

The Grey Nuns Northwest Territory Collection: Embroidery in the Mackenzie Valley

by

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Bachelor of Arts, McGill University, 2014

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Abstract

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During the Indian Residential School period (1867-1960) in the Mackenzie River area of the Northwest Territories, Indigenous students at several schools administered by the Order of the Grey Nuns produced crafts and art items that were then exported to the Order's motherhouse in Montréal. This collection of 275 pieces, ranging from garments and footwear to paintings and drawings, was repatriated at the request of the Fort Providence Métis Council to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories in 2001.

While locationally repatriated, the Grey Nuns collection has to date remained in storage at the PWNHC until 2015 when, in cooperation of PWNHC staff, I was able to carry out a preliminary examination of the collection. The objective of this examination was to: (1) temporally and spatially trace the movement of the pieces across Canada, situating the PWNHC collection within the residential school history in Canada; (2) to explore if the making of these pieces by the children who attended residential schools in the Mackenzie River Valley perpetuated Indigenous artistic traditions; (3) to determine whether the materiality of the collection exposes the complex interrelations between children's crafting knowledge and the colonial structure; (4) to explore the potential and challenges of reconnecting this collection now at the PWNHC with its source communities today.

This thesis reports on the analysis of a small subset of the collection's contents. This sample, consisting of two pairs of moccasins, one pair of mittens and a single souvenir object, was analyzed for information pertinent to my main objectives, and especially what they indicate about hybridity and materiality regarding the different cultural influences, Métis, Dene and Euro-Canadian, that met in the Indian Residential school setting.

The objects, made at the behest of the Grey Nuns in order to meet the demands of the Canadian tourism industry, and provide badly needed income to support their Northwest Territories schools, exhibit a combination of two, and even three, of these influences, notably in the items' styles, decorative motifs and the materials employed in their creation. Of particular note, these sample objects portray distinct Métis and Dene artistic knowledge and traits. Their making speaks to the continuance of important Indigenous women's traditions, knowledge that did not disappear despite the often hostile institutional environment around their creators. The collections offers another window on student-colonizer relations within some Indian Residential schools in the Lower Mackenzie region in the early twentieth century.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Grey Nuns collection, located at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) in the Northwest Territories (NWT) is representative of one of twenty Indian Residential School (IRS) or Day School collections of art located across Canada as identified through survey data (unpublished data, 2014) produced through the Residential and Indian Day School Art Research (RIDSAR) program at the University of Victoria. The collection was repatriated from the Grey Nuns Mother House in Montreal to the PWNHC in 2002 after being requested by Albert J. Lafferty of the Fort Providence Métis. The assemblage contains 275 objects and ranges from children's paintings, toys (airplanes, miniatures, and dolls), clothing (jackets, moccasins, and mitts), and school memorabilia. These objects were collected from the five residential schools in the Mackenzie Valley: Fort Providence (1867-1960), Fort Resolution (1903-1957), Fort Smith (1915-1957), Fort Simpson (1918-1957), and Aklavik (1925-1959).

The Grey Nuns collection is not only varied with respect to item type but also in the materials used in making these objects. Birch bark, caribou and moose hide, furs, beads, porcupine quills, cotton and silk, and moose hair were all variously employed. The incorporation and use of these different materials demonstrates the coming together and blending of European, Dene, and Métis materials, techniques, styles, and artistic approaches. The pieces in the collection were made by Métis and Dene children individually or with the assistance of the Grey Nuns, while at residential school in response to the poor financial situation of the schools and the demanding tourism industry in the south for Indigenous made goods.

It is important to note that this is only one perspective on the collection and its' making. Other reasons for the manufacture of these embroidered objects may be the support by the Grey Nuns for their students to exercise their knowledge as they were viewed as non-threatening. Additionally, the Grey Nuns had an overall mission of education and potentially viewed knowledge of embroidery and other domestic accomplishments as important skills to maintain upon exiting residential school.

The focus of this research are several embroidered objects, specifically moccasins, mitts and gloves, and home décor such as wall hangings and pillowcases, representative of the cultural influences in the collection. In particular I will be discussing and analyzing the use of various materials (hide, quills, and moose hair), techniques (beading and tufting) and styles (geometric and floral designs) in these objects because I believe they represent both Indigenous Mackenzie Valley Dene and Métis sewing techniques (moose hair tufting and porcupine quillwork) and European influenced decorative styles (floral motifs).

There are four objectives in this research. The first is to temporally and spatially trace the movement of the pieces across Canada, situating the Grey Nuns collection within the residential school history in Canada. A second is to explore whether the making of these pieces perpetuated Indigenous artistic traditions. The third is to determine whether the materiality of the collection exposes the complex interrelations between children's crafting knowledge and the colonial structure. Finally, the potential and challenges of reconnecting this collection now at the PWNHC with its source communities today will be explored.

Chapter Two addresses the first of my objectives: to trace the construction and movement of the Grey Nuns collection from the Northwest Territories to Montreal, and its repatriation to the PWNHC. In Chapter Three, I will address my second and third objectives and I will discuss the importance of clothing fabrication in the Dene and Métis nations and introduce two techniques (moose hair tufting and porcupine quillwork) and one style (floral motifs). I will then analyze the use of tufting, quillwork and floral designs in the context of four objects in the Grey Nuns collection. The four objects selected are two pairs of moccasins, a pair of gauntlet gloves, and a pillowcase. Chapter Four, in accordance with my fourth objective, will explore the repatriation of the collection to the PWNHC and the use of digital technologies as a way of re-connecting source communities to the objects. My concluding chapter (Chapter Five) will discuss the results of the analysis within the objects historical context and present my conclusion regarding the potential of this and similar repatriations.

Methodology

In conducting this research I took an interdisciplinary approach, using methods from anthropology and art history. The data were categorized in terms of source: (1) published and archival, (2) art and design, (3) interviews.

Archival documents and published texts written about the residential school era, including the now concluded Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), were used to help situate the role of art within this period. Oblate narratives, such as those by Pierre Jean-Baptiste Duchaussois (1919) and Grey Nuns', Sister Leduc (1925), recorded their experiences during their time in the NWT and these accounts proved to be

helpful historical records. A historical analysis further involved tracing the manufacturing of garments to times as far back as the beginning of contact between Europeans and with the Métis in Red River, Manitoba and contact between Dene, Métis and Europeans in Subarctic region. I also used archival documentation (financial records, inventory, and letters) and photographs housed in the Soeurs Grises de Montreal (SGM) archive and the PWNHC in Yellowknife.

To understand the construction and significance of Dene clothing, I used multiple studies from Judy Thompson (1990; 1994; 2013) who has published a significant amount on all forms of Dene clothing. I primarily used her work on Dene moccasins because footwear is one focal point of this research. Sharon Blady (1995), Kate Duncan (1981) and David Penney (1991) were used for their examination of Métis fashion, specifically the introduction of floral motifs by Europeans and its adaptation into Métis clothing. Especially valuable sources for guiding my observation of the Grey Nuns collection were letters of correspondence between the Grey Nuns and notes held in the SGM archive, as well as interviews with PWNHC personnel, namely those involved in the 2002 repatriation of the collection. These sources were beneficial in understanding the role of Euro-Canadians (from fur traders to the Oblates and Grey Nuns in IRS) in influencing change in artistic styling for the Métis and Dene.

Last, information on the locating and repatriation of the Grey Nuns collection was gathered through direct and telephone interviews. At the PWNHC, the head curator at the Centre, Ms. Joanne Bird, who took over the repatriation and oversaw the return of the collection generously gave her time.

In a sense, by using the various published and archival IRS materials already mentioned and coupling their information with qualitative studies of Indigenous materials and techniques, what has resulted is a partial ethnography of an aspect of the IRS experience that has so far been little reported upon. Using a sample of objects from the Grey Nuns collection, and then comparing these student-created items to pieces produced outside the colonial sphere of the IRS, a limited portrait of Indigeneity within the residential school environment emerged. This ethnographic approach is important for understanding and placing the collection in an ethno-historical and cultural perspective.

A number of obstacles arose in working with this collection. There is a general bias towards observing objects as anything more than ‘things’: lifeless, separate from us and fixed to the past (Hodder 2012, 2-4). However, there is a growing literature regarding objects as active agents (Byrne et al. 2011) in the production of knowledge and through my research I will demonstrate the importance of this. This aspect of the collection’s materiality will be discussed further at the end of this chapter regarding the role of museums, objects and Indigenous groups.

The residential school period marks a time of clear racism towards Indigenous peoples. This attitude is apparent in some of the documentation produced by the Grey Nuns. For instance, pieces are labeled as being crafted by “half-breeds”. I believe this to mean Métis children and labels such as these demonstrate wider prejudice towards the children.

It is difficult to attribute specific dates and source location to pieces because many of the records kept were general and only provided broad timelines and a general location. For example, a piece would be dated as being made between 1930-1950 in the

Northwest Territory area (SGM Archive). The Grey Nuns did not keep detailed documentation that allows for present day identification of the schools of origin or cultural affiliation of the makers of the objects in the collection. Sister Lemire (2001) in her correspondence with Mr. Lafferty revealed that many of the embroidered objects in the collection were made by Sister Leduc and her students. Thus, although there is limited information regarding the specific dates and locations of the pieces I can ascertain that many of the embroidered pieces were made between 1925-1960, Leduc's time spent teaching in the Mackenzie Valley, and were made at Fort Providence, Fort Resolution or Aklavik, the three schools she was stationed at (Figure 2).

The Grey Nuns did not keep detailed records of students' names in addition to general dating and location. Rather, most of the objects in the Grey Nuns collection have been labeled as being made by a "half-breed" boy or girl, denoting a Métis child, or by the "Amérindiennes de TNO", meaning the Indians (or Dene) of the Northwest Territories. The painting and drawings in the collection are the only objects to be signed by students. It is also difficult to determine if an individual piece was made solely by an individual or in collaboration with their teacher such as Sister Leduc. This will be discussed more in Chapter 3 in my analysis.

The Métis and Dene

Because the Grey Nuns collection is of Dene and Métis origin I will take this time to provide a brief description of the influential nations.

The Métis are Canada's newest declared (2013) Indigenous nation formally recognized as such by the government. Their history as a nation, however, is long established and their title as Métis is one with racial, political and cultural bearing.

To start, the word 'Métis' is derived from the Portuguese and Spanish slave-trade word 'Mestizo' (Blady 1995, 13). It emphasizes a racial or biological preoccupation denoting mixed blood. In Canada, the Métis were the children of European men and Indigenous women. Their fathers were either French, English, and Scottish¹ and had travelled to Canada as colonizers or worked for the Hudson's Bay Company (Barkwell et al. 2006, 2). In the Mackenzie Valley most Métis were descended from Scottish or English traders (McCarthy 1995, 108). However, being of 'mixed blood' or 'half-breeds' meant that they were neither First Nations nor Inuit. Much of the emphasis placed on the Métis has been in regards to their blood.

This fixation on their biological make-up detracts from their unique and rich cultural identity. Richard Slobodin (1981, 361) wrote that,

The status of Métis is a sociological condition rather than a genetic fact. Although a large majority of Métis are in fact of combined aboriginal American and non-American, usually European, ancestry, there are many individuals of Indian status and some Eskimo status who have more non-American ancestors do than many Métis. It is also possible, and it has frequently happened, that a person with no known non-Indian ancestry is sociologically and culturally Métis. Furthermore a person whose known ancestry is exclusively White may be Métis.

Slobodin's observation reveals and begs us to question when it is decided what elements or characteristics are applied to a group to make them an entirely separate population.

The Métis are more than their biology. It is thought that the Métis came into existence by two routes. The first being through the arrival of the French and the Scotts. It is believed

¹ Many of the Subarctic Métis are considered to be of Indigenous and Scottish descent (Hail and Duncan

that their arrival, especially of the French, marks the beginning of their culture. Second, the Métis population grew through Indigenous relations with Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) men. As the company moved westward so did the Métis nation through birth and migration (Blady 1995, 14-15). This second passage provides us with a better explanation of the large Métis population in the Mackenzie Valley. From the beginning and through their travels the Métis were a 'New Nation' with a unique culture and group identity that distinguished them from the First Nations and Inuit (Barkwell et al. 2006, 2).

The Métis status as a nation is often devalued in comparison to First Nations peoples and the Inuit because their modernity as a nation and because of their mix of European and Indigenous descent. While they are Canada's newest nation, the word 'Métis' holds important political meaning. According to Sharron Blady (1995, 6), it is a meaningful term for reclaiming the past and asserting goals of native self-governance and autonomy. It is the cultural and political meaning that I choose to stress through my description and analysis of the Grey Nuns collection.

There is no doubt that the Métis, both men and women, served a very important role towards traders and missionaries. They acted as the intermediary between traders, HBC workers and religious figures. They were trappers and guides, and because of their multilingualism they were sought after as interpreters (Barkwell et al. 2006, 4). Martha McCarthy (1995, 107), describes the Métis as an invaluable asset having the knowledge of French, English and Dene to aid in negotiations between the Oblates and the many Dene nations.

The Dene are also represented in the Grey Nuns collection alongside the Métis. Athapaskans are the First Nations people geographically located in the Canadian North,

primarily the NWT and the Yukon, and in Alaska. Throughout this paper I refer to this nation as the Dene. I do so because the Dene, meaning ‘a person’ or ‘people’ is the proper title when referencing the Athapaskan speaking nation in the Northwest Territories (Thompson 2013). Additionally, there are over twenty Athapaskan nations in the north and for the purpose of this research I only emphasize a fraction of them. I focus on the Slavey, the Th̄ich̄o (Dogrib), the Denesuline (Chipewyan), and the Yellowknife Dene. These four nations have very similar styles and techniques in clothing design and manufacture and they are represented in the Grey Nuns collection. Their designs and techniques, such as porcupine quillwork, along with Métis techniques such as tufting are often referred to as the Mackenzie Valley style (Hail and Duncan 1989, 97).

The Dene were a nomadic group and their movement across the tundra was in response to the changing seasons, climate and the availability of resources (Thompson 2013). They lived in small groups and their lifestyle demonstrated their continuous adaptation to their harsh environment. One unique response taken by the Dene towards their surrounding was through their clothing. The Dene would hunt moose, caribou, porcupine, amongst other animals, as well as scavenge for various plants. Animal and plant resources were also very important for the making of clothing. For example, Dene clothing was entirely made of moose or caribou hide and plants would be used as dyes² (Thompson 1994).

Despite the now revealed legacy of residential schools in the Mackenzie Valley, the Dene and Métis continue to be strong nations. They have maintained many of their cultural traditions including female knowledge of clothing manufacture and design.

² Today the Dene and other Athapaskan-speaking groups are sedentary. However, land food is still very significant within their communities and men and women continue to scavenge and hunt.

About Materiality

Working with museum collections requires that we rethink how objects are perceived. Our society continuously looks at objects as things that are completely separate from us (Hodder 2012, 2), but this is, in fact, not the case. Objects are neither static nor cemented in a separateness; rather society and objects are entangled (Hodder 2012, 3). According to Tim Ingold (2007, 1), objects are caught in currents of the life world and over time and across space interactions between objects and people have generated and regenerate complex assemblages and social networks (Byrne et al. 2011, 2). Collections and objects are instrumental in supporting the ever-growing concept that things are more than what we see on the surface but, much like the Earth, are layered with a crust, and below each stratum represents another narrative of expanded connections and meaning (Ingold 2007, 7).

This idea of materiality can be applied in regard to the Grey Nuns collection. Multiple entanglements are present starting with the items initial making and assembling to its repatriation today and possible future interpretations. For example, the embroidered objects in the collection represent connections between the children and their parents, the children within the Mackenzie schools, their relationship with the Grey Nuns, as well as the church and government policies. Today, these objects have acquired new connections with the Grey Nuns archive in Montreal, the PWNHC and its staff, with Mr. Albert Lafferty, and with myself. Over time and through the proposed digital archive The Grey Nuns collection will procure more connections and build in meaning.

This growing understanding of objects and their materiality is instrumental in how museums collections are undergoing new consideration (Byrne et al 2011, 3). According to Sarah Byrne et al. (2011), “museum collections as social assemblages travel far beyond the museum walls and influence many aspects of past and cotemporary life”. The Grey Nuns collection and its representation of children’s strength and agency has the potential to play a very significant role within Métis and Dene communities, and to the overall residential school narrative. Therefore, it is important that this collection be made use of in order to foster communication between the PWNHC and different communities in the Mackenzie Valley, as well as make this collection accessible and better informed through Indigenous perspectives.

Chapter 2

EMBROIDERY IN THE MACKENZIE VALLEY: THE MAKING AND THE REPATRIATION OF THE GREY NUNS COLLECTION

In this chapter I discuss the history of the Grey Nuns collection. To start, I focus on the overall Indian Residential School (IRS) history and the creation of schools in the Mackenzie Valley in the Northwest Territories (NWT). Importantly, I will provide detail on the conditions surrounding these five schools. By climate I not only mean the harsh physical environment of the Mackenzie Valley, but also the colonial situation that enveloped Indigenous children under the tutelage of Oblate priests and the Grey Nuns. This process began with removal from family and community and included expropriation of student crafts and art for the financial support of the schools.

However, the functioning of the schools in the Mackenzie Valley is not as clear-cut due to the role of the Grey Nuns and the agency of the students. It is important to understand the factors that contributed to the making of embroidered moccasins, mitts and gloves, and household items that reinforced traditional skills, but were at times also exported for sale. As will be explained, it was important for these objects to incorporate Indigenous designs (geometric patterns and floral motifs) and techniques (moose hair tufting and quillwork) in order to cater to a demand for Indigenous style pieces in the Southern souvenir market. The objects in question would be collected and displayed as exotic additions in the home.

The demand for Indigenous objects is significant in two ways. On one hand, it materially highlights the more involved role of the students. On the other, it allowed for Métis and Dene artistic, stylistic and technical knowledge to persist in a colonial environment set on suppressing the “Indian”. Techniques such as moose hair tufting and

porcupine quillwork were viewed as Indigenous and so exotic to the Euro-Canadian way of life.

Later in this chapter, I will discuss the discovery of the Grey Nuns collection through the Residential and Indian Day School Art Research Program (RIDSAR), the Fort Providence Métis request for its repatriation, and the collection's final return in 2001 to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) in Yellowknife, NWT. Before doing so, however, a brief history of Indian Residential schooling, especially as it developed in the lower Mackenzie Valley provides historical and cultural context for the collection and special items that are my focus.

Indian Residential School History

To do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as speedily as they are fit to change.

- (John A. MacDonald as quoted by Milloy 1999, 6)

Indian Residential Schools (IRS) were first established by the Federal Government in 1870. Their creation was a joint effort between the government of Canada and the Roman and Anglican churches. The government was responsible for the vision of removing children and creating residential schools, and the churches oversaw their administration and the education that was provided within them (Milloy 1999, xiii). The foundational purpose of these schools was the 'civilizing' of First Nations, Métis and Inuit children. The explicit policy intent was one of cultural assimilation. In essence, Indigenous cultures were viewed as unworthy of recognition, let alone preservation, with

respect to Canadian national identity (Haig-Brown 1988, 35; Jung 2011, 223; Neegan 2005, 6).

In order for the ‘re-socialization’ of children to be possible it was decided that they should be removed from their communities and their families and kept in the schools remote to their communities as long as possible (Milloy 1999, 30). This often meant that children did not return home for many years and at best only in the summer.

Disconnection from family was an integral element of the IRS project.

In the schools students learned the ‘Canadian’ way, being taught English, math and religion in the morning, and industrial skills in the afternoon. Through residential school it was intended that Indigenous children would lose/forget their traditional knowledge and ways. The desired result of such cultural loss through the removal of the children from their families was a re-entry into society as good Canadians (Milloy 1999). Whatever the ideal motives of churches and state were, it is safe to say that neither ever had the interest of the students in mind (Milloy 1999, 58).

The Federal Government began erecting the schools in the 1870s under a guise of welfare for the children when beneath the surface their primary purpose was the social control of Indigenous peoples. (Milloy 1999, 32). However, as will be discussed below, most, if not all, schools experienced financial instability and thus overcrowding at the expense of the children’s health and general wellbeing. The last of the residential schools closed in 1996.

The Subarctic and the Mackenzie River Valley

The Western Subarctic is the boreal forest region that stretches west of Hudson Bay and from the tundra southward to about Lat. 50°N. In the Mackenzie Valley, the mainly black spruce and willow forest extends north almost to the Arctic Ocean, encompassing Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes, many other bodies of water and the Mackenzie River itself, the longest river system in Canada. (Thompson 1994, 3).

The Oblate schools were located in this area, specifically along the Mackenzie River. However, Fort Resolution IRS was located on Great Slave Lake, into which the Mackenzie drains (Figure 1). This land is home to several Dene nations as well as the Métis.

