Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada

A Source Book

Karlis Karklins

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Introduction

Over the years, archaeologists have excavated numerous fur trade posts and contemporaneous Indian and Inuit sites across Canada in order to reconstruct the lifeways and material culture of their inhabitants. Analysis of the recovered artifacts has revealed that a substantial part of post inventories and the possessions of the native peoples consisted of ornaments. Unfortunately, few of these items have been found in contexts where their exact ornamental functions could be determined. As this information is not generally available, the present study was undertaken to fill the gap for the benefit of archaeologists, material culture researchers, ethnologists and members of the general public who desire to know more about the trade ornaments that once adorned the native peoples of Canada.

Strictly speaking, a "trade ornament" is an object obtained either directly or indirectly from white traders and utilized for adornment by the native population. However, for the purposes of this book, the definition has been extended to encompass identical items presented as gifts by explorers and missionaries, distributed as part of annuity payments by government officials and sold in stores. Native-made ornaments fashioned from non-indigenous materials (such as bracelets cut from old brass kettles) and unique items of non-native origin (such as a sauce-pan handle) have also been included because of the important part they played in native adornment.

The present study is based on an extensive search conducted prior to 1984 of published and manuscript sources, especially historical journals and narratives and early ethnographic studies, supplemented by an examination of historical paintings, photographs and ethnographical specimens housed in various institutions in Canada, the United States and England. To ensure the accuracy of the data, only material that could be attributed to a particular tribe or cultural group and a specific time period was included. In the case of published material, every effort was made to weed out sources that plagiarised information from earlier works and passed it off as current material.

As little can improve on a well-written firsthand account, the words of the original observer are used whenever possible to ensure the accuracy and flavour of an historical account. Original spellings are retained in the passages quoted, but problematical terms and obvious errors or misstatements are elucidated in brackets.

Readers should also keep in mind that some sources are more reliable than others. Observations made by experienced anthropologists are obviously more reliable than those made by the average traveller. Also, narratives and other works written years after an observation are more prone to error regarding specific details than a journal entry made the same day.

The same caveat holds true for the visual material. Illustrations in early books were frequently the engraver's impression of what the author had seen or was describing in text, and they should, therefore, be viewed with a very critical eye. Later artists painting from life are generally more reliable but the fidelity of their respective works varies. For example, Karl Bodmer's paintings of the Indians he encountered are about as accurate and detailed as one can hope for. George Catlin's early works are also considered to be truthful representations, though his later studio works show questionable

details (see, for example, Plate 15). Although the romanticized paintings of Paul Kane show fine detail, some (such as Fig. 59) may depict individuals that are actually composites of several persons, if not total fabrications.

Photographs, it is said, do not lie but in the case of Edward S. Curtis, they fib a bit. In the portraits of certain Plains Indians, the same headdresses and unique ornaments are exhibited by several individuals, and the photos taken in the Pacific West depict costumes and ornaments that had not been in common use for many years (e.g., Figs. 106 and 107). It is likely that other photographers used similar props as well.

The reader is also cautioned about making generalizations based on the material presented herein. Just because one individual was seen wearing a specific type of ornament does not mean that it was in common use.

As it is the intent of this study to show how the various native peoples used trade ornaments through time, the material is presented chronologically by tribe (as defined and used by Diamond Jenness [1960: 121-3, 327n.]) rather than by type of ornament. To facilitate meaningful intertribal comparisons of the ornaments and the uses to which they were put, the tribes have been divided into seven major groups (Fig. 1) that generally correspond to those proposed by Jenness (1960: 12-14). However, as McClellan and Denniston (1981: 372-3) make a good case for deleting the Kutchin, Tutchone, Kaska and Sekani from the Mackenzie River and Yukon group as envisioned by Jenness and placing them with the Cordillera tribes, a change which Jenness (1960: 399n.) himself partially supported in retrospect, this has been done with a corresponding revision of the group names: Mackenzie Subarctic, and Cordillera and Plateau, respectively. The tribal range maps that accompany the text are diagrammatical composites based on Helm (1981b: ix) and Trigger (1978b: ix) with supplemental information derived from Grumet (1979: vii), Jenness (1960: 406) and National Geographic Society (1972).

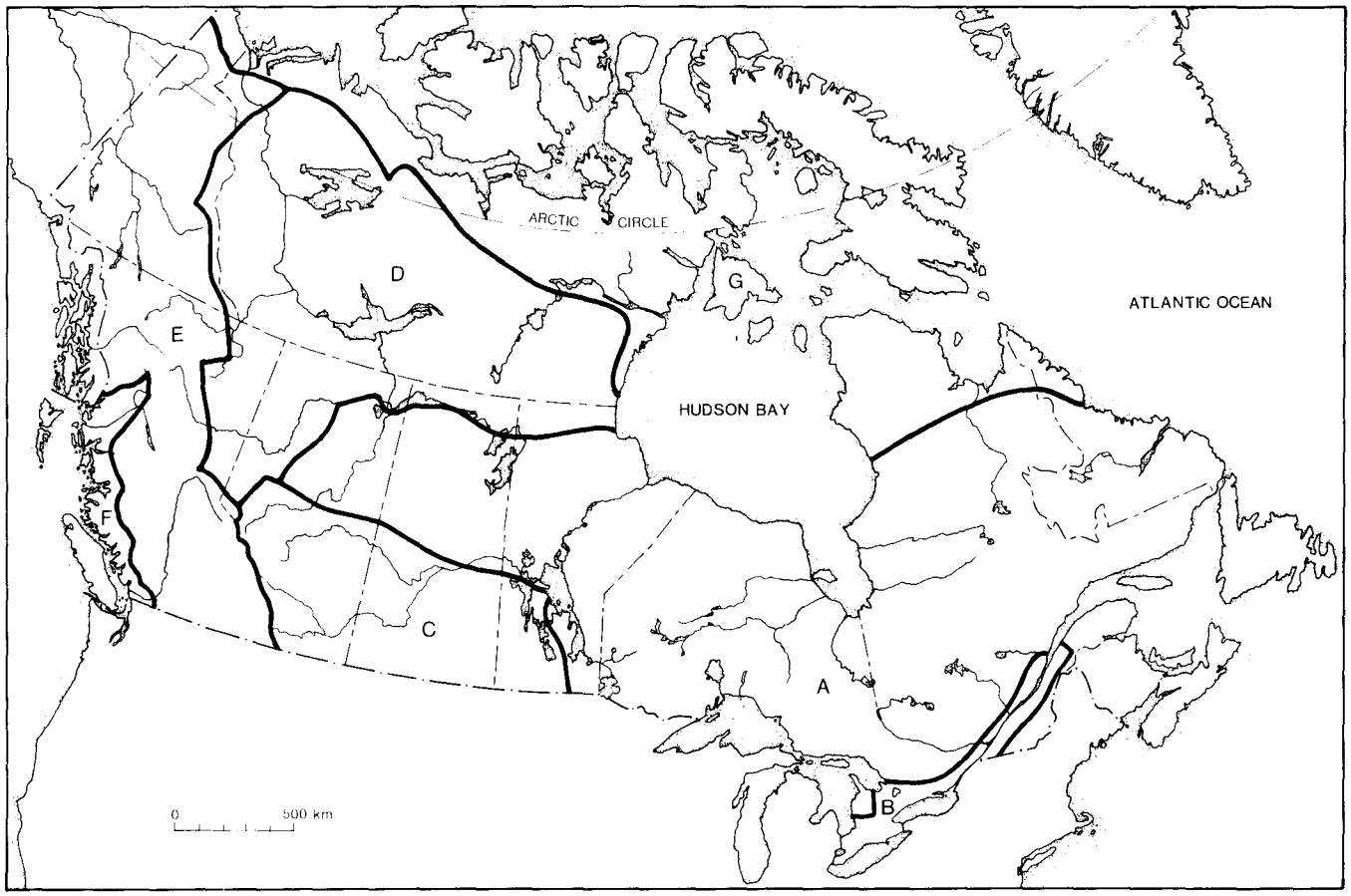


Figure 1. Cultural regions of Canada: (A) migratory tribes of the Eastern Woodlands; (B) agricultural tribes of the Eastern Woodlands; (C) tribes of the Plains; (D) tribes of the Mackenzie Subarctic; (E) tribes of the Cordillera and Plateau; (F) tribes of the Pacific Coast; (G) the Inuit (drawing by D. Kappler)

Chapter I

Migratory Tribes of the Eastern Woodlands

Inhabiting the Canadian woodlands from Newfoundland to central Alberta, the tribes comprising this group include the sole member of the Beothukan language family, the Beothuks, and the Algonkian-speaking Micmacs, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, Abenaki, Montagnais-Naskapi, Algonquin, Chippewa-Ojibwa and Woodland Cree (Fig. 2). These were a semi-nomadic people who lived by hunting large mammals and other game during the winter, and by fishing and gathering wild plants in the summer. Horticulture was also practiced by several tribes, but never achieved the same level of importance that it did among the neighbouring Iroquoians (Jenness 1960: 40). While some of the eastern tribes may have been in contact with Europeans as early as the Norse period, the more westerly groups did not encounter white men until well into the 17th century (Canada. Geographic Board 1913: 96). As neighbouring tribes frequently utilized their ornaments in a similar manner, only those of a representative few – the Beothuk, Micmac, Montagnais-Naskapi, Chippewa-Ojibwa and Woodland Cree – are discussed.

Beothuk

Commonly termed "Red Indians" because of their predilection for red ochre, the Beothuks, who inhabited the island of Newfoundland, appear to have first come in contact with Europeans during the Norse period (Such 1978: 38). Rediscovered by either John or Sebastian Cabot at the close of the 15th century, they were gradually reduced in numbers during the 17th and 18th centuries by supercilious Europeans and their Micmac allies. Subsequent efforts to befriend and save them ended in failure; the last-known Beothuk, a woman named Shawnadithit, died in 1829.

The Beothuks do not seem to have possessed a great variety of European trade ornaments (probably because they were not readily available to them). The earliest mention of foreign goods serving as adornment among these people appears in John Guy's narrative of his 1612 visit to a Beothuk settlement at the head of Trinity Bay on the northwestern side of the Avalon Peninsula. Even though all the inhabitants had departed, he left them some gifts, including "three or four amber beads. This was done to begin to win them by faire meanes" (Howley 1915: 15). During the same general time period, Captain Richard Whitbourne noted that the sealskin hats of the Beothuk were "set round with fine white shells; such as are carried from Portugall to Brasseile; where they pass to the Indians as ready money" (Wintemberg 1936: 25).

Glass beads also found their way into the hands of the Beothuks. Several specimens accompanied the burial of an adult male that was discovered on

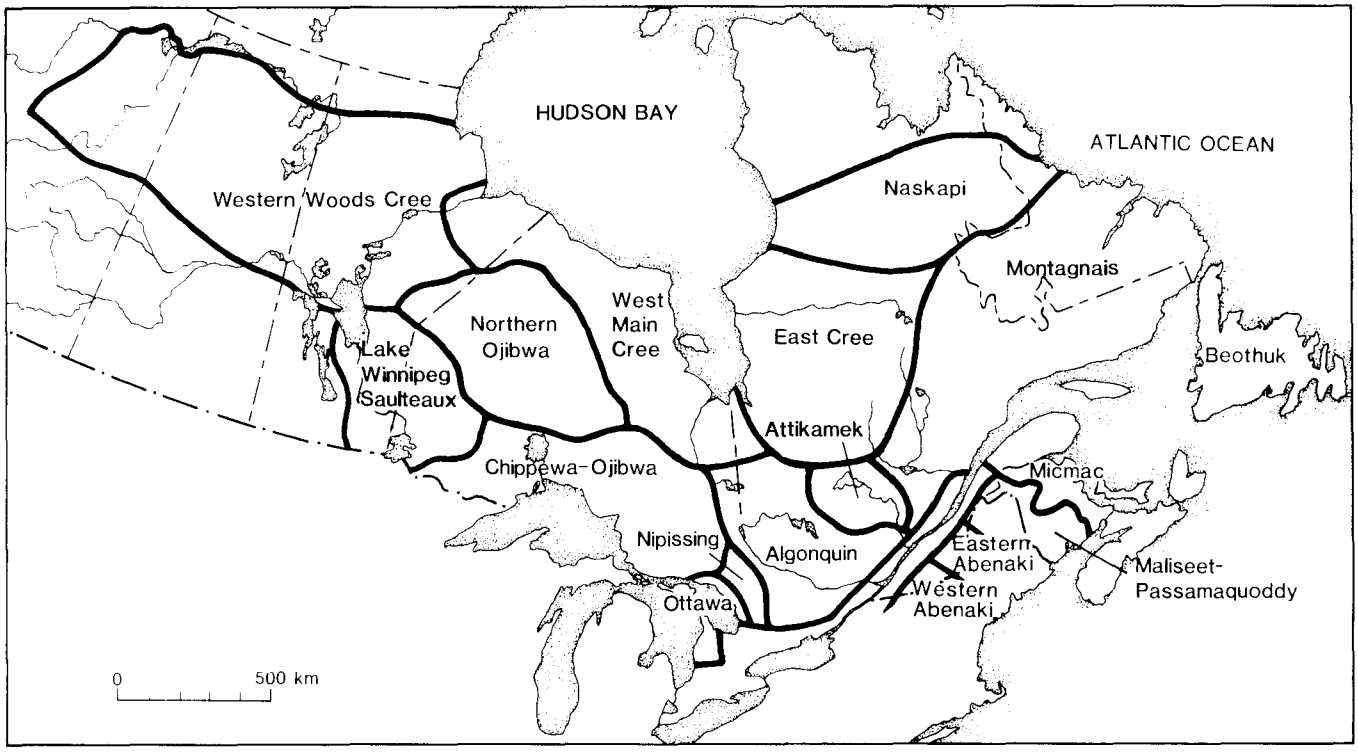


Figure 2. Distribution of the migratory tribes of the eastern Canadian woodlands in the 19th century (drawing by D. Kappler)

one of the Burgeo Islands off the southwestern coast of Newfoundland in 1847 (Patterson 1892: 157). Of unknown date, the interment was most likely deposited prior to the last quarter of the 18th century, a time when the Red Indians were driven inland by bellicose Micmacs (Reynolds 1978: 101). In the early 1800s, "glass bead necklaces" and "strings of beads" were among the gifts proffered to the few remaining Beothuks by the British government to win their friendship and trust (Howley 1915: 67, 112, 117).

Other items used as ornaments during the early 19th century included silver pocket-watches and coins. Such articles were found at a Beothuk encampment on Red Indian Lake in March 1819 by John Peyton: "The watches had been broken into small pieces, which together with the coins were strung on deer-skin thongs, passed through holes drilled in them, and presumably intended for necklaces, amulets or some such adornment" (Howley 1915: 94).

Micmac

At its broadest, the territory of the Micmacs or Souriquois, as they were known to their French allies, included southwestern Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, eastern and northern New Brunswick and the adjacent portion of Quebec (Bock 1978: 109). While there is a distinct possibility that members of this tribe came in contact with both the Norsemen and the Cabots (Swanton 1952: 580), the first recorded encounter took place in July 1534, when Jacques Cartier entered Chaleur Bay at the northeastern tip of New Brunswick. He found the natives friendly and willing to trade furs and whatever else they possessed for "hatchets, knives, beads and other wares, at which... [they] showed great pleasure" (Biggar 1924: 55).

When Marc Lescarbot, a lawyer by trade, arrived at Port Royal in 1606, he found that wampum obtained in trade from the Indians of New England was very popular with the Souriquois, being esteemed "more than pearls, or gold or silver" (Les-

carbot 1914: 157-8). Formed into "collars, scarves, and bracelets," and apparently sewn to the triangular "devil bags" worn at the necks of soothsayers as a sign of their profession, it was difficult to procure because the Micmacs and their southerly neighbours were in continual enmity (Lescarbot 1914: 110, 157-8). Thus, the Micmacs had to content themselves with the *matachias* or trinkets that were supplied to them by the French. Consisting "of small quills of glass mingled with tin or lead, which are bartered with them by the fathom," they were utilized for a variety of decorative purposes:

> *Now as with us, so in that country it is the women who deck themselves with such things, and have chains going a dozen times about their necks, and hanging down upon their breasts, and about their wrists, and above the elbow. They also hang long strings of them at their ears, which come down as low as their shoulders.... They also make of them small squares of divers colours sewed together, which they tie behind to the hair of the little ones. The men do not much care for them,...* [though] *some have girdles made of matachias, which they use only when they wish to set themselves out and make a display* (Lescarbot 1914: 157-9).

Women also commonly hung "a quantity of beads and small square toys, diversely coloured," upon the upper part of their infant's cradleboards (Lescarbot 1914: 87). Beads may also have been used to embroider the little "devil bags" worn by the shamans (Lescarbot 1914: 110).

Early in the following decade, the Jesuit Joseph Jouvency commented: "The men as well as the women pierce the lobes of their ears, and place in them earrings made of glass or shells. The larger the hole, the more beautiful they consider it" (Thwaites 1896, 1: 281). He also noted the use of belts "ingeniously manufactured from Venus shells, which we commonly call porcelain [wampum]," among the womenfolk (Thwaites 1896, 1: 281).

According to Nicolas Denys' study of Acadia which first appeared in 1672, wampum also served to embellish girl's hair ornaments and men's belt pouches. Up to 30 cm square, the former were composed of interwoven strips of unborn-moose hide and vari-coloured porcupine quills. The edges were fringed with leather strands wrapped in quills of sundry colours and further enhanced with white and violet wampum. The latter were "half the width of a finger" in length (Denys 1908: 414-5).

The animal-skin pouches that Denys observed were used to hold tobacco, and lead for hunting. "The breadth of the hand and a little longer," they were frequently garnished with "Porcupine quills, white, red, and violet, and sometimes with their wampum" (Denys 1908: 447-8).

In 1691, Father Chrestien Le Clercq published a treatise on the customs and religion of the Gaspesian (Micmac) Indians. Reiterating much of what had been written before, it also presented some new observations on their ornamentation:

> *The women adorn...* [their] *cradle* [boards] *carefully with certain bits of bead-work, with wampum, porcupine quills, and certain figures which they form with their paints.... For their clothes, they make use of a white or red blanket, which falls from the shoulders to the mid-leg in the form of a tunic; with this they enwrap all the body, and they belt it in by a girdle ornamented with beadwork and wampum....*
>
> *Sometimes they... make tresses of...* [their hair], *which they tie suitably, and which they ornament with little strings of beadwork or of wampum.... They also pierce their ears, to which they attach certain pieces of beadwork, with little bells, sols-marquez* [coins (?)], *deniers* [copper coins] *and other trifles of that sort, which serve them as earrings* (Le Clercq 1910: 89-99).

Wampum was also employed to create mystical figures. One such was found in the medicine bag of a "juggler" or shaman in the Miramichi region:

> [It] *was a bit of bark on which was a figure, hideous enough, made from black and white wampum, and representing some monster which could not be well distinguished, for it was neither the representation of a man nor of any animal, but rather in the shape of a*

little wolverene, which was adorned with black and white beadwork. That one, say the jugglers, is the master Devil, or Oüahich (Le Clercq 1910: 222).

There was also a sect of the Miramichi Micmacs known as the Porte-Croix or Cross-Bearers who venerated the cross, either because it was the totem or symbol of their group or as the result of earlier contact with Christians. Their paraphernalia included ornate crosses enhanced with beadwork, wampum, porcupine quills and painting (Le Clercq 1910: 38, 232).

At the turn of the century, the Sieur de Dièreville (1933: 168) noted that the Micmacs were wearing their hair in a slightly different manner than that previously described: "They bind their Hair with Rassade, a variety of small Beads, which are black & white, & it is made into a large knot, which barely reaches below the Ear. This adornment is as common among Men as it is among Women...."

As the years passed, the ornamentation of the men became more flamboyant. In 1749, a delegation of chiefs from southeastern New Brunswick was described thus: "Their faces [are] all rubbed over with vermillion and across their nose and forehead are regularly drawn black lines. Their ears are bored full of holes and adorned with tobacco pipes and ribbons of different colours..." (Akins 1895: 15 fn.).

The following decade, Captain John Knox noted that the Micmacs of Nova Scotia and eastern New Brunswick liked to embellish their garments with beads of glass. The cloth turbans that some of the men possessed were enhanced by "an extravagant number of beads and feathers of various colours, which these creatures much affect, and are very fond of" (Knox 1914: 146). Leggings were generally embroidered on the broad side flaps with beads of various colours, and the ankle flaps and vamps of moccasins were "curiously ornamented with narrow slips of red cloath, covered with white, green, and blue beads sewed on in various whimsical figures" (Knox 1914: 111, 286). In addition, some chiefs sported medals, while Christianized natives of either sex wore silver crucifixes suspended from beaded strands and silver chains (Knox 1914: 90, 244).

At some time during the latter half of the 18th century, the women began to wear a distinctive costume that, according to John Clarkson who encountered Micmacs at Halifax in 1791, "consisted of a flowered woollen jacket reaching to the waist and a coarse blue short petticoat, a cape mad[e] of cloth angular to the upper and back part of the head, and ornamented with small white beads" (Fergusson 1971: 69). While some of the caps were elaborately embroidered over their entire surface (Whitehead 1980: Fig. 13), most seem to have had beadwork applied only to their edges and frontal seams (Fig. 3). Clarkson also observed that around their necks, the women "wore several strings of different coloured beads to which was affixed a silver cross" (Fergusson 1971: 70).

During the same period, the men adopted a military-style coat of blue or black cloth with matching leggings for their costume. Trimmed with scarlet, the coat was usually embroidered with beadwork on the collar and cuffs, and occasionally the lapels, shoulders, upper arms and hems (Whitehead 1980: 16, 19). A small triangular "cape" decorated with ribbon appliqué and beadwork sometimes hung from the back of the collar (Fig. 3). As it was devoid of buttons, "a large silver brooch of the size of a large watch, usually held the frock at the neck" (Gilpin 1878: 270). The garment was further secured by a colourful sash or belt which was not infrequently garnished with glass beads (Fig. 3). The accompanying leggings were sometimes beaded along the lower side seam and hem (Whitehead 1980: 18).

Silver ornaments seem to have come into vogue during the early 19th century. They were certainly prevalent at the gift-giving ceremony held at Chaleur Bay, New Brunswick, in 1841. During this event, the British Governor-General presented Condeau, head-chief of the Micmac nation, with a large silver medal of King George III "tied with blue and yellow ribbons" which was placed about his neck. He was also given "a massive silver armlet, similarly adorned," as well as "a gold-laced hat" (Bonnycastle 1841, 2: 161-3). The wives and

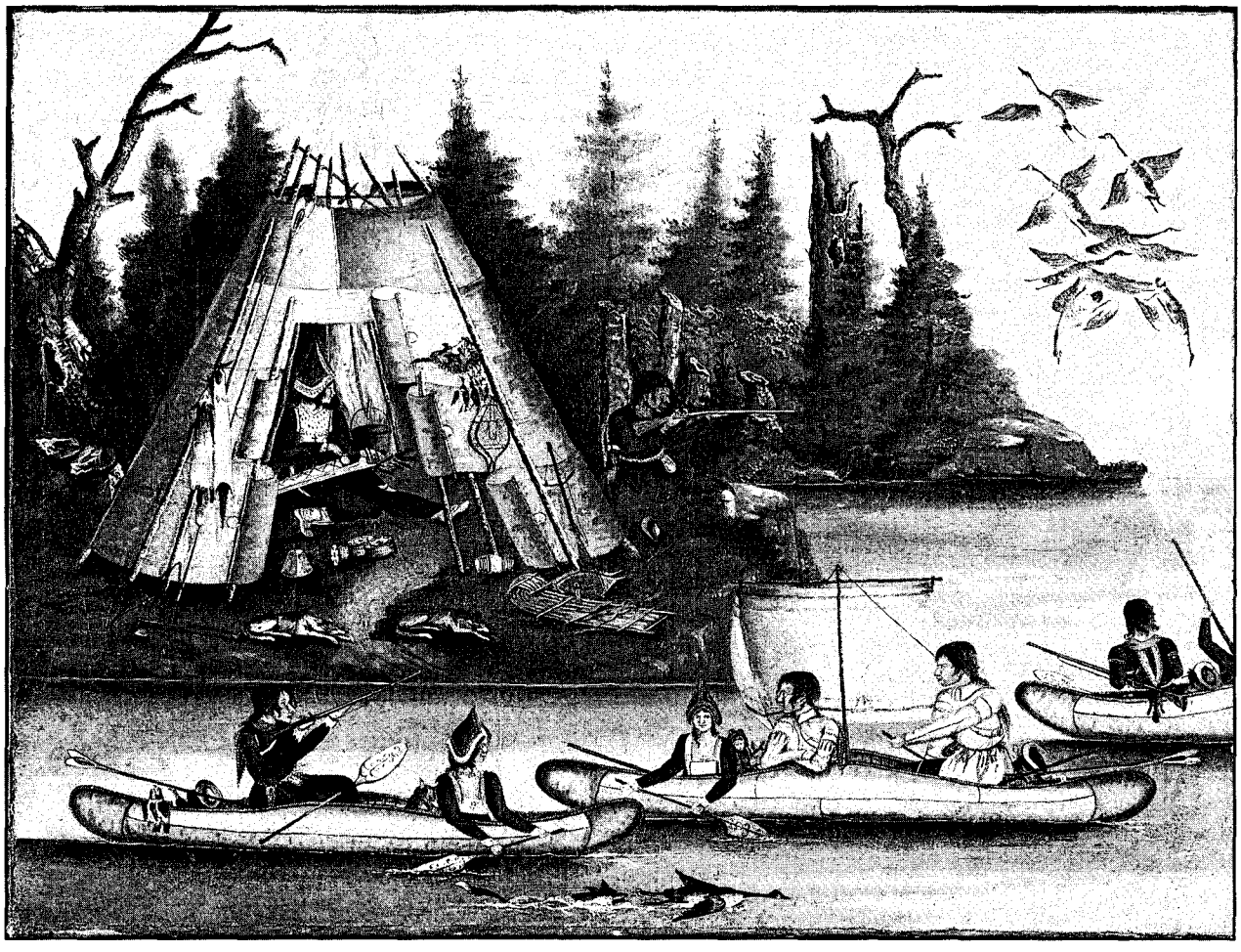


Figure 3. "Micmac Indians" oil painting by an anonymous Canadian artist, ca. 1820-30, showing the typical costume and ornaments of the period (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; 6663)

daughters of all the assembled chiefs each received "half a dozen silver brooches, and a pair of silver ear-rings" (Bonnycastle 1841, 2: 164).

One Indian at the gathering exhibited his own particular preference for silver ornamentation:

> *One man, a strong tall fellow, wore a round hat, on the band of which were stuck silver bottle-labels, by way of high ornament, with the usual words, white wine, champagne, brandy, gin, on them, and he seemed as proud of his ludicrous coronet as though it were an imperial diadem* (Bonnycastle 1841, 2: 163-4).

When the Prince of Wales visited Halifax in 1860, his reception committee included several Micmac men wearing glengarry caps and velvet skirts garnished with silk ribbons, glass beads and sequins in both geometric and floral patterns. Undoubtedly derived from the Scottish kilt, the skirt had a beaded, sporran-like flap hanging from the belt at the front (Pelletier 1978: 125, 126).

By mid-century, the traditional dress of the Micmacs had largely given way to European fashions. However, as reported by the Rev. R.J. Uniacke in 1865, there were still quite a number of individuals who preferred the "dress of former years" and its attendant ornamentation (Fig. 4):

The Indian, particularly the squaw is very fond of beads and these she wears in strings round the neck, and often worked into her jacket as well as cap, and upon the sides and front of her moccasins. As they are all Roman Catholics, – a necklace of beads with a large cross frequently hangs from their neck.... Every variety of colour is exhibited in their dress: tin ornaments and beads of every hue glisten upon their persons, and give an appearance of tawdry and barbaric splendour (Fergusson 1958: 107).

The women also embroidered bags and belts "in the most beautiful manner with little glass beads of every colour, which are provided by the merchants, for their express demand. They often exert this taste and ingenuity upon their own dress, and that of their papoose or child" (Fergusson 1958: 108). As for the men, Uniacke reported that "beads and tin ornaments usually decorate their breast, – and especially their moccasins or shoes, which are made of moose skin and highly adorned with patterns of bead work" (Fergusson 1958: 107).

Around 1885, some men began to wear feather headdresses as part of their ceremonial costume. Inspired by the headgear of the plain's tribes, they were formed of ostrich and turkey feathers, and embellished with glass beads, metal sequins, gold braid and black velvet bands (Whitehead 1980: 26-7).

During the final decade of the 19th century, some of the men, especially the younger ones, took to wearing a long-sleeved white shirt in combination with a black wool skirt and tight white gaiters. Enhanced by a broad beaded sash that passed over the right shoulder, the shirts were embroidered with beadwork on their black velvet collars, epaulets and cuffs. Practically identical to the earlier variety, the skirts were embellished with ribbons, glass beads and metal sequins. A man dressed in this outfit in 1914 was further decked out with a portion of an ornamental cast-metal mirror frame suspended from his neck by a ribbon (Fig. 5; Whitehead 1980: 27-8).

In addition to beading clothing and other articles for themselves and their families, Micmac women produced various items of beadwork for the souvenir market throughout the 19th century. The articles included doilies, picture frames, reticules, watch pockets, pin cushions, tea cosies and a wide assortment of knickknacks. Decorated with such traditional motifs as the double-curve during the early part of the century, the objects were later garnished with floral and other designs of Euro-canadian origin (Whitehead 1980: 28-9).

Nineteenth-century Micmac dress continued to be worn on formal occasions well into the 20th century. The typical costume of the men, especially the chief and his council members, consisted of a dark blue frock and matching trousers. The former was elaborately beaded on the shoulders, epaulets, cuffs and frontal border. Heirloom medals and religious medallions were sported by some of the chiefs (Piers 1915: 104-5).

Some of the older women wore the following old-style garments:

pointed cloth caps (abedowargosen) elaborately ornamented with coloured beadwork; loosely-fitting, brightly coloured satin jackets (mardelit) with red or other coloured borders bedecked with beads; and skirts of dark blue broadcloth prettily embellished on the lower parts with numerous broad horizontal bands of silk of various colours, in parts cut into pointed forms, and more sparingly ornamented with beads and spangles. Ornamental broadcloth leggings were also worn with the skirt (Piers 1915: 105).

Montagnais-Naskapi

These two very closely related tribes occupied the greater portion of Quebec and Labrador, their domain extending from about the St. Maurice River northward to the territory of the Labrador Inuit (Fig. 2). The Montagnais, who occupied the southern portion of this area, probably first came in contact with Europeans in August 1534, while Cartier was exploring the lower St. Lawrence (Rogers and Leacock 1981: 171). The northerly Naskapi

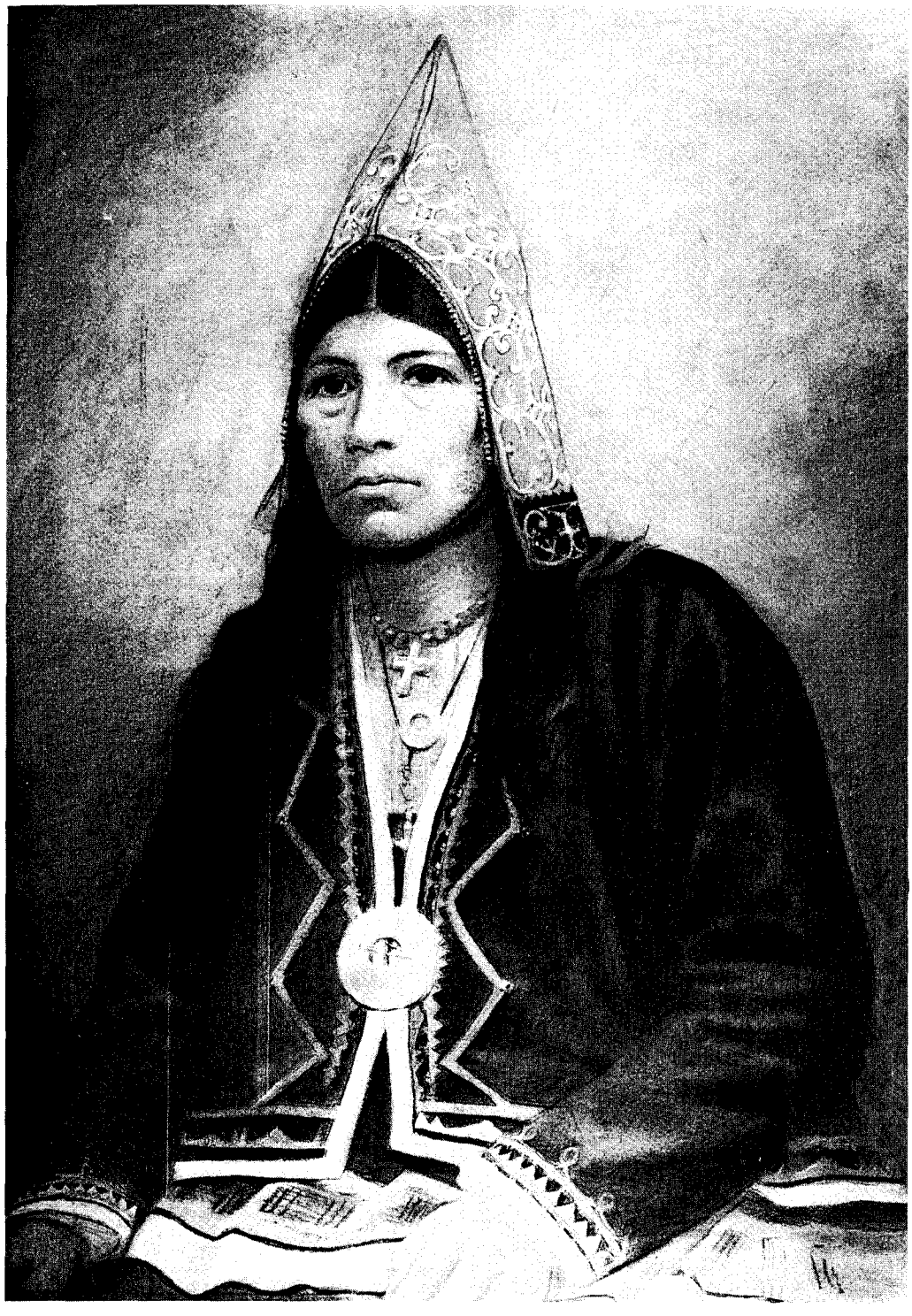


Figure 4. Anonymous pastel of a Micmac woman, ca. 1865. Note the red beaded cap, and the silver cross, crucifix (partly hidden), and brooches (New Brunswick Museum, Saint John; W3975)

Figure 5. Joseph J. Paul in war costume, Indian Island, Pictou County, Nova Scotia; photographed by H.I. Smith, 1914. Chest ornament is a fancy mirror frame (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; 27745)

were but little-known until the beginning of the 19th century.

Samuel de Champlain wrote the earliest account of the embellishments of the Montagnais. During the summer of 1603, he noted that the women at Tadoussac bedecked themselves with "ornaments of matachias, which are beads and braided cords made of porcupine quills, dyed of various colours" (Biggar 1922, 1: 108). Warriors typically wore "fur garments of beaver and other skins, adorned with beads and cords of various colours" (Biggar 1922, 1: 179).

By 1609, the Montagnais were utilizing glass beads to decorate the scalps of their enemies, which they carry in their festivities on returning home from battle. Champlain described the ritual as follows:

> *Approaching the shore each* [warrior] *took a stick, on the end of which they hung the scalps of their slain enemies with some beads, singing meanwhile all together. And when all were ready, the women stripped themselves quite naked, and jumped into the water, swimming to the canoes to receive the scalps of their enemies which were at the end of long sticks in the bow of their canoes, in order later to hang them round their necks, as if they had been precious chains* (Biggar 1925, 2: 106).

In his *Relation* for 1634, the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune wrote that the Montagnais generally painted their skin robes but left their "stockings" or leggings unadorned except perhaps for "a few matachias" fastened to the fringe lining the lateral seam (Thwaites 1897, 7: 15). Writing of the Attikamègue band in 1647, another Jesuit missionary, H. Lalemant, noted that on ceremonial occasions "the women put on their great bracelets, and the men their collars and crowns, of porcelain [wampum]" (Thwaites 1898, 31: 221).

The literature is subsequently devoid of information concerning the ornamentation of the Montagnais-Naskapi until around 1808, when James McKenzie, a trader with the North West Company, scribed a concise description of these two tribes.

Regarding the dress of the Montagnais women he wrote:

> *Their caps, in the shape of a priest's mitre, are made of red and blue second cloth, the seams and rim of which are ornamented with beads and ribands, fancifully put on.... They suspend crosses with ribands to their neck, and their stockings are of scarlet cloth, trimmed with beads and riband...* (McKenzie 1890: 422).

The shawl, robe and moccasins that completed the outfit were apparently left unadorned. The Montagnais men, who wore European-style garments, do not seem to have gone in for any form of embellishment.

Naskapi males were less sombre in appearance:

> *The men dress in a capot, brayet and leggins of carribou skin, prepared in the hair, which they wear, at all seasons, next to skin; the outside is painted in various fantastic figures of different colours which they extract from wood and herbs, and the shoulders decorated with épaulettes made of beads, porcupine and goose quills. They carry the hair behind the head, around which – leaving the crown bare, – they wear a strap of cloth or beads fastened close behind and dangling to the hips* (McKenzie 1890: 413).

Deleting the shawl, the Naskapi woman's costume was identical to that of her Montagnais neighbour except that the garments were fashioned from "leather" rather than cloth (McKenzie 1890: 422). A specialized item of beaded dress was worn by pubescent maidens:

> *When a girl comes to the age of puberty, her mother, ever careful of the daughter's moral character, erects a hut for her, where she must remain excluded from the other sex for three days, her face besmeared with grease, and a cap on her head, to which are suspended (over the eyes,) strings of beads or leather to prevent her from seeing a man during this first merry period of her existence* (McKenzie 1890: 417).

"Spirit berries" (*mąnto' minu'cits*), as the Naskapi called glass beads (Speck 1935: 192), were also used to garnish the "guest of honour" at the annual "Feast of the Bear Cub":

> *Of all animals, the bear is regarded with the greatest reverence and respect among the Nascapees. The skin of the first cub they kill in the hunting season being striped entire from the carcass, is stuffed with hay, and the head and paws decorated with beads, quills and vermilion* (McKenzie 1890: 415-6).

Toward the end of the century, ethnologist Lucien M. Turner spent several years studying the Naskapi residing in the Ungava Bay region of northern Quebec. Conducted in the early 1880s, his research revealed that painting was the most popular form of adornment in this area. Glass beads were also used to trim a variety of articles, especially clothing, "but as these people are not skillful in the art of disposing the many colored beads they are not much used for that purpose" (Turner 1894: 285).

Items of men's apparel that were embellished with beadwork included headbands, caps, mittens and moccasins. Concerning the former, Turner reported:

> *The girls and newly married wives often make bands of beads, some of which are quite attractively designed, for their lovers or husbands.... About an inch wide and several inches long,... these headbands are generally the most intricate designs of bead work which these Indians display* (Turner 1894: 286).

While most men preferred to go bare-headed, "some who are able and love a display of fancy colors have a cap made of red cloth and ornamented with beads worked into extravagant patterns. The cap is a high conical affair, and from the weight of beads upon it often falls to one side of the head" (Fig. 6; Turner 1894: 286).

Constructed of smoked deerskin, men's mittens were decorated with strips of coloured cloth, painted designs and glass beads. Arranged in rows and zigzag lines, as well as strands frequently ending in tassels of variegated woolen threads, the

beads garnished the wrist and outside seams, respectively (Turner 1894: 286).

Men's and women's moccasins were only infrequently ornamented with beadwork, and then just on the tongue (Turner 1894: 284).

The items of women's clothing that were embroidered with beads included caps, gowns and leggings, all of which were worn during the winter season. Composed of two to six pieces of coloured cloth sewn together in the form of a deep cup, the caps were decorated in the centre of each component with "a rosette, cross, or other design worked with beads, and around the rim rows of beads variously arranged" (Turner 1894: 290).

The gowns, made of hide with separate cloth sleeves, were often painted with elaborate designs. In addition, "a strip of deerskin dotted with beads borders the gown, and from the edge of the strip hang strings of these ornaments, terminating in variously colored tassels of thread" (Turner 1894: 291).

Formed of skin or cloth, either red or black, the leggings were sewn so that a pair of crescent-shaped flaps were formed along the side seam of either leg. Always located on the ouside of the leg, the projections were left loose so that when the wind separated them, they flapped "most fantastically." As for embellishments: "The 'wings' are often edged with cloth of a different color and on the outer border rows of beads complete the decoration.... The bottoms of the leggings are heavily loaded with numerous rows of fancy beads" (Turner 1894: 291).

Among the other articles that the Naskapi decorated with beadwork were tobacco pouches or "fire bags," pipes, and amulets. Carried by either sex, the former were made of cloth "often quite tastefully ornamented" with glass beads (Turner 1894: 292). The pipes had stone bowls and spruce stems which were commonly connected by an ornamental band of multi-coloured beads (Fig. 7; Turner 1894: 303).

Intended "to show the prowess of the hunter and... serve as a token of the wealth procured by bartering the pelt of the animal to the trader," amulets were prepared when a Naskapi killed a wolf, wolverine or bear (Turner 1894: 274). While the tip of an ear or a claw were the parts utilized of the first two creatures, it was the chin and lower lip that were taken from the bear. After being flattened, dried and painted on the flesh side with hematite, the bear amulet was decorated in the following manner:

Figure 6. "Portrait of a Naskapi Indian with beaded cap," Fort Chimo, photo by Robert Flaherty, probably 1912 (The Robert and Frances Flaherty Study Center at The School of Theology at Claremont, California; 975.255, 175FF)

> *The outer edges or lips are ornamented with a single row of many-colored beads. At the apex or middle of the lip is attached a pendant in the form of a fish. The fish is 3 or 4 inches long, made of cloth and has a row of beads extending around the entire circum-*

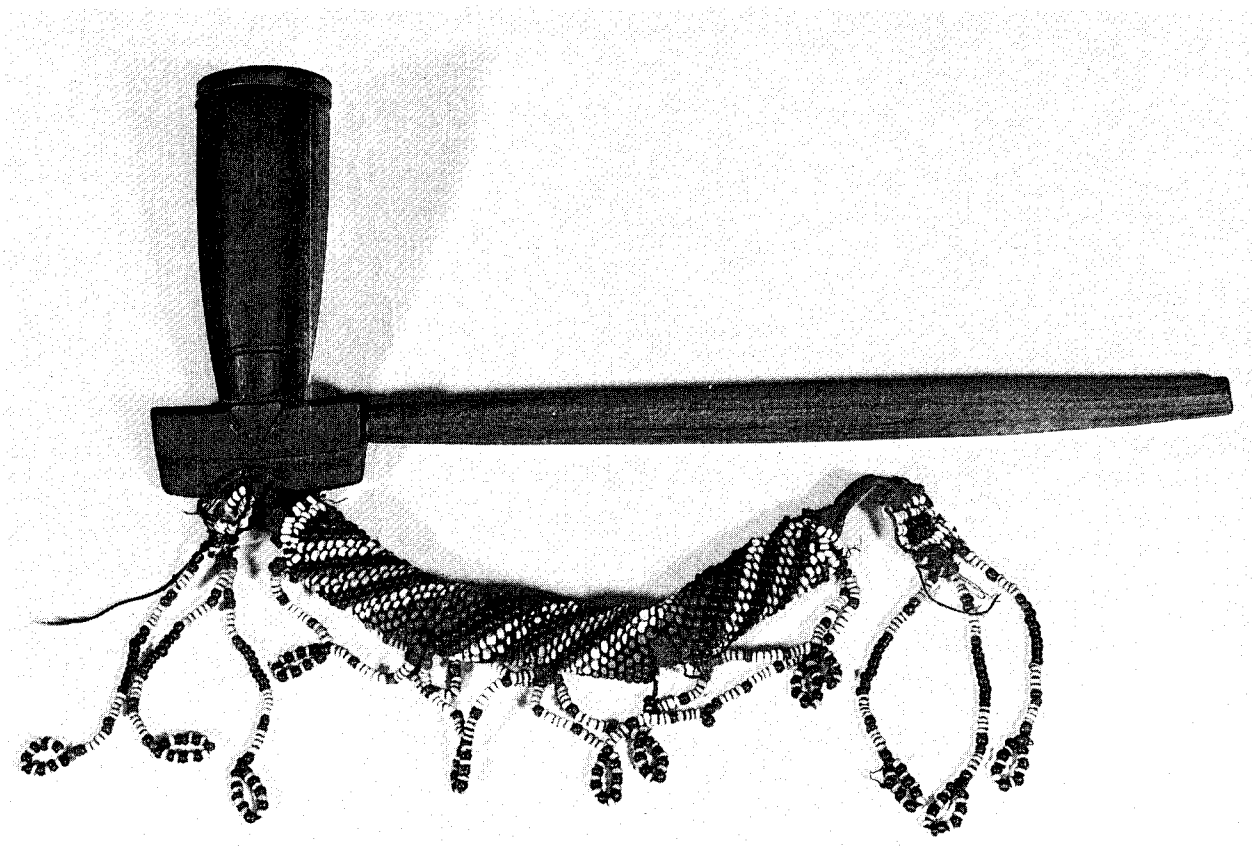


Figure 7. Tobacco pipe of Naskapi manufacture collected by E. Renouf at Fort Chimo, Quebec, in 1915 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; III-B-18ab)

ference of the length of the body (Turner 1894: 275).

While conducting research among the Naskapi during the early 20th century, Frank G. Speck noted that fancily beaded amulets or charms were worn in a number of different ways by both men and women:

> *Not only are beaded charms worn on the neck, but among the bands of the northern peninsula they are employed as magical luck-bringing ornaments fastened to the stock and trigger guard of firearms, worn tied around the legging near the knee like a garter, worn by women as wrist ornaments or bracelet charms, sewed upon the breasts of dresses, fastened in the hat, or in the hair of men* (Speck 1935: 225).

Beadwork was also observed on cloth shot pouches, tobacco pipes, and game-carrying strings or pack straps (Speck 1935).

Chippewa-Ojibwa

In the early 17th century, the Chippewa-Ojibwa occupied the area north of Lake Huron and the eastern segment of Lake Superior, as well as a portion of the northern Michigan peninsula. Around 1690, they began to expand their domain which, by the beginning of the 19th century, extended from southeastern Ontario to western Saskatchewan, and from northern Ontario deep into southern Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota. By this time, the tribe had also diverged into four major geographical groups: 1) the Southeastern Ojibwa

who inhabited southeastern Ontario and southern Michigan; 2) the Northern Ojibwa or Saulteaux who lived to the north of the Great Lakes and west to Lake Winnipeg; 3) the Southwestern Chippewa whose territory included northern Wisconsin and the northeastern corner of Minnesota; and 4) the Plains Ojibwa who roamed over southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and northern North Dakota (Ritzenthaler 1978: 743-4). Because of its adaptation to a plain's environment, the latter group will be treated with the other Plains tribes.

Little is known about the ornaments of the Chippewa-Ojibwa during the 17th century except that the braves of at least one band, the Amikwa or "Pierced Noses," were fond of nasal pendants. Referring to this group or the closely related Ottawas, Father Gabriel Sagard (1939: 145) noted that during his stay in Huronia from 1624 to 1629, he "saw savages of another tribe, all with the middle part of the nostrils pierced, from which hung quite a large blue bead over the upper lip." Father Chrestien Le Clercq (1910: 99) wrote a similar description about 50 years later: "I have even seen, and with much surprise, other Indians, commonly called the Nez-percez, because in fact they pierce the cartilage of the nose; to this they attach some bits of beads or of wampum, which fall upon the ends of the lips." A drawing of an Amikwa warrior believed to have been produced around 1700 by Louis Nicolas, a defrocked Jesuit priest (Cumming et al. 1974: 29), does not depict such adornment but does show the subject wearing a crown or headband of wampum (Fig. 8).

About 1760, wampum and glass beads began to be overshadowed by trade silver. The earliest reference to its use by the Chippewa appears in Alexander Henry's description of the native garb that he was required to wear in 1763 at Michilimackinac, Michigan, to avoid detection by hostile Indians:

> *A shirt was provided for me, painted with vermilion, mixed with grease. A large collar of wampum was put round my neck, and another suspended on my breast. Both my arms were decorated with large bands of silver above the elbow, besides several smaller ones on the wrists; and my legs were covered with mitasses, a kind of hose, made, as is the favorite fashion, of scarlet cloth. Over all, I was to wear a scarlet blanket or mantle, and on my head a large bunch of feathers* (Henry 1969: 112).

The following year, Henry (1969: 137) observed that when a bear was killed by the Chippewa, its "head was adorned with all the trinkets in the possession of the family, such as silver arm-bands and wrist-bands, and belts of wampum; and then laid upon a scaffold, set up for its reception, within the lodge."

During his travels through North America, Captain Jonathan Carver recorded the use of silver hair plates (concave disks similar to brooches) by Indians believed to have been Chippewas:

> *Most of the females, who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, decorate their heads by inclosing their hair either in ribands, or in plates of silver; the latter is only made use of by the higher ranks, as it is a costly ornament. The silver they use on this occasion is formed into thin plates of about four inches broad, in several of which they confine their hair. That plate which is nearest the head is of a considerable width; the next narrower, and made so as to pass a little way under the other, and in this manner they fasten into each other, and gradually tapering, descend to the waist. The hair of the Indian women being in general very long, this proves an expensive method* (Carver 1784: 101).

Additional insight into the ornamentation of the Chippewa-Ojibwa during the mid-18th century is provided by archaeological data recovered from the Fletcher site cemetery in Bay County, Michigan. Aparently used by both the Ojibwa and Ottawa from around 1740 to 1765 or slightly later, the burial-ground contained 93 interments (Mainfort 1979: 283, 286), 61 of which were accompanied by ornaments of European origin.

Glass beads, primarily those of small size, were the most widely utilized, being found with 58 burials. Chiefly sewn to clothing, many were also fashioned into necklaces, often in combination with beads and baubles of other materials. Triangular

Figure 8. Amikwa warrior with a wampum headband or crown, ca. 1700, believed drawn by Louis Nicolas (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-21113)

glass pendants of native manufacture appear to have garnished the ears and necklaces of infants and young adult females.

Wampum was much less in evidence. While some may have embellished clothing or been woven into belts, it was usually worn either in single-strand necklaces, or multi-strand collars or chokers up to eight rows wide. Other imported shell items included columella beads and circular gorgets which graced the necks of women and children.

Trade silver was incorporated into the costume of 26 individuals of either sex. Brooches, principally of the simple ring type, were the most common items. Occasionally woven into the hair, they were usually affixed, one to eight per person, to the garments covering the torso and lower extremities. However, one adult male also had a headband composed of at least 33 brooches arranged in two rows on a narrow strip of cloth. Two earbobs, and a string of cylindrical silver beads cut from bracelets further embellished the band (Mainfort 1979: 396-7).

Silver pendants, earbobs, crosses and bracelets were also quite popular with either sex. Primarily triangular in shape and cut from bracelets and armbands, the former served to embellish brooches and earbobs as well as the ears of infants (two in each lobe) and the upper garments or necklaces of men (Mainfort 1979: 348, 394). Earbobs, usually worn singly in one or both ears by adults and children alike, were occasionally garnished with small pendants or appended to brooches and used to trim garments (Mainfort 1979: 325, 396). Single-barred crosses of various styles, some cut from armbands, were worn singly at the neck and in groups on the chest area of garments. Engraved bracelets of sheet metal were worn up to three in number on the wrist and/or forearm of one or both arms (Mainfort 1979: 325, 348).

Less common argentine ornaments included armbands, gorgets and a medal. Armbands were found on only one adult male who had two on his upper right arm. The gorgets and medal were worn about the neck, usually suspended from a ribbon or necklace of glass or wampum beads. Circular gorgets were restricted to children while the only crescent-shaped example accompanied a 25- to 40-year-old man (Mainfort 1979: 333, 348-9). The solitary medal, minted in 1725 to commemorate the betrothal of Louis XV of France to Marie Leczinska of Poland, was in the possession of a young adult male (Mainfort 1979: 314, 398).

Adornments of brass, lead and pewter also graced a number of the Fletcher site burials. Brass finger rings, primarily plain bands but also including specimens with glass settings and decorated plaques ("Jesuit rings"), were much favoured, especially by the women. They were worn one to ten per person, with up to four on a digit (Mainfort 1979: 342, 363). Bracelets fashioned from sheet brass and heavy brass wire were utilized by individuals who could not afford those of silver. The sheet metal ones were worn in clusters while the wire specimens appeared singly (Mainfort 1979: 323, 337, 342).

Other common brass embellishments included thimbles, hawk bells, and tinkling cones filled with deer hair. These items were typically used to decorate clothing, although some tinkling cones were also attached to the fringe on a buckskin pouch and probably the hair of a woman and child (Mainfort 1979: 318, 332, 338). Beads of brass, either solid or composed of short segments of tightly coiled wire, as well as those of pewter, were commonly formed into single and multi-strand necklaces (Mainfort 1979: 321, 337, 342). One or more crosses of brass or lead were also sometimes incorporated therein (Mainfort 1979: 335, 340, 348).

The appearance of the Canadian Ojibwa was recorded by Lady Simcoe at York in 1793: "Some wore Black Silk handkerchiefs covered with silver Brooches tied tight round the head, others silver bands, silver arm bands & their shirts ornamented with broaches, scarlet leggings or pantaloons, & black, blue, or scarlet broadcloth Blankets" (Innis 1971: 103).

Three years later, Isaac Weld, Jr., penned a general account of ornamentation by Indians living in the Upper Great Lakes region (Fig. 9). Regarding the men, he noted that their hair, worn in a scalp lock atop the head, was adorned "with beads, silver trinkets, &c. and on grand occasions with feathers" (Weld 1799: 379).

Figure 9. "Soldiering with the King's, 1780." Anonymous oil painting of Sir John Caldwell, British officer, in the garb of the Eastern Great Lakes Indian of the late 18th century (King's Regiment Collection, Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool, England; N801171)

The men wear ear-rings likewise, but of a sort totally different from those worn by the women; they mostly consist of round flat thin pieces of silver, about the size of a dollar, perforated with holes in different patterns; others, however, equally large, are made in a triangular form. Some of the tribes are very select in the choice of the pattern, and will not wear any but the one sort of pendants. Instead of boring their ears, the men slit them along the outward edge from top to bottom, and as soon as the gash is healed hang heavy weights to them in order to stretch the rim thus separated as low down as possible. Some of them are so successful in this operation, that they contrive to draw the rims of the ear in form of a bow, down to their very shoulders, and their large ear-rings hang dangling on their breasts. To prevent the rim thus extended from breaking, they bind it with brass wire; however, I observed that there was not one in six that had his ears perfect; the least touch, indeed, is sufficient to break the skin, and it would be most wonderful if they were able to preserve it entire, engaged so often as they are in drunken quarrels, and so often liable to be entangled in thickets whilst pursuing their game.

Some of the men wear pendants in their noses, but these are not so common as ear-rings. The chiefs and principal warriors wear breast plates, consisting of large pieces of silver, sea shells, or the like. Silver gorgets, such as are usually worn by officers, please them extremely, and to favourite chiefs they are given out, amongst other presents, on the part of government. Another sort of ornament is likewise worn by the men, consisting of a large silver clasp or bracelet, to which is attached a bunch of hair died of a scarlet colour, usually taken from the knee of the buffalo. This is worn on the narrow part of the arm above the elbow, and it is deemed very ornamental, and also a badge of honour, for no person wears it that has not distinguished himself in the field. Silver ornaments are universally preferred to those of any other metal (Weld 1799: 382).

The male costume consisted of a short shirt, breech cloth, leggings and moccasins, supplemented by a blanket, a sheet of broadcloth or a loose coat in cooler weather. The moccasins were embellished as follows:

Round that part where the foot is put in, a flap of the depth of an inch or two is left, which hangs loosely down over the string by which the moccasin is fastened; and this flap, as also the seam, are tastefully ornamented with porcupine quills and beads: the flap is edged with tin or copper tags filled with scarlet hair.... An ornamented moccasin of this sort is only worn in dress, as the ornaments are expensive, and the leather soon wears out; one of plain leather answers for ordinary use (Weld 1799: 379).

As for the leggings, "they are commonly made of blue or scarlet cloth, and are formed so as to fit close to the limbs, like the modern pantaloons; but the edges of the cloth annexed to the seam, instead of being turned in, are left on the outside, and are ornamented with beads, ribands, &c. when the leggings are intended for dress." The breech cloths were also similarly trimmed (Weld 1799: 380).

The women, whose dress was comprised of a shirt, skirt, leggings, moccasins and a blanket or large piece of cloth, showed a marked preference for trade silver, most of which was displayed on their shirts:

The women in warm weather appear in the villages without any other covering above their waists than these shirts, or shifts if you please so to call them, though they differ in no respect from the shirts of the men; they usually, however, fasten them with a broach round the neck. In full dress they also appear in these shirts, but then they are covered entirely over with silver broaches, about the size of a sixpenny piece. In full dress they likewise fasten pieces of ribands of various colours to their hair behind, which are suffered to hang down to their very heels. I have seen a young squaw, that has been a fa-

vourite with the men, come forth at a dance with upwards of five guineas worth of ribands streaming from her hair.

On their wrists the women wear silver bracelets when they can procure them; they also wear silver ear-rings; the latter are in general of a very small size; but it is not merely one pair which they wear, but several. To admit them, they bore a number of holes in their ears, sometimes entirely round the edges (Weld 1799: 381-2).

While living among the Saulteaux about Lake Nipigon in 1804, Duncan Cameron, a trader affiliated with the North West Company, recorded the appearance of those who participated in the manhood fasting ceremony:

When a young man arrives at the age of fourteen or fifteen, he imposes upon himself several days of the severest fasting, without even taking a drop of water till the cravings of hunger and thirst force him to break his fast. During all these fasts, which are several times renewed, he dresses in his best apparel, paints and ornaments his person with all the trinkets he can muster, such as rings, earbobs, earwheels, if he has any, if not, he ornaments his ears with dyed quills, swan's down, or a piece of old kettle, cut and polished, barley-corn or common bead necklaces; leggins or cloth boots and garters embellished with beads or porcupine quills, and moccasins on his feet (Cameron 1890: 260).

At about the same time, Peter Grant, another Nor'Wester, recorded additional details concerning the ornamentation of the Saulteaux. Of the men he wrote:

The whole rim of the ear is encircled with... [brass] *wire, which projects out from the side of the head like an arch and from which hang various ornaments of different forms; the most fashionable are made of silver, resembling a wheel and rather larger than a Spanish dollar. They wear silver bracelets, either on the naked arm or over the sleeve of the coat. The ornaments for the nose hang down about half an inch, and nearly touch the upper lip. They put great value on wampum beads and wear several strings of them about the neck, or suspended from the hair and ears.*

They are not confined to any particular mode in wearing the hair.... The young men allow several long locks to fall down over the face, ornamented with ribands, silver broaches, &c.; they gather up another lock from behind the head into a small club wrapped up with very thin plates of silver, in which they fix the tail feathers of the eagle, or any other favorite bird (Grant 1890: 316).

A variety of trade ornaments also graced the female populace:

The women wear petticoats of blue cloth, which come down to the ankle, and cover their bodies upwards to the pit of the shoulder with the same stuff. Their sleeves, made of red or blue molton, come down near the wrist and open along the inside of the arm; they tie them by the uppermost corner behind the shoulders, so that the lower corners, which fall down behind, cover a considerable part of the back. A narrow slip of cloth is fixed across the breast, from the end of which two other slips are suspended, carefully ornamented with white beads and various other trinkets [Fig. 10].

They wear silver bracelets on their wrists, rings on their fingers, beads about the neck and a profusion of silver crosses and others ornaments dangling down upon the breast. Their ear and nose ornaments are the same as the men's, though not in the same profusion... (Grant 1890: 318-9).

