as Kutchin. No date. SJ-IV-X-42. Sheldon Jackson Museum

In the examples above, while the details are different they all have the same basic pattern: a central 4-petal flower with white stem works sprouting from that flower leading to leaves or flowers. These bags are all from northwestern North America. One is from the Tanana in Alaska; one from the Upper Yukon River region making that bag either Han, Northern or Southern Tutchone; one from Han territory near Dawson City; one is Kutchin (Gwich'in) from either Alaska, Yukon of Northwest Territories. In my previous dissertation *History of Yukon First Nations Art,* I dispute that the bag is Kutchin because of the style differences and the often misidentification of Athapaskan artifacts. As this item is in the collection of the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka, Alaska it is likely a southern Yukon made bag, as most of their Athapaskan collection is from the southern Yukon. I will now switch from bags to examples on garments. The shapes used are either the vertical or horizontal rectangles.

There are a series of images from various sources, starting with Cree and then into the Yukon and Alaska. The first two are the upper backs of hide jackets. The jackets from the Yukon would be made from either caribou or moose hides while the Cree jacket could be from moose, elk, deer and maybe even buffalo hides. In both examples in figure # 6-19 they are Cree and from circa 1900s. One is from the Brooklyn Museum, the other was seen on an online auction. Although the Cowen Auction jacket is not in a museum, auctions are a great resource of early floral beaded objects. Indeed, at times museums either sell or purchase First Nations artifacts through auctions.

Figure # 6-19. Left: Jacket. Cree, early 1900s 43.201.108 Brooklyn Museum. Right: Jacket. Cree. Circa 1900. Cowan's Auction. Sold 12 October 2017.

In the two examples above there is a central four petal flower with white stem work sprouting out from that flower over the available space and leads to secondary flowers and leaves. This same pattern is seen in the two examples in figure # 6-20,

except now this is a view of the front. These hide jackets, commonly referred to as English hunting jackets, were used from at least the Cree/Métis territory and into Athapaskan territory in Alaska and Yukon. In the Upper Yukon these hide jackets were common in the second half of the 1800s and fell into disuse in the early 1900s. While the Cree example on the left does not have epaulets or fringes off the bib the remaining traits are the same: a floral beaded bib on a hide pull-over jacket. Many scholars point out that the influence of these jackets was the English Hunting jacket since the Cree and Métis were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in Northern trading posts. The influence in the north may be more from Cree/Métis in the form of Cree tunics such as the example on the left below, rather than Hudson Bay English.

Figure # 6-20. Left: Jacket. Cree 1800s. Various online auction houses. 2018. Right: Hunting jacket. Athapaskan from Upper Yukon. No date. 12935 National Museum of Natural History.

In figure # 6-21 are my drawings of two more Yukon-Alaska hunting jackets. This was a common style in the region as was the use of a central flower with white stems sprouting out to secondary flower and leaf motifs. While these 'English' style hunting jackets fell into disuse in the early 1900s the basic floral design did not, as shown in figure # 6-22.

Figure # 6-21. Left: Hunting jacket. Alaska Athapaskan. Late 1800s. Drawing of Hearst Museum collection # 2-6907. Right: Hunting jacket. Headwaters of Yukon River 1893. Drawing of Hearst Museum collection # 2-10889. UvK drawings

Below in figure # 6-22 Top are two early 1900s Athapaskan examples of the central flower design on a hide dress. On the left and on the right are parts of a garment for a jacket, shirt, or dress. The hide dress from the Vancouver Museum in figure # 6-22 Top gives conflicting information and illustrates the need for much more research on First Nations floral styles. In the Vancouver Museum artifact records this dress shows remarks by J.C. Garner and M.S. Evick from between 1961 and 1963: "Made woman at Norway House, Kewatin". While this statement is awkward, it is exactly what the note says. Therefore, on their website the museum listed this dress as Dene and from the District of Keewatin. The District of Keewatin is the eastern part of the Northwest Territories and the northern part of Manitoba. The southern part of Keewatin was ceded to Manitoba in 1912 and in 1999 the whole Keewatin Region was formally dissolved. There has been little reference to early Chipewyan floral designs.

In Kate Duncan's Northern Athapaskan Art there is only one image listed as Chipewyan on page 71. It is of a pair of embroidered gloves collected sometime between 1955 and 1960. The embroidery on the gloves depicts a different style from the dress. In the same book on page 50 Duncan quotes historical records, stating that the Chipewyan had little use for beads and on page 109 notes that some museums mistakenly list Cree beadwork as Chipewyan. Based on Duncan's writing it appears there is little tradition of widespread Chipewyan floral beadwork.

There is another discrepancy in the museum's information. The dress is stated to be from Norway House, but the Norway House style is totally different from the floral style on this dress. Later in this chapter I discuss the Norway House style briefly

and show examples in figures # 6-54 and 6-55. Another puzzle to this dress is a note with the artifact which I read when I examined this dress in 2011. It listed this dress as Kutchin from 1915. Kutchin (Gwich'in) territory covers the northeastern part of Alaska, northern Yukon and the northwestern part of the Northwest Territories and is close to 2000 kilometers away from the District of Keewatin. The style is not Kutchin, but there have been many artifacts listed as Kutchin since many early Athapaskan artifacts collected by the Hudson's Bay Company were indeed Kutchin. Many later scholars simply assumed that anything from the northern Athapaskans was Kutchin. The floral design on the dress is typical Cree/Métis 'A' style and based on this I would identify this dress as either Cree/Métis, Anishinaabe or Upper Yukon.

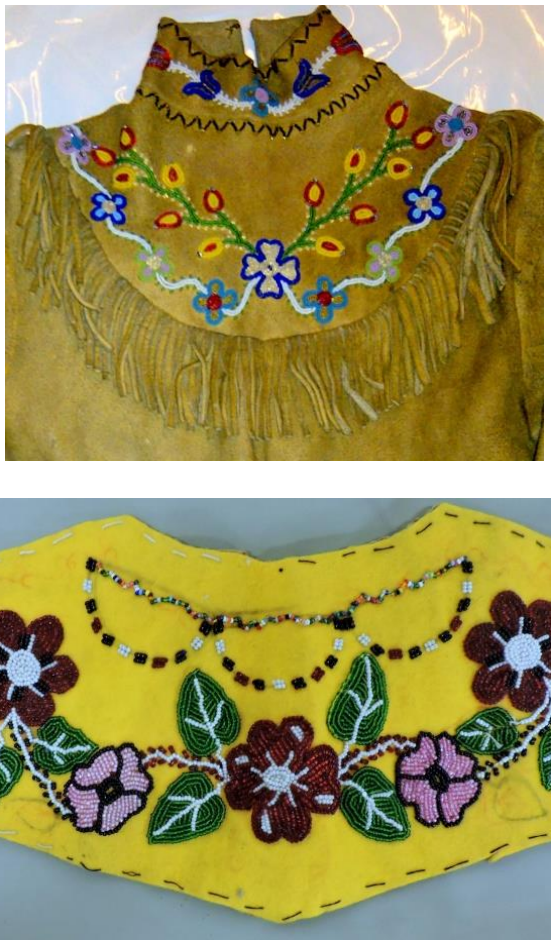


Figure # 6-22. Top: Dene hide dress. 1915 AC95 Vancouver Museum.
Bottom: Beaded cloth for garment. Upper Tanana. Early 20th century. Ruth Johnny collection, Beaver Creek, Yukon.

The floral beaded work in figure # 6-22 Bottom above was beaded by Elder Ruth Johnny (Nee Sam) in the late 1960s-early 1970s. She learned the style from her grandmother Bessie Sam from Snag, Yukon. Snag is remote community in the western edge of the Yukon that is now abandoned, and this Elder's work is reflecting an earlier style created in the Yukon before World War Two. This region is Upper Tanana territory, mainly covering the areas of Beaver Creek in the Yukon and Northway in Alaska. I show this recent example to illustrate the basic central flower with stems and secondary flowers/leaves, for well over a hundred years, from Quebec to Alaska.

6-5 Patterns in long narrow spaces

I will start by showing floral designs in various parts of France using various stem patterns in long narrow spaces with flowers cropping out of the stem. I examined these items while in France. Shown in figure # 6-23 is a late 1800s mosaic floral design in a chapel at Lourdes in France. The stem has a base with a green 'S' style stem travelling up the length of the space with secondary stems growing out of the main stem and either leaves or five petal rosettes at the end of those stems. The design is on a gold mosaic background. While created only in the late 1800s it does reflect a longer Catholic floral tradition. You will also notice on the side walls, in front of the window, single flowers with side leaves growing from the intersection where the diagonal lines cross.

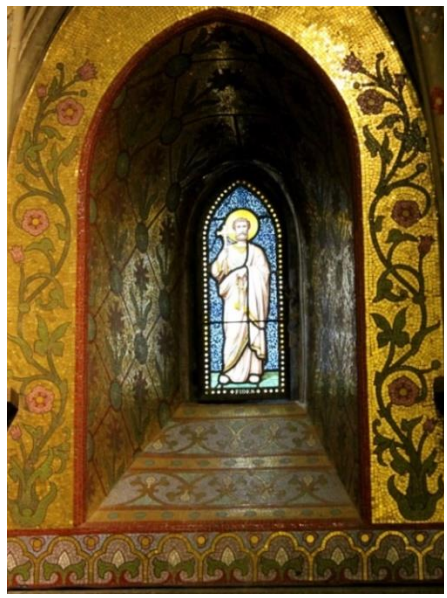


Figure # 6-23. Window in Lourdes Chapel, France. Late 1800s. UvK photograph.

Not only are these stem designs on buildings, but they are also on clothing. In Figure # 6-24 are two Matador trousers from Nimes, in the south of France. The stem floral design is placed in a long narrow space alone the trousers leg and are composed of an 'S' stem and various flowers. While these Matador costumes themselves are not that old, the designs have been used since the 1700s. Bullfighting is thought of as a Spanish cultural activity but is also practiced in the south of France in locations such as Nimes and Arles.

Figure # 6-24. Matador costumes. Nimes, France. Both UvK photographs.

Next are examples of clothing from other parts of France shown on old postcards. Figures # 6-25 and 6-26 are examples from Bretagne and Savoie. Bretagne is on the west coast of France and Savoie is in the Alps region of eastern France. Figure # 6-26 shows how people from two different cultures treat floral designs in long narrow spaces. On the left is a postcard from Bretagne, France, and as a comparison is a postcard from northern Minnesota, United States. The Bretagne example has a unique pattern of the stem running up the sleeve of the dress. There are no other floral designs on the dress. This is an example of a thin stem with large leaves and flower designs and reminds one of the Anishinaabe (Ojibwa, Chippewa) examples shown in Chapter Three, especially figure # 3-18 right. I show below on the right a

detail of that design on the trouser leg, loin cloth and belt of Chief Snow Cloud. The Anishinaabe most often placed their floral designs on a white background but as in all floral patterns there are unlimited variations. Both patterns have large flowers and leaves that are quite realistic on a black background, with a lot of the background showing. While both are recent, circa 1900s, they represent traditions from their regions that are maintained from previous times. Note that the Bretagne example has a main flower over top of the stem. You will see this on many of the French and First Nations floral designs.

Figure # 6-25. Left: Detail. La Bretagne. 133. Jeune fille de Bannalec (Finistère) Editions "Gaby" Nantes. Circa second quarter 1900s. Right: Detail Chief Snow Cloud (John Rogers). Tichnor Quality Views postcard. Early 1900s. UvK collection.

A couple more variations of the long and narrow floral designs from France are shown below. On the left is a Savoie costume. This unique style of headdress is common in this region and is the primary costume identifier of Savoie. The cape the young girl is wearing has a long thin floral design that runs the length of the base of the cape. As with many regions in France I am showing only one variety of floral designs, the long and narrow floral design. This is like the Huron-Wendat and Ursuline designs shown later in figures # 6-28 and # 6-29. I want to point out that this example also has a flower placed over top of the stem as is done in figure # 6-25.

On the right of figure # 6-26 is a more complex Bretagne floral design in a long narrow space. There is a series of curved stems with bud outcrops and a main type of leaf design along the center of the space. These examples illustrate the variations in one country in creating designs on long narrow spaces.

Figure # 6-26. Left: La Savoie. 603 Costume de Tarentaise. Editions TELE. Aix-les-Bains, Circa mid-1900s. Right: Jeune Fille de Plougastel-Daoulas (F). Coll. E. Hamonie, St.-B. Circa 1900. UvK Collection

The next sets of figures are of floral patterns that are quite common in France and spread into Canada. Those patterns are made up of an 'S' stem with either flowers or stems sprouting out from the main stem and occasionally a flower is placed over top of the main stem. A lot of the background is showing through. In figure # 6-27 are two Catholic stoles embroidered by Ursuline nuns in France. While they are embroidered with different materials, one with golden thread, they are structurally the same. Both are employing an 'S' stem that weaves its way up the whole length

of the stole. Both have a variety of flowers and leaves sprouting from the main stem. The stole on the right does have buds or berries while the stole on the left does not. Both have a lot of the background showing through.

Figure # 6-27. Left: Detail of Catholic floral design. Stole. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France. Right: Detail of Catholic floral design. Stole. MP.D. 2003.4.38. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France.