Subarctic summers are short and the winters long. The winter begins in October and comes to a close in April/May. This means that for three-quarters of the year this region is a place of deep cold (Thompson 1990, 11). The animals relied on for food by Dene and Métis peoples during the era of this study (1920-1960) were caribou, moose, hare, fox, porcupine, fish and muskrats³ and were not only important for food but were also necessary for shelter, tools, and clothing - and later for furs desired by Euro-Canadian traders (Thompson 1994, 3). The use and importance of some of these animals (caribou, moose and porcupine) within the context of the IRS becomes clear through my analysis of the Grey Nuns collection as well as a description of Indigenous crafting techniques in Chapter 3.

Madame d'Youville and the Grey Nuns in the Mackenzie Valley

³ These resources continue to be very important for the Métis and Dene, as well as other Indigenous groups, in both the Mackenzie Valley and throughout the Northwest Territories.

The founding of the Order of the Grey Nuns (Soeurs Grises) is attributed to Madame d'Youville (1701-1771). Throughout her life she cared for the sick, poor, elderly and orphaned. In 1737, aided by three other women, she founded the Grey Nuns with the purpose of the sisters devoting their lives to helping others and doing the 'good work' of God. However, the Order was only formally recognized in 1880 by Pope Leo XIII long after Madame d'Youville had passed (Duchaussois 1919, 23).

In the 1800s the priests of the Order of Mary Immaculate (OMI) (hereafter, the Oblates), a Roman Catholic clergy, opened schools in association with their missions in the Northwest Territories. These schools, such as Fort Providence, Fort Resolution and Aklavik, were especially concentrated in the Mackenzie River Valley (Figure 1). Like the residential schools in southern Canada, the general purpose of these facilities was to educate Indigenous children so as to assimilate them into white Canadian life. While the mission schools were founded by the Oblates, they requested that the Grey Nuns of Montreal travel west to help manage and teach in the schools (Castonguay 2001, 160).

However, the Grey Nuns who travelled to the Mackenzie Valley also maintained their overall mission of educating and helping the poor, ill and orphaned that was so important to Madame d'Youville. This mission went beyond residential school acculturative objectives. This is important as the position of the Grey Nuns in the schools and their policies seems to have contributed to the continuation of important elements of Indigenous women's knowledge.

Fort Providence, the first Oblate school in the NWT, opened in 1867 and closed in 1960. Others schools of significance were Fort Resolution (1903-1957), the School of Immaculate Conception in Aklavik (1925-1959), Fort Smith (1915-1957) and Fort

Simpson (1918-1957) (Figure 1). These schools housed mostly Métis and Dene (Slavey and Tlicho) students.⁴

The earliest schools, Fort Providence and Fort Resolution, were regarded by the Grey Nuns as hospitals and orphanages first, and as schools second (Duchaussois 1919). Here, the Grey Nuns could care for the sick and the orphaned, continuing Madame d'Youville's original work. The Grey Nuns' outlook on IRS is in contrast to the Oblates who erected the schools as structures of civilizing. Early accounts by the Oblates characterize Indigenous groups in the Subarctic as savages who killed their children and on occasion resorted to cannibalism (Duchaussois 1919, 121-126).⁵ Far from unique, it was representative of the judgment of most Canadians at the time. Thus, the mission schools were thought of as places of salvation, ridding 'half-breeds' and Indians of their barbarism and introducing them to religion (Duchaussois 1919, 125). Although this appears to have been the Oblate outlook on the Dene and Métis students, the Grey Nuns did seem not inclined to adopt it.

Financial Instability of Schools

From their onset, residential schools in the Northwest Territories experienced underfunding from the state. This was made more difficult by the overcrowding of students in the schools. While resident at Fort Providence in 1929 Sister Leduc wrote that 33 girls slept in a dorm room that could only accommodate 20 (SGM Archive). Church administrators declared that they required additional funds from the State in order to

⁴ Some Inuit children may also have been enrolled, but there is little to no mention of Inuit in the archival record nor does the Grey Nuns collection show any Inuit artistic influence.

⁵ OMI Duchaussois' s narrative "The Grey Nuns in the Far North (1867-1917)" (1919) was an important source used throughout this research. Importantly, he details the travels of the Grey Nuns to the Valley in 1867 and their work in the various schools in relation to the daily lives of the children.

successfully run the schools and teach their students, but to no avail (Milloy 1999).

Further, the federal government placed restrictions on overspending on residential schools making their maintenance and management even more difficult. In John Milloy's (1999, 52) view, the lack of financial support can be regarded as a criminal disregard towards students and there was little cooperation between state and religious organizations. A passage from Reverend Duchaussois (1919, 75) exemplifies this:

The Canadian Government has been paying a capitation grant for a limited number of pupils. But the number of pupils actually received is always much larger than that fixed by the Government, and, besides, the grant would not, in any case, suffice to meet the cost of goods and carriage in a country of such distance.

The subarctic region, within which much of the Mackenzie Valley lies, experiences low temperatures and shorter days beginning in September. Lack of funding meant little to no heating in the schools. Priest, nuns and students all suffered the cold, but children did the most. Children's clothes were thin and deteriorating and they were often ill-fed and in poor health (Milloy 1999, 110-111). This physical neglect by the state coupled with the psychological and sexual trauma experienced in the schools ultimately had the most profound effect on the children.

The Oblates and Grey Nuns, increasingly aware that they would get little aid from the Government of Canada, took control over the management of the schools. Such a takeover was not unique to the schools operated in the Mackenzie Valley, but was a practice undertaken by various churches across Canada. In the subarctic, the Oblates and Grey Nuns responded by taking on everyday roles of school maintenance. For instance, priests hunted, fished and split wood, while the sisters sewed clothing and prepared meals (Duchaussois 1919, 81). The Oblates, nuns and children were living in extremely harsh

conditions with little aid. These schools were the most northerly and the harsh climate made them all the more difficult to access. Father Duchaussois (1919, 68) emphasizes their extreme isolation from the rest of Canada.

According to Milloy (1999, 120), a program of “economizing to the bone in every department” was instituted. Church officials adopted a system of producing goods for outside sale to earn funds for the maintenance of schools and the students became the primary labour for producing revenue for the schools. This shift towards child labour undoubtedly added even greater effect to their already desolate conditions. For example, students were turned out into the cold to farm and harvest root vegetables for sale. Dairy products, such as butter and milk, essential foods for growing children, were sold rather than being given so that students often were malnourished, surviving on very little. However, even with a shift towards student labour unpredictable weather meant that their crops of barley, wheat and potatoes died earlier than expected or were infested with pests (Duchaussois (1919, 132). To say the least, daily life was extremely difficult in the Mackenzie Valley schools and an emphasis on manual labour also meant that the children’s education suffered (Milloy 1999, 53).

Lack of financial support by the Canadian Government meant that the initial purpose of the schools, the civilization and incorporation of Indigenous children into Canadian society, was handicapped. Sister Michon, who was stationed in Fort Providence, was quoted by Duchaussois (1919, 81) as saying, “but in this poor country, so far away from assistance of any kind, we must only do the best we can.”

The Grey Nuns considered embroidery a domestic skill necessary for Métis and Dene girls to learn in order to become good Christian wives (Penney 1991, 66). In fact,

girls entered IRS with knowledge of sewing and embroidery because they were highly regarded cultural skills. Therefore, girls were encouraged to exercise their sewing and embroidery skills in making pieces that both were functional and that could be sold to Euro-Canadians to support of the schools and missions (Barkwell et al. 2006, 75). Most of the pieces in this study collection traveled to Montreal for that purpose and represent a response to the financial destitution under which the students and schools suffered.

In 1925 Sister Béatrice Leduc traveled from Montréal to the Sacred Heart School in Fort Providence. Although her assignment there was to teach regular subjects to the young girls, Sister Leduc became fascinated with the beauty of Indigenous sewing and began to teach herself various styles and techniques. Most notably, she learned the art of moose hair tufting technique from a Métis elder, Celine Lafferty.

The origin of moose hair tufting is generally attributed, however, to Madeleine Lafferty, Celine's mother, who invented the style in 1916 (Sutherland 1996). It is important to note that while Madeleine Lafferty attended the Fort Providence residential school (Hail and Duncan 1989, 250), her attendance at the Providence school preceded Sister Leduc's arrival, thus corroborating that young Indigenous girls were able to maintain artistic knowledge. Sister Leduc became enthralled by the style and asked Celine Lafferty if she would instruct her in it.

Over time, Sister Leduc became well acquainted with, and proficient in, many different Indigenous sewing methods, including tufting, and was eventually asked to teach these sewing techniques to the female students. Sister Leduc introduced beading, embroidery, quillwork and tufting into her crafts curriculum (Sutherland 1996, 159). From 1925-1959 (Figure 2) Sister Leduc traveled to other residential schools in the

Northwest Territories, including Fort Resolution and Aklavik's Convent of Immaculate Conception, teaching these techniques (SGM Archive) although she spent most of her northern years (1925-1929, 1931-1952) in Fort Providence (SGM Archive).

The artistic practices of women in Métis and Dene communities were not always highly valued either by the churches or the state. However, Sister Leduc prosopically acknowledged that working with moose hair and quills required discipline and skill, and throughout her teachings she encouraged young girls to keep these unique sewing skills alive (Sutherland 1996, 159). Further, Leduc recognized that the objects that displayed floral motifs using various techniques were attractive to tourists for their Indigenous look. Collectors desired these pieces for their representation of the other and would be displayed in their homes. Church catering to this demand for exotic souvenirs is significant as it speaks to Euro-Canadian dominance over Indigenous people.

Collecting Indigenous-made items, especially objects made by children, reflects a subordination of one culture over another. In this regard, Alison K. Brown (2014, 16) writes, "collecting is a deeply political activity and is never neutral. It raises questions related to the power of one culture to collect from another, to who grants that authority, and to what image of a culture are constructed through the collecting process". Additionally, Brown (2014, 18) describes this form of collecting, one of four types, as "tourists, who saw Native-made souvenir arts as trophies to be consumed, displayed them as 'a sentimental brush with and exotic and noble past'". The collecting of arts and craft objects made by children in IRS was an act of displaying the 'authentic other' in their homes (Phillips 2002). This market, in no small way, paved the way for Dene and Métis cultural practices and knowledge to be continued in IRS in order to cater the industry.

While residential schools were designed to forcefully strip Indigenous children of their traditions, girls continued under the guidance of Sister Leduc to design and make clothing in styles and with methods that ultimately allowed for Métis and Dene clothing practices to be kept alive. Sister Leduc died in 1981, but she is still held in regard by Mackenzie Dene and Métis for helping young girls to continue Indigenous embroidery styles. This relationship is discussed more thoroughly in my analysis of selected pieces in the Chapter Three.

Commercializing the Indigenous

Making and selling crafted pieces, especially clothing, was practiced by Dene and Métis communities before the establishment of IRS (Thompson 2013, 37) as another means, along with furs, to produce income for families and communities (Barkwell et al. 2006, 100; Thompson 1994, 55). David Penney (1991, 66) notes that Métis women had begun to manufacture garments with floral designs for trade with Europeans as early as the 1830s and Judy Thompson (1990) further states that Subarctic Athapaskan peoples traded garments (primarily footwear) with Euro-Canadians.

Importantly, the fur trade catalyzed the transfer and sharing of stylistic ideas and materials. For example, the floral motif is credited to European influence and was introduced to the Métis (most likely first in the Red River area of Manitoba) (Penney 1991, 56). Dene footwear design likewise changed from the moccasin-leggings used during pre-contact times to a separate moccasin with ankle ties following contact (Thompson 1990, 12). This ‘trading’ of style and materials, however, is less indicative of

assimilation than it is of innovative addition to tradition (Penney 1991, 54). This idea of assimilation vs. addition will also be more thoroughly discussed in the Chapter Three.

As introduced above, the manufacture and sale of crafts expanded in the residential school period and so became an important source of income for the schools. Documentation preserved by the Grey Nuns indicates that some garments from the original collection were clearly for sale, although solid evidence of such can only be traced to a few embroidered and beaded mitts, which fetched from \$10.00 - \$40.00 (SGM archive). While it cannot be ascertained how many of the garments in this collection were ultimately to be sold, it can be surmised that all were sent to Montreal with the intent of sale.

Evidence of purchase in Montreal comes from a stamp or label applied to most pieces stating “Hopital Général des Soeurs Grises; Rue Guy Montréal”. These stamps unequivocally establish that the pieces in the collection were manufactured in the northern schools and sent to Montreal for sale. Unfortunately, the stamps are identical in each piece and do not provide dating, provenance or pricing information. This makes it difficult to know if objects were created and arrived in Montreal at the same time or are remnants of different shipments.

There are many objects in the collection without a stamp or label and this absence may possibly mean that the unlabelled items were privately collected by various nuns. For example, one purse (PWNHC 2001.29.119; see Appendix 1) in the collection was made by a student and was gifted to one of the Sisters. This is evident as “Theresa to Sister Suzanne” was written on the interior flap. This object most likely entered the collection by donation from Sister Suzanne. Additionally, some objects like carved toy

airplanes and school memorabilia such as plaques were likely collected from the schools at the time of their closing. Nevertheless the pieces that comprise the collection clearly were in the possession of the Grey Nuns until the repatriation in 2002.

The Residential and Indian and Day School Art Research Program

The collection is one of twenty discovered through a survey performed by the Residential and Indian Day School Art Research Program (RIDSAR). This program was founded by Dr. Andrea Walsh of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria, British Columbia. The purpose of RIDSAR is threefold. First, it seeks to better understand both residential and day schools from the perspective of Indigenous survivors and their communities, and non-Indigenous individuals involved in the making of art. Second, to consider and potentially incorporate how these artworks “contribute to past and future processes of reconciliation, and the role institutions [like the PWNHC] with collections can play in this ongoing process” (<https://vimeo.com/ridsar>). Third, to create inter-institutional support for institutions who seek a better understanding of pieces in their possession that hold residential school connections (<https://vimeo.com/ridsar>). This study is intended to situate the Grey Nuns collection within these RIDSAR initiatives.

Thus far, this research only begins to meet the above three missions set out by RIDSAR. The repatriation to the PWNHC and the narrative of children’s agency that unfolds contributes to the ongoing reconciliation process. Additionally, working with this art does not overlook children but in fact places importance on them and their work. The development of a digital archive, as suggested in Chapter 4, helps meet the initiative set out through RIDSAR. The intended collaboration and communication between PWNHC

staff with Métis and Dene elders and community members, that I hope a digital archive would foster, would help to better inform the collection and the staff from an important Indigenous perspective.

The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Repatriation

Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre is a Northwest Territories government facility that opened in 1979 with the purpose of showcasing documents and artefacts representative of Indigenous and Settler lifestyles in the Northwest Territories (and, since 1999, in Nunavut). According to the PWNHC website, the Centre is the only government authorized heritage facility in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut (Hennessy et al. 2013, 60). It is also, according to Ms. Joanne Bird, the only territorial facility with the capability to preserve and protect cultural heritage. For this reason, the Grey Nuns collection could not be repatriated to Fort Providence, the site of request, and a similar lack of facilities affects all NWT and Nunavut communities.

One primary mission of the PWNHC is to acquire and protect historical northern records, such as government documents, Athapaskan, Métis artefacts and Inuit pieces from Nunavut, and to make these accessible to the public. Additionally, the Centre functions as an educational instrument for teaching about the Northern way of life. The Centre also develops exhibits for travel to schools and galleries around the NWT.

The Grey Nuns collection represents one of two collections to ever be repatriated following direct appeal, in the present case by Mr. Albert J. Lafferty of Fort Providence Métis Council, to the PWNHC. The other repatriated piece is a Tlingit sealskin tent. Importantly, the Grey Nuns collection is the only assemblage of IRS children's work

from residential schools in the NWT. Transferred from the Grey Nuns' Montréal Mother House to the PWNHC in 2002, the primary reason for its repatriation was interest in pieces that displayed moose-hair tufting.

Since 2002, the collection's eighteen boxes of materials have remained in storage and untouched. The PWNHC is a site not only for the preservation of cultural and historic objects, but also for education and, especially, cultural engagement. Exhibits and displays are organized in the Centre for travel across Canada and its staff develop presentations around the PWNHC's holdings in order to educate visitors about the history of the NWT (<http://www.pwnhc.ca/about/#14/62.4562/-114.3800>).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Grey Nuns collection is large, 275 pieces in total, varying in kind and date and place of production. In her correspondence to Joanne Bird, Sister Lemire (2001), who oversaw the repatriation of the collection to Yellowknife, described the collection as 'sketchy' and indicated that the diversity of the collection could only be understood once it was actually viewed in person. Upon my observation of the collection in 2015, I understood the meaning of Lemire's description. The diversity of the collection is undeniable, containing as it does paintings and drawings, miniatures (canoes and tents), dolls, clothing (moccasins, mitts, and jackets), school memorabilia (trophies, crucifixes and banners) from the five separate schools, and home ornaments (wall hangings, pillowcases, and picture frames).

While the collection is truly a mixed bag, the embroidered and sewn pieces became the focus of my interest. I selected these objects for analysis because of their representation of Dene and Métis technique and style, their symbolism of female knowledge, and because they are material evidence of objects desired by the southern

souvenir market. Specifically, I will be focusing on the objects that represent floral motifs in various crafting styles (embroidery, beading and moose-hair tufting). This floral style is represented in clothing such as moccasins, mitts and jackets, and is present on household ornaments such as pillows and picture frames. It is my understanding that while the students laboured for their schools, these activities allowed girls to continue practicing Indigenous styles that they first learned at home.

Through analysis of the selected pieces, I will show how these objects reflect both Dene and Métis manufacturing and decorative traditions, something evident through shoe style, specifically moccasins, and stylistic designs such as the floral motif embellished through beading and embroidery, and most particularly by moose hair tufting.^{6, 7}

Repatriation

The return of the Grey Nuns collection is in itself interesting. In 2000, Lafferty, while working on a project regarding moose hair tufting, contacted Sister Lemire at the Montreal SGM in request of old photographs of the Lafferty or Bouvier families, his ancestors, and their connection to moose hair tufting. In response, Sister Lemire (2001) informed him that she did have these photos and that the SGM also housed many pieces that incorporated tufting that she thought would be of interest. Sister Lemire's suggestion led to the discovery of the Grey Nun's collection and in 2001 negotiations began towards its repatriation.

⁶ It was difficult to identify with certainty the date and location of most of the pieces examined in this research due to lack of detailed documentation kept by the Grey Nuns.

⁷ Footwear was usually the first article of clothing that Dene, and possibly Métis, girls learned to make (Thompson 1990, 7).

Lafferty's interest in the collection was twofold. First, the collection was sought because it contained vital Métis artistic traditions, specifically moose hair tufting. Lafferty, being a member a member of the Fort Providence Metis Council, regarded the collection as essential to the preservation and revitalization of Metis knowledge. Second, Lafferty's family, like several other Metis families, is descended from Miss Madeleine Lafferty (born Bouvier). Lafferty had a strong interest in the collection for its cultural family historical importance.

Unlike the United States which mandates the return of cultural human remains and possessions under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and is required to initiate processes of return once a request has been made by a source community (Boyd and Haas 1992, 253), Canadian museums refer to the Task Force when working with Indigenous groups. The Task Force, created in 1992, is not legislated like NAGPRA, but instead acts more as a guideline to be followed by museums and their staff in order to better engage and create space for Indigenous voice. Anita Herle (1994, 41) states, that the Task Force recommendations are a framework meant to facilitate negotiations between museums and Indigenous peoples within Canada. It is meant to create space for co-ownership, co-management, and collaborative projects (Phillips 2011, 137). Therefore, upon request by the Fort Providence Métis Council, the PWNHC looked to the Task Force to best approach the repatriation and handling of the objects to best fit the needs of Lafferty and the Council.

Negotiations began in 2001 between the Council, the SGM, and the Government of the Northwest Territories for the embroidered objects in the collection. However, what began as negotiations for only a fraction of the collection transformed into the return of

the collection in its entirety. Curators at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre agreed to house the Grey Nuns collection and it arrived in 2002. The mandate of the PWNHC is to preserve and protect the cultural heritage of the NWT and during the initial stage of communication between the different parties involved the Department expressed that the repatriation of this collection was congruent with this responsibility.

From the onset of negotiations, Sister Lemire expressed in a letter (August 28, 2001) that it was her “desire to return the very interesting needlework at the original provenance”. Further, Joanne Bird (2001) thought the collection would be a “wonderful addition to the Heritage Centre’s collection”. Thus, all the parties involved, Lafferty, Bird and Lemire, were enthusiastic for the transfer of the collection to the Centre.

