Counties, on the lower St. Lawrence. Among the most significant representatives of this group is Mme. Odilon LeFrançois, an aged woman of L'Ange-Gardien, near Quebec, who learned in her childhood from her grandmother how to weave wide sashes. Her work is similar to that observed on old Quebec illustrations or collected among the Indians. The design in two of the sashes she made recently consists of one diamond and two diamonds in the centre and of W and saw-tooth designs across the sash from the centre to the ends. Similar sashes, though beaded, were worn by the Lorette Huron chiefs in the neighbourhood, about 100 years ago. One of them at least was purchased in 1805 by the Seminary of Quebec, as appears in the Seminary accounts for that year: "Sauvages, à Louis Vincent . . . cinture." It is doubtful whether the Lorette half-breeds ever made any of the sashes they proudly wore, as no evidence of it could be found there, from 1911 on, even in the recollections of the oldest members of the reservation. A few women in Charlevoix County, used to making garters, spontaneously wove sashes with V and W designs, and stated that similar sashes formerly were made in their localities (Plate XI).

Sashes with other designs—in particular the diamond and the zigzag—were also braided in the early days and had a distribution almost as wide as the V and saw-tooth.

An outstanding sash design is the detached arrow in rows from one end of the sash to the other, and usually with rows of reversed arrows in between. Although these are found on sashes worn by Huron chiefs near Quebec (Plates XII, XIV, XV), some of the best examples occur on Winnebago sashes at the Museum of the American Indian. It is possible that these may actually have been woven by members of the tribes, who specialized in this particular style, which originally was not their own but French Canadian.

### RED BASKET-WEAVE SASHES AMONG THE IROQUOIS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

A group of red sashes, most of them decorated with white beads, is now characteristic of the Iroquois and Huron Indians (Plate XVII), but it may at one time have had a wider diffusion, as one example, at the Museum of the American Indian, is tagged Menominee, and another Ojibway. There is one example in the old Dauphin de France collection, described as American Indian, in the Musée municipal de Versailles, and going back to the eighteenth century (Figure 5).

This style of loosely woven sash, the strands of which intercross diagonally, may have been evolved locally by the Iroquois of the Eastern Woodlands, or more probably it represents an early Quebec type, often referred to as red or black sashes, and indistinctly shown in illustrations; but

no example of exactly this kind has so far come to light outside of Indian reserves. This technique of weaving is practically the same as in the weaving of bags made out of bark, roots, cord, or yarn among the Ojibways.[1]

### BRAIDED GARTERS

This simpler form of finger weaving, in Canada, was virtually unknown or unrecorded in Quebec until 1925, when the writer collected two pairs from Island of Orleans near Quebec; and a few other examples, made locally, were observed elsewhere, in particular at Cap-Tourmente, Montmorency.

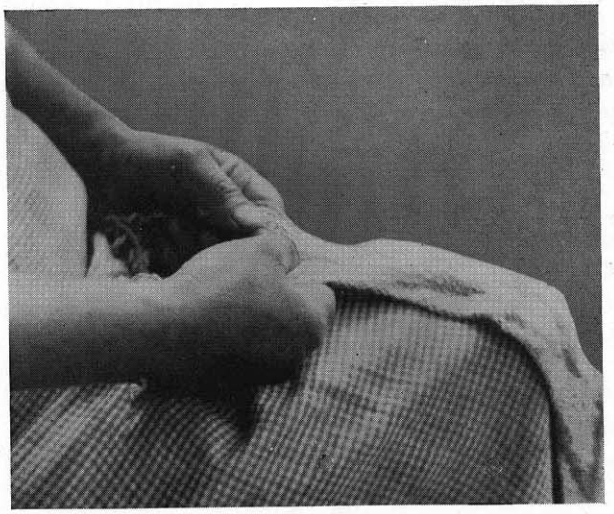
It became evident, however, that the making of braided garters once had been a craft widely practised in Quebec. An intensive search in a part of Charlevoix County, a conservative district, made it clear that everybody knew how to make garters, and wore them until almost the present day (Plate V and Figure 3). Over sixty pairs of garters were collected there in 1937, and it was learned that the Ile-aux-Coudres people, near Baie St. Paul, also the Petite-Rivière folk, made and used similar garters. At Island of Orleans, not a few people still know the technique, as also in Beauce County and Arthabaska; at St. Roch des Aulnais, L'Islet County; and up the St. Lawrence, near Three Rivers. Some Indians also made (or obtained) garters of similar type, as is shown in a Cayuga specimen collected by the writer in Oklahoma, in 1912.

