

Design System of Moccasin Ornamentation
of Janvier Band Chipewyan

by

Cecile M. Clayton-Gouthro

A Thesis

presented to the University of Manitoba

in partial fulfillment of the

requirement for the degree of

Master of Science

in

the Department of Clothing and Textiles

Winnipeg, Manitoba



1987

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**DESIGN SYSTEM OF MOCCASIN ORNAMENTATION
OF JANVIER BAND CHIPEWYAN**

BY

CECILE M. CLAYTON-GOUTHRO

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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DESIGN SYSTEM OF MOCCASIN ORNAMENTATION OF JANVIER BAND CHIPEWYAN

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify and document the design system used in present day moccasin ornamentation crafted by the women on the Janvier Reserve at Chard in Northern Alberta. A comparison of stylistic changes between present-day Janvier and pre-World War Two was then made. Data were collected from archival and museum sources in addition to three weeks of fieldwork at Chard in the spring of 1986.

While most current footwear is "store bought", moccasins continue to be a clothing component for some residents of this community (which, until recently, had limited accessibility). While a definitive comparative analysis was not possible because of the small museum sample, some observations on the differences and similarities between present-day Janvier and pre-World War Two moccasins were possible.

Moccasin production and ornamentation is presently in a state of change; from meeting a functional need to that of being a symbolic expression of Chipewyan culture and a means of commerce for the women.

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DESIGN SYSTEM OF MOCCASIN ORNAMENTATION OF JANVIER BAND CHIPEWYAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Decoration of skin footwear has traditionally been one of the major artistic expressions of the Chipewyan people. This custom continues today. Conversations arising from a chance meeting with some of the women from the Janvier Reserve at Chard indicate a concern for the preservation of traditional skills. The women of this Northern Alberta reserve are actively involved in maintaining this tradition. Individual attempts, such as teaching traditional arts in the local school, are being made within the community and the women are eager to have this cultural information documented.

Historical sources such as Hearne (1795) state that the Chipewyan used porcupine quills for clothing ornamentation. Examples exist of Chipewyan use of caribou and horsehair in moccasin decoration (Turner, 1955). Most museum samples (National Museum of Man, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature for example) from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century onward are decorated with beadwork, silk, or cotton floss embroidery and cloth applique. Beadwork appears to dominate present-day ornamentation of skin footwear.

The Janvier Band belong to the territorial grouping of Chipewyan occupying the boreal forest and transitional parklands. These transitional area residents are named "Thilanottine" (dwellers at the head of the lakes) (Smith, 1971). The Chipewyan are members of the Athapaskan linguistic family. This branch of the Na-Dene phylum is the most widespread aboriginal linguistic family in North America. Scholars

recognize three subfamilies of Athapaskans: the Northern Athapaskans, to which the Chipewyan belong, inhabit the Canadian and Alaskan subarctic; the Pacific Athapaskans settled in the Pacific Northwest and Northern California; and the Southern Athapaskans who settled in the Southwest United States and are today known as Navajo and Apache.

1.1 Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to document the present day design system of moccasin ornamentation of a transitional area Chipewyan people. A secondary purpose is to identify changes which have occurred since the Second World War. This timespan was felt to be necessary because of the limited samples available to form a base of comparison of present-day moccasins with earlier ones.

This study will form a basis for continued research into Chipewyan material culture as well as provide documentation of value to historians, anthropologists, museologists, and the Chipewyan people.

1.2 Justification

Northern Athapaskan scholars have stated clearly the need for detailed study of the various groups' material cultures. VanStone (1974) expressed an urgent need for intensive study of Northern Athapaskan culture and noted that in some areas it appears to be too late. In this comments to the Northern Athapaskan Conference in 1971, Slobodin noted that many gaps existed in our knowledge of these people, including studies of Northern Athapaskan art. To date this need still exists. As recently as 1982, Duncan wrote that the art of

the Northern Athapaskans had never been examined as a whole. She pointed out that recognition of costume ornamentation as a form of art has been neglected for this group.

Fieldwork is vitally important for a study of this nature. Discussions with the people themselves provide valuable insight into factors which influence the choice of decorative elements used, the most desirable design attributes and the origins of design elements such as motifs. The significance of any repetition of design elements from one generation to the next can best be explained by the Chipewyan involved in the art.

Moccasins have been chosen for this study for two reasons. Firstly, they continue to be a component of Chipewyan clothing at the present time and secondly, in the past they were often an indicator of a woman's regard for others. In 1896, an American adventurer Casper Whitney wrote; "... in presentation they are the vehicle of regard from one Indian to another; they carry the first tidings of a more tender sentiment from the maiden to the young hunter, and are the surest indication not only of the degree of the woman's handiwork, but if she be married, of the degree of her regard for her husband" (Whitney, 1896:60). It follows from this statement that moccasins can be viewed as "canvases" upon which the artisan created beauty not only as an expression of pride in accomplishment in her "handiwork", but also as a symbol of her caring. This form of expression of caring exists to this day. Therefore, moccasins have been an important expressive element of Chipewyan material culture and are consequently worthy of study at this time.

1.3 Operational Definitions

The concept of "design system" refers to the materials, methods, and motifs used in moccasin ornamentation.

Within the title of this thesis and throughout the following pages, reference is made to a "transitional area". This phrase refers solely to a region of Chipewyan settlement which is outside their original location of habitation as recognized by Athapaskan scholars and outlined in Figure 1. Inherent in this definition is the fact that movement to this area has resulted in manifest changes in Chipewyan culture.

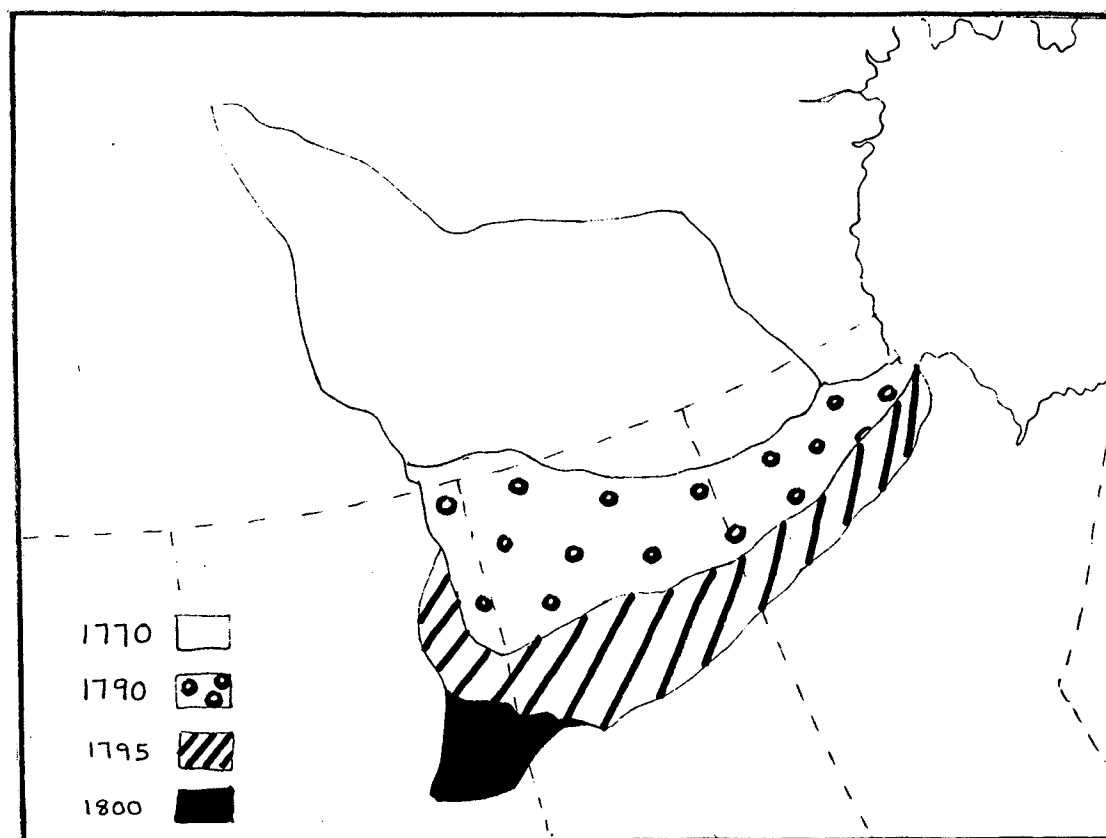


Figure 1.
Map 1.
Aboriginal Chipewyan Territory
Gillespie, 1971:381.

In referring to the moccasins used for this study, the terms "sample" and "example" are used interchangeably.

The word "moccasin" is derived from one of the eastern Algonkian languages and was first used in print in 1612 (Hatt, 1916). This term is now used to describe many different kinds of North American Indian shoes. Within this paper, moccasin is defined as soft-soled, front vamped, slip-on footwear constructed of fabric or skin. Moccasins may include flaps and ties for ankle wrapping but do not extend higher than mid-calf. Ornamentation refers to any decorative garnishment or trimming which is not essential to the structure of the moccasin. Figure 2 illustrates the various components which may be assembled to form the moccasin structure.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Historical Overview

The first historical references to the Chipewyan were made by Cree trading into Fort York on the Hudson Bay in the last decade of the seventeenth century. At this time they were referred to by Europeans as the "Northern Indians" (Brandson, 1973; Gillespie, 1971; Hearne, 1911; Mackenzie, 1789). "Chipewyan" is derived from the Cree term for "pointed skins". This is thought to be a reference to the costume worn by aboriginal Chipewyan which was said to come to a point in front and back (Birket-Smith, 1930; Jenness, 1933; D. Smith, 1982). The Chipewyan belong to one of the largest indigenous linguistic groups known as Athapaskan. There are three recognized Athapaskan regions. The Northern Athapaskans, to which the Chipewyan belong, inhabit a vast region from the Western interior of

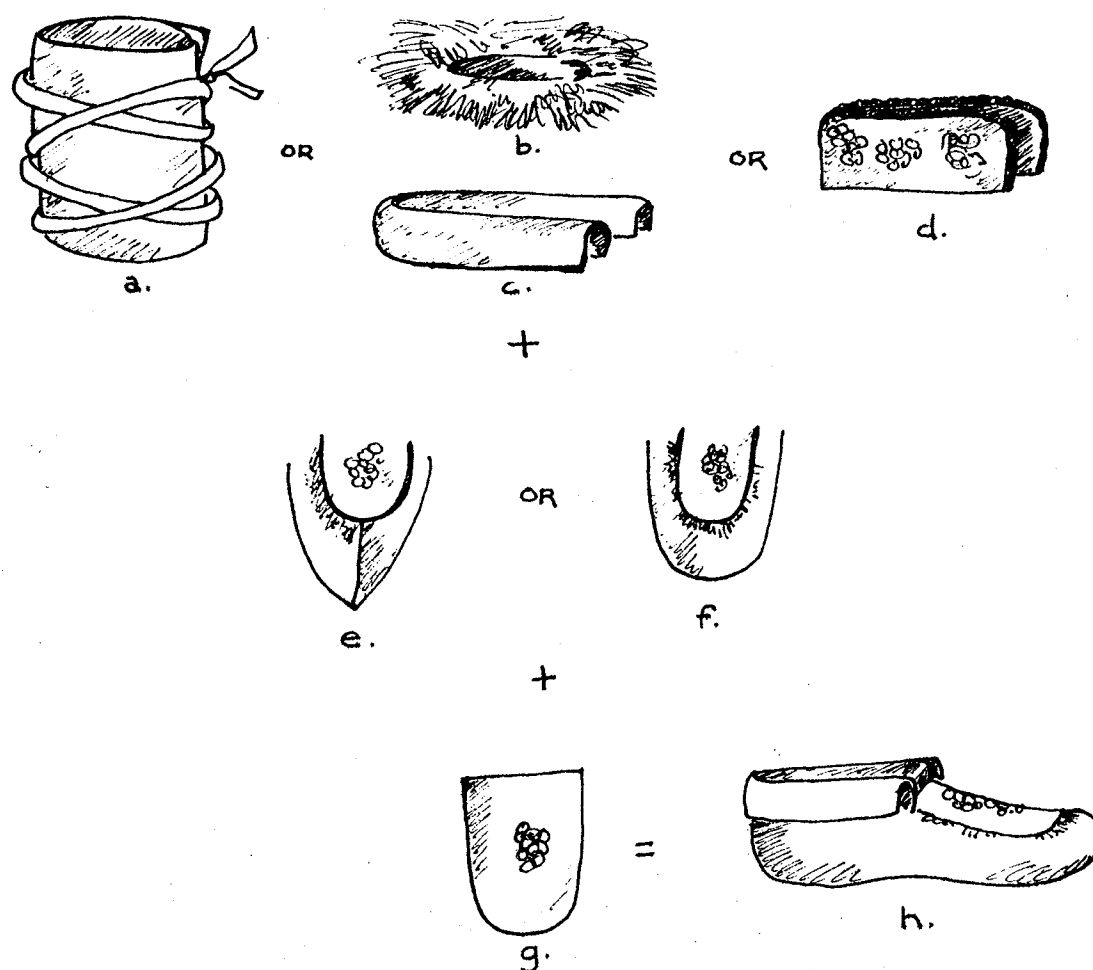


Figure 2.