Although the Fort Providence Métis requested the collection, my examination of it suggests that not all the pieces are Métis. As ascertained from the SGM archive and from analyses of Métis and Dene embroidery and sewing, the collection also represents items of Dene crafting influence. Therefore, the Grey Nuns collection is of shared Dene and Métis origin and its repatriation marks the preservation of two of the three main cultural traditions in the NWT. This will be more thoroughly explored in my next chapter using four objects from the Grey Nuns collection.

Chapter 3

THE GREY NUNS COLLECTION: AN ANALYSIS

Clothing is an important cultural component in both Métis and Dene societies. Needlework and crafting were and continue to be highly esteemed women's work (Thompson 2013, 4) and Métis and Dene women were integral in their communities through their manufacture of detailed garments for their children, husbands, and themselves (Barkwell et al. 2006, 2; Thompson 2013, 4).

The Dene and Métis pieces (moccasins, mitts, and home décor) are material expressions of their cultural identity (Barkwell et al. 2006, 104; Thompson 2013, 4). Throughout this chapter I will discuss the importance of clothing for both the Métis and Dene. More specifically, I will first explore the notion that women in these societies were active agents in the perpetuation of their culture through clothing construction at the time of European contact. Dene and Métis techniques such as moose hair tufting and porcupine quillwork, and floral designs continued throughout Indian Residential Schools (IRS) in the Mackenzie Valley due to teachings by Grey Nuns like Sister Béatrice Leduc. As a result, the above two techniques and single style, which are represented in the Grey Nuns collection, were not lost as art forms and continue to be passed through generations of Dene and Métis artists and crafters.

Both nations make use of the floral motif, and use porcupine and moose hair as techniques for creating clothing. I will discuss them in the context of both cultures prior to the implementation of IRS. Importantly, porcupine quillwork and tufting, and the floral motif were taught in residential schools from around 1925-1959⁸ and as a result many of

⁸ The years that Sister Leduc travelled throughout the Mackenzie Valley teaching young girls.

the objects in the Grey Nun's collection exemplify the techniques and styles of historical women's handwork. The culturally specific clothing and home décor that appear in the collection are indicative of persisting techniques and materials by the Dene and Métis, and of new designs and materials introduced through contact with Europeans and residential schools in the Northwest Territories (NWT).

Formal Analysis of the Grey Nuns Collection

The Grey Nuns of Montreal collection was repatriated to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) at the request of Mr. Albert Lafferty, a descendant of Madeleine Lafferty, in 2002. The collection consists of 275 pieces (Appendix 1) and is an eclectic assemblage that includes decorated traditionally styled items, such as moccasins and mittens, to religious (crucifix), and everyday (key chains and toys) pieces.

While only a few of the items (four) are formally examined here, a brief description of the overall collection follows. Eighteen percent (52 objects) are items of adult clothing: moccasins, mittens or gloves, and jackets. All were identified, in the Grey Nun archival documentation, as made of caribou or moose hide. In some objects the hide has been bleached white. All show decorative beading, embroidery or trim using materials from trade beads and silk thread to porcupine quills, moose and caribou, and rabbit fur.

A second major category, designated here as toys, is miniature replicas of utilitarian items, including tents, snowshoes, and dolls –in total 34 pieces (around 12%). The dolls (18) range in miniature size to life size and are presented in both traditional (likely Dene) and Western clothing. The tents and traditional doll clothing appear to be

made of animal hide, as are two canoe replicas. Also included in this category are a miniature guitar and airplane modeled out of wood.

Next in significance are items of personal décor (16). These include headbands (4), necklaces (8), one belt, one bracelet, one wristband, and one ring. All of these items are made by threading beads with the exception of a few which demonstrate beads that have been sewn on hide.

Religious items form a surprisingly small percentage (less than 3% or 7 objects) of the overall collection. This category consists of one crucifix carved from wood, four embroidered frames depicting images of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary, and one collar and a pair of cuffs that are presumably part of a priest's vestment.

The Grey Nuns collection contains a small assemblage (24) of art. This includes paintings (13), pencil drawings and rubbings (4), decoupage (2) and collage (2), and one embossed copper image. Interestingly, in the entirety of the Grey Nuns collection these pieces of art are the only items in which the creator is identified. This suggests a conscious differentiation by the nuns of art from crafts. Also of interest is that the majority of the paintings depict images of farm animals and other non-Indigenous scenes such as sailboats, farmhouses and churches. These above categories, in aggregate, form 47% of the whole collection. The remaining 53% is a highly heterogeneous cluster of household (pillows, picture frames and wall hangings, table covers, mats and coasters) items, bookends, bags and purses, key-chains, one modern dream catcher, and two arrowheads. A full enumeration is presented in Appendix 1.

Regarding the materials and technologies exhibited through the many objects, they are as varied as the collection is overall. The materials used include birch bark,

tanned and smoked moose and caribou hide, animal furs and hair (moose), and porcupine quills. Objects also show the use of imported textiles such as satin, cotton, silk, and glass trade beads. Most of these materials, excluding the birch bark, appear on pieces of apparel for children, adults and even dolls. The techniques used, notably in the clothing and moccasins, are equally mixed and reflect a melding of Dene, Métis, and colonial processed from silk thread embroidery to moose hair tufting and porcupine quillwork.

As important as this information is descriptively (see Appendix 1), the particular focus is in how the mix of cultural influences –Dene, Métis and European- is exhibited in the collection. To illuminate this, four objects from the Grey Nuns collection (one pillowcase, two pairs of moccasins, and one pair of gloves) have been selected for analysis as examples of the different influences present in the collection.

Métis Fashion

The Métis as distinct peoples came into being in the early 19th century after the arrival of Europeans. It is thought that the Métis nation originated in Red River, Manitoba. Métis children were the offspring of a European father (French, English or Scottish), and an Aboriginal woman (Blady 1995). Throughout the 1800s the Métis grew as a nation developing a distinct style of head-to-toe clothing decorated with floral designs.

Being of partial European descent, the Métis were in constant contact with Europeans, primarily Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) traders. Métis clothing was a blend of European and Indigenous influence. Métis attire, pants and jackets, was generally made of caribou or moose hide, and their garments were always decorated with glass

beads acquired from European traders and dyed porcupine quills. Métis men wore loose fitting shirts made of cotton or wool; women wore dresses of the same material (Barkwell et al. 2006). The combination of hide clothing and wool or cotton illuminates the influence of both Europeans and Indigenous nations.

Most distinct to Métis clothing is the use of floral designs. Floral motifs were introduced to the Métis by traders in the Red River Valley but was more thoroughly taught and introduced in mission schools (Barkwell et al. 98). Sharon Blady states (1995, 117) that the Grey Nuns in Red River are recognized as being instrumental in the teaching of floral designs. Over the first three decades of the 19th century the Métis took the floral design and adapted it as their own (Barkwell et al. 2006, 100).

The floral motif was produced using glass beads or embroidered using silk thread obtained through trade, or porcupine quills. (Barkwell et al. 2006, 75; Penney 1991, 54). The Métis floral work became very naturalistic, with a focus on bright colors, elaborate flowers and serpentine leaves. These intricate designs were applied to everything they made from clothing, tobacco pouches, and home decorations (Barkwell et al. 2006, 74). It further became such a distinct identifier of Métis clothing that the Red River Métis became known as the “Flower Beadwork People” (Barkwell et al. 2006, 106; Blady 1995).

Geometric patterns were the primary medium used before the introduction of the floral motif. However, there is evidence that they used curvilinear designs in addition to geometric designs. It is thought that this made the transition to using floral motifs much easier for Métis women (Barkwell et al. 2006, 98). The beginning of the 19th century demonstrates a blend of geometric patterns and florals. There appears to be a shift

towards the singular use of floral designs after 1840 and this is evident in the objects represented in the Grey Nuns collection (Blady 1995, 128).

The mid-19th century saw the integration of florals into Dene clothing in the Subarctic, specifically the Mackenzie Valley. The incorporation of floral patterns into Dene clothing is a direct result of the slow migration of the Red River Métis northward with the HBC into the Subarctic, passing from mothers to daughters and into residential schools (Barkwell et al. 2006, 100). The Red River Métis migration influenced the fashions of many Subarctic Indigenous groups, but for the purpose of this research I focus solely on the Dene of the lower Mackenzie.

An important outcome of the Red River migration into the Mackenzie Valley was the invention of moose hair tufting in Fort Providence by Ms. Madeleine Lafferty⁹ in 1916. This new technique became another creative way of designing the floral motifs and was later taught in IRS by Sister Béatrice Leduc beginning in 1925. Tufting is a difficult technique and is best applied to moccasins, mitts, and home décor as will be demonstrated the Grey Nuns collection.

Women were influential as seamstresses in their communities. They were expert needle workers making clothing for their families and communities (Barkwell et al. 2006, 104). The ability to craft pieces that displayed finely beaded floral designs provided women with a sense of pride and was also a sign of prestige (Blady 1995, 124). While the floral pattern was learned, most likely in mission schools, the art of beading was passed from mother to daughter (Blady 1005, 122). Additionally, women made and sold their artwork to traders to support their families (Barkwell et al. 2006, 2; Penney 1991, 66).

⁹ Madeleine Lafferty is also referred to as Madeleine Bouvier or Boniface Laferté (Hale and Duncan 1989, 250)

Overall, Métis women, through their intricately designed pieces are viewed to be builders of their culture (Blady 1995, 92).

The floral motif was and is still applied to household items such as picture frames and pillowcases, clothing (most notably jackets), moccasins and gloves. These designs are either embroidered using dyed silk thread, beaded, or tufted and on occasion these techniques are mixed in a single piece. Flowers with curling tendril stems, as mentioned above, are made in a wide range of colors including pinks, red, blues and greens. The most commonly designed flower is the five-petal flower but roses, daisies, and forget-me-nots are also applied. The final results are designs that resemble fields of flowers and are meant to be cheerful and ornamental (Hail and Duncan 1989, 74).

Today, Métis clothing is still best known for its vibrant colors and naturalistic floral motifs. While the floral design has been adapted by other Indigenous nations it remains to be a motif initiated and associated with the Métis.

Dene Fashion

Early Dene dress can be characterized as head-to-toe adornment (Thompson 2013, 3). Men, women and children's attire was entirely made of hide, moose or caribou, and was regarded as a 'second skin' (Thompson 2013, 5). As will be discussed below their clothing served practical, cultural and spiritual significance, and was integral to female Dene life because well-crafted clothing was a marker of skill and importance within a community. Additionally, Dene clothing experienced change over the course of contact with Europeans and other Indigenous groups with the introduction of new European materials such as silk and cotton, and new Métis styles like the adapted floral

motif and the technique of moose hair tufting. While the Métis practiced full body attire as well, they primarily emphasized decoration as personal and cultural statement. The Dene attached deep spiritual importance to their attire and felt their clothing spiritually connected them to the earth and the animals (Thompson 2013).

Dene clothing was extremely practical. Because of the harsh environment of Dene territory, women created attire that suited the bitter cold winters and the bug infested summers. The result was daily attire made from hide in both seasons. In winter clothing was primarily made of caribou hide that had not been stripped of its hair (Thompson 2013, 10). Caribou hair is hollow and retains body heat and would therefore keep the Dene insulated in the winter. In summer, clothing was made of either caribou or moose hide that had been cleaned and tanned, and was light. The Dene were recognized for their wearing of a pointed-toe moccasin-legging (Thompson 2013, 19). Rather than separating shoe from pant this ingenious creation kept the snow from entering their clothing in the winter and the bugs out in the summer.

Beyond practicality, Dene garments served cultural, social and spiritual significance (Thompson 2013, 3). At the social level clothing was an expression of the maker and the wearer. Finely made attire demonstrated a Dene man's ability to provide for his family. Similarly, this same clothing would showcase a women's expertise in working with the hide in every aspect from cleaning it to decorating it (Thompson 1994, 39).

Well-crafted clothing was also indicative of a good working relationship. Within a family it showed a women's love and affection for her children and husband, while traded clothing with other nations was a sign of friendship (Thompson 2013, 12). Dene

clothing was also thought to show physical and emotional health, as well as provide a sense of self-confidence (Thompson 1994, 39).

It was important to hold a strong respectful relationship with the environment. Dene clothing reflected a hunter's positive rapport with the animals. Thus, hunters' clothing held a deep spiritual significance. Beautifully decorated clothing was always worn at ceremonies as a form of celebration. Additionally, at funerals an individual was buried in their finest clothing, entering the afterlife well dressed and representative of their culture (Thompson 2013).

Young Dene girls began learning this important craft very early on by making small dolls and their clothing, and moccasins (Thompson 2013, 35-38). They learned alongside their mothers and elders. In Dene culture it was crucial that girls learned through observation, and through trial and error. If a mistake was made the error would have to be reworked until it was perfect (Thompson 2013, 38; Thompson 1994, 7). A young girl's instruction in clothing manufacture intensified at puberty. At the start of her menstruation she was separated from the community and housed in a specially constructed shelter. During this time of seclusion, which lasted several weeks, months or a year, sewing was her chief occupation. It was important to perfect her skills in crafting as it was essential to her future role as wife and mother. Beyond basic sewing she would learn decorative art techniques such as porcupine quillwork (Thompson 1994, 8). A girl was also instructed in proper Dene ritual and social behaviour during this time. When she emerged from her shelter it was believed that she was ready to re-enter her society and take on the responsibilities associated with being a wife, mother and Dene woman.

According to Thompson (1994, 25), it is impossible to know what Athapaskan clothing looked like before contact with the Hudson's Bay Company, other Europeans, and the Métis. In the early period of contact it was reported that the Dene were completely fashioned in clothing made of hide. These pieces were decorated with porcupine quills, especially in summer because it was the ideal time to display these finely made pieces (Thompson 1994, 13-15). Quills would be flattened, dyed and were either used as fringe wrapping or to embroider geometric patterns.¹⁰ They also had elaborate hairstyles, face paint and tattoos, and bodily ornaments (Thompson 1994, 31). Europeans were most taken with Dene moccasin-leggings as mentioned above. Their use of full-hide attire, tattoos, earrings, and hair accessories emulated the Dene importance of full body adornment.

Dene clothing experienced change with contact and trade. They adopted new fashions in dress and adornment (Thompson 2013, 5). Trade for materials such as wool and cotton cloth, silk and glass beads became very common in Dene communities. Their clothing began to exhibit beaded decoration alongside their dyed quillwork. Their elaborate appearance including facial paintings, tattoos and body ornaments disappeared as it was frowned upon by Europeans and thought to represent savagery (Thompson 1994, 69).

Their clothing shifted from head-to-toe hide outfits to one that incorporated a European loose fitted shirt. Most importantly, the Dene transitioned to a separate moccasin style (Thompson 2013, 310-35). Moccasins were formed from a single piece of hide that formed around the foot, and were fastened with an ankle strap (Thompson 2013,

¹⁰ There is no evidence of floral designs in Dene clothing before contact with the Métis and missionaries.

103). They were decorated with porcupine quills and floral designs as learned from contact with the Métis (Thompson 2013, 31). Their incorporation of florals, usually beaded, demonstrated a shift away from the prior use of geometric patterns. However, many of their pieces used both styles. This style of shoe became characteristic of the Dene and was labeled the Mackenzie River style. Significantly, this is a fashion present in the Grey Nuns collection and I will speak to it later using examples. Although their style has transitioned the practical, cultural and spiritual significance of clothing is ever present.

An Act of Détournement

The Métis and Dene are two distinct Aboriginal nations. However, it becomes apparent above that they have overlapping commonalities. Their similarities emerge in the use of floral motif, with the Dene adapting it later than the Métis, and the shared use of other materials and techniques such as quillwork and beading. As expressed above, both nations experienced change due to contact with European traders and missionary schools, and with other Indigenous groups. Further, the Dene and Métis regard their clothing as important symbols of identity.

The Métis and Dene valued full body decoration and used similar materials but in different ways. The Dene embellished their clothing with dyed porcupine quills that were either wrapped or embroidered. The Métis decorated their clothing with floral designs that were beaded and embroidered using silk thread. With contact, with each other and with Europeans, these materials and the knowledge of using them were traded.

Dene clothing, post-contact, while still decorated with quills and fringe, displayed beads and silk threading. They continued to use geometric designs along with the new floral motif. In contrast, the Métis incorporated more fringing and a greater use of porcupine quills as learned from the Dene.

These changes should not be regarded negatively. Rather, the introduction of new images, styles and materials gave rise to an evolution of Métis and Dene clothing that showcased contact with different societies and this is the clothing we see today. The adoption of a European style, such as the wearing of loose blouse shirts by both nations, the Dene separation of moccasin from legwear, and the application of floral designs into their pieces is not representative of assimilation or loss of culture. It is a form of artistic hybridity (Penney 1991), a blending of European and Indigenous influence. According to David Penney (Penney 1991, 71) artistic hybridity is the incorporation of new materials and styles, like those stated above, with their own materials and knowledge. For example, the mixing of European shirts with tradition Dene hide pants and moccasins or the design of floral motifs onto hide clothing, moccasins and gloves using moose hair. Penney (1991, 59) expresses that these changes do not mean that Indigenous peoples were passive recipients but in fact were active recipients in the genesis of their creations.

In taking these new ideas, images and materials, and reworking them to best fit their cultural needs Indigenous women were active producers in their culture. This is best exemplified though the introduction of the floral motif. By taking this image and revamping it using beading, quillwork and moose hair, Métis women created something completely independent and separate from European ideals. By ideals I mean clothing that was symbolic of Indigenous assimilation into European society as a result of

colonization and contact. These images, according to Penney (Penney 1991, 71), have become symbols of Indigenous culture and not of European image. Further, this resulted in the successful marketing of Indigenous clothing to the tourism industry that is apparent in the Grey Nuns collection (Penney 1991, 68).

This act of extraction and reimplementation is called *détournement*. It refers to the “deflection of institutional symbols of authority and power back upon themselves by means of extracting them from their habitual associations and ‘reassigning them to entirely new purposes’” (Penney 1991, 71).

Métis and Dene women conducted an act of *détournement* and as a result their clothing is a symbol of tradition, identity and resistance. Below I will analyze four pieces from Grey Nuns collection. These objects portray Métis and Dene incorporation of hide canvases, moose hair and quills. These four objects also demonstrate shifts in style as a result of contact with Europeans, here represented by the Grey Nuns, and a blend of styles and techniques that occurred in IRS. It is my personal opinion that these pieces, although made under the observance of the church, represent acts of *détournement*.

Tufting, Quillwork and Florals: A Technique and Style

In working with and discussing the crafted objects in the Grey Nuns collection I have identified two techniques and one style to elaborate on. These are: moose hair tufting, porcupine quillwork, and the use of floral motifs. I emphasize these approaches for two reasons. First, because they are skills and resources used by both nations in the decoration of clothing. Second, through IRS teachings quillwork (Dene) and tufting (Métis) were blended between the two nations to form a distinct style now associated

with the Mackenzie Valley and this is evident in the objects I will analyze from the Grey Nuns collection.

‘Style’ as defined in Merriam-Webster (2004) is a particular way in which something is done, created or performed. ‘Technique’ is a way of doing something by using special knowledge or skill. It is my opinion that these three artistic methods represent technique and style (Morphy 2006). The Métis and Dene make use of moose hair, porcupine quills, and floral designs and in doing so they use their own culturally appropriate techniques to form a style that is today symbolic of their nation. It is important to note that throughout the above sections I have discussed the introduction and alteration of the floral motif in depth. Therefore, I will only be describing and discussing tufting and porcupine quillwork in this next section.

Moose Hair Tufting

Working with moose hair was not an unfamiliar art form amongst Indigenous peoples prior to the invention of tufting. The Dene would dye and twist the hairs for decorative purposes (Barkwell et al. 2006, 113; Thompson 2013, 19). However, tufting moose hair is new in comparison having only emerged in 1916.

The extensive and difficult process involves plucking the white hairs from the centre-back of a moose, which is then washed, sorted, and dyed (Barkwell et al. 2006).

Barkwell et al. (2006, 113) describe the intricate process:

In a process similar to wool punchwork, a small bunch of 20-25 moose hairs are placed on the working surface, usually black velvet backed with canvas, and is secured with a loop-stitch taken over the hair, one-quarter inch from the end. The stitch is pulled tight and knotted, making the hair stand on end, forming a tuft. The hair is sculpted into smooth hemisphere shapes with scissors, and the design is filled in with other tufts, forming a five-petal flower.

The hairs display many colors and traditionally, they would have been dyed using different plants and boiling water. However, Europeans introduced dyes that simplified the process and it is most likely that these dyes were also used in IRS. After being dyed the hairs would be tufted to make floral motifs such as roses, daisies and pansies, as well as leaves and stems. The final process of sculpting these designs is referred to as ‘in relief’ (Sutherland 2006:159) because the hairs stand away from the surface.