This same design pattern also appears in New France and the example in figure # 6-28 is of an early 1700s carafe holder that was made either by an Ursuline Sister or a Huron craftsperson. This carafe holder is also shown in figure # 5-11 top right. Other than the shallow 'S' curve of the main stem, this carafe holder is following the same tradition as the examples from France shown in figure # 6-27. This also includes a flower placed over top of the stem. Note that the designs and materials employed by both the Catholic sisters and the Huron craftswomen are so identical that scholars of the region cannot tell the difference between the two and often have to identify the artifact as either Huron or Ursuline.

Figure # 6-28. Carafe holder. Huron or Ursuline. Circa 1725. 68-3039 Musée de la civilisation.

Next is a Huron dress in figure # 6-29 made in the late 1800s. It has the typical 'S' stem with a variety of flowers and small leaves sprouting out from the main stem. This floral design would not look out of place in France.

Figure # 6-29. Huron-Wendat circa 1875. 2009-3-1 Musée de la civilisation.

The basic design largely remains the same as it spreads across to western Canada, only becoming more stylized. In figure # 6-30 are two mid-1800s Cree examples that are carrying on the tradition of the design. Both examples have been shown before but here they illustrate a transition from embroidery to beads. There is a change of material but not of design. The change to beads does result in a generally thicker stem than when it is embroidered. There is still the standard 'S' stem with flowers and leaves sprouting from the main stem as well as a lot of the background showing. It is also from this point that there are three main surfaces on which the floral designs are placed, either on red or black fabric or on hide. The latter was used the least for beading. The stems are most often white or to a lesser degree green. Occasional they used other colours such as pink and yellow.

Figure # 6-30. Left: Paul Kane Francois Lucie a Cree Half-Breed Guide 1842-1848. WikiArt. orgRight: Cree Powder Horn 1800s auctioned 2010

Figure # 6-31 is my drawing of the first recorded image of a floral design in the Yukon-Alaska region, at Fort Yukon. I drew this from an engraving done by Whymer in 1867 and I also show it in chapter two. The design is a white 'S' stem on a dark background with four pedal rosettes over top of the stem and leaves sprouting out of each end of the rosette. While there are several sources to the following brief history

I am referencing one book: *Best Left as Indians* by Ken S. Coates. Page 23 gives a good overview of events. In the 1840s the Hudson's Bay Company hired Cree and Métis guides and workers from the south to lead the company personnel from the Peel River Post to the rich fur bearing areas to the west. The local Gwich'in people did not want the Hudson's Bay Company to trade directly with the Gwich'in to the west. They did not want to lose their middleman trading position, so the local Gwich'in were uncooperative in guiding the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result, the Hudson's Bay Company had to bring in their own guides. Fort Yukon was established in 1847 and those Cree/Métis guides and workers became part of the social life of the region and many married Gwich'in woman. Through the Cree/Métis, fiddling, jigging and floral beadwork spread from Fort Yukon throughout the region. In addition, Han people from the future Dawson City area and Northern Tutchone people from the Fort Selkirk area travelled down the Yukon River to Fort Yukon. Fort Yukon was established for trade after the Chilkat Tlingits pillaged Fort Selkirk in 1852. This brought this style of beading into the south-central Yukon Territory.

Figure # 6-31. Engraving by Whymper. 1869. UvK drawing.

There are other ways the stem work-floral combination is presented in long narrow spaces. An example can be seen in figure # 6-32 on hide gun cases. On the left is a late 1800s Cree gun case with a white "Y" type stem work over a black surface. It has a central four petal flower on the right side as well as a four petal rosette placed over the stem. Along the way there are two types of leaf and/or leaf/bud/flowers sprouting from the main stem. On the right is an early 1900s Han hide gun case from the Dawson City area. This gun case uses a straighter pink coloured stem directly on the hide with five petal rosettes places over top of the stem. There are branches with leaves and leaves sprouting from the main stem. While the details are different they both have the same structure of flowers either sprouting from outcrops or directly on the stem, secondary leaves and other decorations which may be leaves, buds or flowers, and a lot of the background can show. The common Cree placement of the floral designs around the base, as well as around the middle and the tip of the gun cases was also reflected in Yukon works. This shows diffusion from Cree/Métis territory into the Yukon via the Hudson's Bay Company.

Figure # 6-32. Top: Rifle case. Cree. late 1800s auctioned 2017
Bottom: Rifle case. Han. Dawson City, Yukon. Circa late 1800s-early 1900s. 1983.16.10 Dawson City Museum.

In figures # 6-33 and 6-34 are a series of beaded strips, leggings, and a jacket front. In figure # 6-33 left is a set of Ojibwe leggings from between 1866 and 1870. Compare these legging with a Kaska pair from 1900 and you will see that despite detail differences they are structurally the same. One detail difference is the treatment of the rosettes. In the Ojibwe pair eight petal rosettes are used while the Kaska pair have the more common four petal rosettes used to the west of the Ojibwe. The distance between the two is approximately 3000 kilometers and about 30 years.

Figure # 6-33. Left: Ojibwe floral design on men's leggings. 1866-1870. Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, Autry National Centre; I.Q.629.
Right: Takutine (Kaska) leggings. Circa 1900. 004322.000. National Museum of the American Indian

Figure # 6-34 illustrates the regional range these designs extend to and the variation of the use of the 'S' stem in a long narrow space. On the left are beaded strips from Penelakut village, British Columbia. Penelakut village is across the Strait of Georgia from Vancouver and the people are Coast Salish. They are approximately 1,000 kilometers from Cree/Métis territory. While the Coast Salish are known for their Northwest Coast Indian Art, they also adopted some floral beading styles as shown below. You can see examples of the coastal people adopting interior floral designs as I explain in Chapter Six-Changes in the Upper Yukon River Styles. This example would fit in anywhere between the Great Lakes and Alaska and a person knowledgeable of floral designs would not guess that this bead design is from the Vancouver Island area of British Columbia. When I first saw this artifact in Berlin, I thought it was from the Yukon-Alaska region and was surprised that it was from the Vancouver Island region of British Columbia. There is no date given so the background of the artifact is unclear. It was either made locally or it may have been traded in. I include it to illustrate the wide areas this style spread to.

The beaded jacket flap on the right is indeed from the Yukon and shows an early 1900s variation of the standard 'S' stem work with flowers on a long narrow surface. While floral bead designs may have been adopted as early as the 1860s, by the early 1900s Yukon beaders began experimenting with new designs and those closer to the Alaska coast were influenced by the Tlingit style of beadwork. I discuss this more

in the next chapter. In the example below there is the standard white 'S' stem on a red ground but there are no rosettes, only a leaf with an outcrop at every bend of the stem.

Figure # 6-34. Left: Beaded strips. From Penelakut village, British Columbia. IV A 2442 Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Right: Details from Johnny Joe's coat. Southern Tutchone. 1977.46.1, MacBride Museum.

Next I switch from vertical to horizontal floral designs on a series of belts. All of them are from the Yukon from the early 1900s and are reflective of the styles common during that time period. They are all using a main stem with flowers either over top of the stem or sprouting from the stem. The background is either hide, red or black material. A difference to the previous examples is that the stems tend to be less curved. This might be due to the narrow space on belts or it is reflecting the already changing designs of the early 1900s. The first example in figure # 35 is like the previous shown designs in figures # 6-26, # 6-28 left, # 6-32 right, and # 6-33

right. All these have the flower placed over the stem and have leaves sprouting off the stem. This baby belt is Han from Dawson City in the central Yukon and was collected in 1908.

Figure # 6-35. Baby Belt. Han. Dawson City, Yukon. 1908. 953.160.8 Royal Ontario Museum

The next example is from the southern Yukon-Northern British Columbia area and has a simple 'S' stem along the belt with a bell type flower attached to the stem. This is a cartridge belt and under the flap rifle cartridges would be placed to ensure safety from the elements. The flap is treated in the same way, where floral designs are placed in a more rectangular space as shown earlier in this chapter, as in figure # 6-16 right and # 6-19 left. A couple notable differences: there are no rosettes beaded with the stem of the belt and the stem is yellow. The stem with only the bell type of flower is like the example shown in figure # 6-34 right.

Figure # 6-36. Interior Tlingit?; Western Sub-Arctic? Cartridge belt. Burke Museum, Seattle Washington. 1984-124.

The next two baby belts show a change in the treatment of the stem. It has straightened more so than the previous examples. I want to point out that both these belts are from the early 1900s and reflective of the slight style changes that occurred during that period. There is more use of flowers than leaves. In figure # 6-37, top, is a Northern Tutchone baby belt and the design has four petal rosettes along with bud type motifs on a black ground. The bottom belt is Southern Tutchone and is on a red ground with four petals, as well as six petal rosettes. There is no central flower but off center is a main flower, and the stem spreads out to the end of the belt.

Figure # 6-37. Top: Baby belt. Northern Tutchone. Early 1900s. Made by Annie McGinty. AC 539. Glenbow Museum.
Bottom: Baby belt. Southern Tutchone. Early 1900s. Shirley Adamson collection.

6-6 Brief examination of origins of Cree/Métis 'B' Style

This chapter has illustrated how a floral tradition with its roots in France was adopted in the Yukon as the Upper Yukon River style. To show that this did not only occur with the Upper Yukon River style, I feel it is important to also show the other main floral style that had a similar path, but not making it to the Yukon. Instead, it was adopted in the Northwest Territories. This is the Baroque-Huron/Iroquois-Cree/Métis 'B'-Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River floral styles. I will not show as many examples as this style as it is not the focus of my research. I will show enough to strengthen my argument that the floral style adopted in the Yukon came from France. Some of the examples have already been shown in earlier chapters.

The flow of styles I will be discussing in this section are the Baroque, Huron/Iroquois, Cree/Métis 'B' & region and the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River styles. These styles all have the same traits: a cluttered composition that covers most of the background and little use of stems. There generally is not a central flower and the motifs have more details than the Cree/Métis 'A' style. Shown in figure # 6-38 and previously in Chapter Four, figure # 4-19 top right, is an Ursuline embroidered chasuble. This chasuble was made by the Ursulines in Angers and is in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens, France. No date is given. It has a cluttered scroll design and little of the background is showing. There are no flowers or stems in the design. It is a typical Baroque influenced creation.

Figure # 6-38. Chasuble. Ursulines d'Angers. MP.D. 2003.4.39. Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France.

In the next example in figure # 6-39, also from the Musée de Picardie in Amiens, is an altar front that was earlier shown in figure # 5-11. While there are scroll designs in this embroidery there is a greater use of floral designs. The patterns have little of the background showing. There is some stem work, but it is minimal. Instead of a central flower, it has a portrait of a person from Catholic history.

Figure # 6-39. Ursuline altar front. mp.d2003.4.35a Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France.

The altar front in figure # 6-40 is a New France example of the Baroque style. It was most likely made by Marie Lemaire des Agnes sometime after 1671. A portrait of the Mother Mary is in the centerpiece and it is surrounded by thick vine/scroll-type designs. There are some flowers, but the scroll-like patterns are overall predominating. Like the previous examples, little of the background is showing. Like the Upper Yukon River style there is a central focus point. This central point is not a flower but the portrait of the Mother Mary. The whole surface has a thick covering of motifs.

Figure # 6-40. Ursuline altar front. Marie Lemaire des Agnes (attributed to) Immaculate Conception. Later than 1671. Musée des Ursuline de Québec.

The next example is also from New France but created by the Augustine Sisters. It is the chasuble in figure # 6-41. This chasuble has patterns like the above altar front but is slightly thinner in design. The chasuble still employs thicker scroll like stems and is covering the whole space. Since the design is covering the whole space and with wider stems than a typical Cree/Métis 'A' or Upper Yukon River design, this pattern still falls within the general Baroque-Huron/Iroquois-Cree/Métis-Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River styles.

Figure # 6-41. Chasuble. Augustine 1833-1a. Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec City.

6-7 Adoption of Baroque Style by First Nations

The first people to have contact with the Ursulines and Augustines sisters in New France were the Huron and they adopted the two main floral designs that they had seen from the works of the sisters. The Huron would work in both styles but in figure # 6-42 is their adoption and adaptation of the Baroque style.

Figure # 6-42. Left: Vest. Huron-Wendat 1839-1841. III-H-407 Canadian Museum of History Right: Mitts. Huron-Wendat 1838-1839. III-H-408 Canadian Museum of History

The above Huron items carry on with the tradition of thick stems and cluttered patterns covering most the space that they are applied to. These examples appear to be a combination of what was shown in figures # 6-38 and 6-40. They do have a different feel because the designs are on vests, mitts, gloves and so forth whereas the previous designs were on religious items such as altar fronts and chasubles. The Huron examples place the designs in a restricted space such as the pocket flaps, top of mitts and the placket area in the front of the vest. There is no doubt that the vest does has French Baroque influence. It would not have been out of place in a European royalty setting.

I have stated that the Cree/Métis 'B' style originates from the Baroque and is passed on to the Huron. I include the Anishinaabe in this section as they were located between the Huron and the Cree/Métis. The Anishinaabe/Ojibwa/Chippewa people had a range of styles although I have not divided the styles up like I did with the Cree/Métis 'A' and 'B' styles. In the first example is an Anishinaabe bag in figure # 6-43 from the Musée de la Civilisation in Quebec City. This bag uses the technique of beading the whole background white, but unlike the previous

Anishinaabe examples, the core floral design is different. This floral design is thick and clustered covering most of the background with some stem work, but also connecting leaves that are used like stem work to lead off to flowers. This bag is dated circa 1800s, but I would guess late 1800s or maybe early 1900s because of the style.