Moccasin Components

(a) Wrapped cuff; (b) fur cuff; (c) turned-down cuff; (d) stand-up cuff; (e) pointed toe; (f) rounded toe; (g) vamp; (h) completed moccasin.

Alaska through the Northern Canadian interior, and from the Yukon and British Columbia, eastward to the western shores of Hudson Bay. The two other major Athapaskan regions are the Pacific coast states of Washington, Oregon, and California, and an area in the southwestern United States and northern Mexico (Boudreau, 1974; VanStone, 1974). Figure 3 outlines these regions.

Gillespie has studied the aboriginal territory of the Chipewyan and has concluded that in prehistory they were exploiting the

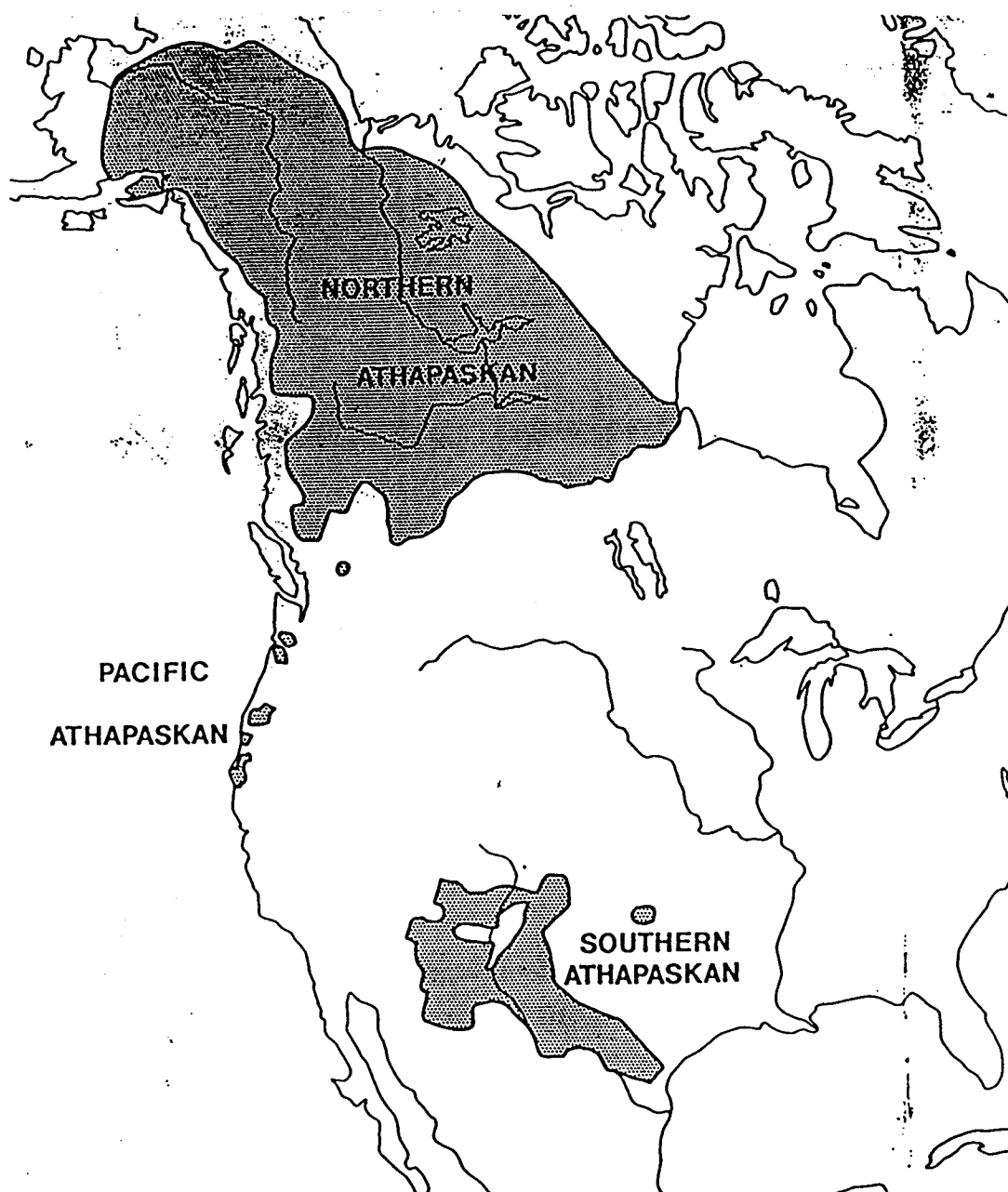


Figure 3.
Map 2.
Athapaskan Regions
Boudreau, 1974: frontspiece.

taiga-tundra zone with some movement within the transitional forest (Figure 3) (Gillespie, 1971:381). Her examination of Hudson's Bay Company archives led her to theorize that "... Cree groups were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Churchill River drainage as far west as Lake Athabasca and that the Athapaskan people, the Chipewyan, were the intruders into Cree territory as a result of the fur trade" (Gillespie, 1971:352).

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Nicolas Jeremie, a French trader at Fort York, recorded the Chipewyan area of habitation "... near or on the barren grounds and well north of the Churchill River system by the use of Seal River as their southerly border" (Gillespie, 1971:356). Churchill was then outside their traditional territory and to travel there was to risk meeting their enemies, the Cree to the south, or the Inuit to the north.

Early traders recognized the potential trapping power of these "Northern Indians" and as early as 1689, Henry Kelsey attempted to lure some of them to trade on Hudson Bay. In 1716, William Stuart brought a few Chipewyan to York factory, and in 1717 a post was opened at Churchill. This was expressly for trade with the Northern Indians.

Chipewyan adaptation to the fur trade was rapid. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, they dominated the Athapaskan fur trade and had begun to change their general locations in order to acquire furs. At this time, the Chipewyan were moving gradually southward into a new environment with a changing economy. Gillespie gives two reasons for this southward movement. Firstly, a reduction in Cree population because of small pox epidemics in 1780-81 made more

southerly regions accessible, and secondly, the establishment of interior trading posts made that movement attractive to the Chipewyan (Gillespie, 1971:375-382). Fort Chipewyan and Ille a la Crosse became major interior posts that catered to Chipewyan in the 1790's and after. However, at this time, the Chipewyan continued to return to the barren grounds during the summer and thus were not permanent residents of this area.

The Chipewyan had reached their southern limits of penetration by the mid-1790's, about 30 years after the process had begun... They left their more northern areas very gradually in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as more Chipewyan mixed caribou hunting with the fur trade and became more permanent inhabitants of the Boreal Forest" (Gillespie, 1971:383).

This territorial expansion was a direct reflection of Chipewyan adaptability. "Although they remained attached to their transitional Forest-Tundra area for caribou hunting, when it came to acquiring furs they fanned out into all favorable wooded areas seemingly unconcerned about the original inhabitants." (Gillespie, 1971:385). D. Smith (1982) and J.G. Smith (1971) accept Gillespie's point of view.

2.2 Importance of Caribou

Perhaps the most documented aspect of early Chipewyan culture is their close relationship with the migratory habits of the major herds of barren ground caribou. The extent of Chipewyan dependency on the caribou was firmly established by Samuel Hearne in his journals of his trips across the barren lands in the company of "Northern Indians" in the late eighteenth century.

The deer they kill furnishes them with food, and a variety of warm and comfortable clothing ... each person, on an average, expends in the course of a year, upwards of twenty deer skins in clothing and other domestic uses, exclusive of tent cloths, bags, and many other things (Tyrrell, 1911:214).

Caribou dominated all areas of Chipewyan life. J.G. Smith discusses this fact and argues that:

... major socio-territorial divisions were based upon the exploitation of particular herds; that the regional bands, or their antecedents, were based on specific migration routes and foraging ranges; that the size and composition of bands was related to the efficient seasonal hunting of caribou by use of the pound and other communal methods (1971:391).

He suggests "... that the movement into the full boreal forest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was facilitated by the southern-most extensions of the herds" (1971:392). Smith notes that although other animals and vegetation such as fish, small game, and berries were valuable, the caribou provided ninety percent or more of the diet and points out that rarely has a society been so dependent on one species.

D. Smith emphasizes this fact, "It would be hard to overstress the importance of barren-ground caribou for the aboriginal Chipewyan" (1982:7). Caribou provided the early Chipewyan with virtually all the necessities of life from clothing, food, fat for light and cooking, hides for shelters, bones for awls and scrapers, fishhooks, and a variety of weapons.

The distribution of the Bathurst, Beverly and Kaminuriak herds corresponds to the territorial distribution of major Chipewyan historic

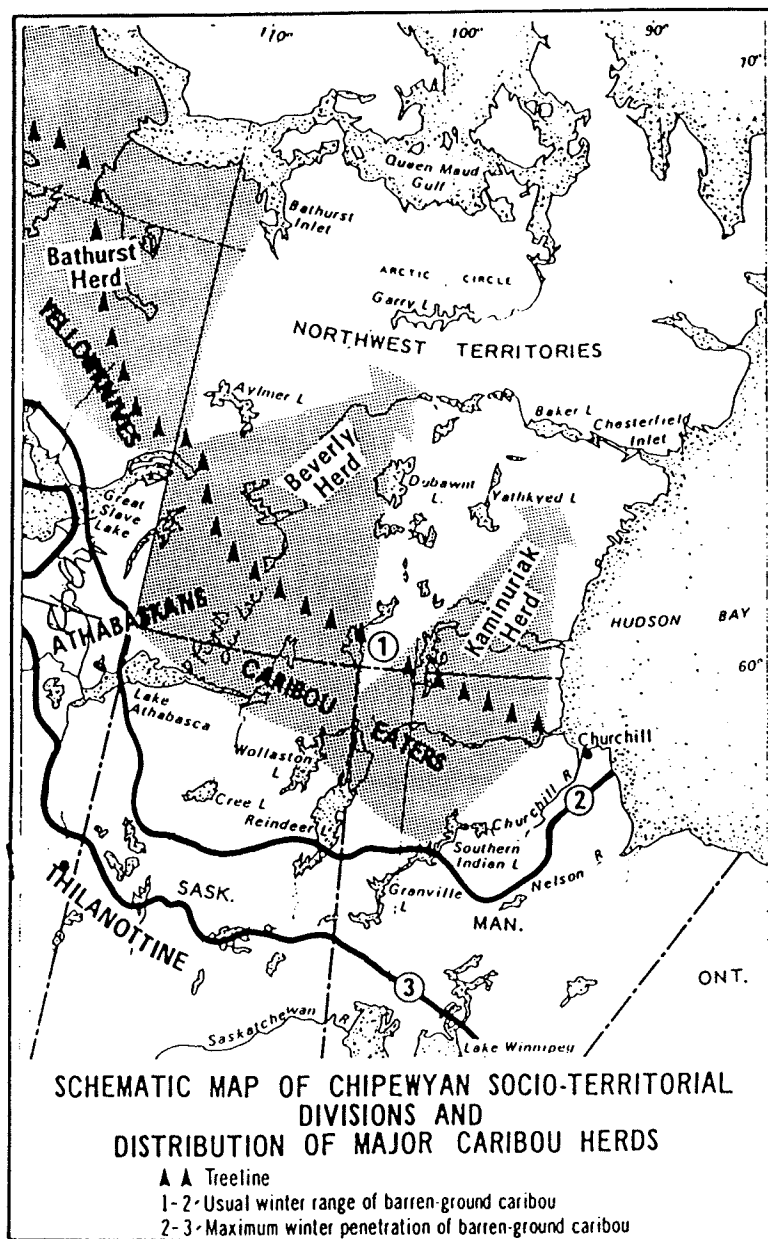


Figure 4.