Mrs. Lafferty instructed her daughter, Celine Lafferty, in the art of tufting. She in turn taught Sister Béatrice Leduc. Sister Leduc was very interested in decorative art and during her time in the NWT she learned different styles from intricate beading, to porcupine quillwork and tufting. She took her teachings from Celine Lafferty and introduced it to her Dene and Métis students at Fort Providence. She further continued to teach tufting to her students at the other schools located in the Mackenzie Valley (Figure 2). Leduc is quoted by Sutherland (1996, 159-160):

“When I was transferred to Fort Resolution I continued to teach the industrial arts and crafts in the school program. Here we had young girls from Fort Resolution, Hay River, Yellowknife, Fort Smith and Fort Rae. I experienced some disappointment since most of them preferred beadwork to moosehair tufting but I respected their choice. Slavey women seemed more interested in moosehair tufting than the other young girls of the non-Slavey communities”.

This quote from Leduc suggests a diffusion of Métis tufting knowledge to Dene (here Slavey) girls via the school experience. Leduc’s Slavey students were likely more interested in the technique because tufting was new and unfamiliar. In fact, moose hair tufting is present in many of the pieces in the Grey Nuns collection. While it is Métis in origin its introduction by Sister Leduc at many of the Mackenzie Valley residential schools has led to its incorporation into Dene clothing design. At present, tufting is

considered to be a technique that is truly unique to the Dene and the Subarctic Métis in the Northwest Territories.

Porcupine Quillwork

Porcupine quillwork is artistically unique to North American Indigenous peoples (Barkwell et al. 2006, 94). While its origins of first use are unknown (Barkwell et al. 2006, 94) its use for clothing adornment is most commonly associated with all Athapaskan nations. For the Dene porcupine quills served artistic and spiritual purposes.

Judy Thompson (2013, 49) states, that porcupine quills were the most important material used by Dene seamstresses. Dene women would pluck, flatten and then dye the quills by steeping them in various plant mixtures (Barkwell et al. 2006, 115). The result was beautifully dyed quills that were then applied to their clothing. While the Métis also made use of quills for decoration they relied more heavily on complexly beaded floral designs. The Dene, while not having come into contact with floral designs yet, decorated their pieces with brilliantly colourful quills forming geometric zigzag designs. They would embroider with the quills but also wrap them around fringe (Thompson 1994, 13-15). Dene clothing became identifiable by their profuse fringe work with skilled porcupine wrapping (Thompson 2013, 19).

The use of porcupine quills was also important for its spiritual significance. As mentioned earlier Dene clothing was thought to portray a good relationship between hunter and animals. Porcupines are believed to give birth without difficulty (Thompson 2013, 49) and in acting with respect towards the animal this spiritual characteristic would pass on to the wearer, usually female. Dene women and girls would not only use the

quills, but also adorn themselves with other parts of the porcupine such as its fetus or femur bones (Thompson 2013, 49).

Quillwork as a decorative art can be associated with both the Métis and Dene. It served a great cultural significance for Dene in the Mackenzie Valley and beyond those borders. Porcupine quill use as an art form is a technique and style represented in pieces of the Grey Nuns collection that I will speak to below.

Grey Nuns Collection Samples

I have selected four examples from the Grey Nuns collection. There are several issues that should be considered when working with collections such as this. Problems arise around dating and locating the origin school from which a piece was removed. Identifying the makers is near impossible as well. There is a lack of information regarding the collection because the Grey Nuns kept only limited records and this is something I acknowledge in Chapter Two. It should also be noted that they did not detail whether a student was Métis or Dene. However, in this record, they do occasionally attribute styles to certain nations. In response, I use my learned knowledge of Dene and Métis artistry and apply it to these examples. Through my analysis I will explain why these articles showcase Métis and Dene style or the influence of both.

The four embroidered objects represent the coming together and learning of artistic knowledge (floral motifs, quillwork, and tufting) in residential school. At this time, I am less concerned with identifying an individual maker or nation. Rather, my objective is to stress the survival and continued knowledge of Dene and Métis artistry in an environment designed to quash it.

The pieces selected are a caribou hide pillowcase (Figure 3), two pairs of caribou hide moccasins (Figure 4 & 5), and a set of hide gauntlet gloves (Figure 6). These pieces have been picked for a number of reasons. First, the selected objects display the use of moose hair tufting, porcupine quillwork, and floral motifs. Figure 3 is an important example for exemplifying the Métis tendency to decorate every aspect of their life, which extended to household decorations. The pillowcase further demonstrates various dyes and floral designs used in tufting. Figure 4 was chosen for its representation of Dene shoe design. Grey Nun archival documentation detailed that most of the embroidered pieces in the collection appeared to be of Métis influence. This pair of Dene moccasins with its use of ankle cuffs and straps acts as a good comparison to Métis moccasins, here represented by Figure 5. Figure 6 is a pair of gauntlet gloves. This style of glove is of Métis design. However, this pair was selected as an example for its presentation of tufting, fringe work and quill wrapping. The mixing of these various techniques with floral designs exemplifies the merging of Dene and Métis artistic knowledge that occurred in IRS.

Pillowcase (Figure 3): Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre Catalogue #:
2001.29.125

This pillowcase is made with the purpose of decoration in the home. It was most likely made with the intention of being sold as a souvenir in the tourist industry to Euro-Canadians. This is further substantiated by the embroidered French word “Souvenir” across the surface. Additionally, the surface is decorated with tufted flowers. Tufted designs are coarse and uncomfortable because of the texture of the moose hair and

because they protrude from the surface. This is evidence that the pillowcase was made for the purpose of display in the home and not for practical use.

Its surface is made of smoked caribou hide and the reverse is of red velvet. It is 38 cm x 38 cm in width and 13.5 cm in height. The brim of the pillowcase is fringed. The fringe is wrapped in silk thread, according to the SGM record, in colors of lilac, purple, pink, blue, turquoise, orange, yellow, and white. The word 'Souvenir' is embroidered across the surface in green silk thread. Each corner of the pillowcase depicts a different floral image: forget-me-nots, pansies, roses, and daisies. These florals are designed using moose hair tufting. The hairs have been dyed and exhibit various shades of green ranging from light to dark for the leaves, light and dark blue, yellow, purple, pink, and white for the flowers. The stem of the forget-me-nots in the upper-right corner is made of light green silk thread.

There is no maker attributed to the construction of this piece. But according to the limited SGM record, the Grey Nuns considered it to be of Métis inspiration. It was made sometime during the 20th century in one of the residential schools in the Mackenzie Valley.

The pillowcase is in very good condition. The appearance of the hide and velour has become paler in color but is not extreme. There are some dents on both corners of the left side of the pillow. White threading is visible in the construction of the tufted pansies, which appear to be more damaged in comparison to the other tufted florals.

Significance

Although the pillowcase was intended for tourist purchase it displays Métis artistry. This is best illustrated by the four individual floral tufted designs. This technique is best associated with the Subarctic Métis in the Mackenzie Valley. The use of fringe and colorful wrappings are two Indigenous decorative techniques but they are not specific to the Métis as they are more associated with the Dene.

The appearance of the motif and technique on a pillowcase illustrates the Métis tendency of decorating every aspect of their life. They did not limit their decoration to clothing but embellished a great deal of their household possessions (Barkwell et al. 2006, 74). Métis household decoration extended to pillowcases, wall hangings, and picture frames. The use of silk thread exemplifies the act of détournement. Silk thread, having been introduced through contact, is easier to manipulate and implement when wrapping or embroidering in comparison to porcupine quills. The taking and using of thread over quill is not indicative of loss of culture but rather the reworking of a material to best suit an Indigenous crafting need.

Moccasins (Figures 4 & 5)

Moccasins are footwear relied upon by the Métis and Dene and were usually the first article of clothing learned by young girls. Both nations exhibit different styles and I have selected two different moccasin styles identifiable with Métis and Dene footwear fashion.

Figure 4 (a-b): Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre; Cal #: 2001.29.22

This pair of moccasins is made of smoked caribou hide. The process of smoking makes the hide appear darker in color in comparison to tanning which produces a bleached effect. This pair exhibits the incorporation of ankle cuffs, which are then secured with a wrap also made of caribou hide. Moccasins such as these were constructed, primarily, using a single piece of hide. It would be turned up around the foot and “sewn with a T-seam at the back and a center seam extending from a small u-shaped upper to a short distance on the underside of the toes” (Thompson 2013, 102-103). The vamp has been tanned making it lighter in appearance. A trim has been sewn around the center with red, white and blue silk thread. This pair measures 17cm in height, 25 cm lengthwise, 13.4 cm in width, and 16.8 cm in depth.

The moccasins are in very good condition and show no signs of damage. The Grey Nuns record dates them after 1940 and the style is accredited to the ‘Amérindien de T.N.O’. It is my belief that this pair is representative of Athapaskan, or Dene, moccasin style. First, as I discussed above, detached moccasins became more commonly used after European contact marking the transition away from moccasin-leggings. The new Dene style usually incorporated ankle cuffs and wraps over a low top. Ankle cuffs would continue to keep the cold and snow off of ones legs. Second, this pair displays a pointed toe; a style regularly associated with Dene footwear.

Figure 5 (a-c): Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre; Cal #: 2001.29.23

This pair of moccasins is made of smoked caribou hide and the vamp is tanned caribou hide. The heel and the entirety of the moccasin opening is decorated with a grey satin. The satin on the exterior side of the shoe has been embellished with a floral design

using silk thread of lilac, pink, light green and yellow. The interior side of the satin, while depicting a floral motif, uses light blue, yellow and light green colors. The vamp has been decorated with a threaded floral motif using pink, yellow and green silk thread. Further the trim is embroidered using porcupine quills that have been dyed red, pink, purple and white. The quills have been sewn into a geometric 'zigzag' design. The cuff of the shoe is made of satin and exhibits two satin rosettes. This pair of moccasins incorporated the pointed toe style with a center seam running to the vamp. The dimensions of these moccasins are 6.5 cm x 21 cm x 11.2 cm and 6 cm in depth.

The moccasins are in good condition but exhibit signs of wear over time. This can be viewed in the de-coloration and scuffmarks on the toes of the shoes as well as the damage to the quill embroidery.

The SGM archive attributes this particular pair of moccasins to Sister Leduc and her Métis students. Unfortunately, no date was ascribed to the moccasins and their location is listed at the Mackenzie Valley in the Northwest Territories.

Footwear Significance

I have selected these two pieces as they demonstrate two different footwear styles from the Métis and Dene. Figure 4 is an excellent example of traditional Dene footwear. While simple in appearance, this style is intricate in design and practicality. This style is representative of the shift from moccasin-leggings to separate shoes. However, the new style of shoe would serve the Dene need for practicality as a high ankle cuff would keep the cold and snow off their legs.

Figure 5 is a classic example of Métis footwear in its use of vibrant colors and embellishment such as the rosettes, which commonly appear on Métis style moccasins. Like Figure 3 (the pillowcase), the use of floral motifs and geometric design as embroidered here in dyed porcupine quills represents the coming together of European and Indigenous (Métis and Dene) artistic influence. Additionally, the mix of geometric patterns and floral motifs illustrates the incorporation of old (zigzag design) and new (floral) designs in one piece. Both pairs reveal similarities in Métis and Dene footwear design because they used similar materials such as tanned and smoked caribou hide, as well as a pointed toe.

Gloves: Figure 6 (a-b): Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre; Cal #: 2001.29.14

This pair of mittens is known as a gauntlet glove because they are tight around the hand but are long and loose around the wrist. The exterior is made of tanned caribou hide and the interior has been lined with pink fabric. These gloves have been embellished with a floral motif using the moose hair tufting technique. The hairs have been dyed shades of pink, lilac, blue, yellow and dark green. The sides of the gloves have fringe, which have been wrapped using silk thread dyed in the same hues as the moose hair.

This pair is in good quality but show signs of dirtying and discoloration. They measure 31.4 cm in length and 21.4 cm in width. The SGM record dates them between 1925-1963 in the Northwest Territories. They attribute and assign credit for style and design to Sister Leduc and her students. This would mean that the gloves were made and removed from The Mackenzie Valley district. Most importantly, this pair has been stamped on the interior saying “Srs. Gr. Mt. \$40.00”. This stamp indicates the gloves

were made for and sold by the Order of the Grey Nuns in Montreal. This stamp confirms and provides evidence that production of Indigenous crafted goods for sale in Montreal by the Grey nuns was a reality.

Significance

This pair of gauntlet gloves is most likely of Métis inspiration because of its use of moose hair tufting. The style of glove was an essential item in Métis wardrobe but was acquired by the Dene in the Mackenzie Valley after contact and through IRS. Like the other pieces, the techniques and style showcased in these gloves demonstrate European influence through floral designs. This pair of gauntlet gloves showcases Dene style as well through wrapped fringing. Thus this pair of gloves is significant because it represents the sharing of different Indigenous styles and techniques that occurred in residential schools in the Mackenzie Valley.

It is also important that this pair of gloves was purchased for \$40.00. This is a substantial amount of money for that time and indicates that the sale of Indigenous made IRS clothing was an important source of revenue for the schools.

Chapter 4

BRIDGING THE GAP: FOSTERING RECONCILIATION THROUGH DIGITAL WEBSITES

The Grey Nuns collection represents Dene and Métis artistic skills and knowledge that have traveled from the past to the present and will continue to be significant into the future. Today, although the collection has been geographically returned to the principal museum in the Northwest Territories (NWT), it is still culturally isolated.

Throughout this paper I will discuss the possibilities and challenges of reconnecting the collection to its source communities. The construction of a digital online database can act as a way of visually repatriating this collection to the NWT nations whose children crafted its pieces while in Indian Residential Schools (IRS). The Inuvialuit Living History Project, operated through the Smithsonian Institute (Hennessey et al. 2013) is especially relevant as it is an example of researchers and curators working with the Inuit in the Canadian North with the purpose of implementing a digital archive. Undertaking projects such as this one demonstrate a way of fostering relationships between museum staff and Indigenous communities and permitting access to culturally important materials located far away from their creators.

I will conclude with a discussion of how a virtual database dovetails with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Calls to Action (CAL), specifically Article 67, as well as the newly adopted United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Articles 11-14. Overall, my objective is to show how a digital archive may contribute to the healing and reconciliation of survivors initiated during the TRC.

The Promise of Digital Technology

A critical question is what can be done to bridge the divide between Aboriginal groups and museums that are geographically distant? One solution to this situation has been the implementation of digital technology. Web 2.0 has created a dynamic platform where participation by parties across the world becomes much easier and sharing materials is facilitated (Christen 2011, 192). Web 2.0 has made virtual or digital repatriation possible (Hennessy 2009) and has transformed some museums that choose to adapt it into a “Museum. 2.0” (Srinivasan et al. 2009, 265). Virtual repatriation is a relatively new approach engaged with by museums, researchers, and Indigenous groups. Programs such as the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) and the Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Culture (GRASAC) are used in cases of visual return. While these programs are not a final end-all solution towards the physical reconnecting Indigenous peoples and their heritage, they act as an intermediate step, providing access to objects and fostering dialogue between the parties involved.

Digital repatriation has been a successful step in reconnecting Indigenous peoples to their cultural heritage, and in some situations has stimulated the revival of cultural and linguistic heritage (Christen 2011, 187). They facilitate the coming together of people with their dispossessed objects that were too distant to see. Further, digital databases foster new and dynamic relationships between Indigenous communities, museum staff and researchers.

The emphasis on digital technology systems is to foster ‘accessibility’ (Brown 2014, 190) to objects and collections. In the next section I will discuss two digital systems that have been used, RRN and GRASAC. I will then present the Inuvialuit

Living History Project as it represents an important example of collaboration between museums, researchers and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) of the Northwest Territories in order to reconnect a culture to their possessions. The Living History Project is a case study with many approaches that could potentially be useful if digital technologies were applied to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Collection.

Foundation Digital Databases

The Reciprocal Research Network, launched in 2010, was developed as a way of providing new and more open access to artefacts and collections housed in museums (Phillips 2011, 278). Today, the website provides access and information to cultural materials held in twenty-two institutions across Canada, the United States, and Europe (Neil-Binion 2015, 217). It is a new virtual-space research tool that serves as a portal to cultural knowledge and possessions (specifically First Nations and West Coast objects) to go beyond the physical walls of the museum.

It is a collaborative project developed by a team at the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) in British Columbia. The developing team recognized that participation of originating communities was unquestionable and would be the dominant model for museums in the future. However, up to that point no museum has taken those steps of true collaboration (Rowly 2013, 23). Their aim was to allow access to digital images and information about collections, as well as to link institutions with similar pieces together (Phillips 2011, 286; Rowly 2013, 23). The foundational purpose of the RRN fits with the notion that digital technologies are mutually beneficial and can mark the first steps to ongoing collaboration between museums, researchers, and Aboriginal groups (Brown

2014, 192). Importantly, when the MOA submitted their research application they included three Indigenous nations as developers (Neil-Binion 2015, 217). This is significant because one of the primary purposes of the RRN is the participation of Indigenous nations in Canada and in making them co-developers, voice and influence is transferred from the museum to them.

The RRN is designed to be accessible, easy to use, and interactive (Neil-Binion 2015, 219). One does not have to be a member in order to view objects on the site. However, an individual, upon becoming a member, can add information to objects of interest, provide commentary in discussion groups, and create new projects (Neil-Binion 2015, 218). Becoming a member is an easy process and requires no payment. An individual seeking to become a member must provide their name, age, address, and their reason for wanting to join the website (Neil-Binion 2015, 218). The site is very simple to use if you are a member or visitor, and is divided into five tabs: (1) Items, where an individual can view objects from various institutions; (2) Projects, here you can construct projects surrounding one object or many; (3) Discussion, where members can set up discussion groups, sharing knowledge and ideas; (4) Knowledge, the tab where members can view the information attached to objects and provide their own data including translations and pictures; (5) Help, an instructive page for new members seeking to understand the website (Neil-Binion 2015, 219). The interactivity of the RRN is important because it makes the website and the information regarding the objects more understandable and relatable.

GRASAC, developed in 2004, is a shared database in which all members can continuously insert knowledge, leave comments, or make corrections (Phillips 2011,

290). It was developed with the idea that knowledge sharing would occur between museums and Indigenous groups; museums and archives would benefit from obtaining indigenous knowledge in regards to their collections and Indigenous communities would gain digital access to their cultural possessions (specifically cultural heritage from the Great Lakes) (https://grasac.org/gks/gks_about.php; Phillips 2011, 290). GRASAC, like RRN, seeks to bring together institutions and Aboriginal communities, and to further expand the knowledge of all the parties regarding heritage objects. One difference of note is that GRASAC incorporates not only material artefacts, but also textual and visual works on the same database (Phillips 2011, 291). The program will eventually incorporate Indigenous terminology and language in order to further reconnect people and artefact.

Like the RRN, members of GRASAC can also contribute their knowledge regarding objects and benefit from the data from others (https://grasac.org/gks/gks_about.php). Gaining access to the site is more restricted than the RRN and according to the GRASAC website, access is limited due to copyright laws, as well as their desire to protect the sacrality and spirituality of objects. Further, unlike the RRN where information is “harvested from existing databases and then, over time, [added to], GRASAC’s members review, add to, and correct existing information through first-hand study of collections at the time the records are created” (Phillips 2011, 291).

Now sequestered materials (objects located in distant museums or isolated in storage rooms) are extremely important for the rediscovery and preservation of indigenous knowledge, whether technical, artistic or spiritual, as they re-forge connections to repressed or forgotten memories (Phillips 2011). However, most

Indigenous groups find themselves too distant from the museums where their cultural heritage is held and so systems like RRN connect these groups to the infrastructure. Because Indigenous individuals and communities are logistically separated from the repositories, RRN promotes collaboration among the parties at multiple levels. First, it helps in developing initial conversations between all those involved in identifying the various needs and interests. For example, Indigenous communities will have access to their rightful possessions, and information becomes available to community members while remaining available to the general public. Second, consistent communication between those involved contributes to the creation of stronger bonds between participants. However, this is not always the case. Websites such as the RRN and GRASAC can cause division in communities due to discussions regarding the accessibility of the public to their cultural heritage. Most importantly, it helps to de-center the hierarchization of knowledge production from museums, still regarded as colonial structures, to the hands of Indigenous peoples.

Digital technology systems such as RRN and GRASAC are not replacements for the physical repatriation of pieces and collections. Ruth Phillips (2011, 287) refers to these systems as a “first level repatriation”, noting that these online databases “cannot replicate the unique nature of the relationships and spiritual connections that come into being when people and heritage are brought into physical presence”. Thus, RRN and GRASAC may be considered as intermediate “places” until collections can be fully repatriated to their rightful owners.

Systems like RRN and GRASAC also become important for communities who either do not have the resources to hold and preserve their cultural heritage or for those

who want museums to continue their care for artefacts. While the pieces are not physically in their hands, digital technologies allow communities to have continued access to their possessions and a reconnection to cultural heritage located so far away.

