

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) not included in the original manuscript are unavailable from the author or university. The manuscript was microfilmed as received.

390

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI

CLOTHED ENCOUNTERS: THE POWER OF DRESS
IN RELATIONS BETWEEN ANISHNAABE AND BRITISH PEOPLES
IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION, 1760-2000

By
CORY CAROLE SILVERSTEIN

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

© Copyright by Cory Silverstein, October 2000

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Anthropology)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: **Clothed Encounters: The Power of Dress in Relations Between Anishnaabe and British Peoples in the Great Lakes Region, 1760-2000**

AUTHOR: **Cory Carole Silverstein (McMaster University)**

SUPERVISOR: **Dr. Richard Preston**

NUMBER OF PAGES: **468 (text) + 47 (images)**

ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this study is to show the ways in which clothing reflected and influenced the shifting balance of power in the relations between and among Anishnaabe (Ojibway) and British peoples in the Great Lakes region. Clothing is embedded in cultural and economic systems, exerting a powerful force on the lives of individuals and nations. A specific objective is to reveal how clothing contributed to the economic and political subordination of Anishnaabek, as well as how it has facilitated gradual re-empowerment.

This thesis makes a significant contribution to knowledge of the history of Great Lakes Native clothing by presenting and analyzing new data on clothing styles during the fur trade era, on the transformation from culturally distinct styles to the adoption of European styles, and on contemporary Native fashion and everyday styles. The resultant history of Anishnaabe clothing and original use of neglected sources, such as commercial records and language, contribute new insight to existing studies of ceremonial dress of the modern period.

The interdisciplinary approach of this study reveals new perspectives on the history of colonial relations. The emphasis on clothing provides a window into cultural, social and economic aspects of inter-cultural relationships that are difficult to perceive through the study of words and events alone. As well, an innovative adaption of anthropological theories of narrative is used to elucidate historical processes in colonial relations.

Original combinations and applications of theoretical concepts contribute new approaches to the interpretation of material culture and dress. These show how objects participate in cultural constructions of “the self” and “the environment” that vary across cultures and therefore influence relations between cultures. Application of the theories of narrative noted above demonstrates how dress functions to embody roles in “master narratives” which are shared among members of societies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Richard Preston, as well as my committee members, Dr. Harvey Feit and Dr. Trudy Nicks, whose insight, patience, editorial suggestions and support have been invaluable throughout the processes of researching and writing this dissertation. I am also grateful to Zeek Cywink for his support, editorial comments, and assistance with certain phases of the research; to Dianna Whiteduck, who traveled with me during one research trip; and to my parents, Dr. Donald and Elizabeth Willmott, for their editorial advise on first drafts of the text and their unfailing support. I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to the Anishnaabe consultants who shared their views with me and thereby added significant perspectives to this work, as well as the many archivists, curators and collections managers who assisted me with research at their institutions. Funding for research was provided by a William Taylor Grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the School of Graduate Studies of McMaster University, the International Order of the Daughters of the Empire and the American Philosophical Society, without which this work could not have been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

CHAPTER 1: Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER 2: Beaver Trails, Tales, Signs and Social Life.....	44
CHAPTER 3: My Relations: <i>Doodemag</i> and Appearance.....	78
CHAPTER 4: British Economic Nationalism: Sheep Take Over the Land.....	108
CHAPTER 5: “Presents” in Trade and Diplomacy: Clothing and the Shifting Balance of Power.....	138
CHAPTER 6: “Clothing of a New Kind”: Anishnaabe Fur Trade Fashions.....	187
CHAPTER 7: Throwing Off the Blanket: Everyday Clothing of Reservation Living.....	252
CHAPTER 8: Picking Up the Beadwork: Ceremonial Dress of the Reservation Era.....	322
CHAPTER 9: Breaking Through: Native Fashion in the Millennium.....	338
CHAPTER 10: The Power of Dress.....	390
TABLE: Percent of Yardage of Woollens by Color in Fur Trade Inventories.....	419
APPENDIX: Glossary of Textile Terminology.....	421
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	422
PLATES.....	469

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Aims and Approach of Study

The purpose of this study is to show the ways in which clothing reflected and influenced the shifting balance of power in the relations between and among Anishnaabe¹ and British peoples in the Great Lakes region. Generally, my aim is to draw attention to the manifold powers of clothing in the lives of individuals and nations. Clothing is never merely functional or neutral because it is entangled in webs of economic systems and exchanges, as well as cultural symbols that embody status and identity. Clothing seldom receives critical attention, however, because we generally think of it as “commonplace.” In fact, clothing derives a great deal of power from this lack of serious analysis. Hence, I strive to elucidate the depth to which, and ways in which, clothing is embedded in cultural and economic systems.

Our largely unconscious response to the culturally constructed signs of status and identity that we “read” into clothing make it a significant site for the daily negotiations of power, culture, identity and alliance that characterize the historical processes of colonial relations. Moreover, access to beaver fur for hats and cloth for garments were foremost motivations for Europeans and Anishnaabek, respectively, to initiate and maintain colonial relations. Despite the central role of clothing in these historical processes, relatively few studies of clothing in colonial relations have been undertaken.² My emphasis on clothing presents an important alternative view to the many treatments of North American colonial history that dwell solely on words and events.

A better understanding of the powers of clothing in inter-cultural relations enhances our view of historical and political processes and enables us to see clothing as a tool that may be utilized to effect political transformation. Hence, it is my specific objective to reveal the ways in which clothing contributed to the economic and political subordination of Anishnaabek, as well as the ways it has facilitated a gradual movement towards re-empowerment. The major portion of this work elaborates the former shift in power, not only because of its longer duration in time, but also because some of the same methods used to dominate may be applied towards liberation.

There are two aspects of clothing that are important to the history of relations between British and Anishnaabek: 1) economic exchanges; and 2) appearance³ in relation to identity. Both of these aspects have political implications. The period during which Anishnaabek had the most political independence in their relations with British peoples corresponds to that of their greatest economic independence: the fur trade era. In general the prosperity and integrity of a nation's economy play a significant role in its political status in relation to other nations. Prior to land surrenders, Anishnaabek had commodities of high exchange value and a great degree of control over the mode of exchange used in inter-cultural relations. During this same period, Anishnaabek wore culturally distinct styles for everyday wear. The habitual display of distinct national identity reflects control over self-representation. This control in the realm of symbolism also supports the political power of a nation. I suggest that these conditions are again, and increasingly, evident today. With modifications appropriate to the present historical context, they may be nurtured and applied to promote political independence.

The comprehensive history of Anishnaabe fashions that I present in Chapters Six through Nine focuses primarily on everyday wear, rather than ceremonial attire, because

an examination of everyday styles contextualizes clothing within the lives of real people and thereby illuminates the links between clothing and both politics and economics in historical processes. In contrast, the vast majority of historical studies of Native⁴ dress focus on the articles of ceremonial attire that are represented in museum collections. Recent scholarly attempts to contextualize these objects in the cultural milieu of their origin have been laudable, but are still inadequate to reveal socio-political histories of Native fashion.⁵ As well, the study of everyday dress clarifies subtleties in constructions of identity that are bypassed when the object of study is limited to ceremonial dress. This is because the latter approach implicitly assumes that ceremonial attire defines culturally distinct identity. This bias is inherited in part from collectors and donors, who generally did not deposit everyday wear in museums. These biases in collection practice reflect powerful stereotypes of Native peoples and cultures that continue to pervade North American and European societies. The study of everyday dress undercuts such stereotypes and highlights instead the historical experiences of members of the Anishnaabe nation.

My philosophical premise is that research and analysis reveal “multiple truths” (Abu-Lughod 1990:*passim*) and “partial truths” (Clifford 1986:*passim*), but no singular or absolute Truth. The key question then becomes the relative utility of truths (Rorty 1994:*passim*). What actions and consequences follow from their assertion and adoption? To whom are they useful and to what purpose? As it appears to me, the broad outlines of events, perspectives and consequences in the history of clothing in Great Lakes inter-cultural relations suggest the desirability of economic and political self-determination for First Nations peoples. The interventions of the British, American and Canadian governments, as well as traders, missionaries and settlers, have led on the whole to wide-

scale poverty and social disintegration within First Nations communities. This result must be considered a failure not only from the point of view of Anishnaabek, but also in terms of the interests of the governments and general public. I suggest that re-distribution of wealth and power along more equitable lines may improve inter-cultural relations and produce a better quality of life for all. The following discussion elaborates the key theoretical and methodological underpinnings of my argument, as well as its original contributions to a number of realms of knowledge.

The Behavioral Environment and the Interpretation of Clothing

In the early days of trade in the Great Lakes region there were some fundamental differences between the “behavioral environments” of Native peoples and Europeans that greatly influenced the manner in which each viewed the other. In brief, a “behavioral environment” is “an environment culturally constituted in such a way that it structures the major psychological field in which individuals act, forming their basic cognitive orientation” (Hallowell 1976a:11; 1955:75-110). Hallowell (1976c:378-9) notes, for example, that the Ojibway⁶ of Berens River include “recalled memory images” from dreams among the most significant “self-related experiences” in their lives. In contrast, when “we think autobiographically we only include events that happened to us when awake.” This differently constructed notion of “self” is significant because in dreams Anishnaabek interact with spirits, whom they address as “grandfather” or “grandmother,” and from whom they “receive important revelations that are the source of assistance to them in the daily round of life, and, besides this, of ‘blessings’ that enable them to exercise exceptional powers of various kinds.” Furthermore, while dreaming (and during visions), the “self” may become detached from the body and travel to remote locations

while the body remains but an empty shell. Hence, this conception of self is fundamentally linked to the social structure (which includes familial relationships with spirits), the economic system (because spirits provide information that assists with subsistence activities) and the physical environment (which is continuous in dream and waking states) (Hallowell 1976b:468).

My original adaptation of Hallowell's theory to the cross-cultural history of Great Lakes clothing shows that neither the British nor Anishnaabe "selves" and "environments" may be taken as given, but rather as culturally constructed. This is because the processes of presenting and interpreting "self" through appearance are founded upon largely unconscious notions of self, environment and the relationship between them. Hence, at the outset of the relations between British and Anishnaabek, the differences they perceived in the meanings and values of clothed appearances were not simply a matter of attributing different meanings to particular signs. Rather, the whole structure of meaning and value differed fundamentally. Consider, for example, that if the "core of the self" is detachable from the physical body, the appearance of the latter can not be relied upon to indicate the state of the former. In contrast, when the "self" and physical body are indissociable until the point of death, the appearance of the latter may tell a great deal about the former. I develop the implications of these differences in the behavioral environment for the cultural construction of appearance in Chapters Two through Four.

Many contemporary analyses of clothing adopt a semiotic approach based on the metaphor of "language." In this view, the meanings of clothed appearances arise out of structure, either of the conventional relations between signs or of the universal "rules" governing the interpretation of signs.⁷ This approach has been refined, in part, by

critiques suggested by the “text” metaphor proposed by Clifford Geertz (1976:1474-5), which seeks to show the relation between non-verbal signs and different domains of meaning within a culture. Many such studies show how the symbolism of dress is related to religious beliefs and/or social structure.⁸ Because both of these approaches tend to be limited by the assumption that “culture” is homogeneous, bounded and static (Silverman 1990:123-6), material culture scholars have recently turned to the “dialogue” metaphor developed by “interpretivist” anthropologists. This approach enables analysts to look at inter-cultural phenomena, incorporate the diachronic aspect of narrative, and elevate politics to the forefront of concern by establishing “dialogues with objects” as revealed through narratives about them (Callaway 1992; Stanley 1994:173-4).

My analysis joins scholarly critiques of the “language” metaphor by showing that clothing: 1) derives its meanings from direct experience and such meanings are therefore not governed by convention; 2) has multivalent, non-linear and “bundled” meanings which cannot be “decoded” through the conventional rules of language; 3) has social and emotional force as well as cognitive meaning; 4) is embedded in cultural contexts and hence the meanings of particular signs are variable across cultures.⁹ My approach draws from, but moves beyond, the “text” metaphor by joining it to the concept of the behavioral environment. While the former shows linkages between signs and structures within cultures, the latter’s emphasis on the roles of non-verbal signs in cultural constructions of identity is invaluable to cross-cultural studies. In particular, the core concept of status constitutes an essential point of comparison in the culturally variable relationships between signs and the principles, structures and systems to which they are linked. This approach reveals that it is potentially useful, but not sufficient, to compare the meanings of signs in the same domains in different cultures. My analysis similarly

builds upon the “dialogue” metaphor. Not only do I use individual narratives as interpretive tools, but I also employ a theory of narratives as cultural processes that are components of behavioral environments, as elaborated in my discussions of cultural scripts, and the function of dress in them, below.

Whereas the foregoing approaches to the interpretation of dress have been useful to my analysis of the cultural construction of appearance, they do not serve adequately to analyze the dynamics of inter-cultural economic exchanges. Hence, I have adopted Arjun Appadurai’s (1986) approach to the study of “things”¹⁰ in exchange relations for my analysis of the culturally variable meanings of “presents” in Chapter Five and of “charity” in Chapter Seven. Appadurai (*ibid.*:13-16) suggests that all things have “commodity potential.” This potential is realized in “the social life of any ‘thing’” when its “exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature.” “Commoditization” depends upon: 1) the “commodity phase in the social life of a thing”; 2) the “commodity candidacy of any thing”; and 3) the “commodity context in which any thing may be placed.” The three factors of commoditization are based on temporal, cultural and social principles, respectively. According to this definition, commodities are a feature of all cultures, but the phases of commoditization, classes of objects which become commodities, and the contexts in which commoditization take place vary from culture to culture. I have found no cause or means to improve the explanatory power of this model. My only innovation is to apply Appadurai’s definition of commodities to gift exchanges in colonial relations in the Great Lakes region, and to link it to Richard White’s (1991) theory of the “middle ground,” as elaborated in a subsequent section of this chapter.

Cultures, Nations and Histories

Because the behavioral environment is “culturally constructed,” it is closely associated with the concept of culture. In the sub-discipline of cultural anthropology, this concept has undergone radical revisions in the past few decades in order to realign it with conditions met in field research and with the new trends in philosophical orientations outlined briefly above. Although I have been deeply influenced by these new developments, I find that no single re-definition of culture adequately serves the purposes of this analysis. I speculate that this is because each field situation and research question suggests and requires different definitions. I have therefore found it expedient to devise a definition that is most suitable to the analysis of clothing in inter-cultural relations.

I propose there are certain core values and patterns that arise out of the economic and social structures of groups that pursue particular life-ways for long periods of time relatively uninterrupted. These core values and patterns are very slow to change even as the structures themselves change. Although core values and patterns are relatively constant, transformation of the structures produces corresponding changes in their forms and manifestations. Because of their slow rate of change, core values and patterns may be compared against each other as discrete sets. At the same time, analysis of changes in particular forms and manifestations elucidates transformational processes resulting from inter-cultural exchange and historical circumstances.

The processes of cultural reproduction and transformation involve the actions of individuals in their daily negotiations with established cultural conventions, known alternatives and inspirational inventions. Cultural change occurs when many individual members of a group select similar alternatives. Cultural reproduction results when the majority of individuals re-enact the norms. It is my understanding that only a fraction of

cultural elements come under conscious scrutiny at any given time while the greater portion remain unquestioned premises which form a foundation of shared understandings that render social interaction coherent. Hence, the process of cultural reproduction is most frequently a matter of habit rather than of choice. Choice is activated when particular aspects of culture come into the realm of conscious scrutiny due to their failure to meet an individual's needs, or because they are contested by other individuals or factors with sufficient power to influence the individual. At this juncture, an individual may choose the cultural norm or an alternative. Social consequences, however, often radically circumscribe the limits of individual choice.

The history of European fashions provides an illustration of the relation between the largely unquestioned premises of the slow moving core concepts and their faster moving forms and manifestations. Members of European society adhered to a core concept of gendered dress which, for over four hundred years, took the form of a gendered division of garments among all classes: women wore skirts or dresses and men wore breeches, pants or trousers. At the same time, fashions in these categories were constantly changing. Moreover, major stylistic changes occurred during this period which are often attributed to the influence of particular individuals. The "tasteful" choices of these individuals, however, merely reflected the accumulative effect of the many individual fashion choices that shaped the forms and manifestations of culture. Hence, individual choice influenced daily, yearly and periodic changes of fashion, but did not extend to the fundamental division of gendered dress. Although Europeans knew of other cultures in which women wore trousers, it was literally inconceivable for a European woman to do so. Fifty years of women's activism,¹¹ two World Wars, and a rise in the popularity of sports that derived from newly forming constructions of North American

identity, were necessary in order for the core concept of gendered dress to change. Only then could European women “choose” to wear trousers and still be considered women.

In large part, the factors that eventually resulted in the acceptance of women’s trousers ultimately depended upon historical contingencies that were beyond the realm of individual choice. Women’s activism depended on certain social conditions which rendered it possible. This brought gendered dress into the realm of conscious scrutiny but did not alleviate adverse social consequences. The World Wars established a norm for women’s trousers in the limited context of work for the war. Sports provided an alternative context in which there were few discriminatory social consequences. A woman who worked during the war might ask herself whether she should or would continue to wear trousers after the war and in different contexts. More women, however, might simply continue to wear trousers in new contexts because their friends were doing so. Certainly in either case, habit would govern their daughters’ adoption of them. Once women’s trousers became an established norm, individual choices to wear them ceased to function as agents of cultural change. Moreover, a special type of trousers was created for women which continued to function to clearly distinguish women from men. This shows that the core concept of gendered dress persisted even after this major modification of its form.

It may be argued that the European and Euro-American fashion tradition is an unrepresentative example of the operation of culture change because of the propensity of people to “blindly” follow it. I suggest, however, that it is precisely because this fashion tradition operates in a dynamic relation between the need to conform and the need to innovate that it illustrates the role of individual choice in the relation between core concepts and their forms and manifestations. Moreover, it is a primary aim of this study

to show that non-verbal symbols such as clothing exert a far greater cultural force than we normally attribute to them, due to the unconscious level upon which they operate. As well, this definition of culture is specifically adapted to the analysis of clothing in inter-cultural relations, as stated above. Hence, for purposes of this study I propose that even though both cultural reproduction and transformation result from the daily actions of individuals, relatively few of these actions proceed from conscious choice. The cumulative or simultaneous alternative *selections* of numbers of individuals, however, will result in cultural transformation at the level of forms and manifestations. If these changes endure over wide areas for long periods of time, then they may eventually modify the core concepts themselves.

The multi-phased movement of culture pertains to the lives of individuals, as well as to the histories of cultures and nations. There is no necessary relation between adherence to a cultural pattern and membership in a particular group or nation, although the origin of cultural patterns within discrete groups tends to produce a degree of correspondence commensurate with the degree of isolation of the group, or dominance of the cultural pattern. When I speak of the characteristics or history of “a culture,” therefore, I do not refer to those of a bounded group of people, but rather to those of a set of values and patterns that originated within a certain nation. In this study I discuss the interaction between the core values and patterns of cultures, as well as that of the economic and political histories of nations.

Neither of the broadly construed groups in this study, the Anishnaabek and the British, have singular political borders or discrete cultural boundaries. I present the Anishnaabek as a nation with a particular cultural heritage, rather than as “a culture.” There are several reasons for this conception: 1) anthropologists have traditionally

classified “savage” peoples as “cultures,” which thereby renders the usage deprecative; 2) nationhood is a prerequisite to political self-determination; and 3) at this point in history adherence to core values and patterns that stem from Anishnaabe culture is not required for membership in the Anishnaabe nation.¹² Hence, on the one hand, I shall speak of “the Anishnaabek” as a nation in historical contexts, and on the other, I shall refer to “the Anishnaabe behavioral environment” to denote core values and patterns characteristic of Anishnaabe culture. Nevertheless, there are many places where I do not clearly distinguish between these two usages, particularly in discussions of the early periods of interaction when the distinction was negligible. In some places I conflate the two usages because it is stylistically awkward to do otherwise. As well, it is impossible to mention each nation in the Great Lakes area in general statements that may apply to all. Hence, I have applied such terms as “Anishnaabek,” and “Great Lakes Native peoples,” almost synonymously throughout the work.

For purposes of this study I include the Ojibway, Mississauga, Nippissing, Algonkin, Potawatomi, Odawa and Menominee as members of the Anishnaabe nation, although each also has its own distinctive identity to which I shall refer in the context of specific examples. All of the groups I have included in the Anishnaabe nation were allies throughout the several hundred years under study, experienced similar historical interactions with Europeans and their descendants, and had almost identical core values and patterns. Where these factors similarly apply, I also refer to Algonquian-speaking nations such as the Cree, Mesquakie, Abenaki, Naskapi, Montagnais and Micmac, as well as Great Lakes nations of other language groups such as the Hochunk, the Hurons and the Iroquoian nations.

It is not possible within the limitations of this study to adequately relate the

individual histories of all of these distinct nations. As will be shown in Chapter Six, the early history of Anishnaabe styles in the Great Lakes area did not proceed solely along national lines. Within the vast expanse of Anishnaabe territory different styles developed according to pre-contact regional differences and proximity to the centers of trade. After the mid-nineteenth century, political and religious factors strongly influenced individual style preferences among members of all Great Lakes nations. As well, military alliances with the French, British and Americans followed local inclination more than they did national divisions. The reason for this lack of national consistency is that the political systems of Great Lakes nations were decentralized. Consequently, Anishnaabe history is largely enacted by closely related kin groups. The histories of these groups are revealed through the stories of individual members and the political speeches of community spokespersons. For these reasons, I have not treated the history of each nation separately, but rather focused on the stories and speeches of individuals within the Anishnaabe nation as a whole.

Another factor to consider is that the composition of this broadly construed Anishnaabe nation has varied throughout the period under consideration. At the outset of British relations with Anishnaabek there existed a distinct, yet politically undefined, group of Métis. Their status in relation to Anishnaabek, British, Americans and Canadians underwent various changes throughout the subsequent history of inter-cultural relations. The question of Métis identity is far too complex to deal with comprehensively in this study. Nevertheless there are junctures at which acknowledgment of their role in inter-cultural relations, and constructions of Anishnaabe identity, is indispensable. I have adopted a broad definition of the Métis which changes according to the historic period under discussion. As shall be seen in Chapters Six and Seven, during the early history of

relations, Métis identity rested largely on occupations in the fur trade, while during the early nineteenth century there was increasing social and political pressure for Métis to become either Native or “White.” The failure to recognize the Métis as a distinct group has caused repercussions that continue to cause tensions within Anishnaabe communities, and to aggravate inter-cultural relations, to the present day.

My treatment of Europeans, peoples of the British Isles and their descendants in North America is somewhat different but no less complicated. In contrast to the way anthropologists formerly presented Native groups, historians typically emphasize the nationhood of European groups, while they often overlook their cultural dimensions. Until the past few decades, the analysis of European culture has been limited to that of “high culture,” in other words, the artistic accomplishments of civilization. Prior to this time, scholars rarely applied anthropological definitions of culture to the analysis of “civilized” groups. This study applies the same analytical tools to the core values and patterns of British culture as it does to Anishnaabe culture.

Nevertheless, I have emphasized the cultural perspectives of the dominant classes in discussions of the early years of contact because the majority of British individuals who interacted with Anishnaabek during this period held these views. Many of them, such as missionaries, fur traders and military personnel, also acted as representatives of institutions within their nations. As well, it has been necessary to present aspects of the histories of individual European and North American nations in order to elucidate certain concepts. For example, during the fur trade era the British economic system was intimately linked to the nation in a conceptual orientation and economic policy that I term “economic nationalism.” As shown in Chapter Four, this forms an aspect of the behavioral environment of British traders and diplomats that profoundly affected their

relations with Great Lakes nations.

As well, unlike the component groups of the Anishnaabe nation, those that compose the British nation were in conflict throughout the early periods of their relations with Great Lakes nations. As seen in Chapters Four and Five, these conflicts played a significant role in the history of Anishnaabe clothing. Therefore, the individual nations of Britain and of British descent play greater roles in this study than do those of the Anishnaabe nation. It is important to realize, however, that the ready recognition of the historicity of the former groups does not make them more historical than the latter groups, whose history unfolds through the narratives of individuals rather than nations.

The European nations included in this study are the French, English, Scottish and Irish. I also include the North American nations of the United States and Canada. During different periods of post-contact history various combinations of these nations, as well as different groups within each one, have been prominent in relations with Anishnaabek. Nevertheless, during any given period those of European descent who interacted with Anishnaabek shared many core values and patterns, even though their nations' particular histories differ in many respects. For the sake of brevity, I often conflate certain combinations of these nations into broader categories as follows: 1) "the Europeans" (the French and British during the early fur trade era); 2) "the British" (the English, Irish and Scots, as opposed to the Americans, during the late fur trade era); and 3) "the British North Americans" (Americans, British colonials after the War of 1812, and Canadians after Confederation, to the contemporary period).¹³ The choice of these terms depends upon which nations were prominent in relations with Great Lakes Native nations during the historical period under discussion.

At times, I also use the terms "the British," "the Americans," and "the

Canadians” to refer to representatives of the governments of these nations. For the contemporary period, I refer to “non-Natives” where the relations between groups of Anishnaabek and members of the North American public are concerned. It should be noted that my focus on the British throughout this work results both from the need to limit the subject matter to a reasonable size and my emphasis on British cultural traditions. Whereas the populations of Canada and the United States are composed of peoples of diverse origins, the majority of whom are probably not of British origin, British cultural traditions continue to dominate North American society.

To conclude this discussion of terms of identification, I suggest that the social location of the person designating national and cultural identities determines to some degree which distinction is most relevant. For example, contemporary Anishnaabe storyteller, Zeek Cywink, refers to all Europeans, Americans and Canadians as “Europeans.” From his position as a Native person, their most important distinguishing characteristic is that they are not Native. He sees all “Europeans” as “foreigners” regardless of how many generations their families may have been on this continent and how slight their knowledge of Europe might be. This distinction, however, does not prevent him from befriending individual “Europeans.” A resident of Europe, however, would undoubtedly draw a distinction not only between Europeans and North Americans, but also between peoples of different European nations. Likewise, Americans see themselves as distinct from Canadians and vice versa. The English, Scottish and Irish are emphatic about national distinctions even among those who are subject to the British government.

In my own case, my interest in the role of clothing in the relations between Anishnaabe and British peoples in the Great Lakes region arises directly out of my

location in respect to clothing, this region and these peoples. I learned to sew when I was a teenager, studied fashion design and pursued a career in various aspects of the fashion industry, which included retail sales (contemporary and antique), as well as design, cutting, pattern drafting and grading. My father recently told me that biologically I am 62% German, but I am more familiar with my English, Scottish and Irish heritage because those ancestors tended to leave written records of their lives. One line of these ancestors is documented back to the original Puritans, while another two ancestral families settled in Southern Ontario as early as 1815. Culturally, I am a “second generation West China kid,” which means that my father grew up as the son of United Church missionaries in West China. When he first lived in North America at the age of twenty-one, he brought with him a behavioral environment that blended Chinese philosophy with a social-justice brand of Christian morality. Both of my parents are left-wing political activists and liberal humanitarian intellectuals. My mother is a professional artist. It is also of significance to this study of appearance that I *look* “white,” having blue eyes and “dirty blonde” hair. I have lived in the Great Lakes region most of my life and feel a strong attachment to the welfare of its environment and peoples.

When I first became involved with the Toronto Native community in 1992, I joined several beading circles and eventually taught bead and leather work at a Native organization in Toronto for several years. Around the same time, I met Zeek Cywink, who has been my *weedjeewaugin* (“life companion,” Johnston 1978:30) ever since. Both by myself, and with Zeek, I have lived and traveled in Anishnaabe communities (and behavioral environments) as much as my academic work and shared custody of my daughter permit. Consequently, I live in a kind of “frontier zone” in which I do not

pretend, nor aspire, to *be* Anishnaabe, but nevertheless have a personal interest in the health and prosperity of the Anishnaabe nation and its members. As a descendant of British settlers in the Great Lakes region, I also feel a social responsibility to work towards improving present and future relations among its peoples, although I do not presume to have the power to do much about past wrongs.

In the Native circles I am familiar with the rhetorics of identity very often essentialize and reify cultural and national identity through the binary opposition of “White” versus “Native.” This framework unfortunately overlooks social, cultural and even biological complexities in the composition of the Native and non-Native communities and in relations between them. Nevertheless, my daily experience in the cross-fire between these two poles has led me to believe that the fundamental binary distinction is critical to political action even while an identity politics of specificity is more productive to satisfactory social interaction (Silverstein 1999:70,82-3). Consequently, in this work I have attempted to conceive the various peoples, as well as their cultural orientations and histories, in such a way that both political distinction and social flexibility are preserved.

Core Concepts and Cultural Scripts: Components of the Behavioral Environment

Core concepts are components of the behavioral environment that play a significant part in the comparative aspect of this work, especially in Chapter Five. Concepts such as “marriage,” “the family,” “alliance,” “contracts,” “status,” “presents,” and “commodities,” seem to be self-explanatory only because our particular conception of them is deeply embedded in our behavioral environment. On the individual level, core concepts imbue experience with meaning and thereby provide a framework for action. In

the context of groups, they define the types and boundaries of effective action by structuring the field of action. Let us suppose, for example, that a young man meets a young woman to whom he is deeply attracted. In North American society, this experience is linked to the core concept of romance. Accordingly, he behaves towards her with the culturally prescribed gestures and actions that symbolize courtship. Because they share the same behavioral environment, she fully comprehends his actions. It happens, however, that unbeknownst to the man, but known to the woman, they are cousins. She must therefore thwart his advances because the core concept of the family excludes romantic relationships between cousins. No matter how persuasive his overtures may be they are thereby rendered ineffectual.

Core concepts are intimately linked to the economic and social structures of their cultures of origin and function most powerfully when operating within those structures. Because of the tenacity of core patterns noted above, however, they may inform the action in individuals' lives whether or not those actions take place within their corresponding economic and social structures. In the latter case, cross-cultural misunderstanding frequently leads to the inability to achieve goals. This is because the same event, action, word or object may have radically different implications for the participants in exchanges between peoples whose behavioral environments are different. Therefore, when the economic and social structures of one culture dominate a field of social action that includes individual actors from different cultures, the latter must conform to the prescribed behavior of the dominant culture in order for their actions to be effective, even if they retain their own core concepts.

For example, anthropologist David Counts (1990:18-19) and his wife had just begun their fieldwork in Kandoka Village, Papua, New Guinea, when a woman from

another village arrived at their residence and offered to sell them a watermelon for two shillings. This proposal was premised on the core concept of commodities in a cash economy. This conception fit with the Counts' behavioral environment, so they accepted the offer without further thought. Moments later, however, the woman returned with the leader of the village who demanded the return of the watermelon and two shillings to their original owners. In the economic system of this village, food was exchanged only through reciprocal gift-giving, and generous hospitality was due all visitors welcomed by the leader. Therefore, the Counts had "shamed" the leader by implying that his village was too impoverished to supply the visitors with food and lacked sufficient generosity to show appropriate hospitality. The Counts quickly realized that their actions would not be effective unless they conformed to the economic and social structures of the village. They did not have to discard their own core concepts, but they had to learn those of the villagers in sufficient measure to anticipate culturally appropriate action.

A full understanding of the complex relationships between core concepts and political power, as well as those between differing cultural constructions of core concepts, is best achieved by first delineating the culturally constructed meanings and values of the core concepts and then comparing them or showing their interaction. This basically non-temporal method of analysis is most effectively communicated through a discursive writing format with stories and anecdotes serving merely as illustrative examples. The Counts' article noted above, for example, utilizes an almost exclusively narrative format that admirably employs some of the primary tools of textualist theory (Clifford 1986:*passim*). When students in an introductory anthropology course were given an exam question based on this article, however, the majority responded with numerous details about watermelons, pineapples and bananas, but few could outline the

principles of reciprocity that are the main point of the article. Hence, I conclude that for the analysis of core concepts, values and patterns, the discursive format communicates more effectively because at present readers have little understanding of what and how narratives explain (Roth 1988:1).

My definition of culture, however, includes both slow moving aspects that lend themselves to discursive treatment and faster moving elements that must be related by means of narrative. Moreover, the primary point of my thesis is essentially temporal in that it aims to identify causes and effects in processes of interaction over the course of time. Consequently, for a large portion of this work it is advantageous to adopt narrative as both a style of writing, and as an analytical tool. As Renato Rosaldo (1989:133) points out, unlike scientific explanations, which strive for general laws, narrative explanations answer questions of how things came to be the way they are. As such they explain by determining what events have an effect on a particular action or outcome and accounting for linkages among events. Narrative explanations therefore focus on time as the primary dimension of human existence and the roles of particular events as key explanatory factors (Polkinghorne 1988:20-21; Roth 1988:1).

In this work, I use narrative not only as an analytical tool to explain sequences and causal linkages in the histories of cultures and nations, but also as an explanatory model for the conceptual processes that link core concepts to culturally appropriate behavior. Whereas concepts are “models for and models of” specific economic and social structures, narratives provide “patterns for and patterns of” action within those structures. In order to understand the link between concepts and narratives, it is helpful to gain a better understanding of the role of narratives in our lives. Many commentators point out that narrative is ancient, universal and pervasive.¹⁴ Our lives are immersed in

narratives, from infancy to old age. from waking social interaction to internal dialogues and dreams. Narratives are stories. They have a temporal dimension, characters, actions, settings and plots. The plot is the theme that holds the storyline together. Plots are infinitely transferable and repeatable in variations of events, actions, settings and characters. Given the pervasiveness of narratives in human existence, J. H. Miller (1990:66-71) suggests that the human propensity to order experience through narrative may function to affirm, reinforce and create “the most basic assumptions of a culture about human existence, about time, destiny, selfhood, where we come from, what we ought to do while we are here, where we go - the whole course of human life.”

How do narratives provide such patterns for living? Narratives make meaning out of the continuum of experience by defining events of significance to a plot and ordering them sequentially (E. Bruner 1986b:140; Miller 1990:69). In this manner an “episode” is created that forms a whole out of parts (Polkinghorne 1988:18,22). Narratives occupy a “dual landscape” of action and consciousness because they relate events both in terms of telling what happened and showing the relations among happenings (J. Bruner 1987:20). For this reason, narratives are inherently interpretive. They are embedded in cultural contexts that provide patterns for interpretation (plots), in shared experiences that provide a “telegraphic shorthand” consisting of meaning-laden points of reference, and in social contexts in which they are given and received (E. Bruner 1986b:98,107-108,122; J. Bruner 1987:21).

There is no clear demarcation between “real life” and storyline because narratives not only reflect, but also shape and define, experience and “reality.”¹⁵ People actually live within the frameworks of the “possible lives” provided by their cultural context (J. Bruner 1987:15). For example, Rosaldo (1986:109-121,134) demonstrates how Ilongot

men “experience themselves as the main characters in their own stories” enacting qualities of high masculine value. Arjun Appadurai (1991:206-208) shows how Hindi commercial cinema reflects and affects clients and dancers in Meghraj cabarets.

In any given cultural and/or historical context, there are pre-existing plots, which may be termed “master narratives,” that dominate the field of action for all those who share a particular behavioral environment for extended periods of time.¹⁶ Within these master narratives, there also exist sub-plots, which I call “cultural scripts,” that describe and prescribe roles and sequences for the “possible lives” of the participants who enact them. Master narratives and cultural scripts are vast configurations that consist of plots, characters, settings, dress, and material culture from which individuals draw elements to creatively construct more limited configurations of roles and episodes. Cultural scripts are a component of the behavioral environment that thereby prescribe both “appropriate” actions and “appropriate” interpretations of others’ actions.

There is virtually no field of human endeavor that is not in some way influenced by these cultural scripts. On the level of the individual, narratives provide “recipes for structuring experience” within a purposeful framework of episodal units (J. Bruner 1987:31). On the level of the social collective, narratives provide coherence to shared beliefs and values (Polkinghorne 1988:11,14). As well, they function both to constrain and to critique social action (Miller 1990:69). As Greg Sarris (1993:4) notes:

Stories can work as cultural indexes for appropriate or inappropriate behavior. They can work to oppress or to liberate, to confuse or enlighten. So much depends on who is telling the story and who is listening and the specific circumstances of the exchange.

The social function and infinite variability of narratives illuminates their profound role in cultural and historical transformation. People facilitate societal changes through

modifications in their enactments of familiar plots. As well, minor sub-plots may become dominant as power shifts take place between actors. Such modifications and shifts in dominance are sometimes subtle and gradual, and at other times or places they may be rapid and radical. In all cases, individual narratives at once influence and are influenced by their historical contexts. The gradual or rapid convergence of changes in individual narratives results in transformation of cultural scripts and/or their relative dominance.

The roles of cultural scripts in inter-cultural relations are particularly significant to my analysis of the history of Anishnaabe clothing in Chapters Six through Nine. The argument put forth in these chapters is that when two groups with different behavioral environments meet, they need to establish common cultural scripts in order to achieve effective social action. This can occur through the creation of what ethnohistorian Richard White (1991) has termed a “middle ground” in which they meet, or through the dominance of one group’s cultural script over that of the other.

In the “middle ground,” parties from two or more cultures negotiate a “new set of common conventions” which govern “suitable ways of acting,” but frequently do not involve an alteration of core concepts, as noted above (White 1991:50,52,80,328). The “middle ground” describes a period, or condition, of inter-cultural relations in which groups with distinctly different cultural premises are bound through their own interests to gain co-operation from each other, but lack the power to do so through force (*ibid.*:52). It consists of three phases: 1) a stage of initial meeting when each group interprets the other strictly in terms of their own cultural conceptions; 2) a stage in which members of each group negotiate and innovate new solutions to shared challenges which result in the creation of mutually satisfactory rituals of exchange based on “parallels and congruencies”; and 3) a stage in which these “middle ground” rituals become more or

less stable through their repeated re-enactment. This results in the creation of new cultural forms which are nevertheless subject to “rival interpretations” and “imperfect reproductions” which can alter them (*ibid.*:50-3,90,93,329,333-4).

Because a defining feature of the “middle ground” is that neither group can attain their goals by means of force, a typical strategy is for each group to “justify their own rules in terms of what they perceive to be the practices of the other,” or to “appeal to the values of others in order to manipulate them” (*ibid.*:82,330). Whereas White (*ibid.*:52) describes this strategy as “assimilating” the “reasoning” of the other, I prefer the term “appropriation” because it does not entail an alteration of conceptualization, merely that of argumentation, and it does not generally extend beyond the immediate inter-cultural exchange. That is, a person “appropriates” a principle of the other group’s culture and presents it to the other group as justification for a course of action that furthers interests arising from his or her own culture. Beyond the moment of the exchange, there is no necessity to justify the action in the other group’s terms.

My approach deepens White’s concept of the “middle ground” by bringing to the analysis an understanding of Anishnaabe culture based on familiarity with anthropological definitions of culture, experience within contemporary Anishnaabe communities, study of ethnographic sources, and an emphasis on material culture, as well as by joining it to a theoretical model of cultural scripts as components of the behavioral environment and Appadurai’s definition of commodities as outlined above. These resources and approaches enable me to attain greater detail and clarity with regard to the subtleties of cultural differences and similarities, as well as to how these affected specific “middle ground” rituals and the gradual shift in the balance of power. In contrast, White relies almost solely on historical sources written by members of one side

of the alliance and the work of ethnohistorians who similarly rely on the same type of sources. Consequently, his perceptions of cultural difference are often influenced by those of the colonial authors. I also broaden White's concept of the "middle ground" by suggesting that it is not merely a past stage of colonial history, but rather an ever-present possibility for inter-cultural relations. This possibility is often realized in present inter-cultural relations because once again neither side is able to achieve their goals by means of force.

My argument with regard to the changing balance of power in relations between Anishnaabek and British peoples can be summarized briefly as follows. When the French and Anishnaabek first met, they had different cultural scripts that pre-determined the roles they cast each other in. The balance of power, however, was such that each retained their own cultural scripts while mutually establishing a "middle ground" cultural script that prescribed roles within the contexts of their interaction. When the British wrested the Great Lakes fur trade from the French in the 1760s, they were constrained by the "middle ground" script mutually established between the French and the Anishnaabek, but they also brought a British version of the colonial master narrative to their relations with Great Lakes Native peoples. When colonial activity turned from trading to settling, the demographic composition of the British peoples with whom the Anishnaabek came in contact changed, as did their prevalent cultural scripts. Simultaneously, the balance of dominance between the cultural scripts of the Anishnaabek and those of the British shifted in favor of the latter. When this occurred, relations no longer operated within the "middle ground." There followed a long period during which the "middle ground" ceased to exist because the British North American governments were able to achieve their goals by means of force.

Colonial expansion may be considered a master narrative which dominated British culture and history for several hundred years. The cultural scripts of primary significance to this study are sub-plots of this master narrative. They were enacted in relations with Anishnaabek in the following sequence: 1) “adventure,”¹⁷ in which the enterprising man of wealth embarks on risky but profitable commercial “adventures” in the “New World” (Chapters Five and Six); 2) “settlement,” in which lowly emigrants, often themselves dispossessed of their former lands, battle through extreme hardships, suffer fear of attacks by “savages” and finally succeed in “carving out” a living from the land (Chapter Seven and Eight); and 3) “appropriation,” in which the colonial conquerors appropriate Native cultural productions for the purpose of creating distinct North American national identities (Chapter Nine). Whereas enactment of the “adventurer” narrative virtually ceased concurrently with the decline of the fur trade, the “settlement” script persists today despite the dominance of “appropriation” because land ownership is still a salient issue in inter-cultural relations.

The roles these cultural scripts prescribed for Native peoples corresponded directly with the interests inherent in those played by Europeans. Hence, transformation of the cultural script entailed change for both sets of roles. When “adventure” in the form of speculative trade was the dominant colonial cultural script, Native peoples were cast in the role of the “intractable consumer,” in which the “shrewd,” “exacting,” “unruly” and “pompous” chiefs and warriors needed to be placated with gifts and diplomacy in order to retain their business. Once “settlement” became the dominant British North American plot, roles for Native peoples were cast in the “vanishing Indian” cultural script, which took two different forms: a) “removal,” in which the Native possessors of the land quietly and peaceably die out or move away, thereby leaving the land free for the

British and their descendants to own and develop; and b) “assimilation,” in which the “savage” in the Native person “dies,” thereby leaving “the person” free to become “civilized.” Finally, the shift to the “appropriation” cultural script brought about an emphasis on the romantic stereotypical role of the “noble savage,” in which the Native person played a peace-loving “child of nature” whose spiritual and artistic sensitivity precluded his or her participation in “modern” society, but was nevertheless worthy of emulation by “civilized” people.

Many Native people, however, did not play the roles in which the British and Americans cast them. Instead, throughout the fur trade era (“adventure/intractable consumer”) they enacted their own cultural scripts among themselves and these continued to inform the cultural script of the “middle ground.” These include those associated with the master narrative of “reciprocity”: “hospitality” (visiting stories), “alliance” (marriage and diplomacy stories), “pity and power” (bestowal of powers from *manitook*¹⁸), as well as various other themes such as: “social isolation and re-integration” (contexts for these stories are many and various), “conflict and victory” (physical and spiritual battle stories), and “transformation” (how-things-came-to-be stories and various kinds of spiritual power stories).

During the reservation era (“settlement/vanishing Indian”), many Anishnaabek enacted a cultural script which may be termed “evasion,” in which they appeared to act according to the prescribed roles of the “vanishing Indian” scripts, but did so on their own terms and only to the extent necessary to avoid confrontation. From the beginning of the reservation era to the present time some Anishnaabek have enacted the cultural script of “resistance,” in which the angry victim of domination battles for freedom from the cruel and unjust oppressor. Although no armed confrontations took place in the first half

of the twentieth century, during the 1960s this cultural script took on renewed vigor and effectiveness. In addition, some Anishnaabek throughout all periods have enacted the cultural script of “self-determination,” in which the self-confident individual defines goals and strives to achieve them through forging alliances and creatively combining existing and emerging cultural elements. Like “resistance,” this cultural script has been gaining force since the 1960s. The combined and alternate enactments of these two scripts have served as effective political strategies that are presently undermining the dominance of the British North American cultural scripts that have held power since the decline of the fur trade. This shift in the balance of power was (and is) also facilitated by the tolerant view of Native culture inherent in the “appropriation/noble savage” cultural script. It should also be stressed that although the sub-plots of the colonial master narrative described above have been dominant for 150 years, Anishnaabe cultural scripts never “vanished.” Rather, some Anishnaabek have continued to enact them within their own communities where they have adapted them to the changing settings and material culture of the times.

Narrative and Clothing

Dress is one of the primary means through which we enact and interpret roles in cultural scripts, as well as express and comprehend core concepts. It has some unique properties that make it particularly well-suited to the enactment of roles in cultural scripts. First among them is the intimacy of dress. As Elizabeth Wilson (1985:1-2) notes, clothes are so closely related to the wearer that museum displays of clothes have an eerie quality that resembles “souls in limbo.” This is because, as Jennifer Craik (1994:16) observes, “bodies and clothes exist in a symbiotic relationship... clothes are activated by

the wearing of them just as bodies are actualized by the clothes they wear.” Although contemporary North Americans tend to suspect clothing of hiding the “true” person, people of many other cultures consider dress to be an integral part of the wearer (*ibid.*:5; Dransart 1992:146), as did the historic British and British North Americans.

In addition, dress is a context that moves with the body. While tools or housewares may be as personal and socially defining as dress, they generally remain attached to the contexts in which they are used. Catherine Cerny (1992:116-17), for example, notes that whereas traditional quilts remain in private areas of the home, quilted apparel serves an entirely different function because it is worn into public areas. She found that the former communicate the values of the “pioneer” cultural script in a general sense, whereas the latter defines the identity of the quilter according to moral characteristics and personal talents. The relationship between dress and the wearer’s morality is most apparent in studies of women’s fashions. The corset, for example, was directly linked to women’s moral fortitude with regard to sexuality and restriction to the home (Kaiser 1990:80; Sims 1991:130).

Dress, as an embodiment of identity and social mores, is both public and private. It constitutes a “frontier” that links the biological being to the social being, thus becoming a liminal boundary that not only joins the private with the public, but also clearly separates the two (Wilson 1985:2-3).¹⁹ Craik (1994:4) suggests that clothing constructs a “way of being in the world” that is simultaneously a set of habits (roles) and a space inhabited (social structure). Eicher and Roach-Higgins (1992:19-20) similarly note that gendered dress “encourages each individual to internalize as gendered roles a complex set of social expectations for behavior. These roles, when linked with roles of others, represent part of social structure.” They conclude that because each person’s

rendering of the social role is unique, the social structure is constantly re-created in detail at the same time that its general configuration appears to remain the same.

In the theoretical framework of this study, the social structure reflects and influences the field of social action by providing a model of the arrangement of different categories of people in relation to one another, while cultural scripts provide narrative patterns for the actions of people within that field. Therefore, although I agree that individual enactments constitute the mechanism of replication and change, I suggest that the plots of narratives, rather than the social structure itself, are replicated or changed. The gender roles are “linked with roles of others” through their mutual participation in the same or related cultural scripts, and these scripts uphold the social structure through the re-enactment of the roles.

Clothing also reflects and influences social structure because it embodies core concepts that form the significant social categories within a behavioral environment. Hence, dress functions to articulate the relationship between self and society by defining both personal and social identity. Significant factors may include personal taste, personal accomplishments, occupation, rank, lineage, age, gender, ethnicity, race, class and nationality. Identity and status are instantaneously conveyed through dress before verbal interaction occurs. This visual information often determines whether or not verbal dialogue is possible or desirable (Barnes and Eicher 1992:1). Dress functions to both include and exclude by signifying group membership, distinctions between groups and distinctions within groups.²⁰ Michele Kerisit (1992:369), for example, notes that dress in the Native American powwow movement corresponds to a “discourse on an ‘Indian’ collective identity” that “simultaneously unites the group defining itself as Native while separating it from other groups.” As this example also demonstrates, dress communicates

the wearer's ideological values and, for this reason, complex moral and ethical issues are maintained or negotiated through the medium of dress.²¹ The British colonialists in India, for instance, used clothing as a means of domination and Gandhi employed clothing very effectively to fight colonial rule (Callaway 1992:*passim*; Cohn 1989:344).

It is this unique conjunction of the private and public, the intimate and the social, that gives the study of dress an unusually fertile potential for exploring the role of identity formation in the relationship between individuals and society, as well as the role of identity and political negotiation in relationships between cultures. As noted above, individuals draw elements from the plots, characters, settings, dress and material culture associated with cultural scripts to creatively construct specific roles and episodes. Gaynor Kavanagh (1989:130) conducted a study of viewers' impressions of various items of material culture in a living history museum which suggested that material culture acts as a kind of visual (or sensory) shorthand that triggers bundles of emotions and memories which are arranged within the narrative frameworks. These findings, however, have seldom, if ever, been applied toward histories of fashion. Because studies of dress and material culture that have revealed a direct correlation with cultural scripts are at present isolated in different disciplines and relatively obscure, it is necessary to pull together these diverse threads in order to elucidate the theoretical premises of my argument.

Studies suggest that the presence of certain objects activates associations with narrative frameworks for action, while the donning of dress within narrative structures results in the internalization and enactment of social roles. Kavanagh's (1989:132) study revealed that certain objects, notably the axe and the iron pot, consistently generated responses "based in the web of myths about 'colonial' or 'pioneer' days." Respondents took no note of the historic usage of the objects and they ignored artifacts that did not fit

into the mythic structure. The axe and the pot functioned to orient the viewers to the plot of a familiar cultural script, but did not provide a direct link to specific roles within it.

In a social psychological study young girls were shown four pictures of girls their age in different types of outfits and asked to pick the “bossy” girl from among them. Kaiser (1990:71) observed that there “was a tendency for the girls to clarify or qualify their selections through narrative or contextual explanations suggestive of diverse gender ‘scripts’ (that is, a prissy, spoiled girl versus a tough tomboy script).” As well, certain styles of dress provoke instantaneous associations with familiar roles in cultural scripts. As Pat Trautman (1991:146) says of one such role: “You recognize her: by her tall pointed hat with flat brim; by her black and sometimes tattered clothes, and her hooded cloak which has been known to hide unpleasant surprises.” Whereas the role of the witch is today enacted only for costume parties and Hallowe’ en, other styles, such as cowboy boots and hats, embody roles that are enacted in both real life and fiction. Not only do people “read” familiar narratives into the appearance of others, but they also actively select personal dress in order to themselves participate in desirable narratives. Cerny (1992:107-109,117), for instance, suggests that women in quilting clubs construct identities as “post-pioneer women.” The act of quilting enables them to participate in the frontier narrative and its concomitant values. In this manner, they become the “perfect embodiment of the American dream.”

Although the seemingly “natural” propensity for people to relate dress to pre-defined narratives and roles has until recently escaped the notice of scholars, the movie and fashion industries have been exploiting this phenomenon for decades. Types of garments associated with Hollywood films, such as the trench coat and the sheath-like evening gown, elicit gestures, roles and emotional attitudes that are easily “read” and

carried over into the lives of contemporary individuals (Hollander 1975:341-342). Advertisers use such images to sell “life-styles” along with their products. Fashion editors self-consciously create thematic story-lines to complement fashion images. They photograph their models in appropriate locations and present the storylines and products as total packages. Another typical example is a fashion manual that shows how women can adapt the styles of the Princess of Wales to their own “less-than-perfect figures,” thereby heightening self-esteem by vicariously participating in the “princess fantasy” (Craik 1994:59,62).

The appropriation of narrative by commercial interest groups for the purpose of selling articles of dress that embody cultural values, principles and categories is not limited to Western nations. In India, for example, when the epic *Mahabharata* was televised about a decade ago, Indian sari manufacturers mass-produced the sari worn by the heroine Princess Draupadi. It became popular among Hindu women who, by wearing the “*Panchali* sari,” participated in the purity and moral integrity of the Princess in the epic (Joshi 1992:230). Such narrative bundles of meaning have also been employed for political purposes. Gandhi, for instance, drew an explicit analogy between his Indian adherents wearing the “Gandhi cap” and the predicament of the followers of Vishnu when they were subjected to the rule of the villain Ravana in the epic *Ramayana* (Cohn 1989:344).

It is essential to remember, however, that the interaction between cultural scripts, the individual, and forces in society does not move only one way from interest groups to individual members of society whom they influence. On the contrary, cultural scripts are both prescriptive and descriptive. For instance, Schneider’s (1989:178-179) study of the relationship between folk tales and linen production in early modern Europe shows that

significant characteristics of the folk tales were transformed in response to changes that were occurring in the cultural milieu of linen manufacture. In this case, the processes of production and distribution produce modifications in individual enactments of cultural scripts. Dress materials and dress *alone*, however, do not necessarily influence cultural scripts. Rather, the rendering of roles depends upon experiential knowledge of pre-determined narratives (McCracken 1987:116,118; Kavanagh 1989:130), and/or relations with persons who possess such knowledge. When dress materials precede the cultural scripts of their origin, as was the case with cloth among Native peoples in the context of the fur trade, then they embody the roles and structures of the new cultural context.

Dress and Visual Representation

Clothes are both worn and perceived. Therefore, their representational nature is a matter of both intent and interpretation. These two aspects of their meaning do not always coincide. In the cross-cultural context that is the subject of this study, clothing very often represents multiple intentions and interpretations. The perceiver may cast the wearer in a role quite different from the one the wearer intends to play. Because this is an historical study, it is not always possible to discover the wearer's intended role. Rather, in most cases we have only de-contextualized images or artifacts to view. We are secondary perceivers, removed not only from the wearer, but also from the perceiver who originally collected, framed or created the image or object. In the case of artifacts, the piece of clothing is further removed from its original context of wearing because of its isolation from the other components of the clothed appearance, and from its subsequent history in different contexts. Because the clothed appearances of persons, pictorial representations, and objects in museum collections reflect the core concepts and cultural

scripts of both those represented and those representing, I have approached all visual data with attention to the multiplicity of meanings inherent in them.

In Chapters Six through Nine, however, I have been more concerned to know how Anishnaabek chose to represent themselves than how Europeans and Euro-Americans represented them. This emphasis stresses Native agency through an analysis of Anishnaabe style preferences. I think this approach suitable because no comprehensive history of Anishnaabe fashions exists as yet. Hence, an analysis of the primary level of representation seems preferable to that of the representation of representation. For the former purpose, it is necessary to be aware of the narrative characteristics of visual images in order to avoid confusion between the influences of the two or more cultural scripts in any given image. In some instances, such as the Hiawatha pageants, the interaction between Anishnaabek and European narratives, as well as that between narrative attributes and stylistic facts, is complex and intertwined.

In no instance is it possible, nor even desirable, to totally sever the tie between what is present and what is represented. Rather, my object is to determine what storylines and conceptual frameworks may be attached to an image, by whom and for whom. This requires that each image be augmented with the greatest degree of contextual information possible. For this purpose, I have adopted a method I first learned while working in the antique clothing business in New York City during the early 1980s. The method very simply consists of handling and examining as many items as possible until one begins to perceive patterns of similarity and difference. The method also relies on immersion in contextual materials and experiential knowledge of such determining criteria as fabrics, construction methods, silhouettes, colors, decorative motifs, and other characteristics. During the several years I worked in the antique clothing business,

thousands of garments passed through my hands. My examination of determining criteria was augmented by my experience with sewing techniques and materials, as well as the study of clothing in old movies. In this manner, I gained the ability to tell when most garments were made to within a half-decade of accuracy.

In the present instance, I have examined hundreds of artifacts in museums and personal collections, as well as upwards of 1000 pictorial images of Anishnaabe clothing in different times and places. I brought to these examinations eight years involvement in contemporary Native communities, an experiential knowledge of Anishnaabe bead and leather work techniques, as well as my background in fashion design, construction and sewing methods. I then complemented the visual data with written and oral narratives, discursive analyses, linguistic analysis, and commercial records such as inventories and mail-order catalogues. These last three sources have seldom, if ever, been utilized in studies of Native fashion history. Commercial records are invaluable because museum and image collections are misleading due to the particular biases of collection practices. Artifact collectors, for example, tended to collect objects with exceptional aesthetic or ethnographic merit, as well as those that are relatively small and transportable. Inventories, on the other hand, show what articles people regularly purchased to compose their total appearance.

For purposes of comparison, I also acquired a general knowledge of British and American fashion history through secondary sources. Fashion historians regularly make use of commercial records to establish stylistic trends. Their methodology suggested to me the utility of such records beyond the context of the fur trade to the North American market during the period when Anishnaabek adopted European-style dress. My attention to ground-level economic sources and analysis is a significant departure from the

approaches taken in many studies of Native dress, which tend to emphasize cultural, rather than economic influences. These studies have utilized different methods from those of fashion historians, in part, because there is little dialogue between the two disciplines.

In addition, collection practices with regard to the artifactual, visual and archival records of “civilized” societies have given the latter a decided advantage over the former. For example, equipped with a life-time study of English fashions, Willett Cunnington (1990 [1937]:6) states that the study of construction techniques, silhouettes, fabrics, visual depictions and textual sources should enable the student of English fashion to date a specimen to within two years of accuracy. Such precision is not possible with Anishnaabe artifacts. Rather, one is fortunate to ascertain the time to the decade, and the location to within a hundred mile radius. Often even the national and cultural origins are uncertain. This is because there is an appalling lack of documentation accompanying most collection objects. Many collectors contented themselves to report that an artifact was “Indian.”

Uncertainty about national and cultural designations are compounded by the fact that, as noted above, distinctions in styles did not precisely follow national lines, although some styles were particularly well developed within certain nations. Certain styles of floral beadwork, for example, are characteristically Ojibway. Any particular artifact decorated with this style may have been made (or used) by an Ojibway, by a Sioux woman married to an Ojibway, or by an Ojibway but traded to a Sioux. In this study, much speculation of attributions is avoided due to the broad conception of the Anishnaabe nation that I have adopted, as well as to the primary focus on base materials and everyday wear as opposed to decorative motifs and ceremonial wear. General trends

in the former categories are applicable throughout the Great Lakes region, regardless of national distinctions among Native groups.

My novel use of diverse sources and my original application of the theory of cultural scripts, as well as my experiential knowledge of relevant sewing traditions and the fashion industry, have served to form a critical mass of knowledge with which I feel confident in making general assertions on the history and distribution of style preferences, subject to revision as more evidence comes to light. No comprehensive analysis of fur trade styles in the Great Lakes region has been undertaken prior to the analysis I present in Chapter Six. As noted in Chapter Eight, this missing foundation has jeopardized studies of Anishnaabe clothing of later periods. Neither have there been previous investigations into the reasons or processes through which Anishnaabek, or any other Native group, adopted European-style clothing for everyday wear, as delineated in Chapter Seven. Similarly, I know of no previous study of contemporary Native fashion such as I present in Chapter Nine. The history of fashion in these chapters offers an original contribution to the body of knowledge about Anishnaabe clothing styles and their relation to complex factors in the history of inter-cultural relations.

Premises and Proposition

Throughout this chapter I have developed a series of premises which can be briefly summarized as follows:

- 1) Because concepts and narratives of “self,” “environment” and the relations between them are functions of the behavioral environment, the processes of presenting and interpreting “self” through appearance are culturally constructed and variable across cultures. Core concepts and cultural scripts are components of

the behavioral environment through which these processes are maintained and transformed.

2) Core concepts provide “models for and models of” the field of social action (economic, social and political structures), while cultural scripts provide “patterns for and patterns of” action within that field.

3) Core concepts and cultural scripts are maintained and transformed through the collective effects of individual re-enactments of cultural scripts within the field of social action. Replication of concepts and scripts is largely governed by habit and perceived effectiveness. Transformation and modification occur when: a) selective components of concepts and scripts come into the realm of conscious scrutiny through contradiction or contestation and conscious choice is activated; and b) large numbers of people choose alternatives or emulate the alternative choices of others.

4) Clothed appearances function to embody roles in cultural scripts which we internalize as wearers and interpret as perceivers. Simultaneously, clothed appearances reflect and influence core concepts of identity.

5) When two groups with different behavioral environments seek to forge an alliance, they need to establish common cultural scripts in order for each group to achieve effective social action. When neither group can achieve their goals by means of force, they create a “middle ground” based on compromises and appropriations. When one group can effectively apply power, that group’s cultural scripts will dominate over those of the other.

The above premises pertain to the following proposition regarding the roles and functions of clothing in the relations between Anishnaabek and British peoples, 1760 to

2000, which will be demonstrated throughout the body of this work:

As a general principle, clothing denotes identity, but the ways in which it does so are culturally variable because the core concept of “status” upon which identity is based is dependent upon cultural constructions of “self,” the “environment,” and the relationship between them in the behavioral environment. Because core concepts provide “models for and models of” the field of social action, the ways in which clothing reflects and influences economic and social structures are also culturally constructed. Throughout the history of their relations, cultural constructions of identity among Anishnaabek and British peoples have transformed in response to both factors inherent within each culture and their relations with each other. These changes have played a significant role in the balance of power between Anishnaabek and British peoples.

This proposition arises out of the premises asserted above and some familiarity with the data which forms the basis of this study. It encapsulates the structure and substance of my argument as it will be elaborated in the concluding chapter.

1. Anishnaabe (singular and adjective); Anishnaabek (plural) (also Anishinabe, Anishnabay, Nishnabay, etc.) See page 6 for Native nations included in this designation.

2. In the last decade, the following ground-breaking studies have been undertaken: Penney (1992; 1991; 1990) and Thompson (1994) with regard to North America; Callaway (1992), Cohn (1989) and Joshi (1992) with regard to India; and the collection of essays in *Dress and Ethnicity* (Eicher 1995), many of which focus on Africa. A related field is the study of cloth in inter-cultural perspective, of which Weiner’s and Schneider’s (1989) volume of essays is the seminal work.

3. In this study, “appearance” is defined as clothing, body modifications and all three-dimensional attachments to the body, as well as body shape, skin color, posture, gesture and movement.

4. Throughout this work, I use the term “Native” (with a capital “N”) to designate First Nations, or American Indian, peoples. This is the preferred term among the Native peoples of Ontario with whom I am most familiar. They deliberately adopted it as an alternative to the spurious term “Indian,” which they consider derogatory. When I visited Anishnaabe communities in the United States, I found the term “Indian” still in common usage. Every time I heard it, however, my training in Canada was such that it grated on my nerves. I agree with Canadian Natives that the term, “Native,” is preferable to “Indian,” “indigenous,” “aboriginal” or any other term I have heard or seen applied.

5. As noted above, Penney (1992; 1991; 1990) and Thompson (1994) have made significant contributions to the contextualization of Native fashions in historical processes. Both of these scholars are museum curators.

6. Also known as Chippewa and Saukteaux. Alternative spellings: Ojibwe, Ojibwa

7. Cullum-Swan and Manning 1994:416; Danesi 1993:147-9; Lurie 1981:4; Tilley 1989:185-6

8. Dransart 1992:146; Joshi 1992:214-5; M’Closkey 1994:399-403; Waterbury 1989:*passim*

9. Barnes and Eicher 1992:7; Cerny 1992:106; Eicher 1995:1,5; Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992:17; Fletcher 1989:33-5,37; McCracken 1987:115,118-9; M’Closkey 1994b:404,406; Moore 1990:114-18; Riggins 1994:1-2; Schneider and Weiner 1989:26; Vastokas 1994:337-9

10. One cannot assume that all things classed within the category of “commodities” are “objects” of material culture. Therefore Appadurai speaks of “things” for lack of a more precise term to include all such diverse items.

11. With the exception of the now-famous Amelia Bloomer, who proposed a woman’s outfit consisting of a shortened skirt and widened “drawers” during the 1850s (Byrde 1992:169), most of this political activity was limited to the abolition or modification of the corset, which was pre-requisite to women’s adoption of trousers. See, for example, Committee of Boston Ladies (1876:*passim*, ECO).

12. Contemporary criteria for membership in Native nations is a critical issue which I do not attempt to define or delineate. Legal membership in the United States hinges on the question of whether or not one is enrolled in a legally recognized “tribe.” Criteria for enrollment are determined by each tribe. Although it varies, most tribes base enrollment on blood quantum. In Canada, legal status for all Native peoples is determined by the definitions in the Indian Act. The criteria is based on lineage and “band” membership. Until Bill C-31 of 1984, only paternal lineage was considered. This clause was revised, however, when some Native people and the United Nations determined that it was

sexually discriminating. The way I conceive the Anishnaabe nation, however, does not place much importance on these rules for legal status. For the purposes of this study, I consider a person Anishnaabe if he or she has Anishnaabe ancestry and is involved in Anishnaabe communities. For political purposes, however, it is best left to Anishnaabek to arrive at criteria for membership.

13. Prior to confederation, the term “Canadian” referred to French Canadians and Métis only. Canada was ruled by a British colonial government and residents referred to themselves as “Loyalists” to express their British affiliation. Members of other ethnic or national groups retained those designations. These details of identification are far too cumbersome to note throughout the text. After confederation, it is still desirable to use the term, “British North Americans,” with reference to common cultural traits, but it is necessary to distinguish between Canadians and Americans where it concerns political history.

14. Miller 1990:66; Cruikshank 1990:ix; J. Bruner 1987:16; Polkinghorne 1988:14

15. Rosaldo 1986:134; 1989:129; Miller 1990:69; J. Bruner 1987:12-13; Sarris 1991:5

16. E. Bruner 1986a:18; 1998b:141; Clifford 1986b:*passim*; Rose 1993:194,204,206

17. The British used the term “adventure” to refer to an international commercial venture of a certain magnitude. Thus, upper level fur traders who invested in goods were called “adventurers,” while the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) was called the “Company of Adventurers.”

18. *Manitook* (singular - *manitoo*), spiritual beings (also *manito*, *manido*, *manidoo*)
Double vowels indicate elongated pronunciation rather than “oo” as in “noon.”

19. My use of the term “liminal” refers to the work of Arnold Van Gennep (1909 [1908]) who conceived a much broader application for the term than did Victor Turner (1969). The term derives from the Latin word for “threshold.” Van Gennep’s (*ibid.*:19-22) conception of liminality proceeds from a geographical model of movement based on the archaic phenomenon of “neutral zones” and “frontiers.” He pointed out that the structural process of transition through neutral zones is the same whether a vast territory or “a simple stone, a beam, or a threshold” which symbolizes a “taboo against entering.” In this instance, I argue that whether a full length gown or a bikini bathing suit, clothing poses such a threshold because passing through it entails a transition between public and private, social and intimate, states of being in the world.

20. Barnes and Eicher 1992:1; Eicher and Sumberg 1995:297-298; Tokarev 1985:86

21. Craik 1994:52-53,59-60; McCracken 1987:108-109; Schneider and Weiner 1989:1-2

CHAPTER 2: BEAVER TRAILS, TALES, SIGNS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Long before the idea of Europe even existed, on this continent Nanabush was busy forming the geographic features of what we now call the Great Lakes. At that time he was living on the northwestern side of Lake Superior. It happened one fall that a family of giant beavers built a dam near present-day Sault St. Marie which greatly enlarged the lake. The flooding of Lake Superior forced other animals to flee. That winter the western Anishnaabek were left to starve. So Nanabush decided to destroy the giant beavers. He constructed a wooden frame in the water east of the dam at the Sault. He posted his hunting dogs at strategic points on the frozen lake and charged his grandmother, Nokomis, with sentry duty at Iroquois Point just to the west of the Sault. He told her to whistle twice if she saw the Great Beaver. Then he broke the dam to drain the waters of the lake and took up his position at its western end.

Indeed, Great Beaver attempted to escape drowning by following the waters draining into Lake Huron. By the time Nokomis detected him and managed to whistle, he had already broken through the wooden frame and was swimming up the St. Mary's River. Pieces from the broken frame were scattered along the river bed and caused cataracts to be formed there. Nanabush leaped across Lake Superior in two bounds when he heard Nokomis whistle. He was so angry when he found she whistled too late that he slapped her face. Blood sprayed from her parched lips and fell upon the steep rocks of what are now termed the Pictured Rocks on the southern shore of Lake Superior.

Nanabush then jumped into a canoe and continued his pursuit of Great Beaver up the St. Mary's River. When Great Beaver saw Nanabush coming up behind him he dived under water so forcefully that he caused a great whirlpool to develop. Knowing that the Great Beaver would have to come up for air, Nanabush deftly navigated his canoe past the swirling waters and landed at a huge rock near what is now Bruce Mines on the north shore of Lake Huron. He had fallen asleep waiting when, providentially, the Great Beaver came up sputtering at exactly that point. Nanabush was so startled that he jumped up from the rock with great force and caused it to break into a thousand pieces under him. Among the pieces of rock jutting out from the water a great battle ensued. Finally, Nanabush overcame Great Beaver and put him to death on one of these rocks. He cut and packed up the meat and fur, but left Great Beaver's head upon the rock which is now called Beaverhead.

Beaver pelts and woollens, the two principal commodities of the early fur trade,

were both used for clothing. The main impetus for the French and English to visit the Great Lakes was to gain access to beaver fur with which to manufacture hats. Analyses of early fur trade records show that broadcloth was the predominant item Native consumers sought (see Appendix).¹ Clothing signs are intimately linked to the economic and social structures of their production and distribution. These structures provide the basis for the cultural construction of “self” through appearance. In particular, beavers and sheep, key animals in the economic patterns of Anishnaabe and British peoples, respectively, were linked to identity through their symbolic functions in social structures and patterns. Hence, beavers, beaver felt, sheep and woollen cloth provide windows into which we may view and compare the aspects of Native and European orientations towards self and environment that affected cross-cultural interpretation and interaction in the Great Lakes region.

The story outlined above was told to the German traveler Yohann Kohl (1985 [1860]:460-4) at Garden River, Ontario, in October of 1855. Another version of this story was collected at Rama, Ontario, by Emerson Coatsworth during the 1930s (Coatsworth and Coatsworth 1979:17-22). In this later version Nokomis succeeds in capturing the giant beaver, but Nanabush is too slow coming to her aid. So Great Beaver escapes. Nanabush and Nokomis pursue him to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where they see him bobbing gleefully in the waves beyond their reach. Nanabush decides to make friends with Great Beaver and, subsequently, the latter creates the smaller beavers of today. In another version that Basil Johnston (1986:15-19) recently committed to writing, Great Beaver similarly escapes Nanabush, but not before their exploits create geographic features from the western end of Lake Superior, through the Sault where the dam was, and as far east as the Thousand Islands in Georgian Bay.²

In all versions of this story the giant beavers were the original architects of the Great Lakes region. Their role in this capacity extended also to Island Lake, Ontario, where a small community of Sauteaux³ had migrated from the Sault at some undetermined time in the distant past. When Irving Hallowell (n/d, MAI:V-I #2:3) visited this group during the 1930s he was told that the thousands of islands in the lake were formed by the mud Nanabush threw up when he was digging out the dam of a giant beaver he was hunting . These stories reveal a fundamental aspect of the significance of beavers in Anishnaabe traditions: the giant beaver is integral to the very shape of the landscape that Anishnaabek continue to hold dear. We should not, however, dismiss the stories' mythological dimensions as merely imaginative. Archaeologists have found skeletal remains of giant beavers dating from the Pleistocene age. They were up to nine feet long and probably weighed as much as a full grown grizzly bear (Newman 1985:54; Johnston 1992:44-5). Considering the extent to which the industry of today's beavers alters the shapes of lakes and the courses of streams, it is reasonable to suppose that their colossal ancestors had a profound effect on the environment.

Storytelling traditions also portray a close relationship between Anishnaabek and these giant beavers. Nicolas Perrot (Blair 1996 [1911] Vol.1:62-3), a French trader during the latter half of the seventeenth century, mentions a totemic group called the Amikouas (Amicways, Amicwak, Amikouek, etc.)⁴ who "had their origin from the corpse of the Great Beaver." The rapids and islands along the French and Mattawa Rivers were formed by the latter's labor as he traveled that well-known water route long ago. After leaving many descendants along the way, he finally died at a place Perrot identifies as "the Calumets," which could be either Isle du Grand Calumet near Pembroke, Ontario, or Pointe Calumet near Lake of Two Mountains, Quebec. A map drawn in 1671 shows the

Amikouas living on the north shore of Lake Huron slightly to the west of Manitoulin Island (Schenck 1997:20-1).

Despite Perrot's assertion about the Amikouas above, most written sources agree that Anishnaabek generally do not consider themselves physically descended from their totemic animals. The opposite is more often the case with beavers. Many stories relate that beavers originally descended from humans. For example, in a Saulteaux story recorded in 1811 by the fur trader George Nelson, an Anishnaabe family was transformed into one of beavers when they accidentally fell into a river. Nelson concludes, "this is the reason say the indians, why the beaver has so much 'sense': and how could it be otherwise say they, were they not indians" (Brown and Brightman 1988:122). Alexander Henry the Elder (1901 [1806]:126) reports that his Ottawa companions from L'Arbre Croche told him that beavers were once blessed with speech, but Great Spirit had to take away this power lest they overcome humans.⁵

The close relationship between Anishnaabek and beavers is also suggested in stories in which beavers make choice marriage partners for humans. William Jones collected two such stories from Kagige Pinesi of the Fort William band (Thunder Bay, Ontario) between 1903 and 1905. In the first of these stories, Clothed-in-Fur successively marries a wolf, a raven, a porcupine, and a jay, all of whom fail in their wifely duties. He then takes a beaver wife who is unlike the previous wives in every respect. She is "very good at knowing how to cook." She bears Clothed-in-Fur two children. And, so "truly pleased" was he with her behavior that he always followed her instructions. One day, however, he accidentally stepped over a dry streambed which caused her and the children to revert back to their animal forms. He has another series of adventures in which he marries a bear and then returns to his beaver wife and children. After awhile some

humans kill his family. But they return to life the next day (Overholt and Callicott 1982:65-71).⁶ In the second story mentioned above, a woman marries a beaver man during the time of her puberty fast. He likewise proved an ideal husband. He gave her beautiful materials for clothing and provided a constant supply of food. As in the previous story, he and his children are killed by humans and then return to life again (*ibid.*:74-5).

While in the first of the stories cited above a human family transforms into the appearance of beavers, in the latter two stories various animals appear in human form until their true identities are revealed by various signs. For example, Clothed-in-Fur's beaver wife never ate the beaver meat he provided for her. Suspecting the true nature of her identity, he placed some choice pieces of twigs outside the lodge which she soon began to eat. He peeked outside and saw a beaver. But when she came back inside the lodge, "again like a person she appeared" (Overholt and Callicott 1982:67). The woman who married a beaver knew her husband's true identity due to the behavior of a human visitor:

Sometimes by a human being were they visited; but only roundabout out of doors would the man pass, not within would the man come. Now, the woman knew that she had married a beaver. (*ibid.*:74)

These narratives suggest that behavior is a more reliable indicator of identity than is personal appearance. This theme takes a didactic turn in three stories in which young women are surprised to find the husbands they married are not who they appeared to be. In one of these stories two sisters wish to find husbands. The greedy sister wishes to marry a large bright star because she thinks it is a handsome young man. She tells her sister that she may have the small weak star for her husband. When they wake up married to the two stars the arrogant sister finds her own husband is an old man and that of her

modest sister is a handsome youth (Barnouw 1977:101-2; also Ray 1995:67). In another story, an attractive young hunter meets a hideous hunchback magician in the woods. Through trickery the latter makes the former's back crooked and then changes clothes with him. In these reversed appearances they enter a village where the magician marries a conceited young woman and the young man marries her modest sister. Despite his appearance, the magician cannot match the youth in hunting skill. The virtue of the modest sister is rewarded when the hunter and magician regain their true appearances (Barnouw 1977:93-7; Radin n/d(b):17-21, CMCA). In a third story, a conceited young woman marries what appears to be a handsome young hunter, but in actuality he is no more than a pile of human excretion.⁷ The husbands in all of these stories are the exact opposite of what they appear to be. Thus, the young women who marry for the sake of appearance are sorely disappointed.

The idea that behavior is a more reliable indication of identity than is appearance operates in life as well as in story. For example, Hallowell (1976c:377-8) relates:

My Ojibwa friends often cautioned me against judging by appearances. A poor forlorn Indian dressed in rags might have great power, a smiling, amiable woman, or a pleasant man, might be a great sorcerer. You can never tell until a situation arises in which their power for good or ill becomes manifest.

On the basis of these statements, stories similar to those related above, and the fact that Anishnaabek deem the soul detachable from the body, Hallowell (*ibid.*:373,379) concluded that among the Berens River Ojibway “[o]utward appearance is only an incidental attribute of being.” This is because metamorphosis is “one of the generic properties manifested by beings of the person class,” which include not only humans, but also animals, plants, rocks, water, luminaries and *manitook* (*ibid.*:377).

Because the transformation of appearance was linked to spiritual power,

Anishnaabe men deliberately and frequently changed their appearance through the art of face painting (Kohl 1985 [1885]:14). For example, Pierre Pouchot (in O'Neil 1995:22) noted of the Odawa around 1760 that:

The men's heads are more ornamented than those of the women, and they will sometimes spend three or four hours at their toilet. They may be said to be more attached to this than any dandy in France. The practice of dressing their faces artistically in red, black and green, in fanciful designs, and which they often change two or three times a day, does not allow us to judge the natural color except of the eyes and teeth, which are small but very white.

European observers found this constantly changing appearance disconcerting because they were accustomed to relying on appearance for clear signals of identity. This difference in perspective was recorded by the Rev. John Heckwelder (*ibid*:69) in the following story about one of his "Indian acquaintances." Heckwelder went to visit this fellow one morning and found him engaged in "plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance" which was to take place that night. That evening, the man came calling on Heckwelder prior to attending the dance, as the latter thought, in order "to be seen." He had painted his face in such a way that three different animal forms were evident depending on the angle from which he was viewed. Pleased with his work, he looked at himself in his looking glass and asked Heckwelder how he liked the effect:

I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or anything else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me today, I will call tomorrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back he was washed clean again.

Anishnaabek, however, would have no difficulty recognizing a man so painted. They would appreciate his work as indicative of his spiritual potency. This is because spiritual beings characteristically took on different forms when they wished to communicate with Anishnaabek. For example, when in 1826 Thomas McKenney (1972

[1827]:201) was traveling from Sault St. Marie to Fond du Lac, he found that his Ojibway guides would not round a point near Beaver Island off the south shore of Lake Superior. He was informed that a group of Ojibway had attempted to land at Beaver Island when the form of a woman appeared which grew as they approached until she reached fearful proportions. They interpreted this sign to mean that the woman, who “held dominion over all the beaver on Kewewana Point,” did not want them to land. Consequently Ojibway never came near that island, nor trapped beaver in that vicinity, for an estimated hundred years prior to McKenney’s visit. The inference in this story is that the island was one of the Great Beavers of old who appeared as an island or as a giant woman at will. Her object in effecting this transformation was to prevent the hunting of beavers in her domain.

Both of Kagige Pinesi’s stories refer to the attitude one should maintain in order to hunt beavers successfully, as well as the rituals one must perform in order for beavers to re-incarnate. Jonas King and Pegahmagabow of Parry Island, Ontario, agree that all animals come back to life after hunters kill them (Jenness 1935:24). Beavers and bears, however, are the recipients of more elaborate rituals than are other animals. In order for beavers to come back to life, their bones must never be broken and they must be either buried or thrown in the water (*ibid.*; Cooper 1936:7). Norval Morriseau (1965:21) relates that in the Lake Nipigon area beaver bones are wrapped in cloth with ribbons and tobacco and then thrown in the lake.

In the story of the woman who marries a beaver cited above, she and her beaver family are “continually adding to their great wealth” through the receipt of offerings such as kettles, bowls, knives, tobacco and clothing. When beavers are shown respect in such manner, they are “very fond of people, in the same way as people are when visiting one

another” (Overholt and Callicott 1982:74-5). Failure to show respect through the correct treatment of their bones, making sufficient offerings, and always speaking well of them, results in hunting failure. Bruce White (1999:111) interprets this story as exemplary of the principle of the reciprocal obligations necessary to the continuance of the Anishnaabe way of life. As he points out, the same principles that applied to relations between humans and animals also applied to those among humans. In this instance, just as the marriage between humans and beavers ensured a lasting social bond in which each fulfilled each other’s needs and expectations, Anishnaabek expected that intermarriage would ensure reciprocal relations with foreign traders.

Reciprocal relations also tend to underlie functional specialization in the area of occupation both between and among women and men. Thus, the heroes of some stories are noted primarily for their skill at hunting beavers. Asidenigan, for example, uses this skill to gain a chief’s daughter as his wife (Barnouw 1944:171-4). He exchanges a constant supply of sustenance for the services of his wife, as well as the prestige and protection of her chiefly family. In a Menomini story a similarly blessed youth lives alone with his sister whom he saves from marriage to an evil man (Hoffman 1970 [1896]:222-3). The suitor’s evil nature was revealed by his failure to initiate the expected exchanges that would signify his intent to enter into reciprocal obligations. Given the youth’s specialization as a beaver hunter, it is tempting to interpret the evil man’s identity as a trader, many of whom severed and disavowed conjugal ties to suit themselves or the companies they worked for.⁸ At the conclusion of the story, the “stranger was found to be not an Indian after all, but one of the ana’maqki’u, who try to destroy the people on the earth” (Hoffman 1970 [1896]:223).⁹

Both of the above stories refer to beaver coats and clothing. Asidenigan supplies

his wife's whole village with beaver enough for clothing, blankets and rugs (Barnouw 1944:172), while the sister of the solitary youth made beaver clothing and robes for them both (Hoffman 1970 [1896]:222). In a Menomini tale, a youth takes revenge on the Sun for burning and shrinking a beaver robe decorated with porcupine quills that his sister had made for him (*ibid.*:181). These oral sources supplement the extremely sparse written record of beaver attire in the Great Lakes region. Most ethnographic descriptions of early dress refer rather to deer and moose hide clothing. During the 1930s, however, Parry Island informants told Diamond Jenness (1935:113) that their people previously wore beaver coats. I have found only two other references to beaver clothing among Great Lakes nations and both of these leave room for doubt whether Anishnaabek wore beaver clothing.

In the fall of 1659 the French traders Pierre Radisson and Medard Chouart des Groseilliers distributed presents to a group among whom they resided in the region south of Lake Superior. Radisson's narrative reveals that the gifts given to the men, women and children were carefully calculated to stimulate both increased desire for European goods and production of the goods the Europeans desired. In particular, they gave sewing needles to the women in order to encourage them to "make robes of castor because the French loved them" (B. White 1999:117-8). It is not entirely clear whether Radisson and des Groseilliers were encouraging the women to make more of a type of clothing already in their repertoire, or whether they intended to introduce a new item of apparel. In 1694, J.B. de Champigne wrote that the reason the beaver pelts from the southern nations were inferior to those of the north was that the former "had never worn the skins," whereas the Algonquians of the north "wore the beaver at all times for clothing" (Innis 1999 [1930]:71). Ambiguity arises in this case because the term "Algonquin" includes but is

not limited to the Anishnaabek. The French characteristically used this term for all Algonquian-speaking groups from the Atlantic seaboard to the extent of their travels into the interior. Although these few sources are inconclusive, the references to beaver clothing in the oral traditions mentioned above strongly suggest that Anishnaabe peoples did wear beaver clothing at one time.

The process through which European trade penetrated into the interior suggests a reason for the paucity of written sources regarding beaver clothing among Great Lakes nations. Cognizant of the insatiable desire of the French for beaver coats, various nations, such as the Montagnais, the Huron and the Ottawa, traded with their neighboring nations for this “soft gold” to such an extent that by the time Europeans arrived in the Great Lakes region, there were very few left to be found (Ray 1996:54-5). Through trading with neighboring nations, Anishnaabe groups well into the interior were already acquainted with the European passion for beaver when the first traders arrived in their territories. Surely it is no coincidence, for example, that when the chief of the Pays Plat Anishnaabe on the north shore of Lake Superior adopted John Long into his family, he named the latter “Amik,” or Beaver (Long 1971 [1791]:49).

The French and English, however, “loved” the beaver for different reasons than did people of the Great Lakes nations. These reasons were not entirely clear to Jacques Cartier who, in 1534, scoffed at the Iroquois because they were completely naked “except for a small skin, with which they cover their privy parts, and a few old furs which they throw over their shoulders” (Cartier in Dickason 1992:98), and at the Micmac who “were compelled to go away stark naked,” having traded the “clothes off their backs” (Cartier in Ray 1996:50). It did not take long for the French to realize, however, that these “old furs” provided a solution to their difficulties in manufacturing beaver

hats. The inner fur of the beaver has tiny barbs that make it the best fur for felting. The French, however, had no technology for removing the outer guard hairs in order to access the valuable undercoat. Rather than pay for their beaver fur to be processed by the Russians, who had developed such technology, they began intensive trade in North America. They especially sought used beaver coats which, when worn for a year or more with the fur side in, were devoid of guard hairs (Ray 1996:54).

By the time Cartier landed at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the beaver had been hunted almost to extinction both in England and on the European continent (Gilman 1982:20; Newman 1985:43). In contrast to Great Lakes Natives, the lives of Europeans were far removed from the actual animals when their pursuit of beaver coats began. Their popular portrayals of beavers attributed to them material conditions and a social order much like those of the Europeans themselves. For example, one eighteenth century etching depicts a beaver colony of no less than sixty-five beavers. In the foreground two beavers, who look more like bears or lions, ferociously gnaw twigs into equal lengths which another group of beavers carry in bunches to the building site of the dam. Here, yet another large group of beavers are employed molding the perfectly straight and squared-off dam. In the left background two large circles of beavers dig up mud which they put on the tails of beavers marching upright in two long single-file rows to the dam.¹⁰ During the latter half of the eighteenth century extensive expansion of the canal system throughout England employed workers in much the same manner (de Marly 1986:65). I suggest that Europeans projected onto beavers what they admired in their own modes of production.

The view of beaver industry described above was by no means unique. An English depiction of 1760, entitled "Beavers Building Their Hutts," shows a smaller

beaver colony engaged in an identical mode of production (Gilman 1982:20). That same year, an Italian artist portrayed a similarly anthropomorphous beaver colony. Its forty-five members are under siege by a group of nearly nude men with bows, arrows and rifles. The beavers' tenement-style living arrangements are plainly visible because the front of their perfectly formed conical house is mysteriously absent {Plate 1; figure 1}. This image ironically contrasts the "civilized" traits of the beavers with the "savage" traits of their Native adversaries. Europeans ennobled beavers, attributing to them such civilized characteristics as knowledge of democratic government, architecture and engineering (Carver 1974 [1778]:461-2; Gilman 1982:20). The nudity of the Native hunters, on the other hand, clearly communicates a "savage" status. Ironically, these "savages" had far better knowledge of beaver hunting than did the Europeans who unduly complimented themselves for having provided better means in the form of guns. Anishnaabek found guns much more serviceable for hunting large game for subsistence, while trapping and various other forms of traditional methods were primarily used for beaver hunting (Rogers 1962:C36-9; Tanner 1975 [1830]:51,87-8,104,107).

The size of the beaver colonies in these European depictions is probably an exaggeration of reality. In the 1770s, Jonathan Carver (1974 [1778]:461) asserted that beavers "assemble in companies sometimes of two or three hundred." As late as 1806 George Heriot (1971 [1806]:497), Deputy Post Master General of British North America, wrote that on average beaver "republics" consist of one hundred members. First hand observation reveals that beaver households normally consist of an adult couple, their year-old offspring and their current offspring. The usual size of a beaver litter is from two to five, but may occasionally be as many as nine. At two years, the kits leave the parental pond and travel until they find a mate and a suitable location to build a dam. A

beaver household, therefore, is not likely to exceed twenty members at the highest estimation, the most common size being approximately nine.¹¹ Lewis Morgan (1868:83,147), who examined several hundred beaver lodges and dams in the latter half of the nineteenth century, reports that the “number of lodges upon the largest ponds rarely exceeds four. In some instances, six or eight have been found.” Thus, in extremely rare instances, as many as 160 beavers may have lived at one location. No doubt the size of their congregations reduced as the fur trade progressed. Nevertheless, I suggest that European commentators exaggerated the abundance of beavers in order to advertise the great bounty of wealth to be had by the enterprising European adventurer.

Contrary to twentieth century popular belief, Europeans did not use beaver fur for coats, cloaks, linings or even trim, until the latter half of the nineteenth century, which was almost a century past the peak of the Great Lakes beaver trade. For example, a brochure from the Hudson’s Bay Company exhibit at the 1851 Great Exhibition in England stated that “experiments in the use of beaver as a fur had recently begun” (Ewing 1981:102). Rather, profit from the sale of beaver felt hats was the main incentive that drove the Europeans ever deeper into the North American continent. From our vantage point at the dawn of the twenty-first century, it is difficult to comprehend the value these hats had in European society several centuries ago. Beaver hats were a practical choice of headgear before umbrellas were invented because beaver felt is unequalled in its water-repelling properties. This practical explanation is problematic, however, because the hats became so valuable that it is doubtful that people actually used them for this purpose. For example, in 1662, Samuel Pepys noted that in order to preserve his investment he kept a spare rabbit version to wear in bad weather (Newman 1985:46).

Obviously, beaver hats meant more to the Europeans than meets the unfamiliar eye. Until recently, Europeans and Euro-Americans of all description constantly wore hats. Moreover, the type of hat worn signaled one's class, occupation and even, in some cases, one's political or religious affiliation. During the latter half of the sixteenth century beaver hats became the quintessential sign of class and wealth. It was tacitly understood that to be without the latest fashion in beaver hats was to be without high social standing. Conversely, to don the latest fashion in beaver hats facilitated access to exclusive upper-class social and business circles. This trend, which carried over into the North American colonies {Plate 1, figure 2}, did not abate until the latter half of the nineteenth century despite continual changes in style and occasional fluctuations in the market (Innis 1999 [1930]:11; 74; Newman 1985:45-6).

It is interesting to note that the duration in the popularity of beaver hats corresponds directly with the period during which beaver pelts were readily available through the North American fur trade. In the early sixteenth century the French beaver hat industry had dwindled to insignificance due to unavailability of beavers (Innis 1999 [1930]:11). No doubt this is why Cartier did not realize the value of the "old coats" the Iroquois and Micmac so eagerly traded. He was well familiar, however, with the role of hats in designating rank. During his second trading encounter in North America he brought the Micmac "knives and other ironware, with a red hat to give to their chief" (Cartier in Ray 1996:49). As I shall elaborate in Chapter Five, it became a matter of policy for fur traders to acknowledge, and often create, chiefs by presenting them with a "chief's outfit," which usually consisted of a red military-style coat, a hat and a medal depicting the ruler of the trading nation.¹² Government officials pursuing treaties continued this policy throughout the nineteenth century {Plate 18; figure 2}.

The significance of hats among Europeans and Euro-Americans was so well-known to Native peoples around the Great Lakes that they incorporated it in their pictorial message system to designate “white” identity. For example, Schoolcraft (1977 [1851]:296-7) presents a sample of a message drawn by one of the Anishnaabe guides that accompanied Governor Lewis Cass’s expedition to Prairie du Chien in 1820. All sixteen members of the party are drawn as roughly representational stick figures. The fourteen American members of the party wear hats but the two Anishnaabe guides do not. Schoolcraft comments that the hats were “the general symbol for a white man or European,” and that this was “the characteristic seized on, by them, and generally employed by the tribes, to distinguish the Red from the white race.” Similarly, Carver (1974 [1778]:418-9) reports that on such a message his Anishnaabe guide depicted him with a hat and his French servant with a “handkerchief tied around his head.”

Conversely, European observers repeatedly noted that neither Native men nor women wore any form of hat. Rather, although of different styles, the hair of both sexes was braided or clasped and decorated with wampum, feathers, ribbons, silver ornaments and other pleasing objects. These ornaments were more profuse among chiefly families and those of fur trade notoriety (Karklins 1992:22,24,26,27,59; O’Neil II 1995:3,9,12,21,22,40, 87,89,93).

Even though Anishnaabek in remote areas continued to use this pictorial device to distinguish between races, the beaver hat had been popular for several decades among Native men and women who lived close to centers of trade, such as large fur-trade forts and major ports. For example, Huron and Iroquois women who lived in the mission villages near Montreal and Quebec characteristically wore a plain black beaver hat with brim and crown of moderate proportions {Plate 2, figure 1}. As well, the Mississauga

Methodist missionary, Peter Jones (1970 [1861]:77), mentions that it was particularly the Christian Mississaugas who wore “round beaver or straw hats.”

These plain beaver hats should be distinguished from those decorated with feathers and ribbons or silver hat bands. The latter style preference appears to have developed from the earlier hair styles and seems similarly to be linked to status display. For example, the British distributed such hats to chiefs who served as warriors during the War of 1812 (Baird 1898:18, NBL) {Plate 2, figure 2}. This decorated style also developed into a general style among youth and Christian converts (Karklins 1992:77; O’Neil 1995:65). One European observer at the turn of the nineteenth century noted that such decorated beaver hats were part of the “Sunday best” outfits of Cree women of York Fort (M’Keever 1819:52), while another remarked that this style was typical of the Christian Huron women at Lorette, PQ (Lambert 1813:362). The importance of hats to Christianity is evidenced in the continuing practice of wearing hats to church. Besides weddings and funerals, church services are the only times many contemporary Christians wear hats. The discourse of Puritan settlers in the eighteenth century reveals that they were greatly concerned about hats. In particular, one should wear one at all times principally in order to take it off during the service (Earle 1993 [1898]:285-6).

Given the moral and religious significance of hats among Europeans and Euro-Americans, it is not surprising that they often expressed indignation at the “inappropriate” ways in which Native people adopted such articles of European dress. Susanna Moodie (1853:327, ECO), for example, condemned the outfit of a Native man she saw at a fair in Upper Canada: “His surtout and beaver hat accorded ill with his Indian leggings and moccasins. I must think that the big man’s dress was in shocking bad taste, and a decided failure.” An English missionary remarked further that ribbons

streaming from the hair and hats of Anishnaabe men gave them an “effeminate look” (Karklins 1992:36). It is probable that such observers would similarly interpret Native women wearing beaver hats as having a masculine appearance. Although throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries beaver hats were a prescribed element of noblewomen’s riding costumes {Plate 3; figure 1} (Cunnington 1990 [1937]:132), the customary donning of beaver hats over the mob-caps¹³ of peasant women in Wales and some parts of England was thought either “picturesque” or “vulgar” {Plate 3; figure 2} (de Marly 1986:79,83,111). It seems that noblewomen who wore beaver hats “appropriately” did so with no threat to their femininity, but lower-class women who wore them may have jeopardized their femininity in the eyes of the upper classes. The latter’s “inappropriate” use of the hats clearly indicated their lower-class status. Upper-class observers probably also attached lower-class signification to Native women who wore them.

The appropriateness of beaver hats for men was considerably broader than it was for women with regard to both class and occasion. In fact, for men the donning of beaver hats had great potential towards increasing social and economic opportunities. This capacity was seized upon immediately by underprivileged groups. Almost as quickly as beaver hats became the ultimate symbol of the upper classes, manufacturers produced lower quality imitations, and merchants and pedlars developed extensive markets for second-hand beaver hats (Innis 1999 [1930]:74-6; Newman 1989:21). The increasing availability of such symbols of wealth and power, however, threatened to blur the lines between ethnic groups, ranks and genders, which thereby compromised the superior place of the upper-class Anglo-Saxon male.

“Inappropriate” use of dress threatened the British socio-economic order because

the assumption that appearance was a certain sign of identity was an integral aspect of their behavioral environment. The antiquity of this view can be seen in the dress codes enacted in Ireland by the pre-Roman Celtic King, Tiernman:

A slave might wear but one color, a peasant two, a soldier three, a wealthy landowner four, a provincial chief five, and an Ollav, or royal person, six. Ollav was a term applied to a certain Druidic rank; it meant much the same as “doctor,” in the sense of a learned man - a master of science. It is a characteristic trait that the Ollav is endowed with a distinction equal to that of a king. (Rolleston 1990 [1917]:149)

Although the particular signs changed, the basic principles of encoding status in dress persisted and were elaborated in the ensuing centuries. In the above case, color was employed to designate not only class and rank, but also occupation. Up until the nineteenth century, virtually every occupation had distinctive modes and signs of dress by which means the wearer was immediately recognized. For example, the Elizabethan expected dress to distinguish “a clark from a layman, a gentleman from a yeoman, a souldier from a citizen, and a chiefe of every degree from his inferiors” (Puttenham [1589] in McCracken 1982:54). Because of the consistency and clarity of these clothing signs, Lynn Lofland (1973:49) argues that appearance was the primary signification of identity prior to the industrial revolution. To “a degree unknown to moderns,” she notes, “the resident of the preindustrial city literally ‘donned’ his [or her] identity” (*ibid.*:45). This aspect of the British behavioral environment, however, persisted well into the industrial era. Nineteenth century farm laborers, for example, wore insignia of their occupations at annual hiring fairs that were held throughout the British countryside (de Marly 1986:49-50; Hardy 1993 [1874]:31-2).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the codes of appearance were elaborated in conjunction with concepts of the “ill-bred” and the “well-bred.” Penelope

Byrde (1992:114-5) notes that the “idea that one could be immediately recognized” as a “true ‘gentleman’ or ‘lady’” made dress especially important to the aspiring middle classes during the nineteenth century. Etiquette books abounded in which readers were advised that the “vulgar person is speedily detected by his apparel, even though he should never open his lips in conversation,” and that “there is no easier method by which to detect the real lady from the sham one than by noticing her style of dress.” The breach of certain codes of moral behavior, however, would just as certainly distinguish the “ill-bred” from the “well-bred” (*ibid.*). Dress and morality became an arena in which members of the rising middle classes sought to disassociate gentility from the biological basis of the hereditary aristocracy.

I suggest that it is no coincidence that the concept of the “well-bred,” which reached its height during the Victorian era, developed in a society in which animal husbandry formed a significant portion of the economy. In particular, the breeding of sheep for the purpose of commercial exchange gave rise to the idea that biology and environment can be manipulated to produce superior qualities which are immediately apparent to the eye. In the same manner as selective mating and superior pasturage can be harnessed to produce finer and whiter wool, endogamous class marriages and control of social environments can be utilized to produce the desirable attributes of “well-bred” humans, which included superior appearance and manners.

The connection between the breeding of sheep and that of humans was reinforced in the behavioral environment of the British by an explicit analogy between shepherds and their flocks on the one hand, and patriarchs and their wards on the other. For example, Jesus and all of his representatives in the clergy, were (and are) “shepherds,” while members of their congregations were (and are) their “flocks.” Although the

rhetorical application of the shepherd metaphor found its most literal application in the clergy, historically its usage extended to all paternal authorities. Hence, the nineteenth century author, Richard Jeffries (1892 [1874]:52-7) explains the metaphor of the priest as shepherd as a “part of the great system” of patriarchy in which the father, the priest, the master, the alderman, the lord, the King, Jesus, and finally God, all had complete control over their subordinates, however few or great their numbers be. The “very first doctrine preached from the pulpit,” he notes, “was that of obedience. ‘Honor your father and your mother’ was inculcated there every day.” Until the mid-nineteenth century, patriarchs at all levels of this “great system” literally controlled the breeding of their wards by regulating their marriages.¹⁴

As agriculture increasingly came under the influence of scientific methods, the link between animal and human breeding became even more explicit. For example, in 1919 American proponents of the Eugenics Movement suggested that the government should take control of human breeding, like farmers do of animal breeding, because “ill-bred” offspring placed an economic burden on the state:

A few extremists thought that the same measures could be adopted for the improvement of the human race as have been adopted so effectively for the domestic animals, but this is *not the view of the extremist only*. Thoughtful, conservative people believe that much may be done profoundly to influence our race without seriously disturbing the social order. The two influences which will probably be most effective are *education and restrictive laws*. The education will influence young people in choosing their mates, while the restrictive laws will *debar certain individuals from marriage*. Statistics show that in every State there are many hundreds, if not thousands, of imbeciles, degenerates, criminals, idiots, etc., begotten in lust and squalor while the parents were inebriated or semi-imbecile, insane, degenerate or criminal. As this generation of *human debris* becomes a charge of the State, seriously complicating social, political and economic conditions, it is the *universal belief that State has a right to interfere in the propagation of such individuals*. (italics in original) (Hall and Hall 1919:216-7)¹⁵

As the “great system” of agrarian patriarchy weakened due to the industrial revolution,

members of the Eugenics Movement sought to preserve the power over human reproduction previously held by the patriarchs by transferring it to democratic governments. Because this patriarchal control was no longer supported by cultural convention and law, its proponents had to resort to logical argument and scientific fact.

Before or after the industrial revolution, where breeding concerns people, the conflation of biological and behavioral characteristics facilitates an equation between appearance and morality, on the one hand, and wealth and class on the other. Much like white sheep are infinitely more profitable than are black sheep, the British and their descendants viewed “white”-skinned people as more deserving of economic gain than were those with “black,” “brown,” “red” and “yellow” skin. Hence, race, rank, class and ethnicity were among the factors thought to be evident in the appearance of the “well-bred” individual. Even so, clothing often functioned to determine identity to the point of superceding the criteria of “white” skin. For example, James Smith (1870 [1808]:216) wrote of his return to civilization after escaping from his adoptive Native family:

...and all the clothes that I now had was an old beaver hat, buck-skin leggins, mockasons, and a new shirt; also an old blanket, which I commonly carried on my back in good weather... The people frequently came out, and asked me where we came from, etc. I told them the truth, but they for the most part suspected my story, and I generally had to show them my pass... When I dressed myself in good clothes, and mounted on horseback, no man ever asked me for a pass; therefore I concluded that a horse thief, or even a robber, might pass without interruption, provided he was only well dressed, whereas the shabby villain would be immediately detected.

John Tanner (1975 [1830]:240,247-9,251-2), an American settler who was raised among the Odawa, remarked similar reactions to his appearance among American settlers. Not only was he refused food and lodging repeatedly, but when he saw his brother from his birth family, he could not attract his attention even though the latter was looking for him. When they passed each other on the road, the brother only “gave [him] a

hasty look, and passed on.” When his brother was finally directed to Tanner in Detroit, he immediately transformed Tanner’s appearance by cutting off his silver-laden hair queue and dressing him in European-style clothing.