Figure # 6-43. Anishinaabe.1800s. 68-3335 Musée de la civilisation.

The next design in figure # 6-44 is on a jacket listed as Cree-Ojibwa-Métis and is in the Canadian Museum of History collection. The appearance is like the vest in figure # 6-42 left but the design is not as thickly decorated. The design is like a cross between the vest in figure # 6-42 and the bag in figure # 6-43. The background is black and floral designs are covering most of the space. I want to point out the high use of black or dark backgrounds in this style.

Figure # 6-44. Cree-Ojibwa-Métis 1885 E-111 Canadian Museum of History

Figure # 6-45 shows a Swampy Cree hood dated between 1840 and 1865 and is in the Canadian Museum of History. The floral designs fill the material. The design is quite simple with a gentle curved 'S' stem and a series of eight petal rosettes evenly spaced in the middle section or a series of buds in the two outside sections. I want to remind the reader that the eight petal rosettes were less common in the west and north of Canada and more common in central Canada. This hood is from the Swampy Cree people from northern Ontario and Quebec around the James Bay and southern Hudson Bay areas. Shown earlier are eight petal rosettes on the Ojibwe leggings in figure # 6-33 left above. Their area was just south of the Swampy Cree. In the middle is a series of smaller leaves that cover the background. If this design were thinned out it would be the Cree/Métis 'A' style. Therefore, this example is a cross between the Cree/Métis 'A' and 'B' styles.

Figure # 6-45. Cree 1840-1865 III-D-605 Canadian Museum of History

The pillow cushion in figure # 6-46 is typical of how pillows are treated. The corners have floral designs as well as the four edges and the center. The filling of part of the space is a common practice as you will see in the later examples. The corner flower designs have either leaf or four petal rosette bases and there are a variety of flowers, leaves, stems and buds making up the design. It is typical in this style to have a greater variety of floral, leaf and bud motifs than in the Cree/Métis 'A' style.

Figure # 6-46 Cree 1890 V-X-3 Canadian Museum of History

Figure # 6-47. Pouch. Métis before 1905 VI-Z-210 Canadian Museum of History

The next example is a pouch shown in figure # 6-47. If this were not labeled as Métis it would be easily mistaken for the Great Slave lake-Mackenzie River style. The colours and patterns are in fact in that style. This is where I see a slight change in the Cree/Métis 'B' style from the earlier eastern examples. From this point the style stays quite consistent and spreads north into the Mackenzie River region, becoming known there as the Great Slave lake-Mackenzie River style.

The next example below is Sioux. They occupied the area around southern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and North Dakota, close to the regions of the Cree, Métis and Anishinaabe. It shows the cross tribal influence and diffusion of floral styles. The moccasins in figure # 6-48 show a floral bead design that fits right into the Cree/Métis 'B' style and even into the Great Slave lake-Mackenzie River style, which I will examine in the next section.

Figure # 6-48. Sioux. Before 1920. UvK collection

6-8 Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River Style

This style covers the area as its name implies: The Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River areas of the Northwest Territories. The style appears in the region in the 1880s at the earliest but the bulk of the artefacts in collections is from the early twentieth century. In figure # 6-49 is a Gwich'in made wall pocket in the Canadian Museum of History and is listed as made in 1911 or earlier. The floral design is classic Cree/ Métis 'B' style that I described earlier: a cluttered composition that covers most of the background and little use of stems.

In figure # 6-50 is a pillowcase from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, NWT. It is much simpler than the Cree pillowcase in figure # 6-46, having less stem work but more condensed floral patterns in the four corners. It is otherwise bare.

In figure # 6-51 is another example of the thick use of floral designs. This jacket is identified by Kate Duncan as Kutchin (Gwich'in, Gwitch'in) and its place of creation is either Fort Yukon, Alaska or Old Crow, Yukon. This example is at the end of a long line of heavily decorating garments that starts in France with the chasuble in figure # 6-38, followed by the Huron vest in figure # 6-42 left and the Cree hood in figure # 6-45. There is no further spread of this style to the west.

Figure # 6-49. Gwich'in wall pocket. VI-H-13 Canadian Museum of History

Figure # 6-50. Pillow 2003.10.1 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Figure # 6-51. Fancy coat. Kutchin. Circa 1910. 427397 National Museum of Natural History

For a review of the Cree/Métis 'B' style and becoming the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style, I will point out a few of its features:

- The design often uses a main/anchoring rosette/flower or a 'floating' flower.
- The rosettes/flower/leaf designs are more detailed and complex when compared to the Cree/Métis 'A' style. Sometimes the secondary floral designs are as large as the main floral designs.
- From the main/anchoring rosette there is little or sometimes no stem work coming out from it, but there may be small stems curling out from the flowers.
- Where the main/anchoring rosette is placed, along with the secondary flower/leaves, it is tightly packed with little of the background showing.

6-9 The Norway House-Little Winnipeg Styles

I add this section to further support my argument that there is a history of First Nations people adopting European floral designs. I will show the similarities between Norwegian floral designs and a style that was common in the Norway House area. Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan discuss these styles in their book *Out of the North* although when I researched the immigration of Norwegian people to Norway House and area I found its history to be obscure. The information I could find was online, as none of my Canadian history texts referred to Norway House. It appears that Norway House was built in 1817 by Norwegian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Norwegians made up a large percentage of European immigrants to Canada. (Norway House 2021) Based on Norway House being an early community of Norwegians it may have attracted later immigrating Norwegians. These immigrants would have brought their visual culture to Canada.

I have added in the Bibliography a website link about Norway House although it does not mention Norwegians at all. In the University of Helsinki book *In Search of a Continent* there is a section written by Orm Øverland titled *Norwegians in Canada* on page 188. While this section deals mainly with those Norwegians that first settled in the Gaspé area of Quebec it does give an overview of Norwegians coming to Canada in the mid-1800s. The book states that most Norwegians were only passing through Canada on their way to the United States. On page 189 Øverland writes that between 1851 and 1853 there were 7,510 Norwegians landing in Quebec. Øverland notes a lower number of arrivals before 1850 and 12,000 arrivals of non-British arrivals in 1854. Øverland does not say how many of the 12,000 were Norwegian but in 1852 and in 1853 there were 7,000 non-British arrivals to Quebec. With these figures it would appear that Norwegians made up a large percentage of the non-British arrivals.

Throughout the section Øverland lists the various areas that the Norwegians originated from which includes Drammen, Trondheim, Lofoten, and Stavanger.

Lofoten is in the far north of Norway. Their floral tradition was more like the French Regional style rather than the styles from the south of Norway that I will be showing below. Trondheim is in the northern part of southern Norway and both Drammen and Stavanger are in the southern part of Norway, the same areas as the floral beading designs I will be showing below. How many people from these regions ended up in the Norway House area cannot be established but the visual connection is clear. The First Nations people who were working in the Norway House style were creating designs that originated in southern Norway.

Below are four early 1900s postcards from Norway showing some of the southern Norwegian decorative styles.

Figure # 6-52. Left: Norwegian Mittet a Co. Postcard.. Circa early 1900. UvK Collection
Right: Norwegian Mitco postcard. Circa early 1900. UvK Collection

This Norwegian style is clearly different from the previous ones I have shown. The closest similarities are to the Baroque style. As you can see in figure # 6-52 left, the girl's hat and dress show no distinguishable flowers but more a scroll style design. This pattern is remarkably close to the Cree-Ojibwa-Métis example shown in figure # 6-54. In figure # 6-52 right the woman is wearing a hat and dress like the girl in # 6-52 left but the full body is shown, and you can see two distinct styles on the dress.

The scroll type of embroidery is on the hat and on the top and very bottom of the dress. In between is a floral pattern made up of what appears to be roses with the accompanying leaves and stems. This style of design is from the Hallingdal region of southern interior Norway, about halfway between Oslo and Bergen. This region is known for their unique style of Rosemåling, a Scandinavian decorative painting style that was also used in fashion. This was an adoption of the Baroque style in the rural areas starting about 1750. The Rose of Rosemåling can be interpreted as a reference to the rose flower, but the floral elements are so stylized that no specific flower is identifiable and are absent in some designs.

Next are two more examples of Norwegian floral designs seen on the postcards in figures # 6-53 left and right. On the left is a postcard identified as from Romsdal which is a region slightly north of Bergen along the Norwegian Sea. The floral design is similar to the Hallingdal region style, which it borders. On the right is a postcard showing Valdres traditional dress. Valdres is on the north border of the Hallingdal region. The Valdres patterns employs more stem work. The Valdres style has some of the same elements as the Cree/Métis 'A; style, a central flower with stem work coming off the central flower and smaller secondary leaves and flowers.

Figure # 6-53. Left: Norwegian Romsdal woman. Mittet Postcard. Circa early 1900. UvK Collection
Right: Norwegian Valdres woman. Mitco postcard. Circa early 1900. UvK Collection

In figures # 6-54 and 6-55 below are bags made by the Cree, Métis, and /or Anishnaabe (Ojibwa) and they are remarkably close to the styles of the three Norwegian regions I have been discussing. The bag in figure # 6-54 is from the Canadian Museum of History and there is little information about it other than it is either Cree, Ojibwa, or Métis. They and quite different to the Cree/ Métis 'A' and 'B' styles. The conclusion must be that the local First Nations people saw this style of floral embroidery and adopted it as a new style.

Figure # 6-54. Cree-Ojibwa-Métis III-Z-11 Canadian Museum of History

Figure # 6-55. Left: East Woods Cree. III-Z-12 Canadian Museum of History Right: Anishnaabe III-X-91 Canadian Museum of History

In figure # 6-55 above you can see the Norwegian influence, which is different from the examples in figure # 6-52, with some variation in the use of more recognizable flowers. But in both the Romsdal and Valdres costumes above you can also see types of flowers and the use of stem work. Unfortunately, there is little information from the museum about the pouches in figure # 6-55, other than that they are East Woods Cree and Anishnaabe.

The Norwegian style is just one of the outside influences on the floral designs that were adopted by First Nations people. First Nations people were open to trying new styles other than just the French regional and Baroque styles. You will see this in the next chapter where one of the Tlingit beading styles was most likely influenced by Russian scroll patterns. In chapter seven I will explain why Yukon First Nations people are no longer using the original Cree/Métis floral designs that we adopted in the 1860s. Starting after World War Two the floral bead designs simplified into a simple rosette style.

6-10 The Grey Nun Style

The inclusion of the Grey Nun style in this chapter is to show the difference from the Cree/Métis 'B' style, which became the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style in the Northwest Territories. I include the Grey Nuns because it has been the general opinion that these Catholic nuns established themselves in the Northwest Territories and taught floral beading to the local First Nations people. This then supposedly became the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style. As I have already written, this is not the case. The Grey Nuns' influence starts in the late 1800-early 1900s, but by the late 1800s the First Nations people in the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River region were already creating the style that originated from, and is identical to, the Cree/Métis 'B' style. The Grey Nun style is different than the Cree/Métis 'B' style as I will explain.

While the Grey Nuns did establish mission schools in the Northwest Territories and did teach floral designs, there are several factors to consider. The Grey Nuns was founded as the Sisters of Charity of the Hôpital Général in Montreal in 1737. Many of the Grey Nuns were students themselves at the Ursuline convents and learned the floral designs from the Ursuline sisters. This floral tradition is what they brought with them when they went west in 1844 and then north into the Northwest Territories to Fort Providence on August 28th, 1867. The descriptions I give about the Grey Nuns activities are drawn from Rev. Father P. Duchaussois O.M.I. 1919 book *The Grey Nuns of the Far North*.

In 1867 Whymper recorded the floral designs on the bag at Fort Yukon in 1867, establishing that there were floral designs in the Upper Yukon River region before the Grey Nuns arrived at Fort Providence. Further, Lt. Schwatka had recorded floral beading designs on the Yukon River in 1883. There were no Catholic nuns in the Yukon until the Sisters of St. Ann came to Dawson City in September 1898 to staff the hospital. By this time Yukon First Nations had been creating floral designs for decades. American missionaries were not established in Alaska until the 1880s, so these missionaries had no influence on Yukon First Nations adoption of floral bead designs.

Below are three early 1900s postcards showing the Grey Nuns in the Missions D'Extréme Nord Canadien series of postcards. There were a lot of early 1900's postcards produced by the Missiomaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée. These postcards may have fueled the idea that the Catholic nuns were the main force in the adoption of floral beading designs. However, the Grey Nuns did fuel the creation of the floral designs once their missions were functional enough to start focusing on the arts. This would have started at the extreme end of 1800s and early 1900s.