Digital technologies are not the end-all solution to repatriation issues. While they have multiple positive outcomes, they also have weaknesses that must be considered before choosing to implement them. They bring to the forefront issues of sustainability, representation and control over sensitive knowledge.

Digital reproductions of cultural materials change the “ethical, political and social landscape of repatriation, knowledge production and revitalization” (Bell, Christen and Turin 2013, 7). A point of contention extends to maintaining traditional cultural protocols for viewing, circulating, and reproducing materials (Christen 2011, 185). Making materials available online automatically makes them much easier to access by Indigenous communities, but also by an often culturally unaware public. GRASAC has approached this matter by limiting access to the site in respect of the Indigenous groups involved. Once online, objects are easily copied and distributed and digital archives present the issue of potential indigenous loss of control over sensitive material (Banks and Ruby 2011, 14; Bell, Christen and Turin 2013, 7), making it much more difficult to maintain control over the circulation of certain types of knowledge and cultural materials. While inserting Indigenous voice is paramount, many objects are of a sensitive nature and require different protocols. Their sacredness demands a thoughtful application in how they are represented digitally. Therefore, respect for Indigenous worldviews and open access are in inevitable tension (Christen 2011, 192).

It is important to note that opinion around the exhibition of heritage materials online will differ within communities. For instance, some community members may be enthusiastic while others will refuse to be involved in a project such as the one being suggested. When taking on the project I am proposing it is extremely important that I communicate with the Métis and Dene communities involved to determine if they are (1) receptive to a digital archive, and (2) understand their needs towards ownership.

The Inuvialuit Living History Project

The Inuvialuit Living History Project represents an example of collaboration between an Indigenous group, the Inuvialuit of the NWT, researchers, and a distant museum, the Smithsonian Institution. The primary goal in undertaking this project was to reconnect the Inuvialuit people to their cultural heritage, specifically the MacFarlane collection, housed across the continent in Washington, D.C. (Hennessy et al. 2013, 44). The result was a virtual exhibit launched in 2012, with a community-based interactive digital archive, the Inuvialuit Living History Website, showcases the collection, documents the visit of expert Inuvialuit Elders to the Smithsonian, and provides contemporary Inuvialuit interpretations of these traditional pieces (Hennessy et al. 2013, 44).

Like many collections in museum possession, the Inuvialuit material was brought together as a salvage ethnography project (Brown 2014, 99; Hennessy et al. 2013, 46). Although collected to remember a supposed dying culture, Kate Hennessy et al. (2013, 46) indicates that now the pieces represent extraordinary objects of heritage that are symbols of Inuvialuit cultural continuity.

The discovery of the collection prompted Smithsonian researchers to invite Inuvialuit Elders to Washington D.C. to see the collection. Working in partnership, the Elders and researchers collaborated to make the collection accessible, through the RRN, to the whole of the Inuvialuit community. The result was the Inuvialuit Living History website launched in 2012. This website is not intended to be a finished or a final product but is intentionally designed so that it can be updated and reinterpreted as new information about its contents comes forth (Hennessy 2013).

The website features a similar format to the RRN as it was incorporated into the overall database (Hennessy et al. 2013, 50). Upon visiting the site users can move between seven separate pages that showcase the MacFarlane collection, the Inuvialuit visit to the Smithsonian, provide a history of the collection and the Inuvialuit, as well as provide video interviews with team members involved in the project.

Kate Hennessy et al. (2013, 57-62) also identify several potential problems in maintaining the momentum of this and like websites. The greatest threat to maintaining a digital archive such as this is ongoing support (Evens and Hauttekette 2011, 2). First, upkeep of a website is costly and requires the financial, intellectual and technical support and knowledge to run and preserve it. It is also costly to maintain meaningful consultation between South researchers in the United States and Northern experts situated in the Northwest Territories (Hennessy et al. 2013, 63). This makes collaboration with the Inuvialuit more difficult. Further, success is also dependent on continued interest and input from the community of Inuvialuit (Hennessy et al. 2013, 62), and it is especially important to have continued interest by younger generations who have a better understanding of digital technologies and so can revitalize their cultural heritage.

Complications aside, the Inuvialuit Living History Project is an important example of collaboration between a Northern community, researchers and a major museum. While Hennessy et al. (2013, 57) make clear that this project is a work in progress, it is necessary that we recognize its success. This project made space for initial relationships to be forged. It also created an avenue for the Inuvialuit to have access to their cultural heritage at the tips of their fingers as well as more control over how their material culture is understood and viewed (Hennessy et al. 2013, 49). In this next section I will draw similarities between this project and the Grey Nuns collection in order to determine if a digital archive is a viable solution.

The Inuvialuit Living History Project site, partnered with the RRN, are similar in design. Both sites were developed with the intent of open-access to museum collections as well as being easy to use. Developers ensured that information attached to objects could always grow and change as users inserted data associated with them. GRASAC, similarly, emphasizes the growth and correction of information but in contrast does so through first-hand observation when the records are created (Phillips 2011, 291). Access to GRASAC, as was mentioned above, is more closely monitored to protect the sacrality of objects and maintain the respect of the Indigenous nations involved. Ultimately, while these databases have their similarities and differences, they share a singular mandate of connecting Indigenous communities, universities, and museum curators as well as the sharing of knowledge between the parties involved (Phillips 2011, 290).

The Grey Nuns Collection

I believe that the Inuvialuit Living History Project supplies us - museum curators, and researchers - with an example of working as partners with Canadian Arctic Indigenous groups and how to build a platform that benefits all. As with the Living History Project, there is potential to make use of digital media technologies, such as RRN and GRASAC, and apply them to the Grey Nuns collection. It is my belief that while the collection has been physically repatriated back to the Northwest Territories, geographical repatriation to a non-Indigenous institution is not cultural repatriation; that is return in a way that is accessible to and draws upon the individuals and communities from whom it originated. A virtual archive acts as one solution to reconnecting the collection to Métis and Dene communities across the NWT, and to a non-Indigenous interested, but distant, public.

I will now discuss how a digital archive tackles four potential problems presented in working with the collection. These are also issues that are often confronted in working with virtual repatriation and Indigenous groups as a whole. These include: 1) problems of physical repatriation; 2) reconnecting distant communities and individuals with material culture; 3) working with sensitive material and content, collaboration and inclusion; and 4) revitalization of cultural heritage.

Repatriation and Reconnection

The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre is the only government-supported museum with legislative mandate and authority (Hennessy et al. 2013, 60) to acquire, protect and preserve objects and collections of cultural importance. Their responsibility extends not only to the Northwest Territories, but to Nunavut as well as Canada's newest

territory has yet to construct an approved cultural repository. When discussion began in 2001 between the Grey Nuns Mother House, Albert J. Lafferty¹¹ and the Centre regarding the repatriation of the Grey Nuns collection, the Centre was the most obvious choice. Because the collection cannot legally be given back to any community permanently, the PWNHC acts as a site where the collection and others like it can be curated, stored and displayed (Joanne Bird 2016; <http://www.pwnhc.ca/about/#14/62.4562/-114.3801>). However, pieces from the collection could potentially travel with staff to different communities as temporary exhibits.

As stated in Chapter 2, the Grey Nuns collection is made up of around 275 items produced at all five Grey Nun staffed schools located in the Mackenzie River Valley. The Grey Nuns kept little record in regard to the pieces and this means that it is nearly impossible to connect any piece to a specific school. Our attempts in reconnecting these objects to distant communities is further complicated in that these pieces do not belong to any identifiable First Nation, but can be ambiguously connected to both Métis and Dene communities across the NWT and possibly groups from the northern parts of the Prairie Provinces. It must also be noted that at the time of repatriation the collection was sought by the Fort Providence Métis and was so labeled by the PWNHC. The collection can, at best, be potentially provenanced with multiple Métis and Dene groups and this begs the question of whether some Nations even know of the collection's existence.

Additionally, along with the lack of records detailing where objects were made and collected, the Grey Nuns did not take note of the names of their students and what

¹¹ Lafferty, a Métis man from Fort Providence, discovered the Grey Nuns collection and initiated discussions of repatriation. He is an ancestor of Madeleine Lafferty, the woman who invented moose hair tufting.

they made. Only a few paintings and drawings are signed. This meant and continues to mean that pieces cannot be repatriated to their makers or their descendants.

An online archive can begin to tackle both issues of multiple and distant communities, as well as anonymity of the creators. The Grey Nuns collection can be loosely linked to multiple nations and individuals, however its physical return is impossible. A virtual archive would be accessible to the many communities that attended and were affected by IRS in the Mackenzie Valley. It would further enable individuals to explore the archive and possibly identify and connect particular objects with specific makers. They could then choose to travel to the PWNHC to observe and handle particular objects rather than addressing the unknown.

A digital archive does not replace the physical return of this or any collection to Indigenous persons or groups. But, as made clear above, literal repatriation is presently unfeasible. In this light, virtual repatriation is the next best thing in reconnecting communities and individuals to their cultures. The digital archive can act as a surrogate for physical repatriation (Brown 2014, 29).

Issues Regarding Sensitive Material

I cannot definitively determine whether the objects in the Grey Nuns collection possess spiritual meaning, but they do have inherent cultural and, as a product of children's experiences in residential schools, historical significance. Spiritual and cultural importance is often an issue that museums and other institutions must confront.

Testimonies, videos, photos and exhibits during the TRC contained highly sensitive material of a traumatic past. It was recognized by the Commission that these

images and narratives had the potential to trigger flashbacks or abuse (physical, sexual and mental). In response the Commission approached this by first informing attendees that the events could potentially trigger residential school memories (Neizen 2013, 105). Survivors were advised to prepare safety plans in the case of triggering. The Commission also provided health and cultural support workers who were trained to manage these outbreaks (Neizen 2013, 106).

This same awareness is carried into museums and galleries exhibiting material of a fragile nature and staff are often given sensitivity training. Issues of sensitivity are important to consider in developing a digital site meant to display IRS objects made by children while at school (Lehrer et al. 2011). Their display has the potential to unseat long repressed memories of residential school amongst survivors. Reconnection with particular pieces may have the potential to stir up memories (Brown 2014, 175) that at the least are unpleasant.

Mitigating distressed responses to the collection and delivering support is more difficult via a website as there is no physical health worker to ensure one's safety. Possible approaches may include a disclaimer at the start of the site informing the visitor of the content and possible outcomes. Further, users who wish to view the collection will have to create a username and password. A disclaimer informs the user of what they may potentially view and a sign in page will potentially allow the user to think about if they truly would like to enter the site.

Like survivor testimonies, these pieces and the memories attached to them have the potential to further speak to the IRS past and contribute to a not-to-be-forgotten history. As stated by Ruth Phillips (2011, 285), "the power of cultural materials to trigger

memory is proving to be an invaluable key to the recovery of orally transmitted information retained in originating communities”. The materials, can elicit recollections or connections to particular people or memories. Thus, a digital online archive would provide to Indigenous groups access to a long forgotten collection and the memories attached to it. However, as was mentioned earlier, it important to communicate with the communities involved regarding their interest in a digital recovery, their willingness towards involvement in the project, and their requirements. If the virtual return is discouraged then I would not go through with the digital site.

The recollections that the Grey Nuns collection could potentially bring to the surface, even if approved by Dene and Métis nations, can help develop new understandings of the residential school era that are informed by Indigenous knowledge, memories and perspectives attached to these pieces (Phillips 2011, 289). The recovery of this knowledge contributes towards the individual healing process and also of the collective.

Revitalization

Material heritage has obvious potential to support cultural revitalization (Brown 2014, 15). Collections housed in museums are under the control of these institutions and interpretation of and knowledge about cultural materials kept distant from source communities. Digital archives offer an avenue to access, and add to, this knowledge. Visual repatriation can inspire cultural and linguistic revival, and prompt the recovery artistic skills (Christen 2011, 187). The objects in the Grey Nuns collection, like many other museum collections, represent tangible connections to intangible knowledge

(Hennessy et al. 2013, 50). Arguably this most comes into focus through the sewn objects, as they were the primary cause for the repatriation. A visual return could help in the regeneration of sewing techniques and styles, and contribute to an individual creativity and communities' cultural patrimony. I provide a discussion on how this would be achieved in my section below titled 'Outline of Proposed Digital Archive'.

Like most collections, the Grey Nuns collection was accumulated when cultural ways of knowing and doing were threatened by colonialism. Nevertheless, traditions continued despite the pressures of forced assimilation (Brown 2014, 165). The context surrounding the collection, specifically its sewn and embroidered pieces, demonstrates the persistence of female cultural knowledge in the face of colonialism. Particular styles such as geometric patterns and floral motifs continued to be applied to clothing and home décor.¹² Floral motifs, and the techniques of moose hair tufting and porcupine quill embroidery persisted as well and have been preserved in the collection. The creation of a digital archive makes space for the revival of these artistic skills and the digitized images can serve as cultural models for revitalizing techniques and designs that are presently less practiced (Hail and Duncan 1989, 108).

At this time, I turn my attention to the preservation of moose hair tufting in the context of revitalization. The survival of this style can most arguably be attributed to Sister Leduc's role in the residential schools across the Mackenzie Valley. Moose hair tufting, in comparison to the other techniques discussed in Chapter 3, is relatively new having only been invented by Madeleine Lafferty in 1916 and its teaching to Sister

¹² Decoration of home décor was commonly practiced by the Métis. However, it most likely occurred in residential school classes in order to cater to the market and the desire to display Indigenous goods in homes.

Béatrice Leduc by Madeleine's daughter around 1925.¹³ By this time, Mackenzie Valley residential schools had already been erected (the first being Fort Providence in 1886). The likelihood of young girls entering IRS with a working knowledge of tufting was unlikely as it is a technique that requires a substantial amount of practice and skill that would only be taken up during adolescents or later.

Tufting originated within subarctic Métis culture but its diffusion into Dene artistry can be accredited to Leduc's teachings. As quoted by Agnes Sutherland (1996, 159-160), Leduc instructed her Métis and Dene students in the craft but noted that her Slavey pupils demonstrated greater interest. Sister Leduc's role in Fort Providence, Fort Resolution and Aklavik (Figure 2), and in the lives of her students is undeniable. Leduc's training from Lafferty aided in the preservation and persistence of tufting within Métis culture and its diffusion and adaptation into Dene embroidery. Today tufting is a symbol of both nations in the subarctic.

Leduc not only taught tufting but beading and quillwork. Her instructing of different techniques and styles helped in the continuity of knowledge that is so important in Métis and Dene communities. Today, tufting and quillwork continue to be practiced by Métis and Dene women as traditional arts but the knowledge required towards making moccasins and mitts, with their intricate designs, is becoming less passed on to the youth (Hail and Duncan 1989, 97). A virtual archive has the potential to make these artistic expressions more accessible and increase the interest and knowledge in tufting, quillwork and floral motifs. Methods of engaging the youth and other community members will be discussed below.

¹³ Tufted pieces in the collection are assumed to be dated 1925 and later.

Digital technologies are arguably more accessible and comprehensible to younger generations who are more familiar with the latest technologies. A virtual archive showcasing these beautiful pieces can spark interest amongst younger generations and, as importantly, link youths to Elders. Thus, the archive can have a socio-cultural, as well as educational, role (Evens and Hauttekeete 2011, 7) as both are integral to meaningful revitalization.

While these pieces were made under colonial gaze at a time of forced assimilation, they do represent Indigenous artistic persistence with the help of Sister Leduc. Like the Inuvialuit Living History project, the Grey Nuns collection is an assemblage of beautifully constructed objects using materials like moose hair, porcupine quills, hide and glass beads in a variety of colors. The pieces are symbols of cultural continuity and have an embedded meaning associated with struggle and childhood trauma as a result of IRS experiences. Their display can prospectively open narratives of survival and tenacity to contemporary audiences.

Objects are only starting to be looked at as more than bare things; rather they represent complex entanglements with other institutions and individuals (Hodder 2012, 89). According to Michael O'Hanlon (2006, 388), objects have two levels of recontextualization. They are: (1) physical or the spatial travel of a piece; and (2) temporal or the different meaning attached to an object(s) at different times. The objects in the Grey Nuns collection have physically travelled from the five schools in the Mackenzie Valley to Montreal (in the archive) and to the PWNHC. Temporally the collection has had different meaning at the time of its creation to present. This is significant because the objects under analysis in this research have gone through changes

in their meaning from the initial purpose of catering to the tourism industry to a present meaning of revitalization and reconnection.

The purpose of Truth and Reconciliation Commission was to promote the healing, reconciliation and resolution of survivors and families. The close of the TRC in 2015 does mean that processes of healing have concluded. Rather, it is an ongoing process for survivors, families, and communities. The TRC promoted “individual, intergenerational, and spiritual healing within Aboriginal communities, as well as cultural restoration, all of which strengthened self- determination movements” (Howsam 2015, 50). Survivors sited that a reconnection to their culture, such as language and spirituality, contributed to their healing as an individual and as a collective. Phillips (2003, 152) corroborates this in saying that Indigenous “people have identified the recovery of cultural knowledge as vital to the healing process [started during the TRC]...access to tradition forms of material culture...play an important role in the process”.

The embroidered objects in the Grey Nuns collection become important components in the ongoing stages of healing. Phillips (2011, 179-182), in her discussion of the exhibition *Threads of the Land*, which showcased Dene, Inuit, and Plateau First Nations from British Columbia clothing, stated that “one of the most valuable legacies of the exhibition project [was] the recovery of knowledge about historical clothing” (Phillips 2011, 181-82). Like *Threads of the Land*, the Grey Nuns collection is a repository of powerful knowledge. I believe that this recovery of historical and cultural materials represents a space for self-determination, a building of strength (both individual and community), which contribute to processes of healing commences during the TRC (Brown 2014, 177).

A virtual archive is one solution to the recovery of cultural heritage and its foundation makes the revitalization of knowledge and culture viable in a situation where cultural heritage is so distant. Phillips (2011, 295) argues that a visual archive “mitigates the separation of people from heritage and the enforced losses of traditional knowledge that continue to have serious consequences for Aboriginal identity and spiritual and mental health.” A digital database has the potential to revitalize artistic knowledge amongst Indigenous women and other community members with regards to sewing and, overall, strengthen cultural and community identities (Phillips 2011).

Outline of Proposed Digital Archive

A virtual repatriation is a serious undertaking and in developing one, I must consider all the parties involved, their desires for the site, issues regarding the sensitivity and ownership of the materials amongst others. As discussed earlier, in the context of the Inuvialuit-Smithsonian collaboration, RRN and GRASAC, these sites have been beneficial in advancing relationships between anthropologists, museum staff and Indigenous communities. As Joshua Bell et al. (2013, 6) notes, they can “produce new models for the creation, circulation and reproduction of knowledge and cultural materials”.

A website exhibiting the Grey Nuns collection would have similar features to the RRN and Inuvialuit Living History Project. At present, I estimate that users visiting the potential PWNHC site would navigate between six tabs: (1) A home page would provide a brief overview of the site and its purpose; (2) The ‘About’ section is intended to provide information on the Métis and Dene as nations. This section would also include insight on

clothing construction and styles for both nations; (3) A 'History' page will have detail on the residential school history and experience in the Mackenzie Valley, the role of Sister Leduc, and the repatriation of the collection to the PWNHC (4) The collection itself. Here users can access images of the collection. However, an image of a specific object that showcases tufting or quillwork is arguably not sufficient towards engaging the viewer. While these objects cannot be handled and observed, unless an individual chooses to travel to the PWNHC, I suggest that the digital website would include 3D imagery or a 360 degree video of the objects so the website user can gain a better understanding of a piece and the multiple techniques used in its making. (5) A 'Discussion Board' is an important area where users can communicate with each other as well as add information regarding certain pieces. (6) A 'Video' tab would contain videos of seamstresses demonstrating various techniques such as tufting and quillwork. This would help interested users in learning many of the styles.

Thus, this prospective site is designed to be interactive. To date, there is still limited information on the collection because of the limited record kept by the Grey Nuns. Métis and Dene user knowledge would greatly contribute to the information associated to these pieces.

Interactive sites are important because they are portals for the insertion of Indigenous voices and knowledge. Digital archives are becoming a place where individuals can continuously add knowledge and perspective, offering "a communicative space through which collections can be recontextualized by and for the community" (Bell, Christen and Turin 2013, 11). As the Grey Nuns collection has never been examined since its repatriation, a site would provoke conversation where heretofore there

has been silence. And being unexplored, it would provide communities, researchers and the Centre a freedom to work with the collection as to best suit the needs of all with some of the ways presented above.

