Invasive Species: The Naturalization of Settler Colonialism by Flowered Quilts in Southeastern Ontario During the Nineteenth Century (1820-1880)

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Abstract

Studying three embroidered quilts made by British women who lived in southeastern Ontario during the nineteenth century, this dissertation establishes that the floral designs typical of the homecrafts that British women transported to and made in nineteenth-century Canada express the same settler-colonial desires for authority and belonging that have been attributed to the historical North American landscape painting tradition produced by Western men. This is significant because it suggests that the seemingly mild-mannered decorative traditions of white women contributed to a visual and material culture that was hostile to Indigeneity.

The three embroidered quilts within this study were made by Mary Morris (1811-1897), Elizabeth Bell (1824-1919), and Margaret McCrum (1847-1888), respectively. My research involved establishing the provenance and geographies of these quilts, tracing the history of their floral designs, and assessing their cultural meaning. I have found that some of the quilts' embroideries make specific references to floral designs found in Indian, British, and Indigenous decorative arts, and that a select few have been inspired by Ontario's wildflowers and gardens. These quilts show that British women in nineteenth-century Ontario were invested in the consumption, study, and transformation of Canadian land. Rather than attributing malintent to Morris, Bell, and McCrum, I situate their homecrafts within a broader cultural context and detail the political dimensions of their artistic references.

I have characterized these three quilts as belonging to an *invasive species*. Several species of European plants and animals have become successful colonizers in Canada, including the common dandelion and house sparrow. As a metaphor, these species represent the slow, steady course of settler-colonialism and its ultimate aim, to appear, feel, and act *natural* in a foreign environment. In Canada, this end depended upon the transplantation or deterritorialization of

Indigenous peoples because the settler-colonial imaginary took root in a mythology of an untouched wilderness. This dissertation treats the floral embroideries produced by three British women as specimens within the broader invasive species of Western culture that has incessantly asserted its perceived entitlement to Canadian land.

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Over the past six years, I have had the good fortune to learn from a wonderful community of scholars. I extend my sincere thanks to Amanda Boetzkes and Malcolm Thurlby for sitting on my dissertation committee. They have both been engaged advisors, and my dissertation has been strengthened by their insights and guidance. I am indebted to Richard Hill for his feedback on an early iteration of my doctoral dissertation project, which redirected my research in positive and productive ways. Deborah McGregor's seminar, *Reshaping Research with Aboriginal Peoples,* had a meaningful influence on my research methodology and I thank her for letting me audit this course. I also gained a great deal from David Goldstein's seminar, *Ecology and Literature: Medieval to Renaissance*, which introduced me to ecological theory and inspired me tremendously. I owe my interest in the cultural history of botany in large part to Ann Shteir, whose scholarship, critical questions, and recommendations helped give shape to this dissertation. Lisa Binkley has generously discussed her research on Canadian quilts with me and permitted me to read excerpts from her forthcoming book, and I value her fellowship. I would like to thank Sarah Parsons. Though not directly involved in my thesis, Sarah welcomed me to

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live with her for three months in 2019 as I undertook research in Kingston, Ontario. I thank my parents-in-law, Christine and Thomas O'Brien, who have always shown a sincere interest in my research, teaching, and exhibition projects. Having lost Tom last year, I think especially of him and the curious questions that he always asked about my work and classes. My brothers- and sisters-in-law and extended family have also been incredibly supportive of my endeavours, and I am lucky to have such wonderful people in my life.

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Land Acknowledgement

I recognize that many Indigenous nations have longstanding relationships with the territories upon which I live and work. The area known as Tkaronto has been care taken by the Anishinabek Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the Huron-Wendat, and the Métis. It is now home to many Indigenous Peoples. I acknowledge the current treaty holders, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. This territory is subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement to peaceably share and care for the Great Lakes region.

Introduction

In Canada it has become customary to begin meetings, gatherings, public events, and ceremonies with a territorial or land acknowledgement, which involves recognizing the Indigenous peoples who were the traditional stewards and residents of the land on which one stands, as well as those inhabiting the territory today. I open my dissertation with an acknowledgement of my position as a white woman living in Toronto, Ontario, in part because my research and analysis are concerned with the history and representation of the land just north of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. During the period of British settlement in this region, which began in the late eighteenth century, Indigenous and Western European artists affirmed their connection to the land in incommensurable terms.[1] In the words of art historian Jolene Rickard, who belongs to the Tuscarora Nation, "from an Indigenous perspective, the genre of landscape painting is one of the conceptual and visceral tools of colonization. If landscape paintings mark a nation's relationship to place, I argue that the Indigenous peoples of the Americas have the deepest understanding of this space, as molded in clay, carved in stone, stitched in animal hides, woven in fibres, etched on our bodies and embedded in the environmental as mounds or medicine wheels."[2] Rickard contrasts the intimate understanding of land and nature represented by Indigenous artists with the aestheticization or objectification of land and nature represented by Western artists, particularly landscape painters. Studying three embroidered quilts (Figs. 1-3) made by British women who lived in southeastern Ontario (Fig. 4) during the nineteenth century, this dissertation establishes that the floral designs typical of the homecrafts that British women transported to and made in nineteenth century Canada express the same settler-colonial desires for authority and belonging

[1] Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art, Colonial Culture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 14.

[2] Jolene Rickard, "Arts of Dispossession," in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valeria Piccoli, and Georgina Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 115.

that have been attributed to the historical North American landscape painting tradition produced by Western men.[3] This is significant because it suggests that the seemingly mild-mannered decorative traditions of white women contributed to a visual and material culture that was hostile to Indigeneity.

I have characterized the flowered quilts within this study as belonging to an *invasive species* in my dissertation title. According to a multi-authored paper on "Non-native species in Canada's boreal zone" (2014), the colonization of Canada's boreal zone by invasive or non-Indigenous species occurred in tandem with the colonization of North America by European visitors and settlers over the course of four-hundred and fifty years.[4] The earliest recorded introduction of a non-indigenous species to Canada by Europeans dates to 1541, when cabbage, turnip, lettuce, and cattle were reared in the French settlement, Charlesbourg-Royal, in what is now commonly referred to as Cap Rouge, Québec.[5] Several species of European plants and animals have since become successful colonizers in Canada, including the seemingly ubiquitous dandelion and house sparrow.[6] According to nineteenth-century Canadian naturalist Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899), sparrows were "introduced into the agricultural districts as destroyers of the weevil, army worm and all other kinds of injurious insects," and she refers to them as "assisted immigrants."[7] As a metaphor, these invasive species represent the slow, steady course

[3] Please note that the Province of Ontario (1867-present) will be referred to as Upper Canada (1791-1841) and Canada West (1841-1867) where appropriate; Additionally, two of the three women within this study are Irish immigrants one is the immediate descendant of Irish immigrants. I recognize that Ireland has its own complicated history of British colonialism. This history is outside the bounds of my research. I have identified these women as British because at the time of their immigration to Canada, the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland were unified as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (1801-1922). Moreover, all three of these women and their families were Protestant, and their homesteads were located within a region of southeastern Ontario that was initially settled by Irish Loyalists. These facts suggest that my subjects identified as British rather than as Irish Republicans. Please see chapters for further information.

[4] David W. Langor, Erin K. Cameron, Chris J.K. MacQuarrie, Alec McBeath, Alec McClay, Brian Peter, Margo Pybus, Tod Ramsfield, Krista Ryall, Taylor Scarr, Denys Yemshanov, Ian DeMerchant, Robert Foottit and Greg R. Pohl, "Non-Native Species in Canada's Boreal Zone: Diversity, Impacts, and Risks," in *Environmental Reviews* 22, no.4 (2014): 373.

[5] Langor et al, 374.

[6] Langor et al, 377.

[7] Catharine Parr Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles*, ed. Elizabeth Thompson (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1999), 46, 48.

of settler colonialism and its ultimate aim, to appear, feel, and act *natural* in a foreign environment. In Canada, this end depended upon the transplantation or deterritorialization of Indigenous peoples because the settler-colonial imaginary took root in a mythology of an untouched wilderness, as will be discussed. This dissertation treats the floral embroideries found on three early Canadian quilts as specimens within the broader invasive species of Western culture that has incessantly asserted its perceived entitlement to Canadian land.

Understanding the insidious aspects of the striking quilts within this study, which were respectively made by Mary Morris (1811-1897), Elizabeth Bell (1824-1919), and Margaret McCrum (1847-1888), requires that one further establish the discord between the understandings of land and nature held by Indigenous and European settler societies in North America's northeast during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant* cited in my land acknowledgement refers to a peace agreement made in 1701 between the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee First Nations within the St. Lawrence River Valley and Great Lakes regions that exemplifies a distinctively Indigenous outlook on territory and resources. The arrival of Europeans to these regions in the seventeenth century produced an intensified fur trade that led to nearly one hundred years of conflict between Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee residents over access to hunting grounds.[8] In the summer of 1701, approximately one thousand delegates representing over thirty First Nations from across the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Valley regions met in Montreal to ratify the peace treaty predicated on a metaphor that had long been used by those present to describe agreements concerning shared hunting grounds, the dish with one spoon.[9] According to Indigenous studies scholar Hayden

[8] Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreement in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley Region," in *Papers of the 28th Algonquian Conference,* ed. David H. Pentland (1997), 211.

[9] Lytwyn, 210, 217.

King, who belongs to the Beausoleil Nation, "this pragmatic arrangement recognized that even as distinct nations, we can share the same territory. But we need to acknowledge our mutual obligations to ensure the dish is always full…there are no forks or knives at the table with which we can stab each other, just a spoon that we share."[10]

This communal understanding of land and resource management is represented by Indigenous artistic traditions, which tend to center the body in a cosmology of vertical space and circular time that binds all living and non-living things.[11] Take for example, the edge of a beaded skirt produced and worn in the mid-nineteenth century by Caroline G. Parker (1826–1892) (Fig. 5), who belonged to the Tonawanda Band of the Seneca Nation within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. In her contribution to the exhibition catalogue for "Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic," which opened at the Art Gallery of Ontario in 2015, Jolene Rickard describes Parker's skirt as "perhaps the single most influential example of the Haudenosaunee relationship to the earth."[12] To illustrate this claim, she stresses that the domes created by white and blue beaded lines on the inside edge of the Parker's skirt refer to a multitude of earth-based practices and beliefs. Firstly, Haudenosaunee women were traditionally the primary farmers in their communities, and they planted their most important crops, corn, beans, and squash, together in mounds, a sustainable cropping system known as intercropping.[13] It is possible that the three ovate shapes contained within the domes or mounds on Parker's skirt represent these three crops, which are referred to as the three sisters. This dome

[10] Hayden King, "First Nations Crisis is About Land. We Need a New Settlement," *The Global and Mail*, February 10, 2015, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/hayden-king-first-nations-crisis-is-about-land-we-need-a-new-settlement/article22887364/

[11] Ruth Philips, "Overview: Indigenous Lands/Settler Landscapes: Art Histories Out of Joint," in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valeria Piccoli and Georgina Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015): 92-98.

[12] Rickard, "Arts of Dispossession," 117.

[13] Rickard, 118.

shape likely also symbolizes Turtle Island, referring to a creation story common amongst many traditions within the Algonquian and Iroquoian language groups wherein the North American continent formed on the back of a giant turtle.[14] This skirt thus exemplifies the ways that Indigenous art and design were employed to maintain corporeal and cosmological ties to ancestral homelands.

According to King, settler populations were incapable of observing the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant: "As settlers began to proliferate in what would become the Great Lakes area, they too were invited to eat from the dish. But over time their collective appetite eroded the principles of mutual autonomy, humility and sustainability."[15] The inability of settlers to understand the codes and ethics of shared territory can be attributed to the fact that they viewed land in terms of property and extraction. This understanding of territory and resources is represented by European artistic traditions, in particular the landscape genre. Art historian Ruth Phillips attributes the political utility of landscape painting in nineteenth-century North America to its perspectival representation of space, which she claims corresponds with Western concepts of ownership, horizontal space, and linear time. By design then, landscape paintings destabilized traditional Indigenous relationships to land, which were informed by cosmologies that centred reciprocity, defined space vertically, and observed natural cycles.[16] Art historian Peter John Brownlee further stresses the role that landscape painting in the Americas played in establishing an entitlement to natural resources amongst those who held private property: "Landscape panting in the Americas glorified and helped to facilitate the extraction of natural resources in pictures that accorded with the aesthetic tastes and entrepreneurial spirit of

[14] Rickard, 118.
[15] Hayden King, "First Nations Crisis is About Land. We Need a New Settlement."
[16] Ruth Philips, "Overview: Indigenous Lands/Settler Landscapes, Art Histories Out of Joint" in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valeria Piccoli and Georgina Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 93.

the landowning classes."[17] Brownlee cites W.J.T. Mitchell's *Landscape and Power* (1994), an edited volume of essays that establishes the historical alignment of landscape painting with the economic interests of landowners.[18]

Given that these revisionist critiques of historical landscape painting take issue with form, I initially wondered whether quilts and embroideries present a more equitable and ecological view of nature. For example, while quilt tops and samplers tend to picture natural subjects, particularly flowers, they rarely make use of perspectival space or horizon lines, devices that arguably produce the illusion of an open expanse that one cannot help but imagine occupying.[19] Writer Rebecca Solnit argues as much in her essay on Eliot Porter's close-range colour photographs of birds, plants, and terrain, wherein she writes that landscape views tend to reinforce the primacy of the viewer by reducing and marginalizing animals, trees, and other discrete natural features.[20] The act of looking at quilts and samplers is not accompanied by any such delusions of grandeur. In fact, their scale tends to reduce us in size and pull us close to the ground. As such, one might argue that quilt tops and embroidery accord with the *ecological aesthetic* put forth by Solnit: "This close-up scale emphasizes the ordinary over the extraordinary [and suggests] that we can love a place for its black-berries or its stream ripples, not just for its peaks, waterfalls, or charismatic macrofauna. All parts have equal value."[21] Quilts and samplers thus delight in the unremarkable characteristics of place, rather than marvel at the vastness and value of any given territory. Nevertheless, my research shows that these decorative traditions are closely related to

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[17] Peter John Brownlee, "Overview: Land as Resource," in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valeria Piccoli, and Georgina Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 132.

[18] See W.J.T Mitchell ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[19] Rebecca Solnit, "'Every Corner is Alive': Eliot Porter as an Environmentalist and Artist" in *A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art History,* eds. Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 226.

[20] Solnit, 225-226.

[21] Solnit, 225-226.

landscape painting insofar as their floral motifs ultimately promote the industrialization, inventory, and cultivation of the natural world.

My research involved establishing the provenance and geographies of three embroidered quilts, tracing the history of their floral designs, and assessing their cultural meaning. I have found that some of the embroideries within my study make specific references to the floral designs found in Indian, British, and Indigenous decorative arts, and that a select few have been inspired by Ontario's wildflowers and early gardens. Citing this research, I argue that these embroidered quilts represent the consumption, study, and transformation of Canadian land that was promoted by settler-colonialism. I do not attribute malintent to the women included in my study. Rather, I situate their homecrafts within a broader cultural context and detail the political dimensions of their artistic references. As such, I establish these women as serious contributors to the visual and material culture of nation building in Canada, which has otherwise been considered the exclusive purview of canonical male landscape painters. Given that I contextualize my case studies within British imperial economics, science traditions, and land management practices, this dissertation also considers the effects that the British taste for flowers and floral designs had on the cultural and environmental sustainability of the region's Woodland Indigenous communities.

Canadian Folkways and the Field of Design History

This dissertation on nineteenth-century Canadian quilts addresses several gaps in the literature on Canadian craft, which falls within the broader category of design history. My main contribution is substantive given that historical domestic homecrafts, also referred to as *folkways*, are woefully underrepresented within the already limited published record on craft in Canada. This is exemplified by the fact that Canada's historical quilt tradition is the subject of only two survey

texts, both of which were published in the 1970s. Embroidered quilts do not feature prominently in these surveys and little else has been written on the subject of embroidered quilts in Canada, in part because few historical examples survive in museum collections. The low profile occupied by Canadian quilts, embroidery, and other folkways in the national discourse on craft is in keeping with the fact that design history more broadly has tended to prioritize professional production. My focus on folkways therefore contributes to the democratization or inclusivity of this discipline, which has been criticized for limiting its scope to the contributions of white men. My substantive contribution to Canada's design history is further enhanced by my analysis. Meaning, my specific interest in how historical Canadian quilts represent the natural world models a critical approach to historical design objects that is informed by revisionist theory. This is significant because design history continues to remain relatively traditional in its approach, resistant to applying the critical approaches to objects that have developed in the field of art history since the 1970s.

Beginning with definitions, today there is a distinction between traditional or amateur craft and professional craft. Traditional craft refers to the pre-industrial production of handmade objects. Some traditional crafts were professionalized by way of guilds and unions, and some were private, centered in the home. In his address to *Exploring Contemporary Craft: History, Theory and Critical Writing*, a symposium on craft that was held at Toronto's Harbourfront Centre in 1999, Bruce Metcalf referred to traditional crafts produced in the domestic sphere as *folkways*.[22] While most traditional crafts were upset or replaced by industrial processes and manufactured goods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some folkways, including

[22] Bruce Metcalf, "Contemporary Craft: A Brief Overview," *Exploring Contemporary Craft: History, Theory and Critical Writing*, ed. Jean Johnson (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2002), 14.

quilting, have continued on the margins of consumer culture.[23] Sandra Alfoldy attempts to define professional craft in her book on its development in Canada (2005): "Fundamental to the separation of professional from amateur was an emphasis on standards, adopted by the Canadian Guild of Crafts and the Canadian Craftsmen's Association."[24] She dates the emergence of professional craft in Canada to the period following the Second World War and identifies a system of signs that was developed to denote professional craft at this time: "Reviewing juror's statements, examining exhibition catalogues, and observing the craft objects of this period reveal shared characteristics rooted in late modernism, including subtle ornamentation, experiments with new techniques, an emphasis on natural colouration, and increasing references to artistic trends embodied in the form of the craft objects."[25] My three case studies are folkways, embroidered quilts produced by hand in the home during a period that saw Canada transition from a being rural colony to an industrialized country.

Historical folkways, including quilts, do not figure prominently in the literature on Canadian craft. In 2003, Paula Gustafson evaluated the status of craft in Canadian publishing, noting that only nine craft-related books had been published since 1994. Of these nine titles, only two are historical in their focus.[26] Since then, I can only account for four more books on craft that have been published in Canada.[27] Every one of these titles concentrates on the twentieth century, and professional craft is the subject of all but one.[28] The dearth of published materials

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[23] Metcalf, 14.

[24] Sandra Alfoldy, *Crafting Identity*: *The Development of Professional Fine Craft in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 9.

[25] Alfoldy, 9.

[26] Paula Gustafson, "Craft Publishing in Canada," *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 46.

[27] Sandra Alfoldy, *Crafting Identity*, 2005; Sandra Alfoldy, *The Allied Arts: Architecture and Craft in Postwar Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); Alan C. Elder, *Made in Canada: Craft and Design in the Sixties* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Erin Morton, *For Folk's Sake: Art and Economy in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016).

[28] Gustafson, "Craft Publishing in Canada," 46.

on historical Canadian folkways is exemplified by a review of the extant literature on Canadian quilts, which includes only two titles. Mary Conroy and Ruth McKendry published the first and only significant historical surveys of Canadian quilts in the 1970s. Conroy and McKendry's texts were arguably inspired by the centenary celebrations in 1967 that saw historians, designers, institutions, and manufacturers produce work with an interest in forging a national aesthetic sensibility.[29] For example, J. Russell Harper and Dennis Reid published their important surveys of Canadian painting in 1966 and 1973, respectively.[30] The Canada Council and the University of Toronto sponsored Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History* (1967) for the Canadian centenary, underlining the importance of art to Canadian nationalism in the twentieth century. Design was also central to the development of a national visual identity at this time. This is exemplified by the introduction of George Stanley's Canadian flag in 1965, as well as the strong design components of the various cultural events that were mounted as part of the national centenary celebrations, including the International and Universal Exposition (Expo 67). According to Cheryl Dipede, "these and other design projects such as the Federal Identity Program of 1968 were instrumental attempts by the Canadian government to establish symbols of Canadian sovereignty in the postwar period that were distinct from the previously dominant British influence."[31] Conroy and McKendry's texts on historical Canadian quilts contributed to this effort to distinguish Canada's fine and applied arts, which may account in part for their romantic tenor.

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[29] Ruth McKendry*, Quilts and Other Bed Coverings in the Canadian Tradition* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1979); and Mary Conroy, *300 Years of Canada's Quilts* (Toronto: Griffen House, 1976); Margaret Hodges, "Nationalism and Modernism: Rethinking Scandinavian Design in Canada, 1950-1970," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 40, no. 2 (2015): 57-58.

[30] J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada, A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966); Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1973).

[31] Cheryl Dipede, "From Typography to Graphic Designer: Typographic Exhibitions and the Formation of a Graphic Design Profession in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 40, no. 2 (2015): 130.

In her forward to 3*00 Years of Canada's Quilts* (1976), Conroy explicitly states that she wrote the book in order to challenge the British and American quilt experts who claim that the Canadian quilt tradition is completely derivative of the British and American quilt traditions: "As a dedicated quilter and publisher of a newsletter for Canadian quilters, *Canada Quilts*, I was sure that there was greater depth of Canadian quilting than [was] stated."[32] Her account of quilt making in Canada duly emphasizes scarcity and self-sufficiency, the conditions for originality. She writes that the first quilts in Canada would have come with settlers as part of their personal effects, and that the bed was the most valued piece of furniture in a settler's home: "It was associated with all the important events in the lives of pioneers, birth, marriage and death. As well, because it was at first curtained or closed with doors, it provided the only small amount of privacy they had."[33] According to Conroy, this accounts for why women, who were charged with making bed clothes, spent much time and effort on dressing the bedstead.[34] Conroy stresses the difficulty settler women had sourcing materials for making quilts and blankets in Upper and Lower Canada before the mid- to late-nineteenth century. She writes that French and British settlers alike thus grew flax to produce linen, which was insufficiently warm but grew easily and quickly.[35] She also writes that women plucked wild geese and harvested cattail down for their quilt linings because it was too onerous to raise and shear sheep.[36] Significantly, Conroy assigns purely symbolic meaning to quilt patterns and designs, and she associates floral motifs with ideals related to family and fortune, including marriage and abundance: "The designs for

[32] Conroy, ix.
[33] Conroy, 2.
[34] Conroy, 1-2.
[35] Conroy, 13, 21
[36] Conroy, 10, 22.

[marriage quilts] are almost always symbolic of love, longevity and fertility…hearts, grapes, flowers and doves."[37]

In *Quilts and Other Bed Coverings in the Canadian Tradition* (1979), McKendry focuses on the history of quilts and the place of the bed in Ontario specifically. Her interest in quilts is sentimental, a response to her observations at country auctions and sales: "The beautiful quilts were carried away to be scattered from here to everywhere, with nobody remembering and nobody caring about the women who had sat sewing them by the sunny kitchen window through the long winter afternoons. I began to think that someone should record the love and labour that went into the making of the Ontario bedcovers before their history was lost forever."[38] Like Conroy, McKendry takes an interest in the materials, labour, and symbolism represented in historical Canadian quilts. She stresses that cotton and most other finished materials were largely unavailable for purchase in many settler communities until the mid-nineteenth century, and that even then shops were a journey from most homesteads. The importance of flax crops and linen production to Upper Canada's settlers in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is attributed to this gap in the marketplace.[39] McKendry affirms that sheep and geese were important sources of raw material for homesteaders, though they were difficult to rear and protect on account of predatory wildlife.[40] She observes that settler women would have initially tended to their family's meagre flocks of sheep and geese because their male counterparts would have been occupied with the arduous task of clearing the land of trees.[41] What's more, women would have woven the sheep's wool into cloth and plucked goose feathers for bed ticks. According to McKendry, many of the first quilts in Upper Canada were patchwork quilts made from worn-out

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[37] Conroy, 24.
[38] McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bed Coverings in the Canadian Tradition,* 9-10.
[39] McKendry*, Quilts and Other Bed Coverings in the Canadian Tradition*, 19.
[40] McKendry, 24, 27, 46.
[41] McKendry, 27.

clothing. She writes that stronger quilts were ultimately made from scraps of homespun or store-bought materials saved from garment making.[42]

Like Conroy, McKendry attributes the time and labour that settler women in nineteenth-century Ontario spent dressing the bedstead to the central importance of this piece of furniture to the colonial Canadian home: "Traditionally, the bedstead had always been a significant possession, but here in this cold, hard new country it was of even greater and more immediate importance. A good bed might mean the difference between life and death; people were known to have frozen to death without its protection."[43] In addition to the import of the bed itself, McKendry attributes the effort that young women in particular spent producing quilts and bedding to social customs. In Upper Canada, women spent their youths making quilt tops that they planned to add to their inventory of bedclothes when they were married. A young woman's quilt tops were only finished once she was betrothed since batting and backing materials were costly. Finishing one's quilts in time for a wedding typically involved organizing a quilting bee, a community event that was tantamount to announcing one's engagement. At a quilting bee, women sat around a quilting frame that held the quilt top, batting, and backing in place, and they sewed these layers together to produce a finished quilt. Quilting bees typically involved young men as well as young women, and they duly concluded with dances and festivities in the evening: "In theory at least, a good quilter was more apt to make a suitable marriage than a poor quilter, because she would be invited to the quilting bees where girls met young men."[44] As a result, girls were taught to sew and quilt in part because these were necessary skills for being a

[42] McKendry, 83-84.
[43] McKendry, 29
[44] McKendry, 60-62.

housewife, and in part because quilt-making produced the social conditions for courtship and marriage.