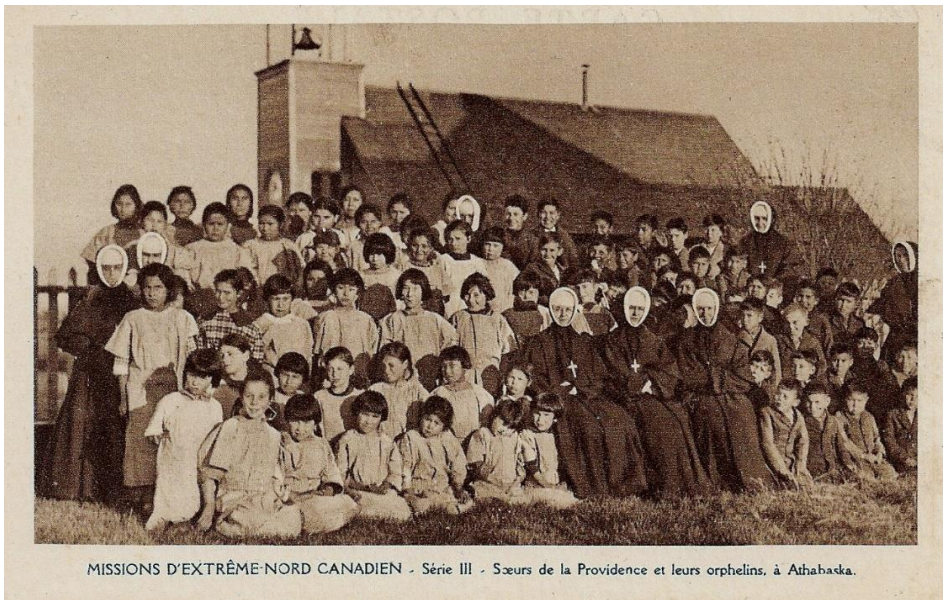


Figure # 6-56. Sisters of Providence and their orphans. Undated postcard. Early 1900s. UvK Collection

Figure # 6-57. The Grey Nuns and orphans prepare the fish of the week. Undated postcard. Early 1900s. UvK Collection

The second postcard above shows the food preparation, which was the main task of the mission. I show this , as the situation for the early Grey Nun mission was so close to starvation that in 1881 they were ordered to abandon the Providence mission! In the end they did not leave the mission because of the additional help received from the Hudson's Bay Company. The mission was saved. Hard times continued and there was always a shortage of food. The missions were overcrowded until the new larger mission was built in 1909. The point I am making is that the early Grey Nun Missions did not have the stability or infrastructure to teach embroidery and beadwork until after the new mission was completed.

Figure # 6-58. Indian Housewife School. Postmarked 1925. UvK Collection

Above is a 1925 postcard showing First Nations girls receiving training at an unnamed mission. Clearly, once the Grey Nuns had established themselves they taught many First Nations girls. Like the Cree/Métis, Ojibwa, Huron and others, the Grey Nuns also worked in different styles. In the images below I am showing what I consider the typical Grey Nun style. I have seen more of this style than the other ones that are credited to the Grey Nuns. In figures # 6-59 and 6-60 the floral designs are embroidered. The Grey Nuns also worked in beads and assisted in moose-hair tufting which became popular at the end of World War One. However, silk embroidery was the main artistic expression.

In figures # 6-59 and 6-60 are moccasins, a pair of gloves and a wall pocket from the Prince of Wales Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. Most of

the artifacts do not have dates but generally they are from the 1930s, with the wall pocket perhaps having an older date. The embroidery is more Baroque like when compared to earlier floral examples. Earlier style examples are the Huron-Wendat 1830 moccasins in figure # 6-6; the eastern Woodlands Cree pouch in figure # 6-14; and the Huron-Wendat 1839-1841 vest in figure # 5-17. It appears that the Grey Nun's style is a hybrid between the Baroque and French Regional styles. An exception is the wall pocket in figure # 6-60 right, which is more French Regional style. The central flower and thin stem work are reflective of the earlier examples shown in figures # 5-11 top right; # 5-12; # 5-14; and # 6-29.

Figure # 6-59. Left: Grey Nuns style moccasins. Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 977.14.2 Right: Grey Nuns style moccasins. Circa 1930s Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. 2001.29.55

Figure # 6-60. Left: Grey Nuns style gloves. 2001.29.11 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre Right: Grey Nuns style wall pocket. 2001.29.250 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

The next set of artifacts are also credited as Grey Nun taught/influenced but are different than the above examples. These examples in figure # 6-61 and # 6-62 below, left, fall more under the Cree/Métis 'B' and Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River styles. Note the continued use of the vase holding flowers in the wall pocket below. While the wall pocket is not as densely packed with floral designs than most examples, they can still be considered Cree/Métis 'B' style. The wall pocket in figure # 6-62 is more of a classic example the Cree/Métis 'B' style.

Figure # 6-61. Grey Nuns style wall pocket. 2010.1.10 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Figure # 6-62. Left: Grey Nuns style wall pocket. Hay River 1907-1927. 2001.9 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre
Right: Grey Nuns style mitts. 2001.29.5 Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Another style credited to the Grey Nuns but quite different is the example in figure # 6-62 above, right. While this set of mitts is more individual, it may be influenced by the earlier lineal type of designs as shown in figures # 3-9; # 3-10; and # 3-11. By showing these various floral designs that were either created, or taught by, the Grey Nuns, I am pointing out that even within teaching institute, a variety of styles were used. This was also referred to in Chapter 4 when I examined the teaching and styles of the Ursuline Sisters in France.

One might wonder, because of the difference between the Great Slave Lake/ Mackenzie River styles and the typical Grey Nun styles, whether the Grey Nuns were influenced by the Cree/Métis 'B' style that local First Nations people were now creating. Did they adopt and then later teach this style? After all, the Grey Nuns learned a new technique of moose-hair tufting from a Métis woman in Fort Providence. A description of the adoption can be read in Dubin's *Floral Journey* on pages 104 and 105:

> Moose-hair tufting began shortly after World War 1 among the Slavey of Fort Providence. Mrs. Bouvier Laferte, unable to obtain silk, beads, and other materials around the time of the First World War, imitated with moose hair a technique called 'punch work," made with wool. She had seen one of the Grey Nuns decorate the bishop's chair in the community church with wool punch work. Laferte taught the technique to her daughters-in-law and to Sister Leduc, a teacher in the mission school operated by the Grey Nuns in Fort Providence. The craft spread, and moose-hair tufting is now a flourishing art. (Dubin 2014:105)

The Grey Nuns learned the technique from Mrs. Bouvier Laferte and then taught the technique in the mission school.

Chapter Seven- Changes in the Upper Yukon River Style

7-1 Influences and Changes of the Yukon Beading Styles

This chapter will explain the changes that happened to the Upper Yukon River style and how it evolved into the artistic tradition I identify as "The Current Period". Earlier in Chapter 1 I laid out the basic artistic styles as identified in my previous dissertation *History of Yukon First Nations Art*. I identified three timelines: The Geometric, the Floral and the Current Periods. I divided the Current Period into two parts: first the move toward realism and second the adoption of Northwest Coast Indian Art. I identified the forces that resulted in the changing of the Upper Yukon River floral beading style toward realism and toward a simpler style. Since the time that dissertation was produced in 2012 I have become aware of the emergence of an additional beading style. This appears to be a modernization of the floral patterns by younger Yukon First Nations beaders. I will only briefly discuss this new style as I see this evolution in beading designs worthy of more detailed research and cannot give it full justice here.

I will describe those influences and events that contributed to the changes of early Yukon First Nations floral designs into what it is today. The first influence I will discuss is from the coastal Tlingits, with one of their styles effecting the Upper Yukon River style. The Tlingits only influenced those groups that were nearest to them geographically in the southern Yukon. A second change resulted from the arrival of the Americans during the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 and the building of the Alaska (Alcan) Highway during World War Two. The adoption of the eagle as a common beaded image as well as the rise in beading for the tour trade was a result of these events. Third, I will explain how the establishment of the mission schools in the Yukon extinguished much of the culture of Yukon First Nations, further eliminating the floral styles adopted in the mid-1800s. Finally, I will discuss the Athapaskan trait for individuality and how this contributed to leaving the early styles behind.

7-2 Influence from Tlingits

While the Tlingits adopted the Upper Yukon River style, they also worked in other styles. In fact, a main style was more scroll-like than floral. This appears to have been an influence from Russian visual culture. The Tlingits also worked with geometric patterns. This may have been an influence from the Tahltans who beaded in a mostly

geometric style and other interior Athapaskans who previously created geometric patterns in their embroidery. Since the Inland Tlingit lived in the southern Yukon and northern British Columbia and traded and intermarried with Athapaskans, the spreading of styles between the two groups would be certain. I want to stress that there was a lot of individuality in the beaders' artistic expressions and what I am describing are generic imagery characteristics.

The relationship between the Athapaskans and coastal Tlingits was one of trade. Every summer groups of coastal Tlingits would travel to various locations in the interior of the Yukon and northern British Columbia to trade with their Athapaskan trading partners. This was going on before contact and carried on until about the Klondike Gold Rush, when the massive number of gold seekers ended the trade monopoly the Tlingits had previously enjoyed. The trade with the Tlingits brought in the first beads sometime before the 1840s. These beads were obtained from the Russian American Company. There were many other items brought in for trade such as fabrics, tools, and muskets. In return, the Tlingit valued our clothing, bone tools, hides and later the furs that were in demand by the trading companies.

The Upper Yukon First Nations people had an established floral practice by 1883. The United States Army Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka observed this when he made his military reconnaissance into the Yukon. This was the first official but illegal exploration of the Yukon. This floral practice may have been happening earlier as Frederick Whymper in 1867 sketched floral designs that he had seen at Fort Yukon, Alaska. Fort Yukon was frequented by Upper Yukon First Nations traders at that time. Fort Yukon was established in 1847 with the help of Cree and Métis workers who brought their cultural traditions with them to the north.

There was an established Upper Yukon River floral style by the time the United States purchased Alaska from the Russians in 1867. This Cree/Métis 'A', becoming the Upper Yukon River style, spread to the coast and was one of the beading styles the coastal Tlingits worked in. The other main style they worked in was a scroll type. Kate Duncan argues that the coastal Tlingit adopted this from seeing Russian style scroll designs. In her book *Northern Athapaskan Art* Duncan explains the origins of the coastal Tlingit beading style:

> The developed foliate scroll motif that appears in Tlingit beadwork in the 1880s is unmistakably visually like cartouche floral forms that became popular on Northwest Coast engraved silver bracelets slightly earlier. Such forms have no evolutionary roots in the established two-dimensional formline system of the coast. On brackets, cartouche foliate forms appear alone or with an eagle, in a combination familiar on bank notes and letter heads of the period. A standard Victorian motif, cartouche-type foliage was also common in any number of other places at that time-on furniture, sewing machines, china, and product labels, to name a few. (Duncan 1989: 177)

Two examples of Russian style scroll can be seen below in figure # 7-1. These are examples found in auction houses.

Figure # 7-1. Top: Russian 19th Century Silver Niello Pill or Snuff Box. Online auction houses. Bottom: Late 19th century sterling silver Enamel Bracelet. Online auctions houses.

These scroll designs may have been translated into the scroll designs that Tlingits started creating in the 1880s. In figure # 7-2 below is two examples of Inland Tlingit style scroll beaded designs. While not identical to the scroll designs above they are both limited to leaf scrolls and stems, unlike the Upper Yukon River style which had flowers. In figure # 7-3 below is leaf type scroll designs on a gun case. This gun case was collected by Clement Lewis at Teslin Lake in 1912 or before. This is an example of the leaf type scroll designs created by the Inland Tlingit and these designs diffused into the neighbouring Tagish and Southern Tutchone areas. These people sometimes used the Inland Tlingit style and sometimes combined it with the Upper Yukon River style, resulting in a hybrid imagery.

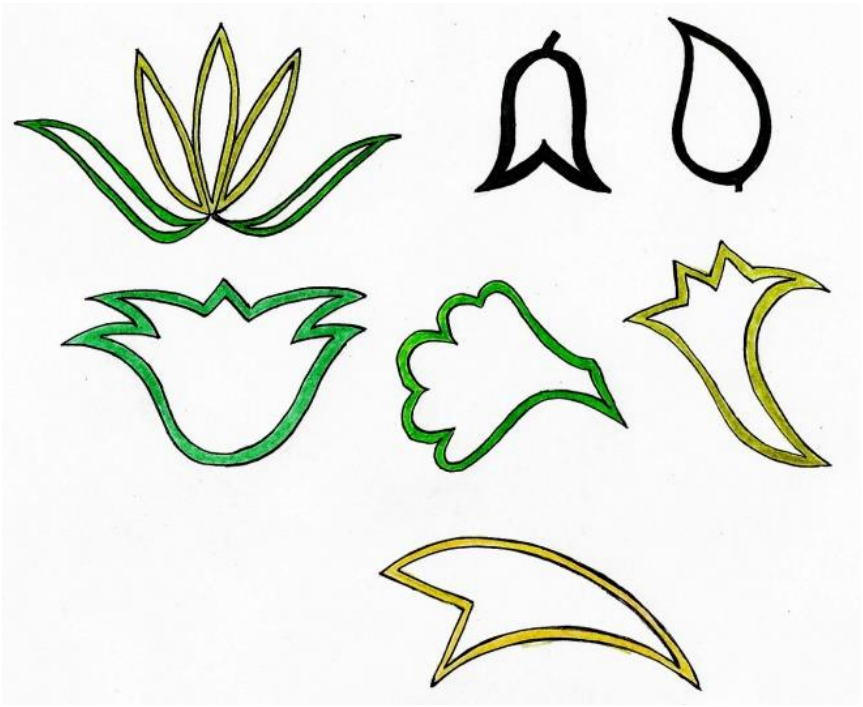
Figure # 7-2. Left: Inland Tlingit bag. VI-J-98. Canadian Museum of History Right: Inland Tlingit octopus bag listed as fire bag. Before 1942. VI-J-89. Canadian Museum of History

Figure # 7-3, Inland Tlingit. 1912 or before. VI-J-31, Canadian Museum of History

I want to remind the reader about the early floral design that arrived in Sitka and discussed in chapter 3. See below in figure # 7-4. This octopus bag was most likely brought to Sitka by Hudson's Bay Company governor George Simpson when he visited Sitka in June 1842. It could be the earliest floral designs made by First Nations in Alaska. There is no record that Tlingits saw this bag, but it is likely there is a connection.