These digital sites become an important platform for ongoing communication between Indigenous groups, museums, and researchers. Susan Rowly (2013, 37), through her account of the development of the RRN system, demonstrates that while the visual repatriation is the final objective the most important facet is a continuing dialogue during and after the development of the site. A constant communication helps build understanding and trust between all those involved.

Reconciliation

Working with Indigenous communities and developing an interactive digital archive respects the wishes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's document, *Calls to Action* (2015). Of particular importance here is its section entitled 'Museums and Archives', Article 67 (2015, 406):

We call upon the federal government to provide funding to the Canadian Museums Association to undertake, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, a national review of museum policies and best practices to determine the level of compliance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and to make recommendations.”

Article 67 is the only request in the *Calls to Action* that speaks to relations between museums and Indigenous peoples and the need to develop a new relationship.

Specifically, it addresses the ongoing concern that most Indigenous nations have with museum administration and the representation of First Nations and Inuit cultures and lifeways. While Article 67 is the single statement by the TRC outlining this issue, it is, in fact, extremely general and in many respects only scratches the surface.

The CAL, although limited, calls on institutions such as the PWNHC to re-evaluate ongoing projects and processes with an eye toward future ones. Museums should first rethink how children's art is perceived and treated. Collections such as this one should not be regarded as crafts, but instead as important and meaningful pieces of art which hold deep narratives of history and meaning. Thus, museum staff should place importance on these pieces and bring them to the forefront.

The CAL also initiates dialogues surrounding the ownership and management of residential and day school collections. Museums must begin the process of return to source communities as this represents a transfer of ownership. As mentioned earlier, this is made difficult by legislation in NWT and presently affects the final return of the collection. However, a digital archive, while not replacing a physical return, can jump start negotiations for, at minimum, temporary loans of pieces to communities. Museums and their staff can begin a base level transfer of ownership through the renaming of collections. For example, labelling the Mackenzie school's pieces as the Grey Nuns collection designates power and ownership to the Grey Nuns rather than the students and renaming it to acknowledge Métis and Dene children initiates the first stages of recognizing original possession and helps foster reconciliation.

For a more encompassing analysis beyond the CAL, I turn to the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP 2007) that Canada, as of May 10, 2016, has officially, if belatedly, now adopted. The adoption of UNDRIP is an important step for both Indigenous peoples across Canada and the nation itself with respect to Indigenous representations as Articles 11-14 (of 46 in total) deal in a more comprehensive way with Indigenous and museum relations than does TRC document

Calls to Action. The implementation of UNDRIP is a victory for Canada's Indigenous peoples, especially with regard to their rights regarding the recovery and/or display of their cultural heritage. Articles 11-12 (UNDRIP 2007, 6) outline the importance of working with indigenous groups to determine appropriate forms of repatriation based on the particulars of a group's situation. Additionally, these two articles pertain to the access of cultural material and knowledge as critical elements in redressing past wrongs.

The importance of this is underscored in Articles 13 and 14. Article 13, Subsection 1 (UNDRIP 2007, 7) states:

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

This statement exemplifies the importance of having access to cultural material and knowledge not as relicts of some past time but in order to revitalize, pass on and teach future generations. Further, Article 14, Subsections 1-3 (UNDRIP 2007, 7) brings into focus the importance of these materials and the knowledge that is embodied for educating children:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

In this regard, Canadian Indigenous peoples have been faced with three critical

difficulties: 1) the often great distances between their homelands and the repositories where cultural materials currently are; 2) that the materials in these repositories are as often warehoused like the Grey Nuns collection; and, 3) too often display is biased by colonial interpretations and representations. Interactive digital repatriations, in the form of online visual and interpretive databases, represent one means for the reformation of museum practices to better engage Indigenous peoples, promote Indigenous participation in the structuring of exhibits and the distribution of knowledge, and promote collaboration between museum staff and Indigenous peoples. These virtual repatriations, such as the one I am suggesting, comply with the articles presented in the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and the *TRC Calls to Action*.

A virtual database is congruent in multiple ways with the requests presented above in the CAL and in UNDRIP. First, in accordance with the documents, promotes communication and relationship building between Indigenous peoples and museum staff, which ultimately would result in better representation of Indigenous voice. Second, because a physical return of material back to communities is impossible this database acts as a virtual repatriation in substitute and allows for better access. Third, better access supports the revitalization of important knowledge and this finally achieves and assists in the education and transmission of knowledge such as embroidery techniques and styles to children, elders, and communities.

In harmony with the CAL and UNDRIP, a digital repatriation further has the potential to be a true contributing part of the reconciliation process already started by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. These technologies allow individuals and communities to assert Indigenous agency through the insertion of their voice and develop

better relationships with museums and their staff. Collections such as this one are a “testament to the [Indigenous] resilience, to their present moral and legal rights of ownership, and the responsibilities of museums to make collections accessible” (Brown 2014, 6). Therefore, working with the IRS collections and with the Indigenous nations involved is important for representing their strength and contributing to their ongoing healing process.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In starting this research, I had four objectives. First, to temporally and spatially trace the Grey Nuns collection in its long journey from and back to the Northwest Territories (NWT) and to situate it within the Indian Residential School (IRS) history. Second, to determine what ways the objects in the collection inform us about the endurance of Indigenous traditions in, and despite the residential schools. The third was to determine how the materiality of the collection exposes the complex interrelationship between children's crafting and the overall colonial structure. The last was to discuss the potentials and challenges of reconnecting the Grey Nuns collection with NWT source communities. Throughout these chapters I believe that I have met each of the objectives I set out and in doing so have partly opened a window on another aspect of the complicated social history of the IRS in the North.

The objects analyzed are a sample, namely two sets of moccasins, one pair of gloves and an example of items made for home decoration, drawn from the many embroidered pieces in the Grey Nuns collection. Métis and Dene students from around the Mackenzie Valley made these pieces while they were in the care of the Oblate Fathers and the Grey Nuns. In examining these pieces during my time at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), I immediately took notice of the many embroidery techniques that were employed, including moose hair tufting, porcupine quillwork and beading to form intricate floral designs. What was particularly interesting to me was the variety of techniques (especially the tufting and quillwork) that were obviously Indigenous in origin. What made these features especially notable is that indications of

the persistence of students' Indigeneity despite the fact that the objects in the collection were created in an acculturative environment intended to weaken signs, from the students' home language to boys and girls' *coiffures*, of Indigenous being. However, the helping role of the Grey Nuns and the agency of the children together had a profound effect on the preservation of important Indigenous knowledge. Resources such as the works of Judy Thomson, Sharon Blady and Kate Duncan, revealed that some of the embroidered pieces showed distinctly traditional styles of manufacture: specifically moose hair tufting being Métis in origin and porcupine quillwork in a way specific to the Mackenzie Dene.

I then asked why these artistic traditions appear in the Grey Nuns collection. As was presented in Chapter Two, the Roman Catholic schools in the Mackenzie Valley, like many of the IRS establishments, were often in financial difficulty (Milloy 1999). Their schools being isolated and underfunded, the Oblates, Grey Nuns, and children by necessity took on everyday jobs - from farming and cooking to cleaning, to keep the schools operational. In this environment of semi-privation, the girls sometimes took on the role of seamstress. Young Dene and Métis girls, many of whom having entered residential school with an understanding of basic sewing and embroidery as these were valuable attributes in their home communities, incorporated aspects of their traditional training and knowledge of materials into their creations.

The Grey Nuns not only acknowledged their student's domestic skills as functionally useful within the day-to-day life of the schools, but also the potential to contribute to the schools' economic situation by exporting selected items for sale in a receptive southern Canadian market. The nuns recognized a demand for "Native" made

goods from both serious collectors and as exotic souvenirs to be displayed in homes. As was discussed in Chapter Three, this demand had an underlying meaning of one culture at times exerting ownership over another and is significant because it reiterates the overall colonial structure. Thus, Dene and Métis girls were encouraged to make items that met southern Canadian consumers' notions of Indigenusness.

However, it is important to mention that moose hair tufting and porcupine quillwork are specialized techniques requiring great skill and that not all the young girls who entered the IRS sphere would necessarily possess complete knowledge of these materials and technical mastery of them. The Grey Nuns history (Sutherland 1996) attributes the introduction of these techniques into the vocational curriculum to Sister Béatrice Leduc who following her arrival in 1925 at Fort Providence learned tufting, quillwork and other forms of crafting from Métis and Dene elders. According to the records kept by the Grey Nuns, Sister Leduc, in her travels to other Mackenzie Valley schools (Fort Resolution, Aklavik and again Fort Providence), taught what she had learned from elders in Providence and so became a path of diffusion, introducing new materials and styles. In addition, she instructed her students in traditional European styles and techniques that incorporated non-Indigenous textiles, decorative beading and floral motifs.

As a result, the Grey Nuns collection, as was explained in Chapter Three, displays not only a mixing of the materials that were employed, but also a cultural hybridity that is the result of Métis, Dene and European influences that are reflected in its integration of styles and techniques, sometimes in a single object. It is accurate to say that the pieces that comprise the collection can be attributed to Métis and Dene students, but also Sister

Leduc's appreciation for the artistry and material creativity of the Elders who generously taught her.

The cultural and historical significance of this collection is threefold. First, although made under a colonial structure, the situation fostered an environment where Indigenous artistic knowledge was perpetuated. Second, under Sister Leduc and other Nuns teachings, traditional objects came to incorporate European materials, styles and motifs. Today, Métis and Dene clothing continues to display materials (moose hide and canvas), styling (rounded toe moccasins) and decorative attributes (tufting, beading and quillwork) that are now thought to be an integral and specific to the Western Subarctic. Last, clothing construction and its decoration was an important female attribute within Métis and Dene nations prior to the implementation of residential schools. The perpetuation of this knowledge through the IRS, while on first glance counterintuitive, allowed this important female skill to not be lost and, in a sense, flourish.

Therefore, what becomes apparent in analyzing the materiality of Grey Nuns collection is a complex interrelation between the children, the colonial structure, the Grey Nuns and the collector-souvenir-tourism market which is met in the collection's embroidered objects. At the time, while the purpose for making these objects was to lessen the poverty of the schools' isolation, the most important result, albeit an unintentional one, was the continuation of important Indigenous knowledge.

At present, the now repatriated collection resides in the PWNHC in the Northwest Territories. Its significance and potential at present is twofold. First, its survival is representative of the strength of children and their agency while in IRS. Second, these

objects can be a path to revitalize important cultural traditions and craft knowledge within Métis and Dene communities.

As discussed in Chapter Four, I have proposed creating a digital archive as a site that would act as a visual repatriation to the Métis and Dene and so ameliorate a situation where physical repatriation is impossible due to (1) the multiple nations involved and (2) the heritage preservation legislations in the NWT. A virtual return represents one way of reconnecting the Métis and Dene to their cultural heritage located far away. The site would not only display the collection, but would also be interactive. Interactivity, as programs like the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) and the Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Culture (GRASAC) already demonstrated, is important for building knowledge capacity regarding specific objects and for creating space for the inclusion of new Indigenous perspectives and voice. Virtual repatriation through an interactive website represents one way of reconnecting Métis and Dene nations to their enduring material heritage, as well as a way to sustain and possibly revitalize important female knowledge.

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Figures

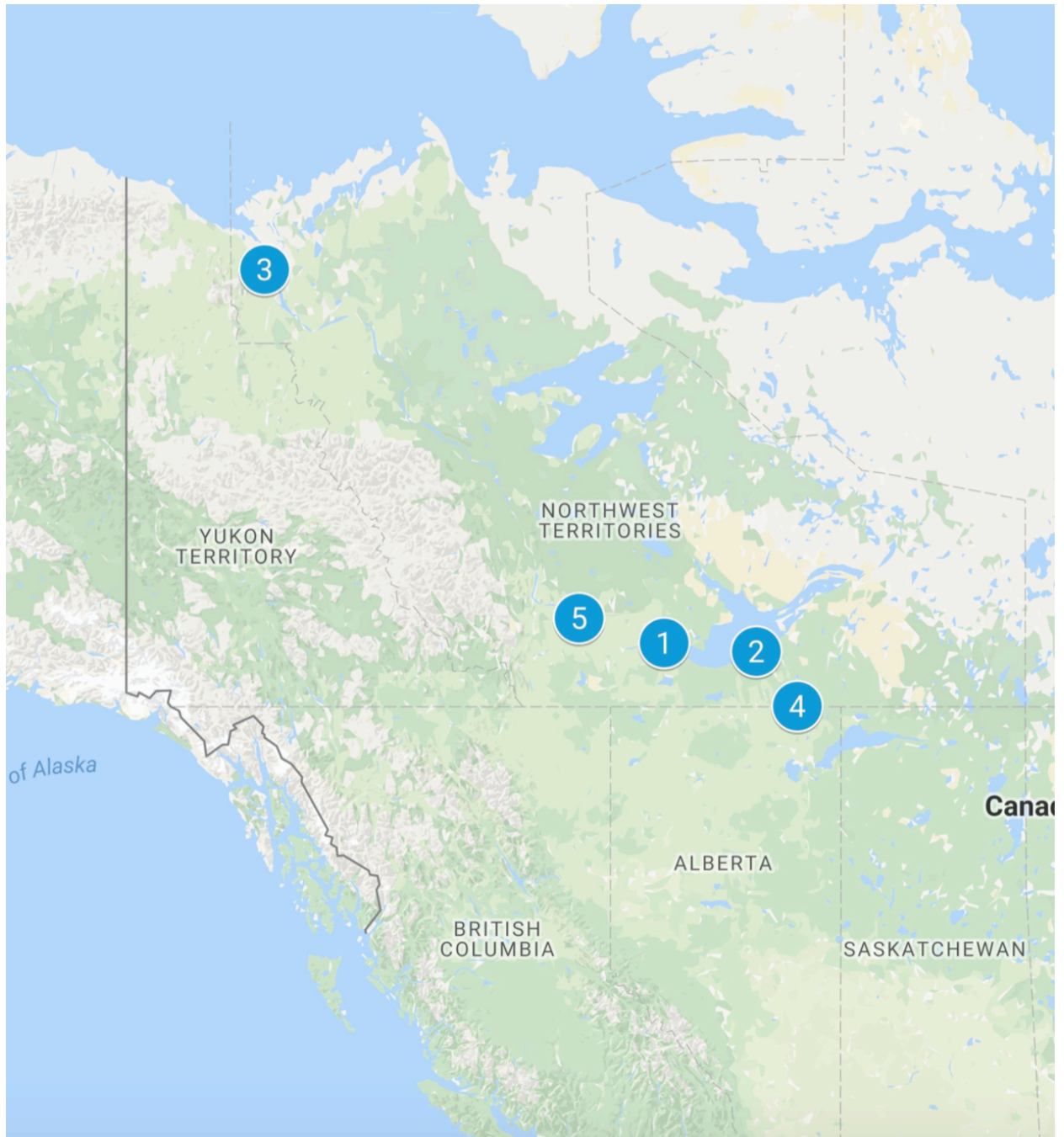


Figure 1. Map depicting the five Grey Nuns' Missions in the Northwest Territories. (1) Fort Providence; (2) Fort Resolution; (3) Aklavik; (4) Fort Smith; (5) Fort Simpson. Map produced using Google My Maps.

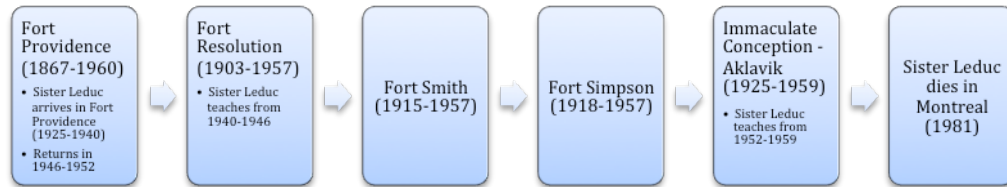


Figure 2: Time line of the opening and closing of the Mackenzie Valley schools and Sister Leduc's time at each.



Figure 3a (front), 3b (back): Moose hair tufted pillowcase from the Grey Nuns collection.



Figure 4a (front view), 4b (side view): Presumably Dene inspired moccasins from the Grey Nuns Collection.



Figure 5a (toe), 5b (right exterior view), 5c (left interior view): Three views of a Métis inspired moccasin from the Grey Nuns collection.



Figure 6a (front and back view), 6b (close up): Gauntlet glove from the Grey Nuns collection. This pair depicts moose hair tufting (see close-up), fringe and wrapping. Presumed Métis inspiration

Appendix

Category	Sub-category	Description	Notes	Accession #	Box #
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif moccasin -Threaded floral design in green, blue, red and pink -White beading -Bleached hide -Blue satin trim	-Metis style -Slight discoloration to hide	2001.29.55	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif moccasin -Threaded: light and dark green, pink and red -Fur trim (fox or hare) -Bleached hide	Slight damage evident in scratches and spots	2001.29.54	Box 7
Clothing	Boot	-Floral motif -Geometric design -Threaded: dark and light blue, green and yellow -Bleached leather -Leather ankle straps -Light and dark blue tassel -Fur trim (hare of fox)	-Style: indeterminate	2001.29.52	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif Threaded: light and dark blue, light and dark red, yellow, green and black -Fur cuff (hair or fox) -Bleached hide	-Metis style	2001.29.53	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif -Beaded: pink, red and green -Fur cuff (hair or fox)	-Metis style	2001.29.46	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif -Threaded: red, light blue, brown and grey -Fur trim -Bleached hide	-Rose buds and forget-me-nots -Flowers appear on cuff and toe -No serpentine leaves/stems	2001.29.47	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif -Threaded: light and dark blue, green and yellow -Fur cuff -Bleached hide	-Forget-me-nots -Flowers connected by stems and appear on cuff	2001.29.48	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	-Floral motif: red flower and forget-me-nots	-Flowers appear on cuff and toe	2001.29.49	Box 7

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Threaded: light and dark red, dark green and yellow, dark blue -Bleached hide -Fur cuff (fox or hare) 			
Clothing	Moccasin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Floral motif -Threaded: light and dark pink, purple, yellow, light and dark green -Bleached hide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Fur trim is sheared -Flowers: Rose and buds, pansies -Serpentine leaves -Discoloration on the toe 	2001.29.50	Box 7
Clothing	Moccasin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Floral motif -Threaded: light and dark pink, light and dark purple, light and dark blue, light and dark green, red -Bleached hide -Fur trim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Flowers are two-tone -Floral motif appears on the interior/exterior ankle -Fur trim is shorn 	2001.29.51	Box 7
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide jacket with hood -Satin pants -Silk headscarf -Bleached hide boots -Bleached hide mitts -Jacket, mitts and boots have floral beading and tassels (wool?); jacket has geometric beading -Jacket has fringe -Boots have ankle wraps -Mitts are connected by a string 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Doll is in good condition -Life size (size of a baby) -Shows Indigenous (hide clothing, mitts and boot style, and beading) and European style (satin pants and head scarf) 	2001.29.244 a-g	Box 8
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Full tanned hide outfit -Hide cap, jacket, pants and boots -Beaded belt -Headband is pressed porcupine quills -Jacket and belt have wrapped fringe work -Belt has wooden beads on fringe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Belt beads are red, yellow and black -Wrappings are white, red, blue and yellow -Quills in headband are purple, turquoise, white, 	2001.29.245 a-h	Box 8

			red and yellow -Doll is life size -In poor condition with paint peeling off. Clothing is discolored -Dene influence		
Toy	Doll	-Cotton head wrap -Black (cotton?) cape -Cape has threaded fringe -Bleached hide moccasins -Moccasins have pressed porcupine quills in a geometric pattern -Face is painted on -Black dress with purple trim underneath cape. However, cape could not be removed	-Life size -Metis style: Cape and Metis style moccasins -Good condition; shoes are slightly discolored -Headscarf is blue with polka-dots -Quills on show are pink, purple and white	2001.29.246 a-g	Box 8
Clothing	Moccasins	-Moccasins -Floral design Bleached hide Threaded motif	-Meant for a doll -Thread in red, yellow and green -Metis style	2001.29.232 a-b	Box 2
Toy	Bottle	-Glass bottle with nipple -Meant for a doll	-In good condition	2001.29.233	Box 2
Toy	Doll	-Baby doll -Wrapped in white cloth -Wearing a white bonnet of the same fabric -Wrapped in pink string -Face is painted on	-Could not be removed from the preservation bag -In good condition -Style unknown	2001.29.234 a-e	Box 2
Toy	Doll	-Small doll -Felt dress, moccasins and headband -Beading on shoes, dress, and headband -Fringe on dress (felt) -Beaded necklace	-Felt in red -Styles unknown -Clothing is damaged: beads have fallen off and thread is unraveling. Hair is disheveled	2001.29.235	Box 2
Toy	Doll	-Small doll	-Similar style	2001.29.236	Box 2