McKendry takes a serious interest in the symbolism of historical Canadian quilts. She writes that nature was a central reference point for nineteenth-century Canadian women, whose lives were determined by the seasons and cycles of life, and that their quilt motifs were inspired by the natural world.[45] She claims that many quilt motifs derived from historical British Christianity, which combined the monotheistic religion with pagan, earth-based beliefs. For example, she writes that the popular oak leaf motif signifies pagan rituals that centered the oak tree as well long life because the oak tree stands for centuries.[46] She even attributes the shape of the quilt itself to nature, claiming that its corners point to the four directions.[47] There is only one instance, however, where McKendry relates a quilt's pattern with the specifics of the quilt maker's natural surroundings, and it is buried in an annotation for an Ocean Waves quilt made in Ontario's Leeds County at the beginning of the twentieth century: "Women tended to make patterns that reflected what they saw every day. The woman who made this quilt lived along the shores of the St. Lawrence River."[48] McKendry does not investigate whether women regarded quilting as an opportunity to identify with specific geographies or record natural observations. This is further seen in her treatment of floral quilt motifs, which she characterizes as totems of "fruitfulness and the annual resurgence of growth." By showing that women represented their economic, epistemological, and cultural relationships with the natural world in their flowered quilt tops, this dissertation specifically challenges the notion put forth by Conroy and McKendry that the floral designs found on early Canadian quilts are purely symbolic or ornamental.

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[45] McKendry, 116.
[46] McKendry, 110.
[47] McKendry, 111.
[48] McKendry, 179.

It is worth noting that this dissertation also expands the otherwise thin history of embroidered quilts in Canada. The rarity of embroidered examples in Canadian collections has led to their being almost overlooked by scholars. Conroy's text for example, includes only two embroidered quilts among over one hundred illustrations, and only nine embroidered quilts appear among over four hundred quilts illustrated in McKendry's text.[49] My dissertation focuses on three embroidered quilts in Canadian museum collections and therefore makes a notable contribution to the history of Canada's material culture. More specifically, my three case studies have slim bibliographies at best, and this dissertation makes a significant contribution to the historical record of these objects of Canadian heritage.[50] The quilts by Morris and Bell appear together in a short article by McKendry on "The Use of Embroidery on Quilts in Canada," wherein she attributes the rarity of embroidered quilts to the combination of creativity and skill that they demand: "Embroidered bedcovers were never common because women making such quilts had to be artistic as well as skilful with their needles in order to plan a design that would hold together over such a large area, and, at the same time, be pleasing and harmonious in colour."[51] Embroidered details, she explains, were fashionable amongst quilt makers from the end of the nineteenth century through to the 1930s, but these often derived from stamped patterns and lacked the originality of the earlier all-over embroidery styles exemplified by my case studies.

More significantly, this dissertation complicates the idealistic representation of Canada's quilting tradition put forth in Conroy and McKendry's texts by discussing how quilts contributed

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[49] See McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bed Coverings in the Canadian Tradition*, 1979; and Conroy, *300 Years of Canada's Quilts*, 1976.

[50] Lisa Binkley, *Canadian Quilts and their Makers* (Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming); McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bed Coverings in the Canadian Tradition*; Ruth McKendry, "The Use of Embroidery on Quilts in Canada," *Embroidery Canada* 8, no. 2 (February 1981): 10-11; Ruth McKendry, "The Quilt in Upper Canada," in *The Heritage Quilt Collection*, ed. Dorothy Farr, 10-14 (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1992); Ruth McKendry, *Classic Quilts* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1997).

[51] McKendry, "The Use of Embroidery on Quilts in Canada," 11.

to the settler-colonial visual and material culture, which continues to cause harm to the environment and Indigenous peoples. This conclusion is at odds with the image of Canada's quilts that suited the early 1970s, when there was a desire for uncomplicated narratives that emphasized the independence and ingenuity of Canada's settlers, and glorified the establishment of Canadian society and government. Today, the increasing emphasis on cultural and environmental sustainability in our political discourse demands that historians take a critical perspective on the past. For example, in 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission published its Final Report on Canada's residential schools. It concluded that these boarding schools "were created [by the Government of Canada] for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture – the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society, led by Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald."[52] The report details a history that was previously unfamiliar to many white Canadians and outlines ninety-four calls to action. Furthermore, in 2019 the House of Commons passed a non-binding motion to declare a national climate emergency in Canada that was introduced by Climate Change Minister Catherine McKenna. The motion stated that "climate change is a real and urgent crisis, driven by human activity…Canadians are feeling the impacts of climate change today, from flooding, wildfires, heat waves and other extreme weather events which are projected to intensify in the future."[53] The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee and the motion to declare a national climate emergency in Canada both warrant

[52] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2015), v.

[53] Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Notice Paper, 42d Parl., 1st sess., May 14, 2019.

histories of Canada and its visual and material cultures that challenge the romantic narratives of settlement and nation building that were typical of the postwar period.

The aforementioned symposium on craft that took place at Toronto's Harbourfront Centre in 1999 was organized precisely to address the lack of a formal, critical academic discourse on craft in Canada at the end of the twentieth century, and to arrive at some disciplinary position for craft studies. In her contribution to the symposium, Alexandra Palmer addressed the importance of historical context to contemporary craft practices: "Without a solid base of history, craft students are set adrift. They know how to make teapots, cups and bowls but in most cases have little understanding of the social or cultural use or meaning of their own production."[54] At the time, Palmer speculated that though the history and theory of craft had theretofore been considered superfluous given that craft was largely taught in Canada's art colleges and trade schools, the trend towards professionalizing creative fields by way of university degrees would necessitate the development of these discourses. Further to this, she expressed the importance of identifying craft history with a broader academic discipline besides art history, which fails to adequately address "the serious position of craft."[55] She ultimately pointed to the emergent discipline of design studies in England as a possible model for developing object histories outside the bounds of art history.[56] Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, many have indeed advocated for the place of craft within design studies, also referred to as design history, an underdeveloped field relative to art history that includes the historical and theoretical study of designed objects.

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[54] Alexandra Palmer, "Craft Theory and Education," in *Exploring Contemporary Craft: History, Theory and Critical Writing*, (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2002), 58.

[55] Palmer, 57.

[56] Palmer, 57.

The emergence of design studies as a discourse distinct from art history is generally dated to the late 1970s and late 1980s. In 1977, the Design History Society was founded by a subsection of members within Association of Art Historians in London, England. Just over ten years later, the *Journal of Design History* was established and John A. Walker published his pioneering *Design History and the History of Design* (1989).[57] Initially, the field was concerned with the study of select designs, designers, and manufacturers, in particular those who suited the modernist paradigm promoted by Nikolas Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (1936), including William Morris and Walter Gropius.[58] This approach and its emphasis on so-called excellence had a masculinist bias and privileged professional modes of production. Grace Lees-Maffei has likened the Pevsnarian strain of design history to the "now-out-moded art historical approach based on a history of styles and connoisseurship."[59] The influence of Pevsner on Walker is evident given that he broadly defines design as a specialist activity that relates to industry, manufacturing, modernism, and consumerism. While this definition can include professional craft, it certainly excludes traditional crafts and folkways.

This limited approach to design history was criticized as early as 1984, when Clive Dilnot advocated for a socio-historical approach to design that might diversify its interests in a two-part essay published in *Design Issues*, "The State of Design History" (1984). As part of his appeal he examined the status of the decorative arts and craft in design history given the discipline's focus on twentieth-century production, asking "does the history of the decorative have any role in design history or design understanding?" He responds, "opinions differ sharply as to the position of the crafts in relation to a concept such as design. However, during the next few years a history

[57] See John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989).
[58] Nikolas Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936).
[59] Grace Lees Maffei, "The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm," *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): 355.

that takes a more serious view of the decorative, esthetic function of craft objects will emerge."[60] He then writes that models for such histories might be seen in recent work on the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau movements, which take as much of an interest in the social conditions that gave rise to these movements as they do in the objects themselves. This development towards a design history that places emphasis on an "examination of the social conditions in which this work was produced and its connection to theories of life and human relations" makes more room for traditional craft and folkways like quilts, as does Dilnot's effort to make design history more inclusive by pushing it beyond the bounds of professional practice.[61] His interest in a more democratic design history ultimately leads him to advocate for a feminist approach to the discipline that includes craft and folkways: "feminist design history possesses the supreme virtue of refusing the distinction between design and social life that characterizes so much design thinking, practice, and historical work…It is precisely the feminist analysis that relates the design of things intimately and concretely to the ways in which objects and images affect us."[62]

In 2009, the *Journal of Design History* published a special issue on the state of the field. In their introduction, Hazel Clark and David Brody describe Dilnot's two-part essay from 1984 as prescient, noting that "scholarship has become more interdisciplinary, and the geographical foci of global discourses have been reassessed, certainly beyond Euro-American concerns."[63] Despite this progress, the contributors to this issue all criticize the continued exclusivity of the field. For example, in her contribution on the design history survey course, Sarah A Lichman observes that the current canon of design history as it is represented by survey courses and survey texts still centers objects by well-known designers, who are typically male. She writes that this approach

[60] Clive Dilnot, "The State of Design History, Part One: Mapping the Field," *Design Issues* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 14.
[61] Dilnot, "The State of Design History," 14.
[62] Dilnot, "The State of Design History," 23.
[63] Hazel Clark and David Brody, "Current State of Design History," *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): 304.

"presents a problem for an appreciation for the role of women in the design of the material and visual culture of the past because much of it was anonymous or amateur."[64] According to Lichman, "the need for broader and more inclusive histories and debates is urgent," and she suggests that historians address this by paying more attention to anonymous, amateur design and crafts. The special issue closes with a reflection by Dilnot, who reiterates his earlier appeals for the democratization of design history. He writes that design history continues to have blind spots, including working-class design histories and African design histories. Like Lichman, he urges historians to challenge the hierarchy of objects in order to expand the field: "Just as the history of anonymous portraiture is arguably the greatest political contribution that photography has made, so there is an argument that the restoration to visibility of things overlooked, of things previously invisible, performs a similar democratic feat on the plane of objects."[65]

In 2015, *Canadian Art Review (RACAR)* published a special issue on design studies that cast the discipline as underdeveloped in Canada. In his contribution, design historian Keith Bresnahan makes the following assessment of the state of the field in Canada:

> Design studies globally is still in a state of infancy, a situation that is particularly stark in Canada: despite the astonishing rise in design studio programs in recent decades, and despite design's standing in popular consciousness, there is only one dedicated program in the country for design studies (at Edmonton's MacEwan University), and there are no stand-alone design history programs at either the undergraduate or graduate level. Museum collections and archives of design-related materials are similarly scarce, or entirely absent; and the scholarly literature on Canadian design history in Canada is scant, with many sub-fields of design and many key figures lacking even introductory treatment.[66]

He concludes by saying that the development of design history in Canada requires an immediate investment in scholarship, collections, and archives, and he asks that those who work within the field to expand their interests beyond the modern period and central Canada.[67] In the same issue,

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[64] Sarah A. Lichman, "Reconsidering the History of Design Survey," *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): 346.
[65] Clive Dilnot, "Some Futures for Design History?" *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): 388.
[66] Keith Bresnahan, "Introduction: Design Studies in Canada (and Beyond): The State of the Field," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 40, no. 2 (2015): 5-6.
[67] Bresnaham, 9.

Wayne A. Williams and Janice Rieger challenge Canada's design historians to engage more critically with objects and their histories: "The fields of both art history and design history have seen a shift from a canonical study of objects, artists, and styles to more interdisciplinary and cultural foci – this shift towards cultural studies has benefited both. However, we believe that design studies and design history must embrace criticality more extensively."[68] They write that criticality might be more fulsome within the field if practitioners did not limit themselves to a canon of objects defined by subjective criteria and economic value, echoing the critiques and strategies put forth by Dilnot, Maffei, and Lichman.[69]

This dissertation on nineteenth-century Canadian quilts addresses the gap in the literature on Canadian design history identified most recently by Bresnahan. In studying folkways within the genre of traditional craft, this dissertation also responds to Gustafson's earlier observation that craft histories are underrepresented even within in the limited published record on craft in Canada. More broadly, my focus on folkways takes seriously Dilnot's recommendations for a more inclusive design history, a position echoed by Lichman. The specific interest that I have taken in how historical Canadian quilts represent land and nature responds to the call for critical approaches to designed objects made by Dilnot, Lichman, Williams and Reiger. Indeed, in his aforementioned contribution to the special issue of the *Journal of Design History* in 2009, Dilnot specifically recommends that design history address the existential questions posed by climate change, including: "By what processes or set of processes did we arrive at this point?"[70] He writes that the doubt now held with regards to the assuredness of the planet's future must change perspectives on the past because the anticipated loss is a historical problem. My dissertation

[68] Wayne A. Williams and Janice Reiger, "A Design History of Design: Complexity, Criticality, and Cultural Competence," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 40, no. 2 (2015): 16.

[69] Williams and Reiger, 18.

[70] Dilnot, "Some Futures for Design History?" 385.

attempts to address the question of how design history contributes to our uncertain environmental future by contextualizing the folkways produced by women in nineteenth-century Canada within a visual and material culture that destabilised the reciprocal ethic of land use and natural resource management endorsed by the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant.

The Application of Revisionist Art Historical Approaches to Design Objects

Given that design history has yet to fully develop its relationship to critical theory, this dissertation is informed by revisionist art histories, including feminist, environmental, and settler-colonial art histories. This project is feminist in so far as it takes the domestic production of nineteenth-century women seriously, treating their homecrafts or folkways as important contributions to the emergent Canadian national visual and material culture. Though the critical position that this dissertation takes on Morris, Bell, and McCrum's quilts may seem incompatible with feminism, women of colour have long demanded that feminist histories take questions of race seriously and account for the privileged position of white women. My dissertation duly relates the homecrafts of British women in nineteenth-century Canada to the project of nation building and its effects on Indigenous people. My interest in questions of land and nature as well as my critical treatment of floral designs are informed by environmental art history, which assesses how nature is represented in visual and material cultures. This discourse has hitherto identified Western perceptions of nature with the landscape painting tradition, and my dissertation shows that the same economic, epistemological, and cultural values that are projected onto the landscape by male artists in the nineteenth century can also be found in the floral embroideries produced by their female contemporaries. If one accepts Jolene Rickard's assertion that landscape paintings are "conceptual and visceral tools of colonization," one must then also implicate Morris, Bell, and McCrum's embroidered quilts in the politics of settler

colonialism in Canada.[71] Informed by settler-colonial art history, this dissertation shows that British women in Canada represented their investment in the ongoing process of settler colonialism through their homecrafts.

Feminist art history dates to the 1970s, when a number of art historians who identified with the second wave feminist movement began to criticize the marginalization of female artists by disciplinary hierarchies. Some of these scholars attempted to reframe the discourse on craft in order make room for women's art histories in academia, collections, and exhibitions. The feminist design history that Dilnot advocates for in in 1984 derives from the framework for feminist art history outlined by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock in *Old Mistresses* (1981), which is a sweeping critique of art history as a sexist discipline. Their chapter on "Crafty Women and the Hierarchy of the Arts" is particularly important to my approach to nineteenth-century Canadian quilts. This chapter can be read as a response to Linda Nochlin's question regarding the absence of female artists in Western art history: *Why have there been no great women artists?*[72] Parker and Pollock claim that female artists have always existed and that they have simply been rendered invisible by the disciplinary hierarchy that privileges fine art over applied art: "In this hierarchy the arts of painting and sculpture enjoy an elevated status while other arts that adorn people, homes or utensils are relegated to a lesser cultural sphere under such terms as 'applied', 'decorative', or 'lesser' arts. This hierarchy is maintained by attributing to the decorative arts a lesser degree of intellectual effort or appeal and a greater concern with manual skill and utility."[73] According to Parker and Pollock, this hierarchy dates to the establishment of

[71] Rickard, "Arts of Dispossession," 115.
[72] See Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *ARTnews* (Jan 1971): pp 22-39, 67-71.
[73] Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 50.

the first fine art academies during the Renaissance period, an observation that underlines the sexist foundations of Western art.[74]

Significantly, Parker and Pollock refer to flower paintings and embroidery in order to demonstrate how art produced by women has been historically devalued by its association with craft. They write that flower painting was initially a branch of European still-life painting that gained prominence in Holland during the seventeenth century. Historically, the cultural meaning of flowers was manifold as they were symbolic of morality and mortality. As such, they might be used to represent various cycles of human life, including birth, youth, and death.[75] By the late eighteenth century, flower painting had become associated with female artists and its status was duly diminished. To illustrate the enduring prejudice against flower painting, Parker and Pollock cite a twentieth-century critic who associates the genre with common craftsmanship rather than fine artistry because it requires neither mental nor spiritual genius.[76] They contextualize embroidery within this history as well, attributing the practical omission of this medium from art historical discourse to its being associated with domestic production and femininity since the early modern period.[77] Parker and Pollock stress the artistic attributes of embroidery samplers in particular, arguing that the expressive examples within this tradition are all the more remarkable given the strictures and limitations imposed upon the young women who made them. They lament, "if [samplers] are valued at all it is for nostalgic reasons or for the manual dexterity they display."[78] This dissertation takes Parker and Pollock's petition for the cultural value of craft, florals, and embroidery seriously by presenting new research on three quilts embroidered with

[74] Parker and Pollock, 50.
[75] Parker and Pollock, 51.
[76] Parker and Pollock, 54.
[77] Parker and Pollock, 60-61.
[78] Parker and Pollock, 67.

floral designs, each of which represents the artistic skill of a British woman in the nineteenth century.

Parker and Pollock argue that flower paintings, embroidery, and other so-called craft objects produced by female artists will not be elevated within the art historical discourse until they are treated with the same analytical rigour as art objects. They emphasize that this does not simply mean translating craft into fine art, which would rob craft of its unique material properties and meaning. To illustrate this point, they criticize the representation of blankets and quilts in major museums. According to Parker and Pollock, the display of blankets and quilts in museum exhibitions reinforce the hierarchical dichotomy between art and craft because museum curators and critics tend to encourage viewers to reframe these objects as abstract paintings. To illustrate this observation, they refer to a review of an exhibition of blankets made by female Navajo weavers at the Whitney Museum that intentionally obscures how the blankets were made and by whom so that they might be appreciated as objects of fine art.[79] In the words of Parker and Pollock, "This indicates once again that in modern art history the fine artist is synonymous with the male artist. These blankets can be appreciated aesthetically and formally by critics…only by creating a new status of the maker which includes not only a change of terminology but also of sex and, implicitly, of race."[80] This case study illustrates that blankets and quilts have the capacity to address questions of gender and settler colonialism in North America's past, an intersection of interests that is explored by this dissertation.

By casting Morris, Bell, and McCrum's quilts as evidence of their complicity in settler colonialism, including its redefinition of North American land and its oppressions of Indigenous peoples, this dissertation may seem discordant with feminism, which many tend to presume has

[79] Parker and Pollock, 68.
[80] Parker and Pollock, 69.

an interest in generating positive interpretations of historical women's work; however, women of colour have long advocated for more complicated feminist histories that account for the racial seniority of white women. In 1982, for example, cultural studies scholar Hazel V. Carby implored white feminists to recognize that white women hold a power position in relation to women of colour, making them oppressors.[81] Of particular relevance to this dissertation is Carby's implication of British women in the racist history of Empire. She writes, "the involvement of British women in imperialism and colonialism is repressed and the benefits that they – as whites – gained from the oppression of black people ignored. Forms of imperialism are simply identified as aspects of an all-embracing patriarchy rather than as a set of social relations in which white women hold positions of power by virtue of their race." Importantly, she urges white feminists to address this gap in the historical record by interrogating their own whiteness: "Instead of taking black women as the objects of their research, white feminist researchers should try to uncover the gender-specific mechanisms of racism amongst white women."[82] Informed by Carby's arguments, this dissertation examines how the floral decorations favored by British women in nineteenth-century Canada visualize their involvement in settler colonialism and aestheticize their complicity in the efforts to replace Indigeneity with whiteness.

The development of feminist art histories in the Canadian context was recently explored by Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson in the edited volume, *Rethinking Professionalism: Women Artists in Canada, 1850-1970* (2012), which stresses the continued need for critical feminist art histories in Canada. In their Preface, Huneault and Anderson write that Canadian feminist art history has remained focused on a monographic framework that fails to account for

[81] Hazel V. Carby, "White Woman Listen!: Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood" in *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 1970s Britain*, ed. the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (London: Routledge, 2004), 213.
[82] Carby, 231.

contextual questions and theoretical analysis: "Whereas broad based scholarly histories exist for women's production in Britain, the United States, France, Australia, and elsewhere, in Canada the need for a critically engaged synthetic look at the significance of women's cultural production remains to be met." [83] In her contribution, "Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada," Huneault echoes Pollock and Parker by arguing that, at present, Canadian art history is unlikely to recognize and historicize the importance of craft within women's creative production because it is too dependent on the narrative of professionalism.[84] Huneault demonstrated her commitment to producing feminist Canadian art histories that challenge the boundaries of monographs and professionalism in her latest publication, *I'm Not Myself At All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada* (2018), which includes a chapter on botanical drawings produced by female Canadian artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This dissertation responds to Huneault by profiling female Canadian artists whose contributions are best examined within a broad cultural context outside the bounds of traditional art institutions and hierarchies. Like Huneault, I have treated the visual culture of flowers produced by British women in nineteenth-century Canada as serious contributions to the country's art history.

The critical treatment of florals in this dissertation is in part informed by environmental art history, an emergent line of inquiry within the environmental humanities. The broad objective of the environmental humanities is to develop a historical cultural context for the challenges presented by the changing environment. Environmental art history contributes to this aim by examining how visual and material cultures represent nature. To date, the relatively limited

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[83] Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson, "Preface" in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women Artists in Canada, 1850-1970*, eds. Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), xx.

[84] See Kristina Huneault, "Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada," in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women Artists in Canada, 1850-1970*, eds Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

scope of prominent scholarship in this field has focused on the historical landscape painting tradition. The genre of landscape painting has long been characterized as a naturalistic representation of nature. For example, in his survey of Western art, Ernst Hans Gombrich describes the English landscape painter John Constable (1776-1837) as being in pursuit of "nothing but the truth."[85] Environmental art historians have sought to complicate this conventional understanding of the genre by showing that landscape views have social and political meaning. For example, amongst the first environmental art histories is Barbara Novak's *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (1980), which presents landscape painting as being fundamental to the myth of American exceptionalism.[86] Novak focuses particularly on a fifty-year period during which Americans saw God in nature and believed that the continent's so-called virgin wildness confirmed their manifest destiny. She argues that Americans were able to reconcile their religious feelings about wilderness with their materialist desires by elevating the morality of work, resulting in a laissez-faire moral code that deemed all wilderness and industry ultimately good.

The field of environmental art history has been largely defined by three edited volumes, *Landscape and Power* (1994) edited by William John Thomas Mitchell, *A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art* (2009) edited by Alan Braddock and Christoph Irmscher, and *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment* (2018) edited by Alan Braddock and Karl Kusserow. In his introductory essay to *Landscape and Power,* Mitchell argues that landscape views have historically been instruments or agents of power insofar as they have "naturalized cultural and social constructions, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and

[85] E. H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, 1950 (New York: Phaidon, Pocket Edition, 2006), 375.

[86] See Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

inevitable." Mitchell furthers this argument in his contribution, "Imperial Landscape," wherein he argues that landscape painting represents an imperial mode of perception: "At a minimum we need to explore the possibility that the representation of landscape is not only a matter of internal politics and national or class ideology but also an international, global phenomenon, intimately bound up with the discourses of imperialism."[87] In their introductory essay to *Keener Perception*, Braddock and Irmscher further stress the political dimension of landscape painting. For example, they write that the American landscape painter Thomas Cole filtered his perception of land through various lenses, including his Christian faith, his British upbringing, his affiliation with the American Whig Party, and his identification with European art.[88] More recently, Braddock and Kusserow produced *Nature's Nation*, an edited volume that was published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same name at the Princeton University Art Museum that explored how the American landscape painting tradition has bolstered the country's dominant political interests, from colonization to industrialization and conservation.[89]

Significantly, the landscape painting canon is biased towards male artists and an over investment in the study of this genre by environmental art historians inevitably risks excluding women from the discourse. The American and Canadian landscape traditions, in particular, have long cast the continent's wild spaces as belonging to intrepid Western men. Art historian Marilyn McKay argues that this gender bias is especially strong Canada, where the punishing terrain and climate were exalted for producing a rugged, virile, and 'manly' national character in the decades

[87] W.J.T Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power, ed*. W.J.T Mitchell, 5-34 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002), 9.