Figures # 7-4. 1830s octopus bag. VK335. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki Finland.

The bag is a combination of scroll and leaf, bell and split shaped motifs. Below in figure # 7-5 I will show these motifs again.



Figures # 7-5. Floral designs from Octopus bag. VK335. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki Finland. UvK drawing.

Examples of the Tlingit scroll influence in the Yukon can be seen in the following examples in figures # 7-6 below. On the left is an octopus bag which was collected by D.D. Cairnes from the Taku Arm of Tagish Lake in the summer of 1911. This bag was made by Annie of the Crow Moiety of the Tagish people. This octopus bag has five legs instead of the standard four. The museum artifact catalogue card states:

> Cairnes' notes read: "Big wall pocket made by Annie. Design supposed to be peculiar to Crow "tribe". "Crow" Indians supposed to have come originally from head of Taku River and Taku Inlet better referred to as Taku Arm of Tagish Lake". (Canadian Museum of History)

I would like to point out that there is no Crow tribe but there is a Crow clan or moiety. On the right below is a Southern Tutchone cartridge belt. On the flap are no flowers, only scroll type leaf designs. The strap does have four petal rosettes and a simple straight stem connecting the motifs, as there is on the flap. This cartridge belt

was originally from Hootalinqua located in the northern part of Southern Tutchone territory, bordering Northern Tutchone territory. These two examples are showing the blending between the Tlingit and the Upper Yukon River styles.

Figure # 7-6. Left: Octopus bag. Annie of the Crow Moiety of the Tagish people. Collected 1911 Tagish, Yukon. VI-P-3. Canadian Museum of History
Right: Cartridge belt. Southern Tutchone. Collected 1911. Hootalinqua, Yukon. Canadian Museum of History

As mentioned, there was a two-way diffusion between the coast and the interior and despite what is said below, the coastal Tlingit did use the Upper Yukon River style of floral designs. For example, Kate Duncan explains her reasons for the Tlingits adopting the scroll-like motifs as their beading style:

> The attitudes of the Tlingit people towards the neighboring Athapaskans suggest an explanation for the sudden appearance of a Tlingit foliate style. Despite their ties through trade, the Tlingit considered the Athapaskans inferior. But they admired their bead work. The Tlingit woman who wanted to produce floral beadwork but within a tradition culturally her own had available in the bracelet designs a floral style both unlike Athapaskan work and already established (albeit briefly) in her culture. In developing a beaded version, she could produce foliate work that was clearly Tlingit. (Duncan 1989: 177)

While I agree with Duncan that the Tlingits adopted their beading style from the scroll foliate, I do not agree that they purposely decided not to copy the Athapaskan

bead styles because they felt superior to the Athapaskans. The Tlingits had no problems in trading and wearing Athapaskan hide clothing, bone tools and shaman pendants which they valued highly. In fact, almost all south-central Yukon artefacts in museums that were collected before the Klondike Gold Rush were collected from the Tlingits and not from the Yukon First Nations themselves. In addition, the Tlingits adopted the geometric motifs they saw in the tunic breastbands to use on their baskets. Even today when I am visiting Alaska and meet Tlingits they are proud of their family's connections to the interior. In this photograph you can see at least four sets of Athapaskan style hide clothing showing the value the Tlingits put on their connections with the interior. Shown are also a variety of other regalia, including several dance shirts, robes, and button blankets.

Figure # 7-7. Gathering at Klukwan, Alaska 1895. ASL-P87-0018

Given that the floral designs into the upper Yukon River region from Fort Yukon started before the 1860s, Tlingit traders to the interior would have been seeing the Upper Yukon River style for over two decades before they started creating their own scroll type bead designs in the 1880s. Since the coastal Tlingits admired Athapaskan material culture there is no reason why they would not also adopt the Upper Yukon River style as one of their beading traditions. Older photographs of Tlingit gatherings show examples of upper Yukon River style beaded designs.

Figure # 7-8. Last Potlatch, Sitka circa 1894. ASL-P93-51.

The title of this photograph in figure # 7-8 above is "Last Potlatch" and was taken in Sitka about 1894. Take note of the man standing at the left, who is wearing a beaded dance shirt. The "V" breastband is reminiscent of the earlier hide tunics traded from the interior. Along the breastband and around the bottom is a floral type of beadwork. You can see along the bottom a large multi-pedaled flower motif. There is stem work leading from that flower to leaf motifs. Along the breastband is a series of leaf motifs that are connected by a stem. These are the two most common places beads were applied to dance shirts. Beside him is a man sitting and has what appears to be a Hudson Bay blanket wrapped around him. In quite a few potlatch photographs there is a man wearing some type of blanket wrapped around him. The tall fourth man standing in the back row from the left also appears to be wearing a dance shirt with a deep "V", much like the earlier mentioned dance shirt. The man on the right is holding a ceremonial dance paddle. He has a bird on his dance shirt and flower bead designs at the bottom. I want to point out that he is wearing the interior style hide trousers. There are two button blankets in the photograph.

Figure # 7-9. Cow-Dik-Ney and Cluch. 1906. ASL-P226-054.

In the above photograph are Cow-Dik-Ney and Cluch in a portrait studio. The photograph is copyrighted from 1906. Cow-Dik-Ney is wearing what appears to be a hide dance shirt with a geometric breastband pattern that often appears on Tlingit, Inland Tlingit and sometimes Tutchone breastbands. The bottom of the tunic has floral bead designs that have an appearance of scroll foliage, but I can also see flowers and stem work. The bead work appears to be a combination of an interior and scroll type design. The tunic that Cow-Dik-Ney is wearing has a straight bottom and not pointed like most other hide tunics. I would guess that this tunic is a cross between the older hide tunics and newer dance shirts. The dance shirt that Cluch is wearing is made of fabric and has large 8-pedal flowers with stem works that connect a series

of scroll type leaf motifs. These are just some examples of the coastal Tlingits using flowers and stem work in their beaded designs. This makes me suggest that there was serious interior influence in the bead designs since the silver bracelet scroll work had a lack of flowers and stem work.

The photograph in figure # 7-7 above was taken in Klukwan, Alaska, which was a major Chilkat Tlingit community. From this location the Chilkats would depart to Southern and Northern Tutchone villages to trade. They would travel as far as the present day Fort Selkirk, over 600 kilometers from Klukwan. Many scholars stated that they felt that the Tlingits looked down on the Athapaskans and easily got the better of the Athapaskans in trading deals. I believe that those scholars were biased and stopped short of looking at the situation from the side of the Athabaskans. For example, European Americans valued beaver pelts highly and would go to great lengths to obtain the fur, creating a world network of trading forts and posts. They could trade something like a copper kettle or glass beads for a beaver pelt. They felt that they were getting those furs for unbelievably cheap. But looking at the situation in reverse, the attainment of glass beads or copper kettles for easily obtainable beaver pelts made for an exceptionally good deal!

There is another example of the intermixing of material culture between the coast and the interior. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as traded cloth was beginning to replace hide clothing, cloth dance shirts became popular to wear during potlatches and ceremonies. In *My Old People Say*, McClellan says:

> Many Yukon "dance shirts" resemble the well-known style from the coast tribes. They probably represent a cross between the old interior skin shirt and imported western-style garments, including a dash of military. Indeed, the coastal Tlingit often describe their own dance shirts as "gunana" (foreign), in this case referring to their inland neighbors of the Yukon and British Columbia. They are rather long, tailored affairs, usually of red or black and often beaded bib-like yokes. (McClellan 2001: 322)

This seems to indicate that at the very least the dance shirts were influenced by the early interior made hide tunics, to be adopted on the coast. Thus, the status of the earlier valued hide clothing was carried on with the dance shirts. There are two distinguished dance shirt styles, the Athapaskan dance shirts with mostly floral designs and the coastal and Inland Tlingit dance shirts that often have clans or other animal images on them. The Tahltans added clan images to their dance shirts as well. The Tlingit also made dance shirts with floral designs, but it seemed that other than the Tahltans, Athapaskans did not put clan or other images on their dance shirts. McClellan states:

> Although the designs on dance shirts from the interior are preponderantly stylized plant forms, some Tagish and Inland Tlingit shirts and blankets are decorated with sib animal crests. (McClellan 2001: 322)

We can conclude that there was a great deal of mixing of styles between the coast and the interior which effected the floral styles in the southern Yukon. In the southern Yukon, the Upper Yukon River style gave way to what I will now identify as the Southern Yukon Hybrid style. This mixed style did not last beyond World War Two and fell by the wayside along with all early Yukon floral designs.

7-3 Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 and the building of the Alaska (Alcan) Highway

While these style changes were happening between First Nations groups, the changes were influenced by the social-cultural take-over of the Yukon by white people. An adoption of eagle images and a simplification of the floral designs started with the Klondike Gold Rush and had solidified by the end of World War Two. Yukon First Nations continued to live a hunter-gather lifestyle after the gold rush until World War Two. After World War Two things changed dramatically which I will discuss later. For now, I will explain how these two events had a huge effect on the floral beading styles in the Yukon.

The first big change to the Upper Yukon River style occurred with the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898. This gold rush brought over 40,000 white men into the Yukon in the spring of 1898 and resulted in the creation of the city of Dawson and town of Whitehorse. Most of these outsiders were from the United States and they wanted souvenirs of their time in the Yukon. They wanted Native American made mementos but with a United States feel to them. The result was the demand for the American Eagle image. This started the trend of beading eagles even though in Yukon Athapaskan culture they are not an important bird, maybe ranking 7th in the bird hierarchy! Below in figure # 7-10 are two images of Athapaskan beaded eagles. On the left, while not exact, is obviously the Great American Seal image of the eagle. This is a Han creation of the time of the Klondike Gold Rush or shortly after, made for an American gold stampeder. On the right is a mid-century Northern Tutchone beaded eagle. This eagle is on a pair of mitts that comes from Carmacks, Yukon and is one of the contemporary standard styles of beaded eagles. There are about four standard eagle designs and several variations to those.

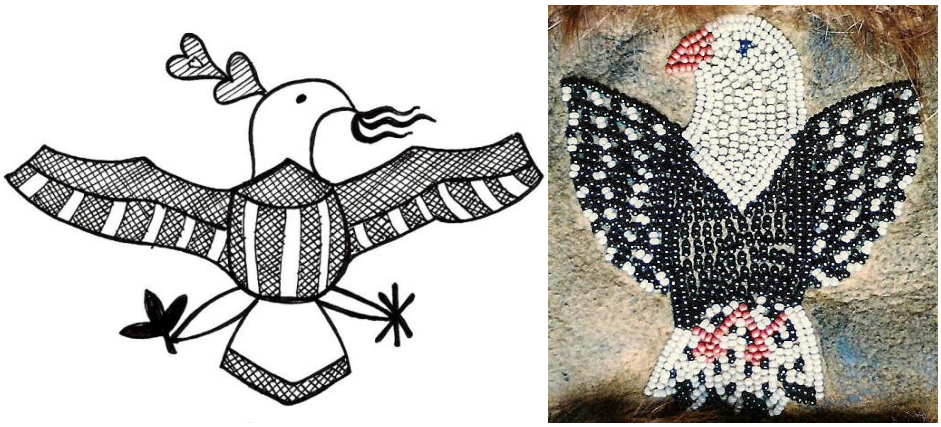


Figure # 7-10. Left: Han tourist Eagle on pillowcase. Collected between 1898 and 1914. University of Alaska Fairbanks Museum, UA 72.29.5 UvK Drawing. Right: Northern Tutchone eagle design. Mid-late 1900s. UvK Collection.

The bird that is traditionally most important for south-central Yukon First Nations is Crow (Raven). Crow created the world and was a deity that helped make the world livable for humans. He represents one of the clans or moieties. Second in importance is the Owl which stands opposite of Crow, for owls are bringers of bad luck and death. Third are Swans, the most spiritual animal, and its parts are used by shamans in rituals, dance, and decoration. The fourth bird is seagull, a symbol of trade. During the start of spring coastal Tlingits came from the coast to trade. Likewise, the seagulls came to the Yukon to get the wealth of the land. When winter came and Tlingits left, so did the seagulls. The fifth are Thunderbirds. These are immensely powerful birds and dangerous but very pretty and smaller than a seagull. Another lesser important bird is the Canada Jay (Camp Robber). When this bird joins you in a hunt you will be successful, so the bird is a bringer of good luck. Then there is the grouse.

The Athapaskans learned that the male birds were fancier than the females and the males had to perform for the females to try and impress them for mates. So, men wore fancier clothing than females and did the grouse dance to impress the girls. We come from a matrilineal culture and males are the ones to show off to the females, much like it is in nature. It is around here that eagles are ranked. In the old stories they were huge and ate people. As you can see, eagles do not have the same importance as they are for other Native American groups. But the Americans wanted eagles and so they got them. The market for beaded eagles was reinforced with the coming of World War Two, before 11,000 United States Soldiers and 16,000 Canadian and American civilians built the Alcan (Alaska) Highway in 1942. Again, these Americans wanted souvenirs and desired the eagle image. The eagle has

since become a standard beaded, painted, and carved image for Yukon First Nations.