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cloth dress and headband -Dress and headband have beading -Beaded necklace -Fringe on dress -No shoes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> doll and attire to 2001.29.235 -Cloth is beige -Beads are red, white and blue -Style unknown -Condition: beads are loose 		
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Small doll -Hide dress and shoes -Leather belt and headband -Hair ties -Dress has fringe -Beading on headband, dress and shoes -Threading on the moccasins 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide -Leather is red -Geometric beading: green, white, black, red, blues and yellow -No distinct pattern in color -Condition: hide on dress is damaged -Style unknown 	2001.29.237	Box 2
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Small doll -Fringed dress (possibly hide?) -Beading on dress and shoes -Hide shoes? -Beaded belt and headband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Geometric beading -Bead colors: yellow, black, white, blue and green. Green only appears on shoes Condition: poor. Head and arm have fallen off. Shoes are frayed -Style unknown 	2001.29.238	Box 2
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Wrapped in a blanket (wool?) -Floral and butterfly fabric underneath -Headband -Face is painted on -Plastic shoes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style unknown -Geometric design on blanket -Headband is red -Condition: good 	2001.29.239	Box 2
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Small doll -Bleached hide jacket, boots and headband -White fur trim on jacket and boots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Boots are muckluks -Beads are blue, pink and red 	2001.29.240	Box 2

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Boots have fringe -Beading on jacket, boots and headband -Beads in a floral design on headband and jacket -Beaded hair ties -Hair is in two braids 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: possibly Inuit? -Condition: good 		
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cotton skirt -Check headscarf and blouse -Scarf has fringe -Hide shoes -Face and hair is painted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Skirt is dark green -Check pattern is white, green and red -Condition: good but some discoloration on hide shoe 	2001.29.241	Box 2
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Baby doll -Wrapped in a cloth with lace trim -Bonnet with lace trim -Red satin fabric underneath -Baby is placed in a birch bark basket with birch wrapped trim -Trim is dyed in places -Face and hair is drawn on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style unknown -Bark trim in natural, red and green and has been wrapped in a pattern -Condition: good 	2001.29.242 a-g	Box 2
Toy	Doll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Baby doll -Wrapped in velvet -Stitched up center -Bonnet -Green fabric: underneath layer or attached to bonnet? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Velvet is navy blue -Bonnet is white -Stitched string is white. Almost looks like a shoelace. Thick string Unknown fabric is seafoam 	2001.29.243	Box 2
Clothing	Gloves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide -Threaded floral design -Wrapped fringe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Thread colors: light and dark green, light and dark blue, pink and yellow -Wrapping may be quills in green, pink and yellow -Style: Métis -Condition: very 	2001.29.11 a-b	Box 4

			good -Documentation say FP		
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide -Threaded floral design -Wrapped fringe -Threaded knuckle lines	-Thread colors: purple, violet, black, yellow, green, and brown -Wrapping is light green, violet, white and yellow. Possibly quill -Flower are pansies Style: Métis Condition: good -Documentation: from FP	2001.29.12 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide -Threaded floral design -Fringe work -Fur trim at wrist and cuff -SGM hospital stamp	-Thread colors: red, rose, pink, yellow, blue and green -Fur: fox? -Style Métis -Condition: good -Documentation from FP	2001.29.13 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide -Tufted floral design (moose) -Wrapped fringe	-Moose hair is dyed pink, purple, light and dark green, blue and yellow -Wrapping: pink, green, yellow and blue -Flowers: forget-me-nots and 5 petal flower Style: Métis Condition: good but there is discoloration and staining	2001.29.14 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves	-Thread colors:	2001.29.15	Box 4

		-Bleached hide -Threaded deer (or caribou) and nature design: trees and grass - Fringe -Threaded knuckles -Fur trim at wrist and cuff (Hare?)	yellow, green, brown and grey -Style: Métis Condition: good but with discoloration Documentation: from FP	a-b	
Clothing	Gloves	-Straight glove -Bleached hide -Threaded knuckle lines -Simple floral design (threaded) on cuff	Thread colors: purple, blue, red, brown and yellow Style: Unknown -Condition: good -Documentation: from FP	2001.29.16 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide -Beaded floral design or buds/berries -Fringe	-Beads: pink, brown, green, light and dark red Style: Métis Condition: good	2001.29.17 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Straight glove -Bleached hide -Threaded floral design and knuckle lines	Thread colors: light and dark green, pink, yellow and burgundy Image: five petal flowers and buds Style: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.18 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide -Threaded floral design -Fringe -Fur trim on wrist and cuff	-Fur: rabbit? -Thread colors: red, light and dark green, light and dark pink -Buds and flowers -Style: Métis -Condition: good -From FP	2001.29.19 a-b	Box 4
Clothing	Gloves	-Gloves in the process of being	-Tufts in yellow	2001.29.20	Box 4

		made. No gauntlet -Initial stages of tufting -Unfinished -Red pen outlines of a floral design -Threaded stem -Mounted un unknown base	and white (daisies?) -Green threaded stem -Style: unknown -Condition: good but unfinished	a-b	
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Ankle cuff with hide ankle strap -Red, white and blue piping around vamp	-Style: Dene Condition: threading is unraveling	2001.29.21 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Ankle cuff with hide ankle strap -Red, white and blue piping around vamp	-Style: Dene -Condition: good	2001.29.22 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide moccasins -Satin cuff -Floral vamp design -Satin rosettes -Geometric trim around vamp -Floral design on exterior/interior	-Style: Métis -Geometric trim: quills? In purple, pink and white -Threading: light and dark green, pink, blue and yellow -Satin is greenish Condition: good	2001.29.23 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide moccasins -Fur trim (dyed?) -Beaded geometric pattern	-Style: unknown -Beads: red, dark red, blue, white and clear -Condition: good	2001.29.24 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Felt ankle trim -Dyed quill geometric pattern around vamp -Felt vamp	-Style: Métis -Felt: black -Quills: orange, red, green, white, pink and blue Condition: Damage to felt and hide	2001.29.25 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Piping around vamp -Fur trim around cuff	-Piping: grey, yellow, red and white	2001.20.26 a-b	Box 5

		-Felt vamp	-Fur: black Style: unkown, maybe Métis -Condition: good		
Clothing	Boots	-Hide -Beaded ankle cuff -Beaded vamp -Geometric pattern -Floral interior fabric	-Style unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red, white, dark red, black, blue , orange, light blue	2001.29.27. a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Muckluks	-Hide -Check calf section -Zipper closure -Fur at ankle -Cloth vamp -Tassels at the top	-Style: Inuit? -Condition: good -Checks: red and white Vamp: black and red -Checks are woven	2001.29.28 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Ankle cuff and wrap -Piping around vamp	-Style: Dene -Condition good -Piping: red, white and blue	2001.29.29 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Ankle cuff and wrap	Style: Dene Condition: good	2001.29.30 a-b	Box 5
Clothing	Mittens	-Hide mitts -White fur/hair -Tassel and string attaching them -Hide palm pad	-Style: Inuit? -Condition: good -Tassel: blue and white -Fur: white but type unkown	2001.29.001 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet glove -Beaded floral motif on hand and wrist -Fur trim on cuff and wrist- -Fringe -Bleached hide	-Style: Métis -Condition: some discoloration but good -Beads: clear, pink, green, brown, red and yellow -Five petal	2001.29.002 a-b	Box 1

			flowers and buds		
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet gloves -Bleached hide Threaded design: maples leaves - Wrapped fringe	-Style: Métis -Condition: good -Thread: green -Thread is potentially porcupine -Wrapping: green	2001.29.003 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Mittens	-Fur mitts	-Style: Inuit? -Fur: fox or hare? -Condition: good	2001.29.004 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Mittens	-Hide mittens: tanned -Cloth/beaded wrist -Fur trim at wrist and cuff	-Style: Inuit? -Condition: Good with some thread unraveling -Beads: turquoise in a serpentine design	2001.29.005 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Gloves	-Gauntlet glove with mitten hand (not separate fingers) -Hide: tanned -Fur at wrist and cuff -Star geometric design -Fringe	-Style: Métis -Condition: good but with some scratches -Fur: black, type unknown -Beads: yellow, white and blue	2001.29.006 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Gloves	-Tanned hide gloves -Beaded floral patters	-Style: unknown -Condition: leather is cracking -Beads: red, maroon, light and dark green, yellow and white -Design: 5 petal flower, leaves and 'swirls' or buds	2001.29.007 a-b	Box 1

Clothing	Gloves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Gauntlet gloves -Hide: tanned -Beaded floral design -Wrapped fringe: tanned and bleached -Bleached hide trim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: Métis -Condition: good -Beads: blue, yellow and green Wrapping: is thread in blue, yellow and green -Flower: 5 petal, forget-me-nots 	2001.29.008 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Gloves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Gauntlet gloves -Tanned hide -Bleached hide trim -Threaded floral design -Wrapped fringe. Fringe is bleached 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: Métis -Condition: good -Thread: pink, yellow, purple, dark purple, light and dark green Design: pansies, buds and 5 petal flowers -Fringe wrapping: purple, violet, white, green and orange 	2001.29.009 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Mittens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tanned hide mittens -Beaded geometric design -Attached via knit string with tassel -Beading on finger as well 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: unknown -Condition: okay -Beads: yellow, clear, light and dark green, blue, red, orange, pink and white -Appears to me made by an amateur -Knitting: red and pink -Made for a child 	2001.29.010 a-b	Box 1
Clothing	Bonnet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide bonnet -Fur trim: hair or fox -Threaded floral design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: attributed to Métis -Fur: white 	2001.29.56	Box 9

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Fastened with white (silk?) ribbon -Stamped by SGM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Thread: pink, light and dark green, yellow -Hide: caribou -Condition: good 		
Clothing	Jacket	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide jacket -Fringe at bottom and cuffs -Threaded floral design -Ribbon embroidery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: Métis -Condition: good, some damage to sash -Matches the bonnet -Thread: pink, light and dark green and yellow -Different floral design than bonnet Design appears on collar and chest 	2001.29.57	Box 9
Clothing	Jacket	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tanned hide jacket -Fur trim at cuffs, pockets and seam -Threaded floral design on shoulders, pockets, and inset -Fringe and shoulders -Tassel fastens -Bleached hide cuff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: Métis -Condition: some discoloration -Most likely made for an adult, by an adult. Very elaborate -Thread: yellow, light and dark green, light and dark pink, purple, red, light and dark blue Design: different florals with serpentine leaves -Tassels: green and navy 	2001.29.58	Box 9
Clothing	Moccasins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide moccasins -Fur ankle trim: fox or hare -Threaded floral design on vamp and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -For a child -Style: Métis -Condition: 	2009.21.31 a-b	Box 6

		sides	good Attributed to Leduc in FP -Floral: blue, purple and green		
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide moccasins -Fur ankle trim: fox or hare -Threaded floral design on vamp and sides	-Style: Métis -Condition: good Attributed to Leduc in FP -Floral: pink, red and green -5 petal -Made for a child	2001.29.32 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide moccasins -Fur trim -Floral design on vamp and sides	-Style: Métis -Condition: damage to shoes, discoloration -Most likely for a child -Floral: pink, violet, maroon and green	2001.29.33 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide moccasin -Stitching along vamp -Floral design on sides	-Style: unknown, probably Métis -Condition: damaged, looks unfinished (missing fur) -Thread: pink, brown and green	2001.29.34 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide moccasins (natural) -Fur ankle trim (fox?) -Floral design	-Style: Métis? -Condition: good -Floral: pink, yellow and green	2001.29.35 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide moccasins (natural) -Fur ankle trim -Beaded floral motif	-Style: Métis? -Condition: leather is cracking -Beads: white, light and dark	2001.29.36 a-b	Box 6

			pink, blue, red and green -Pair is stamped for the general hospital		
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide moccasins -Ankle straps -Blue satin/silk trim -Floral motif	-Style: Unknown -Condition: good -Thread: blue, yellow and green -Silk: blue, appears on ankle strap and cuff -Interior pink lining	2001.29.37 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Ribbon trim -Floral design on vamp	-Style: unknown -Condition: ok but slight discoloration -Floral: blue, yellow and green -Gold ribbon trim -Stamped for General hospital	2001.29.38 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Floral design -Beaded trim -Ribbon tie	-Style: Métis -Condition: good -Floral: red, light and dark pink, light and dark green, yellow -Beads: pink -Ribbon: pink -Appear to be for a child	2001.29.39 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Fur trim: hare of fox -Beaded vamp -Felt fringe on side	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: white, pink and green -Design:	2001.29.40 a-b	Box 6

			geometric -Felt: red		
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Fur trim -Beaded floral design on vamp	-Style: Métis -Condition: good -Beads: black, pink, yellow and green -5 petal flower	2001.29.41 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Floral design	-Style: Métis -Condition: good -Thread: red, green, yellow and blue -Flowers: 5 petal and buds	2001.29.42 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Fur trim -Floral design	-Style: Métis -Condition: good but fur is matted -Thread: pink, yellow and green	2001.29.43 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Fur trim: hare of fox -Beaded vamp -Felt fringe on side	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: white, pink and green -Design: geometric -Felt: red	2001.29.44 a-b	Box 6
Clothing	Moccasins	-Bleached hide -Fur trim -Floral design	-Style: Métis -Condition: good -Thread: green, blue and yellow -Design: forget- me-nots (5 petal	2001.29.45 a-b	Box 6
Miscellaneous	Banner	-Hide banner -Floral designs -Fringe	-Style: unknown (Dene and Métis) -Condition: good -Four styles of florals: beaded,	2001.29.248	Box 10

			threaded, applique, and tufted -Colors: yellow, orange, green, purple, charcoal and white -Possibly made by children with nuns		
Miscellaneous	Basket	-Basket -Hide handle -Painted floral motif -Woven rim	-Birch bark -Paint: red and green -Dyed birch -Condition: good	2001.29.221	Box 13
Toy	Canoe	-Miniature -Paddles -Painted interior	-Wood -Condition: Paint is coming off	2001.29.227	Box 13
Toy	Airplane	-Miniature -Painted -Figurine inside	-Wood -Propeller missing -Condition: good	2001.29.228	Box 13
Toy	Cradle board	-In the shape of a whale or fish	-Condition: good -Wood	2001.29.229	Box 13
Toy	Embroidery	-Pin point (needlepoint) -Image: an Indian girl	-Wearing a hide outfit with a floral motif, feather in hair -Condition: good -Style: unknown	2001.29.152	Box 15
Household	Case	-Glove case -Embroidered floral design -Satin trim decoration -Metal snap clips -Satin interior -Bleached hide surface	-For gloves -Thread: red, brown, green, yellow and purple -Satin: pink, orange inside -Condition: good -Style: unknown but maybe Métis	2001.29.153	Box 15

			-Stamped for the General hospital -Signed with family name: possibly donated		
Household	Case	-Glove case -Embroidered floral motif -Bleached hide surface -Beaded trim -Metal snap clips	-For gloves -Thread: blue, purple, light and dark green, yellow -Beads: brown -Pink satin, floral interior -Condition: some bleaching from sun -Style: Unknown	2001.29.154	Box 15
Household	Picture frame	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Picture of Mary -Fabric underside	-Thread: blue, range, red, pink and green -Fabric: blue -Condition: good -Style: unknown	2001.29.155	Box 15
Household	Picture frame	-Fabric frame -Floral tufting -Beaded trim -Fabric underside -Image of Mary	-Most likely meant for hanging -Hair: yellow, brown, pink, green, maroon and light pink -Beads: pink -Inside: purple -Condition: good, staining on back -Style: unknown	2001.29.156	Box 15
Clothing	Cuffs	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Porcupine quill trim	-Style: Métis? -Condition: good -Quills: red -Thread: light and dark pink, yellow, light and dark purple,	2001.29.157 a-b	Box 15

			light and dark green -Stamped for general hospital		
Household	Picture frame	-Bleached hide -Tufted -Beaded pattern Image: unknown; maybe Madame d'Youville?	-Hair: yellow, brown, orange and green -Beads: gold Floral: sunflowers and buds -Style: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.158	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Drawing -Bleached hide surface -Beaded trim	-Image: schools in Fort Chipewyan -Beads: brown -Style: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.159	Box 15
Clothing	Collar	-Bleached hide -Floral motif -Quill trim -Silk underside	-Matches cuffs -Style: Métis? -Condition: good -Quills: red -Thread: light and dark pink, yellow, light and dark purple, light and dark green -White -Stamped for general hospital	2001.29.157 c	Box 15
Household	Tablecloth	-Embroidered cloth -Floral design -Geometric design	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Colors: red, blue, green, yellow, white and black	2001.29.160	Box 15
Household	Picture frame	-Fabric frame -Embroidered floral motif -Beaded around image -Cloth underside	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Serpentine	2001.29.161	Box 15

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> stems -Thread: red, maroon, purple, green, sea foam, and blue -Beads: red and white -No image -Fabric: possibly felt 		
Household	Banner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hide (natural) -Embroidered floral design -Embroidered school name 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Fort Resolution -Floral: pink, yellow, light and dark green -Embroidered name: white and green -Meant to be placed on a flag? 	2001.29.163	Box 15
Household	Mat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide -Fringe -Floral motif – beaded -Beaded geometric design -Cloth underside 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: light and dark pink, light and dark green -Cloth: orange 	2001.29.162	Box 15
Household	Mat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hide (natural) -Embroidered floral motif -Fringe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Style: unknown -Condition: good -Floral: yellow, blue, green and pink Design: rose and pansies? 	2001.29.164	Box 15
Household	Mat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide -Fringe -Beaded bird design -Cloth underside 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -From Fort Chipewyan -Beads: blue, light blue, clear and black Style: unknown -Condition: good 	2001.29.165	Box 15
Household	Mat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide -Fringe -Embroidered leaves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Design: maple leaves Colors: brown, 	2001.29.166	Box 15

		-Satin underside	yellow, orange, light and dark green -Satin: light green -Style: unknown -Condition: good		
Household	Cushion pattern	-Unfinished -Dyed hide -Tufted -Floral motif -Paper stencil	-Meant for pillowcase -Hair: white, pink, purple, green and yellow Image: flowers and a polar bear -Hide: orange -Style: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.167 a-b	Box 15
Household	Patterns	-Unfinished patterns -Bleached hide -Drawn floral motifs	-Possibly from Aklavik -Meant for sale -One says 'souvenir'	2001.29.168 a-e	Box 15
Clothing	Purse	-Hide pouch/purse with hair still on. Maybe caribou -Cloth opening -Hide strap -Geometric design	-Style: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.114	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Hide purse -Beaded trim and strap -Beaded floral design -Cloth interior -Metal snap clip	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: green, onyx and clear -Interior: pink	2001.29.115	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Bleached hide purse/pouch -Beaded strap -Beaded geometric design	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: green, orange, white, yellow, blue and indigo	2001.29.116	Box 11
Clothing	Purse/pouch	-Hide pouch with hair still on. Hair/fur unknown -Fringe trim	-Style: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.117	Box 11

		-Hide strap			
Clothing	Purse/satchel	-Hide with hair/ fur still remaining -Braided strap, material unknown	-Style: unknown -Condition: okay -Looks like it was made by children	2001.29.118	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Felt purse -Felt fringe -Beaded design -Beaded strap -Cloth interior -Metal snap clasp	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Purse: green -Beads: light blue -Gifted from a student to a sister. Signed by the student on interior	2001.29.119	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Cloth -Geometric design -Porcupine quills -Zipper close	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Quills: black and orange	2001.29.120	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Bleached hide -Hide fringe -Embroidered floral motif -Wrapped fringe -Fabric applique -Zipper close	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Floral: forget-me-nots; blue, yellow and green -Wrapping: light and dark blue, yellow, orange, light and dark green -Applique: blue	2001.29.121	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Beaded trim -Clasp closure	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Florals: red, yellow, light and dark pink, light and dark green -Beads: yellow, blue, aqua and orange	2001.29.122	Box 11
Clothing	Purse	-Hide purse with fur	-Style: unknown	2001.29.123	Box 11