During his travels through the Northwest Territories of British North America in 1821, Nicholas Garry took note of two exceptionally arrayed Ojibwa warriors. The first of these, the leader of a small group encountered between Manitoulin Island and Lake Nippissing, "was a very well-looking Man and a great Dandy in his way. Round his Hat was a Plate of Silver and he had broad Arm bands of the same Metal" (Bourinot 1900: 107). The other, a member

Figure 10. "Female Chippeway of Distinction," early 19th century, adorned with glass beads and what may be silver bracelets (McKenney 1827: Pl. opp. p. 315; National Library of Canada, Ottawa; L-5102)

of a delegation to Fort William, was even more striking in his appearance: "One of them a very handsome man and great Dandy was very much painted red and white. In his Ears large round Earrings and Rings in his Nose. His Hair in a Tail behind and plaited in long Strings in Front which were joined by silver clasps" (Bourinot 1900: 117).

Other, less-costly embellishments were also in use at this time. A contemporary watercolour by Peter Rindisbacher shows an Indian wearing a triangular breast plate with what appears to be a mirror in its centre (Fig. 11). Both it and his knee garters are trimmed with tinkling cones. Another Rindisbacher watercolour depicts a group of Saulteaux on the Red River (Plate 1). The men sport brass nose pendants and bracelets, as well as chokers of black and white beadwork, one of which has a circular pendant suspended from it. The women exhibit necklaces of yellow, green, red, and white beads, and ear ornaments composed of a strand of green beads with a brass ring at the lower end. Their children are adorned with necklaces and bracelets of glass beads.

On his way to conclude a treaty with the Chippewa at Fond du Lac in 1826, Thomas McKenney stopped at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, where he made the acquaintance of a "a genuine Chippeway" woman. Of her he wrote: "She dresses nearly in the costume of her nation – a blue petticoat, of cloth, a shortgown of calico, with leggins worked with beads, and moccasins. Her hair is black. She plaits and fastens it up behind with a comb" (McKenney 1827: 182). Some time later, having passed over to the south shore of Lake Superior, he met "an old [Chippewa] chief, called The Plover, with a ring made of lead through the cartilage of his nose" (McKenney 1827: 256). After arriving in Fond du Lac at the west end of Lake Superior, McKenney witnessed a dance whose participants were "painted after all manner of devices." In addition, "their heads were ornamented with feathers, and their hair plaited, with little bells and other trinkets suspended from the plaits. From the waist string of some, hung small looking glasses, and their knives, and the skins of birds..." (McKenney 1827: 285).

The following year, Captain Basil Hall recorded the embellishments of the Ojibwa who were gathered at Holland Landing, Upper Canada, to receive their annual payment of presents:

> *Many of the males, as well as the females, wore enormous earrings, some of which I found upon admeasurement to be six inches in length; and others carried round their necks silver ornaments, from the size of a watch to that of a soup-plate. Sundry damsels, I suppose at the top of the fashion, had strung over them more than a dozen of necklaces of variously stained glass beads. One man, I observed, was ornamented with a set of bones, described to me as the celebrated wampum, of which everyone has heard; and this personage, with four or five others, and a few of the women, were wired in the nose*

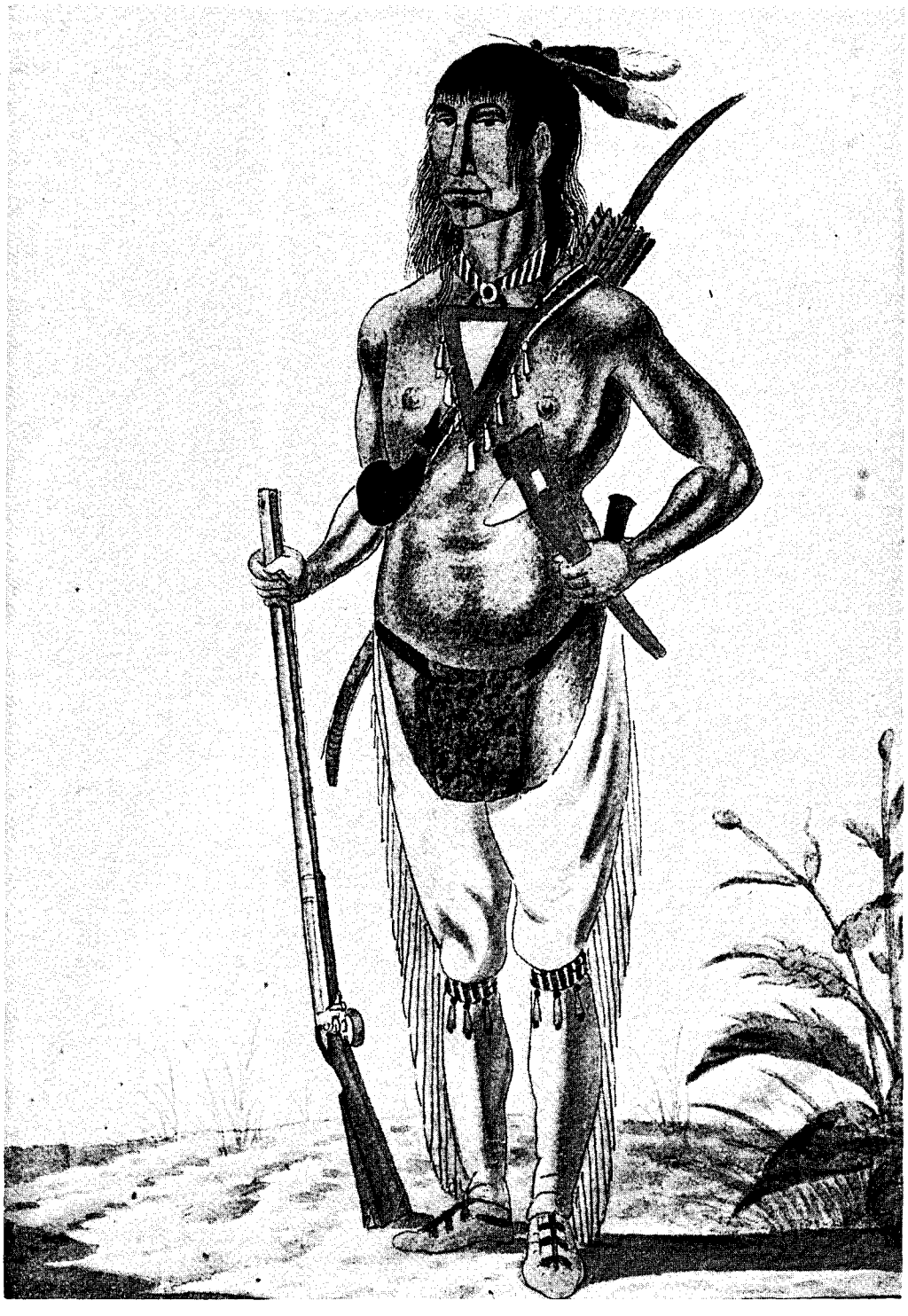


Figure 11. Purported likeness of Chief Peguis of the Lake Winnipeg Saulteaux, watercolour by Peter Rindisbacher, ca. 1821. Tinkling cones embellish his knee garters and possible mirror breast ornament (Manitoba Archives, Winnipeg; N-3753)

like pigs, with rings, which dangled against their lips (MacLean 1896: 182-3).

In 1833, Richard King (1836: 32), surgeon and naturalist to the Arctic expedition headed by Captain George Back, met with some Chippewa Indians near Lac de la Pluie (Rainy Lake, Ontario): "Birds' feathers of different colours were fancifully entwined in their hair, which was neatly plaited; whilst to their ears and fingers were attached brass rings of all sizes."

The bedizenments of Ka-be-mub-be (He Who Sits Everywhere), a Chippewa of distinction, consist of metal armlets and bracelets, silver brooches affixed to the hair, and a crescent gorget at the throat (Fig. 12). One of his contemporaries, Ondaig (The Crow), is adorned with necklaces and hair ornaments of glass beads, silver eardrops, a large silver medal, metal armbands and wristlets, and a beaded breech cloth and leggings (Fig. 13).

An informative account of the adornment of the Chippewa living to the south of Lake Superior was written by I.I. Ducatel in 1835:

The young women... have a more cleanly appearance than the squaws,... and the better sort ornament their arms and ankles with bands of bead work, and wear decent ear rings with bead necklaces [Plate 2]. *They seldom disfigure themselves with paint. This folly is principally confined to the men, who seem, indeed, much fonder also of trinkets than the women. A warrior will be seen with a dozen of eagle's feathers banded round his head, his face painted red, blue, and black, with a red circle around one eye and a blue one around the other, a great slit in his ear, from which depends a profusion of tinselled ornaments and the like hung round his neck, a gaudily embroidered belt of bead work, with leggins of the same material, and thus attired, he struts about like a peacock.... Strange are their notions of improvement in this conchoidal appendage to the human head* [i.e., the ear]. *They will stick long plated arrows into them, even as our own fair countrywomen stick similar darts through their hair. They fix knives and forks into these auricular slits, and some have been seen with a comb thus preposterously located. The young female barbarian does not venture upon these extravagances; but, like a Christian daughter, is satisfied with a simple ear ring* (Ducatel 1877: 362-3).

Ducatel (1877: 371) further observed that such items of dress as garters, moccasins and pouches were often "tastefully ornamented with bead work." Cradleboards and their wrappings were also commonly adorned with bead embroidery and various trinkets (Plate 2), including "a pretty little pouch made out of skin, trimmed with beads" that contained the child's umbilical cord (Bray 1970: 181).

An Ojibwa chief whom Anna B. Jameson (1965: 27) met in Toronto in January 1837 "had about fifty strings of blue wampum round his neck." Another seen on Manitoulin Island later that year wore "a magnificent embroidered belt of wampum, from which hung his scalping-knife and pouch." The latter individual also had "his father's medal hung on his breast" (Jameson 1965: 149). The paintings of George Catlin reveal that the Chippewa were also fond of wampum (Plate 3) and medals (Hassrick 1977: 91) during this general time period.

The Chippewa who entertained Sir George Simpson at Fort Frances, Ontario, in 1841 were adorned with a more divergent and imaginative assortment of ornaments:

Their glossy locks were plaited all round the head into tails, varying in number according to the thickness of the bush or the taste of the owner; at the ends of the different ties were suspended such valuable ornaments as thimbles, coins, buttons, and clippings of tin; their heads were adorned with feathers of all sorts and sizes; and their necks were encircled with rows of beads at discretion and large collars of brass rod (Fig. 14; Simpson 1847: 42).

That same year, an Ojibwa chief at Penetanguishene was described by Sir Richard Bonnycastle (1841, 1: 306) as having "a fine head of long black hair, highly ornamented with beads and feathers." Another contemporary use for glass beads was the

Figure 12. Ka-be-mub-be, He Who Sits Everywhere, a distinguished Chippewa painted at Fort Snelling by George Catlin in 1834. His metal ornaments include bracelets, armlets, brooches and a crescent gorget (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.187)

Figure 13. On-daig, The Crow, a young Chippewa of distinction, by George Catlin, 1836. Glass beads decorate hair, neck and garments; metal ornaments adorn ears, chest and arms (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.193)

Figure 14. The Chippewa warrior, Ot-ta-wa (The Otteway), by George Catlin at Fort Snelling in 1834. He has a beaded headband and shoulder belt, and neck ring and bracelet of brass (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.188)

enhancement of ornamental birchbark "transparencies":

> *The squaws have a curious method of forming patterns upon this bark with their teeth, producing very elegant and elaborate designs. They double a strip of bark many times into angles, which they bite at the sharp corners in various forms. Upon the piece being unfolded, the pattern appears, which is generally filled in very ingeniously with beads and coloured porcupine quills* (Strickland 1853: 53).

A concise description of the dress and adornment of the eastern Ojibwa male at mid-century is provided by the Reverend Peter Jones (Figs. 15-16):

> *The clothing of the men consists of a loose coat coming down below the knees. This is made of dressed deer or moose skin fantastically decorated with tassels of the same material, or with porcupine quills, beads and silver brooches. Their leggings are made of the same skins. Round their waists they tie belts worked with worsted and beads.... Some of the old men have the hair of their heads cut very close, and others have it plucked up by the roots, except a small tuft on the crown which is left as a bravado, so that in case they should fall into the hands of their enemies they may be scalped with ease. To this tuft they sometimes fasten a silver or leaden cube, three or four inches long. Many of them also have their ears cut from one end to the other, leaving the end fast to the ear, to which they fasten weights of lead, wampum, and other trinkets, so as to hang down in a loop.... They have their noses pierced also, and in them they wear nose-jewels.... Their mocassins are made of dressed deer skins worked with quills or beads* (Jones 1861: 75-6).

Scalps taken from vanquished enemies were "stretched on round hoops and carefully dried. They... [were] then painted, and decorated with wampum beads and ribbons" (Jones 1861: 132).

In 1857, members of the Palliser Expedition were greeted at Fort Frances by a delegation of Chippewa warriors who "marched into the fort, in Indian file, with faces painted of every colour, heads decked with eagles' feathers, necks and fingers with brass rings, and many wearing very elegantly beaded dresses" (Spry 1968: 76). Contemporary Chippewa women bedecked themselves with necklets of brass wire (Jacobs 1858: 32), "seed" bead chokers (Fig. 17), multiple strands of large glass beads, and silver armlets and brooches (Fig. 18).

During his sojourn among the Chippewa living on the Apostle Islands at the western end of Lake Superior in the late 1850s, J.G. Kohl noted that "the squaws at times display extraordinary luxury in the gaily embroidered coverlid which they throw over" their cradleboards:

> *I saw one woman use as a covering a wide sky-blue cloth, on which glistened at least a couple of pounds of pearl beads. She told me she had paid her neighbour ten dollars for it (half her yearly income). The apikan, or band, on which the mother carries infant and cradle, is also often richly ornamented* (Kohl 1860: 8).

Concerning personal adornment, Kohl (1860: 83, 111) observed that necklaces of wampum beads and engraved armlets of silver and brass were in use among the male population. One chief in particular also exhibited a silver ring "in his nose, and a couple of pounds' weight of plated earrings, which hung from his distended lobes, like bunches of grapes" (Kohl 1860: 41). "Heavy masses" of bluish or grey wampum were occasionally worn about the neck by influential and respected chiefs (Kohl 1860: 136). Possibly referring to dentalium, Kohl (1860: 135) also mentioned the use of "a long shell of the size of a finger, which in the Indian trade [of former days] was worth more than its weight in silver."

"Of their instruments, those most highly decorated... [were] generally their pipes and the handles of their tomahawks" (Kohl 1860: 144). An example of the latter, a pipe tomahawk attributed to the 1850-70 period, is described by Harold L. Peterson (1965: 114):

Figure 15. "The Rippling Stream (Omuddwajecoonoqua)." This eastern Ojibwa chief exhibits a silver hatband, bracelets and brooches, as well as a string of large glass (?) beads and multiple strands of wampum about the neck (Jones 1861: Pl. opp. p. 57).

Figure 16. "Natahwash. Miscocomon Chief." The adornments of this eastern Ojibwa include silver brooches, bracelets and crescent gorgets. Beadwork embellishes his leggings, garters and moccasins (Jones 1861: Pl. opp. p. 25)

The haft is studded with brass tacks along the top and in a single diagonal band. There are also traces of file branding. Suspended on rawhide thongs from a hole in the bottom are a feather with its quill wrapped in red cloth, brass and bone beads and two .32 caliber Smith & Wesson cartridge cases.

While on an expedition across Canada in 1872 in the company of Sanford Fleming, the Reverend George M. Grant made some observations on the embellishments of the Chippewa men at Fort Frances:

The men wore their hair plaited into two or more long queues, which, when rolled up on the head, looked well enough, but which usually hung down the sides of the face, giving them an effeminate look, and all the more so because bits of silver or brass were twisted in or ringed round with the plaits. One young fellow... had long streamers of bright ribbon flying from his felt hat (Grant 1873: 47-8).

Silver finger rings were popular with the Chippewa living further to the east (Grant 1873: 37).

A slightly more detailed account of Chippewa adornment was recorded by the Reverend E.F. Wilson in 1878 at Savanne in northwestern Ontario:

Their costume consisted of a shirt, a beaded belt around the waist, trousers and moccasins.... Nearly all wore silver earrings, some of them consisting of a string of five-cent pieces, and others had necklaces of bear's claws and other strange fancies; their pipes were carved out of soap-stone polished smooth, many of them were armed with ornamental tomahawks, and they had long knives concealed in bead work sheaths (Arthur 1973: 184).

In his discourse on the *The Midē'wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibway*, W.H. Hoffman provides insight into the ceremonial regalia of the Midē' priests prior to 1885:

The Midē' priests wear shirts, trousers, and moccasins, the first two of which may consist

Figure 17. "Sha-win-ne-gun." Charcoal portrait of Southern Bone, a southwestern Ojibwa, by Eastman Johnson, 1857. Her necklet is composed of coloured glass "seed" beads (St. Louis County Historical Society, Duluth, Minnesota)

of flannel or cloth and be either plain or ornamented with beads, while the latter are always of buckskin, or, what is more highly prized, moose skin, beaded or worked with colored porcupine quills.

Immediately below each knee is tied a necessary item of an Ojibwa's dress, a garter, which consists of a band of beads varying in different specimens from 2 to 4 inches in width, and from 18 to 20 inches in length, to each end of which strands of colored wool yarn, 2 feet long, are attached so as to admit of being passed around the leg and tied in a bow-knot in front. These garters are made by the women in such patterns as they may be able to design or elaborate....

Bands of flannel or buckskin, handsomely beaded, are sometimes attached to the sides of the pantaloons, in imitation of an officer's stripes, and around the bottom. Collars are

Figure 18. "Notin E. Garbowik," Lady Standing With the Wind, a southwestern Ojibwa, by Eastman Johnson, 1857. Several glass bead necklaces, silver brooches, and brass rings are depicted (St. Louis County Historical Society, Duluth, Minn.)

also used, in addition to necklaces of claws, shells, or other objects.

Armlets and bracelets are sometimes made of bands of beadwork, though brass wire or pieces of metal are preferred.

Bags made of cloth, beautifully ornamented or entirely covered with beads, are worn, supported at the side by means of a broad band or baldric passing over the opposite shoulder. The head is decorated with disks of metal and tufts of colored horse hair or moose hair and with eagle feathers to designate the particular exploits performed by the wearer (Hoffman 1891: 298-9).

Some of the human effigies used during initiation ceremonies were also embellished with trade materials. One such described by Hoffman (1891: 206) was "decorated with narrow bands of dark blue flannel about the ankles and knees, a patch of red cloth upon the breast and bands about the wrists, each of the eyes being indicated by three white porcelain beads." Other effigies had brass tacks for eyes (Feder 1971: 105-6).

Photographs of Chippewa delegates to Washington taken around the turn of the century reveal that bead embroidery was very much in vogue being found on glengarry caps, breech cloths, leggings, garters, moccasins, shoulder bags and knife sheaths (Figs. 19-20). Necklaces and chokers of beads and/or wampum were also popular. Shell gorgets and silver medals were less common.

Details concerning the ornamentation of the ceremonial garb and paraphernalia of the Chippewa during the early 20th century were recorded by N.H. Winchell at a celebration held at the White Earth Reservation, northwestern Minnesota, in 1910:

The costumes [of the dancers] *were very fantastic, but had a general likeness, whether Ojibwa or Sioux.... Their feet were moccasined with handsome beaded forms inwrought, or in plain buckskin, or mooseskin. About their legs were strings of bells that jingled with the stepping. These were sleighbells of all sizes, but new, and silver-bright, usually, though one or two boys had regular sets, or strings, of bells wrapped about their bodies, passing over their shoulders, which had seen considerable service in the regular way. Their bodies were covered with a profusion of fantastically colored, often gaudy, sashes, shoulder-bands, belts and feathered pendants, many of these wrappings being elaborately beaded.... Several of the White Earthers had large rosettes (as it were) hanging from their hair, resting on the back between the shoulders, the center-pieces of which were sometimes small circular looking-glasses, and around these radiating bark or leather strips, each six or eight inches long, ornamented by tyings or beadings, and at the very outer rim bearing short streamers of loose, light-colored feathers* (Winchell 1911: 613).

The sacred drums used at Drum Dances were often lavishly ornamented with paint and beadwork. A very ornate example (Fig. 21) from Lac du Flambeau in northern Wisconsin was examined by Frances Densmore in the early 1900s:

The drum... had two heads of untanned hide decorated alike – one half painted blue and the other half red, with a band of yellow near the edge of the blue segment. The sides of the drum were concealed by a strip of red flannel edged with blue, which hung below the rim; this was decorated with pierced silver disks. Around the upper rim was a band of otter fur.... Below the band of fur was a broad band of beadwork edged with a deep fringe of beads terminating in tassels and metal thimbles. Four ornaments of heavy beadwork decorated the sides of the drum. The stakes supporting the drum were completely covered with beadwork and bands of otter fur (Densmore 1913: 145).

The Chippewa woman of the early 20th century relied almost entirely on small glass beads to decorate her person. These inexpensive objects were not only used to embroider her dress, leggings and moccasins, but were also woven into headbands and chokers (Fig. 22). Larger beads, sometimes in combination with bone hair pipes, were formed into

Figure 19. Delegation of Leech Lake (Minnesota) Chippewa to Washington, photographed by DeLancey Gill, 1899. Floral beadwork decorates their native ceremonial garments; beaded necklaces, a choker and ear ornaments are also in evidence (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; 520-C)

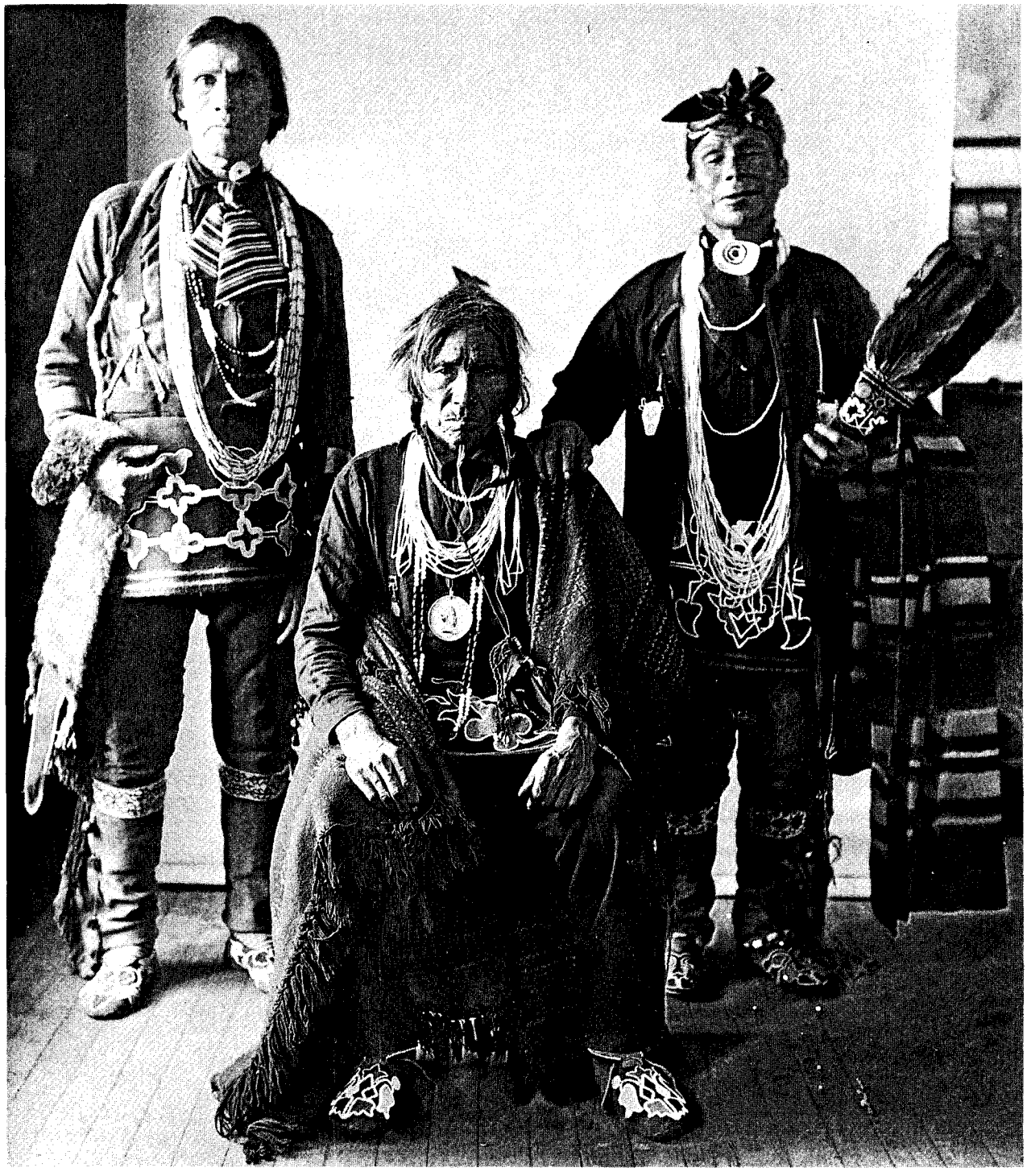


Figure 20. Chippewa in ceremonial dress from Red Lake, Minnesota. Photographed in Washington by De-Lancey Gill, 1901. Ornamentation includes floral beadwork, glass bead and shell neck ornaments, and a peace medal (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; 581-B-1)

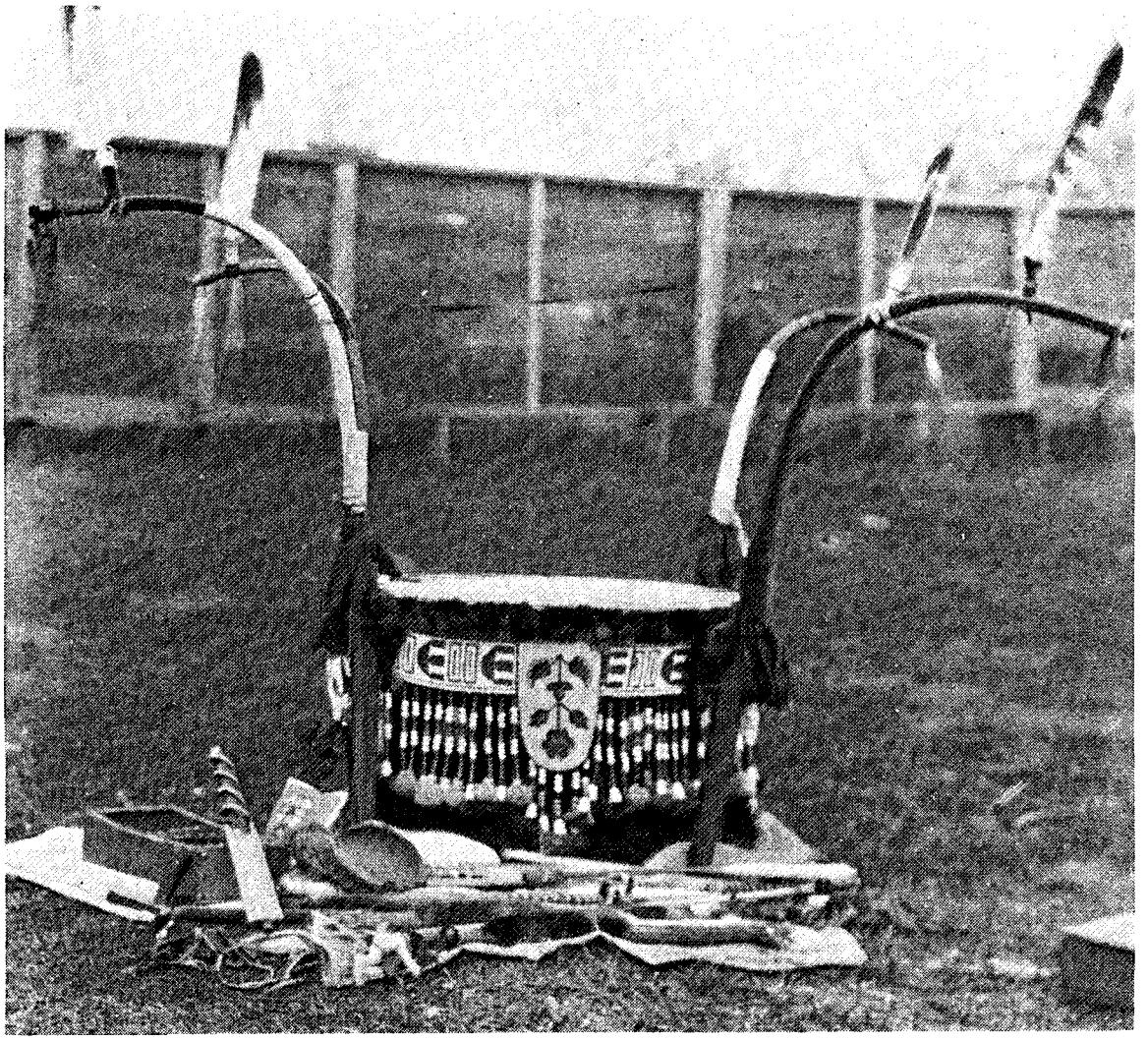


Figure 21. Ornate "chief drum" from Lac du Flambeau, Minnesota. It is decorated with beadwork, silver disks, and thimbles (Densmore 1913: Pl. 18; Smithsonian Institution, Neg. 501)

Figure 22. Bitawagi-jigo-kwe (Double Sky Woman), also known as Mrs. Benjamin Gauthier, in native beaded Chippewa garb, early 20th century (Densmore 1913: Pl. 30)

necklaces, four being "a suitable number of strings to wear" (Densmore 1929: 36).

Beads were also commonly used to embellish dolls, various types of bags, charms, and men's wrist bands (Densmore 1929). Brass furniture tacks served to adorn pipe stems and the handles of war clubs (Densmore 1913: Pl. 1; 1929: 144).

Woodland Cree

Known also as the Kristinaux, Nahathaway and Southern Indians, the Woodland Cree inhabited the boreal forest region from central Quebec to north-central Alberta (Fig. 2). Initial contact with Europeans seems to have occurred in the spring of 1611 when a lone Indian visited Henry Hudson's ice-bound ship at the southern end of James Bay. "Being the first [native] they had seen in all the Time... Mr. Hudson, under a Sense of making some Advantage by it; presented the Savage with a Knife, Looking-glass, and Buttons; who received them thankfully..." (Swaine 1748: 181).

The only historical description of the ornamentation of the Eastern Cree was recorded in June 1672 by the Jesuit Charles Albanel near Lake Nikaubau in western Quebec. There he met with a large party of Mistassirinins (Mistassini Cree), most of whom had "painted faces, and [were] adorned with all their costliest ornaments, – such as high head-dresses and porcelain [wampum] collars, belts, and bracelets" (Thwaites 1899, 56: 173).

Information concerning the adornments of the Western Cree is much more abundant. One of the earliest references appears in a letter written in 1728 by Thomas McCliesh, Governor of York Factory, Manitoba, which states that the Indians thereabouts invariably converted their old brass kettles into "fine handcuffs [bracelets] and pouches which is of greater value with them than twice the price of the kettle" (Davies 1965: 134). In 1740, Joseph Isbister, Chief Factor at Albany Fort on James Bay, noted that when it came to beads, the Indians were "very much given to change their fancies" (Davies 1965: 325).

Three years later, James Isham, Chief Factor at Prince of Wale's Fort in northern Manitoba, completed his "Observations on Hudsons Bay" which included a brief survey of the dress and adornment of the local native population. According to Isham, the costume of the contemporary Cree woman consisted of a loose-fitting shift with separate sleeves, a coat secured by a broad belt, a breech cloth in the winter for added warmth, leggings, garters, moccasins and a peaked cap (Rich 1949: 109-10).

> *All these garments are workd. full of Beads, porqu'pine Quil's, and other ornaments, which they Deck themselves out with – they also wear Ear bob's, or String's of Beads, 8 or 9 inches Long, at their Ear's, and Both men and women wears a Bead at their nose, Boring the hole's when Young, they put this bead aside with a Sort of an air when they Drink...* (Rich 1949: 110).

Some of the Indians also wore finger rings (Davies 1965: 280), while others sported flashy eardrops composed of "the Red featherd. part of the skin" of "a sort of Woodpecker" to which was appended "a bead, a thimble or some other pauble" (Rich 1949: 128). The shoulder straps of powder horns were often garnished with beadwork (Rich 1949: 108).

An account of Cree finery was detailed by Charles Swaine, the Clerk of the *California*, while wintering at York Factory in 1746-47:

> *Some* [men] *wear round their Heads Fillets as narrow as Tape, made of green or red Worsted, with two Borders of Beads, with which they tie up their Hair..., and the two Ends of the Fillet hang down upon the left Shoulder....*
>
> *They will grease their Hair, stick Feathers in their Hair, and ornament it with Bunches of Rabbits Hair, or Bits of Firr; and also with Beads, or a Bit of white Stone which they find in these Parts, and polish until it much resembles white Glass. The Women... grease their Hair as the Men do, stick Bits of Firr in it and Beads, and paint it red, which is a Practice also with the Men.*
>
> *The Women wear round their Necks Necklaces of three or four Rows of Beads, which hang down almost as low as their Breasts; some wear large narrow Rings* [collars] *of Brass, and at each Ear will have eight or ten Strings of small Beads which shall reach to their Shoulders, which Beads they procure at the Factories. The Men as well as the Women have their Ears pierced, as also their Nose; Men will have frequently a Bit of Firr, which is of some extraordinary Kind, hanging to their Ear by a Bit of String; others have Ear-Rings made of Beads, of a white Stone, which we have mentioned, polished, and Bits of Brass. Some will have, through the Grizzle of their Nose, a String with a Bit of Copper about the Size of a Sixpence hanging to it, of a triangular Form; others a Pipe-Bead of about two Inches long, and two small Beads at the End of such Pipe-Bead; this which is so pendant from the Nose flaps on the upper Lip, and you may see them sometimes reach at it with their Tongues....*
>
> *Upon their Wrists the Women wear Bracelets, which they get of Tin or Brass, since they have known the Factories; are of about two Inches broad; they carve them themselves, but their Workmanship is no Way extraordinary. The Men have Collars made of Cloth, with Beads or Bits of white Stone sewed on them; both Men and Women have also Belts which they girt their Tockie* [outer coat] *up with, and sometimes wear upon their Frock, of four Fingers in Breadth, made of Porcupine Quills; also of Beads run upon small Deer Guts, the Outside of the Belt Leather, and these Belts have at each End a Parcel of small Strips of Leather to make them fast....*
>
> *Their Passion for Ornament is so great, that they do not omit it with respect to their Children, a Child of five Months old, will have a Wire through its Nose, with a Bead fixed to it; and Strings of Beads upon its Wrists...* (Swaine 1748: 195-7, 213).

Glass beads, and brass tags fashioned from "the Remains of their old Kettles," were commonly

strung together to form a fringe on the upper arms of the leather frocks that the men wore. They also served to garnish fire bags. Made of either leather or cloth, the bags were utilized for carrying tinder and a flint and steel (Swaine 1748: 163, 191).

Cradleboards may also have been adorned with imported baubles during this general time period. A specimen of probable Cree manufacture, collected on Hudson Bay prior to 1753, displayed a fringe composed of 20 short strings of coloured glass beads, each of which terminated in a tuft of dyed hair (Bushnell 1906: 682).

Compiled between 1767 and 1791, Andrew Graham's "Observations on Hudson's Bay" provide much useful information regarding the embellishments of the Bay-side Cree during the second half of the 18th century. Turning first to the men, Graham noted that "in summer they frequently wear no covering on the head, sometimes braiding the hair with a fillet of bead or quill-work." When the weather was cooler, they commonly wore peaked caps which were "usually made of cloth ornamented with beads, in the shape of deer, birds, straight and curved lines etc." Their breech cloths, garters and moccasins were "also finely ornamented with beads and porcupine quills" (Williams 1969: 145-6). The shot pouches and medicine bags that they possessed were generally "very prettily ornamented with... beads and brass tags made out of their old kettles" (Williams 1969: 147, 164). Some had slits in "their ears capable of receiving four fingers, and round it was twisted brass wire in the form of a gun-worm.... A triangular bit of tin, copper, or a few beads" occasionally hung from a nose (Williams 1969: 148). During feasts, the warriors wore "their best" including "fine necklaces..., and perhaps a string of hawks-bells about their ankles" (Williams 1969: 165).

The female segment of the population was no less ornamented:

> *In their ears they bore several holes and hang three or four strings of beads about six inches long. The nostril has also a share in decorating the American female. The hair of the head is left at its natural length. I have seen it reach to the waist in a young woman, but they generally have it combed and neatly tied up, sometimes in a long club ornamented with beads and hanging behind; but it is mostly divided in the middle both behind and before, and after plaiting it to secure all the loose hairs it is tied in a bunch behind each ear. Over the tying is sometimes bound a long slip of blue or red cloth, the end hanging down a foot in length. But a leader's wife and others when they can procure them work the beads upon a bit of cloth in various forms, and hang twenty strings or more to the edge of the cloth like fringes. This is bound to the hair clubbed on each side of the head by a narrow slip of cloth likewise ornamented with beads, and when they are to be more than ordinary fine a bit of goose or swan down feathers is fixed on the top of the bunch....*
>
> *The Grandees* [women of rank] *have necklaces composed of several strings of beads fancifully variegated, and are not tied close round as in England, but hang loose in the bosom. They sometimes purchase brass collars at the [Hudson's Bay Company] Factories. Bracelets round the wrists are also in use amongst them; I have seen them of white metal which were purchased from the Canadian* [French] *pedlars, and of brass made at the Factories, or by themselves out of their old kettles. It is not uncommon to see some made of leather or cloth, very prettily ornamented with beads and quill-work* (Williams 1969: 149-50).

The smocks that the women wore were frequently ornamented on the skirt: "If it is of leather it is usually painted; if of cloth it is laced a considerable way up, and both the one and the other have sometimes brass tags hanging very numerous all round." The detachable sleeves were "open under the armpits and fastened together at the angles behind and before by a string, or breast-plate, prettily adorned with beads, brass, quill-work, or the like." Beadwork decorated their caps and belts (Williams 1969: 149). Following her first menses, a Cree woman wore "her hair dishevelled, head hung down, cap always on, with a fringe of beads or

quill-work sewed to its edge, which hanging down conceal the upper part of the face, yet permit her to see anything" (Williams 1969: 177).

During his stay at York Factory from 1771 to 1782, Edward Umfreville observed that it was the custom of the Hudson's Bay Company to present the chief of a trading party with a suit of clothing. Included was a coarse hat "bedecked with three ostrich feathers of various colours, and a worsted sash tied round the crown" (Umfreville 1790: 59).

On his way to the Polar Sea in 1820, Capt. John Franklin (1823: 81) recorded that the Cree at Cumberland House in east-central Saskatchewan wore leggings or "Indian stockings" commonly adorned with beads or ribbons (Fig. 23). Their cradleboards, deemed "one of the neatest articles of furniture they possess," were generally beautified with beads and pieces of scarlet cloth (Franklin 1823: 82). The Cree who traded at Churchill, Manitoba, during this time period also used beads and ribbons to adorn their peaked cloth caps (Bourinot 1900: 196).

Twenty years later, Letitia Hargrave made reference to the embellishments of some of the Cree women living at York Factory: "One woman had large gold earrings w[hi]ch were put half way up her ears and stuck out a good deal, & a beautiful turquoise ring. She wore a green tartan gown moccasins & blanket. The other women had all 3 or 4 large glass bead necklaces – different colour" (MacLeod 1947: 76).

Additional details concerning the ornamentation of the York Factory Cree during the early 1840s appear in the writings of Robert M. Ballantyne (1848: 42-5):

> *The personal appearance of the men of this tribe is not bad.... Their jet black hair generally hangs in straight matted locks over their shoulders, sometimes ornamented with beads and pieces of metal, and occasionally with a few partridge feathers....*
>
> [Their] *leggins are sometimes very tastefully decorated with bead-work, particularly those of the women, and are provided with flaps or wings on either side, which have a pretty and novel appearance....*
>
> *The women usually make the top of the*[ir] *blanket answer the purpose of a head-dress; but when they wish to appear very much to advantage, they put on the cap represented in...* [Fig. 24]. *It is a square piece of blue cloth, profusely decorated with different coloured beads, and merely sewed up at the top.*

At Cumberland House in 1843, Captain John H. Lefroy (1955: 57), Director of the Toronto Magnetic Observatory, noted that the Indian men wore "long black Elflocks, innocent of comb, one lock on each temple passed through a row of hollow brass beads as large as a cherry, one in the middle of the forehead hanging straight, and a long plaited lock over each shoulder." The women similarly wore "several strings of beads upon different locks of hair." They were garbed in a "gown" with "a kind of apron, before and behind, gaily worked on the shoulder bands and in front with beads," and "a pair of gay red leggins, worked with beads round the bottom and along the seam" (Lefroy 1955: 58).

During the Christmas festivities at Fort Edmonton in 1847, Paul Kane (1925: 263-4) took to the dance floor with a young Cree woman, "who sported enough beads round her neck to have made a pedlar's fortune."

While at Fort Carlton on the North Saskatchewan River in 1863, Viscount William F. Milton and W.B. Cheadle witnessed a Cree hunter invoke the Manitou or Great Spirit for aid in the chase. His paraphernalia included drums, bladder rattles, belts of wolf skin, "and other 'medicine' or magic articles, such as ermine skins, and muskrat skins covered with beads" (Milton and Cheadle 1865: 131).

According to Frank Russell (1898: 21) who spent the winter of 1892-93 among them, the Cree about Grand Rapids in west-central Manitoba "were dressed in white man's clothing except the comfortable and more suitable moccasins and the capote of blue cloth manufactured expressly for the Indian trade." The moccasins were embellished on the instep with "a small piece of snow-white deerskin, bordered with colored horse hair and embroidered with silk and beads" (Russell 1898: 27). The ca-

Figure 23. "A Hunter-family of Cree Indians at York Fort," drawn from nature by Peter Rindisbacher, 1821. Their costume is typical of the period. Beadwork probably adorns his cap and leggings, while she wears several necklaces (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-1917)

potes were "ornamented with a double row of brass buttons" (Russell 1898: 26).

The gaiest trappings to be noted were not worn by the Indians but by their sled dogs: "The collars are surmounted by variegated pompons and the dog blankets or tapis, are elaborately beaded or embroidered. From one to one hundred bells are attached to the collars and back straps of the team; even the northernmost Indians manage to secure two or three bells for each dog" (Russell 1898: 16).

Several other ornamented articles of Cree manufacture were encountered by Russell during his collecting trip through central and western Canada. One of these was a cap fashioned from a birchwood band covered and lined with cloth. Collected at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, its sides were adorned with beads sewn on dark red ribbon. The top was embellished with several stars composed of black beads, as well as "the figure of an animal cut from heavy tin" which hung from a short string (Russell 1898: 170-1).

Another item was a pair of beaded navy blue leggings acquired at Île à la Crosse in west-central Saskatchewan. Arranged in floral patterns and bordered by pale blue ribbons, the beadwork extended practically the entire length of the outside of either leg (Russell 1898: 171).

At Norway House in central Manitoba, Russell (1898: 174) procured a beaded sash "of black broadcloth, hemmed with green braid and lined

with drilling." The beads were disposed in floral designs "with superior excellence and harmony of colors." An elegantly bead-embroidered shot pouch was also obtained here (Russell 1898: 175).

The final item consists of a fire bag collected from an old Cree medicine man somewhere on the Saskatchewan River. Made of broadcloth, it was garnished with floral beadwork and ribbons. The lower edge exhibited a beaded fringe, each element of which was composed of three large blue beads on a short thong ending in a worsted tassel (Russell 1898: 175).

Shortly after the turn of the century, Alanson Skinner travelled among the James Bay Cree collecting ethnographic data. Beadwork, usually in floral patterns, was still in evidence but by no means common. It was found on leggings, moccasins, shoulder bands or bandoliers, burden straps, pipe stems and the thongs that connected them to the bowl, and side pouches for carrying shot, percussion caps and powder (Skinner 1912: 19-55). Beads also adorned hunting charms or trophies composed of the heads of ducks and geese (Fig. 25), and the claws and under-lips of bears (Skinner 1912: 69-73).

Figure 24. Beaded peaked cap as worn by the Cree women at York Factory, Manitoba, in the early 1840s (Ballantyne 1848: 46)

Discussion

The trade ornaments utilized by the migratory tribes of the Eastern Woodlands consisted primarily of wampum, glass beads, and a variety of metal trinkets (Table 1). Commonly termed "porcelaine" by the French and "wampum" by the English, shell beads of sundry shapes and sizes were employed by all of the migratory tribes for various decorative purposes, especially the formation of necklaces, collars, bracelets, and belts or girdles. While glass beads had generally replaced those of shell among most of the tribes by the early 19th century, the Chippewa-Ojibwa continued to use wampum for collars, necklaces, ear ornaments, belts, and the adornment of scalps into the third quarter of the 19th century. Other shell ornaments, such as dentalia, gorgets, and hair pipes, did not have broad appeal, being noted principally among the Chippewa-Ojibwa.

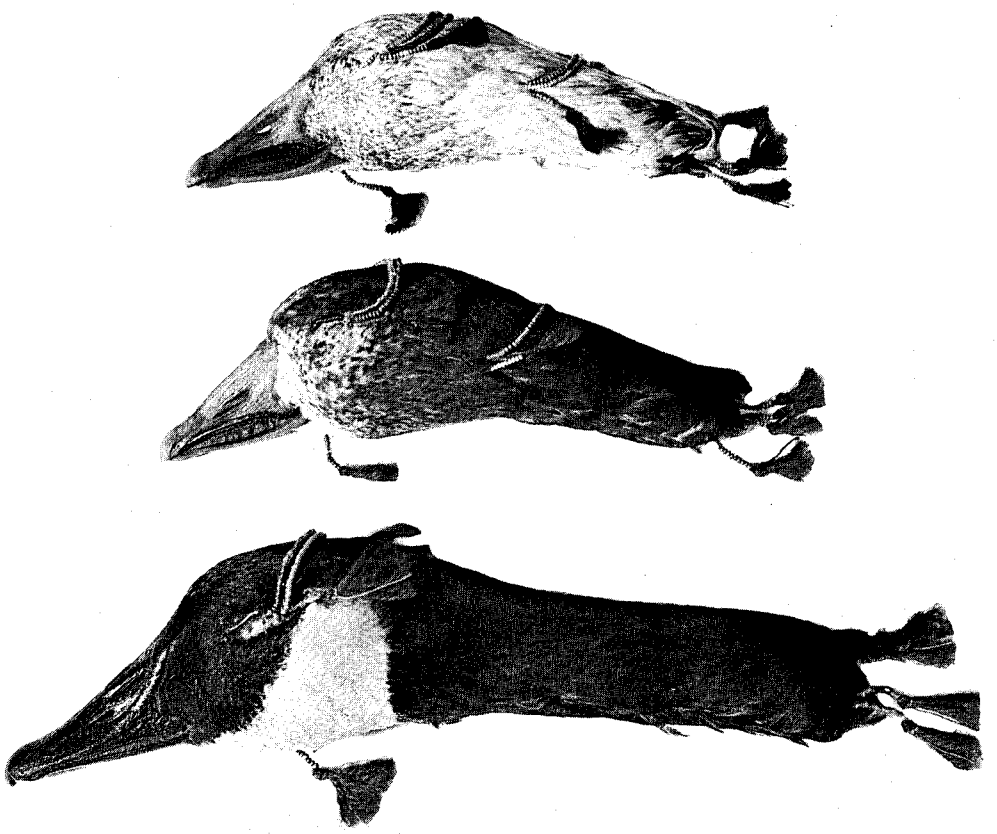


Figure 25. Beaded goose-head hunting charms used by the James Bay Cree, 1934 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; III-D-58, 59, 60)

Archaeological investigations conducted at L'Anse-aux-Meadows on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland have revealed that glass beads were first brought to eastern Canada by the Norse (Schonback 1974: 3). While it is possible that some of these may have found their way into the possession of a few adventurous eastern Indians, it is not until Cartier's arrival in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534 that there is irrefutable proof for the acquisition of glass beads by members of the eastern migratory tribes. Readily accepted in trade and as gifts, these colourful baubles were subsequently put to numerous decorative uses, particularly the production of necklaces and adornments for the ears and hair, as well as the embroidery of various garments and accessories. Around 1700, the majority of the tribes began to arrange their embroidery beads in sundry curvilinear designs. The Chippewa-Ojibwa, however, preferred "white bead patterns in straight or angling lines arranged to make long narrow bands – often several parallel – of zig-zags, diamonds, lozenges, chain effects and the like without background" (Douglas 1953). During the first half of the 19th century, both groups began to produce floral beadwork that soon overshadowed but did not entirely supplant the earlier geometric designs.

Used in varying degrees by the different migratory tribes, metal adornments were especially popular with the Micmacs, Ottawa, Chippewa-Ojibwa and Woodland Cree. The earliest, consisting of such items as bells, wire coils and coins, were composed of tin, lead, copper and brass. Trade silver, particularly brooches, earbobs, armbands and bracelets, came into vogue among most of the tribes in the 1750s and continued in use among some of

them into the 20th century. Of the groups studied, only the Beothuks and Woodland Cree do not seem to have succumbed to its allure. The Cree, however, did utilize some gold jewelry in the 19th century. Of course, individuals who could not afford adornments of gold or silver had to content themselves with those of base metals.

TABLE 1
EASTERN MIGRATORY TRIBE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	Beothuk	Micmac	Montagnais-Naskapi	Chippewa-Ojibwa	Woodland Cree
Shell					
Dentalia					
Necklaces				M	
Gorgets					
Neck/breast adornment				F M O	
Wampum					
Bags		M			
Belts/girdles		F M		M	M
Bracelets		F	F		M
Cradleboards		O			
Crosses		F M			
Ear adornment		F M		M	
Hair adornment		F		M	
Headbands/crowns			M	M	
Mystical figures		M			
Necklaces/collars		F	M	F M O	M
Nose adornment				M	
Pouches		M			
Scalps				M	
Shell/bone					
Hair pipes					
Bandoleers				X	
Ear adornment				M	
Necklaces				F	
Bone					
Combs					
Ear adornment				M	
Hair adornment				F	
Glass					
Beads					
Armbands		F		M	
Bags		M		F M	M
Balls				F	
Bark art work				F	
Belts		F M		M	F M
Bracelets		F		M O	F O
Breech cloths				M	F M
Burden straps			M		X
Caps/bonnets		F M	F M	M	F M
Charms/amulets			F M	F M O	M
Clothing (general)		O	M	F M O	
Coats/frocks		M	M	M	F M
Cradleboards		O		O	O
Crosses		F M			
Dog blankets					X
Doilies		X			

MIGRATORY TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Beothuk	Micmac	Montagnais-Naskapi	Chippewa-Ojibwa	Woodland Cree
Glass (cont'd.)					
Dolls				F	
Dresses			F	F	F
Drums				X	
Ear adornment		F M		F M	F M O
Effigies/dolls				X	
Hair adornment		F M O	M	M	F M
Headdresses/headbands		M	M	F M	M
Jackets		F		F? O?	
Kilts/skirts		F M			
Knee garters				F M O?	F M
Knife sheaths				M	
Leggings		M	F M	F M O	F M
Mittens			M	M	
Moccasins		F M	M	F M O	F M
Necklaces/collars	X	F		F M O	F M
Nose adornment				M	F M O
Picture frames		X			
Pin cushions		F			
Pouches		M	F M	X	M
Powder horn straps					M
Reticules		F			
Sashes				M	X
Scalps			F M		
Shirts		M		M	
Tea cosies		F			
Tobacco pipes			F M	X?	X
Watch pockets		X			
Pendants					
Ear adornment				F O	
Necklaces				O	
Mirrors					
Belt adornment				X	
Breast adornment				M	
Hair adornment				M	
Metal					
Armbands		M		F M O	
Beads					
Hair adornment					M
Headbands				M	
Necklaces				F M O	
Tomahawk pendants				M	
Bells					
Anklets					M
Belts				M	
Clothing (general)				O?	
Dog collars					X
Ear adornment		F			
Hair adornment				X	
Leggings				F? M O	

MIGRATORY TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Beothuk	Micmac	Montagnais-Naskapi	Chippewa-Ojibwa	Woodland Cree
Metal (cont'd.)					
Moccasins				M?	
Bottle labels					
Hat adornment		M			
Bracelets				F M O	F
Brooches					
Clothing (general)				F M O?	
Coats/frocks		F M		M	
Cradleboards				O	
Dresses				F	
Drums				X	
Hair adornment				M O	
Headbands				M	
Jackets		F		F? M O	
Leggings				F O?	
Moccasins				O?	
Sashes				M	
Shirts				M	
Buttons					
Coats					M
Hair adornment				M	
Cartridge cases					
Tomahawk pendants				M	
Coils					
Hair adornment				M?	
Necklaces				O	
Coins					
Ear adornment		F		M	
Hair adornment				M	
Necklaces or charms	X				
Crosses					
Jackets				F O	
Necklaces		F M	F	F M O	
Cubes					
Ear adornment				M	
Hair adornment				M	
Earrings					
Ear adornment		F		F M O	F
Hair adornment				O	
Headbands				M	
Jackets				O	
Effigies (animal)					
Caps					M
Finger rings				F M O	F
Forks					
Ear adornment				M	
Gorgets				M O	
Hair plates				F M	
Hat bands				M	
Headbands				M	
Knives					

MIGRATORY TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Beothuk	Micmac	Montagnais-Naskapi	Chippewa-Ojibwa	Woodland Cree
Metal (cont'd.)					
Ear adornment				M	
Medals		M		M	
Mirror frames					
Necklaces		M			
Nose rings/pendants				F M	M
Plated arrows (sic)					
Ear adornment				M	
Sequins					
Headdresses		M			
Kilts/skirts		M			
Tacks					
Effigies/dolls				X	
Tobacco pipe stems				X	
Tomahawk handles				M	
War clubs				M	
Thimbles					
Drums				X	
Ear adornment					X
Hair adornment				M	
Jackets				M	
Leggings				F?	
Tinkling cones/tags					
Bags					M
Clothing (general)				F M O	
Coats/frocks		M		M	M
Dresses					F
Ear adornment				M O?	M
Hair adornment				F? M O?	M
Knee garters				M	
Leggings				F O?	
Moccasins				M O	
Pouches				X	M
Skirts		F			
Tomahawk inlays				M	
Watch components					
Necklaces or charms	X				
Wire					
Armlets				M	
Ear adornment				M	M
Necklaces				F M	F
Ceramics(?)					
Tobacco pipes					
Ear adornment		M			
Feathers					
Ostrich plumes					
Hat adornment					M

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.

Chapter II

Agricultural Tribes of the Eastern Woodlands

This category encompasses all the Iroquoian-speaking peoples who inhabited the general vicinity of the lower Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River valley. Included are the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, Hurons, Iroquois, Petuns and Neutrals (Fig. 26). In addition to linguistic differences, these peoples were distinct from their migratory Woodland neighbours in that they practised slash-and-burn agriculture. This enabled them to live in semi-permanent, economically self-sufficient villages.

Three of the tribal groups, the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, Hurons and Iroquois, are tolerably to very well documented. The Petun or Tobacco Nation and the Neutrals are not and therefore have had to be excluded from the present study. However, in that both of these groups were practically identical culturally to the Hurons (Jenness 1960: 300), it is unlikely that their ornaments would have been significantly different.

St. Lawrence Iroquoians

The appelation St. Lawrence Iroquoians designates those peoples of Iroquoian stock who inhabited the St. Lawrence valley during the time of Cartier's and Roberval's voyages of 1534-43. The group was not a homogeneous one, being composed of at least two tribes which were strikingly different in their patterns of subsistence and settlement: the Stadaconans and the Hochelagans (Trigger and Pendergast 1978: 357). The former occupied the north shore of the St. Lawrence from about Portneuf, Quebec, northeast to the Île aux Coudres, though they ranged as far as the Bay of Gaspé on their summer fishing excursions. The Hochelagans inhabited what is now the island of Montréal. What happened to these Indians after the departure of the French in 1543 is uncertain, though it now appears that they were either dispersed or annihilated by marauding Hurons (Pendergast 1982).

The first contact between the St. Lawrence Iroquoians and Europeans apparently took place in August 1508 when Thomas Aubert of Dieppe sailed up the St. Lawrence, conducting "the most advantageous exchange of furs" with the local populace (Smith 1984: 11). Jacques Cartier followed in 1534, arriving at the Bay of Gaspé on 16 July. Here he met Stadaconans who were "quite naked, except for a small skin, with which they cover their privy parts, and for a few old furs which they throw over their shoulders" (Biggar 1924: 61). Cartier presented them with "glass beads, combs and other trinkets of small value, at which they showed many signs of joy" (Biggar 1924: 60).

On his second voyage (1535-36), Cartier made his way to the village of Stadacona where he distributed small glass beads and other trinkets, the

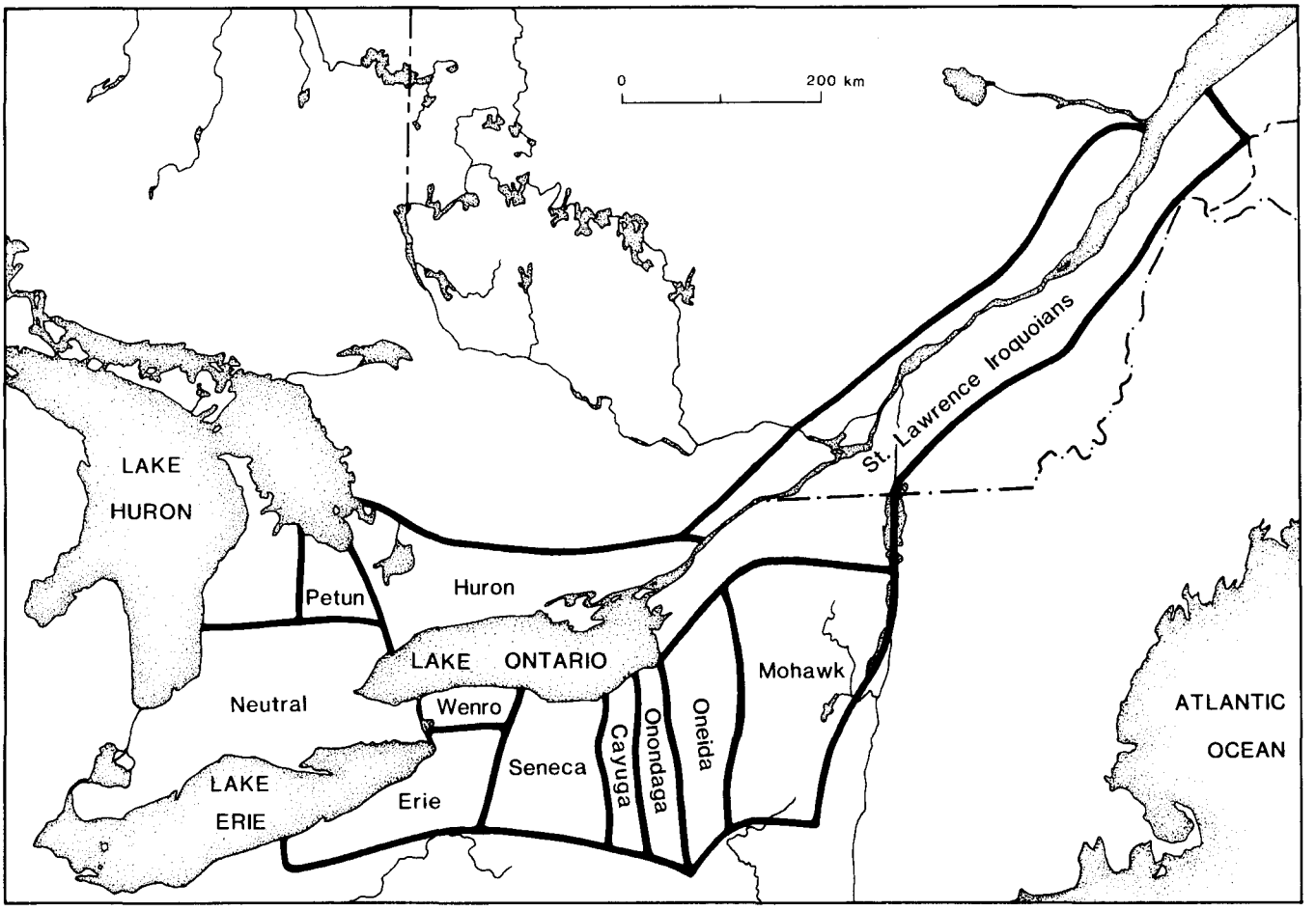


Figure 26. Distribution of the Eastern Woodland agricultural tribes ca. 1650 (drawing by D. Kappler)

latter including tin rings which went specifically to the women and girls (Biggar 1924: 176, 187). A visit was also made to the Hochelagans who were given various ornaments: beads of glass were generally distributed, those of tin went to the women, while the children received little rings and tin *agnus Dei* (a small figure of a lamb with a cross or flag) [Biggar 1924: 150, 151, 166].

