Early Woodlands Material at the Musée d'Yverdon

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Christian F. Feest

For a landlocked country that was never a colonial power, the number of ethnographic collections, including many of Native North American origin, in Switzerland may seem surprising (cp. Kaufmann 1979, Kobel-Streiff 1984). But the combination of a steady stream of emigrants and the wealth of cities and their bourgeoisie, which could afford the luxury of maintaining museums, provided a fertile ground for the transfer and preservation of exotic artifacts. A Swiss specialty which no doubt contributed to ethnographic collections was the training of citizens at arms, which predisposed them for mercenary military service abroad—from the Vatican to the woodlands of eastern North America.

The town of Yverdon-les-Bains, located at the southwestern end of the Lac de Neuchâtel, can lay claim to being one of the oldest museum in Switzerland containing ethnographic material. In 1761 the pastor, geologist, and botanist Elie Bertrand (1713–1797) had founded a "Société œconomique d'Yverdon" which two years later, now renamed "Société littéraire," established a public library including a "Cabinet of Natural History." From a room in the castle of Yverdon, the collection was moved in 1769 to the city hall, where they remained until 1829, when it was returned to the castle. From 1897 to 1913 it was placed in the recently built college, and in 1904 it was finally separated from the Library and placed in charge of a "Société du Musée d'Yverdon" (Kobel-Streiff 1984: 351–353).

Exotic artifacts had long been an established part of European collections of curiosities and antiquities, and they became even more important with the development of ethnology as a separate field of research since the late eighteenth century. Three objects from Borneo given to the museum in 1765 indicate that this interest was shared by the members of the Sociéte littéraire d'Yverdon, and it is not really surprising that ethnographic material from North America also entered the collection before too long. Unfortunately, no early catalogs or other documents relating to these acquisitions have survived (if they ever existed), and thus the earliest evidence for their presence is supplied by a catalog in two large ledgers obviously begun in 1855 and completed by 1881. This inventory lists the pieces conserved in the Musée d'Yverdon; the first ledger enumerates the "Antiquities," while the second, entitled "Middle Ages," also includes pieces of the modern era.

In this second ledger, catalog numbers 1028 to 1038 briefly describe—without indicating their provenance—objects (including a bag of bark fibers, a mat, a leather pouch, four wooden arrows, and a fire drill[1]) that we now recognize as North American, and credit them to "Mr. de Treytorrens." 1039, also without provenance, is an "arrowhead of hard wood" credited to "Mr. Agassiz," followed by "two pairs of slippers of embroidered skin, made by the savages on the banks of the Mississippi" (1040–1043), for which "George Landry" is given as collector. Finally, it mentions various artifacts from China and India given to the museum by Mr. de Treytorrens, including "three kinds of sandals for walking easily on the snow" (1052–1054).

Two pages later in the same ledger describing objects of the Middle Ages and of the modern era a second list enumerates twenty-seven items:

1. A small model of a canoe of birchbark with its oars
2. Bag of bark fibers

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1. Nos. 1031 and 1036 were identified in the 1881 catalog only by a question mark. An old label still attached to the object proves that no. 1036 was the ball-headed club (now 00.01.01); 1031 may have been the gunstock club (00.01.02).

3. Mat [of the same]
4. Raquettes or snow shoes
5. to 15. Belts and diverse ornaments
16. Stem of a calumet
17. to 22. Arrows and tomahawks
23. to 25. Moccasins
26. Pieces of wood used for lighting fire by friction
27. Bags of a sorcerer or medicine bags

Between 1881 and 1882 Louis Rochat began to compile a second complete inventory of the collections of the Musée d'Yverdon. This was done in two volumes, one listing the prehistoric, Egyptian, Roman, and Burgundy antiquities, the pieces of the Middle Ages, the modern period, as well as the numismatic collection, the other describing the natural history collections. The first volume begins with numbers 1 to 27 of the previously compiled repertory, followed by Rochat's note: "Nos 1 to 27 are from the savages of N[orth]. America, but it is unknown who gave them to the library." A bracket enclosing numbers 2 to 25 probably added later bears the annotation "brought from Peru. See Crottet page 629. Gift of M. George Eugène Landry 1860." If nos. 23–25 are either the two pairs of moccasins listed in the first inventory plus another pair or the two pairs with one moccasin lost, and if three leather bags surviving today can be identified as being part of no. 27, there must have been at least 29 objects then in existence.

For the North American objects now catalogd at the Musée d'Yverdon as 00.01.1 to 00.01.25 the year 1855 is given as the accession date, but despite continued research on this question no donor can be positively identified. By comparison with the previous list, only a single moccasin has survived, of eleven "belts and diverse ornaments" only eight can be accounted for (if an otherwise unlisted dew claw rattle is included), and instead of six "arrows and tomahawks" there are now only three arrows (instead of four in the 1881 catalog) and two wooden clubs. Despite these losses, the survival rate must be considered fairly good.

The first published notice of early material from North America at the Musée d'Yvderdon appeared in 1984 in the second volume of a survey of ethnographic collections in Switzerland (Kobel-Streiff 1984: 353) and was apparently written by Roland Kaehr of the Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel, partly on the basis of a list prepared in January 1981 by Hans Läng of the Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich. Relying on his expertise as a North American Indian specialist, Läng suggested dates for the material ranging from the mid-seventeenth century for a quilled black buckskin pouch (Fig. 2 below) to the early nineteenth century, and tribal attributions ranging from the Delaware and Iroquois to the Catawba, Sauk, and Beaver. While these specific identifications were mostly erroneous, they correctly implied the heterogeneous nature of the collection. The published notice, however, more narrowly suggested a possible relationship with the most famous native of Yverdon with a well-known American connection, General Frederick (Frédéric) Haldimand, governor of British Canada from 1778 to 1784, whose military career in North America began in 1757.