The adoption of beading eagles along with the Tlingit practice of beading clan images on their clothing lead to Athapaskans starting to bead various animals. I will briefly discuss this later in the chapter.

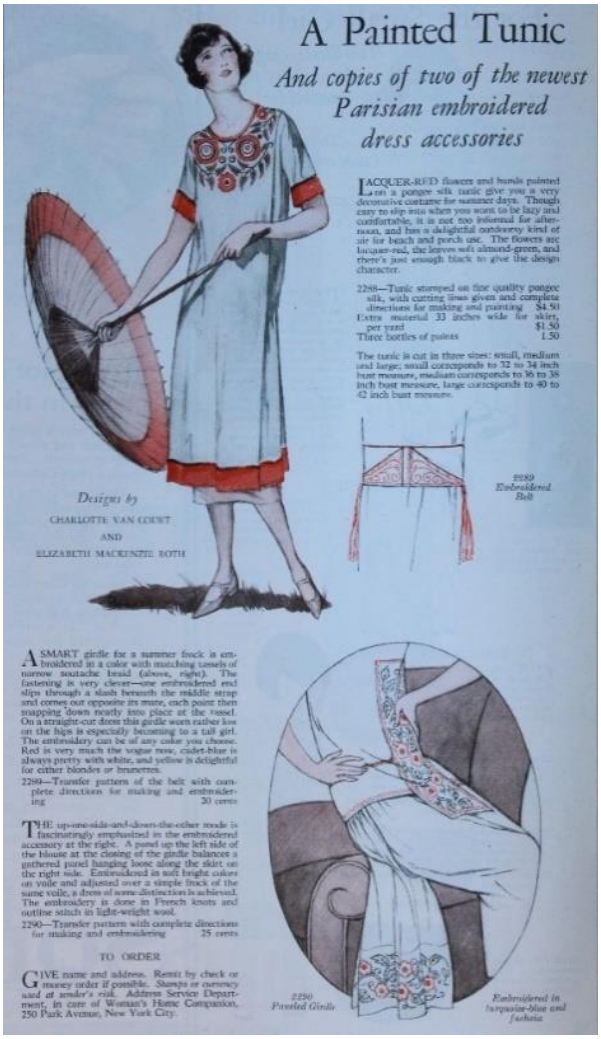
With the white social-political take over of the Yukon, and once the communities in the Yukon were established, there was a practice of segregation. White people did not want First Nations people to be in their newly formed communities and the First Nations settlements were established outside the limits of the city or town. The segregation was easy to impose for First Nations people were not citizens but the wards of the crown and could not vote or hold office or hold any position other than a labour or other unskilled worker position. This segregation was widespread. For example, First Nations people were not allowed in drinking establishments nor were they allowed to drink alcohol anywhere else. Children could not attend public schools and even the hospitals were segregated. This occurred in many communities such as Whitehorse, Mayo, Carmacks and Dawson City. In Dawson City, while First Nations people could visit the town during the day, they had to be outside the limits by 8 pm. It had little effect on First Nations people since we carried on living our hunter-gather lifestyle and only came to the communities for supplies. Until World War Two our main contacts with White people were men wood cutting in the summer for the steamboats, trading furs at the trading posts in the winter and women making crafts for sale for tourism.

A result of the two rushes of Americans into the territory was a new demand for Indian crafts. To meet the demand and to produce as many beaded items as possible in the shortest time floral designs started to simplify. This coupled with the banning of First Nations potlatches resulted in little occasion for First Nations people to wear fancy clothing. By the 1880s First Nations people were almost universally wearing trade clothing and were no longer making hide clothing. After World War Two, the only time where we would have worn traditionally made clothing was during our potlatches and other rituals, but these were now often suppressed. If clothing was decorated it was on jackets, mitts, and moccasins. People were hardly making fancy clothing for family and clan members but were often making simple items for the tourist market. Moccasins and small bags became popular items later. I will discuss the simpler floral designs later in this chapter.

7-4 Printed Media influenced Design Changes

The floral beading designs also changed because of the many more floral images that could be examined after colonization. First Nations people gained access to newspapers, magazines, catalogues, and all forms of advertising. Elders reported to me that the T-Eaton's catalogues were a great source of new floral designs. Even in mission schools floral designs could be learned. My mother Hazel Guyett (nee Smith) informed me that when she was attending the Baptist Mission School in Whitehorse in the 1940s she attended classes that were taught by a well known Yukon artist, Lilias Farley. Farley was not teaching beadwork but painting of flowers. The flowers that my mother learned to paint in class she later converted to beads and added them to moccasins.

Some floral design examples can be seen in early twentieth century magazines. You can see images from three magazines below in figures # 7-11, # 7-12 & # 7-13. The first is a United States magazine, Woman's Home Companion, the June 1925 edition. Published in the United States and targeting the strong United States presence in the Yukon, first from the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 and later with the building of the Alaska Highway by the United States Army in 1942. The next images are from the May 1943 edition of Chatelaine, a Canadian published magazine. The third is the United Kingdom June 1953 Woman and Home magazine. While a British magazine, it was also distributed in Canada. All three magazines are part of my collection and were collected in Canada. They cover a period of three decades.



A Painted Tunic

And copies of two of the newest Parisian embroidered dress accessories

LACQUER-RED flowers and fronds painted on a pongee silk tunic give you a very decorative costume for summer days. Though easy to slip into when you want to be lazy and comfortable, it is not too informal for afternoon, and has a delightful outdoorsy kind of air for beach and porch use. The flowers are lacquer-red, the leaves soft almond-green, and there's just enough black to give the design character.

2288—Tunic stamped on fine quality pongee silk, with cutting lines given and complete directions for making and painting . $4.50
Extra material 33 inches wide for skirt, per yard . $1.50
Three bottles of paints . 1.50

The tunic is cut in three sizes: small, medium and large; small corresponds to 32 to 34 inch bust measure, medium corresponds to 36 to 38 inch bust measure, large corresponds to 40 to 42 inch bust measure.

Designs by
CHARLOTTE VAN COURT
AND
ELIZABETH MACKENZIE BOTH

2289 Embroidered Belt

A SMART girdle for a summer frock is embroidered in a color with matching tassels of narrow soutache braid (above, *right*). The fastening is very clever—one embroidered end slips through a slash beneath the middle strap and comes out opposite its mate, each point then snapping down neatly into place at the vessel. On a straight-cut dress this girdle worn rather low on the hips is especially becoming to a tall girl. The embroidery can be of any color you choose. Red is very much the vogue now, cadet-blue is always pretty with white, and yellow is delightful for either blondes or brunettes.

2290—Transfer pattern of the belt with complete direction for making and embroidering . 20 cents

THE up-one-side-and-down-the-other mode is fascinatingly emphasized in the embroidered accessory at the right. A panel up the left side of the blouse at the closing of the girdle balances a gathered panel hanging loose along the skirt on the right side. Embroidered in soft bright colors on voile and adjusted over a simple frock of the same voile, a dress of some distinction is achieved. The embroidery is done in French knots and outline stitch in light-weight wool.

2290—Transfer pattern with complete directions for making and embroidering . 25 cents

TO ORDER

GIVE name and address. Remit by check or money order if possible. *Stamps* or currency sent at sender's risk. Address Service Department, in care of Woman's Home Companion, 250 Park Avenue, New York City.

2290 Painted Girdle

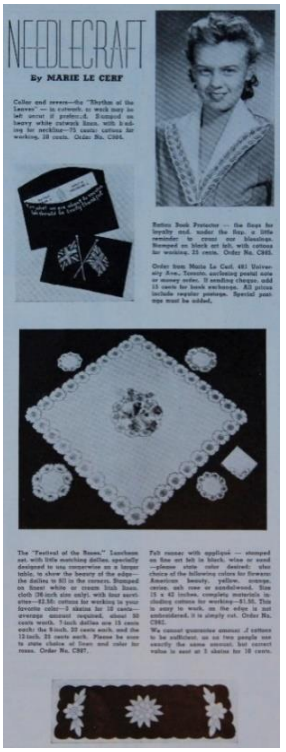
Embroidered in turquoise-blue and fuchsia

Figure # 7-11. Woman's Home Companion Magazine. The Crowell Publishing Company. New York. Vol. LII, Number 6. June 1925. Page 94. UvK Collection.

In the example below is the detail of the drawing of the woman wearing a dress with floral pattens along the top in figure # 7-12. While the image from the magazine is from 1925 and the image of the Athapaskan woman below is from 1884, I want to point out the similarities. Both have floral designs flow around the top and are long dresses. Athapaskans were familiar with designs around the top of the dress and the floral designs on the dresses they saw in fashion magazines may have easily translated into their own creations. The woman is described as a Tennanah woman but now Tanana is used to identify that same group of people. They are from eastern Alaska and western Yukon region.

Figure # 7-12. Left: Detail from Woman's Home Companion Magazine. The Crowell Publishing Company. New York. Vol. LII, Number 6. June 1925. Page 94. UvK Collection.
Right: Detail of print titled Tennanah Tribe-Man and Woman. A. Hoen & Co. Lith. Baltimore. 1884. UvK Collection

In the example in figure # 7-13 below is a design from the May 1943 edition of Chatelaine Magazine. It shows needlecraft floral designs. I noted the simple seven pedal rosettes at the edges of the image on the right and they look like the six pedal rosettes that my great grandmother Annie Ned used to make. Annie Ned was born sometime in the 1880s and died in 1995. She passed on the floral pattern to her granddaughter, my mother Hazel Guyett, who later gave it to me. See figure # 7-14 below.


NEEDLECRAFT

By MARIE LE CERF

Figure # 7-13. Chatelaine. Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd. Toronto. Vol. 15, No. 5. May 1943. Page 66. UvK Collection.

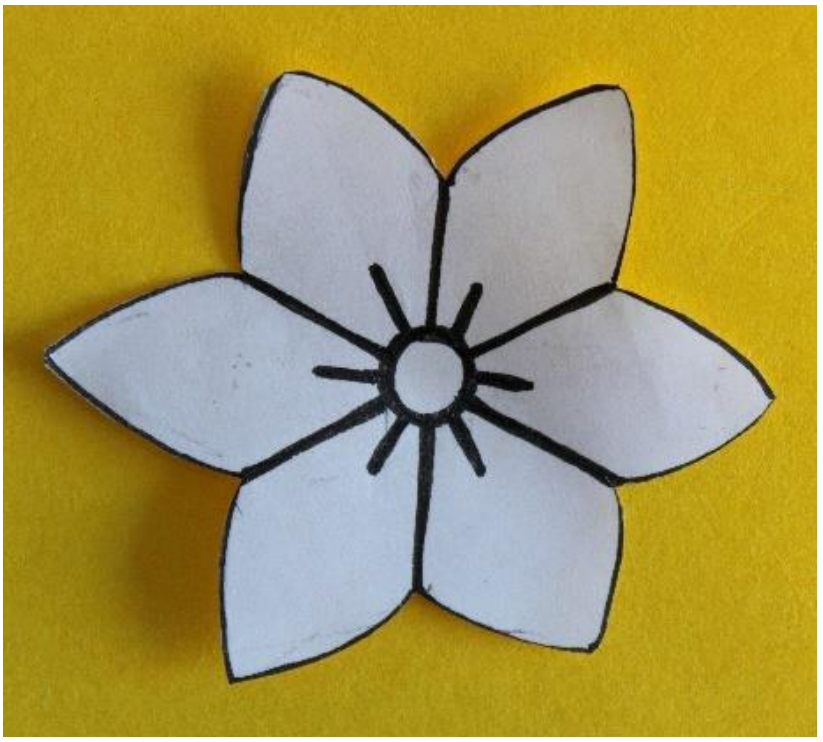


Figure # 7-14. Annie Ned flower pattern. Southern Tutchone. UvK Collection.

A final example of floral designs in printed media are images from the British 1953 Woman and Home magazine shown in figure # 7-15 below. These are more realistic flowers. There was a trend after World War Two for some Yukon beaders to create floral designs that looked more realistic. You can see examples of this in figure # 7-16 below. Southern Tutchone Da Kwául (Lydia Kushniruk) beaded a hide jacket with floral designs that are not anything like the floral designs adopted by Yukon First Nations originally. By this time Yukon First Nations are either creating their own styles or using the standard simple flower patterns for beadwork to sell to tourists.

Figure # 7-15. Woman and Home. The Amalgamated Press Ltd. London. June 1953. Pages 42-43. UvK Collection.

Figure # 7-16. Details of Da Kwául (Lydia Kushniruk) hide jacket. Southern Tutchone. Mid-1900s. Diane Strand Collection

7-5 World War Two and aftermath

World War Two resulted in many changes for Yukon First Nations. The war caused a drastic drop in fur prices, which was the economy for First Nations people. It began costing more money to go out fur trapping than what was earned from fur sales. The result was that people had to stop trapping and living in the wilderness and had to seek employment in the communities. It was also the time when the Yukon Government changed the law and required First Nations children to attend

the Indian Mission Schools which were being built in Yukon communities. In the war effort the Untied States Army built a whole infrastructure in the Yukon. A series of airports and airstrips were built, and the Alaska (Alcan) Highway was built along with the Canol, Haines and Aishihik Roads. Before this there were no roads in the Yukon and the only way to get to the Yukon from Canada was to sail from Vancouver and catch the train from Skagway, Alaska. To get to Dawson City from the rail terminus of Whitehorse one had to sail by steam paddle-wheeler. The result of World War Two was to open the Yukon up to the outside world via the Alaska Highway and a series of airstrips.