In 1541, during his third voyage, Cartier again ventured to Stadacona where he observed that the chief, Agona, had "a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged with *Esnoguy* (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold)... upon his head in stead of a crown," while two bracelets of the same material encircled his wrists (Biggar 1924: 252). The "Esnoguy" is believed to have been wampum, although Beauchamp (1898: 2) suggests that it may have consisted of the white eyestones of the freshwater crayfish. Gifts presented to the Stadaconans included such ornaments as "brooches of tynne and copper" (Biggar 1924: 258).

Huron

The Huron confederacy was composed of the Attignawantan, Arendarohnon, Ataronchronon, Attigneenongnahac and Tahontaenrat who occupied the area situated roughly between the southeastern end of Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, Ontario (Heidenreich 1978: 368). While members of the confederacy did not have direct contact with Europeans until 1609, trade goods had been trickling into the hands of the Hurons via Indian middlemen since about 1580 (Trigger 1978a: 347). Direct trade with the French was not established until Champlain's visit to Huronia in 1615.

The disintegration of the Huron Nation began in 1634, with a series of epidemics which lasted until 1640 and resulted in the demise of about half the population (Heidenreich 1978: 387). Shortly thereafter, the Iroquois, driven by a desire to possess the northern fur grounds, began the systematic destruction of Huronia. This goal was realized in 1649, when the last of the Hurons met in grand council and officially abandoned their homeland.

While a large part of the refugees was subsequently absorbed by the Iroquois, many moved to Quebec where they eventually established a settlement called Lorette. Still others formed a coalition with the Petun. Known thereafter as the Wyandot, these people moved about the upper Great Lakes for a number of years before settling about Detroit and Amherstburg in 1701-4. The Hurons of Lorette, whose reserve still exists, are fairly well documented, while the Canadian Wyandot are a little-known group.

Samuel de Champlain was the first to describe the exotic finery of the Hurons. While sojourning in Huronia in 1616, he described the women and girls thus:

> *They are clad like the men, except that they always gird up their dresses which hang down to the knee. They are not ashamed to show their body, that is from the waist up and from mid-thigh down, always keeping the rest covered, and they are laden with quantities of wampum, both as necklaces and chains, which they put on in front of their dresses and attached to their belts, and also as bracelets and ear-rings. They have their hair well combed, dyed and oiled, and thus they go to the dances with a tuft of their hair behind tied up with eel-skin which they arrange to serve as a band, or sometimes they fasten to it plates a foot square covered with this wampum, which hangs down behind. In this manner, gaily dressed and arrayed, they like to show themselves at dances where their fathers and mothers send them, sparing nothing to beautify and adorn them; and I can assure you that at dances I have seen girls who had more than twelve pounds of wampum on them, without counting the other trinkets with which they are loaded and decked out* (Fig. 27; Biggar 1932, 4: 312-3).

Glass (?) beads (*patenostres*) adorned the children, some being put "round their necks, however small they may be." *Patenostres* also bedecked cradleboards (Biggar 1932, 4: 318).

In 1632, Father Gabriel Sagard, a lay brother in the ascetic order, the Recollets, published an ac-

Figure 27. Huron girl in dance costume, 1616. She is variously adorned with strands of shell beads or wampum (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-9892)

count of his life among the Hurons during the period 1624-29. His description of the natives' finery is slightly more detailed than Champlain's:

> *As a rule all the savages, and especially the women and girls, are very careful to oil their hair, and the men to paint their face and the rest of their body, when they are to take part in some feast or in public meetings; and if they have painted ornaments and wampum they do not forget them any more than glass beads, chaplets, and other trifles that the French use for trading with them. Their wampum is strung in different ways, some of it to make necklaces three or four fingers in breadth, made like a horse's girth with all its threads covered up and inserted in the pieces of shell. The circumference of these necklaces is about three and a half feet or more, and the women put many of them on their necks, according to their means and wealth. Then they have others, strung like our rosaries, fastened to their ears and hanging down, and chains of the same wampum of which the individual pieces are as big as walnuts, which they fasten to both hips, and these are arranged in front in a slant over their thighs or the girdles they wear. And I have seen other women who also wore bracelets on their arms and great plates in front over the stomach, with others behind circular in shape and* [square] *like a teasel for carding wool hanging from their hair-plaits* (Fig. 28; Sagard 1939: 144).

Wampum and other adornments also embellished the ears of infants, as well as their necks (Sagard 1939: 127). Cradleboards were "usually decked out with little paintings and strings of wampum beads" (Sagard 1939: 129).

Ornaments of definite European manufacture included glass beads and a thimble. The former were hung round the necks and in the ears of the adults, while the latter object was observed adorning a "girl, who had hung it to her girdle along with her other finery" (Sagard 1939: 119).

The only ornaments noted on the deceased during the "Feast of the Dead" witnessed by Jean de Brébeuf at Ossossane in 1636 were "bracelets of Porcelain [wampum] and glass beads" on the arms of some of the children, and "Porcelain collars" on a number of the adults (Kidd 1953: 374-5). However, additional items, notably metal bracelets and copper finger rings, came to light when the ossuary seen by Brébeuf was excavated in 1946. Fashioned from heavy iron bands and sheet metal, six of the bracelets were found *in situ* on the arm bones of a single individual. The rings, two of which reposed on finger bones, included a simple band plus several specimens with glass inlays (Kidd 1953: 369-70).

Following their dispersal, the Hurons who fled to Quebec continued to ornament themselves in much the same manner as before (Figs. 29-30). In his *Relation* of 1657-58, Paul Le Jeune presented the

Figure 28. Detail from title page of 1632 edition of Sagard's *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*. The women sport strands of shell beads or wampum, which may also adorn the tresses of the woman on the left (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-113480)

following commentary on the subject, the content of which also applies to the neighbouring tribes:

> *Canadian* [Indian] *women... commonly go bare-headed, and consider themselves very pretty when their hair has a bright gloss and is very stiff with grease. They wear it loose on each side, but gather it up behind into a little mass which they adorn with small beads of their porcelain....*
>
> *Both men and women have their ears pierced, the operation being performed upon children in the cradle. The larger the holes, the better; and they easily insert therein a stick of Spanish wax. Not only the lobe of the ear is pierced, but also the cartilage or rim, which the women are wont to hang with bits of shell, called porcelain....*
>
> *In France, bracelets are worn on the wrist; but the Savages wear them not only there, but also above the elbow and even on the legs above the ankle....*
>
> *Only women in France wear necklaces, but in Canadas this adornment is more common among men than among women. Instead of pearls and diamonds, they wear porcelain beads strung in various ways, like those of rosaries, and little cylinders or tubes of glass or shell-work. I have seen a Huron wear at his neck a boat-pulley, and another some keys that he had stolen. Anything unusual pleases them, provided it costs them nothing more than a theft* (Thwaites 1899, 44: 287-91).

As the years passed, the ornamentation of the women seemingly lessened while that of the men increased proportionately. This transmutation is reflected in an illustration (Fig. 31) of a Huron/Iroquois couple "clothed in modern style" published in 1724 in Lafitau's *Customs of the American Indians*. The man sports a wampum headband, bracelets and a two-strand necklace with a circular shell gorget suspended therefrom (Lafitau 1977, 2: 6; Pl. 2). The woman exhibits only a pair of wampum bracelets.

A necklace similar to those depicted in the Lafitau illustration was observed among the local Huron warriors by Peter Kalm during a visit to Quebec City in 1749:

> *Round their neck, they have a string of violet wampums, with little white wampums between them. These wampums are small, of the*

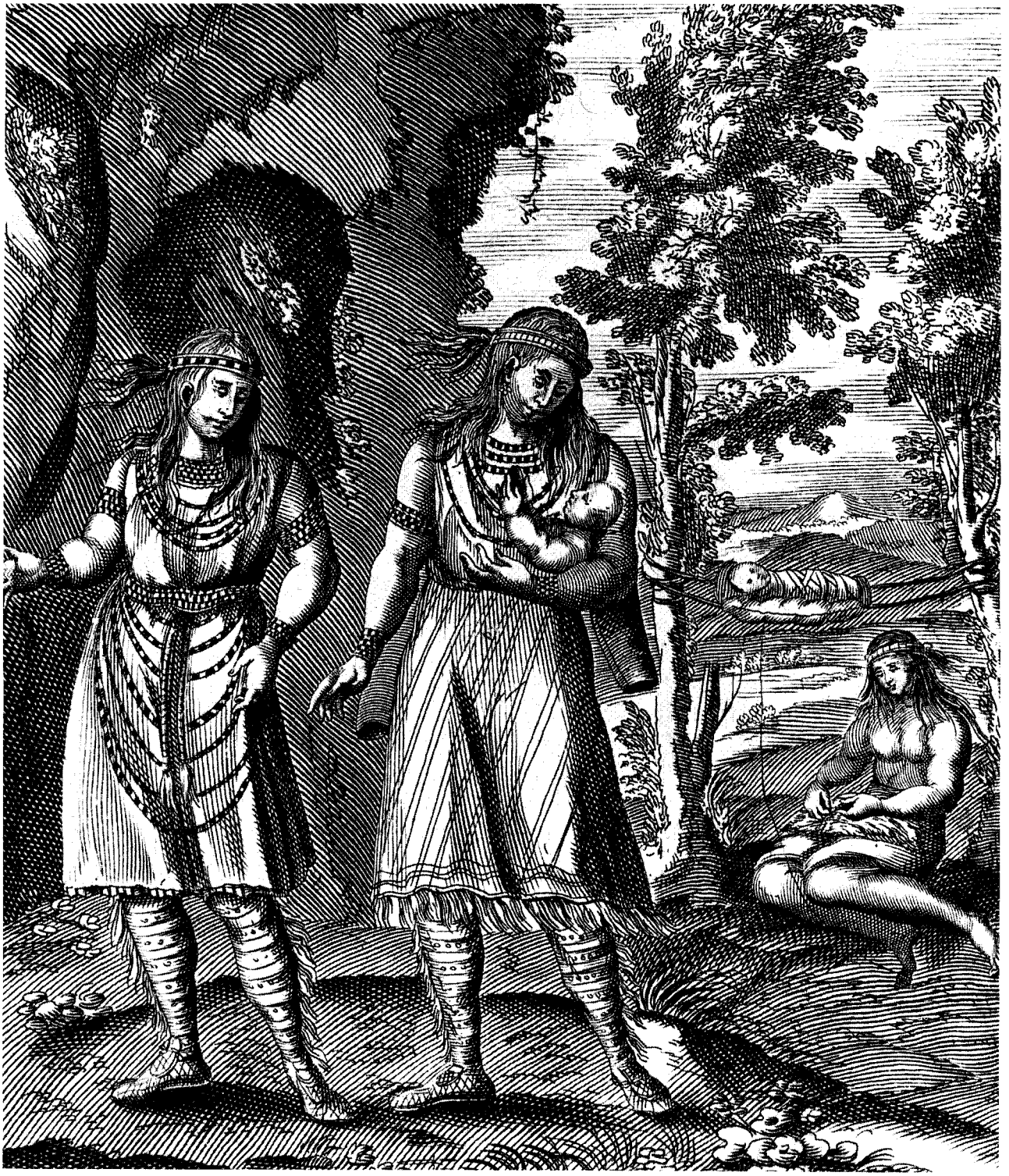


Figure 29. "Indian women and children" as shown in *Historiae canadensis* by François Du Creux, 1664. Strands or bands of wampum garnish their heads, necks and arms (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-99228)

Figure 30. "Male Indian smoking a pipe," from *Historiae canadensis* by François Du Creux, 1664. Headband is made of wampum. Small circles may be beadwork (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-99229)

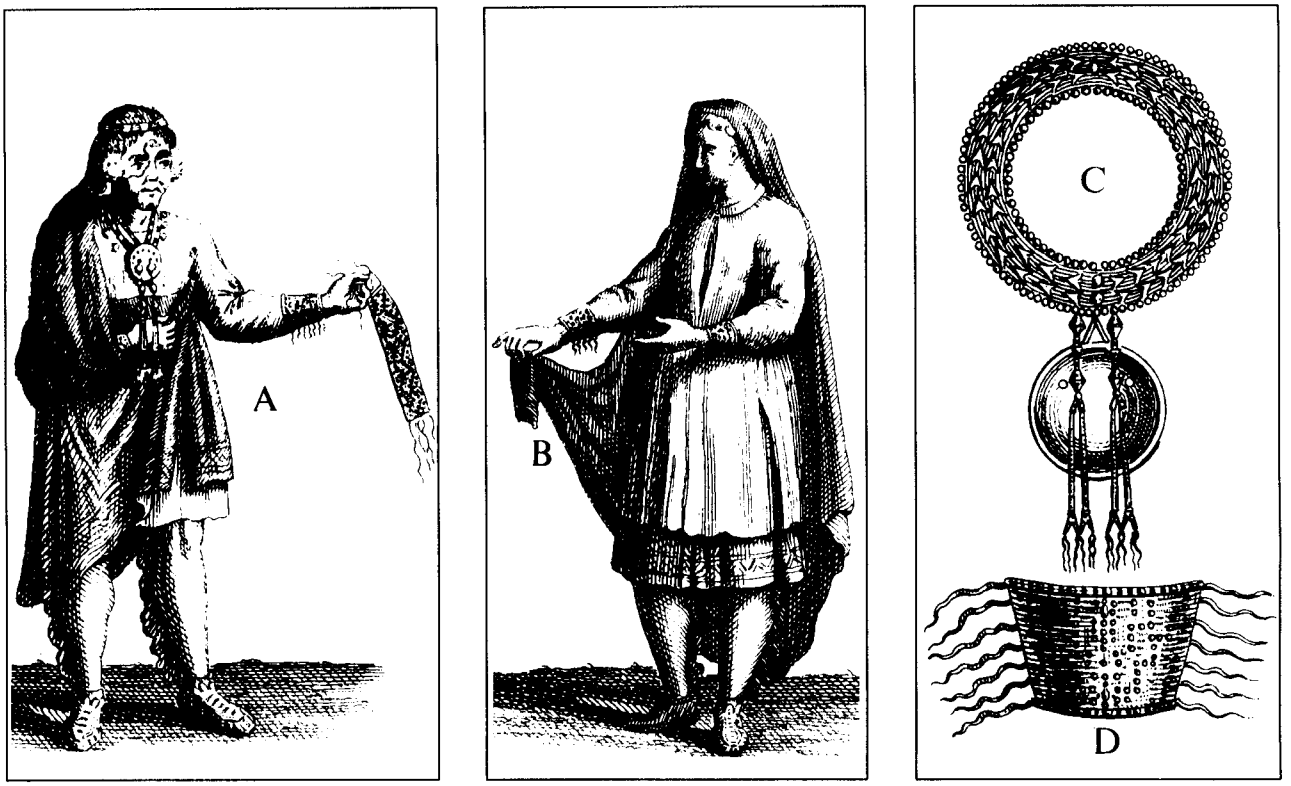


Figure 31. Clothing and ornaments of the Indians, 1724: (A-B) "Figures of the Indians of the Iroquois and Huron tribes clothed in modern style, man and woman;" (C) "Indian collar... to which is attached a great piece of wampum;" (D), "bracelet of wampum worked in little cylinders" (after Lafitau 1977: Pl. 2; National Library of Canada, Ottawa; L-11600)

> *figure of oblong pearls, and made of the shells which the English call clams.... At the end of the wampum strings, many of the Indians wear a large French silver coin, with the king's effigy, on their breasts. Others have a large shell on the breast, of a fine white colour, which they value very high, and is very dear; others, again, have no ornament at all round the neck* (Kalm 1771, 3: 179-80).

Some of the natives also possessed earrings. "Commonly of brass, and sometimes of tin," they were worn by either sex (Kalm 1771, 3: 178, 272).

A contemporary watercolour (Fig. 32) of a Lorette Huron couple provides additional insight into the finery of these peoples at mid-century. The male is adorned with large metal earrings, several glass bead necklaces, metal (probably silver) armbands and bracelets, and a wampum belt with what may be a circular brooch mounted thereon extending across the shoulder. The only items visible on the woman are a couple of necklaces and a pair of small earrings.

As acculturation progressed, metal gradually replaced wampum. A lithograph prepared by Edward Chatfield in 1825 depicts several chiefs of the Lorette Huron, all of whom are amply, and uniformly, adorned with silver ornaments (Plate 4). Each man sports elaborate earrings, a pair of armbands and one or two pairs of bracelets. Two medals, usually a brass or bronze one above one of silver, adorn the chest, and an elegant beaded sash encircles the waist.

Figure 32. Anonymous watercolour of a Lorette Huron couple, mid-18th century. He wears necklaces of glass beads, a wampum belt with a brooch attached, and metal earrings, armbands and bracelets. She exhibits only earrings and necklaces (City of Montréal Library, Gagnon Collection)

Details not perceptible in the lithographs are provided by Thomas Fowler who visited Lorette during the summer of 1831:

> *An Indian chief's dress... consists of moccasins richly trimmed with seed beads, or porcupine's quills, and cloth leggings trimmed with beads, spangles, or porcupine's quills. The coat is similar to a surtout, the skirt reaching a little below the knee, and close round except in front. It is richly trimmed round the verge of the skirt, and up the front, with gold or silver lace. A rich and beautiful Indian sash is worn round the waist; and the whole is surmounted by a fine hat, either black or drab, according to the taste of the wearer, and it has a broad band of gold or silver lace, and a plume of ostrich feathers to ornament the front, which completes the dress* (Fowler 1832: 80).

As for the fashionable Huron female, she wore moccasins and leggings similar to those worn by the men, as well as a cloth jacket and skirt (Fowler 1832: 80). Regarding her personal adornment, Fowler wrote:

> *The neck and breast are left rather bare, ornamented with a gold chain, or a handsome necklace of oriental pearl.... Gold pendants adorn the ears, while the hands and wrists are decorated with showy rings and bracelets* (Fowler 1832: 80).

Paintings of Huron chiefs produced between about 1838 and 1850, notably those by Zacharia Vincent and Henry D. Thielcke (Fredrickson and Gibb 1980: 75), display all the embellishments recorded by Chatfield, as well as a couple of new forms. These include a large circular brooch of silver on the chest, and a showy headdress composed of an openwork band of silver decked out with ostrich plumes or other feathers (Plate 5). The women who appear in both Thielcke's painting and in an 1838 lithograph of a Huron mother and child by Coke Smythe (Morissonneau 1978: 390-1), wear fancy silver earrings, and a large disk brooch on the breast.

The dress of the Huron chiefs remained practically unchanged over the next few decades. Photographs around 1880 show essentially the same configuration as at mid-century except that earrings were no longer in vogue (Fig. 33). The photographs also reveal that the epaulettes on some chiefs' coats were edged with small metal cones and bristle.

Many of the ornaments noted during the 19th century were still in use at Lorette when Frank G. Speck conducted his studies there between 1908-11. Silver items included the chief's headdress with ornamented band and hawk feathers, men's armbands fastened with ribbons, and large, etched brooches worn on the breast by either sex (Speck 1911b: 209-11). Finely made earrings, some in the form "of two crescent-like pendants about one inch in diameter, one swinging free inside the other," were popular with the women (Speck 1911b: 216). Although wampum belts were far from common, some chiefs wore them slung around their necks (Speck 1911b: Pl. 8).

Used alone or in conjunction with a short strand of glass beads, tin cones garnished with coloured bristles were used for a number of decorative purposes. These included the embellishment of epaulettes on chiefs' coats, the seams and flaps of men's leggings, tops of knife sheaths, and flat surfaces of "fancy articles" of buck and caribou skin (Speck 1911a: 7; 1911b: 211).

Beadwork adorned several items of clothing. Men's leggings were embroidered along the bottom, at the knee and across the top, while those of the women were only beaded along the bottom, as were their skirts (Speck 1911b: 211). Cloth caps worn by some of the men and boys were adorned with several strands of glass beads suspended from the crown (Speck 1911b: 209).

Iroquois

Composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, the League of the Iroquois was founded at some time between 1400 and 1600, with the Tuscaroras being officially adopted in 1723 (Fenton 1978: 320). While their traditional homeland was to the south and east of Lake Ontario, the Iroquois made frequent forays into the St. Law-

Figure 33. Head chief Maurice Bastien (left) and chief Phillipe Vincent (right), photographed by J.E. Livernois, Quebec, around 1880. Decorative items include beaded headdresses, sashes, and moccasins, a wampum belt, medals, brooch, armbands, and tinkling cones (Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary; NA-3224-2 and 3)

rence and Ottawa valleys during the late 16th and very early 17th centuries to plunder trade goods from the indigenous population. The arrival of Dutch traders in the Hudson Valley in 1609 quelled the raids for a time, but a depletion of the fur resources in their country forced the Iroquois to renew their incursions into New France in the early 1630s. The so-called "Beaver Wars" wreaked havoc among the Canadian tribes until 1667, when the Iroquois confederacy was compelled to conclude a peace treaty with the French and their Indian allies (Trigger 1978a: 345, 352-3).

During the decade that followed, several groups of Oneidas and Mohawks left their native lands and settled on the St. Lawrence near Montréal, while a number of Cayugas established themselves at the Bay of Quinté on the north shore of Lake Ontario. In the 1740s, some Onondagas moved to St. Regis on the St. Lawrence River and by 1751, half the tribe was living in Canada (Fenton 1940: 222). At the outbreak of the American Revolution, the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and some of the Senecas crossed into Canada to ally themselves with the British, and many chose not to return when peace was restored. While most settled at Grand River and the Bay of Quinté in Ontario, some moved west with the fur trade and settled in Alberta. Other reserves were established in the 19th century on the Thames River (1839) and near Georgian Bay (1881), Ontario (Tooker 1978: 450). These and most of the others mentioned above are still in existence today.

While the historical record is mute on the subject of trade ornaments among the Iroquois prior to 1637, archaeological materials recovered from the Adams and Culbertson sites in western New York reveal that embellishments of metal and glass were already popular with the Seneca at this time (Wray et al. 1987). Beads predominated, with those of marine shell and copper alloy being the most numerous. These were primarily used for necklaces, though a few were also fashioned into bracelets. Some necklaces exhibited brass pendants in the form of spirals and rings, while others had marine-shell and glass-bead components (Wray et al. 1987: 51, 59, 141).

Ears were apparently decorated with small brass spirals tied to thin brass tubes, as well as with interlocking brass rings. Such rings, ranging from 7-11 cm in diameter, also appear to have been affixed to the hair and possibly to garments as well (Wray et al. 1987: 58-9). Fingers were adorned with bands of rolled sheet brass. One adult female sported a ring on each finger of one hand (Wray et al.: 48). Another adult, probably a male, wore a large rectanguloid brass gorget on the chest. The ornament was suspended from a large brass neck ring by a rawhide strip (Wray et al. 1987: 54).

Nearly 300 split and reworked tubular shell beads found in two parallel rows next to an adult male burial at the Culbertson site may have been inlaid in the wooden stem of a pipe, or possibly the handle of a war club or the shaft of a staff. Another shell item from the same site – a small disk – is believed to have been inlaid in a wooden pipe (Wray et al. 1987: 145). Inlay work in metal was noted at the Adams site where a reworked iron tool found with a young woman had a chunk of copper set in one face (Wray et al. 1987: 61).

At the slightly later Dutch Hollow site (1595-1615), beads of glass and shell were the most common ornaments, finding their principal use in the formation of necklaces, as well as bracelets. One of the latter was composed of large red, white and blue striped beads. Another, extending across the forehead and down to the chest of an adult male, consisted of a row of rolled brass specimens bordered by glass "star" beads (Ritchie 1954: 46). Beads of brass, as well as tinkle cones of the same material, seem to have adorned the hair of some infants (Ritchie 1954: 6).

Bracelets of brass, both sheet and wire, were also much in favour, while those of iron wire, as well as finger rings of sheet brass, had only minor appeal. Other adornments decorating either necklaces or clothing included circular brass pendants, possible pendants of pewter or lead, and brass hawk bells (Ritchie 1954: 44-5).

One of the first to note Iroquois adornments was the Jesuit Father François Joseph le Mercier who, beholding an Iroquois warrior captured by the Hurons in 1637, observed: "He was dressed in a beau-

Figure 34. Detail from "Noble Death of Certain Fathers belonging to the Society of Jesus in New France" by Grégoire Huret, 1664. Based on engraving by Giovanni Pesca (1653), this composite of the sufferings of the Jesuit Fathers shows the Iroquois wearing headbands and necklaces of wampum (University of Guelph Collection/Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, Guelph, Ontario; acquisition made possible by the Government of Canada, under terms of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act, 1982)

tiful beaver robe and wore a string of porcelain beads around his neck, and another in the form of a crown around his head" (Fig. 34; Thwaites 1898, 13: 39). Another headdress seen five years later by Father Barthelemy Vimont was made "of deerskin, dyed scarlet, and enriched with a collar of porcelain beads" (Thwaites 1898, 22: 279).

A more thorough description of wampum and its ornamental applications among the Mohawks was penned in 1644, by the Reverend Johannes Megapolensis, Jr.:

> *Their money consists of certain little bones, made of shells or cockles, which are found on the sea-beach; a hole is drilled through the middle of the little bones, and these they string upon thread, or they make of them belts as broad as a hand, or broader, and hang them on their necks, or around their bodies. They have also several holes in their ears, and there they likewise hang some. They value these little bones as highly as many Christians do gold, silver and pearls...* (Megapolensis 1959: 176).

Still other decorative uses for wampum are mentioned in Pierre Radisson's account of his period of captivity among the Mohawks during 1652-53. In preparation for a feast, Radisson was adorned with various trappings by his adoptive family:

> *My mother decked me wth a new cover and a redd and blew cappe, wth 2 necklace of porcelaine. My sisters tyed me wth braceletts and garters of the same porcelaine. My brother painted my face, and* [put] *feathers on my head, and tyed both my locks wth porcelaine. My father was liberall to me, giving me a garland instead of my blew cap and a necklace of porcelaine that hung downe to my heels...* (Scull 1967: 40).

On another occasion, Radisson observed his native mother wearing a necklace of wampum "about her like a belt" (Scull 1967: 59).

Wampum also adorned some war clubs during the first half of the 17th century. A ball-headed specimen believed to have been collected among the Mohawks prior to 1676 is in the form of a human leg surmounted by a stylized human head. Purple and white wampum is inlaid above the eyes and nose and at the back of the head (Feder 1971: 76, Fig. 85).

Tomahawks were similarly treated. Brasser (1978: 87, Fig. 6) illustrates two specimens that may have originated with the Iroquois prior to 1650. Both are richly adorned with wampum and glass beads set in gum.

Burials uncovered at several Seneca sites in western New York state provide details concerning the trade ornaments of the Iroquois during the second half of the 17th century. The Marsh site (the village of Gandougarae), located in East Bloomfield township and occupied from 1650 to 1670 (Wray 1973: 8), produced the remains of a young woman who was adorned with a variety of articles. In addition to a double-strand necklace of long red glass beads, and a broad wampum belt at the waist, she had a wide bracelet of brass on one wrist and one of iron wire on the other (Houghton 1912: 422). Wampum belts of about 500 to 1000 beads each encircled the waists of two other burials, both of undetermined sex, one of which also had a necklace of tubular red glass beads (Houghton 1912: 424).

Dating to the period 1670-87 (Wray 1973: 8), a burial of unknown sex at the neighbouring Beal site wore two brass rings on one finger, while another had a wampum belt eight rows wide at the pelvis (Houghton 1912: 441-2). At the similarly dated Victor site (Gandagora), a probable male burial had four brass seal rings *in situ* on the finger bones (Houghton 1912: 432).

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects having eyes composed of globular glass beads were uncovered at the nearby Dann site that was inhabited from ca. 1655 to 1675 (Wray et al. 1987:3). Two notable examples, a human-head effigy pipe of native manufacture (Fig. 35) and a small lead owl (Hamell 1983: 27), were inlaid with red and blue specimens, respectively.

Shell gorgets were also sometimes inlaid with glass beads during the 17th century. A circular specimen found on the chest of a male Iroquois interred at the Orchid site in Fort Erie, Ontario, between 1615 and 1675, was adorned with a simple pattern composed of nine globular seed beads of blue glass (Granger 1976: 8).

Dating to around 1700, several representations of Iroquois warriors in the *Codex Canadiensis* (1930: P1.4, 7, 10, 20) show them wearing up to three necklaces of glass or shell beads, as well as wampum in the form of headbands, shoulder belts, armbands, bracelets and knee garters (Figs. 36-37). The other decorative elements which appear on the arms, legs and hair of most of the individuals may also be composed of wampum, though there is the possibility that some of them may also be tattoos or bands of painted or quill-worked animal skin.

In 1710, four Indian "Kings," three of whom were Mohawks, were invited to visit London as guests of the queen. While there they had their portraits painted by John Verelst. That of the Mohawk Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, the grandfather of Joseph Brant, shows him wearing a brown belt pouch embellished with metal tinkling cones filled with red bristle (Fig. 38).

Glass beads were also popular during the early 18th century. In describing Mohawk men in a letter scribed in 1713, the Reverend William Andrews wrote: "Some of them wear a Bead fastened to their Noses with a Thread hanging down to their Lips." They also had "Bead and Wampum about their Hocks and wrists" (Lydekker 1938: 38).

Small beads of glass were also sometimes used to decorate native-made ceramic tobacco pipes during this time period. For example, a vasiform specimen from the Huntoon site (1710-45) in western New York state had a row of white "seed" beads imbedded in its upper rim (Fig. 39).

Notwithstanding, wampum continued to hold its own and was used for a wide variety of ornamental purposes. A good overview of these is provided by Father Joseph François Lafitau who lived among and studied the customs of the Iroquois at Sault St. Louis (Kahnawake), Quebec, from 1712 to 1717. According to him, the hair of the warrior was arranged in various configurations including the placement atop the head of "two [one is indicated in the original French text] or three little topknots in the form of tufts to which he ties, with a little worked leather, a little piece of white wampum; and he passes through the base of the middle tuft a feather tube adorned with different colours" (Lafitau 1977, 2: 42). In addition:

> *His ears are usually pierced in three places. The holes are very large and decorated with wampum beads an inch thick, strung on ribbons which hang down to the chest; or he runs through them in a spiral line a copper wire finger length and an inch wide. He fastens on this, besides, some very fine swanskin down which makes a mass as thick as a fist over each ear. On show days and those of solemn festival, he spreads still more of this down all over his head and, to cap off his work, he arranges a tuft, a wing, or the entire coat of some rare bird in such a way that it protrudes over one ear. Some of them make themselves a sort of diadem of a small collar of wampum or marten skin band which, after encircling their heads, floats pleasingly down their backs and over their shoulders (Lafitau 1977, 2: 42).*

Figure 35. Seneca human-head effigy pipe having eyes formed of globular red glass beads (Rochester Museum and Science Center; cat. no. 900/23)

The men also wore "on their chests a plaque (gorget) of hollow shell, a palm in length" (Lafitau 1977, 2: 45).

Turning to the women, Lafitau commented: "Their noses are not pierced. Their ears are [pierced] like the men's, in three places, but the openings are smaller. They put wampum or red stone pendants cut like arrowheads in them, or little tubes of wampum, made like Holland pipe stems" (Lafitau 1977, 2: 44). Mothers also adorned the head hoops on their infants' cradleboards with "little bracelets of wampum and other little trinkets which... serve as ornaments and playthings to divert the child" (Lafitau 1974, 1: 357).

Other embellishments utilized by the Iroquois at this time included wampum collars nearly a foot wide "which they put around their necks, other

Figure 36. Iroquois warrior believed sketched around 1700 by Louis Nicolas. In addition to necklaces, he wears a headband, armbands and possibly bracelets of wampum. Beadwork may adorn leggings and moccasins (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-21301)

Figure 37. Oneida warrior circa 1700, attributed to Louis Nicolas. The headband and bracelet are of wampum, and perhaps also the knee garters and anklets (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-21124)

Figure 38. Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, a Mohawk chief, by John Verelst, 1710. His belt pouch is adorned with metal tinkling cones (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-92418)

Figure 39. Vasiform tobacco pipe of Seneca origin decorated with white "seed" beads set into the upper rim (Rochester Museum and Science Center; no. 6240/159)

wampum belts or bands, cut round or in knots, tubes, arrowheads or cylinders, bracelets of the same material, different ornaments fashioned of feathers or moose, bison or porcupine skin" (Lafitau 1977, 2: 44, 45). These and the other trinkets mentioned above were not worn by all age groups, there being self-imposed limitations on their use:

> *Each person knows how to make his own ornaments according to his own taste as long as he is of an age proper to dress up in this way. The moment this age has gone by, he glories in living in quite the opposite way, in a* [condition of] *negligence, no longer wearing any superfluous adornments or anything that is not worn out, since he wants to indicate that his mind is on serious things* (Lafitau 1977, 2: 44).

While touring the Colonies and New France in 1749, Peter Kalm (1771, 2: 281) summarized the ornaments of the Iroquois women that he encountered between Albany and Saratoga as follows: "They have large ear-rings: and their hair is tied behind, and wrapped in ribbands. Their *Wampum*, or Pearls, and their money, which is made of shells, are tied round the neck, and hang down on the breast." In Quebec City shortly thereafter, he observed some "Anie" (Mohawk) warriors whose only notable adornment seems to have been "an oblong piece of white tin between the hair which lies on the neck" (Kalm 1771, 3: 181). Of the Indian women about Montréal he wrote only that they used "glass beads, of a small size, and white or other colours" to decorate "their ribbands, pouches, and clothes" (Kalm 1771, 3: 274).

In his *History of the Province of New-York*, first published in 1757, William Smith (1972: 47) described the natives thus: "Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taste is very singular. I have seen rings affixed, not only to their ears, but their noses. Bracelets of silver and brass round their wrists, are very common."

The general appearance of Five Nations Iroquois warriors during the Seven Years' War (1756-63) is detailed by Major Robert Rogers:

> *Their military dress has something in it very romantic and terrible, especially the cut of their hair, and the paintings and decorations they make use of. They cut off, or pull out all their hair, excepting a spot about the size of two English crowns near the crown of their heads, their beards and eye-brows they totally destroy. The lock left upon their head is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various shapes and hues, and the whole twisted, turned, and connected together, till it takes a form much resembling the modern Pompadour upon the top of their heads. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split*

almost quite round, and then distended with wire or splinters, so as to meet and tie together in the knap of their necks. These also are hung with ornaments, and have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored, and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted with divers colours, which are so disposed as to make an aweful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget, or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and that horrid weapon the scalping-knife hangs by a string which goes round their necks (Rogers 1765: 227-8).

Major Rogers (1765: 222-3) also noted that the Iroquois "have the art of stringing, twisting, and interweaving... [wampum] into their belts, collars, blankets, mogasons, etc. in ten thousand different sizes, forms and figures, so as to be ornaments for every part of dress."

As for the opposite sex, a surveyor who visited the Oneida town of Ahquhaga on the Susquehanna River in 1769 in the company of Joseph Brant and his wife wrote: "Some of the women wear silver brooches, each of which passes for a shilling, and are as current among the Indians as money. Brant's wife had several tier of them in her dress to the amount perhaps of ten or fifteen pounds..." (Halsey 1901: 144).

A contemporary Iroquois warrior depicted in the painting, "The Death of General Wolfe," (Fig. 40) has strings of red and white beads and silver or tin cones adorning his hair, and a triangular silver pendant hanging from his ear. The blue blanket that girds his loins is edged with ribbons and white beads, while his shoulder bag exhibits white bead embroidery and brass or copper tinkle cones garnished with red bristle. A tomahawk, the upper handle of which is decorated with several rows of brass tacks, rests at his knees.

Several Seneca burials dating to around 1770 at the Big Tree Farm site in Livingston County, New York, were accompanied by several types of trade ornaments. An adult female exhibited the widest assortment:

About the neck occurred several strands of white wampum, white barrel shaped glass beads, blue and white glass "seed" beads and a brass wire-wound cord combined into a necklace from which several short strings of small tubular brass beads hung as a pendant. Six brass bracelets (one wide band, 2 narrow bands and 3 of coiled wire) encircled the left wrist.... A brass ring with glass inset was found on the fourth finger of the right hand (Hayes 1965: 8).

An adult male (?) had a row of white glass embroidery beads along the legs, apparently all that remained of a pair of leggings. The chest and upper abdomen of a child was overlain by a belt or ornament of white wampum. Under this were a great many small beads of blue glass which may have been sewn to a garment (Hayes 1965: 7, 8).

A portrait of the illustrious Mohawk chief Joseph Brant painted by George Romney around 1776 reflects the allure that trade silver held for the Iroquois male at this time (Fig. 41). A chain of ring brooches that seemingly trifurcates at the shoulder apparently descends from the upper rim of his ear, while other brooches are fastened to his leather shoulder belts and blanket. A crescent gorget, an ornate crucifix and a broad armband complete his outfit.

The ornamentation of some of the other tribal leaders was even more lavish. While visiting Buffalo in May 1785, a certain Miss Powell was quite taken with the Iroquois chief Captain David:

His hair was shaved off, except a little on the top of his head, to which his ornaments were fastened; and his head and ears were painted a glowing red. Round his head was fastened a fillet of highly polished silver. From the left temple hung two straps of black velvet, covered with silver beads and brooches. On the top of his head was placed a fox-tail feather, which bowed to the wind, as did two black ones, one in each ear. A pair of immense ear rings, which hung below his shoulders, completed his head-dress, which I assure you was not unbecoming, though, I must confess, somewhat fantastical. His

Figure 40. Detail of the Iroquois warrior from "The Death of General Wolfe" by Benjamin West, 1770. Metal trade items decorate his ear, hair and tomahawk. Beads and tinkling cones embellish his shoulder bag (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; 8007.0.1)

Figure 41. Thayeadanegea, Joseph Brant, the Mohawk Chief, by George Romney, ca. 1776. Trade silver includes ring brooches, crescent gorget, crucifix, and armband (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-11092)

dress was a shirt of colored calico – the neck and shoulders covered so thick with silver brooches as to have the appearance of a net – and his sleeves were much like those the ladies wore when I left England, fastened about the arm with a broad bracelet of highly polished silver, engraved with the arms of England; four smaller bracelets round his wrists, of the same material; and around his waist a large scarf of very dark colored stuff, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet. One part of this scarf he generally drew over his left arm, which had a very graceful effect when he moved. And his legs were covered with blue cloth, made to fit neatly, with an ornamental garter bound below the knee (Ketchum 1865: 96-7).

About the same time Robert Hunter, Jr., a young English merchant travelling through eastern Canada, recorded the appearance of the Indians who frequented Montréal:

Some of them are very handsome fellows, dressed something like kings in an English tragedy. They have all great trinkets hanging to their noses and amazing large stars and suns dangling at their ears. They wear the same dress summer and winter, which consists of a pair of scarlet leggings, Indian slippers, a short calico jacket without breeches, a crimson cloak finely ornamented with rich fringe, and a kind of a helmet instead of a hat.

The women are dressed much the same excepting the trinkets at their noses.... [A] *little boy, about six years old... had trinkets hanging to his ears large enough almost to pull them off, and a terrible ring hanging to his nose. Besides this, not contented with his natural copper color, he was painted red in different places...* (Wright and Tinling 1943: 36).

The following month, Joseph Hadfield, Hunter's travelling companion, wrote a brief account of the Iroquois warriors that he and Hunter encountered on the St. Lawrence River just above Cornwall, Ontario:

The dress of the Indians is next to a state of nakedness, or they are overcharged with ornaments. They have a shirt in this latter case, of printed cotton or linen. They tie it round their waist with a cienture or girdle of variegated colors and with beads of different hue. They wear a piece of cloth around their breech, which goes between their legs and conceals their parts. Round their necks they have a broad necklace of wampum of shells turned into small cylindrical forms to which they hang 2, 3 and 4 silver gorgets with several figures engraven upon them. They have also many silver bracelets which they wear upon their arms and wrists. Their ears are cut in shreds to which are affixed curious iron ornaments of 2 to 3 inches in diameter. They also have pendants to their noses. Their faces are painted in fanciful manner, red and black, their hair cut, except on the crown which is tied in a bunch and hung down in a plait, mixed with silver rings, etc. (Robertson 1933: 62).

A few weeks later, Hunter recounted the attire of the Iroquois women he saw at Fort Niagara:

As near as I can remember, the young ones wear a kind of English riding hat, ornamented with feathers and ribbons of different colors, a blanket over their shoulders, which is covered with spangles and different-colored silk – so many blue ribbons curiously sewed upon it half way down their back, and so many red ones to the rest of the blanket, which reaches to the calf of their leg. They wear a petticoat, down to their knees, of a yellow color, and leggings perhaps of another, so as to have as much variety in their dress as possible (Wright and Tinling 1943: 111).

Additional details concerning the adornment of the Iroquois are provided in the *History of the Mission of the United Brethren* written by George H. Loskiel in 1788. It reveals that some men wore "a bandage round their heads, ornamented with as many silver buckles as it will hold." Furthermore, their noses were occasionally embellished with "a large pearl, or a piece of silver, gold, or wampom,"

while "pearls, rings, sparkling stones, feathers, flowers, corals, or silver crosses" hung from their distended and lengthened ears. Tobacco pouches made of the entire skin of a young otter, beaver or fox, with an opening at the neck, were sometimes decorated with "corals" or "pearls" (beads) in the eye-sockets. As for their moccasins, "the quarters are ornamented about the ankle with small pieces of brass or tin, fastened with leather strings, which make an odd jingling, when they walk or dance" (Loskiel 1794: 48-51). Their footwear was frequently also adorned with quillwork, small beads and hawk bells (Long 1791: 36).

In the year 1796, Isaac Weld (1799: 428) was guided through western New York state by the "Indian chief, *China-breast-plate*, who received that name in consequence of his having worn in the American war a thick china dish as an ornament on his breast." Although not specifically identified as an Iroquois, it is likely that the chief was a member of this tribal group given the geographical location and date of his encounter with Weld.

Regarding the ornamentation of the Iroquois woman at the end of the 18th century, Loskiel wrote: "The rich adorn their heads with a number of silver trinkets, of considerable weight. This mode of finery is not so common among the Delawares as the Iroquois, who by studying dress and ornament more than any other Indian nation, are allowed to dictate the fashion to the rest" (Loskiel 1794: 52).

The ladies also decorated "their ears, necks, and breasts with corals, small crosses, little round escutcheons, and crescents, made either of silver or wampom," and were fond of silver bracelets (Loskiel 1794: 52). In addition, a few women wore nose rings, as recorded by Elkanah Watson at Fort Stanwix, New York, in 1788 (Beauchamp 1903: 75-6). Four years later, P. Campbell (1937: 164) described the footwear of Joseph Brant's wife as being adorned with beads and silk ribbons. In 1798, the American actor John Durang encountered a well-to-do woman at Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) who had on "a calicoe short gound, draw'd at the neck or rather fastened by silver broaches, her black hair platted at each side hanging down from the temple, the hind hair tied and platted, hanging down fastened by a silver ring" (Downer 1966: 70-1).

A wealth of silver ornamentation is depicted in a portrait of the noted Seneca chief Cornplanter (Ki-on-twog-ky) executed in 1796 by F. Bartoli (Fig. 42). The items include a fancy headband, nose pendant, earring with a red inlay, vari-shaped collar appendages, gorget with chain, armbands and bracelets.

The popularity of trade silver continued into the 19th century. A portrait of Joseph Brant (Fig. 43) produced by William von Moll Berczy around 1807 shows him wearing not only arm and wrist bands of silver, but a small earring, neck brooch and medal of what appears to be either brass or gold as well. His elegant knee garters are adorned with beadwork and little brass bells.

In 1816, Lieutenant Francis Hall (1818: 91, 136) described the Iroquois residing at Caughnawaga (Kahnawake), Quebec, as wearing "hats tricked out with feathers, necklaces of large blue beads, [and] tinsel girdles," while those at Grand River, Ontario, "wore large silver crosses, medals, and other trinkets, on their backs and breasts." Three years later, John M. Duncan (1819: 7) noted that the men of Caughnawaga sported colourful sashes of worsted and small glass beads "very curiously woven into zigzag patterns" and moccasins embellished with porcupine quills and "tufts of red deer's hair, with metal tags [probably tinkling cones]." He also observed that the Iroquois generally adorned their cradleboards with strings of beads, and pieces of coloured cloth, and that the stems of calumets or peace pipes were painted in various colours, and adorned with feathers, shells or beads (Duncan 1819: 4, 29).

Meeting with two canoe loads of Iroquois in the Thousand Islands region of the St. Lawrence in 1821, John Howison (1821: 35-6) described the men thus: "Their heads were adorned with steel crescents and waving feathers. The rest of their dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, and long scarlet cloaks covered with ornaments, which, though mere tinsel, had a very shining effect." At the Lake of Two Mountains near Montréal that same year, John McLean heard "the tinkling of

Figure 42. Cornplanter (Ki-on-twog-ky), noted Seneca chief, by F. Bartoli, 1796. He wears various forms of trade silver (The New-York Historical Society; A 1867.314)

Figure 43. "Portrait of Joseph Brant" by William von Moll Berczy, ca. 1807. The famous chief is wearing a variety of metal ornaments including hawk bells on knee garters (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; 5777)

bells with which the horses the Indians rode were ornamented." (Wallace 1932: 14).

During the annuity ceremony held in Buffalo in 1827, William Bullock recorded that the Six Nations women who were in attendance "were, in general, decently clad, each having a black [beaver] hat and feathers; the upper part of the hat, decorated with a kind of fringe, composed of several hundred small pieces of silver, formed a contrast with the blanket, which some of them wore" (Thwaites 1905, 19: 143).

Portraits of Iroquois men and women prepared in the 1830s by George Catlin exhibit a wide variety of trade ornaments. The men are shown wearing simple silver earrings, necklaces of wampum and glass beads, silver medals, metal armbands and bracelets, beaded sashes, and silver brooches at the necks of their shirts (Figs. 44-45; Hassrick 1977: 51). The only Iroquois woman to be painted by Catlin wears a typical Plains-style outfit (Fig. 46) which is definitely not representative of the Eastern Woodlands. If not a complete fabrication by the artist, her costume may well be that of the Six-Nations Iroquois who were moved west of the Mississippi during the mid-19th century (Catlin 1926, 2: frontispiece, 122n). The subject's ornaments include clusters of silver ear drops, and multi-strand necklaces of glass beads. Sundry metal trinkets adorn the cradleboard she holds.

The costume of one of the women participating in the great annual festival held at the Onondaga Castle in January 1841 particularly attracted the attention of Joshua V.H. Clark:

> *She was dressed throughout in a new suit of fine blue woolen cloth. Her leggings (pantalets) were most fancifully adorned with small white beads and brooches, and the lower part of the skirt, which came below the knee, was ornamented in the same manner. Over the whole was an ample covering of plain blue cloth, sweeping the ground at every step* (Clark 1849: 58).

Of the men, Clark (1849: 63) wrote: "The fantastic figures and devices painted on their almost naked bodies, the rude head-dresses and ornaments, consisting of bells, brooches, rings, a profusion of ear and nose jewels, with deers' hoofs dangling about their ancles, gave the performers a most singular and grotesque appearance."

During the 1840s, Lewis H. Morgan assembled a representative collection of vanishing Iroquois material culture for the State of New York (Morgan 1850; 1852; 1904). Obtained from the Grand River tribes in Ontario and the Seneca of western New York, many of the articles were composed of or decorated with both indigenous and imported ornaments, namely glass beads, brass bells, a variety of silver items, and wampum. Bead embroidery appeared on the widest range of goods, principally clothing. Items which attired the men consisted of shoulder and waist belts, kilts, breech cloths, leggings and moccasins (Plate 6). According to Frank G. Speck (1945: 63), beaded glengarry bonnets were also popular with some Iroquois males from about 1840 to 1870.

Beaded articles utilized by the women or made by them for sale to tourists included blankets, overdresses, skirts, leggings and moccasins (Plate 7), as well as needle books, pin cushions, pocket books, work bags or satchels, burden straps and grass shoulder ornaments (Fig. 47). The latter were composed of several beaded disks of fragrant marsh grass woven into a chain and worn about the neck (Morgan 1852: 90). The cloth belts that secured infants to their cradleboards were also embroidered with beads (Fig. 48). Large, monochrome beads of glass in round, oblate and faceted forms were strung in necklaces (Fig. 47, d).

Small brass bells were attached to the tie bands on men's leggings, and the sides of the hood on cradleboards (Morgan 1904, 1: Pl. op. 256; 2: Pl. op. 58). A single bell was occasionally also hung on a woman's necklace (Fig. 47, d).

Various types of silver ornaments were still the delight of the Iroquois woman, especially brooches:

> *Broaches of silver are worn by every female. They are of all sizes and patterns, from six inches in diameter, and worth as many dollars, to half an inch and worth a half dime; answering upon the female dress the double*

Figure 44. The old Seneca sachem or chief, Deep Lake, by George Catlin, 1831. He exhibits several strands of glass beads and wampum, two medals, and an armband (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.264)

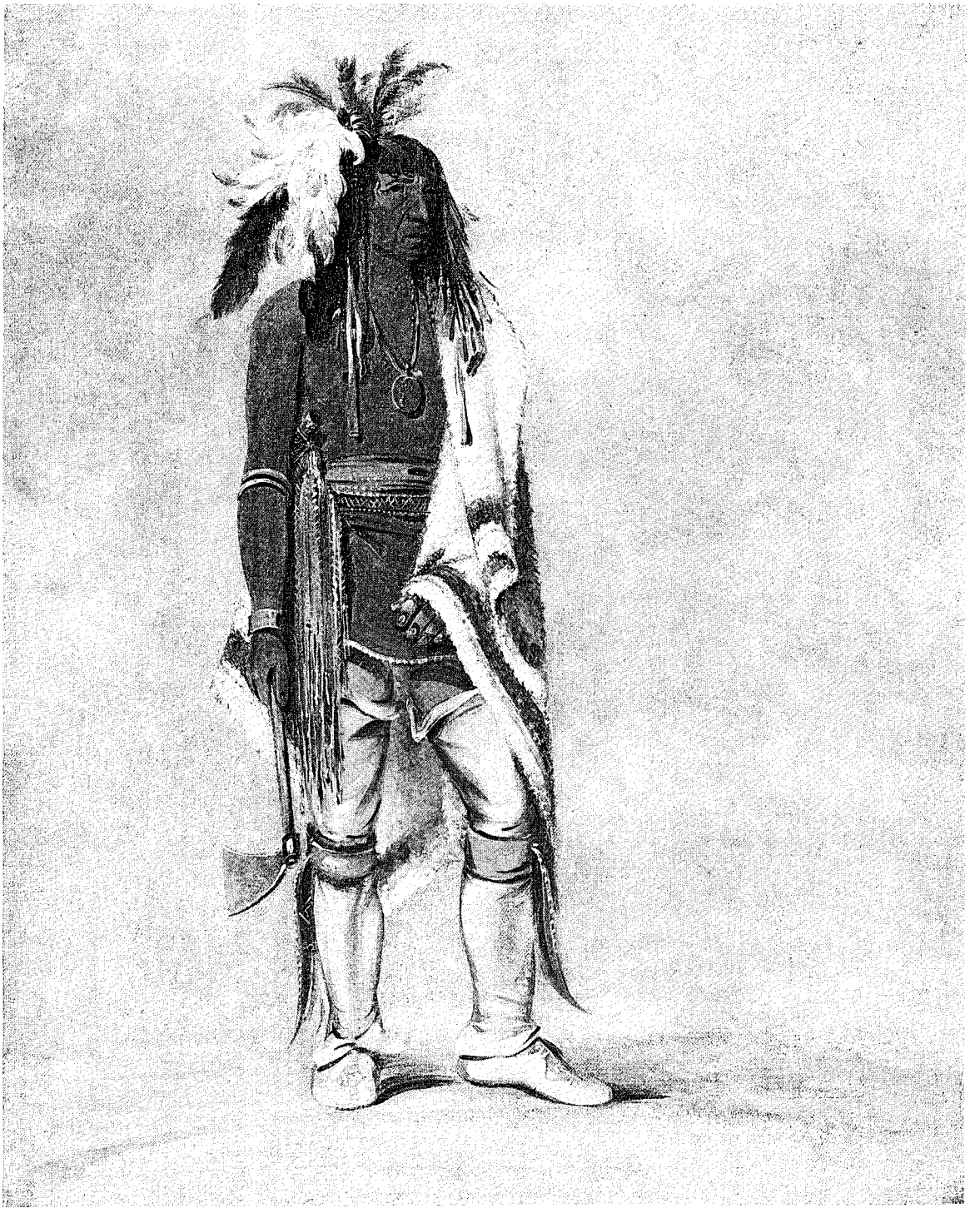


Figure 45. Not-to-way, The Thinker, by George Catlin, 1831. This Iroquois chief's adornments include a necklace of glass beads, a medal, armbands, bracelets, and a beaded sash (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.196)

Figure 46. Che-ah-ka-tchee, wife of Not-to-way, by George Catlin, 1835-36. Her Plains-style outfit and personal ornaments are atypical of the Eastern Woodlands and may be a fabrication by the artist. Note numerous ear drops and glass bead necklaces. (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.197)

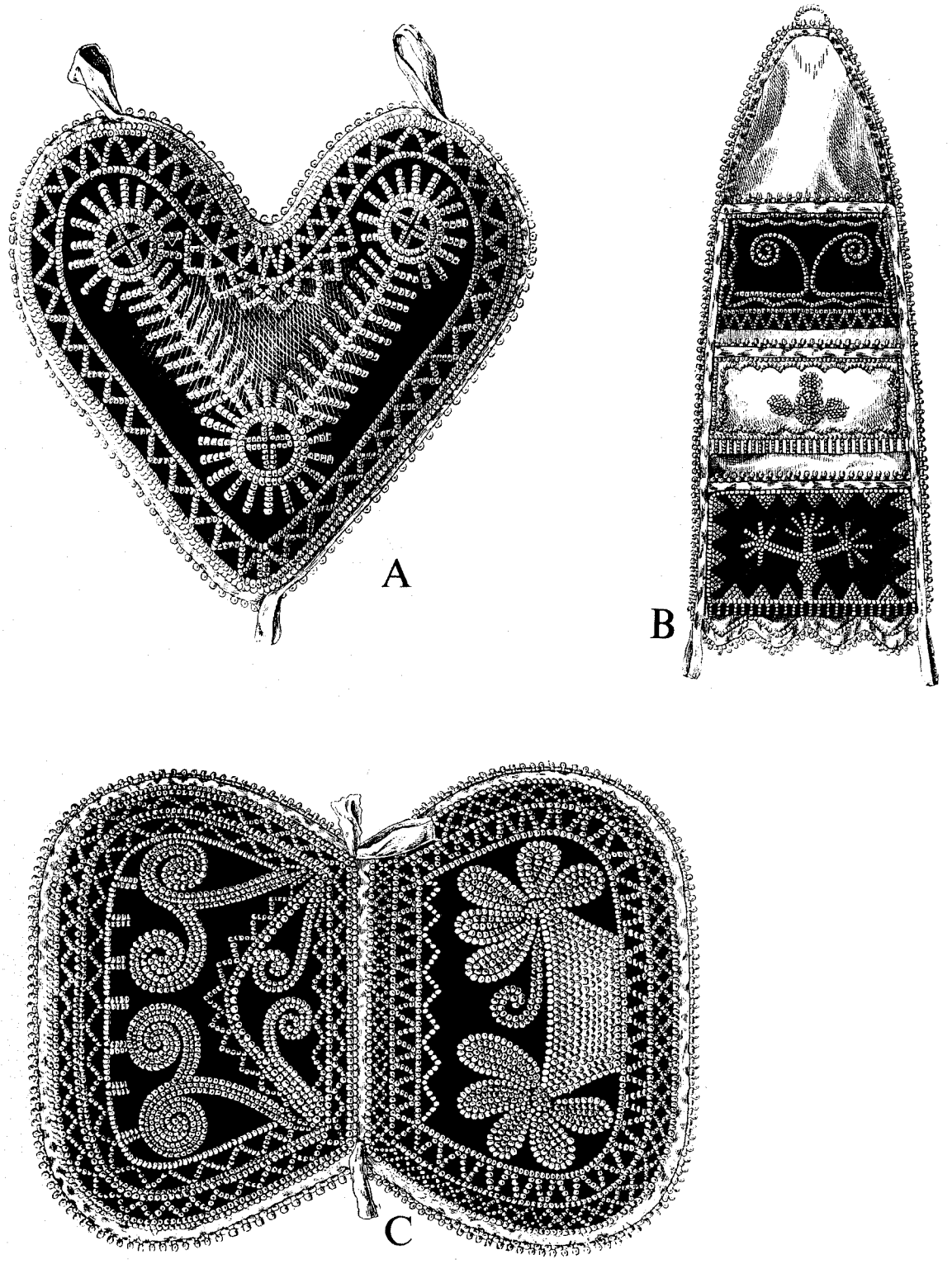


Figure 47. Beaded Iroquois articles: (A) pin cushion; (B) needle book; (C) pocket book;

Figure 47 (Cont'd). (D) glass bead necklace; (E) silver and glass bead necklace; (F) work bag; (G) grass shoulder ornament (not to scale; after Morgan 1852; 1904, 2)

Figure 48. Iroquois cradleboard decorated with embroidery beads, little hawk bells and other trinkets (Morgan 1904, 2: opp. 58)

purpose of ornament and use. At a fixed value they pass from hand to hand, thus forming a species of currency among them. Every Indian female, however humble, has some silver broaches, while occasionally those can be found who count them by hundreds. The larger ones are usually worn upon the Ah-de-a-dă-we-să, or over dress, in front, as a button or pin, the largest being placed at the bottom. Sometimes the smaller ones are strung together and worn as a hat band, or as a necklace (Morgan 1852: 88-9).

The cross was another common item of feminine adornment. Doubtless introduced by the Jesuits, "at the present day it is regarded merely as a personal ornament, and is without significance to them as a religious emblem" (Morgan 1852: 88). Worn "attached to a necklace, or perhaps fastened to the hat, or hung upon the hair," they were frequently 20 cm long but occasionally ranged to about 25 cm in length with a 15 cm span across the arms (Morgan 1852: 88; 1904, 2: 50).

Finger and ear rings were also quite popular:

... Most of these silver ornaments in later years have been made by Indian silversmiths, one of whom may be found in nearly every Indian village. They are either made of brass, of silver, or from silver coins pounded out, and then cut into patterns with metalic instruments (Morgan 1852: 89).

Arranged in up to seven strands, tubular silver beads "one to two inches in length, and strung upon deer string, with round silver beads between" were "worn around the neck, or in the hair, or perhaps as a hat band" by an occasional female (Morgan 1852: 89). Large round beads of silver, interspersed with those of glass or wampum, sometimes also comprised their necklaces (Morgan 1852: 89-90; 1904, 2: 51).

A decorative openwork band of silver frequently adorned the headdress of the men (Fig. 49), as well as the fur hats worn by the women (Morgan 1904, 1: 253; 2: 50). In addition, the carved hoop and footrest on cradleboards were often inlaid with silver, with the former also quite often being hung with various trinkets (Morgan 1852: 77). Tomahawk handles were also sometimes inlaid with silver or pewter (Morgan 1904, 2: 15; Peterson 1965: nos. 129, 143, 209, 264). The masks worn by members of the False-Face Society commonly had perforated pieces of sheet copper, brass and tin plate for eyes (Fig. 50).

Toward the end of the century, Edward Chadwick (1897: 67) observed that "a chief now living on the [Grand River] Reserve wears a cap furnished with a silver fillet from which rise two crane's wings set back to back and turning backwards covering the cap but displaying the Iroquois single feather slanting downwards at the back." Other headdresses were adorned with beadwork. Some Iroquois warriors from Grand River who visited Toronto in 1897 exhibited necklaces with glass beads incorporated into their fabric. They also wore large beaded aprons and shoulder belts (Chadwick 1897: frontispiece).

A photograph of the Cayuga Chief Red Cloud shows him wearing a plain cloth shirt ornamented on the cuffs with elaborate beadwork and at the neck with several types of small silver brooches (Fig. 51). Beadwork also adorns his shoulder bag, while an assortment of medals covers the front of his vest. A circular shell gorget inlaid with silver studs hangs on his chest, apparently suspended from a necklace composed of round and tubular beads.