Once the possible importance of this material had been recognized, Denise Cornamusaz, the former curator of the ethnographic collections of the Musée d'Yverdon, for many years conducted considerable research on the career of Haldimand and on his and his associates' contacts with Native peoples on the Canadian frontier in order to provide a better understanding of the context in which the artifacts had been acquired. She focused especially on Colonel Henry Bouquet as the most likely candidate to have received the objects in the course of his dealings with the Indians, but was unable to find specific proof for the origins of the collection.

After I had alerted her to this obviously important material, Ruth Phillips inspected the collection in 1984 in preparation for the exhibition "The Spirit Sings. Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples," held at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta in connection with the Winter Olympics of 1988. Phillips selected five pieces for the exhibition, which were ultimately not exhibited but included in the two publications accompanying the show (Harrison et al. 1987a, b) as eighteenth century-type Great Lakes artifacts "probably collected by General Frederick Haldimand, 1760–1784." Phillips returned to Yverdon to study the collection in 1990 and is presently working on its publication. Without visiting Yverdon and without relating them to Haldimand, Evan Maurer (1992: 113, 151) selected two items for his exhibition "Visions of the People," dating them to "ca. 1750" and "ca. 1650–1800."

The present paper attempts to shed new light on the Woodlands material at the Musée d'Yverdon through a combination documentary research by the senior author and stylistic analysis by the junior author. After a discussion of the artifacts' possible places and dates of origins, we will look at the potential collectors suggested by the record and by circumstantial evidence.

Fig. 2 Quilled black buckskin pouch with lobed false frontal flap. Western Great Lakes (Ojibwa?), ca. 1775. Length 30 cm, width 29.3 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.7. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 1 Glass imitation wampum belt. Western Great Lakes (Ottawa?), ca. 1775. Length 104 cm, width 4 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.10. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

The Collection

The following survey of the North American material at the Musée d'Yverdon will proceed in a more or less chronological order, beginning with obviously eighteenth-century material and ending with objects most likely dating from the around the second quarter of the nineteenth.

Perhaps the most unequivocal case for an eighteenth century date may be made for a belt of glass imitation wampum (Fig. 1), a medium which enjoyed its greatest popularity in the Great Lakes region around the time of the American Revolution. The belt is unusual both for its representational design (six human figures,[2] separated by slanted double bars) and for the vertical orientation of the figures. It shares these features with another glass imitation wampum belt received from the Ottawa by Arent Schuyler DePeyster, governor at Detroit during the period of Haldimand's tenure as governor of Canada (cp. Jones 2007: 33, fig. 2), and with a shell wampum belt at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris (Harrison et al. 1987b: 47, #W46). Stylistically the similarity extends to the square (rather than conical) shape of the trunks and the execution of the design in white beads on a blue, black, or purple background. The Yverdon belt differs from the other two in showing the figures with their heads oriented toward the center of belt, rather than in one direction. The light blue color of the beads is also somewhat unusual, although such beads likewise appear on a belt with geometric designs at the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in Lille (cat.no. 999-2-3331).

The three quilled rectangular black buckskin pouches in Yverdon may in varying degrees lay claim to an eighteenth century date. The general type was widely distributed in the Great Lakes region and was used—especially in the western Great Lakes region—well into the nineteenth century. Convincing collection dates and depictions of their use before 1800 are rare, but there can be no

2. Variant forms of these human figures appears on an imitation wampum neck ornament of undocumented provenance at the Saffron Walden Museum (cat.no. E 393), which Phillips (in Harrison et al. 1987b: 89, fig. 82) identifies as an "Ottawa or Wyandot type," and on early nineteenth-century western Great Lakes beadwork. Maurer (1992: 151), who identifies the beads as shell beads, suggests an identification of the six figures with the "Six Nations" and dates the belt to "ca. 1650–1800."

Fig. 3 Quilled black buckskin pouch with straight false top flap and twined strap with false moosehair embroidery and white glass beads. Eastern (?) Great Lakes, ca. 1775. Length 22.2 cm (without fringes), width 18.8 cm; strap width 3.5 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.6. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 4 Quilled black buckskin pouch with lobed false frontal flap and fingerwoven wool strap, with white and blue glass beads. Great Lakes, ca. 1775–1825. Length 20 cm (without fringes), width 18 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.4. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

doubt that they were popular during the second half of the eighteenth century. Dating has thus to rely on certain features, such as the presence and type of trade goods, such as beads, ribbons or sheet metal, or on known temporal distributions of the popularity of techniques (such as moosehair false embroidery), most of which are still poorly understood. The problem is compounded by the fact that these features had partly different histories in various parts of the region, and that in the absence of documented provenance, we have to rely on stylistic and iconographic features to attribute a particular specimen to a specific area or population.

The pouch in Fig. 2 is distinguished from the others by the absence of glass beads of any kind,[3] which may reflect age or access to trade goods which are only represented by sheet metal cones as tinklers on the red-dyed deer hair fringes. Quill appliqué is in five colors (red, black, white, yellow, green/blue) and combines simple triangle bands and simple linework.[4] The patterned triangle bands form blocks with stylized designs and also form the outline of the body of a thunderbird flanked by two horned underwater panthers. While representations of both the celestial birds and of their underworld antagonists are found on quilled pouches, their depiction side by side is exceptional. Equally unusual is the short and raised tail of the underwater panthers. The thunderbird features detailed representations of the talons and the wing feathers. A broadly comparable piece from the Speyer collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (cat.no. III-M-3) is said to be from the nineteenth-century collection of Augustin Lamare-Picquot (Sturtevant 2001: 177), but has probably correctly been attributed to the Ojibwa and to the late eighteenth century (Benndorf and Speyer 1968:

3. Less than twenty percent of Woodlands quilled pouches have any bead edging at all, nearly half of which is in imitation wampum.
4. For the quillwork terminology used, compare Feest and Kasprycki (2001: 201, fig. 18).