Although clothing could transform people of British descent into “Indians,” the reverse was not the case. When Native peoples adopted European clothing styles, British and Euro-American observers often focused on their skin color as the primary signification of identity. For example, when in 1891 Pauline Colby (1937:4-5) arrived at the Bishop Whipple Hospital at White Earth, MN, she was introduced to a group of Anishnaabe women who were members of Archdeacon Joseph Gilfillan’s Episcopalian “flock.” In her eyes, they appeared not as “whites,” but as “civilized Indians”:

I had been wondering whether the Indians would be wearing their native garb or whether they had adopted our costumes. These women were all dressed in dark cotton dresses, made with full skirts and loose waists and wore their raven black hair in one long braid down their backs. Some of the elder women wore moccasins but the others wore store shoes. Except that they were all of a uniform shade of brown, they might have been a Ladies’ Aid meeting in any country Parish home. {Plate 4; figure 1 }

Because the visible signs of race superceded those of dress for Native peoples, they sometimes achieved greater respect and notoriety among Europeans and their descendants when dressed in their own styles. For example, in 1826 an Ojibwa woman presented herself to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Thomas McKenney (McKenney and Hall 1933:353-67), with the appearance of a “wretched, ill-clad, way worn” traveler. In accordance with Indian policy of the time, he “bought and sent her some coarse scarlet and blue cloth, some thread, needles, and beads.” Out of these materials, “Tshusick” made herself an outfit “after the fashion of her People” {Plate 4; figure 2}. She was then introduced to the highest members of society in Washington who admired her “beauty,” “unstudied grace,” “propriety,” “purity,” “delicacy,” and “easy

fluency of high refinement.” Her successful reception was due in large part to the “appropriateness” of her attire:

Her dress, though somewhat gaudy, was picturesque, and well calculated to excite attention by its singularity, while its adaption to her own style of beauty, and to the aboriginal character, rendered it appropriate... Like all handsome women, be their colour or nation what it may, she knew her power, and used it to the greatest advantage.

Tshusick’s appearance and manners corresponded so closely with the signs of good breeding that notices in the newspapers referred to her as an “Indian Princess” and she was welcomed into the home of the First Lady for the duration of her stay.

The irony of this story is that after Tshusick left Washington with a booty of presents from its leading citizens, McKenney received word from Governor Cass that she was in fact the wife of a Frenchman who held a lowly position in the kitchen of Mr. Boyd, the Indian Agent at Mackinac at the time. She was in the habit of wandering “off into the settlements of the whites, and, under a disguise of extreme wretchedness, to recite some tale of distress.” She learned of the “manners of refined life” during her employ within the households of “families of gentlemen holding official rank.” McKenney was apparently suspected of contributing to her deception by giving her a chief’s coat and medal. In both the published account of Tshusick’s visit to Washington, and a letter published in a newspaper, McKenney emphasized that she made her outfit entirely herself out of materials that he gave her. In the letter, he denies ever referring to her as a “Princess.”

As the foregoing examples show, appearance was not a reliable indicator of rank, class, gender, ethnicity or race. Nevertheless, Europeans and Euro-Americans were accustomed to a certain set of visual indicators upon which they passed judgements with lightning speed. This culturally embedded way of identifying people and their places in

society was especially misleading with regard to rank within Native societies. For example, North West Company (NWC) fur trader, Peter Grant (in Masson 1960 [1889]:350, Vol.2) noted that:

[Chiefs] have nothing in their dress to distinguish them from the vulgar, except a wampum belt, worn only on special occasions, and a silver medal with Our Sovereign's head in relief on one side and the arms of Great Britain on the other.

Anna Jameson (1990 [1838]:374), a British travel writer who visited Mackinac Island in 1836, noted that although there was a "general equality of rank" among the inhabitants of the Native encampment, "there is evidently all that inequality of condition which difference of character and intellect may naturally produce." Significantly, she found that high-ranking Anishnaabek often deliberately avoided sumptuous sartorial display:

There is one lodge, a little to the east of us, which I call the Chateau. It is rather larger and loftier than the others: the mats which cover it are whiter and of a neater texture than usual. The blanket which hangs before the opening is new and clean. The inmates, ten in number, are well and handsomely dressed; even the women and children have abundance of ornament; and as for the gay cradle of the baby, I quite covet it - it is so gorgeously elegant. I supposed at first that this must be the lodge of a chief; but I have since understood that the chief is seldom either so well lodged or so well dressed as the others, it being part of his policy to avoid everything like ostentation, or rather to be ostentatiously poor and plain in his apparel and possessions. (*ibid.*:385)

The head of the above-noted family was an Odawa man "remarkable for his skill in hunting" and his "habitual abstinence from the 'firewater.'" He was a Christian convert reputed to be a "rich man." Jameson notes that his material circumstances, in particular the opulent appearance of his women and children, bestowed upon him a degree of esteem within his nation. This is because, she concludes, his material wealth is "proof of his prowess and success as a hunter" (*ibid.*:385-6). Anishnaabek of that time considered material well-being as direct proof of spiritual power because success at hunting depends upon the latter. Kagige Pinesi expressed this view in the story

mentioned above about a woman who married a beaver during her puberty fast (Overholt and Callicott 1982:74-5). As Bruce White (1999:137) points out, her “white hair, beaded clothing, and earrings were all symbols of power, spiritual and material, and the honor she would have in an Ojibwa community.” These were all visible signs of her beaver husband’s hunting skill.

One might suppose it contradictory that chiefs needed to appear poor in order to maintain their chiefly status while there was a general need to display wealth in order to demonstrate spiritual power in hunting. On the one hand, cultural systems in general contain multiple orders of meaning that frequently do not correspond in every detail. On the other hand, in this particular case, an examination of the relationships between several orders of meaning suggests very complex, but internally consistent, factors that explain the different roles of status display. The applicability of these roles in various contexts depended upon a dynamic interplay between key elements of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment such as generosity, reciprocity, honoring and age hierarchy.

There can be no doubt that hospitality and generosity were essential values among Anishnaabek. John Tanner (1975 [1830]:89) remarks that hospitality “is among the foremost of the virtues which the old men inculcate upon the minds of children, in their evening conversations.” Analysis of Tanner’s narrative, however, reveals that property or wealth was derived primarily from game and fur animals and that the products of these raw materials, food and clothing, were treated differently with regard to the conventions of hospitality.

Food was converted to wealth immediately and it was expected that this wealth be shared. With regard to meat, Tanner (1979 [1830]:45,50,65,67,76-7,83,90,92,98,104-6) consistently remarks on the generosity or greed of each party with whom his starving

family associate. Despite their starving condition, however, Tanner's family were "rather wealthy among the Indians of that country" with regard to clothing and ornaments (*ibid.*:84). In contrast to food, clothing was not immediately obtainable from animal resources. Rather, clothing was derived from game and fur animals through women's labor, both the curing of skins and the sewing of garments. For Anishnaabek involved in the fur trade, this conversion mainly took place after seasonal encounters with traders.

In general, Anishnaabek did not expect wealth in the form of clothing to be shared precisely because it manifested the spiritual powers of its wearer and his or her family. For example, Tanner (1979 [1830]:65-7) tells of a time when he and his family were starving and encountered a group of Ojibway who had plenty of meat. Instead of sharing their meat, however, the latter demanded silver ornaments in return. Tanner's adoptive mother, Netnokwa, a principal chief of the Odawa, "continued to talk, as long as she lived, of the niggardly conduct of the Indians we had then seen." Another time, Tanner witnessed a young man's implication in the theft of a woman's silver ornaments, which were taken from her dress while she lay senselessly drunk. Tanner (*ibid.*:102) remarks:

This Ojibbeway was a man of considerable pretensions, wishing to be reckoned a chief; but this unfortunate attempt at theft injured his standing in the estimation of the people. The affair was long remembered, and he was ever after mentioned with contempt.

The inference in both of these cases is that ornaments should only be gained through the efforts of one's self or family. Therefore false ownership and display met with severe disapproval. The latter story, however, points to another complexity in Anishnaabek attitudes towards the display of wealth in the form of clothing. This concerns the factor of age hierarchy. As Rebecca Kugel (1998a:5) points out, while the

Anishnaabek were “thoroughly egalitarian in most aspects of life, the Ojibwe conceptualized at least one fundamental inequality between age and youth, with youth firmly subordinate.” Several early observers remarked that it was particularly the youth who were inclined to wear fancy dress while the older people frequently appeared indifferent to personal appearance.¹⁶ Young men and women had to prove their value through the display of clothing but were, at the same time, enabled to do so without condemnation because of the low status inherent in their youth. When Carver (1974 [1778]:32-3) visited the Winnebago of Wisconsin, for example, he found that their “Queen,” who was “a very ancient woman,” was “not much distinguished by her dress from several young women that [sic] attended her.”

There may have been a degree of circular reasoning involved in a young hunter’s display of clothing and ornamentation. Whereas I have argued that such display signaled proof of spiritual power regarding hunting, it is also possible that hunting success derived, in part, from honoring the hunted animals with the display of ornaments. On one occasion, Tanner removed all of his silver ornaments before going out to hunt. Netnokwa objected vehemently to this action, but Tanner persisted. When he returned from a long and unsuccessful hunt, he found that the lodge had burnt to the ground and all its contents, including his ornaments, had been destroyed (Tanner 1979 [1830]:84-5). Technically, the fire was caused by the negligence of the girl under whose care the lodge had been delegated. Yet, Tanner’s inclusion of his conversation with Netnokwa on the subject of his ornaments, and his failure at hunting that day, reveal that both of them saw a causal relation between the lack of ornaments and the misfortune that ensued.

The practice of honoring spirits through ornamental dress has other applications. This phenomenon was noted by Hoffman (1970 [1896]:264) with regard to attendance at

Midewiwin ceremonies. In contrast to the Sioux, he remarks, the Ojibway and Menominee “vie with one another in appearing in the most costly and gaudy costume obtainable” because “...disregard of dress is regarded... as a sacrilegious transgression of the ancient usages.” Anishnaabek also honored humans by donning fancy apparel. Kohl (1985 [1860]:13) observed that the 1855 annuities payments at La Pointe, WI, occasioned a “full-dress procession.” Thomas McKenney (1972 [1827]:190) may have felt some apprehension when a group of Ojibway who were accompanying the treaty party appeared in full dress after visiting the camp of some of their friends. Their “war paint” may have misled him to think they were preparing for the warpath. When he asked the reason for their finery, however, they informed him “it was in compliment to their friends whom they had just visited.” The veracity of their statement is suggested by the fact that the aggression McKenney anticipated did not follow.

The leader of this Ojibway party was “old Shingauga W’Ossin,” a chief at Sault St. Marie. McKenney notes that his rise to the status of chief was attended by difficulties due to the fact that his father had many sons, all of whom claimed chiefly legitimacy. Through both acts of bravery and “kindness and general benevolence of character” Shingauga W’Ossin eventually came to be recognized as the head chief. Through him his followers “received both presents and advice” from the American government (McKenney and Hall 1933:59-60). Thus, his generosity was a key factor in his eventual success, upon which he acquired responsibility for the material welfare of his followers. Ojibway Chief Flatmouth expressed the responsibility of chiefs in a speech to a government official in 1855: “[My followers] are poor and in want, and expect me to protect their interests and provide for them...” (Diedrich 1990:59). The retention of chiefly power may often have depended upon the demonstration of chiefly responsibility,

since, as Peter Jones (1970 [1861]:108) pointed out:

The chiefs are the heads or fathers of their respective tribes; but their authority extends no further than their own body, while their influence depends much on their wisdom, bravery and hospitality. When they lack any of these qualities they fall proportionately in the estimation of their people.

Thus, once age and chiefly prominence had been achieved expectations of sharing increased in proportion and extended beyond food to include items of clothing or trade value (Sugden 1997:96). For example, one Odawa chief Netnokwa's family encountered built and gave them a cargo canoe which they subsequently sold to a trader for the value of \$100 (Tanner 1979 [1830]:78-9). Another time, one of Tanner's party met a Cree chief who gave him a buffalo robe and new moccasins. Tanner's whole group then went to his lodge where his principal wife equipped them all with new moccasins (*ibid.*:89-90). Netnokwa, herself an elderly chief, also sought to maintain her status through generous donations of liquor to all those assembled at the trading post. Having traded all their peltries for liquor, her family was impoverished to the point of having only rags to wear (*ibid.*:70-1).

The interplay between the cultural convention of honoring through dress and that of the poorly appearance of elder chiefs is exemplified by Metea, a middle-aged chief of the Potawatomi in the area around Fort Wayne in 1823. When he went to an interview with William Keating and his government party, Metea's dress "was old and somewhat dirty, but appeared to have been arranged upon his person with no small degree of care" (Keating 1959 [1825]:86). Keating's detailed description of Metea's attire includes no ornamentation other than four colored feathers "and other ornaments equally deficient in taste" which were attached to a string and tied to a lock of his hair. As with Shingauba W'Ossin, Metea's rise to chiefly status was earned through his own feats of valor, powers

of persuasion and generosity, the latter likely demonstrated in part through a policy of moderation in dress.

Two further factors add to the complexity of the relationship between appearance and social status among historic Anishnaabek. First, as the foregoing discussion may suggest, men and women were differently placed in relation to the process of conversion of raw materials into dress. Not surprisingly, this situation created differences along lines of gender in Anishnaabe attitudes toward, and practices regarding, appearance. In particular, European observers frequently noted that men were more concerned with appearance than were women.¹⁷ This was because the appearance of a woman's male relations indicated her status to a much greater degree, and with more certainty, than did her own appearance. A number of factors combine to explain this phenomenon. First, a woman's status was measured primarily by her degree of industriousness. Her proficiency and productivity in sewing was one of the most evident signs of this attribute and was the main characteristic men looked for in prospective wives.¹⁸ The transformations women performed on raw materials to produce clothing were deemed analogous to the transformations performed by *manitook* and similarly entailed spiritual power. These core values remain operative in many Anishnaabe communities today.¹⁹

As well, wives were responsible for producing and maintaining the clothing of their husbands, while unmarried sisters had the same duties towards their unmarried brothers (Forsyth in Blair 1996 [1911]:213, Vol.2; Landes 1969 [1938]:15). A woman's performance of these duties was one of the primary symbols of her attachment to her husband or beau. For example, in a Cree version of the story of how the ten brothers married the ten Thunderbird women, the younger brother discerns the intent of one of these women to marry him by repeatedly finding quilled moccasins carefully placed on

his mat in the wigwam while he was out hunting during the day (Bloomfield 1993 [1930]:228-9). As well, life-history narratives disclose that jealousy often arose when women cared for the clothes of men with whom they were not in the appropriate social relation (Long 1971 [1791]:89-91; Wilson 1932-36:#10, SINAA). Hence, for Anishnaabek, the clothing of husbands and brothers bespoke the generosity, industriousness and fidelity of the wife or sister, and these characteristics were the main criteria upon which her status was ascertained. Europeans, on the other hand, interpreted the higher degree of status display among men as a sure sign of their superior status over the less sumptuously attired women.

The second factor that complicates the cross-cultural interpretation of clothing and status among Anishnaabek involves the problematic category of “chiefs.” Historically, there were various types of chiefs, each having a specialized function such as war, trading, hunting, ricing, sugaring, religion and civic affairs. This latter position was primarily taken up by elderly men who had proved themselves in one or more of the foregoing positions (Kugel 1998a:4). Unfortunately, written documents seldom differentiate between these various types, in part because European observers did not know the difference. Furthermore, as noted above, Europeans were in the habit of giving chiefly powers to persons of their own choosing regardless of their position within Anishnaabe society. Consequently, written sources seldom provide enough detail to shed light on the relationships between age, hospitality, chiefly responsibility and appearance.

In order to explore the full significance of appearance in Anishnaabe society it is necessary to move beyond a discussion of age, gender and rank in order to view status holistically as embedded in relationships between self, groups and environment. Whereas the British cultural construction of identity based on hierarchical ranking and occupation

is relatively lucid to contemporary North Americans, the cultural construction of identity in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment is not. It therefore requires explication in order to perceive the ways in which the entire structure of clothing signs, not just the meanings attached to particular signs, is variable across cultures. The key concept needed to achieve this view is that of *doodemag*.²⁰ Hence, I shall now turn to a detailed discussion of Anishnaabe *doodemag* and their relation to the cultural construction of appearance.

1. Anderson 1994:*passim*; Axtell 1992:145; Kidd 1961:*passim*; B. White 1987a:170-1; R. White 1991:120
2. Also see Jenness (1935:38) for a similar version of the Georgian Bay story.
3. Saulteaux, originally “people of the Sault,” that is, Ojibway of Sault St. Marie.
4. “Amikoues,” from “*amik*” - beaver
5. For a different story with this theme see “The First Beaver” (Otto:1995:75-6).
6. For another version of this story see Schoolcraft (1991:87-91).
7. Schoolcraft 1977 [1851]:164-7; Ray 1995:79-80; Wright 1996 [1917]:47-50
8. Blackbird 1993 [1887]:27-8; Brown and Brightman 1988:9-10; Brown 1980:95-6
9. “Ana’maqki’u” = a species of lower world *manitook*
10. “The Cataract of Niagara... A View of ye Industry of ye Beavers of Canada in making Dams,” by H. Moll (NAC, C-16758).
11. Grey Owl 1931:158; Innis 1970 [1930]:4; Newman 1985:57. Although Grey Owl’s credibility became questionable when it was found that he was an Englishman pretending to be a Native, his intimate knowledge of beavers is indisputable.
12. See, for example, two red chiefs’ coats in the collection of the ROM (HD6293 and HD6294). One of these belonged to Ojibwa Chief Oshawana, of Walpole Island, who was Tecumseh’s second-in-command during the Battle of the Thames (Cumberland 1904:135).

13. “Mob-cap” = a cotton or linen circle with a drawstring close to the edge which is drawn tightly around the head to form a sort of cap; worn by lower-class women in Britain (and some other European countries) during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

14. Coss 1998:15,22-5; Garnier 1895:232,251,284-5,291; Jeffries 1892 [1874]:50-1

15. Marla Powers (1986:165,170) argues that the charge of Oglala activists that Public Health physicians are “operating a wholesale sterilization program” is “highly unlikely” because it is illegal to sterilize a woman at the time of delivery. Yet, the above quote shows that, in the not-so-distant past, there was a very strong movement of “respectable” people who would advocate forced sterilization for reservation Indians, almost all of whom they would class among the “human debris” who were the cause of social ills.

16. Carver 1974 [1778]:225; Grant in Masson 1960 [1889]:317, Vol.2; Kohl 1985 [1860]:18; O’Neill 1995:54

17. Harmon 1904 [c.1820]:275; Kohl 1985 [1860]:111-12; O’Neil 1995:11-12,22,29,42,53,62-3,68-9

18. Keating 1959 [1824]:230; Morrell in Blair 1996 [1911]:165; Moodie 1989 [1852]:283-4

19. Moodie 1989 [1852]:283-4; Wennabea in Keating 1959 [1824]:230; Marsden in Blair 1996 [1911]:165; Silverstein 1993:65-9,229-53; Phillips 1987:77

20. *Doodemag* (singular - *doodem*), totem in anthropological literature, clan in popular parlance.

CHAPTER 3: MY RELATIONS: *DOODEMAG* AND APPEARANCE

Men and women preferred to regard themselves as members of a totem and then a community. Strangers, when they met, always asked one another, “Waenaesh k’dodaem?” (What is your totem?); only afterwards did they ask, “Waenaesh keen?” (Who are you?). The question and answer reflected the nature and importance of the individual and corporate sense of identity. (Johnston 1976:59)

Despite the fact that *doodemag* form the foundation of Anishnaabe identity, as Johnston suggests, consensus on their attributes and functions has eluded both Western and Native commentators from the time of the earliest written reports to the present on all but the following few points: Anishnaabe *doodemag* are patrilineal and exogamous. As well, persons of the same *doodem* consider themselves relatives. In other words, *doodemag* confer group membership and also govern relationships between groups. The following discussion of *doodemag* develops a view that strives for both logical rigor and consistency with the aims of Anishnaabe self-determination, as follows from the theoretical premise indicated at the beginning of Chapter One. This view illuminates significant aspects of the relationships between appearance, identity and social structure in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment.

Based on early documentary evidence, Theresa Schenck (1997:*passim*) has persuasively argued that *doodemag* occupied separate territories when Anishnaabek first encountered Europeans. These were replaced, however, by multi-totem communities by the mid-nineteenth century. The aforementioned seventeenth century map depicting the Amikouas and other totemic groups provides strong evidence of this theory. Frank Speck’s (1915:8) findings among the “Algonquin Bands of the Ottawa Valley” also tend

to support the co-relation between *doodemag*, men and land: “As may be inferred from the paternal reckoning in both the totemic and territorial groups, each hunting territory remains permanently in the same totemic group.”

Scholars with good intentions, however, have discredited Speck’s findings on the basis that egalitarian hunting and gathering societies did not have private property (Leacock 1986:143). As Harvey Feit (1991:110,127) points out, however, the assumption that hunting territories were necessarily based on notions of private property was erroneous. Feit further notes that Speck’s empirical data arose out of communities whose land base was under immediate threat of loss and whose members viewed Speck as a potential ally in their battle against the Canadian government. The crux of the matter was that if Algonquians could prove that private property was indigenous, then they could prove lawful claim to the land. Ironically, it also follows that if they had private property, then they also knew exactly what they were relinquishing when they signed treaties. Hence, scholars claiming advocacy positions have argued both sides of this debate for a hundred and fifty years (*ibid.*:109-11). This paradox continues to undermine land claims initiatives today (Michael 1999:7).

Much of the ambiguity surrounding the “traditional” relationship between Algonquian peoples and their land stems from the imprecise use of the term “family.” For example, around 1913 Temagami chief, Aleck Paul, delivered a speech in which he described the customs pertaining to “family hunting grounds” (Feit 1991:120). In a recent discussion with Diana Whiteduck (informal interview Jan. 13, 2000) of the Algonkin nation, she remarked:

I don’t know what they mean when they say “family.” Out west when they talk about the totem poles telling their “family history,” to me it’s not in the same sense as you would think of a family, but it’s the ancestors’ or clan history. I think

the White people who write it down distort it.

This distortion would also seem to be the case with Aleck Paul's use of the term. His choice of wording may have reflected the general analogy his speech builds between the Temagami Anishnaabek's use of land and that of Euro-American farmers (Feit 1991:120). If we substitute the word *doodem* for family, however, the connotation of private property dissolves and is replaced by a more fluid system of family usage within a communally owned totemic territory.

Although the demographic changes that Schenck documents were already well under way at the times and places of John Tanner's narrative, his description of the method used by Netnokwa's late husband's relatives at Red River gives some indication of how totemic territories may have been managed: "As soon as we arrived, the chiefs met, to take our case under consideration, and to agree on some method of providing for us." Each hunter then agreed to give Netnokwa a portion of meat and fur from their own hunting. As well, they gave Tanner and his brother "a little creek, where were plenty of beaver, and on which they said none but ourselves should hunt" (Tanner 1975 [1830]:50-1). Although these events depict a form of land ownership, community consultation and management distinguish it from European ideas of private property.

It is a significant fact that in Temagami in 1913 no more than three *doodemag* were long-standing, while three more had recently been introduced through intermarriage (Speck 1915:17-18). Schenck (1997:33) points out that, due to the practice of exogamy and virilocality, totemic territorial groups consisted of at least two *doodemag*. It could be that Temagami's demography conformed to this totemic territorial pattern because the eighteenth century trend towards multi-clan villages noted by Schenck (*ibid.*:56,64) did not affect the northeasterly regions as much or as rapidly as it did the more southwesterly

ones. The number of *doodemag* in Temagami contrasts radically with concurrent data for Southeastern Ontario. Paul Radin (n/d (a):6-8, CMCA), for example, lists sixteen *doodemag* at Sarnia and twelve at Rice Lake in 1913.

As might be expected due to population shifts throughout the historic period in Southeastern Ontario, Radin's informants did not mention any connection between *doodemag* and land. Nevertheless, mid-nineteenth century Mississauga missionary George Copway (1997 [1850]:71) recalled that his grandfather was one of the first Mississauga to return to this area after they retreated from the Iroquois to the north shore of Lake Huron. He noted that his father's *doodem*, the Crane, "now forms the totem of the villagers, excepting those who have since come amongst us from other villages by intermarriage." Whereas inter-tribal warfare was a major factor in the disruption of the totemic territories in Southeastern Ontario, the arbitrary boundaries imposed by government treaties played a role in disturbing the territorial boundaries between the Bear and Crane *doodemag* around the eastern shorelines of Lake Superior. Janet Chute (1998:153-4) notes that in 1852, the government placed both the Batchewana and Goulais Bay bands under the leadership of a Crane chief. When John Keating surveyed the area a year later, he noted that a wooden standard bearing the Crane *doodem*, which marked the southern limit of the Batchewana reserve tract, had been torn down by the Bears, who claimed the Cranes had no jurisdiction over them. In the 1850s Kohl (1985 [1860]:244) met an Anishnaabe man from L'Anse, Michigan, who told him that his paternal ancestors of the Bear *doodem* had inhabited that region for countless generations.

The Odawa of northern Michigan provide another example of a strong link between *doodemag*, men and land. James McClurken (1986:8) notes:

...two of the four major villages which formed the Odawa Confederacy... were identified by the animals from which their inhabitants claimed descent [i.e. their *doodemag*]. Other family groups took their names from a geographic feature of their home territory.

As Frank Ettawageshik (1999:20) relates, however, a strong link between land and *doodemag* existed, and still exists, in at least one village named according to the latter method. Ettawageshik traces his paternal and totemic ancestry back seven generations of men, all of whom were “born at Waganasing,” or “the crooked tree.” This village was named after a tree in the vicinity that the Odawa venerated. That totemic territories were well-established among the Odawa is further suggested by a passing comment in an Odawa legend from the same region. A certain warrior, it is said, “resided with his aged mother in the village of a renowned clan to the north” (Wright 1996 [1917]:113).

Thus, seventeenth and eighteenth century documentary evidence, as well as twentieth century ethnographic and oral historic evidence combine to form a picture of a social organization tied closely to the land in the form of totemic territories which through various processes has shifted towards multi-clan communities. While reasonable caution must be exercised in such speculative reconstructions, this view of Anishnaabe social organization is not only a plausible hypothesis, it is also a politically desirable one when severed from the erroneous conclusion that it denoted a system of private property.

Whereas Schenck (1997:17) emphasizes that the totemic groups with which the Ojibway were affiliated were originally “equal and independent groups,” I argue that they were so within a collectively recognized structure of mutual interdependence that comprised a nation. A difficulty arises, however, as to the name and composition of this nation. Today, many members of the Ontario Native community conceive of the Anishnaabe nation as synonymous with the Ojibway nation. Yet, many members of the

Odawa, Nipissing, Mississauga, Algonkin, and possibly other nations identify with the Anishnaabe nation, but quite emphatically deny being Ojibway. The earliest written records were left by the French, who tended to refer to all Algonquian-speaking groups as Algonquins, or dealt with totemic groups as nations; for example, the Amikouas noted in Chapter Two. Based on careful study of these records, Schenck (1997:*passim*) argues that the Ojibway were originally a totemic group whose territory at the time of contact was limited to the area around Sault St. Marie. Nevertheless, the Ojibway seemed to enjoy an exalted position because all of the component groups of the nation gathered during the summer at Sault St. Marie to fish at the rapids, as well as to hold religious ceremonies and political meetings. Additionally, all *doodemag*, tribes and nations in the Great Lakes area used the Ojibway language in inter-tribal and cross-cultural contexts throughout the fur trade era.

Clearly the nation composed of totemic groups around the Great Lakes, and which included the Ojibway, was not as broad and inclusive as the groups I include as Anishnaabek in this study (as given in Chapter One). For example, as noted above, the Odawa had at least four totemic groups who were organized into the “Odawa confederacy,” and this was distinct from that of the Ojibway. The distinction is also seen in the existence of the Three Fires Confederacy during the eighteenth century which, by the early nineteenth century, was said to consist of the Ojibway, Odawa and Potawatomi nations (Forsyth in Blair 1996 [1911]:190 Vol.II). Since a reasonable resolution of this question would require an extensive study, I do not propose to clarify it here.

It is evident, however, that national and totemic memberships did not serve the same functions. On the one hand, totemic groups made up larger confederacies or nations that functioned primarily to co-ordinate group endeavors, such as resource management

and communal religious ceremonies, as well as regulate group interests, such as war and peace. On the other hand, totemic affiliations transcended national boundaries. For example, members of the Odawa Beaver *doodem* considered themselves related to members of the Ojibway Beaver *doodem* and would consequently extend to them the hospitality expected of relatives (Howard n/d [c.1963]:59). The same principle applied between the totemic groups of all nations, even those of different language groups. This practice suggests that, besides determining kinship and governing marriage, totemic affiliations functioned to facilitate social harmony in interpersonal relationships. A reasonable assurance of hospitality was especially important when traveling outside one's own totemic territories where, due to virilocality within one's nation and the existence of the same totemic groups in other nations, one would expect to meet members of one's own *doodem*.

A contemporary Anishnaabe writer, Wub-e-ke-niew of Red Lake, MN (1995:5) further suggests that because *doodemag* are patrilineal, virilocal and exogamous, women play a special role in creating and maintaining ties between communities:

A woman who marries an *Anishnaabeojibway* man comes into the totem of her husband and lives with him on the land of which he is a part. This creates a social network of relatives through each person's mother's side of the family and through the totems, which extends across the continent in all directions.¹

This view of Anishnaabe social organization may be disturbing to those who believe that women's status in patrilineal and virilocal societies is characteristically low. Among Anishnaabek of the fur trade era, however, the potential for the subordination of women was reduced by the practice of "temporary matrilocality" whereby men spent the first few years of marriage among their wives' relatives in exchange for her later services among their own.² With regard to women's role in forging political alliances through

marriage, Rebecca Kugel (1998a:71) remarks, “[g]iven the centrality of alliance in Ojibwe thought, the significance of creating these most basic and intimate alliances cannot be overestimated.” The movement of women and men between totemic territories served to reinforce Anishnaabe national identity.

As a social organizational principle the totemic system produces an axis upon which patrilineal descent is balanced by female lateral alliance. A graphic representation of this structure forms a cross in which the union of man and woman is at the center. This figure is identical to the equidistant cross within the medicine wheel {Plate 5; figures 1, 2 and 3}. Embedded in the latter concept are virtually all elements of Anishnaabe life and culture.³ One of its essential teachings is that of equality. I suggest that among Anishnaabek the ideas of status and identity emphasize lateral relations in equal measure to lineal relations, with special accentuation on the points of intersection. These ideas are represented graphically in the design principles of Anishnaabe clothing styles of the fur trade era. In particular, early examples of dress show a strong style preference for dividing the human form into vertical and horizontal visual fields. This design strategy creates rectangles, squares, right angles and grids {Plates 6 and 7}. These design principles express egalitarian tendencies representative of both female lateral alliance and the existence of multiple patrilineal descent lines. Not only is the male/vertical axis balanced by that of the female/horizontal, but also by the multiplicity of descent lines which the latter serve to link.⁴ To explore this proposition further it is necessary to examine the nature of the relationship among the various *doodemag*.

I previously noted that the beaver was among the *doodemag* of the Anishnaabe nation. Nineteenth century Ojibway historian, William Warren (1984 [1885]:45) of Minnesota, asserts that the beaver *doodem* is a subdivision of one of the five original

Ojibway *doodemag*. These divisions took place gradually through a process of branching off, “without losing sight or remembrance of the main stock or family to which they belong.” Furthermore, in the mid-nineteenth century the beaver *doodem* was among those that could only be found at the “remotest northern boundaries of the Ojibway country.” This location fits with the seventeenth century map and Perrot’s observations noted above.

Yet, Warren disavowed national continuity between the American Southwestern and the Canadian Northeastern Anishnaabek:

There are several villages of Indians in Upper Canada, who are sometimes denominated as Ojibways, but who are more properly the remnants of the original Algonquins who have always been in the interest of the British, and aided them in their wars. (*ibid.*:368)

If we follow Schenck’s (1997:*passim*) reasoning that the Ojibway were originally a totemic group whose territory at the time of contact was limited to the area around Sault St. Marie, then there may be some truth to Warren’s point of view. Nevertheless, Warren was influenced by the desire to present the Ojibway as American supporters at a time when allegiance to Britain was manifestly dangerous. As well, Ojibway territories at Sault St. Marie encompassed both sides of the rapids where the American/Canadian border was drawn late in Ojibway history. There can be no doubt, moreover, that many Ojibway migrated to Eastern Ontario and have remained here to the present day.

Basil Johnston, a contemporary Ojibway historian from Cape Croker, Ontario, would probably take exception to Warren’s comments. Johnston (1976:60-1) agrees with him, however, that there were originally only five *doodemag*. He explains further that these five *doodemag* correspond with specific functions within the nation: leadership (Crane), defense (Bear), sustenance (Marten), learning (Catfish) and medicine (Turtle).

As with Warren, all other *doodemag* are subdivisions of these five. In Johnston's view, the beaver *doodem* is a subdivision of the Marten *doodem*. Priscilla Buffalohead (1985:5), a member of the Mille Lacs Tribe of Ojibway, agrees that *doodemag* have different social functions:

Clans not only set the ties of kinship and regulate marriage. Each clan also had a special purpose in village life. The Crane and Loon Clans, for example, produced civil chiefs and great speakers. Members of the Bear Clan produced great war chiefs... The Wolf Clan produced scouts. Members of the Marten Clan served as pipe bearers and message carriers for the chiefs... Some clans had larger membership than others. All were considered to be equally important.

Despite the paucity of written sources, the functional attributes of the *doodemag* make sense in light of the identification of members with the characteristics of their animals. For example, a L'Anse man told Sister Hilger (1951:154):

My *dodem* is the deer. The deer is smart and quick. When a deer wants to drink, he goes up river a little way from where he crossed, because he won't drink the water that has washed his traces. The deer is my companion; I follow his life. I never need a compass to go through the woods, for I am able to find my way just like a deer.

Warren (1984 [1885]:49) says of the bear :

It is a general saying, and observable fact, amongst their fellows, that the Bear clan resemble the animal that forms their Totem in disposition. They are ill-tempered and fond of fighting, and consequently they are noted as ever having kept the tribe in difficulty with other tribes, in which, however, they have generally been the principal and foremost actors.

With regard to the beaver, Norval Morriseau (1965:21) supports its association with sustenance: "[The beaver] was considered sacred by the Ojibway who, because of its meat and fur, regarded it as the source of life."

If we grant that at the time of contact *doodemag* defined territory as well as group identity, then it follows that their functional associations were only relevant when a number of totemic groups gathered together as a nation. As noted above, this occurred

seasonally in summer fishing camps and for the annual Feast of the Dead, and also contingently in times of war. With regard to the local affairs of the totemic territories, however, of necessity many functions would have to be performed by members of the same *doodem*. It also follows that the shift to multi-totem villages would tend to increase the importance of functional designations. This is because spatial proximity among *doodemag* would be constant rather than seasonal and contingent, and therefore the functional specialization of the latter contexts would be transferred to the local level. Buffalohead (1985:5), for example, states that because “they were first in battle, [members of the Bear *doodem*] camped on the outer edges of the village or camp circle.”

The functional attributes of Anishnaabe *doodemag*, as well as their balance between lineal and lateral relations, tend towards egalitarian social order. Inasmuch as certain functions are more prestigious than others, however, there is an hierarchical element involved. Frances Densmore (1979 [1929]:10) was told that the bear and marten were “the most aristocratic” among the animal *doodemag*, and the crane and eagle among the bird *doodemag*. Both Warren (1984 [1885]:48) and Kohl (1985 [1860]:148) noted the on-going rivalry between the Crane and Loon *doodemag* over the leadership of the nation. I’ve recently encountered these same claims among members of both *doodemag*. Kohl (*ibid.*) also noted, however, “how proudly the Indians always talk of the totem to which they or their wives belong.” Furthermore, although *doodemag* were fixed, as noted above, their functional associations were flexible. Personal achievements, strategic marriage alliances, and/or powerful spiritual blessings carried sufficient authority to transcend the prescribed functions of the *doodemag* in national affairs, or those of multi-totemic communities.

Flexibility was built into the social structure through a constant play between the

ascribed status of the totemic system and the achieved status of personal spiritual power. This flexibility, however, has given rise to considerable misunderstanding. Ever since 1791, when fur trader John Long (1971 [1791]:86-7) coined the word “totem” in reference to guardian spirits, confusion between the two concepts has persisted. If we grant, however, that the *doodem* is ascribed at birth and confers group membership, then it follows that it is fundamentally different from the exclusive, in fact secret, relationship individuals achieve with guardian spirits during their puberty fasts. Therefore on this point I agree with Claude Levi-Strauss (1962:18-23) and Schenck (1997:57-60) that, during the early fur trade period, the totemic system functioned primarily as a principle of social organization in which individual *doodemag* signified group membership.

A legend told to Paul Radin (n/d(a):13-14, CMCA) in 1912 at Sarnia, Ontario, supports the view that *doodemag* functioned mainly in the social realm. One time Nanabush married a woman with whom he had many children. When they grew up all but the youngest left the vicinity. Concerned that his offspring would not know their relations, he hosted a feast for them at which he gave each an animal to carry home, “so that you, your children, your grandchildren, and their children shall have them for totems. In this way you will know your relatives.”⁵ Two other informants at the same time and place, however, expressed the view that the *doodem* and guardian spirit were the same. Radin (*ibid.*:2,4) explains this inconsistency by stating that the latter view was incorrect.

Although I argue that originally the *doodemag* functioned primarily as a principle of social organization, the issue is more complex than the simple true or false, authentic or contaminated, formulas Radin and others have applied to it. This is because the totemic system has been in a state of flux throughout the historic period and was probably also before contact. As well, Anishnaabek generally draw no distinct line

between the secular and the sacred. Thus, the social function of the *doodemag* may be seen as sacred in the same light as all relationships that entail reciprocal obligations. As noted above, hospitality should be extended to all members of one's *doodem* even if they are of another nation. A story told by Maggie Wilson (1932-6: #40:20-2, SINAA) of Emo, Ontario, suggests that hospitality between members of the same *doodem* extended beyond the sharing of food to the provision of clothing. A young woman had been wandering about in the woods for about a month when she came upon a village. She was afraid to enter it, however, "because she got shy because she was all ragged and her hair never combed." A young hunter dreamt of a young woman watching the village. Thinking it meant there was a bear there, he went to the spot shown in his dream and found the young woman. He then asked his sister to help clothe her. The sister gave her some cloth, a needle and some thread with which she began to sew. Then, "the young man and his sister came and other women which had the same *dodem* as her and gave her some things."

The hospitality between members of the same *doodem* is virtually indistinguishable from the help of guardian spirits when the exchange is between the living and the dead. For example, John Tanner (1975 [1830]:108) relates an incident in which he camped at a place where two brothers "who bore the same totem" as himself had killed each other. During the night, these two appeared and spoke to him. Among other things, they told him:

"There, my brother," said the jebi, "is a horse which I give you to ride on your journey tomorrow; and as you pass here on your way home, you can call and leave the horse, and spend another night with us."

Tanner was unable to speak or move from the spot in terror of their appearance. At dawn, however, his fear subsided and he contemplated the rest of his journey:

...the frequent instances in which I had known the intimations of dreams verified, occasioned me to think seriously of the horse the jebi had given me. Accordingly, I went to the top of the hill, where I discovered tracks and other signs, and following a little distance, found a horse, which I knew belonged to the trader I was going to see.

Tanner's account confirmed the "superstitious fears" of his Native associates and subsequently neither they nor he ever returned to encamp at that spot. It is not clear, however, whether this avoidance was due merely to the appearance of the deceased, or rather to the fact that they had committed the heinous crime of killing each other. Which ever the case, Tanner's fear prevented him from reciprocating the generosity they extended to him.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries two transformational trends may be identified with regard to *doodemag*, although they may not apply universally. First, changes in residence patterns and group composition have facilitated a shift in the means of identification from the totemic system to that of the places of origin, particularly the names of communities. Alanson Skinner (1914:481) noticed this phenomenon among pre-reservation Plains Ojibway during the early years of the twentieth century. The transfer of functions from *doodem* to community location is evident in contemporary social customs. For example, when Anishnaabek meet each other for the first time, they generally ask each other "Where are you from?" in the same manner as a Euro-American might ask "What do you do?" The purpose of this inquiry is to determine who the person is related to, if there are any mutual relations and if not who they might know in common. As well, as Zeek Cywink has frequently reminded me, character traits may often be determined by a person's place of origin.

The second trend is an increasing tendency to attribute spiritual powers to *doodemag*. These powers resemble those of guardian spirits but are more general than

the specific powers bestowed by the latter. Diana Whiteduck (informal interview, Jan. 13, 1999), an Algonkin from North Bay, Ont., explained to me her relationship with her *doodem* the Bear. She first became aware of her *doodem* about twenty years ago at a time when she had resigned herself to living a Euro-American way of life. At that time she experienced disturbing dreams in which fierce animals would chase and harass her. As she escaped their attacks an animal would appear to her and tell her, "You have to come back to who you are." Since she has been following this advice those frightening dreams have been replaced by ones in which she receives guidance from ancestral, animal and other spirits. "To me," she says, "the *doodem* and the guardian spirit are one and the same. To me that's the ancestors. These ancestors guide one in dreams." She says that her *doodem* "has always been there," guiding her to know "what's right for me regardless of the teachings that I hear." As well, her *doodem* protects her from harm. For example, she said that when she first came to the city she was not accustomed to crossing streets. Her *doodem* would stop her from crossing if a car was coming. She did not know the particular identity of her *doodem*, however, until a series of dreams, events and elder's interpretations made it clear.

In Diana's experience, the *doodem* serves the dual purpose of spiritual guidance and social identity. The merging of these two functions is made possible by the fact that ancestral spirits appear in dreams to offer spiritual guidance. Ancestors in the totemic line provide a link to their particular *doodem*. Diana relates that her mother and elder relations taught her that the Algonkin were formerly matrilineal. Her family held to that tradition while she was growing up. Unlike the Ojibway, Diana points out, the Algonkin lived among the matrilineal Mohawks for many generations. Speck (1929:101,107) notes that in 1645 the Algonkin and Montagnais nations made peace with the Mohawks at

Three Rivers. This alliance facilitated the formation of the French mission at the Lake of Two Mountains (now Oka) in 1720, where Mohawks and Algonkins lived peacefully in adjoining villages. Diana's ancestors were among those Algonkins who, during the nineteenth century, discontinued their seasonal residence at Lake of Two Mountains and instead remained permanently near their winter hunting territories along the Ottawa, Mattawa and Gatineau rivers. They never signed treaties, however, and therefore have never come under the patriarchal influence of the Canadian Indian Act. This may explain why they retained matrilineal traditions stemming from at least as early as the Algonkin/Mohawk alliance, while the Algonkin data Speck collected from the Indian Agent at Maniwaki, PQ, in 1927 consists solely of the male heads of families in the area. Whatever the explanation for this inconsistency, Diana is certain that, in her family, spiritual powers descend through the female line.

Spiritual powers may also be passed through the totemic line among the Ojibway. For example, John Paul was a medicine person who lived at Birch Island before his death in 1976. Although I never met John Paul, I frequently heard about him because he was a relation of Zeek Cywink. As well, my friend, Marilyn Johnson, served an apprenticeship under him about which she wrote her MA thesis. Johnson (1983:2) notes that John Paul "inherited his shamanic power from his father's lineage, his grandfather being Shawanasowe." It appears, however, that ancestral power transference can also be passed through the maternal line, particularly when a suitable candidate has European paternal ancestry. Such was the case with Marilyn:

When I was about five years old, my mother's grandfather died; I believe that I inherited his "power" or his spiritual energy at that time. My spiritual abilities were heightened after that event. In addition to soul traveling, spirits come from the Land of the Dead from the Western direction to "speak" to me; I "see" visions and interpret them into art - embroidery on fabric. (*ibid*:1)

This form of power transference is not directly related to the totemic system. For example, Shawanasowe achieved his legendary powers by acquiring guardian spirits through fasting. He has been immortalized at Birch Island through many stories of his healing powers⁶ and a public school dedicated to his name. He also encountered the artist Paul Kane, who painted his likeness and recorded a story about him (Kane 1996 [1858]:11-16).⁷ Zeek is a descendent of Shawanasowe's daughter but he does not claim their *doodem* because he holds strictly to the patrilineal law. Rather, he recalls that when he was a child certain ancestors, Shawanasowe among them, introduced him to their guardian spirits, who are the sources of their powers. The spiritual inheritance from his ancestors, therefore, was not something that could be passed from one person to another. Instead, it consisted of a set of spiritual relationships that required his active engagement to develop. With no teachers to assist him in his childhood, however, it took him many years to arrive at his present understanding. John Paul was at that time shunned in the Catholic community of Birch Island and children were expressly warned against visiting him.

I suggest that the experiential phenomenon of ancestral visitations and the transference of power relationships has facilitated an increase in the spiritual functions of *doodemag* in the years since residential schools and other factors forcibly removed puberty fasting from the habitual practice of the Anishnaabek. Specifically, spiritual aspects of *doodemag* were passive or latent when they were functioning as a cohesive social system. The contingencies of the present state of social disintegration, however, have necessitated *doodemag* to take an active spiritual role with regard to both community and individual concerns. Thus, as in Diana's case, ancestral dream visitors exhort their descendants to embrace their Anishnaabe traditions and identities. As well,

the spiritual aspect of social relations, which was formerly expressed in reciprocal obligations, has similarly increased in response to prolonged attacks on Native identity. For example, it is common for elders to recommend Naming Ceremonies as an integral part of the healing process. In such ceremonies elders or medicine persons bestow upon individuals their Anishnaabe names, their colors, and often even their *doodemag*. In this manner, individuals are spiritually empowered through receiving a place among their human and spiritual relations. Hence, Anishnaabe society may begin to be reformulated along traditional lines.

When the totemic system functioned as a cohesive social system, however, the link between *doodemag* and identity served a more practical function. In particular, Anishnaabek used totemic animals to identify individuals pictorially. Henry Schoolcraft (1977 [1851]:295) notes that chiefs and warriors drew pictures of their *doodemag* on personal property such as their weapons, lodges and “trophies.” Frank Ettawageshik (1999:24) mentions that totemic images “were carved on small posts, which were placed outside the doorways of our lodges or homes to indicate the ‘clan’ or family who lived in the residence. Smaller carvings were often placed in our homes or in medicine bundles.” The practice of depicting individuals’ *doodemag* on grave posts is widely reported (*ibid.*; Kohl 1985 [1860]:159; Ritzenthalers 1970:42). In this instance, the animal *doodem* was inverted to signify death. Upon encountering such a marker, travelers of the same *doodem* left food offerings for their departed relatives (Densmore 1979 [1929]:75-6; Jenness 1935:105).

Travelers might also encounter birch bark messages which, through an elaborate system of pictorial symbols, conveyed information about the circumstances of groups or individuals. One such message, for example, depicts two families traveling by canoe. The

fathers ride at the bow, their children of the same *doodem* ride in the middle, while the mothers of different *doodemag* steer at the stern {Plate 8; figure 1}. W.J. Hoffman (1982 [1888]:377) gives an example of a “love letter” drawn by a woman of the Bear *doodem* in which she requests her lover of the Mud Puppy *doodem* to visit her where she is camping with two friends. A more complex example tells the story of a group of Ojibway of various *doodemag* who camped at a certain location for two days where they were well supplied with food. When they saw a group of Sioux warriors up a nearby stream they departed by an alternate route. The Sioux are depicted in human form and with weapons in their hands {Plate 8; figure 2}. Similarly, Jonathan Carver (1974 [1778]:418) reports that his Ojibway guide drew a birch bark message on which he depicted himself as a deer and a Sioux as “a man dressed in skins.”

The intriguing thing about these pictorial representations is that the *doodemag* serve to identify individuals without reference to personal traits. With the exception of outsiders, such as Sioux and Europeans, they include no visual signs of the appearance of the persons to whom they refer. Both familiarity with a common repertoire of symbols and the help of contextual data are required to read these messages. Tanner (1975 [1830]:176) explains that people were familiar with the *doodemag* of all the members of their “tribe,” and “if on any record of this kind, the figure of a man appears without any designatory mark, it is immediately understood that he is a Sioux, or at least a stranger.”⁸ Furthermore, “in most instances... the figures of men are not used at all, merely the totem, or surname, being given.” Tanner (*ibid.*:175) further describes how he read such a message:

I found the mark of a rattlesnake with a knife, the handle touching the snake, and the point sticking into a bear, the head of the latter being down. Near the rattle snake was the mark of a beaver, one of its dugs, it being a female, touching the

snake. This was left for my information, and I learned from it, that Wa-me-gon-a-biew, whose totem was She-she-gwah, the rattlesnake, had killed a man whose totem was Muk-kwah, the bear. The murderer could be no other than Wa-me-gon-a-biew, as it was specified that he was the son of a woman whose totem was the beaver, and this I knew could be no other than Netnokwa. As there were but few of the bear totem in our band, I was confident the man killed was a young man called Ke-zha-zhoons; that he was dead and not wounded, was indicated by the drooping down of the head of the bear.

Tanner's explanation shows that individual identity was determined more by group affiliation, both with a particular *doodem* and through one's association with persons of different *doodemag*, than by any kind of personal characteristics.

Because clothing is so intimately associated with identity, and Anishnaabe identity is largely determined by group affiliation, it is not surprising that Anishnaabek depicted their *doodemag* on their garments. During the 1930s, Parry Island Ojibway told Jenness (1935:8) that formerly Anishnaabek represented totemic animals or birds on their clothing and painted their faces in designs representative of the *doodemag* for special occasions. During the mid-nineteenth century, Kohl (1985 [1860]:144) noted that the Ojibway had "picture-writing on their clothes, the leather side of their buffalo robes, or the blankets in which they wrap themselves." In contrast to the buffalo robes, which had pictorial narratives painted on them, "the blankets [were] usually only decorated with their totems, or special personal signs." Kohl notes that the figure of a bear or a bird, for example, may be sewn with blue thread in the selvedge of the blanket. In view of the confusion between *doodemag* and guardian spirits, it is difficult to know which of these were on the blankets observed by Kohl. It is certain, however, that at least some Anishnaabek wore totemic emblems on their clothing {Plate 24; figure 2}.

Ironically, one such man was the Methodist minister, the Rev. Peter Jones of New Credit, Ontario. Jones took the Eagle *doodem* from his maternal grandfather, Chief

Wabenose (or Wahbanosay) of the Burlington Bay area, because his father was a Loyalist of Welsh descent and therefore had no *doodem* (Smith 1987:5,7). Although typically Jones was a fervent advocate of the adoption of European styles of dress (*ibid.*:188), he owned a magnificent hand-tanned hide coat which was tailored with a European cut and decorated with Anishnaabe quillwork motifs. He wore this coat in the “earliest photograph of an American Indian” on record, which was taken in 1845 in Edinburgh (Fleming and Luskey 1992:15).⁹ The coat sports two quillwork renditions of the Eagle *doodem* design facing each other on the lapels, and two more hidden under the lapels {Plate 9; figure 1}. There can be no mistaking the origin of the motif because it matches exactly Wabenose’s “mark” on a treaty he signed in 1806 in which the Mississauga surrendered land on the northwest shore of Lake Ontario {Plate 9; figure 2}. As well, by his own account, Jones (1970 [1861]:91) failed to acquire a guardian spirit despite all his puberty “fastings.” Nevertheless, Jones took pride in his ancestral heritage even after his conversion to Methodism and adoption of British life-ways.

As was the case with Peter Jones one hundred and fifty years ago, not all Native people today are powwow dancers or “traditionalists.” Nevertheless, they take pride in their Native heritage and want to wear clothing that bespeaks their Native identity. As well, there are an increasing variety of contexts in which Native people desire such distinctive dress. Cree fashion designer, Tracey Heese George (informal interview June 1st, 2000), for example, says that many of her female customers are Natives working in professional fields who are “looking for something to make a statement of who they are.” For example, she says that one of her best clients is a lawyer who was looking for professional-style garments that reflected her Plains cultural background. She was pleased when she discovered Tracey’s tailored jackets and dresses which are decorated

with various techniques and styles of Plains artistry {Plate 10; figures 1 and 2}. As with the pictorial message system described above, in inter-cultural contexts it is not necessary to wear full regalia that incorporates all the signs of personal and social identity. Rather, a “tasteful” statement of regional or national affiliation is sufficient.

Tracey designs only one-of-a-kind garments because she believes that one of the main attributes of Native fashion is that it signifies the identity of the wearer “just like a fingerprint” (taped interview Dec. 5th, 1999). As I have shown, however, the personal attributes from which this individualism derive are often conceived in terms of social affiliations with human and spiritual relations. Because *doodemag* today serve to identify both of these orders of social affiliations, totemic animal designs on clothing and accessories have been steadily gaining popularity over the past few decades as more Native people know their clans. This rapid development in the popularity of totemic animal designs may be traced in the experience of Anishnaabe artist, Anny Hubbard, who possesses extraordinary skill in the art of making birch bark cut-out patterns.¹⁰ Anny (taped interview Dec. 14th, 1999) explained that the demand for totemic animal motifs has increased in direct proportion to the increase of spiritual and political awareness:

CS:¹¹ I want to ask you about design, because of course you are famous for your designs, and the ones you are doing in the cut-outs now are mostly the floral and the animal patterns. And you learned from your grandma, right? When she made the animal designs, what did she use them for?

AH: Quilts.¹² And sometimes in appliques... like a part of the dress for one of her girls. But it was usually kinda inconspicuous. Like really tiny, on a piece of ribbon. She would do a little row of rabbits or something. Subtle. Like there would be three ribbons on ruffles across the front of the dress, and one of them would have a little rabbit thing going on, or even a geometric pattern to it, you know.

CS: This was for everyday wear?

AH: No, this was for the good go-to-church dress.

CS: Yes, that's another topic I want to touch on. What other types of dress occasions were going on sort of simultaneous with the beginning of the powwow movement? Or even going back to the period of pageants...

AH: Well, one thing that was going on that you can't ignore, with dress, was the American Indian Movement. Because that's when the guys start to wear ribbon shirts a lot. And be proud of who they were a lot. Like, that was a real thing where a lot of marginalized Native kids really started coming into their own, and wearing these outfits, and... We were going to college classes, you know. (Laughter) It was a statement of who we were, and a force to be reckoned with. And we had to make a lot of our clothes anyways, so we used to make ribbon shirts for the guys, and ribbon blouses, you know little ribbon dress things for us. It was just somethin' we did.

CS: Before that, do you think that the older generation, they stuck with the regular Western [European/American] styles?

AH: Pretty much. You know, other than occasional... like if they had to be in the political line, or standing up for something, then they would sort of wear something from the traditional stuff that would sort of give them courage. And I suppose in that way they were also representing the people, so there was no mistaking what they were doing.

CS: Do you notice that the animal patterns are becoming more popular, or...

AH: Yes.

CS: Like, as compared with those earlier... like what type of designs did you use mostly on...

AH: There weren't any [animal designs applied on dress]. At first I can remember shirts with just ribbons. Maybe two colors, you know, you just did what you could. The first pieces of applique I remember were outlined in beads, that anybody did. And then they were done on the sewing when everybody got sewing machines. That's when the applique got really popular. Thank you Singer! Singer portable sewing machines. When they came out with the zig-zag stitching, we got... they got affordable. Like we could afford 'em, in the late 'seventies. That's when applique took off.

CS: And at that time, at the beginning there, was it a mix of floral, geometric and animal sorts of patterns?

AH: Yeah. It was a mix. And more and more people are knowing what clan they are, and as they know what clan they are they're more comfortable putting animals on their outfits. Like, people would be hesitant to put, like, a bear on their outfit if they didn't know what clan they were. And when they knew they were bear clan then they'd do that. So as people have grown spiritually it's

influenced what their outfits look like. {Plate 11; figures 1 and 2}

Totemic affiliations are not always represented by animal motifs, however. In my own experience as a beadwork instructor in the Toronto Native community I have found that *doodemag* are also associated with particular colors which people use on their regalia and other ceremonial items. For example, when Debbie McDonald (taped interview May 25th, 1995) gave a necklace she had made to an Ojibway elder she was surprised to learn that she had “coincidentally” chosen the elder’s clan colors. Jingle dress designer, Marie Eshkibok-Trudeau of Manitoulin Island, says that when she makes a dress for someone, the colors she chooses are determined by the person’s “Nation, Indian name and Clan.” She adds, “But the person has to know what their clan is or what their Indian name is for me to do this” (Ireland-Noganosh 1995:62).

Although *doodem* animals and colors are fairly common, I have only occasionally heard reference to abstract or geometric designs associated with *doodemag*. For example, when I recently met Pat Logan and her daughter of the Hochunk nation of Wisconsin, they were wearing diagonal-weave hair trailers with their traditional powwow outfits. The diagonal-weave stitch is extremely difficult to do. Until I met Pat and her daughter, I had only seen diagonal-weave in books¹³ and museum collections,¹⁴ but since then I have encountered several women who practice this art. Pat told me that her aunt made her trailer in their “clan colors” and a “family design” {Plate 11; figure 3}. Regrettably, I did not find out if Pat intended to differentiate between “clan” and “family.” Terri Joseph (1990:41), a member of the Mesquakie nation, similarly notes that ribbonwork “designs have family ownership which means that the designs are never copied or borrowed by someone outside that family.” Among Mesquakie at the turn of this century, unmarried women incorporated the designs of their mother’s *doodem* into their hair trailers, which

are of identical style to those of the Hochunk (Owen 1904:97). The girls' mothers' *doodemag* were not their own since the Mesquakie are patrilineal (*ibid.*:122; R. White 1991:17). This practice therefore emphasized women's role in the forging of lateral alliances. I have seen several examples of Ojibway diagonal weave necklaces and earrings, but unfortunately no information on the meanings of the designs accompanies them.¹⁵

As noted previously, there has been a shift towards identification by means of community location. Not surprisingly then, in recent years some communities have adopted certain colors, animal symbols and designs in their official logos. Dorothy Stewart, a Cree from Wemindji, Quebec, has often mentioned to me her community's colors of red, black and white. I have made earrings for her in those colors, she is presently making herself a ceremonial shirt in them, and her daughter has designed her dance regalia with them. To Dorothy's knowledge, the James Bay Cree did not have clans. She and her family, however, use the community colors in the same way as Anishnaabek would use those of their *doodemag*. When I asked Dorothy (informal interview Jan. 12, 1999) the origin of Wemindji's colors she said that when her cousin was asked to design a logo for the band council about ten years ago he chose red, black and white because of their particular significance to the Cree traditional way of life: red is a symbol of life; white represents the appearance of the moon and sun; and black stands for the color of the soil in the region. This may be interpreted to mean that the three colors symbolize the abundance of life that results from the union of earth and sky.

Wemindji's logo also features a goose in flight. Dorothy says that the goose is especially important to the Eastern James Bay Cree because the spring and fall goose hunts were always a time of great plenty and celebration. Dorothy explains that goose

feathers play a prominent role in Cree ceremonial life because the seasonal goose hunts represent the traditional way of life. In Wemindji today there are still families who follow the seasonal economic life-ways although there have been many changes, particularly in this century. Dorothy has fond memories of her mother curing beaver skins. She was taught that the wooden circle upon which they are stretched represents the interconnections between peoples:

And then the circle of it, first of all, we use circles. We loom beaver pelts on a loom and all the connections of this, all the nations connecting to each other, across the continent, around the world and so on and so forth, that's what they say. The circle of it is the continuation of life, so it goes on and on. (taped interview May 13, 1994)

Among Anishnaabek the beaver is likewise associated with interpersonal connections. When *doodemag* functioned primarily to maintain social bonds in human, environmental and spiritual realms, the beaver was but one among various *doodemag* that composed the Anishnaabe nation. The *doodemag* not only governed land usage and inheritance on a practical level, but also gave rise to the features of a landscape in which reciprocal relations among humans, animals and habitations were crucial to the continuation of life. As a principle for organizing society, the totemic system is seen to have been fundamentally egalitarian, but with a pronounced age hierarchy. Although it was a stable structure through which the generations passed, social status was nevertheless flexible due to the variable spiritual powers that individuals achieved through their own efforts. Moreover, because *doodemag* were exogamous, it provided a framework through which communities were linked through reciprocal obligations. The intersections between lineal descent, exogamous marriage and/or acquired spiritual power give rise to the motif of the cross, which has been an enduring element in Anishnaabe clothing design.

The egalitarian structure of the Anishnaabe social system contrasts markedly with the hierarchical ranks of the Europeans. The latter also attached significance to the figure of the cross, most specifically as a symbol of the Christian religions. As well, the technology of weaving lends itself to the intersections of vertical and horizontal lines. Thus, variations of plaids and checks were common elements of the design repertoires of European cultures. Although the Anishnaabek and Europeans shared a preference for the design motifs of crosses and grids, they attached different meanings to them. In particular, from the Anishnaabek point of view, the vertical axis represents generations through time and the horizontal axis signifies the links between vertical descent lines. In contrast, in the European behavioral environment, the vertical axis denotes an hierarchical scale of value, or social rank, among contiguous things or persons, while the horizontal axis merely demarcates difference between levels on the vertical axis.

The practice of depicting individuals by means of their *doodemag* when communicating various kinds of critical information also shows the strong sense of interconnectedness inherent in the Anishnaabe totemic system. Within this system, identity is defined not as much by personal name or appearance as it is by relations to others. When and where the Anishnaabe behavioral environment retains its integrity, kinship relationships and personal behavior are the most reliable means of identification because metamorphosis of appearance is always a latent potential. In contrast, Europeans of the early contact period deemed appearance as a reliable indicator of identity along lines of class, ethnicity, race, gender and occupation. This was possible because these categories were the key features of social identification and Europeans imbued them with innate character traits which fixed identity in an unchanging “natural” order. Kinship was an important factor in determining identity only in as much as it served to reveal the key

features listed above.¹⁶

When beaver pelts became a primary commodity in inter-cultural trading, they became integral to a complex system of exchanges between genders, nations and races. For Anishnaabek of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one of beavers' foremost values was in their potential to be converted into clothing, ornamentation and other items of trade. Cloth and trimmings, in particular, were increasingly in demand among Great Lakes nations. Because the actual sites of exchange took place almost exclusively on the North American continent, however, Anishnaabek were largely unaware of the processes by which these exchange goods came to be. At this point in history, most of us are similarly unenlightened concerning the social and technological processes of cloth production. We are so divorced from these processes, for example, that it may take a moment of reflection to realize that wool originates with sheep. As with beavers, sheep have certain characteristics that influence the manner in which their products must be harvested. Sheep are as fundamental to European identity, social structures and appearance as are beavers among Anishnaabek. Thus, sheep will be my first consideration as I turn attention to the roles and meanings of cloth and clothing among the British.

1. I interpret the author's use of the phrase, "comes into the totem of her husband," to mean, "comes into the community of her husband's totemic kin group." Anishnaabe women do not change *doodemag* upon marriage. The fact that they keep their own *doodemag* explains why marriage "creates a social network of relations."

2. Buffalohead 1983:242; Marston in Blair 1996 [1911] Vol.2:166-7; Perrot in Blair 1996 [1911]:69-70, Vol.1; Cameron in Masson 1960 [1889]:251-2, Vol.2; Grant in Masson 1960 [1889]:320, Vol.2; also Leacock 1981:*passim* for the Innu

3. For a detailed discussion of Medicine Wheel teachings see Silverstein (1993:173-86; 254-7).

4. In contrast, Grant McCracken (1982:57-9) demonstrates that the principle of sartorial hierarchy enacted in Elizabethan sumptuary laws was reflected in the use of vertical and horizontal lines in the textile designs of doublets and breeches.
5. This story also sheds light on the question of nationhood since, in this narrator's conception, all *doodemag* are linked through their common ancestor Nanabush.
6. For two of Zeek's stories about Shawanasowe see Silverstein and Cywink (2000:37-40). Radin (n/d(a):109-10, CMCA) also collected a story about Shawanasowe at Birch Island in 1913.
7. Kane's painting is in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM 912.1.6). It should be noted that Kane erroneously translates Shawanasowe as "Faces to the West." Realizing that *zhaawanong* means south, rather than west, and that "Shawana" (or Oshawana) is a popular Anishnaabe name, and component of names, I took the initiative to ask Lillian McGregor, Zeek's aunt (also descended from Shawanasowe) who speaks Anishnaabemowin, what the name means. She in turn asked a number of other fluent speakers and they collectively agreed the name derives from *zhaawanong* (south) and *bmose* (he or she walks). The translations they suggested were: "He Walks South," "He Who Walks South," or "Walking South."
8. The bark message shown by Schoolcraft, noted above, presents an interesting example. I speculate that the guides did not represent themselves by their *doodemag* in this instance because it was intended to be read across national boundaries, that is, by Sioux and Anishnaabek. In this context, their individual identities were incidental to the main import of the message, which gave the location and circumstances of the American treaty party whose mission concerned the negotiation of peace between the two Native nations.
9. For publication of this photograph see *ibid.* For photograph of the front and back of the coat, see Phillips (1987:74). For photographs of Rev. Peter Jones' son, Dr. P. Jones, wearing the coat when he sold it to the Smithsonian in 1898, see SINAA 498-a-1, 498-a-2, 498-b and 5314.
10. For discussions of this art form, and illustrations of traditional designs, see Densmore 1979 [1929]:88-90; Plates 84 and 85; Lienke 1976:*passim* and Howard 1980:*passim*.
11. In this and all subsequent quotes that are transcribed verbatim from taped interviews, I use initials to identify the speakers (mine being CS).
12. Lienke's (1976:5-7) consultants at Grand Portage in 1966 noted that cut-out patterns were used for designs on rugs, canoes, scrape-bark baskets, quillwork baskets, beadwork on moccasins, calico quilts, and blankets. Only four out of ten teenagers interviewed, however, "recognized the traditional patterns." All of the patterns in Lienke's study were floral motifs, with the exception of a maltese cross.

13. Brafford and Thom 1992:98-9; Henry 1993a:53,60; 1993b:34-41; Penney 1990:23-4; Schneider 1972:178-9; Teeple 1994:23; Walters 1989:49

14. For example, there are two similar diagonal-weave hair trailers at the Chicago Field Museum (CFM 155841 and CFM 155686). Both of these were collected by Milford Chandler in 1925 from members of the Potawatomi nation; one from Wisconsin and the other from Kansas. Each trailer is over seventy inches long.

15. Two diagonal weave necklaces at the Chicago Field Museum are attributed to the Chippewa (CFM 57419 and CFM 57420). They were collected in Northeastern Wisconsin around the turn of the twentieth century by members of the Ralph Renwick family. In the same collection are four diagonal weave pendants and a small pouch with diagonal weave tassels that match the colors and design of the pendants, also said to be Chippewa (CFM 57425 and CFM 57416). Peggy Sue Henry, who writes and distributes a popular beadwork instruction series, calls this stitch "Ojibwa side-stitch." Her books show a diagonal weave necklace and several pairs of earrings (Henry 1993a:53,60; 1993b:34-41).

16. The argument put forth is that among Anishnaabek kinship is a determining factor in identity, whereas among the British, kinship is merely an aid to discovering the determining factors of identity. An analogous situation may be seen in the difference between the Canadian and American laws regarding legal "Indian" status. In Canada, lineage is the determining factor (ie. whether one is or is not an "Indian" depends upon whether or not a member of one's lineage was legally "Indian"). In the United States, lineage in itself is not the decisive factor. Rather, it serves to provide evidence of blood quantum, which is the determining criteria (ie. evidence that one grandparent was an enrolled member of a given tribe proves that one has 1/4 blood quantum and affiliation with that tribe).

CHAPTER 4: BRITISH ECONOMIC NATIONALISM: SHEEP TAKE OVER THE LAND

The expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, in search of the Golden Fleece, was a woollen trade transaction, which Jason successfully accomplished when he brought back a quantity of the material for natives to work it. Henry III and Queen Elizabeth carried out similar undertakings when they invited the Flemish experts to settle in this country. But long before their days... it had been recognized that we possessed, growing on the backs of our native sheep, a veritable "golden fleece." (Garnier 1895:173)

Both sheep and the art of weaving first entered the British Isles around 2,500 BC with emigrants from the Mediterranean region.¹ The superior quality of British wool was noted by the Roman author, Dionysius Alexandrinus, who claimed it could be spun to the fineness of a spider's web. During their occupation of Britain (approximately 50 to 450 AD), the Romans established a weaving factory at Winchester. By the time the Roman rule collapsed, Britain had developed a widespread reputation for "high quality woollen garments" with which they traded for wines and olive oils from the Mediterranean during the ensuing centuries (Thomas 1986:58-9; Lipson 1949:54).

From the middle ages to the nineteenth century the woollen industry was the most important industry in Western Europe. In Britain, wool became a medium of exchange, a source of land taxation and the staple of the British export trade (Garnier 1895:174). Unfortunately for Britain, however, by the eleventh century Flanders had far surpassed them in the production of fine woollens and had therefore become the center of the textile industry (Strayer and Gatzke 1979:207, 285). Britain played a subordinate role by supplying the Flemish industry with raw wool. In the thirteenth century, Britain took measures to develop British woollen manufacturing by placing an embargo on the export

of raw wool. In the following century King Edward III (1327-1377) took a more aggressive approach. In 1337, he granted “franchises” to foreign textile workers provided that they took on British apprentices. As well, he forbade both the exportation of raw wool and the importation of woollen manufactures. Finally, he enacted laws that governed the materials and methods used in the woollen industry, as well as regulated the length, breadth and weight of the finished cloth. His strategies were crowned with success. By the end of the fourteenth century British exports of woollens had multiplied ninefold (Garnier 1895:178; Lipson 1949:55-6,149).

In the sixteenth century, the influx of gold from the Spanish colonies in North America stimulated increased production and exportation of woollen goods. Accordingly, Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) again encouraged the migration of Flemish textile workers to Britain. Fortunately for the British national interest, the Flemish textile workers were subject to religious persecution in their own country and many availed themselves of the prospects in England (Garnier 1895:177; Lipson 1949:55). With their newly acquired expertise, English proprietors readily accommodated the national plan by breeding more sheep and by establishing or improving their own woollen mills. Thus, cloth production and exportation again multiplied exponentially.

The increased production of wool and woollens required more sheep, which in turn, required more land for pasturage. One strategy proprietors used to acquire more land was to “reclaim the waste” (Dunlevy 1989:91; Heath 1893:72,76). British authors use the term “the waste” to refer to aspects of the landscape that did not receive their form directly through human agency.² It includes forests, swamps, uninhabitable mountains and even pasture lands. Before the centralization of royal authority, the waste formed the outer perimeter of settlements and constituted a neutral territory between

them. Noblemen jealously guarded their forests as their own exclusive hunting grounds. They considered hunting a sport and a noble prerogative. Thus, it came to be regarded as a characteristic of well-bred behavior (Senior 1980:95-7; Rolleston 1990 [1917]:262). In the middle of the twelfth century when the Norman King Henry II devised a centralized legal system, parts of the waste were held in trust by the crown “for future national wants” (Garnier 1895:7). Other parts were reserved for the “delight and pleasure” of the king, and those he authorized, to pursue the chase (Manwood [1598] in Cooper 2000).

Prior to the middle ages, the landed gentry derived a substantial portion of their incomes from the rents and produce they collected from their peasant tenants. This landlord/tenant relationship has frequently been considered a voluntary agreement between the two parties. At least as early as the fourteenth century, the idea arose that the peasantry made a “covenant” with the gentry in which the former exchanged their freedom for the military protection of the latter (Garnier 1898:13; Heath 1893:8). The conceptualization of this hierarchical relationship in terms of a “covenant” conveniently obscured the very concrete dependency the aristocracy had on the peasantry for the maintenance of their power. Yet, peasants had little choice in this “exchange.” They lacked sufficient means to acquire the costly armor and weapons needed to protect themselves from both foreigners and their supposed protectors.

Despite the lack of control over the land they worked, the “freedom for protection” relationship caused relatively little hardship for the British peasantry prior to the English crown’s promotion of the woollen industry (Heath 1893:62). It had been customary for every town to have a “commons” upon which all of its residents had a right to feed their cattle, sheep, horses, pigs and geese.³ In 1235, however, the Statute of Merlin established the right of Lords to occupy portions of the waste (Lipson 1949:130).

Legal precedent was thus established, and landowners proceeded to enclose portions of the communal lands with hedges so that peasants no longer had access to them. The process of the displacement of people by sheep intensified after the Inclosure Acts of 1710 and 1760, which permitted landlords to be compensated for the sale of their common lands, while those who formerly enjoyed the common rights to those lands received nothing (Heath 1893:63-4).⁴ Through this process of enclosures, multitudes of peasants were denied both pasture land and agricultural employment. An observer in 1450, for example, lamented that sixty-five towns within twelve miles of Warwick had been destroyed due to the influx of sheep (Heath 1893:62).

Some dispossessed and poor peasants moved to towns where they worked for wages in the constantly expanding textile mills. In the sixteenth century, for example, there were already “factories” where woollen clothiers or merchants employed upwards of two hundred workers under one roof (Cunnington and Lucas 1967:106; Lipson 1949:78). By the early eighteenth century woollen manufactures employed as many as 1,000 to 1,200 workers in a combination of factory and putting out systems (de Marly 1986:62-3; Lipson 1949:96).⁵ Hence, these socio-structural changes in the means of production were developing in the woollen industry for several hundred years prior to the mechanization of the cotton industry in the late eighteenth century. The latter phenomenon, and the “industrial revolution” with which it is commonly associated, merely added machinery to the precedent established by woollen manufacturers.

Deprived of the opportunity to produce their own food and wool, early eighteenth century urban factory laborers were suddenly thrust into a cash economy in which wages did not rise in equal measure to the price of food and clothing.⁶ Hence, the contemporaneous poet, William Cowper (in Whiting *et al* 1948:1068), complained that

merchants

...build their factories of blood, conducting trade
At the sword's point, and dyeing the white robe
Of innocent commercial justice red.

Similarly, although the piece workers yet retained their little cottages, they could not keep livestock, had but small “kitchen” gardens, and had no time to perform the laborious tasks of home-spun clothing production.⁷ Therefore, even the working poor could not make enough in wages or in home produce to support themselves and their families {Plate 12; figure 1}.

A few dispossessed peasants became “squatters” by erecting homesteads on the waste, which thereby established their legal title to the property (Heath 1893:76; Jefferies 1892:67-70). Many more, however, became homeless “vagrants” (Lipson 1949:123-5). During Elizabeth I's reign, these wandering “beggars” had become a national concern. In order to quell public criticism, the appropriation of lands was conceived in terms of an exchange of the peasants' land for the obligation to assist them in times of need. The latter portion of this “exchange” was fulfilled through a form of land taxation called “poor rates” (Garnier 1895:219-20). As Garnier (*ibid.*:272) observed, by the eighteenth century the “original bargain between employer and employee had dropped out of sight.” Peasants lost their cottages and invariably became dependent on the parishes for relief.⁸

The money collected through the “poor rates” was administered by the parishes. Elizabeth I's Act of 1601 stated that criminals and vagrants were to be punished, while “the able poor” and “the impotent poor” were to be helped. Because, however, many of the dispossessed people turned to thieving and alcoholism, it came about that the distinctions between these categories were blurred. Thus, the parish overseers' solution to the problem of “pauperism” was to erect “workhouses” in which all of these persons

were confined together.⁹ The law further required these “Fathers of the Poor” to find work for all who were able. Therefore priests and textile manufacturers alike advocated training spinsters to do piecework in their homes under the putting out system of labor (Davies 1977 [1795]: 83-4; Schneider 1989: 185).

The workhouses were constructed as “correctional” factories, the vast majority of which were related in some way to the textile industry. Hemp and flax production were particularly favored, but workhouses were also among the earliest producers of ready-made garments {Plate 12; figure 2}.¹⁰ Ironically, as Garnier (1895:180-1) pointed out in retrospect, the “new poor laws were full of schemes for setting the indigent to work; the new woollen laws were indirectly taking them off it.” During this period the insidious piece of sophist logic in which victims of poverty have their own laziness to blame for their misfortune gained ground and became pervasive.

Although conditions within these workhouses were highly variable depending on the means and philosophies of the individual parish administrators, certain practices were fairly common throughout the system. For example, “beggars” were often branded to emphasize their shame (Garnier 1895:216). For “paupers,” however, the same end was accomplished through cutting their hair short and compelling them to wear prison-like striped uniforms, as well as badges showing to which parish they belonged (*ibid*:250,284-5; de Marly 1986:97). More humanitarian overseers, however, conceptualized the workhouses more along the lines of “industrial schools” (Garnier 1895:237-8). At least one such workhouse utilized a system of rewards in which articles of clothing were given as prizes for certain numbers of hanks spun per day (Cunnington and Lucas 1967:109). The idea that such competitive incentives stimulated industriousness among the “indolent” poor became widely accepted during this period,

despite the fact that it was frequently members of the middle and upper classes that claimed the prizes (Schneider 1989:189,192).

Another consequence of the legal and economic changes in Britain was that, by the nineteenth century, under-privileged groups were pitted against each other in competition for the scarce resources available to them. This circumstance often led them to resort to governmental arbitration in their disputes. For example, during the seventeenth century when women began to work as seamstresses in the newly forming ready-made industry, tailors' guilds fought vehemently to prevent them from entering the trade. They proposed an Act of Parliament, for example, "to suppress women and others unlawfully practicing the trade or Occupation of a Taylor and Brokers selling clothes within the Kingdom of England" (Lemire 1994:61-3). Professional shirt-makers, almost invariably women, were well-established by the 1840s when tensions arose between them and the inmates of workhouses who were producing ready-made shirts at less-than-cost prices. The sympathies of the upper classes for the plight of shirt-makers had been heightened by the publication in 1843 of the poem, *The Song of the Shirt*, and a series of paintings it inspired (Wood 1976:126-8). Lobbying on the part of the Association for the Aid and Benefit of Dressmakers and Milliners and the Society for the Relief of the Distressed Needlewoman succeeded in 1850 in prohibiting workhouses from selling shirts (de Marly 1986:97-8). During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries groups of laborers also frequently lashed out at employers in strikes and violent revolts. Textile workers were among the first and most active in these initiatives (Lipson 1949:244-9).

While among the peasantry the influx of sheep resulted in dispossession, poverty and an adverse transformation of labor, equally profound changes were taking place among the upper classes. Frequently, it was the younger sons of the nobility who

superintended the large-scale textile manufacturing operations and who became the merchant “adventurers” responsible for marketing the textiles overseas. It was the normal practice in England for the younger sons of landed gentlemen and nobility to be “bred to trade without prejudice to their nobility” (Lipson 1949:114). As early as Anglo-Saxon times merchants who sailed the seas and back three times at their own expense were granted noble titles (*ibid.*:113). By the fifteenth century, many merchants and clothiers were as rich as the landed gentry, held positions in parliament and founded new noble families (Williams-Ellis and Fisher 1936:106).

The change of economic focus from raw materials derived from the land (raw wool) to finished products derived from labor (woollens) during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries brought about the increasing importance of the clothier in the economy. As well, the higher value of woollens over raw wool in the international market led to a corresponding rise in the position of the merchant. Furthermore, it can be seen that the functions of the clothiers and merchants were exactly the same as those Willis (1967 [1842]:20-1) described for the landed gentleman: “planning, arranging, inspecting and finding a proper market for the produce.” Like the landed gentry, the clothiers and merchants owned the raw materials and thus the “right of property in the goods” produced (Lipson 1949:92). In view of both the increased economic significance of the clothiers and merchants, and the fact that their controlling functions were identical to those of the landed gentry, it is therefore not surprising that they should enter the ranks of nobility. Thus, concurrent with Edward III’s program of economic nationalism in the fourteenth century, the new rank of “esquire” came into being in order to accommodate the shifting demography of economic power. Henceforth a graded gentry was established that was based on both title and specific categories of economic worth (Coss 1998:53).

These social transformations reflected a policy of economic nationalism whose underlying premise was that, in order for a nation to thrive, the value of its exports must exceed that of its imports. In theory this strategy ensures that the national wealth will accumulate within the country rather than being dissipated on foreign goods. Laws governing trade, however, are only one component of economic nationalism. Its success also depends on the extent to which members of a nation are motivated by patriotism to engage in commercial and consumer behaviors that promote the economic interests of the nation. With regard to commercial behavior, the above account intimates the success of the English crown's policies in stimulating the improvement and increase of the woollen textile industry. The English government, however, was never thoroughly successful in obtaining compliance with laws designed to protect British woollens. For example, smuggling English fleeces into France was such a lucrative business in the early eighteenth century that even members of royalty were guilty of the offense (de Marly 1986:52). Conversely, large quantities of Japanese and Chinese silks were smuggled into Britain during the same period (Brooke 1937:147).

With regard to consumer behavior, it was extremely difficult to promote the use of domestic textiles among the upper classes because exclusive access to foreign textiles was one of the signs by which members of the British aristocracy maintained their superior status. Such use of foreign textiles was already well established by the middle ages.¹¹ Edward III's government evidently realized that the customary sartorial distinctions between the upper and lower classes were not sufficient to demarcate the newly emerging complexity within the privileged ranks. They therefore enacted sumptuary legislation that not only transformed these ancient customs into law, but also clearly separated ranks within the nobility.

In 1337 Edward III enacted a sumptuary law that forbade anyone below the rank of knight to wear fur, excepting lamb and rabbit (Abbott 1994:7). In 1363, amendments to this law divided knights and ladies on the one hand, from squires, gentlemen and their wives and daughters on the other. Additionally, these broad divisions were subdivided according to annual income. Because high income was now the main measure of rank, these amendments enabled not only landed clothiers and merchants to enter the ranks of nobility, but also gave the same privilege to those who dwelt in the cities. Thus men in all professions that were customary for the younger sons of nobility, such as the military, the clergy, the law, and politics, also became eligible for noble status. The amendments of 1363 specified the exact types of furs, fabrics, decorative techniques and gems that were allowed and forbidden to members of each category and its subdivisions. The sartorial allowances for each category applied equally to the male title-holder as it did to his wives and daughters (Coss 1998:52-3).

By Queen Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603), these sumptuary laws were again found to be insufficient to demarcate lines between ranks, particularly those above the rank of knight. For example, Grant McCracken (1982:55) gives the following description of a 1597 English proclamation:

Only an Earl and those superior to this rank were permitted purple silk, and gold and silver tissued cloth. Only a Baron and those superior to this rank (i.e. an Earl and his superiors) were permitted gold and silver cloth, tincelled cloth, and silk or cloth mixed or embroidered with gold and silver. Only a Baron's son and those superior to him (i.e. Earl and Baron) were permitted *passemain* lace, or lace of gold, and/or silver, and/or silk. Only a Knight and those superior to him were permitted velvet in gowns, cloaks, or coats, or embroidery with silk or nethersocks of silk. Only a Knight's son and those superior to him were permitted velvet in jerkins, Hose or Doublets, or Satin, Damask, Taffeta or Grosgrain in gowns, cloaks or coats.

As McCracken points out (*ibid.*:55), this proclamation reflects a complex ranking system

which simultaneously establishes commonality and difference. The Knight and the Baron's son, for example, had in common the wearing of velvet cloaks. The Baron's son, however, could decorate his with gold lace, which the Knight could not. The Knight's son, however, could not wear one at all. The English aristocracy viewed this ranking system as part of a divine order which was represented by the "Great Chain of Being."¹²

The same monarchs, Edward III and Elizabeth I, who enacted new sartorial codes that corresponded to rank and class, also advanced aggressive policies of economic nationalism to develop and protect the woollen industry from foreign competition. This correspondence was not a mere coincidence of timing. Rather, the sumptuary legislation was a response to the rise of a capitalist class and to the increased wealth of both the upper and lower nobility. The laws attempted to acknowledge the monetary power of the former while at the same time protecting the hereditary prerogative of the latter to wear imported finery. Another intent of these laws was to limit the use of foreign textiles. To achieve this end, the sartorial codes denied imported textiles to the mass of the population, thus putting the burden of trade control on them. There is little evidence, however, that the population actually complied with the sumptuary laws. They were eventually abandoned. Perhaps realizing the futility of attempts to control the consumption of foreign textiles among the living, the English crown subsequently turned its attention to the dead. Thus, from 1678 to 1814, an act forbade members of all classes to be buried in "any shirt, shift, sheet or shroud... made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or in any stuff, or thing, other than what is made of sheep's wool only" (Cunnington and Cunnington 1992 [1951]:55).

Despite the limited effectiveness of laws governing domestic consumption of textiles, English woollen exports dominated the international woollen market for several

centuries. Besides the policies the British monarchs enacted to improve and increase production of woollens, the success of their woollen industry may be attributed in large part to their aggressive pursuit of exclusive markets. In the cases of Ireland and Scotland, they achieved this objective by establishing political domination. In both of these instances, the British crown attempted to suppress ethnic styles of dress, but their efforts were met by sartorial resistance strategies.

Ireland became subject to the British crown in 1494 under Henry VII. His successor, Henry VIII, took aggressive measures to suppress Irish independence. After destroying Catholic monasteries, churches and relics, Henry VIII changed his title of “Lord of Ireland,” which was conferred on him by the papacy, to “King of Ireland” (ENC). Henry VIII then decreed that no one was to wear the Irish national colors of saffron or green, and that “no man or manchild [should] wear no [sic] mantle in the streets, but clothes or gowns shaped after the English fashion” (O’Kelly 1992:77,80). The banning of colors and styles that symbolized Irish nationalism was a policy that strove to eliminate cultural difference. The British adopted a similar policy in response to the Scottish uprising of Bonnie Prince Charlie almost two centuries later. The Highland resistors appeared on the battlefield in the plaids of their traditional warrior attire. Thus, in 1746, the British representative in Glasgow banned the wearing of “tartans, plaids, trews, little kilts, shoulder belts, and any greatcoats in tartan or partly-coloured plaid stuff,”¹³ as well as weapons and bagpipes (de Marly 1986:64; MacLean 1995:225). In both of these cases, the British suppressed culturally distinct clothing in the hope of checking military resistance.

The ban on Scottish tartans, plaids and kilts was repealed in 1782 and, by the early part of the nineteenth century, kilts made of clan tartans had become one of the

foremost symbols of a Scottish nationalist movement (Chapman 1995:7-8; Maclean 1995:231-8). Ironically, although plaids can probably claim ancient usage in Scotland, the kilt was designed (or popularized) by an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, who owned an ironwork factory in Glengarry in the early eighteenth century. The reason for this innovation was his desire to adapt the free-flowing plaid of his Highland laborers to the demands of their industrial work in his factory. The association of tartans with particular clans is of even more recent and dubious origin. It developed in part through the agency of forged documents and opportunistic woollen manufacturers whose creative interventions first received authoritative recognition during King George IV of England's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. As master of ceremonies, Sir Walter Scott made clan tartan kilts the requisite attire for this occasion (Trevor-Roper 1983:21-2,29-31). The other main factor in the development of clan tartans was the English-sponsored Highland regiments who were explicitly exempt from the ban on tartans and were each assigned a distinct tartan as a uniform (*ibid.*25).

These facts, however, receded into obscurity rapidly in the ensuing decades and therefore in no way detracted from the power of the tartan as a national symbol. Today, few people would even think to question the antiquity of the Scottish traditions of clan tartans and kilts. Because economic independence facilitates political independence to a significant degree, their symbolic potency was likely augmented by the fact that Scotland claimed a pre-eminent position in the international market for tartans by at least as early as 1738 (de Marly 1986:63). Thus the perceived national style corresponded with the national economic interest (Maclean 1995:237).

During the same period as the ban on tartans in Scotland, aristocratic women in Ireland launched a program of resistance to foreign textiles. In 1730, the Irish textile

industry was floundering while Ireland was importing £100,000 worth of textiles, a great proportion of which were from England. In 1745, one Irish noblewoman patriotically wore an “Irish stuff” gown to her first court presentation at Dublin Castle. Soon, most Irish noblewomen were wearing Irish textiles in court, but the men held steadfastly to the foreign goods. Toward the end of the century, announcements for courtly events “frequently carried the request that Irish fabrics should be worn and, at times, ‘for the benefit of the manufacturers’ that the ladies should wear a new dress.” During the nineteenth century, wealthy Irish households in Dublin held masquerade balls in support of the Irish textile industry (Dunlevy 1989:94,119-20). Various “charity” balls with the same object persisted into the first quarter of the twentieth century (O’Kelly 1992:78-80). On the one hand, the majority of fabrics worn by the Irish aristocracy continued to be of foreign manufacture and conformed in every detail to English styles. On the other hand, these initiatives contributed to the persistence of a distinctly Irish national identity which subsequently blossomed into a cultural movement. Hence, following the Scottish example, in the late nineteenth century the Gaelic League in Ireland adopted a kilt and *brat* (a form of cloak) in saffron and green as their formal attire for gala occasions (*ibid*:80).

In countering the English policies, the oppressed Irish and Scots employed sartorial policies of their own, which included an unofficial version of economic nationalism and what I am calling “cultural nationalism.” The latter differs from economic nationalism in at least three ways, although either practice may be employed by both dominating and oppressed nations: 1) cultural nationalism expresses itself in specific styles of dress, whereas the sartorial emphasis of economic nationalism is on the origins and types of fabrics; 2) the object of cultural nationalism is expressly political

and cultural, whereas the goal of economic nationalism is to maximize the trade value and wealth-displaying potential of the types of fabrics produced and consumed; and 3) these differences in form and objective give rise to different uses of clothing. Economic nationalism requires consistent productive and consumer behavior over long periods of time which may or may not affect the style of dress. In contrast, cultural nationalism depends on the wearing of distinctive styles at strategically chosen public events. There is no necessity to wear these styles continuously because the strategy's power is in the appearance of difference rather than in substantial economic independence.

Although the ethnic and economic nationalist resistance strategies in Ireland and Scotland did not result in political and economic independence from England, they helped to maintain distinct national and cultural identity in the face of many and various pressures to assimilate into English society. In contrast, the American colonists employed a combination of cultural and economic nationalist resistance strategies that contributed substantially to their economic and political independence from Britain. As with Scotland and Ireland, woollens played a significant role in these developments.

In the seventeenth century, the British colonists along the eastern seaboard of North America were as eager to maintain class distinctions through dress as were their predecessors in England. They enacted sumptuary laws that regulated the types of fabrics and ornamentation that were allowable to men and women according to the annual income of the male head of the family (Holliday 1922:152-3). Many of the wealthy colonists whose income enabled them to wear foreign luxury goods had been clothiers in England. These men had established fulling mills, as well as spinning and weaving factories, in North America before the end of the seventeenth century (Earle 1993 [1898]:188). The British were alarmed at the "too great perfection" of the American

woollens. Hence, in 1699 they prohibited ships from carrying woollens from America to Britain (*ibid.*:191-2). This strategy effectively dampened the progress of the American woollen industry for a little over a century.

Meanwhile, however, there were no lack of sheep in the colonies and virtually every household produced its own homespun. The Americans realized that both political and economic independence were necessity if they were to obtain freedom from the British colonial economic policies. Hence, before, during and after the Revolutionary War, the colonists carried out an intensive program of economic nationalism in which the colonial government boycotted British goods, forbade the eating of mutton and lamb, and took an active role in organizing the production of homespun. These economic behaviors were effectively elevated to the status of patriotic heroism (Earle 1993 [1898]:189-91,247-8; Holliday 1922:155,160). Nevertheless, throughout this period up-to-date and extravagant “English fashions” continued to reign supreme among the upper classes in the major cities (Holliday 1922:167).

The American woollen industry received another boost in the period before, during and after the War of 1812. No small part of the tensions leading up to this conflict were inspired by the competition between the British and the Americans for the Great Lakes fur trade. Despite the fact that American troops had secured most of the fur trade posts in the disputed area by 1796 (Johnson 1919:107, NBL), they remained almost entirely dependent upon English woollen goods to supply their traders. For example, the American fur trader, William Burnett, ran a trading post at the mouth of the St. Joseph’s River in present day Michigan. Although he had a confirmed hatred of the British, in 1798 he ordered woollen and cotton goods that came from England through a firm in Montreal (Cunningham 1967:xi,87,89, NBL). The following year, the American

government placed a tax on all British goods that passed through Michilimackinac, Sault St. Marie and Grand Portage (Johnson 1919:112, NBL). Yet this measure did little to keep British traders out of the Great Lakes, raised the prices paid by American traders, and irritated all concerned.

Mutual grievances between the British and the Americans escalated during the ensuing decade. In 1807 the situation became critical when a party of American soldiers fired on a convoy of the (British) Mackinac company (Johnson 1919:113, NBL). The American government aggravated the conflict further when they excluded British woollens from importation by means of the Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 (Southwold 1955:2). These aggressive measures effectively cut off their supply of woollen goods for both the fur trade and domestic use. As Lord Sheffield (1814:305,313-4, NBL) observed from England, the Americans could not get enough woollens from any other country at that time, nor was their own manufacturing capacity likely to become sufficient to meet their needs soon enough. To reduce the shortages, the Americans took every opportunity available to advance their woollen industry. For example, when Napoleon gained control of Spain in 1808, American Ambassadors and Consuls in Spain, France and Portugal acted fast to secure well over 4,000 of the valuable Spanish Merino sheep, which had hitherto been barred from exportation (Southwold 1955:2).

The trade with Native peoples made up a significant proportion of the woollen consumption in the United States at that time. During the years 1795 to 1797, and again between 1802 to 1822, the Department of Indian Trade maintained a monopoly on the Native trade through the "factory system." It supplied all trade goods, disposed of all returns, held exclusive rights to trading posts (i.e. "factories"), and imposed strict

regulations on all fur traders within American jurisdiction (Johnson 1919:102-6, NBL). Before the embargos, this department purchased goods directly from England. The year the Embargo Act went into effect, however, the Superintendent of Indian Trade, General John Mason, supplied American manufacturers with samples of British woollens and cottons for them to imitate (NARA 1807-23, Mason to Waterman, Nov. 21, 1807). These efforts, however, were not satisfactory to their Native consumers. Ida Johnson (1919:126, NBL) remarks:

...the Indians had by this time developed a taste for certain kinds of merchandise which could be obtained in no other place except in New York and Montreal. These were Mackinac blankets and certain kinds of strouds and calicos [see Appendix], particular manufactures, made and imported only by persons engaged in the trade... [The Natives] had become excellent judges of the quality of articles which were imported to them, and readily ascertained the lowest prices for which they might be purchased. Articles of inferior quality were contemptuously called American; this was due to the fact that goods of that kind had been sold to them at the United States factories. Doubtless when they wished to purchase goods of the very best quality, they visited Michilimackinac.

Great Lakes Native customers were so partial towards British woollens that the Americans feared they would interpret the embargos as “an act of hostility towards the Indians.” Hence, in April of 1811, the War Department sent out a circular to all Indian Agents and other authorities directing them to explain to the chiefs that Britain had violated the rights of the Americans and that “as the White people have it is expected the Red people will, submit to an inconvenience which it is in the power of Great Britain to terminate” (Thwaites 1910b:338-9, NBL). Widespread Anishnaabe support of Britain in the War of 1812 suggests that they did not willingly submit to the inconvenience. Therefore, the Americans resumed importation of British woollens for the Native trade as soon as the embargo laws were suspended.

In 1817, American Fur Company (AFC) merchants in Montreal imported from

England 697 pieces of twenty-four different types of fabrics (AFC Records, NAC).¹⁴ By 1829, after the factory system had been abandoned, an AFC inventory from Mackinac Island shows that the Americans were still importing the British staple woollens, such as blankets, strouds, list cloths, scarlet cloth, cassimeres, molton and flannel (see Appendix). Approximately one half of the types of woollens in stock were inexpensive American imitations of British woollens of the coarsest varieties. The monetary value of the British imports, however, was far higher than that of the domestically produced woollens (*ibid.*). Carrie Lyford (n/d (a):7, NARA) notes that “the importation of English woollen cloth continued well into the 1830s and most of the broadcloth used in the early Indian costumes undoubtedly came from England” (see Appendix).

Neither did domestically produced woollens satisfy the sartorial needs of the growing middle classes of nineteenth century American consumers. Although the American breeders were improving their flocks, and manufacturers likewise their merchandise, few managed to produce woollens fine enough to overcome the buying public’s inherited bias in favor of foreign textiles (Bigelow 1869:7, NBL). Fortuitously for the national woollen interest, however, another stimulus to the woollen market arose to rapidly advance the industry. During the Civil War, the cotton supply was cut off from the north. This circumstance produced a greater demand for woollens. As well, woollen clothing was required for the troops of both sides. Thus, in the years between 1860 and 1868, the woollen industry increased by 150% while the population advanced by only 30%. At the close of the war the woollen industry was producing an excess which far exceeded the domestic demand. Although the woollen industry was temporarily depressed, several lasting benefits had been gained. First, whereas previous to the war the bulk of the domestic woollens had been “common goods of the coarser kind,” the

industry was now producing “almost every kind of woollen in use,” including those of the finest varieties. As well, 80% of these woollens were made of domestically grown wool and 75% of the total consumption of woollens in the United States was domestically produced (*ibid.*:5-11). This remarkably rapid growth in the industry permanently emancipated the United States from dependence upon British woollens.

The political and economic liberation of the United States from British domination was facilitated not only by government and military interventions, but also by an ideological campaign that turned “private consumer acts into public political statements” (Breen in Axtell 1992:128). The American patriotic consumerism that was established during the War of Independence gained a firm hold on the American public that has only recently been challenged by the rapid increase of Japanese imports during the present century. In this respect, American efforts to influence consumer behavior were much more successful than was the Irish attempt to promote the consumption of Irish textiles. Nevertheless, the Americans did not achieve economic independence from British woollen imports until they could produce fine woollens of sufficient quality and quantity to satisfy the demands of the middle and upper classes for fabrics suitable for status display. Although the domestic ownership, production, distribution and consumption of fine woollens increases national wealth, such independence does not ensure increased freedom or well-being in all classes. This short-coming of economic and cultural nationalism is even more apparent in places like Scotland, where the economic nationalist strategies were weak, and the gains of the cultural nationalist strategies were limited to the achievement of a distinct national identity.

England’s program to break up the kinship ties of the Highland clans after the uprising of Bonnie Prince Charlie undermined the reciprocal ties of loyalty between

chiefs and their clansmen, in some cases by forcibly evicting Jacobite lairds from their lands.¹⁵ Thus, by the time the ban on tartans was lifted in 1782, the new generation of lairds no longer felt any obligation to their fellow clansmen and dependents who farmed their estates. In order to recoup the losses they suffered under British persecution, or to maintain the extravagant urban lifestyle many had adopted after their displacement, they emulated the English by expanding their sheep pasturage.¹⁶ This policy was pursued by some of the same lairds who proudly sported clan tartan kilts.

A number of extraordinary cases of these “clearances” have been documented in which lairds forcibly removed from their homes hundreds or even thousands of Highland farmers {Plate 13; figure 1}. For example, in Strathnaver 1,600 people were told they had an hour to gather up their possessions before their homes would be set on fire (Newman 1989:131). In 1814 the Duke of Sutherland converted two large parishes into sheep farms. Within two days he had driven the cattle off the land by fire and burned down the farm houses (Huggett 1972:68). This particular Duke was an Englishman who married the heiress of the Sutherland estate. By the middle of the nineteenth century, his clansmen wore a military uniform that consisted of a clan tartan kilt and a short English red coat (Maclean 1995:24-1,230,267).

As in England, many of the dispossessed peasants moved to the towns to seek work in the new factories (Maclean 1995:230-1). Many others, however, emigrated to North America by choice or otherwise. A Mrs. M'Donell, for example, forcibly shipped most of her tenants to Canada. The old and infirm who stayed behind had their possessions and houses burned (de Marly 1986:84). In 1832, Catherine Parr Traill and her husband found that the “only vessel in the river bound for Canada was a passenger-ship, literally swarming with emigrants, chiefly of the lower class of Highlanders,” which

they took great pains to avoid (Parr Traill 1966 [1836]:13). One Scottish laird of the MacNab clan emigrated to Canada himself in 1823, taking all of his tenants and bond servants with him {Plate 13; figures 2 and 3} (Maclean 1995:229). In 1937, the travel writer, Katherine Hale (1937:120-1), met a descendent of this MacNab who told her that he “undertook a colonizing scheme” near Arnprior, Ontario, which included having his “henchmen” cut lumber which he sold at great profit. Every year, she reports, “The MacNab” traveled to Quebec “attired in full Highland costume, attended by a piper going before him and a retinue of henchmen following after,” in order to “meet his settlers arriving from Scotland.”

The most famous case, however, is that of the Selkirk Settlers. Through marriage, Lord Selkirk had acquired a controlling interest in the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and was therefore able to persuade the Company to grant him approximately forty-five million acres of land at Red River. The first group bound for Red River left Scotland in 1811 under the leadership of Selkirk’s agent, Miles Macdonnell, the Canadian-born brother of North West Company (NWC) partner, John Macdonnell (Morrison 1988:48). The project was so ill-planned, however, that the group had to winter at Fort York on Hudson’s Bay where no provisions could be procured. Hence, many of the Scots died of scurvy before they reached the site of the colony. When the remainder of the group arrived at Red River the following year, Miles “took possession of the land” and installed himself as the first governor of the Red River territory. Starvation and hardship continued for the Scots, however, because no arrangements had been made for food and shelter. As well, the hapless clearance victims were surrounded by the hostile inhabitants of Red River who they came to dispossess (Campbell 1959: 130-2; Newman 1989:132).

Such private acts of ambitious aristocrats were supported by public policies that

looked to emigration as a solution to social and economic problems. Writing in 1842, for example, Willis (1967 [1842]:17) notes that a contemporary study concluded that Britain could “conveniently spare every season no less than 50,000 or 60,000 of her inhabitants, retaining a sufficient number for every useful purpose, and with much advantage to those who remain behind.” Hence, it is evident that the British policies of economic nationalism that promoted the displacement of people by sheep were a major force behind some of the migrations from the British Isles to Anishnaabe territories, especially during the early nineteenth century. Little could Anishnaabek foresee that in this concrete sense the cloth they gained through trade in furs contributed to the ultimate displacement of their nation by dispossessed British.