While they were generally replaced by inexpensive costume jewelry during the second half of the 19th century, some ornaments of silver were still in evidence at the Six Nations Reserve in southern Ontario in 1907. Brooches were the most common items. Of six principal patterns (simple disk, ornate disk, star, heart, square, and Masonic; Fig. 52), they adorned women's dresses, as well as "the ribbons, head-bands, and sashes used by both sexes" (Harrington 1908: 354-6).

In the form of either drops or hoops, ear ornaments were "usually confined to a few women. The men, when wearing ear-rings at all, now generally prefer the small, plain gold hoops made by the whites" (Harrington 1908: 356). Finger rings were either plain or decorated with various devices (Harrington 1908: 357). Nose rings were also noted. A

Figure 49. Iroquois headdress with ornate silver band (Morgan 1904, 1: opp. 254)

pair owned by King Tandy Jimerson, a Seneca from western New York, were "of crescent-shape, the tips of the crescent approaching each other in such as way that the ornament could be pinched fast upon the septum of the nose" (Harrington 1908: 358). Although very rare, bracelets, armlets and headbands or crowns of silver were occasionally worn by the men as part of their ceremonial garb (Harrington 1908: 357).

Discussion

As might be expected considering the degree to which the two groups interacted, the adornments of the sedentary Woodland tribes were very similar to those of their migratory neighbours (Table 2). Wampum dominated the scene initially, being used extensively by both the Huron and Iroquois from before contact with Europeans into the latter half of the 18th century. It was popular with either sex, although Huron women and Iroquois men were seemingly more partial to it. Necklaces and collars were, by far, the most popular items to be fashioned from wampum, even though belts, bracelets, headbands and crowns, and hair and ear ornaments were also much in favour with both men and women. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, wampum was primarily worn in the form of collars and shoulder belts by Huron chiefs and in necklaces by well-to-do Iroquois women.

Another item of shell that was popular with the men for several centuries was the circular gorget. Worn suspended from the neck, they were sometimes decorated with silver studs and marked with the initials of the owner.

Figure 50. Masks of the Iroquois False-Face Society with sheet-metal eyes (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; 73-997)

Figure 51. "Chief Red Cloud, Oh-Tgae-Yah-Eht, Cayuga" by C.D. Arnold, 1901. He sports beaded cuffs, various medals and brooches, and a circular shell gorget (Brush 1901: 59)

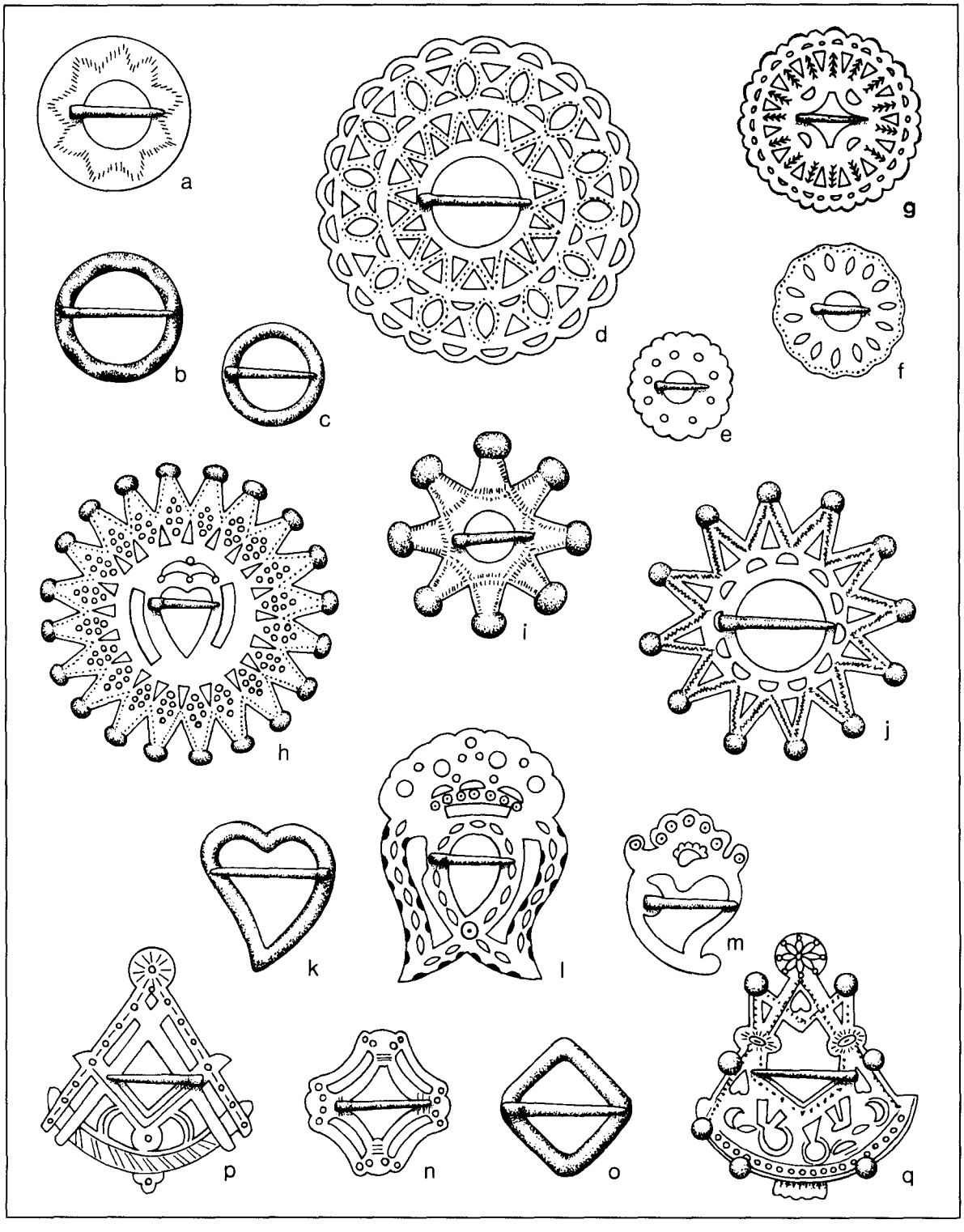


Figure 52. Patterns of Iroquois silver brooches, various periods: (A-C) simple disk; (D-G) ornate disk; (H-J) star; (K-M) heart; (N-O) square; (P-Q) Masonic (after Beauchamp 1903)

Glass beads may have come into the hands of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians during Aubert's voyage of 1508 and were definitely obtained from Cartier in 1534. The other tribal groups probably did not acquire them until the latter part of the century. Initially used primarily for necklaces, some of which were quite elaborate, these colourful objects were also hung from cradleboards and the noses of adults. Still others were incorporated into bracelets and belts as substitutes for the costlier wampum. About 1700, small beads began to be sewn onto clothing and other possessions, but this form of adornment did not reach its zenith until the 19th century. The items that were most commonly embellished with beadwork were leggings, moccasins, bags, and sashes. In the latter instance, the beads were woven into the fabric and not just sewn to it.

Metal ornaments, such as brooches and "tin" beads, were also among the earliest items to reach the various Iroquoian tribes. Articles of base metals, notably finger rings and bracelets of brass and iron, were popular at first but began to be displaced by those of silver during the second quarter of the 18th century. The popularity of silver skyrocketed thereafter with the result that it dominated the market from about 1760 to 1830. An incredible variety of ornamentation was produced during this period, much of which had numerous applications (Table 2), though brooches, earrings, bracelets and armbands appear to have been the most sought-after items. Gold jewelry was also utilized by some of the wealthier individuals during this period.

With the decline of the fur trade in the 1830s, silver trinkets became an unprofitable commodity and soon disappeared from the shelves of the various trading companies. They were subsequently produced by a number of native craftsmen at Lorette and in various Iroquois villages, but gradually lost out to the cheap costume jewelry that became available to the native peoples during the second half of the 19th century.

Ornaments of other imported materials were also used, including ostrich feathers for garnishing hats and headdresses. However, the most exotic ornament must surely be the wooden boat pulley worn as a pendant by a 17th-century Huron warrior.

TABLE 2
EASTERN AGRICULTURAL TRIBE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	St. Lawrence Iroquoians	Hurons	Iroquois
Shell			
Wampum			
Anklets		F	
Armbands		F	
Belts		F M	F M O
Blankets			X
Bracelets	M	F M O	F M O
Cradleboards		O	O
Dresses		F	
Ear adornment		F M? O	F M
Hair adornment		F M?	M
Headbands/crowns	M	F M	M
Knee garters			M
Moccasins			X
Necklaces/collars		F M O	F M O
Nose adornment			M
Pipe inlays			M
Stomach plates		F	
Tomahawk inlays			X
War club inlays			M
Gorgets			
Breast adornment		M	M
Glass			
Beads			
Bags			F M
Belts		X	M O
Blankets			F
Bracelets		O	M
Breech cloths			M
Burden straps		F?	F?
Calumet stems			M
Caps/bonnets		M	M
Clothing (general)			O
Coat epaulets		M	
Cradleboards		O	O
Effigies			X
Ear adornment		X	
Fancy articles		X	
Grass shoulder ornaments			F
Hair adornment			M
Headdresses/headbands			M
Kilts/skirts		F	F M
Knee garters			M
Leggings		F M	F M
Moccasins		F M	F M
Necklaces		F M O?	F M O
Needle books			F

AGRICULTURAL TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	St. Lawrence Iroquoians	Hurons	Iroquois
Glass (Cont'd.)			
Nose adornment			M
Overdresses			F
Pin cushions			F
Pouches			M
Ribbons			X
Sashes		M	M
Shell gorgets			M
Shirts			M
Tobacco pipe inlays			M
Tomahawk inlays			X
War club inlays		M	
Metal			
Armbands		M	M
Beads			
Bracelets			O
Hair adornment			O
Headbands			M
Necklaces			F
Bells			
Cradleboards			O
Horse gear			M
Knee garters			M
Leggings			M
Moccasins			M
Necklaces			F
Bracelets		F M	F M O
Brooches			
Blankets			M
Cradleboards			O
Hair adornment			F M
Hat bands			F
Headresses/headbands			F M
Leggings			F M
Necklaces			F
Overdresses/overwaists		F	F
Ribbons			F M
Sashes			F M
Shirts		M	M
Shoulder belts			M
Skirts			F
Chain necklaces		F	
Crosses			
Breast adornment			F M
Ear adornment			F M
Hair adornment			F
Hats			F
Necklaces			F
Earrings		F M	F M

AGRICULTURAL TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	St. Lawrence Iroquoians	Hurons	Iroquois
Metal (Cont'd.)			
Finger rings	F O	F	F M O
Gorgets		M	M
Hat bands			F
Headbands		M	M
Keys			
Necklaces		M	
Mask eyes			X
Medallions	O		
Medals/coins			
Breast pendants		M	M
Vest adornment			M
Neck rings			M
Nose rings/pendants			F M
Rings			
Clothing adornment			X
Hair adornment			F
Necklaces			F
Spirals			
Ear adornment			F
Necklaces			F
Tubes			
Ear adornment			F
Tacks			
Tomahawk handles			M
Thimbles			
Belts		F	
Tinklers/spangles/danglers			
Coat epaulets		M	
Collar appendages			M
Fancy articles		X	
Hair adornment			M O
Knife sheaths		M	
Leggings		M	
Moccasins		M	M
Pouches			M
Shoulder bags			M
Tomahawk inlays			M
Tool inlays			F
Wire			
Ear adornment			M
Ceramics			
Plates/dishes			
Breast plates			M
Wood			
Boat pulleys			
Breast pendants		M	

AGRICULTURAL TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	St. Lawrence Iroquoians	Hurons	Iroquois
Feathers			
Ostrich plumes			
Hats		F M	
Headdresses		M	M

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.

Chapter III

Tribes of the Plains

Inhabiting the southern reaches of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the southwestern corner of Manitoba (Fig. 53), the Indians of the Canadian Plains were nomadic hunters who relied almost exclusively on the bison for "food, clothing, fuel, and all the requirements of their simple mode of life" (Hector and Vaux 1861: 246). They were a fairly diversified people, comprising seven tribal groups from three linguistic families: 1) Algonkian-Blackfoot, Plains Ojibwa, Plains Cree and Gros-Ventre (Atsina); 2) Siouan-Assiniboine and Sioux; and 3) Athapaskan-Sarcee. As the Sioux and Gros-Ventre spent little time in Canada during the historic period, they will not be dealt with herein. The Sarcee are omitted because their adornments were very much like those of their Blackfoot neighbours.

Trade ornaments may have begun to trickle into the hands of the Assiniboine and Gros-Ventre during the course of Henry Kelsey's journey to their territory in 1690-91. However, it is unlikely that they became generally available until the French began to establish trading posts on the Saskatchewan River in the middle of the following century.

Blackfoot

Composed of the Siksika or Blackfoot proper, the Pikuni or Piegan, and the Kainah or Blood, the Blackfoot nation was the first group of Algonkian-speaking peoples to invade the Plains. Aided by firearms and horses obtained from traders and other Indians during the early 1700s, they soon became the most powerful and aggressive of the Plains tribes. Their territory included southern Alberta and the adjacent portion of Saskatchewan (Fig. 53).

David Thompson's *Narrative* contains the earliest account of this group's ornamentation. Referring to the Piegan around 1800, he wrote:

> *The country affords no ornaments for the men, but collars of the claws of the fore paws of the Bear. The Women, as usual with all women are fond of ornaments, but the country produces none, except some of the teeth of the deer* [elk], *which are pierced, strung together, and form bracelets for the wrists and sometimes a fillet of sweet scented grass round the forehead, the rest of their ornaments are from the Traders, as Beads of various colours, Rings, Hawks Bells, and Thimbles. Scarce any has ear rings, and never any in the nose* (Glover 1962: 254-5).

At a Mandan village on the Missouri River in 1805, François Larocque, a clerk in the employ of the North West Company, examined some of the articles plundered from a fallen Blackfoot warrior. Included were "2 skunk skins guarnished with red

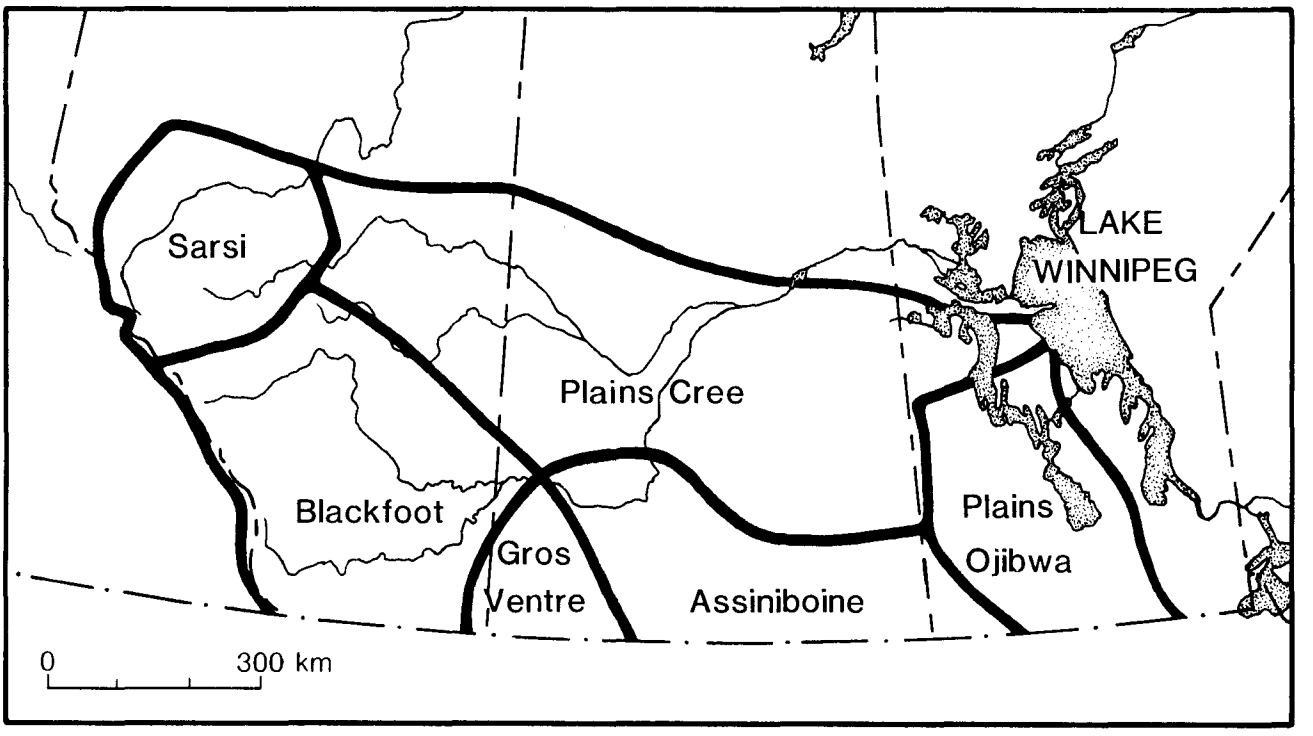


Figure 53. Approximate geographical range of the Plains tribes ca. 1850 (drawing by D. Kappler)

stroud and blue beads which those Indians generally wear round their ancles" (Burpee 1910: 19).

The Blackfoot seen by Alexander Henry around Fort Vermilion, east-central Alberta, in 1808-9 were also sparingly adorned: "Their ornaments are few – feathers, quillwork, and human hair, with red, white, and blue earth, constitute the whole apparatus; but they are fond of European baubles to decorate their hair" (Coues 1897: 525).

By the 1830s the situation had changed considerably. As George Catlin (1926, 1:34) put it in a letter written at the mouth of the Yellowstone River in 1832: "There is no tribe, perhaps, on the Continent, who dress more comfortably, and more gaudily, than the Blackfeet, unless it be the tribe of Crows." That same year John B. Wyeth observed a Blackfoot chief at Pierre's Hole in eastern Idaho who "not only wore on this occasion a robe of scarlet cloth, probably obtained from a Christian source, but was decorated with beads valued there at sixty dollars" (Thwaites 1905, 21: 70).

A very detailed account of Blackfoot finery was scribed the following year by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, while residing at Fort McKenzie on the Upper Missouri River:

> *The Blackfeet do not disfigure their bodies; none of the nations of the Missouri bore the nose and lips, except a tribe in the Rocky Mountains, who are known by the name of Pierced Nosed Indians, because they bore a hole through the gristle of the nose. It is only in the ear that the Blackfeet pierce one or two small holes, in which they wear various ornaments, such as strings of glass beads, alternating with white cylinders, which they get from the Dentalium, which they barter from the nations on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, especially the Kutanas. Many Blackfeet do not wear anything in their ears, which are generally concealed by their long thick hair.... Their hair hangs down straight and stiff, often in disorder over the eyes and round the head. Young people, however, who pay more attention to neatness, part it regu-*

larly over the forehead, and comb it smooth. A small sea-shell is often fastened to a tuft of hair on each side, close to the temples; others were on one side, and often on both sides of the forehead, and a lock of hair with brass and iron wire twisted round it; lastly, a few adopted the ornament usual among the Manitaries and Mandans, which forms a long string on each side of the forehead [that is, a hair bow composed "of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire" from which hung strands of alternating "rows of blue beads and white dentalium shells" (Thwaites 1906, 23: 259)].... *Some distinguished Blackfeet warriors had a tuft of the feathers of owls, or birds of prey, hanging at the back of the head; sometimes ermine skin, with little stripes of red cloth, adorned with bright buttons; or, on the top of the head, broad black feathers, cut short, like a brush.... Very often they adorn themselves with a braided necklace, composed of a sweet-smelling grass, probably anthoxanthum, with others of glass beads, which they buy of the Company for three or four dollars a pound, and which the women in particular highly value. Some Piekanns hang round their necks a green stone* [steatite], *often of various shapes, or the teeth of buffaloes, stags, elks, horses, &c., or large round flat pieces cut out of shells. On their fingers they wear rings, mostly of brass, which they purchase, by dozens, of the Company – often six or eight on each finger, often only one or two on the whole hand* (Thwaites 1906, 23: 98-101).

Trade ornaments also adorned Blackfoot garments:

The dress of the women... is a long leather shirt, coming down to their feet, bound round the waist with a girdle, and is often ornamented with many rows of elks' teeth, bright buttons, and glass beads.... The women ornament their best dresses, both on the hem and sleeves, with dyed porcupine quills and thin leather strips, with broad diversified stripes of sky-blue and white glass beads. The Indians do not like beads of other colours, for instance, red, next the skin; and their taste in the contrast of colours is very correct, for in their black hair they generally wear red, and on their brown skins, sky-blue, white, or yellow (Thwaites 1906, 23: 103).

Paintings of the era reveal that coloured glass beads also decorated the fringe on women's dresses, and were equally popular in the form of necklaces and bracelets (Figs. 54-55).

Concerning the ornamentation of the men's vestments, Maximilian observed that their "shirts generally have at the neck a flap hanging down both before and behind, which we saw usually lined with red cloth, ornamented with fringe, or with stripes of yellow and coloured porcupine quills, or of sky-blue glass beads" (Thwaites 1906, 23: 101). Oddly enough, the Blackfoot chiefs that were portrayed by Karl Bodmer during the course of Maximilian's travels did not have such flaps on their shirts. Instead, their garments were decorated with beaded bands along the sleeves and over the shoulders. Some individuals also had brass buttons sewn to their shirts (Plate 8), sometimes in combination with pieces of mother-of-pearl shell, blue beads, and silver (?) crescent gorgets (Fig. 56). Neck ornaments included silver peace medals suspended from strands of large blue beads (Thomas and Ronnefeldt 1982: 136), and silver crosses apparently obtained from the Spanish at Santa Fe (Fig. 57; Thomas and Ronnefeldt 1982: 64).

Other personal possessions that were embellished with imported adornments included quivers. For these, wrote Maximilian, the Blackfoot "prefer the skin of the cougouar (*Felis concolor*, Linn.), for which they give a horse. The tail hangs down from the quiver, [which] is trimmed with red cloth on the inner side, embroidered with white beads, and ornamented at the end or elsewhere, with strips of skin, like tassels" (Thwaites 1906, 23: 119).

Hawk bells were noted on "medicine skins" and a pipe lighter. The latter was a unique item which Maximilian described thus: "We saw one man who never lighted his pipe at the fire, but made use of a

Figure 54. Eeh-nis-kim, The Crystal Stone, wife of a Blackfoot chief, by George Catlin, 1832. Coloured glass beads embellish the fringe on her dress, while an array of metal bracelets and rings garnishes her wrists and fingers (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.150)

Figure 55. Blackfoot-Assiniboine girl at Fort Union, by Karl Bodmer, 1833. Blue and white beads adorn her ears, neck, right wrist, and dress. Her left wrist sports two brass bracelets (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; R 11)

Figure 56. The Siksika Blackfoot chief, Íhkas-kínne, The Low Horn, in his heavily decorated war shirt of otter skins, by Karl Bodmer, 1833 (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; NA 143)

Figure 57. Kiäsax, The Bear on the Left, by Karl Bodmer, 1833. This Piegan warrior exhibits a beaded hair bow, shell and bead earrings, and a silver cross (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; R 29)

stick about two feet long, and twice as thick as the ramrod of a gun, which was ornamented with feathers and bells, and painted red and black. It was hollow at the end to receive another thinner stick, which he always kindled when he wanted to light his pipe" (Thwaites 1906, 23: 122).

At a dance held in his honour at a Blackfoot camp near Fort Lewis, Montana, in 1846, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet noted "plumes in profusion, ribbons of all colors, all kinds of designs in porcupine-quill embroidery, necklaces of glass and porcelain, little bells on the skirts of their robes, everything comes out for this dance." He also observed a Christian convert named Ignatius Xavier who wore "the medal of these saints upon his breast" (Chittenden and Richardson 1905, 2: 596).

Additional information on the ornamentation of this period is provided by two of Paul Kane's paintings. The first of these, a portrait of Mis-ke-ma-kin or The Iron Collar, a Blood chief encountered near Fort Pitt on the North Saskatchewan River in 1848, shows the subject wearing a studded crescent gorget at his throat (Fig. 58). The other, a coetaneous but romanticized portrait of Big Snake, chief of the Blackfoot Indians, and five subordinate chiefs (Fig. 59), intimates that adornments of silver and brass were also popular at this time. One chief exhibits a silver nose ring, another sports fancy eardrops, while a third has his hair embellished with silver brooches, cones and beads. Brass wire or sheet metal, formed into hair pipes and bows, adorns another two chiefs.

At mid-century, Edwin T. Denig observed that the dresses of the young women were frequently embellished on the breast and arms with from 300 to 400 dentalia shells. In that the latter cost 30 cents apiece, such a dress was a highly valued possession (Hewitt 1930: 591).

During the Palliser Expedition of 1857-60, James Hector and W.S.W. Vaux (1861: 257) noted that "the Blackfoot tribes are fond of fine dresses for themselves, and gay trappings for their horses.... The women of this tribe are often comely; and they always dress neatly with ornamented tunics and leggings of cloth or deer-skin, worked with beads and porcupine quills."

A Blood Indian dress seen at Fort Pitt by James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk (1875: 288), in 1859 was "made from prepared skins of the mountain-sheep [sic], and richly embroidered with blue and white beads." He added that "such dresses are now seldom to be met with."

At the same location in 1863, Milton and Cheadle (1865: 175) found the dresses of the Blackfoot women thereabouts to be "very singular and striking." They "consisted of long gowns of buffalo [sic] skin, dressed beautifully soft, and dyed with yellow ochre. This was confined at the waist by a broad belt of the same material, thickly studded over with round brass plates, the size of a crown piece, brightly polished."

There are few contemporary accounts of Blackfoot ornamentation during the last quarter of the 19th century. Fortunately, this situation is remedied by a wealth of pictorial and ethnographical material. The dress of the men typically consisted of a shirt, breech cloth, leggings and moccasins, with a robe or blanket over the whole. While everyday garments were usually plain, those worn on special occasions exhibited elaborate garnishings. Hide shirts were decorated as before with quill or beadwork arranged in bands on the sleeves and shoulders, and in either triangular flaps over the neck slits or rosettes on the chest and back. A notable exception to the rule, an openwork war shirt owned by the warrior Bear Shield in the late 1870s, was covered with what appear to be spherical brass buttons (Fig. 60). Leggings were commonly embellished with beaded bands along the outer edge of either leg; breech cloths were usually left plain. Both items were suspended from a wide leather belt that was frequently studded with brass tacks. A knife sheath adorned with tacks or beadwork was also commonly attached to the belt. Beads arranged in either geometric or floral patterns decorated moccasin insteps, while blankets and robes often had a beaded band extending across the back. The feather bonnets worn by some men were ornamented on the forehead band with beadwork or rows of brass-headed tacks.

Articles of male personal adornment were quite varied. Shell disks with plain or scalloped edges

Figure 58. Mis-ke-ma-kin, The Iron Collar, sketch by Paul Kane, 1848. He wears a studded metal crescent gorget (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; 430-J)

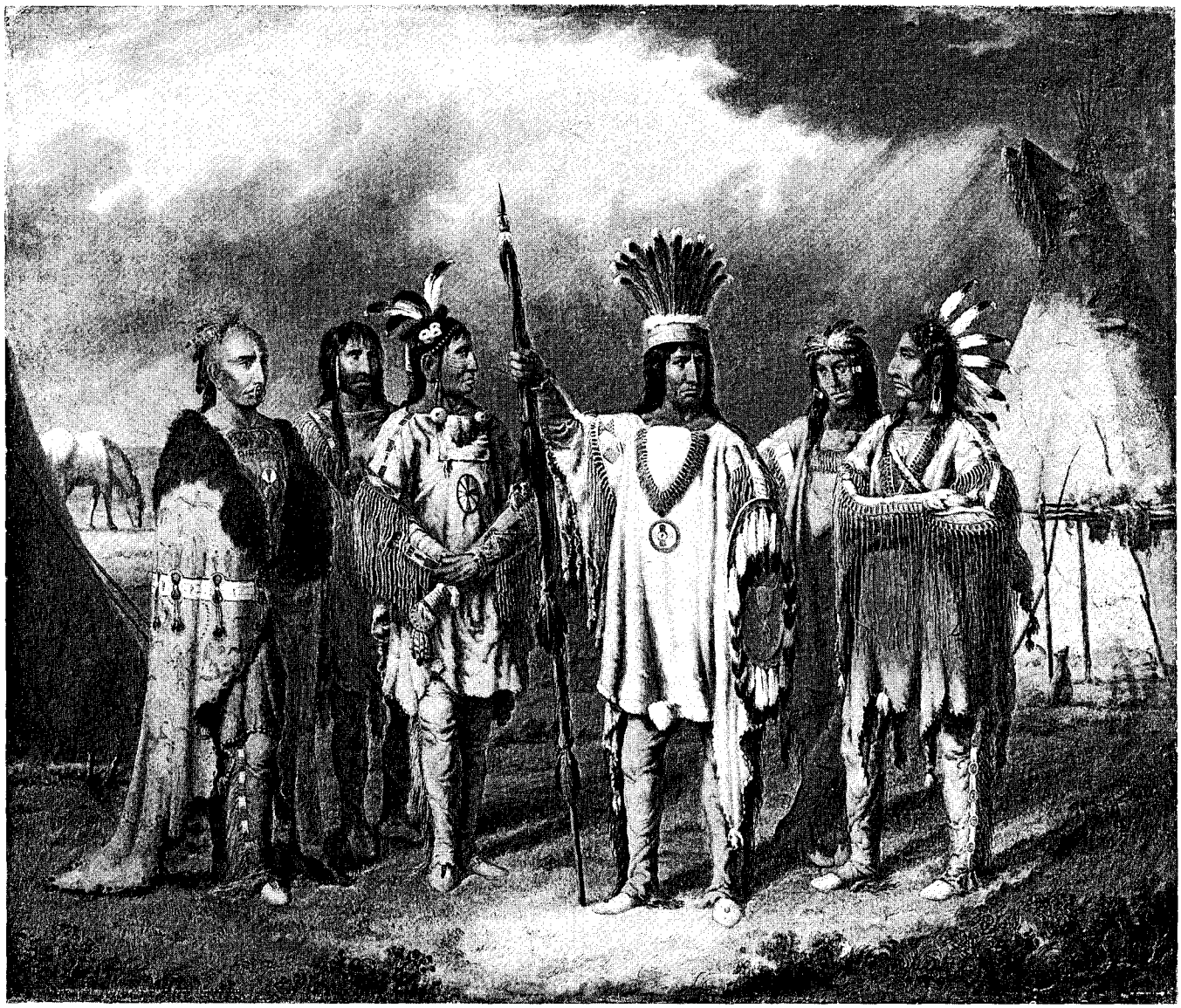


Figure 59. "Blackfoot Chief and subordinates" oil painting by Paul Kane, 1848. Ornaments of trade silver predominate, including brooches, ear drops, cones and beads; hair pipes and bows of brass are also present (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; 22)

Figure 60. The Blackfoot warrior, Bear Shield, photographed in the late 1870s by T. Geo. N. Anderton, Fort Walsh. His shirt appears to be covered with spherical brass buttons. His fingers sport ribbed rings, while a single sleigh bell hangs from his neck (Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary; NA-790-1)

were occasionally affixed to the braids of hair that hung from the temples. Small metal rings, some with a shell disk, a cowrie shell, or a bead and dentalium pendant attached thereto, hung from the ear lobes. Necklaces composed of up to 13 concentric strands of glass and brass beads arranged in various patterns were quite popular, as were chokers made of alternating bands of beads and dentalia shells or small bone hair pipes (Fig. 61). Slit in the middle and worn like an apron, the pelts of such animals as coyotes and foxes comprised another popular neck ornament. These articles were commonly decorated with small round mirrors. Dentalia necklaces were sported by some individuals, while others had strands of beads alternating with bone hair pipes slung over one shoulder in the manner of a bandoleer. Charms adorned with beadwork, buttons, bells, tacks and brass disks were worn suspended on the breast, as were individual hawk bells, medals, and shell gorgets, some with a beaded fringe along the lower edge. A unique item noted on one warrior consisted of a breast plate composed of six serpent side-plates obtained from traders or salvaged from discarded trade muskets (Fig. 61). Bead wristlets, and armbands, bracelets and finger rings fashioned from brass wire and sheet metal adorned the upper appendages, while leather straps festooned with hawk bells were sometimes affixed to the legs.

The personal possessions of the Blackfoot male were also frequently adorned with trinkets obtained from white traders. Toilet bags carried by the young men were gaily decked out with bead embroidery, brass tacks, and pendants composed of glass beads, cowries and metal tags (Wissler 1910: 75). The bird-wing fans carried by some were often embellished with beadwork, while the tail-feather fans carried by others had a round mirror mounted in their centre. Tomahawk handles were wrapped with brass or copper wire or strands of small coloured beads, or studded with tacks. A yarn tassel or a beaded flap with bells attached on occasion was affixed to the butt (Peterson 1965: 119, 125, 134-6). Gun stocks, whip handles and tobacco-cutting boards commonly exhibited designs formed with brass furniture tacks. Such items as gun cases, shot pouches, paint bags, and the cloth trim on willow back-rests set at the heads of couches were often worked with beads (Ewers 1945: 35). While the rings used in the "wheel and arrow" game played by Blackfoot men also had beads of glass and brass attached to them, this was done more to facilitate score-keeping than to ornament the object (Culin 1907: 420).

The attire of the women included a full-length dress with a sort of cape across the upper back, short leggings, moccasins, and a blanket or robe. Around the turn of the century, some women also began to wear such traditional articles of men's apparel as feather bonnets and fur necklaces (Fig. 62). The dress was typically decorated with parallel bands of contrastingly coloured beads which extended across the breast and upper back, and also lined the neck opening and hem. Rows of elk teeth and cowries sometimes alternated with or replaced the bands located on the bosom and back. A series of bifurcated thongs was commonly sewn to the dress just below the aforementioned bands, while another one to three rows adorned the skirt. The thongs were often embellished with beads at their bases and brass thimbles at their free ends. The waist was encircled by a broad leather belt garnished with beadwork, buttons, brass tacks or porcupine quills. A tack-decorated knife sheath and a small beaded bag were fastened to the belt. The leggings, which reached to the knee, exhibited bead embroidery at their lower ends. The moccasins, robes and blankets were decorated in much the same way as those of the men.

The personal adornment of the Blackfoot woman was also quite varied. Metal earrings, sometimes with a shell disk, or lengthy bead and dentalium or hair-pipe pendant attached, adorned the ears. Bead and dentalium or hair-pipe chokers were a common item of jewelry, as were necklaces composed of glass beads, often with hair pipes interspersed. The latter necklaces were often massive affairs, being up to at least 24 strands wide and reaching almost to the feet (Fig. 62). Some of these were further enhanced by a random sprinkling of small round mirrors. Beaded amulets were worn pendant on the breast, while brass rings adorned "every finger, except the thumb." The wrists bore "a profusion of brass bracelets" (MacLean 1896: 62).

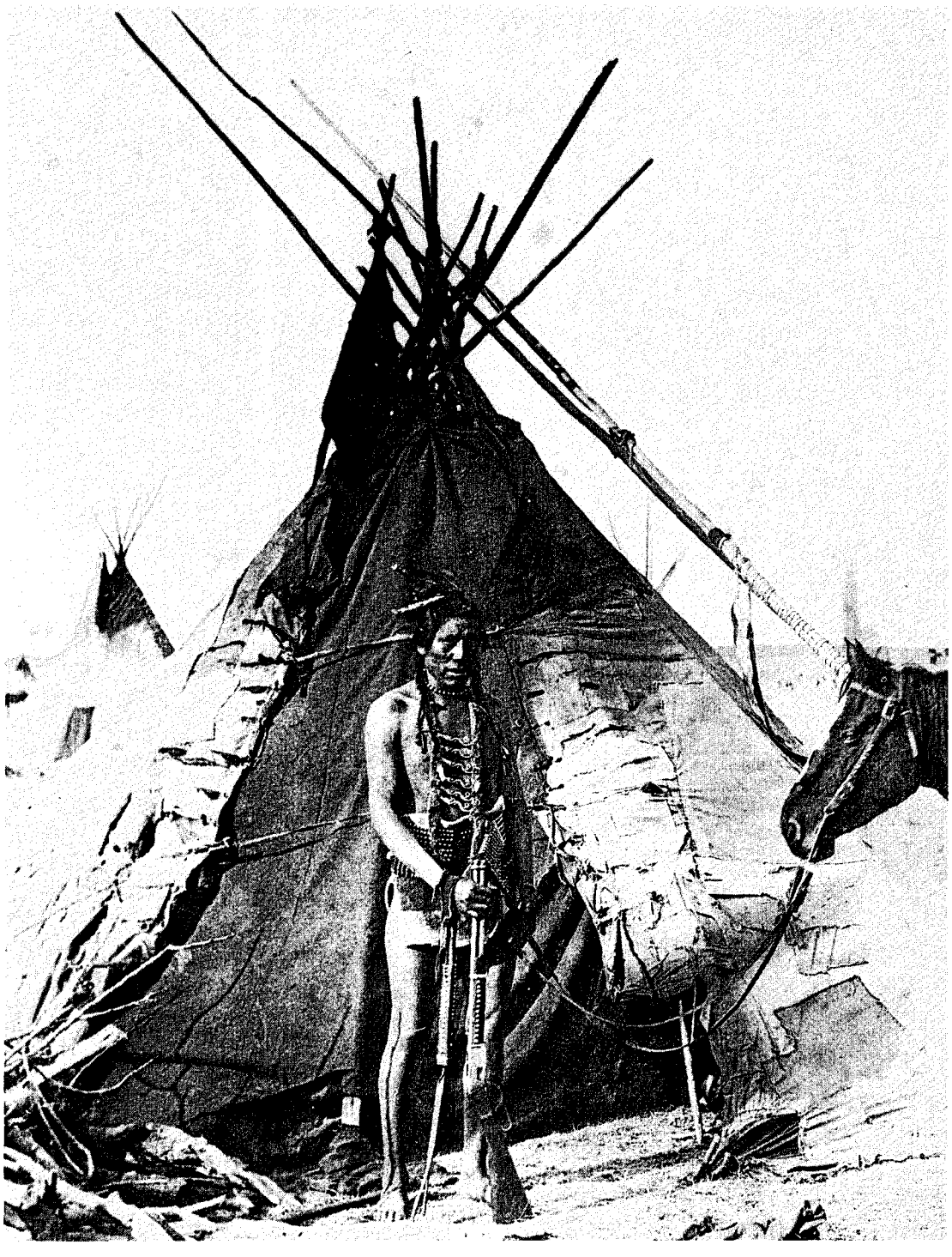


Figure 61. Blackfoot brave near Gleichen, Alberta, probably late 19th century. He wears a unique breast plate of serpent side-plates which originally would have been found on trade muskets (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-33471B)

Figure 62. Blackfoot women and children at Shaganappi Point, Calgary, during the royal visit of 1901, photographed by Topley. The woman standing (left) wears a man's feather bonnet and fur necklace ornamented with round mirrors. The massive necklaces are of bone hair pipes and glass or brass beads (Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary; NA-539-2)

The horses that the women rode were often as gaily accoutered as their owners. Such items as cruppers, martingales, saddles and saddlebags were frequently covered with lavish beadwork (Ewers 1945: 35). Saddles were sometimes also studded with tacks (MacLean 1896: 251).

Infants were kept in cradleboards which were decorated at the upper end with coloured porcupine quills, variously coloured beads or designs made with silk thread (MacLean 1896: 54), as well as fringe garnished with beads and small hawk bells (Wissler 1910: 88). Older children wore scaled-down versions of their parents' outfits.

Ornamented objects recorded in the early 1900s which may have been similarly adorned during the latter part of the 19th century included women's fur headbands trimmed with brass beads, men's horned headdresses adorned with beads and long wire coils (Curtis 1911, 6: Pl. opp. 24, 70); pipe stems wrapped with beads and hung with brass bells

(Wissler 1912: 160); beaded dolls (pers. observation); stone mauls with bells attached to the handle, and horn cups garnished with brass tacks and beadwork (Wissler 1910: 21, 30).

Plains Cree

The next of the Algonkian-speaking peoples to push out onto the Plains were the Cree who occupied a band of prairie and aspen parkland that stretched from around Dauphin, Manitoba, to Rocky Mountain House, Alberta (Fig. 53). Interaction with Europeans seems to have begun in 1730, with the arrival of LaVerendrye in southern Manitoba (Dempsey 1978: 53).

Like their Woodland brethren, the Plains Cree do not seem to have been overly fond of trade ornaments. While in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg in 1775, Alexander Henry the elder noted but a few items of adornment, all of which were in the possession of the females:

> *The women wear their hair of a great length, both behind and before, dividing it on the forehead and at the back of the head, and collecting the hair of each side into a roll, which is fastened above the ear; and this roll, like the tuft on the heads of the men, is covered with a piece of skin. The skin is painted, or else ornamented with beads of various colours. The rolls, with their coverings, resemble a pair of large horns....*
>
> *The*[ir] *wrists are adorned with bracelets of copper or brass, manufactured from old kettles...* (Henry 1969: 247).

Around 1797, John McDonnell (1889: 277) commented that as far as the Plains Cree were concerned, "silver works and wampum are of no value in trading with them, and they never wear any of these articles as ornaments."

Regarding the adornment of the Cree about Fort Vermilion on the North Saskatchewan River, east-central Alberta, in 1808-9, Alexander Henry the younger wrote:

> *Their ornaments are two or three coils of brass wire twisted around the rim of each ear, in which incisions are made for that purpose; blue beads, brass rings, quill-work, and fringe occasionally answer. Vermilion is much used by the women to paint the face. Their hair is generally parted on the crown, and fastened behind each ear in large knots, from which are suspended bunches of blue beads, or other ingenious work of their own* (Coues 1897: 515).

In January 1820, Captain John Franklin (1823: 107) noted that the Cree men at Carlton House, southeastern Saskatchewan, were fond of decorating their hair with buttons.

The paintings of George Catlin and Karl Bodmer provide graphic details concerning the ornamentation of the Plains Cree during the early 1830s. Executed at Fort Union, Catlin's portrait of Brocas-sie, The Broken Arm, one of the foremost and most renowned warriors of the tribe, shows him with a strand of glass beads and hair pipes hanging from either temple, a cluster of silver (?) drops suspended from the earlobe, and a beaded double-strand choker about the neck (Fig. 63). The latter ornament was composed of two long rolls of buckskin enwrapped in beadwork (Ewers 1958: 94). His wife, Tow-ée-ka-wet, is adorned with several strings of beads suspended from the rim of the ear, as well as a necklace and choker of glass beads (Hassrick 1977: 148). Narrow bands of bead embroidery embellish her dress.

Also done at Fort Union, Bodmer's likeness of Piah-sukah-ketutt, The Speaking Thunder, shows him wearing hair bows of leather and brass, a necklace composed of grizzly bear claws and white glass beads, and a silver medal hanging from a strip of cloth (Fig. 64). The wife of one of the mixed-blood Cree hunters at the fort was portrayed wearing a lovely pair of earrings formed of dentalia shells and blue beads with red tufts at the ends (Plate 9).

The works of Paul Kane reveal similar details. Sketched at Rocky Mountain House in 1848, the warrior Pe-a-pus-qua-num is shown with a strand of hair adorned with large white beads descending from either temple, and a string of white and blue

Figure 63. Bro-cas-sie, The Broken Arm (also known as He Who Has Eyes Behind Him), a Plains Cree warrior of renown, oil painting by George Catlin, 1832. His adornments include silver ear drops, beaded chokers, and hair ornaments of hair pipes and beads (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1988.66.176)

Figure 64. Piah-sukah-ketutt, The Speaking Thunder, by Karl Bodmer, 1833. This Plains Cree Warrior wears leather and brass hair bows, a necklace of bear claws and glass beads, and a silver medal (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; NA 84)

beads about the neck (Fig. 65). An unidentified warrior painted near Fort Pitt, Alberta, that same year has the hair at his temples encased in brass hair pipes, with large silver pendants hanging from his ears (Fig. 66).

While making a present of beads to some Cree women at Fort Carlton, Saskatchewan, in July 1859, James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk observed:

> *It amused me to see that fashion reigned here as imperiously as in more civilised lands; some fine, richly coloured, oval beads, the size of pigeon's eggs, which I considered my best, and which a year or two before would have been generally admired, were despised and out of date, while the little trashy white ones, no bigger than a pin's head, were highly appreciated. Perhaps the small beads were valued as useful for embroidery, in which the Indian and half-breed women excel; while the larger ones, only serving for necklaces and ornaments, had come to be thought too barbaric by those who lived at the Forts (Carnegie 1875: 124).*

In 1863, Milton and Cheadle recorded the appearance of the warriors during "state visits" to the camps of other tribes:

> *Scarlet leggings and blankets, abundance of ribbons in the cap, if any were worn, or the hair plaited into a long queue behind, and two shorter ones hanging down on each side the face in front, each bound round by coils of bright brass wire; round the eyes a halo of bright vermilion, a streak down the nose, a patch on each cheek, and a circle round the mouth of the same colour, constituted the most effective toilet of a Cree dandy* (Milton and Cheadle 1865: 174).

Beaded moccasins also constituted a part of the men's costume (Atwood 1970: 148). The festive dress of the contemporary woman consisted "mainly of beaded leggings and shoulder straps and a much-brassed leathern girdle" (McDougall 1898: 81).

During the final decades of the 19th century, the Plains Cree male exhibited a wide range of ornamentation (Figs. 67-68). Brass beads adorned the hair, as did small shell disks which also served for earrings. Neckwear included dentalia and bead chokers, single- and multiple-strand necklaces of glass beads, and round and oval gorgets of shell. Metal armbands and bracelets were also in evidence. Beadwork garnished feather bonnets, bison horn caps, shirts, breech cloths, leggings, moccasins and robes, while brass tacks studded leather belts (Mandelbaum 1979: 81-5). The top hats worn by some individuals were occasionally decked out with ostrich plumes.

The women possessed comparatively few items of adornment. Aside from beaded dresses (Mandelbaum 1979: 83), their finery consisted primarily of glass bead necklaces, and bead and dentalium shell earrings.

Articles utilized by the Cree, which were decorated with ornaments of white origin, included pipe stems wrapped with strings of glass embroidery beads, or brass or copper wire; beaded pipe tamps, tobacco pouches, and dolls; medicine bags adorned with beadwork and brass hawk bells; dance sticks embellished with beads, feathers, quillwork and tinkling cones; tobacco cutting boards dotted with brass-headed tacks; and tomahawk handles decorated with effigy inlays of brass and copper, tacks, and beaded pendants (Mandelbaum 1979: 92-7, 117, 172-4; Peterson 1965: 129).

Plains Ojibwa

The last of the Algonkian forest-dwellers to adapt to life on the Plains were the Ojibwa who effected their move at some time after 1736 (Canada. Geographic Board 1913: 97). Also called the Bungi, the Plains Ojibwa inhabited a portion of the southwestern corner of Manitoba (Fig. 53).

William Tomison's Edmonton House journal contains one of the earliest references to trade ornaments among the Plains Ojibwa. The entry for 27 March 1798, reads in part: "The Bungee Indians traded forty-five beaver, twenty of which was for

Figure 65. Pe-a-pus-qua-num, One That Passes Through the Sky, by Paul Kane, 1848. His adornments are large beads of blue and white glass (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; 837-K-4)

Figure 66. "A Cree Indian from Edmonton," by Paul Kane, 1848. He wears brass hair pipes and silver ear pendants (Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas; 31.78/154, POP 16)

Figure 67. Snake and Big Belly, Plains Cree Indians, ca. 1885. Their ornaments include multi-strand necklaces of shell, glass and brass beads; bead bracelets; metal armbands and bracelets; shell ear pendants; a tack decorated belt, and ostrich plume (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-33396)

Figure 68. Chief Peepin, a Plains Cree Indian, by G.E. Fleming, Maple Creek, Sask., ca. 1904. Embellishments include shell disks in the ears and at the neck, brass bead hair ornaments, a choker of tubular glass beads or bone hair pipes, and a multi-strand necklace to which are sewn small glass beads. (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; PA-28999)

silver work; they wanted wampum very much which I was sorry to inform there was none" (Johnson 1967: 114).

The appearance of a Bungi chief during a visit to York Factory in 1814 was vividly described by Lieutenant Edward Chappell (1817: 200-1):

> *A coat of coarse blue cloth, tawdrily ornamented with tarnished lace, and adorned with shoulder-knots; a round hat, with a red ostrich feather in front; a very coarse white shirt, with frill and ruffles; a pair of red stockings, yellow garters, and black shoes, were presented to him immediately upon his arrival. If we add to all this finery, his native ornaments, such as a neck-band of wampum or bead-work, a long string of beads suspended by his hair from each temple, and a number of large metal links* [probably silver brooches] *of the coarsest workmanship, dangling from either ear, his appearance will naturally be imagined to have bordered upon the grotesque. His thighs were entirely naked, as he could not be prevailed upon to fetter them with breeches; and the cartilage of his nose had been perforated.*

In 1820, Peter Fidler observed that "some few of the young Bungee Men are very flashy & decorated with a variety of Silver ornaments in the Summer Months, such as necklaces made of whampum about 2 Inches broad, arm and wrist bands with gorgets Broaches &c, Scarlet Leggins garnished with Ribbands and Beads and a number of small Brooches, which is very tastefully arranged" (Johnson 1967: 114). That same year John West (1824: 24), chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, noted that some of the Bungi at Fort Douglas, Manitoba, "had their noses perforated through the cartilage, in which was fixed part of a goose quill, or a piece of tin, worn as an ornament." As for the children, "Most of their ears were cut in large holes, to which were suspended various ornaments, but principally those of beads" (West 1824: 25).

While at Fort Union in 1832, George Catlin prepared portraits of a number of Bungi Indians, two of whom are notable for the variety of their personal ornaments. Identified as Chief Sha-co-pay, The Six, the first subject is adorned with a strand of brass beads and bone or shell hair pipes suspended over either cheek, a small metal ring in the ear lobe, what appears to be a brass helix affixed to the rim of the ear, and a banded double-strand choker of blue and white beads about the neck (Fig. 69). The second subject, a woman named Kay-a-gis-gis, sports an assortment of bead necklaces and earrings, and metal bracelets and finger rings (Fig. 70).

The warriors depicted in a group portrait by Catlin several years later are variously decked out with medals, multiple necklaces of glass beads and wampum, and brass nose rings, necklets and bracelets (Fig. 71). The women display an assortment of variegated necklaces.

During the course of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858, Henry Y. Hind (1860: 122) paid a visit to some Ojibwa graves on the Red River where he saw "Sioux scalps decorated with beads, bits of cloth, coloured ribbons, and strips of leather, suspended at the extremity of a long slender stick near the head of the grave." Eight years later at Fort Garry, Walter Traill witnessed the demise of an Ojibwa brave who "wore red war paint and other colours on those parts of his anatomy not covered by his red blanket, breech clout and beaded mocassins" (Atwood 1970: 45).

Published eyewitness accounts of Plains Ojibwa ornamentation during the latter part of the 19th century are lacking. However, James H. Howard's (1965) treatise on this group reveals that their adornments were very much like those of the contemporaneous Plains Cree.

Assiniboine

Also known as the Stoney or Stone Indians, the Assiniboine originally constituted a part of the Yanktonai Dakota from whom they split at some time prior to 1640. They initially inhabited the woodlands about Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods in northwestern Ontario, but by 1670 had taken up residence in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg. Equipped with horses and guns, the Assiniboine pushed onto the prairies sometime after 1750,

Figure 69. Sha-co-pay, The Six, a Plains Ojibwa chief, by George Catlin, 1832. In addition to hair pipe and bead hair ornaments and beaded chokers, he has two metal earrings and a sheet of brass wrapped around the ear rim (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1988.66.182)

Figure 70. Kay-a-gis-gis, a young Plains Ojibwa woman, by George Catlin, 1832. She is adorned with various metal bracelets and rings, and glass bead necklaces and ear ornaments. (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1988.66.183)

Figure 71. A group of Canadian Ojibwa in Plains-style dress from *Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio*, London, 1844. They exhibit a wide range of ornaments formed of glass beads, wampum and heavy brass wire (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-9088)

and by the early 1800s, occupied the area extending from the Pembina Mountains in southwestern Manitoba to Fort Vermilion in east-central Alberta and southward to the Missouri River. They continued to range over this territory until gathered onto reserves in the late 1800s (Canada. Geographic Board 1913: 45-6).

Alexander Henry the elder provides an early glimpse at the ornamentation of the Assiniboine. Writing in 1776 about the finery of the women, he commented: "All the sex is fond of garnishing the lower edge of the dress with small bells, deer-hoofs, pieces of metal, or any thing capable of making a noise. When they move, the sounds keep time, and make a fantastic harmony" (Henry 1969: 312).

In 1809, Alexander Henry the younger noted that the most sought after trade goods included such luxury items as "brass rings, brass wire, blue beads, and other trinkets" (Coues 1897: 517). He also observed that the hoops or wheels used in the "wheel and arrow" game were "trimmed with quill-work, feathers, bits of metal, and other trinkets" (Coues 1897: 521).

While at Carlton House in January 1820, Captain John Franklin discovered that buttons had displaced all other adornments in popularity among the local Assiniboine:

> *The only articles of European commerce they require in exchange for the meat they furnish to the trading post, are tobacco, knives, ammunition, and spirits, and occasionally some beads, but more frequently buttons, which they string in their hair as ornaments* [Fig. 72]. *A successful hunter will probably have two or three dozen of them hanging at equal distances on locks of hair, from each side of the forehead. At the end of these small coral bells are sometimes attached, which tingle at every motion of the head; a noise which seems greatly to delight the wearer; sometimes a string of them is bound round the head like a tiara; and a bunch of feathers gracefully crowns the head* (Franklin 1823: 105).

During his stay at the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1831-32, George Catlin executed portraits of Wi-jun-jon, The Pigeon's Egg Head (also called The Light), and his wife Chin-cha-pee, The Fire Bug That Creeps. The former, the son of a chief, exhibits a beaded, brass-centred hair bow at either temple, a pair of beaded loops in the ears, a necklace of variegated glass beads, and an unusual hair

Figure 72. Portrait of a Stone Indian at Carlton House, by Lieutenant George Back, 1820. Strands of brass buttons adorn the hair and also appear to decorate the shoulder and possibly also the neck of the garment (Franklin 1823: Pl. opp. 104)

ornament of round blue glass beads alternating with oval beads of uncertain composition (Fig. 73). Chin-cha-pee is simply but effectively adorned with multiple bead strands in the ears and about the neck (Fig. 74).

In 1833, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, recorded the appearance of two warriors that stood out from the rest. One of them, named Stassága, "wore his hair tied behind in a thick queue, and cut short in front; he had bound across the crown a slip of whitish skin; in his ears he had strings of blue and white glass beads; round his neck a collar of bears' claws" (Thwaites 1906, 22: 370-1). The other, Manto-Uitkatt or The Mad Bear, had "the upper part of his face... painted red, his chin and lower part of the face black, and his breast strongly marked with black tattooed stripes, while on the upper arm and wrist he wore bright metal armlets" (Thwaites 1906, 23: 202). A portrait of one of their contemporaries shows him wearing a necklace of large oval beads of white glass with a single cowrie shell pendant at the front (Thomas and Ronnefeldt 1982: 53).

Taking the Assiniboine as a whole, Maximilian wrote this about the ornamentation of their persons and personal possessions:

> *Their necklaces and other ornaments are similar to those of the other nations.... They, however, very frequently wear the collar of the bears' claws, but not the long strings of beads and dentalium shells, which are used by the Manitaries* [Hidatsa]. *Most of the Assiniboins have guns, the stocks of which they ornament with bright yellow nails, and with small pieces of red cloth on the ferrels for the ramrod. Like all the Indians, they carry, besides, a separate ramrod in their hand, a large powder-horn, which they obtain from the Fur Company, and a leather pouch for the balls, which is made by themselves, and often neatly ornamented, or hung with rattling pieces of lead, and trimmed with coloured cloth* (Thwaites 1906, 22: 389).

A general account of the ornaments utilized by the Assiniboine and the other Upper Missouri tribes was composed by Edwin T. Denig around 1854:

> *All Indians are excessively fond of display in ornaments. Indeed,... the value of their dresses depends entirely upon the nature and extent of these decorations. Small round beads of all colors are used in adorning every portion of their dress, as also agate* [a type of glass bead] *for their ears, hair, neck, and wrists, but these are by no means as valuable as several kinds of shells or as their ornamenting with colored porcupine quills. A shell, called by the traders Ioquois* [dentalium], *is sought after by them more eagerly than anything else of the kind. They are procured on the coast of the Pacific and find their way to our tribes across the mountains through the different nations by traffic with each other until the Crows and Blackfeet get them from some bands of the Snake and Flathead Indians with whom they are at peace.*
>
> *These shells are about 2 inches long, pure white, about the size of a raven's feather at*

Figure 73. Wi-jun-jon, The Pigeon's Egg Head (also known as The Light), a distinguished young Assiniboine warrior, by George Catlin, 1831. His hair bows, head and ear ornaments, and necklace are made of glass beads (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1988.66.179

Figure 74. Chin-cha-pee, The Fire Bug that Creeps, wife of Wi-jun-jon, by George Catlin, 1832. Strands of glass beads embellish her ears and neck (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1988.66.180)

the larger end, curved, tapering, and hollow, so as to admit of being strung or worn in the ears of the women, worked on the breast and arms of their cotillions, also adorn the frontlets of young men, and are worth in this country $3 for every 10 shells.... The large blue or pearl California shell [Haliotis (abalone)] *was once very valuable and still is partially so. It is shaped like an oyster shell and handsomely tinted with blue, green, and golden colors in the inside. One of these used to be worth $20, but of late years, owing to the quantity being introduced by the traders, the price has depreciated to about half that amount. These shells they cut in triangular pieces and wear them as ear pendants. Silver is worn in the shape of arm and wrist bands. Hat bands, gorgets, brooches, ear wheels, finger rings, and ear bobs are mostly in use among the Sioux, the upper nations preferring shells. Other ornaments consist of elk teeth, colored porcupine quills, and feathers of the white plover dyed. Feathers of ravens, owls, hawks, and eagles, furs cut in strips and wrought in various parts of their dress, besides a great variety of trinkets and paints furnished by the traders, among which are brass rings, brass and iron wire, beads, brass hair and breast plates, brass and silver gorgets, wampum moons, hair pipe, St. Lawrence shells, spotted sea shells, hawk bells, horse and sleigh bells, cock and ostrich feathers, thimbles, gold and silver lace, etc.* (Hewitt 1930: 590-1).

Denig also noted that men wore wampum in their hair, shell ornaments in their ears, bands of brass wire on their arms, and hawk bells on their leggings (Hewitt 1930: 554, 585, 589). Embroidery beads frequently embellished the stems of their calumets (Hewitt 1930: Pl. 68), as well as their knife sheaths and fire bags (Carnegie 1875: 261). The women sported rings and bracelets fashioned from brass wire, while their infants peered out from cradleboards pleasantly embroidered with coloured beads (Hewitt 1930: 519, 587).

During the same period, Father De Smet observed that amulets sometimes had small glass beads incorporated into their fabric:

Each savage who considers himself a chief or warrior, possesses what he calls his Wahkon, in which he appears to place all his confidence. This consists of a stuffed bird, a weasel's skin, or some little bone or the tooth of an animal; sometimes it is a little stone, or a fantastical figure, represented by little beads or by a coarsely painted picture. These charms or talismans accompany them on all their expeditions, for war or hunting – they never lay them aside (Chittenden and Richardson 1905, 3: 942).

Photographs taken during the latter part of the century reveal that the adornments of the Assiniboine at this time were very similar to those employed by their Algonkian-speaking neighbours (Figs. 75-76).

Discussion

The native peoples who inhabited the Canadian plains were fond of a wide range of trade ornaments (Table 3), with glass beads being perennial favourites. In the late 18th century, the use of beads seems to have been restricted to the formation of necklaces and bracelets, and the embellishment of ears, hair and garment fringe. However, by 1805, they were also being used to embroider clothing. Principally blue and white in colour, the early embroidery beads were irregular in shape and generally about 3.2 mm (1/8 in.) in diameter. Commonly referred to as "real" and "pony" beads, they were generally arranged in narrow bands or stripes, frequently with pendant elements, on dresses, shirts, leggings, moccasins, war-bonnet headbands and pipe bags. The beads usually formed geometric patterns, although floral designs introduced from the eastern Woodlands as early as 1833 were also occasionally utilized (Douglas 1936: 91-2; Ewers 1945: 32-4, 38).