[88] Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher, "Introduction," in *A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art History,* eds. Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 6.

[89] See Alan C. Braddock and Karl Kusserow, "Introduction," in *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment,* eds. Alan C.
Braddock and Karl Kusserow (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 2018), 12.

following the Confederation of the British North American colonies in 1867.[90] Exalting Canada's geography as 'masculine' enabled Canadians to define themselves in opposition to the 'feminine' United States. Even before this myth of Canadian masculine exceptionalism peaked, British women in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Canada perceived that they had a limited role to play in the cultural treatment of their natural surroundings. According to McKay, though British women produced watercolours and sketches of Canadian land, they were less likely to produce sweeping landscape scenes. She writes, "consciously or unconsciously, they understood that panoramas belonged to men."[91] The decorative traditions of Western women, however, often feature natural imagery and, in particular, florals. This dissertation thus began with an interest in whether floral embroideries produced by women might be considered instruments of political and cultural power equivalent to landscape paintings produced by men when subjected to the critical methodologies of environmental art history.

Design and material culture have been largely excluded from the discourse of environmental art history. Rather, curators at museums specializing in the applied arts, including the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum, and the Textile Museum of Canada, have taken it upon themselves to question how the applied and decorative arts have impacted the natural world as well as its potential to address challenges like climate change.[92] For example, "Fashioned from Nature" (2018) was an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum that explored the relationship between fashion and the natural world from 1600 to the contemporary period. In her introduction to the related exhibition

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[90] Marylin McKay, *Picturing the Land: Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art, 1500-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011). 159.

[91] MacKay, *Picturing the Land,* 58.

[92] *Fashioned from Nature*, curator, Edwina Ehrman (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2018); *Nature: Cooper Hewitt Design Triennial*, curators, Caitlin Condell, Andrea Lipps, Matilda McQuaid, and Gene Bertrand (New York: Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum, 2019); *Wild*, curator, Farah Yusuf (Toronto: Textile Museum of Canada, 2019).

catalogue, curator Edwina Ehrman writes that the museum's collection of fashion and textiles "stimulate new questions when viewed through the lens of present-day environmental preoccupations."[93] For example, she discusses a lace handkerchief made in the 1860s, which features fern designs that are sufficiently accurate to allow for four different varieties to be identified. She contextualizes this handkerchief within the so-called *fern craze* that captivated the British public in the nineteenth century. Attributed to amateur natural scientist and artist Paulina Trevelyan, the handkerchief exemplifies the interest that the British took in flora during this period as well as the participation of British women in the development of natural science and its visual and material cultures.[94] In keeping with this exhibition model, my research has developed from the premise that nineteenth-century quilts prompt new questions when considered from a contemporary environmental position, and this dissertation treats such objects as compelling in part because they provide insight into how women have historically contributed to cultural conceptions of nature.

In addition to expanding the scope of environmental art history to include design, this dissertation addresses the fact that Canada is not well represented in the field. Most of the major contributions to the fields of environmental art history have focused on American landscape views.[95] By contrast, Canada's landscape painting tradition has been the subject of only two major environmental studies, namely *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art* (2007) edited by John O'Brian and Peter White, and *Picturing*

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[93] Edwina Ehrman, "Introduction," in *Fashioned from Nature*, ed. Edwina Ehrman (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2018), 11.

[94] Edwina Ehrman, "Engaging with Nature: The Fern Craze," in *Fashioned from Nature*, ed. Edwina Ehrman (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2018), 101.

[95] Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher, eds. *A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009); Alan C. Braddock and Karl Kusserow, eds. *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment,* (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 2018); Finis Dunaway, *Natural Visions: The Power of Images in American Environmental Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Angela Miller, *Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993); Barbara Novak, *Landscape and Culture: American Landscape Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

the Land: Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art 1500-1950 (2011) by Marylin McKay. In their introduction to *Beyond Wilderness,* O'Brian and White write that their editorial objective is to reinvent landscape art in Canada by challenging the wilderness myths at its foundation.[96] In his contribution, "Wild Art History," O'Brian duly argues that the Canadian Group of Seven glorified a predatory desire for wilderness, and he asserts that the commercial success of the Group sanctioned capitalist and settler-colonial understandings of land.[97] Likewise, McKay argues that Canadian landscape paintings were a source of national sentiment during the country's first century because they created the illusion of plentiful natural resources and bolstered extraction industries.[98] Perhaps informed by Mitchell's insistence that landscapes are "intimately bound up with the discourses of imperialism," O'Brian, White, and McKay all regard landscape painting as an extension of Canada's nation building project.[99] This dissertation subjects historical Canadian homecraft to the same scrutiny by considering how their embroidered florals defined nature in relation to Western notions of economics, science, and civilization.

My research is therefore necessarily informed by the theoretical framework of settler-colonial art history, which interrogates the ways in which settler colonialism shapes cultural practices in societies where colonization is ongoing. Nicholas Thomas describes settler-colonial countries as those "in which considerable numbers of Europeans made their home, dispossessing and eventually outnumbering Indigenous people."[100] This definition appears in *Possessions: Indigenous Art, Colonial Culture* (1999), an early model for settler-colonial art histories that

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[96] John O'Brian and Peter White, "Introduction," *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*, eds. John O'Brian and Peter White (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 3.

[97] John O'Brian, "Wild Art History," in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*, eds. John O'Brian and Peter White (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 22.

[98] See McKay, *Picturing the Land.*

[99] Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 9.

[100] Thomas, *Possessions*, 9.

examines the unique artistic traditions created by settler-colonial conditions. Thomas argues that the art produced in settler-colonial countries is cross-cultural, though settler artists wield a disproportionate amount of cultural capital relative to the Indigenous artists. Thomas characterizes settler art as a long effort to cultivate a national identity where one is seen to be absent. He writes that settler artists have historically "turned to what was locally distinctive, either in the natural environment or in indigenous culture" in order to define their settler-colonial identities. Furthermore, he writes that Indigenous art has also been refashioned by colonialism and its Western art conventions. This dissertation builds upon *Posessions* by showing that the embroidered designs found on three early Canadian quilts are the products of their settler-colonial context, and that they have thus had indirect impacts on Indigenous lands and cultures in Canada.

Damian Skinner sketches out potential guidelines for settler-colonial art histories in his landmark article for the *Journal of Canadian Art History*, "Settler-Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts" (2014), wherein he identifies land as the primary object of settler colonialism and argues that settler-colonial cultures have both reimagined and reshaped the land in order to legitimize their situation on Indigenous territories. Skinner writes, "It was not enough to assert legal processes that transferred ownership from indigenous peoples to settler populations, or to create and manage social processes of dispossession. The land itself also had to be reimagined and remade, and in this process the ideologies of race and the organization of space became intertwined, based on the remarkable commonality that both are conceived of as natural, given, and elemental."[101] He posits that setter-colonial art history has the potential to "articulate how claims to these kinds of authority and authenticity are being wielded, by and for

[101] Damian Skinner, "Settler-Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no. 1 (2014): 136.

whom, and to disrupt their naturalization by demonstrating the ways in which they fail" (142). My dissertation responds to Skinner by studying how Canada's settler women represented their relationship to Indigenous land within their homes. In keeping with Skinner's specific propositions for settler-colonial art historians, this dissertation centers craft and thereby challenges the hierarchy of genres that continues to limit the scope of art history. Significantly, my dissertation also demonstrates that environmental and settler-colonial art histories are complementary strategies for determining how art and design traditions figure in global discourses on cultural and environmental sustainability.

In undertaking settler-colonial analysis, I have referred to contemporary Indigenous scholars and historical Indigenous objects. Jolene Rickard's contribution to the *Picturing the Americas* exhibition catalogue has been instrumental to my conceptualization of Morris, Bell, and McCrum's embroidered quilts as representations of the Western worldview and its hostility to Indigeneity. Her analysis of Caroline G. Parker's skirt was particularly important because it stressed that the folkways and florals produced by women were effective means of addressing cross cultural questions of land and nature. This dissertation has also been influenced by Indigenous art historians who argue that objects have the potential to integrate Canada's settler and Indigenous narrative in productive, critical ways. For example, on the subject of decolonizing the museum, Cree art historian Richard Hill asserts that the only way to challenge the isolation of Indigenous culture in Canadian historical discourse and effect true cultural exchange is to integrate Indigenous and settler histories.[102] Gerald McMaster, who belongs to the Siksika Nation, likewise argues that galleries and museums ought to represent the histories of

[102] See Richard Hill, "Getting Unpinned: Collecting Aboriginal Art and the Potential for Hybrid Public Discourse in Art Museums," in *Obsession, Compulsion, Collection: On Objects, Display Culture, and Interpretation*, ed. Anthony Kiendl (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2004).

settler and Indigenous peoples as one intertwined narrative.[103] I have duly made an effort to establish how the folkways of British women relate to the artistic traditions of Indigenous women. According to Métis scholar Sherry Farrell Racette, Indigenous women's history is best represented by visual and material cultures. She writes, "[Indigenous] women's voices are often conspicuously absent from historic documents…However, if we remember that women created most of the material in museum collections, even if much of it was used by men, we can see it as a remarkable intellectual, technical, and artistic legacy."[104] In this way, the histories of both British and Indigenous women are well served by feminist art historical methodologies that treat needlework and other folkways as artefacts of lives that are otherwise undocumented and uncelebrated.

The theoretical framework for this dissertation ensures that my research and analysis go beyond being strictly biographical or formal. Rather, I establish that the quilts made by Morris, Bell, and McCrum ought to be regarded as meaningful contributions to the transplantation of British tastes to nineteenth-century Canada and testaments to the interest that settler women took in the project of nation building. Moreover, my research and analysis show that the floral designs favoured by Morris, Bell, and McCrum represent the economic, epistemological, and cultural values that underpinned British imperial interests in Canadian land during the colonial period and defined early national attitudes towards the natural world after Confederation in 1867. Finally, this dissertation contextualizes the folkways produced by British women in nineteenth-century Canada within the political landscape of settler colonialism, stressing the impacts that their decorative traditions had on Indigenous people and territory.

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[103] See Gerald McMaster, "Our (Inter) Related History," in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Jessup, Lynda and Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002).

[104] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Looking for Stories and Unbroken Threads: Museum Artifacts as Women's History and Cultural Legacy," in *Restoring the Balance: First Nations Women, Community, and Culture*, eds. Gail Valaskakis, Madeline Dion Stout, and Eric Guimond (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2009), 285.

Research Parameters and Chapter Summaries

My primary research involved the close study of three embroidered quilts, two in the collection of the Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC) and one in the collection of the Agnes Etherington Art Center (Kingston, ON). In addition to being amongst the most compelling surviving examples of embroidered quilts in regional collections, these objects are representative of the floral decorative language that I sought out to investigate and they are also either signed or sufficiently documented, enabling me to establish their provenance and identify them with the geography of southeastern Ontario. The accession files and bibliographies for individual Canadian quilts tend to be thin, in part because Canadian quilts have generally been regarded as unworthy of academic research and institutional preservation. Despite the fact that my case studies are either signed or relatively well documented, I was nevertheless required to undertake archival research to establish the histories of these objects. Having done this, I did subsequent secondary research to establish the Indigenous histories of the specific locales in which these quilts were made. Secondary research was also undertaken to establish the cultural meaning of the specific floral designs and embroideries that feature on these quilts. Each chapter in this dissertation represents one case study, and these are organized chronologically as well as thematically.

The subject of the first chapter is a quilt made by Mary Morris (1811-1897) in Ireland, four years before she and her family relocated to the South Crosby Township of Upper Canada's Leeds County in 1829. The quilt, which is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of History, is signed and dated. It is a patchwork of printed cottons surrounding panels of white cotton embroidered with representations of flowers, birds, and bugs, as well as two hunting scenes. This chapter details the influence that Indian chintz fabrics had on Morris's embroideries

and determines that the printed cottons in her patchwork are amongst the first produced by England's cotton industry. This chapter speculates that Morris's quilt was treasured as a sign of British culture and authority in her family's Upper Canada home. This chapter also considers the effect that imported patterned cottons had on the decorative traditions and political sovereignty of Upper Canada's First Nations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The subject of chapter two is the Fallowfield quilt, which is the oldest object in the Heritage Quilt Collection at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre. The evidence suggests that Irish settler Elizabeth Bell (1824-1919) made this unsigned quilt in the late 1840s in the village of Fallowfield within Canada West's Carleton County. There are over eighty embroidered floral sprays on Bell's quilt. In keeping with the fact that these sprays seem to be inspired by an early modern British embroidery convention that derived from the first natural science texts, Bell has apparently incorporated a unique motif onto her quilt top that resembles the red trillium flower indigenous to the temperate woodlands of eastern North America. Based on these observations, this chapter speculates that the Fallowfield quilt can be contextualized within the botanical science tradition that sought to supplant Indigenous knowledge with Western epistemology in colonial Canada. As such, this chapter also relates the Fallowfield quilt to the outsized role played by naturalistic needlework in the education of Indigenous girls administered by Canada's pre-Confederation residential schools, which ultimately sought to disrupt the ecological and social sustainability of Woodland Indigenous communities.

The subject of chapter three is a quilt made by Margaret McCrum (1847-1888) in the Oxford Township of Ontario's Leeds and Grenville United Counties sometime between 1860 and 1880. The quilt, which is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of History, is signed but not dated. It is a four-block or quadrant-style quilt that is embroidered with four urns

or pots of flowering plants rendered in bright, lively colours on a dark ground. This chapter speculates that McCrum has borrowed formal elements from the Woodland Indigenous floral beadwork tradition to produce her embroidered garden scene. This combination of style and subject arguably alludes to McCrum's desire to feel Indigenous as well as her identification with the cultivated landscapes that threatened the sustainability of traditional Indigenous life. This chapter also considers the ways that Woodland Indigenous artists concealed their cosmologies from being censored in the second half of the nineteenth century by disguising their sacred motifs as flowers, a cultural strategy that may explain why McCrum seems to have reproduced the traditional sun manitou specific to Woodland Indigenous iconography on her quilt top and fashioned it as a flower head.

Integrating Canadian Art and Design Histories to Create an Expanded Field

This dissertation contributes to Canadian art and design histories. When Canadian art history was established as a discipline in the 1960s, its focus was on painting and national identity. The narrowness and exclusivity of these concerns remain ripe for intervention by innovative scholarship, and my dissertation contributes to the expansion and diversification of the Canadian art historical discourse by subjecting objects found in the nineteenth-century Canadian home to feminist, environmental, and settler-colonial modes of analysis that have been developed by revisionist art historians. My dissertation adds to the literature on Canadian design, which has been the subject of few historical studies relative to its British and American counterparts. By showing that the household items made and treasured by British women in nineteenth-century Canada contributed to a system that maintained the interests of settler-colonial society, my project brings feminist, environmental, and settler-colonial art histories into dialogue with one another and shows that cultural and environmental sustainability are intersectional concerns.

Chapter 1: The Spread of Empire and Industry by a Chintz Quilt in Upper Canada (1825)

The subject of this chapter is a quilt made by Mary Morris (1811-1897) in Ireland, four years before she and her family relocated to the South Crosby Township of Upper Canada's Leeds County in 1829. The quilt, which is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC), is signed and dated. It is a patchwork of printed cottons surrounding panels of white cotton embroidered with representations of flowers, birds, and bugs, as well as two hunting scenes. This chapter details the influence that Indian chintz fabrics had on Morris's embroideries and shows that her printed cottons were amongst the first produced by England's cotton industry. This chapter speculates that Morris's quilt was duly treasured as a sign of British culture and authority in her family's Upper Canada home. This chapter also considers the effect that imported patterned cottons had on the decorative traditions and political sovereignty of Upper Canada's First Nations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Studying an embroidered quilt that Mary Morris (1811-1897) made in Ireland four years before transporting it to Upper Canada in 1829 (see Fig. 1), this chapter argues that the decorative traditions imported to British North America by British women were informed by international trade and British industrialism, and that they were therefore infused with narratives of empire and power. A patchwork of printed cottons surrounding panels of white cotton embroidered with representations of flowers, birds, and bugs, as well as two hunting scenes, Morris's quilt is now a distinctive object in the Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC). Previously owned by Canadian quilt historian Ruth McKendry, the quilt figures in a number of her publications.[105] Morris's quilt combines embroidered motifs inspired by Indian chintz textiles with floral printed cottons of British manufacture. Citing the history of Indian chintz in British consumer culture and its eventual reproduction by British manufacturers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, I argue that Morris's quilt contains global material histories that had real implications for the environmental and cultural landscapes in southeastern Ontario. I have found no evidence that Morris intended for her quilt to carry such meaning, nor do I draw conclusions about her interior

[105] Ruth McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bedcoverings in the Canadian Tradition* (Toronto: Van Nostren Reinhold, Ltd., 1979), 132; Ruth McKendry, *Classic Quilts* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1997), 26-27; Ruth McKendry, "The Use of Embroidery on Quilts in Canada," *Embroidery Canada* 8, no. 2 (Feb 1981): 10-11.

life. Rather, by situating her quilt within its global context and understanding her artistic references in relation to British imperialism and industrialism, this chapter puts forth the possibility that the floral decorations favored by British women in Upper Canada aestheticized British efforts to supplant Indigeneity.

Morris's quilt design builds outward from a square piece of white cotton, which she embroidered with a number of vegetal motifs using wool threads and a combination of chain, stem, seed, and satin stitches. Her focal point is a potted plant flowering with four different types of blossoms (Fig. 6), which is surrounded by a symmetrical arrangement of embroidered flowering plants, trees, and floral sprays, some of which have attracted butterflies and peacocks. Morris frames her centerpiece with a thin perimeter of patchwork that is bordered by a band of white cotton featuring more of Morris's needlework. Deer hunting parties run up its vertical sides, and flowering plants grow along its horizontal sides. While the deer hunting parties make reference to the British countryside, the flowers that she represents are either fanciful or not specific to the British landscape. Beyond this band of embroidered cotton are four concentric squares of pieced cotton. These are simply constructed, meaning Morris opted to work with big pieces of fabric and simple shapes over small pieces of fabric and complex patterns. Of the nine different cotton fabrics represented in her piecework, eight of these are printed and seven feature floral or vegetal designs.

This chapter will show that Morris's embroideries seem to have been inspired by the motifs found on Indian chintz fabrics, and that the fabrics that she has incorporated into her patchwork are amongst the earliest printed cottons produced by British manufacturers. The combination of exotic imagery and industrial materials in Morris's quilt arguably represents the global economy that underpinned settler colonialism in Canada. This is significant because

historian Douglas McCalla has argued that the history of textiles in colonial Canada is underdeveloped precisely because trade and industry narratives have been largely ignored or moderated in order to preserve the romantic notion that "country people did not buy fabrics at all."[106] He cites a speech delivered in 1865 by Adams George Archibald, a leading lawyer and politician in the Maritimes during the nineteenth century, to show that the homespun myth had a powerful hold on the eve of Confederation. In this speech, Archibald describes "the great body of settlers in the country, whose backs are covered with woolens of their own production – whose feet are shod from the hides of their own cattle – whose heads are covered with the straw from their own fields – who sleep between the blankets of their own wool and their own weaving – on feathers from their own farmyards."[107] In her landmark text on *The Age of Homespun* (2001), historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich references a similar speech delivered by American Reverend Horace Bushnell in 1851. The myth of homespun in the United States dates to the 1760s, when the revolutionary Whigs encouraged Americans to supplant English and European fashions with American ones. Their campaign of non-consumption included the denunciation of imported textiles and the politicization of homespun cloth.[108] In both Canada and the United States, the homespun myth has been essential to the formation of national identity and ideals.

This case study responds to McCalla by showing that flowered textiles like Morris's quilt were valued by British settlers in Upper Canada because of their association with British imperialism and industrialism. Furthermore, this chapter will consider the complex effects that imported printed cottons had on Indigenous sovereignty and decorative traditions. On the one hand, the manufacture and trade of such fabrics contributed to political conditions that were

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[106] Douglas McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush: Shopping in Rural Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 38.

[107] McCalla, 38.

[108] Kate Haulman, "Fashion and the Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62, no.4 (Oct. 2005): 629.

hostile to North American Indigenous people. On the other hand, English cottons printed with floral motifs were readily adopted by Indigenous peoples in the Northeastern Woodland region, changing their artistic customs and dress. By stressing the influence of global trade and industrial production on the floral embroideries and printed fabrics that figure in Morris's quilt, this chapter implicates the decorative objects made and valued by settler women in an ethos of world-making that depended on the destabilisation of Indigenous identity and authority. In recognizing the appeal of printed English cottons and their floral motifs to Indigenous sensibilities, this chapter also allows for the cross-cultural significance of such materials and acknowledges that Indigenous people responded to the invasion of British florals with creativity and agency.

Situating Morris's Quilt within the History of British Settlement on Indigenous Land

Situating Morris's quilt in its settler-colonial context requires a consideration of her biography, the history of the Indigenous land on which she settled, and the provenance of her quilt. Not much is known about Morris. McKendry describes her as a skilled needlewoman born with a physical handicap that prevented her from walking, and hazards that she made the coverlet shortly after arriving in British North America.[109] McKendry does not specify where Morris hailed from. More details about Morris's biography can be found in Susan Warren's history of South Crosby (1997), a township in Ontario's historical Leeds County.[110] Warren makes mention of Morris and her "exquisite" quilt."[111] Citing McKendry, Warren claims that Morris was unable to walk due to a disability. According to Warren, Morris settled with her widowed mother, Mary Morris (1775-1867), and her brother, Thomas Morris (1809-1893) on Lot 6, Concession 4 in

[109] McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bedcoverings in the Canadian Tradition*, 132; McKendry, *Classic Quilts*, 26-27.
[110] Leeds County (1792-1850) is now part of Ontario's Leeds and Grenville United Counties.
[111] Susan Warren, *Hub of the Rideau: A History of South Crosby Township* (Township of South Crosby: Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, 1997), 236.

South Crosby in 1829, a full four years after Morris signed and dated her completed quilt: *Mary Morris Aged 14 1825*.[112] Presuming that the Morris family immigrated directly to Leeds County, the quilt must have been completed before they left for British North America. Morris's mother's monument at the Saint John Anglican Cemetery in Lyndhurst, Ontario, is inscribed with her birthplace, Ireland's County Carlow, and it is safe to presume that this is where Morris finished her quilt as a young teenager in 1825. Given the date of their arrival in Leeds County, the Morris family seems to have been within the last in a wave of Irish Protestants from southeastern Ireland who settled in the southeastern Ontario region between 1816 and 1833.[113] Significantly, this demographic gravitated towards the available if challenging terrain in and around the neighbouring Leeds and Lansdowne Counties in part because this is where Irish ex-soldiers who had fought for the British in the American Revolutionary War had been allocated land by the Crown in the 1780s. According to historian Lucille H. Campey, it is possible that the early arrival of Irish Loyalists to this region attracted likeminded Irish settlers in the early nineteenth century.[114]

Today, Ontario's United Counties of Leeds and Grenville contain what archeologists refer to as the Prescott cluster, which comprises of six St. Lawrence Iroquois village sites.[115] The Prescott site cluster dates to 1450, and it is believed these villages were founded by Northern

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[112] Warren identifies the quilt maker's mother as Mary Morris, whose dates I confirmed by locating her monument in the Saint John Anglican Cemetery in Lyndhurst, Leeds and Grenville United Counties. Mary Morris' monument is inscribed with her late husband's name, William Morris, as well as her birthplace, Ireland's County Carlow. See Warren, *Hub of the Rideau*, 236; Warren identifies the quilt maker's brother as Thomas Morris. She claims that he was born in 1811 and that his sister, the quilt maker, was born in 1813. However, Mary's own quilt tells us that she was born in 1811, and both the 1871 and 1891 Census records tell us that Thomas was two years or so older than his Mary. See Morris family, *1871 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds South, Ontario, microfilm reference C-10001, page 49, family no. 178, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; and Morris family, *1891 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds South, Ontario, Canada, microfilm reference T-6350, family no. 304, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

[113] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 139; Warren, *Hub of the Rideau,* 301.

[114] Lucille H. Campey*, Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers: Farmers, Labourers, and Lumberjacks* (Toronto: Dundern Press, 2018), 26.

[115] Timothy J. Abel, "Recent Research on the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians of Northern New York," *Archeology of Eastern North America* 30 (2002): 143.

Iroquois communities that migrated across the St. Lawrence River from the Black Lake area in today's New York State.[116] The term *Northern Iroquois* refers to First Nations in the Iroquois language family that lived in the St. Lawrence River Valley, Mohawk River Valley, Susquehanna River Valley, and Finger Lakes region at the time of European contact.[117] The St. Lawrence Iroquois were living in the St Lawrence River Valley as early as 500 BCE.[118] By the time French explorer Samuel de Champlain arrived in 1603, there were no active St. Lawrence Iroquois settlements in the St. Lawrence River Valley.[119] The reasons why the St. Lawrence Iroquois communities left their villages has been the subject of debate; however, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw tensions and conflicts between the Northern Iroquois Nations, and it may be that the St. Lawrence Iroquois were in conflict with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.[120]

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy refers to an allied group of Northern Iroquois Nations. Initially, the alliance was between the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca Nations from the Mohawk River Valley region in today's New York State. According to the current, official website of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, "the exact date of the joining of the nations is unknown and said to be time immemorial making it one of the first and longest lasting participatory democracies in the world."[121] In the eighteenth century, the Confederacy expanded to include the Tuscarora First Nation that had been forced northward from North Carolina.[122]

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[116] Abel, 149.