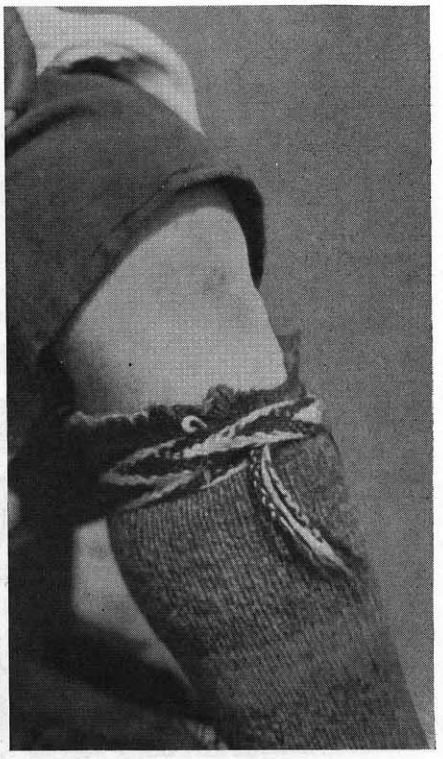
Finger weaving, its method, designs, and materials are so similar in the garters and the early sashes that the weavers could easily be persuaded, even at this late date when the craft has become obsolete, to make larger and wider garters, until they reached the size of actual sashes. And the few samples made in 1937, in Charlevoix, brought out the patterns observed in old specimens elsewhere (Plate XVIII). These were virtually identical, which shows that the technique of sash making has grown out of that of garter weaving. Indeed, garter weaving at one time must have been universal throughout Quebec, and it is in this form that the Indians may have borrowed it from their white neighbours, unless, as we will see later, the French Canadians themselves had borrowed the technique in its simplest form at the beginning from the Indians and made it their own.

Among the technical similarities that join sash and garter making into a single group are the fundamental processes of finger weaving, of disposing the colours, of starting the sashes from the centre or the ends, the various styles of designs, and the way of fashioning the fringes by braiding, twisting, and ending with knots and tufts. Nearly all Indian sashes and garters so far observed by the writer were made with bartered materials and within the range of the early French occupation and ensuing trade.

[1] Densmore, Frances: Bur. of Am. Ethn., Bull. 86, pp. 157-158

PLATE V





Mlle. Rosa Bouchard of Les Eboulements, Charlevoix County, making and wearing a braided garter—the garter being pinned on her knee in the first two photographs.

ODD GARTERS AND SASHES MADE ON SMALL LOOMS

Some woven sashes, bands, and garters collected among the French Canadians and the Indians fall into an ill-assorted lot that may be considered a residue.