Around 1870, smaller beads measuring 1.6-2.4 mm (1/16-3/32 in.) in diameter came into vogue

Plate 1. "A family from the Tribe of the wild Sautaux Indians, on the Red River." Drawn from nature by Peter Rindisbacher, ca. 1821. Brass nose pendants and bracelets, and beaded chokers, bracelets and ear ornaments are in evidence (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-1929)

Plate 2. Ju-ah-kis-gaw, a Chippewa woman with her child in its cradle, by George Catlin, 1835. Beads of glass edge most of her garments, compose her necklaces, and ornament the cradleboard wrapping. Trade silver hangs from her ears (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.; 1985.66.186)

Plate 3. Strong Wind, a Chippewa, by George Catlin, 1843. He wears ear ornaments of wampum and bone hair pipes, necklaces of glass beads and wampum, two peace medals, and a shell gorget (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison Jr.; 1985.66.520). [Ed. note: recent research suggests that this may be Fast Dancer, an Iowa, 1844]

Plate 4. "Three Chiefs of the Huron Indians, Residing at La Jeune Lorette, near Quebec, in their National Costume," by Edward Chatfield, 1825. Besides beaded sashes, they wear metal earrings, armbands, bracelets and medals (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-6042)

Plate 5. Zacharie Vincent, self-portrait of an Huron chief, mid-19th century. He wears silver ornaments, a wampum belt and beaded sash (Château Ramezay Museum, Montréal)

Plate 6. "Da-Ah-De-A: A Seneca in the Costume of the Iroquois." In addition to his lavishly beaded outfit, he sports a studded circular gorget, probably of silver (Morgan 1904, 1: frontispiece)

Plate 7. "Ga-Hah-No: A Seneca Indian Girl in the Costume of the Iroquois." Beadwork and what may be silver brooches decorate her garments. She also wears a necklace and ear ornaments (Morgan 1904, 2: frontispiece)

Plate 8. Mehkskéhme-sukáhs, The Iron Shirt, a principal chief of the Piegan, by Karl Bodmer, 1833. Flat-faced brass and nickel-plated or pewter buttons adorn his shirt (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; NA 142)

Plate 9. A Plains Cree woman at Fort Union, by Karl Bodmer, 1833. Her splendent earrings are composed of dentalia shells and blue glass beads with red tufts at the ends (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; NA 86)

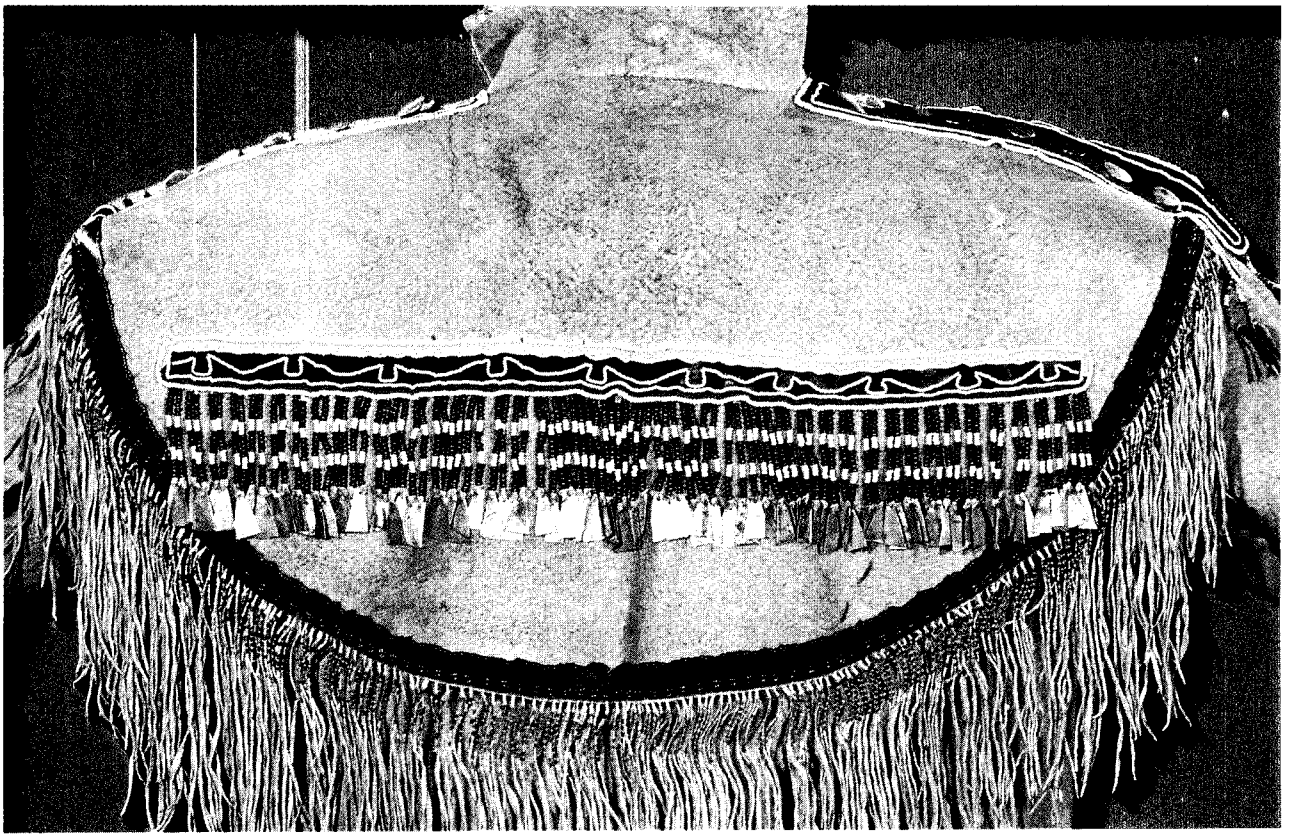


Plate 10. Man's shirt believed to be of Slave origin (back view); acquired by J.H. Harris ca. 1870. Ornamentation includes beadwork, buttons and triangular tin pendants or tags (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; 84-9831)

Plate 11. "Copper Chief, His Wife, and Children" by George Catlin, 1855. Glass-bead necklaces and ear ornaments are depicted (National Gallery of Art, Washington; Paul Mellon Collection 1965; 2120)

Plate 12. Kutcha-Kutchin warrior in 1847-48; colour lithograph based on a sketch by A. Murray. The round components are glass; the oblong white ones are dentalia shells (Richardson 1851, 1: Pl. v)

Plate 13. Kutchin hunters in 1847-48; colour lithograph based on a sketch by A. Murray. Both are extensively adorned with glass beads and dentalia (Richardson 1851, 1: Pl. iii)

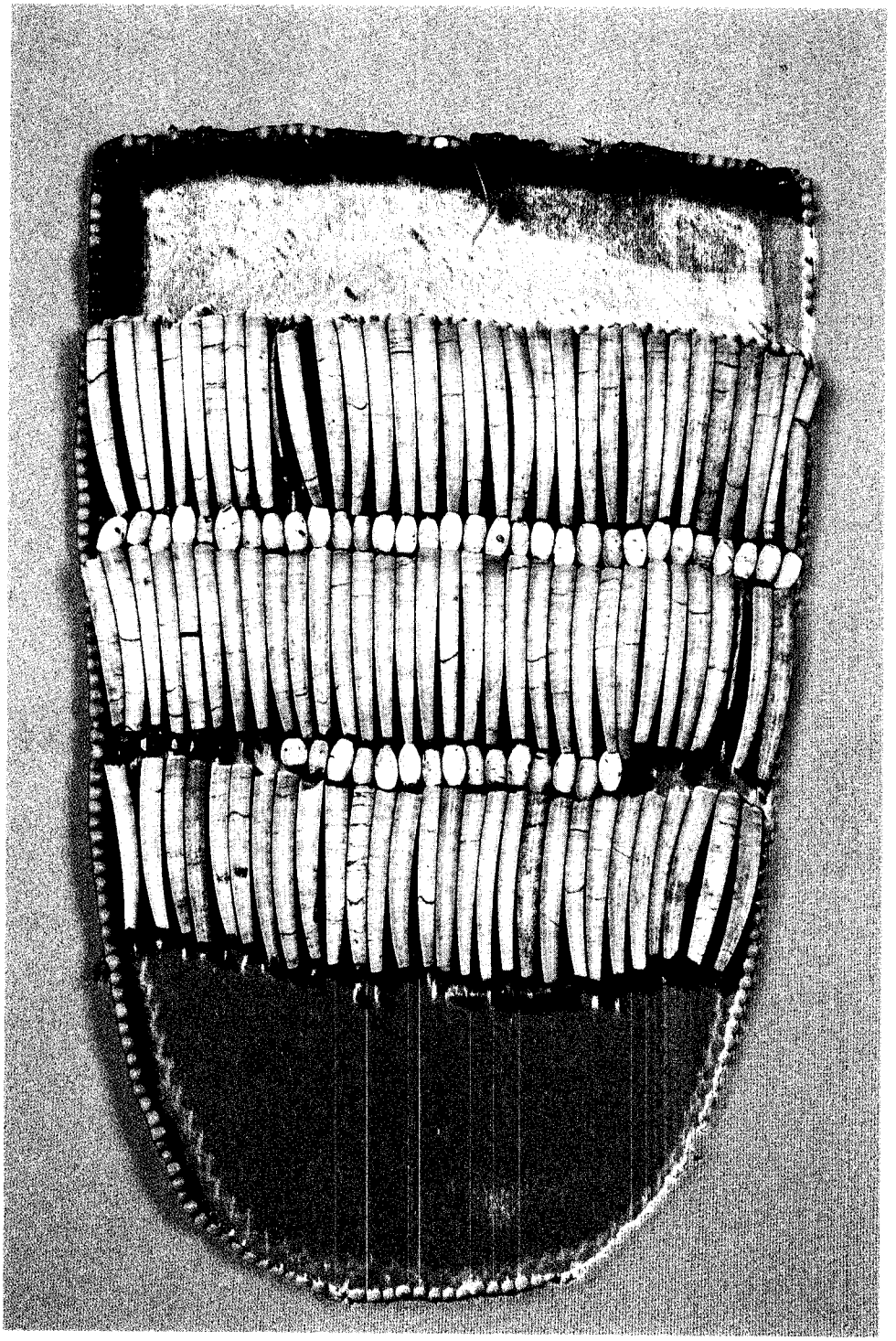


Plate 14. Bag of cloth and skin decorated with dentalia shells and glass beads that is nearly identical to the Carrier fire-bag described by Morice; specimen is 24 cm high (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; VI-B-386)

Plate 15. "Nayas River Indians" by George Catlin, 1855. Depicted are Tsa-hau-mixen (right), purported to be a secondary Tsimshian chief, and his wife Kib-be (The Night Bird). Although both have labrets in their lower lips, men did not usually wear them (National Gallery of Art, Washington; Paul Mellon Collection 1965; 2111)

Plate 16. "Nayas River Indian Chief, His Wife, and a Warrior" by George Catlin, 1855. Wuhxt, a Tsimshian band chief (centre), sports a nose ring, earrings and what may be a beaded lip pendant (National Gallery of Art, Washington; Paul Mellon Collection 1965; 2110)

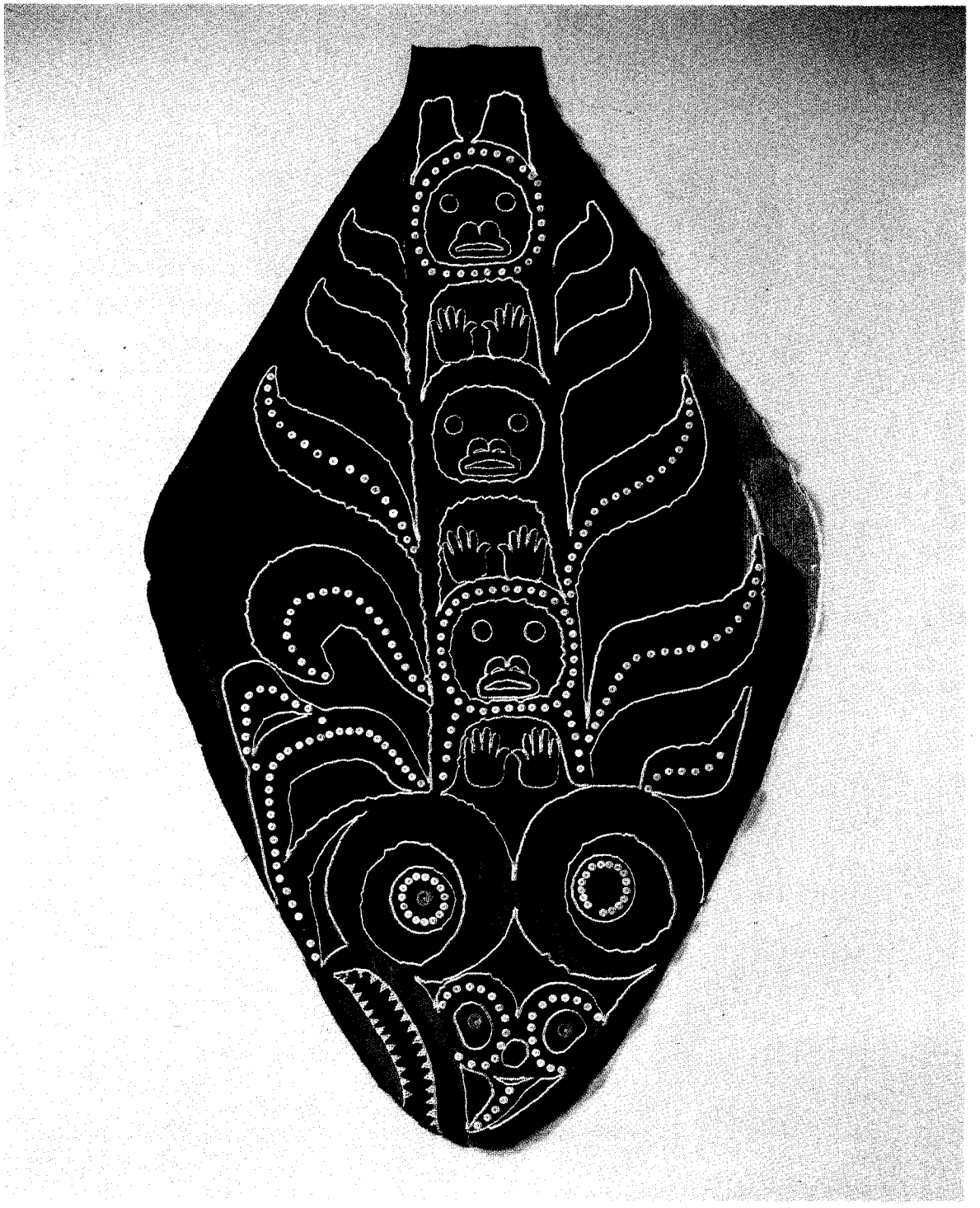


Plate 17. Tsimshian chief's ceremonial vestment of blue cloth. The totemic halibut design is of red cloth, trimmed with pearl buttons and glass beads (Smithsonian Institution, Department of Anthropology; cat. no. 20679)

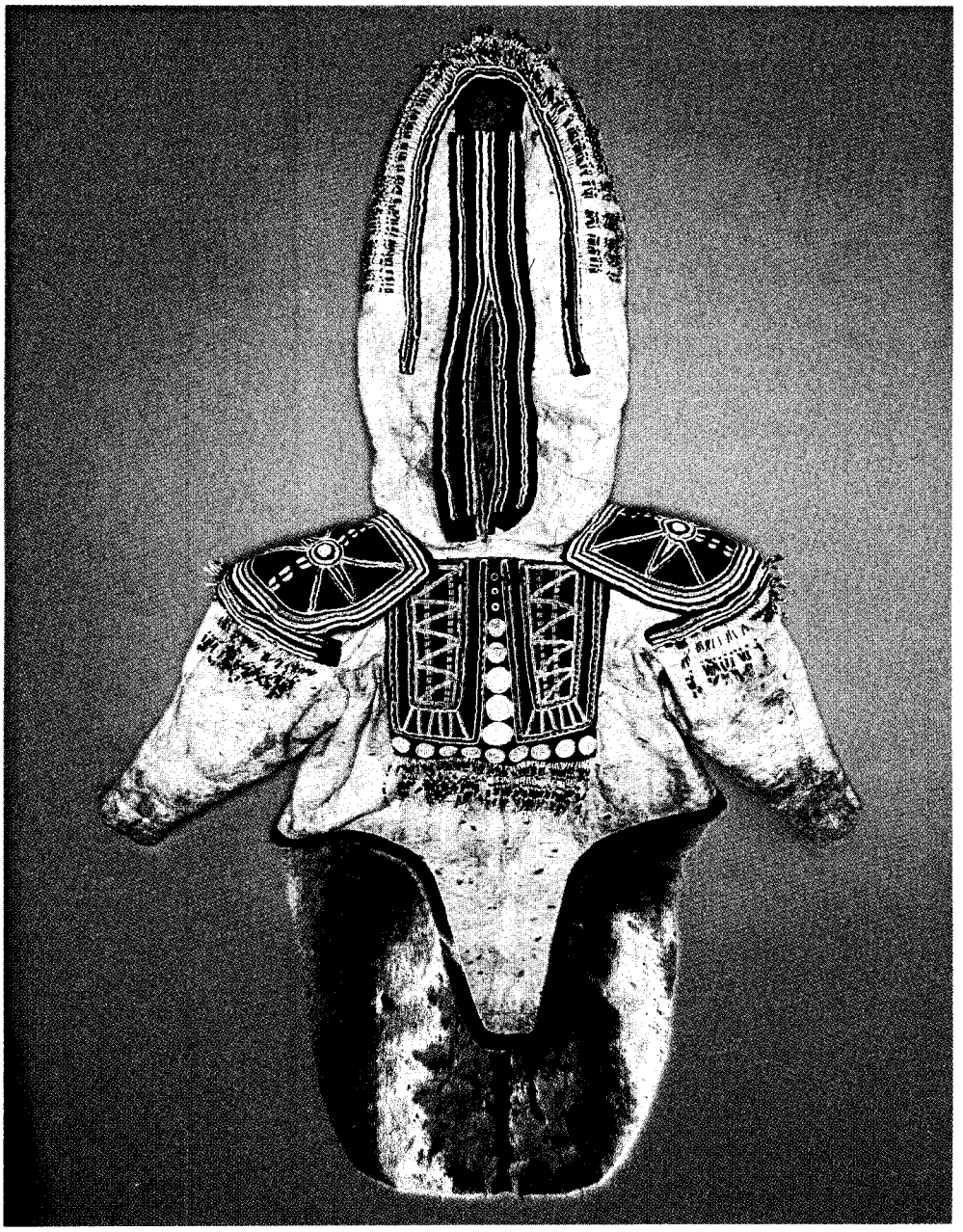
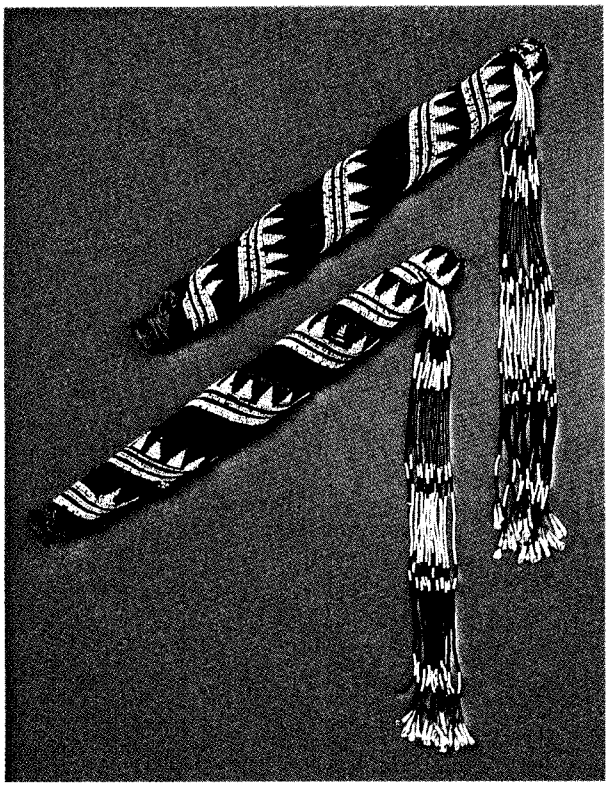


Plate 18. Beaded Padlimio girl's inner frock, front view (National Museum of Denmark, Dept. of Ethnography, Copenhagen; P.28:11)



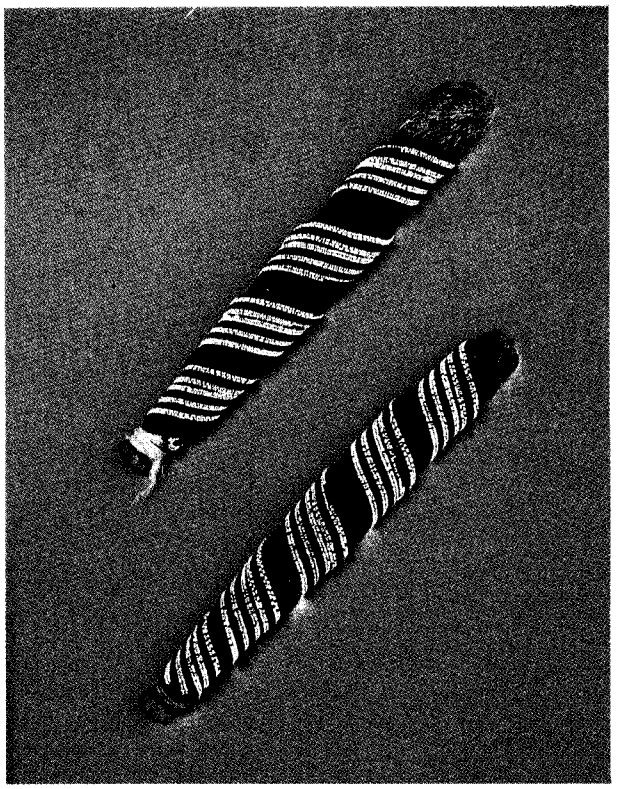


Plate 19. Woman's hair sticks with their embroidered cloth wrappings, Padlimiut: (top left) 34 cm long; 29 cm long (National Museum of Denmark, Dept. of Ethnography, Copenhagen; P.28:49, 50)

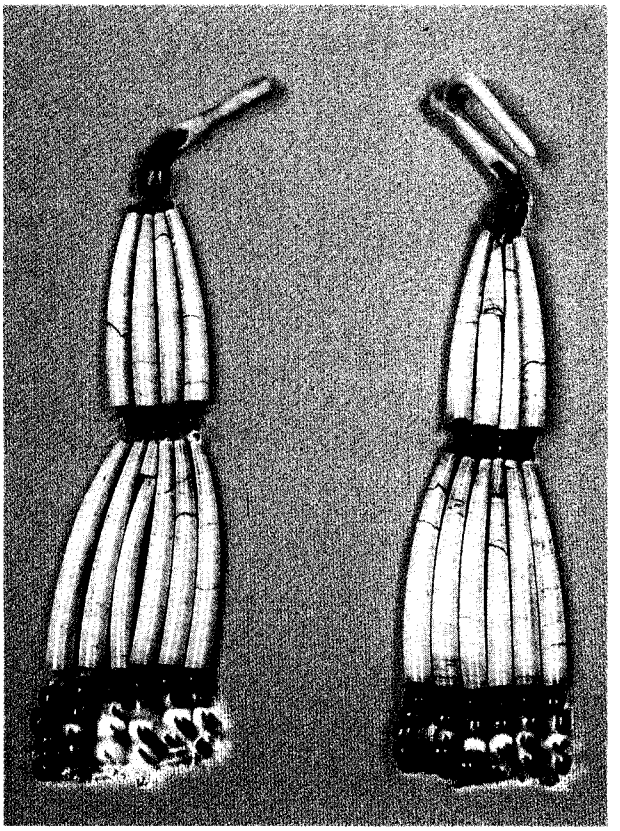


Plate 20. Woman's ear ornament of dentalia shells and glass beads; Mackenzie Inuit, (right) 1903-5 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; IU-D-2053 a,b)

Figure 75. Cloud Man in costume, photographed by F.A. Rinehart, ca. 1898. Ornamentation includes shell disks or gorgets, metal armbands, round mirrors on the fur necklace, belts of sleigh bells, and a tack-decorated belt (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; 19286B)

Figure 76. Assiniboine Indians, late 19th or early 20th century. The items radiating out from the lower edge of the choker are probably cotter pins (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-5102B)

but did not entirely replace the large size which continued in use, especially among the Blackfoot, into the 20th century (Conn 1972: 11; Douglas 1936: 92). Arranged in both geometric and floral patterns, these "seed" beads were lavishly applied to practically everything made of skin or cloth, including all types of garments, chokers, bags and pouches, cradleboards, toys, teepee furniture, horse trappings, and ceremonial paraphernalia (Douglas 1936: 93; Ewers 1945: 93). Unlike its predecessor, "seed" bead embroidery covered the entire area to be decorated, a single colour, usually white, forming the background for the design elements.

Large glass beads, often interspersed with animal teeth, claws, dentalia shells and short hair pipes, were primarily formed into necklaces and chokers. Other applications included the adornment of hair, ears, fringe elements, medicine bundles, and the leather suspension loops attached to the handles of sundry tools and utensils.

The Plains tribes were also fond of a broad array of metal adornments. While silver trinkets enjoyed limited popularity during the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, those of brass were the long-term favourites. Items popular during the 18th century included bracelets and finger rings, many of which were homemade, as well as tinklers, thimbles and small bells for garnishing dresses. In the following century, one of the most popular items was the common furniture tack which served to embellish a wide variety of leather and wooden articles. Wire was another common item of adornment, heavy-gauge stock being fashioned into bracelets, armbands, necklets, earrings and finger rings, while finer wire was used to wrap hair bows, as well as tomahawk handles and pipe stems. Other common 19th-century brass ornaments included hair pipes, finger rings, bracelets and armbands fashioned from plain or ribbed sheet metal, and such multi-purpose trinkets as bells, buttons, beads and tinkling cones.

Embellishments of shell were also popular, but not as diversified as those of metal. Hair pipes, made of shell prior to 1880 and mostly of bone thereafter (Ewers 1957: 74), commonly served as neck, hair and ear ornaments, as did dentalia shells and variously sized shell disks. Wampum and cowrie shells were similarly employed but enjoyed less widespread popularity. In addition to their use as items of personal adornment, dentalia and cowries were added to garments as were pieces of mother-of-pearl.

TABLE 3
PLAINS TRIBE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	Blackfoot	Plains Cree	Plains Ojibwa	Assiniboine
Shell				
Cowries				
Bags	M			
Dresses	F			
Ear adornment	M			
Necklaces				M
Dentalia				
Dresses				F
Ear adornment	F M	F		F M
Frontlets				M
Hair adornment	M			
Necklaces/chokers	F M	M		
Disks				
Ear adornment	F M	M	F M	M
Hair adornment	M			M
Neck adornment	F M			M
Gorgets				
Breast adornment	M		M	M
Throat adornment		M		
Haliotis				
Ear adornment				X
Shirts	M			
Wampum				
Hair adornment			M	M
Necklaces			M	
Shell/Bone				
Hair pipes				
Bandoleers/shoulder cords	M			
Breast plates	X	X		M
Ear adornment	F	X		X
Hair adornment	X	M	M	X
Necklaces/chokers	F M	M	F M	M
Glass				
Beads				
Anklets	M			
Armbands			M	
Awl cases	F			
Back rests	M	M		
Bags	F M	X	M	M
Balls			F	
Belts	F	X	F M	M
Blankets	F M		M	M
Bracelets	F M		M	
Breech cloths	M	M	M	
Bridles			M	
Ceremonial staffs			M	
Charms	F M O		M	M

PLAINS TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Blackfoot	Plains Cree	Plains Ojibwa	Assiniboine
Glass (Cont'd.)				
Cradleboards	O		O	O
Cruppers	F		M	
Cups	X			
Dance sticks		M		
Dolls	O	O		
Dresses	F O	F	F	F
Drums			M	
Ear adornment	F M	F	F O	F M
Fans	M			
Game wheels	M			
Gauntlets			M	
Gorgets	M			
Gun cases	M		M	
Hair adornment	F M	F M	M	M
Headdresses/headbands	F M	M	F M	M
Knee garters			M	
Knife sheaths	M			M
Leggings	F M O	F M	F M	F M
Martingales	F		M	
Masks			M	
Moccasins	F M O	M	F M	F M
Necklaces/chokers	F M O	F M	F M	F M
Pipe stems	M	X		M
Pipe tamps		X		
Pouches	X	X	M	
Quivers	M			
Robes	F M	M	M	M
Saddles	F			M
Scalps			X	
Shirts	M	M	M	M
Tomahawk handles	M	M		
Trousers			M	
Vests				M
Wall pockets			F	
Mirrors				
Fans	M			
Necklaces	F M		M	M
Metal				
Armbands	M	M	M	M
Beads				
Game wheels	M			
Hair adornment	M	M		
Headbands	F?			
Necklaces	F M		M	M
Shoulder cords	M			
Bells				
Capotes			M	
Charms	M			
Chest adornment	M			M

PLAINS TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Blackfoot	Plains Cree	Plains Ojibwa	Assiniboine
Metal (Cont'd.)				
Clothing (general)		M		
Cradleboards	O			
Dresses				F
Hair adornment				M
Leggings	M			M
Maul handles	X			
Medicine bags/skins	M	M		
Pipe lighting sticks	M			
Pipe stems	M			
Rattles			M	
Robes	M			
Tomahawk handles	M			
Bracelets	F M	F M	F M	M
Breast plates				X
Brooches				
Dresses			F	
Hair adornment	M		M	
Leggings			M	
Shirts	M		M	
Buttons				
Belts	F			
Charms	M			
Dresses	F			
Hair adornment	M	M		M
Headdresses	M			
Necklaces	M			
Shirts	M			
Coils				
Game wheels	M			
Headdresses	M			
Crosses				
Necklaces	M			
Disks				
Belts	F			
Charms	M			
Necklaces	M			
Earrings	F M	M	F M	M
Effigies				
Belts			M	
Tomahawk handles		M		
Finger rings	F M		F	X
Gorgets				
Breast adornment	M		M	M
Hair bows		M		M
Hair pipes	M			
Hair plates				X
Medals				
Breast adornment	M	M	M	
Nose rings/pendants			M	

PLAINS TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Blackfoot	Plains Cree	Plains Ojibwa	Assiniboine
Metal (Cont'd.)				
Sequins				
Dresses			F	
Serpent side-plates				
Breast plates	M			
Tacks				
Bags	M			
Beamers			F	
Belts	F M	F? M		M
Charms	M			
Cradleboards			O	
Cups	X			
Drums			M	
Gun stocks	M			M
Headdresses	F M		M	
Knife sheaths	F M			
Saddles	F			
Tobacco cutting boards	X	X	X	
Tomahawk handles	M	M		
Whip handles	M			
Thimbles				
Dresses	F			
Tinkling cones/tags				
Bags	M			
Ceremonial staffs		M	M	
Dresses			F	F
Game wheels				M
Hair adornment	M			
Pouches				M
Wire				
Armbands	M			M
Bracelets	F M		M	F
Ear adornment		M		
Finger rings	F M			F
Hair adornment	M	M		
Necklaces			M	
Pipe stems		M		
Tomahawk handles	M			
Feathers				
Ostrich plumes				
Headdresses		M	M	

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.

Chapter IV

Tribes of the Mackenzie Subarctic

Included in this group are the Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slave, Yellowknife, Hare, Mountain and Beaver Indians, all of whom belong to the Athapaskan language family. Living primarily by hunting large and small game, these migratory peoples inhabited that portion of the Canadian subarctic extending from Fort Churchill on Hudson Bay northwestward to the Mackenzie River delta and southward to beyond Lesser Slave Lake (Fig. 77). Because they used trade ornaments in much the same way as the other tribes of the Mackenzie Subarctic, the Hare, Mountain and Beaver Indians will not be considered herein.

Chipewyan

Usually referred to as the Northern Indians by the early Bayside traders, the Chipewyan occupied a region of forest and tundra situated north of the Churchill River (Fig. 77). Although they were already known to the Hudson's Bay Company in the late 17th century, it was not until 1715 that white traders ventured among them. The Chipewyan's strategic location subsequently enabled them to serve as middlemen in the fur trade between the Honourable Company and the interior tribes until the last quarter of the century, when peddlars from Montréal began establishing posts in the Athabasca region (Smith 1981: 273).

Trade ornaments do not seem to have been very popular with the Chipewyan during the early contact period. In his description of the Indians who traded at Fort Churchill during the latter part of the 18th century, Andrew Graham observed that the Chipewyan "are strong, able people, have three blue strokes on each cheek, always dressed in deerskins, drink no spiritous liquors, and barter their furs and pelts only for necessaries such as ammunition, iron, cutlery-ware; never purchasing much cloth, beads or any other superfluous articles" (Williams 1969: 194). Alexander Mackenzie (1801: cxx, cxxii, 126) also noted a lack of ornaments among the Chipewyan during this period but added: "The women have a singular custom of cutting off a small piece of the navel-string of the new-born children, and hang it about their necks: they are also curious in the covering they make for it, which they decorate with porcupine's quills and beads."

The situation changed somewhat over the next decade, for in 1812, Thomas M'Keevor (1819: 52) encountered Northern Indians at York Factory who wore coats "of scarlet, or green cloth, made after the military fashion, and ornamented with a profusion of tin, or silver trinkets, giving them a very noble and majestic appearance." Each Indian carried "a skippertogan, or small bag, which contains a flint, steel, and touchwood. Some of these bags are uncommonly handsome, being richly or-

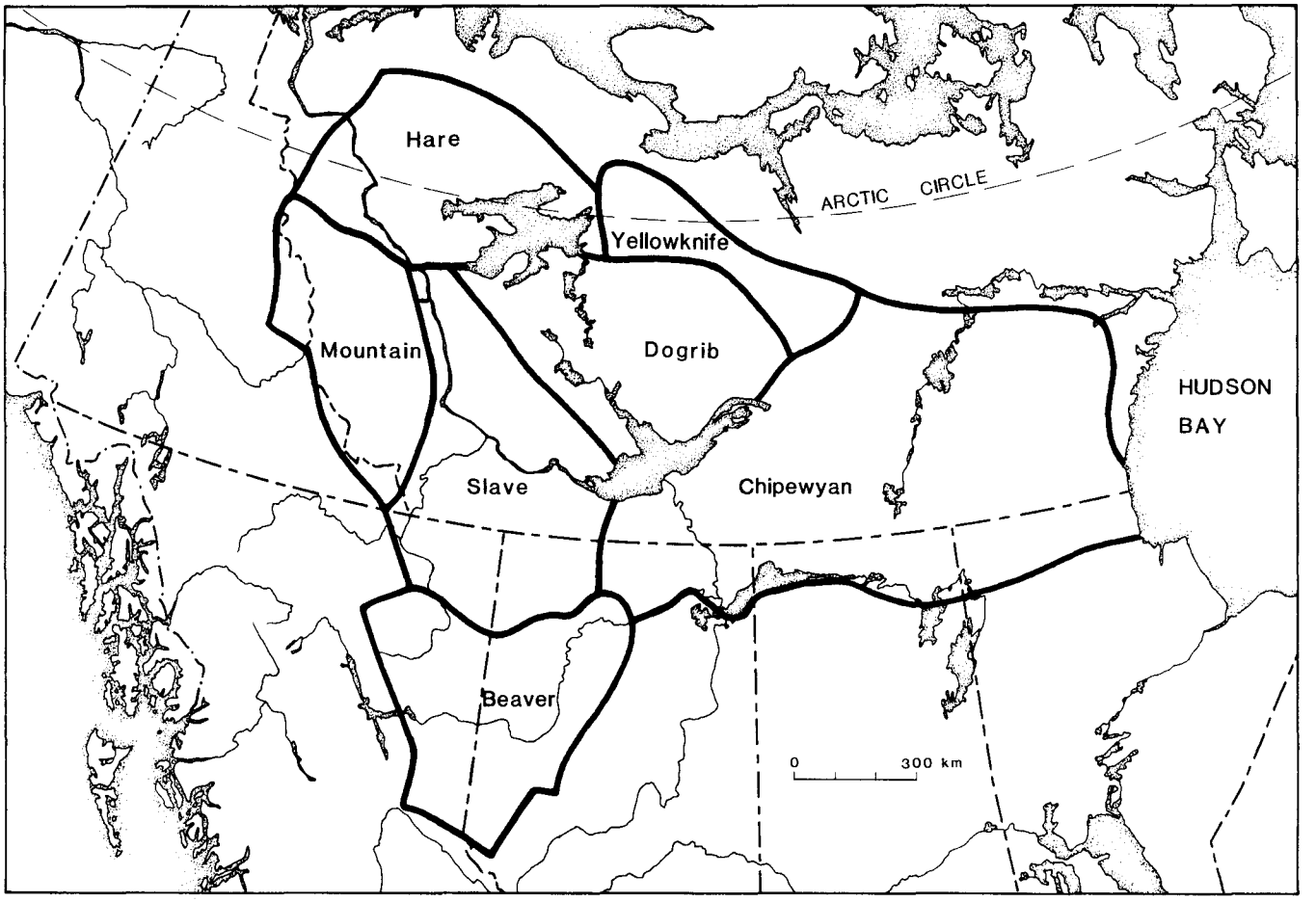


Figure 77. Approximate distribution of the Mackenzie Subarctic tribes, 1800-50 (drawing by D. Kappler)

namented with beads, porcupine-quills, and ermine" (M'Keevor 1819: 53). Infants were placed in cradles made in the following manner: "they take a plain piece of board, about three feet long and one and a half in breadth; to either side of this they make fast a portion of cloth or ticking, which they procure from the Europeans; this they adorn with beads and quill-work, in a very tasty and beautiful manner" (M'Keevor 1819: 56).

In 1821, Nicholas Garry reported that the Chipewyan who frequented Fort Churchill wore peaked cloth caps ornamented with beads, ribbons and oher items (Bourinot 1900: 196).

During the Arctic Searching Expedition of 1848-49, Sir John Richardson recorded a few lines regarding the trade ornaments utilized by the Northern Indians:

> *None of the Chepewyan tribes wear nose-ornaments, neither have the latter people the same passion for beads* [as the Kutchin]. *A supply of them is indeed sent to all the trading posts frequented by the 'Tinnè* [Northern Athapascans], *but they are mostly purchased by the wives of Canadian voyagers or half-breeds residing in the establishments, and if desired by the natives for the same purposes they are given to them as presents, or exchanged for articles of small value, and never, I believe, for furs* (Richardson 1851, 1: 391-2).

A decade and a half later, Father Émile Petitot (1867: 532) reported that the leather dresses of the Chipewyan women who lived in the vicinity of Portage La Loche and Lake Athabasca were trimmed with *wampungs* or beads.

When Kaj Birket-Smith (1930: 64) conducted his research on the Chipewyan living at the mouth of the Churchill River in 1923, he found their ornamentation "very faintly developed." The only items that exhibited embellishments of foreign origin were moccasins and dog harnesses. The former occasionally displayed beadwork arranged in floral patterns on the instep, while the latter were occasionally decorated with bells and other items (Birket-Smith 1930: 40, 54-6).

Dogrib

Known also by the self-designator, Thlingchadinne, and the French equivalents, Flancs-de-Chien or Plats-Côtes-de-Chien, the Dogrib Indians occupied an environment similar to that of the Chipewyan between Great Bear Lake and Great Slave Lake (Fig. 77). The earliest recorded contact between these peoples and European traders occurred at Fort Churchill in 1766 (Helm 1981a: 296).

Aside from the fact that such items as beads and rings were presented to them by Alexander Mackenzie (1801: 33) during his voyage to the Arctic Ocean in 1789, the historical record is blank on the subject of trade ornaments among the Dogrib until the advent of Sir John Richardson in the middle of the 19th century. While residing on Great Bear Lake in 1848-49, Richardson made the following observations on the dress of the local Dogrib and Hare Indians:

> *The clothing of the men in summer is reindeer* [caribou] *leather, dressed like shammy, and is beautifully white and soft when newly made. A shirt of this material, cut evenly below, reaches to the middle; the ends of a piece of cloth secured to a waistband, hang down before and behind; hose or Indian stockings descend from the top of the thigh to the ankle; and a pair of mokassins or shoes of the same soft leather, with tops which fold round the ankle, complete the costume. When the hunter is equipped for the chase, he wears, in addition, a stripe of white hare-skin, or of the belly part of a deer-skin, in a bandeau round the head, with his lank, black elf-locks streaming from beneath; a shot pouch, suspended by an embroidered belt, which crosses the shoulder; a fire-bag or tobacco-pouch tucked into the girdle; a pair of mittens; and a long fowling-piece in its coat thrown carelessly across the arm or balanced on the back of the neck. The several articles here enumerated are ornamented at the seams and hems with leathern thongs wound round with porcupine quills, or are more or less embroidered with bead-work, according to the industry of the wife or wives* (Richardson 1851, 2: 8-9).

That multiple necklaces and eardrops of coloured glass beads were also popular at this time is suggested by one of George Catlin's works depicting a group of Dogrib Indians circa 1855 (Fig. 78).

Beads were still a common item of adornment when Frank Russell visited the Dogrib in 1894. Although he neglected to mention how they were used he did specify that the young men wore more beads than did the young women (Russell 1898: 169).

Slave

Also referred to as the Etchaottine, Brushwood and Slavey Indians (Swanton 1952: 569), this group dwelt in the coniferous forests extending from about Fort Norman, N.W.T., on the north to the headwaters of the Hay and Fontas rivers on the south (Fig. 77). The first white man to enter their territory was Alexander Mackenzie (1801: 33) who, in 1789, distributed "knives, beads, awls, rings, gartering, fire-steels, flints, and hatchets" as he went. In 1807, Willard F. Wentzel, another North West Company trader, wrote that of the Echella-o-tuna or Gens des Bois Fort (believed to be members of the Slave group; Asch 1981: 348), "those who desire to appear greater bucks than the rest, tie their hair, wear ornaments, such as feathers, beads in their ears, and paint or tatto their faces ridiculously ugly" (Wentzel 1889, 1: 86).

Beads were also used to adorn personal possessions. Several such items were collected in 1862 by

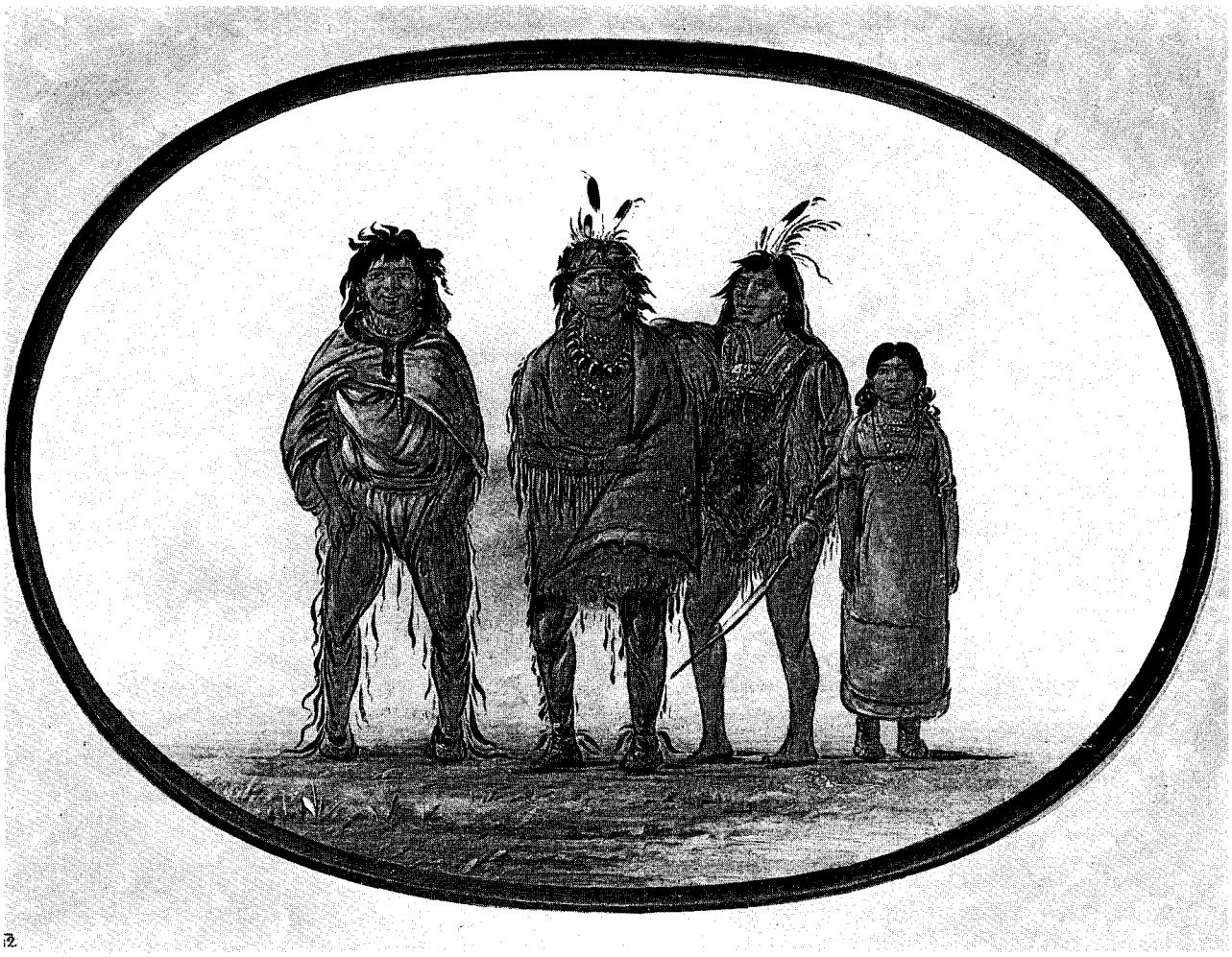


Figure 78. "Four Dogrib Indians" by George Catlin, ca. 1855. Depicted are Gux-tcha-when, a secondary chief (centre), his daughter (far right), and two unidentified warriors. Man (left) appears to have a stuffed rattlesnake around his neck (National Gallery of Art, Washington; Paul Mellon Collection 1965; 2123)

Bernard R. and C. Ross, including a belt, bracelet, and shot pouch. The first two articles are composed of dyed quillwork mounted on caribou-skin bands edged with white and blue embroidery beads, respectively (Canadian Museum of Civilization 1974: 107, Fig. 146; 112, Fig. 153). Formed of red and blue wool stroud on a moose-skin base, the pouch is embellished with red, white and blue beads, green silk ribbon, and a band of woven porcupine quills dyed red, white, blue and purple (Canadian Museum of Civilization 1974: 114, Fig. 156).

Women's dresses were also sometimes garnished with beads and other items of foreign origin. One such dress of presumed Slave manufacture was acquired prior to 1874 by J.H. Harris, a fur broker with the London office of the Hudson's Bay Company (Canadian Museum of Civilization 1974: 15). Made of smoked moose-skin, it was embellished with red and white quillwork, green, blue and purple ribbon, blue and red flannel, tassels of orange, red and green wool, white, red and green glass beads, brass buttons on the epaulets, and triangular tin-plate pendants on the back fringe (Plate

10; Canadian Museum of Civilization 1974: 129, Fig. 174). A moose-skin shot pouch that was probably produced by the same woman who prepared the aforementioned dress was garnished with black and purple ribbon, red and blue flannel, coloured wool tassels and glass embroidery beads (Fig. 79; Canadian Museum of Civilization 1974: 129, Fig. 175).

Items that are purported to have been adorned with beadwork during the historical period include quivers (Honigmann 1946: 55) and women's stroud leggings (Mason 1946: 21).

Yellowknife

Variously known as the Tatsanottine, Copper, Red Knife and Yellowknife Indians (Swanton 1952: 603), this group occupied a forest-tundra ecotone between Coronation Gulf and Great Slave Lake (Fig. 77). They ceased to exist as "an identifiable dialectal or ethnic entity" in the early 20th century (Gillespie 1981: 285).

The earliest recorded contact with white traders took place at Fort Churchill in 1721, at which time the chief factor observed that neither "theire Language nor aperill" differed from that of the Chipewyan Indians (Gillespie 1981: 285). While stationed at Great Bear Lake in 1812, George Keith wrote a more detailed account of the attire and embellishments of the Red Knife Indians:

> *Their dress in make is simple, much similar to that of the MacKenzie or Grand River* [Slave] *Indians, consisting in winter of caribou dressed skins, with hair on for their robes as well as for shirts and leggins, and their shoes are generally sewed to their leggins. In summer they dispense with the hair of the skin, and their shirts, in particular, are ornamented with coloured beads, dyed porcupine quills, and small feathers of striking or rare colours* (Keith 1890, 2: 109).

Prior to departing Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake in July of 1825, Captain John Franklin (1828: 10) made liberal presents to the principal Yellowknives thereabouts as a reward for their friendship. Their prime leader, Akaitcho, was especially honoured by being presented with "a silver royal medal, such as is given to the Indian chiefs in Upper Canada" (Franklin 1828: 10-1).

About a quarter of a century later, necklaces and eardrops of coloured glass beads appear to have been popular with both men and women. Beads may also have decorated women's leggings and men's belts (Plate 11).

Discussion

The trade ornaments utilized by the peoples of the Mackenzie Subarctic region were not a very diversified lot, being restricted to glass beads and a few metal articles (Table 4). Small embroidery beads were the most popular items, finding their primary use in the decoration of clothing, especially men's shirts, and various personal possessions. Used sparingly, they were usually sewn to the objects that they adorned in simple geometric or floral patterns, although a number were occasionally also affixed to the upper portions of the woollen tassels that garnished such items as shirts, pouches and bags. Larger beads were usually fashioned into necklaces or strung on shirt fringe.

Metal ornaments were primarily of brass and tin, with silver seldom being used. Finger rings seem to have been the principal items of personal adornment, while medals, buttons, tags and other trinkets were used to embellish skin shirts and cloth coats.

Figure 79. Beaded shot pouch of probable Slave manufacture, ca. 1870 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; VI-N-113)

TABLE 4
MACKENZIE SUBARCTIC TRIBE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	Chipewyan	Dogrib	Slave	Yellowknife
Glass				
Beads				
Bags	X	M		
Belts		M	X	
Bracelets			X	
Breech cloths		M		
Caps	X			
Charms	O			
Cradleboards	O			
Dresses	F		F	
Ear adornment		F M	F	F M
Gun cases		M		
Leggings		M	F	
Mittens		M		
Moccasins	X	M		
Necklaces		F M		F M
Pouches		M	M	
Quivers			M	
Shirts		M		M
Metal				
Bells				
Dog harnesses	M			
Buttons				
Shirts			F	
Finger rings		X	X	
Medals				M
Tinkling cones/tags				
Shirts			F	
Trinkets (unspecified)				
Coats	M			

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.

Chapter V

Tribes of the Cordillera and Plateau

A mountainous region of forest and tundra, the Subarctic Cordillera extends from northeastern Alaska to southern British Columbia. It was occupied by the Kutchin, Han, Tanana, Tutchone, Tagish, Inland Tlingit, Kaska, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Sekani, Carrier and Chilcotin (Fig. 80), most of whom were Athapaskan-speaking (McClellan and Denniston 1981: 372). The rolling Plateau country of southern British Columbia was home to the Interior Salish (the Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Okanagan and Lake), the Athapaskan-speaking Nicola, and the Kutenai (Fig. 80) [Spencer et al. 1965: 214]. The inhabitants of both regions were seasonal migrants whose subsistence was based on fishing and hunting supplemented by the gathering of various plant foods. As there was a great deal of similarity in the trade ornaments utilized by the various Cordilleran and Plateau peoples, only those of a select few – the Kutchin, Carrier and Thompson – will be discussed here.

Kutchin

Referred to as the Quarrelers and Loucheux by early traders and explorers, the Kutchin were divided into nine regional bands: 1) Arctic Red River or Mackenzie Flats (Nakotcho) Kutchin; 2) Peel River (Tatlit) Kutchin; 3) Upper Porcupine River (Takkuth) Kutchin; 4) Crow Flats (Vunta) Kutchin; 5) Black River (Tranjik) Kutchin; 6) Yukon Flats (Kutcha) Kutchin; 7) Birch Creek (Tennuth) Kutchin; 8) Chandalar (Natsit) Kutchin; and 9) Dihai (Teahi) Kutchin (Osgood 1936: 13; Slobodin 1981: 531-2). The first three bands occupied portions of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The next two overlapped the international border, while the rest resided in Alaska (Slobodin 1981: 516).

The first European to have dealings with the Kutchin was Alexander Mackenzie who, in July 1789, met a small group of "Quarrellers" near the Lower Ramparts of the Mackenzie River. He gave them "the usual presents, but they preferred beads to any of the articles that [were] offered them; particularly such as were of a blue colour; and one of them even requested to exchange a knife which... had [been] given him for a small quantity of those ornamental baubles" (Mackenzie 1801: 51).

These people's desire for beads increased over the next two decades to the point that in 1813, "the Loucheux were near creating an uproar at Fort Good Hope on account of a deficiency in beads at the Fort.... For the want of this, their favorite article, they preferred taking back to their tents the peltries they had brought to trade" (Wentzel 1889: 110).

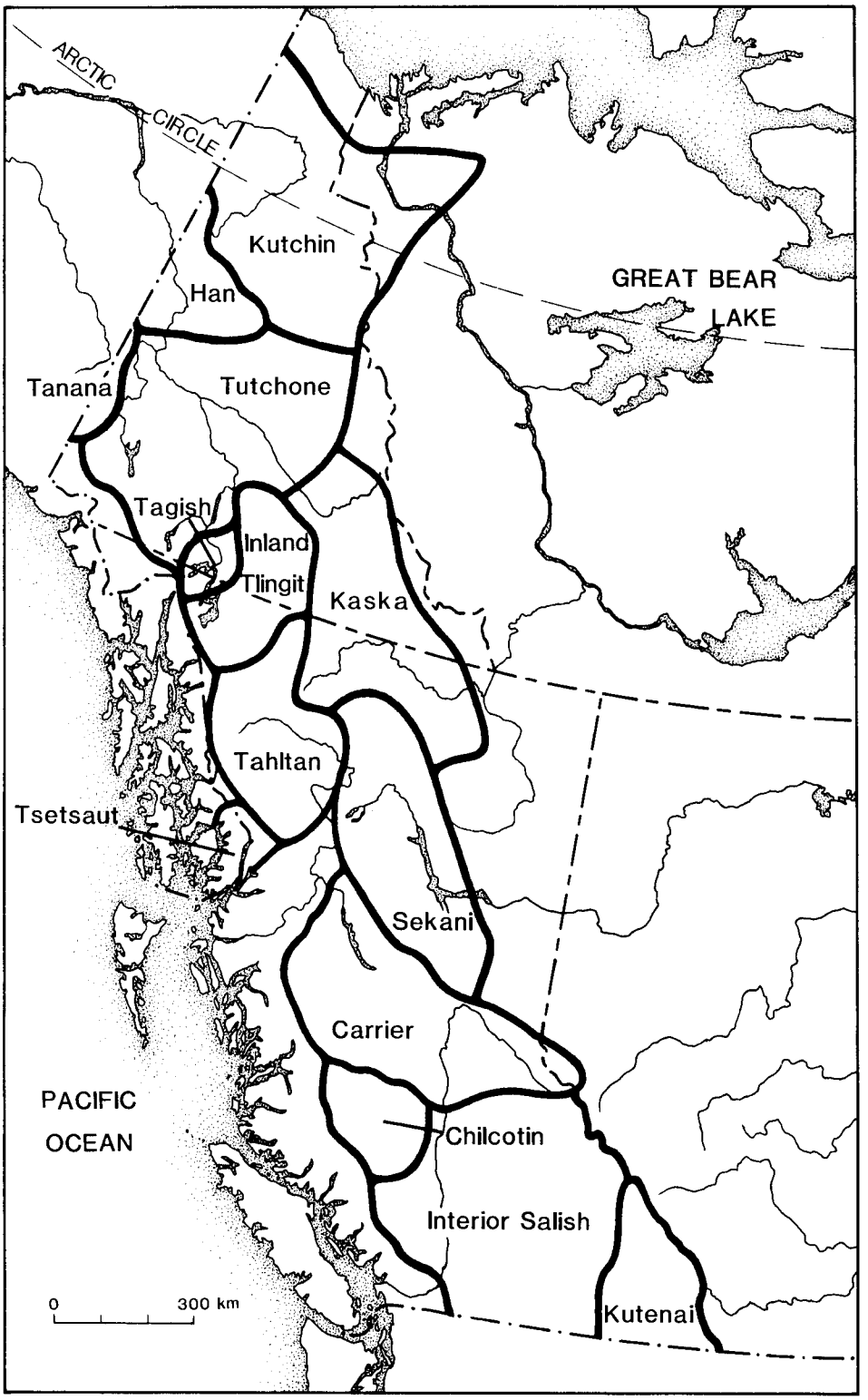


Figure 80. Approximate distribution of the Cordillera-Plateau tribes ca. 1850 (drawing by D. Kappler)

When Sir John Franklin (1823: 292) passed through Fort Good Hope in March 1821, he noted that "blue or white beads are almost the only articles of European manufacture coveted by the Loucheux." He also remarked that "they perforate the septum of the nose, and insert in the opening three small shells [dentalia] which they procure at a high price from the Esquimaux" (Franklin 1823: 292).

In 1847, A.K. Isbister (1847: 122) reported that the nasal adornments of the Kutchin consisted of "two Cowrie [dentalia are meant here] shells joined together and tipped with a coloured bead at each end; or when these cannot be had, pieces of polished bone between four and five inches in length. This ornament, on which they greatly pride themselves, is worn by both sexes, and is only assumed at a certain age."

That same year, Alexander H. Murray of the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Yukon at the confluence of the Yukon and Porcupine rivers in Russian Alaska. In addition to discussing business matters, his journal for the 1847-48 season presents a detailed account of Kutcha-Kutchin dress and adornment (Figs. 81-83; Plates 12 and 13):

> *The dress worn by all I have seen is nearly the same, the only difference being in the fashion of wearing the hair and some of their ornaments. They wear a capot or shirt of dressed deer skin, pointed in front and behind something like the tails of a dress coat, a broad band of beads is generally worn across the breast and shoulders, and behind a fringe of fancy beads, and small leathern tassels wound round with porcupine quills and strung with the stones of a white berry common in the country. The 'Neather garment' is simply a pair of deer skin pantaloons, secured by a narrow band around the lower part of the body; a strip of beads about two inches broad is worn on each side of the trousers from the hip to the ankle, bands of beads are fastened around the legs and ankles. The shoes and pantaloons are of the same piece, the stripes of beads on the legs are in alternate squares of red and white, but frequently only single fringes are worn, and those who are poor use only porcupine quills. Beads are worn in every shape on the breast and shoulders and sometimes immense rolls of all colors for necklaces. The head bands are made of small and various colored beads and small shells* [dentalia]..., *those shells are always used in the nose, and hung to the ears. The hair is tied behind and wound around with shells. Their mittens which they always carry are ornamental with them, they even have them fixed to some of their guns.... The women dress nearly the same as the men, only the capot is a leetle longer, and with no point in front, they have fewer ornaments and the hair is seldom tied* (Murray 1910: 84-5).

The beads and shells were primarily obtained from Russian traders who maintained a post at Nulato some 600 km further down the Yukon:

> *Last summer they* [the Russians] *brought more goods than formerly, principally beads, common and fancy, white, red, and several shades of blue. The common white beads were usually traded higher than with us, of the blue beads a little larger than a garden pea, only ten were given for a beaver skin, except kettles, guns, and powder, every other article was higher than with us. Tobacco and snuff were traded very high, also the small shells* [dentalia], *some of which you sent me from Ft. Simpson,... these are traded in this country 6 and 8 for a beaver or three martens, a box of these shells here would be worth over* two thousand pounds. *Besides the above mentioned articles, the Russians bring to this country blankets, capots, cloth, (of the latter two almost none are traded) powder horns, knives, fire steels, files, iron hoops for arrow heads, iron pipes, common arm bands, awls, rings, and small brass coins similar to our old farthing, with which the Indian women fringe their dresses* (Murray 1910: 71-2).