[117] Jennifer Birch, "Current Research on the Historical Development of Northern Iroquois Societies," *Journal of Archeological Research* 23, no. 3 (September 2015): 265.

[118] Gary Warrick and Louis Lesage, "The Huron-Wendat and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians: New Findings of a Close Relationship," *Ontario Archeology* no. 96 (2016): 135.

[119] Birch, "Current Research on the Historical Development of Northern Iroquois Societies," 267, 284.

[120] Birch, 282-284.

[121] "Who We Are," Haudenosaunee Confederacy, accessed February 22, 2021, https://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.com/who-we-are/.

[122] Birch, 295; Elizabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six) Nations Confederacy, 1550-1784," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, eds. Rogers, Edward S. and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 79-80, 89.

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy is thus also referred to as the Six Nations. This same period saw the formation of the Wendat and Neutral Confederacies, which united other Northern Iroquois nations. The aforementioned social and political tensions that afflicted the Northern Iroquois in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the increasing presence of European traders in the St. Lawrence Valley after 1580, may have contributed to the rise of these political blocks.[123] The Europeans introduced new trade goods to the Northern Iroquois and involved them in the fur trade, which produced profound sociopolitical effects.[124] For example, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy became increasingly reliant on European trade goods with the development of the fur trade at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and they were thus compelled to wage war with their neighbours when the beaver population in the Mohawk River Valley dwindled in the 1640s. They mounted attacks north of the St. Lawrence River in territory that was still occupied by some Northern Iroquois, and they also attacked Anishinaabe Nations of the Algonquian language family in Ottawa River Valley.[125] The Haudenosaunee Confederacy maintained a tenuous hold on this area until the 1680s, when Anishinaabe Nations launched offensive attacks. As a result, the threat that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy posed to the other First Nations in southeastern Ontario was diminished by the end of the decade.[126]

At this time, the Mississauga of the Anishinaabe Nations began to expand their territory southward from Lake Huron.[127] By the early eighteenth century, the Mississauga were established at Toronto and Fort Frontenac, and the Morris family farmland would then have been

[123] Birch, "Current Research on the Historical Development of Northern Iroquois Societies," 295.
[124] Birch, 294.
[125] Tooker, "The Five (Later Six) Nations Confederacy, 1550-1784," 83.
[126] Edward J. Hedican, *The First Nations of Ontario: Social and Historical Transitions* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2017), 62, 101.
[127] Hedican, 61-63.

within the bound of the Mississauga's easternmost territory west of the Gananoque River.[128] The sovereignty of the Mississauga in the Rideau Lakes region was not substantively challenged until the 1780s, when the British became increasingly worried that the St. Lawrence River was vulnerable to American attack and dispatched surveyors to its north shore to assess its suitability for settlement.[129] In addition to feeling uneasy about the British encroaching on their hunting grounds, the Mississauga were fearful of being overwhelmed by the Haudenosaunee who had fought alongside the Crown in the American Revolution and were thus entitled to settle in British North America. To diminish the potential for conflict, British authorities purchased the land that would become Upper Canada's Leeds County from the Mississauga in 1783.[130] The land cession agreement between the Crown and the Mississauga is referred to as the Crawford Purchase because it was negotiated by Captain William Redford Crawford.[131] In the years surrounding the War of 1812, the British sought to strengthen their hold on the region by incentivising Scottish, Irish, and English families strained by economic hardships in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars to start new lives on homesteads in the bush.[132]

The Morris family were amongst those seduced by the promise of land and opportunity during this period. Morris was eighteen years old when she arrived in Upper Canada with her brother and widowed mother. Her quilt would have been amongst few personal effects that the Morris family brought from Ireland's County Carlow to Upper Canada. Given the level of detail in this quilt and the fact that Morris made it as a young teenager, it was likely intended for her trousseau. The exceptional condition of the quilt may be attributed to the fact that Morris never

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[128] Hedican, 101; Ruth McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), 2.

[129] Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers,* 36-37.

[130] McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville*, 7.

[131] Robert J. Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830" in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, Rogers, Edward S. and Donald B. Smith, eds. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 101, 103.

[132] Warren, *Hub of the Rideau*. 13.

married, continuing to live on her family's homestead with her brother, his wife, and their children until she died at the age of eight-five.[133] It is most likely that the quilt remained stored, though Morris may have used it gently as a decorative coverlet on her bed. Her quilt was purchased from a Mrs. Byron Myers in Portland, Ontario, sometime in the 1960s or 1970s by Ruth McKendry, who was told that it had been found in the home of two unmarried sisters, Adelaide (1881-1958) and Bella Morris (1883-1958), in Elgin, a community in the Rideau Lakes Township of the historical Leeds County.[134] Adelaide and Bella Morris are buried together at the Halladay Burial Place in Elgin, Ontario, where they share a monument with their parents, Rebecca A. Hamilton Morris (1847-1905) and Thomas Morris (1843-1927). Thomas Morris was born to Irish settlers Thomas Morris (1806-1887) and Mary Moulton Morris (1807-1895).[135] According to his death record, Thomas Morris (1806-1887) was born in Ireland's County Wexford, which adjoins with County Carlow; and it therefore seems possible that the quilt maker's mother, Mary Morris (1775-1867), was related to this Thomas Morris.[136]

As far as can be determined, the quilt maker Mary Morris did not have a sister and she would have counted her brother's family as her own. Thomas Morris and his wife, Elizabeth Morris, had three daughters, Susanna (1837-1914), Sarah (1842-1929), and Elizabeth Morris

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[133] This was determined by examining Census records. See Morris family, *1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia*, Crosby, Leeds County, Canada West (Ontario), schedule A, microfilm reference C-11733, page 53, lines 18-28, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Morris family, *1871 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds South, Ontario, microfilm reference C-10001, page 49, family no. 178, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Morris family, *1881 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds South, Ontario, microfilm reference C-13232, pages 65-66, family no. 327, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Morris family, *1891 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds South, Ontario, Canada, microfilm reference T-6350, family no. 304, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; and Mary Morris (d.1897), *Registrations of Deaths, 1869-1947*, County of Leeds, South Crosby, MS 935, reel 84, pages 553-554, line 4, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

[134] This provenance recorded in the coverlet's accession file at the Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Québec.

[135] The death record for Thomas Morris (1843-1927) was registered by John H. Morris, Adelaide and Bella Morris' brother, who identifies his grandparents as Thomas Morris and Mary Moulton: Thomas Morris (d. 1927), *Registrations of Deaths, 1869-1947*, County of Leeds, South Crosby, MS 935, reel 349, page 337, no. 1, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada; Morris family, *1901 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds, Ontario, microfilm reference T-6478, lines 17-21, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

[136] Thomas Morris (d. 1887), *Registrations of Deaths, 1869-1947*, County of Leeds, Rear of Yonge and Escott, MS 935, reel 48, page 583, no. 21, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

(1846-1864).[137] None of these three women, who would have been the obvious recipients of their aunt Mary's quilt, had any children.[138] It could very well be the case that Susanna Morris or Sarah Morris left the quilt to Adelaide and Bella Morris, who would have been distant cousins if Mary Morris (1775-1867) and Thomas Morris (1806-1887) were in fact related. Upon their death, however, the quilt may have found its way to Byron Myers through the family line of Thomas Morris's wife, Mary Moulton Morris (1807-1895). According to McKendry, Mrs. Byron Myers claimed that her husband had a family connection to the quilt through his maternal line.[139] The historical record does not quite substantiate Mrs. Byron Myers' account of the quilt's history, but it does bear out the theory that the families of Mary Morris (1775-1867) and Thomas Morris (1806-1887) were closely linked. Byron Johnson Myers (1914-1998) was born to Annabel Johnson Myers (1881-1975), who was the daughter of Peter Johnson (1834-1909) and Eliza Morris Johnson (1841-1906).[140] Eliza Morris was born to Thomas Morris (1806-1887) and

[137] Elizabeth Morris (1846-1864) rests at the Saint John Anglican Church Cemetery in Lyndhurst, Leeds and Grenville United Counties, Ontario; Susanna Morris (1837-1914) died as a spinster. See Susanna Morris (d. 1914), *Registrations of Deaths, 1869-1947*, microfilm reference MS 935, reel 209, page 139, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada; Sarah Morris (1842-1929) married widower John Moulton (1834-1921) in 1895 when she was in her early fifties and beyond her childbearing years, and they are buried together at the Willowbank Cemetery in Gananoque, Leeds and Grenville United Counties, Ontario. See John Moulton and Sarah Morris (m. 1895), *Registration of Marriages (Listed Geographically), 1869-1911, 1920-1932*, microfilm reference MS 932, reel 86, page 537, no. 7, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

[138] See previous note.

[139] She writes, "I bought the Stag Hunt Quilt from Mrs. Byron Myers, Portland…Byron Myers has a family tree and an Elizabeth Morris born 1840 married Peter Johnson. The Johnson's are from maternal side of Byron's family. John Johnson was born 1791 came to Canada in 1810 and after disbanding from the army settled in Leeds County, concession 11, lot 18. His father was Irish. Mary Morris who made the quilt in 1825 at the age of 14 (signed and dated) was born with clubfoot and as a result of her handicap became a skilled needlewoman at an early age. She did not marry but her sister Elizabeth or Aunt Elizabeth married Peter Johnston whose daughter married into the Myers family. They inherited the quilt which was found at the home of Adelaide and Bella Morris (b. 1889) in a large brick house with white pillars at front on the left-hand side a road near Elgin. Mrs. Johnson wrote a history of the family. She is now dead but another relative may know more about the Morris connection." See Note by Ruth McKendry, "Quilt: Mary Morris and Elizabeth Morris." See Box 936.f19, Ruth McKendry Fonds (2003-F0003), Museum of Canadian History Archives, Gatineau, Québec.

[140] Byron Johnson Myers (1914-1998) is buried with his wife, E. Clair Hayter Myers (1918-2013), and his parents, Thomas Waldron Myers (1884-1941) and Annabel Johnson Myers (1881-1975) in the Emmanuel Anglican Cemetery in Portland, Leeds and Grenville United Counties, Ontario; In the 1891 Canada Census records, the household of Peter (aged 57) and Eliza Johnson (aged 50) in Lansdowne Rear, Leeds South, includes Bell (aged 9), who is identified as Annabell in the 1901 Canada Census. See Johnson family, *1891 Canada Census*, Lansdowne Rear, Leeds South, Ontario, Canada, microfilm reference T-6350, page 1, family no. 2, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; and Johnson family, *1901 Canada Census*, Lansdowne and Leeds Rear, Leeds South, Ontario, Canada, microfilm reference T-6479, page 5, family no. 48, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Mary Moulton Morris (1807-1895), and she has a younger sister named Mary Morris (b. 1851).[141]

Neither Eliza's mother nor sister could have been the Mary who made the embroidered quilt in question. Firstly, the Mary Morris who made the quilt was born in 1811, making Eliza's mother, Mary Moulton Morris (b. 1807), too old to have made it, and her sister, Mary Morris (b. 1851), too young. What's more, an unmarried girl made this quilt for her trousseau, making it impossible to credit Mary Moulton Morris because she would have signed it *Mary Moulton*. All that being said, if one accepts that Mary Morris and Thomas Morris were cousins, then Byron Myers would indeed have a family connection to the quilt through his great grandfather. Certainly, the account of the family's history as told by Mrs. Byron Myers would suggest that these family lines were so close as to be confused by their descendants. Byron Myers was a first cousin once removed to Adelaide and Bella Morris, making sense of his receiving the quilt after their deaths. The name *Elizabeth Morris* that looms large in the family history told by Mrs. Byron Myers is important to the history of this quilt as McKendry claims that she saw its duplicate signed by an Elizabeth Morris at the home of Mrs. W. Bennet in Toronto.[142] One can speculate that the young Elizabeth Morris (1846-1864) made this quilt, which has yet to be located, before her untimely death. She would have grown up admiring the quilt made by her aunt, with whom she had always lived, and she may have made her own for her trousseau as a rite of passage as a young teenager.[143]

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[141] Morris family. *1861 Canada Census*, Township of Yong, Leeds, Ontario, Canada, microfilm reference C-1045, page 78, lines 1-10, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

[142] She writes, "A relative of Mary Morris' phoned me after book was out. She is Mrs. W. Bennett 141 Flora Drive Toronto, between Lawrence and Kennedy. We went to see her and she has the Elizabeth Morris quilt. It is the same pattern but in poor condition and dated 182? She does not want to sell it but was looking for bids I think." See Note by Ruth McKendry, "Quilt: Mary Morris and Elizabeth Morris," Box 936.f19, Ruth McKendry Fonds (2003-F0003), Museum of Canadian History Archives, Gatineau, Québec.

[143] Given the fact that McKendry dates the Elizabeth Morris quilt to the 1820s, I initially wondered whether her brother's wife, Elizabeth Morris (1809-1885), was a cousin and speculated that she and Mary may have made their quilts together in the 1820s; however, the 1881 census records place an Ann Rowsom (aged 84) in Elizabeth and Thomas Morris' household in South

The Influence of Global Trade on Morris's Embroideries

Morris's quilt design and embroideries derive in large part from the Indian chintz fabrics that British consumers then associated with global trade and wealth. Morris's quilt is made in the *medallion style*, which describes the centrally planned bed quilt designs that were favored in the Western quilt-making tradition before the nineteenth century (Fig. 7).[144] The medallion quilt style seems to have derived from *palampores*, quilted bed covers or wall hangings that were imported to Britain from India by the East India Company throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Fig. 8).[145] Palampores were made by Indian craftsmen using Indian chintz. Today, *chintz* is used to describe any cotton and linen fabric having a floral pattern; but historically the term referred to a cotton fabric made in India for the European market that was painted or printed with vegetal designs using mordant and resist-dyes.[146] The first imported palampores were made from traditional Indian chintz fabrics that featured all-over organic designs on red ground. After a number of these red palampores fetched disappointing prices at East India Company auctions in 1643, the Company's directors requested that these commodities be redesigned to suit British tastes. They recommended that the all-over compositions typical of the Indian chintz fabrics used in palampores be replaced with centrally planned designs and that their red grounds be replaced with white grounds.[147] Partly informed by the crewelwork embroidery produced in Britain during the Jacobean period, these instructions anticipated the

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Crosby. Presuming that this was Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth's maiden name would have been Rowsom. See Morris family, *1881 Canada Census*, Crosby South, Leeds South, Ontario, microfilm reference C-13232, page 65-66, family no. 327, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

[144] There are only three known bed quilts dated by their makers that survive from the first decades of the eighteenth century, and all three of them are English quilts made in the medallion style. Two of these are patchwork bed quilts made with silk fabrics now in the collections of Quilter's Guild of the British Isles (1718) and the McCord Museum of Canadian History (1726).

[145] The East India Company was a corporation established in 1600 by a British royal charter that gave it exclusive trading rights with Asia. See Nick Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational* (London: Pluto Press: 2012).

[146] John Irwin and Katherine Brett, *Origins of Chintz* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1970), 1.

[147] Irwin and Brett, 3-4.

taste for white Indian cottons painted with flowering tree designs that would grip British consumers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[148] The commercial success of these modified palampores is credited for giving rise to the British quilting tradition and its signature medallion quilt style.

The Indian chintz fabrics that formed the front and reverse sides of palampores were also imported for use as dress and furnishing fabric, and the popularity of this commodity may have given rise to the patchwork quilting style that Morris utilizes to build the borders of her quilt. The British taste for cotton dates to the seventeenth century, when light, elegant clothing became fashionable. Initially, the elite class sought out the light silks and linens produced in France; but when protectionist postures resulted in the prohibition of French finery in 1678, the East India Company filled this gap in the market with Indian silks, calicoes, muslins and painted chintz fabrics. Indian cottons were both of better quality and more affordable than French silks and linens, and the popularity of cotton cloth soared.[149] The brilliance and fastness of Indian dyes made Indian chintz fabrics particularly novel and desirable since British fabric-printing techniques were relatively underdeveloped in the seventeenth century.[150] The broad appeal of Indian chintz in Britain depressed the demand for products produced by the domestic wool industry, and Parliament was thereby compelled to ban the importation of Indian chintz in 1701. The cultural value of Indian chintz fabrics and their designs became more valuable as the supply of this commodity diminished, and patchwork quilting seems to have developed as a way of extending the life of treasured Indian chintz lengths and remnants.[151] This is seen in the earliest

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[148] Rosemary Crill, *Chintz: Indian textiles for the West* (London: V&A Publishing, 2008), 14-15.

[149] Parakunnel J. Thomas, "The Beginnings of Calico-Printing in England," *The English Historical Review* 39, no.154 (April 1924): 206.

[150] Irwin and Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, 1.

[151] Colleen R. Callahan, "A Quilt and Its Pieces," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 19, no. 20 (1984/1985): 102; Thomas, "The Beginnings of Calico-Printing in England," 208.

known English patchwork quilt, the Levens Hall quilt (1708), which contains several pieces of seventeenth-century Indian chintz.[152] The fundamental design principles of Morris's quilt, therefore, derive from Indian textile traditions and their appeal to British consumers.

The beginning of the eighteenth century also saw British embroiderers develop a floral iconography inspired by Indian chintz designs; although, needlework booklets with printed designs modelled after Asian floral designs were being sold in Europe as early as 1600.[153] The important role that Indian textiles played in the development of the British quilt making tradition thus accounts for the prevalence of expressive colour and exotic florals in the embroideries that adorn British quilts and bedclothes, including the Morris quilt. As previously mentioned, Indian chintz lengths designed and manufactured specifically for export by the East India Company after 1643 borrowed elements from seventeenth-century British crewelwork.[154] This translation is evident in a visual comparison made by Rosemary Crill between an English crewelwork hanging in the Burrell Collection that dates to the late seventeenth century (Fig. 9) and an Indian chintz hanging in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection that dates to sometime between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Fig. 10).[155] The crewelwork piece is a twisting tangle of red blooms, exotic birds, and blue-green fronds that emerge from a rocky landscape crawling with deer, dogs, sheep, and other animals, as well as a shepherd. The chintz wall hanging employs the same elements in an almost identical formal language; however, the artist has used the colour red more liberally, which produces a more stylized effect. The dogs in Morris's hunting scenes bear a striking resemblance to those in the Indian chintz example cited by Crill (Fig. 11). Morris renders the twenty-two running hounds on her coverlet in playful

[152] Callahan, "A Quilt and Its Pieces," 102.

[153] *A Picture Book of Flowers in English Embroidery* (London: V&A Museum, 1938), n.p.; Beverly Lemire and Girgio Riello, "East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Social History*, 41, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 906.

[154] Crill, *Chintz*, 21.

[155] Crill, 21.

shades of red, pink, yellow, and brown thread, and even the brown dogs are flecked with pink spots. Morris's bright colour pallet indicates that she derived some inspiration from Indian chintz.

The influence of Indian chintz is further seen in Morris's fanciful plant and floral imagery, which appears to have been influenced by the botanical motifs that characterize Indian chintz designs. The centrally designed Indian chintz panels that were produced for use in Indian palampores typically featured a twisting tree growing forth from a mound of rocks or pot, its roots partially exposed (see Fig. 8). These trees flower with composite blooms, foliage, and fruit, and they are usually flanked by animals and birds. The flowering tree motif is related to the Tree of Life that is generally attributed to the Middle East though its elements can also be traced to Hindu, Islamic, Chinese and European traditions.[156] Morris references the flowering tree motif twice within the central pane of her coverlet. The centrepiece of her design is a flowering potted plant yielding no less than five distinctly different blossoms, an ornamental choice that surely derives from the flowering tree motif (see Fig. 6). Morris's most explicit reference to the flowering tree is found on the vertical sides of her coverlet's central pane, where small, leafy trees with exposed roots have attracted butterflies and strutting peacocks, Chinese motifs that were common in chintzes produced for the West (Fig. 12).[157]

Many of the flowers that Morris embroidered onto her quilt reference specific flowers that appear in chintz fabrics. Take, for example, an eighteenth-century Indian palampore in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (See Fig. 8). Its flowering Tree of Life blooms with at least three flower varieties that seem to be duplicated on Morris's quilts, including peony, rose, chrysanthemum, and lily flowers (Fig. 13). Borrowed from Chinese

[156] Irwin and Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, 16.
[157] Crill, *Chintz*, 21.

decorative traditions, these flowers were recurring motifs in the Indian chintz fabrics designed for Western markets towards the end of the late eighteenth century.[158] The flowering Tree of Life in the eighteenth-century Indian palampore at the Metropolitan Museum of Art features variations on all of these flowers, and so does Morris's quilt. Peonies flower above and below Morris's variation on the Tree of Life, and in at least one quadrant of the Indian palampore; although, the latter could also be read as a rose. In both the Indian palampore and Morris's quilt, rosehips are represented as pink or red bulbs accented with yellow hearts and topped with green sepals. Stylized chrysanthemums flowers appear in numerous places on both the Indian palampore and Morris's quilt. Arguably, the flower growing from the center of Morris's variation on the Tree of Life is a chrysanthemum that resembles some of the open-faced flowers in the border of Indian palampore. As well, lily flowers are rendered simply on both textiles using elliptical petals that are separated or accented by delicate fronds.

According to art historian Natasha Eaton, so-called oriental wares, including Indian chintz panels and fabrics, were initially assigned value in eighteenth-century British culture because they internationalized domestic interiors and thereby defined the home in relation to the British Empire.[159] Indeed, the East India Company that made Indian chintz available to British consumers was a corporate interest that installed colonial rule in India by way of a trade monopoly. The East India Company was established in 1600 by a royal charter that gave it exclusive trading rights with Asia, making it a state project that was meant to translate into global power during an age of European expansion and exploration.[160] Historian Joanna de Groot cites the British market for Indian cotton and cotton-based textiles to argue that common

[158] Irwin and Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, 20-21.
[159] Eaton, Natasha. "Nostalgia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750-1793." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 39, no. 2 (Winter 2006): 230.
[160] Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World,* 22-23.

consumer goods connected average Britons to the larger British Empire from the eighteenth century onwards. She writes, "the meanings of everyday activities like dress, eating or cleaning were part of experiences and ideas of home, community, family and gender roles and differences, but also had powerful, if implicit, associations with patriotism (the use of 'empire' goods) and exotic pleasures (the glamour of familiar tropical or oriental products)."[161] Groot writes as a contributor to *At Home With The Empire* (2006) edited by historians Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, who themselves assert that the nineteenth-century British notion of *home* was "informed by tropes of material comfort associated with food, cleanliness, etc., themselves dependent upon imperial products."[162] Their view is that imperial power had by then become so omnipresent in the everyday lives of Britons, regardless of their position on the imperial agenda, that it was simply mundane. As such, while Morris's embroideries connect her to "global circuits of production, distribution and exchange, [and] to the exploitation and oppression of millions of other imperial subjects," she may not have recognized this herself.[163]

Morris's quilt would therefore likely have been treasured as a sign of British culture and power in her family's Upper Canada home. British settlers were known to bring select sentimental luxuries with them to Upper Canada. For example, well-known author Susanna Moodie carried her mother's blue and gold Coalport tea service from England to Upper Canada in 1832 only to have it break in a sleigh accident in the winter of 1834.[164] More relevant to our case study is the fact that Moodie' sister and brother-in-law, Catharine Parr Traill and Thomas

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[161] Joanna de Groot, "Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 170.

[162] Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, "Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 1-31 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25.

[163] Hall and Rose, 21.

[164] Charlotte Gray, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Lives of Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill* (Toronto: Viking, 1999), 96.

Traill, brought at least one luxury textile item with them when they moved to Upper Canada in 1832. In her autobiography, *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836), Traill recalls receiving Indigenous women at her homestead who wished to admire "a gay chintz dressing-gown belonging to my husband."[165] Indian chintz became a popular material for men's morning gowns in Europe sometime during the third quarter of the seventeenth century and remained fashionable for men and women's fashions alike throughout the eighteenth century.[166] There is a men's *banyan* or informal robe made from Indian chintz in the Victoria and Albert Museum Collection that dates to the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and it is possible that Thomas Traill's robe also dates to this period (Fig. 14). Thomas Traill was born in 1793, making it conceivable that he was in possession of a banyan owned by his father.[167] According to Traill, her Indigenous neighbours petitioned her to sell or trade the dressing gown, but she "resolutely refused to part with it." In addition to their association with home and family, tea services, chintz robes, and embroidered quilts would have been valued as signifiers of British culture in an unfamiliar and unforgiving landscape.