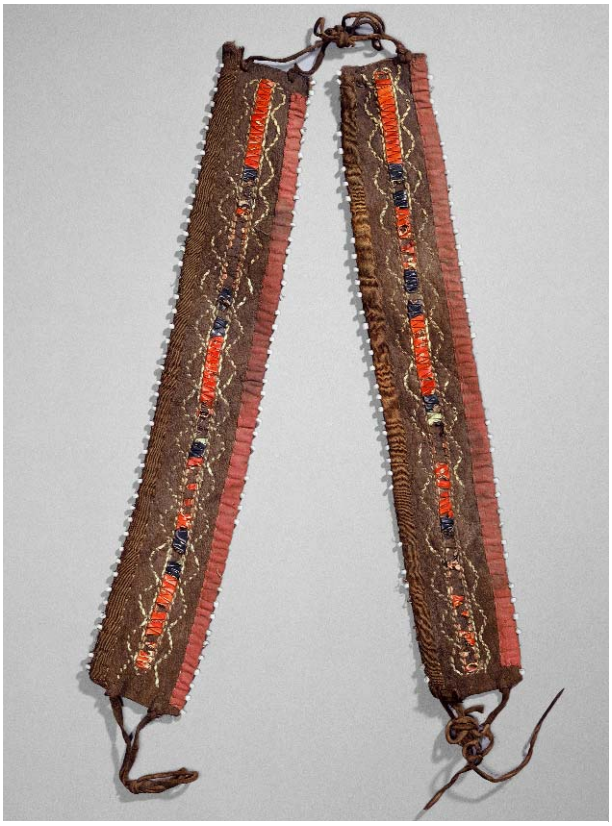


Fig. 5 (left) Pair of quilled black buckskin bands, with cloth and white bead edging. Great Lakes, ca. 1775. Length 29.5 cm (without ties), width 5 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.11. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 6 Quilled headband. Great Lakes, second half of nineteenth century. Length 45.5 cm (without ties), width 4 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.13. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 7 Detail of centerpiece of the headband showing miniature roach and stuffed skin appendage with wampum appliqué. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.13. Photograph: C. F. Feest.

88, no. 147, pl. 54). The same may be true of the Yverdon pouch, which Maurer (1992: 113) dates to "ca. 1750."

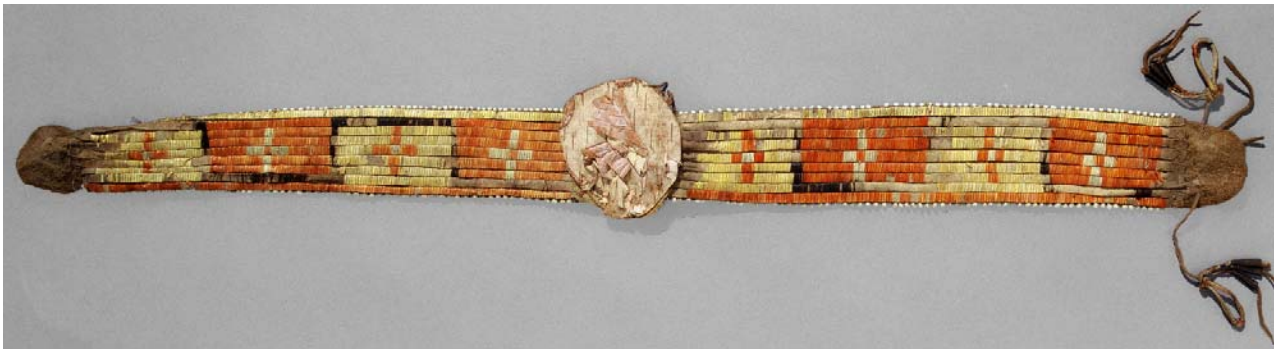
The second pouch (Fig. 3; see also Berlo and Phillips 1998: 102, fig. 67, who attribute it to the "Anishnabe") is technically similar to the first one, but has a four-color scheme (red, black, white, blue), white bead edging (in the sawtooth technique), and a Z-twined apocynum strap of two-ply Z-twisted threads with moosehair false embroidery (red, dark blue, light blue, yellow, white) edged with a simple line of white beads.[5] In addition to a single thunderbird with very long wings, there are triangle bands with curved lines at the end, reminiscent of the "celestial tree" motif, and a castellated line at the upper edge of the pouch. This combination is also found on an unbeaded pouch at the Field Museum attributed to the Iroquois. A late eighteenth-century date for this pouch is likely, an eastern Great Lakes provenance possible.

The most distinctive feature of the third pouch (Fig. 4) is the use of light blue glass beads of a larger size (in addition to white beads) for edging. Blue beads very rarely appear at all on quilled pouches or moccasins of the Great Lakes region, and became popular only during the 1830s. In all other details, however, the pouch is similar to reputedly late eighteenth-century pieces and to the two other Yverdon pouches (triangle band and line quillwork in red,

5. The twined strap on a quilled pouch of this type from the Caldwell collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (cat.no. III-Q-828; called by Brasser [1976: 108, no. 78] "Eastern Ojibwa type, c. 1780) has the same color scheme and white edging, but an asymmetrical design.

Fig. 8 Black buckskin band with quill appliqué. Western (?) Great Lakes, second half of ninteenth century. Length 56.5 cm, width 6.5 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.18. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 9 Quilled headband or belt with white bead edging and birch-bark rosette. Great Lakes, ca. 1775. Length 81 cm, width 6 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.17. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.



black, yellow, and white; thunderbirds, "celestial tree" motif). Especially the fingerwoven strap of red and black wool and white beads would seem to indicate a pre-1800 date.