Glass beads not only served as ornaments but were considered status symbols as well. Unless he was a good fighter, a man was fated to remain a bachelor if he did not have enough beads to "dec-

Figure 81. Saviah, The Sunbeam, principal chief of the Kutcha-Kutchin in 1847-48; colour lithograph based on a sketch by A. Murray. The ornaments are of coloured glass beads and dentalia shells (Richardson 1851, 1: Pl. vii)

Figure 82. Kutchin man (left) and woman (right) in 1847-48; colour lithograph based on a sketch by A. Murray. Note the sparse beadwork on the woman's outfit (Richardson 1851, 1: Pl. iv)

Figure 83. Kutchin woman and children in 1847-48; colour lithograph based on a sketch by A. Murray. Embellishments are few compared to the outfits worn by the men (Richardson 1851, 1: Pl. vi)

orate" his prospective wife or wives (Murray 1910: 86). Furthermore, he could not become a chief until he had accumulated "200 skins worth of beads" (Murray 1910: 90). Small wonder, then, that beads were such sought after items.

While at Barter Island off the northeastern coast of Alaska in July 1854, Captain Richard Collinson met several Kutchin who were engaged in trade with the local Inuit. The visitors "were clad in blankets, and wore as neckaces and ornaments through the septum of the nose, the eye e quaws (dentalium), which... form the currency on the N.W. coast of America" (Collinson 1889: 320).

In 1862, the Reverend W.W. Kirby (1865: 418) reported that the Yukon Flats Kutchin wore shirts and trousers with attached moccasins that were "very much ornamented with beads, and Hyaqua [dentalia] shells from the Columbia." Ethnographic evidence reveals that their mittens and knife sheaths were similarly treated (Canadian Museum of Civilization 1974: 130). Glass beads and dentalia shells were also fashioned into "nose jewels" (Fig. 84) that either sex wore (Dall 1870: 95; Kirby 1865: 418).

The costume of the Kutchin who traded at Fort Good Hope, N.W.T., was ably recorded in 1865 by Émile Petitot:

> *They wear clothes of reindeer skin, hair on the inside or the outside. The clothes consist of a jerkin or tunic,* ézjég-hik, *whose flaps, broadly notched over the hips, taper sharply in front and in back, much like the poncho of the Chileans, with the front shorter than the back. The women's garment is like the men's, but longer and with rounded flaps. These tunics have no hood, the Loucheux's only headgear being a wide band of blue and white beadwork extending from ear to ear, with beaded pendants floating down onto the shoulders. Today only the chiefs are privileged to wear this diadem. Both men and women wear trousers made of skin that is as white and supple as the finest fabric, and attached to the foot covering so as to keep out the cold. The natural complement to this elegant and comfortable costume are the* wampungs *or beads,* etsuzi, etsoy, nakay, *the most appreciated of which, among the Loucheux, are the big blue beads which come from the Russian factories* [trading posts], *and the long white shells of the Dentalium and Arenicola genera which come from the Pacific and are also an object of commerce between the Russians and the Dindjié. These beads are worn as collars, as bracelets, and as fringe on the edge of garments; they also extend down the legs, and encircle the instep and the hamstring....* Wampungs *are the Loucheux's greatest wealth; these items are immensely prized by their owners who take pride in accumulating large quantities of them which they then bequeath to their children. A complete Loucheux costume decorated with its* nakay *costs 40 to 60* plus *(local currency), or 80 to 120 francs* (Petitot 1867: 532-3).

Two years later, William Dall found that the traditional garb of the Kutchin was quickly losing ground in favour of imported garments. The latter included "many articles of English make," as well as "Hudson Bay moccasins, leggins, and fringed hunting-shirts of buckskin, originally introduced by the English traders, who obtained them from the tribes to the southeast" (Dall 1870: 101). Floral bead embroidery seems to have been introduced with the clothing for Dall (1870: 101) also mentioned that the Kutchin he met had an "abundance of the fine bead-work in which the French Canadians delight, and which those women who frequent the forts learn to excel in."

Such fancy beadwork is evident on the fire bag worn round the neck apron-style by a young Kutchin male photographed at Fort Yukon between 1877 and 1881 (Fig. 85). His shirt and combined trousers and moccasins are decorated with traditional geometrically patterned bands. Other men wore shirts whose tails were further embellished with "metal trinkets" (Petitot 1876: xxiv).

Glass beads and metal bangles continued to adorn Kutchin vestments well into the 20th century. As Michael H. Mason (1924: 48) put it: "In the winter when the green and white becomes monotonous to

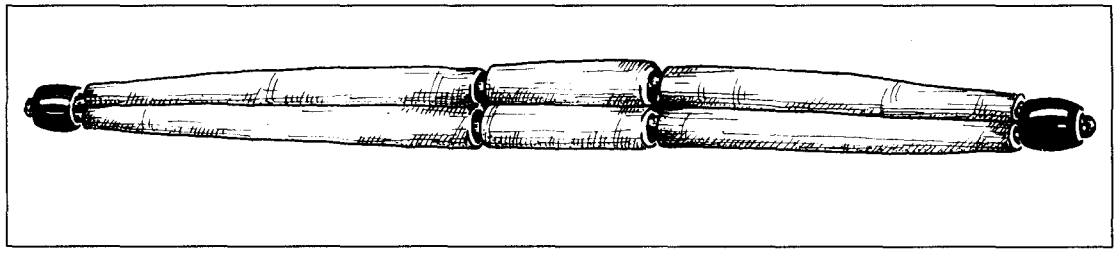


Figure 84. Dentalia shell and glass-bead nose ornament of the Kutcha-Kutchin [after Dall 1870: 95] (drawing by C. Piper)

the eye, the brightly coloured decorations of the Indian garments are very welcome."

Carrier

Also known as the Nagailer and Takulli, the Carrier inhabited the region encompassing the headwaters of the Skeena and Fraser rivers in central British Columbia (Fig. 80; Tobey 1981: 413). When Alexander Mackenzie (1801: 254) encountered members of this tribe in the summer of 1793, he observed that they were already in possession of "brass, copper, beads, &c." procured from Indians living to "the Westward." The copper and brass were wrought "into collars, arm-bands, bracelets, and other ornaments" (Mackenzie 1801: 255); the beads, notably large blue ones, were worn by women either pendant from the ears, encircling the neck, or braided into the hair (Mackenzie 1801: 292, 310). Coins, specifically two halfpence, "one of his present Majesty [George III], and the other of the State of Massachusett's Bay, coined in 1787... hung as ornaments in children's ears" (Mackenzie 1801: 289).

A concise discussion of Carrier embellishments was written by Daniel Williams Harmon during his stint in "the Indian Country" from 1800 to 1816:

> *Both sexes perforate their noses; and from them, the men often suspend an ornament, consisting of a piece of an oyster shell* [abalone], *or a small piece of brass or copper. The women, particularly those who are young, run a wooden pin through their noses, upon each end of which they fix a kind of shell bead* [dentalium], *which is about an inch and an half long, and nearly the size of the stem of a common clay pipe. These beads, they obtain from their neighbours, the At-e-nâs* [Shuswap], *who purchase them from another tribe, that is said to take them on the sea shore, where they are reported to be found in plenty.*
>
> *All the Indians in this part of the country, are remarkably fond of these beads; and in their dealings with each other, they constitute a kind of circulating medium, like the money of civilized countries. Twenty of these beads, they consider as equal in value to a beaver's skin. The elderly people neglect to ornament their heads, in the same manner as they do the rest of their persons, and generally wear their hair short. But the younger people of both sexes, who feel more solicitous to make themselves agreeable to each other, wash and paint their faces, and let their hair grow long....*
>
> *The young women and girls wear a parcel of European beads, strung together, and tied to a lock of hair, directly behind each ear. The men have a sort of collar of the shell beads already mentioned, which they wind about their heads, or throw around their necks....*
>
> *Among the Carriers, it is customary for the girls, from the age of eight to eleven years, to wear a kind of veil or fringe over their eyes, made either of strung beads, or of narrow strips of deer skin, garnished with porcupine quills...* (Lamb 1957: 244-5).

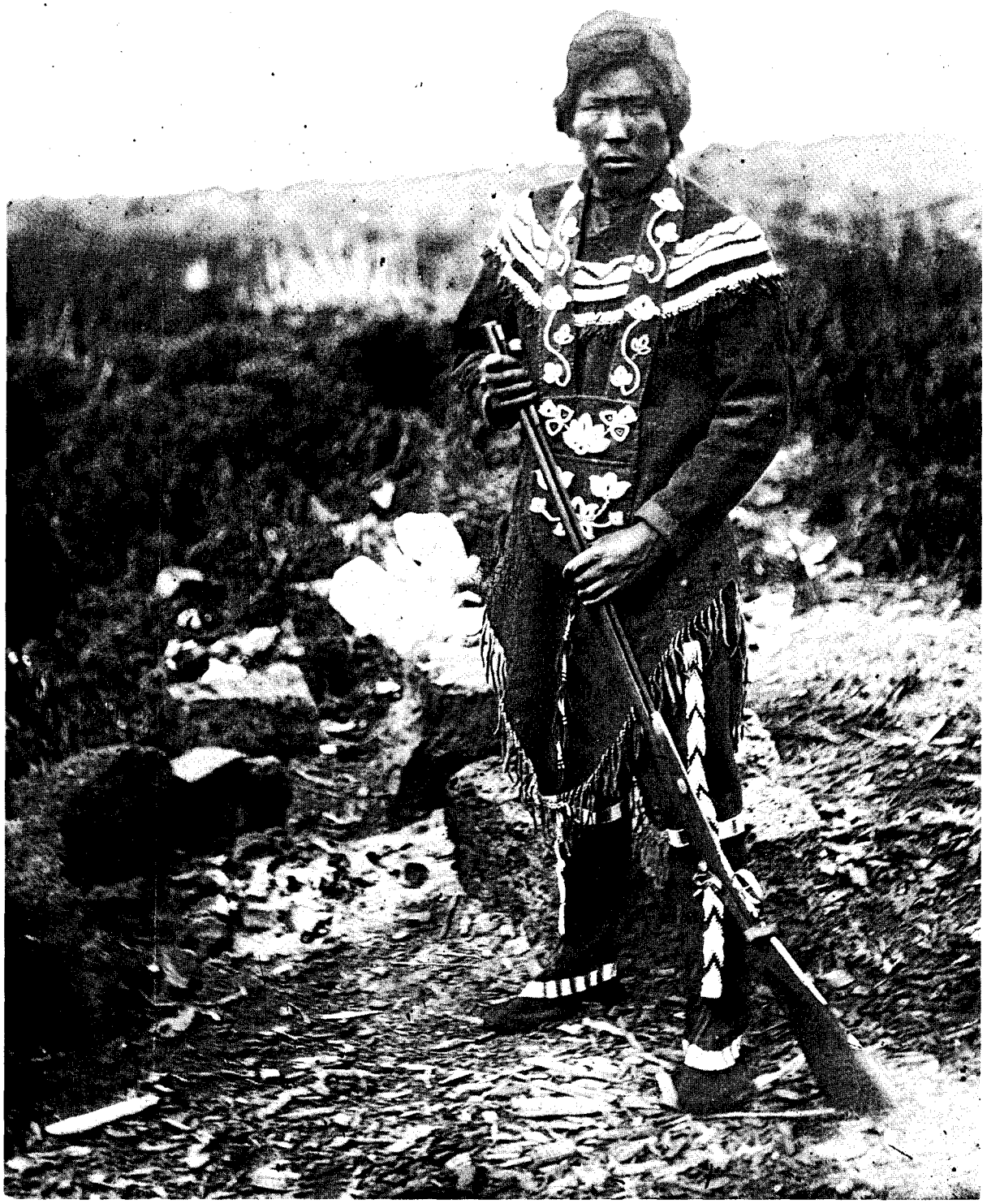


Figure 85. Kutchin man in beaded dress; photographed by Edward W. Nelson, 1877-81 (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; SI-6362)

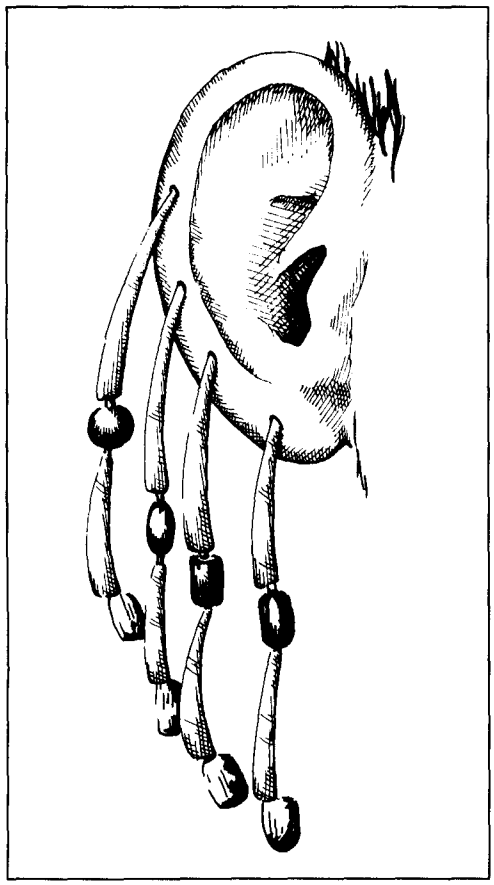


Figure 86. Ear pendant of dentalia shells and glass beads worn by Carrier men [after Morice 1895: Fig. 156] (drawing by C. Piper)

During the latter part of the 19th century, the Rev. Father Adrien G. Morice recorded a wealth of information concerning the ornamentation of the Carrier Indians living about Stuart Lake, B.C. He found that their everyday ornaments were fairly varied in both form and composition, and that the majority of these were used to embellish the head and neck.

A diadem or headband decorated with dentalia shells was donned by maidens of noble birth one year after coming of age:

> *The ground part of this* [article] *was a band of tanned skin which was fringed from about one inch and a half above the bottom up to the top. Each strand of that fringe was passed through a dentalium shell and then sewed up at the top to an encircling strip of skin. As this crown was lower on the back than in front, shells of different lengths were chosen according to the place they were to occupy. A lining of skin, with or without the fur on, was then added, and the lower corners of the ends stitched together...* (Morice 1895: 166).

Ear ornaments were generally rare, albeit men of nobility among the Babine (a subtribe to the northwest of Stuart Lake) commonly sported silver earrings as emblems of their rank (Morice 1895: 167). Another type that was occasionally met with among men of lesser distinction was composed of three or four buckskin strings, each of which "passed through dentalium shells alternating with glass or bone beads in the middle, and small beaver claws at the bottom" (Morice n.d.: 82). These were affixed to the rim of the ear (Fig. 86). Women were restricted to ear pendants fashioned from haliotis (abalone) shell. While Morice (1895: 166) speculated that these items probably affected various forms in the past, the only style that he actually saw himself was a scalloped disk suspended from the ear lobe by means of a buckskin cord (Fig. 87).

Babine women sometimes adorned their noses with silver crescents that passed through the septum, the cusps hanging down. Silver rings were also used for this purpose, with an occasional specimen allegedly being "of such a size that one could easily eat through it" (Morice 1895: 168).

Both young men and women frequently garnished their hair with "bunches of strings decorated with dyed porcupine quills and beaver claws or, more recently, holding glass beads of various colours sometimes ending in copper [boot] buttons" (Morice n.d.: 85; 1895: 169). The ornaments (Fig. 88) were attached to either side of the head, slightly above the ears.

Necklaces fashioned from dentalia shells were worn "in such a way as to fall over the neck or to encircle it lengthwise." Large necklaces of similar construction, which rested on the shoulders and breast, were worn by those who possessed shamanistic powers (Morice 1895: 170-1).

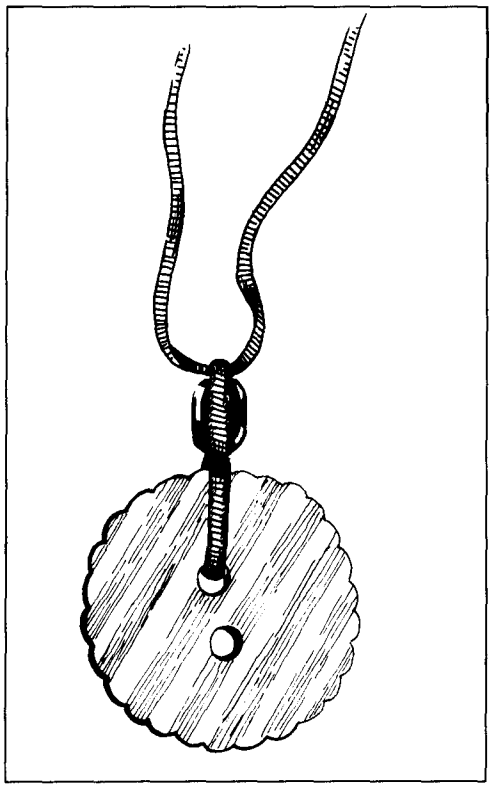


Figure 87. Haliotis (abalone) ear pendant worn by Carrier women [after Morice 1895: Fig. 157] (drawing by C. Piper)

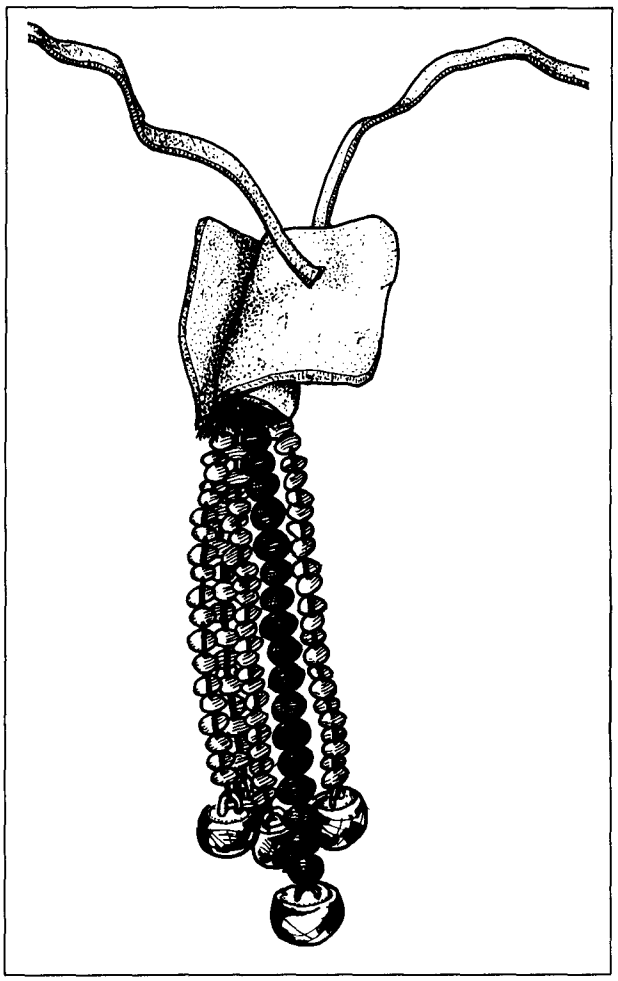


Figure 88. Carrier hair ornament of glass beads and copper boot buttons [after Morice 1895: Fig. 161] (drawing by R. Hellier)

Metal bracelets, frequently wrought from pewter spoons and silver coins, were popular with women, as were those composed of glass beads mounted on sinew thread (Morice n.d.: 86). Worn exclusively by girls, the latter type was garnished with a rosette fashioned from coloured ribbons and a mother-of-pearl button (Fig. 89). Often homemade, finger rings of brass, copper and silver were in general use (Morice n.d.: 86).

Domestic articles were not commonly decorated except for household bags and sewing pouches. The former exhibited various patterns of beadwork, while the latter were embellished with bands of coloured ribbon and tape (Morice 1895: 146, 149).

The everyday attire of the Carrier Indians was, on the whole, "rather meagre and scanty." In contrast, that worn on ceremonial occasions was complicated and elaborately decorated, principally with dentalia shells (Morice 1895: 163, 173). The festive gear included several types of headdress, the most striking of which were the wigs used in dances by men of nobility. Two such were collected at Stuart Lake by Morice prior to 1893. The more elaborate of the two is described as follows (Fig. 90):

> *It is composed of three distinct parts: the horn-like appendage, the cap or head covering proper and the pendent train. The horns are made of the stout bristles of the sea-lion's whiskers, two lengths of which are*

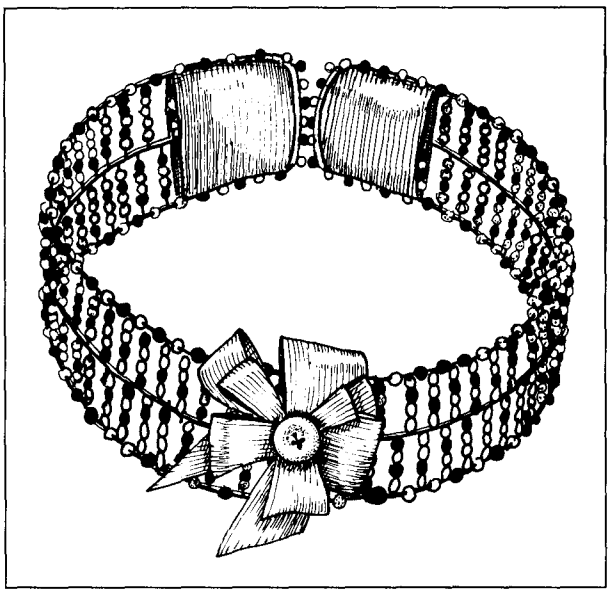


Figure 89. Wristlet of glass beads worn by Carrier girls. A mother-of-pearl button forms the centre of the ribbon rosette [after Morice 1895: Fig. 162] (drawing by R. Hellier)

> *used and united in front by means of buckskin and sinew threads. A rough network of the latter material fills up the space between the horn and the cap, and is arranged so as to determine the concavity of the latter. The cap is formed of two rows of dentalium shells attached to a strip of cariboo skin otherwise secured to the above mentioned netting. A narrow band of leather separates the two rows and serves to retain in juxtaposition the shells whose threads are also passed through it at the proper intervals. The train is of human hair and measures three feet in length. Each strand is formed of about a dozen hairs twisted into a two-ply cord. About one foot from the bottom, bunches of perhaps fifty hairs in their natural condition are added to the end of each strand by means of finely shredded sinew. Moreover, on the outside of the upper part of the train, and forming continuation with the two rows of dentalia of the cap are bunches of four shells of the same description from the united small ends of which hang flaps of artificially curled human hair which add not a little to the general effect of the whole* (Morice 1895: 173, 175).

The second specimen (Fig. 91) was of a less complex design:

> *The front horn-like appendage* [of the former wig] *is replaced by fine strips of ermine skin, and the head-covering part is likewise of dentalium shells, of which there are three rows. These are gathered in bunches of three, which are tied at the small end over heavy three-ply cords of human hair terminating on the outside in flaps of curled hair, as in the previous case. The train is composed of fine three-ply strands of human hair adorned, every three inches or so, with two dentalium shells in successive order. To retain these at the proper intervals, little pieces of wood are inserted between the shell and the strand, or the latter is wrapped over with sinew thread. This train is not so abundant in strands, nor quite so long as that of the preceding wig* (Morice 1895: 175).

Noblewomen wore a very different but equally pleasing headdresses (Fig. 92). Shaped like a crown, it was composed of stiffened strips of weasel fur rising from a narrow band of tanned skin overlaid with three rows of dentalia shells. Scalps of the red-headed woodpecker were attached to the tops of the strips, while the tail feathers of another woodpecker decorated their mid-sections and bases (Morice 1895: 177).

A ceremonial headdress formed of grizzly-bear claws and dentalia was worn by shamans and untitled hunters (Morice 1895: 181). The claws curved upward from a band of caribou hide and were connected to each other at the top by two horizontal pairs of dentalia shells strung on sinew (Fig. 93).

In addition to the wigs, noblemen also wore a dentalium breastplate in the form of a rounded crescent (Fig. 94). The shells, whose natural curve and taper made them ideally suited for such an application, were sewn to tanned caribou skin. According to Father Morice (1895: 178), this object "was valued at four dressed moose skins or forty beaver

Figure 90. Ceremonial wig of dentalia shells, sea-lion's whiskers and human-hair cords worn by Carrier noblemen at festal dances (Morice 1895: Fig. 163)

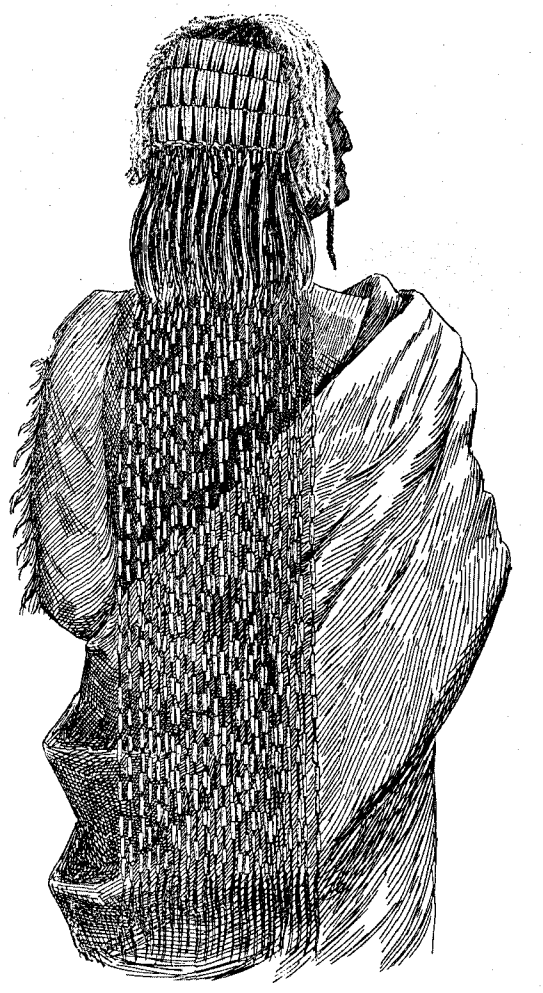


Figure 91. Another style of Carrier ceremonial wig is composed of dentalia, ermine skins and human hair (Morice 1895: Fig. 164)

skins, which, if estimated at their present price, would represent the sum of $200."

Of like valuation, the next significant item of a nobleman's ceremonial garb was the apron or *Raz* (Fig. 95). Formerly made of caribou skin, an example procured by Morice in the 1880s was of "old-fashioned printed stuff." The upper part was fringed with red yarn, while the lower margin had a leather fringe attached to it, each strand of which was wrapped with yellow or green quillwork at the top and then "passed through a dentalium shell, ending in a sewing thimble or a cariboo hoof scalloped at the edge." The garment measured 67 cm by 103 cm exclusive of the lower fringe (Morice 1895: 179). In lieu of an apron, noblewomen wore a belt-like "breech cloth" over their dress (Morice 1895: 180). It was comprised of two horizontal rows of vertically oriented dentalia shells.

The ceremonial leggings and moccasins worn by men of nobility were also bedecked with dentalia, as were their quivers and fire bags. The latter were sometimes further embellished "with glass beads stitched on the edges and red and blue [cloth] trimmings" (Plate 14; Morice 1895: 180, Fig. 171).

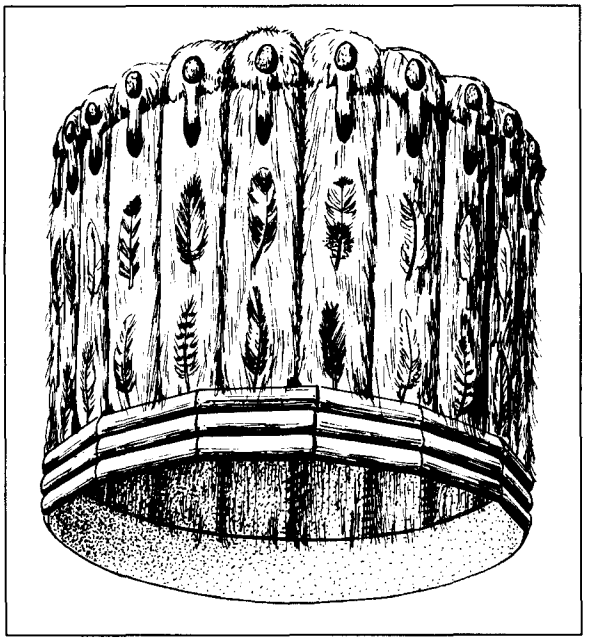


Figure 92. Carrier noblewoman's headdress of fur strips and dentalia [after Morice 1895: Fig. 165] (drawing by D. Kappler)

Figure 93. Carrier man wearing a grizzly-bear claw and dentalia headdress (Morice 1895: Fig. 172)

Thompson

One of the five Interior Salish tribes, the Thompson or Ntlakyapamuk, as they called themselves, lived on the Thompson and Fraser rivers in southern British Columbia (Fig. 80). They were divided into two major subgroups: the Upper Thompsons who occupied the northern portion of the range (that is, to the north of Cisco, B.C.), and the Lower Thompsons who inhabited the southern part (Canada. Geographic Board 1913: 356).

In the summer of 1808, while exploring the river that now bears his name, Simon Fraser noted that the Thompson Indians he met along the way possessed "a great quantity of shells and blue beads" that had been obtained through inter-tribal trade. One individual was also in possession of "a broken silver broach, such as the Sauteus [Saulteaux] wear" (Lamb 1960: 84). In thanks for assistance rendered, Fraser presented one of their chiefs with "a large silver broach which he immediately fixed on his head" (Lamb 1960: 95).

Information concerning the ornamentation of the Thompson Indians during the latter half of the century is provided by James A. Teit who conducted an in-depth ethnographical study of these peoples in the 1890s. Like their more northerly brethren, the Thompsons were fond of personal adornment. Ear ornaments were worn by either sex, with as many as four per ear, all affixed to the helix. Dentalia shells, sometimes with tufts of red wool or woodpecker scalps protruding from their broad ends, were frequently used for this purpose, especially in combination with bone and glass beads, and copper, brass and silver buttons. Less costly pendants of various shapes and sizes were cut from sheet copper and copper kettles supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Lower Thompsons occasionally employed ear pendants of haliotis shell. Nose ornaments composed of one or more dentalia shells, frequently with red-headed woodpecker scalps in the ends, were restricted to women (Teit 1900: 222).

Hair ribbons composed of pieces of buckskin or coloured cloth with numerous strings attached were

worn by either sex, "the strings being allowed to hang down in close proximity to the ears or at the back of the head." They were embellished with dentalia shells, metal buttons, glass beads and ribbons as well as feathers, claws and pieces of bone. Other hair adornments consisted of "strings of shells or beads fastened to the hair with bark twine, and were often passed through or fastened to the plaits of the hair, so that each braid was ornamented from top to bottom with shells, beads, etc." (Fig. 96; Teit 1900: 227).

Popular with either sex, necklaces were worn as loose strands or as tight-fitting chokers. The former (Figs. 96-97) were fashioned from combinations of glass and bone beads, dentalia, metal buttons, and bits of sheet copper about 7.5 cm across. The chokers were composed of glass "seed" beads sewn to buckskin (Figs. 96-97), or strands of beads and buttons (Teit 1900: 223).

Bracelets "of brass and copper, round and thin," were procured from the Hudson's Bay Company or through inter-tribal trade. Women sported two to four on either arm, while the men preferred but one per limb. One or two ornaments of like composition and form also graced women's ankles. Finger rings were very little used (Teit 1900: 223).

The wearing apparel of the Thompson Indians was adorned with a variety of trade ornaments. Women's caps were occasionally decorated with beadwork (Fig. 97), as were some of the headbands worn by the men (Teit 1900: 213, 217). The headbands of the women were typically adorned with dentalia, sometimes with glass and bone beads interspersed (Fig. 96) (Teit 1900: 218, 220). Buckskin shirts and trousers were generally fringed along the major seams and this fringe was often ornamented with glass and shell beads strung on some of the strips (Figs. 96-97). Copper tubes about 15 cm in length and 1.3 cm in diameter were also used for this purpose, as well as for adorning belts (Teit 1900: 222). Many shirts, especially those worn by the women, were further garnished with sewn-on strings of glass beads, dentalia, and disk-shaped horn, bone or shell beads (Teit 1900: 222). Ponchos, leggings and moccasins were usually highly decorated with coloured glass beads (Teit 1900: 220).

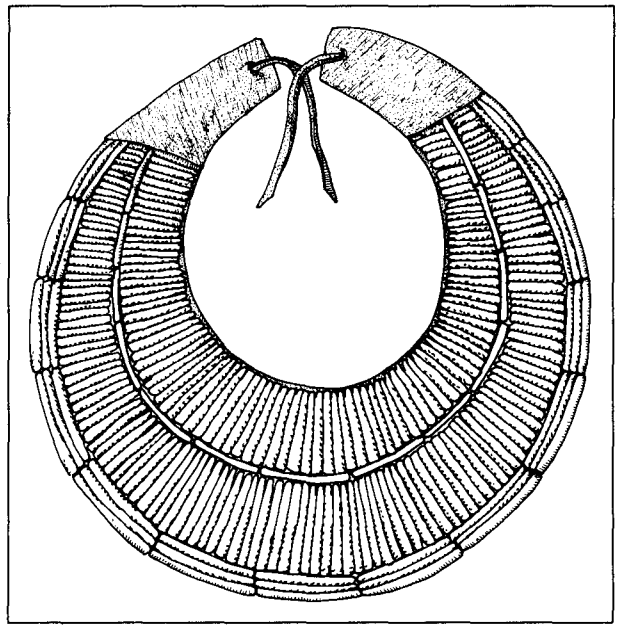


Figure 94. Carrier nobleman's ceremonial breast plate of dentalia shells [after Morice 1895: Fig. 167] (drawing by R. Hellier)

Several other possessions were also garnished with adornments of foreign origin. Small skin or cloth pouches used for storing tobacco and odds and ends were frequently embellished with fringe and silk or bead embroidery (Teit 1900: 201, 220). In addition, some tobacco pipes had their bowls and stems connected by means of a cord strung with dentalia alternating with glass, horn and bone beads (Teit 1900: Fig. 306). Finally, cradles were occasionally highly ornamented on their edges with brass cartridge cases suspended from thongs passing through the primer hole (Maud 1978: 49).

Discussion

By all accounts, dentalia shells and glass beads were the most sought after ornaments in the Cordillera-Plateau region. Introduced during the prehistoric period, dentalia were commonly fashioned into items of personal adornment, especially "nose jewels" and necklaces or collars. They also served to adorn a variety of garments (Table 5), especially

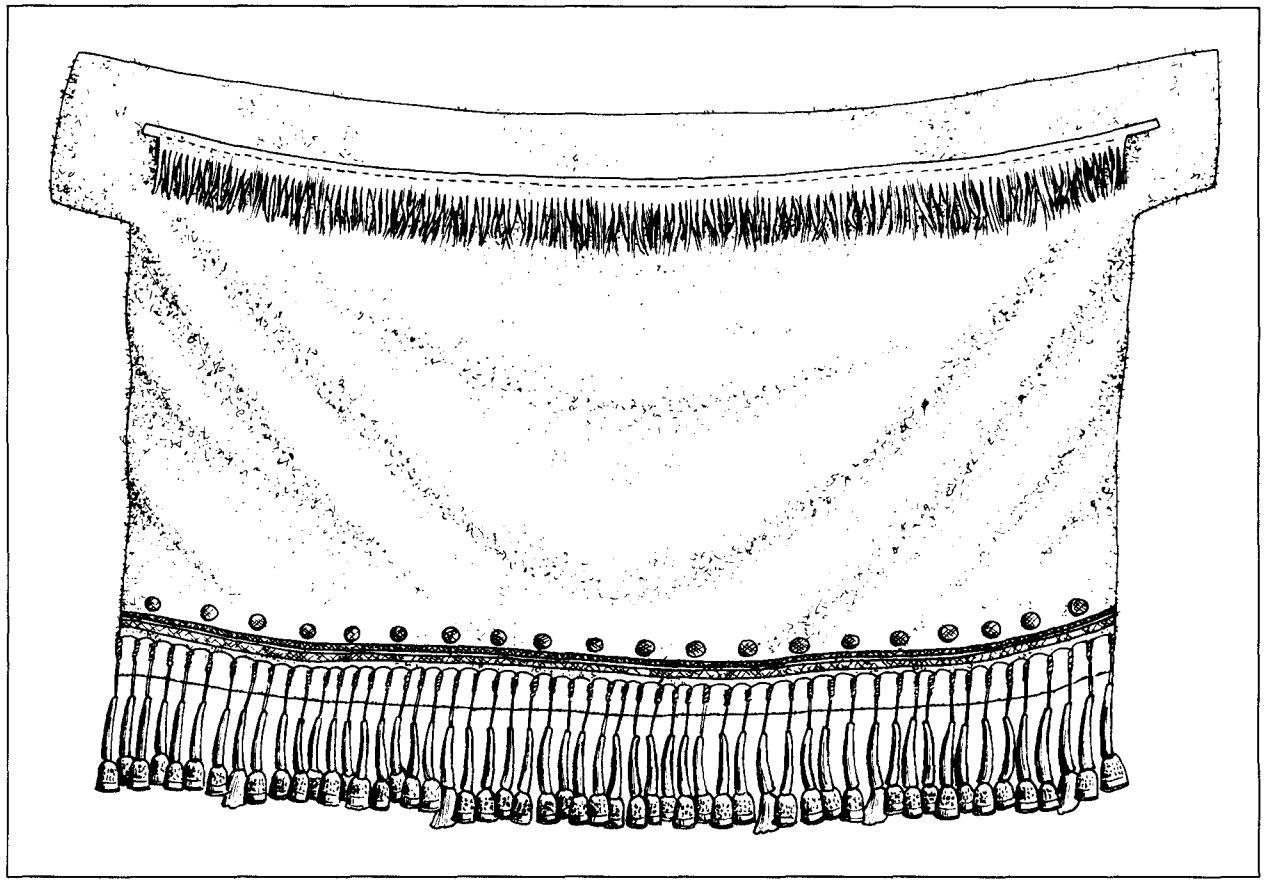


Figure 95. Ceremonial apron worn by Carrier noblemen. The lower fringe is decorated with quill work, dentalia shells, thimbles, and caribou dew claws [after Morice 1895: Fig. 168] (drawing by D. Kappler)

those of a ceremonial nature. Glass beads probably made their appearance via inter-tribal trade following the arrival of Captain Cook on the Northwest Coast in 1778. Predominately blue, white, and red in colour, these objects were used primarily to adorn clothing, although many were also formed into necklaces, collars and a number of other personal ornaments (Table 5).

While not esteemed to the same degree as dentalia and glass beads, metal adornments, especially those of copper and brass, were also popular with members of either sex (Table 5). Bracelets, finger and nose rings, nose pendants, boot buttons and tinklers seem to have had the broadest appeal. When possible, these articles, as well as the other metal ornaments that were employed, were bartered ready-made from Indian or white traders. When this was not practicable, they were, with few exceptions, fashioned locally from imported bar stock or coins, spoons and discarded kettles (Morice n.d.: 86).

Figure 96. Upper Thompson woman, Spences Bridge, B.C.; photographed by J.A. Teit, 1915. Glass "seed" beads and tubular "bugle" beads adorn her hair, dress and form the choker. Prosser-moulded and wound-glass beads, as well as dentalia, decorate cap (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; 30692)

Figure 97. Upper Thompson woman and child, Spences Bridge, B.C.; photographed by J.A. Teit, 1913. Glass beads and dentalia are the principal ornaments; metal buttons adorn the woman's belt (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; 23591)

TABLE 5
CORDILLERA AND PLATEAU TRIBE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	Kutchin	Carrier	Thompson
Shell			
Dentalia			
Aprons		M	
Bags		M	
Bracelets	X		
Breech cloths		F	
Caps			F
Ear adornment	M	M	F M
Guns	M		
Hair adornment	M		F M
Headdresses/headbands	M	F M	F
Knife sheaths	M		
Leggings		M	
Mittens	M		
Moccasins	F M	M	
Necklaces/collars	X	F M	F M
Nose adornment	F M O	F	F
Quivers		M	
Shirts	F M		F
Tobacco pipes			M
Trousers	F M		
Haliotis			
Ear adornment		F	F M
Nose adornment		M	
Pearl buttons			
Bracelets		F	
Glass			
Beads			
Bags	M	F M	X
Bracelets	X	F	
Caps			F
Ear adornment	M	F M	F M
Hair adornment	M	F	F M
Headdresses/headbands	M	F	F
Knife sheaths	M		
Leggings			X
Mittens	M		
Moccasins	F M O		X
Necklaces/collars	F M	F	F M
Nose adornment	F M		
Ponchos/capes			X
Pouches	M		X
Shirts	F M O		F
Tobacco pipes			M
Trousers	F M O		M
Metal			
Anklets			F

CORDILLERA AND PLATEAU TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Kutchin	Carrier	Thompson
Metal (Cont'd.)			
Armbands		X	
Bracelets		F	F M
Brooches			
Hair adornment			M
Buttons			
Ear adornment			F M
Hair adornment		F	F M
Necklaces			F M
Cartridge cases			
Cradleboards			O
Coins			
Dresses	F		
Ear adornment		O	
Collars		X	
Earrings		M	F M
Finger rings	X	X	F M
Nose rings/pendants		F M	
Thimbles			
Aprons		M	
Tinklers/tags			
Ear adornment			F M
Necklaces/collars	M		F M
Trinkets (unspecified)			
Shirts	X		
Trousers	X		
Tubes			
Belts			X
Shirts			X
Trousers			X

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.

Chapter VI

Tribes of the Pacific Coast

The Indians who inhabited the Pacific coast of Canada were a largely sedentary people who subsisted primarily on the resources of the sea, supplemented by hunting and the gathering of plant foods (Jenness 1960: 327). Assured of a constant food supply by five to seven salmon runs a year, the populace was not only able to live in permanent villages composed of substantial wooden dwellings, the timber for which came from the dense rain forests of the region, but also had the leisure time required for the development of such art-forms as wood carving and metalworking (Spencer et al. 1965: 168-9).

The native peoples of the Pacific Coast comprise six major tribal groups (Fig. 98) representative of four linguistic families (Jenness 1960: end map): Haida (Haida); Tsimshian (Tsimshian); Bella Coola and Coast Salish (Salishan); and Kwakiutl and Nootka (Wakashan). While all of these groups utilized trade ornaments, the influx of which may have begun shortly after the arrival of Russian explorers at Sitka in 1741, only those of the Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and Nootka have been adequately documented.

Haida

Domiciled in coastal villages on the Queen Charlotte Islands (Fig. 98), the Haida first met white men upon the arrival of Juan Perez aboard the *Santiago* in the summer of 1774. The Spaniards found the natives friendly and eager to exchange fish and furs for old clothing, knives and Monterey (abalone) shells (Cutter 1969: 181). They also observed that the Haida esteemed copper and iron which some of the women wore in the form of finger rings (up to six per person) and bracelets (Cutter 1969: 239). These metals may have been acquired from Russian traders at Sitka via Indian (Tlingit) middlemen, although it is also possible that they were obtained locally – the copper from natural deposits and the iron from the wreckage of ships brought down from Alaska by the Japanese current (Rickard 1939: 36, 45).

When Captain George Dixon (1789: 237) visited the Queen Charlotte Islands in August 1787, the only adornments worth noting were "large circular wreaths of copper" that functioned as necklets and appeared to be of native manufacture. To help remedy the situation, he gave a woman who came on board his ship "a string of beads for an ornament to each ear, and a number of buttons, with which she was highly pleased" (Dixon 1789: 224, 226).

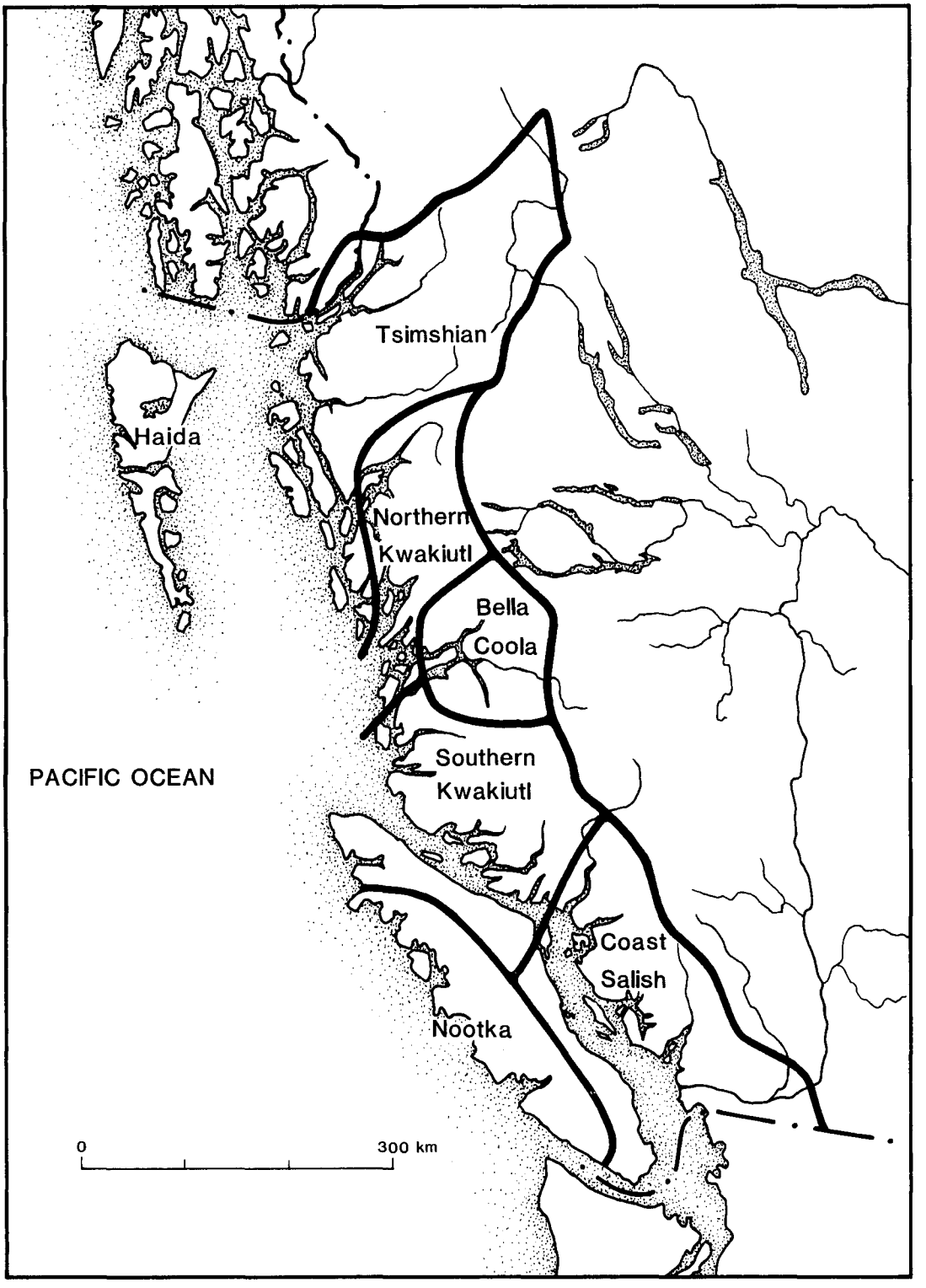


Figure 98. Approximate distribution of the Pacific Coast tribal groups ca. 1850 (drawing by D. Kappler)

The maritime fur trade gained momentum over the next few years with the result that ornaments of foreign origin soon became commonplace. While at Barrell's Sound at the southern end of the Queen Charlottes in July 1791, John Hoskins, clerk of the Boston-based *Columbia*, made the following observations on the subject:

> *The ornaments most common are beads of various sorts, particularly the blue glass bead, of which they appear to be fond; buttons, shells, etca. etca. which they wear in large bunches round their necks; though these are peculiar to the females; yet there is another, if an ornament it can be called, the lip peice...; 'tis not common for all to wear this, nor is it, as far as I could learn, any badge of distinction; for both the chief and lower class of women wore them. this incissions seems to be made when the children are young; in the orifice is inserted a peice of copper wire, which keeps it sore and as they grow older, it is extended more and more; till it frequently becomes four inches in length, of a perfect oval, hollowed on each side, with a rim round its edge, to fit more firmly in the aperture: it is frequently inlaid with pearl shell, copper, etca. though these large lip peices are most common to those advanced in years; yet I have seen some old women with peices not bigger than the top of your finger* (Howay 1969: 205).

Hoskins also noted that a number of Indians were attired in "european cloth and clothing, on which they have sewed in various directions as fancy or fashion suggests buttons, thimbles, china cash, peices of shells, etca. in this dress they have truly a grotesque appearance" (Howay 1969: 205).

That same month, Joseph Ingraham of the Boston brigantine *Hope* sailed into Cloak Bay at the northern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Having been supplied by other traders earlier in the season, the natives showed little interest in the trade goods offered to them on this occasion. So, taking inspiration from the necklace of one of the local women, Ingraham set his blacksmith to forging elliptical "collars of three iron rods twisted together about the size of a man's finger." Weighing from two to over three kilograms, these were massive objects which extended from one shoulder to the other, the thickened front side resting on the chest (Howay 1969: 235; Kaplanoff 1971: 105). Although initially worn as marks of distinction by a select few, these ornaments soon became popular with most of the men and some of the women (Howay 1969: 235; Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 206). Likewise iron bracelets weighing half a kilogram or more were preferred to those of thin polished copper (Kaplanoff 1971: 105, 143). Some of the northern Haida also adorned themselves with "necklaces of glass-beads or of plaited brass wire" (Marchand 1801: 439).

The following year (1792), the Spaniard Jacinto Caamaño commented that the principal ornaments of the northern Haida included heavy rings of copper or iron worn in twos and threes on the wrists and ankles (Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 206). Square pieces of green mother-of-pearl (probably imported abalone shell) festooned the ears of some individuals, while small crescents of mother-of-pearl or copper hung from the oft-perforated noses of the unmarried women (Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 204, 218).

Garments were sometimes also gaily decorated with trade ornaments, as attested by Caamaño's description of Cania or Cunneah, the elderly chief of Parry Passage:

> *His clothing, all of sky-blue cloth, consisted of two loose frock coats one over the other, ornamented with Chinese cash, each one strung on a piece of sail-making twine with a large light-blue glass bead the size of a hazel nut, loosely attached to the material, and together forming a button. His breeches, in the form of trousers, were also trimmed with many of these cash, so that he sounded like a carriage mule, as he walked. He had on a frilled shirt, and wore a pair of unlike silver buckles; not, however, in his shoes, but at the feet of his trousers* (Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 219).

As the years passed, the Haida continued to utilize a wide variety of ornamentation, both im-

Figure 99. Realistic mask of a Haida woman with a labret of haliotis shell and ear pendants of the same material suspended from red worsted; collected at Massett village, Queen Charlotte Islands, by the MacKenzie-Tolmie Expedition, 1884 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; VII-B-7)

ported and domestic. While conducting research on the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1878, George M. Dawson (1880: 108B-109B) found that many middle-aged Haida women exhibited "a little beaten silver tube of the size of a quill" protruding slightly from a tiny incision in the centre of the lower lip. Their arms were generally adorned with one or more bracelets hammered out of silver coins. Such items as "feathers, buttons, beads, portions of the shell of the Haliotis, with the orange-coloured bill of the puffin" also served as ornaments, either strung together or sewn to clothing. In addition, haliotis (abalone) shell was commonly used to form an irridescent border on the carved frontlets of dance headdresses (Dawson 1880: 107B), while small beads of white glass were occasionally inset in wooden feast bowls (McCord Museum, Montréal). "Formerly prized and frequently worn," dentalia shells had all but disappeared from the scene (Dawson 1880: 107B).

Other ornaments that were utilized by the Haida during this general time period included iron hair ornaments inlaid with haliotis shell, silver pendant earrings and finger rings, ear ornaments of red worsted and abalone (Fig. 99), and necklaces of glass beads, dentalia shells and square haliotis pendants (Niblack 1890: 261, 263). Chiefs and their wives occasionally wore such heirlooms as twisted copper collars and copper bracelets inlaid with abalone shell (Mackenzie 1892: 51-2). Ceremonial masks were frequently embellished with pieces of imported sheet copper and haliotis shell (Niblack 1890: 271), with the latter also being inlaid in elaborately carved horn bowls (Fig. 100) as well as bone and ivory charms (Fig. 101). Brass tacks sometimes adorned the rims of wooden dishes used for serving grease and berries (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago).

Tsimshian

Living along the Nass and Skeena Rivers, as well as a portion of the adjacent Pacific Coast (Fig. 98), the Tsimshian group is comprised of the Tsimshian proper or Skeena, the Niska or Nass, and the Gitskan Indians (Jenness 1960: 336). Initial contact with Europeans seems to have taken place in the summer of 1787, when Captains Charles Duncan and James Colnett touched on their shores in search of furs (Gunther 1972: 92). However, it was not until the arrival of Jacinto Caamaño in 1792 that information concerning the use of trade ornaments by the Tsimshian entered the historical record.

Having reached Tuwartz Inlet near the southern end of Pitt Island on 31 July, Caamaño was greeted by Jammisit, the octogenarian chief of the region, whose shoulders bore "two large burnished iron rings, twisted in rope fashion" (Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 273). A few days later the chief appeared with his head wrapped in "a strip of black cloth, six inches wide and long enough to be tied at the back of his skull, ornamented with coloured enamelled buttons arranged in symmetrical patterns" (Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 280). When

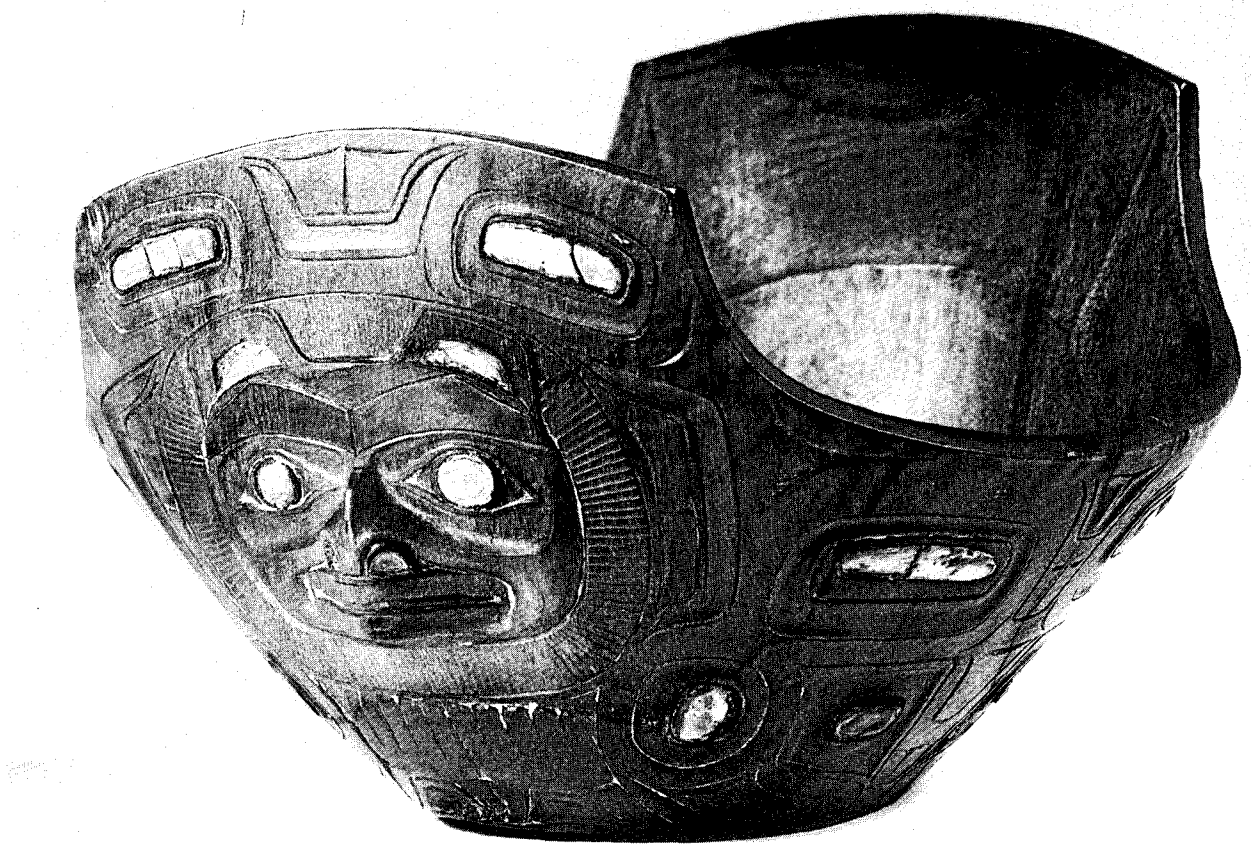


Figure 100. Haida horn bowl inlaid with haliotis shell (Smithsonian Institution, Department of Anthropology; 72-9398)

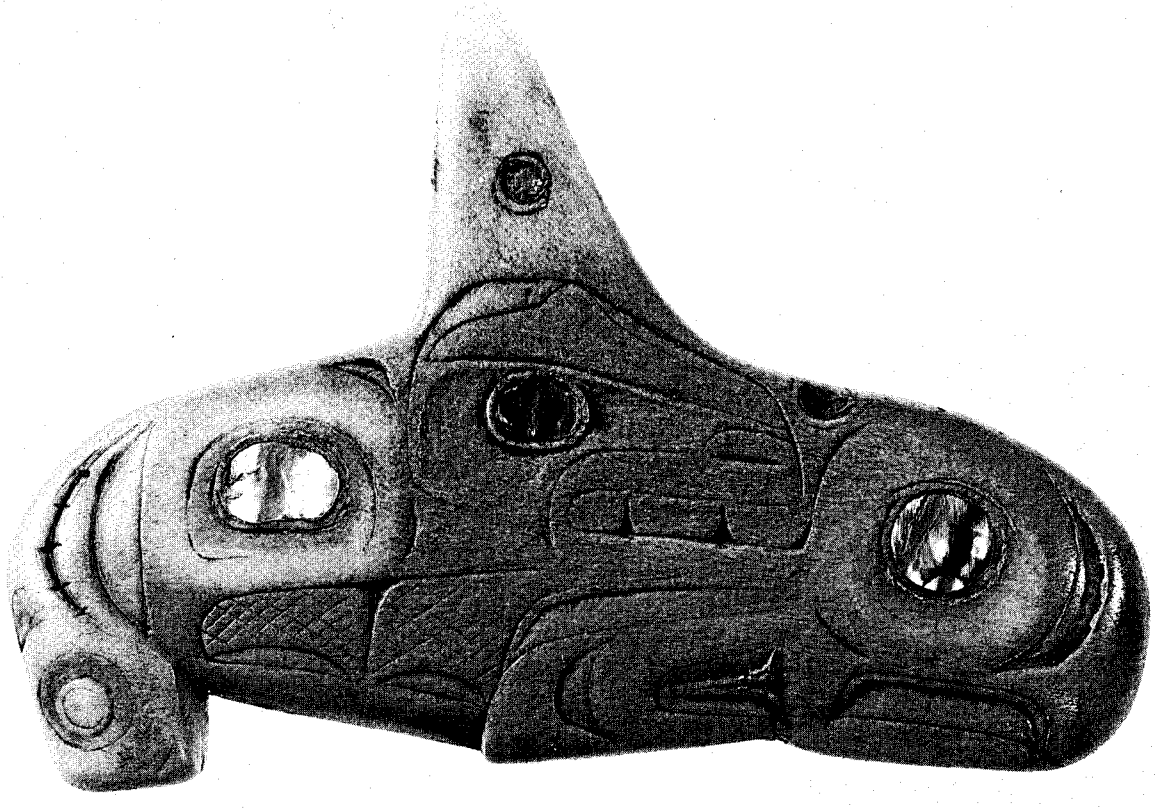


Figure 101. Haida bone charm in the form of a killer whale inlaid with haliotis shell (length: 9.5 cm); collected in 1870 by Lieut. F.W. Ring at Fort Simpson, B.C. (Smithsonian Institution, Department of Anthropology; 75-7155)

Caamaño was about to depart, the Indians held a feast in his honour. During one of the accompanying dances, Jammisit was garbed in a fabulous costume that had some trade material incorporated into its fabric:

> *On his head was a large well-imitated representation of a seagull's head, made of wood and coloured blue and pink, with eyes fashioned out of polished tin; while from behind his back stuck out a wooden frame covered in blue cloth, and decked out with quantities of eagles' feathers and bits of whale bone, to complete the representation of the bird. His cloak was now of white calico, bearing a blue flowered pattern, trimmed with a brown edging. Round his waist hung a deerskin apron falling to below the knee, whose fringe or flounce was made from narrow strips of the same leather, everyone being split into two tails, each of which carried half the hoof of a deer. Over this apron or kilt he wore another, shorter, one, of blue jean ornamented with numerous metal buttons arranged symmetrically, and two rows of antelope hide pendants or tassels, each finished off with an eagle's claw. On his legs were deer skin leggings, tied behind with four laces, ornamented with painted masks and trimmed with strips of hide carrying claws* (Wagner and Newcombe 1938: 291).