In many cases the children were forcefully removed from their families by the police and taken to the mission schools. Before World War Two there was one Mission School in Carcross and a Half Breed Hostel in Dawson City. After World War Two five new mission schools were built in Whitehorse and Lower Post, British Columbia. Parents wanted to be close to their children so many moved into those communities. As I have mentioned, before these changes most First Nations people lived the traditional year round, spending the summers at fish camps and sometimes working for the steamboat companies cutting wood at remote locations near the river systems. The winters were spent on the trap line. After World War Two most First Nations people were living in the communities. This was also a time of multi-generational attendance to the mission schools or residential schools. My grandmother attended the Anglican Church mission school in Carcross. My mother attended to Baptist Church Mission school in Whitehorse in the 1940s and I attended the Canadian Government run Yukon Hall residential school in Whitehorse in the 1970s. See figures # 7-17.

With the lack of visual culture and only limited to labour employment, such as working as a chamber maid or waitressing, many women earned additional income selling souvenirs to locals and tourists. The designs no longer had any cultural significance and so easy designs became popular. The five pedal rosettes became quite common as were its variations, such as four or six pedal and overlapping rosettes. These became the standard pattern used by many beaders. They also used the cabbage rose patterns. I want to point out that the beading on the moccasins and mukluks may not have been the same person as the maker of the shoe ware itself. It was, and is, common for people making moccasins or mukluks to buy ready made beaded vamps. There were some beaders that focused on only making vamps and selling them to other beaders. Below in figure # 7-18 are two examples of these simple rosette designs that were popular at least by the 1970s, if not earlier. Below the rosettes are two examples of the cabbage rosettes in figure # 7-19. They were common slightly later.

Figure # 7-17. Top: Baptist Indian Mission School. Whitehorse 1940s. Author's mother in this photograph. Baptist Church photograph
Bottom: Yukon Hall Indian Residential School. Whitehorse 1974. Author is sick on this photograph day and is looking out of the top left hand window at the proceedings. Canadian Government Photograph. UvK Collection

Figure # 7-18. Two examples of late 1900s rosette designs. Unknown beaders. UvK Collection.

Figure # 7-19. Top: Leda Jules. Late 1900s Kaska. Collection of Leda Jules. Bottom: Marge Jackson. Southern Tutchone. Late 1900s Southern Tutchone. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Heritage Collection.

This trend toward simpler flower designs not only happened in the Yukon but across Canada as well. It would become harder in the late 1900s to recognize where a piece of bead work was created. Some areas in Canada have started a revival of the earlier styles but this has not happened in the Yukon.

7-6 Individuality and Animal Designs

The changes that occurred to the original Upper Yukon River style were a result of two major forces: the Athapaskan trait of importance of individuality and a series of world events that I have already described earlier that directly caused the beading style to change.

While early Athapaskan art from the Yukon and region was largely affected by the limited choice of materials that resulted in similar styles across northern Athapaskan territories, there was individuality within the style. There were common motifs such as the circle within a circle, but I have never seen two identical patterns of that motif. This is true for all patterns. I have seen similar styles, but these were often made by people related to each other such as fathers and sons or brothers, mothers and daughters, and sisters. Once Yukon First Nations adopted the Cree/Métis 'A' style and master it, they began exploring individual ways to create their own designs. Today, people in First Nations communities can attribute a bead design to an individual. Champagne and Aishihik First Nation community members can quickly recognize the beadwork of Elders, but have a harder time recognizing beading styles from other communities, unless they have a link to those Elders. In figure # 7-20 left below is a beaded mukluk made by Elder Sadie Brown. She is known for including birds on the boot top. In figure # 7-20 right is beadwork from Frances Joe who is known to often place strawberries on her designs. This trait she learned from her mother Jessie Joe.

Figure # 7-20. Left: Sadie Brown blue bird on moccasin. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Heritage Collection.
Right: Frances Joe strawberries on hide vest. UvK collection

As discussed, originally Athapaskan people only beaded flower designs, but because the Tlingits had clan animals on their clothing, Athapaskans started to do the same. See figure # 7-21 below.


Figure # 7-21. Left: Marge Jackson Wolf on hide vest. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Heritage Collection.
Right: Lydia Kushniruk Crow on jacket. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Heritage Collection.

Starting after World War two animal designs were beaded for another reason. Elders have reported to me that since many men were big game guides, the men they were guiding commented that wearing flowers was for women and that they should be wearing animals. From this point on many men no longer wanted to be wearing flowers and wanted animals on their jackets. Often the animals were the ones that the hunters were after. For example, in figure # 7-22 below is a sheep, a popular animal for big game hunters. There was not a sudden switch over as men still carried on wearing jackets and vests with flower designs. As you can see in figure # 7-22 Bottom, women wore animal designs as well.

Figure # 7-22. Top: Sheep on vest by unknown artist. Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Heritage Collection. Bottom: Lydia Kushniruk and Stella Jim. Note moose design on jacket. Winter Carnival late 1940s. Rolf Hougen photograph.

7-7 Recent Style Changes

The changes after World War Two included a simplification of the flower designs and an addition of beaded animal images. This trend continues to this day but very recently there has been a surge of new beading designs. These designs are generally made by younger beaders. The designs have little link to the earlier adopted Upper Yukon River style or even the simplified floral and animal images that replaced this style. The contemporary beading styles are quite individual and very colourful. My impression is that it reflects today's modern culture. Some of these younger beaders are Kaylyn Jasmine Baker and Heather Dickson.

Conclusions

I think I have satisfactorily demonstrated that the floral designs adopted by Yukon First Nations people originated in France and came to Fort Yukon via the Cree/Metis Hudson's Bay Company workers. This happened before the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style was adopted in the Northwest Territories; therefore, Yukon First Nations' beadwork was not a simplification of that style.

My research of floral designs starts with the examination of the Upper Yukon River beading style which was adopted in the mid-late 1800s. Tracing back in time, I argue that the early Yukon First Nations floral bead designs were adopted from the Cree/Métis 'A' style. This happened directly from the Cree and Métis Hudson's Bay Company workers who were employed at Fort Yukon starting in 1847. I note that the Upper Yukon River style is almost identical to the Cree/Métis 'A' style. I further argue that the Cree/Métis floral designs were themselves adopted from First Nations groups from the east: the Iroquois, Huron, and Ojibwa (Anishinaabe). The Cree/Métis designs modified the style after the initial adoption, but the basic structure of the designs is present. The Huron were the first to adopt either the French regional floral styles or the French Baroque style that came over from France in the 1600s.

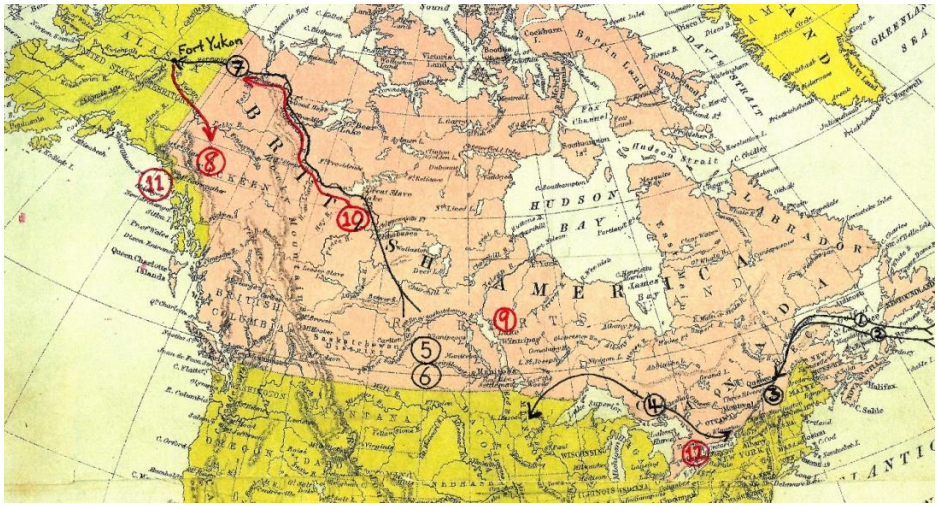
Via the Huron the two French styles spread across Canada and I illustrate that the Cree/Métis 'A' style is an adoption of the French Regional styles, and the Cree/Métis 'B' style is an adoption of the French Baroque style. I also include other influences, such as the Norwegian floral styles, and I comment on the effects of the tourist trade. In the last chapter I explain why the Upper Yukon River style vanished and was replaced by what I identify as the 'Current Period'. I conclude with a brief comment on the emergence in the Yukon of new styles created by mostly younger beaders. This new style needs documentation as it may reflect the emergence of new political and social powers of Yukon First Nations people.

In Map # 9 I trace the main styles and their routes across Canada, from Quebec to the Upper Yukon. The dates are not firm except for the arrival of the Ursulines in Quebec, and the Cree/Métis Hudson's Bay Company workers in Fort Yukon.

1) 1639 Ursuline Sisters bring French Regional Styles to New France.
2) 1671 Ursuline Sisters bring Baroque Style from Paris to New France..
3) Late 1700s, Huron and later Iroquois adoption of both French regional and Baroque floral designs.
4) Early-mid 1800s Anishinaabe adoption of floral styles

5) Early-mid 1800s Cree/Métis adoption of French regional floral styles becoming Cree/Métis 'A' style.
6) Mid 1800s Cree/Métis adoption of French Baroque floral style becoming Cree/Métis 'B' style.
7) 1847 Cree/Métis 'A' style arrives in Fort Yukon.
8) Mid-1800s-Upper Yukon First Nations adopt Cree/Métis 'A' style.
9) Mid-1800s Norwegian style adopted in Winnipeg Lake area.
10) 1880s Mackenzie River region adopts Cree/Métis 'B' style becoming the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River style.
11) 1880s, In addition to the Upper Yukon River style the Coastal Tlingits adopt the 'scroll' style of beading. Possibly an adoption of Russian scroll designs.
12) Late 1700-early 1800s Development of tourist beading style.

Note that numbers 9 and 10, the Norwegian style and Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River styles do not directly influence early Yukon beading styles.



Map # 9. Spread of floral designs across Canada into the Yukon. UvK Collection

Above is a basic overview of the spread of floral beading styles across Canada. There are numerous regional and community styles that evolved from the main floral designs that came to, and travelled across Canada. For those scholars examining the local styles, this dissertation can be a starting point.

I have been fortunate to work as an insider during the process. Being First Nations has allowed me to have a body of knowledge already in place before the start of my research. This included having long standing connections with Elders and their

interest in my research. Besides passing on knowledge to me they were also happy to show me items from their own collections, some of which have been included in this dissertation.

The available literature as well as the museums and convents allowed me to expand on that established knowledge. Some of the literature I found focused on details at the expense of the big picture. Those that did give a big picture I found to be unsatisfying. However, the available literature did give me a starting point for my own research where I was also able to expand on, or modify, what had already been written.

All the museums and convents that I visited were welcoming and helpful. One would think that all museums would want to help an indigenous person research their own culture but in my first PhD research I found this not always to be the case. Some museums were impatient with me examining their artifacts and in one case a museum in the United Kingdom cancelled my booked visit when a 'higher status' visitor wanted to examine the collections at the same time. This caused great inconvenience with rebooking my international travel.

When I started the research I envisioned a clear path of one floral style from France to the Yukon. I was already familiar with the French regional styles in my previous travels and saw the likeness of the French and Yukon styles. It appears there is a direct path from 1600s France to the mid-1800s Yukon in floral designs. However, I had been unaware of the strong influence of the Baroque Style on floral designs in Canada. This explains the two main floral styles that were used in Canada.

Based on the designs, the spread of floral styles across Canada looked straight forward but there were huge gaps in information for some time periods and regions. In addition, many books on beading focused on recent practices and some seemed to inject political ideas into the design motivations of the beaders. For instance, some writers were describing the designs as resistance to colonialization. However, people were often beading to earn money. Also people replaced their earlier styles because of the beauty of the floral designs and material.

One of the main motivations of this research was to answer questions concerning the adoption of floral bead designs in the Yukon. I feel that this research has generally answered them for me. I would like to stress that this is an overview and that different regions may have their own unique styles or variations of other styles. Some regions are quite complex such as the areas of north-central British Columbia described by Duncan as the Laird-Fraser Region. This area seems to have adopted the floral beading styles of the areas they bordered. For example, the very north could be influenced by the Tahltans while the east influenced by the Cree. I have only included regions or styles that have a bearing on the floral designs in the Yukon so I did not analyze this situation further.

My research and travel activities lead me to having an art exhibition in Tours, France. The exhibition was a series of my paintings and photographs based on floral designs used by Marie of the Incarnation (Marie Guyart) when she left Tours and came to New France. These same designs eventually spread to the Yukon. Below in figure # 8-1 are two photographs of my exhibition opening at Á la Maison Diocésaine, 13 rue des Ursulines à Tours 30 April 2019. Interestingly, some of the people who attended the exhibition stated that they did not believe that floral designs from Tours could be the floral designs adopted by the Native American people of northern Canada, thousands of kilometers away. I am assuming that it seemed for those people to be too far a distance to have an influence.