Clothing is perhaps the least understood part of early historical Woodlands material culture, and this is especially true of the various decorative bands that were part of it. Except for moccasins, dress items were rarely collected and/or preserved, and the visual record is generally poor and of limited reliability. Garters and garter ties, wrist and upper arm bands, neck- and headbands, belts, and bandoleers may to some extent be distinguished by their length and their appearance in pairs or as single objects, but many such identifications remain speculative.

Probably because of their small size, Hans Läng in his 1981 catalog annotations in Yverdon identified a pair of quilled bands (Fig. 5) as upper arm decorations; but they could have been used as garters by a child or adolescent, or even as wristlets by a big man. The bands are edged with brownish and rose-colored ribbons and spaced white beads; their quillwork consists of a patterned triangle band (red, black, light blue) flanked by white straight and wavy linework. Ribbon edging of this kind appears to have been popular prior to the more widespread availability of silk ribbons. Its presence supports an early date for this pair.

There can be no doubt that Fig. 6 shows a man's headband consisting of twelve quill-wrapped strips of rawhide sewn to a tanned leather band. The red, black, and white quills form an asymmetrical design with four linked torsos (probably thunderbirds) and parallel zigzag lines on either side of a round central ornament of leather to which a piece of birdskin had formerly been attached. Strips of rawhide connect the band to a semi-oval centerpiece of untanned bear(?)skin to which a miniature roach and an unusual sausage-like appendage with white and purple wampum appliqué are attached (Fig. 7). Because of the lack of comparative material, the interpretation poses a severe problem.

Another quilled band (Fig. 8) was tentatively identified by Phillips (in Harrison 1987a: 58, no. W95) as a shoulder strap, but considering its length and central position of its representational design should rather be regarded as a headband. The quillwork combines triangle bands and linework and shows a pair of wavy bands flanking a standing anthropomorphic figure (possibly horned). Phillips, illustrating the band upside down, interpreted the figure as the horned head of an underwater panther. The compact linework of the figure is better known from the Western Great Lakes and could indicate the belt's provenance.

The length of the band shown in Fig. 9 is the major argument for its use as a belt, but Benjamin West in 1771 illustrated a very similar item as a woman's headband (Einhorn and Abler 1996: 53, fig. 13). One of the prob-

Fig. 10 Garter appendage of netted quillwork, red-dyed deer hair, and brass cones, attached to a piece of snake skin. Great Lakes, second half of nineteenth century. Length 44 cm (with fringes), width 7.4 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.19. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

lems with this evidence is that West did not paint from life, but used ethnographic items as props which he (mis-) interpreted according to his pictorial needs (cp. also King 1991). Technically the band is similar to the headband in Fig. 6 (with the addition of white bead edging), but also to the raven belts of the nineteenth-century Midwest. Similar belts were also made of wrapped birchbark slats (cp., e.g., King 1991: 43, fig. 14). The central rosette of birchbark sewn to a round piece of leather may suggest an Algonquian (rather than Iroquoian) origin.

A small rectangular piece of netted quillwork with a long fringe of plaited bands of quill ending in brass cones with tufts of red-dyed deer hair may possibly be identified as the appendage of a garter (as shown by the example in

Fig. 11 Dew claw rattle, wooden stem wrapped with plaited quill bands. Western Great Lakes, early nineteenth century (?). Length 29.4 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.8. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

de DePeyster collection in the National Museum of Liverpool; cp. Jones 2007: 36, Fig. 9), although it could also have served some other decorative purpose.

Rattles made of dew claws attached to a stick or to a leather band are found in many parts in North America, including the Woodlands and the adjoining Plains, where to some extent they were replaced by sheet metal cones. For the southwestern Ojibwa (Chippewa) Densmore (1913: 94) reports their use on the war path; on the Plains they

Fig. 12 Model of birchbark canoe with paddles. Southwestern Chippewa, first half of nineteenth century (?). Length 74 cm, width 23,5 cm; height 13.5 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.20. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 13 Carved and quill-decorated pipestem. Western Great Lakes, first half of nineteenth century. Length 84.4 cm, width 4.1 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.12. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

were often used in the ceremonies of warrior societies. The example in Yverdon (Fig. 11) consists of a leather band with dew claws wrapped around a stick, whereas on a possibly Dakota example in the Pourtalès collection they are sewn to a piece of leather encasing the stick (Thompson 1977: 186, fig. 140). An early nineteenth century western Great Lakes provenance appears possible, without completely excluding other dates and areas.

Models of birchbark canoes may have served traditional purposes, but they also became an early staple in the tourist trade. The Yverdon model (Fig. 12) is unlike the type commonly produced in the late eighteenth century in the St. Lawrence River valley (cp. Feest 2007a: 47, Fig. 4), but closely resembles models collected among the southwestern Ojibwa (Golob 1997: 124–125, 133, 289–292) in the 1830s and among the Menominee in the 1860s (Kasprycki 1998: 346, fig. 190), whose form apparently derives from an older Algonquin type (Adney and Chapelle 1964: 113–125). The Yverdon model was originally fitted with a sail, which is still present in the Ojibwa model (which also has very similar paddles).

A wooden pipe stem in the collection (Fig. 13) is partly wrapped with plaited quill bands forming a design which due to the bad state of preservation of the bands cannot be interpreted. The distal part of the stem has scalloped edges—a feature often found on Ojibwa and Ottawa wooden artifacts of the nineteenth century. It is also engraved with deep lines filled with red pigment. A piece of yellow silk ribbon is tied around the quill-wrapped section of the stem, which together with the general appearance may be indicative of a nineteenth-century origin, probably in the western Great Lakes region.