A concise account of the trade ornaments used by the Tsimshian Indians about Seal Harbour during the second quarter of the 19th century was published in 1844 by John Dunn, sometime employee of the Hudson's Bay Company:

> *Both male and female... wear large rings through the nose; some of these rings being bone – others, silver; made by themselves, from dollars purchased from American traders. As ornaments for their wrists, they have bracelets, made from brass wire.... Both men and women bore large holes through their ears; from which they suspend red worsted threads, plaited and knotted, and hanging down about eight inches, instead of earrings* (Dunn 1844: 276).

During his rambles along the Pacific Coast in 1853, George Catlin produced several cartoons of the Tsimshian Indians whom he called the "Nayas" (Ross 1979: Figs. 109-119). The natives have metal and shell adornments in their ears and strands of glass beads about their necks (Plate 15). One man in particular sports a nose ring and earrings, probably of haliotis shell and metal respectively, as well as what appears to be a beaded lip pendant (Plate 16).

In the latter part of the century, young Tsimshian women adorned their hair with bilobed ornaments (*tchenes*) of ferrous metal with haliotis shell inlaid in the scroll-shaped ends (Niblack 1890: Pl. 7, Fig. 11). Copper bracelets with shell inlays were also in evidence, though silver was preferred for these trinkets as well as for earrings, and nose and finger rings (Niblack 1890: 261-3). On ceremonial occasions, chiefs donned cape-like vestments of cloth with totemic designs worked on them in pearl buttons and glass beads (Plate 17). Headdress frontlets (Fig. 102) and masks were commonly trimmed with copper and abalone shell (Gunther 1962: 77, Fig. 107; Niblack 1890: 264). The latter material was sometimes also inset in ornately carved ivory charms.

Kwakiutl

Directly to the south of the Tsimshian lived the Kwakiutl (Fig. 98) who comprised three major dialect groups: the Haisla about Douglas Channel and Gardner Canal, the Heiltsuk between Gardner Canal and Rivers Inlet, and the Kwakiutl proper in the area around Queen Charlotte Strait (Jenness 1961: 342). While there is evidence to suggest that members of the latter group had dealings with Captain James Cook in 1778 (Gunther 1972: 26), the first indubitable encounter did not take place until July 1792, when Captain George Vancouver landed at the village of Yuculta on Cape Mudge in Georgia Strait. Present on the occasion was Archibald Menzies, ship's surgeon and naturalist, who recorded a few lines concerning the adornments of the local populace: "Their Ears are perforated for appending Ornaments either of Copper or pearly Shells; the

Figure 102. Tsimshian chief wearing a haliotis-inlaid headdress and a woven "chilkat" blanket, 1916 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa; 35989)

Septum of the Nose they also pierce & sometimes wear a quill or piece of tooth-shell [dentalium] in it" (Menzies 1923: 82).

Other written eyewitness accounts of early Kwakiutl embellishments are lacking. Therefore, it is necessary to rely on the information that Franz Boas was able to collect during his exhaustive study of Kwakiutl culture in the latter part of the 19th century. His research revealed that the Kwakiutl of "former times" were particularly fond of armbands, bracelets, knee-rings and anklets of copper and brass. Some of the copper articles were fashioned from heavy-gauge angular stock; others were of twisted round-sectioned wire. Wristlets, armbands, knee-rings and anklets woven from mountain-goat wool and garnished with dentalia shells were worn by some women, while others preferred horn bracelets with dentalia glued thereon. Strands of dentalia shells with tassels of coloured yarn at their lower ends (Fig. 103) served to adorn the hair, as did crescent-shaped ornaments of copper. Both men and women garnished their noses with haliotis-shell ornaments of various shapes and sizes, both plain and engraved (Boas 1909: 454). Domestic items that were decorated with imported materials included spoons with haliotis-shell inlays (Boas 1909: 405). Niblack (1890: 272) reveals that haliotis shell was also used to embellish the ornately carved wands or canes which were carried on ceremonial occasions by chiefs and shamans (Fig. 104).

By the end of the century, few adornments were to be seen among the Kwakiutl. On ceremonial occasions, however, persons of rank donned cloth blankets embellished with mother-of-pearl buttons (Fig. 105; Boas 1897: 319), or blankets and cedar-bark hats (Fig. 106) which exhibited a profusion of abalone shell (Boas 1921: 701, 777-8). Large ornaments of the latter material also adorned ears (Fig. 106) and noses (Fig. 107) (Boas 1921: 778). Wooden effigy bowls used in potlatches occasionally had their rims set with brass furniture tacks (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; cat. no. 85,076), while charms for calling the northwest wind were typically formed of fern roots decorated with red paint and dentalia (Boas 1921: 624).

Nootka

The Nootka or Aht, as they were sometimes called, occupied the west coast of Vancouver Island from Cape Cook south to around Port San Juan (Swanton 1952: 587). They were first visited by Europeans under Ensign Juan Perez in July 1774. At this time, the Nootkans manifested a great desire for knives, old clothes, and shells that the Spaniards "had picked up on the beach at Monterey and Carmelo" (Cutter 1969: 259). Doubtless the blue-green abalone native to the California coast, the shells were apparently used to adorn certain garments (Gunther 1972: 12).

Captain James Cook followed in 1778, dropping anchor in Nootka Sound on 25 March. While there, he and several members of his crew recorded much valuable information concerning the use of foreign ornaments by the local populace. According to Lieutenant James King, "their ears are perforat'd all round, thro which they hang copper, pieces of bone, & whatever small thing they got from us as buttons &c.; those who are not rich enough to wear the above ornaments have strings knott'd" (Beaglehole 1967: 1405). The copper trinkets, some of which were in the form of "rolls," were highly valued. Cook was led to believe that the metal for these articles was imported from "the country somewhere to the Northward," while a midshipman by the name of Riou was told that "it came from other Indians farther to the S°ward" (Beaglehole 1967: 322 fn.).

Nasal adornments, wrote Lieutenant King, "were not general, nor had they [the Nootka] many holes thro' the cartilage, but a small flat piece of copper shap'd like a crescent hanging by it, a few others had cylendrical peices of copper hanging by a string through the Nose" (Beaglehole 1967: 1405-6). A more detailed description of the lunate specimens is provided by Cook:

> *they have another ornament to the Face, which is a small circular plate, or flat ring in the shape of a horse shoe, but not more in circumference than a shilling; the upper part is cut asunder, so as the two points may gently pinch the Bridle of the Nose, to which*

Figure 103. Kwakiutl hair ornament of dentalia shells and blue and yellow crewell (Boas 1909: 455, Fig. 131, a)

Figure 104. "Hamasaka in Tluwulahu costume with speaker's staff," by Edward S. Curtis, 1914. The principal chief of the Kwakiutl wears woolen blanket with mother-of-pearl buttons (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-20826)

Figure 105. Southern Kwakiutl chieftainess in ceremonial costume, photographed by C.O. Hastings prior to 1895. Abalone shell decorates her head gear, while mother-of-pearl buttons adorn her blanket. Thimbles comprise the frontal fringe (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; 42-975-B)

Figure 106. A Kwakiutl chief's daughter, by Edward S. Curtis, 1914. The plates on her hat are fashioned from abalone shell, as are her ear pendants and nose ring. The engraved bracelets are of gold, while the earbobs are probably of silver (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-20836)

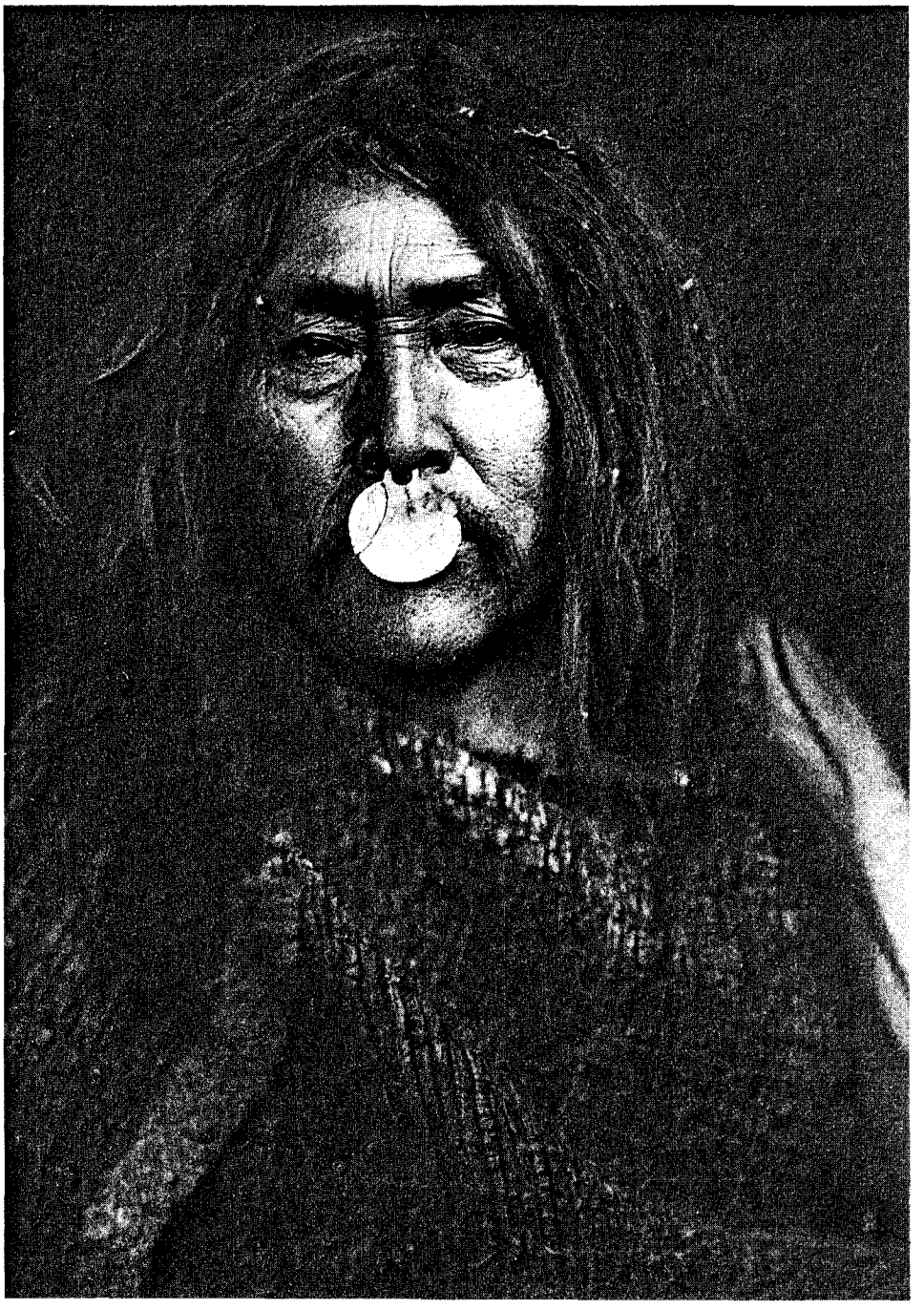


Figure 107. Naemahlpunkuma, a Kwakiutl of the Hahuamis tribe, by Edward S. Curtis, 1914. His circular nose ornament is of abalone shell (National Library of Canada, Ottawa; L-11599)

it hangs over the upper lip. These ornaments were made of either iron or copper and the rims of some of our buttons were appropriated to this use (Beaglehole 1967: 314).

While Cook attested that the foregoing embellishments were common to both sexes, King noted that the women "did not take half the pains to decorate themselves as the men," and that they "had no ornaments hanging from their Ears or Noses" (Beaglehole 1967: 314, 1406). David S. Samwell, surgeon, also commented that Nootkan women "were never... adorned with ornaments of any kind" (Beaglehole 1967: 1100), suggesting that either Captain Cook was in error on this point, or that women only rarely utilized ornaments.

The Nootkans were also fond of bracelets which, wrote Cook, they made "of various materials; some were of iron and others of copper and thick brass wire was much coveted for the same purpose" (Beaglehole 1967: 314). W. Ellis (1783: 223), the assistant surgeon, also recorded the use of pewter for this purpose, as well as buttons strung on a section of cord. Another officer witnessed "the rim of a broken metal buckle" being pressed into service as a bracelet by a man who bartered a very fine sea otter skin for it (Beaglehole 1967: 303 fn.). Men who could not procure metal wristlets wore "on their Arms... a string of white Beads [probably dentalia] several times round, which they also wore ab^{t} their Legs & often tyed their Hair with the same" (Beaglehole 1967: 1100).

Necklaces were typically composed of fish bones (Ellis 1783: 215), although one man was seen wearing "two small silver table Spoons... round his neck as an ornament" (Beaglehole 1967: 322). These were probably of Spanish origin.

Items obtained or used in trade sometimes also served to garnish ceremonial masks. A painted wolf's head mask collected at Nootka Sound during the Cook expedition was equipped with dentalia teeth (Gunther 1972: 225, no. 150), while another depicting the head of an eagle had eyes made of haliotis shell (Gunther 1972: 226, no. 153).

Subsequent to Cook's visit, Nootka Sound became a major port in the maritime fur trade. Among those who resorted to its sheltered coves for water and wood was John Meares who dropped anchor there in May 1788. Accompanying him on this occasion was Comekela, brother of Maquinna, ranking chief of the Sound, who had been taken to China by another trader and was now returning to his people. In preparation for disembarkation, Comekela "arrayed himself in all his glory":

His scarlet [regimental] *coat was decorated with such quantities of brass buttons and copper additions of one kind or other, as could not fail of procuring him the most profound respect from his countrymen, and render him an object of the first desire among the Nootka damsels. At least half a sheet of copper formed his breast-plate; from his ears copper ornaments were suspended, and he contrived to hang from his hair, which was dressed en queue, so many handles of copper saucepans, that his head was kept back by the weight of them, in such a stiff and upright position, as very much to heighten the singularity of his appearance* (Meares 1790: 110).

When Meares departed the following month, he presented Maquinna "with a suit of cloaths covered with metal buttons, in his eyes of extraordinary estimation" (Meares 1790: 130). At the same time, Comekela's elderly aunt was "indulged with a pair of buckles, which, immediately on her receiving them, were hung in her ears with the same pride that European beauty feels in decorating its charms with the gems of India" (Meares 1790: 131).

While at sea, Meares wrote a general account of the trade ornaments utilized by the Nootkans:

The ears of the men are universally perforated. Some of these have several holes, in which they fix small leathern thongs, strung either with porcupines quills, small pieces of copper, or any other ornament they could procure from us. But buttons, when they could be obtained, supplanted all other articles, and we have sometimes seen their ears drawn down almost to their shoulders by the weight of them. The septum, or that part of the nose which divides the nostrils, is also

> *sometimes perforated, from whence pieces of copper, iron or tin, shaped in various ways, are suspended. – They wear also, round their wrists, a kind of bracelet, made of metal, or of leather strung with shells* [probably dentalia], *and sometimes of a number of simple thongs of leather. They apply the same kind of ornament to their ancles; but with a greater number of thongs, and a proportionable encrease in the size of the beads or other decorations* (Fig. 108; Meares 1790: 253).

As for the women, Meares (1790: 254) observed only that "very few of them... were adorned with the nose or ear decorations."

During the early 1790s, some of the European and American traders who flocked to the west coast of Vancouver Island recorded various bits of information concerning Nootkan adornments. At the village of Opswis on Checleset Bay in northern Nootkan territory, John Hoskins found that the inhabitants "hung leathern thongs, peices of Iron, copper etca." from their ears and noses (Howay 1969: 195). To the south, at Opitsitah on Meares Island in Clayoquot Sound, he noted that "the common men and married women let their hair hang loose while the unmarried and girls wear it in four or six clubs done up with beeds [dentalia] or have it hung with peices of copper pearl shells buttons etca" (Howay 1969: 288). His shipmate, John Boit, reported seeing men with "Beads [dentalia] and fibers of Bark... woulded round their Ancles and Knees" (Howay 1969: 386). Like themselves, the Clayoquot peoples garnished some of their dwellings with such trade materials as "peices of copper, bits of iron, pearl shells, strips of cloth etca. etca. hung up with strips of bark and decorated with eagles feathers" (Howay 1969: 256). Further south, in the vicinity of Barkley Sound, Étienne Marchand (1801: 490) discovered that the natives "wore necklaces of glass-beads, ear-pendants, and bracelets of plaited brass wire, from which hung some bobs of the same metal."

While exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1792, the Spanish vessels *Sutil* and *Mexicana* entered Neah Bay on the northern coast of Washington where they encountered members of the southern-most Nootkan tribe, the Makah. Comparing these peoples to those of Nootka Sound, the Spaniards found the local females much more attentive to "extravagant adornment" than the women of Nootka (Wagner 1933: 234). The sorts of ornaments that were popular with the Makah at this time are depicted in three contemporary portraits executed by José Cordera, the expedition's artist. The first portrait (Fig. 109) is that of Tetacus (Tatoosh), "Chief of Fuca." His only garnishment, a necklace composed of a starburst pendant flanked by a series of circular pendants, possibly of shell, may be a figment of the artist's imagination (Gunther 1972: 68).

The second painting (Fig. 110) is a representation of Maria, one of the chief's wives. She is shown wearing a headband decorated with a longitudinal strand of what appear to be dentalia shells. Alternating pendants of what are probably glass beads and bits of shell or metal fringe the lower edge. Dentalia and glass bead ornaments adorn her ears, and a triple-strand necklace of round glass (?) beads encircles her throat. The child she holds has a small ring in its nose, while her own nasal septum is embellished with a pin, possibly with a bead at either end.

The third portrait (Fig. 111) depicts another of the wives of Chief Tetacus. She sports a basketry hat decorated with a complex design worked in dentalia shells. These also comprise her multiple-strand necklace and form the edging on her woven armband. Her ears are garnished with strands of alternating oval and round glass beads which terminate in metal or abalone-shell pendants. The septum of her nose is adorned with a star-shaped pendant, possibly of metal, resembling the central pendant on the necklace worn by Tetacus.

The contemporary adornments of the Indians at Nootka Sound were recorded by José Mariano Moziño, a botanist-naturalist who was stationed there from April to September 1792:

> *They are accustomed from childhood to pierce three or four holes through their ear lobes and one or two in the cartilage between their nostrils. The latter holes now have no other purpose except to hold some pins which*

Figure 108. "Callicum and Maquilla, chiefs of Nootka Sound." They wear metal bracelets and anklets which also lie on the ground. The ear ornaments may also be of metal (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-27699)

Figure 109. Tetacus, a Makah chief, engraved by Fernando Selma after the painting by Cordera, 1792. Black marks are wood-boring beetle holes in the engraving. The necklace may be composed of metal or shell elements (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-117916)

Figure 110. Maria, wife of Tetacus, by Fernando Selma after the painting by Cordera, 1792 (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; C-117917)

Figure 111. The second wife of Tetacus, by Cordera, 1792. Dentalia adorn her hat, neck and armband. Glass beads and shell or metal pendants form her ear ornaments (Museo de America, Madrid)

they often thread through them, since they no longer use the nose rings to which they were accustomed when Captain Cook was there. From their ears they hang various threads or bands, which they knot separately slightly more than one inch from the ear. From these they often hang some little doubled metal plates of copper in the form of a cylinder from an inch and a half to two inches in length. Others wear up to three and four earrings together, threaded with neither order nor proportion and with no attempt to make the adornment equal on both sides.

As a necklace around their throats, they string together various fishbones, spines of the Venus shell [dentalia are meant here], *and frequently some glass beads which have become available through trade with Europeans. They arrange their bracelets in the same way, and they like to wear similar strings on their ankles* (Moziño 1970: 11-2).

Moziño also described the appearance of Iztocoti-clemot, the daughter of Maquinna, at her coming-of-age ceremony:

the young princess [was] *dressed in the finest materials of cedar bark and attired with innumerable necklaces of small pointed pieces of some species of Venus shell* [dentalium shell]. *Cut all the same, these have a beautiful luster and the shape of glass beads. Her hair was parted in the middle and divided into two equal parts, fastened tightly at the ends by means of many cylinders of well-polished copper, similar to those hanging from her ears. Their weight could not have been less than one Castilian pound* (Moziño 1970: 35).

Two years later, Captain George Vancouver stopped at Nootka Sound during his survey of the North Pacific. While there he witnessed a mask dance performed by Maquinna whose costume included "a cloak and a kind of short apron, covered with hollow shells [dentalia], and small pieces of copper so placed as to strike against each other, and to produce a jingling noise" (Vancouver 1798: 309).

On 22 March 1803, the ship *Boston* was attacked in Nootka Sound and the crew massacred save for two men, one of whom was John R. Jewitt, the ship's blacksmith. Held captive by Maquinna for nearly three years, Jewitt earned his keep by forging ornaments and other metal articles for local consumption, as well as for trade to the neighbouring tribes. During this time he also made many valuable observations on the embellishments of the Nootka Indians. Of the women he wrote:

Their ornaments consist chiefly of ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, rings for the fingers and ancles, and small nose-jewels; the latter are, however, wholly confined to the wives of the king or chiefs. These are principally made out of copper or brass, highly polished, and of various forms and sizes. The nose-jewel is usually a small white shell, or bead, suspended to a thread.

The wives of the common people frequently wear, for bracelets and ancle rings, strips of the country cloth, or skin of the metamelth [an unidentified member of the deer family], *painted in figures, and those of the king or principal chiefs bracelets and necklaces, consisting of a number of strings of* Ife-waw *[dentalia], an article much prized by them, and which makes a very handsome appearance* (Jewitt 1824: 82-3).

The male segment of the population was no less adorned:

The men... wear bracelets of painted leather or copper, and large ear-rings of the latter; but the ornament on which they appear to set the most value is the nose-jewel, if such an appellation may be given to the wooden stick which some of them employ for this purpose. The king and chiefs, however, wear them of a different form, being either small pieces of polished copper or brass, of which I made many for them, in the shape of hearts and diamonds, or a twisted conical shell, about half an inch in length, of a bluish colour, and very bright, which is brought from the south. These are suspended by a small wire or string to the hole, in the gristle of the nose,

Figure 112. Macquilla (Maquinna) of Nootka Sound, possibly drawn by Francis Simpkinson, 1837. The necklaces are of glass beads while the ear ornaments are of either short dentalia segments or tubular glass beads (National Library of Canada, Ottawa; L-11874)

> *which is formed in infancy, by boring it with a pin, the hole being afterwards enlarged by the repeated insertion of wooden pegs of an increased size, until it becomes about the diameter of a pipe stem, though some have them of a size nearly sufficient to admit the little finger* (Jewitt 1824: 87-8).

Sat-sat-sok-sis, Maquinna's son, aged about eleven years, was fond of a necklace composed of several coat buttons on a string. This had been presented to him by Jewitt (1824: 37).

Men's garments were also occasionally embellished with trade goods. The truncated conical hats that were in general use commonly exhibited an ornamental tassel composed of a long slip of skin covered with rows of dentalia shells (Jewitt 1824: 75). Among the nobility, a dance costume worn by Sat-sat-sok-sis consisted of a wolf's head mask and "a long piece of yellow cloth, wrapped loosely around him, and decorated with small bells" (Jewitt 1824: 47). Maquinna's own pride and joy was a "royal robe" made for him by a man named Thompson, the other survivor of the *Boston* massacre:

> *This* [garment] *was a* Kootsuk *or mantle, a fathom square, made entirely of European vest patterns of the gayest colours. These were sewed together, in a manner to make the best show, and bound with a deep trimming of the finest otter-skin, with which the arm-holes were also bordered; while the bottom was farther embellished with five or six rows of gilt buttons, placed as near as possible to each other* (Jewitt 1824: 124).

Turning to the Makah, the Kla-iz-zarts of his narrative, Jewitt found them to be "in general more skilful in painting and decorating themselves" than the natives of Nootka Sound. Ear ornaments were especially popular with them, some individuals having "no less than a dozen holes in each of their ears, to which were suspended strings of small [dentalia] beads about two inches in length" (Jewitt 1824: 102). Several decades later, Paul Kane (1925: 165) noted that some of the dentalia ear pendants worn by the Makah were massive affairs consisting of 70-80 shells each.

When HMS *Sulphur* visited Nootka Sound in October 1837, one of the crew, possibly Midshipman Francis G. Simpkinson, produced a sketch of "Macquilla, the husband of the descendant of the Macquilla or Maguinna of [Captain] Vancouver" (Belcher 1843: 109). The chief's stern visage is brightened by a multiple-strand necklace of small round beads and ear pendants composed of either tubular beads or short dentalia shells (Fig. 112). At the same location in 1853, George Catlin presented the chief's daughter with a handsome necklace of blue and white beads (Ross 1979: 231).

A concise account of Nootkan embellishments during the 1860s was penned by Gilbert M. Sproat, a government official at Alberni, Barclay Sound:

> *One frequently sees the women combing their hair and afterwards disposing it on each side into plaits, which taper to a point, and are there ornamented with beads* [probably dentalia]*; or it hangs loosely and is kept down by leaden weights affixed to the end. When at work the women tie up their hair so as not to be inconvenienced. Unlike the men, they are fond of toys and ornaments for themselves and children, and are seldom seen without rings, anklets, and bracelets of beads or brass. Their blankets are often tastefully ornamented with beads.... A brilliant ring or piece of cockleshell* [abalone]*, or a bit of brass, shaped like a horse-shoe, often adorns...* [the nose]. *Similar ornaments are worn in the ear by both sexes* (Sproat 1868: 26-7).

At Nootka Sound in the early 1860s, Captain C.E. Barrett-Lennard (1862: 95) noted that Chief Mocoola (Maquinna) and his wife displayed gold rings on their fingers. He also described the attire of the wife of Pe Sha Klim, the chief's "herald, or spouter":

> *Mrs. Pe Sha Klim was, undoubtedly, after her peculiar style, a showy dresser, and I should imagine led the fashion among the Mowichat belles. Her wardrobe was extensive and varied, and the really tasteful manner in which the gaily-coloured blankets she wore were ornamented and embroidered, testified to her skill with the needle. Strips of crimson cloth, not inartistically disposed on a ground of blue, and ornamented with an infinite number of small pearl buttons, formed, as may be supposed, a very gorgeous article of apparel* (Barrett-Lennard 1862: 121).

In his overview of the Nootka, Edward S. Curtis (1916, 11: 90) mentioned that girls who participated in the winter ceremony formerly wore headbands adorned with dentalia shells or eagle feathers. He also noted that on the fifth morning of her puberty ceremony, a chief's daughter had fringed cedar-bark ornaments appended to her hair which she wore for the next ten months (Curtis 1916, 11: 42, 43). These were typically ornamented with dentalia or shell buttons.

Discussion

Although the tribes of the Pacific Coast utilized ornaments fashioned from a variety of materials (Table 6), those of metal and shell were the most highly esteemed. Of the metal adornments, bracelets were by far the most popular items, being worn by both men and women, up to five per arm. The earliest forms were fashioned from native copper, and iron salvaged from shipwreck debris. Following the arrival of European traders in the second half of the 18th century, they were commonly formed of twisted copper or iron wire that was occasionally wound around a rigid central wire (Boas 1909: 454). Another popular type was made by cutting sheet copper into strips, bending back the edges, and curving the bands into shape (Moziño 1970: 50). At some time during the first half of the 19th century, silver bracelets began to replace those of copper and iron. Hammered out of coins by native silversmiths, the most expert of whom were the Haida, they were typically engraved with decorative scrollwork, or the totemic design of the wearer (Niblack 1890: 262). Gold bracelets were seemingly adopted by Indians of noble birth, at least among the Nootka, in the latter years of the century.

Nose rings and pendants, and collars and earrings of iron, copper and brass were also popular adornments, especially during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. While the heavy collars understandably faded from the scene rather quickly, having generally gone out of favour by the early 1790s, the other embellishments continued on in use for most of the 19th century, with silver gradually replacing the base metals. Brass buttons were also much sought after during the early contact period, especially by the Nootka, for personal adornment and the decoration of clothing.

Ornaments fashioned from dentalia and haliotis shell were no less popular. Indigenous to the Northwest Coast, dentalia shells were a highly prized carry-over from the prehistoric period. They found their principal use in the adornment of garments as well as the fabrication of necklaces, bracelets, anklets and ear and hair ornaments. On the other hand, the haliotis shells were brought in from southern California, the local variety being too thin for ornamental applications (Heizer 1940: 400). Cut into variously shaped pieces that were sometimes enhanced with engraved designs (Boas 1909: 454), the iridescent nacre of the shell was most frequently used to adorn various items of wearing apparel, as well as the noses and ears of either sex. It was also inlaid in such domestic and ceremonial articles as spoons, bowls, charms and amulets, fighting knives, carved wooden staffs, masks and headdress frontlets (Gunther 1962: 53-92; Vancouver Art Gallery 1967). Towards the middle of the 19th century, commercially produced mother-of-pearl buttons came into fashion for decorating blankets used as capes or cloaks (Dunn 1844: 285).

Glass beads were generally held "in little esteem" during the early contact period (Beaglehole 1967: 297, 302; Cutter 1969: 237). Although they were subsequently utilized for a variety of decorative purposes, most notably the formation of necklaces, these items never achieved the same degree of popularity that they did among the neighbouring tribal groups.

TABLE 6
PACIFIC COAST TRIBE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	Haida	Tsimshian	Kwakiutl	Nootka
Shell				
Dentalia				
Anklets			X	F M
Aprons				M
Armbands			X	F M
Bracelets			X	F M
Capes/cloaks	F			F M
Charms			M	
Ear adornment				F M
Hair adornment			X	F M
Hats				F M
Headdresses/headbands				F
Knee rings/leg bands			X	M
Masks				X
Necklaces	F		X	F M
Nose adornment			X	F
Haliotis				
Bowl inlays	X			
Bracelet inlays	F			
Capes/cloaks	X		F M	F M
Charms	X	M		
Clothing (unspecified)	F M			X
Ear adornment	F M		F M	F M
Hair ornament inlays	F	F		
Hats		X	F M	
Headdresses/headbands	M	M	F M	
House adornment				X
Labret inlays	F			
Mask inlays	X		X	X
Necklaces	F?			
Nose rings/pendants	F		F M	F M
Spoon inlays			X	
Wand/staff inlays	M		M	
Pearl buttons				
Capes/cloaks	F	M	F M	F
Clothing (unspecified)	X			
Hair adornment				F
Necklaces	X			
Glass				
Beads				
Anklets				F
Bowls	X			
Bracelets				F
Capes/cloaks		M		
Clothing (unspecified)	X			
Coats	M			
Ear adornment	F			F
Headdresses/headbands				F

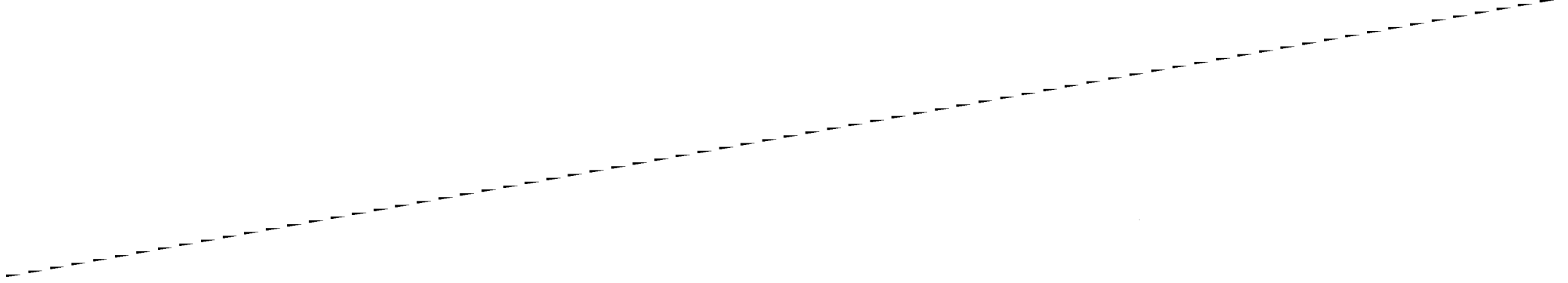
PACIFIC COAST TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Haida	Tsimshian	Kwakiutl	Nootka
Glass (Cont'd.)				
Lip adornment		M?		
Necklaces	X	F M		F M O
Nose adornment				F?
Metal				
Anklets	F M		X	F M
Armbands			X	
Bells				
Capes				M
Bracelets	F M	F M	X	F M
Breast plates				M
Buckles				
Bracelets				M
Ear adornment				F
Trousers	M			
Buttons				
Aprons		M		
Bracelets				X
Capes/cloaks				M
Clothing (unspecified)	F M			M
Coats				M
Ear adornment				M
Hair adornment				F M
Headdresses/headbands		M		
Necklaces	F?			O
Nose adornments				F M
Coins				
Clothing (unspecified)	F M			
Coats	M			
Trousers	M			
Earrings	X	F M	X	F M
Finger rings	F	X		
Hair adornment	F	F		
Headdress inlays	M	M		
Knee rings			X	
Labret inlays	F			
Lip pins	F			
Mask inlays	M	M		
Necklaces/collars	F M	M		F M
Nose rings/pendants	F	F M		F M O
Pendants/trinkets				
Aprons				M
Capes/cloaks				M
Coats				M
Hair adornment				F M
House adornment				X
Sauce pan handles				
Hair adornment				M
Spoons				
Necklaces				M

PACIFIC COAST TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Haida	Tsimshian	Kwakiutl	Nootka
Metal (Cont'd.)				
Tacks				
Bowls/dishes	X		X	
Thimbles				
Ceremonial garb			F	
Clothing (unspecified)	F M			
Tubes				
Ear adornment				F
Hair adornment				F
Worsted				
Yarn				
Ear adornment	F	F M		
Hair adornment			X	

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.



Chapter VII

The Inuit

The Inuit (formerly the Eskimo) are physically, culturally and linguistically different from the Indians. Except for the west coast of James Bay and the southern edge of Hudson Bay, the Inuit inhabited the northern coastline of Canada from the Alaskan border on the west to the northwestern edge of Newfoundland on the east. To the northward, they are known to have occupied the Arctic islands to 82° north latitude (Canada. Geographical Board 1913: 148). Their present territory is greatly reduced.

Aside from the groups residing on the barren grounds to the west of Hudson Bay which made the caribou their mainstay, the Inuit were a littoral people who hunted sea mammals during most of the year and moved inland briefly only during the summer to hunt caribou and musk-oxen, and to fish the rivers and lakes. The caribou was an important resource as it not only provided meat, but hide for winter clothing, sinew for lines and thread, and bone and antler for the manufacture of numerous items (Jenness 1960: 405-8).

Because of the vastness of the territory occupied by the Inuit, the period of initial contact with Europeans varies drastically from region to region. While the eastern groups may have been visited by the Norse as early as the beginning of the 11th century, the Inuit living on the islands about Melville Sound remained practically unaffected by white culture until the early 20th century.

Unlike the Indians, the Inuit had no tribal organization but lived instead in scattered groups whose language and customs varied only slightly from one another. Lacking political and linguistic differences, the Inuit discussed here are segregated into five major groups on the basis of their geographical position or a distinctive aspect of their culture (Fig. 113). Thus, there are the geographically defined Labrador, Central and Mackenzie Inuit, while the Copper and Caribou peoples derive their names from the former's use of float copper to manufacture tools and other items, and the latter's dependence on the caribou.

Labrador Inuit

This group formerly inhabited the coast of the Labrador peninsula from the eastern side of James Bay to Mingan opposite Anticosti Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as well as the northern tip of Newfoundland (Hawkes 1916: 14-8; Jenness 1960: 406). Their territory is much the same today though its southeastern-most limit is now Hamilton Inlet (National Atlas of Canada 1974: 122).

The date of the first encounter between the Labrador Inuit and Europeans remains problematical, al-

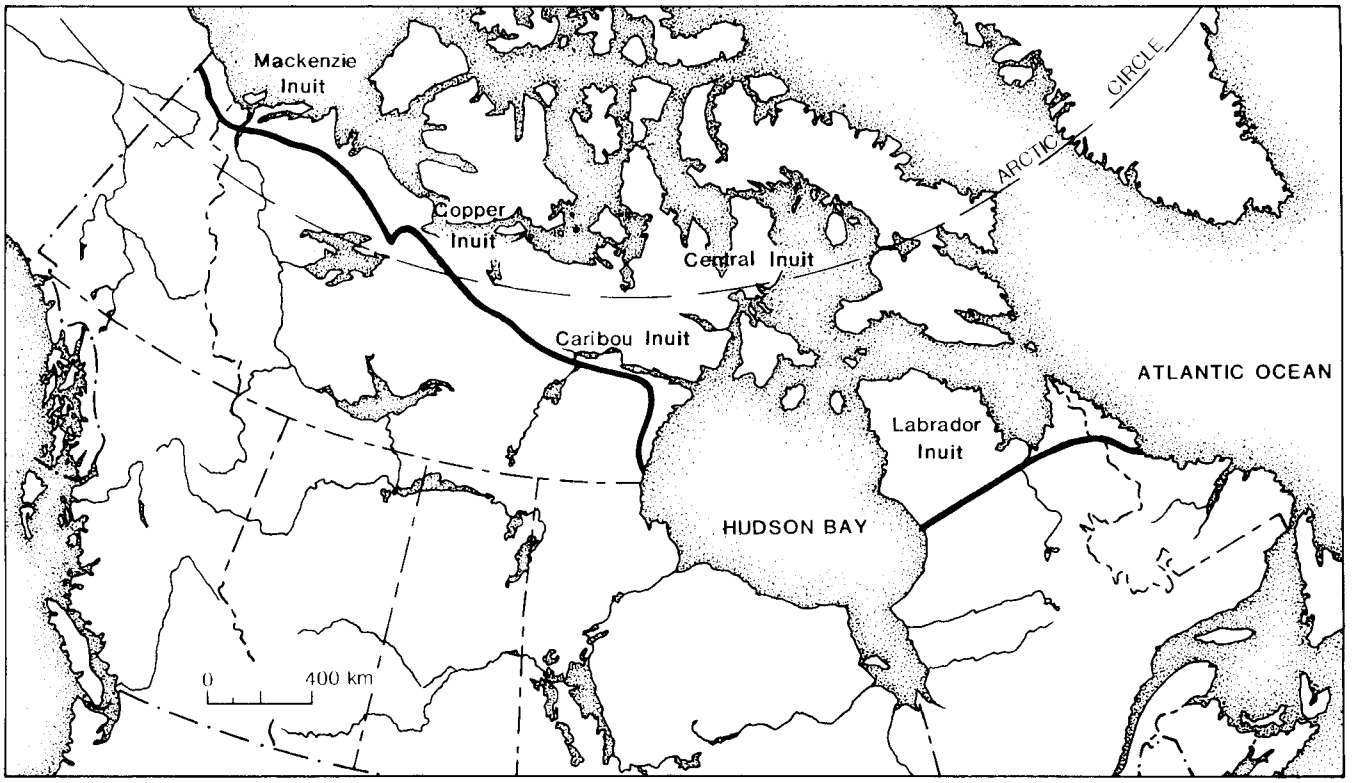


Figure 113. Distribution of the Canadian Inuit ca. 1850 (drawing by D. Kappler)

though the Vinland sagas suggest that it may have been as early as the beginning of the 11th century when the Norse were exploring and attempting to settle the northeastern coast of North America (Gathorne-Hardy 1970: xxiii, xxvii). Unfortunately, the sagas do not contain any descriptions of people who can definitely be identified as Inuit. It is not until almost 500 years later that such information appears for the first time. Writing to his brothers in October 1501, Pietro Pasqualigo, Venetian ambassador to Portugal, mentions that one of the ships sent out under Captain Gaspar Corte-Real the previous year had recently returned to Lisbon, bringing with it seven natives:

> *These resemble gypsies in colour, features, stature and aspect; are clothed in the skins of various animals, but chiefly of otters. In summer they turn the hair outside and in winter the opposite way. And these skins are not sewn together in any way nor tanned, but just as they are taken from the animals; they wear them over their shoulders and arms. And their privy parts are fastened with cords made of very strong sinews of fish, so that they look like wild men. They are very shy and gentle, but well formed in arms and legs and shoulders beyond description. They have their faces marked like those of the Indians, some with six, some with eight, some with less marks. They speak, but are not understood by anyone, though I believe that they have been spoken to in every possible language. In their land there is no iron, but they make knives out of stones and in like manner the points of their arrows. And yet these men have brought from there a piece of a broken gilt sword, which certainly seems to have been made in Italy. One of the boys was wearing in his ears two silver rings* [or *disks:* dui tondini de arzento (Harrisse 1961: 73)] *which without doubt seem to have been made in Venice...* (Williamson 1929: 40).

While this description does not provide a totally positive identification, the evidence suggests that

they were Inuit captured in either northeastern Newfoundland or southern Labrador (Harrisse 1961: 70-4; Pl. 5). As only John Cabot is known to have visited this area since the Norse, the ornaments and sword are believed to have originated with him (Harrisse 1961: 73; Williamson 1929: 182).

The next few centuries saw the influx of ever increasing quantities of trade goods. Iron, primarily in the form of nails for reworking into tools and weapons, was much sought after while ornaments were a rare commodity until the 18th century when such items as rhinestone jewelry and small glass beads of various colours became popular (Jordan 1978: 176-83). The latter were used to adorn garments and to form hair ornaments. A drawing by Nathaniel Dance of Caubvick (Fig. 114), a Labrador Inuit woman brought to England from the Bay of St. Lewis, southeastern Labrador, in 1772 by George Cartwright, shows her wearing a lavishly beaded coat. Three bands of beaded fringe extend across the front of the coat: one on the upper chest and shoulders, another on the bosom and upper sleeves, and the third arching across the top of the apron. Two other bands extend from the centre of the uppermost fringe to either hip. In addition, the apron is embroidered with beadwork, and the cuffs appear to be beaded as well. Complementing the fringe are hair ornaments which exhibit a banded pattern and hang to the waist. A metal headband completes the outfit. A contemporary observer, Lt. Roger Curtis, noted similar items of adornment along the northern coast of Labrador: "The women load their heads with large strings of beads, which they fasten to the hair above the ears; and they are fond of a hoop of bright brass, which they wear as a coronet" (Barrington 1774: 383).

Dance also drew the likeness of Attuiock (Fig. 115) who appears to have been married to Caubvick. While not as elaborate as Caubvick's, beadwork also seems to embellish his coat. What may be a beaded band stretches across the upper abdomen and anchors a number of long, widely spaced thongs that terminate in two or three beads or pendants. The hem is either beaded or lined with ivory ornaments, and a beaded fringe encircles either upper arm.

In his discussion of the Inuit residing at the Bay of St. Lewis about the year 1860, Lambert de Boilieu made no mention of any beaded clothing, intimating that the gaily decorated coats of the previous century were no longer in fashion. He did, however, mention that the women had "long coarse black hair, kept remarkably clean, and generally plaited and strung with particoloured beads, which – like the modern hair-nets – have a pretty appearance" (Boilieu 1861: 127).

The southern Labrador Inuit began to adopt European dress at a fairly early date (Gosling 1910: 211), while those on the north coast were still wearing traditional skin clothing when Lucien Turner visited Ungava Bay in the early 1880s to study the Koksoagmyut group of Inuit. During his stay, Turner collected a representative sample of Koksoagmyut material culture, including several women's coats, one of which was adorned with beads and other items (Fig. 116):

> *The front of the skirt is fringed with little lead drops, bean-shaped in the upper row and pear-shaped in the lower, and pierced so that they can be sewed on. These lead drops are furnished by the trader at the price of about a cent and a half each, in trade. The trimming of this frock cost, therefore, about $4. The four objects dangling from the front of the frock are pewter spoon-bowls. Across the breast is a fringe of short strings of different colored beads, red, black, yellow, white, and blue. Jingling ornaments are much prized* (Turner 1894: 211).

Other items of non-native origin were also used to ornament women's coats:

> *The tin tags from plug tobacco are eagerly sought for, perforated and attached in pendant strands 3 or 4 inches long to sealskin strips and thus serve the place of beads. I saw one woman who certainly had not less than a thousand of these tags jingling as she walked. I have also seen coins of various countries attached to the arms and dress. One coin was Brazilian, another Spanish, and several were English. Coins of the provinces were quite numerous. These were all*

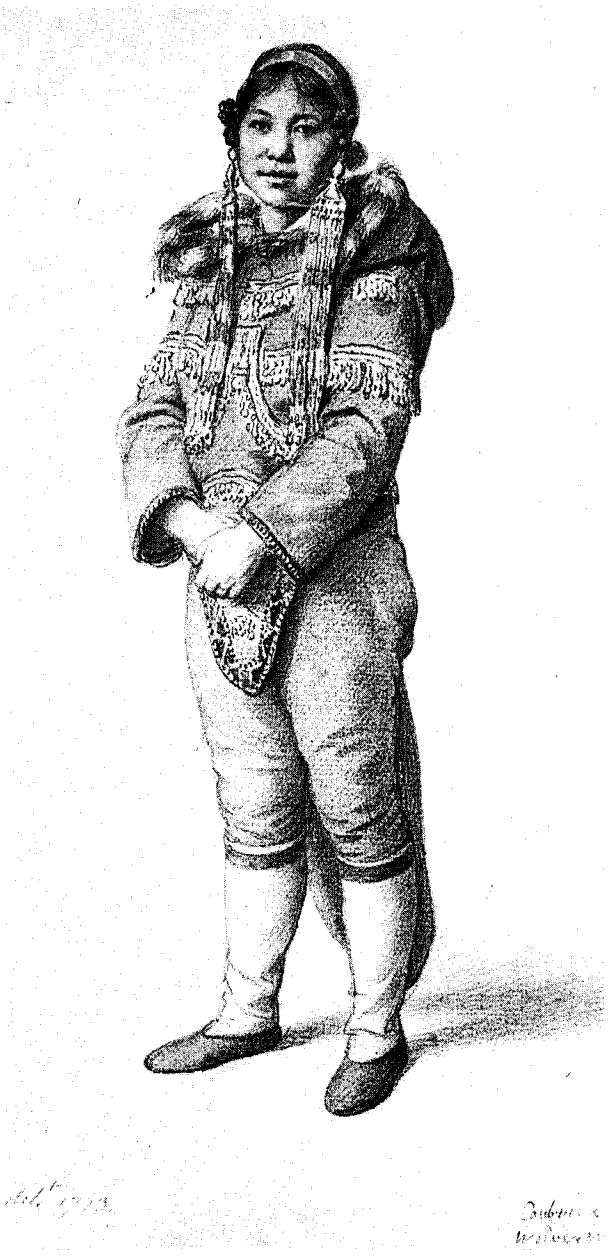


Figure 114. Caubvick, a Labrador Inuit woman, by Nathaniel Dance, 1773. Beads adorn her coat and also compose her hair ornaments. She also wears a metal head band (From the Knatchbull Portrait Collection; photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art; B72/1510)

Figure 115. Attuiock, a Labrador Inuit man, by Nathaniel Dance, 1773. A lesser quantity of beadworks embellishes his coat (From the Knatchbull Portrait Collection; photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art; B72/1509)

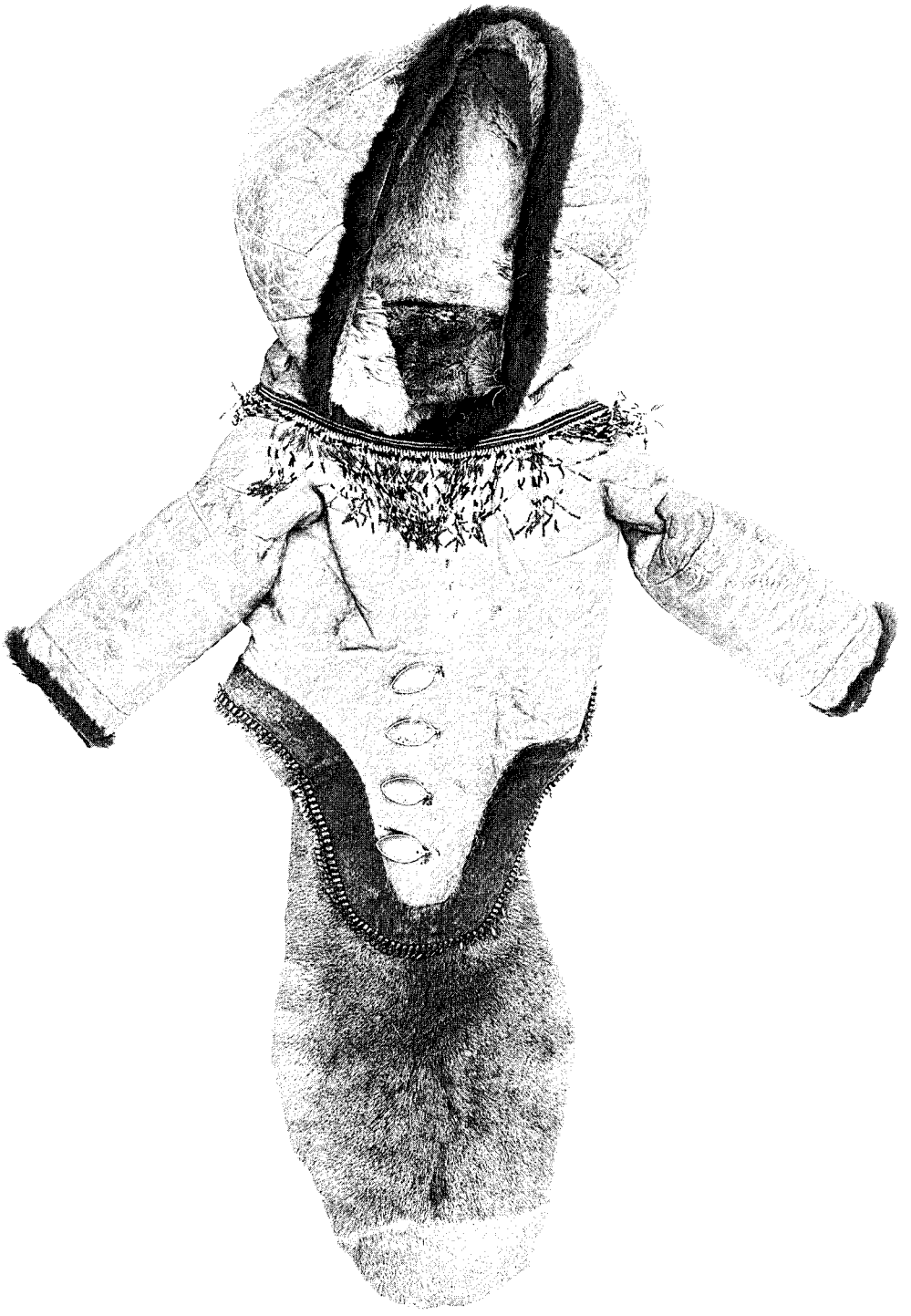


Figure 116. Labrador Inuit woman's deerskin coat. It is decorated with glass beads, lead drops and pewter spoon-bowls (Smithsonian Institution, Photo No. 83-7945)

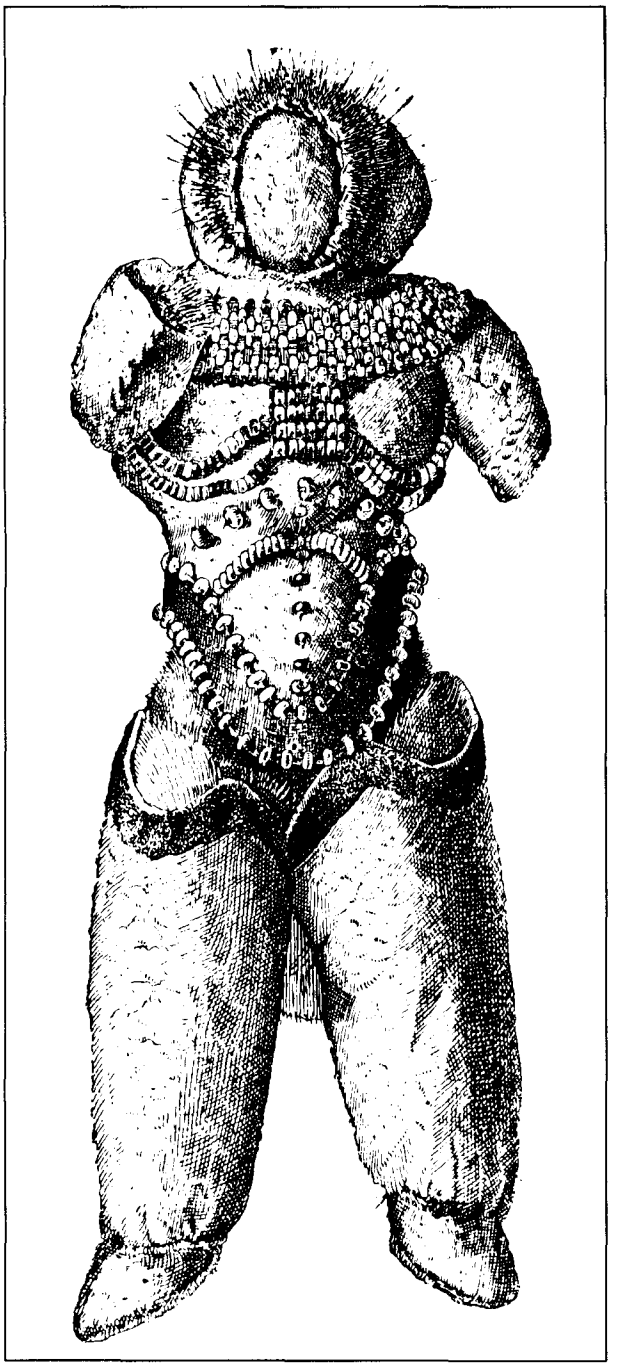


Figure 117. Female Labrador Inuit doll with beaded coat (Turner 1894: 259, Fig. 81)

doubtless obtained from the sailors who annually visit the place, in exchange for little trinkets prepared by the men and women (Turner 1894: 212).

Like their full-size counterparts, the coats of female dolls were also decorated with beadwork. That on one example illustrated by Turner (Fig. 117) closely resembles the configuration depicted in the 1773 drawing of Caubvick (Fig. 114).

Another doll, made to represent a celebrated conjuror and used to magically move game to a desired locality, wore a belt of polar-bear skin from which hung strings of coloured beads and various talismans (Turner 1894: 196-8). Intended to assist in controlling the movements of the animals, two of the latter consisted of variously shaped pieces of wood ornamented with strands of glass "seed" beads and lead drops (Fig. 118).

Other articles that were decorated, often elaborately, with small beads include sealskin needle cushions (Fig. 119), and small deerskin bags used for carrying sewing materials (Turner 1894: 254).

About the time that Turner was completing his research, R.F. Stupart journeyed slightly to the westward of Ungava Bay where he observed that "among the Eskimo, ornaments are not numerous, neither is there a great variety" (Stupart 1886: 97). Of what there was he wrote:

Glass beads can be obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company at Ungava, and some of the women belonging to the richer Eskimo families are the happy possessors of necklaces and of strings of colored beads which are sewn on to the front part of the inner coat; other favorite ornaments are common metal spoons, with the handles cut off; these sometimes, to the number of seven or eight, are attached vertically at equal distances to the front part of the coat (Stupart 1886: 97).

Thirty years later, when E.W. Hawkes conducted his comprehensive study of the Labrador Inuit, beaded fringes and ear ornaments were still in evidence but spoon bowls were not (Hawkes 1916: 39-40). Instead, on the eastern coast of Hudson Bay and Ungava, pewter spoons obtained from the Hud-

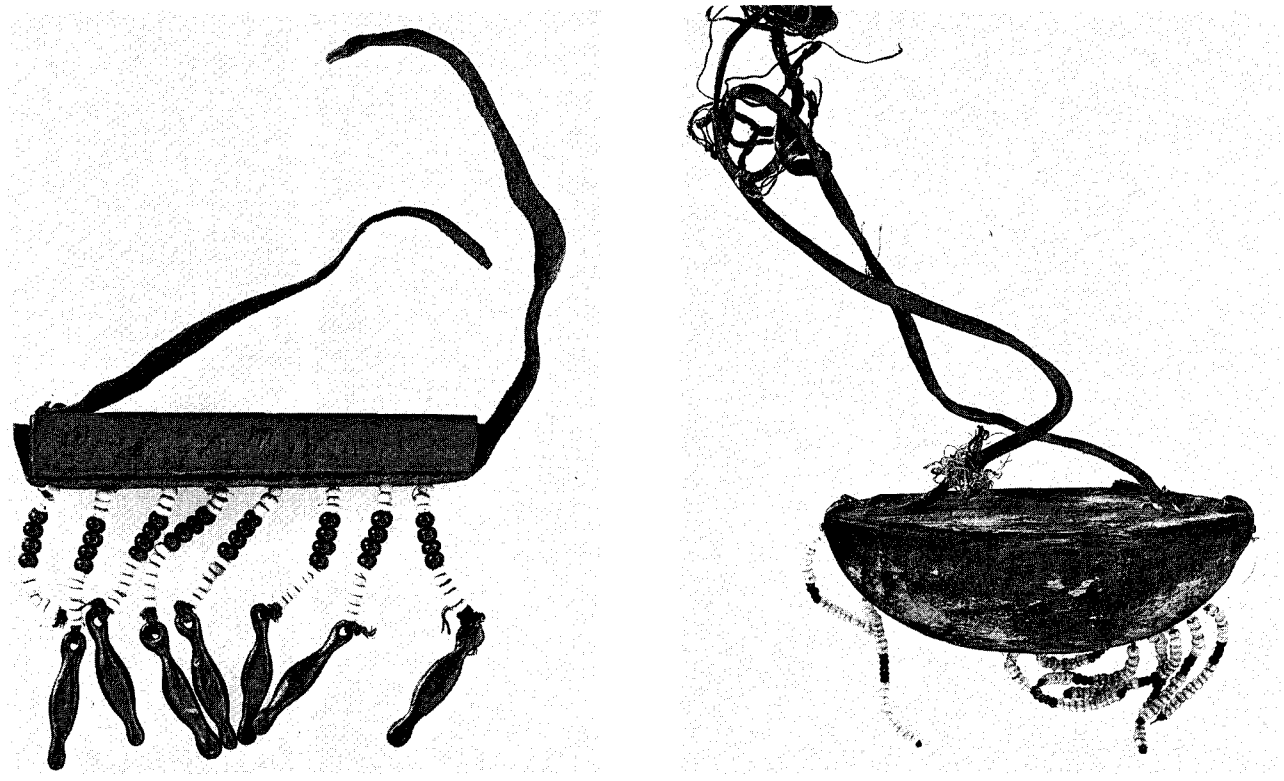


Figure 118. Labrador Inuit talismans decorated with glass beads and lead drops (Smithsonian Institution, Photo Nos. 87-13480, 87-13481)

son's Bay Company were melted down and cast into small ornaments. These were then sewn in a line to the inside flap of the women's duffle coats in order to produce a pleasant jingling sound (Hawkes 1916: 39).

Previously unrecorded uses for glass beads were the embroidery in floral designs of cloth bands for ornamenting women's coat hoods, and men's tobacco bags (Hawkes 1916: 39, 54-5). The latter were also usually edged with beads.