Yet it must be remembered that it was the French, rather than the English, who first introduced the Anishnaabek to cloth. Whereas the French had been trading in the Great Lakes region since the seventeenth century, the British did not gain access to the area until 1763. As well, for another fifty years after that the primary British interest in this region was with the fur trade rather than settlement. Thus it was not until after the War of 1812 that the British began to settle the region north of the Great Lakes in significant numbers. Even then, most Anishnaabek living north of the lakes did not have occasion to observe the deleterious effects of capitalist woollen production. One exception was a group of Ojibway from “the north shore of Lake Huron” who visited England as a dance troupe during the 1840s {Plate 14; figures 1 and 2}. Their first stop was in Manchester where George Catlin acted as their host and manager. Catlin (1848:113) recorded some of their first impressions of the city:

...and they saw several persons in the streets who were quite drunk, and two or three lying down in the streets, like pigs; and they thought the people of Manchester loved much to drink liquor... They saw a great many large houses,

which it seemed as if nobody lived in. They saw a great many people in the streets, who appeared very poor, and looked as if they had nothing to eat. They had seen many thousands, and almost all looked so poor that they thought it would do no good for us to stay in Manchester.

I explained to them the extraordinary cause that had recently thrown so many thousands of poor people into the streets; that Manchester was one of the richest towns in the world; that the immense houses they had seen, and apparently shut up, were the great factories in which thousands of poor people worked, but were now stopped, and their working poor were running about the streets in vast numbers; that the immense crowd gathered around their hotel, from day to day, were of that class; that the wealthy people were very many, but that their dwellings were mostly a little out of town; and that their business men were principally shut up in their offices and factories, attending to their business whilst the idle people were running about the streets.

While in Manchester, the group visited several cotton mills and at least one woollen mill. The proprietor of the latter sent a carriage with four horses for them, gave them a tour of the mill and entertained them for breakfast. On parting, he presented each of them with “a magnificent blanket of various colours” (*ibid.*:118). According to Catlin, one cotton mill in particular made a profound impression on the group. They were “perfectly amazed,” and “in their conversation for weeks afterwards, admitted their bewildered astonishment at so wonderful a work of human invention.” Unfortunately, he did not record their precise words. Their amazement is not surprising, but the positive valuation he attributes to them may well reflect his own admiration of the mill’s “magnitude and ingenious construction” (*ibid.*:121). In any event, the fact that the mill proprietors treated these Anishnaabek as foreign dignitaries obscured from their view the generally indifferent attitude of the British government towards the Native peoples who were their military allies during the War of 1812,¹⁷ and whose interests they were legally bound to protect.

The exalted treatment these Anishnaabe received from English mill proprietors was due in part to the fact that the latter’s profits were greatly enhanced by the Great

Lakes cloth trade. Although economists and scholars have frequently ignored it, the contribution this market made to the English national economy was considerable (Axtell 1992:145). Yet, as the name “the fur trade” implies, textile exports did not comprise the major portion of the profit gained from this trade. In theory, merchants derived much more profit from the sale of furs in London than the cost of the export merchandise used to pay Natives for their furs.¹⁸ The price of beaver pelts in London, however, varied considerably from year to year and sometimes these fluxuations resulted in huge losses. In either event, however, England derived further profit through the re-exportation of domestically manufactured fine beaver hats (Anon 1811:15, NBL).

From the point of view of British policies of economic nationalism, the important point is that the profit or loss from the sale of beaver pelts in London devolved upon individuals or corporations, so it was imperative that the balance of payments¹⁹ remain as much as possible in England’s favor. This was the case with the HBC whose shareholders were almost all residents of England. The Great Lakes fur trade, however, was primarily controlled by Highland Scots who, by 1779 had consolidated their interests into the NWC.²⁰ Many of these Scottish fur trade proprietors had emigrated to North America between 1763 and 1775. These emigrations, which amounted to nearly 25,000 Scots, took place simultaneously with the English persecution of Jacobites in Scotland, and before the above-mentioned “clearances” occurred {Plate 13; figure 3}. It is not clear, however, that all of the Scots who emigrated at this time supported Prince Charles during the “rebellion” of 1745.²¹ Nevertheless, twenty out of a total of thirty-four NWC partners on the list of active voters for 1815 were members of clans that had supported the Jacobite cause, while only five partners on this list came from clans of Whig persuasion.²²

A number of men who later became the most prominent partners of the NWC originally emigrated to the estate of Sir William Johnson in New York state (Brown 1980:36-9). Heather Devine (1994:*passim*) has persuasively argued that the success of the NWC may be attributed in part to the association of many of its key agents and partners with Johnson, who was a highly successful proprietor of agricultural and fur trade businesses, as well as the British “Superintendent of the Northern Indians.” Simon McTavish and others, she suggests, were able to observe first-hand his strategies of Native diplomacy which included marriage to high-ranking Native women, gift-giving and “intercepting fur trade business by traveling into the interior via bateaux to supply the inland traders.” NWC agents, partners and employees adopted all of these methods. They took the latter strategy one step further by adopting a policy of establishing “wintering posts” within Native communities in the interior. In this manner, NWC partners and clerks could intercept Native fur producers who would otherwise have to carry their furs to competitors, such as the HBC, whose traders remained at their posts. Nevertheless, NWC traders were no less averse to the necessary “evils” of gift-giving and intermarriage than were the shareholders and factors of the HBC.

The fact that the proprietorship of the NWC was held by Scottish colonists directly conflicted with British policies which strove for political and economic domination of both Scotland and British North America. As long as the Scottish colonists retained control of the Great Lakes and northwest fur trade, their profits were accumulating in the colony and even returning to Scotland when proprietors chose to retire to their native country (Campbell 1959:61,97). As well, Montreal was booming with industries that supplied the trade, such as distilleries, silver-smithing and ready-made clothing (*ibid.*:107; White 1987a:172). This “usurpation” of fur trade profit by the

colony was particularly irksome to the HBC and its supporters in London because, while NWC profits were increasing annually, the HBC was rapidly sinking into debt (Campbell 1959:148,164; Umfreville 1954 [1790]:38-41). The antipathy between the two companies ultimately culminated in the bitter struggle between Lord Selkirk's mercenary army who fought on behalf of the HBC and the Metis at Red River who were backed by the NWC. I suspect that these tensions were also exacerbated by the Jacobite associations of the latter company.

Despite their mutual hatred, however, the shareholders of the HBC and the NWC partners shared the commercial philosophies and policies of their common British background. Ironically, as long as there was competition between the two companies, Native nations were able to maintain a significant degree of control over the manner in which trade was conducted among them. In particular, as noted in a previous chapter, Anishnaabe cultural conventions for both economic and social relations were based on the principles of reciprocity and alliance. The numerically weak French traders, and the eighteenth century independent British traders, found that they could not sustain the trade without adopting the forms through which these principles were expressed. It was therefore necessary for them to demonstrate the generosity that befit the material and social resources that they commanded. By the time the NWC was formed, there existed a protocol for trade relations in the Great Lakes region in which gift exchanges were essential. Yet, in less than one hundred years of commercial and political intercourse with the Great Lakes nations (1760-1850), the balance of power shifted almost imperceptibly until, with the signing of treaties, the British and Americans achieved almost complete control of the terms under which both political and economic relations were conducted. As will be seen, the transfer of clothing in the form of "presents" played

a significant role in undermining the control the Anishnaabek formerly exercised in the Great Lakes region.

1. Alternatively, Ewing (1984:9) states that a small black-faced breed of wild sheep were indigenous to the British Isles. If this were the case, the question remains of when they were first domesticated. In either case, there is no doubt of the extreme antiquity of woollen cloth production in the British Isles.

2. Dunlevy 1989:91; Garnier 1895:4,7-8,43-53; Heath 1893:72,76; Lipson 1949:6,9,14,121-3,130

3. Jeffries 1892:66; Garnier 1895:4; Heath 1893:62

4. "Enclosure" is a general term applied to the erection of hedges and fences for the purpose of enclosing portions of land. Beginning in the middle ages, dozens of minor enclosure laws were enacted under which lands were set aside as private property. "Inclosures," on the other hand, refer exclusively to enclosed lands that were secured through parliamentary permits under the Acts of the same name.

5. In the putting out system, proprietors dealt out materials which laborers worked on in their own homes. Cash salaries were paid according to the number of pieces completed. The proprietors owned the raw materials and therefore had the right-of-sale to the products.

6. Davies 1977 [1795]:25; Garnier 1895:266-8; Lipson 1949:84-5; Schneider 1989:205-6

7. de Marly 1986:66; Heath 1893:63-4; Lipson 1949:138. The detailed household accounts that Jeffries (1977 [1795]:6-30) collected from his rural parishioners in 1787 show that the combined incomes of husbands, wives and children barely sufficed to support the families' weekly expenses. These families were consequently forced to rely on charity to pay for annual expenses, such as fuel and clothing. The parishioners attributed this state of affairs to the rapidly rising cost of essentials. As well, Jeffries (*ibid.*35-6) notes that his parishioners had insufficient garden land which he attributed to the "engrossing farmers." Changes in property laws in the early eighteenth century enabled them to buy adjoining properties from small-scale farmers, sometimes as many as six or eight, destroy their farm houses, appropriate their gardens, and convert the whole into wheat fields. The wheat was then sold to the laborers (some of whom were the dispossessed farmers) for high prices. Garden plots were too small to grow potatoes or similar staple foods, so his parishioners mainly grew a variety of vegetables to supplement their summer diet. A similar process occurred in regions where farmers and landowners were expanding their sheep pasturage.

8. This sixteenth century “covenant” between landowners and laborers seems to be a reformulation of the “freedom for protection” exchange mentioned in the previous chapter. In the latter case, the data is too scanty to determine conclusively the extent to which peasants shared in the formation of the “covenant.” In the former case, however, it is clear that the peasants were neither consulted nor party to any kind of contract.

9. Persons convicted of theft, however, were hanged. As well, after the “law of settlement” in the latter half of the seventeenth century, vagrants and paupers were escorted back to the parish where they were last “settled” rather than being confined. In order for peasants to relocate outside the parish in which they were born, they had to obtain a certificate and fulfil other requirements designed to prevent potential paupers from becoming burdens on their new parishes (Garnier 1895:215, 248-50).

10. de Marly 1986:57,97; Garnier 1895:212-7,237-8,243-4,250,262; Schneider 1989:184

11. Jones and Jones 1989 [1949]:81; Rolleston 1990 [1917]:157-8.284-5; Brondsted 1960:131-2

12. McCracken 1982:56; de Marly 1986:72; also see Jaenen 1980:66-7 for analysis of the “Great Chain of Being” doctrine.

13. Technically speaking, a “plaid” was a type of garment comprising a cloth sixteen feet long by five feet wide which was folded, wrapped around the waist and belted in such a way that one end was left free to be thrown over the shoulder (MacLean 1995:172). A “tartan” is a type of woven fabric that is made by using various colors of died-in-the-wool threads for both warp and weft to create a repeating pattern (see Appendix).

14. Ten out of the twenty-four types of fabrics were woollens, while the other fourteen were cottons and linens. Each piece of fabric contained between sixteen and forty-five yards. Woollen broadcloths averaged about twenty-one yards per piece, but narrower woollens, worsteds and cottons averaged about forty yards per piece. The total amount of imported fabrics was therefore between 11,152 and 31,365 yards.

15. Jacobites were supporters of Prince Charles’ claim to the Scottish crown.

16. de Marly 1986:84; Maclean 1995:228; Newman 1989:130-1

17. See Silverstein and Cywink (2000:42-56) for a detailed discussion for Anishnaabe/British relations during and after the War of 1812.

18. In the North American exchange, there was a much greater mark-up on certain items than on others. For example, whereas one 2 ½ point blanket worth \$4.05 exchanged for between two and seven beavers, one pound of vermilion worth \$1.40 exchanged for between two and sixteen beavers. This comparison is by no means precise due to the disparity of time and place between the figures for cost of merchandise and the

conversion of the value of goods into “made beaver” (former: AFC Inventory, 1821, Thwaites 1888:377-9, NBL; latter: English at Fort Pitt, 1761, O’Neil 1995:25-6; HBC Standard of Trade, prior to 1790, Umfreville 1954 [1790]:43; American independent trader, 1803, Burnett in Cunningham 1967:155, NBL). I suggest, however, that the comparison provides insight into the relative mark-up of goods. Traders evidently took full advantage of their observation that Natives valued goods for their aesthetic and cultural values rather than their market value (White 1994:370-1,376-8). As well, HBC traders gained further profit through the “over-plus” trade, which consisted of a clever manipulation of the conversion of other types of furs into their value as made beaver (Umfreville 1954 [1790]:43-5; Ray and Freeman 1978:93-5,124-9).

19. “Balance of payments” refers to all money transferred in or out of a nation, including the monetary profits made on the goods going either way. In an international economy, the location where these profits accumulate is related to but by no means entirely dependent upon the ratio of exports to imports - that is, the balance of trade - because payments include profits and services as well as the value of the goods.

20. An estimated 60% of men having importance in the Great Lakes fur trade between 1760 and 1800 were of Scottish descent (Brown 1980:36). By 1795, the NWC controlled eleven fourteenths of the fur trade in Canada, the HBC controlled only one fourteenth, and the other two fourteenths were in the hands of independent traders (White 1991:478).

21. For example, the Macdonnells of Glengarry, who came to Sir William Johnson’s estate in 1773 “in significant numbers,” had been divided in their allegiances during Prince Charles’ campaign (Brown 1980:36; Maclean 1995:204). Another group of emigrants, the Campbells, were generally against Prince Charles (*ibid.*:37; *ibid.*:207,209).

22. This list is found in Morrison (1988:34). I have ascertained the clan affiliations from the clan histories given in Zaczek (1998) and Maclean (1995). The remaining nine voters are of undetermined origin or their clan affiliations are not given in either Zaczek or Maclean.

CHAPTER 5: "PRESENTS" IN TRADE AND DIPLOMACY: CLOTHING AND THE SHIFTING BALANCE OF POWER

We stopped this morning at a little settlement on the Grand Manitoulin, whither the Indians come yearly to receive their "presents." A few soldiers are stationed here to keep order on these occasions. It is a significant fact that both here and at Mackinaw, the ground-rent paid by the British and United States governments to the original lords of the soil, goes under the name of a *present*, as if dependent on the mere good-will and pleasure of the tenants. (Louis Agassiz *et al* 1850:127-8, TMRL)

The French traders and diplomats who preceded the British to the Great Lakes region found that their success in the fur trade depended upon developing alliances with the Anishnaabek whose furs they desired. Being few in number, and largely dependent on the hospitality of their hosts, they had to adjust their behavior to Anishnaabe expectations and demands. A "middle ground" arose in which a "new set of common conventions" governed "suitable ways of acting" (White 1991:50,52). These common conventions were based primarily on the plot and roles of the Anishnaabe cultural script of "reciprocity," to which were grafted the new material culture and settings (fur trade posts) brought by the French. In certain instances elements from both cultures united to create new cultural forms through a process of minor modifications of this script in day-to-day interactions. Despite the degree of commonality in the middle ground, however, frequently these forms and behaviors did not reflect shared understandings.

Gift exchanges were one of the pivotal points in the enactment of the French/Anishnaabek "middle ground" cultural script. Their essential function, however, was to facilitate barter exchanges which could not take place without them. This feature is characteristic of the roles of objects in the Anishnaabe system which I call "reciprocity

commoditization,”¹ In this system, the value of gifts derives largely from their social worth in forging and maintaining relationships of alliance and kinship. Whereas most barter exchanges are dependent upon the social bonds established through preceding gift exchanges, the latter often functions independently of the former. Objects in both gift and barter exchanges are commodities because “exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing [is their] socially relevant feature” (Appadurai 1986:13). As well, gifts exchanged among humans function in a similar manner to the offerings and blessings exchanged between humans and spirits because the social realm of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment includes *manitook*. In both cases, gift giving increases the “control-power,” and hence the status, of the giver.²

In contrast, as proponents of economic nationalism, British traders and government officials during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generally defined “commodities” as objects with definite monetary values. This materialistic way of relating to objects, which is characteristic of the system I call “capitalist commoditization,” dominates many realms of contemporary North American society. In this system, gift-giving, barter exchanges and cash transactions often occur in different “commodity contexts” from each other and also serve different functions. In appropriate “commodity contexts,” gifts function to express the affection or respect of the giver for the receiver. In theory, they derive their value from this realm of sentimentality. In practice, gifts are also evaluated in terms of their monetary worth. This feature is often equated with the giver’s sentiment, even though *ideally* “it’s the thought that counts.” In contrast to expressions of emotion, objects in barter and cash exchanges function as vehicles of profit and loss which often cast the participants into competitive relationships. In commodity contexts appropriate to barter and cash exchanges, “the

thought” is unequivocally subordinate to “the bottom line” of monetary value.

“Capitalist commoditization” was fundamental to the “adventurer” cultural script in which British traders and diplomats conducted their relations with the Native nations of the Great Lakes. Their main motivation for initiating and maintaining relations with Anishnaabek was to derive profit from the “commodities” they exchanged. In general, they had no great affection or respect for their Native customers and allies, and they deemed the contexts of trade and diplomacy inappropriate to gift-giving. These British “adventurers” conceived of the value of gifts mainly in terms of their monetary worth and concluded that their expenditures outweighed their profits. As I shall demonstrate, however, they simultaneously capitalized on the social and symbolic values of gifts in their attempts to create and control hierarchies within Anishnaabe society.

The fundamental differences in the ways in which Anishnaabek and British traders and diplomats related to commodities made gift exchanges one of the most significant sites in which they negotiated the balance of power. During the course of this struggle, both British and Anishnaabek made seemingly small and gradual modifications in their enactment of the “middle ground” cultural script. Because a defining characteristic of the middle ground is “the inability of both sides to gain their ends through force,” gaining the co-operation of the other party depended largely upon persuasion. Since the Anishnaabe cultural script of “reciprocity” dominated the field of action in the middle ground, the British found that the most persuasive strategy was to appropriate elements of that script and imbue them with the meanings and values of the “adventurer” narrative. In this manner, they were able to impose the system of capitalist commoditization on their interactions with Anishnaabek. Eventually the “adventurer” cultural script came to dominate the field of social action.

Because the system of capitalist commoditization typically reduces the meaning of objects to their monetary value, it has often been seen in radical opposition to the altruistic principles thought to underlie economies which are based on reciprocity. Yet this portrayal of the differences is overly simplistic. For one thing, as noted above, barter exchanges exist within the Anishnaabe system of reciprocal exchange, just as certain forms of reciprocal gift giving occur within systems of capitalist commoditization. As well, barter and gift exchanges are both contexts in which commoditization take place. Hence, the question is not one of an essential opposition between a British "commodity economy" and an Anishnaabe "gift economy," but rather of the culturally variable relation between barter and gift exchanges in given "commodity contexts," as well as the culturally constructed motives and meanings attached to each form of exchange.

Arjun Appadurai (1986a:11-13) and Bruce White (1987b:229-31) have pointed out that reciprocal gift exchanges function to benefit self-interest to the same degree as do barter exchanges in a capitalist economy. Similarly, commenting on hospitality among the Native nations of the Great Lakes in the seventeenth century, Nicholas Perrot (in Blair 1996 [1911]:135) observed that although "such generosity may be astonishing, it must be admitted that ambition is more the motive for it than is charity." This is because social status and material security increase in proportion to generosity. It is questionable, however, whether the motive of "ambition" or "self-interest" may reasonably be attributed to all instances of generosity within systems of reciprocity commoditization. Rather, participants may be motivated by the desire to conform to culturally prescribed ideals of "goodness." As well, in many cases, people engage in acts of generosity strictly from habit because they have been trained to do so from early childhood. Moreover, in reciprocity commoditization self-interest and community interest very often coincide

because self-interest depends upon distribution of wealth rather than its accumulation. Hence, although reciprocal gift-giving may fulfil self-interest to the same degree as does capitalist barter, they differ in the following two respects: 1) self-interest is the explicit motive of capitalist commoditization in all cases, whereas in reciprocity commoditization it is not necessarily so; and 2) self-interest in capitalist commoditization frequently conflicts with community interest,³ whereas it rarely does so in reciprocity commoditization.

The fulfilment of self-interest in reciprocal gift exchanges among Anishnaabek may be seen with regard to the two forms of wealth, food and clothing, discussed in Chapter Two. Both of these forms of gift giving may be termed “generalized reciprocity” because they involve an outlay of wealth with no expectation of the immediate or equal return of wealth. On the one hand, as a matter of course everyone was expected to share food with those in need. This form of reciprocal gift giving served community interest by increasing everyone’s likelihood of assistance in times of famine. Distribution of food also raised the status of individual hunters regardless of their intent. For example, when John Tanner (1975 [1830]:230) killed a buffalo, he attempted to “avoid all ostentation” by not giving the customary feast. He adopted this strategy to avert the jealousy and malice of inexperienced buffalo hunters. In other words, because the behavior is embedded in habitual cultural practice, increased material security and social status are often incidental benefits of reciprocal food distribution. In the case of hunters, self-interested intent can occur when one makes a conscious choice to contradict this pattern or when one consciously utilizes the pattern to gain prestige.

On the other hand, civil and trading chiefs were expected not only to provide food but also to be generous with cloth and other items of trade value. Distribution of these

latter items was an indispensable means of securing esteem, status, influence and the support of followers. Because the value of leadership ability to community interest is not as easily quantified as that of providing food, the pursuit of chiefly status may be seen as governed more by individual ambition than is the pursuit of game animals. European traders and diplomats encouraged this potential for self-interested gift-giving by rewarding compliant leaders with gifts for redistribution, thereby capitalizing on their symbolic value, as noted above.

Despite the high potential of gift-giving for the conscious pursuit of self-interest in the contexts of trade and diplomacy, however, the possibility remains that any given individual's leadership abilities might coincide with the interests of his or her followers. It should also be born in mind that leadership, like all abilities and vocations, was a quality that *manitook* bestowed upon individuals during their puberty fasts. From the point of view of the aspiring leader therefore, conscious intent evolves around fulfilling the potential life-course foreseen in the puberty vision by utilizing the gifts bestowed therein. As well, even in cases of consciously self-interested motives, the system of reciprocity commoditization differs from capitalist commoditization because status attends the distribution of commodities rather than their accumulation, as noted above.

Reciprocity and capitalist commoditization also differ because in the former system gift, barter and cash exchanges generally entail a continuing relationship between the parties involved. For example, when John Long (1971 [1791]:55-6) met the Anishnaabe band at his intended wintering grounds for the first time, the chief "made [him] a present of skins, dried meat, fish and wild oats; a civility which [he] returned without delay and in a manner with which he seemed highly gratified." The chief, Kesconeek, then made a speech in which he expressed the happiness he and his band felt

that the Great Spirit had sent a trader among them. He told Long, "...we shall use our best endeavours to hunt and bring you wherewithal to satisfy you in furs, skins, and animal food." Whereas Long interpreted this speech as a ploy to elicit more presents, to which he complied, I suggest that he was overlooking Kesconeek's expectation of a reciprocal relationship throughout the trading season. Kesconeek probably interpreted Long's reciprocal gifts as assurance that his expectations would be fulfilled. The mutual assurances of the initial gift exchange were the prerequisite to the barter exchanges that would occur during the ensuing season.

In capitalist commoditization, however, objects frequently transfer ownership without the implication of forming a social bond beyond the immediate transaction. Historically, itinerant tradesmen traveled from community to community pedaling their wares on an item per item basis (de Marly 1986:62). These transactions were concluded when both parties were satisfied that the values of the trade were equal. Today, we regularly purchase objects from persons whom we have never seen before and do not expect ever to see again. It is even possible for gifts to be given devoid of social ties. This occurs, for example, in promotional advertising campaigns in which "free gifts" are offered through the mail. It is precisely because no social bonds are required between buyer and seller that manufacturers strive to inspire the loyalty of consumers to their companies and products, rather than to their sales representatives. This example also illustrates the relation of gifts to barter exchanges in capitalist commoditization. The "free gifts" essentially function as "bribes" which "buy" consumer purchases.

Among Anishnaabek, the social function of gift giving is still prominent in the customs pertaining to powwow outfits. For example, I recently enquired of Anny Hubbard (taped interview Dec. 14th, 1999), what she knew about the teaching that

dancers should make their own outfits:

AH: I don't know how that developed, because one of the things that I was taught was that first outfit you make you should make all by yourself. But I was also taught that it was OK... you should give things away if people admired them. And I was also taught you don't give away a gift. So what you naturally wind up with is an outfit that is mostly made by other people, because you give everything away. Which is what happens with almost everybody. But a lot of times it was a big effort to have that first outfit be something that was made almost entirely by that person. But it... some places are more strict about that than others. I don't think anybody was ever real strict about that in the Sault.

CS: Well, it's true what you say, in practice sharing is such a high value. Like most people I know, their outfits are sort of put together with different things that they've been given or traded or helped out with this part or that part. But none of these... it's a whole different thing when the issue of money comes into it, for example. Is there a sort of scale of good to bad, from making it yourself to trading, to selling.

AH: Oh yeah. If you've got an outfit and you just bought everything it's made up of, people really look down on that. And if your outfit is mostly things that you've been given, that's cool. And if you made your outfit, that's admired but it's also looked at as, "Is there anything I really really like?" I think there's some people you can almost see 'em lookin' and they're going "hmmm..." (Laughter)

An illustration of this latter form of gift exchange occurred between myself, Zeek and his Dad one day when we were visiting Birch Island. Shortly before we left Toronto, I presented Zeek with a ball cap. I had decorated the crown with a beaded rosette I made with a turtle design. He was wearing this hat when we met his dad at Birch Island. Within moments of meeting, Zeek noticed his Dad looking admiringly at his hat. Zeek promptly offered it to him, for which his Dad traded the ball cap off his own head. This latter hat had a printed logo saying "Iron Man Tournament - Golf - Hockey - Ball" on the crown. Anishnaabe customs are extremely variable and Zeek felt no compunction about giving away this gift. Although the trade was not of equal value from the point of view of money or labor, all parties were pleased because through it each of us was honored in our own way. Conversely, Zeek will sometimes admire something and boldly inform the

owner, "I'll have that." Along with some bantering and amusing stories, this strategy often results in his obtaining the item.

I have no doubt that this custom has been of long duration. Although British commentators rarely comprehended the behavior, they did report incidents in which Anishnaabek appeared to believe their admiration of a certain article was sufficient to entitle them to it. For example, Susanna Moodie (1989 [1852]:284) was often visited by the wife of the chief whose band customarily camped nearby. This woman sometimes brought Susanna baskets to trade. One time, the woman "led her all over the house" searching for a desirable item to exchange:

My patience was well nigh exhausted in following her from place to place, when, hanging upon a peg in my chamber, she espied a pair of trousers belonging to my husband's logging-suit. The riddle was solved. With a joyful cry she pointed to them, exclaiming, "Take basket - Give them!" It was with no small difficulty that I rescued the indispensables from her grasp.

Within contemporary Anishnaabe communities, participants often feel that their outfits (ie. regalia) are composite embodiments of their bonds with friends and relations. Historically, the transference of gifts from one person to the next embodied the social bond between the two parties. In the eighteenth century, for example, gifts of clothing from one community to others functioned in this manner on the occasion of the Feast of the Dead:

[The hosts] take from their guests the presents which they have made, and all their garments; and in exchange for these the visitors are given, by those who invited them, other articles of clothing which are more valuable. If the hosts have just returned [from the trading], these are shirts, coats, jackets, stockings, new blankets, or paints and vermilion, even though the guests have brought only old garments - perhaps greasy skins, or robes of beavers, wild-cats, bears and other animals. (Perrot in Blair 1996 [1911]:87, Vol.I)

In the contemporary powwow context, clothing exchanges are especially important in forging family bonds. Champion dancer and competition powwow judge,

Dawn Madahbee (taped interview, Aug. 2nd, 1999), expressed her opinion about the making of powwow outfit as follows:

DM: Oh, I never make outfits to sell. I make outfits when I think that there is somebody who really needs to dance, you can see that they need something for their outfit and maybe I'll help them with that. Usually family, cause I'm trying to encourage family to dance.

CS: I've often heard that people are supposed to make their own outfits or at least contribute to their own outfits.

DM: Oh, yeah, they should always work on their own, but like you can't just go to Walmart and buy one. It's important for people to do that. But most people are given a lot of their outfit. Because people maybe see some abilities in them, like dancing abilities, so people want to contribute. So most of the time that's where their outfits come from. But it is good for people to put some effort into their own outfits too, and they respect it more.

ZC [Zeek]: I've noticed a lot of family, you know, contributed when the kids started dancing. They all contributed a piece. Is that, like, an older tradition do you think or is that relatively new?

DM: Oh, I think that's always been the case - where family tries to help each other and in dancing and in contributing to their outfits. I think that that's really important.

The "women's traditional" powwow outfit of Violet McGregor (informal interview, Oct. 10th, 1999) illustrates how the reciprocal exchange of clothing serves to strengthen social bonds within and beyond the family. Violet told me that she "picked up the pieces [of her outfit] at different times." About five or six years ago she was in the process of finding buckskin to make a dress when she saw a buckskin dress at a yard sale at Wikwemikong. The lady was selling it because it had become too small and she was asking only \$50.00 for it. When Violet found out that it was made by a "dear friend" of hers who had passed on, she felt that "it was meant to be," and purchased the dress {Plate 15; figure 1}. Two years ago, her son-in-law gave her a bone breast plate to go with the dress. Another time, she made a jingle dress for her niece who, in exchange,

made her the pair of beaded leggings and bag she wears with her outfit. “That’s how we do it,” said Violet, “we help each other.” According to the same principle, Violet is not opposed to purchasing parts of her outfit, perhaps because she and her husband are traders on the powwow circuit. She had been looking for a wide, stiff leather belt with shiny buckles for a long time and had just recently found one at the booth of a fellow trader {Plate 15; figure 2}.

Clothing exchanges performed a similar function of social bonding with regard to alliances between Native nations. White (1982:63-4) notes two examples from the early nineteenth century in which Ojibwa warriors exchanged clothing with those of the Sioux as demonstrations of the newly founded peace between their nations. This practice shows the trust the two parties felt towards each other’s nation because clothing was the way in which warriors identified nationality at a distance. This may be seen in the practice noted above of depicting the Sioux in their characteristic dress on birch bark messages. In the event hostilities were to resume, Ojibwa and Sioux warriors who wore each other’s clothes placed themselves at great risk.

The lasting peace between the Anishnaabe and Sioux nations is strongly pronounced in the contemporary powwow movement. Sioux women, for example, have enthusiastically adopted the jingle dress which originated with the dream of an Anishnaabe woman and has now become a separate dance category throughout North America (King 1993:40).⁴ Conversely, the characteristic Sioux beaded yoke dress is one of the standard forms worn by dancers in the women’s traditional dance category. For example, Dawn Madahbee (taped interview, Aug.2nd, 1999) often dances in a “Sioux-style” dress that was made by a Sioux woman who was a friend of hers “who has passed on to the spirit world” {Plate 16; figures 1 and 2}.

In certain circumstances, the social function of generalized reciprocity moves beyond the forging and maintenance of social bonds to the binding of specific agreements in the manner of a contract. Formal requests for favors are always accompanied with the presentation of a gift. Accepting the present indicates a willingness to comply with the request. Conversely, refusing the present signifies that the request is denied. Today, tobacco is solely acceptable for this purpose, but formerly many objects were involved in such contractual exchanges. John Tanner (1975 [1830]:181-2) provides an example of how such contracts operated in the context of the fur trade. One year he arrived at a NWC trading post in the fall to find that his band had already accepted presents from the trader even though he would not give them any credit. Instead, they were only to receive provisions when they brought furs to barter. When members of Tanner's band offered him a share of these presents, he "not only refused to accept any such thing, but reproached the Indians for their pusillanimity in submitting to such terms." The band's acceptance of the trader's gifts entailed an obligation to hunt for him despite the absence of credit. Tanner's recourse was first to have his wife make clothes from moose hide, and then to receive credit from the HBC rival trader who arrived shortly thereafter.

Under this system of contracts, however, it was possible to negotiate the terms of the agreement while at the same time accepting the presents. For example, John Long (1971 [1791]:32-3) relates that Governor Hunter offered "the Indians" (probably Iroquois) "...cloaths [sic] and other things of which they were extremely fond" on behalf of Queen Anne (1702-14). He then told them that the Queen had not only generously given them clothes for their bodies, but wanted also to clothe their souls with the Gospel. When he finished his speech, the oldest chief arose and, speaking for all his nation,

...he thanked their good mother the Queen for the fine cloaths [sic] she had sent them; but that in regard to the ministers, they had already had some of them, who, instead of preaching the Gospel to them, taught them to drink to excess, to cheat and quarrel among themselves, and entreated the governor to take from them the preachers...

The chief demonstrated the band's willingness to enter into an alliance with England by accepting the Queen's presents. At the same time, however, he specified the terms in which this alliance was acceptable. Unfortunately, Long does not relate the Governor's response to this speech. In theory, however, if the English accepted the reciprocal presents they thereby showed their agreement to the chief's conditions.

It should be emphasized that the function of presents in binding contracts among Native nations stems from the particular way in which objects embody that which they signify. In this view, symbolism does not function to point beyond itself. Rather, as Susanne Langer (1957:67) suggests, "the idea remains bound up in the form that makes it conceivable." For example, when I asked Huron artist, Anne "Panther Woman" Marin (taped interview June 5th, 1999), if the fur she uses to make her "Eastern Woodlands katchina dolls" *represents* the animal from which it came, she replied emphatically, "It is that animal" {Plate 17; figure 1}. This understanding stems from customs in which clothing, or other objects, can stand for or embody a person. For example, in former times it was customary for an Anishnaabe widow to wrap the clothes of her late husband into a bundle and to care for it for a period of one year in the same manner as she would have him, had he lived {Plate 17; figure 2} (McKenney 1972 [1827]:240). The same custom pertained to deceased babies and children (Kohl 1985 [1860]:107-8). Because objects embody ideas, they exert an influence that corresponds to the idea they signify. For example, in 1806 Ojibwa chief, The Sweet (in Diedrich 1990:17), declined accompanying Zebulon Pike to a council in St. Louis where peace was to be negotiated

between the Sioux and Ojibwa, but he sent his pipe in his stead: "There is my calumet. I send it to my father, the great war chief. What does it signify that I should go see him? Will not my pipe answer the same purpose?"

In contrast, when an object becomes a commodity in the system of capitalist commodification, it signifies a monetary value that is altogether independent of itself. In fact, the whole point of a standard rate of exchange is to provide a symbolic realm that consists solely of the value of objects in order to facilitate their equal exchange with other objects. Because of the way in which British traders viewed objects as commodities, they tended to interpret the significance of presents in gift exchanges as "bribes" rather than as that which binds the contract. For confirmation of contracts, Europeans relied on "the word," and more particularly, the written word. This custom originated long before capitalist commoditization developed in Europe. For example, Celtic lords and warriors formalized agreements on the basis of their "word of honor" (Rolleston 1990 [1917]:24). Written legal documents became increasingly common in Britain during the middle ages. Hence, whereas for Anishnaabek speeches and gift exchanges formed a single unit, for Europeans, the two actions were distinctly separate in meaning, value and outcome.

The different ways in which Anishnaabek and Europeans related to objects were intimately associated with their different modes of exchange. The early history of the interaction of these groups reveals the specific ways in which Europeans changed the meanings of the Anishnaabe gift giving customs in which they were participants. The French understood the Native socio-economic system of reciprocity well enough to use it to their own advantage. For example, Nicholas Perrot (in Blair 1996 [1911]:249 Vol.1) was a trader who also acted on behalf of the French crown. He was effective in the latter

capacity because he followed the Native protocols for generous gift giving. By this means, he established strong social bonds with many of the Native nations then living in the Great Lakes region. He explained his costly policy to his superiors bluntly: "I gave them some presents, in order to induce them to obey me."

Perrot served France in 1684 when Monsieur de la Barre resolved to declare war on the Iroquois nations. De la Barre sent messengers with a tomahawk and presents to all the nations of the Great Lakes in order to persuade them to join him. Excepting the Hurons, however, all declined to accept the presents and tomahawk. He therefore asked Perrot to approach them with his proposal. Perrot accordingly set out with the tomahawk and presents to meet with the various nations. His record of the proceedings reveal how well he manipulated Native protocols to fulfil his mission:

I told them that they had always looked on me as their father, and that I was to march at the head of the Outaouas, who were doing quite right in following me. One of their chiefs then spoke, and declared to all the villages that it was their duty to take an interest in this war, and to go to it, since I was taking part in it. He declared that he and his family would not allow me to expose myself to danger unless they were there too, and he set out without making any preparations. He was followed by a hundred young men; all the rest would have accompanied him if there had been [enough] canoes. (*ibid.*:236-7)

Perrot again drew on his reciprocal relations with the Natives of the Great Lakes region when the French governor gave him "orders to go to take possession, in the name of the king, of all the country of the Outaouaks." When all the chiefs had assembled,

a stake was planted, and presents were made to them in behalf of his majesty. They were asked if they would acknowledge, as his subjects, the Onontio of the French, our sovereign and our king, who offered them his protection; and, if they had not yet decided [to do that], never to acknowledge any other monarch than him. All the chiefs replied, by reciprocal presents, that they held nothing dearer than the alliance with the French and the special regard of their great chief, who lived beyond that great lake the ocean... Sieur Perot [sic], at the same time causing the soil to be dug into three times, said to them: "I take possession of this country in the name of him whom we call our king; this land is his, and all these peoples who hear me are his subjects, whom he will protect as his own

children..." (La Potherie in Blair 1996 [1911]:343-7 Vol.1).

Perrot asserts (*ibid.*:178) that the French became the "masters" of the Natives by giving them presents of greater value than those the latter returned. It is dubious, however, that Native nations ever shared Perrot's intent in the foregoing negotiations. In fact, Perrot (*ibid.*:263,265) admits that the Natives "try to be masters over us," and that they "have become so haughty that it is necessary to treat them at present time with a sort of submissiveness." Perrot's example shows that whereas the middle ground may establish common codes for social action, the commonality does not necessarily extend to the realms of meaning and value.

When the British defeated the French in the early 1760s, and thereby took possession of the Great Lakes fur trade, they adopted a very different policy with regard to presents than did the French. The British believed they were giving away "for free" every present they exchanged outside the context of direct barter. Consequently, General Amherst ordered that Native peoples must "learn to hunt again and to trade for their merchandise" instead of receiving "presents." William Johnson, however, observed that one of the foremost causes of Pontiac's attack on Michilimackinac in 1763 was the failure of the British to give presents to the Great Lakes nations (Jacobs 1950:161,183-5). The recorded words and actions of Native leaders of the time suggest that he was correct, but not because they were "accustomed to French finery for their women" (*ibid.*:161) as the British thought.

For example, in 1761 Alexander Henry (1901 [1806]:45) met Ojibway chief Minnehwehna⁵ who several years later was one of the leaders in the attack on Michilimackinac. Minnehwehna told him that because the English had killed many of their warriors in the war with the French, the spirits of the dead could only be satisfied in

one of two ways: 1) by “spilling the blood of the nation by which they fell; or 2) by “covering the bodies of the dead,” which is done by “making presents.” Minnehwehna continued:

Englishman, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us, wherefore he and we are still at war; and, until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father, nor friend, among the white men, than the king of France.

According to Minnehwehna, far from vainly desiring “finery,” the purpose of the presents was to compensate for the loss of their dead and to initiate diplomatic negotiations that might lead to alliance.

Until the English king offered presents to the collected chiefs of the Anishnaabe nation, English individuals could not be considered friends. For example, Henry (1901 [1806]:57) met one sympathetic chief at Michilimackinac who had been taken captive by William Johnson who, nevertheless, had treated him well and released him with gifts of an English flag and medal. This chief's relatives at Mackinac shredded his flag and threatened to take his life “for his allegiance.” Johnson's gifts to his “prisoner” could not serve as an official overture towards the generality of Anishnaabek, to whom the English had made no such gifts. Despite the high degree of political autonomy chiefs generally enjoyed, this example shows that Anishnaabek sought to achieve national consensus in order to deal on a nation to nation basis with the English.

It was only after the lacrosse ruse at Michilimackinac in 1763 that the British government authorized William Johnson to treat with the Great Lakes Anishnaabek. Henry (*ibid.*:176) reports that in 1764 Johnson sent a messenger to the Great Lakes chiefs with a wampum belt inviting them to a feast at Fort Niagara and promising them presents through which they might “make peace with the English nation.” William Warren (1984

[1885]:218) notes that a year later the British still feared Native hostilities. Consequently the Anishnaabek at La Pointe were “destitute of a resident trader” and suffering for want of European goods. They designated Mamongazida, the war chief, to go to William Johnson to ask that he send a trader among them. Warren continues:

He is said to have been well received by their British father, who presented him with a broad wampum belt of peace, and gorget. The belt was composed of white and blue beads, denoting purity and the clear blue sky, and this act settled the foundation of a lasting good-will, and was the commencement of an active communication between the British and Ojibways of Lake Superior.

Yet, not all Anishnaabe chiefs so easily forgave the English for their breach of diplomatic protocol and miserly behavior at the outset. For example, a year or two later the English explorer, Jonathan Carver (1974 [1778]:96-8), met Minnehwehna who refused to shake his hand, saying, “The English are no good.” Carver soon learned that this chief “had sworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of [Michilimackinac’s] new possessors, as the territories on which the fort is built belonged to him.” The same evening about twenty young warriors came towards Carver’s tent dressed, painted and dancing “as they usually are when they go against their enemy.” Carver invited them into his tent where they continued their dance, striking their war clubs against the poles of his tent and stopping to glare in his face in an intimidating manner. As the dance came to an end, Carver offered them a “pipe of peace,” which they refused, and as his “last resource,” he “thought [he] would try what presents would do.” He offered them some “ribands and trinkets.” After a short consultation, they sat down and smoked the pipe with him. The next morning the women of the camp came to offer Carver some maple sugar, which he accepted and gave them “a few more ribands” in return (*ibid.*:279-82). When Carver returned to England, he learned that the chief had been murdered by a trader to whom he had told the foregoing story (1974 [1778]:99).

I suggest that Minnehwehna thought he retained ownership of the land when he gave the French permission to use its resources. From this point of view, the British stole the fort when they failed to treat with him, the possessor of the land. This possibility did not occur to Carver, who considered Minnehwehna's death as his just reward for his insolence. He was probably unaware that the French had established a precedent in which traders doubling as ambassadors exchanged gifts with Native nations in order to obtain permission to build forts (Perrot in Blair 1996 [1911]:227). Following this precedent, John Long (1971 [1791]:172-3) gave presents to some Oneida chiefs upon his arrival at their grounds in order to get permission to build a post. The chiefs, however, were not unanimous in accepting his proposal. Shortly thereafter, a messenger invited Long to a council in which he was told that many Oneidas believed he was "only come under pretense to get our lands from us." They compared him to William Johnson, "who asked for a spot of ground, or large bed, to lie on," but when his request was granted he "got possession of a great quantity of our hunting grounds." Because they "loved" Johnson, they were willing to forgive him for thus "dreaming" them out of their "natural rights," but since Long was a stranger, they would not allow him to stay.⁶

Certainly Long's reception among the Oneidas would have been much more hostile had he failed to request permission to stay among them through the presentation of gifts. Carver thought the dancing warriors had come "at the instigation of" Minnehwehna, but was told that their actions might have been intended as an honor to himself. Perhaps so, but their refusal of the pipe suggests otherwise. They accepted the pipe only after Carver presented them with gifts. He may have been spared the "honor" of the warriors' intimidations had he offered this material demonstration of alliance promptly upon arrival at their village. Instead, he shook hands, removed some distance to

set up his camp, and was falling asleep when the warriors arrived at his tent (Carver 1974 [1778]:96-7). His failure to produce presents left the Anishnaabek uncertain as to his intentions and served to reinforce Minnehwehna's negative evaluation of the English.

In the realm of official relations, William Johnson's diplomatic gift giving was the exception rather than the rule. British officials continued to discourage expenditures on presents because they believed that "it cost the government more to hold the territory than the fur trade yielded" (White 1991:476,486). Consequently, the British had a poor reputation in comparison with the French, to whom many bands of Anishnaabek remained attached. Anishnaabe storytellers in the middle of the nineteenth century still remembered the reluctance with which their ancestors resigned themselves to the defeat of the French king, and the resentment they felt towards the conquering English. Among other favorable attributes, they considered the French more generous than they did the English or Americans:

"Good that! the Frenchman began to give them presents, but not such presents as at the present time. The French presents were good and solid presents, wholesome food, fresh pork, stout knives, lasting guns, and good clothes..." (Old Aurora in Kohl 1985 [1860]:370-1).⁷

As Bruce White (1982:60-4,69-71) has demonstrated, patterns of gift giving among Anishnaabek were "basically a function of kinship," and gift giving "outside the bonds of kinship [were] structured in kinship terms." When English traders began to penetrate Anishnaabe territories, they found that French traders before them had established precedents in conformity to these patterns which they could not dispense with. Therefore, English traders had also to cultivate kinship relationships, actual or metaphoric. John Johnson of Sault St. Marie, for example, followed a well-established pattern when he married the daughter of Wabojeeg, a chief at La Pointe. Wabojeeg was

the son of Mamongazida, the chief who was sent to see William Johnson about a trader (Jameson 1990 [1838]:467-8).⁸ Sir William himself married the influential Iroquois Clan Mother, Molly Brant, who was a sister of Joseph Brant (Devine 1994:224). John Long (1971 [1791]:45) found that his proficiency in the Ojibway language facilitated his adoption into an Anishnaabe band, while Alexander Henry's life was saved by an Odawa chief who had dreamt of adopting him before they met (Schoolcraft 1977 [1851]:418).

Henry (1901 [1806]:61-3; Warren 1984 [1885]:220-1) also furthered his network of kinship alliances by cultivating a partnership with the French trader Michel Cadotte who was well established through his marriage to a prominent Ojibway woman. As noted in the previous chapter, this was a pattern that the traders who formed the NWC learned from William Johnson's example. They utilized the alliances they formed with French traders who remained integrated in Anishnaabe kinship networks to great advantage during the ensuing years. As Richard White (1991:477) observed, the British traders supplanted the French in the high ranking positions of the trade as agents in Montreal and Michilimackinac, while only "at the last link of the chain - the traders who carried goods into Indian villages - did the French traders remain dominant."

The ties formed with the established French/Anishnaabek trading alliance enabled even the high ranking NWC wintering partners to represent themselves as French to Anishnaabek among whom they wintered, and thus smooth the way to gaining their favor. For example, NWC partner, Duncan Cameron, states that he is a Highlander in one part of his journal, but in another part he reports that the Anishnaabek of Nipigon "never saw any one from the French until they saw me" (Cameron in Masson 1960 [1889]:247,280 Vol.2). In the areas north of the Great Lakes, the designation of NWC traders as French regardless of nationality also served to distinguish them from the HBC

traders, who were “the English” (*ibid* 19 Vol.1). Nevertheless, in order to gain support in England for their application for a company charter, NWC partners claimed that they “represent[ed] their residence in the Indian territory as boons to the Indians from His Majesty [the King of England]”(Anon 1811:16, NBL). This equivocation of national identity did not always work to the advantage of NWC partners, however. For example, during the conflict between Lord Selkirk (of the HBC) and the NWC partners over the settlement at Red River, HBC agents won the loyalties of Ojibway chief Peguis, and of John Tanner, by arguing that they were the “true” representatives of the British King (Peers 1994:91; Tanner 1975 [1830]:219).

When trading companies reached a certain level of influence, they represented themselves as if the company were a nation. For example, the HBC and NWC had flags marked with their insignia which they gave to chiefs who demonstrated especial devotion to the company. In bestowing one of these flags, NWC clerk Malhiot (in Masson 1960 [1889]:245) said, “Remember, the name of the Great Trader [referring to senior partner William MacGillivray] is on your flag. Everywhere you go, to any of these forts, you will be received with open arms, and he cannot give you a bigger mark of his friendship.”⁹ When the AFC failed to convince the American government to furnish presents to distribute to the Natives, the company had medals made of its own which were “close imitations” of the official American peace medals (Wheeler 1985:43).

In view of the ambiguous and fluctuating nature of the national alliances and identities of the fur traders themselves, it is difficult to cast their relations with Anishnaabek in terms of economic nationalism as outlined in the preceding chapter. In practice, the principles of capitalist commoditization were advanced by British and American individuals and corporations in pursuit of their own economic and status gains.

The fact remained, however, that no matter what nationality an individual trader said he was, nor through what manner he established himself in kinship networks, when in Anishnaabe territories he found that his behavior must conform to Anishnaabe expectations if he were to succeed, or even to remain alive in some instances.

Anishnaabek cast traders in the role of chiefs, with all the honor, obligations and limitations that accompanied that position, because of the material and human resources they commanded. Like a chief, a trader was required to demonstrate his worthiness through his willingness and ability to provide generously for his adherents. Anishnaabek deemed a trader “respectable” when he dealt generously with them. In contrast, those who were not generous acquired a reputation for being “pitiful,” that is, ““poor, miserable, without influence”” (Cameron in Masson 1960 [1889]:244 Vol.2; Malhiot in *ibid.*:231 Vol.1). Anishnaabek interpreted a trader’s failure to fulfil his chiefly obligation to distribute presents generously as a breach of contract and just cause to release them from their debts to him (White 1987b:236-8).

The requirement of generosity was in direct opposition to the principles of capitalist commoditization and economic nationalism that the traders had imported from the British Isles. Consequently, they sought to transform the terms on which trade was conducted, but had to do so from within the established framework of reciprocal relations among kin. As noted previously, the generosity expected of chiefs extended beyond food to the provision of clothing. In the early phases of the English participation in the fur trade, they were “pitifully” dependent on Anishnaabek with regard to food. Traders therefore made up for this deficiency of respectability with the generous distribution of clothing and alcohol. This latter, which White (1987b:235) suggests Anishnaabek regarded as a “quintessential kind of food,” was distributed mainly to chiefs

who subsequently re-distributed it to followers. Because cloth was the commodity in which traders had the most capital invested, their distribution of “free” clothing was even more selective. Most often it was limited to honored individuals in ceremonial contexts.

It was customary, for example, for traders to provide clothing for burials among Anishnaabek with whom they wintered. Traders’ accounts of deaths often emphasize the expense of presents or the loss of their expected returns of furs. For example, John Long (1971 [1791]:56) remarks that “one of the chiefs was also murdered, which reduced me to the necessity of giving several articles to bury with him; to complete the usual ceremony of their interment.” NWC partner, John Sayer (Birk:1989:46) noted in his journal:

“[Jan.27, 1805]...Tete Jaune’s Son expired after a long and painfull Malady of upwards of three Months. his Death costs me a Keg of Rum to content his [grieving] relatives. he was a most excellent Indian [and] desired his Father to pay his Debt [with me] and to be attentive to the White people... [Jan. 28]...at 10 AM the Dead Indian was buried. Covered him with a Flag and Shirt and gave a Small Keg [of] Rum and 1/4 lb. of Vermilion...

[Feb. 24]...this Morning the little Horn returned to his Hut. [I] gave him a Gallon of High Wine to bewail the Death of his Child and covered the Corpse with a small Blanket, pay NW [paid on NWC account].

Alexander Henry the Younger (in White 1987b:234) noted that when a chief’s nine year old daughter died her relatives “must have a keg of liquor to wash away the grief from their hearts, a fathom of Cloth to cover the body, and a 1/4 lb. of vermilion to paint the same.”¹⁰ It can be seen from Sayer’s and Henry’s accounts that the contribution of the traders consistently included liquor, cloth and paint. In one instance Sayer also donated a shirt as a mark of esteem due to the son of a chief and a valued customer of the company. Similarly, NWC trader, Daniel Harmon (1904 [c.1820]:146) gave a “chief’s clothing” to the relatives of a deceased chief in order to satisfy their desire that he arrive

in the other world with appropriate honor.

Young John McDonnell (in Masson 1960 [1889]:287) of the NWC, however, seems not to have been acquainted with the custom of giving clothing when the son of a chief died at Red River in 1794. The chief sent two men to the fort to get liquor to “cheer his spirits,” to which McDonnell complied. Two weeks later, however, the chief appeared at the fort and adopted McDonnell “in lieu of the son he had lately lost.”

McDonnell was surprised that

the man came to the fort without anything on his body but a single pair of shoes upon his feet; the rest of his body was as bare naked as when he was born, and he shivered like a leaf with cold; the man had come about two miles in this state, thro' the open plain.

The chief's “pitiful” appearance was probably an attempt to prompt McDonnell to produce the clothing that he failed to provide at the death of his son. Despite these signs, McDonnell remained conveniently ignorant of the chief's failed expectations.

It was not only on account of the chiefly status of the trader that he was expected to dress the dead. It was also because his fictive or actual kinship relationship with the deceased included him among those who perform this function. For example, Nicholas Perrot (in Blair 1996 [1912]:78-83 Vol.1) states that at the point of death, a person was “decked with all the ornaments owned by the family - I mean, among his kindred and his connections by marriage.” Other members of the community gave gifts to the family of the deceased, but did not provide the clothes in which he or she was to be buried. After the burial the family hosted a feast at which they gave presents to those who had given presents, but not to family members. Seen in this light, the above chief's adoption of McDonnell may also have been a failed attempt to elicit the generosity expected of a relative.

By social convention, Anishnaabek rarely used force or direct exposition in their attempts to influence the behavior of others. Rather, as the above chief's behavior demonstrates, their method was persuasion through symbolic actions. This method, however, left room for actual or feigned ignorance, misinterpretation and re-interpretation. NWC traders took full advantage of the latter possibility on the occasion of "clothing" the chiefs noted in a preceding chapter. This fur trade custom probably has its roots in similar ceremonial practices among Anishnaabek and between Native nations. Perrot (in Blair 1996 [1911]:134, Vol.I), for example, reports that exchanging clothes with visiting strangers was customarily an aspect of hospitality:

If he is clad in cloth garments, they take from [the visiting stranger] his clothing, and instead they give him furs, of their handsomest and most valued, to clothe him from head to foot.

When the guest was ready to leave, the host then "packs up his belongings, and gives him the best things that he has in his cabin - whether in peltries, trade-goods, or provisions." In this scenario, it was the visitor who received the new set of clothes. Most English traders, however, were adverse to trading their own clothes. By the turn of the nineteenth century, high ranking British traders in the Great Lakes region made a point of keeping and wearing their English style clothes, often with great inconvenience. For example, Daniel Harmon (1904 [c.1820]:96) was wearing a great coat, a poniard¹¹ and a pair of tall leather boots when his canoe overturned. Duncan Cameron traveled with two chests full of fine English clothing and table linens (Smith 1991:57).

Within the context of a formal contract initiating reciprocal relations, as discussed above, it was customary for the bestowal of chief's outfits to take place in the fall when a trader first met the bands with whom he was to trade during the winter. For example, after Kesconeek's speech, related above, John Long gave calico shirts and other

valuable presents to the eight chiefs who were in the band (Long 1971 [1791]:56). When Alexander Henry the Younger (in White 1987b:232) arrived at his wintering grounds in 1801, he assembled the local bands and gave to each of the chiefs scarlet laced coats, laced hats, red feathers, white linen shirts, leggings, breech cloths and flags. John Tanner (1975 [1830]:101-2) relates that Native bands assembled at the place where they were to meet the trader when "he was coming to his wintering grounds." When Tanner's family arrived, they first bartered for some provisions. Then Netnokwa took the trader the "accustomed present" of ten fine beaver skins, for which "she was in the habit of receiving every year a chief's dress and ornaments, and a ten gallon keg of spirits."

The presentation of the chief's outfits symbolized, among other things, both the traders' and the chiefs' abilities to ensure a steady supply of cloth and other provisions to the chiefs' followers. The chief maintained his status within his band by re-distributing the gifts given by the trader (Cameron in Masson 1960 [1889]:278 Vol.1). Some chiefs even gave away their chief's outfits to their followers after they left the trading post. This practice irritated the traders because they believed the chiefs must wear their coats in order to encourage loyalty to their company among the hunters (Smith 1991:48). In addition to the sign of rank the outfits were intended to display within Native societies, wearing the outfit was a clear sign of company affiliation because each company had their chief's outfits made in a distinctive manner. Consequently, the re-distribution of chief's outfits convinced the traders that chiefs did not respect the obligation entailed in the honor bestowed upon them and therefore giving chief's outfits in the fall was a poor investment.

Nevertheless, traders were constrained to continue the custom in order to prove their reliability as providers. The value of the presents the traders bestowed on chiefs at

the commencement of the season was one of the most important criterion upon which Natives determined the “respectability” of the traders (Cameron in Masson 1960 [1889]:243-4,273, Vol. 1; Malhiot *ibid*:231 Vol.2). At the height of competition between companies, for example, traders attempted to persuade Native bands that their competitors were “pitiful,” that is, unable to provide for them. By 1804, competition between the NWC, the HBC and the XYC¹² was so fierce that traders were compelled to give chief’s outfits to all good hunters in order to secure their furs (Cameron *ibid*:278).

In an attempt to curtail the expenditure of these “free” gifts, the NWC implemented a policy of postponing the bestowal of chief’s outfits to the spring. Only those hunters who brought in a good return were to receive them. In order to make this change without losing customers, however, NWC traders had to transform the way Native hunters viewed the function of gift exchanges. Specifically, chief’s outfits were henceforth presented as rewards for good returns. Duncan Cameron (in Masson 1960 [1889]:279-81 Vol.1) expounded his strategy in a persuasive speech he gave in 1803 near Lake Nipigon to an audience which included chiefs who normally traded with the HBC:

I told them I would look upon as chiefs or great men only such as were proud of their word, as it was beneath a great man to tell a lie or make a false promise, it was for this reason they never saw me guilty of not performing my promises. That I would be very happy to leave people [subordinate traders] with them if they all promised to be faithful to me, or at least pay their credits: that they would find that I knew better than the English [the HBC] how to reward those that behaved well, an evident proof of that was that I always got a larger share of the trade than any of the English who were alongside of me these fifteen winters...

In this speech, Cameron redefined the meaning of the gift exchange from a contract of alliance to a reward system. Most significantly, he accomplished this change by replacing gifts with words as the agency through which the fall contract was binding. In case these arguments lacked persuasion, however, he insinuated that anyone who did

not keep their word was not a chief or great man. Most of the chiefs promised to be “good” and bring him “every skin of [their] hunt.” It was no small victory to convince the Anishnaabek that words had such great weight, since even Cameron (*ibid.*:273) admitted that “an Indian is very little influenced by words unless those words are accompanied by something more substantial.” Accordingly, he distributed liquor to the chiefs. One “English Chief,” however, challenged Cameron’s generosity. This provoked Cameron to call him “a woman.” At this insult, the chief declared that he would pay his credit with Cameron, but that he also had credit with the HBC which he must pay. To this Cameron replied that “he now spoke like a Chief,” and “in that case I should use him like a Chief, and clothe him as such on my way out, next spring.”

Each trader was left to his own powers of persuasion to implement the new policy. Francois-Victor Malhiot (in Masson 1960 [1889]:242-7) was a French NWC clerk stationed at Lac du Flambeau, WI, the year after Cameron was at Nipigon (1804). Perhaps because he was French, he didn’t implement the policy at all. Rather, he presented the first chief who arrived at his post in the fall with his chief’s outfit right away, saying as he did so that he deserved the honor because he had always kept his word to the French in years past. A few weeks later, the Lac du Flambeau band were under the influence of liquor and threatening to pillage the NWC fort when Chief L’Outarde arrived and intervened to save the fort. Malhiot appears to have used this circumstance as an excuse to clothe L’Outarde and his companions immediately. In Malhiot’s presentation speech, he emphasized the special recognition extended to L’Outarde by his receiving the outfit in the fall:

My parent, the outfit I just put on you is sent from the Great Trader, it is by this outfit you will be distinguished as the favorite of your nation. The flag is a true mark of chieftdom of which you should be proud because we do not give these to

the first Savages [French: sauvages] who come. You must be what you are to have one, that is to say, love the French as you have and look after them, and make their packs [of fur]. My orders were to give you nothing this fall but to wait for spring until I knew you, but after all the good I have heard about you from the French, I did not hesitate for a moment to make you glorious...¹³

Traders of the NWC also used the presentation of chief's outfits to introduce a kind of ranking system within Anishnaabe society by giving to chiefs more or less components of the outfit according to the returns they made to the company. For example, L'Outarde received a chief's coat, two chief's shirts, a chief's plume, a chief's hat and a laced capot, as did two other chiefs. A lesser chief received only a chief's shirt and laced capot, while another chief received only the coat, the plume, the hat and one shirt. A month later, another chief received the full outfit and three others received only shirts (Malhiot in Thwaites 1910a:chart). Each chief also received an amount of liquor proportionate to his gift of clothing.

It is doubtful that this strategy made much impact on rank within Anishnaabe society in the early days of trade because, as noted above, chiefs tended to subsequently re-distribute the pieces of their outfits to their followers. But within one or two generations, it appears that most hunters who received chiefs' outfits chose to retain them. This came about because, in order to secure their furs against competitors, many young hunters were given coats regardless of their position in Anishnaabe society.¹⁴ As noted in Chapter Two, it was customary for young men to use ornamental dress to display their hunting prowess. I suggest that these youths soon realized that they received special treatment from traders and government officials when they wore their outfits. Instead of redistributing them, many young "chiefs" retained them as the only means through which their claim to superiority was recognized. The interference of the Europeans, however, did not create a neat and orderly ranking system as intended.

Rather, as William Warren (1984 [1885]:135) pointed out, the “indiscriminate” and “selfish” bestowal of honors worked to “disorganize, confuse, and break up the former simple but well-defined civil polity of these people.”

L’Outarde’s example illustrates another way in which the strategies of the traders did not achieve their desired ends. Malhiot’s speech, for example, did not appear to inspire the expected loyalty in L’Outarde. One month later, L’Outarde disappeared from Malhiot’s post and appeared at that of NWC partner, John Sayer, who was wintering on the Snake River about three hundred miles west of Lac du Flambeau. Sayer (in Birk 1989:36) noted that he “engaged him as [his] Hunter for the Winter, he being accounted the best of all the Indians of this Department.” Little did Sayer suspect that L’Outarde had already received a chief’s outfit from his fellow NWC trader, Malhiot. That year, both Sayer and Malhiot focused much of their attention on the movements of their XYC competitors, only to find that the two companies had merged over the course of the season. Their preoccupation, however, created an opportunity for L’Outarde to deal with both NWC traders without arousing the least suspicion.

L’Outarde departed after hunting deer for Sayer for two months, during which time he was repeatedly annoyed by Sayer’s lack of generosity with liquor (Sayer in Birk 1989:37-46). One month later, in February, L’Outarde reappeared at Malhiot’s fort where he received more credit (Thwaites 1910a:229, NBL). L’Outarde stayed at Lac du Flambeau for about a month trading with Malhiot. Three weeks later he arrived at Sayer’s accompanied by several other chiefs. These men “presented [Sayer with] ten Beavers and made a Demand of Rum which [he] refused without hesitation upbraiding them of Neglecting their Hunt and [not] paying their Debts.” At this reception, the men “hung their heads and made a grumbling reply not pleased with [his] reasoning” (Sayer in

Birk 1989:52). Not surprisingly, L'Outarde returned to Lac du Flambeau where he traded two loads of fresh meat for rum, as well as received rum and tobacco "gratis" (Thwaites 1910a:220, chart). According to company policy, late in April the economical Sayer (in Birk 1989:53-4) presented one chief's medal and "clothed" three chiefs, remarking that the hunters made a "pitiful hunt."¹⁵

L'Outarde's movements during this winter illustrate one way that competition between companies gave Native peoples an economic advantage.¹⁶ L'Outarde was able to double his credit and ensure a steady supply of liquor. It is questionable, however, whether this advantage was worth its cost in social disintegration. The fact that the great majority of transactions between L'Outarde and the two NWC traders involved liquor suggests that the regular acquisition of this substance was one of his primary motivations. Contemporaneous commentators demonstrated that the availability of liquor increased dramatically during periods of intense competition between companies (Anon 1811:9-10, NBL). An interesting historical legend attributed to True Blood (in Schwarz 1974:49-59) illustrates a Native perspective on the effects of alcohol on Native society. In this story, a trader refused to trade with a young Anishnaabe man unless he shared a glass of liquor with him. Having done so, the youth began to regard the trader as his "brother," which thereby facilitated his adoption of European clothing, as well as his participation in sordid scenes of debauchery transpiring among the Anishnaabek camped at the post. Liquor is thus cast as the agent through which Native customs are abandoned. Similarly, L'Outarde's quest for liquor, although successful in achieving his immediate goals, greatly reduced the integrity of the traditional system of reciprocity. This weakening of the reciprocal system from within Anishnaabe society ultimately helped to tip the balance of power towards the system of capitalist commoditization.

The details of L'Outarde's transactions with the traders show the process through which the system of reciprocity was weakened in this instance. The majority of his hunting appears to have been for deer to supply the forts with meat, rather than for beaver to trade. As noted above, generous distribution of food was a habitual cultural pattern within the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. Kesconeek's speech to Long noted above shows that this function continued to be performed entirely within the system of generalized reciprocity during the early stages of trade with the British. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, however, it was increasingly common for NWC traders to "hire" individual hunters for this purpose. This system cast the hunter's labor within the framework of capitalist commoditization. It is evident, however, that Sayer and L'Outarde held different understandings of this arrangement. Sayer consistently refers to L'Outarde as "My Hunter." L'Outarde, for his part, felt free to go where he received the best treatment. As well, Sayer viewed this sort of exchange as a barter for commodities, but L'Outarde expected that his exertions be rewarded to the extent of his desires. The failure of the two parties to meet each others' expectations led L'Outarde to break his contract with Sayer. This breach induced Sayer to use force to achieve his ends. For example, he sent his men out to Native camps to appropriate deer meat without providing liquor in exchange (Sayer in Birk 1989:48).

A far more common and significant threat to the system of reciprocity, however, occurred when there was no labor contract in place. In this instance, British traders cast the category of food within the system of capitalist commoditization. On the one hand, the exchange value of the food could be reduced by placing a monetary value on it. For example, Bruce White (1987b:236) recounts a scenario in which some Red River Natives presented NWC partner, Charles Chaboillez, with twenty pieces of dried meat and eight

sturgeons, for which he “paid” them eight pints of rum, and “gave them each two pints sans Dessein.” White observes that although the trade values of the food and rum were equal from the point of view of both the Natives’ conception of reciprocal exchange and Chaboillez’s total expenditure, the latter nevertheless conceptualized part of his expenditure as “free,” over and above the barter, or “true,” value of the food. On the other hand, the exchange value of food could be totally obliterated by treating the entire transaction as a gift exchange in which only the British goods had monetary value. Malhiot (in Masson 1960 [1889]:231 Vol.1), for example, noted that he gave a chief some rum “for nothing” because the latter customarily supplied the fort with sturgeon.” Simple logic dictates that the rum was for the sturgeon, not “for nothing.”

With the exception of William Johnson, as noted above, British government officials also consistently overlooked the concrete benefits they received in exchange for the “presents” they distributed during negotiations with Native peoples. For example, when the English sought to enlist Native peoples as allies in their wars, they reluctantly bestowed “presents” upon them to win their loyalty. Each chief who agreed to fight with the British received a chief’s outfit {Plate 18; figures 1 and 2}, as well as food and clothing to re-distribute to his followers. Whereas the British viewed such “presents” as “free” gifts, or “bribes,” Natives viewed them as deserving compensation for their services (Jacobs 1950:164-5). During the War of 1812, for example, the Ojibwa chief Blackbird¹⁷ pointed out that if they were not fighting for the British they could provide these things for themselves:

Brother, we do not know the value of money [being offered for prisoners]; all I wish is that our people receive clothing for [giving up] our prisoners. When at home we work and hunt to earn those things; here we cannot. Therefore we ask for clothing. (Schmalz 1991:115)

Whereas the British were operating under a barter system in which they offered a price per head for American prisoners, from the Anishnaabek point of view, the alliance entailed a mutual duty to oblige each other's needs. The request for clothing stemmed from the long established custom of European traders providing these materials. In fact, Tecumseh (in Sugden 1997:358-9) noted that the British explicitly promised to care for the families of the warriors while they were engaged in the war.

Most Anishnaabek living south and west of Lake Superior did not participate in the War of 1812. Many of these bands had not been represented by their chiefs at William Johnson's council at Niagara in 1764. In the ensuing years, they had become allied with the Americans who advised them to remain neutral. Therefore the British failed to enlist their services when they finally sought them as allies at the commencement of the war. Chief Keeshkemun of Lac du Flambeau (in Warren 1984 [1885]:373-4) explained their reasoning to the British agent, John Askin, when the latter summoned him to enlist:

Englishman! you wish to know who I am. You have never sought and found me. The old French sought and found me. He placed his heart within my breast. He told me that every morning I should look to the east and I would behold his fire, like the sun reflecting its rays towards me, to warm me and my children...

... you, Englishman, you have put out the fire of my French father. I became cold and needy, and you sought me not. Others have sought me. Yes, the Long Knife [American] has found me. He has placed his heart on my breast [referring to his chief's medal]. It has entered there, and there it will remain.

In other words, the French and the Americans approached Keeshkemun and, through the presentation of gifts, forged an alliance in which they promised to provide for him and his followers. Although British traders were predominant in the territories in question, the British government neither endowed them with the authority nor invested in the presents necessary for them to maintain the national alliance first established by William

Johnson. It therefore transpired that these Anishnaabek forged separate alliances with the American government and the trading companies. This arrangement was facilitated by the fact that, as noted above, the latter often represented themselves as French. As matters turned out, the southwestern Anishnaabek's decision to remain neutral proved fortunate.

After the war, the Anishnaabek who participated were bitterly disappointed by the betrayal of the British when, contrary to their promises, they surrendered Anishnaabe land to the Americans in the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 (Ocaita in Petrone 1991:42-6). This left the Anishnaabe allies of the British whose lands were south of the border in a very precarious position. Consequently, the British distributed presents to appease their resentment and retain their services in case of further conflict with the Americans.

Elizabeth Baird (1898:18, NBL), a resident of Mackinac Island during the early nineteenth century, witnessed these annual distributions (probably at St. Joseph's or Drummonds Island):

From the time of the War of 1812, the British government paid to all Indians who had fought for them, an annuity, which they called "presents;" and every year, all of these Indians, from north to south, east to west, would go to Canada to receive their "presents," which were really very fine. Each man and woman received handsome broadcloth, - blue, black and scarlet, with various colored ribbons to garnish it. Beads also were given to all, and silver ornaments. The chiefs alone wore hats, encircled by silver bands from one to two inches wide. There were armlets also of silver three or four inches wide, to wear on the arms above and below the elbow. Earrings and brooches for both sexes were among the "presents;" these were of solid silver.

Probably to discourage distant groups from making the voyage, for only those who attended received presents, the British moved their distribution post east to Penetanguishene in 1827 (Chute 1998:37,61). By 1837, however, the annuity presents were distributed at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island. That year Anna Jameson (1990

[1838]:497-8) observed the distribution and commented that the presents were so “trifling” that she was surprised that people would travel five or six hundred miles to receive them. Her detailed description of the presents includes cloth for all, but no silver, ribbons or beads.

I suggest that one reason why Anishnaabek valued the annuity payments enough to forego more profitable pursuits for a season each year was that the presents embodied the alliance between their nation and that of the British. It was customary among allied Native nations to attend councils periodically for the purpose of renewing bonds of friendship. For example, during the early nineteenth century the Three Fires Confederacy, which consisted of the Ojibway, the Odawa and the Potawatomi, sent delegates to councils which they held every two or three years at a central location. Thomas Forsyth (in Blair 1996 [1911]:190 Vol.2), an American Indian agent and fur trader, noted that “should there be any neglect to visit the council fire (by deputies or otherwise), to commemorate their alliances, it is considered as trifling with their allies.” He notes that in 1806 or 1807 the Ojibway and Odawa chiefs sent word to the Potawatomi chiefs reminding them that they had not sent deputies for many years and if they failed to do so at the upcoming council “their part of the council fire would be extinguished.”

Seen from this perspective, it is possible that Anishnaabek interpreted the British requirement that everyone attend as an expression of their closeness with each of their allies and their families. This was far from the case, however. At best, the British viewed the annuities as a means to “pacify the Indians,” as they still feared further uprisings. For example, John Howinson (in Schmalz 1991:117) wrote in 1821 that “Indians” were “feeble and useless allies, but dangerous enemies.”

Throughout the period during which annuities were distributed, the British attempted to finance them through the sale of lands gained in treaties. Only one fifth of the cost could be raised in this manner, however, because most of the money was embezzled by the government agents. The other four fifths were considered a “gratuitous waste” (Schmalz 1991:148,168). In 1850, the British House of Commons refused to contribute to the annuities because they were too expensive. The full cost then fell upon the colonial government in Canada whose officials resented the special treatment the presents represented (Chute 1989:146-7). By 1852, the annual cost had been reduced by one quarter the value of previous years. They continued to be diminished until they were finally discontinued in 1857. The Canadian government justified the cessation of the presents with the assertion that they encouraged the nomadic life-style that they were trying to extinguish (*ibid.*:146; Schmalz 1991:167-8). As well, the goods included in these annuities continued to be fur trade merchandise from which Anishnaabek manufactured their own particular styles. By the mid-nineteenth century, attempts to “civilize the Indians” increasingly pressed towards their adoption of European styles.

In the few decades from the close of the War of 1812 to the cessation of annuities in 1857, the system of capitalist commoditization began to dominate the role of presents in diplomatic relations. This shift in the balance of power in the economic system coincided with the decline of the Anishnaabe military and economic power when wars between Europeans and British North American nations ceased, and land, mineral and timber resources began to yield more profit than fur. As elaborated in Chapter Seven, a corresponding shift took place in the dominant British North American cultural script from that of “adventurers” to that of “settlement.”

The same situation prevailed south of the border in the relations between

Anishnaabek and the American government. For example, at the Treaty of Fond du Lac in 1826, Lewis Cass and Thomas McKenney asked the assembled chiefs of the Ojibway nation for cessation of war with the Sioux, property rights to all the copper of the country, custody of several men accused of murdering a white man, and submission to the American government (McKenney 1972 [1827]:376,391,398-9). In exchange, they gave “presents” of handkerchiefs, calico for shirts, broadcloth for leggings, breechcloths and skirts, blankets, rings, gorgets, silver brooches, powder, led, shot, flints, knives, fishhooks and tobacco. They also promised schools for the children, land allotments for the “half-breeds” and annual distributions of goods (*ibid.*:272-9,376). Despite the evident benefits the American government received in this exchange, McKenney (*ibid.*:274-5) cast himself in the beneficent role of a generous provider of charity:

Now put all these [presents] together... and then think how much pleasure such a present would afford to the most ordinary menial in our part of the world. Yet, my dear,***, to naked, friendless, and in all respects, destitute people, who never before saw such a collection of desirable things together, the present gave more real joy, and will prove a more substantial benefit, than would the arrival of an East Indian to some people who are known to you. Thus it is, we appreciate a good conferred, not according to its cost, but according to its value to ourselves, and our need of it - and if there be any pleasure on earth more pure than the rest, it is that which is derived from feeding the hungry, and clothing the naked, and in conferring benefits on the destitute, and making the miserable happy. [asterisks in original]

Hence, McKenney managed to eliminate the exchange value of the Anishnaabe concessions by conceiving of presents as “free gifts” given by the wealthy and powerful to the poor and powerless. In fact, the commissioners’ promises of land allotments for the “half-breeds” and annual distributions of “presents” were not ratified by the Senate (*ibid.*:404). By this means, the government’s portion of the exchange was magnified. Hearing of this decision, McKenney wrote, “How hard is the fate of the poor Indians!” Absolving himself and his associates of blame, however, he concluded, “Well,

everything is in God's hands; and will go right in the end" (*ibid.*:xiv).

The insidious effects of such redefinitions of meaning were apparent to Anishnaabe leaders during treaty negotiations at Fort Snelling in 1837 when traders demanded that their debts be paid out of the upcoming annuity payments. In response to this demand, Flat Mouth powerfully expressed Native frustration with traders' failure to acknowledge the exchange value of services, goods and resources:

My Father. Where are our young men, that they have hunted for these Traders - and supplied them with their furs? They have, when upon their hunting excursions for them, been killed off by the Sioux - and swept away. Where have [the traders] got the Fish that they have eaten, and the wood that they have burned? They were caught from our Lakes, and Rivers, and taken from our Land - And they talk to us about paying them our debts! (Flat Mouth in Satz 1991:147)

Flat Mouth's point is that under the system of reciprocity commoditization, the fish and fuel taken by the traders, as well as the cost in human lives the trade alliance entailed, equaled the exchange value of the "debt" in trade goods the traders then claimed. If they were to receive the fish, fuel and fur, on the one hand, and money from the sale of land, on the other, they would receive the exchange value of the same trade goods twice. Not only would this double the cost to Anishnaabek, but it would do so at the critical juncture at which they were relinquishing control of the fish, fuel and fur resources that constituted their only source of wealth. In fact, the terms of the ratified treaty gave these traders 10% of the total monetary value the government traded the Anishnaabek for the land (the equivalent of two out of a total of twenty years' payments) (Satz 1991:155-6). By forging an alliance together, the government and the traders effectively took control of the "commodity candidacy" of lands and resources: they commoditized land and de-commoditized resources. This re-definition of meaning and value placed the Anishnaabek in a double bind because if they insisted on the commodity

status of resources in the past, they would set a precedent under which they may be liable to pay for the use of resources as tenants on government-owned land.

Both American and British colonial governments used the idea of presents as “something for nothing” to the greatest effect in the land treaties that gained increasing frequency and extent in the Great Lakes region from the late eighteenth century forward. Initially, the British appropriated Native concepts of reciprocity for their own advantage by using the metaphor of “a large bed” to represent their request for land. This representation is misleading because the term implies usage rights rather than ownership rights. As well, the ways in which Europeans use land transform it irreversibly. With little to no experience with land as a commodity in a system of capitalist commoditization, or with European resource exploitation, Native peoples initially did not foresee how these differences of meaning could so radically affect them. As seen in John Long’s story above, the Oneidas learned what the British meant by this phrase when William Johnson’s “large bed” deprived them of their hunting grounds. The impact of this lesson, however, was diminished in part by the fact that Johnson continued to provide for his Native allies on his estate and later by helping to procure them land in British North America. Furthermore, it is not likely that the Oneidas transmitted this insight to the Anishnaabek, who were at that time their hereditary enemies.

Hence, in 1787 when John Long (1971 [1791]:177-8) acted as interpreter for John Johnson at land treaty negotiations, the Mississaugas probably believed they were renewing an alliance based on principles of reciprocity. The war song Long overheard at the commencement of the proceedings suggests that the chiefs thought the contract represented only rights of usage when they accepted Johnson’s presents:

At last our good father is arrived, he has broken the small branches, and cleared

his way to meet us. He has given us presents in abundance, and only demands this large bed (meaning a considerable tract of land which was described on a map).

The treaty document, however, reveals an entirely different perspective:

Principal Chiefs and War Chiefs as aforesaid, for and in consideration of the sum of (...) to them in hand well and truly paid by the Honorable Sir John Johnson aforesaid, at or upon the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof they the said (...) doth hereby acknowledge, and thereof and therefrom and from every part or parcel thereof doth acquit, release, exonerate and for ever discharge Our Sovereign Lord the King His heirs and successors and every of them, by these presents doth grant, bargain, sell, alienate, release and confirm unto our Sovereign Lord the King and to His heirs and successors all that tract or parcel of land laying between and being (...) together with the woods, ways, paths, watercourses, advantages, emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever to the said tract or parcel of land... and the issues and profits of all and singular the said premises... with the appurtenances and also all the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatsoever of them... at the time of sealing and delivery of these presents are lawfully and rightfully seized in their own right of a good, sure, perfect, absolute and indefeasible estate of inheritance in fee simple... (Government of Canada 1992 [1891]:32-3)

The document continues with the specification that the King, his heirs and successors may enjoy the land in question with neither any “manner of condition, limitation of use or uses” on it, nor “trouble, hindrance or molestation, interruption or disturbance” from the chiefs, their heirs or successors or “any other person or persons lawfully claiming” rights to the land.

Ironically, from a legal standpoint this particular treaty remained invalid until it was re-negotiated in 1923 because it failed to specify the lands surrendered (Surtees 1994:107). Nevertheless the wording is typical of the early treaties made between the British and the Anishnaabek. Each treaty states that “by these presents” the chiefs alienated a certain portion of their land. Undoubtedly, the chiefs understood the term literally. In fact, many of the treaties made before the War of 1812 specify the “presents” in an attached list of goods that is virtually indistinguishable from a fur trade inventory. A major portion of these goods is cloth, clothing and related items such as ribbon, thread,

scissors and vermilion, while the remainder consists mainly of guns, ammunition, kettles, knives and tobacco. For example, in Treaty No. 14, made between the British Crown and chiefs of the Mississauga nation on Sept. 12th, 1806, the former category accounts for approximately 65% of the total number and cost of goods, while the latter makes up only 35% (Government of Canada 1992 [1891]:36-40).

After the War of 1812, a variety of types of payments were exchanged for land surrenders, which include a one-time distribution of cash on a per capita basis, the profit from sales of the land (which was, however, held in trust by the Crown), a specified cash value of goods to be distributed annually, and a specified amount of cash to be paid annually. Arthur Ray (1996:153) points out that land-treaty annuity payments “helped accelerate the rate of land surrenders” after their introduction in 1818. With insight similar to that of Louis Agassiz’s quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Ray continues: “It is important to remember that the annuity payments are essentially mortgage instalments - not a kind of welfare payment.” Tuscarora Chief Clinton Rickard (in Graymont 1973:121) articulates this point with reference to the failure of the American government to carry out its obligations as stipulated in the Treaty of Canandaigua of 1794:

The white people always had a notion that we Indians receive all our support from the government. They have the misconception that, since we have been getting “handouts” for years, we have become lazy and degenerate and do not rely on ourselves. Nothing could be more false. The only thing our Iroquois people have received on a regular basis from the United States government over the years is a small annual token gift of cloth amounting to forty cents per person. This “treaty cloth” as we call it is merely an acknowledgment that our treaty with the United States is still in effect, since the government promised to pay us a certain amount in perpetuity in exchange for our lands that we gave up and as a reward for our continued friendship to the people and government of the United States.

Rickard (*ibid.*) enumerates the promises contained in Article 6 of the treaty and points out that these have “never been met in full.” Instead, “the government covers all of

these obligations by merely giving us this payment in cloth.” He then recounts the gradual reduction in the size and cost of the cloth from fifteen yards of unbleached muslin apiece “when a dollar was worth something,” to only one and a half yards in the 1960s. He concludes: “...but since [the cloth] symbolizes the faith of the government in abiding by the treaty, it is still important to us. So much for ‘handouts.’” Even though the American government failed to deliver just payment for the exchange, Rickard continued to regard the “small piece of cloth” as the embodiment of the contract made between his nation and that of the United States almost two hundred years ago.

After treaties were made the rhetoric of “something for nothing” served to justify the governments’ failure to fulfil promises to provide for needs. Despite the rhetorical power of the term “presents,” however, its re-definition within the framework of capitalist commoditization was not alone sufficient to reduce Anishnaabek to a state of economic and political subordination. Rather, in most cases Anishnaabek were already impoverished on their own lands at the time they surrendered land for “presents.” They needed European goods because competition in the fur trade and encroaching settlement reduced the supply of game to below the subsistence level.

In their speeches to government officials, many Anishnaabe chiefs stressed the poverty of their people, the wealth of the “whites,” and the obligation their alliance placed on the latter to relieve their needs. For example, in 1820, Flat Mouth (in Schoolcraft 1992 [1821]:159) of Leech Lake told Governor Cass:

Father, you see us here, - we are poor, - we want every thing, - we have neither knives or blankets, - guns or powder, - lead or cloth, - kettles or tomahawks, - tobacco or whiskey. - We hope you will give us these things.

After reminding Cass that their two nations “smoke the same pipe,” and the faithfulness of the Anishnaabek in holding up their side of the contract, Flat Mouth continued:

Father, we are of a race of strong men, - of good warriors, and good hunters, but we cannot always kill game, or catch fish. - We can live for a great while upon little, but we cannot live upon nothing... we are hungry and naked, - we are dry and needy. - We hope you will relieve us.

As Mary Black Rogers (1986:367-8) suggests, such assertions of poverty in the context of diplomatic relations were framed in the same terminology as were appeals to *manitook*. In both types of transactions Anishnaabek assumed a “pitiful” state in order to elicit aid under the tenets of generalized reciprocity. Because such speeches conformed to this standard formula, it is difficult to determine how much they reflect literal need as opposed to rhetorical strategy. Nevertheless, when Anishnaabek appealed to *manitook* in this manner, their claims of poverty were not merely figurative. Rather, they made themselves “pitiful” by fasting and isolation. Furthermore, whatever the actual needs of Anishnaabek may have been, such speeches made clear statements of the objects of their desires and their expectations of fulfilment.

As Flat Mouth’s speech suggests, Anishnaabek continued to frame their relations with government officials in the kinship terms established between themselves and traders. One chief at the Fond du Lac treaty of 1827 told the commissioners, “we expect to receive from you such treatment as fathers give to their children” (McKenney 1972 [1827]:384). Because clothing was among the items that Anishnaabek expected of “chiefs” and “fathers,” it is not surprising that some chiefs asked specifically for clothing during treaty negotiations. For example, at Fort Snelling in 1837, Strong Ground (in Satz 1991:150) appealed to the commissioners:

Look at your Children, my Father, and notice their clothing. At the end of the year we wish you to bring such articles for us. We do not know the value or use of money, and don’t want it. See our women too, and the Articles they wear, and bring such for them.

With full awareness of these desires and expectations, British and American

officials often promised to provide clothing if Anishnaabek agreed to surrender land. For example, in Michigan Territories during the 1840s, Chief Bemassikeh (in Baierlein 1989 [1888]:91-2) found it necessary to remind government officials of the promise they made when he surrendered his land:

You said you would take care of me. That I would have no more problems. My children would be clothed and I would not be able to recognize my wife because of the beautiful clothes and jewels that she would be wearing. But as often as I look at her... I still know her very well, and I do not see any beautiful dresses or jewels. You have taken my land. I have received nothing for it or at least as much as nothing.

Some government officials argued that the “presents” were more valuable than the “useless” lands to be surrendered. For example, in 1818, Col. William Claus assured assembled Ojibwa chiefs that it would be many years before the lands around Lake Simcoe would be settled. Therefore, they could still use it while deriving the additional benefit of surrendering it:

At present the land lay idle, he said, and the Ojibwa received no benefit from it. By selling it to the king, they could use it as they always had and still annually receive clothing, in addition to the usual presents the king distributed. “Consider,” [Claus] said, “whether it is not better to get some covering for yourselves, your wives and children than letting it lay idle.” (Surtees 1994:116)

This logic made sense to Anishnaabek within the framework of the long-standing custom in which French, British and American “chiefs” and “fathers” provided clothing for their Native “brothers” and “children.” Hence it can be seen that Europeans effectively appropriated the symbols of the Anishnaabe system of reciprocity in order to re-frame exchange relations in terms of capitalist commoditization. Land treaties were the pivotal point on which this shift of meaning tipped the balance of power in favor of the latter. The reduced material circumstances of the Anishnaabek, as well as their fundamentally different understanding of the meaning and consequences of land treaty contracts,

facilitated their compliance in the process.

Although Anishnaabek were accustomed to European clothing materials for several generations before land treaties took place, in the fur trade context they used these materials to create indigenous styles. The lists of “presents” in the Canadian land treaties and British annuities show that they retained these styles for a considerable period after land surrenders had deprived them of their livelihood. Nevertheless, land treaties formed a significant turning point after which Anishnaabek increasingly adopted Europeans styles of dress for everyday wear and retained indigenous styles only for ceremonial occasions. As well, after the mid-nineteenth century there were substantial changes in the types of materials Anishnaabek used to make ceremonial dress. The following three chapters examine the history of these styles in order to gain insight into Anishnaabe style preferences and politically strategic uses of clothing, as well as the ways in which European codes of appearance served to confine Anishnaabek to the lower classes of North American society.

1. As noted in Chapter One, Appadurai (1986:13-16) suggests that all things have “commodity potential.” This potential is realized in “the social life of any ‘thing’” when its “exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature.” Commoditization is a process which depends upon temporal (the “commodity phase in the social life of a thing”), cultural (the “commodity candidacy of any thing”) and social (the “commodity context in which any thing may be placed”) factors. According to this definition, commodities are a feature of all cultures, but the phases of commoditization, classes of objects which become commodities, and the contexts in which commoditization take place are culturally variable.

2. Based on his analysis of “clan-based” societies, Marcel Mauss similarly concluded that “gift-giving places the debtor in a subordinate position” (Gregory 1982:19; also Thomas 1991:14). As I shall show in Chapter Seven with regard to “charity,” this phenomenon also occurs in “class-based” societies.

3. Economic nationalism is a form of capitalist expansion premised on capitalist commoditization which, as noted in Chapter Four, serves the interests of the state and certain classes within the state, but does not necessarily serve the interests of all classes. In fact, the dispossession of the English and Scottish lower classes shows that it frequently serves the interests of some classes at the expense of others. Since the upper and middle classes whose interests it serves are often in the minority, the term “community interest” in this instance implies the majority whose interests it does not.
4. I have also heard versions of the origin of the jingle dress in which it is an Ojibwa man who first has the vision of the dress (eg. Moodie 2000:9G). This story is often recounted at traditional powwows when a family arranges for a special dance to initiate a girl into her first jingle dress.
5. Minnehwehna (Diedrich 1990:13), or Minweweh, “The one with the silver tongue” (Petronne 1991:25) - also known as “Grand Sauteux” or “Great Ojibway”(in Carver 1974 [1778]:96-8) because of his six foot height, and Minavavana (in Henry 1901[1806]:45).
6. As Long (1971 [1791]:88) tells the story, a Mohawk chief told Johnson he dreamed he gave him his “fine laced coat.” Following Mohawk custom, Johnson gave it to him. At the next council, Johnson told the chief that he dreamed that he gave him a tract of land to settle and develop. So, the chief had to give it to him, but said he “would never dream again with him” because he got only a coat, while Johnson got a large tract of land “on which his ancestors had frequently slept.”
7. See Warren (1984 [1885]:131-6) for discussion of Anishnaabek love for the French.
8. There was no relation between John Johnson and Sir William Johnson, although the former’s father was also named William (Hambleton 1992:1).
9. Translated from the French by Annette Chretien.
10. The expression to “cover the body” used in this context should not be confused with the term to “cover the body of the dead” as it is used in the context of offering material goods in lieu of blood revenge. The latter term appears in the speech of Minnehwehna above regarding the presents the English must offer if they expect to escape the wrath of the relatives of those who died at the hands of their countrymen. It is also used, however, in the case of murders within the Anishnaabe nation and with victims of wars between Native nations (Perrot in Blair 1996 [1912]:139-41 Vol.1; La Potherie in *ibid.*:59,99,102 Vol.2; Radin n/d(a):26-38, CMCA).
11. “Poniard” - a kind of dagger.

12. The XY Company was organized by Scottish Montreal merchants such as Forsyth, Richardson and Company, and Alexander Mackenzie, between 1798 and 1804 in an attempt to break the NWC monopoly of the Great Lakes fur trade (Brown 1980:39).
13. Translated from the French by Annette Chretien.
14. See Cameron (in Masson 1960 [1889]:278) noted above. Warren (1984 [1885]:370-2) relates a “characteristic” example in which a trader acting on behalf of the British government created a chief by presenting him with a flag and medal. His own “people refused to recognize him as a chief, yet he always assumed the dignity and was treated as such by the English.”
15. By 1820 or so, the policy of clothing chiefs in spring rather than fall was fully implemented. Daniel Harmon (1904 [c.1820]:64), for example, remarks on May 18th that “to reward [the hunters] for their industry, I clothed two of their chiefs, and gave a quantity of spirits to them and to the others.”
16. Arthur Ray (1980:*passim*) shows various ways that Native peoples gained economic advantages in the context of competition between the HBC and the French during the eighteenth century.
17. There are several chiefs whose names are translated as “Blackbird.” Schmalz (1991:286) suggests this one is Jean-Baptiste Blackbird, or Assiginack. The Assiginack who achieved renown as an interpreter and diplomat at Manitoulin Island during the mid-nineteenth century was an Odawa chief. His name stems from the Odawa term for a particular species of bird that is of a black color. I don’t know if there is any relation between the above two. Andrew J. Blackbird of Petosky, MI, was also an Odawa chief, who wrote a history of the Odawa and Chippewa nations of Michigan (Blackbird 1993 [1887]). His name in Odawa is Macketebenessy, which translates literally as “Black Bird.”

CHAPTER SIX: "CLOTHING OF A NEW KIND": ANISHNAABE FUR TRADE FASHIONS

"Before the white man reached Georgian Bay a certain Indian gathered many beaver, otter, and other skins, which he kept in his wigwam in the woods. One still night he heard the crashing of a tree, and then a wailing of many voices 'Our king has gone.' When morning came he found that a giant white oak had fallen, being rotten at the base; the white oaks around it had bewailed its fall. He gathered up all his furs, laid them over the trunk as in burial, and returned to his wigwam. Night came, and as he slept he dreamed that a *manido* visited him and said, 'You have done well. Now take your furs again and travel east. There you will find a man who will give you clothing of a new kind in exchange for them.' The Indian traveled east and discovered French traders on the St. Lawrence river. He was the first Ojibwa to see or trade with white men." (James Walker in Jenness 1935:23)

The mutual participation of Anishnaabek and Europeans in the fur trade and diplomatic relations entailed a process in which both parties made small cultural concessions to accommodate the other. White (1991:53) notes that the resultant "middle ground" existed on two levels: that of everyday life and that of formal relations. He admits that, for historians, the "middle ground is initially easiest to perceive as it was articulated in formal settings." As the preceding chapter demonstrates, the "middle ground" of such formal settings was a terrain in which the balance of power gradually shifted from the favor of the Anishnaabek to that of the British. The analysis of fur trade style preferences, however, presents an opportunity to gain a glimpse into Anishnaabe "everyday life" that is not possible through the usual methods of historical analysis. My findings suggest that Anishnaabe dress styles consistently referred to the Anishnaabe behavioral environment as the primary frame of reference throughout the fur trade era despite the common codes of conduct and dress that developed in the context of

exchange relations. Specifically, color preferences, as well as selective adoptions and adaptations, show that Anishnaabe fur trade fashions derived from Anishnaabe cultural scripts that provided patterns for the enactment of roles that went back to pre-contact life-ways.

I demonstrate this proposition by showing the relation between specific Anishnaabe style preferences and the corresponding core concepts, cultural scripts and life-ways of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. The continuities in style preferences that emerge from this analysis serve to illuminate the extent to which the Anishnaabek maintained cultural and political independence throughout the fur trade era. The “middle ground” of Anishnaabe fur trade fashion is seen to pertain only to a select group of garments worn by men involved directly in commercial and diplomatic relations. As well, the culturally distinctive fur trade fashions symbolized the pervasive influence of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment despite the fact that they were made of European materials. It was, perhaps, due to the close fit between European trade goods and analogous categories within the Anishnaabe behavioral environment that most Anishnaabek did not perceive the insidious effects of the trade until it was too late to turn back.

Most Anishnaabe “first contact” narratives advocate a trading alliance with the European strangers from the outset. These stories evidently originated during the period in which the French and the British were enacting the “adventurer” cultural script.¹ In such stories, “the focus of emotions [is] on the merchandise” (White 1994:176). Guns, alcohol, axes, kettles and cloth made particularly favorable impressions. Indeed, possession of these items seemed advantageous at first, and for many generations afterwards. Analysis of “first contact” stories reveals that both the functional and

aesthetic properties of trade goods dominated the Anishnaabe experience of their initial encounter with Europeans. Hence, the predominant theme of the stories is “how we first obtained (any object of material culture)” rather than “when we first met (any group of peoples).” Kohl (1985 [1860]:247) noted the Anishnaabe focus on objects rather than people when he recounted a “first contact” story he heard at L’Anse, MI. He lamented: “Unfortunately my reporter, or the tradition he narrated to me, was not so circumstantial at this interesting period of the story as I should have liked,” that is, the point of face-to-face interaction.

Typically, the portion of the Anishnaabe stories that describe the first encounter with Europeans consist mainly of a list of the gifts the Anishnaabek received. For example, William Warren (1984 [1885]:188-20) relates a “first contact” story from La Pointe which not only enumerates the gifts on the initial meeting, but tells also of those of the second meeting and Anishnaabe responses to these goods on both occasions. An Anishnaabe man went in search of the “white-skinned” men he saw in his dream. When he found them he received an axe, a knife, beads and a small strip of scarlet cloth, which he carefully deposited within his medicine bag. The following year he returned with a delegation bearing furs to trade. On this occasion they received guns and alcohol for the first time. The narrative concludes with a description of the Anishnaabek’s reactions to these commodities when they were brought back to their village.

Benjamin Armstrong (in White 1994:375) gives a more detailed account of the initial encounter in which the Anishnaabek were hesitant to embrace the strangers’ hospitality until they saw an old man with white hair and beard, as well as a red cap and sash, come out of the cabin. Then, the “clothing attracted the visitors’ attention.” They entered the cabin and were given blankets, “trinkets,” axes, knives and guns in exchange

for their fur clothing. The party displayed each of these items in turn when they brought them back to their village.²

In the “first contact” story told to Kohl (1985 [1860]:244-8), an Anishnaabe *jessakid* had a dream in which he saw Europeans arriving from the east.³ When his party found them, they received gifts of “colored cloth and calico.” The final phase of Kohl’s narrative relates how the people of the travelers’ home community cut the cloth into “a thousand pieces” which they divided amongst themselves. They also attached pieces of cloth to poles which they circulated among the Anishnaabe communities of the Lake Superior region “in the same way as they sent the scalps of their enemies.”

An emphasis on cloth, as well as its associations with sacred rituals, is also found in a “first contact” story recorded by Norval Morriseau (1965:104-5) in the mid-1960s. In Fort Hope near Lake Nipigon, Ontario, an elderly woman told Morriseau’s grandfather that during her youth she attended a shaking tent ceremony at which the presiding *jessakid* invited “visitors from Heaven.” Their apparel was the first silk or satin Anishnaabek of that region had ever seen:

From the side of the opening on the wigwam appeared the finest silk in colours of red and blue and white. These the Ojibway Indians believed were the dresses of the visitors... Then the medicine-man appeared at the door of the wigwam and spoke to his people, “My people, you have again seen and heard our visitors from Heaven. Next spring we shall invite them again.” The old lady who told this to my grandfather... said, “We were all surprised, not at the great magic but at the material we saw at that time. For everyone then wore buckskin clothing and no silk or satin was known to the Indians. Afterwards, when the Hudson’s Bay Company came to us they brought with them the material we had previously seen and touched, that had blown out of the great medicine lodge.”

The above oral traditions suggest that the dreams and ceremonies of the medicine men promoted a trading alliance with the white strangers. Typically, powerful medicine men saw the Europeans in dreams or ceremonies before a physical meeting took place.

White (1994:*passim*) speculates that Anishnaabek perceived both Europeans and their merchandise as possessing spiritual power appropriate to the *manitook* who are encountered in dreams, visions and ceremonies. With regard to trade goods, Mary Black Rogers (1977:143) suggests that when the term “*manitoo*” is used to describe a quality of being, rather than a class of being, it may be translated roughly as “control-power.” Hence, Anishnaabek were attracted to the “control-power” they perceived in the Europeans’ merchandise.

Whereas Anishnaabek appreciated the functional attributes of guns and axes almost immediately, their response to cloth was based primarily on its aesthetic characteristics. This difference between functional and aesthetic attraction is evident in their manner of adaptation. While the Anishnaabe use of guns and axes was very similar to the European usages, their use of cloth differed from that of the Europeans throughout the fur trade era. Not only did Anishnaabek produce distinctive styles of dress, but these styles emphasized attributes of the cloth that European styles obscured.

For example, Anishnaabek used the selvages of broadcloths as design elements. Typically both men’s and women’s leggings were made with the selvedge displayed at the top {Plate 19; figure 1}. This design preference was so strong that in the late nineteenth century one Anishnaabe man converted his trousers into leggings by cutting the legs off at the upper thigh and trimming them with a selvedge-like strip of cloth {Plate 19; figure 2}. As well, women’s blankets and skirts were frequently constructed so that the selvedge showed along the bottom edge {Plate 20; figure 1}. Similarly, men’s breechcloths were often made with the selvages trimming the lower edges of the front and back flaps (Karklins 1992:40; Penney 1992:142).

Stroud and List broadcloths were generally died-in-the-piece (see Appendix).

That is, undyed yarns were woven into a piece of cloth and then submerged in the dye, rather than dyeing the yarns first and then weaving them into cloth (as with tartans, for example). On woollens that are dyed-in-the-piece the selvages remain the natural white where the cloth was enclosed in the casing that held it in place in the dyeing vat (see Plate 19; figure 1 above). Depending on the construction of the casings, then, one could produce a number of stripes where the dye seeped through. Such details were of significance in the European woollen market for the purpose of identifying “authentic” woollen products from their inferior imitations. For example, William Reddy (1986:267) notes that an eighteenth century French merchants’ manual warned readers:

The surest way to tell a *serge drapée* from genuine *drap* [see Appendix]... is that genuine *drap* (high quality open-weave woolen fabric)⁴ will have five blue stripes and seven white stripes on its border, while *serge drapée* produced in Berry (a coarser, inferior woolen fabric, given a similar finish) had only three or four blue stripes and as many white ones.

For Europeans the selvages were indissociably linked to the processes of production. As visible signs of these processes they revealed the quality of the cloth. The object of the European tailors and seamstresses, however, was to hide all signs of production. They therefore carefully turned under and hemmed all selvages in place on the inside of garments underneath the lining. Native peoples’ use of selvages as design elements stood in marked contrast to this European practice.