The same may be true of the wooden ball-headed club (Figs. 14, 15), which shares the deeply engraved lines filled with red pigment. The engravings, depicting humans, (supernatural ?) animals, and symbolic marks of unknown significance, are highly stylized, somewhat unusual, and suggest a nineteenth century origin and perhaps even a concession to the tastes of a growing tourist market. The club itself is armed with an antler spike inserted into the elongated ball decorated with burnt marks and held in the mouth of an animal. It appears to fall within the

Fig. 14 Wooden ball-headed club with antler spike and engraved decoration (both sides). Western Great Lakes, first half of nineteenth century. Length 48 cm Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.1. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 15 Detail of engraved decoration on ball-headed club with traces of red paint. Western Great Lakes, first half of nineteenth century. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.1. Photograph: C. F. Feest.

Fig. 16 Wooden gunstock club with engraved and chip-carved decoration (both sides). Western Great Lakes, first half of nineteenth century. Length 66.4 cm, width (max.) 10.9 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.2. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

range of forms produced by the southwestern Ojibwa and their neighbors. An eighteenth-century origin is not impossible, but unlikely.

A gunstock club of maple wood (Figs. 16, 17) is decorated with chip-carvings and fine engravings filled with red and green pigment. It was fitted to be armed with a metal blade and for the attachment of a carrying strap (unfinished) near the proximal end and of some ornament at the distal end, but these may actually never have been attached. Although Phillips (in Harrison 1987a: 62, fig. 47) calls is an "Eastern Great Lakes [...], late eighteenth -century type," its closest affinities are to a style shared during the first half of the nineteenth century by the southwestern Ojibwa and their Dakota neighbors (cp. e.g., Thompson 1977: 188–189, figs. 144, 148; Feest and Kasprycki 1999: 210–211, 235, figs. 50, 65). Kasprycki (1994:

Fig. 17 Engraved and chip-carved decoration on gunstock club with traces of red and green paint. Western Great Lakes, first half of nineteenth century. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.2. Photograph: C. F. Feest.

109–110) makes the same point and places the "merman" depicted on the club (who himself holds a gunstock club) in the context of Menominee and Ojibwa religious iconography. Bladed gunstock clubs were apparently not collected before 1800 (cp. Feest 1992: 80), in part because the type may only have emerged around this time.

The collection also includes a small tapestry-twined weft faced rush mat (Fig. 18) of a type commonly made in the western Great Lakes region. The asymmetric placement of the geometric design together with notable creases and patterns of soiling indicate that it was used as a wrap, with the clean and undecorated side covered by the decorated part of the mat. The oldest known pieces were collected during the second quarter of the nineteenth century among the southwestern Ojibwa (Golob 1997: 110, 130, 263–264) and among the Ottawa of Michigan and of Manitoulin Island (Graham 1984: 32, 34; National Museum of Denmark, cat.no. E.Hc.439), although there is no reason why they should not have been made in earlier times.

This can also be said of twined basswood bags (Fig. 19), a type which continued to be made, e.g., by the Ottawa throughout the nineteenth century (Graham 1984: 29–31, 36). The major reason for dating the bag (and the mat) to the first half of the nineteenth century is the fact that simple utilitarian objects of this kind were obviously not regarded as collectables in the eighteenth century.

Snowshoes, on the other hand, were collected prior to 1800 (Feest 1992: 73). They exist in a wide variety of regionally specific forms (Davidson 1937) and were also used and made for White colonists for travel in winter. One pair in Yverdon (Fig. 20) is partly painted black and red;

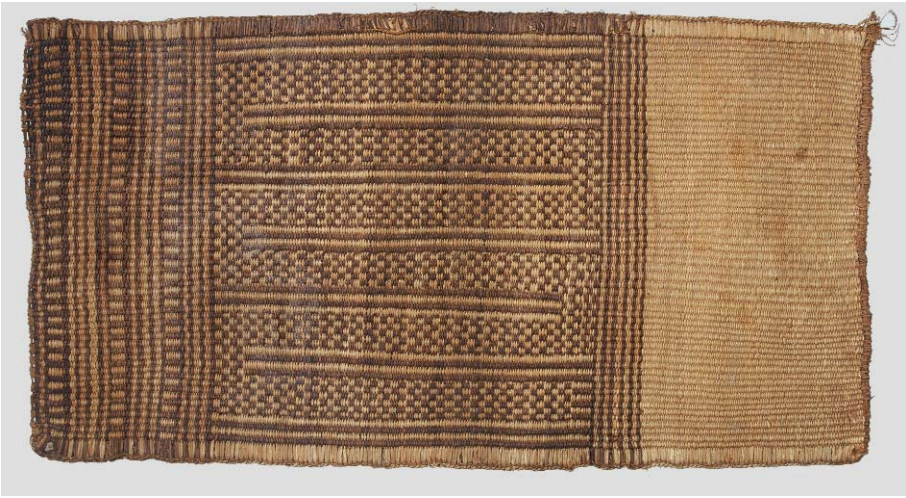


Fig. 18 Tapestry-twined weft faced rush mat. Probably Ottawa or southwestern Chippewa, first half of nineteenth century. Length 83 cm, width 44 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.5. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 19 (below) Spaced-weft twined basswood bark. Western Great Lakes, probably Ottawa or southwestern Chippewa, first half of nineteenth century. Length 49 cm, width 39.4 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.3. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