		-Hide fringe -Embroidered floral motif -Ribbon strap	-Condition: good -Florals: 5 petal flowers; pink, blue, green and yellow -Ribbon: red		
Household	Pillowcase	-Hide (natural) -Hide fringe -Embroidered floral design	-Style: unknown, maybe Métis -Condition: good -Florals: red, pink, white, light and dark blue, and green -Marked on the back by the SGM for \$20.00	2001.29.124	Box 11
Household	Pillowcase	-Hide -Tufted floral motif -Embroidered 'souvenir' across the surface -Wrapped fringe -Velvet underside	-Style: unknown, maybe Métis -Condition: good -Florals: pansies, roses, daisies and forget-me-nots; white, yellow, pink, light and dark blue, light and dark green, purple -Embroidery: green -Velvet: red -Wrapping: orange, pink green, blue and purple	2001.29.125 a	Box 11
Household	Pattern	-Pattern for pillowcase		2001.29.125 b	Box 11
Accessory	Bag/pouch	-Beaded pouch -Image of a cross	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red,	2001.29.87	Box 18

			blue, white, black and yellow -Meant to hold a rosary		
Accessory	Pouch	-Beaded -Floral motif	-Style: unknown -Condition: good, discoloration on back -Beads: red, green, yellow, blue, pink, maroon, orange -Meant to hold something small	2001.29.88	Box 18
Household	Mat	-Crochet -Possible dyed birch bark	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Colors: red, green and natural	2001.29.89	Box 18
Household	Mat	-Crochet -Possible dyed birch bark	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Colors: red, green and natural	2001.29.90	Box 18
Household	Mat	-Crochet -Possible dyed birch bark	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Colors: red, green, black and natural	2001.29.91	Box 18
Craft	Dream catcher	-Beaded -Woven interior -Feather	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: green, red, maroon, yellow and blue -Blue feather and blue beads	2001.29.92	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Creature	-Fur -Drawn on happy face	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Craft	2001.29.93	Box 18

			-Fur: rabbit?		
Miscellaneous	Creature	-Fur -Drawn on happy face	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Craft -Fur: rabbit?	2001.29.94	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Creature	-Fur -Drawn on happy face	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Craft -Fur: rabbit?	2001.29.95	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Creature	-Fur -Drawn on happy face	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Craft -Fur: rabbit?	2001.29.96	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Moccasins	-Fabric -Beaded	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: white and green -Very small. Unknown use	2001.29.97	Box 18
Jewellery	Ring	-Beaded	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: onyx and one large blue bead in center	2001.29.98	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Point	-Fabric -Beaded	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red and white -Looks like a small hat -Use unknown	2001.29.99	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Arrowhead		-Style: unknown -Condition: good -No artist	2001.29.100	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Arrowhead		-Style: unknown -Condition: good -No artist	2001.29.101	Box 18

Miscellaneous	Point	-Fabric -Beaded	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: yellow and white -Looks like a small hat -Use unknown	2001.29.102	Box 18
Clothing	Purse	-Bleached hide -Fringe -Beaded pattern -Beaded strap	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: green and orange -Geometric design	2001.29.103	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Point	-Fabric -Beaded	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: yellow, green and white -Looks like a small hat -Use unknown	2001.29.104	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Pin	-Beaded -On bleached hide	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red and white -From Fort Rae -Shape of moccasins	2001.29.105	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Pendent	-Face -Painted -On clay	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Paine: blue and black -Artist: unknown -Signed by the SGM on back	2001.29.106	Box 18
Miscellaneous	Pendant	-Beaded -Native image	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: yellow, black, red, blue and metallic	2001.29.107	Box 18

			-Image: Native person with headdress		
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Beaded -Fringe -Cloth vamp	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -Cloth: purple -Beads: red and yellow -Possibly for a child	2001.29.108	Box 18
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide -Beaded -Fur cuff	-Style: Unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red, blue and pink -For a child or doll. Most likely doll	2001.29.109	Box 18
Clothing	Shoes	-Cloth or felt -Threaded trim	-Style: unknown -Condition: good -White with red thread -Looks like shoe lining	2001.29.110	Box 18
Clothing	Boots	-Hide (natural) -Fur cuff -Embroidered floral motif	-Style: possibly Inuit -Condition: damage to hide -Floral: pink and green -For a child	2001.29.111	Box 18
Clothing	Boots	-Hide: natural -Floral motif (embroidered) -Yarn tassel	-Style: possibly Inuit -Condition: damage to hide -Floral: purple, yellow, and green -For a child -Yarn: blue, green and pink	2001.29.112	Box 18
Clothing	Moccasins	-Hide (natural) -Beaded	-Style: possibly Inuit	2001.29.113	Box 18

			-Condition: good -Beads: yellow, red, white, maroon and clear -For a doll		
Art	Pattern	-Punch hole on paper -Shading, pencil -Floral design	-Artist: unknown -Condition: water stains -Blue pencil shading -Floral: Daisy	2001.29.169	Box 16
Art	Drawing	-Pencil -Nature scene: trees and caribou	Artist: Annie Blood -Condition: good -Very elaborate	2001.29.170	Box 16
Art	Drawing	-Pencil -Landscape	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Labeled as being made by a 12 yr old girl from Granville	2001.29.171	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Paint -Cottage scene	-Artist: Alic Brule -Condition: good -Very European looking. -Labeled: 14 yr old Slave boy in FP	2001.29.172	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Paint -Cottage scene	Artist: Baptiste Gazon -Condition: good -European in image/influence -15 yr old Slave boy in FP	2001.29.173	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Paint -Farm scene: cows, farm and barn	-Artist: Andre Jean	2001.29.174	Box 16

			-Condition: good -European farm scene -14 yr old Indian boy from Loucheaux tribe, at FP		
Art	Painting	-Paint -Beaver, mountains and sun	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.175	Box 16
Art	Painting	-Paint -Cottage scene	-Artist: Esther Crow Flag -Condition: good -From FP	2001.29.176	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Paint -Nature scene with dogs -European inspiration	-Artist: Frederick Harper; 14 yr old Métis at FP -Condition: good	2001.29.177	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Paint -House on a landscape	-Artist: Charlie Gazon; Slave boy (12) at FP -Condition: good	2001.29.178	Box 16
Art	Painting	-Scene: camping on the landscape -Darker colors	-Artist: Frank Pinet -Condition: good -Looks like summer camping on the tundra	2001.29.179	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Winter nature scene	Artist: Boniface Lafferty; Métis boy (13) at FP -Condition: good	2001.29.180	Box 16
Art	Water color	-Farm scene: chickens, turkeys, cows and horses -Barn in the background	Artist: Charles Gargan; Slavery boy (13) in FP -Condition: good	2001.29.181	Box 16

Art	Water color	-Pasture scene -Dirt road and meadow	-Artist: Edward Lafferty; Métis boy (11) in FP -Condition: good	2001.29.182	Box 16
Art	Painting	-Moose in a river	-Artist: George Banksland -Condition: good -From Aklavik	2001.29.183	Box 16
Art	Painting	-Church in winter	-Artist: Celine Tusyak -Condition: good -From Inuvik	2001.29.184	Box 16
Art	Decoupage and paint	-Ocean scene -Sailboat -Painted ocean and skyline	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -From Fort Smith	2001.29.185	Box 16
Art	Needlepoint	-Dogsled image -Winter landscape	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -From Fort Smith	2001.29.186	Box 16
Art	Collage	-Paper cut out collage -Various shapes: house, animals, pumpkins, scissors and farm equipment -Placed on a black background	Artist: Boniface Lafferty; Métis boy (13); Baptiste Gazon; Slave boy (15); Maurice Danes, french boy (12) -Condition: good -From Fort Providence	2001.29.187-190	Box 16
Art	Collage	-Paper cut out collage -Various shapes: farm animals, wild animals -On a black background	Alic Brule (14) Slave boy; Charlie Gazon (12) Slave boy; Edward Lafferty (11) Métis boy -Condition: good	2001.29.191-194	Box 16

			-From Fort Providence		
Art	Decoupage	-Nature scene -Mountains, water, sailboat, and landscape -Painted waterfall -In a wood frame	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.195	Box 16
Art	Embossed copper	-Copper -Moose -In a wood frame -Birch bark underside	Artist: Jimmie Cardinal (10) -Condition: good -Aklavik, 1955	2001.29.196	Box 16
Memorabilia	Panel	-Embossed copper on wood -Geese flying	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -From Fort Smith -The Junior High Helpers 1972-73: possibly an award	2001.29.197	Box 16
Toy	Guitar	-Wood guitar -Painted -String and metal clip -Miniature	-Artist: unknown -Condition: string is broken -Paint: black	2001.29.198	Box 16
Toy	Snowshoes	-Miniature -Wood -Hide ties and binding	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Indicated that it is to be sold for \$15.00	2001.29.199	Box 16
Toy	Snowshoes	-Wood -String binding -Ran tassel	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Tassels: red and blue -Probably for a child	2001.29.200	Box 16
Toy	Bow	-Wood -String	-Artist: Joseph Izi -Condition:	2001.29.201	Box 16

			good -Meant for a child		
Toy	Canoe	-Birch bark -Miniature	-Artist unknown -Condition: good -Children's toy	2001.29.202	Box 16
Toy	Paddle	-Wood. Kind unknown	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Possibly paired with the canoe	2001.29.203	Box 16
Toy	Tipi	-Birch bark -Thread binding -Canoe -Fire inside tipi -Canada is written on the side	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Miniature meant for kids	2001.29.204	Box 16
Toy	Tipi	-Birch bark -Thread binding -Canoe	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Miniature meant for kids	2001.29.205	Box 16
Toy	Tipi	-Three small branches: type unknown -Cloth wrapping to form tent	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Miniature meant for kids -Fragile	2001.29.206	Box 16
Toy	Tipi	-Three small branches: type unknown -Cloth wrapping to form tent	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Miniature meant for kids	2001.29.207	Box 16
Toy	Tipi	-Three small branches: type unknown -Cloth wrapping to form tent	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Miniature meant for kids	2001.29.208	Box 16
Toy	Tipi	-Three small branches: type unknown	-Artist: unknown	2001.29.209	Box 16

		-Cloth wrapping to form tent	-Condition: some damage. Coming apart -Miniature meant for kids		
Toy	Tipi	-Three small branches: type unknown -Cloth wrapping to form tent	-Artist: unknown -Condition: some damage. Coming apart -Miniature meant for kids	2001.29.210	Box 16
Household	Wall hanging	-Surface unknown. Maybe hide -Beaded geometric patterns -Embroidered floral design -Mackenzie embroidered across top	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: different size; white, maroon, clear, blue Flowers: 5 petal and buds; light and dark green, light and dark red, white, pink	2001.29.250	Box 16
Household	Book ends	-Carved wood -Type unknown -In the form of seals	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.211 a-b	Box 14
Household	Paperweight	-Stone -Painted with a floral design	-Artist: Henry Simba at Fort Providence -Condition: some paint has come off -Colors: yellow and green	2001.29.212	Box 14
Household	Letter opener	-Carved wood -Kind unknown -Varnished	-Artist: Walter Granath at Aklavik -Condition: good	2001.29.213	Box 14
Miscellaneous	Stick	-Carved wood -Has been polished -Pointed end	-Artist: unknown -Condition:	2001.29.214	Box 14

			good -Use unknown		
Household	Basket	-Birch bark -Woven spruce sprouts as thread -Varnished	-Artist: A. Sr. Neumier in Fort Liard 1975 -Condition: good	2001.29.215	Box 14
Miscellaneous	Soap	-Carved into the shape of a rabbit -Blue ribbon around neck	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.216	Box 14
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded -Geometric pattern -Beaded clasp closure	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: blue, beige, green and black	2001.29.217	Box 14
Jewellery	Belt	-Beaded -Geometric arrow pattern	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good Beads: white, black and red	2001.29.218	Box 14
Jewellery	Belt	-Beaded -Geometric arrow and line pattern -Leather closure	-Artist: unknown -Condition: beads in good condition but leather is damaged -Beads: red, black, white and clear	2001.29.219	Box 14
Miscellaneous	Scoop	-Carved wood. Kind unknown	-Artist: unknown -Condition: damage to wood -Probably meant for scooping food	2001.29.220	Box 14
Miscellaneous	Crucifix	-Carved wood. Kind unknown -Painted Jesus: gold	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -For use in	2001.29.222	Box 14

			school		
Miscellaneous	Dog whip	-Not in boxes	-Unknown	2001.29.223	Box 14
Toy	Tent	-Carved sticks to a point to be used as pegs -Cloth/canvas covering	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Life size, use for kids	2001.29.225	Box 14
Toy	Tent	-Carved sticks to a point to be used as pegs -Cloth/canvas covering	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Life size, use for kids	2001.29.226	Box 14
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide (tanned) -Embroidered maple leaves -Beaded trim -Ribbon at top	-Artist: attributed to Leduc -Condition: good -Purpose: unknown -Beads: pink and green -Thread: yellow, orange, red, pink, brown and green -Stamped by the SGM hospital	2001.29.126	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide (tanned) -Embroidered 'letters' across front; floral motif -Embroidered trim -Ribbon decoration -Cloth underside	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Floral: forget-me-nots; blue, yellow and green -"Letters" is in brown -Ribbons: pink and green -Stamped by hospital	2001.29.127	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide: tanned and bleached -Embroidered floral motif	-Artist: unknown	2001.29.128	Box 15

		-Cloth underside	-Condition: good -Florals: blue, indigo, pink, red, purple, orange and green -Purpose: unknown		
Household	Wall hanging	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Beaded trim	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: green and pink Floral: pink, red, light and dark green -Purpose: unknown -Stamped by hospital	2001.29.129	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Ribbon decoration	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Floral: blue, red, pink, purple, yellow, light and dark green -Ribbons: pink -Purpose: unknown -Stamped by hospital	2001.29.130	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide: bleached and tanned -Floral motif: embroidered -Fringe	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Florals: pink, yellow, red, purple, blue, light and dark green -Five petal	2001.29.131	Box 15

			flowers and buds -Purpose: maybe for holding pipes -Stamped by hospital		
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide: bleached -Cloth surface. Sewn to hide -Floral motif: embroidered -Pockets are in shapes: diamond, heart, square -Threaded trim	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Trim: red -Embroidery: light and dark pink, light and dark red, purple, blue, indigo and green Purpose: unknown	2001.29.132	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide: tanned -Embroidered nature scene: trees, caribou -Embroidered: 'Ties' -Ring for ties with beading -Ribbon for hanging -Beaded trim	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Purpose: to hang ties -Colors: green and silver, white -Beading: silver on ring; trim: clear and green -Stamped by hospital	2002.29.133	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide: tanned -Embroidered nature scene: trees, caribou -Embroidered: 'Ties' -Ring for ties with beading -Ribbon for hanging -Beaded trim -Triangle shape	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Purpose: to hang ties -Colors: green and black -Beading: clear and black	2001.29.134	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide -Embroidered floral and bird design	-Artist: unknown	2001.29.135	Box 15

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Beaded trim -Embroidered for letters and postcards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Condition: good -Embroidery: blue, pink, rose, yellow, white, green and red -Beading: black and clear -Purpose: letters and postcards -Stamped by hospital 		
Household	Wall hanging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hide -Embroidered floral motif using quills -Wrapped fringe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Quill colors: indigo, fuchsia, turquoise, orange, red and three shades of green -Use: maybe pipes -Stamped by hospital 	2001.29.136	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hide: bleached --Embroidered floral motif -Tufted and moose hair used as trim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Floral design: red, pink, maroon, purple, yellow, blue, light and dark green Moose hair: white, red, blue and purple Purpose: unknown 	2001.29.137	Box 15
Household	Napkin holders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bleached hide -Beaded trim -Porcupine quill embroidery: floral motif 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Quills: purple, 	2001.29.138 a-d	Box 15

			red, light and dark green and brown Purpose: for napkins		
Household	Wall hanging	-Velvet surface: black -Tufted floral design -Fabric rosettes	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Moose hair: white, pink and yellow -Other flowers: blue, pink, purple and green Purpose: decoration	2001.29.142	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Tanned hide -Embroidered floral motif -Embroidered 'scissors' -Beaded trim	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red and pink -Embroidery: light and dark green, blue, navy, pink and yellow Purpose: for scissors	2001.29.143	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Hide: tanned -Embroidered floral motif -Beaded trim	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Embroidery: pink, rose, purple, blue and green Beads: blue and clear Purpose: unknown	2001.29.144	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Black velvet surface -Tufted floral motif and tassels	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.145	Box 15

			-Moose hair: purple, pink, violet, orange, red and green -Purpose: unknown		
Household	Case	-Satin surface -Beaded trim -Embroidered 'Inuvik, NWT' -Embroidered floral motif	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beading: pink, black and green -Embroidery: pink, rose, yellow and green -Inuvik embroidered in orange Purpose: unknown	2001.29.146	Box 15
Household	Picture frame	-Wood frame: painted -Tufted floral image -Black velvet surface	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Frame: white -Tufts: pink, white, yellow and green -From Fort Providence, Slave Indian handicrafts	2001.29.147	Box 15
Household	Wall hanging	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif and 'watch' -Beaded trim	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: clear, pink and green -Embroidery: pink, rose, light and dark green -Purpose: for watches -Stamped by hospital	2001.29.148	Box 15

Household	Picture frame	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Inset picture of Jesus	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Embroidery: pink, red, rose, light and dark green	2001.29.149	Box 15
Household	Case	-Bleached hide -Ribbon close -Beaded trim -Embroidered nature scene: trees and caribou -Embroidered 'Gants'	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Ribbon: pink -Beads: pink and black -Embroidery: pink, yellow, brown, light and dark green Purpose: for gloves -Stamped by hospital	2001.29.150	Box 15
Household	Picture frame	-Bleached hide -Embroidered floral motif -Inset picture of unknown individual	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Embroidery: pink, red, blue, yellow, light and dark green	2001.29.151	Box 15
Jewellery	Headband	-Beaded geometric and floral pattern -Bleached hide string close	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red, white, yellow, black, orange, blue and green	2001.29.59	Box 3
Jewellery	Headband	-Beaded geometric pattern	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: white, black, blue, green, red and	2001.29.60	Box 3

			clear		
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded geometric pattern -Beaded tassel	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: blue, white and red	2001.29.61	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded -Circles at end, different sizes -String looks like beaded flowers	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: brown, yellow and white	2001.29.62	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded -Hide clasp -Beaded tassels	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good, some damage to hide -Beads: yellow, red, orange and metallic	2001.29.63	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded geometric pattern -Beaded tassel	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: yellow, red, blue and green	2001.29.64	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	Beaded geometric pattern -Beaded bird at end	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red, blue, black and metallic	2001.29.65	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded geometric pattern -Different sized beads	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: white, pink and brown	2001.29.66	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded flowers	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.67	Box 3

			-Beads: black and white		
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded geometric design -Beaded flower on end	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: black and white	2001.29.68	Box 3
Jewellery	Necklace	-Beaded geometric design	-Artist: unknown -Condition: Some damage to beads -Beads: metallic and blue	2001.29.69	Box 3
Jewellery	Wristband	-Beaded geometric design -Beaded bird in center	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: white, green, yellow, red and blue	2001.29.70	Box 3
Jewellery	Headband	-Beaded geometric design, diamond design	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red, green, white and clear	2001.29.71	Box 3
Jewellery	Headband	Beaded geometric design, diamonds -Beaded circle at end	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: green, white and clear/purple	2001.29.72	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a flower -Five petals -Material: some sort of wood. Spruce?	-Artist: Marie Therese Thatti, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red and natural	2001.29.73	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a flower -Five petals with leaves -Spruce?	-Artist: Rosalie Sabourin, FP -Condition:	2001.29.74	Box 3

			good -Colors: red, natural and green		
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a spiral -Spruce?	-Artist: Georgetta Tatti, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red and green	2001.29.76	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a spiral -Spruce?	-Artist: Bernadette Tatti, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red, natural and green	2001.29.77	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a spiral -Spruce?	-Artist: Alice Hodgson, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red and natural	2001.29.78	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a spiral -Spruce?	-Artist: Georgetta Tatti, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red, green and natural	2001.29.79	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a spiral -Spruce?	-Artist: Roaslie Sabourin, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red, and green	2001.29.80	Box 3
Household	Mat	-Woven mat in the shape of a spiral -Spruce?	-Artist: Mary Lanie, FP -Condition: good -Colors: red, natural, and	2001.29.81	Box 3

			green		
Jewellery	Headband	-Piece of headband -Floral beaded -Horns -Mounted on hide	-Artist: unknown -Condition: damage as it has fallen off the strap -Beads: blue, orange, navy and green	2001.29.82	Box 3
Miscellaneous	Pin	-Fur thing -Hide yes	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Stamp says made by Canadian Indians	2001.29.83	Box 3
Miscellaneous	Glove	-Beaded glove -Bleached hide	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Not meant to be worn. Decorative -Beads: clear -Stamped by hospital	2001.29.84	Box 3
Miscellaneous	Moccasins	-Beaded -Black velvet	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: yellow, black and white	2001.29.85	Box 3
Miscellaneous	Moccasins	-Red velvet -Beaded	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good -Beads: red and blue	2001.29.86	Box 3
Music	Drum	-Hide drum -Mounted on wood -Carved and polished wood mallet -Painted edges of drum	-Artist: Chief John James Courteore from the Cree band in Fort Chipewyan,	2001.29.224 a-b	Box 12

			AB 1975 -Gifted		
Household	Mat	-Muskrat	-Artist: unknown -Condition: good	2001.29.247	Box 17