The “drap” the French traded in the Native North American market was probably the inferior variety. In the mid-eighteenth century, for example, Pierre Pouchot (in O’Neil 1995:21) observed that Algonkin women wore “an under petticoat called machicote, made of an ell of blue or red cloth of the quality like that of Berri [i.e. Berry] or Carcassone” (Plate 20; figure 2). Nevertheless, Native customers were very particular about the appearance of the selvages. For example, in 1715 the New England merchant,

James Logan (in Kidd 1961:52-3), gave specific instructions to his manufacturers in England:

“[The woollens used in the Native trade] may be so far out of thy way of business as not to be fully known to thee by our names for them. They are 1st Strowd water a cloth about 4^d broad about 4/p ye blue or red in purchasing with a regard must be had not only to the Cloth and Colour but also to the list [selvedge] about which the Indians are Curious [i.e. exacting]. This is the common breadth viz, about 3 fingers with a Stripe or two of white generally. Sometimes in black in ye blue pieces and always in black in ye red (see Appendix).

Logan’s instructions show that Native style preferences dictated the types of cloths that English manufacturers produced for the Native market. In particular, manufacturers began to weave colored threads into the selvedges of some of their broadcloths rather than merely allowing dye to seep through at intervals. By the nineteenth century, a type of dark blue broadcloth became very popular that had three or more stripes of red, yellow and black fuzzy yarns woven into the selvedge {see Plate 20; figure 1 above}. I have recently seen versions of this “rainbow selvedge cloth” used for men’s dance breechcloths. Whereas it was once a staple material, it is now used sparingly due to the current high prices of woollens. For example, a Native-owned supply company offers it for \$31.00 (U.S) per yard with the option to buy only a half or quarter yard (Noc Bay Trading Company 1999:25).

While the Anishnaabe treatment of selvedges demonstrates a lack of familiarity with the technical production of dyed-in-the-piece woollens, it does not imply that Anishnaabek lacked weaving. In fact, they wove mats and bags from vegetable fibers such as nettle, basswood, red cedar, tamarack, bulrush and cat-tails in a variety of geometric and representational patterns.⁵ Anishnaabe women may also have worn undergarments woven from nettle fibers (Broker 1983:97; Lyford 1982 [1943]:107).

Anishnaabe terminology for cloth, however, suggests that Anishnaabek related

European woollens to animal skins rather than to their own woven products. All fur trade fabrics terminate with the endings, “*wegin*” or “*wayaan*,”⁶ which mean “the skin of” whatever animal it follows. For example, “*makwawaiân*” means “furred skin of a bear,” “*moo-wegin*” means “dressed skin of a moose,” and so on (Baraga 1992 [1878]:395,408 pt.2). The Anishnaabe term for broadcloth was “*manitowegin*” or “dressed skin of a *manitoo*.” John Long’s (1971 [1791]:266) vocabulary gives “*manneltoo woygan*” for “blue stroud” in particular, while Baraga (1992 [1878]:51 pt.1) gives “*manitowegin*” for “cloth.”⁷

The frequent use of the term “cloth” in fur trade records cannot escape the notice of contemporary researchers for whom its present use as synonymous with “fabric” renders it ambiguous. This meaning of “cloth” has led some scholars to assume that it was as general a category then as it is now (Lyford n/d (a):6). It is likely, however, that British and American traders used the term “cloth” conventionally to refer to dark blue broadcloth. As a general rule, fur trade inventories specified the colors of all fabrics except those for which conventional colors were well-known. For example, in England bombazette was commonly used for mourning and its standard color was black (see Appendix). Therefore, the term “bombazette” implied black unless it was qualified with a color. Although today our fabric terminology is far less detailed than that of the nineteenth-century British, we still use the same kind of convention with regard to “jeans,” which one would assume were blue unless told otherwise.

In the case of dark blue broadcloth, fur trade inventories followed a standard order in which either blankets or broadcloths were at the beginning of the list. Within the category of broadcloths, dark blue generally preceded all other colors. In this context, therefore, it is fairly safe to assume that a fabric of an unspecified color that appears at

the top of the broadcloth list is blue. For example, one AFC inventory begins with “common blue stroud,” while another starts with “common stroud” (AFC Records, NAC). In each case these strouds are followed by “scarlet cloth,” or merely “scarlet” and then other woollens such as “white molton” and “embossed serge” (see Appendix). On an AFC record of clothes given to employees, the items are listed twice: one naming what the man was due; the other what he actually received upon his engagement. In several instances, “blue cloth capote” is found on one list and “cloth capote” on the other. In Susan Johnson’s (1830, NBL) fur trade records, the abbreviated term, “cloth,” appears in the accounts of individuals’ purchases. This suggests that the usage was so widely known that “cloth” was sufficient to identify dark blue broadcloth. These same records employ the shortened form, “scarlet,” to refer to red list broadcloth.

Anishnaabe terminology appears to parallel the British conventional usage with regard to color. Whereas “*manitowegin*” likely stood for dark blue broadcloth, Anishnaabek called red broadcloth “*miskwegin*” or “skin of red” and black broadcloth “*makatewegin*” or “skin of black.” As noted above, these terms show that Anishnaabek drew analogies between the new manufactures and phenomena within their own behavioral environment. The question arises, therefore, whether the term, “*manitowegin*,” reflects an analogy in which blue broadcloth had “control-power.”

George Hamell (1983:18; 1987:75-6) argues that Native peoples’ attraction to beads and metal ornaments can be attributed to analogies based on such qualities as color and luminosity. These qualities functioned as organizing principles for the classification of objects and persons. I argued in Chapter Two that appearance is not a reliable indicator of identity within the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. The particular attribute of color, however, remains constant even when the form undergoes

transformations. In stories involving metamorphosis color frequently functions to reveal or suggest a person's true identity. For example, a Berens River Ojibway had a dream in which a boy wearing a red toque identified himself as an insect. Later, the narrator recognized this insect as a certain kind of fly that has a yellow body with red marks on its head. The "latter feature he associated with the red toque worn by the boy in his dream" (Hallowell 1976b:467). Color functioned as an organizing principle in part because it was a constant attribute of identity, but also because its application is not limited to questions of identity. Rather, it is an attribute of all visual perception and may therefore serve as an organizing principle in the behavioral environment as a whole. Hence, color underlay the analogies Anishnaabek drew with respect to the European strangers and to specific trade goods.

In particular, Hamell (1987:75-6; 1983:7) observes that the colors white, black and red corresponded to the semantic and cosmological orders of the Northeastern Native nations at the time of first contact. He concludes that luminosity, white, light sky blue and green⁸ symbolized social contexts, cognitive aspects of life, purposiveness of mind, knowledge, and "Greatest Being." In contrast, black, dark blue and indigo represented asocial or socially liminal contexts, the absence of both cognition and animacy. That is, the "absence of well-being, harmony and purposiveness of Mind, Knowledge and Greatest Being, as in Death, mourning and confinement within the womb. Blackness is a quality of inferior and asocial states of being." Red symbolized antisocial contexts in general. It was, however, a socially ambivalent color which denoted the animate and emotive aspects of life. When it functioned in socially positive (constructive) contexts, red connoted life in contrast to death. In socially negative (destructive) contexts, however, it connoted hostility in contrast to harmony.

These observations are valuable in pointing out the tremendous influence color symbolism had on Anishnaabe reactions to Europeans and their manufactures. I suggest, however, that Hamell's color symbolism for ornamentation among Algonquian and Iroquoian nations is not altogether accurate for the style preferences of Anishnaabe fur trade clothing. For one thing, Hamell's interpretation assumes an oppositional relation between binary sets that is uncharacteristic of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. In addition, while the study of ornaments, and the types of small articles of apparel that make up the vast majority of museum collections (such as bags, leggings, headgear and jewelry), tend to support Hamell's conclusions, these articles represent only a portion of the total clothed appearance. A different picture emerges when one shifts focus from ornaments, accessories and decorative treatments to the basic cloths which underlay them.

In particular, if black and dark blue had such negative associations as Hamell suggests then it would be very difficult to explain why a substantial majority of the cloth traded to Anishnaabek was dark blue (see Table 1). An average of 82% of the woollens listed in nine NWC and AFC inventories from between 1797 and 1827 are dark colors such as dark blue, dark green and black. Dark blue predominates in all the cases presented with the exception of the 1798 treaty payment, which was a context in which Anishnaabek essentially had no choice. The only inventory in which red exceeds blue is a list of goods on hand in the NWC warehouse at Grand Portage in the spring of 1797. It is a general principle of merchandising that goods remaining in stock after a season represent the items that did not sell, while those ordered are goods that are likely to sell. Therefore, it can be assumed that the NWC outgoing order for that year called for blue broadcloth, rather than red.

Customer demand probably caused the predominance of blue broadcloth shown in these inventories. Although red cloth cost merchants more than did blue, it is unlikely that the popularity of blue broadcloth was due to its lower cost. For one thing, differences in the currency prices of cloth were not always reflected in the cost of cloth in “made-beaver” (MB).⁹ For example, a conversion chart from 1733 shows that broadcloth and flannel cost Anishnaabek the same amount of MB although the former was significantly more expensive in British currency (Newman 1985:47).¹⁰ A conversion chart from 1761 shows that two yards of strouds sold for “2 Good Beaver or three bucks,” while two yards of callimanco sold for “one buck” (O’Neil 25-6). The NWC inventory of 1797, however, shows that “common blue strouds” cost merchants three shillings *less* per yard than did callimanco (NWC Papers, MTRL) (see Appendix).

The Hudson’s Bay Cree haggled over the cost of cloth to ensure that traders gave them the proper measure (Isham 1949 [c.1743]:51,86, ECO; White 1978:95). These Cree were also critical of cloths that were too narrow (Smith 1991:16). A similar concern for size probably accounts for the fact that among Anishnaabek the trade value of callimanco was lower than that of broadcloth (see Appendix). At times, Native customers threatened to trade with competitors in order to receive goods at reduced rates (White 1987:239). Although Native customers were shrewd in bartering, I have encountered no instances in which they chose to forego quality in pursuit of a bargain. On the contrary, fur traders and British observers frequently noted that Native customers refused to trade for fabrics whose quality did not meet their standards. They often mentioned this consumer trait to explain Natives’ preference to trade with one company over another.¹¹ Hence, the Native attention to size and quality suggests that these characteristics of broadcloths may have appealed to Native customers even if their exchange value was higher than that of other

woollens.

With regard to color preferences, the prevalence of red cloth in the NWC inventory shows that there was no difficulty in supplying the Great Lakes fur trade with this color. It is therefore unlikely that the factor of accessibility explains the greater quantity of blue cloth. The predominance of blue cloth in the AFC Mackinac warehouse inventory of 1827 suggests that, in the thirty years after the NWC Grand Portage inventory, traders had learned to keep popular goods in stock. In fact, British merchants on the Eastern seaboard were aware of their Native customers' preference for blue broadcloth as early as 1705. That year a Boston merchant wrote a London manufacturer inquiring whether he could supply fabrics

after a sort fit for the Indian trade without any Nape [nap] with a white stripe through the selvedge. If you have any of that sort I have one Customer that trades to Albany that will take off 15 pieces as soon as they arrive... but if you see Cause to send any of these they must be all blews [blues]... Next the blews the red sells best and next the Red the purple... [In a subsequent letter he wrote that by "bay" he meant] lo prized blew Broad cloath. And if you please leave out the purple. Those no body Chuses to buy. (Thomas Banister in Montgomery 1984:159)

The volume of dark blue broadcloth in NWC and AFC inventories suggest that it was the standard cloth of the fur trade. It is likely that this circumstance was one reason for the aforementioned conventional terminology for blue broadcloth among both British and Anishnaabek. The great amount of dark blue broadcloth results in part from its aesthetic function, which was to form a contrasting background to bright colors and decorations. In particular, Anishnaabek used blue broadcloth for women's dresses, sleeves, leggings, skirts and fancy blankets, as well as men's breechcloths and leggings. Small components of dress, such as leggings, straps, sleeves and bags, were often made of red broadcloth, while decorative treatments usually consisted of bright colors such as red, white, yellow, light blue and silver {Plate 21; figures 1 and 2}.

The Anishnaabe preference for dark backgrounds with bright decorative treatments may have an analogy in “blackened hide” robes, pouches, moccasins and leggings that were decorated with red, yellow, light blue and white quillwork (see Plate 9; figure 1 above).¹² Ted Brassler (1982:22-3) notes that these articles were produced in the Great Lakes region between 1770 and 1820. The majority of pieces that have been preserved are small articles such as bags and moccasins, and their representation in museum collections is limited to these dates. I suggest, however, that these facts do not preclude the possibility that blackened hide was common before 1770 and that Anishnaabek used it more extensively for larger articles for which there are few or no examples in museum collections. The fact that their production declined after 1820 supports the suggestion that dark blue broadcloth served as a replacement for blackened hide in the aesthetics of Anishnaabe fur trade clothing. Brassler (*ibid.*24) points out that black velvet as a background for multi-colored beadwork “was considered an acceptable substitute for black dyed skin.” This style preference, however, did not gain ascendancy until the late nineteenth century. Fur trade companies did not offer velvet fabrics of any color before this time. In the intervening two hundred years from the time of first contact, the predominant styles were made of dark blue broadcloth with ribbonwork and white seed bead trim.

The aesthetic strategy of a dark blue background with bright colored accents is easily discernable in a series of pencil crayon drawings found among William Jones’ papers (n/d, SINAA).¹³ The artist depicts twelve women wearing strap dresses with sleeves and leggings (see Plate 7 and Plate 21 for strap dress style). All of the dresses are dark blue or black. Nine of the sleeves are dark blue or black while three are red. Six of the leggings are dark blue or black and the other half are red. Out of eight men depicted,

seven are wearing dark blue breechcloths, while the color of their leggings is evenly divided between dark blue, red, green and yellow (which the artist uses to portray buckskin). Because the clothing depicted in these drawings is reduced to the basic elements, it is readily apparent that red, and to a lesser degree green and yellow, are used sparingly to contrast with dark blue and black grounds.

European observers also noted the predominance of dark blue for certain kinds of garments. In the mid-eighteenth century, for example, Peter Kalm (in O'Neil 1995:9,11, 12) wrote that the Native women of Lorette in Lower Canada "have a short blue petticoat which reaches to their knees, the edge of which is bordered with red or other-colored ribbons." The men of Lorette wore blue breechcloths and "wrap[ped] their legs in pieces of blue cloth." In the late eighteenth century in Upper Canada, Isaac Weld (in O'Neil 1995:89) observed that among Odawa women "dark blue or green cloths in general are preferred to those of any other color, a few of the men are fond of wearing scarlet." In 1804, Peter Grant (in Masson 1960 [1889]:317-18) noted that the Lake Nipigon Ojibway men wore blue breechcloths, while the women wore "petticoats of blue cloth" with sleeves of red or blue molton. Elizabeth Baird (1898:45, NBL) relates that four Odawa women at a wedding that took place at Mackinac in 1819 wore cotton "short-gowns" over fine broadcloth skirts that folded over at the waist to form a peplum effect {Plate 22; figure 1; also Plate 4; figure 2}. "When the skirt is black," she noted, "the leggings are of scarlet broadcloth." In the early nineteenth century, William Keating (1959 [1824]:194) remarked that the Mesquakie men wore blue broadcloth breechcloths "as usual with the Indians of this country."

I propose that the main reason why dark blue was so popular was that this color had a variety of symbolic associations in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. There

is no general category for “blue” in the Anishnaabe language. As noted above, the common term, “*zhaawshkwaa*,” refers to light shades of blue and green. The appropriate term for dark blue is “*miinaande*,” or “blueberry color.” Hence, the symbolic associations of “*miinaande*” are of special concern to the analysis of dark blue broadcloth. Blueberries are the quintessential berry among the Anishnaabek. The term, “*miin*” or “*min*,” which means “blueberry,” is the root word for all other kinds of berries. For example, “*odemini*,” literally “heart berry,” refers to the strawberry. As well, Anishnaabek termed seed beads, “*manitominens*,” or “little spirit berries.”

Hamell (1983:7-8) suggests that berries represent a “liminal state-of-being between the here and the hereafter,” as well as the “substance by which these threshold states-of-being are positively resolved.” He points out that berries of various kinds are frequently depicted as growing along the route taken by souls on their way to the Land of the Dead. In this respect, subsistence in the Land of the Dead parallels that of the living. Anishnaabe women gathered, dried and stored various kinds of berries every summer (Densmore 1979 [1929]:127; Kohl 1985 [1860]:318-21). Dried berries made up a substantial portion of the Anishnaabe diet during the summer and in the lean winter months they could at times make the difference between life and death. The economic and symbolic importance of berries in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment may have been a factor in the popularity of dark blue broadcloth, particularly in view of the likelihood that Anishnaabek had no natural dyes that produced this hue.¹⁴

The association of *miinaande* with the threshold between worlds is reinforced by the color’s similarity with the appearance of the sky at twilight before dawn and after sunset. For example, a few years ago Zeek Cywink (LJMPS, 1998) was giving medicine wheel teachings to a class of fourth grade children in Toronto. He asked them what color

the sky was in the west when the sun goes down. The children responded with red, orange and pink. Whereas the children were thinking of the sunset itself, to Zeek's way of thinking, the characteristic color of the west is dark blue, the color of the twilight after the sun has gone down. This color is appropriate to the Western Doorway, the entrance to the Land of the Dead. It is doubtful, however, that Anishnaabek ever viewed the Land of the Dead as an "asocial" place, as Hamell suggests. On the contrary, they expected to meet all their relations there (Hallowell 1955:174). To illustrate this belief Warren (1984 [1885]:73) notes that the path to the Land of the Dead is called "Ke-wa-kun-ah," or "homeward road."

Similarly, the Anishnaabe term for east, "*waaban*," is the same as that for the twilight of dawn. It is also the root word for a number of terms related to the concepts of sight, perception and illumination (Baraga 1992 [1878]:390 pt.2). In former times, spiritual practitioners called "*waabenowiwini*" derived their power from the "twilight that precedes the dawn" at the Eastern Doorway (Jenness 1935:62). This power was greatest at the meeting place between the sky and the water which was the home of the *manitook* (Vennum 1982:181). The association of dawn twilight with blue broadcloth is suggested by the NWC's use of the term "Aurora"¹⁵ to designate a type of blue cloth (Birk 1989:56).

Whether to the east or to the west, *miinaunde* represents the power of the *manitook* that dwell at the thresholds of the twilight skies. As such, the color is imbued with "control-power." I suggest that the great power associated with the twilight was a significant factor in the designation, *manitowegin*. As well, the particular attributes of this power gave rise to the aesthetic function of dark blue cloth in Anishnaabe fur trade fashions. Out of the twilight comes the light of the sun, the moon and the stars. Hence,

dark blue broadcloth forms the background to bright colored beads, ribbons and silver ornaments.

Frequently, the symbolic associations of *miinaande* are ordered in pairs of colors such as: dark blue and light blue; dark blue and red; and dark and light. With regard to the first of these sets, medicine wheel teachings I received in my Anishnaabe language class associate *miinaande* with “Father Sky” (*Giizhgong*) and *zhaawshkwaa* with “Mother Earth” (*Shkakmiii-kwe*). More commonly, however, dark blue represents the night sky and light blue represents the daytime sky. For example, Norval Morriveau (1965:69) had a vision in which the “Great Father Manitou” addressed him as follows:

“Here I give you two colours, one dark blue to represent night, one light blue to represent day. Take this material like the finest silk. That represents day and night. Use these two colours or make anything with them, a shirt, a bag, a charm. With this I shall protect you always against demigods and all sorcery.” That dream left a strong impression upon me. Afterwards I started to do art and paint legends without fear of offending my ancestral spirits.

Contrary to Hamell’s conclusions above, both light and dark blue were positive, protective colors in Morriveau’s dream. A similar expression of the positive attributes of the night and day skies is found in Jones’ notes on the pencil crayon drawings in the Smithsonian (Landes 1968:183). The illustration of face painting for the sixth degree Midé priest shows a solid blue line running diagonally across the left side of the face. Jones’ notes state:

“Raven is the name of one who has the power to confer the sixth degree. This refers to the idea that a man of the sixth degree represents a huge raven as large as the sky above. The blue is for the clear sky. If a clear day comes, then the prayer for power to heal is said to be answered.”

In this instance, the blue line apparently suggests both the clear daylight sky and the dark bluish-black of the raven who fills the sky. A link between the raven and dark blue broadcloth is suggested in an Anishnaabe story Jones (in Overholt and Callicott 1982:65-

6) committed to writing at the turn of the twentieth century. Clothed-in-Fur married a woman who was actually a raven. Her true identity was suggested when the hunter noticed that “very pretty was the mystic cloth which the woman had for a skirt.” The term “mystic cloth” is no doubt a literal translation of “*manitowegin*.”

In certain contexts, the color set of dark blue and red also represents the day and night skies. For example, during the 1920s an Odawa man, Joseph Shomin, drew a pencil-crayon drawing of a man painted for a Sun Dance ceremony. Half of his chest was painted dark blue to represent the night sky, “a place of spirits and manitous beyond the reach of living things,” while the other half was painted red to symbolize the day sky, “where birds and other sky beings lived” (McClurken 1991:17). Similarly, the faces of Dream Dance drums are characteristically painted one half red and the other half blue with a yellow line in between. One society member explained that red denotes “war, day and evil,” while dark blue represents “peace, night and good.” Another member stated that red means “strife, strength and manhood” in contrast to dark blue, which symbolizes “peace, modesty and the Great Spirit” (Vennum 1982:204).

In the context of diplomatic relations, Great Lakes nations used red paint to represent bloodshed in war and blue paint to symbolize peace (Carver 1974 [1778]:101-2). Because the Dream Dance was given to the Ojibway by the Sioux, it is closely associated with the nineteenth century peace treaty between the two nations. A third society member interpreted the painting on the drums as an expression of this treaty: red = the bloodshed between the two tribes; yellow = the boundary line made when peace was established; and blue = the treaty and justice (Vennum 1982:206). In this color set, the meaning of dark blue is identical to that of light blue which, in the medium of paint, is associated with peace and protection (Kohl 1985 [1860]:16; Morriseau 1965:53).

As noted above, the combination of dark blue broadcloth backgrounds with red broadcloth highlights was very common in Anishnaabe fur trade fashions. It is also apparent from the images and descriptions above that women's dress utilized more blue than did the dress of the men. From a practical point of view, dresses and skirts require more cloth than do breechcloths. It is possible, however, that this disproportion also stemmed from a symbolic association between women and blue on the one hand and red and men on the other. For example, Peter Kalm (in O'Neil 1995:12) noted that the women of Lorette wore blue broadcloth "caps" (possibly hoods) while the men wore red ones. As noted above, one Dream Dance member stated explicitly that red was associated with "manhood."

Frequently, red and blue were utilized on the same article. For example, some of the early blankets were half-covered with rows of wide ribbons sewn in horizontal bands with a minutely thin space between them {Plate 7}.¹⁶ When the blanket was red the ribbons were blue and vice versa (Hunter in O'Neil 1995:65). An elaboration of this color usage is found on a particular style of men's leggings characteristic of the early nineteenth century. Red and black or dark blue pieces of broadcloth are cut and sewn in sections that are separated by a decorated diagonal line that runs from near the top to near the bottom of the legging {Plate 24; figure 2}. In the most complex examples, the red and black sections are reversed top to bottom on the right and left leggings.¹⁷ Similarly, a Peter Rindisbacher painting of an assembly of Ojibway shows two men wearing a red legging on one leg and a blue one on the other (Gilman 1992:45).

These two-tone treatments suggest that the Anishnaabek were interested in the relationship between the two colors in addition to each color for its own sake. I suggest that the style preference for red and blue cloth is a customary expression of a general

aesthetic in which contrasts of light and dark are prominent. Kohl (1985 [1860]:15) observed this tendency with regard to face painting. He noted that Anishnaabe men “frequently divide the face into two halves, which undergo different treatment. One will be dark - say blue or black - but the other quite light, yellow, bright red or white.”

In the context of the aesthetic of dark and light contrasts, dark colors, including dark blue, dark green and dark brown, serve the symbolic function of black. Because Anishnaabek blackened their faces during fasting and mourning, it seems plausible that black symbolized the “absence of well-being, harmony and purposiveness of Mind, Knowledge and Greatest Being, as in Death, mourning and confinement within the womb” (Hamell 1983:7). From the point of view of Anishnaabe logic, however, this conclusion does not necessarily follow. The purpose of blackening one’s face in either of these contexts was to inspire the pity of *manitook* who would therefore come to one’s aid. Similar to the twilight from which comes brightness, black represents an emptiness to which comes fullness.

For example, regarding the fourth degree Midé priest’s face painting, Jones (in Landes 1968:183) states that the “blue really stands for black paint or charcoal. This means that he will talk earnestly to the manido beneath the earth in order to get his aid as he confers the degree on a neophyte.” Hence, blackening one’s face can hardly be considered an “asocial” act. Rather, it serves to shift the focus of social interaction from the human to the spiritual realm. Cass Lake, MN, Midé priest Hole-in-the-Day’s explanation of the ascent of Grandfather Bear through the four Earth degrees of the Midéwiwin society exemplifies the principle of blackness as potential life (Landes 1968:181):

Our Grandfather [Bear] was black in color at Earth’s bottom layer, representing

woods and sticks lying there dead and bare. At the next layer he turned red, being surrounded by growing things - flowers and leaves. At the third layer he was yellow, for the growing things had changed color with the changing season. At the fourth layer he was white, for snow. Also, the colors represent the cardinal directions: east winds are black, south winds are red, west ones are yellow, and north winds are white. We midé folk paint ourselves after them, for their "pity."

While it is true that black represents death and red symbolizes life, the latter proceeds naturally from the former as do spring flowers emerging from the bare earth. Death is not barren, but rather pregnant with life.

In Cass Lake Midéwiwin rites, blue paint was used to represent black (Landes 1968:181). It is interesting to observe that when blue stands for black, it can represent the world beneath this world rather than the one above. In 1944, Tom Badger, a Midé priest from Lac du Flambeau, told Victor Barnouw (1977:41-4) a legend that expresses a connection between the lower world, women, and night on the one hand and the upper world, men, and day on the other. In the view of this narrator the domain of the lower world and its ruler are neither good nor bad. Rather, the lower world *manitook* are powerful beings who stand in an ambivalent relation to persons dwelling on the middle world, earth. Their quantity and quality of "control-power" may be extended to women, night, black and dark blue. The Anishnaabe aesthetic preference for blue/red combinations, however, shows that the key to harmony rests in the balance between the two powerful forces of dark and light.

I conclude that while *miinaande* has various symbolic associations, in general this color signifies the power inherent in unmanifest potential. In terms of the life cycle, dark blue symbolizes latent fertility (Eastern Doorway) and potential for rebirth (Western Doorway). With regard to reciprocal relations, dark blue signifies that one may expect to receive rather than be expected to give. Wearing a large proportion of *Miinaande*

displays a certain humility appropriate to the “pitiful” condition of one who hopes to attract the benevolent attentions of powerful *manitook*. As noted above, this expectation was reinforced by the similarity of the color to that of the dwelling place of these benefactors in the twilight at the horizon.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Anishnaabek frequently avoided ostentatious display due to the high value placed on both generosity and humility. The color preference for dark blue was another expression of this practice. As well, the greater consumption of red cloth among men than women recalls the former’s more conspicuous use of sartorial display. Nevertheless, men’s finery reflected the status of both men and their wives because it signaled the feminine virtue of industriousness. The “pitiful” attitude conveyed by the donning of dark blue among women further suggests that they played a supporting role in the economic success of their male partners by attracting beneficial spiritual influences. The interdependency of day and night was mirrored in that of men and women; light and dark; red and blue.

The Anishnaabe symbolic order which emphasizes balance and interdependency is dissimilar to that of nineteenth century Europeans. In particular, color symbolism in the British behavioral environment was organized around the hierarchical class structure. As noted in Chapter Four, the dependency of the upper classes on the labor of the lower classes was almost entirely suppressed in the rhetoric of the medieval “covenant” in which peasants exchanged their freedom for the military protection of the gentry. In nineteenth century England, blue dye was inexpensive and was consequently associated with the lower classes and eschewed by the upper classes. As well, “sad” and “sober” colors such as grey, brown, and dark blue were considered “marks of humility” and were therefore used for the uniforms of orphans, veterans and indigents who were dependent

upon charitable institutions. Among Europeans, such “humility” entailed shame, not virtue or power (Cunningham and Lucas 1978:20). Perhaps for this reason one rarely encounters early documentary sources extolling the virtues of dark blue among Anishnaabek.

The case is altogether different with red, however. It has frequently been remarked, by both Europeans and Anishnaabek, that red is the latter’s favorite color.¹⁸ This assertion is plausible in view of the prevalence of red articles of apparel in museum collections. For example, the number of red broadcloth leggings I found in collections exceeded that of any other color. Susanna Moodie (1989 [1852]:289) reports that during the 1830s she could tell that a certain Mississauga woman was “the wife of a chief, by the scarlet embroidered leggings, which only the wives and daughters of chiefs [were] allowed to wear.” This observation seems dubious in view of the greater number of authors and painters, some of whom are noted above, who suggest that red leggings were common among Anishnaabe men and women. Moreover, George Winter’s (in Cooke 1993:98) painting, “Mendicant Indians,” shows two “poor” Potawatomi women wearing dark blue skirts and blankets with red embroidered leggings {Plate 22; figure 2}.

It is probable that red leggings carried some degree of status, however. As noted in a previous chapter, red broadcloth “chief’s coats” clearly signaled high status. As shown in Chapter Five, the fur trade companies used these coats in an attempt to introduce sartorial stratification into Anishnaabe society. These companies also imposed a hierarchical structure of clothing codes on their own employees by giving men of various positions differing amounts and qualities of ready-made attire upon their engagement (Gilman 1992:7-18; AFC Records, NAC).¹⁹ Company clerks and interpreters, most of whom were probably Métis, also kept personal accounts that show

that they were among the consumers of red woollens. The amounts and types of fabrics they purchased suggests that they were buying for Native or Métis wives and children.

For example, in 1824 Truman A. Warren purchased “2 yds. blue list cloth, 4 country socks, 1 cloth cappot [sic], 10 yds. Red flannel, 6 yds. Bath Coating, 1 Blanket 3 pts., 1 Blanket 2 ½ pts., 1 pr. fine cloth pantaloons, and 1 pr. men’s shoes, coarse” (AFC Records, NAC) (see Appendix). At this time, Truman Warren was the “principle trader of the Lac du Flambeau [AFC] department.” Three years previous, he had married the daughter of the famous trader Michel Cadot. She was ¾ Ojibway blood, spoke no English and was the granddaughter of an influential chief of La Pointe. Truman died the following year and no children are reported for the couple (Warren 1984 [1885]:9-10,384,391).²⁰

The ten yards of red flannel were probably destined for Warren’s wife’s apparel, although she also received a 2 ½ pt. blanket, whether she and her husband wore Anishnaabe-style or European-style clothing. In the former case, while a complete woman’s outfit of blanket, strap dress or skirt and leggings takes about five yards of flannel to make, a man’s outfit could not consume that much fabric even if it were to include a blanket, one of which Warren also purchased in a man’s size. In the latter case, European-style men’s clothing did not include articles of dress made of red flannel, with the exception of the pantaloons and shirts worn by the voyageurs, many of whom were Métis.²¹ Red flannel, however, was a very common choice for European-style women’s “petticoats” which, due to their fullness, took many yards of fabric to make. Alternatively, skirts and bodices such as those Rindisbacher depicted as worn by a Métis man’s wife may have been made of red flannel {Plate 25; figure 3}.

Possibly, fur traders’ Anishnaabe and Métis wives and voyageurs wore red flannel

clothing instead of dark blue as a mark of status and/or distinct Métis identity.²² This particular fabric represents the intersection of Anishnaabe and British sartorial status codes in a manner well-suited to the role of the Métis in the fur trade: the high status of the color red in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment was counteracted in part by the low status of flannel as compared to broadcloth in that of the British and the Anishnaabek. Therefore, these codes would signify the low rank (flannel; red petticoats; red men's clothing) of the Métis in relation to the British, while simultaneously signaling cultural difference (flannel instead of broadcloth) and high rank (red) in relation to Anishnaabek. As shall be elaborated, however, trousers of any kind provoked derision among Anishnaabek and therefore red flannel trousers would not signal high status.

It is partially due to the high status of the color that red Anishnaabe articles of clothing are over-represented in contemporaneous descriptions and museum collections. European observers and collectors focused on the extraordinary rather than the ordinary, the decorative rather than the background. Another factor affecting museum collections is that Anishnaabek favored red for small articles of dress. Collectors found these more convenient to store and transport than large items of clothing. As well, Anishnaabe families tended to save small decorative items over several generations, while they frequently recycled larger and more common items into quilts, rag rugs and children's clothing.²³ Besides red broadcloth leggings, heddle and finger woven sashes, garters and bags form a category of predominantly red items of apparel that are well represented in museum collections (Penney 1992:74-83; 1990: 15,17,24,26). The preference for red in these accessories, however, shows that the color was a favorite for accents, not in general, as one might suppose by viewing them out of context of the total clothed appearance.

European commentators seldom failed to remark on the popularity of vermilion paint. In fact, it is the only color of paint present on the fur trade inventories I examined that date from 1725 to 1830. Kalm (in O'Neil 1995:11), however, mentions a green paint called "*vertigris*" sold by French traders in 1750, and Kohl (1985 [1860]:16) notes that "yellow chrome" and "Prussian blue" paint was available from traders in 1855.²⁴ An Ojibway told Kohl (*ibid.*:416) that Nanabush made the first yellow face paint from the "yellow foam that covers the water in spring," to which Kohl added, "probably the yellow pollen that falls from the pine." Vermilion has an indigenous analogy in red "onamen sand" (also called "ochre") which is an extremely powerful "medicine" derived originally from the blood of the Great Beaver (Morriseau 1965:19,53).²⁵ Nineteenth century Anishnaabek used vermilion not only to paint their faces and bodies, but also to color tanned hide moccasins and animal hairs (Adair in O'Neil 1995:6; Brassier 1982:24), as well as to add colorful accents to the white shirts they got from traders (Kalm in O'Neil 1995:11; Ziesberger in O'Neil 1995:54).

Alanson Skinner (1921:200) reports that red face paint symbolized happiness among early twentieth century Menomini. This interpretation may be attributed to the efficacy of the "control-power" of red paint for achieving specific goals. For example, Jones (n/d, SINAA) notes that a hunter applies red paint to his face the evening before he intends to hunt in order to encourage the animals to give themselves to him. The red stripes represent "streaks of light in the break of day. The hunter wears these when he goes forth to hunt." In the morning before he embarks, however, "he takes off the paint over the mouth." Another drawing depicts Pejiki (The Buffalo, see note 13) "visiting a trader to obtain food and garments." Jones states that the "trader was loosened up [i.e. became generous] through the power of the mystery [i.e. *manitoo*] in the red paint in the

necklace, over the mouth and in the palm of the right hand. The words of the Indian, the sight of the red paint and his handshake did the work.”

Anishnaabe narrative and spiritual traditions also seem to give red an exalted place among colors. For example, when Osseo, the son of the Evening Star, was mistreated on earth, his father invited him to “ascend into the skies” where he had prepared a feast for him and his loved ones. He told his son, “Your bowls and kettles shall be no longer wood and earth. The one shall become silver, and the other wampum. They shall shine like fire, and glisten like the most beautiful scarlet.” Accordingly, their wooden dishes “were changed into shells of a scarlet color” (Schoolcraft 1956:193). The reference to shiny red wampum is particularly conspicuous because wampum is normally either white or dark purple (popularly called “black”).

Morriseau (1965:119,126-7) reveals that among the Nipigon Ojibway a certain group of *manitook* called the “Heaven People” are “Indians with fairer skin and dressed in scarlet tunics” and scarlet “pointed hoods like caps.” The fur trader George Nelson (in Brown and Brightman 1988:38) had a dream in which he met an Ojibway-speaking spirit whose dress was that of a “neat Southern Indian [probably Wisconsin Ojibway as opposed to Manitoba Cree], composed mostly of red and yellow, but also a few other colors.” At the time, Nelson’s Métis companions identified this spirit as the Sun. Later, however, Nelson concluded that his dream visitor was not the Sun because a Western Saulteaux told him the Sun is dressed “like a Gentleman” and “speaks English” (*ibid.*:50). I suggest that both interpretations were “true” for the interpreters. Nevertheless the Métis attribution seems more plausible because it likely represents the prevalent views at the time and place that Nelson had the dream, and because both Anishnaabek and the Sun existed in North America before Europeans.

The association of red with the Sun is also illustrated in mid-nineteenth century Midéwiwin teachings. For example, William Warren (1984 [1885]:78-9) relates a Midéwiwin tradition in which the Anishnaabek followed the sacred megis shell from one point to another during the course of their migration westward from the shores of the “great salt water toward the rising sun.” The megis shell “showed itself above the surface of the great water, and the rays of the sun for a long period were reflected from its glossy back. It gave warmth and light to the An-ish-in-aub-ag.” Each time the megis disappeared below the waters the Anishnaabek were left in darkness. Death and suffering resulted. Finally, the megis rose above the waters at La Pointe, WI, and “it has ever since reflected back the rays of the sun, and blessed our ancestors with life, light, and wisdom.” The sacred megis shell was represented by red spots on Midéwiwin degree poles and in face-painting. In this particular tradition, red was related to the rising sun with regard to the sacred megis shell and to the setting sun when placed on the western side of the fourth degree Midéwiwin poles. This dual usage suggests that red denoted the path of the sun upon which the sacred megis led the migrating Anishnaabek (Hoffman 1891:180,182).

Unlike dark blue and black, whose power lies in the passive and non-specific potential of fertility and reciprocal exchanges, the power of red is an active force directed towards specific ends. I conclude from the above examples that, due to the active nature of the color’s power, only persons of great power should wear sizable quantities of red. To do so without the strength and knowledge to direct such power would in effect be falsely boasting of spiritual proficiency. This would leave one vulnerable to those of greater spiritual power who may be offended by one’s pretensions. As well, red denotes war and bloodshed in the context of intertribal relations. Hence, Anishnaabe fur trade clothing styles generally employ red judiciously as a sign of respect to both the active

power of the color and its ambivalent nature.

As noted above, Hamell identified red, black (or dark blue) and white as the three significant colors in the behavioral environment of the Great Lakes Native nations.

This impression is supported by the remarks of William Keating (1959 [1824]:179):

It does not appear that with [the Menominee] the mere combination of many gaudy colours constitute beauty; but this is made to depend more upon the proper union of the three colours; white, red and blue united, to form symmetrical and varied designs.

Although these colors represent three of the four directions of the medicine wheel, the fourth color, yellow, did not appear to be a substantial component of the aesthetics of Anishnaabe design until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Hamell (1992:462) found that Iroquois customers rejected yellow trade beads because they deemed yellow to be an “unhealthy” color. Among the historic Anishnaabek, yellow appears to be an ambivalent color much like red: it was good in small quantities, but greater quantities were not necessarily better.

For example, there was no yellow broadcloth in the Great Lakes fur trade. Very small quantities of yellow flannel and yellow baize appear on AFC inventories from 1817, 1821 and 1827 (Thwaites 1888:377, NBL; AFC Records, NAC) (see Appendix). No yellow fabrics appear on the earlier NWC inventories (NWC Papers, TMRL; Thwaites 1910a; Birk 1989:56) or in Susan Johnston’s (1830, NBL) accounts from Sault St. Marie in 1830. A yellow cotton fabric called “nankeen” was used for ready-made trousers and vests, but these were probably sold to Métis and French Canadian fur trade company employees (NWC Papers, MTRL). It is therefore safe to assume that very little yellow cloth circulated in the Great Lakes fur trade market.

In the Anishnaabe language, the term for yellow is the same as that for brown,

“zaawaa” (Johnston 1978:21; Nichols and Nyholm 1995:150,288). I suggest that during the fur trade era Anishnaabek continued to prefer hand-tanned smoked hides to trade cloth when they used *“zaawaa”* as a background. In fur trade fashions, however, smoked hide was used mainly for small items such as moccasins, various types of bags and occasionally leggings. As well, Anishnaabek probably attributed greater “control-power” to the blackened hide discussed above than they did to the regular smoked hides used for everyday purposes.

Similarly, white unsmoked hides were likely held in higher esteem than were *zaawaa* smoked hides. Among the Algonquian-speaking groups of the Labrador peninsula, white caribou hides were used for the elaborate painted hide coats worn by hunters during the fur trade era (Burnham 1992:*passim*) as well as for painted ceremonial hides that were displayed facing the rising sun to promote successful hunting during the winter.²⁶ Anishnaabek may also have produced such ceremonial hides. For example, among the Berens River Ojibway “a moose or caribou skin, dyed with red ochre or sometimes painted with pictographs” was given boys to lie on during their puberty fasts (Hallowell 1976b:465). As well, among the Menomini, a “deerskin was offered to the Sun and a feast was given” when a bear was slain (Skinner 1921:75). As I shall demonstrate in a subsequent discussion of the color white, pre-contact Anishnaabek probably also produced white painted hide clothing.

The paint used for ceremonial hides and coats was prepared by adding pigment to a base made from the roe of suckers (*catostomus*) (Burnham 1992:36; Tanner 1984:94). The natural color of this substance is yellow. Because yellow was the easiest color to produce, it was used more extensively than were other colors in the designs characteristic of the Labrador coats. In particular, yellow was used for the outlines of the designs and

the cross-hatching used to fill in certain design areas. Red was another prominent color while black was used for small details (Burnham 1992:37-8). On white hide, these colors compose the four sacred colors. Ceremonial hides, however, were typically decorated solely with red and blue paint.²⁷

Although yellow fabric was scarce in fur trade Anishnaabe fashions, visual and artifactual sources show a definite preference for yellow as an accent color. This tendency may harken back to the aesthetics of painted hide clothing. I think this preference originates in the fact that black, dark blue, green, brown, grey and white all frequently occur as backgrounds in the natural environment, while red and yellow seldom do. For example, red berries and yellow flowers often highlight a green background. In this setting, they symbolize the life of spring and summer. In contrast, the colors of fall leaves provide a yellow and red background. Anishnaabek associated this latter phenomenon with premature death and it was therefore an unfavorable omen in dreams (Hallowell 1976b:469). This connection pertained especially to yellow because red had other meanings that took precedence. Accordingly, Anishnaabek eschewed yellow cloth backgrounds but favored yellow paint, quills and ribbons for decorative highlights.

Anishnaabek used many kinds of plants to produce different shades of yellow dyes for quills (Densmore 1987 [1928]:370-4; Lyford 1982 [1943]:152-3). In museum collections, it is very common to find combinations of yellow, red and black dyed quills on eighteenth and early nineteenth century hide clothing and accessories {see Plate 9; figure 1 above}. When Europeans introduced ribbons, yellow became a favorite color in Anishnaabe ribbonwork. One pair of leggings from the mid-nineteenth century has yellow and black ribbons trimmed with white seed beads sewn onto red flannel {Plate

23; figure 1}. Whereas the four sacred colors frequently occur on painted and quilled hides, these leggings are a rare example of their exclusive use on a nineteenth century trade cloth garment. Most commonly, yellow was combined with a variety of other colored ribbons. In this context, yellow seems merely to share in the quality of luminosity which all ribbons possess {Plate 23; figure 2; Plate 20; figure 1}.

In European color symbolism, yellow is associated with the sun. From early childhood we are taught to color the sun yellow with crayons, markers and paints. In the Anishnaabe behavioral environment, however, the luminosity of the sun is associated with the colors red and white. Among Europeans the yellow sun is connected with the metal gold. With the exception of gold braid on chief's coats, however, Anishnaabek did not appear to be partial to gold. I have encountered only one other reference to a gold ornament in the fur trade context. A French emissary gave a gold medal in the shape of a heart to the chief of La Pointe as a symbol of alliance (Warren 1984 [1885]:132). The Anishnaabek's limited use of gold is also reflected in their terminology. "Yellow metal" is brass, while the term for gold is "*asáwa-joniia*," or "goldfish-colored silver (money)" (Baraga 1992 [1878]:51,176 pt.1,118,295 pt.2).

Where metal ornaments were concerned, Anishnaabek fur trade dress shows a strong preference for silver. As noted in Chapter Two, silver ornaments both facilitated and displayed success in hunting. As such, they served as vehicles of "control-power" and as status symbols. In Chapter Three I showed how silver ornaments were utilized in an aesthetic strategy that emphasized vertical and horizontal crosses and grids which symbolized lineal and lateral social relations. The particular placement of silver ornaments on fingers, wrists and the upper arm served yet another function. In the Anishnaabe behavioral environment joints are particularly sensitive and vulnerable

points at which spiritual power may enter and exit the body. This principle is seen in the practice of “shooting” the sacred megis shell into the joints of second and third degree Midé candidates in order to “fully infuse the body with the magic influence as desired” (Hoffman 1891:234,237,248). Conversely, illness or death can result from a human or other-than-human person “shooting” an object into one’s body. Certain kinds of spiritual practitioners cure illness by the removal of such objects (Hallowell 1955:173).

The Anishnaabe terms for silver bracelets, rings and arm bands have the ending “*pizon*,”²⁸ which “alludes to binding, stringing, hanging from” (Baraga 1992 [1878]:90 pt.2). Other fur trade articles of attire that bear this ending include turbans or “anything wrapped around the head,” belts, nose rings, and garters. In the late nineteenth century waistcoats, vests, braces and corsets were added to the list. In the twentieth century, the list expanded again to include beaded headbands, head-scarfs, earrings and brassieres. As Cath Oberholzer (1993:321) points out with regard to the Cree:

...it is evident that lines, cords, strings, straps, and bonds are used synonymously to trap, ensnare, entangle, bind, and ultimately, to link or connect on a multiplicity of levels... In some instances, the power can be reversed by releasing the captive through loosening or cutting the bonds. These concepts, as revealed in both myth and material culture, can be used to establish the underlying ideology of lines and knots.

Oberholtzer (*ibid.*:321-2) illustrates the “control-power” of the act of binding with a Cree legend in which a youthful hunter snares the Sun with a string (variously a single hair, a thread or a sinew) he obtained from his sister. Versions of the same legend are found among the Menomini (Hoffman 1970 [1896]:182) and the Berens River Ojibway (Hallowell 1976b:457). This suggests that the “underlying ideology of lines and knots” had a widespread distribution among Woodlands nations. The idea expressed in the legend is that the act of binding or snaring is sufficient to contain or release great power

even though the binding material may be slight.

Fur trade apparel whose Anishnaabe names end in “*pizon*” were placed on parts of the body through which spiritual power may enter and exit. Silver ornaments and red accessories, such as woven garters and sashes, were placed near the joints, the head and the waist to “bind” the passageways and thus “snare” malevolent spirits and sorcerers’ missiles (Hamilton 1995:49). Hence, Alicia Owen (1904:99-100) found that among the Mesquakie all silver ornaments were “good medicine,” but bracelets were “better medicine than other ornaments.” Later applications of the ending “*pizon*,” however, suggest a transformation of the meaning and value of binding from a powerful protective force to the constriction of movement characteristic of the items of European-style dress to which they refer.

During the fur trade era, the luminosity and whiteness of silver ornaments undoubtedly made them ideal candidates for the protection of vulnerable parts of the body and the promotion of reciprocal relations with beneficent *manitook*. Along with red and yellow, white and luminous objects symbolized the light side in the color set of dark and light. Prior to the introduction of trade goods, Native peoples manufactured discs out of white shells which bore cut-out and engraved circular motifs of eight or more points that represented the Sun (Dubin 1999:150-1). Manufacturers in Europe and Montreal adopted similar designs for silver brooches they made specifically for the Native market {Plate 24; figure 1; Plate 26; figure 1} (Dexter 1981:8-11; Dubin 1999:150,185). Large crescent-shaped gorgets were another popular style of silver ornament {see Plate 6 above} (Gilman 1982:100). Although these resembled eighteenth century British and French officers’ gorgets, among Anishnaabek they likely symbolized the moon (Dubin 1999:184). These forms of silver ornaments suggest that Anishnaabek associated the

color white with both Sun and Moon.

The close association of white, luminosity and the Sun is dramatically portrayed in ceremonies involving painted white hides. During the 1970s, an elderly Cree woman enacted one of these ceremonies for the benefit of the ethnographer Adrien Tanner (1983:94-6). At 4:30 AM, a small party met in a tent whose doorway faced southeast and the woman commenced painting a white moose hide. A moment before the sun was visible on the horizon the party exited the tent and the woman placed the decorated hide on a pile of spruce boughs arranged at a 45° angle to the Sun. As the sun rose, Tanner remarks, the white hide “appear[ed] to light up, so that the decoration was shown up very distinctly... the whiteness intensified as more and more of the sun’s surface appeared.” As soon as the sun was fully above the horizon the woman folded up the hide. This completed the ceremony. Tanner notes that the decoration of white ceremonial hides, which takes place in the twilight before the sun rises, is “as much a part of the ceremony as the display [to the rising sun] outside the tent.” The brief moment of exposure thus actualizes the power that was developing in the twilight stages of the ceremony. In this way, the relationship between the colors *miimaande* and white serves to promote success at hunting.

The particular scenario in which the rising Sun in the East bestows power to achieve material well-being had especially profound effects on relations between Anishnaabek and Europeans at the time of first contact. The singularity of men coming from the meeting of the water and the sky in the East who had white-skin and light blue eyes, and wore dark blue (in the case of the French) or red (in the case of the British) clothing, initially caused Anishnaabek to view Europeans as *manitook* (White 1994:*passim*). The French took full advantage of their perceived *manitoo* status by

adopting and elaborating this metaphor in their diplomatic speeches. For example, a French envoy represented the French king as the Sun to the Anishnaabek at La Pointe:

“Every morning you will look towards the rising of the sun and you shall see the fire of your French father reflecting towards you, to warm [i.e. to provide food and clothing] you and your people. If you are in trouble, you, the Crane, must arise in the skies and cry with your ‘far sounding’ voice, and I will hear you. The fire of your French father shall last forever, and warm his children” (oral tradition of a French speech quoted in Warren 1984 [1885]:131-2).²⁹

It is not surprising that these claims of the French were plausible to Anishnaabek at the time. The term “*manitoo*” was applied to all beings and things that appeared sacred, strange, remarkable or powerful. There was no clear line between “*manitook*” as spiritual beings and “*manitook*” as humans who possessed extraordinary spiritual power, although the latter obtained their “control-power” from the former (White 1994:379). In the Anishnaabe behavioral environment, not only did this type of power transfer characterize puberty fasts, but Anishnaabe stories frequently relate incidents in which such encounters took place during the course of daily life. Typically, the *manitook* involved were the white-colored “chiefs” of the various animals and plants,³⁰ but in some cases human-like spirits were also described as white.

For example, one Odawa story concerns a youth who “beheld two beautiful young females smiling on him. Their countenances appeared to be perfectly white, and were exceedingly beautiful.” Before he could speak, however, he fell senseless before them. When he awoke, he was in a large lodge that he soon learned was the underground abode of the “guardian Spirit” of the sand dunes on the south shore of Lake Superior. Predictably, the girls he had seen were the daughters of this *manitoo* and one was given him as wife. After living in the abode of the *manitook* for one year, the couple traveled to the youth’s village where the people were “astonished at [the wife’s] beauty, at the

whiteness of her skin” (Schoolcraft 1991:183-91). The purpose of the marital union between the youth and the daughter of the *manitoo* was to establish an alliance in which humans provided the *manitook* with tobacco in exchange for the fulfilment of specific requests. At the time of telling (during the early 1800s) the whiteness of the girls was the visible sign that revealed their identities as *manitook*.

The regularity with which the plot of marital and material exchanges between humans and *manitook* occurs in stories and in “real life” suggests that it is an Anishnaabe master narrative. The particular sub-plot of the Sun is a related cultural script. It seems likely that whiteness was an indigenous component of this plot. White animal “chiefs” were undoubtedly a pre-contact phenomenon and there is a continuity between animals, humans and spirits in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. Hence, the cultural script in which the rising Sun bestows spiritual power and material prosperity probably pre-determined the roles and obligations Anishnaabek expected of the Europeans when they first arrived.

The connection between *manitook* and white-skinned traders was reinforced by another cultural script in which the former were responsible for bringing new technologies to the Anishnaabek (Densmore 1987 [1928]:381,384; Kohl 1985 [1860:415-6]). For example, a Menominee legend relates that after the Great White Underground Bear transformed into the first human ancestor, one of his first acts was to invent a bark canoe and a spear to hunt sturgeon. He then taught these skills to his descendants (Skinner 1921:200). More recently, a Cree elder explained that the art of quillwork was originally taught to a woman by a porcupine who visited her in a dream (Wolfart and Ahenakew 1993:35). In view of this cultural script, one eighteenth-century Miami chief told Perrot that he preferred the French god to his own, “who had not taught them to

make hatchets, kettles, and all else that men need; and he hoped that by adoring [the Christian God] they would obtain all the knowledge the French had” (La Potherie in Blair 1996 [1911]:332, Vol.1). Europeans differed from Anishnaabe *manitook*, however, in the significant respect that they did not teach their technologies to Anishnaabek, but rather traded the finished products. This practice reinforced the perception of the “control-power” of the products and the men who dispensed them.

Yet, the identification of Europeans with the Sun did not survive with significant force beyond the seventeenth century in the Great Lakes region because the European “*manitook*” often failed to live up to expectations (R. White 1991:108-10). Nevertheless, the idea may have traveled west with the fur trade frontier and thus survived in western regions to a much later date. For example, fur trader George Nelson (in Brown and Brightman 1988:33,50) was stationed at Lac La Ronge (northern Saskatchewan) in the spring of 1823. He witnessed a shaking tent ceremony in which the Sun was one of the visitors. Upon the Sun’s arrival in the tent, a member of the audience whose gun was broken exclaimed, “Ha! Well, I am happy of it... is it not [the Sun] who says himself able to repair Fire-Arms (Guns), and do anything with them he pleases?” He passed his gun into the tent and the Sun fixed it. This was in the same vicinity where a Saulteaux told Nelson that the Sun dressed like an English gentleman.

While the specific association between white men and the Sun was short-lived in the Great Lakes area, the idea that white men and women appeared as *manitook* in dreams continued into the twentieth century. For example, a Wisconsin version of the origin of the Dream Dance recorded by Densmore (1913:144) in 1910 relates that the *manitoo* who gave the dance to Tailfeather Woman “appeared in the form of a white man.” During the 1930s, Pegahmagabow told Diamond Jenness (1935:55) that during his

youth he dreamt that a “white woman approached him at great speed, walking about two feet above the ground.” She extended a green branch towards him, but he woke up before she reached him. Pegahmagabow’s grandfather told him that she would have blessed him if he had not awakened too soon. In this case, Christian conceptions of white “spirits” may have blended with the Anishnaabe beliefs.

With regard to trade goods, silver ornaments were by no means the only commodities whose whiteness appealed to Anishnaabek. Unlike dark blue, red and yellow, Anishnaabek favored white for both backgrounds and ornamentation. For example, white seed beads were a standard component of decoration. In fact, before the middle of the nineteenth century one rarely encounters any other color of seed bead in inventories, or in textual, visual and artifactual sources. Anishnaabek worked these in open linear patterns that resembled those employed with paint, quills and fibers for weaving. A sampler of such “old designs” that Densmore (1979 [1929]:182,plate79) commissioned from a White Earth woman during the 1920s shows “the jumping stitch,” and various forms of zigzags and ottertail designs. White seed beads were also typically used as an edging trim on numerous types of articles {Plate 5; figure 1; Plate 9; figure 1; Plate 23; figures 1 and 2} (Dubin 1999:144). White wampum beads were popular for necklaces, bracelets, belts and headgear, although black wampum appears to have been the favorite.³¹

White garments were also a prominent feature of Anishnaabe fur trade fashion. Their popularity may have originated with the white hide clothing of pre-contact styles. Dorothy Burnham (1992:1) speculates that the techniques used in the white painted hide coats of Labrador may have had a much wider distribution to the south and west prior to the introduction of trade goods. Pictorial evidence supports this supposition. An etching

from 1664 shows two Iroquois women wearing painted hide leggings and skirts (Phillips 1987:68). A drawing of an Amikwa (beaver *doodem*) warrior from around 1700 depicts a painted hide robe with the fur intact and worn on the inside (Karklins 1992:22-3).

Although it is impossible to know the color of the painted hides in the above examples, in 1813 Sir Joshua Jebb painted an Odawa chief from Michilimackinac wearing a white hide robe painted with the Sun and other motifs in red and blue {Plate 24; figure 1}.

Since the region was south of the range of the caribou, Great Lakes white painted hides were probably produced from moose and deer hides.

A Cornelius Krieghoff watercolor from the mid-nineteenth century depicts the celebrated Sault St. Marie chief, Shingwauk, wearing a white hide fringed shirt and leggings. There is a red and blue Sun motif painted on his left breast. As a youth, Shingwauk had a vision in which the Sun appeared to him dressed “from head to foot in white garments.” Due to the favor bestowed upon him at that time, Shingwauk became a *wabenowiwinini* (“Eastern twilight man”) (Conway and Conway 1990:70; Kohl 1985 [1860]:376). The white hide, as well as the red and blue sun motif, clearly embodied the power of his dream. A companion painting shows Chief Nebenagoching wearing a white fringed hide shirt with a red Crane *doodem* painted on his right breast {Plate 24; figure 2}. He wears this shirt over red and black pieced leggings as described above. Shingwauk and Nebenagoching visited Krieghoff’s studio during a diplomatic mission to Montreal in the fall of 1849 (Harper 1979:54).³² Since painted hide clothing was atypical of fur trade fashions, the chiefs’ revival of these styles was probably calculated to underscore the economic nationalist strategies that were the object of their journey to Montreal.³³

Fur trade styles of white clothing were generally limited to woollen blankets and capotes, as well as cotton and linen shirts. As noted above, Anishnaabek sometimes

painted their white shirts with vermillion. Similarly, capotes were frequently trimmed with red at the seams {Plate 25; figure 1} (Moodie 1989 [1852]:290). These practices may have imitated the pre-contact treatment of white hides. While the red-trimmed capote style survived throughout the fur trade period, the painting of cotton and linen shirts did not endure past the eighteenth century, probably because figured calico shirts became more popular. In general, white garments made of fabric did not function as backgrounds in the same way as did white hide or dark blue and black cloths.

Anishnaabek seldom decorated white shirts and blankets with ribbonwork or beadwork. Frequently, however, they wore white shirts with luminous objects such as silver brooches, arm bands and bracelets, while white blankets generally had several stripes of red or blue bordering either end.

The Anishnaabe word for blanket is “*waabowayaan*,” or “furred skin of white.” During the fur trade era, the vast majority of blankets worn by Great Lakes Native peoples were white (see Appendix) {Plate 2; figure 1; Plate 21}. The term “*waabowayaan*” may be an analogy to the white rabbit fur robes that were popular winter garments throughout Northeastern North America at the time woollen blankets were introduced. The pointed blankets were typically made from coarse woollens that had a heavier nap than did broadcloth. Hence, their woolly appearance may have inspired their association with fur rather than dressed hide. In a Micmac “first contact” story recorded in 1869 a young woman dreamt of a “floating island” on which were tall trees with bears climbing in the branches, among whom was one dressed in “rabbit-skin garments.” When the European ship arrived at the shoreline, they found the latter was a “priest with his white stole on” (Hamell 1983:19).

In the Hudson’s Bay region, white or “common HBC pointed blankets” were

instantly more popular than the red and blue ones the Company had formerly shipped. Native hunters claimed they preferred white because it provided better camouflage in the snow and so did not scare the animals away (Wheeler 1985:62). A watercolor painted in 1805 by Métis artist, Richard Williams, illustrates how white blankets and capotes blended into the white background of the snowy landscape (Gilman 1982:86; Newman 1989:73). This color preference, however, may not have pertained to ceremonial dress. As well, it seems to have been particularly characteristic of southwestern, western and northern interior regions of Anishnaabe territory {see Plate 21 above}. Among nations of southern and eastern regions of the Great Lakes, such as the Potawatomi, Menominee and Michigan Odawa, women's blankets represented in descriptions, paintings and museum collections are almost invariably dark blue, black or red broadcloth {see Plate 22 above}.³⁴ A notable exception to this general distribution pattern was Lorette, where women wore either white molton or dark broadcloth blankets until at least the middle of the nineteenth century {Plate 2; figure 1} (Kalm in O'Neil 1995:11).³⁵

In addition to geography, cost and status were factors that affected the distribution of white molton versus blue broadcloth blankets and capotes. For example, the 1797 Grand Portage NWC inventory reveals that merchants paid almost double the price for "blue cloth capotes" than they did for "blanket capotes" (NWC Papers, TMRL). Although, as noted above, currency cost differences were not always reflected in the conversion to made-beaver (MB), evidence suggests that Anishnaabek were willing to pay more for broadcloth than for coarser cloths. Alexander Henry (in O'Neil 1995:44) reports that in 1760 white (molton) blankets traded for eight MB, while stroud blankets traded for ten.

The clothing policies of the fur trade companies encouraged a status hierarchy

based on the color, fabric and cut of outerwear garments. For example, the AFC records of clothing given to employees in 1817 shows that all of the high status outfits and some of the medium status ones included “1 blue cloth capote,” while the rest of the medium status outfits included “1 grey cloth capote.” In addition to the capotes, the high status employees were offered a choice between one green 4 pt. (molton) blanket and a pair of white 3 pt. blankets, while the medium status employees received a pair of white 3 pt. blankets. All of the low status laborers received only one white 3 pt. blanket each (AFC Records, NAC). According to this policy, the highest status employees could display their rank by wearing a blue cloth capote with a green 4 pt. blanket, the medium status employees did so by wearing a blue or grey cloth capote with a white 3 pt. blanket, and laborers were so marked by their white 3 pt. blankets worn without capotes.

Contemporaneous paintings show high status Métis fur trade employees wearing blue broadcloth capotes. For example, an 1822 painting of a “canot du maitre”³⁶ manned by fourteen voyageurs shows the “bowsman” wearing a blue broadcloth capote while the “men” wear only shirts and the “steersman” wears a yellow (or faded white) capote (Gilman 1992:71). Two of Peter Rindisbacher’s paintings from the 1820s show Métis men wearing blue capotes {Plate 25; figure 2} (Gilman 1992:45). These men were probably employed as clerks and/or interpreters.

It is likely that blue broadcloth capotes similarly indicated high status among Anishnaabek. For example, one of the Odawa chiefs in Joseph Jebb’s painting wears a blue capote {Plate 24; figure 1}. As well, Maungwadaus wears a decorated blue capote in a watercolor painted by George Catlin during the former’s tour of Europe (Smith 1976:5). The clothing in this portrait more accurately reflects that shown in the photographs of Maungwadaus than do the fanciful sketches that illustrate Catlin’s book

{Plate 14; figure 2} (Catlin 1848: Plates 18,19,20, ECO). Parr Traill (1966 [1836]:75,102) notes that whereas a youthful hunter wore a white molton capote, a chief wore one of blue cloth. Green blankets also served as status symbols among Anishnaabe men. For example, William Warren's sister, Julia Spears (n/d [1922]:1, MHS) reports that in 1850 when she first saw the influential Minnesota chief, Hole-in-the-Day the Younger, he "wore a green blanket, which by the way, he always wore."

Blue broadcloth capotes and green blankets seldom appear on inventories of goods sent to Native communities in the interior. For example, at Lac du Flambeau in 1804, Malhiot's NWC inventory included only white blanket (molton) capotes and white pointed blankets (Thwaites 1910:221, NBL). Twenty years later, the small outfit Duverney carried from there into the interior similarly contained only white blankets and capotes. In contrast, the 1827 inventory of goods in stock at the AFC sub-depot at L'Anse, MI, included eight "fine blue cloth capotes" and three "common blue cloth capotes." As well, 32% of the 3 pt. blankets were green, while the remainder of the men's blankets, and all of the women's and children's blankets, were white. Whereas there were only eleven capotes on the list, there were a total of 1,378 blankets (AFC Records, NAC).

The numbers and distribution of blankets and capotes suggests a status scale based on proximity to fur trade centers and individuals' relation to fur trade companies. That is, the men who wore these garments were high status employees within the companies (excluding partners and merchants) and high status trading chiefs who dealt directly with sub-depots. Low status employees, minor trading chiefs and the majority of the Anishnaabe population had severely limited access to these goods. The exclusive access to these goods, and the fact that they were significant in the specific context of

trade, shows that men's upper garments were an aspect of Anishnaabe fur trade clothing in which sartorial codes shared a "middle ground" with European and Métis fur trade personnel.

As noted above, however, the distribution of broadcloth versus white blankets and capotes also had a geographic basis. This pattern roughly parallels a general division of Anishnaabe fur trade fashions into two distinct style types. These two styles are distinguished by the presence or absence of cotton and shirts. In general, Anishnaabek in the southwestern, western and northern interior regions wore no shirts. Instead, the men wore capotes with white blankets, broadcloth breechcloths and cloth or hide leggings. The women of these regions characteristically wore broadcloth strap dresses with detachable sleeves, cloth leggings and white blankets {Plate 7; Plate 21; Plate 26; figure 1}.³⁷ These cloth strap dresses were constructed in the same manner as were the hide dresses that they largely replaced.³⁸ For the sake of simplicity, I shall designate these fashions the "Northwestern style."

Today, the few powwow dancers who don strap dresses sometimes wear them with cotton shirts (Hubbard, taped interview, Dec. 14th, 1999). Interpreters at living-history sites commonly wear cotton shirts with their strap dresses {Plate 26: figure 1} or wear cotton strap dresses with cotton shirts (Wilkins 1994:65,67). It is unlikely, however, that Anishnaabe women utilized cotton with or for strap dresses until the twentieth century. Significantly, little or no ready-made shirts or cotton fabrics appear on fur trade inventories destined for regions where the Northwestern style prevailed.³⁹ For example, Malhiot's (Thwaites 1910:221) 1804 Lac du Flambeau inventory included seventy-four yards of broadcloth (92.5% of the total amount of cloth - enough to clothe about 35 men and women in ensembles of dresses, sleeves, leggings and breechcloths), but only six

yards of calico (7.5% - about two shirts). The recent trend towards cotton fabric may be explained by changing fabric preferences.⁴⁰ For example, my elderly mentors in the antique clothing industry explained that until the 1950s wool was considered an excellent summer fabric because it “breathes” and absorbs sweat. Consequently, they pointed out, World War II military uniforms for the tropics were manufactured in tan-colored woollens. Recently the woollen industry initiated an advertising campaign to promote summer woollens, but I suspect it met with little success. Today, a shift from wool to cotton in the spring is so deeply embedded in our psyches that it appears to be “common sense.” Cotton seems like a “practical” choice for strap dresses because summer is the most popular season for powwows and living-history sites.

With regard to cotton shirts, all contemporaneous paintings of strap dress ensembles that I have seen show woollen dresses worn with bare shoulders. As well, Alexander Henry (in O’Neil 1995:45) and Thomas McKenney (1972 [1827]:258) note specifically that the women’s arms and shoulders were bare. Increased interaction with British North Americans, however, has produced a need to conform to certain standards of “modesty.” Mary Ann Vanderpoel (taped interview, July 14, 1998) admits that historic Anishnaabek probably did not wear shirts with strap dresses, but that interpreters wear them on site because the cut of strap dresses is such that tourists might be offended. Anishnaabe seamstresses in the Sault St. Marie area have adapted to the demands of modesty by cutting the sleeve pattern in a single piece that covers the entire back. Annie Hubbard (taped interview, Dec. 14th, 1999) was taught to make the sleeves in this way because “with the bras we wear, it’s better to make it in one piece because then your bra doesn’t show.” If modesty is still a concern today, one can imagine how eighteenth and nineteenth-century British observers may have interpreted the strap dress as a reflection

of Anishnaabe women's "loose" morals. In fact, artists tended to depict women in strap dresses in seductive poses {Plate 21; figure 2 above}.⁴¹

The paucity of cotton and ready-made shirts in the Northwestern style type also precluded the widespread use of shirts among men {Plate 26; figure 2}. In fact, men's shirts seem to have carried a moderate degree of status. For example, the same year Malhiot had only six yards of calico to trade at Lac du Flambeau, he gave eleven "chief's shirts" as gifts to trading chiefs at the beginning of the season. Four of the men who received these shirts did not receive chief's coats. Of those who did, three received two "chief's shirts" each. Hence, shirts were a key factor in a scale of low, medium and high status chiefs' outfits (in Thwaites 1910:charts). In 1777, John Long (1971 [1791]:56) gave calico shirts to eight Ojibway chiefs in the Lake Nipigon region, along with guns, knives and ammunition, but no coats. At the same locale, Duncan Cameron (in Masson 1960 [1889]:260-1, Vol.2) noted that when boys fasted they dressed in their best attire. The chiefs' sons were distinguished from others by the addition of a "shirt and hat from the trader."

The relation between shirts and status may have existed prior to the introduction of cotton and linen shirts. Before the mid-eighteenth century only chiefs and renowned warriors wore the well-known Plains war shirts, and then only for ceremonial occasions (Hail 1980:68). Whether Anishnaabe men of the woodlands regions practiced a similar custom or not, they evidently took pride in the possession of a shirt. For example, during the 1820s, a Mesquakie guide borrowed a calico shirt from one of the interpreters of William Keating's party. Keating (1959 [1824]:194) remarks that the shirt detracted from his "natural manners," but he nevertheless "wore this garment at first with an air of apparent ostentation."

While Keating and his party may have thought the Mesquakie's bare chest "picturesque," most observers of British descent were appalled by the "nudity" of both men's and women's fashions of the Northwestern style (Featherstonough 1970 [1847]:199-200, Vol.1; McKenney 1972 [1827]:234). Even commentators who were accustomed to the Anishnaabe dress of the central regions reacted unfavorably to the dress of the interior. For example, whereas Anna Jameson (1990 [1838]:500-01) praised the "splendid and tasteful" dress of her adoptive cousin from Sault St. Marie, the hide and fur dress of a "group of creatures" from Red River elicited "disgust" not only from her, but also from a nearby group of Odawa who informed her they were "cannibals." Elizabeth Baird (1898:51, NBL), whose grandmother was an Odawa/Métis and who grew up at Mackinac during the early 1800s, remarked that because John Tanner's "family of wanderers were from the interior of the Indian country, their dress, their language and demeanor were crude." Yet, as seen in Chapter Five, Tanner and his family customarily dressed in trade goods. John Long (1971 [1791]:51) observed that the Nipigon Ojibway were "not so fond of dress as the other Savages, particularly those tribes who live very remote from Michilimackinac." In other words, members of the "remote" nations wore less clothes and ornamentation than did those of the Eastern groups he had recently left.

In the style type that developed near the earliest centers of trade in southern and eastern Anishnaabe territories, men typically wore cotton or linen shirts with broadcloth breechcloths and leggings. Over this ensemble they wore molton or broadcloth blankets or capotes. Women wore broadcloth skirts and leggings with cotton upper garments and white molton or dark broadcloth blankets. Their skirts were either folded-over to form a peplum, or simply wrapped around. Their upper garments were variously men's-style shirts, "short-gowns" cut after the French peasant fashion, or flounced blouses cut after

the Spanish peasant fashion {Plate 27; figures 1 and 2; Plate 22; Plate 28, figure 2}. I will refer to these fashions as the “Southeastern style.”

The cotton upper garments worn by Anishnaabe men and women in the Southeastern style type is reflected in the volume of cotton and linen in fur trade inventories. For example, in contrast to the 1804 Lac du Flambeau inventory cited above (7.5% cotton; 92.5% woollens), an 1821 AFC inventory of goods destined for Green Bay, WI, reveals that 43% of the total yardage shipped was cotton and linen, while 57% was woollens (Thwaites 1888:377-9).⁴² Because the amount of cotton (592 yds.) was enough to produce approximately 217 shirts, and the inventory included only 30 ready-made shirts, it is likely that local Native and Métis women manufactured the majority of shirts worn by both men and women in the Green Bay area at the time.

We may suppose that the cotton at Green Bay in 1821 was consumed by Anishnaabek because there were but few other inhabitants of the bay besides the military personal of Fort Howard (Baird 1900:205-16, NBL). Elizabeth Baird (*ibid.*:207) recalled that when she first arrived in Green Bay in 1824, she and her husband proceeded directly to the home of fur trader Louis Grignon, as did all travelers at the time. She remarked that “all around the house and store stood Indians waiting to trade their peltries.” At that time, several generations of Anishnaabek were already familiar with cotton shirts. French traders at Green Bay were marketing both men’s and women’s ready-made shirts as early as 1725 (Wheeler 1985:45).

The volume of cotton and shirts on an inventory does not necessarily indicate that these goods were consumed by Native peoples. For example, Grand Portage on Lake Superior was the supply depot for the company employees of all the NWC western departments. Consequently, many items on the 1797 Grand Portage inventory were not

intended for the Native trade. That year, the NWC had no less than 629 children's, boy's and men's shirts in stock. The greater portion of these shirts were probably intended for use among company employees and their families. The NWC warehouse also held about 40,275 yds. of twelve different kinds of cotton (97.5%) as compared to only 1,020 yds. of fourteen kinds of woollens (2.5%). As with the red broadcloth in the same inventory, the overwhelming majority of cottons remaining in stock probably meant that they did not sell as well as the woollens (NWC Papers, TMRL).⁴³

Although Grand Portage was a major trading depot, Anishnaabek of this area did not wear shirts. At nearby Fond du Lac in 1823, Thomas McKenney (1972 [1827]:271) complained that he had never before witnessed such an "exhibition of nakedness" as the assembled Anishnaabek presented. The government party tried to encourage the wearing of shirts by giving each child a piece of calico large enough to make one. This was, according to McKenney (*ibid.*:278), "more than nineteen-twentieths of their mothers and fathers had ever had in their lives, or even so much as seen." Although the French traded children's, women's and men's ready-made shirts at the eastern end of Lake Superior during the early eighteenth century (White 1985:172), the posts along the western shores of that lake were not established until late in the century. The shorter duration of exposure to trade goods explains, in part, the scarcity of shirts among western and northern Anishnaabek.

The difference between the Northwestern style and the Southeastern style is also due to differences in the indigenous styles that preceded them. In particular, before the introduction of trade goods Native women in the southeastern regions wore hide skirts rather than strap dresses.⁴⁴ These skirts came in both wrap-around and fold-over styles and may have been worn with or without poncho-like upper garments.⁴⁵ Ruth Phillips

(1987:71) notes that prior to the introduction of trade goods men of the “woodlands” nations wore “loose deerskin shirts with set-in sleeves... decorated with [red] ochre for everyday wear and with fine shell, metal, quilled and feather ornaments for festive occasions.” Significantly, she mentions hide shirts for everyday wear. This practice facilitated the widespread adoption of cotton and linen shirts. Unfortunately, very little information is available on the geographic distribution of these hide shirts. Even where Anishnaabe men typically wore hide or white cotton shirts, printed cotton shirts may have held status value. For example, during the 1790s a chief in Michigan was offered a profusion of gifts in exchange for services he had rendered. He selected a chintz shirt, which “in those days, an Indian was very proud to possess” (see Appendix). He also accepted some silver ornaments and money, but rejected “a powder horn, some scarlet cloth and other things” (O’Neil 1995:92).

The styles of Anishnaabe women’s cotton and linen shirts loosely correspond with the nationalities of the proprietors of the major fur trade posts established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The French were based along the St. Lawrence and had depots at Michilimackinac, Detroit, Ouiatenon (on the Wabash River) and Green Bay (Anderson 1994:95,98). In the 1760s, the Spanish had a post at Prairie du Chien (southwestern Wisconsin on the Mississippi River) and in the 1780s they had a short-lived presence on the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan (Long 1971 [1791]:148; Cunningham 1967:v, NBL). Whereas the French “short-gown” is found throughout the region of the Southeastern style, the Spanish-style blouses were particularly popular among southern Great Lakes nations such as the Potawatomi and Menominee of Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio, as well as the Ojibway of southern Michigan.

By the time the British gained access to the Great Lakes fur trade in the 1760s,

the French influence was discernable in the Anishnaabe terms for various kinds of ready-made goods. For example, John Long (1971 [1791]:200) notes that the Algonkins at Lake of Two Mountains called coats, “*capotewain*,” while the Ojibway of Nipigon termed them, “*piskawagan*.” Lake of Two Mountains near Montreal was at the heart of French influence while Nipigon was at the outer reaches of French exploration north of Lake Superior. As well, the terms for shawls, “*moshwe*,” and handkerchiefs, “*moshwens*” (diminutive of *moshwe*), derive from the French, “*mouchoir*,” while one of the terms for trousers, “*meeknot*,” stems from the French, “*culotte*” (Johnston 1978:20,34).

The Anishnaabe word for cotton cloth, however, appears to have been based on the principle of indigenous analogies discussed above. It was (and is) the same as that for shirt: “*papâgiwaiân*” (or “*babagiwayaan*”). This term possibly refers to “*papâgimak*” (or “*baapaagimaak*”), the white ash tree (Baraga 1992 [1878]:348 pt.2; Nichols 1995:139,245). The correlation is suggested by the fact that both split-ash basketry and the early fur trade coarse linens and cottons were white and worked in an “over-one-under-one” weave. Unlike napped woollens, the weave of fur trade cotton and linen cloth was clearly visible. Although most contemporary sources mention that baskets are produced from black ash, in the past some communities used white ash.⁴⁶ While the wood of black ash is more pliant than that of the white ash, the latter is lighter in color. This may explain why the term developed from the exception rather than the rule. This etymological interpretation is consistent with the Anishnaabe practice of naming cloth after visual characteristics such as the colors of broadcloth. As well, the word for calico stems from the small floral and geometric block print patterns with which it was commonly made: “*kitugeegin*,” meaning “the mottled cloth” (Johnston 1978:16) or “stuff of various colors, variegated, spotted, spots and dots of different colors” (Baraga 1992

[1878]:193 pt.2).⁴⁷

It is important to realize that both of the style types described above were distinctly indigenous in character. Although they were influenced by French and Spanish styles, Anishnaabek were very selective in their adoption of European components of dress and decoration. For example, Anishnaabe women of both style types persisted in wearing “short” narrow skirts with leggings. The bright colors and decorated side flaps of Anishnaabe women’s leggings emphasized the pride they took in their strength and sturdiness as the burden carriers of Anishnaabe society (Jameson 1990 [1838]:513-15; Schoolcraft 1977 [1851]:74-7), while their manner of fastening their skirts and blankets in a bulky knot around the waist drew attention to their fecundity {Plate 21; figure 2 above}. In contrast, British women’s skirts were pinched with corsets at the waist and reached to the ground in billowing folds which were exaggerated by means of various contraptions underneath, the most conspicuous of which was the hoop. This silhouette highlighted the “enforced leisure” and sexual chastity that were key values for British noblewomen (de Marly 1986:60-1,67). Even women among the British lower classes wore corsets, full-length skirts and multiple layers of underskirts. Their less extreme silhouette served to underscore their role as laborers. These differences in values and their sartorial expressions between British and Anishnaabe women inevitably reinforced the notion that the latter were immoral, immodest “drudges” and “slaves” {Plate 28; figure 1}.⁴⁸

The principle of selective adoption is also evident in Anishnaabe men’s rejection of trousers. They viewed trousers with disdain even when they flaunted frock coats, vests and ruffled linen shirts {Plate 28; figure 2} (Powell in Brehm 1998:98). In the early eighteenth century a British author noted that the Natives along the eastern seaboard had

“a great aversion to the wearing of breeches; for to that custom, they affix the idea of helplessness, and effeminacy” (Adair in O’Neil 1995:1). In the 1750s, “one could not persuade [the Hurons] to use trousers, for they thought that these were a great hindrance in walking” (Kalm in *ibid.*:12). Around the same time, a French observer noted that the Odawa “have never been willing to wear breeches, not even the Christians” (Pouchot in *ibid.*:23). Another writer saw a “Nipissing Indian, dishonored in the eyes of his brothers and of the Canadians because he wore breeches, covered his head, ate, dressed and slept like a Frenchman” (de Bougainville in *ibid.*:25).

In 1837 in Fond du Lac, MN, an Ojibway named Mangosid was chopping wood for the Rev. Edmund Ely dressed in a pair of his cast-off “pantaloon.” One of Mangosid’s friends taunted him by calling him a “*Wemitigoshiwok*.” Anishnaabek used this term to refer to the French, the French Canadians and people of mixed blood who worked for fur trade companies. The appellation, which was obviously intended as an insult in this case, referred to the fact that Mangosid was working for wages rather than hunting, which was the appropriate occupation for Ojibway men (Kugel 1998b:2-5,7-8). As Kugel (*ibid.*:7) points out, among Anishnaabek the “primary indicators of *Wemitigoshiwok* identity were never racial. Rather, cultural markers such as language, religion and style of dress indicated *Wemitigoshiwok* ethnicity.” More crucial still was “the work [a man] did and the context in which he did it.” For Anishnaabe men, the “pantaloon” were the quintessential symbol of wage labor and its associated loss of economic and political autonomy. Hence, to dress like an Anishnaabe meant to work like an Anishnaabe, which also entailed political and personal freedom.⁴⁹

Whereas in the 1760s, Alexander Henry’s (1901 [1806]:34) “French Canadian” disguise consisted of a breechcloth, shirt, blanket capote and a “large, red, milled cap,”

by the late eighteenth century voyageurs, clerks and interpreters typically wore trousers. Concurrently, in England the “cult of the picturesque” induced middle and upper class British men to adopt trousers, rather than knee-length breeches, as they romanticized the garment that was an occupational trait of male farm workers (de Marly 1986:76). This general increase in the popularity of trousers may have influenced fashions among fur trade employees. As well, the wearing of trousers was promoted and maintained by the clothing policies of the fur trade companies. For example, trousers were frequently among the items voyageurs (common laborers) received upon their engagement (Heriot 1971 [1804]:236; A. Mackenzie in White 1985:185). In 1817, however, the AFC gave trousers only to their clerks and interpreters. Medium status clerks received one pair of blue broadcloth trousers or one pair of corduroy trousers, while high status clerks received two pairs of the former and one of the latter. Some of these clerks chose to augment their status by purchasing “fine cloth trousers” out of their wages (AFC Records, NAC).

The AFC common laborers, on the other hand, had to purchase all of their trousers. For this purpose, the AFC kept trousers in stock of six different kinds of fabrics (AFC Records, NAC). Their selection was surpassed by the NWC Grand Portage warehouse, which had trousers of ten different fabrics (NWC Papers, TMRL). With the exception of the AFC’s fine broadcloth trousers, however, all of the fabric choices were inexpensive cottons and woollens which, in England, were characteristic of the working classes. Corduroy, for example, was invented in the late eighteenth century and soon “became the identifying livery of the working man” alongside other fustians and flannel (see Appendix) (de Marly 1986:65,85). As well, these fabrics were typically dyed “rural” lower class colors such as olive green, brown and “leaden” (Montgomery 1984:244).

Because of the strict class and occupational associations of the colors and fabrics of trousers, wearing them entailed identification with these categories of the European behavioral environment.

During the late eighteenth century a new European fashion aesthetic developed as a response to the increasing tendency of the lower and middle classes towards “the affectation of finery above their place” (Seaton [1720] in de Marly 1986:72). The French Revolution gave impetus to an aesthetic of simplicity in both men’s and women’s upper class clothing. The particular style that emerged for men at the turn of the nineteenth century has often been attributed to the influence of “Beau” Brummell, a London “dandy” who made perfecting the art of dress his highest aspiration. Brummell’s etiquette of dress denounced “colors, trinkets and gewgaws,” and lauded instead dark brown and black perfectly cut suits, freshly washed white linen shirts, immaculately tied neckcloths and expensive polished leather footwear. Ironically, while Brummell denounced lower class imitations of upper class dress, he imitated lower class dress by being the first man to wear trousers in court.⁵⁰ Brummell’s motto was that “if a man’s clothes were stared at, they were not in good taste” (de Marly 1986:87). These principles of dress subsequently became mandatory for the “well-bred” man. Even though ladies’ costumes were more lavish, Brummell’s code applied to them too:

A vulgar girl wears bright and glaring colors, fantastically made; a large, flaring, red, yellow, or sky-blue hat, covered with a rainbow of ribbons, and all the rings and trinkets she can load upon her. Of course, a modest well-bred young lady chooses the reverse of all this. In any assemblage, the most plainly dressed woman is sure to be the most lady-like and attractive (Ladies Indispensable Assistant [1852] in Schroeder 1971:30).

This description of the dress of a “vulgar” girl bears a striking resemblance to Anishnaabe style preferences. In contrast to the changing European aesthetic trends,

however, both Anishnaabe style types described above employed the color symbolism characteristic of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. The relations between dark and light, background and foreground, were the key principles of this aesthetic. Regardless of whether Anishnaabek wore shirts or not, the aesthetics of fur trade fashion employed dark blue lusterless backgrounds highlighted with bright and luminous ornaments and decorations. As seen above, this aesthetic was based on the spiritual and social precepts of the particular economic activities Anishnaabek pursued prior to European contact. The socio-economic order of the fur trade resembled these indigenous life-ways to the extent that both the ceremonial and everyday dress of the Anishnaabek embodied its fundamental beliefs and values.

British observers, however, perceived Anishnaabe fashions in terms of the “bright and gaudy” fashions found among their own lower classes. Contributing to this analogy was the fact that most cloth sold to Native peoples was of a coarse quality. In Britain, coarse, medium and fine quality woollens, as well as dull, smooth and shiny fabrics, signified the lower, middle and upper classes respectively. Hence, the combination of coarse dark blue cloth worn with shiny decorations epitomized Europeans’ sense of the “vulgar,” while the same decorations worn with fine quality cloth frequently drew images of the “picturesque” (Campbell in O’Neil 1995:82; G. Winter in Penney 1992:40). Both of these categories, however, occupied a low level in the class and race hierarchy of the European behavioral environment. As the nineteenth century advanced, the discriminatory power of these categories contributed to the wide-scale oppression of the Anishnaabek. When the Great Lakes economy shifted from furs to lands and resources, Anishnaabek were increasingly compelled to adapt their economic modes to wage and agricultural labor. This economic shift was almost invariably accompanied by

the adoption of lower-class British and American styles of dress for everyday wear, and the relegation of distinctive Anishnaabe styles to the realm of detachable ceremonial accessories.

1. Another group of first contact stories reflect Anishnaabe resistance to the “settlement/assimilation” cultural scripts (Conway and Conway 1990:64-5; Jones 1970 [1861]:27; Kohl 1985 [1885]:370).

2. In Warren’s and Armstrong’s accounts, attention is focused on the impact of the gun, which was so profound that several stories of individuals’ first experiences with it have also been recorded: “My First Gun” (Wolfe 1988:21-6), “The Magic Gun” (Schwarz 1974:49-59) and “When I Shot Off the Double-Barrelled Gun” (Kegg 1991:84-7). One first contact story from the turn of the nineteenth century portrays the first Anishnaabe to trade with the French as a hero for bringing the gun to the Anishnaabek and thereby enabling them to extend their territories in Minnesota (Gilfillan 1909:*passim*). The explicit relation between the fur trade and territorial gains makes clear the difference between stories from the “adventurer” and “settlement” script periods. For additional “first contact” stories in the former group see: Walter Hoffman (1970 [1896]:214-16); Schoolcraft (1977 [1851]:289). In total I found eight first contact stories in the former group (not counting the two “first gun” stories above) and three in the latter.

3. A *jessakid* is an Anishnaabe religious practitioner who specializes in performing the shaking tent ceremony. This rite involves the construction of a special lodge into which the *jessakid* invites his *manitoo* benefactors. When the latter arrive, the lodge begins to shake and their voices can be heard. During their visit, the *jessakid* takes questions from the audience and poses them to the spirits. The *manitook* then depart from the tent to seek the required information. Upon their return, they relate their findings to the *jessakid* who then translates them to the audience (Hallowell 1971 [1942]:*passim*; Hoffman 1891:157-8,251-5; Jenness 1935:65-8; Landes 1969 [1937]:121-3; Schoolcraft 1969 [1851]:388-401).

4. “Open-weave” refers to a simple one-over-one-under weave, as opposed to twill and satin weaves in which weft threads are carried above several warp threads at intervals.

5. Densmore 1987 [1928]:377-8; Feest 1984:14-18,29-37; Lyford 1982 [1943]:68-95; Phillips 1989:*passim*

6. Schoolcraft (1956:21) specifies that *wegin* refers to dressed skin, while *wayaan* denotes furred skin. Alternative spellings for *wegin* include: *igin*, *iigin*, *woygan*, *weegin*, and *eegin*. Alternative spellings for *wayaan* include: *waiân*, *oian*, *oyaan*, *wean*, *woyan*, *waen*, *wayaun*, *wiyaun*, and *oyaun*. For analyses of Anishnaabe terminology I have relied

upon Baraga (1992 [1878]; Johnston 1978; Long 1971 [1791]; Nichols and Nyholm 1995 and Ningewance 1993. I have also referred to my class notes from two Ojibway language courses I attended under the instruction of Alex Mackay in 1994 and Maani Migwans in 1997-8. In these classes I was taught the standardized phonetic mode of spelling that has been adopted by all the school boards in Ontario. The main characteristic of this system is the use of double vowels to indicate elongated pronunciation. It has been impossible for me to standardize the spellings I find in the various works cited here. As an oral language, *Anishnaabemowin* is subject to regional, dialectical and temporal variations, which are exaggerated by individual lexicons when written. I have therefore frequently retained the spellings from the original sources. In cases where a word appears in multiple sources, I have used the spelling most similar to the system I was taught in class.

7. Johnston (1978:16) gives “*manitouweegin* = silk,” but Baraga (*ibid*:366 pt.2) and Nichols and Nyholm (1995:123) give “*zenibaawegin*” for silk. Speck (1977:28) notes that the Montagnais-Naskapi term “*mentu'wian*” means “fine black or red cloth, a textile so mysterious in construction as to evoke this feeling.” I suggest, however, that Long’s and Baraga’s terminologies are more representative of fur trade color and textile usage than are the later usages recorded by Johnston and Speck.

8. The Anishnaabe language does not distinguish between light blue and green, the common term being “*ozhaawashkwaa*.” Kohl (1985 [1860]:16) notes that he had seen “the sky, which they represent on their graves by a round arch, as frequently of one colour or the other [light blue or green].”

9. Beaver pelts were the standard rate of exchange in the fur trade. A good quality adult beaver pelt was referred to as 1 MB. Other kinds of pelts were converted to theoretically equivalent numbers of MB, as were all forms of trade goods, for the purposes of determining their trade values (Newman 1989:60).

10. Also see Table 16 (White 1978:130) which shows how the HBC factors derived “overplus” profit by charging Natives more MB per item than called for by the company’s standard rates. One such discrepancy is found in the relative rates of broadcloth and duffel, the former being more expensive in currency than the latter. Whereas the company stipulated 3 MB for one yard of broadcloth and 2 MB for the same amount of duffel, the factors charged 4 MB for either. Flannel and baize cost Natives less at 3 MB per yard at overplus prices. One would expect that the overplus markup reflects what traders expected Native customers to buy at high rates of exchange (see Appendix). Because duffel does not appear on Great Lakes fur trade inventories, this example does not indicate the relative popularity of fabrics in the Great Lakes region. Rather, it serves to illustrate another aspect of the discrepancy between currency and MB rates of exchange.

11. Axtell 1992:132-3; Carver 1974 [1778]:111; Johnson 1919:126, NBL; Kidd 1961: 52-4

12. See Feest (1984:43-4) for several examples of Odawa blackened hide artifacts, including a pair of men's leggings dated 1820. See Penney (1992:68-71) for examples of blackened hide pouches from several Great Lakes nations. CMC III-G-831 is an excellent example of blackened hide moccasins cut with puckers into a center seam that is covered with quillwork.

13. Unfortunately, no explanation of origin or date accompany these interesting drawings. I believe, however, that they were drawn around the turn of this century by Chief Flat Mouth the Younger of Leech Lake. Ruth Landes (1968:182-3) examined the drawings in consultation with Truman Michelson (probably during the 1930s). She notes that the latter identified them as Ojibway. Each drawing is marked "Ojibwa - T.M.," which may stem from this meeting. They apparently believed that Jones drew them himself. On a drawing of "Pejiki" (Buffalo), however, there is a note in Jones' handwriting that states: "The man was war chief at Leech Lake. He died about 24 years ago. He was '*nisaya*' said Flat Mouth. The word is 'my elder brother' but the man was probably a cousin." Another drawing depicts "Cabackauk" ("he who passes underneath any obstacle without effort"). Flat Mouth, Buffalo and "Shau-bash-kong, or Passes Through Everything" were all chiefs who upheld Anishnaabe religious traditions, but nevertheless favored co-operation with the American government and missionaries in their efforts to give the Ojibway a firm economic base on the reservations (Densmore 1979 [1929]:74-5; Kugel 1998a:68,79,80-1,83,187, notes to photo plates). These three were the only named individuals in the notes on the drawings. Flat Mouth visited Washington with a delegation of Leech Lake Ojibway in 1899. Since it was common for ethnologists affiliated with the Smithsonian to interview Native leaders when they visited Washington (Michelson 1911:1, CMC), I conclude that Jones probably interviewed Flat Mouth in 1899, or some other time, and Flat Mouth depicted his friends to illustrate aspects of Ojibway culture.

14. Blue is not among the colors found on lists of dyes used by Anishnaabek (Densmore (1987 [1928]:153; Kohl 1985 [1860]:316; Lyford 1982 [1943]:152). Judy Thompson (1994:15) states that the Dene used blueberries to produce a blue dye for porcupine quills. The blue quills I have seen on pieces in museums, however, are of a light hue.

15. "Aurora" = "morning twilight, dawn, the color of the sky at sunrise; the Roman goddess of the dawn" (Concise English Dictionary 1984:71). "Aurora" was also the name of an elderly Ojibway woman from whom Kohl (1985 [1860]:316,367) received historical accounts and teachings on the plants used in Anishnaabe cooking.

16. I am aware of two articles of this kind in museum collections: a complete man's outfit including blanket, breechcloth and leggings (Phillips 1987:73) and the red blanket with blue ribbon bands from the Rankin wedding ensemble (NPM) dated 1802. As well, a painting of Sir John Caldwell, a British officer dressed in the style of the Eastern Great Lakes around 1780, shows a dark blanket with light ribbons, as does a painting of a mid-eighteenth century Lorette Huron couple (Karklins 1992:25,63). Menominee women

wear this style of blanket in an 1856 painting by Samuel Brookes (Penney 1992:39).

17. Lyford 1982 [1943]:108; Penney 1992:91; Pohrt 1986:48-53

18. Henry 1901 [1806]:111-12; Kohl (1985 [1860]:16); (Morrisseau (1965:19); Smith (1991:96)

19. For example, the AFC accounts for goods given in partial payment of annual salaries show three standardized groups of apparel goods given to employees according to their position within the company. "Men" (voyageurs/laborers) received the smallest amount of clothing; "clerks" received a greater amount and higher quality of goods; and "clerk/interpreters" received the greatest number and quality of goods. These designations, however, and the status-imbued clothing that accompanied them, bore little relation to the actual salaries of these men. A "clerk/interpreter" earning \$500 per year received the same outfit as did another earning \$2500 per year, while a "clerk" who earned \$1000 per annum was given only the medium status outfit. (AFC Records, NAC; also see: Gilman 1992:8; White 1985:185) .

20. Truman A. Warren, the elder, was the brother of Lyman Warren, who was the father of William Whipple Warren, the historian. Lyman named one of his sons after his deceased brother. Truman A., the younger, worked as a government interpreter in Minnesota in the mid-nineteenth century (Spears n/d, MHS).

21. See "George Simpson's Canoe at Fort William" by William Armstrong for depiction of voyageurs wearing red shirts and pantaloons, possibly of flannel (Newman 1989:141, ROM 979.64.1). During the 1820s, the AFC introduced domestically produced red flannel shirts to their selection of merchandise (AFC Records, NAC). After this time they may have become popular among Anishnaabek. At least two red flannel shirts with floral silk or beadwork applique are represented as Ojibway in museum collections (Gilman 1982:68,92, MHS-M 8303.5; Mackinac Island Indian Dormitory Museum). The fact that the red flannel shirt in the MHS collection was donated with a pair of red broadcloth leggings trimmed with ribbonwork suggests that it may have been made and/or owned by an Anishnaabe rather than Métis man. But the attribution of these items to one or the other group is tenuous at best.

22. Also see the account of AFC clerk Pierre Duverney who, in the same year, purchased 7 1/4 yds. of red flannel (AFC Records, NAC).

23. Theriault 1992:11-12; Mishibinijima, taped interview Aug. 2nd, 1999; video recording Oct. 30th, 1999

24. Dorothy Burnham (1992:38) reports that the Canadian Conservation Institute tested the blue paint used on painted hide coats from the Labrador peninsula and found that they were Prussian blue. Between 1852 and 1863, however, the Prussian blue sold by the

HBC gave way to “laundry blue.” This product was manufactured as an aid to preventing linen from yellowing, but Native peoples used it as a tint for paint.

25. There was also a light blue clay that Anishnaabek used as paint before Prussian blue paint became available from traders (Carver 1974 [1778]:101-2; Morriseau 1965:53).

26. Rogers 1967:31; Tanner 1983:*passim*; 1979:170-1

27. Rogers 1967:31; Tanner 1984:94-6; 1979:170

28. Alternative spellings: *pisowin*, *bizon*, *pison*, *bizoon*, *besun*, *bisson*.

29. Also see La Potherie (in Blair 1996 [1911]:330, Vol.1): “I am the dawn of the light of the Frenchman, which is beginning to appear in your lands, as it were, that which precedes the sun, who will soon shine brightly and will cause you to be born again, as if in another land, where you will find, more easily and in greater abundance, all that can be necessary to man.”

30. Hoffman 1891:264; Jenness 1935:23; Landes 1969 [1938]:202; Overholt and Callicott 1982:141. Puberty vision narratives recorded by Radin (1968 [1936]:242,249,250) indicate that guardian spirits were frequently white. His informants mention in particular the “white bear,” the “white loon” and “white stones.”

31. In the fall of 1823 Duverney’s Lac du Flambeau outfit had 2400 black wampum but no white, but the next spring he received 3000 assorted black and white. In 1827 AFC had 44,250 black wampum in the stock of five departments and no white, but they ordered 100 dz. of each for the following year. In 1821 the AFC Green Bay shipment included about one quarter more black than white wampum. Conversely, at Grand Portage in 1797 there was double the amount of white wampum than black remaining in stock (i.e. did not sell) (AFC Records, NAC; Thwaites 1888:379; NWC Papers, MTRL).

32. Although Krieghoff identifies this subject as “Tanaghte” or “Wabumagoging,” Chute (1998:30,123, plates) correctly identifies him as Nebenagoching, a prominent Crane chief whose presence in Montreal with Shingwauk’s delegation is well-documented. Krieghoff shared a studio with Somerville, who, on the same occasion, made pencil drawings of Shingwauk and Nebenagoching. An etching produced from these drawings, in which the two chiefs wear identical outfits to those depicted by Krieghoff, was published in the Illustrated London News on Sept. 15, 1849 (Chute 1998: plates; Harper 1979:52-3).

33. See Chute (1998:*passim*) for analysis of economic nationalist policies in Shingwauk’s political career and (*ibid.*:123) for details regarding the Montreal negotiations.

34. Baird 1898, NBL; Heckwelder in O'Neil 1995:68; Hicks in O'Neil 1995:45; Innis in O'Neil 1995:85; Penney 1992:39; Jameson 1990 [1838]:374,382. All of the women's blankets I viewed in museum collections were dark broadcloth or red molton rather than white pointed blankets. This is because the former types were decorated while the latter were not.
35. See Cornelius Krieghoff's paintings of Huron women in the Quebec region around 1848-50 (Harper 1979:x,48,50,126; NAC#s - C-4669, C-13453, C-4667, C-41043, C-13481, C-10697, and C-119942).
36. A "canot du maitre," or "Montreal canoe," was the type of canoe used to ship goods from Montreal to depots on the Great Lakes. They were generally thirty-six feet long and carried up to four tons (Gilman 1992:11).
37. For contemporaneous descriptions of dress in these regions see: Nelson in Bardon and Nute 1947:150 (Yellow River, WI, 1802); Cameron in Masson (1960 [1889]:260-1) and Grant in *ibid.*:317-9 (Lake Nipigon region, 1804); Carver 1974 [1778]:226,228-9 (includes both styles, early 1770s); Keating 1959 [1824]:182 (Menominee of Wisconsin, 1823); McKenney 1972 [1827]:218,234,258 (Fond du Lac, 1826).
38. See Henry (in O'Neil 1995:44-5) for description of Cree hide strap dress. Carver (1974 [1778]:229) saw hide strap dresses in his travels south of the Great Lakes, but he does not specify where. Parezo and Blomberg (1997:47) show a color photograph of a Naskapi white painted hide strap dress ensemble dated at 1920. The same photograph appears in Parezo (1999:255) where it is dated "before 1880."
39. Thwaites 1910:221-33; Birk 1989:56-9; AFC Records, NAC
40. As elaborated in Chapter Seven, changes over time in the cost and availability of fabrics undoubtedly play a role in the development of culturally constructed style preferences.
41. Also see Eastman Johnson's "Hiawatha" (Johnston 1983:47,57) and "Female Chippewa of Distinction" from Thomas McKenney's *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* (in Karklins 1992:28).
42. This particular inventory is unusual in that it gives both the number of pieces and the yardage for almost all of the fabrics listed. The pieces of some fabrics, such as broadcloth and calico, come in standard lengths, which makes it easy to calculate yardage by the piece. The lengths of the pieces of most fabrics, however, vary too much to make accurate calculations unless the yardage is given, which is rare. Hence, this inventory presents an unusual opportunity to obtain an accurate understanding of the volume of cottons versus woollens sold at a Great Lakes sub-depot. The distinction between yardage and cost is crucial to the question of fabric usage. A cost comparison is

misleading because the cost of woollens greatly exceeded that of cottons. In this case, whereas the yardage of cottons was 43% of the total, their cost was only 23%.