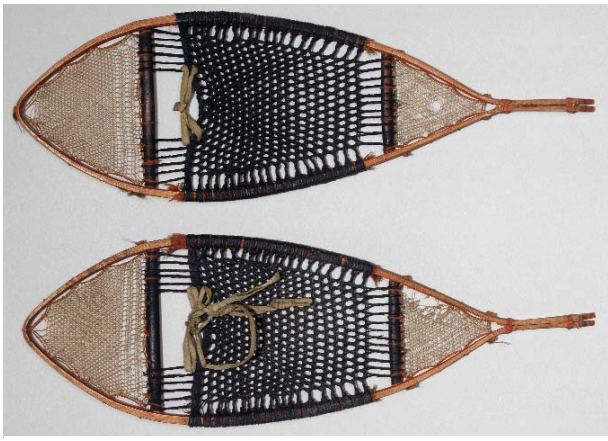


Fig. 20 Pair of snowshoes. Great Lakes or Subarctic, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Length 41.5 and 42 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.21. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

while such painting is found both on some eighteenth and nineteenth century examples (e.g., Jones 2007: 36, fig. 7; Feest 2007b: 42; Museum für Völkerkunde Wien, cat.no. 11975, documented for the Iroquois at Grand River, Ontario), the use of red cloth to cover sections of the frame is rather unusual.

Another three sets of brightly painted snowshoes (Figs. 21–23) clearly seem to be of an Eastern Subarctic style. A similar pair preserved in a Russian museum has been attributed by Yasenenko (2004: 18, fig. 13) to the middle of the nineteenth century; they had been obtained in 1902 from the German dealer Umlauff who also sold to the museum an early nineteenth-century Naskapi coat and leggings. Another comparable example in the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (cat.no. 52981, attributed to the Ojibwa) suggests an even earlier date. It was originally given by Col. J. Bradley of Brownsville, NJ, to Peale's Museum (which existed from 1786 to 1843), from which it passed to the Boston Museum.

Fire drills (Fig. 24) traditionally used almost all over North America were generally quickly replaced by steel and flint strike-a-lights introduced by Europeans, but not everywhere at the same time. They still appear in ethnographic collections from western North America in the 1870s (e.g., Thompson 1977: 191, fig. 152), and may have survived as an alternative means of fire making in the Great Lakes region. Morgan's (1851: 381–382) description of the European pump drill as the traditional Iroquois tool for fire making shows the extent to which knowledge about the old ways had been lost. The use of fire drills was apparently no longer remembered by the southwestern Ojibwa of Minnesota by the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Densmore 1929: 142).

The Yverdon collection includes three wooden arrows (Fig. 25), two of which are unfletched blunt bird arrows;

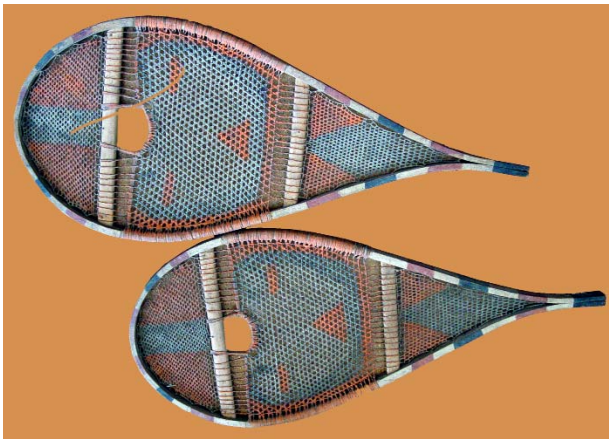


Fig. 21–23 Three pairs of painted snowshoes. Eastern Subarctic, early nineteenth century. Length 95–97 cm, width 40–42 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.23–25. Photographs: C. F. Feest.

the third one shows traces of radial feathering and has a carved wooden point emerging from a bi-conical section similar to those of the bird arrows. All three are decorated with deeply incised lines with red and blue pigment, not unlike those on the ball-headed club. In addition to simple geometric patterns, a thunderbird is shown on one of the bird arrows. While the blunt arrows would have

Fig. 24 Wooden fire drill. Western Great Lakes (?), first half of nineteenth century. Length 16.4 and 18.4 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.22. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

been serviceable for fowling, the decoration is odd—especially since thunderbirds were thought to relate to war, rather than hunting. The usefulness of the third arrow may be questioned, except perhaps for children. A group of similar, but differently decorated arrows, collected in the early 1850s among the Ottawa of Michigan (Museum für Völkerkunde Wien, cat.nos. 131.714, 131.719), may represent the same trend toward a decline of the use of bows and arrows for warfare and hunting.

The final object to be considered in this survey, a single moccasin (Fig. 26), is also the only one with any indication of provenance in the 1855–1881 catalog, which suggests that it had been "made by the savages at the banks of the Mississippi." It is, in fact, a fine example of a style today associated with the Canadian Métis, but also found in the nineteenth century in many Native communities in the northern United States, particularly in Minnesota and the Dakotas (cp., e.g., Maurer 1992: 117). The "banks of the Mississippi" thus may point to a provenance from Minnesota.

In summary, our survey has shown that the Native American material at the Musée d'Yverdon were probably brought to Switzerland by different persons at different points of time. The moccasins, the three pairs of painted snowshoes, the three arrows, the two clubs, and the pipestem were not (or are unlikely to have been) made in the eighteenth century; a good case against an eighteenth-century date of collecting can be made as far as the mat, basswood bag, and canoe model are concerned. The imitation wampum belt and most of the quilled pouches and bands are almost certainly eighteenth century pieces and were most likely collected at that time. Sometime, such as in the case of the fire drill, time and even place are im-

Fig. 25 Three wooden bird arrows with engraved decorations. Ottawa or southwestern Chippewa, first half of nineteenth century. Length 78.7, 80.6, 68 cm (no to scale). Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.14–16. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

Fig. 26 Single hard-soled moccasin with appliqué quillwork. Métis style, ca. 1840. Length 26.5 cm, width 10.6 cm. Musée d'Yverdon, cat.no. 00.01.9. Photograph: Fibbi-Aeppli, Grandson.

possible to tell with confidence. All of the objects are apparently from the wider Great Lakes region (including eastern Minnesota), but some of the artifacts from the western part of the area are probably of a more recent date.