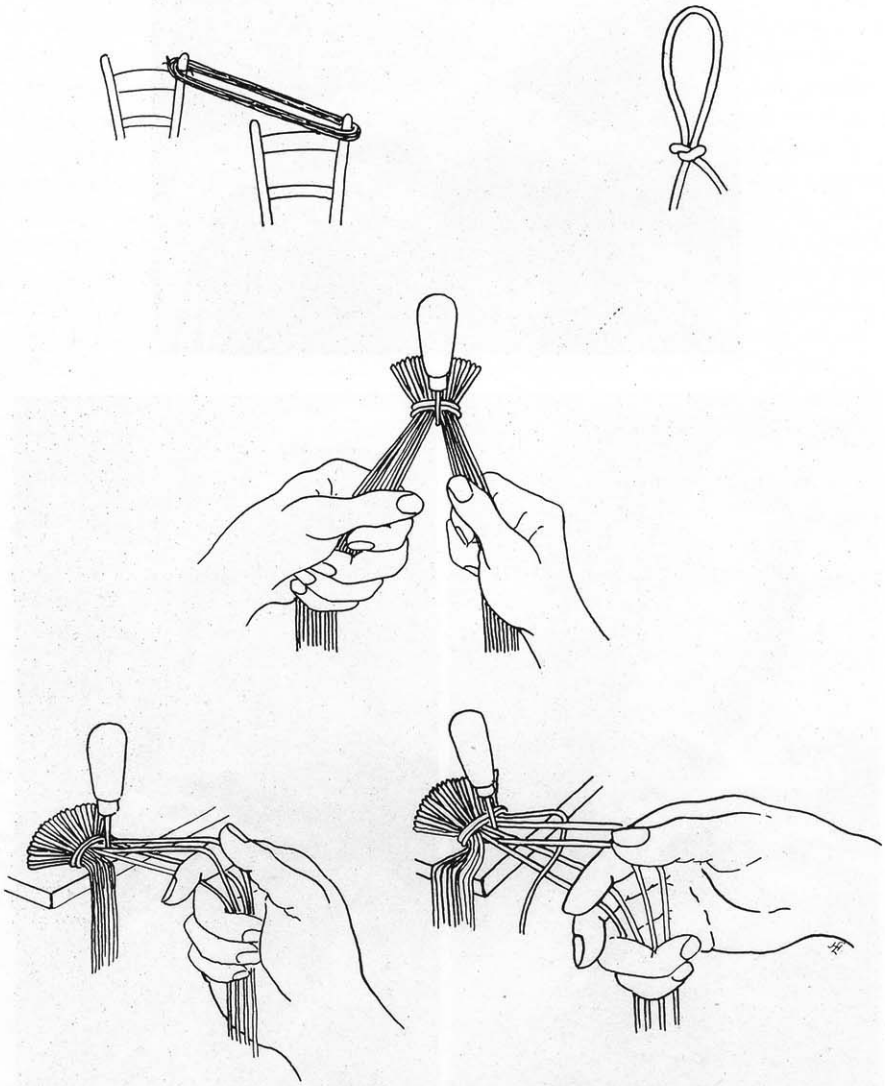


Figure 3. The technique of garter weaving: how the skein was warped and tied, how a set of strands was fixed before weaving, how the weft was drawn through the shed.

The texture in a few, like Colonel de Salaberry's sash (the Public Archives, Ottawa), before 1829, consists of "filet" or netting, which is very loose and elastic. The National Museum of Canada owns a similar "filet" sash. Sister Marie-Jeanne, of Montreal, who rediscovered the technique, stated that in order to net in this way one must know finger weaving; indeed, it is more complicated than the braiding in arrow weaving. A good example of "netted" belt is illustrated in Miss Densmore's "Chippewa Customs".[1]

Some garters in lower Quebec were woven by means of hand-heddles (*grilles à tisser* or *métiers à barreaux*, as they were called at Island of Orleans). Occasional hand-heddles were found in various Quebec districts, and collected among the American settlers (several specimens at the Edison Institute, Dearborn, Michigan); and they were not unknown among northeastern Indians (Ojibway).[2] Hand-heddles were also used (probably introduced from outside) among the southwestern Indians, and among the Tsimsyan and Carrier Indians of the Northwest Coast, where they were introduced, about 1850, by Duncan, the missionary. They were also traditional in Siberia and in Europe.

A small number of sashes were made "à la navette" (with netting needle) at Sillery, near Quebec, about 1825, by Joseph Garneau. A sash described as Winnebago, at the Museum of the American Indian, was made on a simple loom. Another Indian sash, at the Museum of the American Indian, is described as consisting of "square" basket weave, and Miss Densmore[3] shows two Ojibway sashes, one of which is described as a "sash woven of yarn and carpet warp", and the other "Sturgeon flesh" pattern, in a woven belt (these consist of V and W in three distinct bands).

Finally, the Hudson's Bay Company substituted mechanically woven sashes, made at Leicester, England, for the former trade sashes of L'Assomption.

### WRITTEN RECORDS OF THE FRENCH COLONIAL PERIOD

That woollen and other garters, bands, and sashes were extensively used during the colonial period, both French and British, is disclosed by the early traders, and by the inventories and auction sales of the period between 1700 and 1760. Sash-like garters, as early as 1651, were also fashionable in Massachesetts and, presumably, elsewhere among the American settlers.

Manuscript records, in the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec, show that garters formed part of personal equipment at an early date.

[1] Bur. of Am. Ethn., Bull. 86, Pl. 70; also p. 159.
[2] *See* Miss Densmore, "Chippewa Customs"; Bur. of Am. Ethn., Bull. 86, Pl. 68.
[3] Ibid., Pl. 71.

Thus in the 1755 inventory of Guillaume Taillon, a "habitant" of Château-Richer below Quebec, a pair of garters is listed; and these may have been of the braided variety. Yet, in 1759, the pair of garters listed in Louis LeVerrier's inventory, in Quebec, were of crown-lace (*tavelle*), possibly made locally on a small braid- or ribbon-loom. Miliary officers also wore garters of the imported varieties, as itemized in Lieutenant Jaubert's sale at Carillon in 1758: "une Culotte Blanche à jartières d'or" (white breeches with golden garters). Garters and garter materials were an Indian commodity as early as the French colonial period, as they are mentioned in La Vérandrye's lists of goods about 1730-1740. In Colonel Guy Johnson's accounts for the Indian Department of Canada, in 1779-1780 (Archives, Seminary of Quebec), we find that the Crown furnished the Indian Department with "1 piece of fine scarlet gartering; 32 pieces gimps . . ." The "Outfits" of the North West Company for 1798 and 1821 (Archives, Seminary of Quebec) contained abundant yearly supplies of imported garter materials, such as: "Invoice of goods shipped by Phyn Inglis & Co. . . for Account . . . of the North West Company, London, March, 1798. 20 gro. scarlet striped gartering, 20 Highland do; 30, London Scotch; 10 Turkey garters, etc. . ." On the "Invoice 1804" of goods forwarded from Montreal by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company "Intended for Slave Lake . . .: 1 grs. plain garters, 1 gro. nonsopretties, London Scots garter, Highland garters, scarlet and stript garters . . ." Elsewhere we find: "Portage collars", numerous rolls of Highland and other garters "3 do yellow, 11 do blue, 15 do green", etc.