43. The yardages given for the NWC inventory are less accurate than those of the AFC inventory because I had to calculate many of the figures (especially for cottons) based on the assumption that the price of pieces was the same as that for fathoms of the same fabric. I have seen in other inventories, however, that this was often not the case. Because, however, the price of fathoms was generally less than that of pieces, the estimates are probably low. Given the extreme difference between the amount of cottons and woollens, however, the rough estimates are adequate to reflect their relation. The 119.5 yard difference between the figure for total yardage of woollens given here and that given in Table 1 represents fabrics for which colors could not be determined.

44. It is also possible that both hide skirts and strap dresses were worn in these regions. For example, a 1664 engraving of Huron women shows one wearing a short hide skirt with no upper garment, and another with what may be a hide strap dress with the sleeves thrown to the back (Dickason 1992:42; Ray 1996:4).

45. Hail 1980:88-9; J.B.C. in O'Neil 1995:29; Skinner 1921:125-6; Weiser in O'Neil 1995:7

46. For black ash, see Adams 1990:47; Coe 1986:64,66,74,94,100,101; Podlog 1981:15-17; Ettawageshik 1999:25; Lyford 1982 [1943]:62-3; and Schneider 1972:249-50. For white ash, see Erichson-Brown 1979:87; and Jenness 1935:113. One community uses "brown ash" (Carr Carroll 1995:42) while another uses black elm (Hoffman 1970 [1896]:259-60).

47. In the nineteenth century "stuff" was a generic term for fabric. It was not used in the very broad sense that we use it today.

48. Fuller 1991 [1843]:108-9; Kalm in O'Neil 1995:12; Jameson 1990 [1838]:513

49. See Smith in Copway (1997 [1850]:31) for a similar story in which a Sioux observer derides Copway and other missionaries by calling them "Frenchmen" because they are chopping wood, building a cabin and wearing European-style clothing.

50. de Marly 1986:87; Dunlevy 1989:124; Norris and Curtis 1998 [1933]:4,14

CHAPTER SEVEN: THROWING OFF THE BLANKET: EVERYDAY CLOTHING OF RESERVATION LIVING

They entered the strange lodge and saw the things within. When the agent realized Mother's interest, he called for his helper and interpreter, an Ojibway man named Dan.

"Tell this woman that if she wishes to help my woman within our lodge she will learn the things she is so curious about. Tell her she must come every day. My woman will show her what to do."

... So every day Mother went to the agent's lodge and helped the strange woman there. She learned to sew and to make fire in a thing called a stove. She learned about the table and the chairs and the dishes. Slowly she learned the language of the strangers... In the evening when she returned to the new camp she told On-dag, "We shall have some of these things. The agent's wife will have the trading man bring what I want. But let us keep the old ways too." (Broker 1983:82-3)

In many ways, the changes Anishnaabek underwent in the nineteenth century were more radical than those that occurred when Europeans first introduced trade goods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As shown in Chapters Five and Six, Anishnaabek were able to control both the modes and products of exchange to a significant extent when they outnumbered Europeans and possessed commodities that Europeans held dear. Such commodities included fur, food and services such as manufacturing and navigation, all of which derived from pre-contact patterns of land usage. Early in the nineteenth century, however, Anishnaabe hold on the land was beginning to loosen as Europeans steadily gained numbers and power. A set of interrelated factors combined to finally deprive Anishnaabek of the majority of their land and force most of them on to the small tracts that were stipulated in the treaties.

The main factors in these processes were: 1) the loss of economic power resulting

from the dwindling supply of game and fur-bearing animals due to over-hunting and the encroachment of European settlers, as well as the destruction of forests caused by European warfare, logging and mining; and 2) the disintegration of the Anishnaabe social order due to the introduction of alcohol, the system of capitalist commoditization and a new system of leadership based on the self-interested selection of chiefs by European traders and government officials, as well as the weakening of the totemic system due to marriage with European men and geographic displacement. In turn, these factors led Anishnaabek to submit to land surrenders, political subordination, religious conversion and the new economic strategies these transformations entailed. Concomitantly, these changes of life-ways brought about the wholesale adoption of European clothing styles.

This transition took place over a period of about 100 years from the 1820s around the southeastern Great Lakes to the 1920s in Northern Ontario and Manitoba. The relative importance of the various factors, and the exact manner of transformation, varied widely according to time and place, but the basic outline is fairly consistent throughout the Great Lakes region. Factors such as conversion to Christianity and land surrenders stand out as causal explanations for the adoption of European clothing styles. It is important to remember, however, that behind these individual and community events lay the whole complex of factors and processes outlined above. Their combined force served to limit the range of options available to Anishnaabek throughout this trying period of history.

As well, the convergence of these factors exerted a pressure that led to rapid change. Whether by force, necessity, or choice, the transformation of everyday wear from Anishnaabe fur trade styles to that of Europeans was accomplished in no more than one or two generations among any given group. Despite the rapid change in appearance,

however, Anishnaabek continued to pursue aspects of the traditional economy, such as fishing, sugar-making, ricing and berry-picking, often selling a surplus to non-Native markets. As well, Anishnaabe distinctive styles did not disappear, although they also underwent rapid and substantial transformation.

In order to fully understand the processes that led to the adoption of European styles it is important to realize that the demography of the British population in the Great Lakes area changed radically when settlers began to take over the land. For the first time, Anishnaabek were in direct contact with significant numbers of British women and members of the lower classes. By and large these groups did not leave written records. The few settler women's narratives available, however, reveal that Anishnaabek were often very curious about their particular modes of dress and housekeeping, and took exceptional interest in their babies.¹

As with the traders at an earlier period, Anishnaabek frequently sought to barter with settlers.² For example, Margaret Lafever (in Massie 1993:203-7) relates that her mother had brought flax seeds and a linen spinning wheel with her when their family settled Eaton County, MI, during the 1830s. Within several years, she

spun flax into thread and colored it with walnut shucks and supplied people for miles around... She never received money for her thread but Indians would come and exchange fur for it. White people would bring a calf or pig or some hens and exchange for linen cloth or thread.

Native peoples also harvested and produced goods to sell in bulk to the new settler populations. For example, Parr Traill (1966 [1836]:61) notes that Anishnaabek of Rice Lake, Ontario, brought "great quantities" of low-bush cranberries to the "towns and villages." These, she said, "form a standing preserve on the tea-tables in most of the settler's homes." In a letter written from her new homestead in Michigan in 1844, Mary

Per Lee (in Brehm 1998:122-3) noted that when their steamer stopped at Mackinac the “Indians came aboard with their curiosities for sale, but they value them so highly that it would require quite a little fortune to purchase many of them.” Peter Jones (1970 [1861]:166) recounts that the band he lived with when a child was composed “principally of poor Indian women who got their living by making baskets and brooms, which they sold to the white people then settled in the country.”

Although the settler population initially presented an expanded market for Anishnaabe merchandise, the new demography and close proximity of the British accelerated the demise of the Anishnaabe traditional economy. The new settler markets did not adequately compensate for the loss of hunting for subsistence and barter. Moreover, these demographic and economic changes undermined the dominance of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment in the Great Lakes region. Not only did the British behavioral environment gain ascendancy, but the cultural script changed from that of “adventure” to that of “settlement,” which is intimately linked to that of the “vanishing Indian,” or the “disappearing Indian.” There were two forms of the latter: 1) the death or physical removal of Native peoples; and 2) the death or removal of Native cultural elements among Native peoples, or “assimilation” (see Chapter One). Surrounded by British, Anishnaabek found that the roles which the British and Americans cast them in often had greater force than those they intended to play. Their choice of roles was now essentially limited to those of “good Indians” or “bad Indians.”

Some Anishnaabek embraced modified forms of the cultural script of assimilation with the expectation that this would enable them to regain control of their lives (Kugel 1998:107). Others opted to relocate beyond the reach of encroaching settlers where they could continue to enact their own cultural scripts (Smith 1987:89). In many

cases, Native peoples had no choice because government policies forced them to submit to removal or assimilation. Whether by force, necessity or choice, in almost all instances where “assimilation” was the dominant cultural script, the donning of European styles of dress was integral to its enactment. Conversely, when Anishnaabek enacted roles in their own cultural scripts, they wore fur trade and pre-contact dress styles. Hence, the British conceived the stereotypical role of “blanketed Indians” as those who were pagan, wild, “unfriendly” to the “whites,” and potentially dangerous, in other words, “bad Indians” (Kugel 1998:101,118,120). In order to elucidate the processes outlined above, I shall examine specific instances that illustrate the various circumstances under which Anishnaabek and Métis adopted European clothing styles.

As the fur trade declined, and Anishnaabek came under the political jurisdiction of the American and British colonial governments, increasing pressure was exerted upon the Métis to become either “White” or “Indian.” For this reason, the demography of the Anishnaabe population also transformed during this period as it absorbed thousands of Métis (H. Gilfillan n/d:3, MHS). High ranking Métis women, however, often chose to assimilate into the newly forming settler society. In this endeavor they had a decided advantage over their male relatives because the British and the Americans tolerated Métis and Native women marrying British and American men, but they could not endure Métis and Native men marrying British and American women (Widder 1999:121,129-30). “The public’s” response to couples in the latter category illustrate this double standard. For example, Mary Sagatoo (1994 [1897]:151-2) was a Massachusetts woman who married an Anishnaabe missionary of the Saginaw band in Michigan during the mid-nineteenth century. She complained, “Could my dear friends know of the sneers and sometimes insulting speeches made to me because of my being the wife of an Indian

preacher, and that, too, by people calling themselves Christians.” One time she met two men on a train who did not realize she was the infamous “white woman who married an Indian.” They told her that they would “disown or shoot their sister if she were to marry one.” Similarly, Eliza Field Jones, the British wife of the Mississauga missionary, Rev. Peter Jones, was subject to vigorous family opposition to her plans before the marriage and scathing public criticism after the event.³

The effects of the trend towards racial polarization can be observed in the families of the fur traders John Johnson of Sault St. Marie and Jean Baptiste Marcotte of Mackinac Island over a period of one or two generations. Johnson’s wife, Oshau-gusco-dayway-quay, (aka Susan Johnson) was the daughter of Wabojeeq, a chief at La Pointe, WI. Thomas McKenney (1972 [1827]:150) described her clothing in 1826:

Mrs. Johnson is a genuine Chippewa, without the smallest admixture of white blood. She is tall and large, but uncommonly active and cheerful. She dresses nearly in the costume of her nation - a blue petticoat, of cloth, a short-gown of calico, with leggings worked with beads, and moccasins. Her hair is black. She plaits and fastens it up behind with a comb.

Oshau-gusco-dayway-quay exercised political influence over members of her nation, commanded the respect of high ranking Americans, operated expansive maple sugar and fishing industries, and took over her husband’s fur trade business for a few years after he passed on.⁴

The sisters Madame Laframboise and Madame Thérèse Schindler were the daughters of fur trader Marcotte and the granddaughters of Kewinaquat, an Odawa chief. They were married to fur traders at Mackinac Island in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Both of them took over their husbands’ businesses when they became widows. In addition to fur trading, Mme. Schindler had a sugar bush where she maintained “a thousand or more trees.” Mme. Laframboise was “a graceful and refined

person, and remarkably entertaining. She always wore the full Indian costume, and there was at that time no better fur trader than she.” Both women were French Catholics who gained the respect of local and visiting British North Americans while remaining integrated in their own Native communities (Baird 1898:22-4,28,34,38-40, NBL).

The daughters of these remarkable women, however, fared differently from their mothers. For example, Jane Johnson had difficulty fulfilling the role of “Victorian lady” that was now expected of upper class Métis women.⁵ During her childhood, Jane was the favorite pupil of her father and she went with him to Britain for a year. She became an accomplished poetry and prose writer, as well as a charming conversationalist.⁶

McKenney (1972 [1827]:151) described her dress in 1826:

She dresses with great taste, and in all respects in the costume of our fashionables, but wears leggins of black silk, drawn and ruffled around the ankles, resembling those worn by our little girls. I think them ornamental.

In 1823, Jane married Henry Schoolcraft, the well-known Indian agent and ethnologist. The following year Henry brought Jane to New York City where, he proudly observed, she received social acclaim as a “northern Pocahontas” (Stoutamire 1992a:42). Jane’s social and domestic affairs, however, took a turn for the worse after the death of their first child. Schoolcraft attributed the boy’s death to his and Jane’s moral failings. As well, his strict patriarchal views of marriage and his increasing expressions of racial prejudice combined with Jane’s characteristically feeble health to make her life one of “resigned and habitual suffering.”⁷ Evidence suggests that she acquired a laudanum addiction which hastened her premature death in 1842 (Bremer 1987:216-17; Stoutamire 1992a:43). Despite her widespread social acclaim, and her constant aid in the acquisition and translation of Schoolcraft’s ethnological materials, Jane failed to measure up to his exacting standards of Protestant virtue and civilized society (Bremer 1987:256).

In contrast, her sister, Charlotte Johnson, fit comfortably into British North American society. As a child she went to school in Sandwich, Ontario, where, among other things, she learned embroidery. In 1828, Charlotte worked as interpreter for Rev. Abel Bingham. Five years later she married Rev. William McMurray of the Anglican Church. In 1838, McMurray was transferred to Dundas, Ontario, where Charlotte managed a large household and a day school for her sons and British Canadian boys (Stoutamire 1992b:51-4). Upon meeting her in Toronto in 1837, Anna Jameson (1990 [1838]:194) remarked:

I must confess that the specimens of Indian squaws and half-cast women I had met with, had in no wise prepared me for what I found in Mrs. McMurray... Her figure is tall... with that indescribable grace and undulation of movement which speaks the perfection of form.

Although Jameson continues with praise of her features, speech, and manners, there can be no doubt that Charlotte's attire formed a large part of Jameson's favorable impression. Even before her marriage, her "style of dress [was] neat, and in all respects such as [was seen] in our cities" (McKenney 1972 [1827]:153; see Stoutamire 1992:50 for portrait).

Similarly, the daughters and granddaughters of Mme. Schindler and Mme. Laframboise melted almost imperceptibly into the "aristocratic" society of early nineteenth century Mackinac Island (Baird 1898:34, NBL). The manager of the AFC, Robert Stuart, convinced Mme. Schindler's daughter to operate a school for Métis girls where they learned to read, write and sew. This "latter accomplishment included the art of cutting and making their own [European-style] clothes" (*ibid.*:23). In 1816, the widow of a military officer described Mme. Laframboise's daughter as a "half-breed girl." Yet, Elizabeth Baird (*ibid.*:40) points out that this "'half-breed girl' was a highly educated and cultivated woman" who married a high-ranking officer in the American army. Baird, who

was the granddaughter of Mme. Schindler, wore attire that was typical of upper middle class French and British North American settlers:

How well I remember my outdoor gear in winter, a long circular cloak, of snuff-brown broadcloth; over this a large cape of the same material, braided all around in Roman border... My cap was of plucked beaver, and my mittens were of buckskin, fur-lined. Moccasins were of course indispensable.

Many such Métis women were incorporated into the newly emerging American and British North American societies and their descendants became categorically "White." William Warren's sister, Julia Spears (n/d (b):4-5, MHS),⁸ for example, married two American men in turn. Both were flourishing businessmen who died sudden deaths. Julia was left "comfortably well to do" as the proprietor of the store in Swan River, MN, that she inherited from her late second husband. She would have remained there successfully integrated into the social fabric of the frontier town had not a fire destroyed her house and store in 1862. In this emergency, her brother, Truman Warren the younger, took her to the Chippewa Agency where she was offered a job as a teacher in the day school. Three years later the agency moved to Leech Lake where she became the matron of the boarding school. Julia's reminiscences make it clear that her social ties in Anishnaabe communities were mainly to missionaries and government employees. For example, one year she accompanied her brother, William Warren, when he led a party of Anishnaabek to receive treaty payments at Sandy Lake. The Anishnaabek were starving and dying of measles while they waited three weeks for the payment to arrive. Meanwhile, Julia enjoyed hospitality in the house of the government agent (Spears 1921:5, MHS).

Métis men, in general, had more difficulty "assimilating" into British North American society. For example, although Jane's and Charlotte's brother, George

Johnson, possessed the advantage of a higher education than any of his sisters, his professional life was marked with constant obstacles and set-backs. As the fur trade declined, the professional opportunities for Métis men were radically reduced (Kugel 1998:112-3). George, however, had the uncommon privilege of having an Indian agent for his brother-in-law. Schoolcraft employed him variously as interpreter, sub-agent, and government carpenter over a period of fifteen years. As well, whereas the Johnson girls married influential British and American men, George married an Ojibway woman from La Pointe where he was employed as a fur trader. After her death, however, Schoolcraft arranged a marriage between George and an American missionary from Massachusetts named Mary Rice. Despite these unusual advantages, George suffered from bouts of drinking and violence which jeopardized his credibility in every job that he undertook. After the collapse of "the Schoolcraft empire," and the death of his second wife, George made unsuccessful attempts to find employment and to gain reparations from the U.S. government. Hence, he was left destitute with his seven dependant children. In 1861, his life ended tragically when he became lost in a snowstorm and froze to death (Bremer 1987:75-7; Weaver 1992:35-7).

George's 1830 account with his mother's fur trade business reveals a glimpse into his consumer patterns when he was employed as Schoolcraft's interpreter at Sault St. Marie. Over a four month period George bought 45 yards of fabric, most of which was flannel and coarse cottons. He also acquired many yards of ferreting and ribbons (see Appendix). During the same period he purchased relatively few ready-made articles: 15 pairs of socks, 1 Diffon shawl, 1 cotton shirt and two small molton blankets (Johnson 1830, NBL). George's purchasing patterns are remarkably similar to those of the AFC clerks and interpreters discussed in the previous chapter. In comparison, however,

George's account shows a conspicuous lack of items suggestive of sartorial status display, such as jackets, trousers and fine cloths, even though Oshau-gusco-dayway-quay carried a wide selection of such goods. Schoolcraft may have supplied him with a suit, however. Like the AFC company employees, many of George's purchases were probably for his Ojibway wife and children.

A photographic portrait taken of George in his later life shows him dressed as an American "gentleman" (Weaver 1992:32). This image shows the increasing pressure upon George to play the role expected of "assimilated Indians." The story of his life, however, reveals how much better were his circumstances when he was able to enact roles appropriate to Métis men in fur trade cultural scripts. Whereas Bremer (1987:75) states that the Johnson brothers had to "constantly struggle to avoid falling into the mass of mixed-bloods who lived almost indistinguishably from their Indian relatives," the example of other Métis men suggests that their lives were more satisfactory when they chose to identify with their Anishnaabe relations.

For example, both Shingwaukonse and Nebenagoching (see Chapter Six) were "mixed-bloods" who became influential leaders of the Anishnaabek of Sault St. Marie. They expressed this identification, in part, by wearing Anishnaabe clothing styles. Similarly, Chief Francis Godfroy, the son of a French fur trader and a Miami mother, rose to the rank of war chief in his mother's nation. He was also the proprietor of a large fur trading concern and the overseer of "several farms." When George Winter sketched him in 1839, he wore a broadcloth jacket with a vest, ruffled shirt and leggings. His son modeled for the artist wearing a "handsome buckskin hunting coat, that had been bought from some of the tribes in the 'far west,' beyond the Mississippi" (Winter in Cooke 1993:121-3). Kugel (1998:113) explains this tendency among Métis men:

Heirs to a unique culture and lifestyle built around their intermediary position, [Métis men] faced many of the same problems of economic impoverishment and social dislocation that confronted their Ojibwe relatives. They too rejected the economic transformation into sedentary agriculturalists advocated by the Americans and continued to rely on the fur trade... By the 1850s, the Métis had concluded that their own fortunes were closely tied to those of the Ojibwe traditionalists.

As Kugel infers, this period of transition also brought about cleavages between different religious factions within Anishnaabe society. The three main contenders were Anishnaabe religion, Catholicism and various types of Protestantism. Whereas Anishnaabe religion is pluralistic and therefore tends to be inclusive of new ideas and practices, all forms of Christianity are exclusive because they are based on the premise of a singular all-encompassing Truth. The increasing presence of British and American Protestant missionaries in Anishnaabe country during the nineteenth century magnified the divisive effect on the social fabric that Catholic missionaries had begun. Missionaries fought as viciously over Anishnaabe souls as had the fur trade companies over their furs in a previous era. A major difference, however, was that whereas the production of furs for barter was a group endeavor, conversion to Christianity took place at the level of the individual. Hence, the religious warfare created divisions within families that were often painful and traumatic for the individuals involved.⁹

Even though Catholic missionaries promoted sedentary agricultural life-styles in communities such as Lorette, Quebec, Wikwemikong, Ontario and L'Arbre Croche, MI, dress reform was not a strong component of Catholic conversion until the last few decades of the nineteenth century. This is evident in the examples of the Marcotte sisters above, and in the fur trade dress styles characteristic of the Catholic village of Lorette, Quebec, described in Chapters Two and Six. Protestants, however, viewed dress as an outward indicator of the moral state and religious affiliation of the wearer. For example,

when the Métis at White Earth lobbied for a Catholic missionary in 1868, a group of Episcopalian Anishnaabek wrote Bishop Whipple that if “the general government will insist [on] sending us Romanist missionaries... We want to inform you... not a single indian [sic] will ever have his blanket off” (Kugel 1998:120). Based on this same premise, Rev. Peter Jones (1970 [1861]:172) remarked that he had “never discovered any real difference between the Roman Catholic Indian and the pagan, other than the wearing of the cross.”

In a manner similar to Shingwauk, Nebenagoching and Godfroy, Peter Jones was a Métis who chose to uphold a Native identity, especially in the realm of politics. He accomplished this by identifying with his grandfather’s *doodem* {Plate 9} and by becoming a chief of the Mississauga nation. After Jones’ conversion to Methodism, however, he habitually wore “gentile” European-style dress although he owned and occasionally donned Anishnaabe-style clothing. His rationale for this choice was that wearing European-style dress would facilitate political, social and economic gains for the Anishnaabe nation. This view is evident in his reaction to the news that Maungwadaus, who had also worked as a missionary for the Methodist church in Southern Ontario (Smith 1976:4-5), was touring Europe with a dance troupe. He was horrified at the thought of them performing in Anishnaabe-style attire

for the sole object of dancing and shewing [sic] of the wild Indian before the British public for the sake of gain... I feel for the honor of my nation and am much mortified where any thing is done calculated to lower the Indian character in the estimation of the religious public. {Plate 29; figure 1} (Jones in Smith 1987:188).

When the Indian Council at Rama selected Jones’ niece, Catherine Sutton, to represent their grievances to Queen Victoria, similar motivations influenced her to wear European-style dress throughout her tour of Britain. The Council advised her to wear distinctive

Anishnaabe dress before the Queen but she told them, and members of the British press, ““this is the way we dress... we are not pagans... we try to be like white people... and do what we can to be like the civilized people”” {Plate 29; figure 2}(Sutton in Smith 1999:36).

The Methodists’ attitudes towards clothing, which formed the basis of Jones’ and Sutton’s sentiments, were clearly expressed by the Rev. Dr. Jeffers (in Van Dusen 1974 [1867]:147-8) with respect to the policy of the British Indian Department on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Newcastle to Ontario in 1860:

The Indian Department brought the Indians out in the different places to present themselves before the Prince and the Duke. Did they also instruct them how to appear? The Indians ought to have presented themselves in their ordinary dress, and they ought to have exhibited the signs of that degree of civilization to which they have attained. That would have shown that they were partially civilized and Christianized, and that they were capable of further improvements. That would have made the Duke feel that they had some intelligence, and therefore that they would make some good use of any lands or privileges that might be granted to them. But they were exhibited everywhere as savages. They were instructed to present themselves half-naked, with painted faces, feathers in their hair, the most grotesque forms of savage dress, and with every appearance of savage ferocity. The effect of all this would be to make the Duke feel that lands could be of no use to them, and that they were incapable of valuing or improving that which might be conferred upon them...

Most of these Indians are not savages. They usually dress like other people; many of them have well cultivated farms: the women are, in a great many instances, neat housekeepers, and can cook and handle the needle as well as their white sisters; and at most of the places they are Christians...

Maungwadaus’ son, Chief John Tecumseh Henry of Muncey (then “Caradoc”), Ontario, was among those dressed “as savages” on the occasion of the Prince’s and Duke’s visit. The coat he wore at this event is presently in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum (Cumberland 1904:24, ROM; ROM HK.901). It is made of a dark green woollen with a raised twill weave and decorated with gold lace trim and tubular trade beads embroidered in floral motifs. This coat is similar, but not identical, to one he wore

when he performed with his father on his European tour (Plate 29; figure 1). The very fact of wearing a coat seems to contradict the stereotypical portrayal of “naked Indians” in Jeffer’s description above. Yet, this tendency of the British to associate all forms of distinctive Anishnaabe dress with roles of “savage ferocity” serves to prove Jeffer’s point. In fact, while the Prince and Duke were making a show of pageantry among the Anishnaabek, the British government was quietly passing responsibility for them into the hands of the Colonial Government of Canada (Schmalz 1991:194). I suggest that this transfer of political power from Britain to the settler society marked the final stage of the shift in the dominant colonial cultural script from that of “adventurer” to that of “settlement.”

In all probability, Chief Henry did wear European-style dress for everyday wear in 1860. By 1891, he was the president of the Chippewa Agricultural Society of Muncey, which, together with the Indian agent, sponsored an English-style agricultural fair that year (broadside, ROM). As early as the 1830s, southern Ontario was dotted with Methodist Anishnaabe communities in which temperance, agriculture and European-style dress were the norm.¹⁰ This was due largely to the influence of Jones and other Anishnaabe missionaries. Parr Traill (1966[1836]:104) notes that even Anishnaabek who maintained semi-nomadic life-styles

appear less addicted to gay and tinselly adornment than formerly, and rather affect a European style in their dress; it is no unusual sight to see an Indian habited in a fine cloth coat and trousers, though I must say the blanket-coats provided for them by Government, and which form part of their annual present, are far more suitable and becoming. The squaws, too, prefer cotton stuff gowns, aprons and handkerchiefs, and such useful articles, to any sort of finery...

The abstention from alcohol that Methodist conversion entailed was a strong motivation for many Anishnaabe converts who had suffered severely due to its influence.

Anishnaabe missionary, Peter Jacobs (in Schmalz 1991:133) wrote that half the number of Anishnaabek in Southern Ontario had suffered alcohol-related deaths in the years between 1818 and 1829. By means of example, he stated that “the fire waters” caused the violent deaths of his father, mother, two sisters and a brother within the span of several years, which left him without living relations.¹¹ For Catherine Waboose, who was blessed with *jessakid* powers at the time of her puberty fast, the murder of her first husband during a drinking bout with the “half-Frenchman” fur trader, Gaultier, was the first in a series of misfortunes that led to her conversion to Methodism (Schoolcraft 1969 [1851]:394-6).

The insidious effects of alcohol increased after the advent of the reservation era as Anishnaabek became powerless to prevent the demise of their independence and livelihood. As well, closer proximity to settlements increased the availability of liquor despite poorly enforced laws against its sale to Natives. Many Anishnaabe converts grew up during this period of fur trade decline when their parents were indeed reduced to wearing “ragged blankets” and were often too intoxicated to inform them of better days, or better ways. Hence, many children in the first few generations who grew up during the treaty era shared with the Methodists an association between the “blanket” and the deleterious effects of alcoholism, which for Methodists also entailed “heathenism.” It was therefore not difficult for these Anishnaabek to accept that alcoholism, fur trade dress and poverty were indissociably linked to a depreciating view of their own spiritual and cultural traditions. In fact, the material well-being of Methodist converts was markedly improved.

The intimate connection between Protestant conversion and the adoption of European dress styles was clearly expressed by the Episcopalians who began intensive

mission work among the Minnesota Anishnaabek during the 1850s. Like the Methodists, the Episcopalians eschewed alcohol and utilized Native missionaries to aid them in their work. After twenty years of limited success and decided failures in their Minnesota missions, their success after 1852 was due in large part to their gaining the services of Enmegahbowh (John Johnson), an Ojibway who grew up at the Credit River Mission under the tutelage of Peter Jones. According to Rev. Gilfillan's wife Harriet (n/d:2, MHS), Enmegahbowh was the only Episcopalian missionary in Minnesota before her husband arrived in 1873 (a period of 21 years).

Through Enmegahbowh, Minnesota Ojibway first learned the importance of dress to British and American Protestants (Spears n/d (a):3, MHS). For example, the same year Rev. Gilfillan came to White Earth, the Episcopalian Anishnaabek produced a pageant in honor of Bishop Whipple's visit in which an Anishnaabe orator narrated the story of their conversion and commitment to the new church. At appropriate moments during his speech, men and women came out through the church doors dressed to illustrate the period referred to in the narrative. The first couple appeared "'splendidly dressed' in 'beads, belt, pouch, leggins, embroidery, etc.' to illustrate their good fortune" in the days "before the whites appeared." The next couple emerged "'clad in a few old wretched tatters' with 'shreds of blankets' that 'flopped about their naked limbs.'" This depiction alluded to how they had "'sunk lower and lower'" after "'the white men' came." To illustrate the "'new era which had dawned upon them'" since their conversion, a man and woman stepped forth dressed in "'citizen's clothes'" (Whipple in Meyer 1994:73).

One very interesting aspect of the way these Anishnaabek portrayed their history is that they used the distinctive Anishnaabe dress that was characteristic of the late-nineteenth century to depict a romanticized pre-contact period. Fur trade dress styles, on

the other hand, were reduced to “shreds of blankets.” As I shall elaborate in Chapter Eight, these images of Anishnaabe fashion history, and the social history they reflect, remain dominant amongst both Natives and non-Natives today. The point I wish to consider here is that these Anishnaabek were willing participants in the adoption of European clothing styles partly as a salient symbol of their “assimilation” to “civilized” society, and partly as a “symbolic gesture” that “demonstrated their commitment to the alliance,” as Kugel (1998:118) points out. This practice replicated the role of clothing in the pre-contact and fur trade pattern for forging alliances discussed in Chapter Five.

Transformation of dress was a standard component of Episcopalian conversion that took place immediately upon any expression of commitment to the Church. For example, in a letter written to Rev. Gilfillan in 1898, George Morgan (in Gilfillan 1898, MHS), an Anishnaabe missionary, states: “I have given Ke-ke-quash the clothing, for he has become a Christian... I would be pleased that you should give that man provisions, and his wife I wish that she were given clothing...” because she worked hard to gather wood for the mission. In some instances, this aspect of Episcopalian conversion changed the appearance of entire communities with dramatic rapidity. For example, when Spears (n/d (a):3, MHS) arrived at the new settlement at White Earth, she remarked:

I was much surprised to see the great improvement in my Indian friends, that I had known at the ‘Old Agency’ who came with the first removal. When they left then they were heathens and wore blankets, long hair, feathers and painted their faces, and now when they came to shake hands and welcome us they were dressed like Whitemen, hair cut, and no paint on their faces.

Nineteenth century written records frequently dwell on the results of this sartorial transformation but they seldom reveal the exact processes through which Anishnaabek acquired European-style clothing. As noted above, poverty was among the most significant factors that led Anishnaabek to convert to Christianity and consequently to

adopt European styles. Often Anishnaabek chose to ally themselves with missionaries for the express purpose of gaining access to food and clothing, as well as the means to produce them in the changing economic and cultural environment. There were three aspects of missionary programs through which Anishnaabek gained access to European-style clothing: 1) the education of children in day and residential schools; 2) the education of adult women in sewing and related skills; and 3) the distribution of ready-made clothing in a variety of circumstances.

The first of these programs, particularly the residential schools, has at this time acquired “legendary” notoriety among Native peoples for the “callousness and the arrogance” of the government programs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Levchuk 1997:178). The legacy of atrocious physical, emotional and spiritual abuses that were inflicted on pupils in these programs of enforced assimilation, and their resultant social ills, have become a source of bitter resentment for many contemporary Native peoples and a source of liability to the governments and churches that were responsible. The historical background to the government programs, however, remains but poorly understood.

In the Great Lakes region, missionaries had been conducting small-scale day and boarding school programs for approximately two hundred years before attendance at government-sponsored schools became compulsory for Native children (1891 in United States; 1894 in Canada). Whereas the missionaries’ programs varied widely in their intents, methods and consequences, Anishnaabe parents invariably had a choice whether to send their children or not. When and where the fur trade remained a viable way of life many Anishnaabek chose not to send their children (Miller 1996:70-1). For example, when Frederick and Elizabeth Ayer opened a day school at Yellow Lake, WI, in 1833, the

local chiefs held a council in which they told him “they *would not* send their children to school to listen to the Good Book” (F. Ayer in Widder 1999:22; italics in original). Their reasons were twofold: 1) they told Ayer that if “the Great Spirit had designed that they should be instructed they would have had his word communicated to them before” (*ibid.*); and 2) “they began to fear that in case [the Ayers] were allowed to remain there, they might in some way, after a while, lose their lands” (E. Ayer 1871, MHS).

Ambivalence and lack of consensus, however, caused “about one third of the same party” to return to Ayer the following day to express their desire to “take back what had been said the night before.” This group did not mind Ayer staying, but “did not want any more white people to come,” and they “would not give him any land, nor sell him any,” although he could freely use the resources (E. Ayer 1871, MHS; underline in original). The war chief, Kish-he-tah-wug (Cut Ear) “wanted his children to ‘know the book’ and put his daughter in Mr. Ayer’s family” but the other chiefs declined to take a stand (*ibid.*). Kish-he-tah-wug’s strategy of sending one of his children to school while he steadfastly refused to participate in the foreign religion himself was a common phenomenon in those transitional times. Some Anishnaabek wanted their children to learn reading and arithmetic so that they would not be cheated by traders (Baierlein 1989 [1888]:29,58-65; Miller 1996:77-80). In many cases, Anishnaabek chose alliance with the missionaries in hopes of gaining new economic and political resources for their families and communities.¹² In doing so, they continued to enact the Anishnaabe cultural script of “reciprocity” that had, through similar modifications, characterized their parents and grandparents relations with British traders and diplomats.

Like the Ayers, most of these early missionaries ran day schools, which they held in their own homes or in all-purpose church buildings, or they took a number of children

into their homes as boarders and students. In all cases, the numbers of children involved were relatively small (3 to 30 pupils) and many missionaries considered these schools as an adjunct to the more important work of conducting services and baptizing souls, or at best a means to these ends.¹³ Frequently the wives of missionaries taught sewing, spinning, knitting and quilting to the female pupils. In some of the early schools, students attended in fur trade dress styles (Baierlein 1989 [1888]:58), but as the century progressed, students were expected to attend classes in European-style clothing. Emma Baylis (in Brehm 1998:145), for example, ran a day school for Native, Métis, French and English children (total of 10 to 18 students) at Spanish River, Ontario during the 1870s.¹⁴ One journal entry notes:

Fitted out four girls with clothes for school. They have just been in to see me with their old clothes on. They take the new clothes off when they go home so as to keep them clean for school.

On another occasion, Baylis “gave material to make dresses for two little girls to come to school” (*ibid.*:142).

As missionaries became firmly established in communities, and the governments became increasingly involved in “assimilation” programs, some of them believed that residential schools would better suit their purposes. These missionaries felt that they could not exercise enough control to fully indoctrinate children when they were allowed to live with their parents. Their main complaints were alcoholism and “heathenism” among the parents, as well as sporadic attendance due to both competition from rival denominations and the continuation of seasonal economic strategies which took the children away from the settlement for extended periods.¹⁵

This trend can be observed in the development of Rev. Peter Dougherty’s work at Grand Traverse, MI (Craker 1935:29,34,37-8, NBL). The day after Dougherty’s arrival in

Grand Traverse Bay in 1839 he opened a day school in a “little bark wigwam.” His Ojibway interpreter, Peter Greensky, taught a few pupils who undoubtedly came to class dressed in their customary fur trade apparel. The day school expanded shortly thereafter when a log building was constructed and teachers were sent by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In 1852 the Odawa and Ojibway of Grand Traverse learned that the treaty they signed in 1837 had given them title to land for only five years. During the 1840s, the U.S. army was forcibly removing Michigan Anishnaabek from their land. In 1850, the state of Michigan voted to grant citizenship to Native men at the expense of losing their Native status (Cleland 1992:243). Citizenship was an attractive prospect because it conferred the right to hold land in fee-simple and thereby remain in Michigan (Blackbird 1993 [1887]:60-1). Hence, the Ojibway of Dougherty’s mission opted to “denounce their allegiance to their chiefs” and to purchase land. Using money from the annuity payments from the sale of their land fourteen years before, they purchased land then occupied by a band of Odawa whom they thereby displaced. When the mission moved to the new location, Dougherty “thought it best to keep all the Indian children together at the Mission as one large family.” He opened a residential school in which the boys and girls lived segregated and regimented lives:

Each child was washed and dressed as soon as received into the school. The Indian children were taught all kinds of work, as well as to read and write. The boys worked on the farm; the girls learned housework and sewing. At 5 A.M. the rising bell rang. At 6:00 they had morning worship. After that they had a good substantial breakfast. The boys and girls ate at separate tables. Then they worked until 9:00 when the school bell called them to study (*ibid.*:38).

By the time Dougherty opened his residential school other Protestant missionaries had been conducting experiments in residential schools for Native and Métis children for several decades. The striking resemblance between these schools and the British

workhouses discussed in Chapter Four suggests that the former were modeled roughly on the latter. In Britain, after 1834 “the idea that the poor had to be humiliated and punished for their poverty gained ground,” small workhouses were closed and replaced with large centralized ones, and their inmates were clad in uniforms (de Marly 1986:97). Toward the end of the century, many Native residential schools bore an even closer likeness to charitable orphanages in Britain and the Eastern United States. The latter institutions were characterized by regimented schedules, corporeal punishment, inmate uniforms (and often numbers), and a program in which inmates performed all the labor of the institution on the pretext of receiving training for the low-income labor force. As well, inmates were often “sponsored” by wealthy patrons and paraded before the public in their uniforms to receive public support for the institution {Plate 30; figures 1 and 2} (Cunnington and Lucas 1978:20-4, 63,108-10).

Most of the above-mentioned traits of workhouses and orphanages were evident in Rev. William Ferry’s residential school for Métis children (whom he represented as Native to his mission society) at Mackinac Island during the 1820s (Craker 1935:21, NBL; Widder 1999:93). Children were stripped of their fur trade style garments upon entry into the school, lived regimented lives, were given the names of sponsors in the Eastern States and did the labor of the school. Ferry even engaged them to work at odd jobs for the government offices and trading concerns on the Island, the proceeds of which went towards the mission (*ibid.*:106-9,118-22). The main difference between Ferry’s school and British orphanages was that, at this early period, missionaries could not “parade” their wards before the public. Rather, they had to rely on written descriptions to garner the support of the public in eastern urban centers.

Like the British workhouses, these early residential schools kept flocks of sheep

and taught the girls carding and spinning. For example, during the 1830s, twelve female students were boarded with Rev. William Case at Alnwick, Ontario, where they spun, wove and sewed their own clothing from the wool of sheep belonging to the mission (Schmalz 1991:158). During this same period another Protestant residential school near present day Grand Rapids, MI, had a flock of 100 sheep from which the children harvested wool which the girls spun, wove, sewed and knit into Western style garments. In 1839, when the British colonial government opened its Anglican missionary “Establishment” at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island, the missionaries likewise brought a flock of sheep. The government hired a woman to “teach the Indians” carding and spinning, which they were “quick to learn and [they] delighted in being able to knit their own socks and stockings” (Anderson in Brehm 1998:118).¹⁶ Twenty-five years later, a woman from the Manitowaning band put this skill to good use by spinning yarn for Rev. Sims (n/d:199,201,204) in exchange for “meat,” corn and flour.

The orphanages and the residential schools were both designed to equip wards with the social dispositions necessary to enter the ranks of the servant classes of society. Consequently, overseers attempted to inculcate appropriate behavioral characteristics in every phase of school life. For example, the residential school at Grand Rapids had a “recreation” program which was scheduled separately for boys and girls. The boys were encouraged “to play together” because mission overseers erroneously thought that the “pursuits of Indian boys are of a solitary nature,” which they supposed fostered their trait of independence. The girls “recreation” program consisted of learning embroidery to counteract their imagined tendency towards “laziness” (Keating 1959 [1824]:150-5). Because “fancy work” was at that time the sole prerogative of upper class women, William Keating (*ibid.*:155) felt he had to justify this seeming impropriety of the

missionaries' judgement:

...they were just beginning to embroider, an occupation which may by some, be considered as unsuitable to the situation which they are destined to hold in life, but which appears to us very judiciously used as a reward and stimulus; it encourages their taste and natural talent for imitation, which is very great; and by teaching them that occupation may be connected with amusement, it may prevent their relapsing into that idleness which has been justly termed the source of all evils.

Both the American and the British colonial governments first became involved in education through the treaty process. In the United States, stipulations for schools and teachers, as well as for industrial and agricultural supplies, were written into many of the nineteenth century treaties. Money taken from annuity payments was held in trust by the government to be used for these purposes. For example, both the Grand Traverse and Grand Rapids mission schools were supplied with government-sponsored blacksmiths and farmers (Craker 1935:29, NBL; Keating 1959 [1824]:154). During the 1850s, Rev. Gilfillan was overseeing four day schools in Minnesota when the government opened two residential schools at the newly formed reservation of White Earth. When in 1894 Gilfillan could no longer sustain the expense of his schools, he offered to turn them over to the government. Harriet Gilfillan (n/d:2, MHS) bitterly complained that "though [the government] had millions of dollars of the Indian's money from the sale of pine, they refused to put up new buildings." This is but one example of the many ways in which the American government failed to deliver the educational facilities promised in the treaties to the extent, and in the manner, Anishnaabek expected (Satz 1991:69). As a general policy, the government gave the trust funds directly to the mission societies, whereas Anishnaabek desired control of the funds themselves (Cleland 1992:224).

Similarly, in Canada, when in 1846 the Anishnaabe chiefs of Ontario signed a treaty in which they agreed to set aside one quarter of their annuity payments towards the

erection of “Manual Labour Schools,” they expected that they would ultimately gain control of Native education. The government and the missionary societies, however, had a different objective in mind. Rather than increase Anishnaabe control, the industrial schools wrenched leadership out of the hands of the educated Natives and placed it instead into those of “uncomprehending, unsympathetic and insensitive Euro-Canadian missionaries” (Miller 1996:81,86). Within a decade Anishnaabek had withdrawn their support of the residential schools and government officials concluded that their “benevolent experiment” was “to a great extent a failure.”

In 1879, the newly formed Dominion government commissioned an investigation into the American Native education program. The commissioners were greatly impressed with the American policy of “aggressive civilization” and consequently, in 1883, the government launched an ambitious new plan which promoted off-reserve residential schools (Miller 1996:101-3,114). By 1897, however, the government was having second thoughts about the expenditure required for such schools. One politician, for example, remarked, “We are educating these Native people to compete industrially with our own people, which seems to me a very undesirable use of public money, or else we are not able to educate them to compete, in which case our money is thrown away” (Ray 1996:241-2). Because one of the objectives of Native education was to create a “cheap labor force” which would occupy jobs deemed undesirable by “the public,” the government now sought to keep children on reservations where they could not become a threat to the Canadian job market (*ibid.*238,242).

The American government’s policies towards Native education similarly flip-flopped back and forth between promoting day and residential schools throughout this period. In Michigan, for example, between 1855 and 1887 the majority of educational

facilities for Native children were day schools in which lessons were taught in the Native languages. After 1887, however, the federal government intensified the aggression of its assimilation program. Three new government-sponsored residential schools were opened in Michigan and the use of Native languages in the classrooms was abolished (Cleland 1992:24506). By 1891, however, the cost of residential schools became burdensome, so Congress again turned attention to day schools by “ordering every school age child who was in good health and a member of an Indian group under the special protection of the United States government to attend school.” Day school teachers were henceforth empowered to call upon Native police to track down truant pupils and bring them to school by force (Danziger 1979:106).

It had always been the policy of mission schools to teach girls European sewing and housekeeping skills. The latter policy was designed to counteract what missionaries perceived as the “natural filthiness” of Native peoples. Female students swept and mopped floors, as well as did the laundry for the entire establishment (clothing, sheets and linens). This latter task was especially daunting because it involved scrubbing with washboards by hand (Knockwood 1992:63). In the early years, they also had to make the laundry soap. Personal hygiene was forcibly impressed upon students because, for the British, cleanliness was “next to Godliness.”

In the twentieth century, former residential school students recall sewing classes as among the more pleasant and useful of their residential school experiences. For example, although Isabel Knockwood (1992:50,67-8) recorded many tales of atrocities committed at the Indian Residential School at Schubencadie, Nova Scotia, former students generally have fond memories of the sewing class:

Everyone I interviewed liked the sewing Sisters, Clita and Rita, because they

never yelled or scolded, but taught sewing in a calm and patient way. We all looked forward to Wednesday afternoons because it was two hours away from the oppressive classrooms... The work in the sewing room was difficult because we made all our own clothes from scratch, which involved cutting patterns from heavy rolls of fabric and material. Long tables were lined up like a factory, and girls stood on each side with different-sized patterns which they tried to cut without making a mistake to avoid waste.

One former student recalled that these sisters even taught them how to “tat lace collars which were stylish in those days,” as well as all kinds of other fancy embroidery which brightened up their otherwise grim lives.

Several elderly women I know attended the residential school at Spanish, Ontario.¹⁷ These women emphatically defend their school in the face of Native peoples’ increasing expressions of anger against residential schools. They emphasize that the skills they learned there have served them well throughout their lives. For example, Marjorie Mishibinjima of Wikwemikong (taped interview, Aug. 2nd, 1999) told me:

MM: I went to boarding school. And I have very good memories about that boarding school. I have nothing to say against it.

CS: Was that at Spanish?

MM: Yeah. There are some people who say it was cruel to them but they are the ones that never listen. I think those are the ones. I was treated there the way I was treated at home, like strict. But they weren’t strict with the... the younger ones had it that way, easy. They were spoiled.

CS: Did they teach you sewing?

MM: Oh, they taught everything. Yeah. Knitting, everything. They taught farming... hand sewing, machine sewing, all kinds of sewing.

Marjorie’s use of the term, “everything,” means “everything one needed to know to prepare one for life.” As an adult, she has had many occasions to employ the skills she learned at Spanish. She and her husband have a farm at Wikwemikong. She has always helped with the farmwork, which, as she pointed out, is never done. Until her recent

retirement, she also worked as the school principal at the primary school at Wikwemikong. She told me that when she was working there she used to sew a new dress every week. More recently, she has been applying her sewing skills towards the creation of powwow outfits for herself and her grandchildren.

My beadwork instructor, Josephine Beaucage of North Bay, Ontario, is another former Spanish pupil who passionately defends the school.¹⁸ She entered Spanish in 1914 when she was ten years old. For the past four decades, Josephine has taught sewing, beadwork, leatherwork, tanning, and many other Ojibway arts, all over the province of Ontario.¹⁹ Her influence in the resurgence of these arts is extraordinary because she taught many women who thereafter taught others. In Toronto, for example, she taught at least three women I know (myself included) who have taught dozens of other women. She told me that there was usually at least one woman in every group she taught who “took up the work” where she left off. As well, I encounter women from all over Ontario whom Josephine taught at one time or another.

Josephine says that she learned tailoring at the school in Spanish, and many other skills that have helped her in her teaching career. For example, a group of women at Lac Simon, Quebec, asked her to come there to teach them how to make parkas. It was quite a challenging experience, Josephine recalls, trying to get all the materials to teach this class. These parkas were made of duffel that Josephine got from the local HBC outlet (see Appendix). They were trimmed with beadwork, embroidery and fur. But it was only through an act of Providence that Josephine found industrial zippers in that area. The parkas were to be sewn on industrial sewing machines, but few of the women knew how to use them. So, Josephine had to teach them how to “sew industrial.” They had a “shop with industrial machines at Spanish,” Josephine told me. “It was lucky I learned all that

at Spanish - it really came in handy.”

Perhaps ironically, it came about that both Josephine and Marjorie ultimately used the sewing skills they learned at residential school to contribute to the revitalization of Anishnaabe traditional dress that began to blossom during the 1960s. It is important to recognize, however, that the character of the teachers, the degree and kind of corporeal punishment, the instances of sexual and other abuse, and hence, students’ experiences at residential schools, were extremely varied. I have other friends who were deeply scarred by their residential school experiences, as well as friends who feel bitter about the ill effects their parents’ residence in the schools have had on subsequent generations. The loss of the Anishnaabe language, for example, is one of the most damaging effects of residential schools, both in terms of the enduring threat to cultural integrity and the personal trauma students suffered when punished for speaking their own language.

The clothing policies of residential schools are another aspect of the experience that has fostered deep resentments among former residential school students, many of whom remember their clothing as “substandard, uncomfortable and uncongenial” (Miller 1996:299). As well, they frequently recount the trauma they suffered when they were forced to undergo a complete transformation of appearance upon entering the school for the first time. Some former students vividly recall that they were given numbers with which all of their clothing was marked. Within living memory, many students already wore European-style clothing when they began school. These clothes were taken from them when they arrived, and they were also denied clothing sent from relatives at home.²⁰ These practices suggest that the clothing policies of residential schools were calculated, in part, to facilitate submissive behavior. For example, Ignatia Broker (n/d:5, MHS) recounts her arrival at residential school as a young girl:

I remember that summer... in the space between our work how our mother sewed and made the clothes which we would wear to that faraway school... And then Joe and me, we were made ready to go to that school. Our hair was cut and we were washed and bathed and we were dressed in the new clothes. The clanspeople came to tell us goodbye as we got on the wagon... I know that when we got to the school we were met by a tall teacher who was of the white race and who took us by the hand and took us into the school. We were taken to the washroom and we were bathed, and then our clothes were taken from us. I was given a dress of hickory cloth that was way below my knees, and my stockings were black ribbed and I was given the shoes which were called stogies. Those were the clothes we wore daily. We were then made to do what they called a detail, and we were told that we could not laugh or play or sing.

At Ignatia Broker's school, as well as at many others, students wore uniforms; one for the weekdays and a different one to go to church on Sundays:

Sunday was different. On that day we were dressed up and we were drilled and told to be proud that we were making a new life. Our Sunday clothes were nice, I must say. We wore serge skirts, middy blouses with a scarf tie and a beret. I think the school people were proud of us as we marched into the town military style, pacing in the military way. They could then say, "Look at the good job we are doing" (*ibid.*:7).

Of course, it is almost always the "Sunday best" clothes that appear in photographs of residential school students {Plate 30; figure 2}. As J. R. Miller (1996:194-9) points out, a "whole genre of missionary propaganda" was devoted to illustrating the successful "assimilation" of Native students. These served the same purposes as did "parading" the wards of orphanages before the British public: 1) to congratulate the donors, overseers and policy-makers on the success and virtue of their Christian charity; and 2) to solicit funds to support the institution. The most popular form of these photographs were "before-and-after" pairs that illustrated the transformation from "heathenism" to "civilization" that the schools allegedly achieved.²¹ Most of these images are of Plains children who wore buckskin clothing when they arrived at the residential schools during the late nineteenth century. Yet their power, even today, to capture the cultural scripts of "assimilation" and "the disappearing Indian" evoke

stereotypes that act to obscure the historical distinction between the Western Native nations and those of the Great Lakes.

Sewing classes and dress codes in day and residential schools were a relatively minor factor in the transformation of Anishnaabe dress. Miller (1990:396) points out that even at the height of their influence there “were never more than eighty residential schools supported by the government in the entire country [Canada],” and consequently, they “never reached more than a minority of young Indian and Inuit.” As well, many Anishnaabek already wore European-style clothing by the time residential schools were forced upon them. In the early nineteenth century, the adoption of European-style clothing was largely due to the voluntary participation of Anishnaabek in the other two programs through which missionaries made these styles available: sewing lessons and “charity boxes.”

Missionary women in the field, and upper and upper-middle class urban women, were often directly responsible for the introduction of European-style clothing to Anishnaabe communities. They seldom published the stories of their labors, however. Missionary wives, for example, typically wrote about their husbands’ work when they wrote at all (H. Gilfillan n/d:*passim*, MHS; E. Ayer 1871:*passim*, MHS). The few sources available reveal that missionaries’ wives and missionary women often sewed clothing for the Anishnaabek in their “flocks.” For example, in mid-nineteenth century Michigan, the German missionary Edward Baierlein (1989 [1888]:64) sought to teach the lesson of Christ’s gift to humanity by distributing presents at Christmas time. For this purpose, “the diligent hands of the missionary’s wife were required to make jackets, pants, shirts, aprons, kerchiefs and so forth. This meant working far into the night.” In Minnesota several decades later, Pauline Colby (n/d:61, NBL) ensured that a dying member of her

“flock” would be fitted out for a proper Christian burial by making her a funerary dress “of some pretty gray material” with “a bit of lace in the neck and sleeves,” and by lining her coffin with black and white sateen which she also trimmed with lace (see Appendix). Colby had requested these materials from the mission society “and was glad to receive them” in a “mission box.”

Most missionary women labored to advance the “Christianization of the Indians,” and also to offset their own workloads, by teaching Anishnaabe women knitting, quilting and sewing skills. For example, during the 1850s in northern Michigan, the wife of Rev. Dougherty visited Anishnaabe women in their homes in order to teach them how to quilt and sew. Ruth Craker (1935:42, NBL) points out that this “instruction was not a part of the school work, but was voluntarily given by Mrs. Dougherty to help the Indians in their own homes.” Three decades later at Spanish River, Ontario, Emma Baylis (in Brehm 1998:139) held a weekly sewing class for Anishnaabe and Métis women in addition to the school she taught for children. In Northern Manitoba, Anna Gaudin taught Cree women knitting and quilting in her own home (Shipley 1955:138,142).

In view of the interest Anishnaabe women expressed in the clothing worn by settlers, as noted above, it seems likely that some may also have learned sewing skills from settler housewives. As noted in the previous chapter, the proportion of cotton fabric to ready-made shirts on fur trade inventories suggests that many Anishnaabe women already knew how to cut and sew shirts. In this event, all they needed to make most European-style garments was a sample from which to cut the pattern. If Anishnaabe women did acquire samples or learn sewing from settlers, one cannot expect to find these processes of informal learning documented in written records, or even oral traditions. Rather, one may glean some understanding of this question from the examination of the

scanty pictorial evidence. For example, a number of photographs of Anishnaabe family groups from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show several girls wearing garments made from the same fabric. This suggests that girls' dresses were frequently made at home {Plate 31; figure 1; Plate 35; figure 2}.²² Such dresses are among the simplest garments to sew. Men's tailored jackets and coats, on the other hand, present a challenge even to experienced home sewers. Men's and boy's garments in the above-mentioned photographs appear to be ready-made.

As well, sewing practices that were typical of European home sewers in the early nineteenth century are still practiced by some Anishnaabe women. Nineteenth century British women cut cloth from measurements taken from existing garments and by measurements deduced from looking at illustrations of garments or miniature patterns of garments. Settlers often re-made old dresses into new ones, or children's clothing, until eventually the salvageable cloth would be used for quilts.²³ In contrast, cutting by paper patterns is based on the "scientific method" that developed in the late nineteenth century (Barwise 1882:4, CHS; Kellogg 1880:1, CHS). As I have shown, the residential schools tended to teach the "scientific method" of cutting. Some Anishnaabe seamstresses, however, still prefer to sew from samples, or merely by looking at a garment or its visual representation.²⁴ Early in this century, re-making old garments into new ones and quilts was also a common sewing strategy among Anishnaabek (Blaeser 1994:73-4; Mishibinijima, taped interview Aug. 2nd, 1999). These sewing practices virtually disappeared among British North American home sewers by the turn of the twentieth century when commercial patterns became widely available. I suggest that the persistence of these methods among contemporary Anishnaabek harkens back to their ancestors learning directly from European women with whom they came in contact.

In the case of stitching techniques, Anishnaabek have frequently taken full advantage of technological improvements. For example, some women acquired sewing machines even before settling in houses (NAC neg.#PA 59520, 1906). A government survey taken in Lac du Flambeau in 1922 shows that twenty out of a total of 132 households owned sewing machines (15%). Four of the women who owned these machines reported using them professionally (NARA-GLR, 1922). In 1938, eighty out of a total of 150 White Earth households owned sewing machines (53%) (Hilger 1998 [1939]:111). Sadly, during the first decade of this century sewing machines were a common commodity in fraudulent schemes that induced many American Anishnaabek to mortgage, and subsequently forfeit, their allotment lands (Cleland 1992:254; Meyer 1994:156-7). On the bright side, however, as Anny Hubbard noted in Chapter Three, the introduction of the zigzag stitch on domestic machines stimulated a resurgence in the popularity of applique ribbonwork in upper Michigan.

The gathering and shipping of “charity clothing” to “destitute Indians” is better documented than the processes discussed above. Charity work steadily gained popularity among urban British and British North American women throughout the nineteenth century. This practice was an appropriate expression of their roles as the “morality and religion, the love and sociality” of Victorian society (Potts 1879:441,447-8). For example, during the 1890s the Women’s Auxiliary of the Church of England sent large amounts of “clothing, blankets and quilts,” as well as “caps, and socks, and coats, and many other useful articles,” which were distributed to “needy” Anishnaabek at Manitoulin Island at Christmas time. The chronicler of this tale praises the women who did this charitable work “for that Savior who gave his life for the red man as much as for us” (Burden 1895:38). As Winona LaDuke (1997:263) points out, in recent years the

activity of donating clothing to Native groups has taken on a political character:

For some undetermined reason, people who were the most concerned with Indians seemed to have a great deal of extra clothing, or perhaps they just expressed their concerns with clothing. Consequently, as Warren Wabun, Jim Vanoss, Elaine Mandamin, and other spokespeople for the reservation land issues mustered the interest of the masses in the urban areas, the volume of goods sent to White Earth increased geometrically.

Before the age of the automobile, the tasks of these charitable organizations consisted of both collecting or making such “useful articles” and raising the funds necessary to pay for their transport. Often the latter was the more burdensome of the two because, although the used clothing cost the society nothing, shipping it by boat and/or train incurred great expense. By the turn of the twentieth century, church societies in Canada sought reimbursement for the freight charges on their “charity boxes” from the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA). In 1904, the Secretary of DIA, I. D. McLean, informed a representative of the Catholic Church that if the goods were intended for “distribution to Indians, the Department will upon receipt of the receipted shipping bill and necessary list [of the goods], refund the freight charges.”²⁵ Church society members in England and the United States, however, continued to expend time and energy raising funds to accomplish their mission.

When “charity boxes” arrived at Anishnaabe communities, it was generally the task of missionary women in the field to sort and distribute the contents. For example, Pauline Colby (n/d: 15,53-4,60, NBL) sorted the “charity boxes” that arrived at White Earth, MN, in the winter of 1891:

Now the Christmas boxes from our good church people are coming in, oh but it is fun to empty them and sort the things out, putting the clothing in one pile, the fancy articles in another, the toys in another, etc. etc. Mr. Gilfilan has given us a list of all the people who are to receive these things, after everything is in readiness some of the younger people who can read will mark the gifts.

In this instance, Colby's male superior oversaw the distribution of the presents. When she was the only missionary at Leech Lake, however, she distributed the goods herself. She repeatedly remarked on the pleasure she derived from these duties.

Many missionary women, however, encountered difficulties with the distribution of goods. For example, around 1915 in Northern Manitoba Anna Gaudin anxiously awaited the arrival of a bale of charity clothing. The Crees of that area had been asking for warm clothing for several weeks because they were all suffering from the cold. When the bale arrived, however, it contained only dozens of old worn-out left-footed leather boots (Shipley 1955:224-6). Even in less extreme instances, an assortment of random donations does not necessarily provide everyone with suitable and well-fitting clothing {Plate 31; figure 2}. Several decades earlier in Michigan, Mary Sagatoo (1994 [1897]:77) received three barrels of clothing to distribute. Because, however, there "was not enough to give everyone a suit... those who did not get any were angry with [her]." She therefore spent \$60 of her own money to purchase "garments for all those who needed them." That was the last time she asked the Missionary Society for clothing because she found "it caused so much jealousy."

Other missionaries, however, were not disturbed by the unequal distribution of charity donations. At Manitoulin Island, for example, Rev. Frost and his wife were enthralled with the results of their distribution despite the fact that there were not enough dolls for each girl to receive one, and those who did not were "sadly disappointed" (Burden 1895:68). Such missionaries did not base distribution on the principle of equality, but rather on the concept of the "most deserving." As seen in Chapter Five, British North American fur traders also based the distribution of gifts on the principle of "worthiness," while Anishnaabe trading chiefs based theirs on principles of equality. In

the present case, the authority that rested with the missionaries to decide who was most deserving of charity was also analogous to that given parish priests in England with respect to the workhouses discussed in Chapter Four. In each of these cases, gift-giving conferred authority to reward those who co-operated and punish those who did not. For example, Rev. Sims (n/d:151, NAC) threatened Anishnaabek at Little Current that he would “give no more provisions to those who act in so unbecoming and wicked a manner.” To missionaries, members of their “flocks” were invariably more deserving than many others who may have been in greater need.

Anishnaabek were not without leverage, however, in the balance of power involved in charity gift-giving. For example, when Rev. Sims (n/d:129, NAC) first arrived at Little Current, Ontario, in 1864, he went around visiting all the Native people there in order to exhort them to attend the service he planned to hold the following day:

They all seemed much pleased and when I said I hoped they would be at service tomorrow they all promised but one who said she and her family had not clothes scarcely but to cover them and therefore they could not get to church, but she asked me to remind Dr. O'Meara [another Anglican missionary] that he had promised them some old clothes when he was up here in the spring.

This woman's response suggests that she presented herself as “pitiful” in order to arouse Sim's sense of obligation towards her and thereby acquire the clothing she needed or desired. The effectiveness of her strategy rested on turning to her own advantage the missionaries' premise that one must wear “respectable” clothing to church. If Sims wanted her to come to church, he would have to give her clothing. This woman probably viewed her demand in the light of a reciprocal exchange. Sims (*ibid.*:154,159), however, interpreted such actions as expressions of the “natural greediness” of Native peoples.

By the late nineteenth century, the habitual practice of giving new clothing to converts was so well-known to the Anishnaabek that some people may have converted

for the express purpose of receiving new clothes. For instance, a “pagan” couple sent a friend to tell Pauline Colby that they wanted to convert after attending a feast sponsored by the Episcopalian community. This entailed a Christian marriage and the baptism of themselves and their children. Their messenger diplomatically asked Colby if they might have new clothes because they were “ashamed to go to church in their old clothes, very old clothes, and we Christians want to help them to look nice, like we do” (underline in original). Although Colby found clothes for the man in the “charity box,” there was no dress for the woman. She therefore bought materials from the store which the woman’s friend proposed to make into a dress that very day. This accomplished, the wedding and baptism took place that night. The following morning “the visitors took to their canoe and paddled away to their distant home on Bear Island” (the stronghold of the traditionalist faction at Leech Lake). Colby remarked in retrospect, “I am wondering just how much of that midnight service they understood, and just how deep an impression it made on them.” No further comments suggest that this couple continued their participation in the Episcopalian Church (Colby 1937:98-100, MHS).

For many late-nineteenth century Anishnaabek, European-style clothing not only signified conversion, but also the upward mobility made possible by their successful adaptation to the economic strategies of “civilized” society. In some instances, the status display value of European-style clothing enticed Anishnaabek to indulge beyond their means at the expense of basic subsistence and/or the alienation of land. For example, one young woman from Leech Lake who was dying of tuberculosis used money she received from “the sale of timber on her allotment, or perhaps the sale of deceased relatives’ land,” to purchase her funerary garments from a mail order catalogue. These included a “robe of crimson silk, with much lace and many ribbons, a wreath of artificial flowers,”

white gloves, white silk stockings and white kid slippers. She had “taken much pleasure in viewing these garments, as the packages were unwrapped when they came from the mail order house.” Another young woman spent both her own and her mother’s annuity payments on a “bright crimson velvet dress trimmed with rows and rows of wide orange ribbon.” She also bought “fine shoes and stockings and an embroidered white skirt.” She had only a “coarse pocket handkerchief,” however, which Colby discreetly replaced with a “fine embroidered one.” Her extravagance was not condoned by her friends, who taunted her by saying that she would be “very hungry by and by.” Colby sympathized, however, noting that although this was true, she was “very happy at present” (Colby 1937:29,88, MHS).

The incidents noted by Pauline Colby above arise out of circumstances particular to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Three historical processes mainly influenced Anishnaabe everyday clothing styles during this period: 1) changes in the production and marketing of clothing in North American society which affected the amount and types of clothing available to Anishnaabek; 2) changes in Anishnaabe economic strategies brought about by transformations in the social and economic environments; and 3) government policies that influenced divergences within communities which came to be symbolized by different clothing styles. These historical processes were so rapid that the material circumstances of one generation bore little resemblance to that of the next. During the first half of the nineteenth century the depletion of game and the disintegration of social order were the major factors that led Anishnaabek to adopt European-style clothing. Nevertheless, Anishnaabek individuals and groups were still able to exercise a considerable degree of choice. During the latter half of the century, however, the above three factors combined to reduce choice to the point where European

styles came to dominate the realm of everyday wear.

In the fall of 1842, the American Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Robert Stuart (in Satz 1991:160-1),²⁶ wrote Washington:

The Indians complain much that their wishes have not been attended to in regard to the assortment of their goods, they annually receive a number of articles which are of little use to them - They earnestly beg that in the future, the following articles only shall be sent, viz: - 3, 2 ½, 2 & 1 ½ point white Mackinac Blankets - Blue strouds - grey List blue cloth - Fine blue cloth (fancy list) to cost \$2.50 @ \$3. - common sattinette - domestic plaids - Linsey - Red Flannel - Red Flannel and Callico shirts - [guns, ammunition, gun flints, brass kettles, tin kettles] - 50 yds. of Callico, (high colors) not to cost over 12 ½ cents per yard - Their own blacksmiths will hereafter make their axes, besides those sent were not suitable - the small and fancy articles they prefer purchasing from the Traders, with their money.

These complaints represent the loosening of Anishnaabe control over the types of goods available to the Native market. Most of the commodities these Anishnaabek requested were standard items in fur trade commerce, as discussed in the previous chapter. They had already adapted, however, to certain newcomers to the fur trade market, such as “common sattinette,” “domestic plaids,” “linsey,” and “red flannel shirts” (see Appendix). The AFC had been carrying these goods from at least as early as 1829.

As noted in Chapter Four, an AFC inventory from that year shows that the Americans were still importing standard woollens from England, such as flannel, stroud and list cloths. This inventory also presents a rare opportunity to observe trends that were developing in the American textile industry at that time. Specifically, the American woollen industry was producing low to medium grade woollens that imitated better quality British and French imports. Cassimeres and satinettes formed a significant portion of fabrics in this class (see Appendix). The introduction of these low-grade woollens to the fur trade market was an American innovation which was likely prompted by the desire to expand their market for domestically produced textiles. Significantly,

this inventory includes no less than fifty different types of domestically produced cotton fabrics as compared to only two kinds of British calicos (AFC Records, NAC).

This latter trend is indicative of the role of the mechanization of the cotton textile industry in the worldwide “industrial revolution” that began in the late eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, British broadcloths gradually became luxury items as manufacturers in Britain and America were enabled to produce high quality cotton textiles at less cost than low quality woollens.²⁷ Whereas in the United States domestically produced cotton textiles began to gain ascendancy over imports early in the nineteenth century, Canada continued to import most of its cotton textiles from Britain into the twentieth century. As well, the market for low and medium quality textiles swelled as the economy shifted from an agricultural to an industrial base. As noted in Chapter Four, this occurred because lower class women no longer had time to produce homespun fabrics when they began to work for wages or do piece work, and because of the rapid growth of the middle classes.

Mail order catalogues from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide insight into the effects these developments in the textile industry had on the North American market. For example, in 1895 the American mail order house, Montgomery Ward (1969 [1895]:7-11,13-22,30-2), offered a wide selection of domestically produced cotton textiles which took up 13 out of a total of 16 pages of textiles (81%). Some of the most popular varieties were sateens, gingham, shirtings and prints (see Appendix). In contrast, the “woollen department” was less than two pages long (9.5%). There was a separate “flannel department” which was also about a page and a half long (9.5%). The American “flannels” were made of cotton unless otherwise indicated. The descriptions of “wash goods,” as cotton textiles were called at that time,

repeatedly pointed out the high degree of quality for the low amount of cost to the consumer. Obviously, these fabrics were aimed towards low to middle income consumers. The cotton textiles ranged from 3¢ per yard for plain varieties to 25¢ per yard for very fancy weaves. In contrast, the woollens ranged from 18¢ per yard to \$3.00 per yard. Domestic broadcloth was available at 75¢ and \$1.00 per yard, while “imported broadcloth” cost \$1.80 per yard and was several inches wider. The majority of woollens were domestically produced cassimeres, ranging from 18¢ to 82¢ per yard, many of which were made with cotton weft threads. It is clear from these prices that the low-income consumer could not afford the imported broadcloth. “Plain all-wool flannels,” however, could be obtained in white, red or “blue gray” for between 12¢ and 35¢ per yard depending upon the width (20 to 32 inches).

This American company indicated which textiles were imported. The vast majority of textiles had no such designation and one may therefore assume they were domestically produced. In contrast, the Canadian T. Eaton and Co. (1991 [1901]:38-41, Spring/Summer, 69-71, Fall/Winter) mail order catalogues from 1901 indicated the origins of most textiles, including those made in Canada. For example, in one column is found, “Canadian prints, Canadian gingham, Scotch gingham, French cambric, White India lawn, White Irish lawn, White Scotch nainsook, White French organdie, and White Swiss dress muslin,” among other goods. The Canadian catalogue offered more kinds of woollens than it did cottons. This was probably due to both the import market and the cold climate. “Fine English broadcloths” sold for \$1.00 and \$1.25 per yard depending on the width. German broadcloth was also available from between \$1.50 and \$2.50 per yard depending on the weight.²⁸ The woollens also included black and white checked “shepherd’s plaids,” two weights of “Scotch tartans and fancy plaids” and “fancy

tweeds" (all British Isles classics @ 25¢ to 75¢ per yard), but no cassimeres. The same general trends are also apparent in the HBC (1977 [1910]:72-5) mail order catalogue of 1910-11.

Another remarkable feature of the Canadian catalogues from 1901 and 1910-11 is that their textile departments are much smaller than that of Montgomery Ward's from 1895. As well, whereas the latter features textiles at the very beginning of the catalogue, the former feature women's ready-made garments at the beginning, while their textile departments follow the entire ready-made sections. This difference is probably due to the rapid growth of the ready-made industry at the turn of the century. The introduction to Montgomery Ward's (1969 [1895]:267) ready-made section attributes the "growing proportions" of the department to the "good values" and "completeness" of their line, "especially in medium grades and prices." As well, a "trial order almost invariably makes a permanent customer" out of those who may be "skeptical about buying away from home." As predicted, skepticism dwindled rapidly. The market for ready-made clothes, which was already considerable during the nineteenth century, expanded exponentially at the turn of the century as thousands of young women were flocking to urban centers to work in factories. The rapid pace of this transition, and the social upheaval it created, was vividly portrayed by Dorothy Richardson (1990 [1905]:*passim*), a Pennsylvania farm girl who went to New York City, worked in a variety of factories, became a journalist, and wrote a first-person narrative of her experiences as a female laborer. Whereas during the previous century women abandoned home spinning to wage labor, now home sewing was also on the decline.

The effects of the growth of the cotton industry on the Native market are evident as early as 1876 in an HBC inventory of goods destined by train for the Ottawa River

District. It includes 486 yards of five different kinds of cotton (86% of the total yardage) as compared to only 78 yards of one kind of woollen (14% of the total yardage). This latter item was three pieces of “Cadet Etoffe,” a total newcomer to the fur trade market (see Appendix). Prints accounted for 90% of the cotton textiles, while “brown lustre” made up the remaining 10% (NAC 1876). The proportion of cotton to woollens on this inventory exceeds that characteristic of the Southeastern fur trade style type discussed in the previous chapter for which a typical inventory of 1821 included 43% cottons to 57% woollens. The fact that strouds, list cloths, flannels and calicos are conspicuously absent from the 1876 HBC inventory suggests that manufacturers were no longer producing goods specifically for the Native market.

Moreover, the list of ready-made goods on the 1876 HBC inventory shows that the commodities available to Anishnaabek in the Ottawa River District at that time were virtually indistinguishable from those one might expect to find among settlers. For example, the inventory included a total of 120 pairs of thirteen different kinds of boots (56%), “oxhide shoes” (a moccasin style made of cowhide - 30%), shoes and slippers (14%). The remainder of the list consisted of: 2 doz. felt hats, 6 tartan shawls, 1 doz. linen pocket handkerchiefs, 4 doz. homemade socks, 4 doz. homemade mitts, 4 pairs Canadian tweed pants and 1 doz. “heavy ribbed drawers” (men’s “long johns”). The only standard fur trade ready-made items were the 56 HBC pointed blankets in women’s and children’s sizes.

Whereas the women in this region were well-provided with blankets and prints for skirts and blouses, the lack of men’s sized blankets, paucity of woollen goods, and lack of heavy weight cottons on this inventory leaves one wondering what men were wearing for leg gear and outerwear.²⁹ At the same time, the number of boots and oxhide

shoes on the inventory seems peculiar in view of the fact that a wide selection of photographs show that many Anishnaabek continued to wear moccasins with European-style clothing well into the twentieth century wherever they could still hunt deer or moose for the hides. Both of these animals abounded in the Ottawa River region until recently. The number of boots on the inventory suggests that either Anishnaabek were finding new kinds of employment or the boots were intended for other customers. Both may have been the case. For example, a booklet the Government of Ontario (1974 [1880]:37-8) released just four years after that of the HBC inventory gave synopses of the economic prospects in the counties of Ontario for the information of British immigrants. The Ottawa River District was then in a state of rapid development:

Some portions of Renfrew are still in process of settlement, while others have been more or less occupied for forty years past... Probably fifty percent is still uncleared... Lumbering is being carried on in Renfrew on a large scale, and a source of immense benefit to the whole of that part of the country. The winter employment it gives to the labourers engaged in farm work at other seasons is most helpful... At present the Canada Central is the only railway in the county, but at Pembroke, the county town, and Renfrew, are excellent markets.

It is entirely likely that many Anishnaabe and Métis men were employed in the lumber industry in the Ottawa River region during the 1870s.³⁰ A clue as to what Native loggers of this region were wearing may be provided by the work dress of Juliette Meness Ferguson's (taped interviews, Aug. 24th and 25th, 1999) father, who worked "cutting pulp wood" near Maniwaki, Quebec, during the first half of the twentieth century. Frank Meness always wore deer-hide trousers (not leggings) to work, which his wife, Teresa, made for him. When I asked Juliette if he wore these with moccasins, she replied, "In the bush, no, you have to wear rubber boots because it's wet and cold. But he wore moccasins in the summer when he stopped working." As well:

He'd just kept wearing it because he wore long johns underneath and he just kept

wearing those pants over and over. When he'd take it off, it'd stand up cause he worked at the pulpwood and it would have a lot of that gum on it. It would get so bad finally they had to be thrown away. Then she'd make him another one.

Juliette, as well as other contemporary members of Algonkin communities, assert that leather garments are a distinguishing feature of the Algonkin dress.³¹ In view of the lack of materials for men's clothing on the HBC 1876 inventory, it seems plausible that at least some Anishnaabe and Métis men wore leather trousers (over "ribbed drawers") while working in the lumber industry during the last few decades of the nineteenth century. If this were so, it provides an example of how these Anishnaabek were able to retain a degree of economic independence in the new market environment. Loggers in Minnesota during this period wore either short trousers (about 6" above the ankle) or rolled the cuffs of their trousers up to this length. These were worn over long johns with high woollen socks and leather, rubber or oxbide boots (Meier 1981:197; 1993:203,205).³²

The Canadian government's description of Renfrew County in 1880 is applicable to communities all over the Great Lakes region at a certain stage in the process of settlement. Anishnaabek were compelled to adjust to this rapidly changing environment. As the nineteenth century progressed, many Anishnaabe families had developed farms which, when added to their seasonal rounds of traditional economic activities, raised their standard of living to a comfortable degree of self-sufficiency (Kugel 1998:123). It was not only Christian converts who turned to farming during this period. For example, in 1910, Chief Wiiskiino (in Densmore 1913:142,145,166) of the "West Branch Settlement of the Menominee Tribe" made a speech at a Dream Dance drum presentation ceremony in which he noted:

I have work undone. The product of my farm is not gathered, but I prefer to serve

Ki'jie' Manido' before I finish gathering my harvest. Then I shall return to my work with good spirit. Of course I may expect success by serving Ki'jie' Manido' before I finish my harvest.

Towards the end of the century, many young men entered the ranks of wage laborers as lumbering and mining intensified, and railroad lines, sawmills and dams were built to accommodate these ventures. The railroads also brought about a booming tourist industry in which men worked as guides and performers. Educated men also took up an increasing number of government jobs, as well as working in the professions of carpentry, masonry, metal smithing and retail sales. Women also found new ways to procure cash incomes to supplement farming, gardening, ricing, fishing and sugar-making. These included home industries such as sewing for the tourist industry (leatherwork, decorated basket-making, mat-weaving, and beadwork); sewing to sell to local townspeople and amongst themselves (quilting, knitting, plain basket-making and rug-braiding); and working for wages as nurses, domestics, cooks, teachers and storekeepers.³³ Occasionally, missionaries introduced and managed industries such as the lace-making project with which Pauline Colby was involved {Plate 4; figure 1}.

It must be stressed, however, that almost all families participated in these new economic strategies as supplements to their traditional economic pursuits. Men tended to take only seasonal wage employment so that they could continue to hunt and fish. Similarly, women sewed for the tourist trade during the winter, while they steadfastly pursued the seasonal rounds of sugar-making, berry-picking, fishing and wild rice gathering from spring through fall. In the United States these latter industries became cash-producing ventures in which entire families often participated.³⁴ After 1880 in Canada, however, a clause in the Indian Act prevented Anishnaabek from selling their produce to non-Native consumers (Waisberg and Holzkamm 1993:186).

These varying new economic strategies were one factor that led to increased class differences in Anishnaabe communities. Many American Anishnaabek achieved a level of material security, and even relative affluence, which particularly the young people were eager to display. Thus it came about that many studio portraits exist of Anishnaabe individuals, couples and family groups dressed immaculately in up-to-date late nineteenth century fashions. Some of these Anishnaabek voluntarily participated in the late-Victorian fad for photographic studio portraiture {Plate 32; figure 1} (Bieder 1995:193; McClurken 1991:65), while others served the commercial interests of the studio photographers (Silversides 1994:3). This latter phenomenon is evident in the numerous copyrighted postcards in archival collections. Another genre of photography during this period strove to document Anishnaabek in “real life,” either engaging in traditional occupations or posing outside their lodges, cabins or houses. This latter genre includes many photographs in which Anishnaabek appear in weather-worn clothing with strained faces and stooped postures {Plate 32; figure 2; Plate 38; figure 1}.

Simultaneously with these changes in international textile production and the economic pursuits of Anishnaabek, the consumer market was also undergoing radical transformation. With the exception of the northern regions of Ontario and Manitoba where the HBC maintain posts even today, the monopolies of Great Lakes fur trade companies were replaced by local storekeepers and mail order houses. With regard to the latter, as Colby’s story above shows, Anishnaabek were familiar with mail order catalogues at least as early as the 1890s.

Certainly mail order catalogues became common in Native communities during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, Genevieve Goslin (informal interview, July 15th, 1999) says that when she grew up in the Ojibway community of Red

Cliff, WI, most new clothing was purchased from the Spiegel catalogue because “there was nowhere else.” Marjorie Mishibinijima (taped interview, Aug. 2nd, 1999) remembers the Eaton’s catalogues from when she was a small girl. Madeline Theriault (1992:78) notes that when she was very young there were no schools in Temagami, Ontario. She therefore taught herself English language by reading the Eaton’s catalogue. When Zeek started playing hockey as a young boy, his uncles told him that when they were young (1930s to 1940s) they used Eaton’s catalogues as shin pads when they played in the amateur leagues.

Before mail order houses came into being, however, the market environments of settled regions were already transformed. Peter Jones (1979 [1861]:172) summarized the effects of these changes on Native peoples:

As the country becomes peopled by whites, the Indian traders disappear, the game is destroyed, and what little fur may be taken the Indians dispose of to the shopkeepers or merchants.

The storekeepers of the middle to late nineteenth century were a very different group of British and American merchants than were the fur traders before them. For example, Susanna Moodie’s husband (in Moodie 1989 [1852]:233-4) explains that a great many of these storekeepers were also land speculators who made their fortunes by encouraging impoverished farmers to accumulate debt in their stores with their land as collateral. They then secured the land when the farmers could not pay the mortgage and sold it to new immigrants at exorbitant prices. “In a new country,” he remarked, “where there is no great competition in mercantile business, and money is scarce, the power and profits of storekeepers are very great.” In 1842 Willis (1967 [1842]:25) noted that the “few wealthy men of which [Upper Canada] can boast, have acquired their riches by acting as merchants and storekeepers; and these are, on the whole, the persons of greatest

consequence in the country.” Many of these storekeepers achieved political and judicial powers of almost unlimited extent (Jameson 1990 [1838]:229). In many areas, Anishnaabek and settlers alike were subject to the economic and political monopolies of these opportunistic individuals.

For example, David H. Robbins was an ambitious speculator who became the first storekeeper at Mille Lacs reservation in Minnesota. In 1866 he was hired by a bank to acquire land when the Mille Lacs reservation was temporarily and invalidly thrown open for public sale. All the land was already taken, however, and Robbins did not return to Mille Lacs until 1882. This time he was sent by a congressman to survey the area for timber. He evidently liked what he saw there because he filed for land as a settler. When he tried to erect a cabin on his new land, however, the Mille Lacs Anishnaabek threatened him with physical harm and thereby succeeded in driving him away. But Robbins returned the following year and the band permitted him to stay. He immediately began cutting timber under contract with several logging companies and soon after opened a sawmill on the reservation. When the timber was exhausted, Robbins began farming and employed Anishnaabek to work the land. Around 1900, Robbins opened a “store/trading post” which he operated out of his residence. A former employee of Robbins recalled that as many as forty-five Anishnaabek were extended credit at this store. Finally, in 1918, Robbins sold his land to the U. S. government who planned to use it as a school site (U. S. West Research 1992:8-13, MHS).

Robbins’ career serves to illustrate how these new storekeepers were intimately involved in the appropriation and transformation of Anishnaabe lands, occupations and markets. Many of them also derived profit from purchasing goods from Anishnaabek at reduced rates and then selling the same goods back to them at inflated prices when they

found themselves in need (Van Dusen 1974 [1867]:40). As well, the merchandise available at their stores increasingly reflected the needs of the immigrants that logging and settlement brought to Anishnaabe communities {Plate 33; figures 1 and 2}.

Some Anishnaabek took measures to protect both their economic and sartorial interests against these changes in the market environment. For example, in 1852 a general council of chiefs on the Bruce Peninsula, Ontario, put forward a resolution to form a “Joint Stock Company, and establish a store” in two of the major Ojibway villages in the area “in order to secure to our tribe the advantages and profits of our own trade.” They proposed further to appropriate money from their annuity payments “for the purchase of goods suited to the Indian trade.” The government officials responded to this resolution by denying the request on the grounds that it would “lead to endless disputes and difficulties” and “too much would be left to the mere discretion of the storekeeper.” Their position clearly ignored the fact that the reason for the resolution was to protect the band from the too great power of private storekeepers, as well as the desire for “goods suited to the Indian trade” (Van Dusen 1974 [1867]:41-5). With no governmental support, such attempts to regain control of the market were futile. Hence, it came about that even Anishnaabek who chose not to convert to Christianity were forced to change their style and materials of dress because the new market environment severely limited their access to the accustomed goods in terms of both cost and availability. Henceforth they had to make their selections from among new materials and forms of dress.

The European styles that most Anishnaabek adopted for everyday wear were very similar to those of the settlers among whom they now dwelt. Anishnaabe women wore ankle-length cotton skirts that were gathered at the waist. Frequently, they also wore aprons that were made from a contrasting cotton fabric. This outfit included a cotton

blouse that was tucked in at the waist or had a very short peplum sewn into a fitted waist (a modified version of the earlier short-gowns). A brightly colored woollen tartan shawl was worn over this ensemble in all seasons. Significantly, although the skirt was lengthened to conform to non-Native standards, this style did not include a corset, stays, or any other form of restrictive undergarments. Girls wore cotton dresses of floral print or gingham in checks or tartans.

Men were finally constrained to adopt the previously dreaded trousers. Unlike the trousers of the fur trade era, late nineteenth century trousers were generally constructed on principles of tailoring. Those worn by Anishnaabe men were mostly made of fustian, tweed or cassimere (see Appendix). In contrast to most British North American men, however, they frequently rolled up their trousers, lumberjack-style. Even boys preferred this style {Plate 32; figures 1 and 2; Plate 33; figure 2}. These trousers were worn with white or striped cotton shirts and woollen vests and/or suspenders. They also wore jackets or coats with caps in the winter. Although some residential schools taught tailoring (Bussey 1988:24; Beaucage, above), most Anishnaabek did not have the sewing skills required to produce tailored apparel. A broad survey of photographs suggests that much of the men's apparel at this time was ready-made. As noted above, many Anishnaabe men and women continued to wear moccasins. Rubber boots over moccasins and with thick woollen socks were also worn by some, as were more stylish leather boots {Plate 34; figures 1 and 2}.

These new styles were undoubtedly dictated to a large extent by scarce funds for clothing, since all of the fabrics were of the least expensive varieties available. Within the category of inexpensive materials, however, Anishnaabek were able to exercise a certain degree of choice. For example, tartan shawls are pervasive in photographs of

Anishnaabe women all over the Great Lakes area from about 1880 to 1930. Black and white photographs obscure the fact that these shawls were by and large brightly colored. Contemporaneous observers consistently referred to the “bright” and “gay” shawls of the Anishnaabe women {Plate 35; figure 1}.³⁵ These women donned brightly colored tartan shawls in preference to the equally inexpensive plain dark or light shawls that were also available.³⁶ By the last few decades of the century their preference for brightly colored clothing had taken on the aspect of Anishnaabe distinctive dress. Those Anishnaabek who strove to dress “like white people” characteristically chose the dark or light “tasteful” and “sober” colors that were fashionable at the time {Plate 4; figure 1; Plate 29; figure 2; Plate 31; figure 1; Plate 33; figure 1}.

As previously noted, nineteenth century British North Americans associated brightly colored clothing with the “vulgar” and “ill-bred” lower classes. As discussed in Chapter Four, tartans played a significant role in the power struggles between Britain and the “barbaric” Highlanders of Scotland, who, however, came to wear them mainly on ceremonial occasions. In the late nineteenth century, brightly colored tartan jackets became popular among laborers in the lumbering industry and therefore acquired associations with “backwoodsmen” and common laborers. At this time, brightly colored tartans were also used extensively for children’s clothing (Montgomery Ward 1969 [1985]:5). For British North Americans, therefore, these various associations combined to cast a denigrating light on adults who wore brightly colored tartans. Despite their various other associations, the preference for bright colored garments among Anishnaabe women came to be regarded as a stereotypical ethnic marker. For example, Grey Owl (1936:132) described the two young Anishnaabe leading characters in his book as, “...two little Indians - a boy that stood straight and proudly, like an arrow, and a girl who wore

a brightly coloured head scarf." In "the city" this girl was wearing a brightly colored tartan dress and head scarf when "...several passers-by stopped to look at the young Indians in their forest clothes" {Plate 35; figure 2}.

Because missionaries considered brightly colored clothing to be a "savage" trait they believed it had to be suppressed. For example, Harold Burden (1895:121) cited an improvement in the "taste" shown in the selection of colors for holiday "wreaths and festoons" as proof of the missionaries' success. For "although the Indians are very fond of brilliant hues," he continued, "they were very ready to be guided by the suggestions of the missionary." Missionaries had a particular aversion to brightly colored tartan shawls because they too closely resembled the blankets that were the salient symbol of "heathenism."

Anishnaabe women wore shawls in the same manner as their mothers and grandmothers had worn blankets. For example, many photographs from this period depict women and girls carrying babies on their backs inside their shawls. Francis Densmore (1913:164) describes this practice in somewhat romantic terms in her depiction of a large group of Lac du Flambeau Anishnaabek on their way to visit a distant Menominee reservation: "From within the shawl on many a woman's back there peered a grave little face with blinking eyes." Both George Winter and Paul Kane depicted women similarly carrying babies in their blankets during the fur trade era.³⁷ This method was used especially for children who had grown too large for their *tikanagan*, or cradleboard.

When not encumbered with small children, Anishnaabe women often wrapped their shawls around their heads and faces as a gesture of modesty or fear. For example, Grey Owl (1936:105-6) wrote two episodes in which the heroine of his story "pulled her head shawl well over her face, and peeped out at [the strange "white man"] from under

it.” One may assume that these incidents reflect his own experiences among Anishnaabe women. Historical precedence for this use of blankets is suggested by a George Catlin etching in which a group of Anishnaabe women sit huddled in their blankets in a corner of Catlin’s “Gallery Unique” in London while the Anishnaabe men of the dance troupe perform for a dense crowd of onlookers (Mooney 1975:64).

Perhaps even more distressing to missionaries was the fact that Anishnaabe women of this period characteristically wore brightly colored tartan shawls and cotton print skirts to Anishnaabe religious ceremonies. Very often at these events Anishnaabe women wore no distinctively Anishnaabe ornamentation other than the occasional string of beads. In the Dream Dance ceremony, the shawls were actually part of the proceedings because women covered their mouths with them to produce a certain effect when they sang (Densmore 1913:147, 157). It is certainly no coincidence that the descriptions of “charity boxes” I have encountered never include shawls, but rather coats for women and girls.

I suggest that the brightly colored tartans and prints of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Anishnaabe women’s dress served as replacements for the brightly colored ribbonwork and silver ornaments of the fur trade era. Whereas the latter were no longer available, similarly colorful fabrics were. This innovation entailed a change of aesthetics from that of dark backgrounds with bright accents to one of bright backgrounds and accents. This change makes sense in light of the new circumstances in which one could not depend on the system of generalized reciprocity, as discussed in Chapter Five. As noted in the previous chapter, the dark backgrounds of fur trade fashion embodied “pitifulness,” which brought about material increase without active effort on the part of the wearer. During the fur trade, Anishnaabek used small amounts of bright

colors in their active efforts to achieve specific ends. By the late nineteenth century, a state of “pitifulness” would no longer bring about material security as it had done in the past. Rather, the new socio-economic environment demanded that specific ends must actively and continually be sought. Hence, the brightly colored prints and tartans of Anishnaabe women’s dress during this period functioned as embodiments of the active “control-power” that was previously limited to accents. Formerly, large amounts of this active power were eschewed because too much power constituted a threat to the social order. Now that the greater danger was not enough power, large quantities of bright colors became desirable.

The popularity of tartans, in particular, may also have been influenced by the fact that the lines, squares and grids of their patterns replicate those that were prominent in fur trade dress styles, as discussed in Chapter Three. The connection between tartans and Scottish Highlanders may also have been a factor in their popularity among Anishnaabek as a residual effect of the prevalence of Scots in the NWC. Because brightly colored tartans and prints grew out of Anishnaabe cultural and historical traditions, they came to symbolize Anishnaabe “traditionalism” and distinct identity. These associations crystalized as Anishnaabe women continued to wear this style for several generations after the basic silhouette had been abandoned by women of European descent (Lyford n/d [b]:8). As I shall subsequently elaborate, however, the case of men’s distinctive dress was somewhat different. It is first necessary to survey political changes that affected Anishnaabe dress during this period.

In Canada, it was becoming clear by the middle of the nineteenth century that the efforts of Christian converts to act and appear “civilized” were not sufficient to bring about economic security for the Anishnaabek. Although the British Colonial Government

allegedly supported a program of assimilation, often its policies undermined the fulfilment of this goal.³⁸ For example, in 1836 Sir Francis Bond Head devised a plan to remove all Native people in Upper Canada to Manitoulin Island where he supposed they would eventually “disappear.” The only groups he succeeded in relocating, however, were communities of Christian converts who had cleared acreage in Southern Ontario, acquired some English education, were “well clothed in European dress and had exchanged the barter system ‘for cash’ transactions.” Twenty years later, a government inspector reported that the Anishnaabek at the site of relocation were ““miserable, poverty-stricken creatures, wretchedly clad in rags and skins... looking lean and mangy as curs that shared with them their grilled fish-heads...”” (Schmalz 1991:161-3).

In 1876 the new Dominion Government consolidated all existing “Indian” legislation under the “Indian Act” which, although amended through the years, remains in effect today. One of the first priorities of the Act was to define the “Indians” to whom it applied. The definition was based on a system of patrilineal reckoning from male heads of families who were already established on annuity rolls as members of recognized bands. In order to reduce the government’s fiscal responsibility, the Act also included several means through which “Indians” were automatically enfranchised and thereby ceased to be “Indians” as defined by the Act. One of these compulsory conditions of enfranchisement was the achievement of a university education, or more generally, becoming a “professional man.” At the Grand Council of 1879, which took place near Sarnia, the ““white educated’ Indians” denounced this clause. Many of them, however, had no objection to Native women losing “Indian” status when they married Native or non-Native men who were not defined as “Indians” under the Indian Act (Schmalz 1991:195-8). The clause regarding enfranchisement through education was undoubtedly

directed towards these Anishnaabe missionary/chiefs. Their tremendous political power within the Anishnaabe communities of Southern Ontario had been a constant annoyance to government officials for several decades.

Government officials were not the only men who took a dim view of these “assimilated” chiefs. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Anishnaabe political leaders who favored “traditionalism” complained that the “assimilated” chiefs often dominated tribal councils. As early as 1859, for example, a leading chief from Wikwemikong refused to participate in the Grand Council at Rama because it “reflected government rather than Native attitudes and opinions” (Chute 1998:176-7). In 1884, Chief Ogista and a delegation of eight leading men from Garden River (near Sault St. Marie), Ontario, attended the Grand Council at Cape Croker. They hoped to solicit support for their resistance to the government’s “shrewd manipulation” of the boundaries of their reserve to exclude prime mineral and timber resources. Instead, they found the council entirely devoted to discussion of the enfranchisement clauses of the Indian Act and plans for subdividing reserves into private allotments. Disgusted with the callous attitude with which these “well educated” chiefs could “let the women and the enfranchised go,” Ogista blamed them for “having these laws passed” and his delegation prepared to leave the council. The “educated” chiefs for their part accused Ogista’s band of being “backward,... and preferring to live ‘in the woods or wilderness’” (*ibid*:204-6).

For some Anishnaabek, during the last few decades of the nineteenth century dress styles came to be salient symbols of the widening gap between “assimilated” and “traditional” Natives. For example, Buhkwujjenene, Ogista’s brother,³⁹ attended the Grand Council in 1894 where he found he was the only delegate who had not “taken on the outward appearance of the Euro-American.” He observed:

Everyone seemed to him like white people. He did not see any Indians dressed the same as himself. He did not wear his plumes to embellish his person; he did so only in remembrance of his tribe. (Schmalz 1991:207)

For Buhkwujjenene, the European-style dress of the other delegates symbolized their acquiescence to the dominant society, while his own culturally distinct dress expressed his dedication to Anishnaabe traditions and political independence. Politics was one arena in which men's dress symbolized this polarity within the Anishnaabe nation more so than did women's dress.

In addition, the government's assimilation policies intensified during the 1890s to achieve an unprecedented degree of force. The same year that Buhkwujjenene found all other delegates dressed in European styles, an amendment to the Indian Act allowed government officials to enforce attendance at residential schools (Titley 1986:15). The following year, another amendment to the Act prohibited all "giving away festivals" and those involving the "wounding or mutilation of the dead or living body of any human being or animal." In practice, however, Indian agents were encouraged to suppress all forms of dancing.⁴⁰

The suppression of Native religion and culture in Canada during the decades surrounding the turn of the century likely discouraged some Anishnaabek from donning culturally distinct dress, most especially if they did practice Anishnaabe religion. For example, in 1905 Duncan Campbell Scott and his treaty party heard drumming as they approached the Ojibway community of Lac Seul. Having learned that there was a dog feast under way, Scott disembarked from his canoe and demanded to see "the conjuror." After "much procrastination" he appeared and responded to Scott's interrogation with "wisdom and diplomacy." Scott lectured him and warned him that he would be watched in future, despite the fact that none of the proceedings of the dog feast were illegal under

the Act (Titley 1986:67). On the Plains, religious leaders were harassed and prosecuted (Pettipas 1994:115-22). In this political climate, it would be expedient not to wear distinctive dress that would raise the suspicion of zealous Indian agents. One means by which Canadian Natives averted persecution was to conduct ceremonies that had the appearance of the “fairs” and “exhibitions” of their non-Native neighbors.

In Canada, governmental policies during this period discouraged the wearing of culturally distinct styles through religious persecution, magnified the association of these styles with particular factions within Anishnaabe communities through the curtailment of political rights, and promoted the adoption of specifically lower class styles of European dress by undermining Anishnaabe economic initiatives. Frustrated with transgressions of justice at every turn, and increasing factionalism within Anishnaabe communities, the repressive policies of the government were central issues of emerging constructions of Anishnaabe identity during the early twentieth century. The economic transformations outlined above were equally influential, but their effects on Anishnaabe identity and political independence were not as readily apparent.

With regard to policies in the United States, the Michigan state legislature’s strategy for reducing its financial responsibility through granting citizenship to resident Natives has been noted above. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, however, the process of reducing the numbers of “Indians” for whom they were financially responsible hinged on “weeding out” the Métis from the “true Indians.” A treaty negotiated at Fond du Lac in 1847 gave “mixed-bloods” full membership in Anishnaabe bands, and therefore full rights to annuity payments, for ““this treaty and by the treaties heretofore made and ratified”” (Buffalohead 1985:49). In an 1854 treaty, however, the government sought to relieve themselves of this financial burden by granting every “half-breed” family eighty

acres of land instead (Satz 1991:178,182). The lack of clarity surrounding the identity of the “half-breeds” to whom this option applied, however, left the door open for the wholesale alienation of land that was to follow. Although the Commissioner to the above treaty, George Manypenny (in *ibid.*:178), claimed he had “about 200 such families” on his payroll, as late as 1909 a government official admitted that “no reliable list of full-bloods had been established on this reservation” (in Visenor 1976:13).

The provisions for “mixed-bloods” set out in the 1854 treaty was the first in a series of governmental policies that linked undefined concepts of race to the alienation of reservation lands and resources. Chief among these were the notorious “half-blood scrip” ruling of 1863 which granted thousands of individuals ownership of reservation allotments under the pretext of being related to the band, the timber laws of 1882 that granted the right to cut and sell timber from the reserves, the Dawes Act of 1887 which further divided reservations into individual allotments, and the Clapp Rider of 1906 which removed all impediments to the sale of allotments belonging to “adult mixed-bloods.” In each of these cases, greedy speculators found unscrupulous ways to cheat Anishnaabek out of lands and resources while making a profit on re-sales to non-Native buyers. Hundreds of Anishnaabek acquired “mixed-blood” status, both voluntarily and involuntarily, and they thereby gained entitlement to allotments and the sale of timber. The end result was that by the early 1900s, reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota had become checkerboards of Native and non-Native private property. The money Anishnaabek gained from land and timber sales created a temporary affluence in reservation economies that quickly transformed into chronic poverty when these resources were finally depleted.⁴¹

Three years after the Clapp Rider passed, a commission was created to investigate

land fraud at White Earth. The investigation revealed that “fully 90 percent of land allotted to full-bloods had been mortgaged or sold; 80 percent of all reservation land had passed into private ownership. Fifteen to twenty years earlier, the White Earth Anishnaabek had been far more industrious, sober, and engaged in agricultural pursuits” (Meyer 1994:160-1). Because this result was contrary to the government’s intention of reducing the burden of state support, further initiatives were launched to solve the question of “blood.” These investigations and legal hearings did not resolve the problems of land alienation and band membership, both of which continue to be disputed to the present day. They did, however, reveal significant differences between Anishnaabe and British American criteria for racial identity.

Anishnaabek who testified in the 1914 land-fraud hearings consistently referred to cultural markers such as hair style, clothing, type of house, totemic affiliation, religious orientation and economic ethics, as determining criteria for “blood” status. They described “full-bloods” as “poor” and only concerned with their sustenance, while “mixed-bloods” were “shrewd,” had a good understanding of the market, and accumulated wealth (Meyer 1994:118). One man differentiated between “Indian mixed-bloods” - those who had some “white blood” but who were “raised in the custom and costume of the indian [sic],” and “white mixed-bloods” - those of mixed descent who were “brought up in the ‘custom and costume’ of Euroamerican society” (*ibid.*:180). Specifically, Anishnaabek said that “full-bloods” wore breechcloths, leggings and braided their hair, while “mixed-bloods” wore pants and hats (*ibid.*:119-20).

It is not entirely coincidental that this description of “full-blood” and “mixed-blood” dress is limited to male attire. As I shall elaborate in Chapter Eight, Anishnaabe men during this period wore Anishnaabe ceremonial dress more frequently than did

women. Moreover, the above testimonies show that, in keeping with Anishnaabe views during the fur trade, economic pursuits and modes of exchange constituted the main criteria upon which Anishnaabek determined cultural identity. In particular, they drew a distinction between the distribution and the accumulation of wealth, as well as between houses and less permanent accommodations. These contrasts reflect the differences between the hunting and trapping occupations of Anishnaabe men and the wage labor of “Frenchmen” discussed in Chapter Six.