To some extent this analysis is supported by the 1855–1881 catalog, which gives a different provenance for the moccasin(s) and painted snowshoes, but which makes no mention at all of the wampum belt, two quilled pouches, the quilled bands, the rattle, pipe stem, and canoe model.

In Search of the Collectors

Any attempt to identify the collector(s) of the North American artifacts in the Musée d'Yverdon must begin with the names associated with them in the 1855–1881 catalog: Landry, Agassiz, and Treytorrens. It must also account for the presence of artifacts ranging from the last third of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

George Eugène Landry is explicitly mentioned in the 1881 catalog as the donor of two pairs of moccasins "made by the savages at the banks of the Mississippi." As we have seen, this attribution is not only specific but also correct. The only problem is that Landry is not known to have traveled in the United States. The Landrys were a family of masons, architects, and businessmen, who had settled in Yverdon in the late eighteenth century (HLS 1998–2006: .../d/D45600). The Rochat inventory of the Musée d'Yverdon of 1881–82, which credits almost all of the material here discussed to a gift by George Landry in 1860, cites Crottet (1859: 629) as evidence for Landry's sojourn in Peru in the early 1840s and thus for a Peruvian origin ofthe artifacts. In the absence of any evidence for a visit to North America by Landry, it is obvious that he must have received the moccasins (and possibly other artifacts) directly or indirectly from a source in Minnesota.

It may be noted that the collection, now in Berne, of Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès of Neuchâtel also includes a substantial body of Santee Dakota objects of about the same period, although Pourtalès likewise had not visited the area himself (Feest and Kasprycki 1999: 41; Thompson 1977: 138–139, 141–146, 184–189). Among the possible sources for both Landry and Pourtalès may have been the Swiss colonists in Lord Selkirk's Red River colony, some of whom passed through Minnesota, or the

two missionaries David Gavin and Samuel Dentan who worked on behalf of the Société des missions évangéliques de Lausanne of the Reformed Church at Prairie du Chien, Red Wing, Kaposia, and St. Peter on the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers in the 1830s and 1840s (Feest and Kasprycki 1999: 27).

The second name which appears among the collectors of possibly American material (specifically, an "arrowhead of hard wood") in the 1881 inventory is that of Agassiz. It is possible (but by no means certain) that the entry refers to the famous Swiss-American naturalist Louis Agassiz (1807–1873). A native of Môtier in the canton of Fribourg, Agassiz had studied medicine in Germany before going to Paris to work with Cuvier and becoming one of the most noted scientists of his generation. He was professor at the Academy of Neuchâtel from 1833 to 1846, when he moved to the United States and became professor at Harvard in 1848. In 1849 he was joined by his son Alexandre (1835–1910), who became his assistant at the Museum of Comparative Zoology, but who may have been too young to be considered a likely donor in about 1855 (Montet 1877: 16–18; Godet et al. 1921: 114–117; Jorio 2002: 101–102). In the summer of 1849 Louis Agassiz embarked upon a tour of Lake Superior, traveling from Sault Ste. Marie to Michipicoten and returning by way of Manitoulin Island and Penetanguishine.

The account of this trip, written by J. Elliott Cabot, tells of numerous encounters with Ojibwas "speaking various dialects" and offers glimpses of the local material culture. In the canoe used by the party, e.g., the baggage of the travelers were "covered with buffalo-robes or with the matting of the country, a very neat fabric of some fine reed which the Indians call *paqueeh*. These bolsters served for our seats" (Agassiz 1850: 38). In Michipicoten, Cabot bought for five francs an "Indian tobacco bag (of broad cloth of various colours, with hanging tassles, and worked with beads) which the Indian wore on his girdle." On closer inspection it was found to contain "a quantity of kinnikinnik, and fire apparatus, being a small cylinder of wood, hollow at one end, round which was an edge of steel. A quantity of fibrous inner bark of the arbor-vitae being placed on the tobacco, is ignited by striking a stone across the mouth" (Agassiz 1850: 62–63). In Penetanguishuine Cabot encountered evidence for an emerging market for Native crafts: "Judging from a slip of paper offering a reward for certain Indian curiosities, which was stuck up in some of the shops, there would seem to be some one here who has the good sense to look after the remains of the aboriginal inhabitants" (Agassiz 1850: 129).

While we do not learn about Agassiz's own collecting, it is obvious that some of the pieces now in Yverdon could possibly have been collected on the occasion of this trip. This is particularly true of the basswood bag, the mat, the arrows, and possibly also the fire drill.

The third name, which appears in the museum's records, "Mr. de Treytorrens," provides a possible link with Frederick Haldimand, who was born in 1718 in Yverdon as the son of François Louis Haldimand and Marie-Madeleine de Treytorrens, the sister of François-Frédéric de Treytorrens, the author of *Élemens des mathématiques* (Yverdon 1725). Haldimand never married and left no known descendants (HLS 1998–2006: .../d/D23759.php); it is possible that some of his possessins were inherited after his death in 1791, his paternal nephew Antoine-François Haldimand inherited all his property, including the estate at Champ-Pittet, two miles from Yverdon, but substantial legacies went to other relatives, friends, and institutions. Champ-Pittet, however, also provides a link to the Landry family, one of whose members was the builder responsible for the building of Haldimand's castle there in 1789–1791 (HLS 1998–2006: .../d/D11408.php; Sutherland et al. 2000).