Among the earliest references to sashes in the records of North America are those of the account books and *Annales* of the Seminary of Quebec. For instance, Mgr. de Laval, before 1700, paid for a sash; and another priest, in 1720, purchased two woollen sashes. In 1765, thirteen woollen sashes were purchased in France for the Seminary by Mr. Jacrau, for 114 lb, and other sashes of silk, calmande, ferandine, camelot, or crespont, were then in use at the Seminary and elsewhere. Then we learn that woollen bands (*passe-poils blancs d'étoffe*), about 1700, were part of the uniform for the Seminary students; these sashes were probably similar to those of the La Flèche Seminary in France. We find no evidence as to the nature of the textile, which we presume to have been loom weaving. In 1813, Sr. St. Cimon, of Hôpital-Général of Quebec, signed a receipt "pour façon de 32 ceintures d'aubes à 5/: £8." thirty-two sashes of the loom variety made by the sisters of her institution.[1]

Lambert, in 1806,[2] illustrates the Seminary costume; and the sash in it, apparently braided or netted and with a short fringe, is coloured

[1] Archives, Seminary of Quebec, Cartable 10, No. 25 C 10.
[2] Lambert's Travels in Canada, vol. I, p. 61.

red in the centre and yellow on both sides. The present sash of the Seminary, dating back to about 1848, is a one-coloured, manufactured article.

Yet the *Annales* of the institution state that the Seminary sash, which at first was white, gradually became gaudily coloured in the Indian way (*chamarrée de toutes les couleurs mélangées avec un goût sauvage*). The commentators further assert that this costume (including the sash) was imitated by the coureurs de bois (*Coureurs de bois l'ont imitée*—Sulte).

A very early coloured illustration by de Morgues, in 1564, shows a French nobleman wearing tufted blue woollen garters in the presence of Florida Indians (Seminoles?); which shows that such garters presumably always were the fashion among the French on this continent. This fashion is sure to have exerted a definite influence on their Indian neighbours and imitators, even though they may previously have been acquainted with the technique of finger weaving.

In inventories of Quebec and neighbourhood between the years 1700 and 1800 (Archives of the Seminary) we read of odd sashes, at least some of which surely were made locally; but it is possible that they were woven on simple looms rather than finger-braided. For instance, in 1734, J. Pellerin, of the Beaupré coast, owned "une cinture de rassade, 3 lb" (a beaded sash valued at 3 French pounds or louis); Charles Gravel, of the same district, in 1750, owned "deux ceintures de rassade". And many others at that time presumably had beaded sashes in the style of those collected much later among the Indians. There were also many sashes of varied types then used by the clergy and the settlers. In inventories and auction sales recently perused, reference is made to at least sixty-one sashes or belts, most of which no doubt were imported or made out of imported materials; among those presumably home-made were "une cinture de toille" 1730 (a linen sash), "cinture de lenne noir" 1744 (black wool), "3 cintures de laine" 1750 (woollen sashes); and, in 1743, "deux vieilles ceintures de Laine noir . . . 15 sols" (black wool).

In a sketch by Peachy, in 1781, we see a habitant with a sash, apparently of wool, but of only one colour—blue. Even as late as 1848, Krieghoff showed some of the habitants of Longueuil, near Montreal, wearing one-coloured sashes—now red. The weave in these, as in the Iroquois red sashes, presumably consisted of diagonal "basket weave".