Central Inuit

Situated to the north and northeast of Hudson Bay, the territory of this group once extended from Queen Maud Gulf on the west to the southeastern end of Baffin Island on the east, and from just above Chesterfield Inlet on the south to Ellesmere Island on the north (Swanton 1952: 557-8). While Inuit settlements are still scattered throughout most of this area, the bulk of the population is now centred in the region encompassed by Baffin Island, the Melville Peninsula and Southampton Island (National Atlas of Canada 1974: 121-2).

The presence of Norse cairns in Jones Sound and on Washington Irving Island in 79° north latitude (Gathorne-Hardy 1970: xxiii) suggests that contact with Europeans may have occurred at an early date. However, if so, details of any such encounter have long since slipped into obscurity.

The first explorer known to have had dealings with the Central Inuit is Martin Frobisher who, in August 1576, sailed into the bay on Baffin Island now bearing his name and exchanged various goods for sealskins. His stock included iron tools and hardware, and ornaments such as buckles, buttons and little bells, the latter being especially popular with the natives (McFee 1928: 51-3). Beads may not have been introduced until the advent of William Baffin in 1615 (Markham 1881: 118).

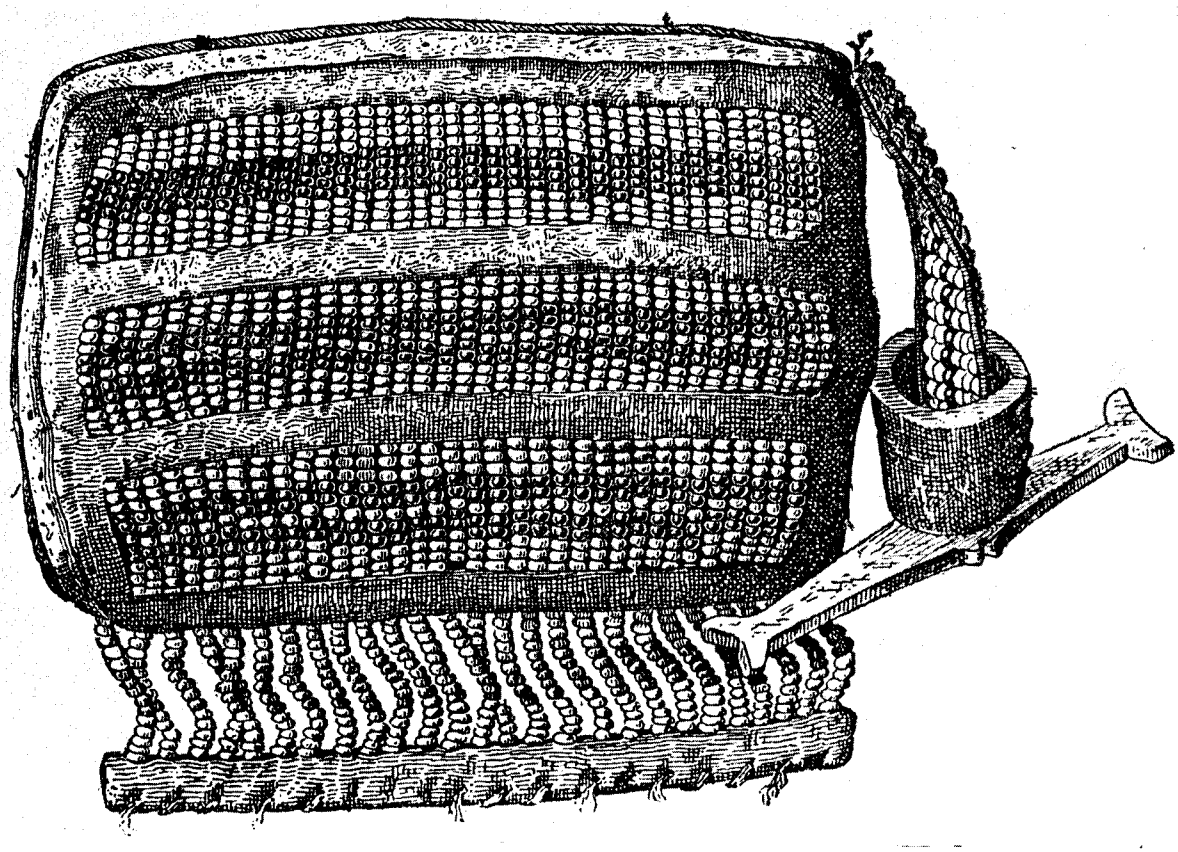


Figure 119. Beaded Koksoagmyut sealskin needle cushion with attached thimble (Turner 1894: 254, Fig. 74)

The ingress of European ornaments ceased in 1631 with the temporary abandonment of the search for a Northwest Passage to Asia and apparently did not resume much before 1746, when, during the explorative voyage of the *California*, much-desired strings of beads were given to the women of Terra Nivea in Hudson Strait (Swaine 1748: 32). In 1812, ornaments imported into the same general area included glass beads, buttons and brass rings (M'Keevor 1819: 29), a trilogy that remained popular into the 20th century.

Seemingly the most popular of the three, beads were put to a number of uses. During his 1821-23 voyage for the discovery of a Northwest Passage, Captain William E. Parry (1824: 497) observed that some women of the Melville Peninsula attached a small bunch of beaded strands composed of "a number of small black and white glass beads, disposed alternately on a string of sinew" to their jackets, while others covered the whole front with "numberless strings." These were "arranged with exact uniformity, to which, in the fashion of their dresses and the disposition of their ornaments, these people always rigidly adhere" (Parry 1824: 214). Contemporary illustrations prepared by Parry's associate, Captain George F. Lyon, reveal that the beaded elements were affixed to the breast and upper arms (Figs. 120-121). Lyon (1824: 312) also noted that the men's inner coat frequently had "little strings of beads hanging to it from the shoulders or small of the back."

A small bunch of beads was sometimes hung on the hair by the women (Parry 1824: 497), and Lyon (1825: 55) describes a man on Southampton Island who, upon receiving a string of beads, draped it across a large bunch of hair that protruded from his

Figure 120. Group of Central Inuit women at Igloolik in 1823, by Captain Francis Lyon. The woman in the light-coloured outfit has beaded fringe decorating the bosom and arms of her coat (Parry 1824: opp. 403)

forehead. Small necklaces were obtained ready-made from the explorers (Lyon 1824: 129), but do not appear to have been very popular.

Beads were also formed into bracelets that were worn by either sex (Lyon 1824: 110, 120). One such worn by a woman at Lyon Inlet was formed of black and white specimens (Lyon 1824: 75). Parry (1824: 497) conjectured that the bracelets were "probably considered as a charm of some kind or other." That they were held in fairly high esteem is attested to by the fact that a woman who had visited Parry's and Lyon's ships "still wore round her wrist some beads which she had obtained from these vessels" when she was met by John Rae at Repulse Bay almost a quarter of a century later (Rae 1850: 40).

Buttons were primarily used to ornament women's hair, though one or two were occasionally sewn to the front of their coats to add a little sparkle (Parry 1824: 497). In the former case, the hair was formed into pigtails, wrapped in brightly coloured cloth, and one or more sailor's buttons were attached thereto. If buttons were unavailable, a nail was deemed a suitable substitute (Lyon 1824: 173-4).

Another hair ornament, the woman's brass headband, was apparently manufactured indigenously from imported sheet metal. Worn over the hair in front, an example recorded by Parry (1824: 498) consisted of "a semicircular ornament of brass, serrated at the upper edge and brightly polished."

Figure 121. Central Inuit women at Igloolik in 1823, by Captain Francis Lyon. The coat of the woman (right) is adorned with beaded fringe (Parry 1824: opp. 418)

The fingers of the women were adorned with rings, one or two per digit (Parry 1824: 497).

Not all the Central Inuit were as fond of baubles as those visited by Parry and Lyon. In describing the natives of Boothia Felix, situated about 250 km to the northwest of the Melville Peninsula, Sir John Ross (1835: 22) wrote that "they seem little addicted to ornaments, and were very indifferent to our beads; it was on the children almost solely that these were placed."

When John Rae wintered at Repulse Bay at the base of the Melville Peninsula in 1846, he took little note of the dress and ornaments of the local folk. All that he recorded was that at least one of the women possessed a bead bracelet, and that another "had a brass wheel 1-1/3 or 2 inches in diameter fastened on her dress as an ornament" (Rae 1850: 89). This "was evidently part of some instrument, probably of some of those left by Sir John Ross at Victoria Harbour" (Rae 1850: 89).

The next person to describe trade ornaments among the Central Inuit was Captain Charles F. Hall who lived with the natives of Frobisher Bay at the southern end of Baffin Island during 1860-62. He was initially struck by the beauty of the women's headbands (Fig. 122):

> *Most of the female portion of those on board had each a really beautiful ornament upon their head, bent like a bow, and extending from points just forward and below the ears up over the top of the head. At the apex it was one inch wide, tapering down to half an inch at the extremities, and it looked and glistened in the bright sun like burnished gold.*

Figure 122. Nikujar, a Central Inuit woman with beaded brass headband (Hall 1865: 130)

There were two fastenings to this ornament – a string of variously-coloured beads going under the chin as a bonnet-tie, also one passing down behind the ears at the back of the neck and head (Hall 1865: 101-2).

Hall (1865: 531) also observed that finger rings formed part of the female costume, and then went on to describe several garments notable for their ornamentation. The most elaborate of these was a woman's coat:

Across the neck of the jacket was a fringe of beads – eighty pendents of red, blue, black, and white glass-beads, forty beads on each string. Bowls of Britannia metal, tea-spoons, and table-spoons were on the flap hanging in front. A row of elongated lead shot *ran around the border of the tail. Six pairs of Federal copper cents, of various dates, were pendent down the middle of the tail; and a huge brass bell, from an old-fashioned clock, was at the top of the row of cents* (Hall 1865: 530).

Another woman owned a winter coat that "was prettily ornamented (?) with federal coin of the United States – old copper cents – eight in number, arranged in rows, and fixed as pendents to the tail" (Hall 1865: 156-7).

The dress of the men was sometimes even more showy than that of the ladies. One young fellow nicknamed Napoleon was daily seen

dressed in a blue military coat minus the tail (which had been completely torn off), and with a row of big brass buttons running over each shoulder and down in front. The device on these buttons was three cannon on carriages, with a crown for the crest (Hall 1865: 106).

Another, more conservative fellow simply "had a single brass button, as an ornament, pendent from his skin coat. The device on it was a bee with expanded wings, and the motto *Vive ut vivas*" (Hall 1865: 106).

In 1864, Hall journeyed to Repulse Bay where he spent several years. During his sojourn, he recorded the festive gear of the women:

Each woman had on her forehead a bright brass band, while down one side of her face hung the usual long pig-tail adornment; on her breast was a 10-inch square cloth, the ground-work of which was scarlet, and the fringe, scores of long strings of beads and glass buttons; the body of the breastplate being covered with the same (Hall 1879: 129).

A brow band of seal or caribou skin that was apparently collected during this period has a row of seal teeth suspended from its lower margin. The 11 centre-most teeth are attached to strings of alternating light and dark beads (Fig. 123). These are purported to have been obtained from John Rae (Hall 1879: 219).

During Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka's 1878-80 expedition in quest of the Franklin expedition, William Gilder, second in command, recorded the use of a distinctive ornament in the area between Wager Bay and Chesterfield Inlet:

Some of the belles, and indeed some of the women whose beauty is a thing of the past, wear a breastplate of beadwork, which is further decorated with a fringe of reindeer teeth that has a most ghastly effect – they look so much like human teeth (Gilder 1881: 145).

The next account of the Central Inuit comes from the ethnologist Franz Boas who visited the Cumberland Sound and Davis Strait regions of Baffin Island in 1883-84. His investigations revealed that the women frequently adorned their jackets with ivory or brass beads running round the edge. Teeth, deer's ears, foxes' noses and brass bells were also sometimes used (Boas 1888: 556, 560). The inner jackets of the men were sometimes "trimmed with beads, feathers, or leather straps, forming a collar and figures of different kinds on the back and on the breast" (Boas 1888: 560).

In dressing their hair, the women parted it on top and arranged the back portion into a bunch or knot, while that at the sides was formed into small pigtails reaching a little below the ears (Boas 1888:

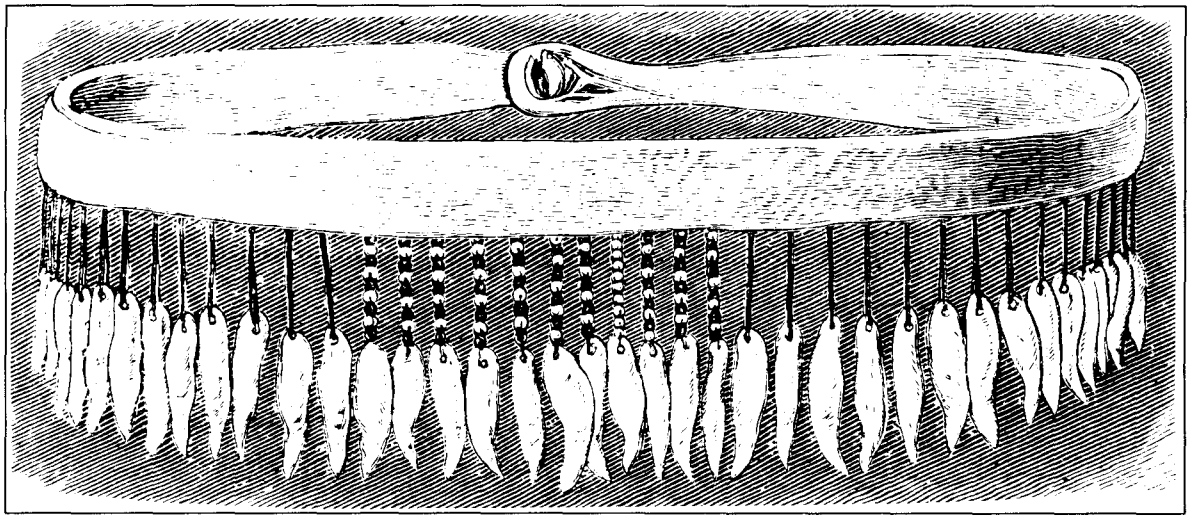


Figure 123. Brow band of animal skin decorated with seal teeth and glass beads (Hall 1879: 219)

558). The latter were kept in order by a brass or ivory ring (Fig. 124).

From 1885 to 1899, Boas continued his study of the Inuit of Baffin Land, but also ranged to the northwestern coast of Hudson Bay. While there he collected several tobacco pipes, one of which had beaded strings connecting the soapstone bowl to the wooden stem. A girl's doll fashioned from an animal phalange wrapped in wool cloth had arms formed of elongate beaded loops (Fig. 125).

When the Dominion Government Expedition of 1903-4 visited the Aivilliks and Kenipitus in northwestern Hudson Bay, the women displayed their lavishly beaded, ceremonial inner coats (Figs. 126-127). Their hair was dressed to match (Fig. 126), being "separated into two side locks, each of which is covered by a highly ornamented covering sewn with beads, and worn as long cylinders hanging down over the breasts" (Low 1906: 180).

Other items found to be decorated with beads were "amulets in the shape of small pieces of skin or cloth." These were sewn to the under coat of an *angekok* or medicine man by his wife to ward off sickness and bring good luck (Low 1906: 172).

A number of beaded objects are also in the Roald Amundsen collection of Netsilik Inuit material culture amassed on the southern coast of King William Island between 1903 and 1905. Among the garments is a boy's coat that has a string of coloured beads attached to the back (Taylor 1974: 29). There is also a shaman's inner coat, the front of which exhibits five weasel skins and a short string of beads. On the back is another weasel skin, as well as an amulet band of caribou skin from which "hang some small antler models of knives, a tin button, an iron needle and some glass beads" (Taylor 1974: 30).

The collection also contains a cap of caribou fur that has a red ribbon extending down either side and a small bone bird with four strings of coloured glass embroidery beads suspended therefrom on the peak (Taylor 1974: 50). A related artifact is a sealskin brow band adorned with a row of teeth hanging from strings of glass beads along the lower edge. The bulk of the beads are clear or white but some are also green and blue (Taylor 1974: 55). A final item in the Amundsen collection is a bone needle case to which are attached "two small antler fish, six glass beads (four blue, one green and one black), the end of a 'Larsen' cartridge and a decorated bone spatula" (Taylor 1974: 153-4).

Elaborately beaded vestments were still in evidence among the Iglulik group of Central Inuit at the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24, though they were quite rare – there being "scarcely more than ten in the whole tribe" (Mathiassen 1928: 177). The majority of the ladies had either no bead-

Figure 124. Baffin Land Inuit woman with fringed coat, by Robert Flaherty, ca. 1913-14. Brass or ivory rings secure her pigtails. Beadwork covers the bosom of her coat, while lead drops fringe the hem (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; PA-114306)

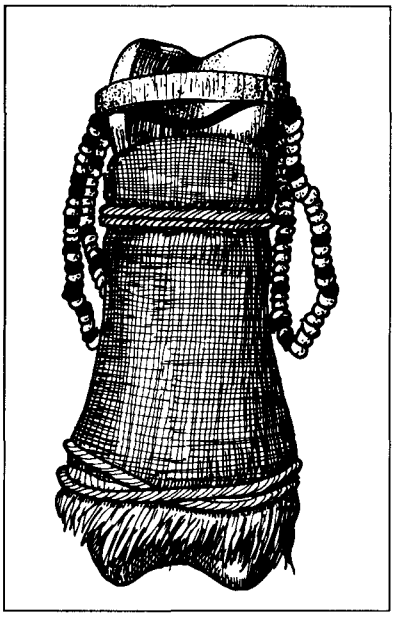


Figure 125. Central Inuit girl's doll made of an animal bone with strands of beads for the arms, ca. 5.7 cm high [after Boas 1901: 112] (drawing by R. Hellier)

work on their inner coats or just a simple edging on the hood and sleeves. An edging of beads or a beaded tassel or two were occasionally noted on the jackets of the men and children (Mathiassen 1928: 177).

The men commonly wore a narrow brow band of cloth trimmed with beads to confine their long hair (Mathiassen 1928: 197). The hair of the women was usually braided but during festivals it was wound about long slender sticks, one on either side, and wrapped with long spirally applied strips of bead-embroidered cloth (Mathiassen 1928: 198).

A miscellaneous item that was embellished with small beads consisted of a wooden stemmed, stone tobacco pipe which had three strings of beads attached to the chain that secured the bowl's metal cover. A pipe cleaner and a small scraper were suspended from two of the strings (Mathiassen 1928: 208).

Personal ornaments were still quite varied, though certain types were more prevalent than others. Finger rings, predominately of sheet iron, were extremely common among the women, but less so among the men. Bracelets composed of two

Figure 126. Aivillik woman in gala dress, by A.P. Low, 1903-4. Her inner coat and hair rolls are adorned with colourful beadwork (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; PA-53548)

Figure 127. Kenipitu women in ceremonial garb at Fullerton, N.W.T., by A.P. Low, 1903-4. Note the diversity of beadwork on their inner coats (National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; PA-53606)

or three strands of beads were popular with women and children as well as some men, while necklaces of one to three strands were restricted to a few men. Ear ornaments consisting of bunches of short strings of beads or just one large bead of glass or metal adorned a few women. Brow bands of sheet brass or iron were only worn by some of the older females (Mathiassen 1928: 196-7).

Caribou Inuit

The territory of the Caribou Inuit formerly encompassed that portion of the barren grounds situated to the west of Hudson Bay roughly between Churchill and Chesterfield Inlet, and northwestward to Back River and Lake Garry (Swanton 1952: 558). Most of the people now occupy the eastern end of this range, with major settlements being located along the coast and at Baker Lake (National Atlas of Canada 1974: 121-2).

Notwithstanding the discovery of this region by Thomas Button in 1612, contact with the natives

does not seem to have occurred much before the establishment of Fort Churchill by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1717. Shortly thereafter, the company's sloops began making voyages to the northward where, in 1750-52, such goods as knives, lances and beads were exchanged for train oil, blubber and the like (Williams 1969: 214).

The first to observe the ornamentation of the Inuit living to the north of Churchill was Andrew Graham. Writing in 1771, he observed that the frocks of the women had "monstrously large" hoods which were occasionally "surrounded on the edge with tags or bits of ivory, bone, or beads" (Williams 1969: 218).

The historical record is then again silent until the advent of David T. Hanbury who, while at Baker Lake during a sporting trek across the barren grounds in 1901, made some notes on local "Husky" fashions:

> *The most popular ornament among them is a brass band, about half or three-quarters of an inch in width, placed across the forehead and extending behind the ears. The material for these is no doubt obtained from empty cartridge-cases and other pieces of metal given by the whaling crews. Other ornamental appendages are cylindrical pieces of wood, about sixteen inches in length, which, covered with beaded cloth, hang from the ends of their tresses, and end in a tassel or tuft of false hair. The men are almost as fond of beads as the women, and a long-tailed deerskin coat covered with beads excites admiration and envy. White beads were in fashion at the time of my visit, but possibly Husky fashions change as ours do* (Hanbury 1904: 66).

A few finger rings obtained from whalers were also in use (Hanbury 1904: 67).

The most detailed description of the ornamentation of the Caribou Inuit is provided by Kaj Birket-Smith (1929) who studied this group during the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24. His reports reveal that small coloured glass beads were by far the most popular item of adornment, with their principal application being the decoration of women's and men's inner frocks. One such obtained from a Padlimio girl at Eskimo Point was quite ornate (Plate 18). The garment was edged with red cloth and a square piece of the same material covered the breast. The latter displayed a complex pattern of beadwork:

> *The middle line is marked by a number of circular discs of white beads, diminishing in diameter as they ascend and, at the top, replaced by three white bone buttons. On each side of the middle line there is a field with two borders of white, blue and white beads, connected at the bottom with white cross stripes. Between the borders runs a white zig-zag line and a blue and yellow longitudinal stripe. From the lower edge of the breast cloth hang strings of beads which are intersected into bands of white, red and black and end in caribou front teeth.* [In addition] ... *Each shoulder is covered with a semi-circular piece of blue cloth with a star-like figure in white and blue beads, surrounded by borders in light and dark blue, green, white, red and black. From the edge hang strings of beads in white, red and blue, ending in caribou teeth just like the fringe on the epaulettes of a naval officer. The hood opening is edged with blue and, outside this, with red cloth and stripes of beads in red, white, light and dark blue. On the distal part of it hang strings of beads in white, red, black, yellow and blue, each of which ends in a loop instead of a tooth. Down the middle line of the hood there is a bead-embroidered stripe which is terminated with a piece of black cloth, on which a flower is sewn in beads in a similar double-curve style to that now worn by the sub-arctic Indians* (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 215-6).

The inner frocks of the men were also frequently trimmed with comely beadwork. An example with the same provenience as the previous one was beaded on the edges of the sleeves, the hood and the upper back (Fig. 128):

Figure 128. Beaded Padlimio man's inner frock, rear view (National Museum of Denmark, Dept. of Ethnography, Copenhagen; P.28:6)

The edges of the sleeves are trimmed with red cloth which again has bead borders: blue, yellow, white and green stripes uppermost and green, white, red, white and green below; between them is a zig-zag line of white beads. Round the hood opening is an edging of dark blue cloth with white, green, white, green and white bead stripes along one edge and white, red, white, dark blue and light blue stripes along the other edge. From the cloth emerge two free-ended, half-round flaps, joined together at the back with a red strip of cloth embroidered with white beads. The two flaps are embroidered with semi-circular, concentric stripes of white, green, red and blue beads, whilst in the centre field there are white transversal stripes intersected by red. Two loops of light blue beads hang from the point of the hood.

The strangest ornament, however, is on the back where, sewn across the shoulders, is a broad piece of blue cloth, edged with rows of beads in green, yellow, white, blue, white, red and white. In the centre field there is a circular disc of yellow, blue, white and red beads, and on each side of it two red and a green, white-edged, vertical stripes. From both lower corners of this back decoration, and from the middle of its lower edge, hang strings of beads which are intersected by white, red, black and light-blue and, at the bottom, end with the front teeth of caribou (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 202).

Children's frocks were usually not ornamented though a Padlimio boy at Hikoligjuaq did have a beaded semi-circle of red cloth situated on either side of a small protrusion on the front of his hood. Representing the red eyelids and uvula of the ptarmigan, the appliqués presumably served a religious function (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 194). The only other item of clothing that was commonly embellished with beads was a cloth cap worn bonnet-fashion by very young children. The beadwork was in the form of edging (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 222).

Other possessions that were sometimes beaded included bags and needle cushions. A 51 cm long storage bag of black cloth obtained from the Padlimiut at Hikoligjuaq exhibited double-curve bead embroidery (Fig. 129). Having five basal appendages with bifurcate ends, the bag is so similar to certain Indian specimens in both form and decoration that it is most likely an import, possibly from the Cree (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 221). Small black and white beads comprised the embroidery, while "a reddish woollen tassel with an opaque bead and a light-blue bead above it" hung from either corner of each of the ten basal projections (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 222).

An oval, double-pocketed sewing bag of blue and red cloth from the Padlimiut at Eskimo Point also exhibited beadwork. Measuring 11.5 cm by 22.5 cm, the blue upper side of either pocket was garnished with a peripheral band composed of seven rows of purple, yellow, white, and blue beads. A disk of yellow beads, as well as remnants of white yarn embroidery, occupied the centre of either pocket (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 249).

A needle cushion from the same group measured about 20 cm in length and was "doubtless made of a rolled up piece of a woollen sock inside a brass tube which serves as a needle case" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 248). The sock was gathered into a ball at the base and sewn into a piece of cloth decorated with beads in the form of "a flower with blue centre and five red, yellow-edged petals, surrounded by an inner circle of white and an outer circle of blue points" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 248).

In preparing their coiffures, women and some of the older girls sometimes wound the hair on either side of their head about a long, slender stick and then wrapped each spirally with a long strip of coloured cloth. The latter were often attractively embellished with glass beads. On an especially ornate pair of hair sticks (Plate 19, left) originating with the Padlimiut of Hikoligjuaq,

the strips of cloth are throughout the whole of their length sewn together of black on top and red underneath. On the black background there are inverted triangles of white beads, whilst along the upper edge of the red strip there are a white, a black, two white, a

Figure 129. Beaded cloth storage bag from the Padlimiut at Hikoligjuaq, N.W.T. (National Museum of Denmark, Dept. of Ethnography, Copenhagen; P.28:173)

blue and two white rows of beads. To the cloth at the top are sewn loose-ended strings of beads, each one ending with the front tooth of a caribou. The strings are intersected into various colours, viz. white, black, white, red, then white and black alternatively three times, and, finally, white and red (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 227).

On another pair of sticks (Plate 19, right) of identical provenience the cloth strips were black and decorated with several longitudinal rows of beads: "the first two white, followed by a strip of red cloth, then four white, twice two white, two purple and, finally, two more white rows" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 227).

Caribou Inuit women also frequently wore brow bands of sheet brass salvaged from old telescopes. About 3.4 cm wide at the middle and narrowing toward the ends, they extended almost to the ears and were held in place by thongs tied to the ends. To enhance their beauty, the bands were sometimes decorated with glass beads. One specimen from the Padlimiut at Eskimo Point had a red cloth strip adorned with intermittent, double rows of beads in white, green and white sewn onto either thong adjacent to the band (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 229). Here also hung eight to nine lengthy strings of beads "intersected with white, blue, white, red, twice white and blue and, finally, red, ending in a white or light-blue loop" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 229).

Long-haired men occasionally wore a brow band consisting of a narrow strip of cloth embroidered with beads. A Qaernermiut example from Baker Lake was trimmed with "two outer rows of white beads and, between them, two rows of alternate white and dark blue" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 225).

Ear ornaments composed of a number of strings of glass beads joined at the top were sometimes worn by either sex. These were usually hung from only one ear. A pair owned by a Padlimio woman at Eskimo Point consisted of three fairly long loops of white, blue and red beads united at the top in a large, light blue specimen (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 230). Another set from a young Padlimio male at Eqalulingnaoq was formed of seven and eight strings, respectively, which were "intersected with twice white and red, twice white and blue and, at the bottom, once white and red" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 229). Each strand terminated in a frontal caribou tooth.

Bead bracelets were worn by some women, but necklaces seem to have been ignored. Inexpensive finger rings were very much in demand. An unusual ornament worn pendant on the breast by some of the more affluent women (Fig. 130) was a cheap pocket watch taken to pieces, "the happy owner wearing the case, the dial and the works all separately" (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 1: 230).

Copper Inuit

Inhabiting the general vicinity of Coronation Gulf (Swanton 1952: 557-8), the Copper Inuit were first encountered in 1771 by Samuel Hearne during his famous journey to the mouth of the Coppermine River. The meeting had a tragic ending, for most of the local natives were massacred by the Chipewyan Indians who accompanied Hearne. With the possible exception of two pieces of worked iron, which may have been of European rather than meteoric origin, no trade goods were found among the plundered possessions of the deceased (Hearne 1911: 191).

The situation had changed but little when Captain Richard Collinson entered the area in 1852. The only foreign goods seen in the hands of the Inuit about Prince Albert Sound, western Victoria Land, were "Hongkong beads," while the following year, in Cambridge Bay further to the south, it was observed that the inhabitants possessed little or no iron and this "and the few and well-worn beads on their persons showed that this was in all probability the first time they had come in contact with white men" (Collinson 1889: 222, 286).

Following Collinson's departure, the Copper Inuit did not see another white man until the beginning of the 20th century. Then, with the arrival of the sportsman David T. Hanbury in 1902, the inflow of foreign goods and materials began anew. Tools

Figure 130. The Caribou shaman woman Kinâlik from Hikoligjuak. She sports a brass brow band, beaded hair sticks and a watch-case pendant (National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography, Copenhagen)

such as knives, as well as scrap iron and steel for local manufactures, were popular commodities (Klengenberg 1932: 229-30), but trade ornaments do not seem to have made much of an impact. No mention of any such items among the Coronation Gulf Inuit appears in the preliminary ethnological report of the Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition of 1908-12 (Stefansson 1914), and the only imported baubles seen in the area during the course of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18 were a few glass beads. The latter were used to adorn the bonnet-like dancing hats worn by influential persons on festive occasions. Usually formed of varicoloured strips of caribou fur, most of the caps had a white weasel or lemming-skin pendant at the back and the head and neck of a loon draped over the peak so that the bill pointed upward. "One of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril" (Jenness 1946: 31).

The availability of beads increased dramatically over the next few years so that by the early 1920s, the fur garments of the Copper Inuit were "tending to follow western Inuit patterns, and to be overlaid with bead-work" (Jenness 1946: 1). Slightly over a decade later, C.E. Whittaker (1937: 101) made no mention of beadwork on the clothing of the adult Coppermine Inuit, but did remark that the children's coats were "often ornamented with red and blue beads, tufts of coloured wool, or by dangles of ivory or bone, sewn to the front and back." The situation with the other classes of ornaments is unknown.

Mackenzie Inuit

With the Mackenzie River delta forming its core, the territory of this group of Inuit originally extended along the Arctic coastline from Franklin Bay at the mouth of Amundsen Gulf westward into Alaska to about west longitude 144° W (Swanton 1952: 558). Now, as before, the major settlements occupy the delta area (National Atlas of Canada 1974: 121).

In July 1789, Alexander Mackenzie became the first European to enter the region. However, according to local Indian informants, the Inuit thereabouts had already encountered white men to the west (from whom they procured iron) eight or ten years before (Mackenzie 1922: 284). As Mackenzie met none of the local Inuit, it is not known if they possessed trade ornaments at this time.

The next explorer to visit the area was Captain John Franklin who encountered Inuit just to the west of the Mackenzie delta in July 1826. Various items were distributed among the natives, with sewing articles being popular with the women, while the men were anxious for anything made of iron. However, both sexes also eagerly sought articles of adornment and there was seemingly no limitation as to what could qualify. As Franklin commented in his journal:

> *It was amusing to see the purposes to which they applied the different articles given to them; some of the men danced about with a large cod-fish hook dangling from the nose, others stuck an awl through the same part, and the women immediately decorated their dresses with the ear-rings, thimbles, or whatever trinkets they received* (Franklin 1828: 117).

Franklin then described the conventional ornamentation of the Mackenzie Inuit:

> *Every man had pieces of bone or* [dentalium] *shell thrust through the septum of his nose; and holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory, with a large blue bead in the centre...* (Fig. 131; Franklin 1828: 118).

A portrait of a young Inuit man by Lieutenant George Back suggests that an occasional male also hung strings of multi-coloured beads from his ears or hair (Fig. 132). However, the primary users of these embellishments were the women who used them to adorn their coiffures (Fig. 133):

> *Their own black hair is very tastefully turned up from behind to the top of the head, and tied by strings of white and blue beads, or cords of white deer-skin. It is divided in front, so as to form on each side a thick tail, to which are appended strings of beads that reach to the waist* (Franklin 1828: 119).

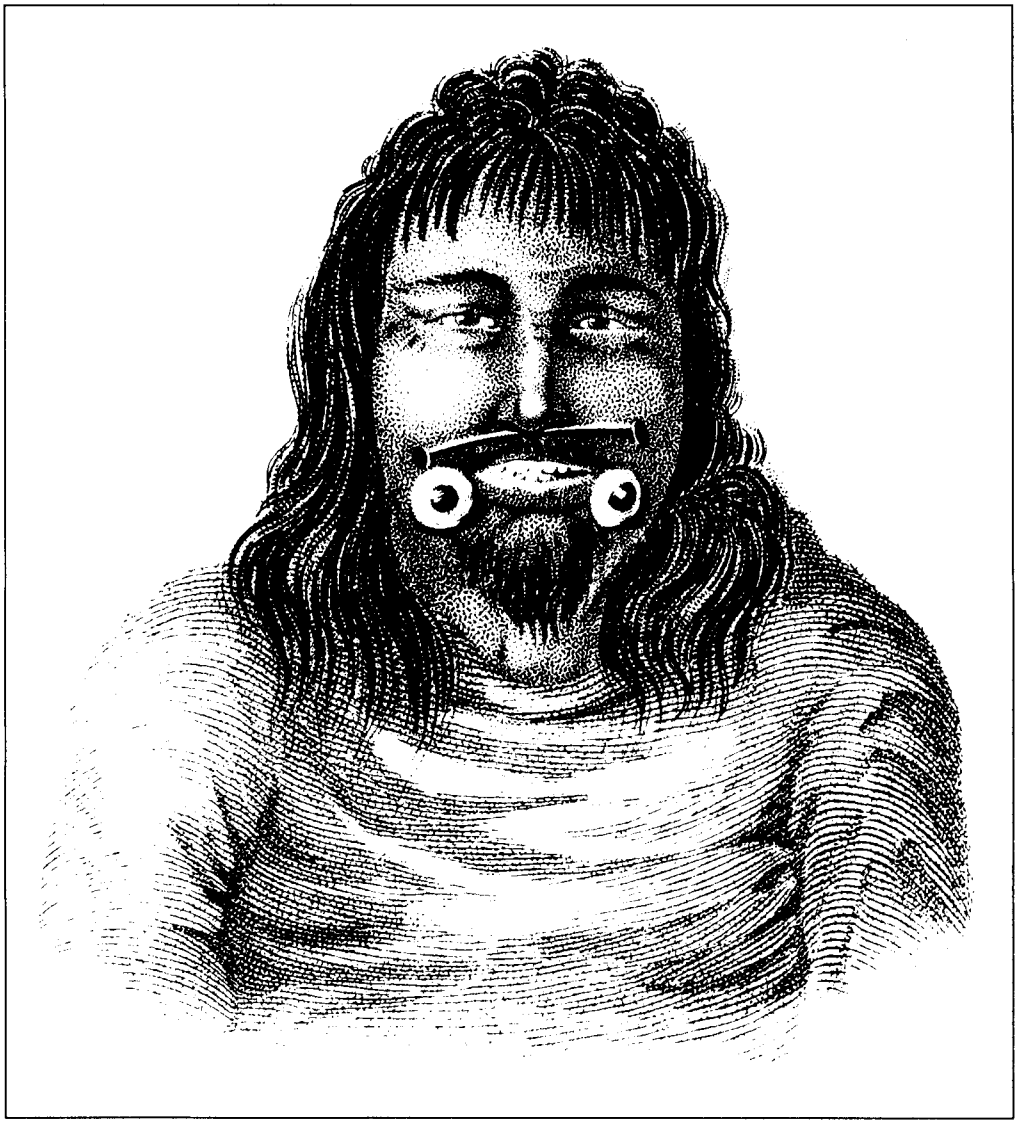


Figure 131. Middle-aged Mackenzie Inuit man, by Lt. George Back, 1826. A bone or ivory pin enhances the nose, while ivory labrets decorated with split blue beads protrude from the cheeks (Franklin 1828: pl. opp. 119)

Figure 132. Young Mackenzie Inuit man, by Lt. George Back, 1826 (Franklin 1828: pl. opp. 119)

Figure 133. Young Mackenzie Inuit woman, by Lt. George Back, 1826. Her hair is decorated with strands of glass beads (Franklin 1828: pl. opp. 118)

When Sir John Richardson (1851, 1: 355) met these people in 1848, he noted that many of the males still "transfix the septum of the nose with a dentalium shell or ivory needle." His associate, Dr. John Rae (1866: 150), added that "all the men wore cheek ornaments made of stone, ivory, or coloured beads,... the ones most valued being those formed of beads" (Fig. 134).

The following year, Lieutenant W.H. Hooper (1853: 265) recorded the use of small white beads to embellish women's frocks. The popularity of these ornaments was such that those sewn to a garment purchased by Hooper (1853: 265) "were particularly exempted in the bargain" and removed prior to delivery.

Children's garments were sometimes decorated with beads as well. An example seen by Father Emile Petitot among the Anderson River Inuit in 1865 was the frock of a five- or six-year-old that had been fashioned from the skin of a caribou fawn, the head of which, complete with ears and budding antlers, formed the hood. Pieces of red cloth edged with white glass beads marked the eyes, and the snout, which hung down over the child's forehead, was adorned with three blue beads (Petitot 1887: 79).

Beads were also used to garnish the complex hairdos of the Anderson River women, but in a fashion that differed somewhat from the one described by Franklin. The hair was first tied into a bun on top of the head. To this were added parcels of hair obtained from their husbands and lovers: a large bun on either side of the topknot and two side rolls which hung down onto the breast (Fig. 135). The ends of the rolls were wrapped with blue glass beads (Petitot 1887: 57-8).

When Frank Russell ventured into the Mackenzie region in the early 1890s to collect ethnological specimens for the University of Iowa, the principal ornament of the adult male living to the west of the delta was the labret. Several kinds were recorded, the most conspicuous of which had "half of a large blue bead attached to the marble flange and surrounded by a disk of walrus ivory 1.5 inches in diameter" (Russell 1898: 190). A no less striking

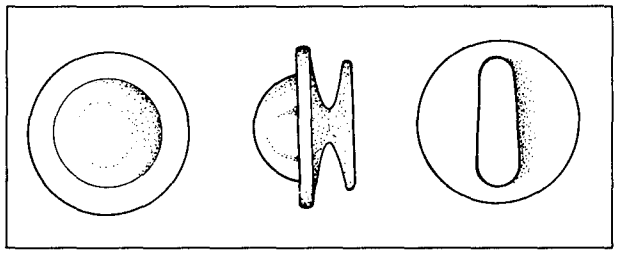


Figure 134. Mackenzie Inuit labret of white marble with blue bead appliqué; top, side and bottom views [after Savoie 1970: 154, Pl. 24, Fig. 14] (drawing by D. Kappler)

variety consisted "of glass stoppers, with the heads ground down for flanges" (Russell 1898: 190).

Labrets were not the only objects to be decorated with bead appliqués as evidenced by a combination "fishhook, sinker, and bait" procured from the Anderson River Inuit:

> *It is of walrus ivory, 4 inches long by .7 inch broad, and resembles a small fish in shape; the hook is a sharpened nail without a barb. It is weighted with five plugs on the side and a forked bar of lead upon the back; two small blue beads serve as eyes* (Russell 1898: 195).

Beads were also used in the fabrication of women's ear ornaments. A type common in the early 1900s was composed of black or blue beads and dentalia shells "strung on sinew, with an ivory hook, touched up with red or blue bits of wool" (Harrison 1908: 92; Whittaker 1937: 143) [Plate 20]. The components were arranged in alternating rows or bars:

> *The first of these bars – for the beads are so tightly strung together that the row is quite rigid – hangs horizontally from the hook itself; and from this bar, in turn, hang three of the sea-shells perpendicular-wise. From these, again, dangles the second row of beads, to which are attached three shells, as before; and the third of the beaded bars terminates the decoration* (Harrison 1908: 92).

The ornaments, which occasionally ranged up to 15 cm in length, were suspended from a hole in the outer edge of the ear, just above the aural aperture (Whittaker 1937: 143).

Figure 135. Mackenzie Inuit couple and their dogs. The ends of her hair rolls are wrapped with beads; he sports bead-decorated labrets (Savoie 1970: 173, Pl. 31)

Silver finger rings were also much worn during the early 20th century. While in the delta area in 1906, Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1914: 157) came upon a woman who sported five broad bands. Those who wore only one placed it on the third digit of the left hand (Stefansson 1914: 157).

Discussion

The trade ornaments that found their way into the hands of the Canadian Inuit comprised a fairly variegated though unevenly distributed lot (Table 7). The greatest diversity was recorded among the Central group, followed closely by the Inuit of Labrador and the Mackenzie region, with the Caribou and Copper peoples having the least. This disparity does not seem to stem from any bias on the part of the two latter groups but is, rather, a reflection of their more isolated situation which retarded the inflow of a greater variety of trade goods and kept travellers and researchers from recording their material culture.

Glass beads were, by far, the most popular and widely distributed of the imported adornments. While they were employed for a variety of decorative purposes by all five Inuit groups, the greatest proportion served to adorn the inner coats (also termed jackets and frocks) of the women. The coats of the men and children were also occasionally embellished with beadwork but nowhere to the extent of the women's. Worn under an outer coat during the winter months but singly when the weather was warm, the most ornate inner jackets were produced on the northwestern coast of Hudson Bay and were the owners' most cherished possession (Orchard 1975: 158). These exhibited a dazzling array of beadwork, as many as ten different colours of various shades being used in their adornment (Mathiassen 1928: 175).

Small and even in size, except for some larger specimens that terminated free-ended strings (Mathiassen 1928: 175), the beads were applied in the form of embroidery and as fringes. In the former, the beads were sewn to pieces of coloured cloth which were then attached to the garment. Often found only on the breast, embroidered panels were sometimes also placed on the hood, shoulders, upper arms, cuffs, skirt and back, depending on the group involved. Geometric patterns – some of which were certainly borrowed from the neighbouring Indians – predominated, but such elements as flowers, stars, caribou and even European-style boots were also employed, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Except for those on the cuffs, skirt and centre of the hood, the embroidered panels usually had beaded fringe suspended from their lower edges. However, one or more bands of fringe, usually across the neck or breast, were sometimes also worn without any accompanying embroidery. Of various lengths, the fringes were not infrequently composed of in excess of a dozen horizontal bands of contrastingly coloured beads. A beaded loop, a single large bead, a caribou tooth or some other small object terminated the distal end of each strand.

Caps were the only other item of clothing to be decorated with beads. Worn by men, women and children, they were decorated in a variety of ways: with strings of small, multi-coloured beads hanging from the peak among the Central group; with embroidery along the edges in the Caribou region; and with a single blue bead attached to a bird's head atop the peak among the Copper peoples.

Items of personal adornment that were composed of or enhanced by beads included hair and ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, headbands and labrets. Essentially confined to women, ornamentation of the hair was performed in two basic ways. In the first, noted among the Labrador, Central and Mackenzie Inuit from 1773 to 1861, the hair was arranged into stubby side braids to which were attached bunches of strings of small beads. Usually exhibiting horizontal banding, the ornaments were tied on at the ears and often reached to the waist.

Common among the Central, Caribou and Mackenzie groups from 1826 to 1924, the second method was to wrap the hair with strings of beads or strips of beaded cloth. In the first variation, popular in the Mackenzie region, the hair was arranged into a topknot and two side rolls with the strings being used to bind either the bun or the ends

of the plaits or both. Sometimes only the topknot was bound and the side rolls sported tassels.

The second variation was utilized by the Central and Caribou women who plaited their hair into two long side braids which were often stiffened with wooden sticks. The braids were spirally bound with long strips of brightly coloured cloth bead-embroidered with longitudinal stripes and geometric designs. Several banded strings of beads were sometimes attached to the upper ends of the strips.

Beaded ear ornaments were found among all but the Copper Inuit and were principally the domain of the women. Found among the three eastern groups, the most common form consisted of several strands or, occasionally, loops of small beads joined together at the top, sometimes in a single large bead. The beads were usually arranged in horizontal bands of different colours but unpatterned examples were also produced during the early years of the 20th century. While the foregoing ornaments were composed entirely of glass beads, those of the Mackenzie Inuit were formed of alternating rows of beads and dentalia shells. Both styles seem to have been absorbed from the adjacent Indian tribes (Birket-Smith 1929, Part 2: 33, 39). Utilized by the Central Inuit during the early 20th century, another type of ear ornament consisted of a single large bead of glass or metal attached to the ear lobe.

Necklaces and bracelets composed of up to three strands of beads were worn by the women and some of the men and children of the eastern Inuit.

Brow bands of skin and cloth embellished with small beads were apparently used by only the men of the Central and Caribou groups. Those made of caribou or sealskin were the earliest and had a fringe of seal or caribou teeth attached to short strands of vari-coloured beads hanging from the lower edge. These were apparently replaced in the early 1900s by narrow cloth bands bead-embroidered with stripes and geometric figures.

The homemade metal headbands that were so popular with the women of the three eastern groups were sometimes adorned with beadwork. In the Central region this took the form of a string of multi-coloured beads that passed under the chin. Among the Caribou peoples, strips of bead-embroidered cloth and banded tassels of "seed" beads were affixed to the straps that secured the band to the head.

Another item of personal adornment to have glass beads incorporated into its fabric was the labret. Worn in holes situated at either corner of the mouth by most of the male population of the Mackenzie region, these ornaments of marble and ivory often had half of a large blue bead protruding from their outer face. Of all the different varieties, these were considered the most valuable. While at Cape Smythe, Alaska, Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1914: 201) discovered that only beads that broke accidentally were used for labrets, an intact specimen being "much more valuable than a pair of the best labrets made from the same sort of bead." This may well have been the case among the Mackenzie Inuit as well. The bead-halves, their broken faces ground flat, were held in place with seal oil boiled to a glue-like consistency (Stefansson 1914: 201).

Glass beads also served to decorate a number of personal possessions. Such items as needle cushions, skin and cloth amulets, doll's clothing and many types of cloth bags were variously embroidered with small beads. Multi-coloured stripes and geometric patterns were prevalent during the 19th century, while floral, double-curve and other "borrowed" designs became popular in the early 20th century.

Children's and magical dolls, wooden talismans, amulet bands, needle cases and smoking pipes were sometimes embellished with short strands or loops of small beads or simply several beads pendant on a string. Larger beads were occasionally attached to basal tassels on carrying bags.

The use of beads for inlay work was practised only by the Mackenzie Inuit. They inset small blue specimens in fish-shaped, ivory fishing lures to serve as eyes.

In addition to beads, the Canadian Inuit utilized several other imported ornaments: finger rings, lead drops, brass bells, hair rings, earrings and dentalia shells. The most widely dispersed of these

were the finger rings, they being found among the Central, Caribou and Mackenzie groups. Those of brass predominated during the 19th century with sheet iron and silver only coming into vogue after the turn of the century. Women were the principal users, some wearing up to three per digit.

Perforated, bean- and pear-shaped lead drops were also fairly popular among the eastern groups. The women sewed one or more rows to the borders of the skirts and tails of their coats, while the men attached them to the beaded strands on their talismans. Little brass bells were also sewn to the edges of women's coats; larger specimens were attached to the back. Small rings of brass served to secure and, presumedly, decorate the short pigtails of some of the female population.

Earrings of European manufacture were utilized by both sexes. Worn as intended by Labrador Inuit males, the women of the Mackenzie region used them to dress up their coats.

Dentalia shells were found only in the Mackenzie region. The men wore them in the septum of their noses, while the women combined them with glass beads to create ear ornaments.

Locally produced ornaments created by intentionally modifying imported materials consisted of metal headbands and pewter jinglers. The former were the most widely distributed, being extremely popular with the women inhabiting the three eastern-most regions. Up to 3.4 cm wide at the centre and narrowing toward the ends, the headbands were usually fashioned from sheet brass obtained in trade or salvaged from discarded objects, although sheet iron was also sometimes used. They exhibited a high polish and were sometimes serrated along the upper edge. Thongs attached to the ends and tied behind the head were used to hold the ornament in place. As mentioned earlier, beadwork occasionally enhanced the objects.

The headbands were apparently worn in two different ways. Up to the middle of the 19th century they were worn over the hair at the front of the head with the arms angling down to a point just forward and below the ears. In the period that followed, the bands began to be worn across the forehead with the arms extending almost straight back to the ears.

Pewter jinglers were a 20th-century manifestation of the Labrador Inuit. Made by melting down pewter spoons and casting the metal in soapstone moulds, they were sewn to the inside flap of women's duffle coats.

Utilitarian articles of European/American manufacture that served as ornaments among the Inuit comprised a most diversified group. Pewter spoon bowls, coins and buttons were the most popular items, with the latter having the greatest number of applications. A primary use among the Central Inuit during the early 19th century was the embellishment of women's hair, one or more being attached to the strips of cloth wrapped about their braids. One or two were occasionally also sewn to the skin coats of either sex, while rows of them adorned some of the men's cloth garments. In the early 1900s, a metal button was sometimes included as a component of a shaman's amulet band.

The spoon bowls and coins decorated the coats of the Labrador and Central groups' women. Cut from tea and tablespoons, the bowls, up to eight in number, were arranged in a vertical row on the front skirt of the garment. The coins, notably copper cents of various countries, were sometimes attached to the arms but the usual disposition was in vertical rows along the centre of the tail flap.

Other utilitarian articles that embellished women's coats during the 19th century included thimbles, brass wheels salvaged from abandoned scientific instruments and the tin tags from plug tobacco. The latter were strung on thongs to serve as substitutes for beaded fringe. In the 20th century, small cartridge cases terminated some of the beaded fringe found on women's coats (Mathiassen 1928: 177, 185). They were also suspended from contemporary needle cases.

Additional examples of innovative adornment included pocket-watch cases functioning as breast pendants, nails suspended from the bound tresses of the women and, among the males of the Mackenzie region, the use of fishhooks and awls to ornament the nose, and glass stoppers as labrets.

TABLE 7
INUIT TRADE ORNAMENT TRAIT LIST
(showing sex of user)

Ornament and Application	Labrador Group	Central Group	Caribou Group	Copper Group	Mackenzie Group
Shell					
Dentalia					
Ear adornment					F
Nose adornment					M
Glass					
Beads					
Amulets/talismans	M	M			
Bags	F M		F		
Bracelets		F M O	F		
Caps		M?	O	F M	
Dolls	F M	F			
Ear adornment	F	F	F M		F M?
Fishooks					M
Hair adornment	F	F M	F		F M?
Headbands/brow bands		F M	F M		
Inner coats	F M	F M	F M	O	F O
Labrets					M
Necklaces	F	F M			
Needle cushions/cases	F	F	F		
Tobacco pipes		X			
Stoppers					
Labrets					M
Metals					
Awls					
Nose adornment					M
Bells					
Coats		F			
Buttons					
Amulets		M			
Coats		F M			
Hair adornment		F			
Cartridge cases					
Inner coats		F			
Needle cases		F			
Coins					
Coats	F	F			
Drops/jinglers/tags					
Coats	F	F			
Talismans	M				
Earrings					
Coats					F
Ear adornment	M				
Finger rings		F M	F		F
Fishhooks					
Nose adornment					M
Head bands	F	F	F		

INUIT TRAIT LIST (Cont'd.)

Ornament and Application	Labrador Group	Central Group	Caribou Group	Copper Group	Mackenzie Group
Metal (Cont'd.)					
Instrument wheels					
Coats		F			
Nails					
Hair adornment		F			
Rings					
Hair adornment		F			
Spoon bowls					
Coats	F	F			
Thimbles					
Coats					F
Watch cases					
Breast pendants			F		

F: female; M: male; O: child; X: indeterminate.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

Trade ornaments were a popular part of the material culture of the native peoples of Canada. Available in a wide range of materials and forms, they were used to adorn both the people and their belongings. While there were a number of long-standing favourites, the adornments that had the broadest appeal and the greatest number of decorative applications were glass beads. These began to trickle into the hands of the eastern tribes in the early part of the 16th century, if not during the Viking era. However, despite their highly portable nature, they did not come into general use in the region beyond the Great Lakes until the second half of the 18th century.

The Indians of the Eastern Woodlands initially utilized glass beads, principally blue, white, and red in colour, to adorn their ears, noses and hair, as well as to fashion necklaces, bracelets, belts and other articles. About 1700 they also began to sew small beads, commonly termed "embroidery" or "seed" beads, onto their garments and other possessions, a technique that was subsequently adopted by all the other tribal groups. The Indians to the east of the Great Lakes generally arranged their embroidery beads in curvilinear patterns, especially the double-curve motive. The western tribes, as well as the Inuit, preferred angular geometric designs albeit stylized totemic designs were the rule on the Pacific Coast.

Floral beadwork made its appearance around 1830 and reached its zenith in the Great Lakes region during the 1880s and 1890s. It was adopted to some degree by all the Indian tribes save those of the Pacific Coast. The Inuit never took to it although some of the Central groups did begin to incorporate such design elements as flowers, stars and caribou into their geometric beadwork near the end of the 19th century.

In addition to being sewn to, wrapped around and suspended from sundry articles and woven into sashes and decorative bands, "embroidery" beads were frequently fashioned into such items of personal adornment as earbobs, necklaces, bracelets and garnitures for the hair. They were also used for inlay work in wood, stone and pottery, being especially suited for the eyes of ceremonial dolls, human effigy pipes and zoomorphic fishing lures. Larger beads, those over about 6 mm in diameter, were most commonly worked into necklaces, often in conjunction with beads and pendants of other materials. Other popular uses included the adornment of noses, ears and hair, as well as the fringe and tassels on garments and other articles and the handle straps of various tools and utensils. A unique application was recorded among the Mackenzie Inuit who were fond of gluing half of a large blue bead (split parallel to the perforation) to the

marble and ivory labrets that protruded from the men's cheeks.

There were few other glass ornaments. Mirrors, especially small circular ones, were popular with the Plains tribes and some of the Chippewa-Ojibwa during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The former peoples affixed them to their long fur necklaces and tail-feather fans, while the latter hung them from their belts and incorporated them into hair adornments and, perhaps, breastplates. Native-made trianguloid pendants of blue or blue and white glass seem to have been worn by the Chippewa-Ojibwa and Ottawa from at least 1740 to 1765. Probably produced in the Upper Missouri Region by fusing ground-up trade beads on a small brass plate, the pendants usually adorned the ears of infants and adult females. Finally, slightly modified glass stoppers were occasionally employed as labrets by Mackenzie Inuit men in the latter part of the 19th century.

Preceded by native-made embellishments of float copper, metal adornments of European origin were introduced to the peoples of eastern Canada prior to 1500, possibly by John Cabot in 1497-98. A little over a century and a half later, metal trade ornaments were present in some quantity in the western Great Lakes region and in 1774 they appeared on the Pacific Coast.

Adornments of the base metals predominated, with copper and its alloys having the greatest appeal, followed by iron and steel. Trinkets of lead and pewter were relatively scarce except among the Inuit of the eastern Arctic. Rings for the fingers and ears, as well as bells, buttons, thimbles, tinkling cones and variform pendants were widely utilized and may be regarded as standard metal ornaments of the native peoples of Canada. Armbands, bracelets, nose rings and furniture tacks also enjoyed wide usage among the Indians but were seemingly not utilized by the Inuit. While the armbands, bracelets and various rings served specific decorative functions, the bells, buttons, thimbles, tinkling cones and pendants were multi-purpose ornaments, commonly being affixed to the ears and hair, as well as to clothing and sundry other items. Tacks were used to decorate various articles of leather and wood.

Silver ornaments were in use in eastern Canada prior to 1500 but did not become commonplace until the advent of cheaply made "trade silver" in the 1750s. Primarily in the form of armbands, bracelets, brooches, crosses, earbobs, hatbands, gorgets, medals, and nose rings and pendants, this ornamentation was subsequently utilized to some degree by most of the major native groups of Canada. The only notable exceptions were the Indians of the Pacific Coast who preferred to make their own silver adornments, and the Inuit who seem to have been content with ornaments of the less-costly metals.

Trade silver remained in vogue until the 1830s when declining profits in the fur trade induced the Hudson's Bay Company and its competitors to drop it from their inventories in favour of cheap costume jewellery. Nevertheless, silver adornments for local consumption continued to be made by native craftsmen sited in Huron, Iroquois and Pacific Coast villages through the rest of the century and into the early 1900s.

Many of the metal trinkets utilized by the aboriginal population were obtained ready-made, especially those of complex construct. However, a substantial number were produced by the natives themselves from pieces of broken hardware and old copper and brass kettles, as well as wire and sheet metal purchased specifically for that purpose. Silver adornments were usually cut from sheet metal or hammered out of coins. Metal articles that were occasionally pressed into use as ornaments included awls, knives, forks, nails, buckles, bottle labels, keys, fishhooks, sections of decorative mirror frames, ornamental side plates from trade muskets, sauce-pan handles, pocket-watch components and instrument wheels.

Trade ornaments of shell were used by most of the Canadian Indian tribes but found few devotees among the Inuit. Supplied by the coastal Indians of New England and New Netherland until about 1630 but monopolized by Dutch, English and American merchants thereafter, cylindrical wampum was the principal shell adornment of the Eastern Woodland peoples. By the end of the 18th century, it had also

found acceptance on the eastern Plains. While it was used to adorn a wide range of items from clothing to war clubs, wampum was most commonly fashioned into necklaces, collars, bracelets, belts or girdles, headbands, and garnishments for the ears and hair.

Circular and oval gorgets called "moons" were also popular with the inhabitants of the Eastern Woodlands and Plains as adornments for the neck and breast. Cut from the walls of large conch shells, these adornments were sometimes embellished with silver inlays or glass beads. Hair pipes and cowrie shells also found use in both regions but were most favoured on the Plains. The former served primarily for necklaces, breast plates and adornments for the ears and hair, while the latter were sewn to such articles as dresses and bags or incorporated into ear ornaments and necklaces. Small disks utilized as decoration for the ears, hair and throat seem to have been restricted to the Plains.

Dentalia shells, called "haiqua" or "Iroquois shells" by the traders, were the most sought-after shell ornaments to the west of the Great Lakes. Most frequently sewn to clothing, especially that intended for ceremonial wear, these shiny white shells were also commonly formed into necklaces, chokers and embellishments for the ears, nose and hair. Adornments fashioned from the variegated nacre of the abalone or "California" shell (*Haliotis* sp.) were also highly prized by the peoples of the Pacific Coast as well as some of the inhabitants of the Cordillera-Plateau and Plains. Commonly worn in the form of ear and nose pendants, nose rings and necklace components, haliotis shell was no less popular for adorning garments and for inlay work in wood, ivory and horn. Mother-of-pearl buttons came into vogue in the Pacific and Cordillera-Plateau regions during the first half of the 19th century. Though they were chiefly used to outline clan symbols or totems on ceremonial "button blankets," some occasionally also found their way into bracelets, necklaces and adornments for the hair.

Trade ornaments of materials other than glass, metal and shell were not very varied. Adornments of bone consisted of hair pipes and combs. The former, used mainly for necklaces, bandoleers and breast plates, were introduced around 1880 as a sturdier and less expensive substitute for those of shell. Bone combs, usually employed to delouse hair, were also used as ear and hair ornaments by a few of the Chippewa-Ojibwa during the first half of the 19th century.

Ostrich plumes, as well as the feathers of other non-indigenous birds, were popular among the inhabitants of the Eastern Woodlands and Plains for dressing up their hats and headdresses. On the Pacific Coast, gaily coloured worsted yarn was a popular component of hair and ear adornments during the 19th century.

Ceramic items rarely served as adornments. The only two to be recorded were tobacco pipes, observed in the ears of Micmac men in 1749, and a "china dish," used as a breast ornament by an Iroquois chief during the American Revolutionary War. Imported embellishments of wood were also scarce, the sole representative of this category being a boat pulley worn pendant from the neck by a 17th-century Huron warrior.

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