Morris's Patchwork of Florals and the Appeal of British Goods in Upper Canada

Morris inadvertently compounded the political significance of her chintz-inspired embroideries by surrounding them with squares of printed cotton fabrics manufactured in England. The popularity of Indian chintz textiles incentivised British and European manufacturers to appropriate Indian craftsmanship and substitute domestic products for these imported commodities.[168] As previously mentioned, embroiderers were amongst the first to emulate the effect of Indian chintz fabrics, adapting their floral and botanical motifs, and Morris's own

[165] Catharine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, 1836 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 121.
[166] Irwin and Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, 34.
[167] Gray, *Sisters in the Wilderness,* 45; Thomas, "The Beginnings of Calico-Printing in England," 215.
[168] Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Social History*, 41, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 888.

embroideries are informed by this tradition. Economic historians speculate that the development of the cotton printing industries in England and Europe were spurred by protectionist measures, including the 1701 prohibition on Indian chintz imports by British Parliament.[169] Plain Indian cottons called *calicoes* were initially exempt from the sumptuary legislation, and they thereby became the ground for the English woodblock printers aspiring to replicate the effect of Indian chintz. When the consumption of all imported cotton was prohibited for a period during the first half of the eighteenth century, English calico printers adapted their practices to fustians and linens. Wooden blocks were used by calico printers until the 1750s, when copper plate printing came into use.[170] Metal plates enabled the production of both considerably larger repeat units and more detailed designs than could be achieved with wood blocks.[171] The biggest innovation came in 1783, when Scott Thomas Bell patented roller printing, a method of printing using engraved cylinders.[172] After the spinning jenny, water frame and spinning mule were invented in the 1770s, the English midlands quickly transformed into a profitable cotton-manufacturing center, and by 1820 the bulk of England's calico printers could be found near the cotton mills in Lancashire and Carlisle.[173]

Printed cottons were thus seen to represent Britain's ingenuity and its new industrial capabilities, further establishing its confidence as a global power. Having finally produced a domestic product that rivaled Indian chintz, the British increasingly differentiated themselves from India by their command of mechanical manufacturing.[174] The sheer productivity of roller

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[169] Lemire and Riello, 898. Thomas, "The Beginnings of Calico-Printing in England," 208.

[170] Audrey W. Douglas, "Cotton Textiles in England: The East India Company's Attempt to Exploit Developments in Fashion 1660-1721," *Journal of British Studies* 18, no. 2 (May 1969): 36; Giorgio Riello, "Asian Knowledge and the Development of Calico Printing in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010): 23.

[171] Stuart Robinson, *A History of Printed Textiles* (London: Studio Vista London, 1969), 18.

[172] Lemuire and Riello, "East and West," 903.

[173] Robinson, "A History of Printed Textiles," 18.

[174] Lemuire and Riello, "East and West," 900.

printing, for example, was thrown into stark relief when compared to the process of an Indian craftsman, who typically took two weeks to paint a calico seven meters long.[175] According to historian Michelle Maskiell, such comparisons strategically cast "contemporary Indian handicrafts [as] living antiques, in the sense that they were products of a civilization that was itself considered antique."[176] By the second half of the nineteenth century, industrial exhibitions like the Great Exhibition (1851) at the Crystal Palace in London's Hyde Park duly attributed the great political and economic power of the British Empire to its ability to appropriate and improve upon design and decorative traditions from its colonies using domestic manufacturing. By extension, the British government actively endorsed British textiles over all Indian ones. This is further seen in the promotion of the woven shawls manufactured in Paisley, Scotland, over Kashmiri shawls by British officials. For example, Queen Victoria often appeared publicly in Paisley shawls though she gave Kashmiri shawls to her ladies-in-waiting.[177] In the early twentieth century, Indian nationalists encouraged the revival of indigenous textile traditions. India's handicraft revivalist movement protested the obliteration of India's textile industry by the rise of British manufacturing and its effect on worldwide tastes, and it further sought to recover India's textile traditions from their entanglement with British colonial interests.[178]

Morris collapsed this material history into her quilt by combining Indian chintz imagery in her embroideries with some of the earliest printed cottons of English manufacture. Morris's concentric squares of patchwork contain several examples of English cotton that date to the second decade of the nineteenth century, making them early examples of industrially printed

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[175] Lemuire and Riello, 903.

[176] Michelle Maskiell, "Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500-2000," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 41.

[177] Maskiell, 40.

[178] Maskiell, 52; Irfan Habib, "Colonization of the Indian Economy, 1757-1900," *Social Scientist* 3, no. 8 (Mar. 1975): 30.

cotton (Fig. 15). The fabrics in Morris's quilt can be so dated because the bulk of them feature small-scale floral prints that were most likely produced using roller-printers, a technology that was adopted by English textile manufacturers after 1815.[179] The size of the rollers limited their capacity to tell visual stories and designers thus turned to decorative motifs that required less surface area.[180] English calico printers began experimenting with floral designs that accommodated the limitations of roller-printing technology. According to Peter Floud, these new designs "consisted of patterns with the motifs arranged in continuous parallel vertical cascades."[181] Geometric and abstract motifs were also introduced into the vernacular, though naturalism in the form of mossy and floral trails remained popular.[182] The expansion and proliferation of decorative forms during the 1820s was in part a response to the accelerated cycle of commerce that roller-printing technology made possible. Meaning, textile manufacturers sought to justify their efficiency by using novelty to generate more and more sales. As design historian Florence Montgomery writes of this period, "developments in printing, to say nothing of the advances in spinning, weaving, and finishing of cloth by machine, led to a proliferation of patterns which can scarcely be documented."[183]

This new commercial cycle is exemplified by a number of fabrics in Morris's patchwork, including four lengths of cotton featuring trails of pansies printed in red on light blue ground. At first glance, these cotton fragments at the quilt's outermost edge might be mistaken for being block-printed; however, the flowers and birds in this design are stippled. Stippling is a shading

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[179] Florence M. Montgomery*, Printed Textiles: English and American Cottons and Linens, 1700-1850* (New York: The Viking Press, 1970), 287.

[180] Wendy Hefford, "Design for Printed Textiles in England: 1750 to 1850," in *British Textiles: 1700 to the Present* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 80; Mary Schoeser and Celia Rufey, *English and American Textiles from 1790 to the Present* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 57.

[181] Peter Floud, *English Printed Textiles, 1720-1836* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1960), 6.

[182] Hefford, "Design for Printed Textiles in England: 1750 to 1850," 80.

[183] Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, 287.

technique that is typical of engraving, suggesting that this cotton was printed using either an engraved copper plate or an engraved copper cylinder.[184] Distinguishing these methods from one another can be difficult and the best indicator is usually the measure of the design's vertical repeat. The vertical repeat in copper plate designs is typically large-scale, measuring up to a yard high, whereas engraved copper cylinder designs have reduced vertical repeats that do not exceed a foot in height.[185] If the cotton at the border of Morris's coverlet had been printed with a copper plate, one would expect to see some variation in the narrow lengths that she has used. Since only two distinct island designs can be identified in this fabric, one can conclude that it has a short vertical repeat produced by a copper cylinder.

A quilt in the care of the City of Toronto's Museum and Heritage Services attests to the fact that printed English cottons were amongst the personal effects of other British families who relocated to Upper Canada in the early nineteenth century (Fig. 16). According to the City of Toronto's database, Elizabeth Jane Jones (1796-1872) made this quilt in England sometime between 1810-1825 and brought it with her to Upper Canada, where she settled in the Hamilton area. The only record of Jones that I have been able to find is the 1871 Census of Canada, which seems to suggest that she arrived in Canada sometime between 1816 and 1836.[186] While this makes it difficult to conclude whether the quilt was made in England or Canada, it does confirm that its materials were brought to Canada because its cotton pieces all seem to date to between

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[184] Hefford, "Design for Printed Textiles in England: 1750 to 1850," 80; Schoeser and Rufey, *English and American Textiles from 1790 to the Present,* 57; Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, 291.

[185] Montgomery, 291.

[186] Elizabeth Jones (aged 75) is listed as living with Catherine Halson (aged 55), Charles Halson (aged 32) and Lilly Ross (aged 21) in Wentworth South, Ontario. Catherine is listed first, meaning that she was the head of the household. Both Catherine and Jones are marked as widows. Given their age difference, it is possible that Catherine is Jones' daughter. Charles Halston is presumably Catherine's son. Lilly is ten years younger than Charles, and it is unclear what her relation is. Both Jones and Catherine are marked as being born in England, which would mean that Jones had not yet emigrated to Canada in when she birthed Catherine in 1816. We can presume that Catherine must have arrived in Canada with her mother sometime between her infancy and her marrying age since her son, Charles Halson, is marked as having been born in Canada. See Catherine Halson, *1871 Census of Canada*, Ancaster, Wentworth South, Ontario, microfilm reference C-9924, page 1, family no: 3, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

1790 and 1810. The cotton fabrics in this quilt represent nearly all of the initial trends in cotton printing that Montgomery identifies in her survey of English and American printed textiles (1970), including drab, Oriental, and Indian styles. Drab refers to block-printed designs that emphasized yellows, buffs and browns, which were popular in the first decade of the nineteenth century.[187] Jones' quilt contains a number of drab fabrics, including a variation on the Oak and Ivy design that was first issued by Bannister Hall in 1799.[188] A number of pieces in Jones' quilt feature a block-printed Chinese pagoda, which is typical of the Oriental style that Montgomery dates the two-year period between 1805 and 1807.[189] The quilt contains seven examples of so-called Indian style fabrics, which were printed with designs deriving from or inspired by the Indian chintz tradition (Fig. 17). The bulk of these are scrolling vegetal designs block printed on white backdrops featuring exotic and fanciful flower varieties that explicitly reference the organic forms found on Indian chintz fabrics. According to Montgomery, English pattern books contained such designs as early as the 1790s.[190]

Though Morris and Jones made their quilts in Ireland and England, respectively, there is evidence that printed cottons were available for purchase in Upper Canada and would have adorned the interiors of other homesteads in the region. Cotton cloth became Britain's leading export in the early nineteenth century. North America, including Canada, accounted for over half of Britain's cotton exports as early as 1795 and Douglas McCalla has found that cotton was one of the most frequently purchased goods at Upper Canada's country general stores.[191] The Morris family would have been able to purchase printed cottons from the general stores in Yonge Mills

[187] Montgomery, 152.
[188] Montgomery, 152.
[189] Montgomery, 144.
[190] Montgomery, 147.
[191] Schoeser and Rufey, *English and American Textiles from 1790 to the Present*, 29; McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 115, 153.

and Elizabethtown. These were both owned Charles Jones (1781-1840), who imported over approximately two hundred yards of printed cotton to sell in his storefronts in 1808.[192] An invoice book kept by a dry goods business in Toronto during the 1840s that is now in the Archive of Ontario further shows that printed cotton was readily available to Upper Canadian consumers before Confederation in 1867. More than twenty of this invoice book's line items include the word *chintz*, a term that would have referred to printed cotton and that appears frequently in regional advertisements throughout the colonial period. Many more of the record's line items include descriptions of different types of printed cotton fabrics, including *rainbows* and *fancies*.[193] There is no mention of *chintz* in the Registers of Manifests for goods arriving by ship at the Toronto Customs House from the United States between 1836 and 1841.[194] This seems to indicate that the bulk of the printed cottons available in Upper Canada were imported from England even though the United States began developing its textile printing industry after the Revolutionary War. The popularity of printed cotton amongst British settlers in Upper Canada shows that the imperial tastes exhibited by Morris's quilt informed Upper Canada's consumer culture.

The Early Impacts of British Florals and Printed Fabrics on Indigenous Land and Culture

The pervasiveness of florals in settler material culture led to the development of a floral iconography by northeastern Woodland Indigenous artists in the first half of the nineteenth century, an act of cultural appropriation that complicates the colonial history of British florals in Upper Canada. The Woodlands refers to the forested territory that once extended from the Atlantic coast to the Great Plains, and from Lake Superior's northern shores down to the Gulf of

[192] McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush:* 3, 48, 235.
[193] Toronto Dry Goods Invoice Books, 1846-1847, reference number F 4313, Archive of Ontario, Toronto.
[194] Toronto Customs House fonds, 1836-1841, reference number MU 2991, Archive of Ontario, Toronto.

Mexico.[195] Before the arrival of Europeans, this territory was populated by Indigenous communities belonging to the Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, and Muskogean language groups.[196] Though the Woodland language groups are culturally diverse, their proximity has produced common cosmological and artistic traditions. The Woodland Indigenous peoples conceive of the universe as being divided into three parts: The Upper or Sky World, the Lower or Water World, and the Earth World. The Sky World above the is home to the Great Spirit, who is represented as a Thunderbird; and the Water World below is inhabited by Mishipeshu, which translates into The Great Lynx or Underwater Panther. The Thunderbird and Mishipeshu are *manitos*, a term that applies to a multitude of spirits that animate the natural world.[197] Humankind lives in the Earth World alongside the plants and animals, and their purpose is to maintain balance in the universe through reciprocity.[198] For example, embellishments were added to hides in order to thank the animal for its skin.[199]

The formal development and cross-cultural significance of floral decorations in the visual and material cultures of northeastern Woodland Indigenous peoples has been traced by art historian Ruth Phillips, and her scholarship in this area informs the following understanding of Morris's quilt in the context of early nineteenth-century Canada.[200] At the time of contact, the Indigenous artistic traditions of this region relied on natural materials, and their visual vocabularies comprised of figurative and geometric motifs that conveyed social, political, and sacred information. Leathers or hides often acted as the base for artistic expressions. Having

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[195] Lois S. Dubin, *Floral Journey: Native North American Beadwork* (Los Angeles: Autry Center of the American west, 2014), 66.

[196] Dubin, 67.

[197] Ruth Phillips, *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Kleinburg: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), 23.

[198] Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 67.

[199] Dubin, 67.

[200] See Phillips, *Patterns of Power;* and Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

been cured and stained with tannic acid, they could be painted with mineral pigments or finished with dyed porcupine quills and moosehair embroidery.[201] Black-tanned leather was the favored backdrop for such forms.[202] Traditionally, the preparation of the hides, quills and moosehair, as well as the weaving, embroidering, and sewing were all tasks undertaken by women.[203] Before intensive white settlement of the Great Lakes region began in the second decade of the nineteenth century, representations of the Thunderbird and Mishipeshu figured prominently in Woodland Indigenous art. This is evident in the Jasper Grant Collection at the National Museum of Ireland (Dublin, Ireland), one of the largest known collections of early nineteenth-century Indigenous art hailing from the Great Lakes. Accumulated near Niagara-on-the-Lake between 1806 and 1809 by British army officer Jasper Grant, the collection contains numerous objects made by artists belonging to the Iroquois and Algonquian language groups. Many of these feature illustrations of Thunderbird and Mishipeshu manitous, including a bag of woven plant fibres embellished with black animal hair made in the central Great Lakes region sometime during the first decade of the nineteenth century (Fig. 18). The front of this bag features an essentialized Thunderbird surrounded by zigzagging lines, which represent the lightning and thunder this manitou commands with its wings; and the reverse side of this bag features an essentialized Mishipeshu beneath a sequence of castellated lines, which represent the serpentine movements this manitou takes through the water.[204]

Printed cottons appealed to northeastern Woodland Indigenous people, who developed aesthetic sensibilities that favoured florals over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The adoption of printed cotton fabrics by northeastern Woodland Indigenous peoples

[201] Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 12, 77.
[202] Frank. G. Speck, "The Historical Approach to Art in Archeology in the Northern Woodlands," *American Antiquity* 8, no. 2 (October 1942): 173.
[203] Phillips, *Patterns of Power*, 23.
[204] Phillips, *Patterns of Power*, 27.

is observed by Isaac Weld in his account of his travels through the United States and Canadian provinces in the 1790s. On the subject of Indigenous men's dress in Upper Canada, he writes, "when it is cool, or when they dress themselves to visit their friends, they put on a short shirt, loose at the neck and wrists, generally made of coarse figured cotton or calico of some gaudy pattern, not unlike what would be used for window or bed curtains."[205] While there is reason to suppose that northeastern Woodland Indigenous peoples used printed cotton out of necessity or convenience, there is evidence that they sought out such materials and took an active interest in their floral designs. For example, it has already been noted that Catharine Parr Traill's autobiography briefly describes her being visited by a number of Indigenous woman who wished to admire "a gay chintz dressing-gown belonging to my husband."[206] This passing episode in Traill's text suggests that northeastern Woodland Indigenous women, in particular, admired and studied the floral fabrics common in settler households.

The prevalence of printed cottons in Upper Canada may have derived in part from the fact that British settlers and business interests had traded these materials to purchase access to North America's natural resources and land from Indigenous peoples throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, northeastern Woodland Indigenous people likely obtained flowered fabrics by way of their fur trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. The British began trading with Canada's Indigenous populations in the seventeenth century through the Hudson's Bay Company, which, like the East India Company, was established by British royal charter in the seventeenth century.[207] The Hudson's Bay Company was primarily concerned with acquiring

[205] Isaac Weld, *Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London: 1799), 380.
[206] Catharine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, 1836 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 121.
[207] Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World*, 23.

beaver pelts for English hatting and felting industries from Indigenous trappers.[208] In an effort to maximize the North American marketplace and avoid cultural clashes, the Hudson's Bay Company relied on its traders to report what commodities were desirable to Indigenous trappers. It is conceivable that the developing taste for floral fabrics amongst northeastern Woodland Indigenous people resulted in a supply of printed cottons at a number of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading posts.[209] Starting in the 1740s, cloth became one of the most popular commodities at these trading posts.[210] The possibility that printed cotton fabrics accounted for an amount of the cloth exchanged at Hudson's Bay Company trading posts is presented by historian E.E. Rich, who writes that "gay cloth of different kinds" could be procured at these sites during the eighteenth century.[211] The important place of printed English cotton in Indigenous-British relations illustrates historian Maxine Berg's assertion that "the process of inventing new consumer good to substitute for Asian luxuries was not just about connections between Europe and Asia, but included Africa and the Americas."[212]

British textiles and other trade goods duly formed the basis for both cooperation and conflict between British and Indigenous populations in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Valley regions throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, at the close of the American Revolution, British authorities offered the Mississauga guns, ammunition, clothing, twelve laced hats, and red cloth sufficient for twelve coats in exchange for territory stretching along the northern shores of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, where they

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[208] Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "Marketing in the Land of Hudson Bay: Indian Consumers and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1770," *Enterprise & Society* 3, no. 2 (June 2002): 286.

[209] E.E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation Among the Indians of North America," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26, No. 1 (February 1960): 49.

[210] Carlos and Lewis, "Marketing in the Land of Hudson Bay," 302.

[211] E.E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation Among the Indians of North America," 45.

[212] Maxine Berg, "In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* no. 182 (February 2004): 132.

wished to resettle Loyalist refugees.[213] The Crawford Purchase, which is so-called because its British interests were represented by Captain William Redford Crawford, was negotiated with a number of Mississauga chiefs at a meeting on Carleton Island in Lake Ontario during October 1783. This meeting was also attended by a representative from the Mohawk at Kanesatake, Chief Mynas, who ceded a further tract of land along the upper part of the St. Lawrence River south of the Ottawa River in exchange for a year's worth of clothing for his family.[214] While the British authorities regarded the Crawford Purchase as a transfer of land ownership, Indigenous authorities likely regarded the Crown's offerings as tributes or gifts acknowledging their agreement to share the land with dislocated people.[215] British textiles were thus one of the means by which the British imposed their understanding of land as property and resource onto Indigenous people and territories, and the situation of Morris and her quilt in Upper Canada was therefore made possible by the disproportionate trade of southeastern Ontario for lengths of cloth and other trade goods.

Significantly then, Morris's quilt is a physical artefact of first stages of settler colonialism in Upper Canada. Meaning, it arrived with outsiders who came to inhabit Indigenous land and claim it as their own on largely false pretenses. Settler colonialism is distinct from what Eve Tuck, Kate Mccoy, and Marcia McKenzie call *exploitation colonialism,* which describes "small numbers of colonizers [going] to a new place in order to dominate a local labor force to harvest resources to send back to the metropole, for example the spice and opium trade that impelled the colonization of India by several different European empires."[216] Of course, as has been shown,

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[213] Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830," 102.

[214] Warren, *Hub of the Rideau,* 4.

[215] Marijke Huitema, Brian S. Osborne, and Michael Ripmeester, "Imagining Spaces, Constructing Boundaries, Conflicting Claims: A Legacy of Postcolonial Conflict in Eastern Ontario," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 25 (Spring 2002): 96.

[216] Eve Tuck, Kate Mccoy, and Marcia McKenzie, "Land Education: Indigenous, Post-Colonial, and Decolonizing Perspective on Place and Environmental Education Research," *Environmental Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2014): 6.

Morris's embroideries reference the Indian chintz fabrics that were introduced to British consumers by way of exploitation colonialism, and one might understand her quilt as an object that bridges the histories of exploitation colonialism in India with those of settler colonialism in North America. In fact, the British floral decorative traditions that had initially been inspired by India's chintz fabrics found a new home in Canada precisely because they had been so fully appropriated by the British imperial imaginary that they had become commonplace aspects of British life. As such, they contributed to a visual and material culture in early Canada that was invested in supplanting Indigeneity, implicating British women and their domestic decorations in the process of settler colonialism and its dependence on the continuous disavowal of Indigenous history and rights.

According to Tuck, Mccoy, and McKenzie, one of the notable characteristics of settler colonialism is its "attempt (and failure) to contain Indigenous agency and resistance."[217] Indeed, in keeping with the cultural agency that they exercised by adopting printed cotton fabrics in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the northeastern Woodland Indigenous people ultimately appropriated floral iconography from the British. It is unknown when floral motifs first appeared in the visual and material cultures of northeastern Woodland Indigenous people, but amongst the earliest known examples figure in quillwork and moose hair embroidery dating to late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[218] Take, for example, a pair of moccasins in the collection of the Bern Historical Museum (Bern, Switzerland) (Fig. 19). These were made in the Huron-Wendat tradition within the Iroquois language group sometime in the early nineteenth century, and they were collected by Count Alexandre von Pourtales at Niagara Falls in 1832.[219]

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[217] Tuck, Mccoy, and McKenzie, 6.

[218] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 171; Judy Hall, "'To Make Them Beautiful': Porcupine Quill Decorated Moccasins from the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes," in *Fascinating Challenges: Studying Material Culture with Dorothy Burnham*, by Judy Hall, Leslie Tepper, and Judy Thompson in collaboration with Dorothy K. Burnham (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2001), 253.

[219] Hall, 256.

They are adorned with a combination of quillwork and moosehair embroidery, the latter being used to articulate stylized floral motifs on the upper part of the foot and on the ankle lapels.[220] According to curator Lois S. Dubin, the eighteenth century saw northeastern Woodland Indigenous artists make increasing use of curvilinear designs suggesting plant forms that were inspired by double curve, trefoil, and equal-armed cross motifs.[221] The influence of these traditional motifs on early iterations of northeastern Woodland Indigenous plant iconography is evident in this pair of moccasins. The double curve is referenced by the curling lines that spring from the base of each flower head, and the trefoil may have been the basis for the flower's simple petals.

According to Ruth Phillips, the European appetite for objects decorated in the so-called Indian style [sic] originated in New France, where the French Catholic order of Ursuline nuns had supported their convents by selling birchbark wares decorated with European-style florals worked in moose-hair embroidery to soldiers and adventurers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Ursuline nuns are devoted to girls' education, and embroidery was a major component of the curricula that they delivered at their convent schools for Indigenous girls. By the turn of the nineteenth century, many of the Huron-Wendat women who had been taught the art of embroidery at French Catholic convent schools were producing and marketing their own floral wares to tourists.[222] The aforementioned moccasins may be artefacts of this history given that they were made in the Huron-Wendat tradition sometime during the first two decades of the nineteenth century and subsequently sold to a European at Niagara Falls. These moccasins were evidently intended for the tourist market because they were cut to suit European

[220] Hall, 255.
[221] Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 12.
[222] Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 68; Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 158.

tastes.[223] The success of this emergent tourist trade incentivised many of the Anglican missions that were established in the Great Lakes region after the War of 1812 to encourage their Indigenous communities to produce flowered souvenirs. In addition to being effective fundraisers for the missions, such objects were seen to represent the religious conversion of Indigenous peoples since the British associated flowers and gardens with Christianity.[224] However, the pressure that missionaries applied to convince Indigenous women to replace their traditional designs and beliefs with Christian florals and faith does not fully explain why Indigenous artists in the northeastern Woodland region developed a floral iconography in the nineteenth century.[225] As we have seen, this demographic took an aesthetic interest in imported floral designs. This suggests that flowered souvenirs were informed by the changing regional tastes and economies rather than simply influenced by assimilationist cultural strategies.

Conclusion

From her apparent enthrallment with Indian chintz and its decorative language to her incorporation of the very fabrics that resulted from the appropriation of this foreign textile tradition by the British and their means of production, Morris – most likely inadvertently – represents the imperial economy that was imposed upon Indigenous people in and around the Hudson Bay drainage basin starting in the seventeenth century. The trade in Indian chintz and printed English cottons by the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, respectively, were integral to the success of British manufacturing and enabled British settler-colonial ambitions in Canada, where fabrics of English manufacture were popular amongst settlers and traded with Indigenous peoples for access to natural resources and land. Indeed, The

[223] These moccasins feature a flat embroidered ankle panel in place of the deep side cuffs that was considered practical for travel and bad weather. See Hall, 255.