Map 3.

Caribou Herd Distribution and Corresponding
 Chipewyan Socio-Territorial Division
 J.G. Smith, 1971:402.

divisions of the early nineteenth century (J.G. Smith, 1971). Figure 4 outlines this distribution.

2.3 Historical Divisions and Regional Characteristics

Four major Chipewyan divisions were recognized as early as the nineteenth century (Helm, 1971; J.G. Smith, 1971). The Yellowknives and Caribou Eaters (Northern Indians) ranged over the taiga and tundra; the Aspen dwellers occupied the full boreal forest and the Thilanottine lived in the lake zone of the Churchill River. This last region is also boreal forest but includes transitional parklands toward the plains.

This study will focus upon the last area. The Janvier Reserve at Chard, Alberta is situated within this transitional region. The area is characterized by a forest cover of black spruce, with some white spruce, birch, tamarack, jackpine, aspen and balsam poplar (Boudreau, 1974; D. Smith, 1982; J.G. Smith, 1971; VanStone, 1975).

Woodland caribou (*Rangifer tarandus caribou*), moose and elk are the major game animals of the region, although woodland buffalo and mule deer are also present. The boreal forest/parkland/plains transitional area includes fur bearing animals such as beaver, marten, mink, wolverine, fox, bear, snowshoe rabbit, and wolf. In historical times some of these animals were also of value as food as well as trade and utility goods. Fish such as whitefish, jackfish, and lake trout provided an additional source of food, and diet was supplemented by various wild berries (J.G. Smith, 1971; VanStone, 1974).

2.4 Chipewyan Socio-territorial Development

Northern scholars have identified significant phases in the socio-territorial development of the Chipewyan people. The *Aboriginal-Early Contact Phase* (J.G. Smith, 1971:421) refers to the period of initial contact with European fur traders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Helm refers to this time as the *Incipient-Early Contact Phase* (Helm, 1971:312). VanStone (1975:96) views this phase as existing from 1700-1850 and stresses the adaptability of the Athapaskans as a whole in their adopting of those aspects of European goods suited to their needs.

The most definitive source of information regarding the Chipewyan at this time are the journals of Samuel Hearne who described the people with whom he travelled from Churchill to Coppermine in the years 1770, 1771, and 1772.

Hearne's journeys were undertaken at a time when change in the Northern Indians' aboriginal condition was likely minimal (J.G. Smith, 1971). According to Hearne, the Chipewyan did little trapping at this time, but relied almost entirely on caribou to meet their needs. During this period, they were beginning to travel to Churchill to trade furs initially obtained from the Yellowknives and Dogribs who, at that time, had no direct contact with Europeans.

Alexander Mackenzie's journals also describe Chipewyan culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These centuries are recognized as a period of significant Chipewyan involvement in the northern fur trade. J.G. Smith (1971:427) refers to this time as the *Early Fur Trade Period* which corresponds to Helm's *Stabilized Fur and Mission Stage* or *Contact-Traditional Phase* (Helm, 1971:315). The

existence of established interior trading posts allowed regular access to trade goods for the Chipewyan. During this time, Chipewyan mobility was reduced as dependency on material goods from posts increased. It was at this time that aboriginal clothing disappeared to a large degree (VanStone, 1975:101).

The Thilanottine and Aspen dwellers who were gradually moving into transitional regions increased their reliance on European technological and trade goods with corresponding increase in fur trade involvement. The "caribou eater" bands remained in their own traditional regions, thus not integrating into the new European/Indian fur trade economy until the end of the nineteenth century.

J.G. Smith (1971:432) regards the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the *Developed Fur Trade Period*. Both Helm (1971:325) and VanStone (1975:106) extended this developmental phase to include the period from 1940 to the present time and label it the *Government-Commercial* or *Government-Industrial Period*. This period was characterized by increased reliance on trade goods, decreased nomadism, construction of settlement communities, and the extension of government social services in the 1950's and 60's resulting in a "... collapse of the traditional economic base" (Smith, 1971:444). The Janvier Reserve at Chard is a present-day example of this.

2.5 Historical Chipewyan Clothing

As early as 1857 when interest in North American Indians prompted an effort to collect examples of Indian artifacts for display in Scotland, members of the Hudson's Bay Company were aware that samples would not be easy to obtain. Robert Campbell of Fort

Chipewyan stated that, "...hardly a trace now remains of their former dress, domestic utensils, or weapons of war or the chase." (Boudreau, 1974:13). By 1894, a photograph of a Chipewyan group at Churchill taken by Tyrrell shows a mixture of European and traditional costume (Figure 5).

An account of travels in the 1920's in the Athabasca Lake region by Godsell compares Chipewyan winter clothing with Inuit.



Figure 5.
Chipewyan at Churchill, c. 1894
Hudson Bay House Libraby, Winnipeg. C-77

Referring to male attire Godsell stated:

Their regular winter dress consisted of shirt, trousers, and socks of light caribou skin worn with the furry side next to the body, while a

similar suit was worn over this with the fur on the outside... Sometimes furred hoods were worn, and sometimes a peculiar headgear made from the dried skin of the caribou's head. Caribou mittens were hung from the neck by a cord to prevent them blowing away, though they were sometimes sewn into the sleeve, leaving an aperture at the wrist through which the hand could be worked if necessary. (Godsell, 1938:246).

Birket Smith confirmed this when he wrote in the early twenties that there was little left of early Chipewyan dress, except for winter outerwear (Birket-Smith, 1930:50).

It is from the journals of the early explorers/traders that the earliest accounts of Chipewyan are obtained. In any dissertation regarding the early contact with Chipewyan people, inevitably, the writer must cite Samuel Hearne as an unequivocal source of information. Hearne, more than any other explorer/trader before or after him, extensively recorded aspects of Chipewyan culture. In accordance with their lifestyle, Hearne noted that the "Northern Indians" fashioned their costumes primarily from caribou skins. The sinew of the animal was used to sew the garments together. Hearne wrote that it required "... the prime part of the skins of from 8 to 10 deer to make a complete suit of warm clothing for a grown person during the winter..." (Tyrrell, 1911:214). Mackenzie, writing seventeen years later, describes Chipewyan costume in the following manner: "There are no people more attentive to the comforts of their dress, or less anxious respecting its exterior appearance" (1927:123). Summer dress was essentially the same as winter dress except that the skin was hairless. Mackenzie described the male costume as consisting of a shirt or coat, girted around the waist which reached to mid-thigh. This dress was worn singly or doubled in the winter with the inner

garment having the hair facing toward the body and the outer away from it. A ruff or tippet surrounded the neck and the skin of a head of deer formed a "curious kind of cap". Their shoes and leggins were sewn together. The leggins reached "... upwards to the middle, and being supported by a belt, under which a small piece of leather is drawn to cover the private parts, the ends of which fall down both before the behind" (Mackenzie, 1927:123). Mackenzie noted that Chipewyan shoes were made of moose or caribou with additional pieces of leather used as socks.

Female dress differed from that of the men. Their coat or shift was wide and hung to the ankle. It was tucked up by a belt fastened about the waist. Hearne made reference to one of his guide's wives who out of vanity had hitched her coat up somewhat higher than the temperature warranted, and as a consequence had been severely frostbitten on her exposed thighs. Mackenzie describes women's costume as being full about the shoulders to allow the women to carry their infants upon their backs next to the skin in the similar manner of the Inuit. Godsell (1938) had also commented in this trait.

Birket-Smith (1930) noted that the cut of Chipewyan garments was likely to have been a two-skin cut which was so widespread in North America. He also made reference to the likelihood of the shirt having a pointed hemline in front and back, based on the Cree application of "pointed skins" as the meaning of the name "Chipewyan". Neither Hearne nor Mackenzie made any reference to such a cut, so that if it existed, it was likely no longer common by the late eighteenth century. Examples of pointed hemline tunics exist (National Museum of Man, Royal Scottish Museum), but these are attributed to

the Kutchin or to the Slave. There are no known Chipewyan examples of this nature.

2.6 Moccasins

Just as Chipewyan caribou skin garments were recognized by the early traders as being highly suited to their environmental needs, so too were their moccasins. Models were developed through many generations to meet the specific demands of the region.

Moccasins made from tanned and smoked moose or caribou were soft and pliable, allowing the muscular freedom essential for keeping feet warm. Ingstad (1933:68) stated that wearing two pairs of long stockings, moccasins, and duffels (blanket socks) was sufficient to prevent frostbite. Special care was required to maintain their effectiveness as they were not waterproof (Birket-Smith, 1930; Ingstad, 1933). The wearer needed to take care "... brushing all the snow from them (moccasins) in front of the fire and stuffing them full of spruce needles before hanging them up to dry" (Ingstad, 1933:68). In this way, three or four pairs were enough to last the average man throughout one winter.

2.6.1 Construction

Museum examples show two predominant types of Chipewyan moccasins. The first type (Figure 6) were constructed from more than one piece of skin, using a straight toe seam and a t-shaped heel seam. An ankle wrap cuff is seamed onto the bottom piece, often with the addition of a short cuff or fabric cut in zigzags along the edge.

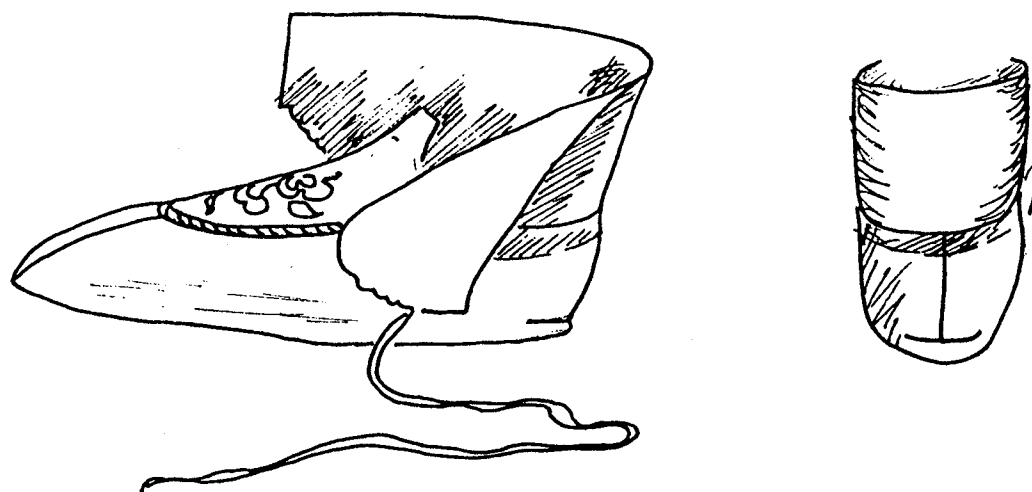


Figure 6.
Wrapped Cuff Moccasin

In early examples, multiple narrow rows of decoration finished the seam where the vamp is attached to the moccasin body. These consisted of caribou, moose or horse hair wrapped with embroidery floss or dyed porcupine quills. Hatt (1916:165) refers to this type of moccasin as series VI. This series had a considerable geographical distribution including the northern part of the Eastern Woodland groups but was so common among all Athapaskan groups that it was referred to as "the Athapaskan type" (Duncan, 1982:1640).

A second moccasin style noted in Chipewyan material culture is the "slipper moccasin" (Figure 7).