Anishnaabe women’s occupations not only continued during this period, but actually expanded to involve men in surplus harvesting. In contrast, men’s occupations were severely curtailed. Men were therefore forced to accept “women’s work” and “White men’s” work instead of Anishnaabe men’s work, while women could continue doing Anishnaabe women’s work even if they chose to also do “White women’s” work. Hence, for Anishnaabek, the question of cultural identity was more pronounced for men than it was for women. Anishnaabe men’s clothing, therefore, came to symbolize the distinction between “traditional” and “assimilated” Anishnaabek which, in the United States, paralleled that between “full-bloods” and “mixed-bloods.” As noted above, Anishnaabe women’s dress blended Anishnaabe style preferences with the British North American styles available to them and arrived at a culturally distinct style. Such blending, however, was not possible for Anishnaabe men’s dress because the sartorial symbolism of cultural distinction that arose in the “middle ground” of the fur trade increased in intensity in proportion to the demand for racial distinction. This difference in the roles of men’s and women’s dress in Anishnaabe constructions of identity was also magnified by men’s more prominent roles in the realms of religion and politics where the symbolic value of dress is heightened.

In contrast to the cultural basis of Anishnaabe constructions of identity, government officials came to rely on the racial criteria developed by two anthropologists, Aleš Hrdlička and Albert Jenks, who claimed they could tell the difference between “mixed-bloods” and “full-bloods” on the basis of skin color, eye color, skull measurements, scratch marks on the chest, and the characteristics of head and body hair. In 1916, Hrdlička was commissioned to gather information at White Earth. His findings were subsequently used to determine the status of band members in the 1920 Blood Roll, which finally settled all land-fraud claims as far as the government was concerned. Clothing was not a significant factor for Hrdlička. Dozens of photographs he took show “mixed-bloods” and “full-bloods” wearing the same style of dress (SINAA). One photograph of two women dressed almost identically in cotton print dresses and tartan shawls is labeled “mixed-blood, left; full-blood, right.”

By this time, the British and British North American premise that dress was an accurate reflection of the status of the wearer had been undermined by the simultaneous processes of middle-class appropriation of upper-class dress and upper-class appropriation of lower-class dress noted in Chapters Two and Six. Because substantial sums of money were involved, the government therefore sought criteria which they supposed was more reliable than dress. Because science had largely replaced religion as the cornerstone of the British North American behavioral environment, it promised the most conclusive results. Ironically, however, Hrdlička’s and Jenk’s criteria was still largely based on attributes of appearance.

The fallacy of Hrdlička’s and Jenk’s method was apparent to Anishnaabek at the time who complained, for example, that “full-blood” children were attributed to “mixed-blood” parents, and children with the same parents were classified differently (Meyer

1994:168-71). The absurdity of Hrdlička's actions and pronouncements is captured in Winona LaDuke's (1997:63-5) story of his visit from the point of view of an Anishnaabe woman he examined. After measuring her head and scratching her chest, he informed her that she would be happy to know that she was a "mixed-blood," upon which she exited the tent and told her friend, "The white man is crazy." Neither the cultural criteria of the Anishnaabek, however, or the biological criteria of the government, resulted in satisfactorily resolving the issues surrounding Anishnaabe identity. The combination of these two sets of criteria continues to foster factionalism and discontent in American Anishnaabe communities today.

One might suppose from the foregoing discussion that distinctive Anishnaabe styles of dress virtually disappeared during the nineteenth century. On the contrary, the latter half of the nineteenth century was the period during which Anishnaabe floral and geometric beadwork reached its height of artistic expression. Whereas my discussion has thus far focused on everyday styles, the "modern classic style" (Whiteford 1986:42) of beaded apparel was generally worn only on ceremonial occasions. The following chapter briefly surveys and analyzes Anishnaabe ceremonial dress as it developed concurrently with the adoption of European-style dress for everyday wear.

1. Baierlein 1989 [1888]:66-7; Massie 1993:149-50,171-2; Moodie 1989 [1852]:284; Parr Traill 1966 [1836]:103
2. Massie 1993:214, 217-8,231,239; Moodie 1989 [1852]:280; Parr Traill 1966 [1836]:75
3. Donald Smith in Copway (1997 [1850]:29-30; Smith 1987:139-43; Moodie 1989 [1852]:283)
4. McKenney 1972 [1827]:150-1; Jameson 1990 [1838]:470-1; Hambleton 1992:18

5. See Pauline Johnson's (1998 [1913]:102-26) "A Red Girl's Reasoning" for a poignant portrayal of this transformation in Métis women's roles in the course of one generation.
6. Jameson 1990 [1838]:377-8; McKenney 1972 [1827]:151-2; Stoutamire 1992a:41
7. Jameson 1990 [1838]:377; Bremer 1987:101,108,110-16,216-19,256; Stoutamire 1992a:43-4
8. See Chapter Five, pp. 234-5, for Warren family history.
9. Baird 1898:45-7, NBL; Sims n/d:143,149,154,164,205, NAC; Vanderburgh 1977:27-9
10. Parr Traill 1966 [1836]:36; Schmalz 1991:143-6; Smith 1987:65,82-3,157; Young 1900:37-8
11. See Van Dusen (1974 [1867]:22-4) for a similar story about the conversion of the Methodist preacher David Sawyer.
12. Kugel 1998: 119-22; Chute 1998:49-56; Miller 1996:67-8
13. Baierlein 1989 [1888]:57-8; Baylis in Brehm 1998:147; Chute 1998:51,53; Craker 1935:29,34, NBL; H. Gilfillan n/d:1, MHS; Gilfillan 1911:9, HMS; Schmalz 1991:158; Sims n/d:143, NAC
14. Baylis' school should not be confused with the boys' and girls' boarding schools at Spanish which opened approximately thirty-five years later in 1911. The girls' boarding school was operated by the Catholic order of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary and was government sponsored (Miller 1996:355).
15. Craker 1935:34, NBL; H. Gilfillan n/d:1, MHS; Miller 1996:70; Sims n/d:19:4, NAC
16. This information was provided by Soaphy Anderson, the daughter of the Indian Agent, T. G. Anderson, who oversaw the "Establishment."
17. Technically speaking, this school was called, "St. Joseph's Residential School for Indian Girls" (Johnston 1988:9). As Johnston (*ibid.*:6) pointed out, however, "Spanish for us came to mean only one thing: 'the school.'" Likewise, in Ontario Native communities both boys' and girls' schools are always referred to simply as "Spanish." Having become accustomed to this usage, I follow it here.
18. Informal interview, Aug. 20th, 1999. Also, recollections from the many discussions among the women in Josephine's beading class which I attended weekly from 1993 to 1996.

19. Josephine says her teaching career resulted from a program which was co-sponsored by the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) and the Ontario Board of Education. DIA records, however, suggest that the co-sponsors may have been the Economic Development and Education Divisions of the DIA (NAC 1952-63 - memo re the creation of a position for a handicraft instructor, June 20th, 1962). In either case, the former paid her travel expenses, while the latter covered her salary. All courses she taught were initiated by Native community members who applied to DIA for instruction in a particular art or craft. Then, "all of a sudden," Josephine says, "all grants stopped - no more money for craft lessons." As far as I have been able to determine, the period of funding began in the early 1960s and ended in the early 1980s. When Josephine moved to Toronto, the Toronto Board of Education employed her on a regular basis to teach beadwork classes as part of their Continuing Education program. This job lasted for a little over a decade from the early 1980s to about 1996 when failing eyesight prevented Josephine from continuing.

20. Cheechoo 1991:19; Johnston 1988:22-3; Knockwood 1992:28,37; Levchuk 1997:183; Miller 1996:300-01

21. Dippie 1995:57; 1992:136; Miller 1996:196-9; Silversides 1994:105

22. See photographs: NAC C68981, PA59561, PA59559; CMC 36608. Mail order catalogues from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century sometimes offered reduced prices if the customer ordered an entire piece of fabric (Montgomery Ward 1969 [1895]:8-10,30-2). Perhaps this policy induced some Anishnaabe customers to buy in quantity.

23. Anon in Massie 1993:41; Collard 1969:3-4; Moodie 1989 [1852]:109

24. Pine, taped interview Dec. 15th, 1999; Hubbard, taped interview Dec. 14th, 1999; Meness Ferguson, taped interview Aug. 24th, 1999; Mishibinijima, taped interview Aug. 2nd, 1999. Although Debbie Pine is the youngest of these four women, she cuts by sample and sight. Anny Hubbard and Marjorie Mishibinijima, however, use paper patterns themselves, but told me that their mothers and other older relatives used the sample and sight method of cutting. Juliette Meness Ferguson said that both she and her mother cut by sight and sample. She only sews leather, however, while her mother sewed everything, including men's suits.

25. I.D. McLean to Miss Mary Hughson, Jan. 30, 1904, NAC 1902-42

26. Henry Schoolcraft was dismissed from his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the spring of 1841 on charges of "partisan political activity." From 1817 to 1842, Robert Stuart managed AFC operations from its headquarters on Mackinac Island, where Schoolcraft also resided. During the 1830s, the two men developed an antagonism towards each other which was aggravated by their divergent political affiliations

(Schoolcraft: Democrat; Stuart: Whig). Apparently, Stuart came to covet Schoolcraft's position. He lobbied for an appointment when it appeared Schoolcraft would be dismissed. His hopes were realized when he obtained the position in the fall of 1841 (Bremer 1987:196-208; Widder 1999:54-6).

27. Dublin 1979:3-5; de Marly 1986:64-5,91-2; Hills 1990:821-45; Lipson 1949:199-204,326,328-32

28. The low price of the English broadcloth, as compared to that of the German and also that of "imported broadcloth" in the United States, was partly due to the fact that after 1896 the Canadian government gave British textile imports a preferential tariff rate of 5% to 10% less than imports from other countries (NAC 1928:207-8,279-81).

29. The 486.5 yards of light weight cotton would produce 194.5 shirts, skirts or blouses at 2.5 yards each. In contrast, the 78 yards of woollens would produce only 39 pairs of pants at 2 yards each. This is a generous estimate based on the assumption that since the pieces are only 26 yards long they are probably wider than the cottons, which are normally about 27" wide and 50 to 60 yards to the piece. The 39 pairs of pants are supplemented by only four pairs of ready-made pants, and that leaves nothing left over for jackets, coats or blankets.

30. See McClurken (1991:60-3) for a pictorial history of Native involvement in the Michigan lumber industry, 1865-1930s.

31. Juliette was emphatic about this point. By means of illustration, she contrasted the leather garments of the Algonkin dolls made by her and her mother with the cloth garments of two Iroquois dolls made by a member of her (Iroquoian) husband's family. A number of traders with whom I spoke also expressed this view. Several Algonkin individuals at North Bay, Ontario, also concurred. I observed many more leather outfits at the Maniwaki and Golden Lake powwows this past summer than one would normally see at powwows in other regions of Ontario, or in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. They have a distinctive style of deer-hide dress and jackets with short fringes (compared to the Sioux style) and cut-patterned trim {Plate 15; figure 1}. Nevertheless, when Speck was at Maniwaki during the 1920s he listed "fancy costumes with ribbon applique edging" and "silver-smithing" among the indigenous crafts he saw (Einhorn n/d, CMCA). Also see photo by Speck: "Wife of Mitchell Buckshot in Native Costume," 1927, in Lippard (1992:174).

32. The question of lumbermen's dress requires a thorough investigation of the pictorial record which I have not had the liberty to undertake as of yet.

33. Bussey 1988:6,20,22,26,32; Colby 1937:48-9,80; Danziger 1979:95; Guthrie and Goc 1995:36-7,96-8; Smith 1987:244; NARA 1911-15; 1914-15. See McClurken (1991:46-71) for an excellent photographic essay of the economic activities of Michigan Odawa

men and women during this period.

34. Baylis in Brehm 1998:136; NARA-GLR 1922; Munnell 1938, MHS; Vennum 1988:175-6

35. Burden 1895:68,77; Densmore 1913:153,167; Grey Owl 1936:132,140; Kane 1897:19-20,101

36. In 1910-11 the HBC (1977 [1910]:51,125) offered "tartan shawls in all the leading clan tartans" for \$1.50 (probably cotton/wool blend). A "wool tartan shawl, heavy weight," was also available in clan tartans for \$3.50. A "black cloth shawl" sold for between \$2.00 and \$5.00 depending on the quality. "White wool shawls" were available from \$1.00 to \$5.00. At these prices, tartan shawls were among the most expensive items in Anishnaabe women's wardrobes, costing about the same as a pair of leather boots.

37. Winter in Cooke 1993:30,Plates 6,7,31; Kane in Harper 1971:168,Plate IV

38. See Waisberg and Holzkamm (1993:184-95) for an analysis of how government policies undermined Anishnaabe efforts to adopt agriculture in Western Ontario in the late nineteenth century.

39. Ogista and Buhkwujjenene were sons of the aforementioned Shingwauk, or Shingwaukonse, of Sault St. Marie, who wore a white painted hide shirt and leggings to his meeting with government officials in Montreal in 1849.

40. Miller 1990:392; Pettipas 1994:95-6; Titley 1986:166

41. Danziger 1979:97-105; Meyer 1994:51-2,64-5,137-72,209-12; Pfaff 1993:40-2; Visenor 1976:13-16

CHAPTER EIGHT: PICKING UP THE BEADWORK: CEREMONIAL DRESS OF THE RESERVATION ERA

At such gatherings [Midewiwin ceremonies] it is customary for each individual to dress as elaborately as his circumstances will permit. The head is adorned with a turban made of a silken handkerchief, a hat, feathers, or even a turban consisting of a native-made woollen waist scarf. Bead bags, measuring from 10 to 12 inches in length and from 12 to 16 inches in width, with a shoulder strap or baldric across the opposite shoulder, are worn on the hip or side; frequently two or three are worn by the same *mitä'* [midé priest], and even as many as a dozen have been seen on a single individual. There are also amulets, worn above the elbows, which consist of strands of beaded work, metal bands or skunk skins, while bracelets of shells, buckskin, or metal also are worn. About the waist is a long varicolored scarf of native manufacture, and in addition some persons wear beaded belts, or belts of saddler's leather adorned with brass tacks. The legs are decorated with garters, varying from 2 to 3 inches in width and from 12 to 15 inches in length, the ends terminating in woollen strings of various colors. The moccasins are sometimes neatly embroidered. (Hoffman 1970 [1896]:74-5)

Walter Hoffman's late-nineteenth century observations above regarding the modern classic style roughly describe what most Native and non-Native people today envision when they picture Anishnaabe "traditional" dress. It consists of elaborately beaded accessories, such as bandolier bags, belts, headbands, yokes, garters, moccasins and mitts, worked in floral and/or geometric designs in "spot-stitch" and/or loomwork. The backgrounds for much of this work was solidly beaded in white, translucent or light blue. Both loomed and "spot-stitch" beadwork employed "cut" or seed beads in size 10 or smaller (see Appendix). The floral spot-stitch was also extensively used on black (or less frequently other dark colored) velveteen leggings, dance aprons, cuffs, moccasin trimmings, bags and cradleboard covers (Whiteford 1997:*passim*).

Given collectors' zeal for preserving these "dying arts," the expediency of collecting relatively small transportable objects, and the fact that most collecting

coincided with the decline of the modern classic style, it is not surprising that all of the museum collections I examined were largely composed of representatives of this style. Scholars who have studied the design characteristics of this style generally agree that they are of relatively recent origin. Specifically, no examples of modern classic beadwork are found before 1850 and relatively few are found after 1930.¹

With sources available from living beadwork traditions, detailed ethnographic descriptions, and literally thousands of actual artifacts, it is surprising how little is known of the origin of the modern classic style. Misinformation abounds in the academic literature. For example, Densmore (1979 [1929]:187,191; 1913:233) erroneously asserts that Anishnaabek acquired calico “about the same time” as “large quantities of bright-colored beads,” and that broadcloth became available only after the mid-nineteenth century. As seen in the previous chapter, both broadcloth and calico were standard fur trade commodities before 1850, during which time colored beads were not available in “large quantities,” if at all. Conversely, when colored beads did pervade the market after 1850, broadcloth and genuine calico were no longer available to Anishnaabek. Because Densmore thought that Anishnaabek were introduced to calico prints and colored beads simultaneously, she believed the modern classic style developed out of the floral patterns of the prints (also Lyford 1982 [1943]:125).

As well, Lyford (1982 [1943]:151) implies that the colors used by Anishnaabek from the time of first contact with Europeans to the time she was writing² were

based on the intermediate hues in many shades. They did not make use of the primary colors as did the Sioux and other Plains Indians... Three shades of the same hue are often found on one piece of bead work... Black was little used in craft work until black velveteen began to be used as a background...

These observations on aesthetic preferences accurately describe modern classic

beadwork but, as I have shown, fur trade aesthetics were based on contrasts of dark and light: dark blue and black backgrounds with white, silver, light blue, red, yellow and multi-colored luminous accents. Although Densmore and Lyford recognized that the styles were changing rapidly during the late nineteenth century, they nevertheless projected the material and aesthetic features of early twentieth century styles back to the fur trade era.³

Densmore is correct in assuming that the question of the availability of materials is critical to our understanding of the development of these styles. This question seems especially pertinent to the use of colored seed beads. Whereas early examples of multi-colored beadwork have a rather limited palette of white, pink, blue, green, yellow, black and dark red, the modern classic style is characterized by a wide variety of hues and multiple shades of the same hue, as Lyford observed. As well, whereas the motifs of the former tend to be worked in outlines on dark backgrounds, the motifs of the latter are solidly beaded and often worked on solidly beaded light-colored backgrounds {Plate 36; figures 1 and 2}. These changes in the use of color reflect an increase in both the number of colors in the palette and the total quantity of colored beads that make up the composition. Whereas our present knowledge of fur trade textiles reveals Densmore's error with regard to the availability of calico and broadcloth, a full analysis of when and how colored beads became available will have to await further research.

As David Penney (1991:55-7) points out, however, availability is only one aspect of the question:

Although the floral designs of cotton prints were integrated into the Indian fashion ensemble of the fur trade era, the designs themselves were not emulated in women's handiwork of porcupine quill and glass bead embroidery until the mid-nineteenth century. [Rather, the earlier floral designs are] variants on three basic curvilinear forms: the double curve, the trefoil (like a playing card club),

and the quadrilobate, radial motif proportioned like an equal-armed cross.

The patterns on a pair of women's leggings, which were probably made around 1835 in the Odawa community of Cross Village, MI, exemplify this style (DIA 81.545.1-2) (*ibid.*). These designs are closer in form to those found in the indigenous mediums of paint and quills than they are to the semi-representational florals of the modern classic style. On these particular leggings, which are undoubtedly one of the earliest examples of Anishnaabe multi-colored floral beadwork known, the similarity with the indigenous designs is reinforced by the fact that a repeating pattern of alternating motifs is set within a grid of diamonds. Such geometric structure is almost totally lacking in modern classic beadwork, although bilateral symmetry is not uncommon (Whiteford 1997:70-5). Hence, although floral motifs existed prior to mid-century, after that time the patterns shifted from repeating geometric motifs and structures to curvilinear design elements joined by lively meandering lines. Due to the persistence of indigenous aesthetic preferences despite exposure to cotton floral prints, Penney (1991:56) concludes, "it is not sufficient to identify a likely source for floral images employed in the floral style; it is necessary to understand why women artists chose to use them."

In this study, the significance of these changes in the aesthetic preferences of color and design are mainly of interest with respect to their effect on the aesthetics of total clothed appearances. With regard to color, the designs on the ceremonial accessories characteristic of the modern classic style were, with the exception of beadwork on black velveteen, generally bright and luminous all over. As noted in Chapter Six, the aesthetic preference for multi-colored luminous decorations was already apparent in ribbonwork design {Plate 23}. Late nineteenth century Anishnaabe men generally wore accessories with both solidly beaded and black velveteen backgrounds

over dark colored European-style garments. For men's ceremonial dress, therefore, the aesthetic function of modern classic beadwork accessories was analogous to that of the luminous multi-colored decorative treatments that were sewn directly on to fur trade garments.

The main difference between the use of color in the earlier ribbonwork and beadwork designs and the modern classic style of floral beadwork is that the former designs favored the juxtaposition of contrasting colors, while the latter style is characterized by the use of "intermediate hues of the same color," as noted above. Interestingly, the color aesthetics prevalent among contemporary Anishnaabe beadworkers and artists again favors contrasts. When I first started learning beadwork I found that whereas *my* aesthetic sense was based on intermediate hues of the same color, my instructors' were not. I learned color aesthetics at an early age from my mother. She is a professional artist who has formal training in the color aesthetics of European artistic traditions. My sense of color was so deeply embedded that I assumed it was based on a more or less universal standard of "taste." The realization that it was culturally constructed made a profound impression upon me as I set about learning a whole new approach to color. The question of the re-emergence of the preference for contrasting color schemes merits further investigation.

Another aspect of my learning about Anishnaabe color aesthetics occurred in discussions with Zeek about his wardrobe. The following is a typical example:

ZC: Have you seen my red shirt?

CS: Which red shirt?

ZC: The one with the little brown stripes, or something.

CS: You don't have a red shirt with little brown stripes.

ZC: Yeah, you know the one we got at that yard sale.

CS: Oh, you mean the *burgundy* shirt with little brown stripes!

After many such conversations, I realized that Zeek classifies burgundy and some shades of purple as “red,” turquoise as “blue” and aqua as “green.” Although he knows what burgundy, purple, turquoise and aqua refer to, he does not use these terms himself. I suggest that Zeek’s color classifications arise from the broad categories for colors in the Anishnaabe language, although he does not speak it himself. As noted in Chapter Six, *zaawaa* encompasses yellow and brown, while *ozhaawashkwaa* means green and light blue. The fact that the English language has terms for many intermediate shades suggests a color aesthetic in which these required separate designations. Hence, I think the predominance of intermediate shades in the modern classic style reflects the influence of the aesthetic preferences of British North Americans.

With regard to design, when we take the whole body as the visual field it is evident that the emphasis on the crossing of horizontal and vertical lines typical of fur trade styles, noted in Chapter Three, is greatly reduced in the design strategy of the modern classic style. The grids and crosses of fur trade designs derived in part from the practice of covering the spiritually vulnerable parts of the body with protective ornaments, as noted in Chapter Six. As seen in Hoffman’s description of late nineteenth ceremonial dress above, Anishnaabek continued to place ornaments at the joints, as well as around the waist and the head. In this respect, the aesthetic of the total clothed appearance remained the same. The crossing of horizontal and vertical lines also arose, however, from the tendency of decorative treatments to follow the edges of garments. In this respect, the modern classic style departed wholly from the earlier design strategies: both the geometric loomwork and the spot-stitch florals of modern classic beadwork

draw attention to the center of the design field.

I suggest that the change of focus from the borders to the center of the visual field reflects the transformation from the relatively distinct social, political, cultural and geographic boundaries of the fur trade to the blurring of these boundaries that resulted from the historical changes discussed in Chapter Seven. In particular, during the fur trade the field of social action consisted of two separate behavioral environments which were mediated in the “middle ground.” In contrast, when the “settlement/assimilation” cultural script became dominant, the field of social action was compressed into a single framework for both Anishnaabek and British North Americans.

In addition, differences in the manner in which modern classic accessories were worn reflect changes in the social structure. Specifically, wearing either one or two bandolier bags diagonally across the body introduces an emphasis on diagonal lines and “X” shapes {Plate 37; figure 1}. Interestingly, the “X” shape was also characteristic of a style of loom-woven bandolier bags which formed a significant step in the development of the modern classic floral bandolier bags (Anderson 1986:48,50-2; Whiteford 1986:36,42). This pattern may be related to the “claw design” which Lyford (1982 [1943]:145,182) thought might represent crawfish claws, and the stylized “hourglass” shapes on woven bags which Phillips (1989:56-7) suggests represent Thunderbirds. Skinner (1921:259-60) found that among Menomini of the early twentieth century the hourglass shape was the only abstract design that had “native signification.” It was “said to symbolize a coup or brave deed on the part of the owner. It is suggestive of the X-shape figures of like import painted in vermilion on grave-posts or on weapons.”

As suggested in Chapter Three, the predominance of grids and crosses in the design field of the total clothed appearance of fur trade fashions probably represented the

lineal and lateral relations of the totemic social system. The formal structure of the totemic system may also be reflected in the tendency towards repeating geometric designs in the bead, paint and quillwork decorations of the period. I suggest that the transformation in form evident in the development of the modern classic style reflects, and appears to celebrate, the fluidity of the new social order in Anishnaabe communities. Even though these designs are unquestionably influenced by British North American aesthetic preferences, the selective adoption of certain elements gave expressive form to, and made structural sense of, new social patterns.

As a transitional motif, the "X" figure was firmly rooted in earlier design traditions while its use in new contexts formed a bridge between established and emergent aesthetic preferences. I suggest that the 45° turn of the lines and crosses characteristic of fur trade aesthetics may reflect the processes through which individuals, families and communities made subtle, but accumulative, adjustments to changes in the totemic system caused by intermarriage with non-Natives and geographic displacement. By the last few decades of the nineteenth century, social cohesiveness depended less on formal structure and more on similarity of personal characteristics and flexible social bonds. These qualities are suggested by the curvilinear design elements and the meandering joining lines, respectively, of the modern classic style. The implication is that by the late nineteenth century Anishnaabek were devising innovative, and indigenous, ways to resolve the disintegration of the social order caused by the disruption and transformation of the totemic system.

A striking characteristic of the modern classic style is that it was largely composed of accessories that were worn over European styles of everyday wear {Plate 37; figure 1}. In addition to beaded accessories, articles of everyday dress during the fur

trade era became detachable garments that were also worn over the European styles. For example, whereas the breechcloth was composed of a single piece of cloth that passed between the legs, “dance aprons” were a pair of decorated squares that were worn over trousers in the place of the breechcloth. As well, men’s leggings were often worn over trousers. Sometimes these leggings reached only to below the knee. Formerly, only women and Métis men wore such short leggings.⁴ Both of these modern classic versions of the earlier broadcloth styles were frequently made of floral spot-stitch beadwork on a black velveteen base {Plate 37; figure 2}. From an economic point of view, this was a practical strategy because beaded accessories outlived the poorly made materials that composed the garments worn by most Anishnaabek during this period. To invest time and money in a shirt made of inexpensive flannel or print would surely lead to a further expenditure in order to remove the beaded decorations and re-sew them on another shirt. Hence many seamstresses opted to make them detachable in the first place.

Another notable feature of these beaded accessories is that men wore them to a far greater extent than did women. For example, although it is common to see photographs of women wearing bandolier bags (Bieder 1995:109; Guthrie and Goc 1995:104,108-9), many more photographs show family groups in which everyone is dressed in European-style clothing, but the men additionally wear bandolier bags and/or beaded belts {Plate 38; figures 1 and 2; Plate 37; figures 1 and 2}. This phenomenon represents the persistence of the tradition in which men’s sartorial display signaled the status of both themselves and their female kin, as noted in Chapter Two. In light of this tradition, as well as the reduced economic circumstances of many Anishnaabe families, men often wore the only symbols of sartorial status display that the family owned. As noted in Chapter Seven, the materials and the shawls available in the low price range

facilitated the development of culturally distinct everyday styles for women, but did not provide the same option for men. Many men were constrained to rely on ready-wear styles which were not made in brightly colored textiles. Nevertheless, the many exceptions to this tendency ensured the continuing development of women's ceremonial dress {Plate 5; figure 2; Plate 36; figure 2} and distinctive styles of men's everyday wear, as for example deer-hide work pants and turned-up cuffs.

The general trend, however, towards culturally distinct everyday styles for women and ceremonial styles for men may also be explained in terms of gender differences in inter-cultural relations. Whereas British North Americans regarded Anishnaabe women's bright colors as being in poor "taste" and "heathen," they did not see them as dangerous or absurd. The form of sartorial subversion represented by the bright colors of Anishnaabe women's everyday wear during this period is particularly apt for those who are not perceived as a threat to their oppressors. Culturally distinct everyday styles bespeak essential difference, which is only tolerable in a subordinate group if it serves to maintain their low status. In this case, the brightly colored garments did so because they resembled those of lower class Europeans and North American settlers.

In contrast, men were deterred from adopting brightly colored everyday wear because it would have elicited an intolerable degree of ridicule from non-Native co-workers, neighbors and authorities. Moreover, Anishnaabe men's roles as warriors and politicians imbued them with potentially dangerous power. Hence, British North Americans viewed Anishnaabe men's distinctive dress with apprehension of military and political resistance. For non-Natives, the detachable nature of these styles served to modify Anishnaabe men's identity by conveying the message: "I am a man, and also an Anishnaabe," rather than: "I am an Anishnaabe man." These men could, if necessary,

easily remove their accessories and thereby remove the perceived threat. The floral designs also conveyed a passivist message to British North Americans.

It is interesting to note, however, that at the same time as the detachable nature of the accessories reduced the perceived threat, the fact of their cultural distinctiveness served to uphold the stereotype of “war-like savages.” This is especially apparent in a genre of photographs that depict Anishnaabe women and girls who are draped with beaded accessories and holding guns or warclubs. In some of these photographs, they are even enacting violent deeds with these weapons for the sake of the postcard photographer. Within the cultural script of “assimilation,” however, there is no logical contradiction between these two functions. Rather, it was because the beaded accessories represented “savagery” that it was necessary for them to be easily removed according to circumstances.

For Anishnaabe men and women, however, the magnificent beaded accessories confirmed their proud place among the living and dead members of the Anishnaabe nation. The exuberant designs embodied joy, abundance, and spiritual efficacy, not fear or cowardice. The ability of the beaded accessories of the modern classic style to simultaneously suggest multiple meanings contributed in large part to their popularity among Anishnaabek during this period.

Because the “assimilation” cultural script was based on a cognitive system of dichotomies, its dominance produced corresponding dichotomies in the social realm. Within Anishnaabe communities distinctive dress often symbolized affiliation with “traditional” versus “assimilated” groups. In some Anishnaabe communities it served to distinguish between Native and “White” identities. It frequently served the latter function in the context of relations between Anishnaabek and British North Americans. Yet the

actual relationships between and among Anishnaabek, Métis and British North Americans were much more complex than these dichotomies suggested. Many “assimilated” Anishnaabek, for example, did not renounce their Anishnaabe identity, nor were “traditional” Anishnaabek completely free from the influences of the dominant British North American society. Conversely, some Anishnaabek chose to fully “assimilate” by renouncing their Native identity and some non-Natives chose to adopt Native identities, by marriage, life-style and association, or impersonation. Legal “Indian” status in both Canada and the United States was based on a complex number of factors. The arbitrary nature of these factors can be seen in the different criteria the American and Canadian governments used to determine “Indian” identity. Many other examples of complexities could be given.

The result of the imposition of a dichotomous model on this complex social environment was that culturally distinct styles of dress became multivalent symbols of cultural identity. Hence, despite the notion that prevailed among Anishnaabek, and among the non-Native “public,” that one could determine a person’s race, cultural background, and religious affiliation by their mode of dress, in practice styles of dress did not positively signify any of these things. A bandolier bag, for example, could be worn by the leader of a Midewiwin ceremony to signify “traditional” religious affiliation. Or, it could be worn by an “assimilated” chief at a political encounter with government officials to symbolize Anishnaabe political autonomy. Métis also wore bandolier bags in both of these contexts. As well, any Anishnaabe or Métis might wear a bandolier bag to satisfy the demands of tourists and photographers, in which case it signified the generalized ethnic identity of exoticism (Bieder 1995:181).

Bandolier bags were also frequently given to British North Americans as

embodiments of alliance in a similar manner to wampum belts and other articles during the fur trade era. For example, a photo taken during the 1890s shows Sophia Smith, a Minnesota Ojibway, displaying a bandolier bag which she made to present to the first Bishop of Minnesota. Her dress, consisting of a dark blouse and skirt with a then-stylish lace collar, displays no culturally distinctive markers (Berlo and Phillips 1998:102).

British North American authorities also appropriated bandolier bags and beaded belts as trophies that symbolized their conquering of Anishnaabe peoples. A poignant example of this is seen in a photograph of Major Elias Libbey which was taken during his quelling of the “Leech Lake Uprising of 1898” (MHS E97.1.r111). This “uprising” was perpetrated by a group of “blanketed Indians” seeking the fulfillment of treaty promises (Kugel 1998:186-8). Libbey wears a smart felt hat and high shiny leather boots with his uniform. A bandolier bag conspicuously covers the front of his body and he holds a “peace pipe” in one hand. The only Anishnaabe man in the photograph wears trousers with suspenders and a rumpled jacket over a woollen undershirt. The four Anishnaabe women wear cotton print skirts with tartan shawls.

While non-Natives thus acquired bandolier bags, it also happened that Anishnaabek did not necessarily wear distinctive dress when they participated in Anishnaabe religious ceremonies. For example, a series of photographs that the ethnographer, Samuel Barrett, took of a Dream Dance at Lac Court Oreilles, WI, in 1910 shows the female participants dressed in the culturally distinct everyday style of cotton print skirts and tartan shawls. Some, however, wore wide-brimmed straw hats with silk flower decorations and sporty “sailor-style” blouses. The drummers (men) wore dark trousers with shirts, vests or pin-striped jackets and black felt hats. One man wore a single feather in his hat, another wore a beaded sash, while two others wore beaded

yokes and one fellow wore a bustle. The majority of men wore no distinctive Anishnaabe dress. From an Anishnaabe point of view, the drum was the best-dressed “person” there.⁵ As previously noted, in Canada religious persecution may have discouraged the wearing of “traditional” dress to ceremonies. In the United States, periodic “Indian uprisings” caused concern over “traditional” appearances. Poor economic circumstances were a factor in both countries.

The confusion over Anishnaabe identity that “traditional” versus “assimilated” clothing styles reflected was not only a matter of surface appearances. Unfortunately, it had far deeper implications for both individuals and communities. One of the life-histories that Maggie Wilson (1932-6:#27) gave to Ruth Landes exemplifies both the deleterious effects of the dominant “assimilation” cultural script and the persistence of Anishnaabe cultural scripts that provided the seeds of rebirth when the power of the former finally declined. Ji-ka-nuh-kwat was an only child whom Landes estimates was born shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century. His parents “were always dressed like how the older Indians used to dress long ago... his father had leggings on and a napkin [breechcloth] and his mother had a dress with straps on.” But when Ji-ka-nuh-kwat was a boy, he was in the habit of stealing blankets, kettles and dishes from the traders in town and other useful articles from the lumber camps. When they sent for a policeman from Minneapolis Ji-ka-nuh-kwat and his parents moved to Little Forks Reserve. Ji-ka-nah-kwat went to school there. “He used to have long braided hair and a headband and feather on his head but pretty soon after he start school he had his hair cut and dressed like any other man.”

After living there for awhile, however, “pretty soon he start to be a great Manito kaso [spiritual practitioner].” He presided over traditional funerals and hosted a dog feast

every spring and fall while his parents “were the ones to give the Medicine dance.” After a while he married a woman and they had a baby. The baby’s cradleboard “was all beads... it wasn’t laced, but it had two wide cloths and they were all beaded and even the cloth which she would carry it on her back was beaded” {Plate 33; figure 1}. On it also were “porcupine quills and some beaded bags where the navel was in and all kinds of round sticks which were little nets [protective charms]. The baby was fixed very good.” In a few years, however, his wife’s two daughters from a previous marriage arrived. Ji-ka-nuh-kwat had previously known nothing about them. When they became young women, he used his spiritual powers to seduce them. Both became crazy and died. Some years later Ju-ka-nuh-kwat got in a fight and killed a man. When the policeman came after him, he took his wife and new baby and set out in a canoe. They got caught in the ice, however, and froze to death. Their oldest boy was not with them at the time. When some local men found his father’s “evil medicine,” the boy told them to burn his father’s cabin and everything in it, and he lived “a long time after.”

Ji-ka-nuh-kwat was born and lived during the period of fur trade decline when Anishnaabe communities were threatened with social disintegration, upheaval and dissension, as described in Chapter Seven. These factors undoubtedly influenced his anti-social behavior. Although he felt remorse over his boyhood stealing, the English education he received made neither a permanent improvement in his behavior nor a lasting change in his religious orientation. Maggie Wilson does not mention that Ji-ka-nuh-kwat returned to wearing his “traditional” dress after he became a spiritual practitioner. She does impress upon us, however, both the decorative and the spiritual virtues of his first son’s cradleboard. Through its powers he was spared the gruesome fate of the rest of his family and became neither a victim nor a perpetrator. Through him

the purity of Anishnaabe traditions, as symbolized by the cradleboard, were carried forward into successive generations, and the degeneracy of those traditions, as symbolized by his father's "bad medicine," were destroyed. In this manner, the path was cleared for the cultural script of "self-determination" which has been steadily gaining force among Anishnaabek throughout the twentieth century. In the following chapter, I will relate and analyze the history of the British North American cultural script of "appropriation" in relation to the development of concepts of contemporary Native fashion. As well, I shall employ a case study of contemporary Native fashion designers to show the ways in which clothing is a key factor in present enactments of the Native cultural scripts of "resistance" and "self-determination."

1. Densmore 1979 [1929]:186; Anderson 1986:46; Whiteford 1986:37. See the latter two for insightful discussion of the complexity of the origins of the bandolier bags.

2. Lyford worked as "Demonstration Teacher of Home Economics" at the Hayward Indian School in Wisconsin in 1930. Four years later, she had been promoted to "Associate Supervisor of Home Economics" for government-sponsored Indian schools in the region encompassing Wisconsin and Minnesota (NARA n/d [a]). By the late 1930s, the Native American Arts and Handicrafts Board had hired her to research Native crafts in museums and archives. Her own experience in Native communities when she worked for the schools was also likely among the sources she drew from (NARA n/d [b]).

3. Another example of scholars' retroactive projection is Alanson Skinner (1921:116), who asserts that the "oldest type of cloth leggings" were "worked with flower designs in beads," while the "most recent form of cloth leggings" had "a border of colored silk ribbons."

4. See photograph of Baptiste Garnier "in Métis-style clothing" in Berlo and Phillips (1998:131) for an example of Métis men's short leggings. These were generally made of hide, decorated with a distinctive style of beadwork, quillwork or embroidery, and had a cuff-like design field at the top edge (as opposed to the decorated bottom edge of women's leggings).

5. MPM #s: 2732, 20212, 425269, 2716, 2739, 2711, 20210; Also see a series of photos that A. Jenks took of a Midewiwin ceremony in 1899: SINAA 467-a #9-12 and #16-20.

CHAPTER NINE: BREAKING THROUGH: NATIVE FASHION IN THE MILLENNIUM

Hiawatha is right up there with Pocahontas when it comes to the Indian most likely to be known by a non-Indian person... The story is coming to the screen with an all-star cast of Native Americans.

I had this idea that I would put tough questions to the principle actors about why they would act in a film written, directed and produced by non-Natives and based on stereotypical hooey like the Hiawatha poem. I soon change my mind after meeting Tousey, whose work I have always respected... As I talk to other principle actors like Trujillo, Bedard and Litefoot I hear similarities in all their answers... Bedard has the best take on this whole place in time, "We are getting strength by doing these films. I can feel it bubbling up and we're getting ready to break through." She sees a time in the near future when the Native Americans are in control of the whole process, "When that happens then you can scrutinize us." (Morrisseau 1996:36)

When Henry Longfellow's poem, *The Song of Hiawatha*, was first published in 1855, its particular brand of "stereotypical hooey" was a departure from that associated with the "assimilation" cultural script discussed in Chapter Seven. Henry Schoolcraft (1984 [1856]:9-10) described the latter stereotype as he observed it at the time:

[There are those who deem Native peoples] a cruel and blood-thirsty race, always seeking revenge, always invoking evil powers... [Furthermore, no interest was taken in the] Indian mind - if, indeed, it was thought the Indian had any mind at all. It was supposed that the Indian was, at all times and in all places, 'a stoic of the woods,' always statuesque, always formal, always passionless, always on stilts, always speaking in metaphors, a cold embodiment of bravery, endurance, and savage heroism.

In fact, around the same time, Emerson wrote to Longfellow that Native peoples were "really savage, have poor, small, sterile heads, - no thoughts" (Aaron 1992:xv). This was what Schoolcraft believed before he was "surprised" to find that Native peoples possessed "the kindlier affections" (*ibid.*:9).

In contrast, Longfellow highlighted the role of the “noble savage” in romanticized pre-contact domestic settings and circumstances. Longfellow’s Hiawatha was a peace-loving “child of the forest” whose main interests were the Sioux “princess,” Minnehaha, and teaching his Ojibway companions the ways of peace before fulfilling his predestined departure from the realm of humans (Longfellow 1992 [1855]:*passim*). Hence, Longfellow fabricated an epic in which both the peace between the Ojibway and the Sioux nations, and the final departure of Hiawatha (actually Nanabush) to the West, occurred prior to contact with Europeans. By casting the “noble savage” within the cultural script of the “vanishing Indian” his poem simultaneously neutralized Native military power and alleviated colonial guilt. It is not surprising, therefore, that it instantly became a sensation.

It would be difficult to underestimate the influence of Longfellow’s poem on the British North American psyche. The book sold forty-five thousand copies within four years of publication (Aaron 1992:xiv). Moreover, by the turn of the century groups of Anishnaabe actors enacted the poem for late-Victorian audiences all over the Great Lakes region {Plate 39; figure 1}. Longfellow’s appropriation of the Anishnaabe narratives enabled these readers and audiences to claim the narrative as their own, and hence the land and peoples to whom it refers. For example, when in 1937 the popular travel writer, Katherine Hale (1937:79-80), visited Sault St. Marie, she noted, “We were entering what the advertisements call ‘the land of Hiawatha,’” on the supposition that “the village of Pawiting, on the site of the present city of the Sault, was the home of Hiawatha.” She complained that scholars had “disturbed the Hiawatha legend” by revealing Longfellow’s historical and cultural inaccuracies. J. N. B. Hewitt, for example pointed out that early writers had “mixed up references to Hiawatha with ‘the principle

of Nature itself.” Hale, however, thought this was a “vague exchange for the picturesque Hiawatha, hero of your and my childhood.” To repossess the “picturesque” Hiawatha from the clutches of fact, she ended her discussion by quoting Longfellow’s depiction of the romantic moment of Hiawatha’s departure to the “Islands of the Blessed.”

Longfellow’s Hiawatha is the epitome of the cultural scrip of “appropriation” as it was enacted in the Great Lakes region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Schoolcraft (1984 [1856]:8-9) appropriated Anishnaabe legends by sterilizing and romanticizing them for a Victorian audience. Longfellow appropriated Schoolcraft’s work to further inject it with romance and poetic appeal. Readers then appropriated the poem to validate possession of the land. But the processes of appropriation did not end there. Within a year of Longfellow’s publication, Schoolcraft (*ibid.*) published a book entitled *The Hiawatha Legends: North American Indian Lore*. Schoolcraft was no doubt anxious to be recognized for his own contribution to the successful work. Additionally, he quickly realized the value of the appropriation of Native oral traditions to a nationalist cause. In his dedication to Longfellow he wrote: “...you have demonstrated, by this pleasing series of pictures of Indian life, sentiment and invention, that the theme of the native lore reveals one of the true sources of our literary independence.” That is, the literary independence of the United States from “Greece and Rome, England and Italy” (*ibid.*:7).

Other commentators also saw the merit of appropriating the image of the “noble savage” in order to authenticate the antiquity of distinct British North American national identities.¹ For example, in 1861, Frank Larned Hunt (anon 1861, HBCA) addressed an audience in Red River to the following effect:

Still to me the Indian is a romantic - the romantic of our land; 'tis all we have and

amply enough - for if here we have no ruined castles, crumbling abbeys and toppling towers of olden time, still neither is our land stained with records of crime, cruelty, and oppression, which disgraced the history of those vestiges of our past. Here is unadulterated nature, fresh as the dawn, pure as ether, sweet as liberty; here were her children in their halcyon days, free as the wind that whispered in their groves, and happy as the birds that carrolled [sic] their delights o'er head. Ah! The days long gone...

From 1855 to about 1939, the cultural scripts of “assimilation” and “appropriation” existed side by side, often coming into conflict with each other as different parties advocated one over the other. In particular, as seen in the previous chapter, missionaries and North American governments generally enacted the former script in the form of assimilation policies. During this same period, however, the “public” increasingly favored the latter script, which they enacted by purchasing “Indian” souvenirs, and attending pageants (Hiawatha, and otherwise), dances, fairs, trading posts, “Indian villages,” and “Wild West Shows” (Nicks 1999:306-9; 1990:17). In the early twentieth century, members of the “public” also took to “playing Indians” as Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls, as well as many other roles.²

During the first few decades of the twentieth century, both Canadian and American governments attempted to quell the public’s enthusiasm for “Indianism,” especially in regions where “traditionalism” was known to thrive. For example, in 1913 the Canadian government passed an amendment to the Indian Act which prohibited Native peoples of the four western provinces from participating in “‘Indian dances’ outside of their own reservation and from appearing in shows or exhibitions in ‘aboriginal costume’” (Titley 1986:174-5). In the Great Lakes region, however, Hiawatha pageants and “Indian villages” flourished unhindered by legal restrictions.³

Meanwhile, American government authorities nominally supported “Indian fairs” in peaceful and patriotic Native communities, provided they focused on agricultural

competitions, and they involved no monetary outlay from the Department. A comparison of policy decisions regarding fairs at White Earth, MN, Lac du Flambeau, WI, and Leech Lake, MN, illustrates this point. In 1918, Commissioner Meritt denied a request from the Anishnaabe president of the White Earth Farmers Club for funds for prizes at a proposed Native agricultural fair (Meritt to Hinton, Sept. 7th, 1918, NARA1915-20). He encouraged the Superintendent of the White Earth School, however, to collaborate with the non-Native organizers of two county fairs in their plans to include displays of Native agricultural produce and “Indian work” from his agency (Meritt to Howard, Aug. 19th, 1915, NARA 1915-20). Hence, Meritt discouraged self-determined initiatives, but supported participation of the agriculturally inclined White Earth Anishnaabek in non-Native events. During this same period, Meritt consistently lauded the success of the annual “Indian fair” at Lac du Flambeau, which was financially independent and included only Native competitors (NARA 1916-22).

As noted in the previous chapter, a group of Leech Lake Anishnaabek instigated the last armed resistance movement of the nineteenth century. The image of Leech Lakers as “blanketed Indians” undoubtedly influenced the Department’s policy towards their participation in non-Native events. For example, in 1909 the Superintendent of the Leech Lake Indian School, John Frater, asked for permission to comply with a request from the Minnesota State Agricultural Society to furnish their state fair with “as many as possible well dressed Indian dancers.” The Assistant Commissioner, F. H. Abbot, wrote back that he would not want the public to “get the wrong impression” if “they are to appear in Indian dress to dance, or to exhibit themselves as wild Indians.” As well, their dancing in regalia posed the danger of activating “the reflex influence on the Indians of reviving unnecessarily their tendency to a wandering unproductive existence” (Abbot to

Frater, July 23rd, 1909, NARA 1909-22). Five years later, the Department denied a request for prize money for an all-Native competition at a fair sponsored by a non-Native organization on the reservation (Sells to Giegoldt, Aug. 16th, 1913, NARA 1909-22).

The public's preference for the "appropriation" cultural script gradually gained dominance over the "assimilation" script during the early decades of the twentieth century. Concurrently, a process took place with regard to Anishnaabe ceremonial dress which may be termed "counter-appropriation." As noted in the previous chapter, detachable accessories were a key feature of the modern classic style which developed during the period of intense assimilation policies. In contrast, the cultural script of "appropriation" provided a fertile environment for the creative development of Anishnaabe ceremonial styles. When and where this script was dominant, Anishnaabek converted European clothing styles into ceremonial dress by decorating them with culturally distinct designs. Men's beaded vests and women's jingle dresses, for example, rapidly gained popularity. With regard to the latter, the silhouette of the jingle dress conformed closely to contemporaneous styles in British North American fashion. Early jingle dresses consisted of beaded "waists" with jingle cones at the bottom edge worn with full ankle-length cotton skirts with several rows of metal cones at the bottom {Plate 39; figure 2}. By the 1930s, however, the dress took the form of the new "flapper" styles, while the decorations continued to develop according to Anishnaabe aesthetic preferences.⁴ Another shift in ceremonial dress that was directly influenced by the Wild West Shows and the Hiawatha pageants was the renewed popularity of deer-hide garments. A full history and analysis of these developments is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

In the mid-1930s, government policies turned away from "assimilation" and

adopted revised versions of “appropriation” instead. In the United States, this sudden shift coincided with the New Deal policies of F. D. Roosevelt’s administration (Buffalohead 1983:339). In 1939, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, articulated the demise of the both the “assimilation” and “disappearing Indian” scripts, in a press release regarding the Department’s plans for an Indian exhibit at the International Exposition in San Francisco that year.

No museum piece, mummified and lifeless under glass, our Exposition exhibit depicts a vital and dynamic, not a “vanishing” and “dying” Indian life. Representatives of scores of tribes will demonstrate their craftsmanship on the site. An Indian marketplace has been established in an outdoor court. Expert treatment of light and design has re-created native atmospheres in each of seven culture-area galleries... Model rooms will demonstrate graphically that Indian rugs, tapestries, baskets, pottery - all serve useful, day-to-day purposes, fall readily into stride with modern, home-interior decoration, and push forward the disappearance of the gimcrack-and-doodad era. (NARA 1939:2)

Neither “Indians” nor their cultures were “disappearing,” Collier asserted. Rather, their living traditions had aesthetic and economic relevance to the “modern” world.

The genesis of this reversal is seen in the development of the concept of “Indian fashion” under the influence of the “appropriation” cultural script. The earliest efforts to incorporate Native motifs into British North American everyday and haute couture fashions were initiated by two different groups, both of which were distinctly American. From 1914 to 1918, the fashion industry in New York City found itself “embarrassed and disturbed” by the interruption of design inspiration from Europe caused by World War I. The Curator of Anthropology at the Brooklyn Museum, Stewart Culin, met this challenge by inviting the city’s leading fashion and textile designers to the museum to survey costume collections from India, China, Persia, and Japan, as well as the “peasant arts of Europe” and the “primitive arts of the New World,” with the express purpose of developing a distinctive American style of design. In a catalogue that accompanied a

costume exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum at the commencement of World War II, curator M. Crawford lauded Culin's influence on the improvement of American design, and again exhorted American designers to utilize the Museum's collections for the purpose of creating nationally distinctive fashions (Crawford 1940:5-6). This incorporation of Native design traditions into American fashion introduced an element of cultural nationalism to the long history of American economic nationalism noted in Chapter Four.

During the first few decades of the twentieth century, the Pendleton Company entered into collaborative arrangements with several proprietors of trading posts in the American Southwest. The latter furnished Pendleton with appropriated Navajo blanket designs from which they produced a line of blankets that quickly monopolized the market for Southwestern "trade blankets" (Lohrmann 1998:28; M'Closkey 1994a:202). By the late 1920s, Pendleton "was well established with an extensive product line that included all kinds of clothing for the Anglo and Indian markets" {Plate 40; figure 1} (M'Closkey 1994a:203). The American Southwest was to become a quintessential symbol of an evolving American national identity. Unlike those of the Great Lakes, Plains or Northwest Coast, Southwestern Native nations are exclusive to the United States. Hence, Southwestern Native designs were key features of both governmental and commercial attempts to establish distinctly American fashion designs. As well, in view of the significant role of woollen textile production in the economic nationalist policies of the United States, it is not surprising that this new blend with cultural nationalism was based on a Native American woollen product.

When the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) was established in 1936, its director, René D'Harnoncourt, was also a strong proponent of Southwest Native art. It was his mandate to create new markets for Native arts and to develop programs to assist

Native peoples in their production (Rushing 1992:197). D'Harmoncourt's strategy was to create high-end markets for Native arts by transforming their image from "craft" to "art," and from "primitive" to "modern." To achieve this end, he designed the exhibition for the San Francisco Exposition of 1939 described above and, the following year he curated "Indian Art of the United States" at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York City. Both shows contextualized Native arts in distinct cultural settings and then re-contextualized them in "modern households." This strategy retained their "exotic" appeal while showing their relevance to the suburban American consumer. D'Harmoncourt (NARA 1939-41) emphasized that "American Indian arts are, or should be, as important in the cultural life of the nation as the peasant arts of European countries." Hence, D'Harmoncourt harnessed the special blend of American cultural and economic nationalism noted above to achieve his mandate for the IACB.

D'Harmoncourt's interest in the application of Native arts to American fashion most likely arose from his exposure to the costume show at the Brooklyn museum while he was developing the 1940 MOMA show, and his collaboration on the latter show with Frederick Douglas, Curator of the Department of Native Arts at the Denver Museum. As I shall elaborate below, Douglas had a profound interest in Native fashion. The final section of the MOMA show was dedicated to presenting Native arts as "personal adornment and fashion accessory." Not surprisingly, the jewelry component consisted of Navajo silver work. D'Harmoncourt's innovation, however, was to supply the Swiss designer, Fred Picard, with "articles of Indian manufacture to be used in Picard's line of women's wear, which was featured at the exhibition" {Plate 40; figure 2} (Rushing 1992:215). Although D'Harmoncourt arranged for "IACB-sponsored Indian organizations to use office space on Fifth Avenue for a wholesale center," there is no conclusive

evidence that Native artisans derived direct economic benefit from the show (*ibid.*:216).

As soon as the MOMA show closed, Frederick Douglas embarked on a unique Native fashion project of his own. He compiled fifty-three “colorful, imaginative and ingenious” historic Native women’s ensembles from thirty-five different nations and presented them in a “specialized haute-couture show” to over 300,000 people, not counting those who saw it on television (Parezo 1999:243,245,258). Douglas presented the “Indian Fashion Show” eight times in 1942. After a brief interruption during World War II, he continued to give the show until his death in 1956 (*ibid.*:244-5). Others then took up the work. The last show was presented in 1972 (Parezo and Blomberg 1997:46).

As a member of the IACB Board, Douglas was also interested in promoting Native fashion in the domestic market as an aspect of American identity. In this goal his success was double-edged. Both high-end and low-end American designers created lines derived from the Native fashions in Douglas’s show. In 1954, the “squaw dress,” based on “the Navajo ‘everyday two-piece dress’ in Douglas’s show,” was a best-seller in American department stores. Hence, the new Native-inspired fashions often adopted the very stereotypes that Douglas attempted to dispel in his commentary for the show (Parezo 1999:258-9; Parezo and Blomberg 1997:45,53-4). While D’Harmoncourt and Douglas can be credited in large part for creating a non-Native market for Native fashion, their strategy failed to link the market with the Native producers.

When the Canadian government launched a Native craft development program in 1937, its representatives lacked the vision to create a new high-end market by changing the image of the arts. Instead, the newly formed Welfare and Training Division of Indian Affairs focused on adapting existing Native crafts to the low-end tourist market and creating new products to supply the market for utilitarian articles such as baskets and

mats (Nicks 1990:15). Nevertheless, they too attempted to link Native arts to a distinctly North American national identity. Hence, an agent at Christian Island encouraged quill-workers to make their boxes with designs of “animals, maple leaves, plants, birds, and in emblems of Canada” (*ibid.*:20). The government’s market strategy relied on uniformity, volume and centralized distribution. As such, it denigrated the artistic merit of the work and failed, in the end, to provide the economic relief that was its main objective.⁵ The miniature totem poles and birchbark canoes that still line the shelves of Canadian tourist shops are a legacy left by this program. At the present time, most of these souvenirs are mass-produced by non-Native companies and are marketed with symbols of Canada, such as flags and inscriptions. While the Department of Indian Affairs nominally scorns this practice, Tourism Canada actively promotes it (Blundell 1994:251-7,269-74).

It was not until Canada’s centennial celebration in 1967 that the combined efforts of museum anthropologists, government officials, and a committee of representatives from Native communities across Canada combined the ideas of “Native art,” “high art” and Canadian national identity. This conception took shape in the Indians of Canada Pavillion at Expo ‘67 in Montreal and a centennial exhibition of Northwest Coast art at the Vancouver Art Gallery (Duffek 1993:221). As Ruth Phillips (n/d:13) pointed out, the architectural form of the Indians of Canada Pavillion replicated in massive proportions the familiar tourist souvenir of the miniature Woodlands bark wigwam with a Northwest Coast totem pole next to it, a “novelty” which no doubt originated under the influence of the craft development program mentioned above.

The inclusion of Northwest Coast art in the Pavillion, and particularly in the “high art” venue in Vancouver, drew attention and prestige to a Native art tradition that American and Canadian anthropologists had been nurturing since the turn of the century.⁶

Although Canadian nationalism was already associated with the miniature totem pole, Canadian national identity never got an exclusive hold on Northwest Coast “high art.” For example, the Kwakiutl (Canadian) artist, George Hunt, was recently commissioned to design a blanket for a line of limited edition numbered blankets sponsored by the American Indian College Fund (AICF) and produced by Pendleton. They justified his inclusion in this American project by citing his ancestral ties to Tlinglit communities in Alaska (Lohrmann 1998:28,31-2).

The “appropriation” cultural script is an improvement over that of “assimilation” in that it fosters a social environment in which Native cultural traditions may thrive. At the same time, however, it introduces a powerful set of stereotypes of Native peoples which serve to validate Canadian and American national identities. Because British North Americans internalize these stereotypes as components of their own identities, they are more “real” than the “reality” of Native peoples and cultures. Furthermore, these stereotypes have detrimental economic consequences for Native peoples because British North American manufacturers appropriate their cultural productions. Hence, regaining control of cultural representation and the economics of cultural production are two of the major challenges confronting Native peoples today.

The dialogue between Miles Morrisseau and Irene Bedard at the beginning of this chapter epitomizes the two main cultural scripts through which Native peoples address these challenges. Morrisseau’s initial approach adopts the “resistance” cultural script. This script takes a stance against an existing evil. Because the concept of resistance includes the idea of an opposing force, this script necessarily encompasses that which it opposes. Its strength lies in its ability to expose and, occasionally, overcome, the adversary. There are always winners and losers in this script. Its weaknesses lie in the

inability to transcend the boundaries of its oppositional premise, and the fact that British North Americans can easily represent it as the stereotype of “savagery” associated with the “assimilation” cultural script.

Bedard, on the other hand, advocates the cultural script that I call “self-determination.” It is distinct from “resistance” in that it strives to create something new out of existing elements. It emphasizes goal-oriented action, choice of expression and identity, self-esteem and achievement, and alliance as a key strategy to the achievement of self-defined goals. Its weakness lies in the subtleness of its effects and the slow rate of its processes. Its victories are outstanding but not dazzling and may take generations to achieve. Its strength lies in the quality of the victories: they are deep and long-lasting, as well as personally and socially fulfilling. Defeat usually comes in the form of self-defeat, or in the case of alliance, breach of contract. In brief, “resistance” is reactive, while “self-determination” is pro-active. In any relationship of oppression and subordination, both of these cultural scripts are necessary to attain equality. Although distinct, they are interdependent strategies of personal and social transformation. With regard to social functions, these two strategies are analogous to the peace and war pipes of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment.

As the following discussion shows, “Native fashion” in the contemporary context mainly enacts the cultural script of “self-determination,” although “resistance” is not absent from this realm of cultural production. These cultural scripts do not arise from the Anishnaabe behavioral environment. Rather, they arise out of social relationships of unequal power. They often take culturally distinct forms, however. Whereas Native forms of resistance, such as the American Indian Movement (AIM), are relatively well-known, Native self-determination is an evolving concept within a broad range of social

action which is generally understood as a resistance movement. I suggest that both the conflation of two distinct political and cultural strategies, and the misunderstanding of the subtle methods of the strategy I term, “self-determination,” result in a reduction in the efficacy of political action as factions work against, rather than with, each other.

Enduring and productive social transformation depends upon the combination of abolishing the existing abuses and creating alternative social forms. The interdependence of these two strategies is evident in the transition from pageants to powwows in Northern Michigan. Anny Hubbard (taped interview, Dec. 14th, 1999) related the events of this period as follows:

AH: A pageant was done for show for the White people, and they were usually around either the founding of a town or Hiawatha, one of the Hiawatha stories, or something. And they were pretty popular, and they had pageants right up into the ‘seventies... But the powwows were basically for Native people, for Native people and dancing, so it was a different thing. You know, I mean, tourists were invited, but it was different.

The first ones I went to in L’Anse, there were no tourists there. They were more involved with the American Indian Movement. Matter of fact that was who was there drumming at the first ones I went to. They were protesting the pageant that was in L’Anse. And after the protest, after that day where they protested the pageant, then they had the social with the drumming and the dancing in the evening, and that’s my first experience, that’s where I danced that first time. And it was AIM, I mean, Banks was there, and Means, and all those guys, Clyde Bellecourt...

At the same time, Anny remembers that her Dad had worn “a little outfit” in pageants and everyone danced in jeans at the AIM social: “Like nobody much had any special outfit.” As powwows became more common, however, people began to make outfits:

AH: We were really working hard on our outfits back then, because we didn’t have a lot of clues, you know, and it was sort of like in between looking at historical stuff and looking at stuff that had been made for pageants, is kind of how you made your outfits. And, the black velvet one [the first dress she made] - a lot of people thought that was old-fashioned. And I gave it away. The one that I wore all the time was a polyester one, it was my second powwow outfit. It was awful - oh, you would have died. It was brown polyester with a red polyester top,

and it was fringed. I had a red polyester shawl. Oh, man, it was seventies! But I noticed over the years that powwow styles have changed. And it's really interesting to look at how powwow styles have elements of the modern culture, you know, contemporary culture. We had to have a polyester one that was modern. Now there's more appreciation for the historical-looking ones.

In Anny's experience, AIM's protest of the pageant was instrumental in introducing powwows to Northern Michigan, but the protest did not provide inspiration for powwow outfits. Rather, Michigan Anishnaabek modeled these early powwow outfits after "historical" and "pageant" outfits, as well as contemporaneous North American styles. The elimination of the pageants would have come to little effect if powwow participants had not taken a "self-determined" approach to the development of powwow styles. The following case studies of contemporary Native fashion help to clarify the salient features and strategies of culturally distinct forms of self-determination, as well as the interdependent relationship between this script and that of resistance.

It is first necessary, however, to define "Native fashion." There are two aspects to the term: 1) it refers to the style preferences of Native peoples' everyday wear, and 2) it refers to clothing that participates in the world of "fashion" in the popular usage, but which has been designed, produced, marketed and/or distributed by Native people. With regard to the first of these aspects, I have throughout this work emphasized the "fashions" that Anishnaabek choose to wear everyday. The resurgence of culturally distinct styles of everyday wear is a significant component of the enactment of Anishnaabe "self-determination" and "resistance." Fashions in ceremonial and powwow regalia constitute a separate topic which is beyond the scope of the present chapter.

Fashion in the popular sense evolves around the fashion industry, which includes a series of processes that usually begins with the conception of an individual designer, then unfolds through production, to marketing and distribution. Native involvement in

the design phase results in a significant degree of control over the representational aspect of the product. Because the fashion industry is hierarchically structured, however, Native control over one or more of the other phases is necessary in order for Native peoples to have a degree of control over the economic aspects of the product. Therefore, Native involvement in design must be coupled with Native control of production, marketing and/or distribution for a product to be considered "Native fashion" in the second sense noted above. Due to the exalted position of the designer in the fashion industry, a large part of the following discussion will focus on Native fashion designers.⁷ I shall also use case studies to illustrate the relationship between "Native fashion" and Native involvement in the other phases of the fashion industry. In summary, "Native fashion" may be briefly defined as "Native-worn fashion" which is based on culturally constructed style preferences, as well as "Native-produced fashion" which is aimed at both Native and non-Native markets for leisure, business and dress apparel.

With regard to "Native-worn fashion," Anishnaabek of previous decades adopted particular British North American styles which, through their consistent selection, became forms of distinctive Anishnaabe everyday wear, as discussed in Chapter Seven. In the same manner, contemporary Anishnaabek select certain North American styles in favor of others and this process results in a more or less distinctive everyday "look." During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Anishnaabe everyday styles were influenced by economic limitations, styles prevalent in the lumber industry and traditional aesthetic preferences. Contemporary Anishnaabe everyday styles have drawn liberally from the wide array of leisure-, sports- and active-wear styles that were introduced to the mainstream fashion markets around the turn of the century, but have rapidly expanded since the 1950s. As among British North Americans, these styles often

reflect generational differences. That is, each generation of Anishnaabek wears the casual styles that were fashionable during their youth.

Common to all ages of Anishnaabek, however, is the popularity of T-shirts, sweatshirts, jeans, sweat pants and ball caps. During the past twenty years, these clothing styles have become a site for culturally distinct motifs and messages. There are four basic kinds of messages found on such printed and embroidered sports-wear: 1) artwork by professional Native contemporary artists; 2) commemorations of community events; 3) logos and designs of Native organizations, including those of communities; and 4) political messages. These garments are such that a survey of almost any Anishnaabe person's T-shirt collection will read like a personal biography. For example, I asked Zeek Cywink to gather together a few of the Native-motif T-shirts and hats he wears. The following T-shirts are representative of those in his wardrobe:

1) c.1995 - Quebec sovereignty T-shirt - black - Front: "Quebec - Welcome to the 1990s - A Realistic View of Quebec sovereignty," with a map of Quebec showing the "Republique du Quebec" as a small blue circle around Quebec City and all other territories the possession of Native nations; Back: a quote of Chief Dan George inside a medicine wheel circle with drum and canoe motifs; produced by "Native American Products" with a blue wolf logo. Zeek bought this shirt at the Barrie powwow from some traders from Six Nations. {Plate 41; figure 1}

2) 1997 - "Mnaadenmowin - Respect; Three Fires Sacred Assembly, Neyaashiiinming [Cape Croker]" - cream-colored - Front: artwork of fire with medicine wheel in the flames; Back: "STAFF." Zeek got this T-shirt when he worked as Production Assistant on a video documentary about an environmental gathering held at Cape Croker.

3) 1999 - "A.R.M. - Aboriginal Rights Movement" - red - Front: small "A.R.M." on left breast; Back: large full title and feather motif. Zeek got this T-shirt when he participated in a demonstration that blocked off traffic on Toronto's Gardiner expressway in order to draw attention to issues concerning "off-reserve taxation and non-representation of urban Natives."

4) 2000 - "Miziwe Biik" - Aboriginal Employment and Training (a Toronto agency) - white - Front: a small motif of a woman and a drum on the left breast. Zeek got this T-shirt as a participant in "InnoNative," a collaborative program designed to help Native people enter the film industry.

Zeek's involvement in politics and the film industry are evident in this cross-section of the T-shirts in his wardrobe. These garments serve to embody Native identity by providing wearable biographical records. Zeek's example also shows that such casual-wear garments are one of the most significant sites in which Native fashion enacts the "resistance" cultural script. As well, the ways in which Zeek acquired these T-shirts illuminates the fact that cash sales are not the only means through which such garments circulate. Rather, they participate in the intertribal reciprocal economy that continues to thrive in Native communities. I also have T-shirts, sweatshirts and ball caps that I got as trades, gifts and at give-aways, as well as ones that I purchased at powwows and other events. The flow of these styles of garments through gifts and trades, as well as the messages they convey, serve to reinforce community bonds.

These forms of sportswear also provide a very important source of income for the Native contemporary artists who design the artwork and for the Native-owned companies who are often employed to do the printing or embroidering. T-shirts and sweatshirts that consist solely of artwork are also very popular amongst tourists. Genevieve Goslin (informal interview, July 6th, 1998) told me that Native-motif T-shirts were "best-sellers" in her Native crafts store in Red Cliff, WI. Hence, she travels to a wholesale market in Minneapolis once or twice a year to personally select the best Native designs.

I noted in Chapter Seven that the decline of distinctive Anishnaabe styles for everyday wear coincided with the rise to dominance of the British North American cultural script of "assimilation" and the subjugation of Anishnaabe cultural scripts. This connection between everyday wear and the balance of power suggests that the reclamation of culturally distinct everyday wear may reflect and/or influence the

enactment of Anishnaabe cultural scripts. Consequently, I consider everyday wear a key area in the development of self-determined Native fashion. Native designers who aim to increase the popularity of culturally distinct everyday styles employ two different strategies: 1) to design everyday versions of “traditional” styles; and 2) to design culturally distinct versions of popular British North American styles.

Karen Deleary is an Anishnaabe designer whose work represents the first of these two approaches. She grew up in Detroit, Walpole Island and Chippewa of the Thames in Southwestern Ontario. For the past fifteen years, she has traveled extensively on the powwow circuit all over Canada and the United States selling her powwow regalia and everyday styles. Deleary explained her approach to designing powwow regalia (video-taped interview, Nov. 5th, 1999):

KD: I’m really conscious of being Anishnaabe, so I’m real conscious of using floral, and I do geometric too. I try to stick to old-time styles, like with the T-dresses {Plate 41; figure 2}.⁶ When I do a dress for Shoshoni Indians, I’ll use their designs, but I never know what they’re going to turn out like. I used to do commission work, but I don’t do it any more because I’m not good with, “you have to have it by tomorrow.”

It’s art to me. I’ve come to the point where I understand that it’s an art and I’m an artist, and it won’t diminish me as an artist to teach other people how to make jingle dresses, so that’s where I’m at now. I’ll show anybody - my girlfriends, or anybody⁹ - how to make anything and I share all my resources, share my art with them, because if we were all jingle dress dancers that would be wonderful. So, I’ll share whatever I’ve got.

A dress with no decoration on it, that’s not art. But if I put a piece of myself into it, it’s meaningful to me - all these things are meaningful to me. And, it’s personal expression. That’s what makes it art to me, is the decorating, making it into art. But the real joy in making this stuff is seeing it out on the dance floor - that’s what it’s all about.

Some of the dresses I dream about and then I make them. It’s a personal expression and it’s meaningful and it’s medicine. It sure is medicine, but I don’t have to have someone else to validate that this is medicine. These dresses are prayers. That’s what they’re all about. I pray for whoever’s going to wear them and they’re just my prayers for whoever that is.

Although Deleary is strongly committed to creating dance regalia that inspires people to dance, ultimately, she would also like to see Anishnaabe styles worn everyday:

KD: And that's what I'd like to do, is to get out of the strictly powwow competition-style dresses and to make dresses for real people to wear. [Showing me the baby dress depicted in Plate 41; figure 2:] Instead of just special occasions, I would like people to get used to wearing them, like for babies to get used to wearing them. So, it's pre-washed denim so they can wash it. It won't be just at the powwow, hopefully, the baby will wear it...

CS: So, it's like everyday wear?

KD: Yeah, that's what I want it to be, so people get used to wearing this stuff again. The women back home really like them for their babies.

CS: Are some of them at Walpole wearing them for everyday wear?

KD: I hope so. I've sold two or three there, so I hope so. That's what I want them to be. [Showing me a T-style woman's blouse with floral applique and cut-ribbon trim:] That's just a floral for somebody...

CS: That could be worn anywhere - anyone could wear it.

KD: Yep. That's what I'd like is for people to get used to wearing Indian stuff.

The main difference between Deleary's work and that of most of the Native designers I shall subsequently discuss is that Deleary designs almost exclusively for the Native market. This is evident in both her conception of her work and in that she chooses to sell mainly at powwows. I met Deleary at the Native Living Arts Festival, held on the campus of University of Western Ontario, where most of the customers were non-Native.

Commenting on the show, Deleary said:

It's going to be the table stuff that sells [jewelry etc.]. It's not going to be that stuff [gesturing to the rack of her designs]. Indians like that stuff. They don't mind spending the money because they appreciate the work.

Dinawo, a Native-owned active-wear company, exemplifies the second strategy mentioned above. Instead of starting with the premise of designing culturally distinctive styles, this remarkable company began by looking around at what youth on reserves were

actually wearing everyday. When I first encountered their booths at powwows several years ago, I confess, I did not understand the significance of this strategy. Shelley Burnham (taped interview, Dec. 15th, 1999), the company's General Manager, illuminates it as follows:

SB: Dinawo was created by two young entrepreneurs, Cedric Sunray and Waboonkwe Cameron, an Ojibway. He is a Cherokee, she's an Ojibway. And they were going to university at Trent University and I guess they were taking a look at all the different labels that young children, especially our own First Nations children, were wearing at the time: Nike, Hilfiger, Adidas, et cetera. And they started to really take a long look at what these labels were contributing to First Nations communities. And, in fact, if any of our First Nations' people were being employed by those companies. And I guess that under their marketing study they found very little to no results of any contribution or any sort of employment by these companies.

But what I guess they found more important was that each child wears something and it doesn't really have any association other than it being "cool" or that it's the fashion statement of the decade type of thing. They wanted to create a label that would in fact not only be cool, but I guess give First Nations' kids a meaning. The label would give them a meaning and an inspiring meaning. So that it would motivate them in a positive way to believe and achieve in their goals {Plate 42; figure 1}.

CS: So, there are sort of two aspects to it then? There is the economic aspect, where they are trying to look at how to keep the money staying in the community rather than going out into these foreign corporations. That's one aspect of it you are saying. And the other has to do with the meaning, like a symbol that can represent something to the youth, that is more to their own identity?

SB: Right. So it was something developed, I guess to generate dollars within the Native community as well as something to motivate or have, we always say it was a label to show uniqueness, capabilities and progress to our own First Nations' kids. And most importantly it was a label to express who they were and to be proud of themselves.

CS: Right. I noticed that you have two main logos on your clothing. One is the DINAWO. And the other is REZ-SPORT.

SB: Well REZ-SPORT, REZ-LACROSSE and the whole REZ thing is a new launch. I guess it's sort of an identity thing for our own people. It was sort of a spinoff of the fact that TV was associating the Rez to a First Nations' way of life.¹⁰ We had tried it out last year with REZ-HOCKEY at a tournament and they loved it. They loved it. And since then we decided to develop a whole REZ line.

It's still DINAWO. It's just another design {Plate 42; figure 2}.

The reason I did not at first understand Dinawo's strategy is that I was encumbered with the stereotypical notion that "Native fashion" had to be based on Native design traditions. Dinawo, however, seeks to regain control of the production, marketing and distribution of active-wear styles from those multi-national corporations that currently enjoy First Nations' patronage. When the founders of Dinawo sought to expand the business, they hired Burnham, who has ten years' experience in retail purchasing and management. From her work in retail, she too realized that

there was a need for a sportswear label. Not designer runway material, but something that people could buy every day. A line, a chain, you know, there's not really anything and Dinawo is one of the first. I think they are the first.

I shall have more to say about Dinawo's self-determined initiatives. First, however, I will discuss Native fashion designers whose work is "runway material."

A primary goal of Native fashion designers is the reclamation of the designs and markets that developed under the influence of the "appropriation" cultural script, as discussed above. Their challenge is similar to that of actors such as Irene Bedard whose career options are determined to a certain extent by the stereotypical roles of the "appropriation" script. Bedard (in Morrisseau 1997:27) articulated a rationale for self-determined action in her response to Morrisseau's query regarding her choice to play the voice of Pocahontas in Disney's cartoon version of the well-known story:

"Judy Kune who did the singing voice could very easily have done the speaking voice - a Jewish woman from New York. Where does that get us? How is that going to change things if we don't go in there and try to change it?"

Similarly, many Native designers have exploited the designs and markets of the "appropriation" cultural script, rather than fighting against them or refusing to participate. By pro-actively pursuing the line of least resistance, Native designers have

“gotten their feet in the door,” so to speak, and broadened the field for the reclamation of representation. It is no coincidence that, at the present time, the work of many Native designers is based on style types whose popularity was enlarged by proponents of “appropriation.” For example, Navajo author Linda Martin (2000:28) profiles three Navajo designers, Margaret Wood, Virginia Yazzie-Ballenger and Bessie Yellowhair, whose fashion statements have “transcended the kitsch of the ‘50s era ‘squaw dress’ and the glamorized ‘Santa Fe Style’ made popular in the ‘80s.” The Navajo-style dress, she asserts, is a “fashion staple equal to the classic ‘little black dress.’” Full-color photographs (by a Navajo photographer) of Native women wearing the designs illustrate this point.

While one might expect Navajo designers to be the first to “transcend the kitsch,” they are certainly not the only Native designers to adopt the Southwestern style. For example, Sherman Funmaker is a member of the Hochunk Nation of Black River Falls, WI. His career in fashion began when he attended a New York City fashion show of Southwestern-inspired styles and decided he could do better. He moved to Albuquerque, which he described as “the center of Indian things,” and began marketing his line of Southwestern-style custom clothing to Albuquerque and Santa Fe stores (Rice 1998:12). *Winds of Change* (McCall 1994:3,7,8,17,22), a catalogue compiled by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business, shows that Native fashion designers all across Canada have incorporated the “trade blankets” and velveteen skirts of the Southwestern style into their design repertoire. At a fashion show at the Toronto Sky Dome Powwow in 1998, Shannon Kilroy, of the Nlaka’pamux Nation in British Columbia, featured a line of outerwear whose ingenious designs were cut from Pendleton “trade-blankets” (TIP, 1998).

Northwest Coast design traditions have been especially popular among both Native designers and high-end consumers. Dorothy Grant, for example, was one of the first to “marry fashion and Haida art,” shortly after her marriage to Haida artist Robert Davidson during the 1980s. The latter draws the Haida designs for Grant’s line of haute-couture styles and consequently the Feastwear™ creations are the result of a collaborative process (Blackman 1992:58-62). Originally from Alaska, Grant now lives in Vancouver where she has an “up-scale” fashion boutique. Described as “Canada’s premiere Native fashion designer,” Grant sold three of her pieces to the Canadian Museum of Civilization and she has also shown her work at a gala opening at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC (Knapp 1995:30). In this rather unique way, Dorothy Grant took full advantage of the existing high-end market for Northwest Coast art, combined it with fashion, and defied the claims of Canadian and American national identities. She thereby opened a door for others to follow.

Another prominent Northwest Coast haute-couture fashion designer, Pam Baker, is originally from Capilano First Nation, BC. During the 1980s, she worked in the Indianapolis fashion industry as a fashion-show coordinator before she went to school for fashion design at the Otis College of Art and Design in Los Angeles. Although “some of the most recognizable fashion companies in the U.S.” offered her jobs, Baker decided to return to British Columbia where she manages her own business and works with First Nations youth {Plate 43; figure 1} (Monastyrski 1999:18-19). Ronald Green, of the Tshimsham Nation, is another Native designer whose spectacular haute-couture fashions employ Northwest Coast designs {Plate 43; figure 2}. Like Pam Baker, he worked in the mainstream fashion industry before he recently started his own business in Toronto.

Although most Native fashion designers who employ Northwest Coast designs are

from Northwest Coast Native nations (McCall 1994:4,11,18,21,27,36), designers from other nations have also used the style. For example, D'Arcy Moses of the Dené Nation is "one of Canada's most recognized contemporary Native designers." His "uniquely Canadian clothes" for the 1993-4 season included a red button blanket coat and a sleeveless flounced bodice with a bold Northwest Coast design on the front (*ibid.* 10). D'Arcy's use of these designs, however, derives from particular circumstances. Because he grew up as a foster child in a non-Native home, his first experiences of Native culture were with a Kwakwaka'wakw elder in Vancouver who taught him legends and encouraged him to "fuse fashion design and First Nations identity together." Since moving to Montreal in the mid-1990s, D'Arcy has switched his focus to styles and materials more characteristic of his Dené roots. He achieved worldwide acclaim for his fur designs and has recently employed deer hide, tartans and gauze in styles in which "the design is becoming part of the form," as for example, the shape of a feather cut out of the back of a dress (Knapp 1996:15).

Many Native fashion designers use leather in their designs. Several different streams in the "appropriation" cultural script have ensured that leather garments, especially those that are fringed, remain potent symbols in British North American culture. As noted above, the Hiawatha pageants and Wild West Shows stimulated a resurgence in the popularity of leather because such garments were required to play the stereotypical "pre-contact" and "Western" roles. Garments used in the Hiawatha pageants were often made of coarse cotton which was torn in fringes to simulate leather. Even before the Hiawatha pageant era, fringed jackets were appropriated for American national identity in the form of "frontiersman/statesman" heroes like Davy Crocket and Teddy Roosevelt.¹¹ For British North Americans, however, certain kinds of fringed

garments continue to symbolize generic “Indianness.”¹²

For Ontario Anishnaabek, however, the buckskin or buckskin-like garments of the early twentieth-century pageants represented a regional and national style. For example, Cecil King (in Moodie 2000a:6B) noted: “The Ojibwe were never really that gaudy or gauche - they had a subdued, conservative Woodland look. That kaleidoscope of color you see now wasn’t this area.” This “Woodlands” style was revived when Wikwemikong began their now-famous powwows in 1961. Marjorie Mishibinijima (taped interview, Aug. 2nd, 1999) told me that nobody had outfits to wear to the first “Wiki” powwow. She made a dress for the occasion out of two “potato-jute bags,” and “for the fringes you just cut it up and ravel it.” Angeline Trudeau (in Moodie 2000a:6B-7B) made many of the outfits for this event. In the process, she “went through two sewing machines.” She also said that the outfits “were plainer outfits than you see now,” but some of the dresses were made of buckskin.

Contemporary Native fashion designers often employ deer, moose and caribou hide, as well as fur trim, to embody particular national or regional identities. For example, for Dené designer, Suzan Marie, “learning to sew beadwork on moose hide was like coming home.” Her hand-tanned, one-of-a-kind pieces are especially designed to express “where a person comes from” (Knapp 1998:12). Cree, Innu, Algonkin, Iroquois and Ojibway fashion designers in Ontario and Quebec often choose to work with deer hide to reflect local clothing traditions (McCall 1994:26-8,35,38).¹³ These styles range from formal to casual dress, the latter being the most common. Suzanne Smoke, for example, an Ojibway of the Alderville First Nation, designed a line of fringed deer-hide ponchos for youth and children which young First Nations models wore with jeans at a recent fashion show at Toronto’s City Hall {Plate 46; figure 1}.

In my own observation, the primary market for Native-style hide garments is within the Native community. This relatively high-end Native market reflects the increasing wealth within the Native community noted in Chapter Three with regard to the one-of-a-kind styles of Tracey Heese George. It is not only middle- and upper-class Native people, however, who acquire buckskin garments. They are accessible to Native people in all income brackets because they participate in a reciprocal economy in which money is not necessarily the medium of exchange. Non-Natives generally have limited access to this reciprocal economy.

On the other hand, non-Native fashion show audiences adore Native-style leather garments, especially if they have fringes, feathers and fur. These audiences and consumers most likely associate such garments with the “wild Injuns” of TV Westerns. In fact, leather fringed garments, often made of cow or pig hide, enjoyed a widespread popularity among non-Native consumers during the rebellious 1960s and 1970s.¹⁴ During this period of social upheaval, the roles of frontiersman, cowboy and “wild Injun” blended into a generic anti-establishment role which was represented by these hybrid styles. By the 1980s, however, Native-style fringed leather garments had regained their role as symbols of “wild savagery” which, like “Injuns” on TV Westerns, are good to watch but not good to emulate. They are therefore ill-suited to the (so far) conservative mainstream fashion market of the millennium. Nevertheless, there is still a counter-culture market of non-Native consumers who are attracted to the “rebellious” image, or to the “romantic” image of the “noble savage.”

Native designers’ use of fur is another area in which stereotypes abound, although these are of a completely different character than those discussed above. In brief, wearing fur has become “taboo” among many non-Natives due to the efforts of the Animal Rights

Movement over the past two decades. The challenge for Native fashion designers who work with fur, therefore, is to educate the public about the roles and practices of Native peoples as trappers in this industry. Suzanne Smoke, for example, is well known for her innovative fur designs and has been a strong spokesperson for fur advocacy. She says, "My father (Clayton Smoke), my uncles and brothers were trappers. It's something I grew up with." Smoke collaborates with the Fur Council of Canada to present a Native perspective on the contemporary fur trade: "The fur trade is important to our people... it's a family-run business" and a "responsible, ecologically positive industry" (Knapp 1998:13). In addition to political incorrectness, the popularity of fur coats has suffered because the gaudy fur coat designs of the sixties, seventies and eighties have not adequately replaced the classic mink coat of the fifties, which the public now associates with the elderly.¹⁵ Native fur-work traditions can inject new ideas into fur-coat design. As D'Arcy Moses (in Knapp 1996:15) sees it, "the challenge is to design a 'cool fur coat.'"

Although Native fashion designers have taken advantage of the existing markets of the "appropriation" cultural script, a key objective of self-determined Native fashion is to push beyond the stereotypes. One strategy Native designers employ to dispel stereotypes is to use materials and silhouettes in unique combinations of "innovative adaptations and clothing heritage" (Martin 2000:31) that reflect the cultural and historical experiences of Native peoples. A common form of this strategy is the use of Native motifs on clothing whose silhouette reflects contemporary North American fashion, as for example, the Northwest Coast designers mentioned above {Plate 43; figures 1 and 2}. Another prevalent form of this strategy is the combination of materials and decorative styles from the fur trade with contemporary North American fashion. For example, Peigan/Blackfoot designer, "MJ" (Merilee Helmer), created a line of casual

wear made of satin, gauze and tie-dyed T-shirt knit. Her subtle use of fur trade fashion traditions is seen in the silver brooches that serve to clasp shawls which are worn around the hips rather than the shoulders {Plate 44; figures 1 and 2}.¹⁶ In her haute-couture evening-wear line, Pam Baker similarly used copper diamond-shaped cut-outs to trim the hem of a triangular peplum on a backless evening gown {Plate 44; figure 3}. Tracey Heese George's suit jackets are another example of this approach {Plate 10}.

In addition to design strategies, Native control of the fashion-show venue is a very important aspect of self-determined initiatives that aim to broaden potential markets and reclaim control of cultural representation. The achievement of this goal depends upon the pursuit of two different strategies: 1) for Native designers to compete on an equal basis with non-Native designers in mainstream fashion shows; and 2) for Native produced and designed fashion shows to compete on an equal basis with mainstream fashion shows. Few of the Native designers with whom I am familiar have chosen the first of these strategies. Dorothy Grant and D'Arcy Moses, however, are noteworthy exceptions to this trend. They have both won prestigious awards in mainstream fashion competitions (Knapp 1996:15; 1995:30).

Concerning the second strategy, Native-produced fashion shows are not a new phenomenon. For example, the Bartlesville Indian Women's Club (BIWC) of Oklahoma, an affiliate of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, produces a "style show" which "features the authentic traditional clothing of twenty-two tribes modeled by club members and their children. Research is done to ensure that all outfits reflect accurate clothing styles and traditions for their tribe" (BIWC promotional pamphlet). From the late 1960s to the present, members of BIWC have traveled to seven states where they have held the style show upon invitation. In 1993, BIWC produced a video tape of the

style show entitled *Elegant Visions*, which is distributed at powwows and other places where Native arts are sold. Like Douglas' Indian Style Show, this show presents "traditional" and "historic" Native dress styles. The BIWC style show, however, does not aspire to create Native or non-Native markets for Native fashion. Rather, BIWC members aim mainly to fund-raise for BIWC events and to educate audiences.¹⁷ With regard to the latter, their blend of academic and indigenous sources presents unique and valuable perspectives on Native approaches to history and on Native clothing traditions.

Over the past few years, I have had the opportunity to attend several Native-produced fashion shows in Toronto. These include two consecutive years at the Toronto International Powwow at the Sky Dome (Nov. 21st, 1998, Dec. 5th, 1999), First Nations School of Toronto (March 31st, 1999), Aboriginal Voices Festival (June 21st, 1999), and two consecutive years at the First Nations' Day Celebration at Toronto City Hall (June 18th, 1999 and June 20th, 2000). The Aboriginal Voices fashion show, produced by Aboriginal Voices Inc., was the most up-scale of all of these shows. It was staged at Toronto's Queen's Quay shopping mall where a combination of professional non-Native models and aspiring First Nations models descended an escalator to a stage set between two large fountains. Professional lighting and sound equipment was also employed to enhance the effect. This was held in conjunction with a week-long festival of Native film, music, radio, art, and theater. The fashion show at First Nations School of Toronto was on the opposite end of the scale. This was a Native community event at which most members of the audience were in some way related to the children and youth who modeled in the show.

It is significant that fashion shows were included at multi-media events such as the Sky Dome Powwow and the Aboriginal Voices Festival. This is a new development

in the Toronto Native community. The organizers of these festivals deserve credit for sponsoring these shows. As well, the producers of Sky Dome Powwow, Indian Art-I-Crafts of Ontario, invited Dave Jones and his Native youth group to do a special presentation at the Gala Opening Ceremonies, and Aboriginal Voices Magazine regularly publishes a fashion column. Nevertheless, neither of these festivals gave the fashion shows the promotional attention that other arts and attractions received. For example, at both Sky Dome and the Aboriginal Voices Festival, the fashion shows were listed on the calendars in small letters, the information was incorrect, and festival personnel knew nothing about them. Consequently, it was only with great determination and good fortune that I was able to be at the shows when and where they occurred. The Sky Dome shows were held in small stuffy tents with no dressing rooms, inadequate lighting and insufficient seating. Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, the shows were very well attended and the audiences very appreciative.

My impression is that because Native fashion is neither considered an “art,” like film, music, painting, or theater, nor “traditional,” like powwow dancing, “crafts,” or storytelling, Native fashion designers have to create a place for fashion in Native communities. This challenge also entails counteracting the stereotypes of fashion as “frivolous” and “vain” that are common within Native communities. Although these stereotypes originate in British North American society, they are particularly powerful among Native peoples. As noted in Chapter Seven, an association between Native identity, poverty and impoverished appearance arose out of historical circumstances in both the United States and Canada during the late nineteenth century. This construction of Native identity continues to exert a repressive force on self-esteem and economic security in contemporary Native communities.

For example, Dave Jones of Garden River First Nation (near Sault St. Marie, Ontario) works with children and youth in courses which “use the fashion industry as the catalyst to bring about self-development.” He imparts his message that “it is okay to succeed and feel good about oneself” in courses such as “It’s Okay to Succeed,” “Education: A Must For Me,” and “A Job? Who Me?” (D. Jones’ promotional brochure). He has students pose for fashion photography, as well as stage fashion shows and thematic skits, in order to develop their self-presentation skills. Improved self-presentation, he asserts, raises self-esteem, develops social skills and prepares one for job interviews and satisfying interpersonal relationships. He is often asked why he devotes so much of his time and energy to this work for so little monetary return. To such inquiries he replies (taped interview, Dec. 6th, 1999):

DJ: [recounting a conversation] “In order to understand I think you need to sit with me... and hear what I’ve been through.” But, they say, “You’re breaking the mold, you’re dressing them up, and presenting them, and making them think a new way...” “If you know those things then you know damn well why it’s important for kids to get those same opportunities so that they don’t go through the denial of who they are, because those are good things.” I always tell the kids, “you should be celebrating who you are, and you should be celebrating getting a job, you should be embracing your individuality. You shouldn’t have to feel insecure [because you achieved] good things.” And I swore at a young age that I was going to make sure that no kid would have to go through that if I had anything to do with it. Let them celebrate.

One of Jones’ main messages is that Native people should allow themselves and each other the freedom to choose both Native and non-Native cultures:

DJ: You don’t have to be either or. You can be both. I was raised culturally. I don’t choose to present myself culturally, as what society calls it. I’m very cultural about my own person. That’s over here. It doesn’t have to be over here [gestures]. It’s a choice I made, you know. But I think it really confuses our kids, when they are getting, “Either choose this one or that one.”

This message is not always accepted, however:

DJ: ...like things that I had out the first time here [the dresses he showed at Sky

Dome Powwow in 1999], you know, 'cause I was like: "Oh God, you're going to be giving it to me because I used bones on the side very revealing..." And it was like, "Well, I ain't going to wear that dress to a ceremony. I'm not going to be wearing that in a powwow." {Plate 45; figure 1}

CS: Yeah. You're not supposed to be traditional.

DJ: It's creative, it's like, you know, it's fashion. But to try and break down the mind set, like, heh, the different venues that we as well, as Native people, attend and just let us do that.

Most of the frustration comes in trying to get the [Native] political leaders to realize that the potential for youth, to try through fashion... which is hip-hop, young, urban, contemporary, whatever... I don't care if they're green, purple, blue. They all want to be young and hip-hopping modern. So let ours have this opportunity as well, so that their self-esteem will continue to grow.¹⁸

With the dual challenge of reclaiming Native fashion from the "appropriation" script of British North American culture, and reclaiming fashion as an option for Native peoples, it is not surprising that Native fashion designers have themselves been largely instrumental in the production of Native fashion shows. Suzanne Smoke, MJ, Tracey Heese George, and Dave Jones, to name only those of whom I am aware, have all organized and produced fashion shows that brought together Native designers from all across Canada. Whereas a variety of pre-conceived notions hinder the development of venues for Native fashion, once staged the shows are invariably well-received. For example, despite Dave Jones' apprehensions, his presentation at the Gala Opening at Sky Dome Powwow was a tremendous success. Tracey Heese George (taped interview, Dec. 5th, 1999) co-ordinated a fashion show for a First Nations Arts Festival in Saskatchewan that sold out 250 tickets two years in a row.

The intimate involvement of the designers in the production of fashion shows places them in a strong position to reclaim representation and to promote their own messages. An outstanding feature of all of the shows that I attended was that the First

Nations models were presented as individuals whose importance was equal to that of the fashions they modeled. For example, at the Sky Dome fashion show in 1998, MC Suzanne Smoke not only introduced most of the models by name and community, she also highlighted their educational achievements and the volunteer work that they do in the communities. MCs Dave Jones (Sky Dome, 1999) and Sherry Maracle (AVF, 1999) also encouraged the audiences to applaud the achievements of the Native youths.

The fashion shows I attended employed a range of models which included volunteers, Dave Jones' self-development groups, and professionals from modeling agencies. With regard to the first of these categories, the use of volunteer models is not merely an economically expedient measure. For example, at the First Nations Day fashion show, designer, MC and producer Suzanne Smoke invited models of all ages, shapes and sizes to participate in order to illustrate her philosophy that fashion is for everybody and everybody is beautiful {Plate 45; figure 2 and 3}. Dave Jones' also strongly promotes this message with his youth groups.

This redefinition of "beauty" is a powerful component of the self-determination of Native fashion. Even professional First Nations models must work against British North American standards of "cover-girl" beauty in order to avoid stereotyping. Twenty years ago, Eli Reinhardt, a Sioux from Oklahoma City, was modeling in Native fashion shows when a New York agent "discovered" her. During the first two years of her career in New York City, Eli posed as an "Oriental," and in a Life Magazine fashion spread entitled, "Fringe Binge." Of the former, Eli commented, "I'm an Indian, who happens to be a model. My look is important, not my race." She was disappointed in the stereotypical portrayal in Life, however, and learned from it to "ask more questions" before accepting an assignment (Trahan 1981:31-2). As the fashion industry gradually

becomes inclusive of ethnic diversity,¹⁹ many more First Nations youths aspire to become professional models. Native fashion shows continue to provide opportunities towards the achievement of this goal, and even encourage youths to consider this option. For example, when Suzanne Smoke (video-taped fashion show, Nov. 21st, 1998) organized the Sky Dome Powwow fashion show in 1998, she took initiative to further the career goals of the models:

We brought Ford Modeling Agency in today to talk with the girls, speak with them about proper representation within the business field. Not only have we tried to provide them with proper goals and ways to achieve them, we also believe they have to be well-informed about the businesses and industries that they will be involved in. We brought Ford modeling agency in today, who will promote, and do a First Nations talent search... and they will be offering a \$1000 portfolio to one of our models featured here today.

Another very strong element of self-determination in the field of Native fashion is the focus on youth. This feature is exemplified by Dave Jones' approach noted above. Theme skits in which youth use drama to work through, and raise consciousness about, some of the issues that challenge today's Native youth are an important component of Jones' programs. The theme skits his group enacted at Sky Dome in 1999 included "Drugs and Alcohol," "Traditional Culture: The Goose Hunt," and "Healthy Life-Styles" {Plate 42; figure 2}. Significantly, Jones augments the theater and fashion portions of his courses with extensive practical training in life skills such as how to obtain proper "ID," how to open a bank account and how to conduct a job interview, as well as principles of fitness and nutrition (taped interview, Dec. 6th, 1999).

Jones is not alone in combining fashion with self-improvement courses for youth.

Designer Pam Baker conducts a similar program in British Columbia:

She initiated a program called "Self-Esteem One" whereby the youth from ages 13 to 21 modeled clothes for Native designers, traveled and got a first hand look into the fashion industry. She included traditional practices such as the medicine

wheel and the sacred circle as well. According to Baker the youth built up their confidence and their self-esteem soared. (Monastyrski 1999:19)

In addition, the fashion show at First Nations School of Toronto was staged primarily to “give kids an opportunity to raise self-esteem and build confidence about themselves.” The organizers of this event believe that fashion accomplishes this objective because the kids “can relate to it and get excited about it,” “getting up in front of a crowd makes them feel good about themselves,” and the older kids involved in the show act as role models for the younger ones.²⁰ The fashion shows produced by Suzanne Smoke also characteristically feature youth of all ages {Plate 46; figure 1}.

Dinawo also works extensively with Native youth. One component of their program is to conduct Lacrosse workshops for Native youth upon request from Native communities (TIP, 1998). Another important aspect of their youth-work is the “Dinawo Role-Model Program.” Shelley Burnham (taped interview, Dec. 15th, 1999), who initiated the program, explains:

SB: To go along with what I told you about the label, an inspiring motivational label, we also developed the Dinawo Role-Model Program. We sort of, I’d like to say we’ve created it for Promo, number one. Number two we also created it to come to the level of our target market so that role models could go in the school and talk to kids at their level and get them understanding what the label means and get them understanding what it is to achieve and work hard and break through all the boundaries. And that’s one of our key marketing phrases, “Breaking Boundaries.” Because not only do First Nations’ kids have the everyday struggles of being a kid. They also have the struggles of being who they are and facing all the challenges of work, of blending into society and being proud of who they are. They have all those other struggles that every other kid has plus those ones, those cultural boundaries, they have to overcome. So, you know, we have a lot of guys and gals in our role-model program who have been out there and identify with those kids to say: “Hey, I played on the international Lacrosse team.”

CS: So, your target market is specifically youth?

SB: Youth. Between the ages of, we always say like 6 and 25, but we also gear our market to the young at heart, period. So we are not limited to a youth market. Our merchandise is limited to the young at heart.

CS: And that is probably where it can do the most too.

SB: Oh, yes. Like our venue this year just involved with schools have included, like going to different communities within their schools and having talks with individual classrooms or say an overall school assembly, like having our role model go in the school, talk about what he's doing, talk about what he's achieved, talk about the hard work that was involved, how he continued on to work towards a career or a trade no matter what he was involved in, whether it be sport or arts and entertainment, or what have you, and how it's developed today. For example, we've had Derek General go into schools, who is a lacrosse player who plays national lacrosse and has won a North American cup.

CS: Well, I had the opportunity to speak with Albert [Doxtator].

SB: Well, see, Albert is a perfect situation where he is involved in an individual sport which has very little to no funding [wrestling and pankration]. So DINAWO is not yet a huge corporation, so we can't say, "Well here Albert, here's \$5000." But what we can do is expose him to the public. We can expose him through our ads, through our story lines, through our public appearances, et cetera, et cetera. And get him exposed. Get him known, get him, I guess, in the eye of potential funders. And that's how we feel we can assist {Plate 46; figure 2}.

CS: And, you were saying that you also have the female role models. So what do you have along those lines?

SB: We have Rebecca Miller, who is a YTV country-music award winner, who was chosen in her youth years as the YTV role model, country-music award. We have Sarah Palmer, who's a singer, R and B recording artist. We have Tia Smith, who currently works for us. She was there as well. And she is a women's lacrosse player. And Julie Hill, who is involved very actively in swimming. She was a five-medal winner of the '97 North American Indigenous Games. And I believe she competes on a regular basis involved in swimming.

The above examples illustrate that the functions of Native fashion, both within Native communities, and in North American society at large, extend well beyond the stereotypes of fashion as "frivolous" and "vain." These strategies of self-determination provide alternative models of "beauty" whose tenets of individual worth ultimately benefit all members of society. This is one of the major contributions Native fashion designers offer to North American society. Conversely, their pro-active work with First Nations youth towards the achievement of career goals and personal development

contributes concretely to the economic, social and personal fulfilment of present and future generations of Native peoples.

Issues of self-representation constitute only one aspect of the challenges confronting Native fashion designers, however. The social and technical modes of manufacturing in the mainstream fashion industry pose another set of challenges. In mainstream fashion one must be able to mass-produce in order to market and sell a line of clothing. Many Native fashion designers, however, do not have access to the capital investment needed to mass-produce a line. Moreover, many of them eschew mass production as contrary to aboriginal production and stylistic traditions. Instead, they prefer to remain personally involved in the production of their lines, which often consist of one-of-a-kind variations on a theme or limited editions. For example, Dorothy Grant personally cuts all of her haute-couture pieces and then consigns them to a seamstress for hand and machine sewing. She prefers “custom couture work” because the handiwork bespeaks “art” and it maintains a personal relationship between herself and her clients (Blackman 1992:6063-4). Sherman Funmaker (in Rice 1998:12) also works on each of his one-of-a-kind pieces himself: “If you want to make the money Calvin Klein makes, you send it off. You make money but then you lose who you are. I want to keep it where it means something.”

As noted in Chapter Three, Tracey Heese George (taped interview Dec. 5th, 1999) believes this personal touch is one of the main attributes of Native fashion, not only because of the mode of production, but also because Native fashions signify the identity of the wearer “just like a fingerprint.” As well, Tracey believes one should allow room for spiritual agency in the design process:

THG: I’ve had the opportunity a few times, people wanting to buy a design off of

me. The thing is, though, that I can't give that away. It's not mine to give away. At this point where I'm at, I'm small enough that I still have a sense that I've got a handle on things. [One time a Western-wear franchise wanted Tracey to produce some shirts for them.] Well, they were considering buying a couple of First Nations ribbon shirts, authentic ribbon shirts. Now, of one style they were gonna need at least a hundred, minimum a hundred. That was the smallest order they could go to. And it was like, a hundred of one shirt! To me, I couldn't imagine a hundred shirts going out there.

I get a pleasure out of actually - you know, a lot of times things just happen, like with a lot of the stuff that's out here [motioning to rack of her designs] it just happens that way. It's not something that I'll always plan out. Like I sketch stuff out, and I plan things out. But sometimes it doesn't go exactly the way I figure it should. It goes the way it's supposed to go.

CS: Yes, some of the best inventions happen that way.