As the links between Haldimand and both the Treytorrens and Landry families illustrate, any assumption about the exact provenance of the North American material in Yverdon must remain highly speculative not only in the absence of specific documentary evidence, but in the face of vague and partly contradictory assertions in the museum records. None of the objects received prior to 1855–1881 from Mr. de Treytorrens is of a clearly eighteenth-century origin, while the mocassins received in 1860 from George Landry obviously date from the nineteenth. In 1881–82 these objects were listed together with eighteenth-century artifacts (such as the imitation wampum belt) and were considered to be of unknown provenance, although they were later attributed to Landry and Peru.

For whichever objects in Yverdon that may be considered to be of an eighteenth-century origin, Frederick Haldimand remains one (but certainly not the only) possible source. At the age of thirty-eight (and after having previously served in the Prussian army and the Swiss Guards of the Dutch army), Haldimand entered into the service of the British troops in North America together with other Swiss officers, such as Henri Bouquet and Conrad Gugy. Both during his active engagement in the French-and-In-

dian Wars in 1758–60, and his subsequent activities as military governor at Trois Rivières from 1762–64, Haldimand would have had ample opportunities to collect ethnographic material in the eastern Great Lakes region, but such material is not obviously included in the Yverdon collection). From 1767, Haldimand served as brigadier of the Southern Department in Pensacola and St. Augustine, Florida (also not reflected in the Yverdon collection), before returning in 1773 to New York and Boston, in 1775 to London, and in 1777 to Yverdon. If at least part of the Yverdon collection may be traced to Haldimand, it is unlikely to date from the period prior to 1775. In 1777, Haldimand was appointed "Captain General and Governor" of Quebec, a position he assumed in June 1778 and held until his return to Europe in November 1784. During his governorship, Haldimand was, of course, heavily involved in the Indian politics of the province, including especially the relocation of the loyal Mohawks and other Iroquois under Joseph Brant on lands along the Grand River ceded for this purpose by the Mississauga (Sutherland et al. 2000).

Henry [Henri] Bouquet (1719–1765), Haldimand's close friend since their joint service in the Swiss Guards and his precursor as brigadier general of the Southern Department, has been suggested as a possible source for Haldimand's ethnographic collection, since he had been involved more directly in Indian affairs in Pennsylvania and the Ohio country than his compatriot during both the French and Indian Wars and Pontiac's Uprising—never mind the evidence that he had proposed the use of smallpox-infected blankets against the indigenous people who had besieged Fort Pitt in 1763 (Kent 1991).

Bouquet's direct contacts with American Indians have been visually immortalized by two engravings after drawings by Benjamin West published in William Smith's *Historical Account* of 1766 (Fig. 27; see aslo Abram 1985: 179, 228 n. 21, figs. 109–110). Despite the dubios documentary value of the engravings, there can be no doubt that Bouquet's encounters were accompanied by the exchanges of wampum belts and ceremonial gifts. The case against Bouquet as the source of part of the Yverdon collection, then, rests not so much upon his lack of opportunity for collecting than upon the unlikelihhod that any of the pieces could date to before 1765. The glass imitation wampum belt, for example, which may qualify as the single most likely eighteenth-century artifact in the Yverdon collection, is probably too late to have been collected prior to 1765. Too many pieces in Yverdon are also more typical for the western Great Lakes region to have been collected in the Ohio country.

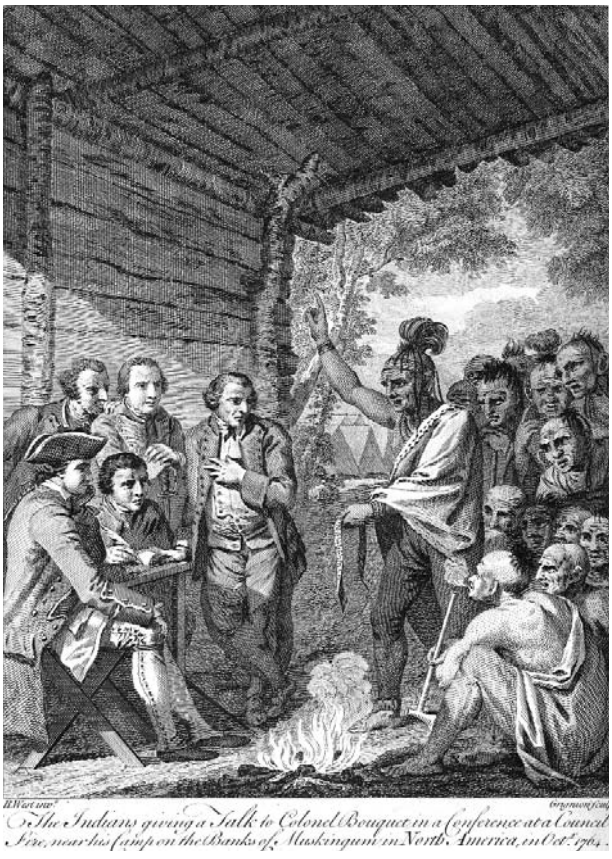


Fig. 27 "The Indians giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet in a Conference at a Council Fire, near his Camp on the Banks of Muskingum in North America, in Oct.r 1764." Engraving by Grignion after a drawing by Benjamin West for Smith (1766).

In summary, it may be stated that the North American Indian material preserved at the Musée d'Yverdon obviously includes artifacts produced between the late eighteenth century and the 1830s or 1840s. At least the single quilled mocassin can be traced to a donation by George Eugène Landry, other items were deposited by Mr. de Treytorrens. Especially the glass imitation wampum belt, which one could most easily imagine to have been received by Frederick Haldimand in his function as governor of Québec between 1778 and 1784, cannot be assigned to either the Landry or Treytorrens gifts, and may indicate yet another source of this heterogeneous material.

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