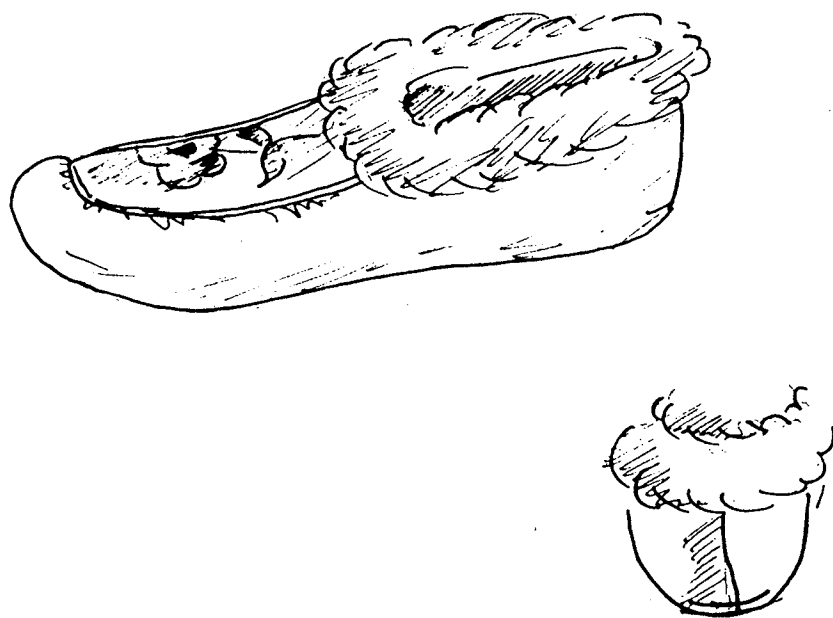


Figure 7.
Slipper Moccasin

They are made from two pieces of material, an oval sole and oval upper with a modified oval ankle opening which is usually surrounded by a band of fur. These moccasins are usually fabric-lined.

Duncan (1982) suggests that these moccasins have as their origin, the slippers evident in the late nineteenth century women's publications. She also notes that Cree women produced similar moccasins and suggests they may be a form produced primarily for sale to outsiders.

Sinew stripped from the tendons of caribou was used as "thread" for the seams. These strips were dried, shredded and twisted in preparation for use. The end or point was allowed to remain dry so as to easily follow an awl hole in the leather, while the rest of the sinew was kept soft and moist by applying saliva with the fingertips (Orchard, 1971; Tyrrell, 1911). Traditionally, moccasins were constructed of caribou or moose skin.

2.6.2 Skin Preparation

VanStone (1975) stated that skin preparation was essentially the same throughout the northern Athapaskan area. Skins were prepared by women during the summer.

The process was described by Hearne:

To dress those skins according to the Indian method, a lather is made of the brains and some of the softest fat or marrow of the animal, in which the skin is well soaked, when it is taken out, and not only dried by the heat of the fire, but hung up in the smoke for several days; it is then taken down, and well soaked and washed in warm water, till the grain of the skin is perfectly open, and has imbibed a sufficient quantity of water, after which it is taken out and wrung as dry as possible, and then dried by the heat of a slow fire; care being taken to rub and stretch it as long as any moisture remains in the skin. By this simple method and by scraping them afterwards, some of the moose skins are made very delicate to the eye and the touch. (Tyrrell, 1911:263)

At a later date, Irimoto outlined caribou hide preparation. Caribou skin is smaller and thinner than moose hide and therefore easier to prepare.

- a. The caribou hair is cut off with a knife and used to pad the inside of dog harnesses.
- b. The skin is scraped to remove the fat and inner membrane of the skin. A bone scraper is used.
- c. The hair and soft tissue on the outside of the skin are removed using a caribou leg bone scraper. The scraper is pulled downward using two hands, one on each end.
- d. The scraped hide is tanned using a solution of caribou brain or fish gut. After this solution is put on the hide, the skin is taken outside and hung on a pole.

- e. The solution of caribou brain on the hide is washed out in hot water, dried well, and scraped again.
- f. The last stage is that of smoking the hide. Dry larch wood covered with moss is used to produce smoke in a smoke tent. The caribou hide is sewn in the shape of a bag, the open end of which is placed over the moss so that the smoke fills the inside of the skin bag. Following this step, the completed pelt is stored for future use.

The process of soaking and scraping, repeated many times, was a most important step, since it determined the degree of softness of the skin. As well, the smoking step gave the caribou hide a rich brown color, but often was not done to allow the hide to remain in a soft, bleached condition (VanStone, 1975).

2.7 Moccasin Ornamentation

By the late nineteenth century, moccasins were one of the few articles of clothing ornamented by the Chipewyan (Birket-Smith, 1930; Whitney, 1896). The main types of ornamentation employed by early Chipewyan were porcupine quillwork and hair embellishment, followed by beadwork, silk embroidery, and fabric applique. The last three were a direct result of sustained contact with European cultures and materials (Birket-Smith, 1930; Duncan, 1982; Helm, 1971; Ingstad, 1933; VanStone, 1975; Whitney, 1896).

2.7.1 Porcupine Quillwork

Quillwork appears to have been one of the earliest forms of Chipewyan costume ornamentation. By the 1920's Birket-Smith noted

that it was only seen on moccasins.

The quills were removed from the porcupine and sorted according to size.

Four sizes of quills were found on the animal and were graded accordingly. The largest and coarsest came from the tail, which were used in broad masses of embroidery, where a large surface was to be entirely covered, or for wrappings on club handles, pipe-stems, and fringes. The next size came from the back, and still smaller quills from the neck. The finest were taken from the belly, and were used for the most delicate lines... (Orchard, 1971:9).

In early times, the dyes for the quills were made from "... red paint-stone, berries of several varieties, mosses, the inner bark of the alder (red color), and flowering plant infusions" (Boudreau, 1974:28). Following contact with Europeans, aniline dyes were used. One other method used following contact with Europeans was the boiling of quills together with dyed cloth to obtain bright color (Birket-Smith, 1930:56).

The quills could either be used in their natural tubular state, though this was infrequent, or split and flattened. This was most likely accomplished then, as now, by pressing the thumb-nail tight against the length of the quill, while holding one end of the quill anchored between their teeth (Orchard, 1971). The quills were then plaited, embroidered, or woven into decorative elements.

2.7.2 Hair Embellishment

Although scant references have been made to the use of hair embellishment by Chipewyan, evidence exists which supports the idea that it was in fact a decorative technique used by them. Turner

(1976:45) states that amongst North American Indians, hair embroidery was secondary in importance to other forms of ornamentation, particularly quillwork, but that "... a continuous distribution of hair embroidery can nevertheless be plotted from Alaska to New England." Hearne described "... Chipewyan warriors ceremonial bracelets and headbands, composed of porcupine quills [sic] and moose hair, curiously wrought on leather..." (Tyrrell, 1911:221). Hearne's statement confirms the use of this decorative element within that culture.

As with quillwork, selection and classification of hair was the first step in hair embellishment. This classification was according to length and color. Caribou hair is predominantly white, while moosehair is more diversified in color (Turner, 1976:29). The chief source of caribou hair was the throat "ruff" area, and preferably from a winter coat which was thicker than a summer one.

A similar process of dyeing to that of the quills was used. The quantity of dye necessary for dyeing hair was double the quantity required to produce an equivalent shade in cloth. Bright colors were favored.

Existing examples of Chipewyan hair work show ornamentation of moccasins in the form of coiled piping around the vamp edge. This piping mostly involved the use of horsehair. The use of horsehair likely occurred around the late seventeenth century. "Many of the 'moose-hair' specimens are really of horse-hair, sold for this purpose to the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company" (Jenness, 1932:214). Turner states that horsehair lacks the plasticity of quills or moosehair and is

... suitable for producing only the simplest linear effects ... Basically horsehair embroidery is a device for embellishing seams on articles made of skin, and in almost - but not quite - all cases delimits a decorative field. This field is usually in insertion of finer quality skin or cloth which in turn may be either embroidered in some other medium or left plain. (Turner, 1976:63)

2.7.3 Beadwork

The use of beadwork within the Chipweyan culture has a direct association with the European fur trade. "Pony beads" were introduced late in the eighteenth century. These beads were medium-sized glass beads in varying colors.

Orchard (1975) refers to a distinctive type of bead of Venetian origin known to the trade as "cornaline d'aleppo" which was handled by the Hudson Bay's trading posts. These beads became known as Hudson Bay Beads and "According to an official of the company it was one of the earliest kinds of beads used in the Canadian trade" (Orchard, 1975:100). These beads were approximately 1/4 inch in diameter and not perfectly circular in shape. The beads had a definite value, of one "made beaver" for six beads, established by the Hudson's Bay Company in the north. A "made beaver" refers to a skinned and tanned beaver pelt.

Duncan (1982:3) refers to the usage of the medium sized beads, often called "pony beads", as the first beads used by the Northern Athapaskans as a whole. This occurred late in the eighteenth century. She states that they were "eagerly incorporated into the established geometric design tradition".

Pony beads were followed by the tiny seed bead. These beads are classified as "opaque, transparent, and color-lined (transparent

over a hard core). They are made of glass and measure approximately 1/16 to 1/8 inch in diameter" (Orchard, 1975). Seed beads came in an unlimited color range with opaque beads predominating in Northern Athapaskan work (Duncan, 1982). In production, these beads were either left as cut, or rounded by tumbling them in a drum containing sand and wood ashes or charcoal mixed with clay until the desired globular form had been reached (Duncan, 1982; Orchard, 1975). Seed beads continue to be used today.

It is beadwork more than any other decorative medium that has received renewed interest by the Chipewyan and other aboriginal groups. However, the introduction of the sewing machine in the early part of the twentieth century helped establish another decorate element in Chipewyan ornamentation. This element was applique.

2.7.4 Applique

Applique ornamentation was facilitated not only by the introduction of the sewing machine, but by the availability of newer materials such as ribbons and satin and velvet fabrics. In many respects, Chipewyan use of applique reflected their association with their neighbors to the north, the Inuit.

2.7.5 Other

While silver was introduced briefly as a trade good in the mid-nineteenth century, it never became an important decorate element for the Chipewyan. No examples of this type exist.

2.7.6 Motifs

Little has been written regarding motifs utilized in Chipewyan clothing ornamentation. Duncan (1982) noted that pre-1940 embroidery designs were predominantly complex floral and exhibited slightly more asymmetrical positioning than work from other groups. Birket-Smith's (1930) illustrated examples of moccasins, as well as museum samples examined to date concur with Duncan's analysis. The significance of motifs appears to be lost in time. Hearne (1795) wrote of the symbolic use of images by Chipewyan warriors prior to entering battle, but his observations have not been recorded by any others.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A research methodology was developed which would identify the present-day design system of moccasin ornamentation of the Chipewyan at Janvier.

3.1 Objectives

The objectives of the research are threefold:

1. To identify the occurrence of repeating motifs, prevalent color choices, bead type preferences, material preferences, preferred methods of application, and locations of ornamentation on the moccasins.
2. To identify the association of these factors with the particular area (Janvier), with particular individuals, and if relevant, the particular area of origin of the artisan.
3. To provide a basis for comparison of the design system of moccasin ornamentation of earlier Chipewyan from the same region, with

Chipewyan from the traditional regions, as well as with other aboriginal groups.

3.2 Research Design

The data for this thesis was collected from two sources:

1. Museum and archival records
2. Field research at Janvier through:
 - a. visual documentation and analysis of moccasin ornamentation
 - b. verbal documentations

3.3 Museum and Archival Records/Holdings

Museum and archival records provided data on the design of earlier Chipewyan moccasins from the transitional area, as well as information about the culture, both past and present. The museums consulted were:

- Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg
- National Museum of Man, Ottawa
- Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba
- Northern Lights Museum, Fort Smith, N.W.T.
- Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton
- Museum of Natural History, Regina
- Prince of Wales Museum, Yellowknife, N.W.T.
- Churchill Eskimo Museum, Manitoba
- Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta

Archives consulted were the:

- Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
- Hudson's Bay Archives, Winnipeg

- Provincial Archives, Winnipeg
- Hudson Bay House Library and Photograph Collection, Winnipeg

Museum and archival data were obtained through:

1. Meetings with resource people from the different institutions.
2. Examination of artifacts, from which information for the data sheets was obtained.
3. Examination of records of the history of Chipewyan culture, including moccasin design.