THG: Sometimes that happens. So for me, I can't see enjoying doing one and having that mass-produced.

Although many Native fashion designers prefer one-of-a-kind and haute couture rather than mass-production, some of these same designers, as well as others, are interested in developing both Native and non-Native markets for Native everyday fashions. In either case, the cost of production must be kept low enough to keep the cost to the consumer within affordable bounds. With regard to mass-production, Native fashion companies are constrained by the same economic factors as are their counterparts in the mainstream ready-wear fashion industry. The latter has from its inception relied on a cheap labor force and the division of labor into specialized tasks to keep production costs at a minimum. Hence, Native fashion companies are challenged to provide employment for First Nations people within the confines of a fundamentally exploitative and competitive productive system. For example, Shelley Burnham (taped interview, Dec. 15th, 1999) explained how Dinawo strives to maintain Native values at the same time as developing human and economic resources within Native communities:

SB: Well, right now we buy blank²¹ from various different companies and all the

designs are based on First-Nation's designs. But we eventually would love to see a manufacturing process right from thread to finished product. That's what we'd like to see. We buy the blanks and we have them embroidered or screened at our various different embroiderers from our designs. They disc our design on a digitization process. And then they are embroidered from that point and then back into our store.

CS: But are those companies First Nations?

SB: No.

CS: So that would be in your future plans?

SB: Oh, yeah! To have the whole manufacturing process. We involve various different First Nations' people in the process. I won't say that they're all limited to non-Native businesses 'cause we use screen printers who are Native. Unfortunately they're so spread out that we have to keep everything more simplified due to shipping costs. And if there was a fully functional embroiderer who could produce and give us prices to keep our prices reasonable right next door we would use them. We are using somebody right now who really works well with us. We've even talked about doing perhaps a satellite business here located on First Nations' Territories and employing First Nations' people.

CS: For the embroidering?

SB: Yeah. We've talked about it. But the whole manufacturing process is an altogether different ball game. Because most sportswear companies deal the same way we deal and the only way, get this, that they do achieve their manufacturing process is offshore. And that would defeat the whole purpose of DINAWO. By going that route.

CS: It's such a challenge, though, because you're sort of caught between those kind of concerns and the need to keep the prices low enough that the youth can actually afford them, huh?

SB: Exactly. The one thing that we have been very proud of today is that we do employ between 5 to 7 people at the given time, that we have trained people on the point-of-sale system, that we've computer-trained people to do accounting and retailing. I feel that we've built a team that is now spreading themselves out into different communities. So we're building our base that way, by training and employing Native people to sell and create more DINAWO product line. We'd love to see some day employing 50 people. From the manufacturing process to the selling process to the marketing process, et cetera. Even shipping receiving, as far as that goes. That would fulfill the whole, I believe, economic DINAWO dream, is not only to be giving back to the community by sending out a really strong message but also building the base up as far as jobs and employment.

This vision of a Native-controlled fashion industry is shared by many Native Canadian fashion designers. Suzanne Smoke has been influential in a number of initiatives that strive to promote Native control of the economic aspects of cultural production. For example, in 1998 Smoke, D'Arcy Moses, Suzan Marie and other Native fashion designers worked in partnership with Human Resources and Development Canada, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples to develop a "data base of Aboriginal businesses in fur, fashion and giftware" (Knapp 1998:13; TIP, 1998). Smoke (TIP, 1998) described the aims and significance of this project to the audience at the Sky Dome Powwow fashion show:

We believe that our goods should be produced only by Aboriginal people and carry a certificate of authenticity. Right now we have people within the Asian market who are mass-producing our carvings and sculptures. We have places like Regal's catalogue that are selling our dream-catchers. And we just feel that our people need to be well-represented within this industry. And this data base is going to link us all together. It will be available through the government. What we're trying to do is, together as one voice be strong for each other. We have Aboriginal producers who are traveling miles and miles and shipping goods from non-Native businesses when we have Aboriginal communities that produce these goods and could ship them. So, by supporting one another we're going to be stronger together.

Smoke (*ibid.*) further explained that she and Nlaka'pamux designer, Shannon Kilroy, are also working towards developing fashion manufacturing businesses on reserves:

Shannon and I have been working on trying to start a Native design co-operative. We'd love to see them happen on all different reserves. We're working on providing designs for our youth and for the women and men on reserves. We would like to help them start their own businesses and have sewing factories on reserve and employ all Aboriginal people within our companies.

Smoke's and Kilroy's own companies "support all-aboriginal businesses within [their] home communities." Hence, Native fashion designers and companies are taking proactive measures to counteract both the representational and economic repercussions of the "appropriation" cultural script.

As noted above, alliance as a key strategy to the achievement of self-defined goals is another important aspect of the cultural script of “self-determination.” In the realm of Native fashion, as in the broader political context, the strategy of building alliances is expressed in relationships within Native communities, those among Native nations, and those between Natives and non-Natives. With regard to the first of these contexts, most of the fashion shows that I attended involved many community members in their production. The show at First Nations School of Toronto, for example, brought together school staff, parents, the student models, the elder siblings of the models, volunteers from various Native groups and organizations throughout the City of Toronto, the designers themselves, and corporate sponsors to the show, in a collaborative effort to produce this event. Similarly, the fashion shows at Sky Dome Powwow and at Toronto’s City Hall involved the combined efforts of many members of the Toronto Native community, as well as partnerships with non-Native sponsors and assistants. Tracey Heese George (taped interview, Dec. 5th, 1999) described the community involvement in the fashion shows she produced in Alberta:

THG: This past year we had thirty-two women models. And we had seven designers, but one of the women, she had I think it was 54 outfits she was showing.

CS: So did you use First Nations models?

THG: Oh, yeah. But I think there was a couple that were Métis, but a majority are First Nations, both times. And I hired my friends. I hired four dressers who were all First Nations. All the hair dressers were First Nations. I hired the Bay, or I invited the Bay to come and do the make up. So that was the only aspect of this show that was not First Nations. So I don’t know, it was just wonderful. It was wonderful.

Heese George also emphasized that Native fashion shows bring designers together from many different nations:

THG: Well the other thing, all of us, all of the designers here [at Sky Dome Powwow], three or four of them are Cree [like THG] and then the rest came from different tribes, other First Nations. Well, you know, not one way is better or more appealing than the other. I think they're all, when they all come together it just adds, they complement one another.

Suzanne Smoke (TIP, 1998) explained the importance of building alliances among Native designers to the audience at the Sky Dome fashion show:

People have asked me before, as a designer, "Why do you promote so many other people when you're doing your shows?" It's just like our sweetgrass. They say that one blade is easily broken but when braided together there is a lot of strength and it cannot be broken. And that's what I feel when I work with all these other designers. Each has their own style, their own way of designing. They create beautiful designs and they are well-represented together.

Such explicit promotion of mutual support, framed within Anishnaabe traditional teachings, stands in contrast to the competitive atmosphere of the mainstream fashion industry. It is therefore another contribution Native fashion may offer to society at large.

In view of the fundamental goal of Native fashion designers to reclaim control of the representational and economic aspects of cultural production, one might suppose that they would eschew forging alliances with non-Native individuals and groups. This is not the case, however. As noted above, economic necessity is often the motivational force behind such alliances when the goal is to manufacture ready-made casual wear. Although Native designers aspire to gain control of all aspects of production, the necessary human resources and business infrastructure are not presently available.

Strictly practical considerations can also influence the choice to include non-Native individuals and groups in the production of fashion shows. At any given site, there are seldom Native people in all of the many fields involved who have the level of skills necessary to present a polished, professional show. For example, the Aboriginal Voices Festival fashion show included non-Native models whose greater experience in their profession added considerably to the professional presentation that the organizers hoped

to achieve. Although a career in modeling is attracting an increasing number of Native youth, at present there are not enough experienced professional Native models locally available to produce an exclusively Native-modeled high-profile fashion show.²² Another aspect to be considered with regard to fashion shows is that even those shows that do not attempt to be high-profile are costly to produce. All the Native fashion shows I attended were supported by both government and corporate sponsorship.

The above instances show that Native designers, companies and fashion show producers may be driven by necessity to forge alliances with non-Native individuals and groups in order to fill gaps in the fledgling Native fashion industry that the present human and business resources in Native communities do not provide. Superficially, it may seem as though complete Native control of the Native fashion industry would be advantageous in all instances and that alliances with non-Natives could not possibly result in the reclamation of Native cultural production. The fact is, however, that many Native fashion designers pro-actively chose to forge alliances with various non-Native individuals and groups because complete autonomy from the mainstream fashion industry in all its phases would not serve to fulfil their objectives. For example, because the haute-couture market is primarily non-Native, the interests of those designers who favor this venue are best served by forging alliances with the non-Native personnel who control the mainstream marketing apparatus of the industry. This strategy not only enables them to uphold their values concerning production methods and artistic expression, but also provides them with the broadest exposure in some of the most effective venues to promote self-representation of Native cultures.

The various collaborative projects and initiatives of Suzanne Smoke exemplify the political efficacy and economic advantages of alliance-building strategies. Smoke's

extensive collaborative work with various government agencies, noted above, has not only empowered her to build alliances among Native designers and other cultural producers, but also to gain access to forums for the dissemination of more directly political messages. For example, the First Nations Day Celebration at Toronto's City Hall is organized by City of Toronto government employees who have invited Suzanne Smoke to produce fashion shows. In 1998 several government agencies were also among the sponsors that enabled Smoke to showcase a line of clothing at this event whose camouflage two-way stretch fabric drew attention to the flagrant disregard of Native rights that led to the six month long stand-off between the Mohawks of Kanesatake and provincial and federal armed forces at Oka in 1990.

In addition, Smoke featured the designs of the non-Native fashion designer, Linda Lundstrom, in the fashion show at City Hall in 2000. For a number of years Lundstrom has hired Native contemporary artists, employed Native craftworkers, and supported Native community organizations by donating her signature "LAPARKA" coats for raffles {Plate 47; figure 1} (Methot 1998:13).²³ Over the years I have heard many Native people charge Lundstrom with appropriation. When one of the Native contemporary artists she commissions led a session at a conference in 1994, I took the opportunity during question period to ask her how she felt about those charges. As far as I remember her response, she felt that people who criticized Lundstrom were ill-informed, and that working with Lundstrom was a creative challenge and business opportunity which she welcomed.

I suggest that the collaborative nature of Lundstrom's work with Native peoples is enacted within the framework of the Native cultural script of "self-determination," rather than that of British North American "appropriation." Comparison with an illustration of the latter demonstrates this proposition. The movie *Unzipped* (HFPE 1994) documents

the designing and production of New York fashion designer Isaac Mizrahi's Spring 1994 collection. This collection was conceived one day when Mizrahi was watching *Nanook of the North* on TV. Talking on the phone, he says:

It's so inspiring. I can't even believe how beautiful all these Eskimos are, and all I want to do is fur pants, but I know if I do them I'll get stoned off 7th Ave, like some kind of wanton heretic or something. So there won't be any fur pants coming down my runway. It's about women not wanting to look like cows, I guess. In fact, there's something very charming about cows, well, you know, there's something very charming about a big fat fur pant.

Another source of inspiration for this collection was the movie *Call of the Wild* in which Clark Gable rescues a woman from freezing on the tundra. Mizrahi remarks that when Gable finds this woman, her "make-up is perfect, dewy skin, perfect eyebrows, lip-liner, the hair is perfection, and I'm thinking, 'If you must freeze on the tundra this is the way to do it.'" The desire to mix inspiration from Inuit fashion with 7th Ave. fashion and Hollywood glamor resulted in brightly colored fake-fur jackets worn with mini-skirts and corsets modeled after eighteenth century ones Mizrahi saw in the Louvre in Paris. Mizrahi did not want this blend of cultural sources to "at all resemble those Indian things," but it nevertheless went under the name of *Nanook of the North*. This collection's participation in the "appropriation" cultural script is revealed by the fact that both the name and the fur theme are subordinate to the interests of North American fashion. Appropriation entails a total re-contextualization of cultural symbols.

A complete lack of contact with, or concern about, the actual subjects represented in a cultural production is another one of the key differences between "appropriation" and participation in Native "self-determination." For example, Mizrahi remarked on his sources of inspiration:

I'm very happy where I am. I'm very happy in New York. I don't need a lot of money. I don't need to move a thousand times. I don't need to go to Australia or to India in order to do collections about those places. I can do them from my

imagination or from having seen the Flinstones episode that was set in Australia or something. That's what I love. That's what I'm kind of about.

In order to avoid appropriation, one *does* have to go to those places, speak with those peoples, accommodate how they would like to represent themselves, and share with them the economic gains, even if it does cost more money, more time, and a degree of sacrifice over control of the creative process. I suggest that in cases where these conditions are met, the resulting collaboration enacts Native "self-determination." Unfortunately, the enactments of "appropriation" still outnumber those of "self-determination." The extent of the former phenomenon is illustrated by the fact that a few days before the debut fashion show of Mizrahi's collection, *Women's Wear Daily* featured rival designer Gaultier's new line under the headline: "Gaultier: Eskimo Chic."

Another interesting alliance Suzanne Smoke promoted in the fashion show at Toronto's City Hall was with Elysia Nisan, a Canadian youth who was selected to represent Canada at an international conference for youth held in Europe in 2000. No doubt influenced by the nationalist appropriation of Native identity discussed above, Nisan felt that to wear Native clothing would best represent Canada in such a forum. Consequently, she contacted Smoke, who enlisted her to model in the show, provided her with a moment to promote the concerns of Canadian youth, and guided her in the selection of Native dress to be worn at the conference {Plate 47; figure 2}.

This is another instance which is open to criticism from Native peoples whose primary mode of operation is "resistance." Smoke differs, however, in that she utilizes both "resistance" and "self-determined" strategies according to their effectiveness in achieving certain objectives. In this case, alliance serves the purpose of educating an international audience of youth through a single representative, and opening doors for potential markets in Europe for contemporary Native fashion. Similarly to Lundstrom, by

seeking and following the advise of Smoke, Nisan departed from the script of “appropriation” and moved toward the enactment of Native “self-determination.” Non-Native people enact the latter script when collaboration serves their interests, for ethical or other reasons. Native people enter into such collaborations when doing so serves to forward mutual goals.

Smoke’s collaborative work with the Fur Council of Canada (FCC) best illustrates how Natives and non-Natives may work together towards the achievement of common goals despite differences in motive, understanding and ultimate gains. The partnership between Smoke and FCC formed to further their mutual goal of dispelling erroneous notions of animal cruelty and educating the public concerning the environmentally sound practice of fur trade trappers. For the FCC, this is primarily an advantageous business alliance. For Smoke, the alliance not only promotes business for Native designers who work with fur, but it also provides a public forum for presenting Native perspectives on ecology and bringing to light the detrimental impact the Animal Rights Movement has had on Native economic and cultural life.

In the broader context of political activism, the late Walter Bresette (1994:85) eloquently and concisely outlined the role of alliance-building in self-determined political action:

In organizing, one can travel a narrow road and come to view one’s issue as preeminent. But one overriding conclusion in my work is that all struggles are related and many methods are transferable between issues... Building alliances is about understanding oneself, believing in our own self-interest and cause, and then recognizing the common interests that exist between disparate groups. We ally not because we are ‘alike’ nor to remake each other or to force compromise or correct tactics. We ally to affirm each other’s strengths and to call upon that which we need but don’t have ourselves. If we are to build even stronger alliances for our common goals, we must accommodate and encourage our personal and cultural differences, while tolerating our natural weaknesses, and thereby solidify our political partnerships.

Pro-active alliance-building is often the strategy which best serves the interests of Native fashion. Native fashion designers strive to reclaim cultural representation from the “appropriation” cultural script while simultaneously insisting on the choice to selectively adopt elements of contemporary North American culture. They also aim to develop economic and human resources within Native communities, as well as foster self-esteem among Native youth. In these respects, the enactment of the cultural script of self-determination within the realm of Native fashion provides substantial cultural, social, economic and political contributions to Native society. As Bresette suggests, these methods of self-determination are “transferable between issues.” In this respect, Native fashion designers provide a model of self-determination that merits emulation in any field of activity. Yet, clothing has the unique property of functioning as a vehicle through which people adopt roles within cultural scripts. Hence, Native fashion designers are in an unusually well-situated position to undermine the power of British North American cultural scripts, as well as to create and promote new versions of Native cultural scripts.

1. See Castile (1996:743) for historical and contemporary examples of the appropriation of “Indian identity” in the “self-invention of a new ‘American’ national identity.”

2. For discussion of the phenomenon of “playing Indian” see Green (1988:*passim*) and Francis (1992:131-43,144-58).

3. See Nicks (1999:306-90); MHS E97.1.r87: Minnehaha in Hiawatha play at Sault St. Marie, Ontario, 1905; NAC C-2692: Ojibway woman in Hiawatha play at Sault St. Marie, Ontario, 1920; NAC PA-86069: Indian village at Toronto, 1923.

4. The use of metal cones and cut-out shapes is itself an Anishnaabe aesthetic strategy which incorporates sound and movement as well as visual stimuli and which stems from pre-contact aesthetic traditions.

5. Juliette Meness Ferguson (taped interview Aug. 25th, 1999) remembers with bitterness that the government craft program paid her mother only six dollars per dozen “dressed dolls,” which were made of corn husk with leather clothing. It took her Mom two or

three days to make a dozen and she would ship “six or seven dozen” to Ottawa at a time. Both Teresa Meness and Josephine Beaucage (informal interview, Aug. 20th, 1999) made thousands of miniature moccasin “lapel novelties” which, in 1944, the government wholesaled at \$2.30 per dozen (NAC 1943-44).

6. Duffek 1993:213-18; Herem 1998:46-7; Jonaitis 1992:*passim*

7. The present study focuses primarily on Native Canadian designers that I encountered in the Toronto area. Because Native fashion operates in a pan-Indian context, it is neither possible nor desirable to limit the discussion to Anishnaabe designers. There is very little research done on Native fashion designers and very little media coverage. According to one study, there were about 100 Native fashion designers in Canada in 1998 (Knapp 1998:13). I have no comparable figures for the United States.

8. Although the T-dress is normally described as a Plains-style dress, Anny Hubbard (taped interview, Dec. 14th, 1999) told me: “We made those right from the beginning,” that is, when Anny and other Anishnaabek in the Sault St. Marie region started making powwow outfits in the late sixties and early seventies.

9. I believe that in this instance Deleary’s use of “anybody” does not extend to non-Native people.

10. This is probably a reference to Canadian TV series, such as *North of Sixty* and *Dance Me Outside*, which feature Native actors playing Native people living on reserves.

11. Axtell (1981:298-99); Pritzker (1993:13); Shine (1993:50-51).

12. In an unpublished study of fringed jackets I undertook several years ago, I found that “frontiersman”-style fringed jackets remain a popular commodity in counter-culture North American markets. These are distinct from Native-style fringed jackets in that they are usually made of the hides of domestic animals such as cows and pigs, and are devoid of decorative motifs. In contrast, Native-style fringed jackets are made of deer, moose or caribou hide, and frequently have bead or silk embroidered designs, or burnt designs, and/or cut-work edges (“pinking” or other shapes). These subtle distinctions are registered at unconscious levels of awareness. Consequently it took me months of diligent observation and research to perceive the difference between the two styles and the cultural scripts from which they derive.

13. I also make this statement on the basis of discussions over the past eight years with designers who sell deer-hide clothing at Ontario powwows.

14. Anny Hubbard (taped interview, Dec. 14th, 1999) told me that during the 1970s, the reservation at L’Anse, MI, had a factory that made fringed deer-skin “hot-pants, leather vests and purses,” in “seventies colors” like “purple and hot pink and white, as well as black and several shades of brown.” Also, the History Project of the Native Canadian

Center of Toronto (NCCT) has in their archives a set of five semi-professional fashion shots of Native women modeling sixties-style cow-suede outfits, as well as clippings from contemporaneous fashion magazines showing non-Native models wearing the same sort of garments. These instances provide examples of early Native self-determined initiatives to reclaim the images and markets of the “appropriation” cultural script.

15. Another major factor in both the design and political aspects of the decline of the fur industry is the fact that after World War II fur became a luxury commodity which was out of the reach of most consumers. Some of the design strategies of the sixties were attempts to create low-end fur coats by reducing quantities of fur (by thinning and patching) and quality of fur and construction. The Animal Rights Movement also latched on to the luxury status of fur coats as a target that they correctly assumed would arouse widespread sympathy to their cause (Emberley 1997:21-42; Ewing 1981:138-61).

16. MJ's garments are not limited to Native themes, however. Many of her designs are sports- and evening-wear pieces that reflect her talented manipulation of line and form to create a unique look in contemporary North American fashion (AVF, 1999; FNST, 1999).

17. Debbie Ary, President of the BIWC, personal communication, March 19th, 1996.

18. The challenge to which Jones' refers is that Native political leaders tend to be focused on narrowly defined “social services.” They therefore have difficulty grasping the social, cultural and economic value of fashion before they see the results for themselves. This circumstance makes it difficult to secure funding from Native leaders.

19. This trend is not only a response to pressure from ethnic groups and their increasing support amongst the general public, but also a recognition that ethnic groups constitute valuable markets whose business is worthy of targeting.

20. Personal communication, anonymous fashion show organizer, March 27th, 1999.

21. That is, ready-made sportswear garments without logos.

22. The stereotypes attached to the profession of modeling tend to denigrate the amount of skill involved. “Looking pretty” in clothes on the runway requires training and experience in theatrical presentation in general, and also the particular movements and conventions of runway modeling. The differences between experienced and aspiring models becomes frustratingly evident when one is attempting to photograph them. For example, because photography is an integral aspect of all professional fashion shows, the former will systematically come to a full stop in a graceful pose at set locations on the runway. While the latter travel the same route, their “stops” are never “full” and they therefore never adopt graceful poses long enough to get a good shot. The professional models' conscious orientation towards graceful poses also affects the way they adapt their movements to the technical construction, and the story-line genre, of each outfit

they wear. Aspiring models lack the experience needed to make these adjustments in movement at the rapid pace of clothing changes in a show. Audience members are generally unaware of these technical aspects of the modeling profession, but do not fail to notice the difference in the overall impact of the show.

23. Lundstrom also participated in the fashion show held at the First Nations School of Toronto (FNST, 1999).

NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) not included in the original manuscript are unavailable from the author or university. The manuscript was microfilmed as received.

390

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI^f

CHAPTER TEN: THE POWER OF DRESS

As a general principle, clothing denotes identity, but the ways in which it does so are culturally variable because the core concept of “status” upon which identity is based is dependent upon cultural constructions of “self,” the “environment,” and the relationship between them in the behavioral environment. Because core concepts provide “models for and models of” the field of social action, the ways in which clothing reflects and influences economic and social structures are also culturally constructed. Throughout the history of their relations, cultural constructions of identity among Anishnaabek and British peoples have transformed in response to factors inherent within each culture and their relations with each other. These changes have played a significant role in the balance of power between Anishnaabek and British peoples.

As shown in Chapters Two through Four, the primary commodities of the fur trade, beaver pelts and woollen cloth, were produced and traded in a complex web of cultural associations and conventions regarding clothing, both in terms of economic meanings and values, and the symbolism of clothed appearances. These properties of clothing form the basis of both its reflective and influential functions.

In Britain, sheep provided raw wool to produce domestic woollens and to trade internationally. Whereas, historically, domestic woollens could be produced within relatively small households, international trade was the exclusive domain of the upper

classes who commanded greater amounts of sheep, capital and labor. The British associated domestic woollens with the lower and middle classes, while they reserved foreign textiles for the upper classes (p.116). In the British behavioral environment types of textiles reflected both positions in the class structure and the principle of economic nationalism in which the value of exports should exceed the value of imports. Although the symbolic value of woollen textiles was low in the domestic context, their economic value was high in the context of international trade. Foreign textiles had high symbolic and economic value. Therefore, the tenets of economic nationalism produced a need to maintain exclusive access for the upper classes.

The principle of expansion embedded in economic nationalism and capitalist commoditization, however, constituted an opposing force that caused the international textile trade to influence the social and economic structures. The rate and volume of the international woollen trade produced changes in the organization of labor in the British woollen industry *before* the industrialization of the cotton industry (p.111). In turn, these changes influenced the social structure due to the increase in the numbers and power of the mercantile middle class and the displacement of the rural poor by the upper classes who converted common lands to private sheep pasturage (pp.110-15). These social transformations were reflected in a blurring of distinctions in the hierarchy of domestic and foreign textiles as first the mercantile, and finally the urban working, classes gained greater access to foreign “finery” and Beau Brummel responded with a new dress code of simplicity for the elite (p.243). Hence, the roles of clothing in reflecting and influencing economic and social structures were in opposition.

Throughout these historical changes in Britain, clothing reflected the core concept of hierarchy, which governed the economic and social structures, as well as

formed the primary basis of identity. Status and identity were synonymous because both were determined by one's place in various social hierarchies. As noted in Chapter Two, these hierarchies were based on the principle of patriarchy and represented by the metaphor of the shepherd and his flocks. God and Jesus were the highest "shepherds" and the male heads of lower class households were the lowest "shepherds" (pp.63-4). Hence, the social structure was represented by a metaphor based on the relation between the animals who produced raw materials for clothing, the humans who nurtured and harvested their wool, and God who owned and controlled both sheep and humans. Material prosperity was viewed in terms of God's reward for "good behavior," which meant submission to his authoritarian will. It should also be remembered that the sheep in a flock are female, while rams lead a more solitary life, if they live at all.

Beavers provided some of the raw materials for clothing in the Great Lakes region before the arrival of Europeans (pp.52-4). When trade with Europeans became established, beaver pelts became more important as commodities in inter-cultural gift and barter exchanges whose object was to acquire woollens and trimmings for clothing, as well as other desirable trade goods. The emphasis on trade goods in first contact stories suggests that Anishnaabek may have also attributed high status to foreign goods (pp.187-91). The implications of this status differed from those in Britain, however, because of the system of reciprocity commoditization (pp.138-40). Whereas among the British foreign textiles *reflected* a place in the class structure, among Anishnaabek they reflected *and* influenced social relations with *manitook*, upon which status depended.

As among the British, relations between humans, spiritual powers, and animal sources of raw materials for clothing formed a pattern for economic and social relations based on a core concept in the behavioral environment. In the case of the Anishnaabek,

however, the core concept was reciprocity. As in the British scheme, spiritual entities ultimately owned the materials for clothing. In the Anishnaabe economic and social structure, however, the spirits were animal *manitook* who owned their bodies and gave themselves as gifts to hunters. Therefore hunters and their relatives showed them respect and affection through proper attitude and ritual (p.51-2). In the history of inter-cultural relations, the difference between reciprocal gifts and authoritarian rewards can be seen in the transformation in the relationship between Anishnaabek and traders that took place when the NWC implemented a policy of bestowing chief's outfits in the spring instead of the fall (pp.163-6), and in the differing views of missionary dispensers of charity clothing and the Anishnaabe recipients (pp.288-89).

Another difference between British and Anishnaabek in the ways in which clothing reflected and influenced economic and social structures also stems from the core concepts of hierarchy and reciprocity, but hinges rather on the need for authoritative control in the former and "control-power" in the latter. The patriarchal British social and economic structures were mutually interdependent. One's class, occupation and income level formed a single unit denoting a supposedly fixed level in the hierarchical structure (ascribed). At the time of first contact with Anishnaabek, lineage was also a component of this identity package. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, the biological basis of identity diminished increasingly until by the end of the century, lineage provided information useful to the determination of the other factors, but was not itself a determining factor (pp.104-5,107 nt.16).

In theory, there was a direct correlation between economic and social rank. With or without the factor of lineage, however, the premise was that although these ranks were supposedly fixed, they could only be maintained by the firm control of patriarchal

authorities. The need to maintain authoritative control was reflected in the enactment of sumptuary laws (pp.62,117-18). Although clothing supposedly merely reflected the “natural” social order, as noted above, patriarchal authorities strove to influence the maintenance of this order on the pretext of preventing degeneration into “unnatural” social forms.

The internal opposition, and logical contradiction, between the roles of clothing in reflecting and influencing social and economic structures was an inherent weakness which undermined authoritarian control. The explicit premise that clothing *reflected* the hierarchical socio-economic structure facilitated the use of clothing to *influence* one’s position in the social structure (achieved status) and ultimately the social structure itself. Both metaphoric “shepherds” and “sheep” used this attribute of clothing to further their own interests. Hence, power struggles ensued such as: 1) those between “real” beaver felt hats and their second-hand and imitation counterparts (p.61); 2) those between the Beau Brummell look, which depended upon leisure time and servants to maintain “cleanliness,” and the lower class appropriation of “luxury” foreign textiles; and 3) the appropriation by the middle classes of the upper class premise of dress as a measure of class in order to undermine the biological basis of the hereditary aristocracy (p.63).

Among Anishnaabek the case was quite different. The foundation of the social structure was the system of *doodemag* which were fixed (ascribed statuses) in theory *and* in practice before colonial relations necessitated innovation. *Doodemag* were the fundamental basis of Anishnaabe constructions of identity. This is suggested by the practice of using *doodemag* in the system of pictorial signs to identify individual identities within the Anishnaabe nation and its allies. Outsiders, on the other hand, were represented uniformly as human figures distinguished only by ethnic markers such as

hats for Europeans, head-scarfs for fur trade “French servants” and deerskin garments for Sioux (pp.59,95-8). As well, Anishnaabek noted the role of *doodemag* in ascertaining the difference between “full-bloods” and “mixed-bloods” in the 1914 land-fraud hearings (p.340), and Basil Johnson observed that Anishnaabe peoples have an “individual and corporate sense of identity” which derives from the totemic system (p.78).

Because *doodemag* were fixed identities, totemic emblems, colors and designs on clothing were reliable reflections of identity. They thereby influenced social structure by maintaining it. Anny Hubbard’s view that “people would be hesitant to put a bear on their outfit if they didn’t know what clan they were” (p.100) shows that Anishnaabek continue to view *doodemag* as fixed, although it remains to be seen whether there will be a revival of the totemic system’s former roles in governing social structure.

Until the late nineteenth century (and perhaps later in some locations), *doodemag* functioned to structure relationships within Anishnaabe society in terms of marriage alliances. Such alliances were reflected in dress among the Mesquakie in the practice of women using their mother’s totemic designs on their regalia (p.102). Totemic designs thereby influenced the social structure by maintaining it. As suggested in Chapter Three, the aesthetic preference for crosses, squares and grids also reflected the egalitarian tendencies representative of both female lateral alliance and the existence of multiple patrilineal descent lines (p.85; Plates 6 and 7). While Mesquakie women intend to represent their mothers’ *doodemag* in their designs, I suggest that the reflection of social structure represented in aesthetic preferences for certain arrangements of line and form are seldom, if ever, *conscious* representations of social structure.

Doodemag also provided a structure for the mutual provision of economic support among members. In this way, they reflected and maintained the economic system

of reciprocity. They also reflected and influenced the economic and social structures in the sense that the different *doodemag* fulfilled different functions within the nation. The Beaver *doodem* in particular was responsible for the provision of food and clothing. I suggested in Chapter Three that this functional specialization became local when totemic territories shifted to multi-clan villages, but was never fixed in terms of individual occupations (pp.87-8). In contrast to the British system in which occupation, class and rank were theoretically fixed and indissociable markers of identity, in the totemic system occupation was only minimally linked to rank in that functional specialization among *doodemag* was arranged in a more or less egalitarian structure (p.88). Furthermore, most Anishnaabek performed most occupations suitable to their gender regardless of rank.

The question of individual rank pertained to status within *doodemag* and depended largely on personal merit (achieved status). Even so, rank within *doodemag* was an aspect of identity which was subordinate in importance to the *doodem* itself. This is seen by the fact that rank was not distinguished in the system of pictorial writing. For example, John Tanner's brother's depiction of Netnokwa included no signs of her status as chief. Rather, he emphasized his relationship to her by showing the breast of the beaver (Netnokwa) touching the snake (himself) (p.96-7). Although totemic emblems were the most reliable indicators of identity, they did not reflect economic status.

Individual rank rested largely on respect towards *manitook*, which resulted in the acquisition of the "control-power" that made generosity towards, and influence over, humans possible. The dynamic of the need to find the proper balance between the impoverished state-of-being which encouraged the generosity of *manitook* and the ostentatious display of wealth implicit in the use of the gifts they bestowed was reflected in the differing sartorial strategies of elder chiefs and younger hunters, the former

striving to appear “ostentatiously poor,” and the latter affecting an ostentatious display of wealth (pp.67-71). What superficially appears as a contradiction in these sartorial practices actually functions to maintain the age hierarchy in the social structure, and the principle of reciprocity in the economic and social structures. The same dynamic is seen in the aesthetic of dark and light contrasts, especially dark blue and red, where dark and light embody “poorness” and “wealth” of “control-power,” respectively. This aesthetic strives to achieve the proper balance of dark and light, which depends on one’s desired ends (pp.205-9). Anishnaabek used these colors in dress in order to purposefully and directly influence economic and social outcomes at the same time as such use served to reflect and *maintain* economic and social structures.

The core concepts of hierarchy and reciprocity corresponded to roles in master narratives which provided patterns for action within their corresponding economic and social structures. The patriarchal “shepherd” and his “sheep” enact roles towards one another “appropriate” to those of subordinates and authorities, as well as dependents and providers (pp.63-4,66). These metaphoric roles are almost infinitely transposable to actual social relations such as peasants and landowners, congregation members and priests, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, king and subjects, etc. The appropriate clothing for “shepherds” and “sheep” in this script were clearly demarcated because the two groups were conceived as different species who do not intermarry or transform from one to the other. Consequently, “inappropriate” dress with regard to class, rank and occupation was considered “unnatural” and deceptive misrepresentation of “true” identity.

Among Anishnaabek, the master narrative of “reciprocity” is similarly applicable to “appropriate” social behavior in almost every context of social relations. The

fundamental relationship upon which it is based is that between humans and *manitook*. The storyline involves the human party becoming “pitiful” and the *manitoo* becoming generous. During the exchange, the *manitoo* generally becomes human-like by appearing human, while through the exchange the human can become *manitoo*-like. In social life among humans, one party plays the “human” role, while the other plays the “*manitoo*” role.

Metamorphosis was an inherent attribute of *manitook* and a constant possibility for all persons. Consequently, social behavior was a more reliable indicator of identity than was appearance. Totemic emblems and colors, however, were components of appearance that were considered constant attributes of identity. As well, Anishnaabek considered transformation of appearance an indication of spiritual power and hence held it in high regard, as seen in the practice of face painting (pp.49-50). As well, because the distinction between the roles of humans and *manitook* was, in practice, a contextual one rather than a categorical one, fur trade clothing styles did not serve to distinguish absolutely between two social groups. Rather, the aesthetic of dark backgrounds with luminous ornaments embodied the storyline in which *manitook* of the upper and lower worlds brought gifts into the middle world (pp.202-4,207-9), while wearing red enacts the storyline of the *manitoo*-like human after receiving the gifts (p.213).

For the sake of clarity, it will be useful to summarize the similarities and differences in the role of clothing in British and Anishnaabe constructions of identity at the point of first contact and during the early fur trade era. The British and Anishnaabe master narratives of “the shepherd” and “reciprocity,” respectively, derive from subsistence activities and patterns within the two cultures that bore directly on the acquisition of clothing. Whereas sheep were foremost among animals that provided

materials for clothing in Britain, beavers were one among several animals who contributed significantly to Anishnaabe clothing materials. Similarly, sheep singularly informed the metaphoric model for the hierarchical social structure, while beavers were one among many of the egalitarian *doodemag* that composed the social structure. Sheep are subordinate to a single spiritual power, while beavers are spiritual entities. Sheep are domesticated animals which the British dominate, while beavers are “wild” animals with whom Anishnaabek engage in exchange relations. These differences in the roles of animals in British and Anishnaabe economic, social and metaphysical realms are encapsulated in the core concepts of hierarchy and reciprocity. The former entails authoritarian control, while the later depends upon “control-power.”

These conceptual differences were reflected in differing arrangements of various components of status, and their roles in constructions of identity, within the British and Anishnaabe social and economic structures. The configuration in the British behavioral environment was very simple: identity and status were synonymous and these were based on a correlation between rank, economic status, class and occupation. Lineage was originally a component of this cluster.

In the Anishnaabe behavioral environment, these factors of identity were not clustered together nor were they equally important in constructions of identity. Lineage, as embodied in the totemic system, formed the foundation of identity. *Doodemag* governed a wide range of social functions including political and marriage alliances, food sharing and hunting groups. Although totemic identity was biologically based and fixed, this did not entail a fixed social hierarchy because it was not clustered with the domains in which rank were determined. Rank, economic status and occupation were separate and secondary attributes of identity which operated on the principle of social

behavior, rather than social place, and therefore were not fixed.

The role of social behavior with regard to rank is seen in the signs of status among elder chiefs and young hunters. Although expressed in opposite sartorial strategies, rank within both groups and between groups depended upon congenial social relationships with *manitook* to acquire “control-power,” and the appropriate use of such power in social relations among humans. The relationship between rank and economic status was complex: high rank = low accumulation of wealth, and high level of distribution; low rank = higher accumulation of wealth, and lower level of distribution. As well, the variable of age played a far greater role in Anishnaabe constructions of identity than it did in those of the British.

In the case of occupation, social behavior denoted identity because it represented a person’s characteristic function in relation to other members of the group, or other groups. This principle is seen in the functional specialization of the *doodemag*, as well as the stories in which the beaver hunters provided for their families (p.52), and in which a woman knows her husband is a beaver because of the behavior of humans towards him (p.48). Occupation might also signify identity in the sense of demonstrating the customary or habitual activity of a person. For example, in one story a husband knew that his wife was a beaver because of her industriousness and the fact that she did not eat beaver meat (p.48).

Whereas in British constructions of identity, a fixed social place determined status as well as described and prescribed hierarchical social behavior, Anishnaabe identity rested primarily upon a fixed social place that described and prescribed reciprocal social behavior (*doodemag*), and secondarily on reciprocal social behavior that reflected and influenced status (rank and occupation). The differing arrangements and

significance of these variables of identity construction, as well as the differing narrative and conceptual frameworks in which they were enacted, reflected and influenced the roles of clothing within each group and between groups. In particular, because social place was fixed in one realm, and social rank was determined largely by social behavior in another realm, there was an explicit recognition of the role of clothing in the fluidity of status in Anishnaabe society.

The roles of clothing in reflecting and influencing economic and social structures in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment were interdependent and served to replicate the existing structures. In contrast, opposing interests inherent in the British economic system, and among British social classes, coincided with a denial of the influence of clothing on social status, even though all classes deliberately exploited its influence. These contradictions made clothing the site of power struggles that eventually facilitated transformation in the social and economic structures that have evolved throughout the history of relations between the British and Anishnaabe peoples.

In the context of inter-cultural relations, the existence of an overlapping realm in which clothing signified rank obscured the disjunction between different orders of meaning with regard to particular clothing signs. Let us take the example of the English missionary who thought that ribbons streaming from the hair and hats of Anishnaabe men gave them an "effeminate look" (pp.60-1). Bright ribbons streaming from women's hats also indicated that they were "vulgar," or lower class (p.243). Hence, among the British the significant variables of identity that colored hat ribbons signified were gender and class. Their interpretation depended upon the type, color and placement of object in question. Among Anishnaabek, however, the variables of gender and class had no significance to ribbons, their color or their placement. The interpretations intersected at

the variable of rank. To British, however, this sign meant low rank because of its place on the scale of gender and class. In contrast, among Anishnaabek it denoted high rank because it demonstrated favorable relations with *manitook*. As well, on a less conscious order of meaning, ribbons symbolized the gifts of *manitook* (pp.203-4).

Clearly, the British and Anishnaabe meanings and values of this clothing sign differed with respect to the overlapping variable of rank. What is missing from this analysis, however, is the potential alternative orders of meaning to which this sign may refer among Anishnaabek. The particular colors may signify totemic affiliation, for example, or the number of ribbons might denote individual achievements. Their arrangement on hats and in hair may indicate courtship or freedom from bereavement. These different possible meanings also entail different social consequences for the wearer. In the case of courtship, for example, rather than denote a social place, the clothing sign would function within the realm of interpersonal relationships. In the case of totemic affiliation, the sign would function to activate the range of social rewards, obligations, restrictions and alliances connected to this fixed order of identity. Rank might not be the *most* significant variable in the role of colored hat ribbons in Anishnaabe constructions of identity. Even with regard to rank, the high status of the wearer may be secondary in importance to the personal satisfaction derived from adherence to cultural values and the relationships with *manitook* themselves.

Therefore, it is not enough to connect the meaning of signs to comparable concepts and structures in another culture, or to various different concepts and structures within cultures. Rather, in order to understand the social consequences of clothing signs, one must investigate the nexus of concepts and structures that are bundled together in particular signs and the structure of relation between signs. In the British behavioral

environment hierarchy functioned as an organizing principle. All sartorial signs first and foremost refer to social place, and types of textiles were the primary signs. In contrast, Hamell observed that color was an organizing principle among historic Native peoples (pp.195-6). In addition to showing the relation of colors to core concepts and cultural scripts in the Anishnaabe behavioral environment, my analysis of the role of color in fur trade fashions reveals that clothing was a constantly active force that participated in social relationships.

When European and North American peoples don dress, they don an identity that remains constant throughout the period of wearing. When Anishnaabek during the fur trade period donned dress, they donned a social relation which remained active throughout the period of wearing. Red and blue broadcloth, for example, embodied giving and receiving, and active and passive, roles respectively (pp.208-9,213,215). Rather than describe and prescribe behavior for categories of persons, as among the historic British, dress among Anishnaabek activated roles in behavioral patterns that pertained to all categories of persons. Behavior is the primary determinant of identity in the fluid realms of identity constructions (as opposed to fixed *doodemag*) because identity is constantly recreated in social interactions. Dress participates in these ongoing processes. The role of dress is framed in terms of whether its behavior is consistent with that of its wearer. This is another reason why behavior is a more reliable indicator of identity than is appearance.

When the Anishnaabe idea that dress may be used to influence social and economic outcomes came together with the British practice of using dress to influence these structures in the context of trade relations, the influence of clothing was magnified among both groups. It was of import to these relations that the fluid identity variable of

rank within the Anishnaabe constructions of identity was the point at which they intersected with those of the British. The roles of rank and occupation gained greater significance when separated from totemic identity, which had no relevance in the context of inter-cultural relations.

Fur trade companies such as the HBC, NWC and AFC were able to achieve a degree of sartorial control among their employees that their royal forebears could only hope for among their subjects. The British, American and French side of fur trade society, as well as the Métis in the middle, were all employees of these companies, which had an absolute monopoly on merchandise among them, and imposed a dress code of rank order on them (pp.210,229-31,242,248 nt.19). The sartorial choice available to any individual fur trade employee was between the ready-made clothing offered by the company or the production of Anishnaabe-style clothing by Anishnaabe or Métis wives or companions. Fur trade social relations thus raised race and ethnicity to the forefront of status variables that clothing reflected and influenced.

The consistency of the link between dress, rank, occupation and ethnicity within the company over a period of fifty years or more influenced the meanings of dress among Anishnaabek because, in general, the meanings of objects arise out of experience with them (p.6). Trousers became a particularly powerful symbol of ethnic difference which, for Anishnaabek, specifically denoted the “effeminacy” and “servitude” linked to the wage labor performed by “Frenchmen” (240-1,251 nt.49). The Anishnaabe practice of using dress to influence outcomes lent emphasis to the agency of trousers in their view of the subordination of voyageurs.

Fur trade companies also introduced a similar sartorial ranking system into Anishnaabe society through the bestowal of chief's outfits (pp.58,76 nt.12,161-2,163-

9,171,219,234). Malhiot's example shows that NWC traders gave different quantities and types of components of these outfits to recipients dependent upon their perceived loyalty to the company (p.167). The bestowal of chief's outfits established a whole new category of "chiefs" towards which any young man might, and did, aspire. Anishnaabek adoption of this ranking system is suggested by the fact that after one or two generations young men continued to wear their chief's coats outside the context of trade rather than re-distributing them among their followers (p.168). By the early nineteenth century, the coats, capotes and blankets of high-ranking Anishnaabe men displayed very similar, but not identical, sartorial codes to those of middle-ranking fur trade company employees (pp.229-30). The influence of the chief's outfits on Anishnaabe social structure was noted by Warren who, during the treaty era, pointed out that the "indiscriminate" and "selfish" bestowal of honors worked to "disorganize, confuse, and break up the former simple but well-defined civil polity of these people" (p.168).

The bestowal of chief's outfits was a cultural production of the "middle ground" in which British and American traders and diplomats appropriated the rituals of reciprocity to achieve their own goals of economic and political gain. To Anishnaabek, the distinction implied by the bestowal of a chief's outfit stood in marked contrast to the authoritarian control and economic monopoly upon which trading companies established sartorial rank among employees. Whether viewed in light of a contract of alliance, as in reciprocity commoditization, or of a reward for loyalty, as in capitalist commoditization, it signified a relationship between "chiefs" (pp.149-50,165-6). When such bestowals took place between chiefs and government officials in the context of land treaties, however, the basis of the exchange shifted from that of economics to that of politics. For British North Americans these two realms had radically different meanings which only gradually

became apparent to Anishnaabek with experience (pp.173,178-9,182-3).

While chief's outfits influenced the social structure slowly and subtly, in the context of Christian conversion during the nineteenth century, clothing had a radical and immediate influence on both economic and social structures. Unlike Catholic conversion, Protestant conversion entailed a total package of social and economic changes which were embodied in the adoption of European-style dress (pp.290-1,294-6). When Anishnaabek converted to Protestantism, they metaphorically became "sheep" in the Christian "flock" (pp.312-13,316). This entailed a transformation in the economic structure from semi-nomadic hunting and gathering to sedentary agriculture. As well, Protestant converts were constrained to abide by the rules of the patriarchal authorities who, among other things, insisted upon Christian marriages as prerequisite to conversion. Because the totemic system formerly governed marriage alliances, this social change effectively undercut the base of its role in the construction of identity. Henceforth, only women's identities were determined mainly in relation to other persons, and this relation entailed subordination. Inasmuch as desire or need for clothing motivated Anishnaabek to convert to Protestantism, and the failure to follow Christian rules resulted in denial of clothing (p.315-16), the acquisition of clothing facilitated this change in the social structure. Patriarchal gender relations were also reflected in Christian Anishnaabe women's adoption of corsets (Plate 4; figure 1; Plate 29; figure 2).

The association between clothing, occupation and ethnicity that first became apparent with regard to the fur trade company employees was greatly reinforced during this period. Because Christian converts wore European-style dress, clothing became a potent symbol of an increasingly polarized distinction between "civilized" and "traditional" Anishnaabek. From the point of view of British North American Christians

and many Anishnaabe Protestant converts, the symbol of “the blanket,” and later women’s shawls to a lesser extent, came to embody “heathenism,” laziness, alcoholism, poverty, laziness, and freedom from social restraint (pp.293-5,332-3). Because this configuration of characteristics stemmed from a “mis-reading” of Anishnaabe spirituality, social structure, semi-nomadic life-ways and principles of reciprocal exchange, they were attached to the identity category of “the traditionalist.”

This polarization between Anishnaabe factions coincided with the absorption of Métis distinct identity into either Anishnaabe or “White” categories which crystalized when British North American governments gained legal authority over “Indian” identity. In Canada, the dress of chiefs in political meetings of the Anishnaabe nation symbolized their “traditional” and “civilized” identities. The former applied cultural criteria to Anishnaabe identity, while the latter understood Anishnaabe identity in terms of a distinct political group. Because the “civilized Indians” were in danger of losing their “Indian” status under the enfranchisement clauses of the Indian act, this distinction in dress came to symbolize “Indian” identity itself (pp.336-7). Similarly, in the United States, the role of clothing in constructions of Anishnaabe identity intensified when the American government based land property policies on a distinction between “full-bloods” and “mixed-bloods.” Anishnaabek testified that the two groups could be distinguished by dress, economic and social behavior, and the existence or absence of totemic affiliation (p.338-41). Hence, the criteria Anishnaabek employed for determining identity within Anishnaabe fur trade society was now applied to the determination of Anishnaabe identity itself.

The role of clothing in signifying affiliation with “traditionalists” and “assimilationists” served to maintain these social distinctions within Anishnaabe

communities. As well, in the context of inter-cultural relations, the politically subversive implications of wearing Anishnaabe distinctive dress gave rise to the development of ceremonial attire composed of detachable accessories and garments that were worn mainly by men, while women's culturally distinct dress often took the form of brightly colored cotton prints and tartan shawls in the lower-class European-style fashions. As suggested in Chapter Eight, men's greater involvement in the contested arenas of religion and politics placed more pressure on them to choose sides (pp.329-32).

At the same time as these accessories participated in the polarization of Anishnaabe identity along lines of race and cultural affiliation, the emerging aesthetic preferences that they employed may also have reflected creative resolutions of the gradual disintegration of the totemic system during this period. As noted in Chapter Eight, the shift in emphasis from the edges to the center of the design field, as well as the 45° turn of the lines and crosses characteristic of fur trade aesthetics, may have symbolized the blurring of social, geographic and cultural boundaries that resulted from displacement and intermarriage with non-Natives. Finally, the curvilinear design elements of the modern classic style may have reflected greater emphasis on personal characteristics in Anishnaabe constructions of identity, while the meandering joining lines may have corresponded with the increased fluidity of social bonds (pp.328-9). Hence, the accessories of the modern classic style served multiple functions in Anishnaabe constructions of identity during this period.

Of great interest to the question of the cultural construction of identity is that, because these accessories embodied the role of the "traditionalist" during the late nineteenth century, both Anishnaabek and British North Americans formulated them as symbols of a romanticized pre-contact period despite their obvious post-contact origin

(pp.294-5,323-4,337 nt.3). A factor that possibly contributed to the projection of late nineteenth century beaded accessories backwards in history was that the symbolism of “the blanket” noted above re-framed fur trade fashion in a negative light and effectively eclipsed its opulence from the historic memory. In this way, clothing signs are not only instrumental in the cultural construction of identity at any given time, but also in the cultural construction of history.

During this period of identity polarization blankets and trousers became vehicles for bundles of meaning that included a range of identity markers and core concepts. These bundles of meaning, I suggest, represented roles in the cultural script of “assimilation.” Just as Kavanagh’s findings show that only certain artifacts, axes and kettles in particular, functioned to trigger associations with the “settlement” cultural script (p.32), I propose that, as a general principle, certain garments or components of outfits come to embody roles, while others do not. Furthermore, the former items stand for the total clothed appearance just as they do for the whole cultural script. The two styles of fringed jackets (pp.362-3) and the Navajo “trade-blankets” (pp.345,349,360) mentioned in Chapter Nine provide another example of this phenomenon. These cases also illustrate how subtle differences can trigger associations with different cultural scripts (pp.363,388 nt.12). The Navajo “trade-blanket,” which is distinguished from “the blanket” by its designs, embodies a “frontier” cultural script in which Native peoples have already been subdued. “Blanketed Indians” in the “assimilation” script are those who have not been subdued and remain potentially dangerous.

The period during which these items of clothing became symbols of roles in various colonial cultural scripts was also one in which the demography and behavioral environment of the British North Americans was undergoing radical transformation.

Members of “the public” strove to appropriate symbols of Native cultures as a basis for emerging constructions of American and Canadian national identities at the same time as political and religious authorities continued to suppress Native cultures (pp.342-4). The outcome of these struggles was that “playing Indian” became an option for British North Americans and Anishnaabek, but “being Indian” for the former was inconceivable, while for the latter it often entailed being lower-class (pp.275-6,312,342).

Class was another major site of transformation among North Americans. The British and British North American premise that dress was an accurate reflection of the status of the wearer was being undermined by the simultaneous processes of middle-class appropriation of upper-class dress, upper-class appropriation of lower-class dress, and lower-class appropriation of middle-class dress (pp.61,243,316). The industrialization of the cotton industry and the rapid growth of the ready-made industry influenced these changes in the role of class in British North American constructions of identity partly because these factors brought about significant changes in the types of clothing available. Cottons supplanted the exalted role of woollens in the domestic and international textile markets (p.293). In part, the steadily increasing numbers of female laborers in the cotton textile industry contributed to the replacement of home-sewn garments with ready-made clothing (p.295). An unprecedented volume and variety of clothing was available on the market, which itself became more accessible through the building of railroads and the introduction of mail order catalogues.

For Anishnaabek, these developments in the production and distribution of clothing dealt the final blow to the specialized Native fur trade market and virtually forced their wholesale adoption of European-style clothing (pp.291-6,300-04). As well, while these factors were undermining class distinctions among British, American and

Canadian societies, they tended to increase class differentiation among Anishnaabek. Differential access to economic resources and personal choices in their pursuit led some Anishnaabek to participate in British North American modes of sartorial status display, while others increasingly experienced the need to resort to “charity” clothing and to select the most inexpensive materials available (p.286-90,300).

It is interesting to note that the British colonials in the Dominion of Canada retained the variable of lineage in the configuration of class, rank, economic status longer than did the Americans. This is evident in their use of patriliney as the principle governing legal “Indian” status (p.309). In contrast, for seventy years the American government enacted laws dependent upon the principle of “blood” without clearly defining the term, and then finally settled on scientific criteria as the determining factors (pp.316-7). The enactment of these laws so greatly determined the identity of Anishnaabek from their inception to today that they frequently override all other variables. For example, both legally and in common parlance, the very term “status” means “legal Indian status” in both the United States and Canada.

Governmental control over the determination of identity, as well as the proclivity of the British North American “public” for “playing Indian” during this same period, tended to undermine cultural criteria such as clothed appearances as determining factors of Anishnaabe constructions of identity. Nevertheless, the polarization between “civilized” and “traditional” identities remained poignant among Anishnaabek into the early twentieth century. Since European-style dress has been the norm for everyday wear for over a century, however, and the tourist industry and legal persecution undermined the link between wearing culturally distinct styles and religious practice (pp.307,311-12,334-5), the powwow context made it possible for cultural symbols produced by and

for Anishnaabek to be revived without aggravating religious cleavages within communities.

During the resistance movements of the 1960s, the political connotations of culturally distinct dress were renewed as activists used clothing as a resistance strategy for the reclamation of Anishnaabe legal and cultural rights (p.100,352-3). Yet, once the pageant was permanently transformed into the powwow, a context was established in which the symbolic import of culturally distinct styles has become self-referential and free from specific religious or political affiliations. That is, sartorial statements are now directed towards other community members with no need to satisfy the expectations of tourists, and donning powwow regalia no longer demarcates “traditional” from “civilized” Anishnaabek.

The reclamation of the powwow as a cultural event by and for Native people has also produced a context in which the economic mode of reciprocity commoditization has been able to flourish (pp.144-8). The ceremonial outfits of powwows reflect and help to maintain Anishnaabe economic systems because they function in a realm in which Native people have a high degree of control over economic and symbolic aspects of dress.

With regard to symbolism, the renewal of totemic emblems and community logos as elements of dress both reflects and influences the development of a domain of self-referential symbols of identity (p.100-03). For over one hundred years race and ethnicity dominated Anishnaabe constructions of identity. I suggest that the increasing importance of personal, local, regional and national designations within the Anishnaabe community strengthens community bonds and thereby facilitates the growth of political power (pp.98,363). In a manner similar to conditions during the fur trade when the Anishnaabek

composed the main body of the “public” whose opinions lent weight to cultural and political power, the creation of a separate domain in which the significant “public” are Anishnaabek fosters political force. This is because, as seen in the case of the “public’s” victory in the conflict between the “appropriation” and “assimilation” cultural scripts, governments in democratic nations are constrained by public opinion, nationally and internationally. The same example shows, however, that such struggles may take several decades for one side to predominate over the other. In the present case, it remains to be seen if a prolonged state of equality is achievable.

Culturally distinct designs and messages on everyday wear such as T-shirts, hats and jackets similarly reflect and influence this development (pp.355-6). Such everyday styles function as personal biographies of community involvement and interests that carry the self-referential messages from the limited context of the powwow into everyday life. Although such articles of everyday wear are manufactured in the mainstream fashion industry, their culturally distinct designs are produced by contemporary Native artists and many are printed by Native-owned companies (p.355). As well, like powwow regalia, they often participate in the economic system of generalized reciprocity (pp.145,355).

The concept of Native-produced, marketed and distributed everyday wear has only recently evolved in Native communities. Designers such as Karen Deleary, and companies such as Dinawo, represent different strategies in the production of everyday styles for a Native market. As noted in Chapter Seven, during the latter half of the nineteenth century the exclusive Native market of the fur trade was supplanted by that controlled by a new order of shopkeepers who carried goods geared to the settler market, and whose interests were opposed to those of Native peoples (pp.301-3). Even though the Dinawo line is virtually identical to styles worn by non-Natives, it is significant that it

arose out of a market study of style preferences among Native youth (p.358). By gaining control of the marketing and distribution aspects of a fashion line, Dinawo not only counteracts Native dependency on corporate products, but also appropriates these styles as statements of Native identity. Dinawo's marketing program also creates a venue to promote values and life-styles among Native youth that foster effectiveness in both Native and non-Native fields of action (pp.373-4).

I suggest that the explicit and self-conscious incorporation of mainstream North American styles into constructions of Native identity furthers the aim of self-determination by dissolving the socially divisive influence of the "traditional" versus "civilized" dichotomy. The significance of this function is clearly seen in the example of Dave Jones, whose firsthand and intimate experience with Native youth has shown the continuing power of the late-nineteenth century construction of Anishnaabe identity in which poverty was an assumed characteristic of "Indians" (pp.369-70). One interesting consequence of Jones' insistence on the right to choose both "traditional" cultural practice and contemporary fashion is that it reinforces the emphasis on behavior rather than appearance that has been a consistent component of Anishnaabe constructions of identity throughout the period under study. Debra Ann Pine (taped interview Dec. 15th, 1999) put this succinctly when she said, "there are a lot of times when being Indian isn't just what you wear, it's how you live your life."

Another manifestation of the dissolution of the "traditionalist" versus "assimilationist" dichotomy is the work of contemporary fashion designer Tracey Heese George whose jackets and suits with Native motifs are popular among Natives working in professional occupations (pp.98-9). Against the identity constructions ensuing from the Canadian Indian Act and American allotment laws, such sartorial statements insist

that higher education and income levels do not negate Native identity.

In summary, there are two processes within Anishnaabe communities today in which clothing reflects and promotes political power by strengthening social bonds through redefinitions of Anishnaabe identity: 1) an ever-widening domain of self-referential symbols of identity which is often coupled with economic patterns of reciprocity commoditization; and 2) the appropriation of mainstream North American fashions, with modifications, as vehicles for the expression of Anishnaabe identity. Thus, there is increasing specificity in designations of personal and group identities as well as a blurring of distinctions between culturally distinct and everyday styles. These processes are common to powwow regalia, everyday wear and contemporary Native fashion. Their effect is to ground Native identity on a secure foundation from which political action is broadly representative of Native interests and thereby has greater force.

Complementary processes are occurring with regard to Native fashion in the non-Native market. Most contemporary Native fashion designers are involved with non-Native economic modes of production, marketing or distribution because one or more of these are necessary to achieve their goals (pp.352-3,376-7). Nevertheless, the interface of Native and mainstream fashion enables Native fashion designers to utilize markets established under the influence of the "appropriation" cultural script and thereby simultaneously promote economic development within Native communities and challenge stereotypical portrayals of Native peoples in mainstream North American society (pp.359-68). For example, Suzanne Smoke and Shannon Kilroy employ Native people in the production of their clothes, and are also attempting to initiate Native fashion co-operatives (p.378). MJ and Pam Baker challenge stereotypes of Native peoples by creating high style everyday wear with subtle Native themes (p.365-6, Plate

43; figure 1; Plate 44).

These initiatives reflect and maintain a newly conceived “middle ground” in which divergent parties may forge alliances to further common interests. I suggest that, in addition to the inability of either North American governments or Native peoples to achieve their aims by force, the emergence of this “middle ground” depended upon: 1) the re-creation of Native domains of self-referential sartorial (and other) symbols and of reciprocity commoditization; and 2) a reformulation of North American identity in which the concept of the “public” is increasingly inclusive of non-dominant groups. This new “middle ground” differs significantly from that of the fur trade. Whereas the latter began with diplomatic economic and political relationships, the former has begun in the realm of everyday life among common people. As well, the former began in a context of Anishnaabe cultural and political dominance, while in the present situation the opposite is the case.

By building alliances and utilizing common cultural forms in this “middle ground,” Native designers play an influential role in communicating the constructions of Native identity that are emerging in the self-referential Native domains described above to the general “public.” I suggest that such control of self-representation to the North American and international “public” fosters support and respect for Native cultures and peoples. The public support thus gained is of inestimable service to the achievement of political goals. As seen with regard to the fur trade, however, cross-cultural understanding is not a necessary or inherent result of the processes of mutual appropriations characteristic of the “middle ground” (pp.24-5,138,140,152-3). This will depend upon the continuing recognition of common interests and shared goals.

In relations between Anishnaabek and the non-Native North American public, the

responsibility for broadening and deepening cross-cultural understanding is equally shared among us all. Concerted effort and consistent mutual support among Anishnaabek, and between Anishnaabek and non-Natives is required before trust may be renewed. Clothing is a symbolically charged and economically embedded realm in which reformulations of identities are enacted. The cumulative effects of these enactments facilitate transformation of cultural scripts, as well as social and economic structures. The force of such change inevitably effects political relations. The power of dress to effect political change lies in the daily interactions of clothed appearances between diverse individuals. Where it concerns wearing and interpreting culturally distinct dress, it is therefore important that we proceed from informed choice rather than from habit.

TABLE 1: PERCENT OF YARDAGE OF WOOLLENS BY COLOR IN FUR TRADE INVENTORIES¹

Year & Company	Place	Type of Record ²	Blue	Black ³	Green	Sub-total ⁴	Red	White	Grey & Brown ⁵	Total Yardage
1798 BCG ⁶	Sault St. Marie	sub-depot	58.5	25	12.5	96	4			1,038
1817 AFC	from Montreal	(to) sub-depot	66	2		68	1	21	10	1,405
1821 AFC	Mil-waukee	sub-depot	65.5			65.5	2	12.5	20	714.5
1827 AFC	L'Anse	sub-depot	92			92	8			2,750
1804 NWC	Folle Avoine	small outfit ⁷	84			84	12	6		399
1804 NWC	Lac du Flam.	small outfit	85	7		92	8			74
1804 NWC	Lac du Flam.	small outfit	100			100				21
1824 AFC	Lac du Flam.	small outfit	76			76	13	11		26.5
1797 NWC	Grand Portage	depot	11	30	.5	41.5	55	.5	3	910.5

1827 AFC	Mack- inac	depot	71.5	7		79.5	8	1.5	11	413
Averages			71	7	1	82	11	5	4	

1. Sources from top to bottom: Government of Canada 1992 [1891]:29; AFC Records, NAC; Thwaites 1888:377; AFC Records, NAC; Birk 1989:56; Thwaites 1910a:221; Thwaites 1910a:225; AFC Records, NAC; NWC Papers, TMRL; AFC Records, NAC
2. The designation "sub-depot" refers to an itemized list of goods shipped to a medium-sized post; "small outfit" refers to an itemized list of goods shipped from a depot or sub-depot into the interior; "depot" refers to a warehouse at a major center of fur trade commerce. Both of the depot inventories here are itemized lists of goods on hand at the end of a season.
3. This category also includes woollens, worsteds and wool/silk blends such as embossed serge, striped callimanco, bombazette and bombazine, for which no color is given, but were conventionally black or other dark colors (see Appendix).
4. This figure represents the sub-total of the dark-colored woollens.
5. This category includes grey and brown woollens, as well as "spotted swanskin" (see Appendix).
6. "BCG" = British Colonial Government. This itemized list of goods exchanged for land shows how treaty payments were modeled on fur trade merchandise. The higher percentages of black and green woollens, however, reveals that government officials were not sufficiently aware of, or concerned about, Anishnaabe style preferences to select their fabrics according to the particular tastes to which traders in the consumer-driven market were compelled to conform.
7. The "small outfit" destined for Folle Avoine represents merchandise that will subsequently be divided up into smaller units similar to the three "small outfits" from Lac du Flambeau. Both Folle Avoine and Lac du Flambeau were wintering headquarters for the interior regions of Wisconsin/Minnesota from which company clerks and laborers were sent with smaller outfits. This practice is well-documented in the journals of John Sayer (Birk 1989:33-54), Francois Malhiot (Masson 1960 [1889]:227-263, Vol.1), George Nelson (Bardon and Nute 1947:3-14, 142-159, 225-40) and Michel Curot (n/d:396-471, SHSW).

APPENDIX: GLOSSARY OF TEXTILE TERMINOLOGY

Unless otherwise noted, the following information regarding fabrics has been compiled from: Cunningham and Cunningham 1990 [1937], Montgomery 1984 and Tortora and Merkel 1996. Certain observations from analyses of fur trade inventories, mail order catalogues and contemporaneous commentaries have also been included.

Bath Coating - a thick napped coarse woollen with a twill weave that was produced in Bath, England. In the Great Lakes fur trade, Bath coating was sold by the yard and also used for ready-made "great-coats," capotes, jackets and "robes."

Baize (or Bayes) - A heavy coarse woollen cloth similar to flannel. It often had a long raised nap on both sides or one side but, depending upon the use intended, it was also sometimes made with a smooth surface. In Europe, baize was used mainly for case, cabinet and closet linings, as well as furniture coverings. Clothing baize was used chiefly for the habits of monks and nuns and for lining soldier's uniforms. In the North American Native market, the term "baize" or "bayes" frequently alludes to inexpensive coarse broadcloth (Montgomery 1984:159).

Blankets - In the fur trade, blankets served as both garment and bed covering, but were viewed primarily as apparel. They were introduced to the Native North American market at least as early as 1678 and were traded in large quantities by 1730 (Smith 1991:12). Blankets were usually white with two or three red or blue stripes bordering either end. In 1779, the HBC introduced the point system in which the size of the blankets was designated by a number of points ranging from 4 ½ as the largest to 1 as the smallest (Wheeler 1985:62). These points were woven into the blankets at one edge just above the rows of stripes. Two-and-a-half point blankets were by far the most numerous size sold. This was probably because that was the most common size for women and Native women wore only blankets as outwear whereas Native men wore either blankets or capotes (White 1985:173). On fur trade inventories, pointed blankets conventionally headed up the list, or were found immediately after the woollen textiles, and were enumerated in pairs. Blankets sold in the Great Lakes fur trade were manufactured in Whitney, Oxfordshire (Anon 1811:14, NBL). An average sized blanket sold from between 2 and 7 beavers, depending on fluctuations in the European market for furs.

Bombazette - "A plain twilled worsted, used for mourning" in English society, and consequently normally black, but an 1827 AFC in-house inventory lists bombazette in colors of black, purple, olive and scarlet. Bombazettes appear on fur trade inventories from depots and sub-depots, but none seem to have been shipped to small outfits for trade in the interior. I have not been able to determine from the records whether Anishnaabek and/or Metis used bombazette for mourning, or whether the fabric's aesthetic qualities were the basis for appeal.

Bombazine - "A textile, the warp of silk, the weft of worsted, and having a twilled appearance" and used for academic gowns in England Cunningham and Lucas 1978:329). Like bombazette, this fabric was normally black and only found on fur trade records from depots and sub-depots.

Broadcloth - originally any medium to high quality woollen fabric produced on a loom wider than 27 inches. In England, the term became conventional for a fine smooth-surfaced woollen cloth of about 54" wide which was characteristic of the apparel of the middle classes (de Marly 1986:84). In the fur trade context, however, the term "broadcloth" conventionally referred to list cloths and strouds (see "Cloth" and "Stroud" below), both of which were medium quality broadcloths with slightly napped surfaces. Most fur trade companies also sold small quantities of fine broadcloth. In the late nineteenth century, some American manufacturers began to produce cotton textiles which they termed "broadcloth." Because the idea of wool was so closely associated with broadcloth, however, it wasn't until the early twentieth century that the production of cotton "broadcloths" affected the conventional use of the term. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, broadcloth was such a popular item that the term was conventionally shortened to "cloth" (see "Cloth" below).

Cadet Etoffe - a French term which translates literally as "inferior fabric." I have found no other specific references to this textile besides that of the HBC 1876 Ottawa River Valley inventory.

Calico - a "high count" (number of threads per square inch) cotton cloth which can be white, solidly dyed, or most commonly printed with floral or geometric motifs by a process of block printing. It was originally produced in Callicut, India. Shortly following the invention of the spinning jenny in 1674, however, imitation calicos were manufactured in England. These latter furnished the Native North American market. Printed calico was the most popular of cotton fabrics sold in the fur trade market. Anishnaabek used it to make men's turbans and women's short-gowns, as well as shirts in adult's and children's sizes. Calico shirts were also sold ready-made in small, medium and large adult sizes and one children's size. A NWC 1797 inventory from Grand Portage included calico trousers, jackets, "mantlets" (this term normally refers to a short cape, but it's hard to imagine what sort of short cotton cape might have been worn at Grand Portage) and "robes" (women's dresses?) (NWC Grand Portage Inventory, TMRL). I am not certain what sort of garments the latter two refer to, but the former two were probably among the apparel worn by voyageurs in the summer months.

Callimanco - a plain woven worsted fabric made in Yorkshire which was finished with a high luster. It was not a broadcloth, the pieces being between 16" and 25" wide and 40 yards long. It came in a variety of patterns and colors (some even multi-colored), but most likely the ones used in the Native North American market were plain and dark. "Striped callimanco" appears on sub-depot inventories, but it is not clear whether the

stripes are achieved through different colors or by varying the weave of the same color.

Cassimere - a thin twilled woollen textile of medium quality which came in many different varieties. The Americans had begun manufacturing cheap imitations of some of these types by 1829 (AFC Records, NAC). These latter often had cotton warp threads and woollen weft threads. Cassimeres were generally made in neutral colors such as black, grey, brown and tan in patterns such as checks, small plaids, stripes, herringbone and "mixtures." They bear no relation to the better known "cashmere" fabrics which were originally (and rarely still) made from the wool of a Tibetan goat. Genuine cashmeres are extremely fine and expensive fabrics.

Chintz - a colorful floral printed cotton with a glazed finish; originally from India.

Cloth - a term used in the fur trade to refer to any type of woollen broadcloth, but most frequently used as a conventional abbreviation for list cloths. The term "list" refers to the selvedge, which was treated in various ways to produce stripes and other distinctive characteristics. List cloths were most often blue, but also came in red and black. Red list cloth was frequently referred to as "scarlet," or less often as "scarlet cloth." There were also various kinds of list cloths, such as "yard list cloth," "striped list cloth" and "grey list cloth" (AFC Records, NAC). The term "cloth" was also synonymous with the term "stroud" (see below), in that both were generic terms for "common" broadcloth used in the trade (see "Broadcloth" above).

Cut Beads - a type of glass bead that has one or more sides "cut" to produce a smooth reflective surface. When only one side is "cut," the bead appears like a regular seed bead with a small slice taken off one side. When more than one side is "cut," the bead appears something like an irregularly shaped crystal would look. I have only seen "cuts" in size 10 or smaller. When these beads are worked up the finished product has a sparkling appearance due to the way the cut surfaces reflect the light.

Drap - originally a fine, smooth broadcloth produced in France. The English used the term generally to denote medium weight, heavily fulling worsted fabrics. By the latter part of the nineteenth century a wide selection of expensive high quality derivations such as "drap de Paris," "drap de soie," "drap de velours," "drap de fourreau" and "drap de Venice" were sold in the European market. In the Native North American market, however, English fur traders used the term "drap" as a generic term for coarse or medium quality broadcloths (White 1985:170-2).

Duffel - a coarse woollen fabric with a thick tufted nap that was originally made in Flanders. Although this fabric was generally as wide as broadcloth, its inferior quality excluded it from this category of goods. For example, some seventeenth or eighteenth century New Amsterdam merchants complained that duffel "cannot be called cloath" because it was so coarse that it was "not ever worn by any Christians" (Lyford n/d

[a]:9). This fabric was a standard item on HBC inventories and in the early trade in Colonial America. It does not appear on the NWC and AFC inventories I examined, where one finds instead coarse thick woollens such as molton and Bath Coating. It remains a standard material in HBC outlets in northern regions up until the present time, however. I have encountered the use of “duffel” among the Algonkins and Ojibway of the Ottawa River region, the Cree of the James Bay region and the Innu of the Atlantic coast of the Labrador Peninsula.

Embossed Serge - a loosely woven twilled material which was produced in Yorkshire (Anon 1811:14, NBL). The warp was of worsted and the weft was of wool. The woven piece of serge was finished with a process in which floral patterns were pressed in relief into the fabric by passing it through hot, engraved rollers and then treating the surface with resin to create a durable effect. This fabric became popular at depots and sub-depots around the turn of the nineteenth century (Smith 1991:126; AFC Records, NAC; Government of Canada 1992 [1891]).

Ferretting - a narrow tape made of silk or cotton, probably derived from the Italian *fioretti*, a kind of silk, diminutive of *fiore*, flower.

Flannel - derived from the Welsh word for wool. Flannel was one of Wales' main industries, but the flannel sold in the fur trade was produced in Yorkshire (Anon 1811:14, NBL). It is a light or medium weight woollen fabric of plain or twill weave with a slightly napped surface. The flannel used in the fur trade was generally of a coarse quality and came in a variety of colors including white, red, blue, yellow and green. The United States began producing cotton “flannels” during the nineteenth century. These were napped cotton textiles which today are used predominantly for pajamas and shirts. In North America today, we tend to use the term “flannel” to refer to these latter type of fabrics. Properly speaking, however, these textiles should be called “flannellettes,” as they were called in Canada (and probably Britain) up until very recently.

Fustian - a generic term for a variety of coarse, thick twilled cotton and worsted fabrics dyed dark colors such as olive, “leaden” and brown that include corduroy, jean and velveteen. The surface may be plain, plush or “cut and raised” in cords or other patterns. In England, fustians were typically worn by the working classes and used for furniture coverings. In the Great Lakes fur trade, fustians were typically worn by low status company employees.

Gingham - A medium to light weight cotton textile made of yarns that are dyed before the weaving. It comes only in patterns such as checks, stripes and plaids, that can be produced in a one-over-one-under weave. Usually gingham is only two colors, but some plaid varieties were made in three colors. These fabrics were popular for aprons and children's wear. As far as I know, checked gingham is the only kind produced today.

Linsey-woollsey (or linsey) - Originally a homespun fabric made with linen warp threads and woollen weft threads. In the nineteenth century, however, a variety of low grade fabrics made with cotton warp threads and woollen weft threads were called by this name. Such inexpensive fabrics began to be produced when the cotton textile industry expanded as a result of mechanization.

List Cloth - see "Cloth"

Mackinac blankets - (also see "Blankets") the AFC version of the famous HBC blankets. They were similarly made in different sizes designated by the number of "points" and marked accordingly.

Molton - a thick smooth kind of flannel with a heavy nap on both sides which was of a coarse quality and produced in Yorkshire (Anon 1811:14, NBL). This fabric was often used for ready-made capotes sold in the fur trade, but was also sold by the yard. It was commonly white, but also came in blue and green (AFC Records, NAC).

Prints - Low grade cotton textiles with patterns printed on the surface by means of templates. These inexpensive cotton textiles came to replace the more laboriously produced block-printed calicos after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Sateen - A cotton fabric woven in a satin stitch to produce a lustrous finish. This textile came on the market in the 1820s, but it steadily gained in popularity among lower and middle class North Americans, as well as among Anishnaabek, until by the final decades of the nineteenth century it was pervasive, especially in black. To our present-day standards, this fabric would be considered a very high quality cotton, in fact, of a quality that is no longer manufactured in cotton. At the time, however, it was an inexpensive alternative to silk satins.

Satinette - A fabric made with cotton warp that forms the back and woollen filling that is thrown to the front. It is fulled and finished like an all-wool cloth. "Imitations of this fabric have been made with cotton warp and low grade, low count filling of reworked wool, fulled and printed in stripes and plaids in imitation of MACKINAW and similar cloths" (Tortora and Merkel 1996:492). Produced in the United States as early as 1829; about the same price as domestically produced cassimeres (AFC Records, NAC).

Seed Beads - a form of glass beads that is roughly circular in shape, but narrower through the length of the hole than they are through the width of the sides (as if a circular bead had been "squished" over the hole). These beads come in a wide range of sizes from about a quarter of an inch across to so minute that they can hardly be seen individually. They also come in an expansive range of opaque and transparent colors. In the Great Lakes fur trade market, seed beads came almost exclusively in white in sizes from 6 to 16 (the smaller the number the larger the size). Some time in the middle of the nineteenth

century opaque size 10 seed beads in a wide range of colors became available, and/or popular, on the Native market. Transparent seed beads did not achieve widespread popularity in Anishnaabe beadwork until the twentieth century.

Shirting - Medium weight and quality cotton textiles woven in a one-over-one-under weave that usually came in two tone patterns of checks, stripes and plaids. The standard colors were blue and white, but combinations of brown or red and white were not uncommon. Among British Americans, this was a staple fabric for men's work shirts. During the fur trade era, Anishnaabek used shirting for both men's and women's shirts.

Strouds - A kind of woollen broadcloth manufactured in the town of Stroud, Gloucester county, England. It came in coarse, medium (or "common") and fine qualities (with a corresponding range of prices), as well as in plain and "corded" varieties. Red strouds became famous, not only through their popularity in the fur trade, but also because they were used to make the "redcoats" of the British army uniform. The water at Stroud was thought to be particularly conducive to dyeing wool a superior shade of red. Nevertheless, the standard color for stroud in the fur trade was dark blue.

Swanskin - a thick, coarsely woven napped fabric similar to flannel and to blanket woollens. In England, it was used for work clothing. Similarly, the swanskin jackets and capotes found on inventories were probably among the garments worn by voyageurs. Swanskin was also sold by the yard. White was the usual color, but it also came in blue and "spotted." With regard to the latter, because the thick nap of flannel does not lend itself to printing techniques, and the price of swanskin is too low to admit the fancy weaving required to produce "spots" by weaving in different colored yarns, I am guessing that the "spots" refer to natural greys and browns that are blended with the white yarns during the spinning process.

Tartan - a type of woven fabric that is made by using various colors of died-in-the-wool threads for both warp and weft to create a repeating pattern. In the eighteenth century, Scotland held the world market for tartans, but by the early to mid-nineteenth century, inexpensive tartans were being produced in the United States and sold in the fur trade under the erroneous appellation of "plaids" (AFC Records, NAC).

Velvet - A silk textile with a plush lustrous surface on one side. Velvet was (and is) also used for ribbons. In the twentieth century, it is also manufactured out of rayon.

Velveteen - A cotton textile made in imitation of velvet that became very popular among Anishnaabek, and in the wider North American society, during the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Both groups especially favored black velveteen. Much late nineteenth and early twentieth century floral beadwork is produced on black velveteen grounds.

Woollen - product made from short-stapled wool carded before spinning.

Worsted - product made from long-stapled wool combed straight and smooth before spinning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CONSULTANTS:

Beaucage, Josephine

1993-2000 Ojibway, North Bay, Ont. - beadwork, leatherwork, sewing, and tanning instructor and demonstrator - on-going discussions in beadwork classes, 1993-1996 - informal interviews: Aug. 29th, 1999 (in North Bay); Dec. 2nd, 1999 (telephone)

Burnham, Shelley

1998-2000 Onieda, Six Nations, Ont. - General Manager of Dinawo, Ohsweken, Ontario - taped interview: Dec. 15th, 1999

Cywink, Zeek

1992-2000 Ojibway, Birch Island, Ont. (Whitefish River First Nation), now living in Toronto, Ont. - partner - storyteller and video artist - on-going experiences and discussions

Deleary, Karen

1999 Ojibway, Detroit, Walpole Island and Chippewa of the Thames, Ont. - powwow regalia and fashion designer - video-taped interview (camera by Zeek Cywink): Nov. 5th, 1999

Goslin, Genevieve

1998-9 Ojibway, Red Cliff, WI - Native craft shop proprietor, bead, fingerweaving and pottery instructor; Genevieve attended the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe when she was over sixty years old. She now has a BA in Fine Arts - informal interview: July 6th, 1998; untaped interview by Elizabeth Willmott: July 15th, 1999

Heese George, Tracey

1999-2000 Cree; Ochaponee First Nation, now living in Regina, Saskatchewan - fashion designer and fashion show co-ordinator - taped interview: Sky Dome Powwow, Toronto, Dec. 5th, 1999; informal interview (telephone): June 1st, 2000

Hubbard, Amary

1998-2000 Anishnaabe/Metis; Sault St. Marie, MI - a well renowned multi-media artist, birch bark cut-out artist, regalia artist, poet, teacher and workshop instructor - taped interview: (telephone), Dec. 14th, 1999

Logan, Pat

1999 Hochunk; Milwaukee, WI - champion pow wow dancer - informal interviews: Wikwemikong Powwow, Aug. 1, 1999; SkyDome Powwow, Toronto, Dec. 5, 1999

Madahbee, Dawn

1993-2000 Anishnaabe; Birch Island, Ont. (Whitefish River First Nation) - first cousin to Zeek Cywink - champion pow wow dancer and competition judge - taped

interview, Wikwemikong Powwow, Aug. 2nd, 1999

Marin, Anne "Panther Woman"

1999 Huron; Quebec - artist, storyteller - taped interview, Maniwaki Powwow, June 5th, 1999

McDonald, Debbie

1992-2000 Cree/Metis; Toronto, Ont. - a long-time friend and fellow beadwork instructor at Native Women's Resource Centre of Toronto (NWRC) - taped interviews: at my home in Toronto, May 9, 1994; May 25, 1995

McGregor, Violet

1994-2000 Odawa; originally from Wikwemikong, now living at Birch Island (Whitefish River First Nation) - an affinal relation of Zeek Cywink - pow wow dancer and trader - informal interview: Rama First Nation Powwow, Oct. 10th, 1999

Meness Ferguson, Juliette

1999 Algonkin; Maniwaki, Quebec - hand-tanner and leatherwork artist - taped interviews: at Juliette's home in Maniwaki, Aug. 24th and 25th, 1999

Mishibinijima, Marjorie

1999-2000 Ojibway; Wikwemikong, Ontario - retired school principal (Wikwemikong), long-time seamstress and pow wow dancer - audio tape interview: at Marjorie's home, Aug. 2nd, 1999; video recording: Regalia-making workshop, London Living Arts Festival, University of Western Ontario, Oct. 30th, 1999

Pine, Debra Ann

1999 Ojibway, Sault St. Marie, MI - portrait artist, jewelry designer, regalia maker and instructor, pow wow dancer and dance troupe performer - taped interview: (telephone) Dec. 15th, 1999

Smoke, Suzanne

1998-2000 Ojibway, Alderville First Nation, Ontario - now living at Georgina Island - fashion designer and fashion show producer and MC - video-taped recording of fashion show at Toronto International Powwow, Nov. 21st, 1998, by Zeek Cywink; informal conversations on a number of occasions.

Stewart, Dorothy

1993-2000 Cree; originally from Wemenji, PQ, now living in Toronto, Ont. - a long-time friend and fellow beadworker - taped interview: at Dorothy's home in Toronto, May 13, 1994; informal interview (telephone): Jan. 12, 1999

Vanderpoel, Mary Ann

1998 Métis/Ojibway, not an "enroled member of a band," but mother has "enough blood quantum" to be enroled at Les Courtes Orielles, WI, grew up in northern Minnesota - interpreter at North West Company Fur Post, Pine City, MN (operated by the Minnesota Historical Society), site of John Sayer's wintering post 1804-05,

taped interview: on site: July 14th, 1998

Whiteduck, Diana

1993-2000 Algonkin; originally from North Bay, Ont. now living in Pickering, Ont. - a long-time friend and fellow beadworker - informal interview (telephone): Jan. 13, 2000

INTERNET, VIDEO AND CD-ROM SOURCES:

AVF - Aboriginal Voices Festival, video-taped recording of fashion show, June 21st, 1999, by Zeek Cywink

ECO - Early Canadiana Online, www.canadiana.org

ENC - Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 1996

FNST - First Nations School of Toronto, video-taped recording of fashion show, March 31st, 1999, by Zeek Cywink

HCC - Hampshire County Council, www.hants.org.uk/newforest

HFPE - Hachette Filipacchi Productions and ELLE, Unzipped, 1994, produced by Michael Alden, directed by Douglas Keeve

IJMPS - Islington Junior Middle Public School, Toronto, video-taped recording of one of Zeek Cywink's talks on Anishnaabe history and culture to public school students, Sept. 30th, 1998, by Christina Moran

TIP - Toronto International Powwow, Sky Dome, Toronto, video-taped recording of fashion show, Nov. 21st, 1998, by Zeek Cywink

ARCHIVE AND MUSEUM SOURCES:

Abbreviations:

CG - County of Grey, Owen Sound Museum - Owen Sound, Ontario

CHS - Chicago Historical Society - Chicago, Illinois

CMCA - Canadian Museum of Civilization Archives - Hull, Quebec

FMNH - Field Museum of Natural History - Chicago, Illinois

HBCA - Hudson's Bay Company Archives - Winnipeg, Manitoba

LFCMCC - Lac du Flambeau Chippewa Museum and Cultural Center - Lac du Flam., WI

MA - Manitoba Archives - Winnipeg, Manitoba

MAI - Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation - New York, NY

MHS - Minnesota Historical Society - St. Paul, MN

MPM - Milwaukee Public Museum - Milwaukee, WI

MSA - Michigan State Archives - Lansing, MI

NAC - National Archives of Canada - Ottawa, Ontario

NARA - National Archives and Records Administration - Washington DC

NARA-GLR - National Archives, Great Lakes Regional Office - Chicago, Illinois

NBL - Newberry Library - Chicago, Illinois

ROM - Royal Ontario Museum - Toronto, Ontario

SHSW - State Historical Society of Wisconsin - Madison, WI

SINAA - Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives - Washington DC
 SLCHS - St. Louis County Historical Society - Duluth, MN
 TCHA - Tippecanoe County Historical Association - Lafayette, Indiana
 TMRL - Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library - Toronto, Ontario

Aggasiz, Louis, *et al*

1850 *Lake Superior. Its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals, Compared with Those of Other and Similar Regions*, by Louis Aggasiz, With a Narrative of the Tour, by J. Elliot Cabot, and Contributions by Other Scientific Gentlemen, Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, CIHM 29191, TMRL

American Fur Company Records (AFC Records)
 1803-38 MG19 B2, NAC

Anon

1861 "The Red Man," in *Nor'Wester* March 15th, 1861, HBCA

Anon

1811 *On the History and Progress of the North-West Company of Canada, With a History of the Fur Trade, as Connected With That Concern, and Observations on the Political Importance of the Company's Intercourse With, and Influence Over the Indians or Savage Nations of the Interior, and on the Necessity of Maintaining and Supporting the System From Which That Influence Arises, and by Which Only It Can be Preserved*, London: Cox, Son and Baylis, NBL

Ayer, Elizabeth Taylor

1871 Letter to Messrs. Oakes and Russell from Elizabeth Ayer (n/d, but added noted states that it was written the previous summer), Elizabeth T. Ayer papers, 1868-1892, P2147, MHS

Baird, Elizabeth Therese

1900 *Reminiscences of Life in Territorial Wisconsin, 1824-42*, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, NBL

1898 *Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island*, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, NBL

Barwise, L. T.

1882 "The First of a Series of Lectures Before the Cutters' and Tailors' Academy of Chicago," in *International Record of Correct Styles*, 1(1):4-5, CHS

Bigelow, Erastus B.

1869 *An Address upon the Wool Industry of the United States delivered at the Exhibition of the American Institute in the City of New York*, New York: S. W. Green, Printer
 NBL

Broker, Ignatia

n/d "Typed Reminiscences," in Ignatia Broker Papers, P1879, MHS

Catlin, George

1848 Catlin's Notes of Eight Years Travel and Residence in Europe, with the North American Indian Collection: With Anecdotes and Incidents of the Travels and Adventures of Three Different Parties of American Indians Whom He Introduced To the Courts of England, France and Belgium, Vol.1, New York: Burgess, Stringer and Co., ECO

Colby, Pauline

1937 "Reminiscences" in Pauline Colby Reminiscences and Related Materials, P2085 MHS

Committee of Boston Ladies

1876 Dress and Health, or, How to be strong: a book for ladies, Montreal: J. Dougall, ECO

Cooper, Graham

2000 Newforest, HCC

Craker, Ruth

1935 First Protestant Mission in the Grand Traverse Region, Part 1, Leland, MI: The Leelanau Enterprise, NBL

Crawford, M. D. C.

1940 Philosophy in Clothing: Written for the Clothing Exhibition, March 15 - May 5, 1940, at the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, NARA RG 435 NAAH (CARF) 1932-1988

Cumberland, F. Barlow

1904 Catalogue and Notes of the Oronhyatekha Historical Collection, Toronto: The Independent Order of Foresters, ROM

Cunningham, Wilbur M., ed.

1967 Letter Book of William Burnett: Early Fur Trader in the Land of Four Flags, MI: The Fort Miami Heritage Society of Michigan, Inc., NBL

Curot, Michel

n/d A Wisconsin Fur Trader's Journal, 1803-04, Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. 20, pp.396-471, SHSW

Einhorn, Arthur

n/d Einhorn, Arthur Collection, III-L-7M, CMCA

Gilfillan, Harriet Cook

n/d "Notes Written by my Mother," in Joseph A. Gilfillan and family papers, 1872-1940, P620, MHS

Gilfillan, Joseph A.

1911 "On the Wrong Way and the Right Way to Civilize the Indians," in Joseph A. Gilfillan and family papers, 1872-1940, P620, MHS

1909 "Michen's Tale," in Joseph A. Gilfillan and family papers, 1872-1940, P620, MHS

1898 Letter from George Morgan to Gilfillan, Jan. 11th, 1898, transcribed and translated by the latter, in Joseph A. Gilfillan and family papers, 1872-1940, P620, MHS

Hallowell, A. Irving

n/d "Notes on the Material Culture of the Island Lake Saulteaux," MAI Archives Box V-I #2

Isham, James

1949 James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743, and Notes and Observations on a Book Entitled A Voyage to Hudson's Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749, Toronto: Champlain Society, ECO

Johnson, Ida Amanda

1919 The Michigan Fur Trade, Lansing, MI: Michigan Historical Commission, NBL

Johnston, Susan

1830 Manuscript account journal of store at Sault St. Marie, MI, microfilm: 1159, NBL

Jones, William

n/d "Chippewa notes and other material," MS7617, SINAA

Kellogg, Mme.

1880 Instruction Book for the Kellogg French Tailor System for Cutting Every Description of Ladies' Garments, Battle Creek, MI, CHS

Lambert, John

1813 Travels Through Canada, and the United States, in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808, London: C. Cradock and W. Joy, ECO

Lyford, Carrie

n/d [a] "The Use of Textiles by the Indians," RG 435 - Native American Arts and Handicrafts - Cultural Area Reference Files (NAAH - CARF) - 306 Clothing, General, NARA

n/d [b] "Costumes of the Indians," RG 435 - NAAH - CARF - 306 Clothing, General, NARA

Michelson, Truman

1911 "Ojibwa Tales," in Truman Michelson Collection, III-L-58M, CMC

M'Keever, Thomas

1819 **A voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the summer of 1812, London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., ECO**

Moodie, Susanna

1853 **Life in the Clearings, versus the Bush, London: R. Bentley, ECO**

Morgan, Lewis H.

1868 **The American Beaver and His Works, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., TMRL**

Munnell, Dorothy

1938 **Tepees in the Pines: An Intimate Story of the Minnesota Chippewas, P1695, MHS (this handwritten document includes no page numbers)**

NAC

1952-63 **"Ontario - Correspondence Regarding Indian Handicrafts Throughout the Province," RG 10, Vol. 8815, File 401/14-1 pt. 1(C-9724)**

1943-44 **"Correspondence regarding handicraft orders and accounts at various agencies, 1943-1944, RG 10 Vol. 7910 File 41,000-11 pt. 6 (C-12146)**

1928 **"Unpublished Sessional Papers, 2nd Session of the 16th Parliament, 26th Jan., 1928 to 11 June 1928 - Application by the Canadian Woollen and Knit Goods Manufacturers Association for an upward revision of the woollen schedules of the tariffs," RG14 D2 Vol. 175 No.91**

1902-42 **"Roman Catholic Church - Donations of Clothing - General," RG 10, Vol. 3880, File 93,200 (C-10156)**

1876 **"Invoice for HBC merchandise for Ottawa River District," HBC Collection: MG 29, Vol. 16**

NARA

n/d [a] **Central Classified Files (CCF) RG 75-121-800, Education**

n/d [b] **Native American Arts and Handicrafts - Cultural Areas Reference Files (NAAH - CARF) RG 435 - 306, Clothing**

1939 **"United States Department of the Interior Memorandum for the Press," RG 435 Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) - Records Relating to Exhibitions and Expositions, 1939 - 1941**

1916-22 **Lac du Flambeau - Fairs and Expositions, CCF RG 75-047**

1914-20 **White Earth - Fairs and Expositions, CCF RG 75-047**

1914-15 **"Questionnaires concerning former students, 1914-15," RG-75-1282, Field Office Records - Records of the White Earth Agency**

1911-15 "Quarterly Reports of Field Matrons, 1911-15," RG-75-1091, Field Office Records - Records of Leech Lake Agency

1909-22 Leech Lake - Fairs and Expositions, CCF RG 75-047

1807-23 "Letters Sent by the Superintendent of Indian Trade," RG-75 M16-090-01 Roll 1

NARA-GLR

1922 "Surveys of Indian Industry," Lac du Flambeau, 1922, RG75

Northwest Company Papers (NWC Papers)

1797 Inventory of Goods Taken at the Grand Portage, (microfilm) TMRL

Radin, Paul

n/d(a) [c.1913] "Social and Religious Customs of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario, Including Extracts from Earlier Published Records," III-G-39M Box 67 f.1 CMCA

n/d(b) [c.1913] "The Story of the Hunter," III-G-40M Box 67 f.3, pp.17-21 CMCA

Rankin, Arthur

1844 *A Short History and Description of the Ojibbeway Indians Now on a Visit to England, With Correct Likenesses, Engraved From Daguerreotype Plates, Taken by M. Claudet, London: Vizetelly Brothers and Co., NBL*

Sheffield, Lord J.B.H.

1814 *The Pamphleteer, Vol. III, On the Trade in Wool, etc., London: A.J. Valpy, NBL*

Smith, James

1870 [1808] *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith: During His Captivity with the Indians, in the years 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758 and 1759, Cincinnati: R. Clarke, ECO*

Sims, Rev. Jabez Waters

n/d *Journal of a Missionary on Manitoulin Island, 1864-65 (Shelley Pearen's typed manuscript), MG 24 J 51, NAC*

Spears, Julia A.

1921 "My Journey with the Chippewa Indians," in Julia A. Spears and family papers, 1839-1923, A/-S741, MHS

n/d (a) "History of White Earth," in Julia A. Spears and family papers, 1839-1923, A/-S741, MHS

n/d (b) "Interesting Reminiscences of Early Frontier Days," in Julia A. Spears and family papers, 1839-1923, A/-S741, MHS

Thwaites, Rueben Gold, ed.

1910a "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal - 1804-05," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XIX, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, pp.163-233, NBL

1910b "The Fur Trade on the Upper Great Lakes," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XIX, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, pp.234-375, NBL

1888 "American Fur Company Invoices, 1821-22," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. IX, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, pp.370-80, NBL

U. S. West Research

1992 *Historic Structures Report: Mille Lacs Indian Trading Post Site, Mille Lacs Lake, Minnesota*, F612 M67 H57, MHS

Wilson, Maggie

1932-36 *Ruth Landes Papers 1928-1992*, Boxes 33,36 and 38, SINAA

PUBLISHED SOURCES:

Aaron, Daniel

1992 "Introduction" in *The Song of Hiawatha*, by H. W. Longfellow, London: J. M. Dent, pp.xi-xix

Abbott, Reginald

1994 "What Becomes a Legend Most?: Fur in the Medieval Romance," in *Dress* 21:4-16

Abu-Lughod, Lila

1990 "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography?," in *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 5:7-27

Ahenakew, Freda and H.C. Wolfart, eds. and trans.

1992 *Kôhkominawak Otâcimowiniwâwa; Our Grandmothers' Lives as Told in Their Own Words*, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Pub.

Anderson, Dean

1994 "The Flow of Trade Goods into the Western Great Lakes Region, 1715-1760," in *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991*, eds. Jennifer Brown *et al*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, pp.93-115

Anderson, Marcia

1986 "Ojibwe Bandolier Bags in the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 11(4):46-57

- Anderson, Marcia and Kathy Hussey-Arntson
1982 "Ojibway Beadwork Traditions in the Ayer Collections," *Minnesota History* 48(4):153-7
- Appadurai, Arjun
1991 "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard Fox, Santa Fe, NM: School for American Research Press, pp.191-210
- 1986a "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.3-63
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed.
1986b *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Axtell, James
1992 "The First Consumer Revolution," in *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America*, ed. James Axtell, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.125-51
- 1981 *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Baierlein, Edward R.
1989 [1888] *In the Wilderness With the Red Indians: German Missionary to the Michigan Indians, 1847-1853*, trans. Anita Boltz, ed. and intro. Harold Moll, Detroit: Wayne State University Press
- Baraga, Frederic
1992 [1878] *A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society
- Bardon, Richard and Grace Nute, eds.
1947 "A Winter in the St. Croix Valley, 1802-03," in *Minnesota History* 28:1-14,142-59, 225-40
- Barnes, Ruth, and Joanne Eicher
1992 "Introduction," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. R. Barnes and J. Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co., pp.1-7
- Barnouw, Victor
1977 *Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales and Their Relation to Chippewa Life*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- Berlo, Janet and Ruth Phillips
1998 *Native North American Art*, New York: Oxford University Press

- Bieder, Robert E.**
1995 *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- Birk, Douglas A., ed.**
1989 *John Sayer's Snake River Journal, 1804-05*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press
- Black Rogers, Mary**
1986 "Varieties of 'Starving': Semantics and Survival in the Subarctic Fur Trade, 1750-1850," in *Ethnohistory* 33(4):353-83
- 1977 "Ojibwa Power Belief System," in *The Anthropology of Power*, ed. Raymond Fogelson and Richard Adams, New York: Academic Press, pp.141-51
- Blackbird, Andrew J.**
1993 [1887] *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, Petoskey MI: Little Traverse Regional Historical Society Inc. (reprint)
- Blackman, Margaret B.**
1992 "Feastwear: Haida Art Goes Couture," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 17(4):56-65
- Blaeser, Kimberly**
1994 *Trailing You*, New York: The Greenfield Review Press
- Blair, Emma Helen, ed.**
1996 [1911] *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vols. I & II, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press
- Bloomfield, Leonard**
1993 [1930] *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree*, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Ltd.
- Blundell, Valda**
1994 "'Take Home Canada': Representations of Aboriginal Peoples as Tourist Souvenirs," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.251-84
- Brafford, C.J. and Laine Thom**
1992 *Dancing Colors: Paths of Native American Women*, San Francisco: Chronicle Books
- Brasser, Ted**
1982 "Pleasing the Spirits: Indian Art Around the Great Lakes," in *Pleasing the Spirits: A Catalogue of a Collection of American Indian Art*, ed. Douglas Ewing, New York: Ghylen Press, pp.17-31

- Brehm, Victoria, ed
 1998 *The Women's Great Lakes Reader*, Duluth, MN: The Holy Cow! Press
- Bremer, Richard G.
 1987 *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft*, Mount Pleasant, MI: Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University Press
- Bresette, Walter
 1994 "Mentors and Allies: Coming to Leadership as a Native American Activist," in *Walleye Warriors: An Effective Alliance Against Racism and for the Earth*, Rick Whaley and Walter Bresette, Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, pp.70-90
- Broker, Ignatia
 1983 *Night Flying Woman: An Ojibway Narrative*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press
- Brondsted, Johannes
 1960 *The Vikings*, trans. Kalle Skow, Toronto: Penguin Books
- Brooke, Iris
 1937 *History of English Costume*, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.
- Brown, Jennifer
 1980 *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press
- Brown, Jennifer and Robert Brightman, eds.
 1988 "The Orders of the Dreamed": George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press
- Brumble, H. David III
 1987 "Sam Blowsnake's Confessions: Crashing Thunder and the History of American Indian Autobiography," in *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*, eds. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat, Urbana: University of Illinois, pp.537-51
- Bruner, Edward
 1986a "Experience and Its Expressions," in *The Anthropology of Experience*, eds. Victor Turner and Edward Bruner, Urbana: University of Illinois, pp.3-30
- 1986b "Ethnography as Narrative," in *The Anthropology of Experience*, eds. Victor Turner and Edward Bruner, Urbana: University of Illinois, pp.139-56
- Bruner, Jerome
 1987 "Life as Narrative," in *Social Research* 54:11-32
- Buffalohead, Priscilla K.

- 1985 *Against the Tide of American History: The Story of the Mille Lacs Anishinabe, Cass Lake, MN: The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe*
- 1983 "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women," in *Minnesota History* 48(6):236-244
- Buffalohead, W. Roger
1983 "The Indian New Deal," in *Minnesota History* 49(4):339-41
- Burden, Harold Nelson
1895 *Manitoulin, or, Five Years of Church Work among the Ojibway Indians and Lumbermen, resident upon that Island or in its Vicinity, London: Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co. Ltd.*
- Burnham, Dorothy K.
1992 *To Please the Caribou: Painted Caribou-skin Coats Worn by the Naskapi, Montagnais, and Cree Hunters of the Quebec and Labrador Peninsula, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum*
- Bussey, M. T.
1988 *Aube Na Bing: A Pictorial History of Michigan Indians, Grand Rapids, MI: Michigan Indian Press*
- Byrde, Penelope
1992 *Nineteenth Century Fashion, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.*
- Callaway, Helen
1992 "Dressing For Dinner in the Bush: Rituals of Self-Definition and British Imperial Authority," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. R. Barnes and J. Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co., pp.232-47
- Campbell, Marjorie Wilkins
1959 *The Nor'Westers: The Fight for the Fur Trade, Toronto: Macmillan and Co.*
- Carr Carroll, Lizbeth
1995 "People of the Dawn: The Neptune Family of Passamaquoddy Basketmakers," in *Native Peoples* 8(3):36-42
- Carver, Jonathan
1974 [1778] *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767 and 1768, Toronto: Coles Pub. Co. (reprint)*
- Castile, George Pierre
1996 "The Commodification of Indian Identity," in *American Anthropologist* 98(4): 743-9
- Cerny, Catherine A.