[224] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 175.

[225] Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 13.

Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant was instituted by the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee First Nations in 1701 precisely because the foreign marketplace had disrupted their environmental and political relationships, and later land cession agreements would further disorder Indigenous relations by dislocating Indigenous people from their traditional territories. As such, the floral decorative language exemplified by the quilt treasured by the Morris family nevertheless contributed to a visual and material culture that sought to normalize the occupation of Indigenous lands by British authorities and settlers.

Of course, the Indigenous women who admired the chintz dressing gown at Catharine Parr Traill's home and adorned moccasins with floral designs inspired by such foreign objects did not necessarily regard their shifting aesthetic sensibilities as a threat. As historian James Axtell has observed, "the Indians [sic] no less than the colonists had a right to acquire new tastes, to form new aesthetic preferences, without fretting over the decline of some imagined aboriginality."[226] Indeed, the Indigenous people in the northeastern Woodland region underwent the same consumer revolution experienced by the British in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they met the influx or invasion of flowered cottons and other manufactured goods by way of British settlers and trade with the same spirit of curiosity and ingenuity exhibited by Morris's quilt. The incorporation of printed English cottons into Indigenous dress in Upper Canada and the development of floral moosehair embroidery by Indigenous artists in the region at the turn of the nineteenth century complicates the identity politics of Morris's floral quilt. Meaning, though the private and public significance of her handiwork may be informed by its association with the British Imperial economy that sought to undermine Indigenous authority in Upper Canada, the robust cultural response of Indigenous people to such objects affirmed the adaptability and

[226] James Axtell, *Native and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 133-134.

resilience of their communities. Chapter three shows that Indigenous people ultimately wielded their floral iconography to resist and subvert settler-colonial culture.

Chapter 2: The Transplantation of British Botany and Femininity to Canada West by a Quilt of Embroidered Sprays (1849)

The subject of this chapter is the Fallowfield quilt, the oldest object in the Heritage Quilt Collection at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (Kingston, ON). Evidence suggests that Irish settler Elizabeth Bell (1824-1919) made the bulk of this unsigned quilt in the late 1840s in the village of Fallowfield in Canada West's Carleton County. There are over eighty embroidered floral sprays on this quilt. In keeping with the fact that these sprays seem to be inspired by an early modern English embroidery convention that derived from the first natural science texts, Bell has apparently incorporated a unique motif onto the quilt top that resembles the red trillium flower indigenous to the temperate woodlands of eastern North America. Based on these observations, this chapter speculates that the Fallowfield quilt can be contextualized within the botanical science tradition that sought to supplant Indigenous knowledge with Western epistemology in nineteenth-century Canada. As such, this chapter also relates the Fallowfield quilt to the outsized role played by naturalistic needlework in the education of Indigenous girls administered by Canada's residential schools, which ultimately sought to disrupt the ecological and social sustainability of Woodland Indigenous communities.

This chapter assesses what one quilt tells us about settler perceptions of Indigenous land and culture in Canada West at the mid-nineteenth century by analysing the influence of Western botanical science on its form and content (see Fig. 2). This quilt, which is the oldest object in the Heritage Quilt Collection at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (Kingston, ON), is embroidered with over eighty embroidered floral sprays, all of which seem to have been modelled after slips. This term refers to a British embroidery convention that initially derived from the medieval herbal texts that provided information about plants before the advent of modern botanical science. Evidence suggests that Irish settler Elizabeth Bell (1824-1919) made the bulk of this unsigned quilt in the late 1840s as part of her preparations to marry a neighbour in the village of Fallowfield, which is now considered part of the City of Ottawa in Ontario.[227] Perhaps inspired

[227] This attribution has been made by Dr. Lisa Binkley, who generously provided me with a draft of the chapter she has written on the Fallowfield quilt for her forthcoming book. Please note that while I rely on her conclusions, I have undertaken visual analysis and archival research to further support my understanding of the Fallowfield quilt. See Lisa Binkley, *Canadian Quilts and their Makers* (Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming), 34-49; Elizabeth Bell's dates are confirmed by the inscription on her monument at Beechwood Cemetery in Carlton County, Ontario, which she shares with her husband, Hugh Davidson (1821-1891); I cannot confirm the date of Elizabeth Bell and Hugh Davidson's wedding, however I speculate that they were married the year before the birth of their eldest child, Mary Jane Davidson (b. 1850). See Davidson family, *1871 Canada Census*, Nepean, Carleton County, Ontario, microfilm reference C-10015, page 18, Family 64, Library and Archives Canada; Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

by the influence of botany on historical British embroidery, Bell has apparently incorporated a unique motif into the quilt top that resembles the red trillium, a wildflower that is indigenous to the temperate woodlands of eastern North America. This quilt, which is now referred to as the Fallowfield quilt, therefore presents the possibility that British settler women in Canada West's farming and laboring class organized and objectified their natural environment by studying regional flora and translating their natural observations into homecrafts. As such, Bell indirectly participated in the broad cultural effort to supplant Indigenous knowledge with Western epistemology in nineteenth-century Canada.

The Fallowfield quilt is a medallion quilt. As explained in the previous chapter, this term describes quilts that have a distinctive centerpiece bordered by smaller quilt blocks or pieces. The medallion at the center of the Fallowfield quilt is approximately seventy-five centimeters square, and the smaller quilt blocks that surround it measure approximately fifteen centimeters square. All of the pieces in the quilt top were cut from lengths plain-woven linen cloth and hand-sewn together along their edges. The quilt's medallion and eighty-one of its small squares are embroidered with naturally dyed wool thread worked using a combination of tent, tambour and satin stitches. All of the embroidered designs are floral. The medallion features a spray of eight flower varieties tied together with a string looped into a bow, and it is bordered with a festoon of strawberry plants (Fig. 20). With two exceptions, the embroidered sprays on the quilt's smaller blocks do not contain multiple flower varieties. Rather, they feature single flower varieties and at least ten unique designs can be found across the quilt's surface. Distinguishing these is complicated by the fact that there are two styles of embroidery represented on the quilt, which suggests that two women produced its embroidered blocks.

Of the three quilts within this study, the Fallowfield quilt has the most robust bibliography. Canadian quilt historian Ruth McKendry purchased this quilt from the quilt maker's granddaughters, Tena Davidson (1897-1989) and Ida Davidson (1901-1989) in 1979.[228] The quilt figures in one of McKendry's later publications, *Classic Quilts* (1997), as well as in her short article on "The Use of Embroidery on Quilts in Canada" (1981).[229] McKendry ultimately sold Bell's quilt to the founders of the Heritage Quilt Collection, Margaret Rhodes, Diane Berry, and Frances Crandall. Given McKendry's expertise, she was asked to write the Introduction to the collection's catalogue (1992), wherein she suggests that this embroidered quilt may have been inspired by the quilt maker's interest in the natural world and, more specifically, flowers: "Family tradition recalls that the young woman who made it was interested in the flowers of the fields and country gardens."[230] Art historian Lisa Binkley was the first to attribute the majority of the quilt's embroidered blocks to Elizabeth Bell, and her research will be published in her forthcoming book.[231] Binkley's focus is biographical and she only briefly speculates that the quilt's floral designs were "inspired by scientific botanical drawings found in school books or borrowed from embroidery patterns circulating in period women's journals such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's Lady's Magazine*, available from local merchants."[232] This dissertation adds a new historical perspective on this quilt by contextualizing its designs within the British botanical science tradition.

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[228] Tena Davidson (1897-1989) and Ida Davidson (1901-1989) are buried together with their parents, Hugh Sproule Davidson (1859-1933) and Mary Gamble Davidson (1881-1949), at Pinecrest Cemetery in Ottawa, Ontario. Hugh Sproule Davidson was born to Hugh Davidson (1821-1891) and the quilt maker, Elizabeth Bell Davidson (1824-1919), who are buried together at Beachwood Cemetery in Ottawa, Ontario. The relationship between Hugh Sproule Davidson, Hugh Davidson and Elizabeth Bell is confirmed in the marriage registration for Hugh Sproule Davidson and Mary Gamble (1888). See Hugh Sproule Davidson and Mary Gamble (m. 1888), *Indexes to Marriages: 1873-1932*, microfilm reference MS 934, reel 2, page 427, no. 2, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

[229] Ruth McKendry, "The Use of Embroidery on Quilts in Canada," *Embroidery Canada* 8, no. 2 (February 1981): 10; Ruth McKendry, *Classic Quilts* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1997), 39.

[230] Ruth McKendry, "The Quilt in Upper Canada," *The Heritage Quilt Collection*, ed. Dorothy Farr (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1992), 13.

[231] See Binkley, *Canadian Quilts and their Makers*.

[232] Binkley, *Canadian Quilts and Their Makers*, n.p.

The British botanical science tradition that influenced the form and content of the Fallowfield quilt is underpinned with imperial ambition. The popular interest amongst Britons in plants and their related taste for florals generally dates to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, inspired by the many varieties of flowers, herbs, and plants that were introduced to the British Isles by way of global exploration and trade.[233] The important relationship between botanical knowledge and notions of empire in British culture is exemplified by the first book published by a British colonist in North America, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) by Thomas Harriot. This report combines an inventory of the New World's natural attributes and their commercial applications with information on the Algonquin-speaking people that Harriot encountered living in what is today commonly referred to as North Carolina. Harriot describes grass coated in a skin that might be spun into silk, grapes suitable for wine production, cedar trees that will make fine chests and bedsteads, and many plants that will yield effective dyes.[234] Of his Indigenous hosts, Harriot writes, "although they have no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee…they shewe excellencie of wit."[235] Harriot dehumanizes the region's Indigenous people by presenting them as living in the absence of science and culture, and he thereby legitimizes his scientific survey of their environment and habits. Harriot's report signifies that Britons felt confident in their ability to survey, understand, and command both the natural world and non-white people at the end of the sixteenth century, and that these conquests were mutually supportive.

The British officials and settlers who undertook botanical research in British North America two hundred years later also sought to redefine its wilderness in relation to the

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[233] Lanto Synge*, Art of Embroidery: History of Style and Technique* (London: The Royal School of Needlework: 2001), 71.

[234] Thomas Harriot*, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Imprinted at London, 1588), 9-15.

[235] Harriot, 36.

productive British landscape. William Jackson Hooker, for example, became the first Director of Kew Gardens in the year following the publication of his volume on *The Botany of the Northern Parts of British North America* (1833-1840), and one of his first orders of business in this role was to open the world's first public Museum of Economic Botany in 1847 using specimens from his own private collection.[236] Economic botany is a field dedicated to the use value of plants, a method exemplified by Harriot's commercial understanding of American plants. There was growing consensus that botany was of economic importance to the British Empire in the first decades of the nineteenth century thanks in large part to the influence of Hooker, who delivered a paper in 1825 stressing that botanical surveys of North America were of particular importance because its flora might be transplanted in the British Isles.[237] This suggests that he hoped his botanical research would both support British authority in North America and contribute to the British Empire's wealth. In order to produce this text, Hooker relied on the efforts of more than one hundred and twenty government officials, military officers and amateur naturalists, making it a useful example of how the institution of botany was wielded by Britons to affirm their entitlement to North American land.

This chapter establishes that the Fallowfield quilt ought to be considered an expression of the amateur naturalist tradition, a branch of British botany that tended to satisfy a more personal desire for belonging through the work of identifying and cataloguing the plants that surrounded farms and homes. Furthermore, this chapter will consider how the desire to identify with the land that is exhibited by the quilt's botanical sensibility impacted Indigenous ecologies and communities in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Valley regions. As art historian Kristina

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[236] G. E. Wickens, "Two Centuries of Economic Botanists at Kew: Part 1," *The Kew Magazine* 10, no. 2 (May 1993): 87.

[237] Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 189, 192.

Huneault has written, the herbaria, floras, and other botanical activities undertaken by settler women in Canada contributed to the symbolic work of translating British settlers into so-called *native* Canadians, "the legitimate holders of a land they increasingly thought of as uniquely theirs."[238] Significantly, the official effort to displace Indigenous people and moderate their cultural identities was ministered in part through the instruction of naturalistic floral embroidery in residential schools starting in the mid-nineteenth century, and this chapter will reflect on how British women indirectly participated in this campaign to upset traditional Indigenous knowledge and communities in British North America through their needlework.

Situating the Fallowfield Quilt Within the History of British Settlement on Indigenous Land

The Fallowfield quilt is not signed or dated and establishing its provenance has involved doing archival research.[239] The history of this quilt is confused by various accounts left in the records at both the Canadian Museum of History and the Agnes Etherington Art Centre. In a letter to Ruth McKendry, Ida and Tena Davidson write that this quilt "was hand embroidered with wool by our great grandmother – our grandmother came from Ireland as a child with her parents."[240] In Ruth McKendry's account of her conversation with the Davidson sisters, however, she writes that "this fine embroidered quilt was made by their great-grandmother who came from Ireland with her parents when she was a child of eight and settled on a farm near Fallowfield."[241] She says the same in a statement that she left with the Agnes Etherington Art Centre for the quilt's acquisition file: "When my quilt book came out, the Davidson sisters wrote to ask me if I were interested in

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[238] Kristina Huneault, *I'm not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 166.

[239] As previously stated, Lisa Binkley has undertaken this research; however, I undertook my own archival research to ensure that I had a comprehensive understanding of the Fallowfield quilt and its history.

[240] *Ida Davidson and Tena Davidson to Ruth McKendry*, 1979, letter, Ruth McKendry Fonds (2003-F0003), Box 936 f.15, Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Québec, Canada.

[241] *The Fallowfield Quilt,* Ruth McKendry Fonds (2003-F0003), Box 936 f.15, Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Québec, Canada.

buying a hand-embroidered quilt by their great-grandmother who came from Ireland as a child with her parents, and lived on a farm near Fallowfield."[242] A handwritten note in the same acquisition file reiterates that the quilt was "said by descendants (great granddaughters) to have been made by great-grandmother who had lived on a farm homestead near Fallowfield, Carleton County…Great-grandmother was thought to have come from Ireland when grandmother was a young child probably about seven…Quilt was made in Canada, the idea coming from the flowers of the garden and field."[243] By most accounts then, the quilt is generally attributed to Ida and Tena Davidson's great-grandmother and believed to have been made in Canada.

Significantly, it was Ida and Tena Davidson's grandmother, Elizabeth Bell, who came to Canada as a child, rather than their great-grandmother. Elizabeth Bell would have been twelve or thirteen when she emigrated with her family from Ireland in 1837.[244] Ida and Tena Davidson's great-grandmother, Anne Little Bell (hereafter referred to as Anne Little), presumably died in Ireland because she did not accompany her husband, John Bell, and their four children, Harriet Bell (1817-1913), Mary Jane Bell (1820-1908), Elizabeth Bell, and John George Bell (1828-1875), to Canada.[245] It is possible that Anne Little made the quilt, and that her family brought it with them to Canada in remembrance of her; however, given that there are a number of accounts

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[242] *Fallowfield Quilt,* 1994, statement by Ruth McKendry, acquisition file Q83-01, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

[243] *Fallowfield Quilt,* handwritten note, acquisition file Q83-01, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

[244] The year of Elizabeth Bell Davidson's immigration to Canada is documented in the 1901 Canada Census. See Elizabeth Bell Davidson, *1901 Canada Census*, Ottawa, Ontario, microfilm reference T-6488, page 8, family no. 64, line 2, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

[245] Evidence that Elizabeth Bell and her siblings came to Canada with their father, John Bell, but not their mother, Ann Little Bell, can be found in the obituary written for Elizabeth Bell's eldest sister, Harriet Bell. See "Mrs. Davidson Dead, Aged 96," *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), 21 June 1913, page 1; I determined the year of John George Bell's death from his obituary, which indicates that he is interred at the Beechwood Cemetery in Ottawa. His memorial there says that he died at 46 years of age. A correction published on page 4 of the *Ottawa Daily Citizen* on December 22, 1875, two days after his obituary appeared in its pages, clarifies that he has three sisters, including Mrs. Davidson, Mrs. Hugh Davidson and Mrs. Wm. Scott of Nepean. See "The Late John George Bell," *Ottawa Daily Citizen* (Ottawa, Ontario), 20 December 1875, page 1; The name of Mrs. Wm. Scott of Nepean was determined by the 1851 Canada West Census. See William and Mary Jane Scott*, 1851 Census of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia*. Nepean, Canada West, microfilm reference C-11716, page 65, lines 20-21, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

in the quilt's records that emphasize the quilt maker's situation in Carleton County, there is reason to believe that Elizabeth Bell (hereafter referred to as Bell) had at least some hand in the quilt's making. Through a combination of material and archival research, Lisa Binkley has concluded that twenty-eight of the quilt's embroidered blocks, as well as its central medallion, were worked in Ireland by Anne Little, and that Bell embroidered the remaining fifty-three blocks in anticipation of her marriage to Hugh Davidson in 1849, attaching all the blocks together to make her wedding quilt.[246] Visual analysis supports the conclusion that Bell produced the bulk of the embroidered squares in the Fallowfield quilt. Bell and her husband raised their family on a farm in Nepean. The condition of the Fallowfield quilt suggests that it was not in everyday use. Perhaps it was a decorative bedspread, or perhaps it was stored away and admired on occasion until Bell died in Ottawa at the age of ninety-five.[247]

Bell and her family were Presbyterians who hailed from Clones, a small town in Ireland's northern County Monaghan, and they settled in the Nepean Township within what was then referred to as Upper Canada's Carleton County.[248] Where the family of the quilt maker discussed in the previous chapter, Mary Morris, would have had to contend with the rocky Canadian Shield on their homestead in Leeds County, the Bell family was more favorably situated in Ottawa Valley that flanks the Ottawa River. This area was once flooded by the Champlain Sea and the rich marine sediments that were left behind produced favorable for farming conditions.[249] As was discussed in the previous chapter, Morris's mother may have purchased land in Leeds County in

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[246] See Binkley, *Canadian Quilts and their Makers.*

[247] "Death of Mr. Hugh Davidson," *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), 30 November 1891, page 1.

[248] Evidence that Elizabeth Bell and her family came to Canada from Clones, Ireland, can be found in Elizabeth Bell's sister's obituary, which identifies her birthplace as "Clouness, Ireland." This obituary also offers some evidence that the Bell family settled in the Nepean Township of Carleton County, since it suggests that the deceased married Mr. Samuel Davidson of Nepean Township soon after she arrived in Canada. See "Mrs. Davidson Dead, Aged 96," *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), 21 June 1913, page 1; Further to the last point, the obituary written for Elizabeth Bell's husband, Hugh Davidson, also indicates that the Davidsons were long-time residents of Nepean Township. See "Death of Mr. Hugh Davidson," *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), 30 November 1881, page 1.

[249] Winifred Wake, *A Nature Guide to Ontario* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1997), 212, 231.

order to be near other immigrants from southeastern Ireland, a demographic that began settling in and around Leeds County as early as 1809.[250] Likewise, it is possible that John Bell purchased land in Nepean because he had friends or family settled in the Ottawa Valley, which tended to attract Protestant Irish families from northern Ireland.[251] Presbyterians came to northern Ireland from Scotland in the seventeenth century and their religion did not preclude many from joining the Irish republican cause starting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That said, anti-Catholicism was the basis of a shared interest amongst many Presbyterians and Anglicans in Ireland during this period. Historian Andrew R. Holmes stresses this joint interest by pointing to the 1820s and 1830s, when Irish Presbyterian leaders, including Henry Cook, "developed a policy of pan-Protestant unity with the Church of Ireland in defence of the Union and Protestant character of the British state."[252] As was discussed in the previous chapter, historian Lucille H. Campey has suggested that the region extending from Leeds and Lansdowne Counties to the land between the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, where the Bell family settled, may have attracted Irish settlers with Loyalist sympathies due to the fact that this is where ex-Irish soldiers who had fought for the British in the American Revolutionary War were relocated to by the Crown in the 1780s.[253] Given the political position of dominant Presbyterians in Ireland at the time of the Bell family's passage and the important role that kinship played in the settlement patterns of Irish immigrants to Upper Canada, it seems safe to presume that Bell's family felt aligned with the British identity of their neighbors in Nepean.[254]

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[250] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University press, 1984), 49; Lucille H. Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers: Farmers, Labourers, and Lumberjacks* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2018), 104; Glen J. Lockwood, *The Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne: The Making of Community on the Gananoque River Frontier, 1796-1996* (Corporation of the Township of Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne, 1996), 130.

[251] Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers*, 116.

[252] Andrew R. Holmes, "Presbyterian Religion, Historiography, and Ulster Scots Identity, c. 1800 to 1914," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 3 (Sept 2009): 617-618.

[253] Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers*, 26.

[254] Campey, 106.

Some insight into the precise location of the Bell family farm, as well as the specific nature of their personal ties in the region, can be gleaned from examining a notice that appeared in the *Ottawa Daily Citizen* at the beginning of 1849, which advertised "FOR SALE, part of Lot No. 29, 5th Concession of the Township of Nepean. The land is good, and lies immediately on the Road leading to Richmond, and is within two miles of Bell's Corners or Cross."[255] The notice asks that applications be made to either Samuel Davidson or J.G. Bell. Samuel Davidson was Bell's brother in law by her eldest sister, Harriet Bell, and J.G. Bell refers to Bell's brother, John George Bell.[256] At the time that this advertisement was placed, Bell was about to marry Samuel Davidson's brother, Hugh Davidson, and John George Bell was working at a newspaper in Bytown.[257] Elizabeth and John George Bell's father, John Bell, died in 1847.[258] With his three sisters either married or betrothed, John George Bell would have seen sense in selling or reducing the family's farm given his professional occupation in Bytown, and it is possible that the property at issue in this notice is part of his father's land. The familial ties between the Davidsons and the Bells suggest that they were neighbors. Since Samuel Davidson continued to farm in the area, he would have been able to serve as a local contact for the sale of this land.[259] The fact of the farm's proximity to Bell's Corners also seems to support the premise that it belonged to John Bell. Bell's Corners refers to the intersection between Richmond Road and Robertson Road six kilometers north of Fallowfield that is named after Hugh Bell (1798-1872), an immigrant from Ireland's County Monahan who established a tavern at the intersection's

[255] "FARM FOR SALE" Ottawa Daily Citizen (Ottawa, Ontario), 21 April 1849, page 1.

[256] "Mrs. Davidson Dead, Aged 96," *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), 21 June 1913, page 1.

[257] According to John George Bell's obituary, he moved to Bytown to apprentice at the Bytown Gazette in 1840. See "The Late John George Bell," *Ottawa Daily Citizen* (Ottawa, Ontario), 20 December 1875, page 1.

[258] The first recorded burial in the Merivale Cemeteries is that of John Bell, and Anglican who died in 1847. See *The Merivale Cemeteries* (Ottawa: Ottawa Branch of the Ontario Genealogical Society, 1981), n.p.

[259] According to Harriet Davidson's obituary, her husband, Mr. Samuel Davison, was a well-known farmer in Carleton County. See "Mrs. Davidson Dead, Aged 96," *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), 21 June 1913, page 1.

southeast corner in the early 1830s.[260] Hugh Bell settled in Nepean sometime between 1820 and 1822.[261] It is possible that Hugh Bell was a relative of John Bell, and that John Bell relocated his family to Nepean specifically because of Hugh Bell's foothold in the region.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottawa Valley where the Bell and Davidson families would establish their farms was occupied by bands of Anishinaabe Nations within the Algonquin language family, including the Algonquin, Odawa, and Nipissing Nations. These were nomadic communities that depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and foraging, although they grew crops when conditions allowed. [262] Their hunting territories stretched eastward to the St. Maurice River and their summer settlements were concentrated in the secluded tributaries along the Ottawa River.[263] The Algonquins in the Ottawa River Valley made great use of the biodiversity in this region, using over two-hundred and forty local plants for their food and medicine.[264] The watersheds were historically divided into family territories in order to support the development of localized knowledge regarding fishing stocks and woodland sites.[265] Ash, birch, and cedar trees were used to produce basketry and canoes, and sugar maples were tapped for their sweet syrup.[266] In addition to harvesting berries, roots, and medicinal plants, many families tended wild rice beds. On account of their location, the Anishinaabe in this region wielded a great amount of control over the movement of European goods into Canada's interior in the sixteenth century and they thus profited from the early fur trade.[267] By the seventeenth

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[260] This fact is sourced from an incomplete photocopy of a book chapter in the quilt's accession file at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (Q83-01), Queen's University, Kingston ON.

[261] A.H.D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd., 1927), 29.

[262] Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquian Middlemen: Algonquin, Nipissing, and Ottawa, 1550-1780," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, eds. Rogers, Edward S. and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 64-65.

[263] Trigger and Day, 65.

[264] Bonita Lawrence, *Fractured Homeland: Federal Recognition and Algonquin Identity in Ontario* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012) 30.

[265] Lawrence, 30.

[266] Lawrence, 30-31.