3.4 Field Research

Field research was vital to this study. It provided the core of information about present-day moccasin ornamentation in a transitional Chipewyan area, Janvier Reserve at Chard, Alberta. This community is located approximately two hundred miles northeast of Edmonton. There are roughly five hundred residents at Janvier. While the population includes a small number of semi-permanent European Canadian, Cree, and Metis residents, it is predominantly a Chipewyan community.

The data used in this study were collected using the participant/observer research procedure. This method allows the research to get a close look at the factors being studied. However, problems of accuracy exist in proportion to the extent of the investigator's involvement in the activities studied. As well, there is no definite agreement as to how much participation is essential.

The field study took place over three weeks, from May 12 to June 5, 1986. Within this period of time, the researcher learned actual ornamentation techniques from the women who were involved in the art

of making moccasins. The investigator joined the women who worked on a casual basis in the production of their traditional arts. At this time, the various steps in moccasin ornamentation were sketched, and the completed articles photographed. It was the researcher's intent to adapt to the community lifestyle and obtain information relevant to this study in the course of daily interaction with the people of Janvier.

The stages of ornamentation were documented through detailed sketches and photography. Various aspects of the completed moccasins were recorded on detailed data collection sheets. See Appendix A.

To summarize, the field study portion of this research yielded information on the materials, methods, and motifs used in the design system, through:

- a. Recording of this information in
 - i) sketches
 - ii) photographs
 - iii) data collection sheets
- b. Field journal
- c. Conversations with people of the community.

3.5 Data Collection Sheet Development

An initial data collection sheet was developed to record characteristics of museum samples. See Appendix B.

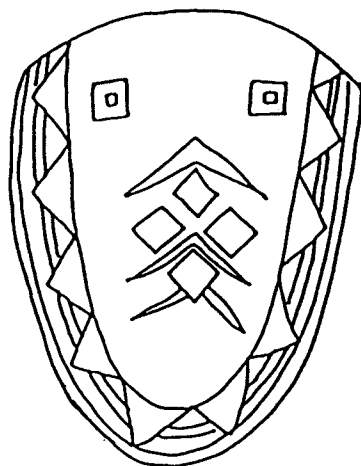
Units of analysis were identified which could provide a comprehensive description of moccasin ornamentation. These were based on information about Chipewyan moccasin ornamentation (Birket-Smith, 1930; Duncan, 1982; Orchard, 1971; 1975; Turner, 1955; Tyrrell, 1911; Whitney, 1896). This sheet was found to be too unstructured. The

researcher felt a need for a more extensive breakdown of ornamentation characteristics. A subsequent sheet was developed (Appendix A). The inclusion of all known ornamentation materials, methods, and motifs as used by Chipewyan was listed, thus establishing a continuity in recording of the data.

While the data sheets, sketches, and photographs comprise the "formal" collection records, a daily field journal was also kept in which both observations and interpretations by the researcher as well as information gained from conversations with the residents of the community were recorded. The intent of this recorded information was to focus on possible connections between the materials, methods, and motifs chosen and such possible influencing factors as movement from other communities, age, and intermarriage.

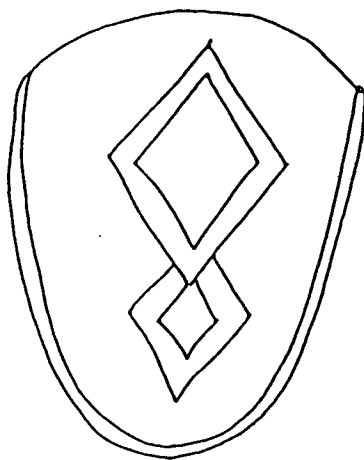
The data recorded were analyzed focusing on both qualitative and quantitative information. Qualitative data identified the techniques used in ornamentation, types of materials used, and motifs utilized. Six motifs have been identified as being applicable to this study. These are based on observed museum samples as well as motifs designated by Duncan (1982) as characteristic of Athapaskan clothing art. Examples of the six motifs and description of their components are contained in Figures 8, 9, and 10.

Quantitative information included frequency of usage of motifs, methods, and materials, repetition by the same individual, by individuals in a group (Janvier Research women), and within the transitional area over different time spans. While the field journal contained information giving some indication of the reasons for any observable



COMPLEX GEOMETRIC

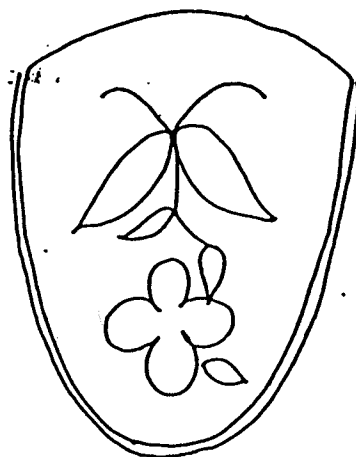
- : HIGH DENSITY DESIGN.
- : INCLUDES TRIANGLES, RECTANGLES, ZIGZAGS, CHECKS, CHEVRONS, CIRCLES.
- : SEVERAL COLORS MAY BE USED.
- : MAY BE SHADED.



SIMPLE GEOMETRIC

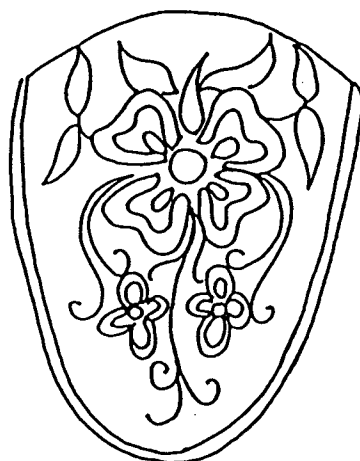
- : LOW DENSITY DESIGN.
- : NO SHADING.
- : INCLUDES TRIANGLES, RECTANGLES, ZIGZAGS, CHECKS, CHEVRONS, CIRCLES.

Figure 8.
Geometric Motif Categories.



SIMPLE FLORAL

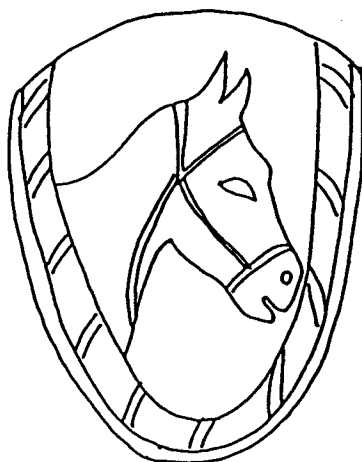
- : FOCUS ON CONTOUR, OR OUTLINE OF MOTIF.
- : ELEMENTARY FLORAL DESIGN.
- : NO SHADING.



COMPLEX FLORAL

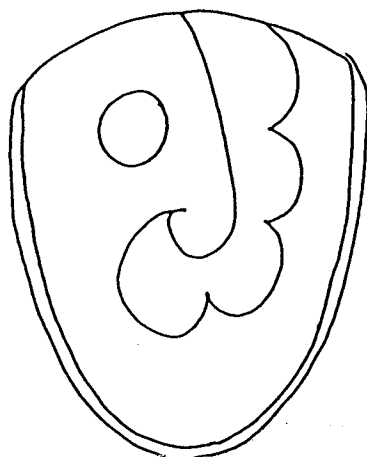
- : SEVERAL MOTIF ELEMENTS.
- : HIGH DENSITY DESIGN.
- : MAY BE SHADED.

Figure 9.
Floral Motif Categories.



FIGURAL

- : IDENTIFIABLE NON FLORAL FORMS.
- : MAY HAVE SHADING.



CURVELINEAR ABSTRACT

- : CURVED EDGES DOMINATE THE MOTIF.
- : NOT SUGGESTIVELY FLORAL.
- : CONTOUR FOCUS.

Figure 10.
Figural and Curvelinear Abstract Motif Categories.

changes, it is not within the scope of this study to concentrate on these factors.

3.6 Visual Analysis of Moccasin Ornamentation

Three sources of moccasin ornamentation were examined. First, whenever possible, museum samples were examined directly, details recorded on data collection sheets, and the items photographed. These items were limited to moccasins acquired prior to World War Two, within the transitional area outlined in Figure 2. Particular focus is on the more western Canadian regions since that is the location of the present study.

Second, details of moccasins in the process of ornamentation by the women of Janvier were recorded on data collection sheets, through sketches and photography.

Third, the "on site" presence of the researcher facilitated additional observation and documentation of privately owned personal moccasins from both the past and present time. Museum searches to date have indicated that the existent sample is very small.

3.7 Remuneration

Copies of photographs which included individuals from the community were sent to them, and a copy of the completed study will also be given to the community in appreciation for their assistance.

4. MUSEUM FINDINGS

Moccasin samples for this study met three criteria. First, the provenance of the samples as described by the museums involved

indicated that the moccasins were from Northeast Alberta, and/or Northwest Saskatchewan within an area bounded by Cold Lake, Chard, and Fort Chipewyan in Alberta, and La Loche and Ile a la Crosse in Saskatchewan (Figure 11).

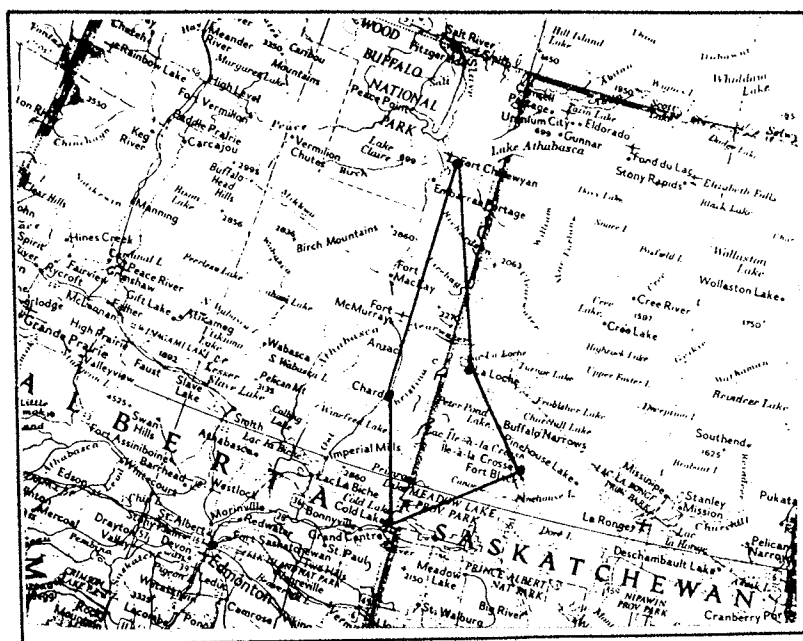


Figure 11

Map 4

Map of Alberta and Saskatchewan Area of Study.

Second, the provenance indicated that the moccasins were made prior to World War Two, and third, that the moccasins were crafted by Chipewyan people.

Nine museums were contacted. Only two had actual samples which met the established criteria, while a third, the Provincial Museum of Alberta, had catalogue and visual information from the American Museum of Native History. In all, seven samples were collectively obtained

from the above source, from the National Museum of Man, and from the Northern Life Museum. Four pairs of moccasins were from the Fort McMurray region and three were from Fort Chipewyan. Only two pairs of moccasins had actual "hands on" exposure to the researcher. All samples had hide construction. Five of the samples were constructed from moosehide. The hide type for the remaining two examples was not specified although they appear to be either moosehide or caribou.

4.1 Moccasin Styles (Methods of Construction)

Only one sample was of the pointed toe seam, wrapped cuff, ankle flap style moccasin (refer to Figure 6). One sample was similar to the slipper style shown in Figure 7. Three samples had the slipper turned down cuff and vamp, but were constructed with a pointed toe seam (Figure 12).

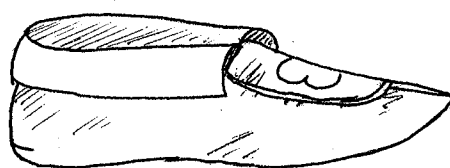


Figure 12
Pointed Toe Slipper.

Of the remaining two samples, one was a variation of the wrapped cuff style, but was constructed with a rounded toe, gathered vamp seam and included the pinked ankle flap (Figure 13).