1992 "Quilted Apparel and Gender Identity: An American Case Study," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. R. Barnes and J. Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co., pp.106-20

Chapman, Malcolm

1995 "Freezing the Frame': Dress and Ethnicity in Brittany and Gaelic Scotland," in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, ed. Joanne Eicher, Washington DC: Berg Pub., pp.7-28

Cheechoo, Shirley

1991 *Path With No Moccasins*, Toronto: The Talent Group

Chute, Janet

1998 *The Legacy of Shingwaukonse: A Century of Native Leadership*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Cleland, Charles E.

1992 *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Clifford, James

1986a "Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. James Clifford and George Marcus, Berkeley: University of California, pp.1-26

1986b "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. James Clifford and George Marcus, Berkeley: University of California, pp.98-121

Coatsworth, Emerson and David Coatsworth, eds.

1979 *The Adventures of Nanabush: Ojibway Indian Stories*, Toronto: Doubleday Ltd.

Coe, Ralph T.

1986 *Lost and Found Traditions: Native American Art 1965-1985*, Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre

Cohn, Bernard S.

1989 "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century," in *Cloth and the Human Experience*, eds. A. Weiner and J. Schneider, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp.303-53

Collard, Eileen

1969 *Early Clothing in Southern Ontario*, Burlington, Ontario: The Mississauga Press

Conway, Thor and Julie Conway

1990 *Spirits on Stone: The Agawa Pictographs*, San Luis Obispo, California: Heritage Discoveries Inc.

- Cook, Katsi**
 1990 "Weaving a Life: An Interview With Mohawk Basketmaker Mary Adams," in *Unbroken Circles: Traditional Arts of Contemporary Woodlands Peoples*, ed. Susan R. Dixon, *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 7(4):57-53
- Cooke, Sarah and Rachel Ramadhyani, eds.**
 1993 *Indians and a Changing Frontier: The Art of George Winter, Lafayette, Indiana*: Tippecanoe County Historical Association
- Cooper, John M.**
 1936 *Notes on the Ethnology of the Otchipwe of Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake*, Anthropological Series No.3, Washington DC: The Catholic University of America
- Copway, George**
 1997 [1850] *Life, Letters and Speeches: George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh)*, eds. A. LaVonne Brown Rouff and Donald Smith, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press
- Coss, Peter**
 1998 *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000-1500*, Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Pub. Ltd.
- Counts, David**
 1990 "Too Many Bananas, Not Enough Pineapples, and No Watermelon at All: Three Object Lessons in Living With Reciprocity," in *From the Humbled Anthropologist: Tales from the Pacific*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., pp.18-24
- Craik, Jennifer**
 1994 *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion*, New York: Routledge
- Cruikshank, Julie**
 1990 "Introduction: Life Histories and Life Stories," in *Life Lived Like a Story*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, pp.1-20
- Cullum-Swan, Betsy, and Peter K. Manning**
 1994 "What is a T-Shirt? Codes, Chronotypes and Everyday Objects," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.415-33
- Cunnington, C. Willett**
 1990 [1937] *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Dover Pub. (reprint)
- Cunnington, C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington**
 1992 [1951] *The History of Underclothes*, New York: Dover Pub. (reprint)
- Cunnington, Phillis and Catherine Lucas**

1978 **Charity Costumes of Children, Scholars, Almsfolk and Pensioners**, London: Adam and Charles Black

Cunnington, Phillis, Catherine Lucas and Alan Mansfield
1967 **Occupational Costume in England from the Eleventh Century to 1914**, London: Adam and Charles Black

Danesi, Marcel
1993 "Clothes Make the Person," in **Messages and Meanings: An Introduction to Semiotics**, Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, pp.145-60

Danziger, Edmund Jefferson, Jr.
1979 **The Chippewas of Lake Superior**, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press

Davies, David
1977 [1795] **The Case of Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered with an Appendix Containing a Collection of Accounts**, Fairfield: Augustus M. Kelley (reprint)

de Marly, Diana
1986 **Working Dress**, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.

Densmore, Frances
1987 [1928] **Indian Use of Wild Plants for Crafts, Food, Medicine, and Charms**, Forty-Fourth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, Ohsweken, Ontario: Irocrafts Inc. (reprint)

1979 [1929] **Chippewa Customs**, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press

1913 **Chippewa Music - II**, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnography, Bulletin 53, Washington DC: Government Printing Office

Devine, Heather
1994 "Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the North West Company," in **The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference**, eds. Jennifer Brown, W.J. Eccles and Donald Heldman, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, pp.217-42

Dexter, Gail
1981 "Coin of the Fur Trade: Indian Silver is Back in Fashion," in **Ontario Indian** 4(3):8-13,20

Deidrich, Mark
1990 **Ojibway Oratory: Great Moments in the Recorded Speech of the Chippewa, 1695-1889**, Rochester, MN: Coyote Books

Dickason, Olive Patricia

1992 **Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times**, Toronto: Oxford University Press

Dippie, Brian W.

1995 "Photographic Allegories and Indian Destiny," in **Readings in Aboriginal Studies**, Vol. 4: Images of the Indian: Portrayals of Native People, ed. Joe Sawchuck, Brandon, Manitoba: Bearpaw Publishing, pp.48-81

1992 "Representing the Other: The North American Indian," in **Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920**, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp.132-6

Dransart, Penny

1992 "Pachamama: The Inca Earth Mother of the Long Sweeping Garment," in **Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts**, eds. R. Barnes and J. Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co, pp.145-63

Dubin, Lois Sherr

1999 **North American Indian Jewelry and Adornment From Prehistory to the Present**, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.

Dublin, Thomas

1979 **Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860**, New York: Columbia University Press

Duffek, Karen

1993 "Northwest Coast Indian Art From 1950 to the Present," in **In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art**, ed. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, pp.213-31

Dunlevy, Mairead

1989 **Dress in Ireland**, New York: Holmes and Meier

Earle, Alice Morse

1992 [1898] **Home Life in Colonial Days**, Stockbridge, Massachusetts: Berkshire House Publishers

Eicher, Joanne, ed.

1995 **Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time**, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co.

Eicher, Joanne and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins

1992 "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles," in **Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts**, eds. R. Barnes and J. Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co., pp.8-28

Eicher, Joanne and Barbara Sumberg

- 1995 "World Fashion, Ethnic, and National Dress," in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, ed. Joanne Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co., pp.295-306
- Emberley, Julia V.
1997 *The Cultural Politics of Fur*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press
- Erichson-Brown, Charlotte
1979 *Use of Plants for the Past 500 Years*, Aurora, Ontario: Breezy Creeks Press
- Ettawageshik, Frank
1999 "My Father's Business," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.20-9
- Ewing, Elizabeth
1984 *Everyday Dress, 1650-1900*, London: B.T. Batsford
- 1981 *Fur in Dress*, London: B.T. Batsford
- Featherstonaugh, George W.
1970 [1847] *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnaw Sotor with an Account of the Lead and Copper Deposits in Wisconsin; of the Gold Region in the Cherokee Country; and Sketches of Popular Manners*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. I
- Feest, Christian
1984 *Beadwork and Textiles of the Ottawa*, Harbor Springs, MI: Harbor Springs Historical Commission
- Feit, Harvey
1991 "The Construction of Algonquian Hunting Territories: Private Property as Moral Lesson, Policy and Advocacy, and Ethnographic Error," in *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, ed. G.W. Stocking, Jr., Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, pp.109-34
- Fleming, Paula Richardson and Judith Luskey
1992 *The North American Indians in Early Photographs*, New York: Barnes and Noble
- Fletcher, Roland
1989 "The Messages of Material Behavior: A Preliminary Discussion of Non-Verbal Meaning," in *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, ed. Ian Hodder, London: Unwin Hyman, pp.33-40
- Francis, Daniel
1992 *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press
- Fuller, Margaret

- 1991 [1843] *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press
- Garnier, Russell M.
1895 *Annals of the British Peasantry*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.
- Geertz, Clifford
1976 "Art as a Cultural System," in *Modern Language Notes* 91:1473-99
- Gilman, Carolyn
1992 *The Grand Portage Story*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press
- 1982 *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press
- Government of Canada
1992 [1891] *Canada Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Vol.1, Treaties 1-138*, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Pub. (reprint)
- Government of Ontario
1974 [1880] *Emigration - The British Farmers and Land Labourers' Guide to Ontario, the Premier Province of the Dominion of Canada*, Port Elgin, Ontario: Cumming Atlas Reprints (reprint)
- Graymont, Barbara, ed.
1973 *Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard*, Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press
- Green, Rayna
1988 "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," *Folklore* 99(i):30-41
- Gregory, C.A.
1982 *Gifts and Commodities*, New York: Academic Press
- Grey Owl
1936 *Sajo and the Beaver People*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
- 1931 *The Last of the Frontiersmen*, Toronto: Macmillan Co.
- Guthrie, Ben and Michael J. Goc
1995 *Reflections of Lac du Flambeau: An Illustrated History of Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin, 1745-1999*, Friendship, WI: New Past Press Inc.
- Hail, Barbara
1980 *Hau, Kóla: The Plains Indian Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology*, Bristol, RI: Brown University

Hale, Katherine

1937 *This is Ontario*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press

Hall, Winfield Scott, and Jeannette Winter Hall

1919 *Girlhood and Its Problems: The Sex Life of Woman*, Philadelphia: John C. Winston

Hallowell, A Irving

1976a [1972] "On Being an Anthropologist," in *Contributions to Anthropology: Selected Papers of A. Irving Hallowell*, eds. Raymond Fogelson *et al*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.3-15

1976b [1966] "The Role of Dreams in Ojibwa Culture," in *Contributions to Anthropology: Selected Papers of A. Irving Hallowell*, eds. Raymond Fogelson *et al*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.449-74

1976c [1960] "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior and Worldview," in *Contributions to Anthropology: Selected Papers of A. Irving Hallowell*, eds. Raymond Fogelson *et al*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.357-90

1971 [1942] *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society, Vol II*, Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, New York: Octagon Books

1955 *Culture and Experience*, New York: Schocken

Hambleton, Elizabeth

1992 "John Johnson and Oshauguscodaywayquay," in *The John Johnson Family of Sault St. Marie*, eds. Elizabeth Hambleton and Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, Sault St. Marie, MI: The John Johnson Family Association, pp.1-24

Hamell, George

1987 "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21(4):72-93

1983 "Trading in Metaphors: The Magic of Beads, Another Perspective Upon Indian-European Contact in Northeastern North America," in *Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference*, ed. Charles F. Hayes III, Rochester, NY: Rochester Museum and Science Center, pp.5-28

Hamilton, Martha Wilson

1995 *Silver in the Fur Trade, 1680-1820*, Chelmsford, Massachusetts: Martha Hamilton Publishing

Hardy, Thomas

1993 [1874] *Far From the Madding Crowd*, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd.

Harmon, Daniel William

1904 [c.1820] *A journal of voyages and travels in the interior of North America, between the 47th and 58th degrees of N. Lat., extending from Montreal nearly to the Pacific, a distance of about 5,000 miles: including an account of the principal occurrences during a residence of nineteen years in different parts of the country*, Toronto: G.N. Morang

Harper, John Russell

1979 *Krieghoff*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

1971 *Paul Kane's Frontier: Including Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* by Paul Kane, Austin and London: University of Texas Press

Heath, Richard

1893 *The English Peasantry: Studies, Historical, Local and Biographic*, London: T. Fisher Unwin

Henry, Alexander

1901 [1806] *Travel and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*, Toronto: George N. Morang and Co., Ltd. (reprint)

Henry, Peggy Sue

1998a *Beads to Buckskins*, Vol. 7, Hill City, Kansas: Jayhawk Rock Shop Pub.

1993b *Beads to Buckskins*, Vol. 8, Hill City, Kansas: Jayhawk Rock Shop Pub.

Herem, Barry

1998 "Bill Reid: Making the Northwest Coast Famous," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 24(1):42-51

Heriot, George

1971 [1806] *Travels Through the Canadas*, Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd. (reprint)

Hilger, Sister Inez

1998 [1939] *Chippewa Families: A Social Study of White Earth Reservation, 1938*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press

1951 *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background*, St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press

Hills, Richard

1991 "Textiles and Clothing," in *An Encyclopedia of the History of Technology*, ed. Ian McNeil, New York: Routledge, pp. 803-54

Hoffman, Walter James

1982 [1888] "Pictography and Shamanistic Rites of the Ojibwa," in *Native North American Art History*, eds. Z.P. Mathews and A. Jonaitis, Palo Alto, California: Peek Pub., pp.376-81

1970 [1896] *The Menomini Indians*, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation (reprint)

1891 *The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa*, Seventh Annual Report, Washington DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, pp.149-300

Hollander, Anne

1975 *Seeing Through Clothes*, New York: Avon Books

Holliday, Carl

1922 *Woman's Life in Colonial Days*, Boston: The Cornhill Pub. Co.

Howard, James

1980 "Birch Bark and Paper Cut-Outs: An Art Form of the Northern Woodlands and the Prairie Border," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 5(4):54-61,86-7

n/d [c.1963] *The Plains Ojibwa or Bunji: Hunters and Warriors of the Northern Prairies with Special Reference to the Turtle Mountain Band*, *Museum News*

Huggett, Frank E.

1972 *A Day in the Life of a Victorian Farm Worker*, London: George Allen and Unwin

Innis, Harold A.

1999 [1930] *The Fur Trade in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Ireland-Noganosh, Dawn

1995 "The Jingle Dress," in *Aboriginal Voices* 2(2):62

Jacobs, Wilbur R.

1950 *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748-1763*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Jaenen, Cornelius

1980 "French Attitudes Towards Native Society," in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, eds. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp.59-72

Jameson, Anna B.

1990 [1838] *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc.

Jenness, Diamond

1935 *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island: Their Social and Religious Life*, Bulletin No. 78, Anthropological Series, No.17, Ottawa: National Museum of Canada

Jefferies, Richard

1892 *The Toilers of the Field*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

- Johnson, Marilyn**
 1983 *My Apprenticeship with a Modern Ojibwa Shaman: A Personal and Comparative Analysis of Shamanic Flight*, MA Thesis, Toronto: York University
- Johnson, Pauline E.**
 1998 [1913] *The Moccasin Maker*, ed. A LaVonne Brown Ruoff, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press
- Johnston, Basil**
 1988 *Indian School Days*, Toronto: Key Porter Books Ltd.
- 1986 *By Canoe and Moccasin: Some Native Place Names of the Great Lakes*, Lakefield, Ont.: Waapoone Pub.
- 1978 *Ojibway Language Lexicon for Beginners*, Ottawa: Government of Canada
- 1976 *Ojibway Heritage*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc.
- Johnston, Patricia Condon**
 1983 *Eastman Johnson's Lake Superior Indians*, Afton, MN: Johnston Pub. Inc.
- Jonaitis, Aldona**
 1992 "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History," in *The Early Years of Native American Art History*, ed. Janet Berlo, Vancouver: UBC Press, pp.22-61
- Jones, Gwyn and Thomas Jones, trans.**
 1989 [1949] *The Mabinogion*, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd.
- Jones, Peter**
 1970 [1861] *History of the Ojibway Indians: With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity*, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press
- Joseph, Terri**
 1990 "Transformation of Pattern: From Nature to Cloth," in *Unbroken Circles: Traditional Arts of Contemporary Woodland People*, ed. Susan Dixon, Special Edition, *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 7(4):41-6
- Joshi, O. P.**
 1992 "Continuity and Change in Hindu Women's Dress," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. R. Barnes and J. Eicher, Oxford: Berg Pub. Co., pp.214-31
- Kaiser, Susan**
 1990 *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context*, New York: Macmillan Pub. Co.

- Kane, Grace Franks**
1897 *Myths and Legends of the Mackinacs and the Lake Region*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Black Letter Press
- Kane, Paul**
1996 [1858] *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America*, New York: Dover Publications (reprint)
- Karklins, Karlis**
1992 *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada: A Source Book*, Ottawa: Environment Canada
- Kavanagh, Gaynor**
1989 "Objects as Evidence, or Not?," in *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, ed. Susan Pearce, London: Leicester University Press, pp.125-37
- Keating, William**
1959 [1825] *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc, Performed in the Year 1823*, Minneapolis, MN: Ross and Haines Inc.
- Kegg, Maud**
1991 *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe Childhood*, ed. and trans. John Nichols, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press
- Kerisit, Michelle**
1994 "Feathers and Fringes: A Semiotic Approach to Powwow Dancers' Regalia," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen H. Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.363-92
- Kidd, Kenneth**
1961 "The Cloth Trade and the Indians of the Northeast During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Royal Ontario Museum, Division of Art and Archaeology, Annual*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, pp.48-56
- King, Sandra**
1993 *Shannon: An Ojibway Dancer*, Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co.
- Knapp, Millie**
1998 "Fur-thering Fashion," in *Aboriginal Voices* 5(5):13
- 1996 "D'Arcy Moses: Ready-to-Wear," in *Aboriginal Voices* 3(1):15
- 1995 "Designing Women: Dorothy Grant," in *Aboriginal Voices* 2(4):30
- Knockwood, Isabel**
1992 *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential*

School at Shubanacadie, Nova Scotia, Lockeport, Nova Scotia: Roseway Pub.

Kohl, Johann Georg

1985 [1860] *Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway*, St. Paul, MN: The Minnesota Historical Society Press (reprint)

Kopytoff, Igor

1986 "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.64-91

Kugel, Rebecca

1998a *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898*, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press

1998b "'To Work Like a Frenchman': Ojibwe Men's Definitions of Metis Men's Ethnicity in the Early Nineteenth Century," paper presented for the American Society for Ethnohistory, University of Minnesota, Nov. 12, 1998

LaDuke, Winona

1997 *Last Standing Woman*, Stillwater, MN: Voyageur Press

Landes, Ruth

1969 [1938] *The Ojibwa Woman*, New York: AMS Press

1969 [1937] *Ojibwa Sociology*, New York: AMS Press

1968 *Ojibwa Religion and the Midéwiwin*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

Langer, Susanne

1957 *Problems of Art: Ten Philosophical Lectures*, New York: Scribner

Leacock, Eleanor

1981 "Matrilocality Among the Montagnais-Naskapi," in *Myths of Male Dominance*, New York: Monthly Review Press, pp.63-81

Lemire, Beverly

1994 "Redressing the History of the Clothing Trade in England: Ready-made Clothing, Guilds, and Women Workers, 1650-1800," in *Dress* 21:61-74

Levchuk, Berenice

1997 "Leaving Home for Carlisle Indian School," in *Reinventing the Enemy's Language: Contemporary Native Women's Writings of North America*, eds. Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., pp.175-86

Levi-Strauss, Claude

1962 *Totemism*, Boston: Beacon Press

- Lienke, Nancy Way
1976 "Persistence and Repetitions of Algonquian Woodlands Design in a Contemporary Chippewa Community," in *Minnesota Archaeologist* 35(1):2-15
- Lippard, Lucy R., ed.
1992 *Partial Recall: Essays on Photographs of Native North Americans*, New York: The New Press
- Lipson, E.
1949 *The Growth of English Society: A Short Economic History*, London: Adam and Charles Black
- Lofland, Lyn
1973 *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space, Prospect Heights, Illinois*: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Lohrmann, Charles J.
1998 "Weaving New Traditions," in *Native Peoples Magazine* 11(3):26-32
- Long, John
1971 [1791] *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, Toronto: Coles Pub. Co. (reprint)
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth
1992 [1855] *The Song of Hiawatha*, London: J. M. Dent
- Lurie, Alison
1981 *The Language of Clothes*, New York: Random House
- Lyford, Carrie
1982 [1943] *Ojibwa Crafts*, Stevens Point, WI: Schneider Pub. (reprint)
- Macleane, Sir Fitzroy
1995 *Highlanders: A History of the Scottish Clans*, London: Penguin Books
- Martin, Linda R.
2000 "Navajo Style: Fashions for all Seasons," in *Native Peoples Magazine* 13(4):28-31
- Massie, Larry B.
1993 *Birchbark Belles: Women on the Michigan Frontier, Allegan Forest, MI*: The Priscilla Press
- Masson, L.R., ed.
1960 [1889] *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Récits de Voyages, Lettres, et Rapports Inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien*, New York: Antiquarian Press, Vols. 1 and 2

- MacEwan, J.W. Grant**
1971 *Portraits From the Plains*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ltd.
- McCall, Karen, ed.**
1994 *Winds of Change: Aboriginal Fashion Catalogue and Directory*, Toronto: Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business, Government of Canada
- McClurken, James M.**
1991 *Gah-Bach-Jhagwah-Buk; The Way It Happened: A Visual Culture History of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press
- 1986 "Ottawa," in *People of the Three Fires*, Grand Rapids: The Michigan Indian Press, pp.1-38
- McCraken, Grant**
1987 "Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of Expressive Properties of Material Culture," in *Material Anthropology: Contemporary Approaches to Material Culture*, eds. Barrie Reynolds and Margaret Stott, Lanham: University Press of America, pp.103-28
- 1982 "Rank and Two Aspects of Dress in Elizabethan England," in *Culture*2(2):53-62
- McCloskey, Kathy**
1994 a "Marketing Multiple Myths: The Hidden History of Navajo Weaving," in *Journal of the Southwest* 36(3):185-220
- 1994b "Navajo Weaving as Sacred Metaphor," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays in the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.393-414
- McKenney, Thomas L.**
1972 [1827] *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, Barre, Massachusetts: Imprint Society
- McKenney, Thomas L. and James Hall**
1933 *The Indian Tribes of North America with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of Their Principal Chiefs*, Vol.1, ed. F.W. Hodge, Edinburgh: John Grant
- Meier, Peg**
1991 *Too Hot, Went to Lake*, Minneapolis: Neighbors Publications
- 1981 *Bring Warm Clothes: Letters and Photos from Minnesota's Past*, Minneapolis: Neighbors Publications
- Methot, Suzanne**
1998 "Spirit of Collaboration," *Aboriginal Voices Magazine* 5(2):13

Meyer, Melissa

1994 *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Michael, James

1999 "Oral History and the Mi'kmaq Land Claim," paper presented for the Organization of American Historians (OAH), Toronto, April 22, 1999

Miller, J. Hillis

1990 "Narrative," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, eds. F. Lentricchia and T. McLaughlin, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Miller, James R.

1996 *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

1990 "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," in *Ethnohistory* 37(4): 386-415

Montgomery, Florence M.

1984 *Textiles in America, 1650-1870*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company

Montgomery Ward and Company

1969 [1895] *Catalogue No. 57, Spring and Summer, 1985*, New York: Dover Pub. (unabridged facsimile)

Moodie, Jim

2000a "Wiwemikong's Historic Pow Wow Now 40 Years Old," in *The Manitoulin Expositor - Historical Supplement*, Wed. Aug. 2, pp.1B,6B-7B

2000b "Pow Wows always part of Wiki's story," in *The Manitoulin Expositor - Historical Supplement*, Wed. Aug. 2, pp.5B,9B-10B

Moodie, Susanna

1989 [1852] *Roughing It in the Bush*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc.

Mooney, Michael MacDonald, ed.

1975 "Introduction" in *George Catlin: Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, New York: Gramercy Books

Moore, Henrietta

1990 "Paul Ricoeur: Action, Meaning and Text," in *Reading Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp.85-120

Morriseau, Norval

1965 *Legends of My People the Great Ojibway*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press

- Morrison, Jean, ed. and intro.
 1988 *The North West Company in Rebellion: Simon McGillivray's Fort William Notebook, 1815*, Thunder Bay, Ontario: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society
- Morrisseau, Miles
 1996 "All Star Native Cast Powers Hiawatha," in *Aboriginal Voices* 3(3):36
- Newman, Peter C.
 1989 *Empire of the Bay: An Illustrated History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, Toronto: Madison Press Books
- 1985 *Company of Adventurers, Vol. 1*, Markham, Ontario: Viking Penguin Press
- Nichols, John D. and Earl Nyholm, eds.
 1995 *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press
- Nicks, Trudy
 1999 "Indian Villages and Entertainments: Setting the Stage for Tourist Souvenir Sales," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.301-15
- 1990 "Indian Handicrafts: The Marketing of an Image," in *Rotunda*, Summer 14-20
- Ningewance, Patricia
 1993 *Survival Ojibwe: Learning Conversational Ojibwe in Thirty Lessons*, Winnipeg: Maxinaate Press
- Noc Bay Trading Company
 1999 *Noc Bay Trading Company Catalogue*, Escanaba, MI
- Norris, Herbert and Oswald Curtis
 1998 [1933] *Nineteenth-Century Costume and Fashion*, Mineola, NY: Dover Pub.
- Oberholtzer, Cath
 1993 "Baby Net Charms: Metaphors of Protection and Provision," in *Papers of the Twenty-fourth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan, Ottawa: University of Carlton Press, pp.318-33
- O'Kelly, Hilary
 1992 "Reconstructing Irishness: Dress in the Celtic Revival, 1880-1920," in *Chic Thrills: A Fashion Reader*, eds. Juliet Ash and Elizabeth Wilson, London: Harper Collins Pub., pp.75-83
- O'Neil II, James F., ed.
 1995 *Their Bearing is Noble and Proud: A Collection of Narratives Regarding the*

Appearance of Native Americans from 1740-1815, Dayton: J.T.G.S. Publishing

Otto, Simon

1995 *Grandmother Moon Speaks*, Lansing, MI: Thunder Bay Press

Overholt, Thomas W. and J. Baird Callicott, eds.

1982 *Clothed-in-Fur and Other Tales: An Introduction to an Ojibwa Worldview*, New York: University Press of America

Owen, Mary Alicia

1904 *Folklore of the Musquakie Indians of North America and Catalogue of Musquakie Beadwork and Other Objects in the Collection of the Folklore Society*, London: David Nutt

Parezo, Nancy J.

1999 "The Indian Fashion Show," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.243-63

Parezo, Nancy and Nancy Blomberg

1997 "Indian Chic: The Denver Art Museum's *Indian Style Show*," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 23(1):44-55

Parr Traill, Catherine

1966 [1836] *The Backwoods of Canada*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart

Peers, Laura

1994 *The Ojibway of Western Canada, 1780-1870*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press

Penney, David

1992 *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection*, Seattle: University of Washington Press

1991 "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation," in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15(1):53-77

1990 "Clothing as a Reflection of History Among Great Lakes Native Americans, 1800 - 1900," in *On the Border*, ed. David Wooley, Moorhead, MN: Plains Art Museum, pp.12-26

Petrone, Penny, ed.

1991 *First People, First Voices*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Pettipas, Katherine

1994 *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press

- Pfaff, Tim**
 1993 *Paths of the People: The Ojibwe in the Chippewa Valley, Eau Claire, WI: Chippewa Valley Museum Press*
- Phillips, Ruth**
 1993 "'Arrows of Truth': The Indians of Canada Pavillion at Expo '67," in *Commemoration, Resistance, and Revitalization: Reflections on the Columbian Quincentenary*, ed. Pauline Turner Strong, University of Iowa Press (manuscript version)
- 1989 "Dreams and Designs: Iconographic Problems in Great Lakes Twined Bags," in *Great Lakes Indian Art*, ed. David Penney, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, pp.52-67
- 1987 "Like a Star I Shine": Northern Woodlands Artistic Traditions," in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, ed. Julia Harrison, Toronto and Calgary: McClelland and Stewart and Glenbow Museum, pp.51-92
- Podlog, Meish.**
 1981 "Split Black Ash Baskets" and "Traditional Native Basketry: A Viable Future or Basket Case?" in *Special Editions: Dimensions, The Craft Issue*, 9(4):15-17
- Pohrt, Richard**
 1986 "Nineteenth Century Michigan Chippewa Costume: Photographs of David Shoppenagons," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 11(3):44-53
- Polkinghorne, Donald**
 1988 *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, Buffalo, N.Y.: State University of New York Press
- Potts, Rev. John, ed.**
 1879 *The Royal Path of Life or, Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*, Toronto: John B. Magurn
- Powers, Marla**
 1986 *Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual and Reality*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Pritzker, Barry**
 1993 *Edward S. Curtis*, London: Bison Group
- Radin, Paul**
 1968 [1936] "Ojibwa and Ottawa Puberty Dreams," in *Essays in Anthropology*, New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., pp.233-64 (reprint)
- Ray, Arthur J.**
 1996 *'I Have Lived Here Since the World Began': An Illustrated History of Canada's First People*, Toronto: Lester Pub. Ltd.

1980 "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century," in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, eds. Carol Judd and Arthur Ray, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp.255-71

Ray, Arthur J. and Donald Freeman

1978 'Give Us Good Measure': an economic analysis of relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Ray, Carl

1995 [1971] *Sacred Legends*, ed. James Stevens, ?: Penumbra Press

Reddy, William M.

1986 "The Structure of a Cultural Crisis: Thinking About Cloth in France Before and After the Revolution," in *The Social Life of Things*, eds. Arjun Appadurai, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.261-83

Rice, Harmony

1998 "Designing Fashion for Fun," in *Aboriginal Voices* 5(6):12

Richardson, Dorothy

1990 [1905] *The Long Day*, intro. Cindy Sondik Aron, Charlottesville, VI: University Press of Virginia

Riggins, Stephen Harold, ed.

1994 *The Socialness of Things: Essays in the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, New York: Mouton de Gruyter

Riggins, Stephen H.

1994 "Introduction," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays in the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.1-6

Ritzenthaler, Robert E. and Pat Ritzenthaler

1970 *The Woodlands Indians of the Western Great Lakes*, New York: The Natural History Press

Rodgers, Susan

1993 "A Batak Antiquarian Writes His Culture: Print Literacy and Social Thought in Indonesian Society," in *Anthropology and Literature*, ed. Paul Benson, Urbana: University of Illinois, pp.89-106

Rogers, Edward

1962 *The Round Lake Ojibwa*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum

Rolleston, T.W.

1990 [1917] *Celtic Myths and Legends*, New York: Dover Publications

Rorty, Richard

- 1994 "Method, Social Science, and Social Hope," in *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory*, ed. Steven Seidman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.46-64
- Rosaldo, Renata
1989 *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, Boston: Beacon Press
- 1986 "Ilongot Hunting as Story and Experience," in *The Anthropology of Experience*, eds. Victor Turner and Edward Bruner, Urbana: University of Illinois, pp.97-138
- Rose, Dan
1993 "Ethnography as a Form of Life: The Written Word and the Work of the World," in *Anthropology and Literature*, ed. Paul Benson, Urbana: University of Illinois, pp.192-224
- Roth, Paul
1988 "Narrative Explanations: The Case of History," in *History and Theory* 27:1-13
- Rushing, W. Jackson
1992 "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern: René D'Harnoncourt and 'Indian Art of the United States'," in *The Early Years of Native North American Art History*, ed. Janet Berlo, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, pp.191-236
- Sagatoo, Mary
1994 [1897] *Thirty-Three Years Among the Indians: The Story of Mary Sagatoo*, ed. Donna Winters, Caledonia, MI: Bigwater Pub.
- Sarris, Greg
1993 *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Text*, Berkeley: University of California Press
- Satz, Ronald N.
1991 *Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective*, Madison WI: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters
- Schenck, Theresa M.
1997 "The Voice of the Crane Echoes Afar": *The Sociopolitical Organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa, 1640-1855*, New York: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Schmalz, Peter S.
1991 *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Schneider, Jane
1989 "Rumpelstiltskin's Bargain: Folklore and the Merchant Capitalist Intensification of Linen Manufacture in Early Modern Europe," in *Cloth and the Human Experience*,

- eds. Annette Weiner and Jane Schneider, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 177-213
- Schneider, Jane and Annette Weiner
1989 "Introduction," in *Cloth and the Human Experience*, eds. A. Weiner and J. Schneider, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp.1-29
- Schneider, Richard C.
1972 *Crafts of the Native American Indians: A Craftsman's Manual*, Steven's Point, WI: R. Shneider
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe
1992 [1821] *Narrative Journal of Travels Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States extending from Detroit through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820*, ed. Mentor L. Williams, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press
- 1991 *Schoolcraft's Indian Legends*, ed. Mentor L. Williams, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press
- 1984 [1856] *The Myth of Hiawatha and Other Oral Legends, Mythological and Allegoric, of the North American Indians*, Marquette, MI: Avery Color Studios (facsimile edition)
- 1977 [1851] *The American Indians, Their History, Condition and Prospects, from Original Notes and Manuscripts*, New York: Garland Pub. Inc. (reprint)
- 1969 [1851] *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under The Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, New York: Palladin Press (reprint)
- Schroeder, Joseph J. Jr., ed.
1971 *The Wonderful World of Ladies' Fashion, 1850-1920*, Northfield, Illinois: Digest Books
- Schwarz, Herbert T.
1974 *Tales From the Smokehouse*, Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers
- Senior, Michael, ed.
1988 *Sir Thomas Malory's Tales of King Arthur*, London UK: William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd.
- Shine, Carolyn R.
1993 "Dress of the Ohio Pioneers," in *Dress in American Culture*, eds. Patricia Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, pp.42-65

- Shipley, Nan
1955 *Anna and the Indians*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press
- Silverman, Eric Kline
1990 "Clifford Geertz: Toward a More 'Thick' Understanding?," in *Reading Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp.121-59
- Silversides, Brock V.
1994 *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians, 1871-1939*, Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House Publishers
- Silverstein, Cory
1999 "Beyond Selves and Others: Embodying and Enacting Meta-Narratives With a Difference," in *Feminist Fields: Ethnographic Insights*, eds. R. Bridgman, S. Cole and H. Howard-Bobiwash, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, pp.70-85
- 1993 *Gifts of Nokomis: Spiritual Power in the Arts of Ojibwa and Cree Women*, MA, York University
- Silverstein, Cory and Zeek Cywink
2000 "From Fireside to TV Screen: Self-Determination and Anishnaabe Storytelling Traditions," in *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 20(1):35-66
- Sims, Sally
1991 "The Bicycle, the Bloomer and Dress Reform in the 1890s," in *Dress and Popular Culture*, eds. Patricia Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press, pp.125-45
- Skinner, Alanson
1921 *Material Culture of the Menomini*, New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation
- 1914 *Political Organization, Cults, and Ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains Cree Indians*, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 11, Part 6, New York: American Museum of Natural History, pp.475-542
- Smith, Donald B.
1999 "Nahnehahwequay: 'Upright Woman,'" paper presented for the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Methodist Historical Society, June 22, 1999 (forthcoming in *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers, 1999*, to be published in 2001, and *Canada, Confederation to Present*, a CD-ROM/Web publication compiled by Bob Hesketh, Dept. of History, University of Alberta)
- 1987 *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- 1976 "Maungwudaus Goes Abroad," in *The Beaver* (Autumn):4-9

Smith, Erica

1991 *Something More Than Mere Ornament: Cloth and Indian-European Relations in the Eighteenth Century*, MA Thesis. University of Winnipeg, Manitoba

Southwold, Brewster

1955 *Wool and the Wool Trade*, New York: The Wool Associates of the New York Cotton Exchange, Inc.

Speck, Frank

1982 [1914] "The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art," in *Native North American Art History*, eds. Zena Pearlstone Mathews and Aldona Jonaitis, New York: Peek Publications, pp. 383-428

1977 *Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

1929 "Boundaries and Hunting Groups of the River Desert Algonquin," in *Indian Notes*, Vol. VI, No.6, New York: Museum of the American Indian, pp.97-120

1915 *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley*, Memoir 70, Anthropological Series No.8, Ottawa: Government of Canada

Stanley, Nick

1994 "Melanesian Artifacts as Cultural Markers: A Micro-Anthropological Study," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.173-99

Strayer, Joseph R. and Hans W. Gatzke

1979 *The Mainstream of Civilization: To 1715*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

Stoutamire, Elizabeth Warren

1992a "Jane Johnson Schoolcraft, 1800-1842" in *The John Johnson Family of Sault St. Marie*, eds. Elizabeth Hambleton and Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, Sault St. Marie: The John Johnson Family Association, pp.40-6

1992b "Charlotte Johnson McMurray, 1806-1878" in *The John Johnson Family of Sault St. Marie*, eds. Elizabeth Hambleton and Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, Sault St. Marie: The John Johnson Family Association, pp.50-7

Sugden, John

1997 *Tecumseh: A Life*, New York: Henry Holt and Company

Surtees, Robert J.

1994 "Land Cessions, 1763-1830," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, eds. Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith, Toronto: Dundurn Press,

pp.92-121

T. Eaton and Co.

1991 [1901] Catalogue Nos. 46 and 47. Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter. 1901. Toronto: Stoddard Pub. Co. (slightly abridged facsimile)

Tanner, Adrian

1984 "Notes on the Ceremonial Hide," in *Papers of the Fifteenth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan, Ottawa: Carlton University Press, pp.91-105

1979 *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters*, London: C. Hurst and Company

Tanner, John

1975 [1830] *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians of the Interior of North America*, ed. Edwin James, New York: Garland Pub. Co. (reprint)

Teeple, Bucko

1994 *Kitchigamig Anishnaabeg: The People of the Great Lakes*, Sault St. Marie: Sault St. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians

Therriault, Madeline Katt

1992 *Moose to Moccasins: The Story of Ka Kita Wa Pa No Kwe*, Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc.

Thomas, Charles

1986 *Celtic Britain*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.

Thomas, Nicholas

1991 *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Thompson, Judy

1994 *From the Land: Two Hundred Years of Dene Clothing*, Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization

Tilley, Christopher

1989 "Interpreting Material Culture," in *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, ed. Ian Hodder, London: Unwin Hyman, pp.185-94

Titley, E. Brian

1986 *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press

Tokarev, Sergeij A.

1985 "Towards a Methodology for the Ethnographic Study of Material Culture," in

American Material Culture and Folklife: A Prologue and Dialogue, ed. Simon J. Bronner, Ann Arbor, MI: U.M.I. Research Press

Tonkin, Elizabeth

1992 *Narrating Our Past: The Social Construction of Oral History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Tortora, Phyllis and Robert Merkel, eds.

1996 *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, 7th Edition, New York: Fairchild Pub.

Trahant, Mark

1981 "The Grand Illusion," in *Ontario Indian* 4(6):30-3

Trautman, Pat

1991 "Witches' Weeds," in *Dress and Popular Culture*, eds. Patricia Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press, pp.146-63

Trevor-Roper, Hugh

1983 "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.15-41

Turner, Victor

1969 *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Umfreville, Edward

1954 [1790] *The Present State of Hudson's Bay, Containing a Full Description of that Settlement, and the Adjacent Country; and Likewise of the Fur Trade, with hints for its Improvement, etc. etc.*, Toronto: Ryerson Press

Vanderburgh, R. M.

1977 *I am Nokomis, Too: The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston*, Don Mills, Ont.: General Pub. Co. Ltd.

Van Dusen, Rev. C.

1974 [1867] *The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-E-Ne-Ne (David Sawyer) A Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West*, Toronto: Coles Pub. Co. (reprint)

Van Gennep, Arnold

1960 [1908] *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Visedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, intro. Solon T. Kimball, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Vansina, Jan

1985 *Oral Traditions as History*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

1965 *Oral Tradition*, trans. H.M. Wright, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books

Vastokas, Joan

1994 "Are Artifacts Texts?: Lithuanian Woven Sashes as Social and Cosmic Transactions," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.337-62

Vennum, Thomas Jr.

1988 *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press

1982 *The Ojibwa Dance Drum: Its History and Construction*, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press

Visenor, Gerald

1976 *Crossbloods, Bone Courts, Bingo and Other Reports*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Waisburg, Leo and Tim Holzkamm

1993 "A Tendency to Discourage Them From Cultivating': Ojibwa Agriculture and Indian Affairs Administration in Northwestern Ontario," in *Ethnohistory* 40(2):175-211

Walters, Anna Lee

1989 *The Spirit of Native North America: Beauty and Mysticism in American Indian Art*, San Francisco: Chronicle Books

Warren, William

1984 [1885] *History of the Ojibway People*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society

Waterbury, Ronald

1989 "Embroidery for Tourists: A Contemporary Putting-Out System in Oaxaca, Mexico," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Riggins, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.337-62

Weaver, Margaret Curtiss

1992 "George Johnson, 1796-1861," in *The John Johnson Family of Sault St. Marie*, eds. Elizabeth Hambleton and Elizabeth Warren Stoutamire, Sault St. Marie, MI: The John Johnson Family Association, pp.32-9

Weiner, Annette, and Jane Schneider, eds.

1989 *Cloth and the Human Experience*, eds. A. Weiner and J. Schneider, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press

Wheeler, Robert C.

1985 *A Toast to the Fur Trade: A Picture Essay on Its Material Culture*, St. Paul, MN: Wheeler Productions

White, Bruce M.

- 1999 "The Woman Who Married a Beaver: Trade Patterns and Gender Roles in the Ojibwa Fur Trade," in *Ethnohistory* 46(1):109-47
- 1994 "Encounters With Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and Their Merchandise," in *Ethnohistory* 41(3):369-405
- 1987a "Montreal Canoes and Their Cargoes," in "Le Castor Fait Tout": Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985, eds. B. Trigger, T. Morantz and L. Dechene, Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, pp. 164-92
- 1987b "A Skilled Game of Exchange: Ojibway Fur Trade Protocol," in *Minnesota History* 50(6):229-40
- 1982 "'Give Us a Little Milk,' The Social and Cultural Meanings of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade," in *Minnesota History* 48(2):60-71
- 1978 'Give Us Good Measure': an economic analysis of relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763, Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- White, Richard
1991 *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Whiteford, Andrew Hunter
1997 "Floral Beadwork of the Western Great Lakes," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 22(4):68-79
- 1986 "The Origins of the Great Lakes Beaded Bandolier Bag," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 11(3):33-43
- Whiting, B.J. and Louis Untermeyer *et al.*, eds.
1948 *College Survey of Literature, Vol. I*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.
- Widder, Keith R.
1999 *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press
- Wilkins, Charles
1994 "From the Hands of a Master: Freda McDonald Reaffirms Her Roots by Teaching Crafts in the Ojibwa Tradition," in *Canadian Geographic* 114(3):64-70
- Williams-Ellis, Amabel and F.J. Fisher
1936 *A History of English Life: Political and Social, Vol. II, 1066-1485*, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.
- Willis, N.P., Esq.
1967 [1842] *Canadian Scenery, Illustrated, Vol. II*, Toronto: Peter Martin Assoc. Ltd.

(facsimile edition)

Wilson, Elizabeth

1985 *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, London: Virago Press

Wolfart, H.C. and Freda Ahenakew, eds.

1993 *kinêhiyâwiwininaw nêhiyawêwin; The Cree Language is Our Identity: The La Ronge Lectures of Sarah Whitecalf*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press

Wolfe, Alexander

1988 *Earth Elder Stories: The Pinayzitt Path*, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Pub.

Wood, Christopher

1976 *Victorian Panorama: Paintings of Victorian Life*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

Wright, John C.

1996 [1917] *The Crooked Tree: Indian Legends of Northern Michigan*, Holt, MI: Thunder Bay Press

Wub-e-ke-niew

1995 *We Have the Right to Exist: A Translation of Aboriginal Indigenous Thought*, New York: Black Thistle Press

Young, Egerton R.

1900 *The Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans*, Toronto: William Briggs

Zaczek, Iain

1998 *Clans and Tartans of Scotland*, London: Collins and Brown Ltd.

PLATE I. BEAVERS IN EUROPEAN EYES



Figure 1: Detail from "La Caccia Dei Castori," 1760. "Nude savage" hunters with bows and guns hunt "civilized" beavers living in apartment-style dwellings. (HBCA)

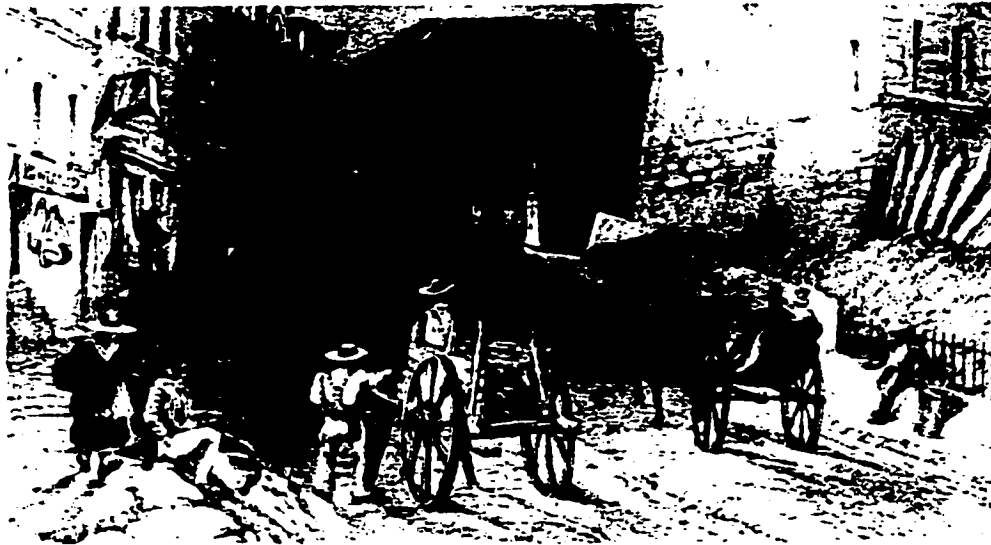


Figure 2: Detail from "Prescott Gate, Quebec," by W.H. Bartlett, 1842. This engraving shows, from left to right, a Habitant woman in straw hat, a Habitant man in an old wide-brimmed beaver hat, soldiers in outrageously tall beaver hats, two Habitant men in straw hats, a chauffeur in cone-crowned beaver hat, an upper class man in beaver top hat, his lady companion in a bonnet and another Habitant in straw hat. (Willis 1842 Vol.1: opp.124)

PLATE 2: NATIVE WOMEN WEARING BEAVER HATS



Figure 1: Detail from "Gaughnawaga Indian Encampment" by Cornelius Krieghoff, 1848. The woman standing on the right wears a typical HBC blanket with a beaver hat of moderate proportions. The woman seated at the left wears a man's shirt, which can be distinguished from the women's "shortgown" by the length. The man wears a blanket capote with broadcloth leggings.



Figure 2: "Omuddwajecoonoqua, or The Rippling Stream," 1861. Mississauga missionary, Peter Jones, presents this portrait with no explanation other than the name. The suffix "qau" indicates that she is a woman, as does her attire. The beaver top hat decorated with silver hat bands and feathers was worn by both male and female Anishnaabek.

Omuddwajecoonoqua's high status is revealed not only by her style of beaver hat, but also by the multiple strands of bead necklaces, wide silver bracelets, and the solid bands of ribbon covering the lower portion of her skirt. (Jones 1861:opp.57)

PLATE 3: EUROPEAN WOMEN WEARING BEAVER HATS



Figure 1: Detail of Queen Victoria's riding habit of 1840. It consists of a black beaver hat with a white veil, a black silk cravat and a dress of brown broadcloth, embroidered on the bodice. The black beaver hat was a standard element of nineteenth century aristocratic women's riding attire (Cunnington 1990 [1937]: opp.132).



Figure 2: "Knitters in the Valley of Wensley," by George Walker, from *Costume of Yorkshire*, 1814. In Yorkshire, as in Wales, peasant women wore beaver hats over headscarves. The woman standing in the foreground, as well as the woman seated behind the man and young girl, wear beaver hats with rounded crowns. The man seated amongst the women wears a low crowned beaver hat much like those worn by Native women, while the shepherd in the background wears one with a high rounded crown.

PLATE 4: SIGNS OF APPEARANCE - DRESS VS. RACE



Figure 1: "Episcopal Missionaries Teaching Chippewa Indians Lace-Making, Leech Lake, Minnesota," 1894 (MHS). Sybil Carter, the head of the lace-making project and the Eastern sales representative, is in the center of the back row flanked by two assistants. All the women are dressed alike in the British/American fashion of the day, but the four Chippewa women appeared to Pauline Colby "civilized Indians," rather than as fully integrated "whites." The photo was probably taken by Colby on the occasion of Miss Carter's visit to Leech Lake, where Colby was stationed. (MHS E99 C6 R157)

Figure 2: Tshusick: Portrait painted by unknown artist during her visit to Washington in 1826. She wears the clothes she made from materials provided by Thomas McKenney

Her jacket bears striking resemblance to a chief's coat and she wears a medal on a ribbon around her neck, as well as a hat (which was "purchased") with ostrich feathers, all of which denote "Indian royalty."

The remaining pieces of her outfit are: red leggings trimmed with ribbonwork; a white ruffled shirt; "purchased" moccasins; and a blue broadcloth skirt which is wrapped around and folded over a belt to form a peplum. It is trimmed with ribbon on both vertical and horizontal edges. There is a row of hawk bells along the hem. (MSA neg.#03306)



PLATE 5: MEDICINE WHEEL DESIGNS

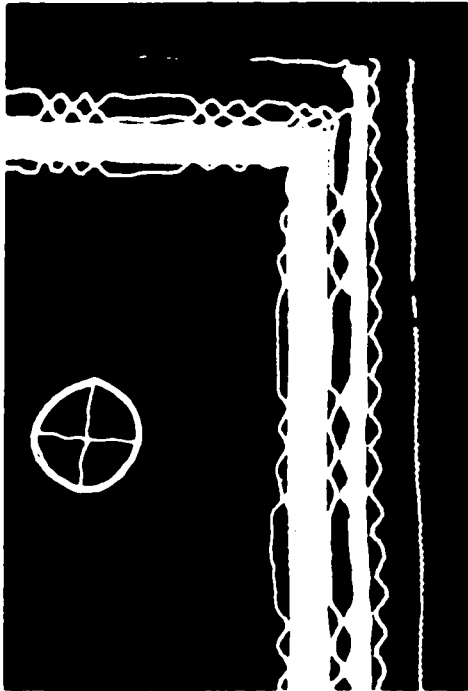


Figure 1: This detail from a mid-nineteenth century Ojibway man's hood shows a medicine wheel design embroidered in white seed beads. The hood is made from the coarse red woollen known as "stroud," or "strouing," (see Appendix). It is also exemplary of northern Ojibway ribbonwork of this period which shows a strong preference for white seed beads applied in linear patterns over parallel rows of narrow silk ribbons. The white beaded edging stitch, as well as the zigzag and otertail designs applied on the border and crown of the hood are typical of this style of work. (CMC III-G-838)



Figures 2 and 3: The front and back of this Ojibway woman's dance vest from Nett Lake, MN, illustrate how the four direction motif was adapted to the floral style that gained ascendancy in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. The front shows a four-cornered flower in the central position with a small "Ojibway rose" design above it. The back shows two further motifs based on four-cornered flowers which dominate the central axis of the tree-like design. Both front and back motifs also feature four points set at 45 degree angles to the basic motif. (CMC III-G-52).

PLATE 6. VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL DESIGN FIELDS - I



This portrait of Southeastern Ontario Mississauga Chief Natawash Miscocomin was published in Peter Jones' *History of the Ojebway Indians* (1861) opposite that of Omuddwajecoonoqua (Plate 2; figure 2). Although Anishnaabe male dress prior to the late nineteenth century was extremely individualistic, Miscocomin's dress illustrates design principles that were common to all. His chiefly status is indicated by his "chief's coat" and abundance of silver ornaments.

His body is divided horizontally at the waist with a sash. Above this, his chest is divided into three vertical design fields, the central one of which features layers of horizontal silver crescents. His arms are crossed horizontally by two broad silver bracelets at the wrists. His leggings show a vertical design field which is crossed below the knee with garters and meets a horizontal design field at the hem. The effect of the whole of these lines is the appearance of a rectangular field. Miscocomin's headdress is formed of a horizontal band from which hang two vertical pelts which frame his face. The feathers are arranged in a roughly vertical relation to the band.

PLATE 7: VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL DESIGN FIELDS - 2



This Eastman Johnston portrait of Notin E. Garbowik (1857) from west of Lake Superior exemplifies the Ojibway strap dress, which is worn with separate sleeves.

Notin's body is divided horizontally at the waist by a sash, the ends of which hang vertically on both sides of her hips. The vertical length of her skirt is divided by multiple horizontal rows of ribbon and beaded linear designs. Her leggings show a horizontal design field at the hem. Although not visible, this would typically be met by a vertical design field at the sides. The bodice of Nodin's dress has two vertical straps which cross over the horizontal fold of the dress above the breast. At the shoulder, the vertical straps are crossed horizontally by the strap of the sleeves to produce a square design field in the center. These principles are accentuated by the silver broaches which form a sort of square grid on the chest. Nodin's wrists are crossed horizontally by bands of ribbon on the cuffs of her sleeves and silver bracelets. Even Nodin's fingers are crossed with rings. (SLCHS)

PLATE 8: MESSAGES FOR TRAVELERS IN ANISHNAABE COUNTRY



Figure 1: "Two families in canoes" - This illustration shows how individuals were represented by their *doodemag*. Such messages were outlined on birch or cedar bark and inserted at the top of a stick which was placed leaning in the direction taken by the persons represented. Subsequent travelers would then know of their whereabouts. (Densmore 1979 [1929]: FIG.16, 177)

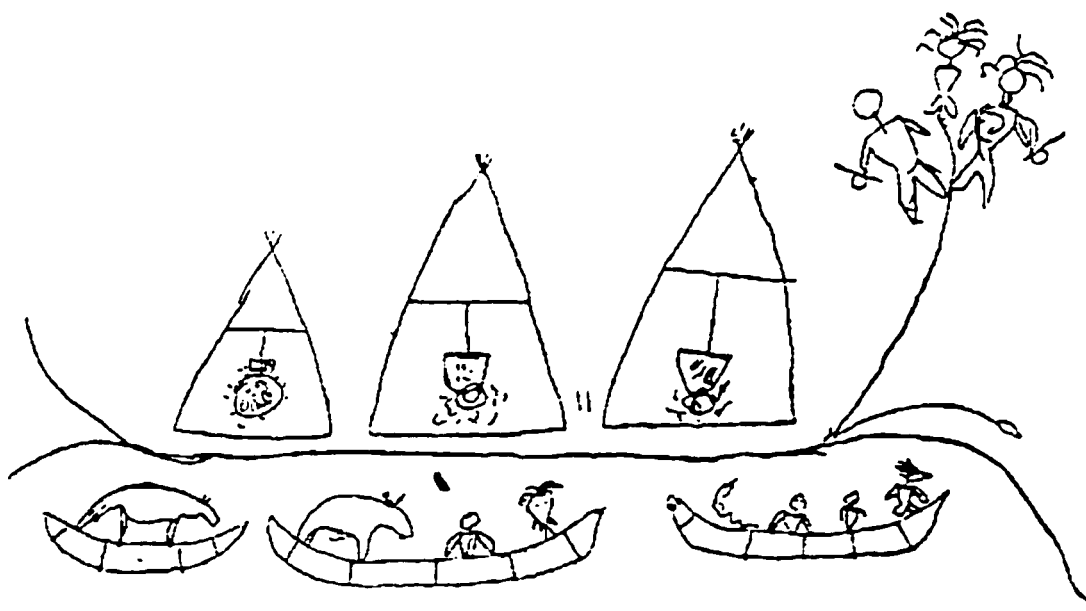


Figure 2: "A message containing a warning" - Another such message shows a group of various *doodemag* in three canoes who have taken the river route away from the Sioux warriors (depicted in human form). Densmore notes that the former are not families, presumably because the passengers in the middle are not of the same *doodemag* as those at either stern or bow. The direction taken by the group is depicted by the arrow placed between the two streams. The number of days encamped is represented by two lines between two of the lodges, and the full kettles inside the lodges show that they had plenty of food. (Densmore 1979 [1929]: FIG.19, 178)


PLATE 9: REV. PETER JONES' EAGLE *DOODEM* DESIGN

Figure 1: Detail of Eagle *doodem* designs on the lapel (at right) and under the folded back lapel (at left) on the coat of Mississauga Methodist minister, Rev. Peter Jones (c. 1845). The coat is made out of hand-tanned deer hide. The lapels "blackened hide" have been dyed a dark chocolate brown by soaking the hide in a solution of particular kinds of bark and water during the curing process (Juliette Meness Ferguson, taped interview Aug. 24th, 1999). The designs are worked in red, yellow and blue dyed porcupine quills. Notice "heartline" motif inside outlines of eagles. (SI E178398)


Figure 2: Rev. Peter Jones' maternal grandfather, Wabenose's Eagle *doodem* "mark" on Treaty # 14 (2nd from the bottom), signed on Sept. 6th, 1806. Wabenose and nine other chiefs of the Mississauga nation surrendered eighty-five thousand acres of land on the northeast shore of Lake Ontario for five shillings a piece. Peter Jones was four years old at the time. Jones' Anishnaabe name, Kahkewaquonaby ("Sacred Feathers"), is also said to have been given him by Wabenose, who selected it from among the names of the Eagle *doodem* (Smith 1987:7).

Chechalk 

Ouereppinon 

Mabatanyre 

Okemaperese 

Wabenose 

Hebonence 

PLATE 10: NATIVE FASHION STATEMENTS BY TRACEY HEESE GEORGE

Figure 1: Cree fashion designer, Tracey Heese George, at her booth at Sky Dome Powwow, Toronto, Ontario, Dec. 5th, 1999. She is modeling a light brown double-breasted jacket with geometric patterns on yoke and ribbon fringes inserted at shoulder seams. She is holding a chocolate brown jacket with black velvet lapels decorated with floral motifs worked in size 13 (very small) seed beads. These one-of-a-kind fashions make statements of regional and national identity and are popular among Native professional women.



Figure 2: This teenage model at the Turtle Concepts Fashion Show at Toronto's Sky Dome Powwow (Dec. 4th, 1999) wears another one of Tracey's designs. Her red crushed velvet jacket has beaded ornaments on the yoke and ribbon fringes on the back and sleeves. It is worn over a "little white dress." The outfit is suitable for evening wear and semi-formal functions.

PLATE 11: DOODEM DESIGNS



Figures 1 and 2: Birch bark cut-out bear (left) and beaver (right) designs made by Anny Hubbard during an interview with her in her home in Sault St. Marie, MI, Aug. 18th, 1998. I invited Anny to lead a regalia-making workshop, which was held in Nov. of 1999 in conjunction with the Native Living Arts Festival at University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario. Several of the participants who knew their *doodemug* used Anny's animal designs on the regalia they made during the workshops.

Figure 3: Pat Logan of the Hochunk nation of Wisconsin (now living in Milwaukee WI) wears diagonal-weave hair trailers with her traditional outfit at Wikwemikong Powwow Aug. 2nd, 1999. There are two separate strips of about 5/8" wide which reach to about mid-calf. The designs are worked so that when they are worn together they form a symmetrical pattern. The trailers are attached to her neck scarf but, she explains, traditionally they were attached to a piece of cloth in which one's hair was bound. She also said that the Black River Falls powwow in Wisconsin features a special women's dance in which participants must wear the complete traditional outfit associated with this type of hair trailer (informal interview Sky Dome Powwow, Toronto, Dec. 5th, 1999).



PLATE 12: DISPLACEMENT OF THE PEASANTRY IN BRITAIN



Figure 1: Interior of a spinning factory in London around 1839. Notice the contrast between the rags worn by the workers in the right foreground and the coats and top hats worn by the proprietors in the background. In the center of the picture is a romanticized depiction of a sympathetic interaction between the proprietor's son and one of the boys who work in the factory. All of these factories employed children, some as young as six years old. (Mansell Collection)



Figure 2: "Eventide" by Sir Hubert Von Herkomer (1878) was based on observations at the Westminster Workhouse in London. Most workhouses kept the sexes strictly apart regardless of marital status in order to avoid undesirable "breeding." The elderly women in the foreground are employed sewing shirts. Notice the rather bleak decor and solemn atmosphere. The single window allows light in, but is too high to admit of a view. (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)

PLATE 13: SCOTTISH NATIONALISM, CLEARANCES AND EMIGRATION



Figure 1: A 19th century depiction of Scottish clearances shows a tenant family looking back at their burning homestead while three gentlemen in top hats survey the scene. Notice flock of sheep in background. The man wears trousers with a plaid wrapped around his upper body. Scottish peasants abandoned the belted plaid during the 35 year ban (Chapman (1995:8), but the young son wears the newly popular kilt. (Mitchell Library, Glasgow)



Figure 2: Archibald Macnab of Macnab, colonizer of Upper Canada, early 1800s

Figure 3: John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, "Captain of Regiment of Foot Guards, 1755, Governor of Virginia, 1770" (inscription on painting).

Murray wears the belted plaid and mixed tartans typical of eighteenth century Highland dress, whereas Macnab wears the kilt and a "clan" tartan, both of which gained popularity rapidly after King George IV of England's visit to Scotland in 1822. Macnab's tartan, however, is not the same as that shown for the Macnab clan in Zaczek's (1998:95) contemporary compilation (both: Scottish National Portrait Gallery).

PLATE 14: AH-QUE-WE-ZANTZ' DANCE TROUPE IN ENGLAND, 1844-5



Figure 1: This etching was copied from an 1844 daguerreotype taken while the group was in England and is reproduced in Arthur Rankin's (1844, NBL) account of their tour. Rankin knew Ah-que-we-zantz in British North America and was responsible for bringing them to England. Notice the British-style long skirt of the woman at the right and the jacket with beaded lapels of the man on the right.



Figure 2: George Catlin's drawing of Ah-que-we-zantz' group bears the inscription: "The Nine Ojibbeways (Chippewa) Before Queen Victoria, Windsor Castle, 1845." It is likely that Catlin used his imagination freely in this depiction, since few Anishnaabek of Lake Huron were wearing fringed hide garments at that time. The man in the center even sports a painted horse and rider motif on his robe. Contemporaneous images including the one above and a photograph of Maungwadaus' troupe in England the following year {Plate 29; figure 1} show a predominance of trade materials used in dress. Catlin was probably one of the earliest promoters of the romanticization of Plains Native culture. (MSA if 622 ph 4750)

PLATE 15: VIOLET McGREGOR AND HER DEER-HIDE DRESS



Figure 1: Detail of the yoke of Violet's deer-hide dress shows scalloped lower edge trimmed with fringes, megis shells and leather thong cross-stitching. Violet purchased this dress at a yard sale at Wikwemikong when she learned that it had been made by a friend who had passed away.



Figure 2: Violet relaxes at the back of her craft booth at Rama First Nations Powwow, Oct. 10th, 1999. She has changed out of her women's traditional outfit into her casual clothes in order to assist her husband in packing up their booth in case of rain. The back of her dress shows scallops, megis shells and leather thong stitching at the hem that match those on the front of the yoke. The back of the yoke is decorated with a row of daisy-chain feathers with seed bead and porcupine quill loops dangling from them. Violet thinks the long fringes were probably a later addition to the dress because they don't match the color or the northeastern Anishnaabe style.

PLATE 16: DAWN MADAHBEE IN SIOUX-STYLE REGALIA



Figure 1: Dawn's women's traditional outfit has the four sacred colors of yellow, red, black and white. The yoke and leggings are fully beaded in the "lazy stitch" and all the accessories are beaded to match. Dawn also wears mink-skin hair ornaments that "represent the bravery of the warriors" and also honor the animals who have "given up their lives to nourish the families." Dawn believes the women wear the long pipe-bone breastplates "because of the modesty of the women's outfits." She carries a matching white shawl and eagle feather fan, without which her outfit would not be complete.

Figure 2: In this photograph Dawn is dancing in the women's traditional category. One of the key features of this style of outfit is the movement of the fringes. On this dress the fringes are made of white elk hide, which Dawn prefers because they are a medium weight between deer and moose hides. She wears a small purse, a knife case and an awl case suspended from her belt. The awl case, she says, is "very traditional" because it represents how women are always working, both on their outfits and in general. To complete her outfit, she wears a beaded barrette topped with a single eagle feather. Dawn won first place in this competition, but she also makes a point of attending traditional powwows (in which there is no competition dancing). (taped interview Aug. 2nd, 1999)



PLATE 17: OBJECTS EMBODY RATHER THAN REPRESENT



Figure 1: This “Woodlands Katchina Doll” made by Anne “Panther Woman” Marin uses a full mink skin which covers a piece of beech wood taken from a tree struck down by lightning at the site of a sacred mound in Ohio. The doll therefore imparts to its possessor the qualities of the mink, the beech tree and the Thunderbirds. The mink, Anne explains, is “at ease on land and in water,” and thus the owner attains balance. (taped interview June 5th, 1999)



Figure 2: “Chippewa Widow.” This painting by Charles Bird King was first published in Thomas McKenney’s portfolios in 1836 and exhibited at the Smithsonian until destroyed by fire in 1865. The “husband” Bird depicted had a chief’s coat and cap. The widow’s dress is probably the artists’ interpretation of a cotton short-gown and a blanket worn draped around the hips in such a way that it covers the skirt and produces vertical stripes in the front. An Ojibway woman in one of Eastman Johnson’s paintings wears her blanket in this manner {Plate 21; figure 2}. Both the vertical stripes and the yellow color would be highly unusual for a skirt, but consistent with this mode of wearing blankets. Note that she wears no ornamentation during the mourning period. (SINAA)

PLATE 18: CHIEF'S COATS

Figure 1: "Tecumseh" from an engraving by Benson J. Lossing published in 1868. Lossing based his rendition of Tecumseh's face on a painting by the French fur trader, Pierre Le Dru, who is said to have painted him at Vincennes in 1808. He took the "British brigadier" outfit from a "rough drawing" he saw in Montreal that was supposedly drawn at Malden at the victory party after the taking of Detroit. An eye-witness said that Tecumseh wore this coat with "his blue breechcloth, red leggings fringed with buckskin, and buckskin moccasins," but only on "gala occasions" (Sugden 1997:403). For everyday and battle wear, Tecumseh wore a fringed buckskin hunting shirt and buckskin leggings in compliance with his brother Tenskwatawa's injunction against European trade goods (*ibid.*:126-7,374). (TMRL T1660)



Figure 2: Kitchewabeshas (The Great Martin), Chippewa, by Charles Bird King, after James Otto Lewis, 1827. Both Lewis and King were commissioned by the American government to paint portraits of Native chiefs which hung in McKenney's "Indian Gallery" in Washington, DC. Kitchewabeshas wears a red "chief's coat" with silver trim, a black silk head-scarf and a white shirt. This is probably a British "chief's coat," since the Americans preferred to give blue ones.

PLATE 19: SELVEDGES AS DESIGN ELEMENTS - 1

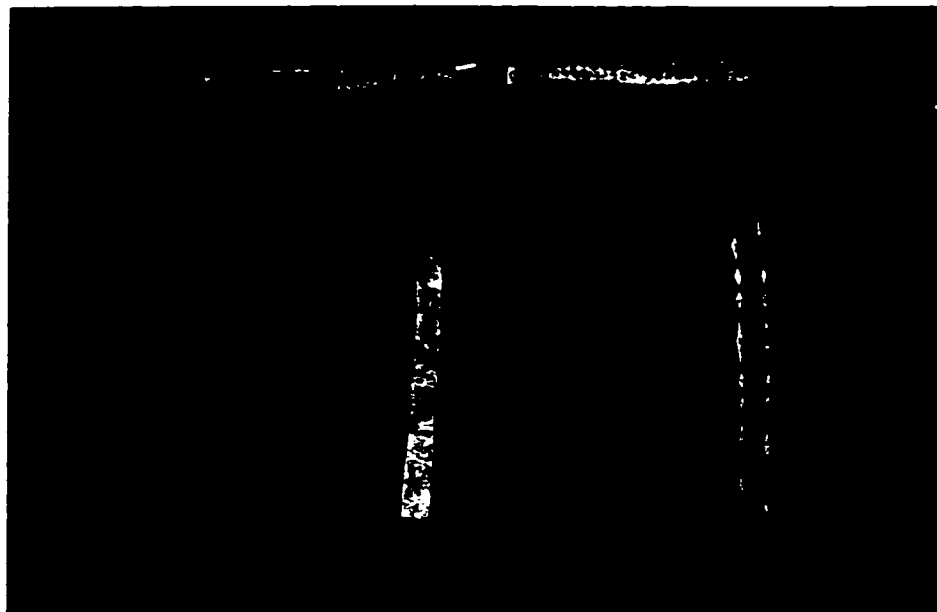


Figure 1: Woman's red stroud leggings (front and back) with silk ribbonwork in ottetail design, cotton tape trim and white selvedges displayed at the top edges. (FMNH 155751)



Figure 2: Pekinawash, a Minnesota Ojibway (probably taken during the 1880s). He apparently converted his ready-made trousers into leggings and added a strip of selvedge-like striped material at the tops to complete the effect. (MHS)

PLATE 20: SELVEDGES AS DESIGN ELEMENTS - 2

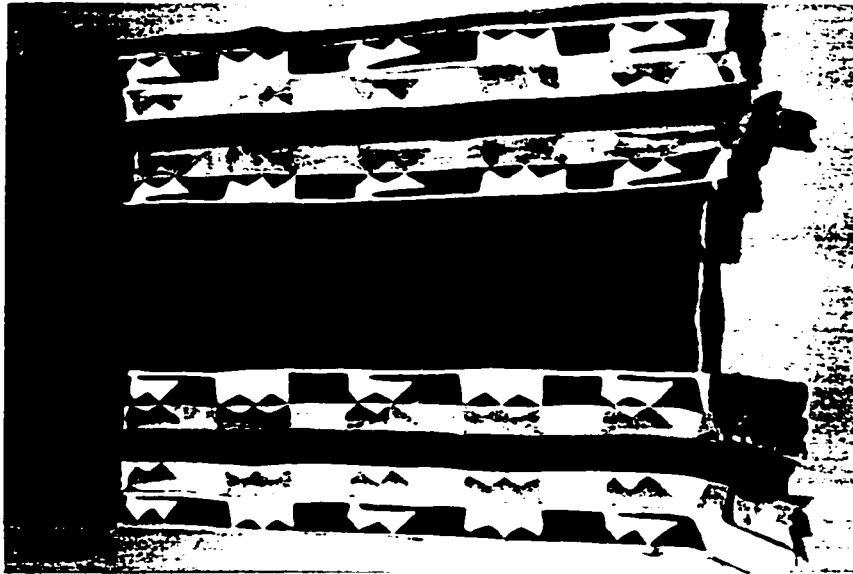


Figure 1: Late nineteenth century Menominee women's dark blue "rainbow selvedge" broadcloth skirt from Wisconsin (FMNH 155993). The multi-colored striped selvedge is here featured at the lower edge where a horizontal ribbonwork panel appears on many other skirts of this type.

Figure 2: This detail of the bottom edge of a dark blue list cloth women's hood shows two blue stripes and three white stripes on the selvedge of a coarse grade of woollen that resembles "*serge drapée*" (CMC III-G-299). Although the lower edge of this selvedge was once bound with red silk, the matching leggings display the full selvedge at the top edges (CMC III-G-301). Both pieces are from Long Lac, Ontario, and are dated between 1880 and 1920.



PLATE 21: AESTHETIC PREFERENCES - I



Figure 1: Peter Rindisbacher, "A Family of the Tribe of Wild Saukteaux Indians," Red River, 1821 (NAC C-1929). Notice the dark blue woman's strap dress with red sleeves; the man's dark blue breechcloth; the man's red leggings; and the boy's dark blue leggings. These outfits are characteristic of the Northwestern style in which women wore trade cloth strap dresses, men wore no shirts, and both men and women wore white pointed blankets.



Figure 2: Eastman Johnson, "Ojibwe Indians at Grand Portage," 1857 (SLCHS). These women wear dark blue strap dresses with dark blue and white sleeves, red leggings, red straps and white pointed blankets. The trimmings are of white seed beads with red and green or blue ribbons.

PLATE 22: AESTHETIC PREFERENCES - 2

Figure 1: George Winter, "Mother of Wewis-sa," Indiana Potawatomi, 1837 (TCHA). The young woman standing behind the fire wears a dark broadcloth folded-over skirt with ribbonwork trim at edge of peplum and hem. She wears a red cotton Spanish-style blouse that is trimmed with rows of silver broaches. Completing her outfit are red ribbonwork leggings and a beaver fur top hat. Wewis-sa's mother wears a dark broadcloth skirt and blanket with a man's style red cotton shirt.



Figure 2: George Winter, "Mendicant Indians," Indiana Potawatomi, 1837 (TCHS). Winter (in Cooke 1993:107) explains, "The group depicted before us represents mendicant Indians, who are not starving, though poor in rags and wretchedness." Their degree of "wretchedness" is doubtful, however. The man wears a white cotton or linen ruffled shirt with dark blue ribbonwork-trimmed leggings. The women wear dark blue skirts and blankets with red ribbonwork-trimmed leggings. The child wears a white blanket. These outfits are characteristic of the Southeastern style, which is distinguished by skirts and shirts for women and shirts for men.

PLATE 23: YELLOW RIBBONS

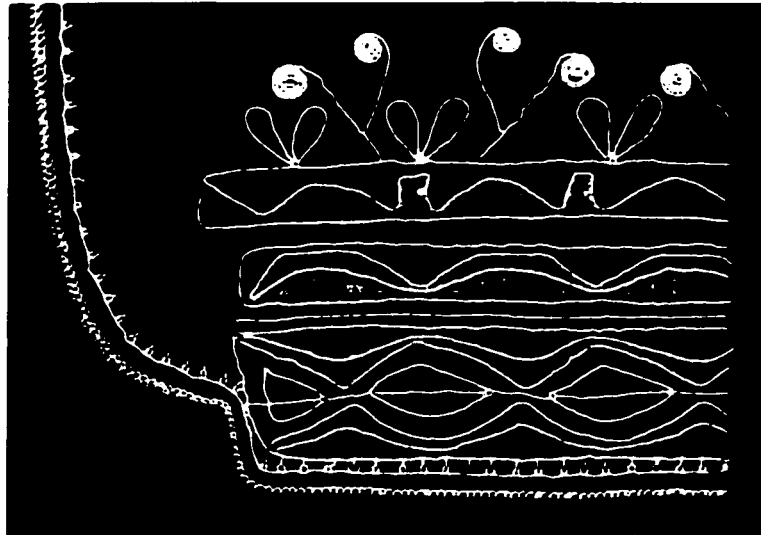


Figure 1: Detail of the cuff of a red flannel women's legging that is trimmed with curvilinear designs worked in black and yellow ribbonwork that is edged and decorated with white seed beads and herringbone and chain stitch embroidery. Attributed to the Ojibway, around 1850. This is a rare example of a trade cloth museum specimen that employs the four sacred colors (CMC - IIIG1492-A)

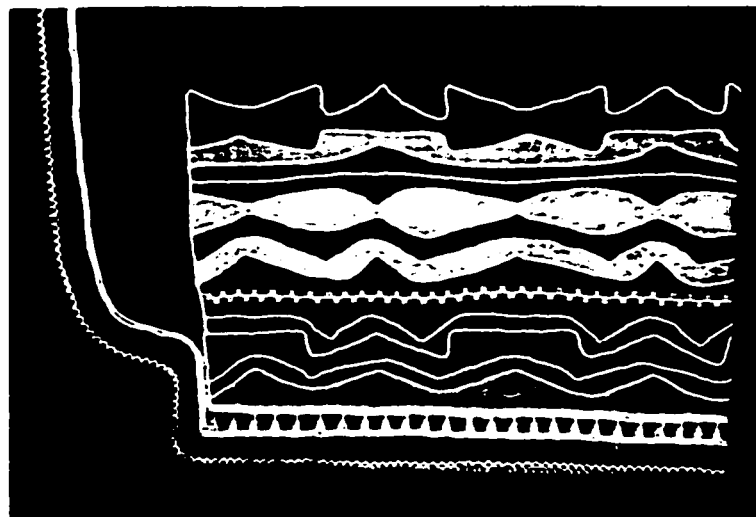


Figure 2: Detail of the cuff of a "light royal blue flannel" (research notes) women's legging with red, yellow, royal blue, peach, black, green and gold ribbonwork trimmed with white seed beads and worked in a curvilinear pattern. This approach to color is more common for Great Lakes ribbonwork than is the example shown above. Attributed to the Odawa or Ojibway, 1850-1925. (CMC IIIM60-A)

PLATE 24: WHITE PAINTED HIDE

Figure 1: "Two Ottawa Chiefs Who with Others Lately Came Down From Michilimackinac," by Sir Joshua Jebb, 1813 (NAC C-114375). One chief wears a white hide robe painted with red and blue sun motifs and fringed with red dyed tufts. The other chief wears a blue cloth capote with a calico shirt and red leggings. Note his silver-trimmed beaver hat and silver arm and wrist bands. Both chiefs wear silver discs and chief's medals.



Figure 2: "The Eclipse (Chief Tanaghte)," by Cornelius Krieghoff, 1849. This Sault St. Marie chief, whose name is actually Nebenagoching (see note 30), wears a white hide fringed and painted shirt with a Crane *doodem* painted on his right breast. A white cotton shirt is visible underneath. His leggings are pieced red and blue or black broadcloth. He wears a large silver heart-shaped ornament around his neck along with a chief's medal. His belt, garters, shoulder bag, arm band and head band are made of quillworked birchbark. This outfit was probably intended to convey a message of economic and political independence. (Thompson Collection)

PLATE 25: WHITE MOLTON AND BLUE BROADCLOTH CAPOTES



Figure 1: "Canadian Indians Spearing Beaver," by Peter Rindisbacher, 1830-4, Red River (SHSW). These men wear white molton capotes with no shirts and hide or blue cloth leggings. Note the red trimming in the seams of the capote of the man on the right.



Figure 2: "Metis Man with Two Wives," by Peter Rindisbacher, 1820, Red River (NAC C-46498). This man sports a high-status blue broadcloth capote which he wears with white hide quillworked leggings and a beaver hat. His two wives wear blue cloth skirts. One wears a large French paisley shawl, while the other wears a white pointed blanket with a red short-waisted top of a style popular among European settlers in Upper Canada about 40 years earlier (Collard 1969:3,10).

PLATE 26: NORTHWESTERN STYLE - WITHOUT COTTON



Figure 1: Mary Ann Vanderpoel, Ojibway/Métis interpreter at North West Company Fur Post, Pine City, MN, (MHS). Mary wears her “silver dress,” which is a red broadcloth strap dress decorated with light and dark blue ribbon trim and a multitude of reproduction trade silver ornaments and ear bobs. To complete the effect, she wears red broadcloth leggings with finger-woven garters, a finger-woven belt with a hide pouch and a black silk headscarf studded with silver broaches. Mary explains that all interpreters wear period-style cotton blouses with their strap dresses in order to avoid offending tourists, since the cut of the dress tends to gape under the arms. This is Mary’s own dress that she reserves for special occasions. Normally, she wears a cotton strap dress on site (taped interview, July 14th, 1998).

Figure 2: “Chief Peguis” by Peter Rindisbacher, 1821, Red River. Although this painting is reputed to be of Peguis, it may not be because authors at Red River at the time describe him as short and plump. In any case, the upper body of the man in this painting is bare. He wears only fringed hide leggings with a cloth or fur breechcloth. Although his outfit utilizes little trade cloth, he has a gun and powder horn, and his ornaments are made with metal and beads. His outfit is reminiscent of the “creatures” from Red River observed by Anna Jameson, but Peguis was one of the few Ojibway chiefs who were friendly towards Lord Selkirk’s misshapen Red River Scottish settlers (MacEwan 1971:9-15) (MA N3753)



PLATE 27: SOUTHEASTERN STYLE - WITH COTTON

Figure 1: "Indian Woman Dressing Deer Skin," by Seth Eastman, 1841-48, Fort Snelling (Minneapolis, MN). The woman depicted wears a red cotton "short-gown" clasped at the waist with a small broach, but open to the neck. These garments were usually cut with the sleeves and the body all in one piece, but some, like this one, had set-in sleeves. She wears the short-gown with a blue broadcloth wrap-around skirt and red leggings.



Figure 2: "Camp Scene with Woman Pounding Grain," by George Winter, 1837, Indiana (TCHA). Woman in foreground wears a yellow short-gown with a blue cloth skirt and red leggings. The woman behind her wears a black cloth blanket and skirt ensemble with red leggings. The woman seated wears a red Spanish-style blouse. The man beside her wears a white ruffled shirt with blue leggings. The man on the horse wears a red cotton shirt and turban with blue cloth leggings with ribbonwork trim.

PLATE 28: SELECTIVE ADOPTION



Figure 1: "A Hunter-Family of Cree Indians at York Factory, drawn from nature," by Peter Rindisbacher, 1820-23 (NAC C-1917). The artist depicted both man and woman, but especially the latter, as bow-legged, an exceedingly unbecoming portrayal from a European standpoint. Her "drudge" status is also emphasized by the burden strap upon which she carries her baby and the lack of decoration as compared to her husband. Her exposed breast conveys the idea that she is a woman of "loose" morals. Nevertheless, Anishnaabe women chose to retain the silhouette of their indigenous garments. Note that her husband is wearing a gold-laced blue capote, a garment that probably indicates a high-ranking trading chief.

Figure 2: "Potawatomi Traveling," by George Winter, 1837, Indiana (TCHA). The man on the horse wears a European-style jacket and vest with leggings trimmed with ribbonwork. Anishnaabe men chose not to adopt trousers even when they accepted other items of European apparel. This style preference, however, did not detract from their masculinity or status in European eyes in the same manner as did Anishnaabe women's dress compromise their femininity and class status.



PLATE 29: "ASSIMILATIONIST" VS. "TRADITIONALIST" DRESS



Figure 1: Rev. Peter Jones' biological or metaphorical "brother," Maungwadaus' (aka George Henry; second from left) family, in the clothing they wore while performing in the British Isles, Paris and Belgium during the years 1843-48. This photograph is erroneously dated at 1851, four years after Maungwadaus' wife died (Hannah George; far left). It was most likely taken in 1847 in Edinburgh by the photographers, Hill and Adamson, who had taken Peter Jones' portrait there two years previously. Awunwabe (John Tecumseh Henry; third from left) sold the photograph to a collector in 1903. The men wear broadcloth leggings and "laced" capotes, while Maungwadaus' wife wears a broadcloth jacket and wrap-around skirt. All of them wear feather headdresses. The decorations consist of ribbonwork, linear semi-floral beadwork and braid trim. The men hold pipe-tomahawks, bows and arrows, and a snowshoe. Hannah drapes a broadcloth blanket over her right arm. (SINAA 498-D)

Figure 2: Rev. Peter Jones' niece, Nahnebahwequay (aka Catherine Sutton) was born in 1824 and attended the Credit River Mission School. This photograph, likely taken around the time of her visit to England in 1860, shows her dressed in a fashionably dark, lustrous dress with ruffles on the bodice and peplum. She wears a corset underneath, a sure sign of her aspiration to emulate "civilized Christians." She wore such European-style dress for her audience with Queen Victoria in order to show the degree of civilization she and her people had attained. She impressed the Queen only with her fluency in English, however. This was the same year that Britain gave Indian Affairs over to the colonial government - her mission was in vain. (CG)



PLATE 30: RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS



Figure 1: Girls of the Blue Coat School for orphans in Birmingham, England, 1910. Three girls in the front row wear lighter colored dresses and neck-bows to indicate that they are sponsored by charitable individuals. All the girls are dressed appropriately to enter the ranks of servants. Such institutions provided the model upon which Native residential schools were based. This genre of photograph was used to gain financial support for the institution. (Birmingham Reference Library, Birmingham, England)



Figure 2: Girls of the government-sponsored Indian Boarding School at Lac du Flambeau, WI, in 1900. The girls are all dressed in their “Sunday best,” which is nevertheless a “suitable” lower-class style. British North American institutions similarly used such photos to gain public support. (LFCMCC)

PLATE 31: VOLUNTARY ADOPTION OF EUROPEAN STYLES

Figure 1: "Family Group of Ojibway People, c. 1870." The three girls in center wear dresses of identical checked gingham. This suggests that they were home-sewn. Notice that the older woman on the left wears a "traditional" shawl, while the younger one on the right wears a stylish 1870s dress with a corset and fancy hat. "Three generation" photos were another popular genre of photos among missionaries during this period, as they seemed to prove the efficacy of their programs. While this photo may suggest "success" in the realm of sewing lessons, some resistance is discernable in the expression of the youth on the right. (MHS E97.1.p10)



Figure 2: "Mrs. Frank Razor and family, c. 1900-10." According to Densmore (1979 [1929]:187), Mrs. Razor was an expert beadworker at White Earth, MN, whose work reflected her "serious, steady and industrious" disposition. In this photo, she and her family wear their "Sunday-best" outfits whose wrinkles and poor fit make them appear as though they were just unpacked from the "charity box." Notice the small cross worn around Mrs. Razor's neck and the fur collars worn by the men and boys. (MHS E97.1R.p11)

PLATE 32: SELECTIVE ADAPTATIONS: SELF AND OTHER REPRESENTATIONS

Figure 1: "Mr. and Mrs. Gene Revoir, lived in Danbury Indian village, c. 1890s." The identity of the boy is unknown. This young couple probably chose to pose for this Victorian studio portrait. Their clothing was not exactly "up-to-date" 19th century fashion. Rather, Gene Revoir sports the latest and the best in a style popular among lumberjacks of the region, as does the boy. This style was characterized by suspenders and rolled-up pant legs. These two, however, wear brand-new fancy versions of the style, which suggests that it had been incorporated into late nineteenth century Anishnaabe men's sense of "the stylish." Notice the boy's beaded moccasins, certainly not to be worn "in the bush," and Mr. Revoir's "western" stetson hat and neck scarf. Mrs. Revoir wears a "tasteful" dress of dark fabric and simple style with trim of contrasting ribbon. (MHS E97.1r.p9)



Figure 2: "Chippewa Indians smoking and tanning [sic: scraping] buckskins" c.1900. In contrast, this photograph represents the photographer's agenda: to "capture Indians" in "real life." The women's dress is characteristic of "poor traditional" Anishnaabek, while the boy wears an everyday version of the men's outfits shown above. There is a large patch sewn over the knee of his trousers. A blanket is thrown over the drying frame to emphasize their "traditional" affiliation. (MHS E97.34.p9)

PLATE 33: THE NEW MARKET ENVIRONMENT

Figure 1: “Two Indian women, one with cradleboard, in front of store, c.1915.” By including the entire storefront, the photographer probably intended to convey a sense of incongruity between these “traditional” Ojibway and the “modern” well-stocked grocery store. In reality, however, by this time Anishnaabek had for several decades been forced by necessity to frequent such stores. The woman with the beaded cradleboard wears a “traditional” cotton tartan skirt with moccasins, whereas the woman on the right wears the solid dark tones popular among British North American women at that time. Among the latter, however, by 1915 the line of the skirt had narrowed considerably, while the bodice had become loose and flowing. (MHS E97.1.p66)



Figure 2: “Waiting for the mail and whatever else might happen in front of the company store, c.1905.” The American government gave a lumber company an exclusive 20 year contract at Lac du Flambeau from 1893 to 1923. Up until 1913, this company also monopolized the mercantile business by refusing to lease land to a competitor (Guthrie and Goc 1995:40,48). The mixed composition of the crowd is a result of the allotments. Note the breeches on the two boys (towards the right), and the characteristic cotton prints and tartan shawls of the women (on the right). (LFCMCC)

PLATE 34: SETTLERS AND ANISHNAABEK: LOWER CLASS DRESS



Figure 1: “People escaping from the Indian Massacre of 1862,” New Ulm, MN. The women of this party wear print, checked and tartan cotton dresses with tartan shawls. The men wear white shirts with dark trousers and felt or straw hats. Some wear dark suit jackets. This dress style was characteristic of poor settlers, and of those who were not of British descent. Such “Indian uprisings” contributed to a social environment in which it was expedient for Anishnaabek to dress like the settlers to show their peaceful intentions. (MHS E91.4S.r16)



Figure 2: “Issuing flour to Ojibway women at June Festival, White Earth, MN, 1896.” Thirty-four years later, these “poor” Anishnaabe women wear cotton print skirts and blouses with tartan shawls. The one in the center wears a sunbonnet. It is difficult to tell whether the men in the photo are government agents issuing the flour or Anishnaabe recipients. They wear white or dark shirts with trousers, vests and felt hats. One wears a fancy tartan neck scarf. The lack of cultural clarity indicates the similarity of the styles among the various groups living in close proximity at that time. (MHS E97.52.p3)

PLATE 35: BRIGHTLY COLORED TARTANS



Figure 1: This tartan shawl from the Ojibway collection at the Smithsonian has cotton warp threads, woollen weft threads and is 59" square. The colors are red, black, light blue, teal and grey. It was probably domestically produced during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. (Detail: SI-ET10028)



Figure 2: "Left to right: Daughter of Kwekwegizik, 3 daughters of Mejekigizik,," 1916-20, Nipigon region, photo by Frederick Waugh. Four Anishnaabe girls wear their "forest clothes" of brightly colored tartan dresses and head scarfs (note that two sisters wear dresses of the same fabric). The girl on the left spruces up her solid-colored dress with an additional neck scarf. Note the white checked "pinafores" on the two girls, similar to those worn by the Birmingham orphans {Plate 30; figure 1}. Our present black and white vision of the everyday clothing of this era totally misrepresents one of its most significant features: color. (CMC 36608)

PLATE 36: AVAILABILITY AND PREFERENCE: COLORED BEAD AESTHETICS

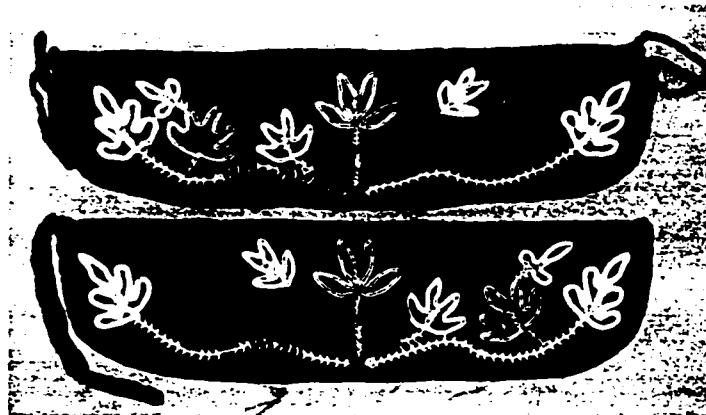


Figure 1: Pair of moccasin cuffs: size 11 seed beads worked in spot-stitch on brown velvet in white, green, turquoise, yellow and salmon. Lined with light brown sateen and trimmed with red cotton bias tape. Although no information accompanies these cuffs, the limited color palette, the small size of the beads, the simplicity of the design elements and their linear treatment, are all suggestive of mid-nineteenth century Anishnaabe multi-colored beadwork. (FMNH 167033)



Figure 2: This solidly beaded woman's purse is representative of modern classic spot-stitch beadwork, although the form of the purse makes a "roaring twenties" fashion statement. The color palette includes 4 shades of blue, 3 shades of yellow, 2 shades of green, pink, salmon, orange, black, brown, and clear on a pearl-white background - a total of 16 colors of size 10 seed beads. This purse is one example of ways in which Anishnaabe women's ceremonial dress continued to develop despite the general trend in favor of men's sartorial display. (MMMN H4-0-422).

PLATE 37: DETACHABLE IDENTITIES



Figure 1: "Ojibway family, c.1905." This studio portrait was probably conceived by the photographer, since other photos in the series show the man on the left in a variety of "exotic" poses. All members of the family wear European-style everyday dress. The men additionally wear beaded accessories and hold guns. Note the diagonal and "X" shape the bandolier bags produce on the total clothed appearance. (MHS E97.1.r37)



Figure 2: An alternative strategy of the modern classic style involved transforming the everyday styles of fur trade dress into detachable accessories that were worn over everyday European styles. In 1900, these Leech Lake "traditional" men wore beaded black velvet "dance aprons," instead of breechcloths, and short beaded leggings. Some men wore these detachable garments over their long johns, which at the time, amounted to "nudity." This may be seen as a subversive sartorial strategy. Note the woman's stylish hat and the bright young tourist on the left. (MHS E97.1.r88)

PLATE 38: MEN'S AND WOMEN'S ROLES



Figure 1: Some time around 1920, this Ojibway family posed in front of a temporary wigwam such as were used in sugar and rice camps. Although posed, it fits into the genre of “real life” postcards that were popular for the duration of the modern classic period. This family’s poor quality and “dirty” European-style clothing, especially that of the child, is typical of this genre. As well, the man wears the most valuable article of distinctive Anishnaabe dress in the photo: the bandolier bag. Nevertheless, the woman on the right wears a ceremonial skirt, as indicated by the black velvet ribbon that trims the peplum, and two small strings of beads. (MHS E97.31.r120)



Figure 2: This photo, taken by Huron Smith at Lac du Flambeau around 1924-27, illustrates both the gender roles of the Anishnaabe behavioral environment, and British North American stereotypical perceptions of them. The wife sits on a wooden chair with a piece of loomwork in progress while the husband sits on the ground holding a peace pipe. These two aspects symbolize his “savagery” turned passivism and also his leisure as compared to his industrious wife. She wears only European-style clothing, while he wears a beaded bandolier bag, yoke, anklets and moccasins. (MPM 46783).

PLATE 39: THE “APPROPRIATION” SCRIPT AND ANISHNAABE STYLE



Figure 1: “The Hiawatha Players From Wa Ya Ga Mug,” near Petosky, MI, 1910. Postcard by Grace Chandler Horn. The Sioux princess, Minnehaha, hands wooden bowls to Hiawatha and his friend. The Hiawatha pageants re-popularized fringed leather garments among Great Lakes Anishnaabek. Note Minnehaha’s Plains-style dress. The men wear short-sleeved fringed tunics with Plains headdresses and beadwork. (SINAA)

Figure 2: Two women in ceremonial dress at the Lac du Flambeau “Indian Bowl,” 1924-27, by Huron Smith. Tourist attractions such as this dance event facilitated the development of decorated garments, rather than merely accessories. These two women wear beaded “waists” with jingle cones around the hem and long, full, cotton skirts with jingle cones near the hem. The two drummers (seated) wear North American styles. (MPM)

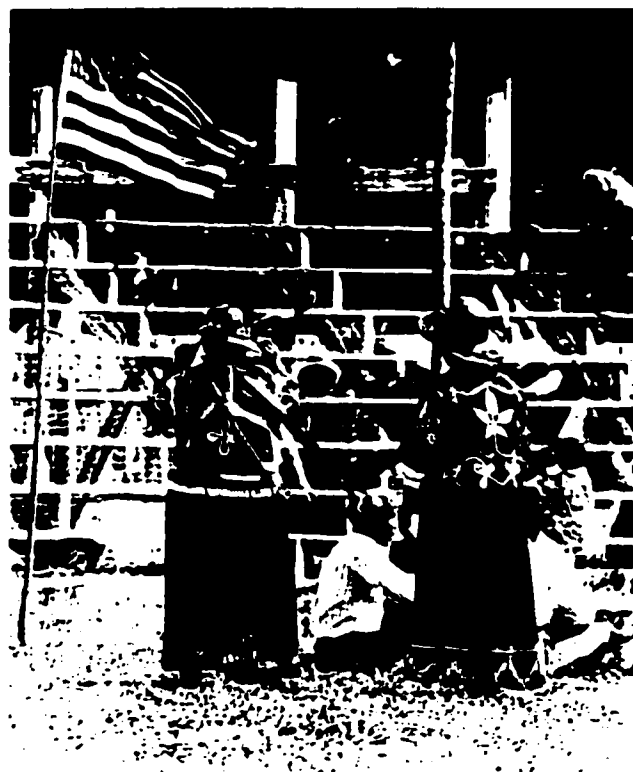


PLATE 40: NATIVE STYLE AND NORTH AMERICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY



Figure 1: "Powers Fashions, 1925." This fashion photograph shows two modern "flappers" wearing Southwestern-style "trade blanket" coats. Apparently Pendleton was not the only company to appropriate the Southwestern "trade blanket" for the purpose of creating new "all-American" fashions during the period following World War I. (MHS GT1.4i.r8)



Figure 2: Silk chiffon evening gown designed by Fred Picard for the MOMA show in New York, 1940. René D'Hamoncourt, supplied Picard with the Native-made ribbonwork strips that decorate the skirt. He thereby appropriated Native art to create American fashions that fostered distinct American national identity. (NARA 75CL.1.R3)

PLATE 41: EVERYDAY WEAR



Figure 1: Zeek Cywink wearing T-shirt showing the “Republique du Quebec” as a small blue circle around Quebec City. This T-shirt is a Native response to the Quebec sovereignty movement. Zeek also wears a black leather ball cap with a feather motif and “Spirit” logo designed and marketed by Ojibway artist Joseph Sagutch. Zeek bought this hat from the artist whom he has known for over a decade.



Figure 2: Ojibway designer Karen Deleary displays one of her everyday baby T-dresses with floral applique on red pre-washed denim. In the background is one of her dance shawls with geometric “storm” patterns.

PLATE 42: "NATIVE-WORN FASHION," YOUTH AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT



Figure 1: "Achieve and Believe" banner hung from table at Dinawo booth, First Nations' Day Celebration, Toronto City Hall, June 20th, 2000. The two feathers under the sun symbolize a man and a woman "growing together under the same sun," and their "hearts lead [them] to achieve." The man and woman also represent the two founders of Dinawo who continue to provide inspiration to the company (Burnham: taped interview, Dec. 15th, 1999).



Figure 2: Dave Jones' youth group perform a "Health and Fitness" skit at Toronto Sky Dome Powwow, Dec. 4th, 1999. The Dinawo clothing they are modeling fits well with Jones' philosophy of fashion as a "catalyst to bring about self-esteem." Dinawo garments include (from left to right) "Rez Sport" arctic fleece vest; "Rez Hoops" jacket; "Rez Sport" v-necked pull-over; and "Dinawo" hooded sweatshirt.

PLATE 43: NORTHWEST COAST MOTIFS ON NORTH AMERICAN STYLES



Figure 1: Squamish designer Pam Baker's ankle-length black cotton shift with white Northwest Coast-style Thunderbird motifs (Aboriginal Voices Festival Fashion Show, June 21st, 1999). Although Baker is best known for her haute-couture evening wear, this dress is selected from among her several lines of casual wear. It is worn by one of the professional models in the show.

Figure 2: Tsimshian designer Ronald Green's red satin evening gown with white satin cloak decorated with red Northwest Coast-style motifs (Aboriginal Voices Festival Fashion Show, June 21st, 1999). This dress is modeled by Christine Bomberry, an aspiring and talented model from Six Nations, Ontario.



PLATE 44: NEW APPROACHES TO FUR TRADE ORNAMENTATION



Figures 1 and 2: Two outfits from Piegan designer MJ's line of casual wear made of light blue satin, gauze and tie-dyed cotton knit (Aboriginal Voices Festival Fashion Show, June 21st, 1999). Slacks outfit (left) has a silver brooch clasping the tank top at the model's left waist, and another small one securing the "breechcloth-style" sash at waist. The full length skirt (above) is worn with a shawl at the hips which is clasped together with a large silver brooch.

Figure 3: Pam Baker uses copper elongated diamond cut-outs to trim the hem of a linen backless tunic that is worn over a sheer copper-colored floor-length gown. The ensemble is completed with a large rectangular linen shawl (Aboriginal Voices Festival Fashion Show, June 21st, 1999).



PLATE 45: BREAKING DOWN THE MIND SETS

Figure 1: First Nations youth Amanda Petrie models a red satin evening gown with pipe-bone inserts which join an opening that extends the full length of both sides. This dress is one of a set of four dresses made in the Sacred Colors of yellow, red, black and white that Dave Jones showcased at Toronto International Powwow at Toronto's Sky Dome, Dec. 4th, 1999. Jones MC's in the background.



Figures 2 and 3: Ojibway designer Suzanne Smoke uses volunteer models to promote her view that everyone is beautiful and fashion is for everyone. A First Nations youth (left) models Smoke's white cotton knit skirt with a white sleeveless blouse trimmed with white deer-hide fringes and feather boa. A First Nations woman (below) models a white cotton knit dress with crochet embroidery trim and feather boa (First Nations Day Fashion Show, June 20th, 2000).



PLATE 46: NATIVE FASHION AND YOUTH



Figure 1: One of a series of Suzanne Smoke's deer-hide ponchos with fringes and feathers for casual wear (First Nations Day Fashion Show, June 20th, 2000). Smoke notes that many Native designers use natural materials in their designs, such as leather, fur and bone, as a way to "incorporate traditional teachings into contemporary designs." In doing so, she says, "We all design with the utmost respect for our traditions and our elders" (TIP, 1998). Smoke invites Native youths to model in her fashion shows, designs fashions for children and youth, and draws her audience's attention to the contributions of First Nations youth to their communities.

Figure 2: Albert Doxtator, champion wrestler from Six Nations, works with Dinawo's role model program to encourage First Nations youth to aspire towards and achieve their goals. At the Dinawo booth at Sky Dome Powwow (Dec. 5th, 1999), Albert models a "Rez-Sport" arctic fleece vest and two gold medals he won wrestling.



PLATE 47: RECLAMATION THROUGH ALLIANCE



Figure 1: Linda Lundstrom's fox-trimmed duffel coat with original First Nations artwork on back (First Nations Day Fashion Show, June 20th, 2000).

Lundstrom's collaborative work with Ontario Native communities encourages First Nations designers and fashion show producers, such as Suzanne Smoke, to work together towards common goals.

Figure 2: Elysia Nisan, Canadian youth representative at international conference, models Suzanne Smoke's cream-colored deer-hide dress with full-length front zipper and pipe-bone trim (First Nations Day Fashion Show, June 20th, 2000). Nisan had the foresight to consult with Smoke before wearing Native attire at the conference as a symbol of Canadian identity. Smoke enlisted her as a model and educated her first-hand as to how she might present First Nations fashion appropriately.