[267] Trigger and Day, "Southern Algonquian Middlemen," 68.

century, however, the French had forged a direct trading link with the Huron-Wendat to the west, depriving the Anishinaabe of their powerful negotiating position.[268] Perhaps because of this trading relationship, the Nipissing and Odawa remained closely allied to the Huron-Wendat throughout this period.[269]

The Algonquin, Odawa, and Nipissing peoples were all plagued by epidemics in the 1630s. Smallpox and other diseases of European origin resulted in devastating losses. This left them vulnerable to attack by the Haudenosaunee that lived south of the St. Lawrence River, who advanced into the territory of the Anishinaabe in the 1640s when the beaver population in the Mohawk Valley Region had dwindled.[270] By 1660, the Haudenosaunee had monopolized the beaver catch in the Ottawa River Valley, and they sold the pelts at Albany on the Hudson River.[271] Their aggression forced the Anishinaabe along the Ottawa River to temporarily relocate. By 1750, many Nipissing and Algonquin communities resettled at Lake of Two Mountains near Montreal, and many of members of these communities resumed hunting and gathering on their traditional territories in the Ottawa River Valley in the winter months.[272] The Lake of Two Mountains was proximate to the French Sulpician Mission, and many of the Anishinaabe who gathered there became Christianized; however in the Ottawa River Valley, they reunited with those who resisted Christianization and opted to live on traditional territory.[273] Therefore, while disease and war reduced the number of Anishinaabe in the Ottawa River Valley in the seventeenth century, and while the Christian influence was changing their social and

[268] Trigger and Day, 69.
[269] Trigger and Day, 71.
[270] Triger and Day, 72.
[271] Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present*, 10.
[272] Trigger and Day, "Southern Algonquian Middlemen," 76.
[273] Lawrence, *Fractured Homeland*, 31.

political structures, the eighteenth century saw these groups maintaining strong ties to their land and historical ways of life.[274]

Warfare between the French and the British intensified in the mid-eighteenth century. The Proclamation of 1763 that transferred New France to British authorities claimed the Ottawa River as part of the new Province of Québec, putting it outside the bounds of the so-called Indian Territory.[275] Indigenous sovereignty in the region was made more vulnerable by the American Revolution, which drove United Empire Loyalists that allied with the British northward.[276] British authorities were compelled to secure Indigenous territory stretching along the northern shores of Lake Ontario and up the mouth of the St. Lawrence River for the resettlement of this influx of newcomers from the Thirteen Colonies and the British immigrants that would follow. As was previously detailed, the British purchased land along the northern shores of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River in 1783. Captain William Redford Crawford brokered this land cession agreement with a number of Mississauga chiefs and a representative from the Mohawks of Kanesatake, Chief Mynas, who altered the political geography of southeastern Ontario by ceding a tract of land along the upper part of the St. Lawrence River south of the Ottawa River.[277] Constituting the second part of the Crawford purchase, the transaction with Mynas was based on false pretenses as much of the territory that he offered up belonged to the Algonquin Nation of the Ottawa River Valley.[278] The Algonquin have been contesting the second Crawford Purchase since 1791.[279]

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[274] Lawrence, *Fractured Homeland*, 31.

[275] Robert J. Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830" in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, Rogers, eds. Edward S. and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 94.

[276] Elizabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six) Nations Confederacy, 1550-1784," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*. eds. Edward S. and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 91.

[277] Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830," 102.

[278] Susan McLeod, "Land 'as far as a man can travel in a day," *The Kingston Whig Standard* Online, published on December 3, 2019. Accessed on January 20, 2020.

[279] Lawrence, *Fractured Homeland* 36.

Historian Robert J. Surtees articulates the new threat that American and British immigrants posed to Indigenous life in southeastern Ontario: "In the space of forty years, thousands of newcomers arrived in two waves, not to trade, but, rather more ominously, to colonize."[280] Irish immigrants like the Bell family were the principal colonizers of the Ottawa Valley in the nineteenth century.[281] At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Irish settlers were drawn to the region by well-paying jobs in the timber trade and by farming opportunities.[282] Bytown, which is now known as Ottawa, was an important commercial center thanks to logging, an industry that employed the laboring class of Irish immigrants in the area.[283] According to historian Gerald M. Craig, the economic effects of Bytown's logging industry were highly beneficial to famers working in the surrounding farmland.[284] Bytown gained additional regional significance with the development of the Rideau Canal, a waterway connecting the Ottawa River to the St. Lawrence River that was built between 1826 and 1832.[285] The construction of the Rideau Canal coincided with desperate economic conditions in Ireland and Scotland, and in the late 1820s England's Colonial Office was overwhelmed with requests from Irish and Scottish families for assistance with their emigration to Canada.[286] The timber trade and economic might of the Ottawa Valley would have contributed to John Bell's decision to relocate his family to this specific region of Upper Canada, which was populated by other Protestant families from Northern Ireland. Since the Bell family left Ireland ten years before the Great Famine of 1847, it is safe to presume that their relocation was a response to economic hardships. Government assistance was not often

[280] Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830," 92.
[281] Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers* 103.
[282] Campey, 103-104.
[283] Campey, 117.
[284] Gerald M Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, 1963 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2013), 147.
[285] Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers*, 112.
[286] Campey 113.

granted before the famine, and it is likely that the Bells made great sacrifices to secure their passage to Upper Canada.

The Influence of British Herbals and Botany on the Design Principles of the Fallowfield Quilt

The botanical aspect of the Fallowfield quilt begins with its design principles, which almost certainly reference slips made by British needleworkers in the early modern period (1500-1800). In the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, flowers were often embroidered in the form of *slips*. This term describes small squares of linen or canvas embroidered with isolated floral sprigs resembling gardeners' cuttings (Fig. 21). Slips were typically made individually and then applied in rows or patterns to finer fabric grounds, like velvet.[287] They were often applied to furnishings, including cushion covers and bed curtains. Slips were practical. They made it easier for domestic embroiderers to work large or cumbersome surfaces, and they could also be detached and reapplied to other backings. Slips suited the strong interest in flowers that British women developed as early as the sixteenth century. The prominent place that flowers held in the popular imagination of Britons is exemplified by the fact that the same varieties that figure frequently in early modern slips, including cornflowers, honeysuckles and daffodils, were frequently invoked by William Shakespeare.[288]

Shakespeare embodies the association between early modern femininity and flowers in Perdita, a character in *The Winter's Tale* (1611). Perdita demonstrates her knowledge of flowers in the play's fourth act, when she welcomes disguised Polixenes and Camillo to the sheep-shearing feast in Bohemia: "Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram...These are flowers / Of middle summer, and I think they are given / To men of middle age" (IV.iv.104-108). She also identifies marigold, daffodils, violets, primroses, oxlips, lilies, and fleur-de-lis, and she ascribes

[287] Synge, *Art of Embroidery,* 71.
[288] *A Picture Book of Flowers in English Embroidery* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1938), n.p.

the flowers with meaning by corresponding each to their season or myth. Soon thereafter, Polixenes and Perdita spar over gillyflowers that have been streaked artificially by cross-fertilization. Perdita disproves of interfering "With great creating Nature" and Polixenes argues that cross-fertilization "is an art / Which does mend Nature" (IV.iv.88.95-96). Perdita's understanding of flowers and herbs signifies that she has the working knowledge of plants that was considered necessary for being a housewife, and her refusal to allow that art can improve nature signifies both her feminine appreciation for natural beauty and her refusal to wield control over the natural world. Similarly, slips would have qualified the needleworker's suitability for housewifery as well as her femininity by exhibiting her practical knowledge of plants and aesthetic sensibilities.

The relationship between natural observation and the domestic arts in early modern British culture is also seen in the period's housewifery manuals, which stress the imitation of nature in cooking and decorating alike. Consider, for example, Hannah Woolley's *The Queen-Like Closet; or Rich Cabinet* (1674), a cookbook and household management guide that was reprinted in 1675 with an additional *Supplement* (1675) of "rare secrets" for improving the home.[289] The text includes Woolley's variation on the *strange sallat,* an edible creation that took the form of a landscape. Woolley's *Rock in Sweet-Meats* is an arrangement of puddings, biscuits and candies that presents as a rock garden, complete with wine fountain. The recipe requires curating and fashioning the edible elements in a manner that is true to nature. She writes, "fasten all your rocks together…as you know Nature doth afford."[290] Truthful imitation of nature is also explicitly stressed in *To Adorn A Room With Prints,* instructions found in the *Supplement* for

[289] Hannah Woolley, *The Queen-Like Closet; or Rich Cabinet* and *The Supplement to the Queen-Like Closet.* London: 1675.

[290] Woolley, *The Queen-Like Closet; or Rich Cabinet*, 308.

transforming domestic walls into landscapes using figures and scenes cut carefully from black and white art prints. Though Victorian gentlewomen and modern artists will access the absurd through collage, Woolley uses the medium to replicate nature. She instructs her reader "to put [the cut outs] in proper places, or else it will be ridiculous." She continues, "be sure to put the things flying above; let Houses and Trees be set sensibly, as also water with Ships sailing, as you put them on, observe that they have a relation to one another."[291] The emphasis on imitation in these domestic arts encouraged British women to develop their observational skills and thereby involved them in the pursuit of natural science, particularly botany.

The mimetic quality of early modern British housewifery as exemplified in Woolley's seventeenth-century text is evident in slips that survive from this period. Slips were ideally scientifically accurate, and producing them involved either studying flower specimens or referring to the illustrations in texts called *herbals*, which provided information about plants.[292] The earliest printed herbals date to the fifteenth century and feature plain woodcut illustrations of single plant varieties.[293] As textile historian Albert Frank Kendrick observes, these illustrations made for excellent embroidery patterns because "the essential character of the plants was interpreted with the greatest economy of line."[294] The synergy between early natural science and the needle arts is seen in *La Clef des Champs* (1586) by Jacques Le Loyne de Morgues, a natural history printed in London containing illustrations of wild and garden flowers, animals, insects, birds and fruit that is dedicated to embroiderers, tapestry weavers and other craftsmen. The illustrations in some surviving copies show signs of having been pricked with pins and pounced

[291] Woolley, *The Supplement to the Queen-Like Closet, 71.*

[292] Santina Levey, "Embroidery, Renaissance to Rococo," in *The Victoria & Albert Museum's Textile Collection: Embroidery in Britain from 1200 to 1750*, eds. Donald King and Santina Levey, 15-20. (London: V&A Publications, 1993), 16.

[293] Agnes Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution: A Chapter in the History of Botany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 11-12.

[294] Albert Frank Kendrick, *English Needlework* (London: A & C Black Ltd., 1933), 87.

with chalk in order to transfer their designs to another surface.[295] Printmakers attempted to capitalize on the decorative appeal of herbals by issuing embroidery pattern books. By 1550, several such books were available throughout Europe.[296] Though Dutch floral paintings provided British needleworkers with renewed inspiration and compositional models in the seventeenth century, the plain woodcuts typical of herbals continued to inform their designs.[297]

The embroidered blocks that make up the Fallowfield quilt look remarkably like the early modern British slips that derived from illustrated herbals and other early natural history texts (Fig. 22). Take for example, a set of slips in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which date to the early seventeenth century (see Fig. 21). These slips are only just slightly larger than the blocks in the Fallowfield quilt. Additionally, both the seventeenth-century slips and the embroidered blocks in the Fallowfield quilt can be described as squares of plain-woven linen grounds worked with polychrome embroideries; although, the former are embroidered with silk threads and the latter with wool yarn. Most significantly, the seventeenth-century slips and the quilt's blocks both feature single flower varieties. The following flowering plants have been identified in a set of thirteen early modern slips in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, ON): red and white strawberries, roses, carnations, marigolds, periwinkles, pansies, lilies, columbines, and mallows.[298] Many of these plants also figure in the embroideries on the Fallowfield quilt. The Fallowfield quilt's medallion and a number of its squares are presented as floral arrangements tied with bows, and while many early modern slips have roots or read as specimens, some were fashioned as flower bouquets. For example, an English wall hanging at the Abegg-Stiftung (Bern, Switzerland) that dates to 1675 features slips embroidered with

[295] Synge, *Art of Embroidery,* 73.
[296] Synge, 71.
[297] Synge, 71.
[298] Katherine B. Brett, *English Embroidery: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972), 7.

bunches of flower tied with ribbon.[299] When compared to seventeenth-century slips, it seems evident that the embroidered squares of the Fallowfield quilt were inspired by this British decorative art form.

This seems especially so given the distinctiveness of the Fallowfield quilt's design. This quilt is made in the medallion style, which refers to a centrally planned bed quilt. Given that medallion quilts were popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is not necessarily the central plan of the Fallowfield quilt that makes it unique. What is uncommon, however, is that this medallion quilt does not have radial symmetry, a term that describes symmetry around a central axis. The quilt by Mary Morris that was considered in the previous chapter, for example, features concentric bands of patchworked and embroidered cotton that build outwards from an embroidered centrepiece (see Fig. 1). The patchworked and embroidered cotton bands are oriented away from the central medallion, producing the effect of cross-sectioned tree trunk that grows outward from its central core. The Fallowfield quilt, on the other hand, features an embroidered centrepiece flanked on four sides by embroidered squares, and all of these decorative elements are oriented in the same direction. This horizontal arrangement of embroidered squares is unexpected in a medallion quilt, but typical of textiles decorated with slips. The aforementioned English wall hanging at the Abegg-Stiftung, for example, features twenty-one slips arranged in seven rows of seven. The arrangement of the Fallowfield quilt's embroidered blocks further evidence the influence of early modern British slips.

As has been previously discussed, the fact that the Bell family identified as Presbyterian, rather than Catholic, suggests that they felt some affiliation with British culture and its

[299] Marie Schuette and Marie Müller-Christensen, *A Pictorial History of Embroidery* (New York: Praeger, 1964), 258-259, 325.

decorative traditions, and it is possible that the quilt's floral imagery is representative of their British identity. Consider, for example, the two flowering plants that figure most prominently on the quilt top: strawberries (Fig. 23) and roses (Fig. 24). Strawberries only appear on four of the quilt's eighty-one embroidered squares, but they festoon its central medallion and thereby make a big visual impact. The strawberry is a common motif in historical English embroideries, which Kendrick attributes to the plant's natural abundance in the meadows and hedgerows of the British Isles.[300] Textile historian Lanto Synge also identifies strawberries as one of the most prominent plant motifs in English embroidery, and he speculates that the strawberry plant came to symbolize purity in part because they were gathered from the woods, "unspoiled by less natural and coarser vegetables grown in the garden."[301] The strawberry's dual association with England and purity would have made it suitable for British wedding quilts. Roses appear in fifteen of the embroidered squares in the Fallowfield quilt, as well as in its central medallion, making it the most repeated motif on the quilt's top. According to Synge, roses have been "especial favorites" in every period of English embroidery. [302] He reasons that the popularity of roses in English embroidery is due to the flower's adaptability as a symbol. For example, its origins in Persia give it an aspect of exoticism, while its association with the common briar make it familiar. Additionally, its beauty and scent make it charming, while its thorny stems make it seem threatening. The recurrence of the strawberry and the rose on this quilt top stresses the association between the quilt's floral motifs and England.

Significantly, the roses on the Fallowfield quilt are worked in two different styles (Fig. 25). This suggests that two women worked the quilt's squares. Eight of the fifteen sprays of roses that

[300] Kendrick, *English Needlework*, 87.
[301] Synge, *Art of Embroidery*, 74.
[302] Synge, 73.

figure on the quilt top are embroidered in a stiff and schematic style distinguished by its symmetry. Roses rendered in this style can also be found in the quilt's central medallion. These motifs are only recognizable as roses because they have overwrought sepals, a common attribute of roses in English samplers and decorative schemes. For example, there is a white cotton Romantic era dress in the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum that is embroidered at the edge of its skirt with stylized roses and foxgloves, and the roses are represented with exaggerated fuzzy green sepals (see Fig. 24). The remaining seven sprays of roses accord with this decorative convention; however, none of them are exactly alike, and their variation signifies this needleworker's objective eye as well as her interest in actual plants. Fifty-three of the quilt blocks are embroidered in this naturalistic style. Twenty-eight of the quilt blocks and its central medallion are embroidered in the stiff, schematic style exemplified by the first eight sprays of roses discussed above. Whoever needleworked these squares, this quilt was most likely meant to represent one woman's readiness for marriage, and it is significant that she chose to define this life event in relation to historical British conventions that associated women with needlework, floral imagery, and natural observation.

In a Canadian context, the embroideries on this quilt relate to the broad cultural identification with flowers felt by British settlers. For British settlers in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, flowers and floral imagery invoked the British countryside and thereby became emblematic of their profound nostalgia and homesickness. This is exemplified by Anna Jameson in her autobiographical travelogue, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* (1838), wherein she describes her emotional response to a gift of hothouse flowers from friends in Toronto: "I spread the flowers out on my bed, and inhaled their fragrance with emotions I dare hardly confess…I

had not seen a flower since I left England."[303] The strong emotions that flowers stirred in British settlers is also evident in Susanna Moodie's description of her reaction to seeing harebells growing from the grave of an Indigenous man during a trip to Stony Lake during the summer of 1835: "The harebell had always from a child been with me a favourite flower; and the first sight of it in Canada, growing upon that lonely grave, so flooded my soul with remembrances of the past, that in spite of myself, the tears poured freely from my eyes." She continues, "I gathered those flowers, and placed them in my bosom, and kept them for many a day; they had become holy, when connected with sacred home recollections, and the never-dying affections of the heart which the sight of them recalled."[304] Notably, Moodie bestows this wildflower with divine status because it reminds her of the British countryside and not because it was growing from an Indigenous man's resting place. Recognizing the strong emotional resonance that flowers had in the colonies, British authorities sent native flowers to homesick subjects abroad in the mid-nineteenth century.[305]

An Instance of Plant Identification on the Fallowfield Quilt

One piece of visual evidence seems to establish Bell as the primary needleworker of the Fallowfield quilt, a design worked on five of the quilt's blocks depicting a bloom of three elliptic maroon petals crowned by three pronounced sepals that strongly resembles the red trillium flower indigenous to the temperate woodlands of eastern North America (Fig. 26). There are five trillium species native to the Ontario region, and the red petals in this design look remarkably like those found on the red trillium. The three sepals that now read as dark brown would have originally been a bright shade of green, the recipe for which would have required goldenrod,

[303] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Vol. 1. 1838 (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1972), 144.

[304] Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush; or Life in Canada*, 1852 (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), 173.

[305] Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54.

which grows abundantly in Ontario, and indigo, a blue dye historically made from the leaves of tropical plants.[306] Indigo was largely sourced in India and readily available at Canada West's general stores.[307] The instability of the green dye has resulted in fading. Although Indigenous peoples had long utilized this plant to hasten childbirth and ease delivery pains, as well as to treat insect and rattlesnake bites, the trillium was unfamiliar to Europeans and has no precedent in Old World embroidery or textile design.[308] If this design is indeed based on the red trillium, then it would have been Bell, rather than her mother, Anne Little, who produced these squares and – likely – the forty-eight other blocks on the quilt's top that feature naturalistic embroidery designs. While the secondary needleworker is unknown, it is possible that Bell built her wedding quilt around squares of linen embroidered by her mother, Anne Little, as Binkley suggests. Or else, perhaps Bell's sisters helped her complete the quilt.

How would Bell have produced this unique design for her embroidered quilt? Although Bell's process is difficult to discern, there is evidence that women in the American colonies translated their drawings into embroideries, and one can presume that Bell did the same. For example, historian Amanda Isaac speculates that the flowers, birds and animals that fill the pages of a sketchbook kept by Ann Flower in eighteenth-century Philadelphia formed the basis for her exceptional needlework. [309] Flower's sketchbook is now in the collection of the Winterthur Museum (Winterthur, DE), which also owns two pieces of needlework by Flower, including an embroidered coat of arms (1763) and an Irish-stitch prayer book cover (1765). Flower translated

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[306] Catharine Parr Traill *The Female Emigrants Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping* (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1854), 176.

[307] Douglas McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush: Shopping in Rural Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 173.

[308] Eustella Langdon, *Pioneer Gardens at Black Creek Pioneer Village* (Toronto and Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1972), 38.

[309] Amanda Isaac, "Ann Flower's Sketchbook: Drawing, Needlework, and Women's Artistry in Colonia Philadelphia," *Winterthus Portfolio* 41, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2007): 141-142.

her illustrations into embroidery by copying or tracing their outlines onto fabric or canvas, producing a guide for her needle and thread.[310] Flower's sketchbook indicates that the relationship between natural science, natural observation, and embroidery forged in early modern British culture remained strong in British colonial contexts one hundred or so years later. For example, it contains drawings of birds that were likely informed by scientific illustrations in prints and books, including George Edwards' *Natural History of Uncommon Birds* and *Gleanings from Natural History* (1743-1764), as well as original impressions of local buildings and residents. While not all of Flower's sketches were translated into embroideries, Isaac argues that her scientific curiosity, observational skills, and creative abilities "freed her to work outside the conventional idioms of Philadelphia needlework."[311] The trillium flower on Bell's quilt speaks to the equivalent effort that she made to advance beyond the conventional idioms of British needlework and adapt to her Canadian context.

It is most likely that Bell drew her trillium flower design from nature since few comprehensive, illustrated Canadian botanical inventories existed before Confederation.[312] Though the Hudson's Bay Company surgeons were required to include plant descriptions and specimens in their regular reports as early as 1760, and many of its fur traders also kept written records of the flora that they saw in the bush, botany was slow to develop in British North America relative to other British colonies.[313] This is because the territory's climatic extremes and rocky landscape had long been seen as prohibitive to agriculture, and the economic potential of this outpost was thus believed to lie in its mineral deposits.[314] Before the Geological Survey of Canada expanded to include natural history in 1877, there was little public support for a

[310] Isaac, 145-146, 152.
[311] Isaac, 150.
[312] Zeller, *Inventing Canada,* 184.
[313] Zeller 192.
[314] Zeller, 13.

botanical survey of Canada and the study of northern North America's plants and flowers was largely advanced by a combination of curious professionals and amateur naturalists. For example, the French botanist Francois Andre Michaux published the pioneering *Flora Boreali-Americana* (1803), and Frederick Pursh (1774-1820) from Saxony made a significant contribution to North America's botanical record when he published *Flora Americae Septentrionalis* (1814) or *North American Flora.* Pursh's volumes contained nearly twice the number of plant descriptions as has been issued by Michaux.[315] Both Michaux and Pursh provide descriptions of trillium flowers found in Canada; however, these are written in Latin and neither is accompanied by an illustration, making them impractical as sources for amateur embroidery designers. The most complete and accessible record of plants in British North America that would have existed at the time that Bell was fashioning her wedding quilt would have been William Jackson Hooker's *Flora Borreali-Americana; or the Botany of the Northern Parts of British North America* (1833-1840), which contains neither a description nor an illustration of the trillium flower.

In using natural observation to produce the design for her trillium flower motif, Bell assumed the role of the amateur naturalist. The red trillium appears in the *List of Plants Collected By Mr. Billings in the Vicinity of the City of Ottawa during the summer of 1866,* indicating that Bell may well have seen the flower and examined its particulars near her home in the 1840s.[316] One can thus imagine her admiring red trillium flowers as a young woman on a nature walk in a local forest bursting with new growth during one of the spring or summer seasons preceding her marriage. A similar encounter is described in what might be the earliest

[315] Joseph Ewan, "Frederick Pursh, 1774-1820, and His Botanical Associates," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, No. 5 (Oct 15, 1952), 599-628.

[316] *List of Plants Collected By Mr. Billings in the Vicinity of the City of Ottawa during the summer of 1866*, 1867 (Ottawa: Plant Research Institute Canada Department of Agriculture, 1968), 13.

reference to trillium flowers in Canadian literature, which is found in the diary of Elizabeth Simcoe (1762-1850). Simcoe was the wife of Upper Canada's first Lieutenant Governor and she recorded her journey through the region between 1791 and 1796. In the summer of 1796, Simcoe was stationed at York, which is now commonly referred to as Toronto, and on July 10 she described gathering local wildflowers in her diary: "I walked down the Hill in the Evening & gathered Dragon's blood, Lychnis de Canada, Tryliums, toothache plant, Liquorice, wild lilies etc."[317] Simcoe details the unfamiliar wildflowers, natural curiosities, and topographies that she meets in Canada, and her entries on plants emphasize their use value and appearance. For example, on November 4, 1793, Simcoe notes that wild asparagus may be eaten when it is young and its silky seed parachutes make for excellent pillow and bed stuffing. She continues, "I do not know how to describe the flower it is so unlike anything I ever saw."[318] Like Simcoe, Bell domesticates and aestheticizes a marvelous wildflower.

Bell's trillium flower motif thus situates her within the history of British women who undertook the task of identifying unfamiliar plants in British North America.[319] Canada's first female naturalists, including Simcoe, were the wives of British colonial administrators and landowners, many of whom either lived in Québec and the Maritimes. For example, Ann Mary Perceval (1790-1876) and Christian Broun Ramsay (1786-1839) both collected Canadian plant specimens for Hooker's *Botany of the Northern Parts of British North America*. Hooker was then a professor of botany at the University of Glasgow and he became the first Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in 1841.[320] Perceval moved to Québec in 1810 when her husband was appointed His Majesty's Director of Customs for the Port of Québec, and Ramsay moved to

[317] Elizabeth Posthuma Simcoe, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*, ed. Mary Quayle Innis, 1965 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 230.
[318] Simcoe, 113.
[319] Huneault, *I'm not Myself at All,* 180.
[320] Ann Shteir and Jacques Cayouette, "Collecting with "botanical friends": Four Women in Colonial Quebec and . Newfoundland," *Scientia Canadensis* 41, 1 (2019): 1-30, 1-2.