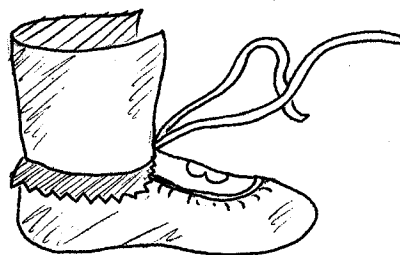


Figure 13
Pinked Ankle Flap.

The last museum sample of moccasins as observed from photo and catalogue material appears to differ considerably from the previous samples. These moccasins are sewn with a separate sole attached to a rounded toe upper with no vamp, but with a wrapped ankle cuff (Figure 14).

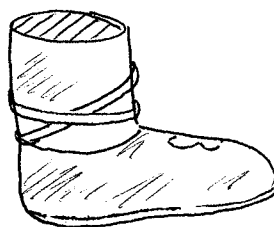


Figure 14
Wrapped Cuff Moccasin
Separate Sole.

These last two examples, as well as the slipper type moccasins, were made by the mother of Father Napoleon Laferte O.M.I. Father Laferte was a Chipewyan from the Fort Rae and Fort Chipewyan re-

gion. He was born in 1896 and died in 1964. The moccasins in the Northern Life Museum collection were his own personal footwear.

4.2 Motifs

The type and extent of motif categorization found in the seven museum samples is indicated in Table 2, Chapter 6.

4.3 Materials

Silk floss embroidery was observed on its own in one example, in combination with hair piping in three examples, and in combination with quill work in one sample. One sample had quill ornamentation only, and only one example had seed bead ornamentation. This sample had seed bead ornamentation in combination with ribbon, quill and hair material usage. Six of the samples had the ornamentation restricted to the vamp area, while the seventh included ornamentation on the turned-down cuff as well. In the four examples in which hair was utilized, it was restricted to piping around the vamp seam. This piping varied from one row (2 examples) three rows (1 example), to four rows (1 example).

In six out of seven samples, the ornamentation was carried out directly on the hide, while the seventh example, made in 1913 in Fort McMurray, had bead work done on black velvet over hide.

4.4 Color

Green was the most prevalent color observed, with pink and white next. Variations of purple shades followed, then yellow and red, blue, orange, navy and beige in descending frequency of usage.

White appeared on all samples.

The fact that the predominance of motifs was of a floral nature may explain the strength of the use of pink and green. The artisans appeared to have followed traditional representational color schemata. The flowers were worked in pink/red tones with green foliage in all floral work represented. Other colors were used in the supporting ornamentation such as piping or vamp edge treatment.

Two pairs of moccasins had the entire vamp area covered with quill work. These were the only geometric motif examples, and were made by Father Laferte's mother in the Fort Rae/Fort Chipewyan region.

4.5 Method of Application

The example with seed bead ornamentation consisted of a "couched" stitching application. The bead/stitch ratio is not determinable.

The two quill samples made by Father Laferte's mother had the quills sewn to the vamp hide, according to the museum catalogue sheets. The remainder of the quill work consisted of plaiting along the vamp edge, bordered by hair piping.

5. FIELD RESEARCH FINDINGS

While moccasins are still worn by some members of the community, most footwear is "store bought". Moccasin production and ornamentation is presently in a state of change; from meeting a function need to that of being a symbolic expression of Chipewyan culture and a means of commerce for the women.

5.1 Janvier Reserve

The Janvier Reserve (Figure 15) was named for the four original families who were enrolled as residents of the area in 1900 under Treaty 8. These people were originally known as the "straggler band" because of their nomadic hunting and trapping lifestyle which centered around the Cowpar Lake/Winnifred Lake/Red Willow River (Christina River) area. A settlement was set up at Cowpar Lake around 1916-1918 where an old burial site still remains. Sometime later, the band moved closer to the Red Willow River to prairie land still referred to today as "Chipewyan prairies" until constant flooding necessitated a move to higher ground where the reserve, which was surveyed in 1922, remains today.

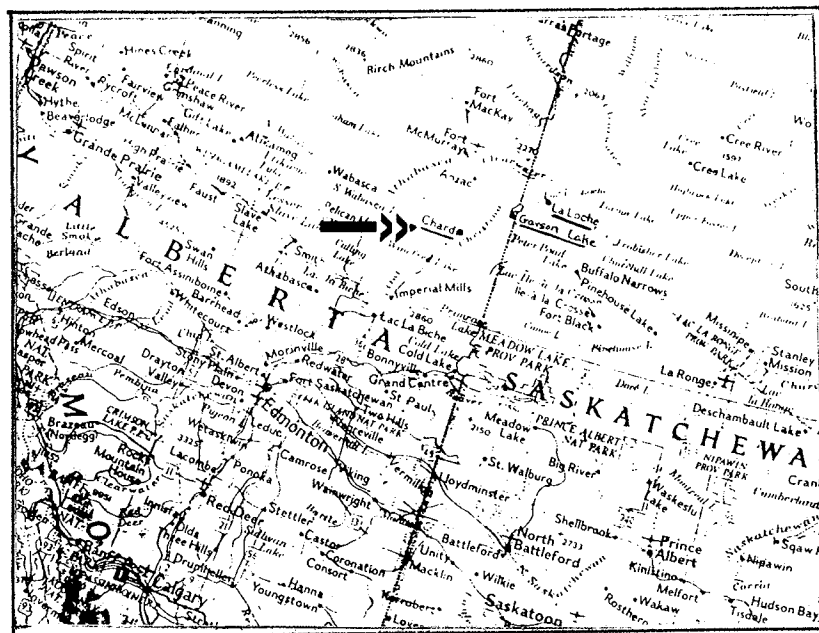


Figure 15
Map 5
Location of Janvier Reserve

The main language of the approximately 250 reserve residents and an equal number of metis residing nearby, is Chipewyan. A small

number of "whites" live permanently in the community.

A Band Council, elected for two-year terms, governs the community. The Council size is determined by the population size.

Around 1909, some of the members moved to the Portage La Loche area in Northern Saskatchewan. From that day to the present, a close relationship between the communities at Janvier, Garson Lake, and La Loche exists. Many of the women at Janvier had at one time resided in one of the other two communities and still retained close kinship ties with family members there. They stressed the fact that there was no difference in the construction and ornamentation of moccasins from the three communities. In some instances a woman from one area might prepare the hide and cut the pattern pieces which a woman from one of the other two communities would then ornament. Moccasins studied from the three areas were indistinguishable. Thus, for these reasons, samples from all three areas, as observed at Janvier, were included in this study.

Today, moccasin production and ornamentation in Janvier is carried out on an individual basis, or in association with an arts and crafts cooperative. Cooperation amongst the women, in all aspects of moccasin manufacture, from skin preparation to ornamentation, is evident. Skin preparation is a lengthy and demanding skill which is often shared by two women who will then divide the end product in some mutually agreeable manner. In other instances, one woman might ornament the individual pattern pieces while a second woman completes the construction.

The name of the women's arts and crafts cooperative at Janvier is Chipewyan Prairie Products. The cooperative was initiated by some of

the local woman to encourage pride and continuation of cultural expression, to provide a productive activity for the women outside of the home, and to supply them with a means of commerce. Participation has varied over the six years since it was begun. At the time of the researcher's visit to the community, only a few women were actually working at the designated meeting place, while others worked at home but marketed their finished work through the cooperative. Other women prefer to produce and sell moccasins independently. The number of women involved in either group is variable, ranging from two to twenty.

5.2 Sample

At Janvier, moccasin construction methods, starting with skin preparation, and including bead ornamentation, were documented through sketches, photographs, and data collection sheets, from May 12 to June 5, 1986. These data were collected by visiting individual women working in their homes, by visiting the arts and crafts cooperative, and by recording relevant information on moccasins worn by members of the community in the course of daily activity.

The sample for this analysis consisted of thirty-four ornamented moccasins or moccasin pieces. In all examples, the material used for the main body construction was commercial or home-tanned moosehide.

5.3 Moccasin Styles (Methods of Construction)

Three moccasin styles were observed. The first style (Type A) consisted of a wrapped cuff, t-shaped heel, rounded toe and crimped vamp. The cuffs were unornamented (Figure 16).

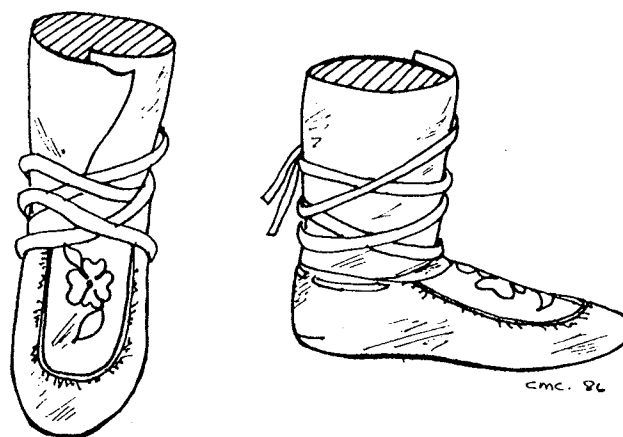


Figure 16
Type A Moccasin.

This type of moccasin was often left completely unornamented. A hunter would not wear beaded moccasins as the noise created by brushing against twigs would warn the animal of his approach.

A second style of moccasin was the slipper moccasin (Type B). This style had a t-shaped heel, rounded toe, and crimped vamp. It had a fur or hide cuff which either completely surrounded the ankle opening, or only went from one vamp edge to the other. The cuffs were approximately 4.5 cm wide (Figures 17 and 18).

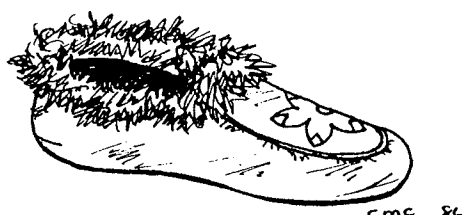


Figure 17

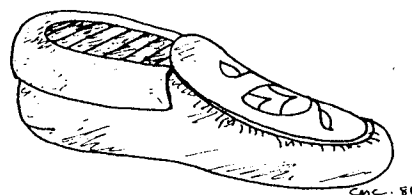


Figure 18

Type B Moccasins

Type C, the third style of moccasin, was a variation of the slipper and wrapped cuff type moccasin. It also had a t-shaped heel,

rounded toe and crimped vamp, but was characterized by a deep stand-up cuff connected in front by short hide thongs, or an elastic behind the upper edge of the vamp. The cuffs were heavily beaded on the exterior, and usually lined on the inside with either cotton or cotton blend fabric. Adult cuffs were approximately 7.5 cm deep, while children's cuffs were 5.5 cm deep. This style of moccasin was the most frequently observed type worn by the residents themselves (Figure 19).

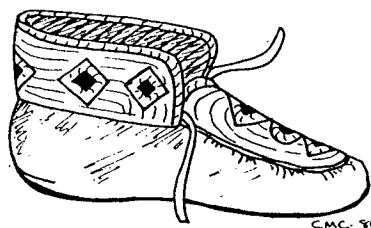


Figure 19
Type C Moccasin.

A similar style, with Plains Cree attribution, as well as examples of this type of moccasin made by Cold Lake Alberta Chipewyan in the late nineteen fifties and sixties can be seen at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary.

All three styles of moccasins are hand-sewn using heavy cotton thread or commercial sinew. Essentially the three types have a similarly constructed base with differences occurring in the ankle treatment.

5.4 Motifs

The women of Janvier did not recall the use of symbolic motifs within their own or their mother's lifetimes. Three factors appeared to determine the choice of motif. First, moccasins might be ornamented with a special motif which had been requested by the person for whom they were being made. Second, the length of time which a woman had to make and ornament the footwear often determined the extent and complexity of the embellishment. Simple geometric forms take less time to work than floral or figural motifs. The third factor in motif choice was personal preference for a particular image. Artistic expression is apparent in these personal choices, and had considerable importance as a decisive factor. Both traditional floral and modern abstract imagery is used. One woman enjoyed conveying the image of the local flora. Her motifs are easily recognizable as wild roses, strawberry leaves, and the like.

Another woman who is a recent artisan has developed a curvilinear abstract design based on the traditional rosebud floral image. This motif and variations of it have been adopted by other women in the community. Figure 20 shows one such motif.