The typical arrow sash, with its inherent finger weaving, certainly had come into existence before 1800. At least fifteen of them are listed under the name of "ceintures à flèche" in the invoices of sundries for the North West Company in the years 1800-1803, and a number of others appearing under the general terms of "ceintures" and "worsted sashes" must have been of the same description. These were purchased, at least

partly, at L'Assomption from F. Venance or L. Venance—perhaps Vanasse —and paid for by the Assomption notary acting on behalf of the company. We learn from Dr. Massicotte that two arrow sashes (*deux ceintures à flèches*) were listed, in 1798, in the inventory of the Montreal fur trader Chaboillez. And other bourgeois of the same North West Company, between 1780 and 1800, must have owned similar sashes, which later became an insignia of the fur trade. In the Journal de Labadie, a school teacher, we read that, in 1797, on the body of a drowned North West Canadian voyageur recovered near Verchères (below Montreal) was found "une jolie ceinture à flèche qui lui serroit le corps" (a pretty arrow sash fastened around his body). And in a letter of the fur trader Duperon Baby, dated Detroit 1781, a request to his Quebec brother, for "une ceinture qu'il lui demande" (a belt which his son requests) may well refer to a sash of the type later in demand among the western traders; but it is clear that at that time such sashes were not as yet, like silver, wampum, tomahawks, and beads, a current trade article (both of these MSS. at the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec).

The refrains of two old canoe songs of the voyageurs mention sashes; one of these even provides a description of what may prove to be an early type of Canadian belt, a "ceinture de toile" such as is mentioned in a Beaupré coast inventory dated 1730:

*Elle est en quinze brins,*
*Ma ceinture de laine,*
*Elle est en quinze brins,*
*Ma ceinture de lin.*

That is, the type of belt or garter here alluded to was woollen or flaxen and consisted of as few as fifteen strands, like the present-day garters of Charlevoix County.

The problem still remains of how the arrow sash actually originated at L'Assomption, for there is no evidence that it grew out, in this district, of the braided or arrow garter, even if it did in other parts of Quebec. An old Achigan worker still remembers that she heard someone say that, in the old days long ago, her people had first learned how to weave sashes from the Algonkin Indians of Ruisseau-du-Nord, in the vicinity. And Dr. Massicotte himself once was under the impression that sash-making at L'Assomption may have been introduced by the Acadians, perhaps because many settlers in the neighbourhood were of Acadian extraction, or perhaps because of the "so-called Acadian sash", which is a primitive example of the Assomption type, consisting as it does of four garter-like bands with the arrow design, joined together rather artificially.

It is quite possible that the Acadians of L'Assomption and neighbourhood may have learned this kind of weaving from the Algonkins; but it

is no proof as to where the Indians themselves had previously learned the process: possibly from other Indians, Hurons near Quebec or Iroquois, or from the French Canadians of an earlier period or of other localities. This most complex type of woollen sash certainly was not part of the equipment of the early natives of the St. Lawrence watershed.

### ANCIENT INDIAN SASHES IN THE DAUPHIN DE FRANCE COLLECTION

The evidence that matters most in the study of early finger weaving in Canada so far is lacking, but should we find information about the French colonial period, we might proceed a step farther in unravelling the obscure origins of braided sashes and garters among the French Canadians or the Indians. This is what we shall do now with the help of a number of specimens that the writer recently observed and studied in the Musée du Trocadéro, Paris, and the Musée municipal of Versailles, France.

These specimens form part of what is known as the Palais de Versailles collection of Indian curios made for the Dauphin de France sometime between 1740 and 1780. The Versailles collection was removed, after the Revolution, in 1790, from Versailles and placed in the keeping of the Bibliothèque nationale, in Paris. About 1880, this collection, to which were added some other materials, was split up into two parts, one of which (the smaller) was given to the Musée municipal of Versailles, and the other, to the Trocadéro museum. The bulk of these materials throws a new light on the early aspects of North American ethnography and crafts, one of which concerns weaving, sash and garter making and decoration (Figures 4, 5).

A few pack sashes, more or less authentically listed as Huron, are of the same type—even the design and perhaps the materials—as the "Mohawk burden-straps" studied by Orchard,[1] which consist partly of simple finger braiding and of coloured moose-hair decoration. The design in one of these is in the form of triangles or half-arrows of two contrasted colours; another, of the saw-tooth or triangular pattern; a third has a dented stair-like design; a fourth has small stair-like designs in two rows; a fifth (this and the last two are made of cord) also has a stair-like design; and a sixth, made of bark, is decorated with coloured porcupine quills disposed in the shape of diamonds, stripes, and hour-glasses.

Two other sashes are made of cord and sinew, one of which was probably woven on a hand loom, and the other braided, decorated with porcupine quills in the form of repeated diamonds with serrated edges, and of elongated saw-teeth. So far the designs and type of finger weaving are Indian-like and presumably authentic. They are certainly old—antedating 1750.

[1] "Indian Notes", Oct. 1929; Quart., Mus. of the Am. Indian, N.Y.