I will add that the overall reception by the Ursuline Sisters was very positive. They were as interested in my research as I was interested in their historical involvement related to the floral designs. Besides getting shown around the Ursuline museum in Tours the Sisters arranged my art exhibition at their institute. At the convent in Beaugency I was toured the collections and was able to stay at the convent in Beaugency and have my meals with the Sisters. This was one of the highlights of all my research trips! The sisters also helped arrange meetings with other related Ursuline collections, such as those at the Musées d'Amiens Métropole, the Musée de Picardie in Amiens. I am grateful for the additional help they gave me which went beyond the normal assistance rendered by institutes.

Figure # 8-1. Top and bottom: Ukjese van Kampen floral designs art exhibition at Á la Maison Diocésaine, Tours. France. 30 April 2019. UvK Collection

I believe that any historical research provides my culture with more grounding and strengthens life's meaning and pride so needed for my people. I hope I have accomplished this. Unfortunately Yukon First Nations do not have the luxury to wait too long for clarifying aspects of their past, as material evidence is scarce and our greatest resource, our Elders, are passing away. At times it has felt like a race against time.

I hope this dissertation provides beaders, researchers and people interested in the subject a starting point for their own research. I also like to think that present day beaders in the Yukon will be motivated and inspired by this new information and help them in their creative endeavours. Lastly, I hope that future Yukon First Nations' generations benefit from something tangible, this dissertation, to call uniquely their own.

I look forward to seeing more papers on this historical subject.

Dr. Ukjese van Kampen
January 2022

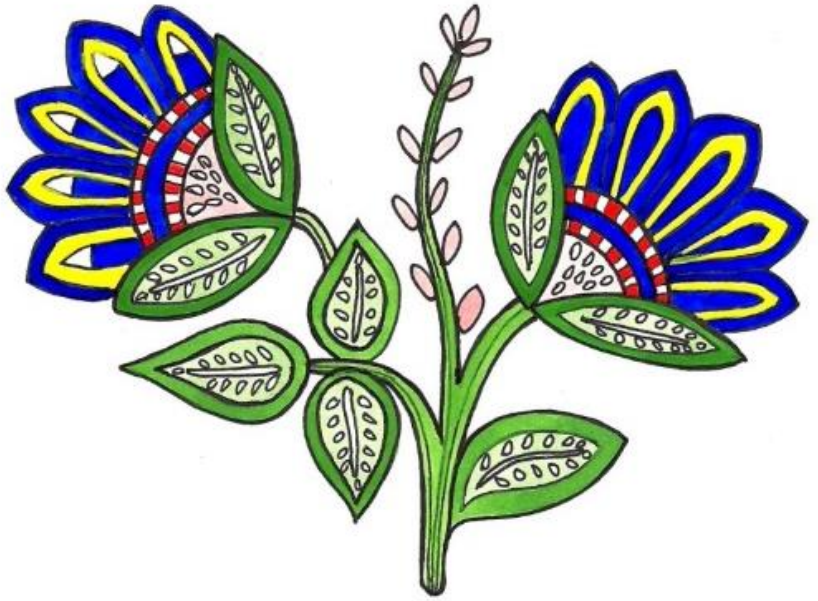


Figure # 8-2. Annie Ned floral design. Early-mid 1900s. UvK drawing.

Bibliography

Beaulieu, d'Alain and Chaffray, Stepanie. *Representation, miscegenation and power*. Tanguay, Jean. *Margueite Vincent Lawinonkie: The woman skilled in needlework*. Quebec City. Press of Laval University. 2012

Brasser, Ted J. *"Bo'jou, Neejee!".* Ottawa. National Museum of Man. 1976.

Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, *Gúyàt*. Haines Junction. 2013.

Chatelaine. Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd. Toronto. Vol. 15, No. 5. May 1943.

Coates, Kenneth. *Best Left as Indians.* Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

Croix, Horst de la & Tansey, Richard G. *Art Through the Ages eighth edition* San Diego: Hardcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1986.

Cruikshank, Julie. *Life Lived Like a Story*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990.

Curtis, Edward. *The North American Indian, Volume 18.* Massachusetts: The Plimpton Press, 1928

Dubin, Lois S. *Floral Journey*. Seattle and London. University of Washington Press. 2014

Duchaussois, Rev. Father P. O.M.I. *The Grey Nuns of the Far North.* Toronto McClelland & Stewart Publishers. 1919

Duncan, Kate. *Northern Athapaskan Art: A Beadwork Tradition.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd, 1989.

Elliot, Dolores N. Two Centuries of Iroquois Beadwork Syracuse NY: BEADS: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers. 2003

Glenbow Museum. Cameron, Duncan., Dir. *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First People.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1987.

Hail, Barbara A. & Duncan, Kate C. *Out of the North*. Bristol, Rhode Island. Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University. 1989

Hall, Judy and Tepper, Leslie and Thompson, Judy. *Fascinating Challenges*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 2001.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine No. 227. Frederick Whymper. *An Artist in Alaska* 1867. April 1869.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine No. 598. Tappan, Adney *Moose Hunting with the Tro-chu-tin* March 1900

Lyford, C.A. *Iroquois Crafts* Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1945.

McClellan, Catharine. *My Old People Say: An Ethnographic Survey of Southern Yukon Territory.* 2nd ed. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001.

Mishler, Craig. *The Crooked Stovepipe: Athapaskan Fiddle Music and Square Dancing in Northeast Alaska and Northwest Canada.* University of Illinois Press. Champaign, IL. 1993

Murray, Alexander Hunter. *Journal of the Yukon 1847-48*. Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau. 1910

National Museum of Man. *Athapaskans: Strangers of the North.* Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974

Penny, David W. *Art of the American Indian Frontier*. Vancouver Toronto. Douglas & McIntyre. 1992

Phillips, Ruth B. *Trading Identities*. Seattle and London. University of Washington Press. Montreal and Kingston. McGill-Queen's University Press. 1998

Saikku, Mikko; Toivonen, Maarika; & Toivonen, Maarika (eds). *In Search of a Continent*. Helsinki. University of Helsinki. 1999

Schwatka, Frederick. *Along Alaska's Great River*. New York: Cassell & Company, Ltd. 1885

Uory, Guy-Marie. *Marie Guyart.* Sablé-sur-Sarthe, France: Solesmes Abbey. 1978

van Kampen, Ukjese. *Early South-Central Yukon First Nations Art Style*. Unpublished thesis. Athabasca University. 2006

van Kampen, Ukjese. *History of Yukon First Nations Art*. Unpublished dissertation. Leiden University. 2012

van Kampen, Ukjese. *Masks: A Historical Perspective*. Society of Yukon Artists of Native Ancestry. Whitehorse. 2006

William Collins, Sons, & Company. *The Collegiate Atlas*. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. 1872

Wilson, Shawn. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Halifax and Winnipeg. Fernwood Publishing. 2008

Yukon Occasional Papers in Yukon History No. 2. *Journal of Occurrences at the Forks of the Lewes and Pelly Rivers May 1848 to September 1852.* Heritage Branch, 2000.

Achieve Sources

Anchorage Museum, Anchorage, Alaska, USA
Alaska State Museum (ASM) Juneau, Alaska, USA
Atlin Historical Society (AHS) Atlin, British Columbia, Canada
British Columbia Open University's History 120: Canadian History to 1867. Cassette Tape. 1999
British Museum (BM) London, United Kingdom
Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, USA
Burke Museum, Seattle, Washington, USA
Champagne and Aishihik First Nations (Champagne and Aishihik First Nations) Haines Junction, Yukon, Canada
Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) Hull, Quebec, Canada (Now Canadian Museum of History)
Canadian Museum of History (CMH) Hull, Quebec, Canada (Former CMC)
Communaute Des Ursulines. Beaugency, France
Council of Yukon First Nations (CYFN) Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada
Dawson City Museum (DCM) Dawson City, Yukon, Canada
Dawson City Museum & Historical Society (DSMHS) Organization running the Dawson City Museum
Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Berlin, Germany
Field Museum of Natural History. Chicago
Glenbow Museum. Calgary Alberta
Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Bristol, Rhode Island, USA
Ice Patch Collection (IPC) Collection administered by Yukon Government
Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec City, Quebec, Canada
MacBride Museum. Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada
Mayo Historical Society. Mayo, Yukon, Canada
Manitoba Museum (MM) Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA
Musée de la civilisation (MCQ) Quebec City, Quebec, Canada
Musée de Picardie. Amiens, France
Musée des Ursuline de Quebec, Quebec City, Quebec, Canada
Museum of Natural History (KMNH) Burwash Landing, Yukon, Canada
Museum of Anthropology (MOA) University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada
National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian (MNAI) Washington, DC, USA
National Museum of Finland (NMF) Helsinki, Finland
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian (NMNH) Washington, DC, USA
Peabody Museum. Boston, Massachusetts, USA
Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley California, USA
Pitt River Museum (PRM) Oxford, England, United Kingdom
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Canada

Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Sheldon Jackson Museum (SJM) Sitka, Alaska, USA
Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, Autry National Centre, Los Angeles, California, USA
University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) Fairbanks, Alaska, USA
University of British Columbia (UBC) University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada
Ukjese van Kampen (UvK) Private Collection, Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada
Vancouver Museum (Van Mus) Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada
Yukon Archives (YA) Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada
Yukon Native Language Centre (YNLC) Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada

Internet Sources

Alaska State Library (ASL) Online: https://library.alaska.gov/
Church Mission Society (CMS) Anglican Church. Online: https://churchmissionsociety.org/about/our-history/
Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée (OMI) Online: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Missionary_Oblates_of_Mary_Immaculate
https://world4.eu/traditional-french-national-costumes/
d4.eu websworlite
www.freepik.com
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norway_House
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosemåling
https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=12041&pid=0

Curriculum Vitae

Ukjese van Kampen was born Neil Eugene Smith in 1959 in Whitehorse, Yukon, Canada. His father was a first Generation Canadian from Scotland and his mother, Hazel Smith, was born in Fort Selkirk, Yukon. She is Northern Tutchone and Wolf Clan. Ukjese's great-grandmother, Annie Ned, who gave Ukjese his Indian name, is a member of the Order of Canada as is her son, Elijah Smith. Both the mother and father's sides of Hazel Smith's family came from a long line of chiefs. Ukjese served 4 years in the Canadian Army, first in the Royal Canadian Regiment as a Mechanized Infantryman, later as an Airborne Commando in the Canadian Airborne Regiment and finally a year in the reserves. His military career carried on with 6 more years as a Combat Engineer in the United States Marine Corps, 3 active and 3 reserves. Later Ukjese was a 2nd Lt. and Commanding Officer of the Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadron in Whitehorse from 1994 to 1995. During this whole time Ukjese created art while also earning various commercial pilot licences and ratings. In 1988 Ukjese earned a Fine Arts Diploma and the next year started a 30 year, on again-off again, career working as a flight instructor and bush pilot. In 1994 he started the first 100 percent First Nations owned aviation company in the Yukon. During this time, he earned an Airline Transport Pilot Licence, Class One Instructor Rating, Class One Aerobatic Instructor Rating & Group One IFR Rating. He also was a Designated Flight Test Examiner for Transport Canada.

Ukjese married his Dutch girlfriend of seven years in the Lausanne Cathedral in Switzerland in 1996. He took his wife's family name and changed his first name for his Indian name, becoming Ukjese van Kampen. Ukjese did this to maintain his culture's matrilineal tradition. In 1998 Ukjese sold his business after the birth of his first daughter and became a house husband. At the same time Ukjese continued to fly as a part time bush pilot and began a series of studies. In 2002 he earned his Bachelor of Fine Art degree with the British Columbia Open University and a Master of Art in Cultural Studies with Athabasca University in 2006. In 2008 Ukjese left flying to complete a PhD in Indian American Studies at Leiden University in the Netherlands. In 2016 Ukjese started his 2nd PhD at University of Lapland in Finland.Ukjese stayed active in the arts and worked in 2003 as an Intern Curator for a year at the Yukon Arts Centre Gallery and in 2005 completed a six month training position at the Arts Branch of the Yukon Government. After that he was the curator of the Society of Yukon Artists of Native Ancestry until 2007. After leaving the position Ukjese worked as an independent curator and mounted several exhibitions in the Yukon.

Ukjese has been part of over 100 art exhibitions world-wide with half of these one or two person exhibitions. This includes exhibitions in Japan, Australia, and across Europe, Canada, and the United States. His art is in such collections as the Finnish National Cultural Museum in Helsinki; the Bavarian State Anthropology Museum in Munich Germany; Ushiku City Museum and Museum of Northern Cultures in Hokkaido, Japan; the Indian Arts Centre in Ottawa, the Museum of Human Rights in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Ukjese also lectures, does performance art, storytelling and is a published writer. Ukjese was featured in several magazines and books such as the Winter 2008 issue of American Indian Art magazine and the book *About Face* published by the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Ukjese travels a great deal and has been around the world and to about 50 countries. Ukjese lives in Whitehorse with his wife and carries on researching art, First Nations, and military history, as well as creating art.