The thirty-four moccasins documented were classified under one of the six motif categories. No other motif categories were observed. Table 2, in Chapter 7, indicates the number within each category.

Appendix C lists the motifs observed at Janvier and shows their characteristics.

Types A and B moccasins were ornamented on the vamp area only. Type C moccasins were ornamented on both the cuff and vamp area. There were no exceptions to this observation.



Figure 20.
Abstract Curvelinear Rosebud/Pearl Drop Motif.

5.5 Materials

The women at Janvier use seed beads for moccasin ornamentation. The beads are two to three millimeters in circumference, smooth, and of a circular shape. Apart from seed beads, the only other decorative materials used were sequins. These were seen in two examples documented at Janvier.

In the sample noted for this study, the beads were sewn either onto a cotton fabric over hide or directly on the hide itself. As noted earlier, all moccasins observed at Janvier were fabricated out of moosehide.

Moosehide is prepared in the traditional manner described in Chapter 2. Using a bone scraper, the fat and tissue is scraped from the hide (Figure 21).



Figure 21.
Mary Jane Herman Scraping Fat and Tissue from Hide.

The hide is stretched on a wood frame (Figure 22) and a bone (Figure 23) or steel (Figure 24) scraper is used to remove the hair. This method of hair removal has remained the same from earlier times to the present. Figure 25 illustrates this.

Following scraping, when the hide has a parchment-like quality, it is rubbed with a mixture which contains grease, soap such as Sunlight soap, baking powder, lard, and the brain of the animal, which has been boiled with water. This solution is rubbed on the hair side of the hide until it is soft. The hide is then washed and placed in the sunshine to dry.



Figure 22.
Marie-Cecile Janvier Scraping Hair from a Moosehide.
Janvier, 1986.

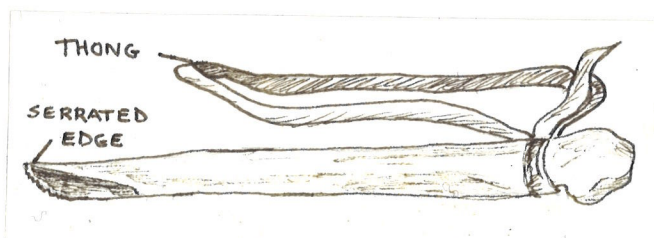
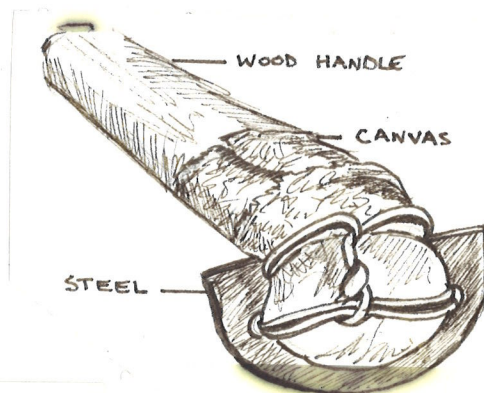


Figure 23.
Bone Scraper.

Figure 24.
Steel Scraper.



Figure 25.
Scraping Moosehide at Christina River c. 1918
Photograph from the National Archives of Canada A.13.1(39).

Dry black poplar and rotten spruce are used to smoke the hide. If the moosehide is wet, or the wood new, the hide will not be smoked properly.

5.6 Ornamentation Color Choice

Fourteen colors or varying hues were observed. In order of frequency of usage, shades of blue occurred most often, followed by green, red, orange, pink, yellow and white. White was the most frequent background color for the heavily beaded type C dress moccasins.

Out of the thirty-four moccasins observed, twelve used the complementary color combinations of blue/orange, nine of red/green, two of yellow/purple tones. None of the women had received formal

art training. The color choices were due to subjective preferences rather than theoretical art considerations.

Color could also be used as a differentiation factor between men's and women's moccasins. Pink was the only color mentioned in this regard. Some women felt it was not a suitable color for men's or boy's moccasins.

5.7 Methods of Application

Separate moccasin pieces are ornamented prior to construction of the whole. The procedure followed in moccasin ornamentation by the women at Janvier is documented as follows:

Step One: Motifs are drawn on the hide using a ball point pen.

Step Two: Some of the women sew a piece of brown paper on the underside of the hide piece to be decorated because they find that it provides a stiffer fabric to work on, resulting in a smoother beaded design surface (Figure 26).

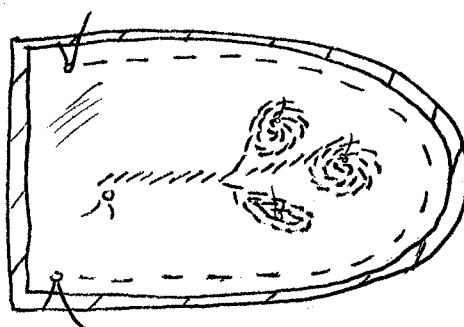


Figure 26.
Step Two.
Paper is used to stiffen work surface.

Step Three: Using a small eye long needle and cotton thread double-threaded for strength, seed beads are picked up on the needle

in the order that they are positioned in the motif.

The number of beads picked up at one time varies, but is generally around six. The beads are then pushed along the thread to the hide and set along the motif contour line.

Step Four: A second needle and thread, knotted on the underside of the hide, is used to spot stitch or "couch" the thread holding one or two beads to the hide and through paper if this is used. Stitching the beads at intervals of one or two beads ensures a secure attachment to the hide and allows for greater flexibility in the motif design (Figure 27).

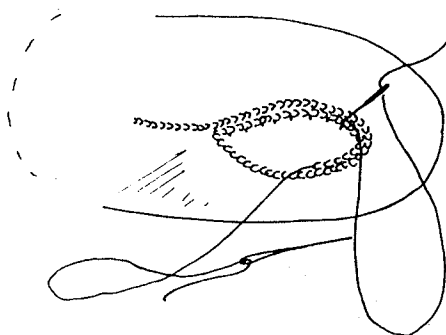


Figure 27.
Step Four.
"Couching" seed beads.

Step Five: To obtain a symmetrical motif on both pieces, the beaded contour piece is placed beaded side down over the other piece and pressed with a moderately hot iron for a few minutes until an impression is made in the second piece. This piece is then worked in the same manner as the first one.

If a motif has a "filled in" beaded design, it is always worked from the outside of the contour line toward the center of the motif

following the contour line in diminishing rows of beads.

Step Six: When the motif is completed the paper on the underside is cut around the stitches which encompass the motif and the underside is then lined with cotton or a cotton blend fabric using an overcast stitch with the lining edge folded under. This decreases seam bulk on the finished moccasin (Figure 28).

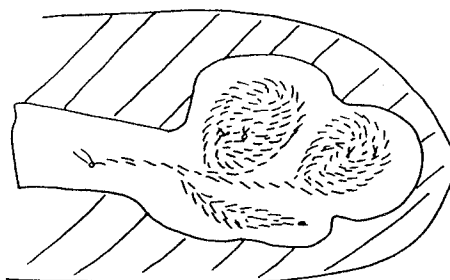


Figure 28.
Step Six.
Trimming paper on underside.

Step Seven: The moccasin pattern pieces are then sewn together by hand using a glover needle and commercial sinew. Glover needles are very sharp square-nosed needles suitable for hide penetration.

If the moccasins being ornamented are Type C, an additional ornamentation technique is often employed on the cuff edge. The edges are treated in one of three ways. They can have a single row of beading couched after every bead or every other bead (Figure 29). The moccasins can have a "corded" bead edge (Figure 30), or they can have a "scalloped" bead edge as illustrated in Figure 31.

The scalloped bead edge as employed at Janvier is a variation of the edging referred to by Duncan (1982:517) as "zipper outer", and by Orchard (1929:160) as "two bead edging". The difference as

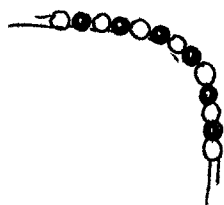


Figure 29.
"Couched" cuff edge.

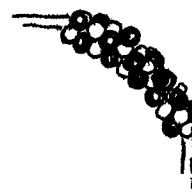


Figure 30.
"Corded" cuff edge.

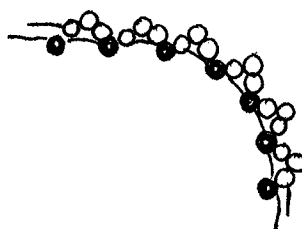


Figure 31.
"Scalloped" cuff edge.

observed in the moccasins at Janvier is in the number of beads used. The moccasins in this sample were made in a 3:1 ratio (3 horizontal:1 vertical), whereas Duncan refers to a 1:1 ratio, and Orchard to a 2:1 or 2:2 ratio. Orchard states that this type of edging is "... an almost universal type" (Orchard, 1929:160).

The scalloped bead edge is accomplished in the following manner.

Step One: A fine long needle, double threaded, is knotted on the upper edge of the cuff and drawn through to the outer edge. Five beads are picked up in a 3:2 color ratio (Figure 32).

Step Two: The beads are pushed along the thread to the hide edge and the needle drawn through the edge at approximately 1 cm intervals in a direction from top to bottom, once again coming out the outer edge (Figure 33). This creates a loop.

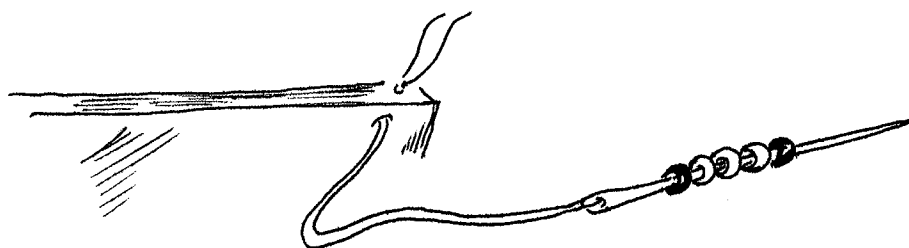


Figure 32.
Step One.
3:2 color ratio pick up.

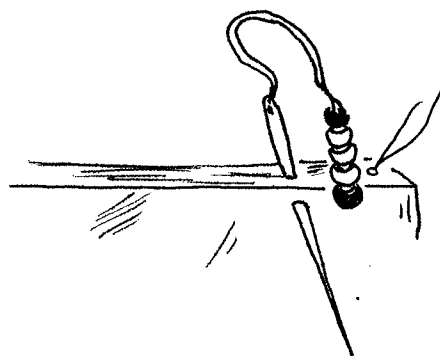


Figure 33.
Step Two.
1 cm interval needle placement.

Step Three: The needle is then drawn back through the vertically positioned last bead and steps one and two repeated, creating a scalloped edge in a 3 horizontal:1 vertical color ratio (Figures 34 and 35).

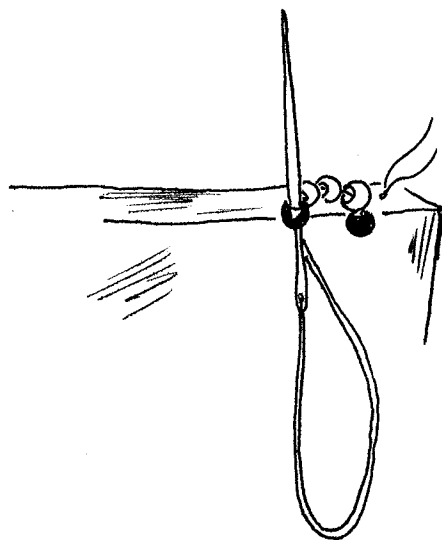


Figure 34.
Creating a loop.

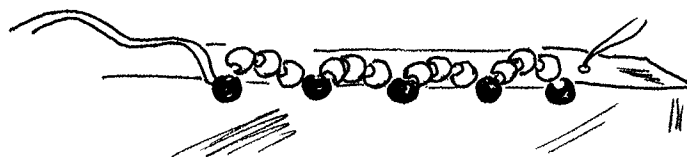


Figure 35.
Scalloped edge.

6. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Given the small museum sample, a clear and comprehensive analysis between the design system of ornamentation of pre-World War Two moccasins with present-day moccasins from Janvier is not possible. However, some observations can be noted from the information available.

6.1 Moccasin Styles

Three styles were observed at Janvier compared to five styles from the pre-World War Two sample (Table 1).

Table 1.
Frequency of Moccasin Styles

Style	Pre- World War Two	Janvier
Slipper		
(a) pointed toe	3	0
(b) round toe	1	16
Wrapped cuff, crimped vamp		
(a) pointed toe (ankle flap)	1	0
(b) round toe (ankle flap)	1	0
(c) round toe	0	2
Wrapped cuff, no vamp, separate sole	1	0
Dress moccasin (Type C)	0	16

Three differences were identified. First, the pointed toe seam construction noted in earlier samples no longer exists in present-day moccasins. Second, present-day construction methods do not incorporate the additional ankle flap observed on some of the earlier samples, and third, none of the moccasins presently being made at Janvier were constructed with a separate sole as was noted in one museum sample.

The style of cuff is similar in both present and past examples of moccasins in this study, in that both the wrapped cuff and slipper fur or turned-down cuff exists.

6.2 Motifs

While the largest number (11/34: Table 2) of Janvier moccasins were of the complex geometric category, the majority of the pre-World War Two samples (5.7: Table 2) were of the complex floral motif category. In both instances, the floral motifs portrayed consisted of rosettes, berries, and rosebuds. However, the motifs in the pre-World War Two sample exhibited a closer resemblance to the flora portrayed. These motifs had more elaborate shading and contour lines than did the later samples from Janvier.

The reverse is observed in the geometric motif categories. In both the simple and complex geometric motif category, the present-day sample from Janvier shows more elaboration and variation in design. The two earlier moccasin samples were totally linear, consisting of solid or interrupted line design. The researcher recognizes that this is too unreliable a number from which to base any definite comparison.

Table 2.
Frequency of Motif Usage

Motif Category	Pre- World War Two	Janvier
Complex Floral	5	7
Complex Geometric	1	11
Simple Geometric	1	6
Simple Floral	0	6
Abstract Curvilinear	0	4
Figural	0	0

6.3 Materials

Only one pre-World War Two sample used seed bead ornamentation

compared to its usage on all thirty-four samples from Janvier. Quill, floss, and hair do not appear on any of the present-day samples. Most of the Janvier samples (32/34) used one decorate element only, whereas the earlier samples frequently used as many as four different decorative materials on one sample (Table 3).

Table 3.
Frequency of Ornamentation Materials Used

Style	Pre- World War Two	Janvier
Seed Beads		
(a) only	0	32
(b) combined with other materials	1	2
Silk Floss Embroidery		
(a) only	1	0
(b) combined with other materials	4	0
Quill		
(a) only	1	0
(b) combined with other materials	2	0
Hair		
(a) only	0	0
(b) combined with other materials	4	0
Ribbon		
(a) only	0	0
(b) combined with other materials	1	0
Sequins		
(a) only	0	0
(b) combined with other materials	0	2

6.4 Color

Green appears most frequently in both past and present samples. A more extensive color hue variation (14/11) was observed in the Janvier sample than in the pre-World War Two sample.

6.5 Methods of Application

Because of the differences in the materials used in both samples, it is not possible to compare the methods of application. In all examples except one, the ornamented material was applied directly onto hide.

7. CONCLUSION

While moccasins are still worn by some members of the community, most footwear is "store bought". Moccasin production and ornamentation is presently in a state of change; from meeting a functional need to that of being a symbolic expression of Chipewyan culture and a means of commerce for the women. This study is timely for the above reason as well as the fact that Janvier will in the near future no longer be an isolated community. Up to the present time, access to the community has been by train or air in the summer months, with the addition of a winter road to Fort McMurray. At the time of this study, a road which would provide year-round access was in the process of completion. The increased accessibility to the Reserve may influence changes in the traditional aspects of moccasin ornamentation which exist at the present time.

The women of the Janvier Reserve are very receptive to changes in the design system of moccasin ornamentation. While it is their

intention to preserve traditional elements such as the use of sinew and home-tanned moosehide in the manufacture of moccasins, there does not appear to be any adamant opinion regarding the use of traditional Chipewyan motifs or methods of ornamentation. As noted earlier in this paper, motif choice is based on three factors, none of which include the concept of specific Chipewyan symbolism or tradition. Of the six motif categories identified from archival and museum research, only five were observed by the researcher at this time. However, some of the women from Janvier stated that they had incorporated the sixth type of motif in previous work.

Ornamented moccasins continue to be used by these women as gestures of respect or affection. Special moccasins were made to present to the Pope on his recent visit to Canada, as well as for the parish priest who transferred to another community, and for members of their families.

The differences between men's and women's moccasins are insignificant. Apart from the expected difference in size, color choice was the only other possible distinguishing feature. According to some of the women, pink is rarely used on male moccasins, but this was not rigidly adhered to.

While the museum sample is too meager to make a reliable comparison at this time, the field research findings indicate that some changes have occurred over time. Most notably, it would seem that the motif category has shifted from the complex floral to complex geometric for this area. Two factors may have influenced this. First, some of the women at Janvier indicated that geometric motifs are more easily produced using seed beads than the floral motifs are, and secondly, the

stylistic changes evident in most art today may have had a part in this change. Artistic trends since pre-World War Two have influenced a freer, more self-expressive attitude on the part of artists and artisans alike. These trends appear in all aspects of today's cultures.

At this time, the researcher is not in a position to identify possible influences from other communities on the design system of moccasin ornamentation from the Janvier Reserve. To date, there has been little focus on this cultural component of the Chipewyan people as a whole. The researcher intends to carry out a further similar study of a more traditionally located "caribou eater" Chipewyan community, as well as determine the changes which have occurred since pre-World War Two.

Change in northern communities continues to accelerate and the cultural heritage of this group is in danger of becoming even more obscure. For their own historical records, as well as for the broader Canadian perspective, it is imperative that this type of documentation and analysis continue.

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APPENDIX A

Data Collection Sheet				Slide # _____
				Sketch # _____
Function of Footwear	. outdoor wear _____ commercial _____ . indoor regular _____ . ceremonial _____	STYLE OF MOCCASIN	. slipper _____ . toe seam _____ . other _____	
Materials, Main Structure	. hide _____ . other _____ if other _____	if hide: . tanned _____ . smoked _____		
	if tanned: . commercial _____ . source _____ . home _____			
Decorative Materials				
	. background: . hide _____ . fabric _____ . other _____	if fabric: . wool _____ . velvet _____ . canvas _____ . other _____ . color _____		
	location of ornamentation: . vamp _____ . cuff _____ . other _____			
Material (ornamentation)				
	. bead: . seed _____ . metal _____ . other _____	. floss . silk _____ . cotton _____	. yarn . wool _____ . other _____	
	. hair . moose _____ . horse _____ . caribou _____	. Applique . fabric _____ . hide _____ . other _____	. ribbon _____ . quill _____	
Motifs	. complex floral _____ . simple floral _____	. complex geometric _____ . simple geometric _____	. curvilinear abstract _____ . figural _____	
	. positioning : . symmetrical _____ . asymmetrical _____ . repeated _____			
Colors	. white _____ . black _____ . red _____ . pink _____ . blue _____ . navy _____ . yellow _____ . aqua _____ . green _____ . clear _____ . metallic _____ . orange _____			
Method	bead: couched _____ simple _____ netted _____	quill: sewn _____ woven _____	floss: satin _____ chain _____	hair: sewn _____ woven _____

Field Data Collection Sheet

APPENDIX B

MUSEUM	CAT. #	SLIDE #	
National Museum of Man Ottawa.	VI-D-23 U-27 (u1) (u2)	19-20-21	
ARTICLE	DATE OF ATTRIBUTION		
Moccasin	1913		
PROVENANCE: AREA COLLECTED, WHEN? ARTISAN, ETC.			
Ft. McMurray (Ct. Slave Lake Region) by J.A. Mason			
ATTACHED TO: - (1913)			
COMPONENTS	10" long x 4 3/4" wide.		
BACKGROUND	MATERIAL	COLOR	
Tanned moosehide Ts hope heel seam (back) central seam, Crimped wishbone vamp	Velvet (beaded) inset (backed & moose skin) 2 wool strips around ankle sewn edges.	Black - vamp. - black & red.	
DECORATIVE MEDIA	LOCATION		
Ankle edges bound & red silk ribbon - looped tab @ centre back sewn & lined. - cloth pieces & beige cotton thread.			
MOTIF DESCRIPTION	COLORS		
stylized floral - seed beads gloss borders plaited quill in pink purple & white.	green; gold, red, pink & silver. vamp edged in dull green line created by sewing cotton thread in a spiral stitch.		
TECHNIQUE			
BEAD	COUCHED: ✓ SPOT STITCH: WOVEN: NET:	QUILL	SEWN: ✓ WOVEN: plaited ✓
1) Bead. 2) Quill 3) hair EMBROIDERY	SATIN: CHAIN:	APPLIQUE	HAIR Floss piping. WOOL hair

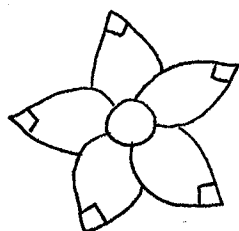
APPENDIX C

Motifs Observed on Janvier Moccasins

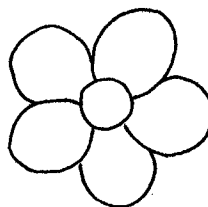
FLORAL:

1. Rosettes: Duncan identifies these as "...frontal blossom form, all petals congruent..." (Duncan, 1982:538).

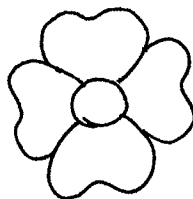
(a) point petalled with center



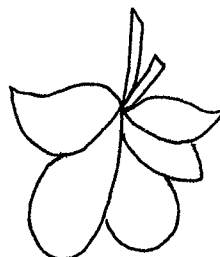
(b) round petalled with center



(c) dipped petals with center

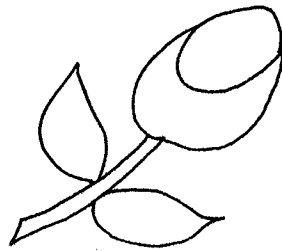


2. Berry:

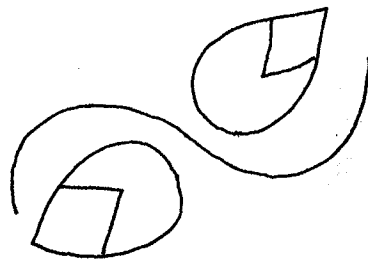


APPENDIX C (Continued)

3. Rosebud: Profile of a rosebud form with stems and leaves in varying relationships.




CURVELINEAR ABSTRACT: Abstract image of a rosebud and/or pearl drop.





FIGURAL: None observed.


GEOMETRIC:


1. Interrupted Lines:

(a) single color 

(b) two colors 

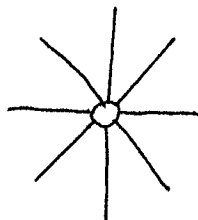
(c) two rows/two colors 

(d) three rows/two colors 

(e) four rows/two colors 

APPENDIX C (Continued)

2. Stylized Star:

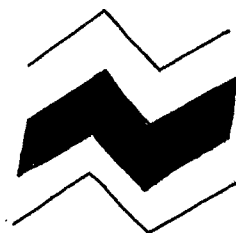


3. Zigzag:

(a) one row



(b) several rows



4. Chevrons:



5. Circles:

6. Triangles:

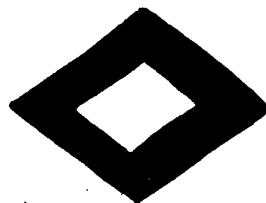
7. Crosses:



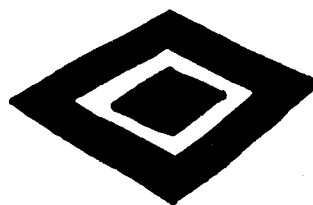
APPENDIX C (Continued)

8. Diamonds:

(a) two bead filled in contour outline



(b) diamond within a diamond



(c) multicolor filler