Halifax in 1816 when her husband was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.[321] Botanical science became increasingly democratic in the nineteenth century, however, and women living on farms and homesteads were soon taking a similar interest in regional flowers and plants.[322] Kristina Huneault and Eileen Woodhead both cite the records and writings left by Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899) as proof that settler women hailing from the British middle classes made time for plant science in Upper Canada's backwoods.[323] As children, Traill and her younger sister, Susanna Moodie, were educated in the fields of science, literature, and history by their father, who did not live to see how his daughters applied their knowledge and abilities as settlers. Traill's penchant for producing volumes of pressed, mounted plant specimens, known as herbaria, suggests that she was encouraged to develop natural collections in order to compensate for the fact that she was not as skilled a flower painter as her sister.[324]

Though Traill is twenty-two years older than Bell, she migrated to Upper Canada from England in 1832, just five years before the Bell family made their relocation, and her published memoirs and nature writing amount to a rare account of how British women experienced settler life and the wilderness in Upper Canada. Traill's texts thus provide the best evidence that Bell may have either actively participated in plant science or closely observed the natural world under its cultural influence. For example, in the introduction to her pioneering *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (1885), Traill attributes her keen appreciation for the natural world to her moving from England to Upper Canada's Peterborough County in the 1830s, and she casts the observation of nature as a means for familiarity and attachment: "Every flower and shrub and forest tree awakened an interest in my mind, so that I began to thirst for more intimate knowledge of

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[321] Shteir and Cayouette, 5, 10.
[322] Huneault, *I'm not Myself at All,* 153.
[323] Huneault, 153; Eileen Woodhead, *Early Canadian Gardening: An 1827 Nursery Catalogue* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 1998), 37.
[324] Marian Fowler, *The Embroidered Tent: Five Gentlewomen in Early Canada* (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), 56-57.

them."[325] In addition to prescribing close-looking as the means for cultivating a relationship with one's surroundings, Traill signals that British women in Upper Canada were jointly invested in studying the regional flora when she thanks the "old settlers' wives [and] Indians [sic]" for imparting their plant lore to her.[326] This acknowledgement suggests that the region's first settler women developed valuable knowledge about plants through positive relations with their Indigenous neighbours. Traill specifically thanks Frances Stewart, an older Irish settler in Douro Township, for lending her a copy of Pursh's *North American Flora*.[327] Their shared interest in this botanical record indicates that British settler women were invested in questions of land and nature.

Traill's publications, including *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868), are credited for popularizing botany in Canada, where amateur naturalists claimed to be intimidated by the Latin nomenclature employed in extant regional botanical surveys, including Pursh's *North American Flora* and Hooker's *The Botany of the Northern Parts of British North America*.[328] Significantly, her survey of *Canadian Wild Flowers* contains the multitude of female naturalists within her own family. Its illustrations were produced by her niece, Agnes Fitzgibbon, a widow with six children who produced five thousand hand-painted lithographs at her kitchen table for the title's first run of five hundred books.[329] Fitzgibbon learned to draw plants from her mother, Traill's sister Moodie, and her daughter, Geraldine Moodie, went on to photograph Canadian plants in the early twentieth century. *Canadian Wild Flowers* seems to be the first survey of Canadian flora to contain both a description and illustration of the red trillium flower, and Traill casts it in

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[325] Catharine Parr Traill, *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (Ottawa: A.S. Wooburn, Printer and Publisher, 1885), 2.
[326] Catharine Parr Traill, *Studies of Plant Life in Canada*, 3.
[327] Traill, *Studies of Plant Life in Canada*, 2.
[328] Zeller, *Inventing Canada*, 265.
[329] Charlotte Gray, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Lives of Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill* (Toronto: Viking, 1999), 295.

marvellous terms: "The Red Trilliums are rich but sombre in colour, the petals are longish-ovate, regular, not waved…The colouring matter of flowers has always been a mystery to us: the light is one of the great agents can hardly for a moment be doubted, but something may also depend upon the peculiar quality of the juices that fill the tissue of the flower, and on the cellular tissue itself."[330] Traill's delightful and inquisitive account of the red trillium might well compare to Bell's own thoughts upon noticing this wild flower in the forest near her farm.

The interest in plants exhibited by Bell and her female contemporaries is in keeping with the feminine ideal shaped by early modern British culture; however, it was more directly informed by the female botanical tradition that proliferated in British culture throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Historian Ann Shteir has shown that eighteenth-century British literature wielded illustration and narrative to encourage women to study plants and flowers within the bounds of the household. Frontispieces in botany books, for example, pictured the Goddess Flora as maternal figure that signified order and propriety.[331] Additionally, there emerged a genre of popular science books written predominately by British women that chronicled young girls learning Linnaean botany from their maternal elders.[332] For example, Priscilla Wakefield's pioneering text, *An Introduction to Botany, in a Series of Familiar Letters* (1796), takes the form of a correspondence between sisters, one of whom is learning Linnaean botany from her governess.[333] Such texts modeled a gendered form of scientific inquiry that was familial and domestic. Nature walks and household study were the appropriate means and

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[330] Catharine Parr Traill, *Canadian Wild Flowers* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1868) 23.

[331] Ann B. Shteir, "Iconographies of Flora: The Goddess of Flowers in the Cultural History of Botany," in *Figuring It Out*: *Science, Gender, and Visual Culture,* eds. Ann B. Shteir and Bernard Lightman (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), 19-21.

[332] See Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[333] See Priscilla Wakefield, *An Introduction to Botany, in a Series of Familiar Letters with Illustrative Engravings,* 1796 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

methods for satisfying a woman's scientific curiosity about the natural world.[334] Given the scale and strictures of botanical art and collection, it is easy to see why these activities were designated polite and feminine. That said, plant science provided a model for the rational woman who was neither bound by her biology nor to her home, and its proponents were likely seeking an avenue for participating in the public sphere. The Fallowfield quilt is a visual and material representation of this popular and gendered form of botanical science that emerged in eighteenth-century British culture.

More specifically, Bell's trillium flower design is the product of the British female botanical tradition that, as Kristina Huneault has shown, flourished in nineteenth-century Canada.[335] According to Huneault, Victorian Canadian women were interested in familiarizing themselves with plants and practicing plant identification; however, they did not take a strong interest in studying the inner workings of plants. As a result, the botanical art that they produced tends to record the particular details of an individual plant, rather than articulating type specimens. This approach was arguably informed by their perception that a Canadian identity was forged in direct, physical experiences with nature.[336] As Huneault writes, "Canadian women adopted various means of emphasizing that their botanical drawings were representations not of types but of their own first-hand encounters with the natural world." She continues, "While leading European botanical artists worked as much from other illustrations as from life, Canadian women stressed that they did not do so."[337] This somewhat subjective approach to botany is exemplified by Traill. Writing in southeastern Ontario in the 1830s, she describes her interest in regional plants in decidedly creative and personal terms: "I take the liberty of bestowing names

[334] Woodhead, *Early Canadian Gardening*, 48.
[335] Huneault, *I'm Not Myself At All*, 152.
[336] Huneault, 180, 196.
[337] Huneault, 196.

upon them according to inclination or fancy."[338] In keeping with this approach, Victorian Canadian women pursued generalized botanical pastimes, like gardening, and they also developed a visual culture of floral imagery and decoration through flower painting, decoupage, and embroidery that had little to do with scientific study.[339] The Fallowfield quilt certainly belongs within this broad culture of floral imagery; however, it also exemplifies natural observation since Bell had no conventions to look to when designing the trillium flower motif that she worked onto five of its squares. This motif thereby suggests that Bell subscribed to a distinctly Canadian natural philosophy, which held that a sense of both place and belonging could be cultivated through a direct relationship with plants and flowers.

The Imposition of Naturalistic Embroidery and English Femininity onto Indigenous Women

The association of botany with femininity that informed the production of the Fallowfield quilt also informed the importance placed on naturalistic needlework in the education of Indigenous girls administered by Canada's pre-Confederation residential schools, which ultimately sought to disrupt the ecological and social sustainability of Woodland Indigenous communities. Initially, botany formed the basis for positive cultural exchanges between British women and Indigenous people in British North America. For example, the travelogue that Elizabeth Simcoe wrote in the 1790s includes a description of the cardinal flower that notes the plant's suitability to wet, shaded environments as well as its medicinal uses by Indigenous people.[340] Simcoe also describes whortleberries or blueberries as large compared to the English variety, and she reports that these feature in Indigenous cooking: "The Indians [sic] live in the woods where they grow at this season of the year, and boil quantities into cakes."[341] Likewise, it has already been said that

[338] Catharine Parr Traill. *The Backwoods of Canada*, 1836 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 88.
[339] Huneault, *I'm Not Myself At All*, 156, 180.
[340] Simcoe, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary,* 113.
[341] Simcoe, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*, 169.

Traill acknowledges the rich plant lore held by "old settlers' wives [and] Indians [sic]" in the Introduction to her *Studies of Plant Life In Canada*.[342] Her positive recognition of the traditional knowledge held by her Indigenous neighbours testifies to the deference Canada's first settlers had for those who thrived in what they perceived to be a hostile wilderness. Simcoe and Traill's writings thus show that British women with scientific interests were keen to incorporate Indigenous knowledge into their field notes about plant life in British North America.

Though practitioners of Western science in North American colonies were initially prepared to learn from Indigenous traditions, the development of botany and other sciences in nineteenth century Canada ultimately relieved British settlers from relying upon Indigenous knowledge; and ultimately, science was wielded to objectify Indigenous people.[343] For example, the Natural History Society of Montreal was founded in 1827 and one of its first orders of business was to appoint an Indian Committee to survey the Indigenous peoples, physical geography, and natural history of British North America so that they might assess the commercial and agricultural potential of the territory.[344] This survey was undertaken by circulating a questionnaire consisting of over two-hundred and fifty prompts as far as the northernmost and westernmost outposts of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose imperial interests were established in the previous chapter. Combining ethnography, geology, and botany, this and other surveys like it show that Canada's earliest scientific institutions served British interests and regarded Indigenous societies as natural features of the wilderness that were destined to be either displaced or modernized.

[342] Catharine Parr Traill, *Studies of Plant Life in Canada*, 3.
[343] Mark Harrison, "Science and the British Empire," *Isis* 96, no.1 (March 2005): 61.
[344] Zeller, *Inventing Canada*, 5.

Significantly, the British needlework and botanical science traditions that are embedded in Bell's quilt expedited the displacement and colonization of Indigenous people by way of the residential schools that were established in the southern Ontario region before Confederation. As discussed in the previous chapter, Indigenous and British stakeholders brought different perspectives to land purchases and treaty negotiations. The same was true when it came to questions of education. According to The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Indigenous people regarded education as "a means of ensuring that their children, while remaining rooted in their cultures, could also survive economically within a changing political and economic environment." On the other hand, "the British viewed both Treaties and schools as a means of gaining control over Aboriginal lands and eradicating Aboriginal languages and cultures."[345] The residential school system emerged alongside the development of public education in British North America at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[346] Upper Canada's first public education system dates to 1816, when the ratification of the Common School Act entitled schoolhouses servicing more than twenty students with an amount of government funding.[347] By 1838 there were twenty-four thousand students in eight-hundred common schools in Upper Canada.[348] This period saw the institution of the region's first residential schools for Indigenous youths.

British needlework, including naturalistic floral embroidery, was one of the vehicles by which these schools sought to disassociate Indigenous girls from their traditional territories and customs. The previous chapter noted that floral embroidery was fundamental to the education

[345] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Volume 1, Part 1, The History: Origins to 1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 63.

[346] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 64.

[347] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 64.

[348] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 65.

that Indigenous girls received at Catholic convent schools in New France. The residential schools established for Indigenous students by Anglican missions in nineteenth-century Ontario were similarly dedicated to teaching floral embroidery to their female students. The importance of textile and needle arts to the gendered curricula delivered by residential schools is exemplified by one of the earliest such schools for Indigenous children in Upper Canada, the Mohawk Institute, which was established by Anglican missionaries in 1828 in what is now commonly referred to as Brantford, Ontario. In the 1830s, the girls' curriculum emphasized spinning and weaving, and a number of its female students left the school in protest of the amount of menial labor that they were asked to do.[349] At other residential schools, Indigenous girls were taught to embroider textiles with floral patterns that they either copied from European pattern books or, more importantly, developed by studying actual plants.[350] Some insight into the role that natural observation played in the instruction of needlework that Indigenous girls received at residential schools can be gleaned from the writings of American anthropologist and ethnographer Frances Densmore (1867-1957). Densmore reproached Canadian government schools for teaching Ojibwe girls to produce naturalistic designs rather than traditional ones when producing their needlework, a method that she felt threatened the so-called *authenticity* of Indigenous art.[351] As art historian Ruth Philips has observed, Densmore wrote from a modernist position in 1928, which is to say that she would have prescribed to the notion of "primitive" or non-Western art as primordial and timeless, an ideal that prevented the historicization of Indigenous art.[352] In the Victorian discourse of art, however, the end goal of artistic evolution was naturalism, and

[349] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 70.

[350] Steve Cotherman, "Arts Traditions of the Anishinaabe Bandolier Bags from the Collection of the Madeline Island Museum," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 93, no. 4 (Summer 2010), 31.

[351] Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1929), 190.

[352] Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 168.

teaching Indigenous girls to produce floral embroidery designs based on real flowers would therefore have been seen as a means to civilize or assimilate them.[353] Significantly, both the modern and Victorian worldviews center whiteness and define settler culture in opposition to Indigeneity.

The artistic effect of teaching floral embroidery and other needle arts in convent and residential schools is arguably evident in a set of moosehair embroidered hide squares in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian (New York, NY), which look remarkably like Bell's embroidered slips (Fig. 27). This set of embellished hides was made in the Huron-Wendat tradition at the beginning of the twentieth century and collected by Frank Speck in Québec in 1908.[354] Notably, the hides themselves are not black-tanned in the historical northeastern Woodland Indigenous tradition, giving them the appearance of the natural or white linen grounds that are generally favored by British and European embroiderers. Moreover, all of these hide squares feature sprays of flowers tied together with a string, motifs that resemble the British slips that inspired the Fallowfield quilt. In keeping with this embroidery convention and its ties to botanical science, all of the floral sprays that figure on these hide squares can be identified. The flora represented include clover leaves, flox flowers, catpaw flowers, star flowers, red ome flowers, myosotis flower, daisies, balsam flowers, and field chicory flowers.[355] Whether or not the artist who made these embroidered hides received lessons in floral embroidery at a convent or residential school, the formal properties of these embroidered hides exhibit the influence that Western embroidery had on the needlework produced by Indigenous women in northeastern North America during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The

[353] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 161.
[354] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 164.
[355] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 165.

resemblance of these hide squares to slips in particular points to the specific impact of British embroidery and education in the region, which is important since many histories emphasize the role played by French nuns in the development of floral embroidery amongst northeastern Woodland Indigenous women.

The emphasis that the Mohawk Institute and other English residential schools placed on needlework, housework, and chores in their curriculum for Indigenous girls was ultimately intended to qualify them to become Christian homemakers and mothers, and many residential schools were involved in arranging marriages for their female graduates.[356] According to art historian Rozsika Parker, Victorians imbued embroidery with feminine virtue and it was thus used to teach girls how to embody the ideal of a docile, obedient, and domestic woman that was qualified for the institution of marriage.[357] The effect that Western marriage conventions had on the environmental and social sustainability of Indigeneity during the Victorian period is made clear by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, who told the Parliament of Canada in 1888 that the ideal outcome of residential schools was to groom Indigenous boys to marry either white women or educated Indigenous women and begin homesteading beyond the bounds of their traditional communities.[358] Likewise, in 1895, the principal of the Mohawk Institute, Robert Ashton, made an effort to recruit higher numbers of female students because he regarded women as the so-called *civilizers* of the household and felt that the education of Indigenous girls was therefore critical to Canada's ongoing efforts to assimilate its Indigenous populations.[359] These positions relate British needlework and its role in the imposition of Western gender norms to the disassociation of Indigenous people with their ancestral lands and social groups, thus implicating

[356] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools,* 647.
[357] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine,* 1984 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 11.
[358] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools,* 654.
[359] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 646.

the Fallowfield quilt in a decorative tradition that was wielded to gain control of Indigenous territory and culture.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the Fallowfield quilt was informed by British botany and the related decorative tradition of floral embroidery that undermined traditional Indigenous knowledge and rationalized the displacement of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands by British authorities. Botany and its place in the British imperial imagination is represented by the quilt's embroideries, which are modelled after the early modern British slips that were inspired by global exploration and informed by natural history texts. The quilt is therefore an expression of imperial science, which was ultimately concerned with usurping the traditional knowledge developed over centuries by North America's Indigenous people. The important role that needlework played in the settler-colonial application of botanical science in Canada West is exemplified by the fact that the Fallowfield quilt was made at a time when Anglican missions were beginning to teach naturalistic floral embroidery to young Indigenous women as part of an official effort to redefine Indigenous gender relations in Western terms that prescribed domesticity to women and land management to men. The Fallowfield quilt therefore contains strains of British scientific and artistic traditions that targeted the sustainability of Indigenous authority and culture in North America.

Modelled after British slips, the Fallowfield quilt's embroidered blocks accord with the cultural identification with flowers that was felt by British settlers in colonial Canada. A number of the flowers that are represented in its embroideries are popular British motifs, and Bell arguably regarded these nostalgically. Though rooted in memories of home, the longing for the British countryside also motivated settlers to orient themselves to Canadian land using strategies

borrowed from botany, including natural observation and collection. Unlike the other inventory sciences, botany was regarded as a suitable pursuit for women. As a teenaged girl occupied with the demands of rural settlement life, Bell likely had neither the time or inclination to participate in the female botanical tradition as fulsomely as some of her more privileged, established contemporaries, like Simcoe and Traill. And yet, the embroidered trillium flowers that she incorporates into the Fallowfield quilt paint a vivid picture of a young woman stirred by a peculiar red bloom on the forest floor during a nature walk in the summer before she married. This object therefore implores us to consider floral embroidery produced by settler women in British North America as an expression of their effort to cultivate a sense of place and belonging through a direct relationship with plants and flowers.

If one accepts this conclusion, one also accepts that the scientific and decorative traditions represented by the Fallowfield quilt contributed to the visual and material culture that was invested in the Anglicization of British North America's Indigenous land and communities. On an amateur scale, botany seems to have been the basis for many positive interactions between British and Indigenous populations in colonial Canada. That being said, the amateur naturalist ultimately worked against Indigenous interests by using science to legitimize their occupation of Indigenous land. Indeed, botany and the other inventory sciences that developed in nineteenth-century Canada sought to isolate Western epistemology and British authority from Indigenous influences. To this end, Indigenous youth were removed from their homes and enrolled in residential schools, where naturalistic floral embroidery was part of the curricula designed to orient them towards the Western gender norms and notions of land ownership that benefit settler-colonial culture. Of course, the Fallowfield quilt is steeped in these same gender norms and Ruth

Philips has shrewdly observed that British and Indigenous women alike expressed themselves using a vocabulary that was prescribed to them by the white male discourse.[360]

[360] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 196.

Chapter 3: The Appropriation of Indigenous Culture and Land by an Embroidered Garden Quilt in Early Ontario (1860-80)

The subject of this chapter is a quilt made by Margaret McCrum (1847-1888) in the Oxford Township of Ontario's Leeds and Grenville United Counties sometime between 1860 and 1880. The quilt, which is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC), is signed but not dated. It is a four-block or quadrant-style quilt that is embroidered with four urns or pots of flowering plants rendered in bright, lively colours on a dark ground. This chapter speculates that McCrum has borrowed formal elements from the Woodland Indigenous floral beadwork tradition to produce her embroidered garden scene. This combination of style and subject arguably alludes to McCrum's desire to feel Indigenous as well as her identification with the cultivated landscapes that threatened the sustainability of traditional Indigenous life. This chapter will also consider the ways that Woodland Indigenous artists concealed their cosmologies from English censorship in the second half of the nineteenth century by disguising their sacred motifs as flowers, a cultural strategy that may explain why McCrum seems to have reproduced the traditional sun motif specific to Woodland Indigenous iconography on her quilt top and fashioned it as a flower head.

This chapter assesses the influence that gardening and its association with 'civilization' in the Victorian Canadian worldview may have had on an embroidered quilt made by Margaret McCrum (1847-1888) in the newly formed province of Ontario, sometime between 1860 and 1880 (See Fig. 3). McCrum's quilt has no known bibliography and it is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC). A number of its formal elements are borrowed from Woodland Indigenous beadwork, expressing an identification with Indigenous culture that is underpinned by a sense of entitlement to North American land. Most of the other designs that figure in McCrum's embroidered quilt top represent flowers that were commonly found in Ontario gardens during this period, including peonies, roses, and amaranths. Gardens often served as metaphors for British settlements in North America and the related myths of progress that justified settler colonialism in the nineteenth century, and McCrum's quilt might thus be seen to celebrate the so-called civilization of Canada's land and Indigenous peoples.

McCrum's quilt is made in a four-block or quadrant-style, which means that its design features four oversized decorative units. McCrum constructed her quilt by sewing together ten

large blocks cut from lengths of plain-woven black wool cloth. Measuring approximately the size of a double bed, the quilt is embroidered with naturally dyed wool thread worked using a combination of stem and satin stitches. In each of the quilt's four quadrants there is an urn or pot of flowering plants rendered in vivid colours that pop against the quilt's dark ground. McCrum worked her signature, or some variation on it, beneath three of four of these flowerpots. Birds also figure in the quilt's design. Chickens, roosters, and ducks wander at the quilt's border, and swallows and robins feed and rest amongst the flora. The quilt's edge is decorated with an undulating vine blooming with different types of flowers, a border that is typical of quadrant-style quilts. A complementary trail of flowering plants runs through the quilt's center. Over twenty of the flowers embroidered on McCrum's quilt top derive from a motif specific to Woodland Indigenous iconography that represents the sun manitou and its energy, a small act of appropriation that would have been informed by assimilationist attitudes typical of Victorian Canadian society.

The Woodland Indigenous floral beadwork tradition at issue in this chapter is an extension of the floral quillwork and moosehair embroidery practises that were discussed in relation to printed English cottons in chapter one. This chapter further considers the exchange of floral imagery between settler and Indigenous cultures in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Valley regions by chronicling the development of floral beadwork and its application to the souvenir arts that were marketed to white women at Niagara Falls and other popular holiday destinations. Special attention is paid to the sun motif that figures in both Indigenous beadwork as well as on McCrum's quilt. This traditional design was easily adapted to read as a flower, and Indigenous beadworkers duly disguised it as such during the second half of the nineteenth century in order to protect their cosmologies from the censorship of Victorian Canadians. Using

visual analysis, this chapter presents the possibility that McCrum copied this design from a beaded chatelaine purse or other such souvenir without recognizing it as the sun manitou. In doing so, McCrum seems to treat Indigenous visual and material culture as a means to develop her own Canadian identity. This act of appropriation might also be read as a romantic lamentation for the country's Indigenous peoples and wilderness, both of which were falsely mourned by the culture of tourism that developed during McCrum's lifetime.

This chapter contextualizes the garden scene that McCrum represents on her quilt top within the broader history of horticulture and gardening in nineteenth-century Canada, which is related to the British botanical science tradition that informed the analysis of Elizabeth Bell's quilt in the previous chapter. In her history of Canadian science during the Victorian period (1837-1901), historian Susanne Zeller writes that botany was finally established as a teaching subject at Canadian universities during the 1850s in part because of its practical applications to agriculture and horticulture.[361] She cites an article that appeared in the March 1857 issue of the *Canadian Naturalist* by Canadian botanist James Barnston, wherein he details the useful outcomes of botanical study.[362] He writes, "We should possess a knowledge of the anatomy and structure of plants…having done this, it remains within our choice in what way we are to follow up on our knowledge practically – whether, as agriculturalists, to contribute to the improvement of land in districts or countries; or as horticulturalists, to beautify our private residences with gardens, orchards, and nurseries or, what may occur now and again, to rear up a public Botanic Garden."[363] Farms, gardens, and – ultimately – parks were understood as signifiers of British authority in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in the nineteenth century because, as historian

[361] Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 206.

[362] Zeller, 221-222.

[363] George Barnston, "Article V. – General Remarks on the Study of Nature, with special reference to Botany," *Canadian Naturalist* 2, no. 1 (Mar. 1857): 38-39.

Thomas R. Dunlap writes in his history of *Nature and the English Diaspora* (1999), "the land had been a place to conquer and transform."[364] This chapter thus considers the influence that cultivated landscapes and their association with settler-colonial power and British taste had on McCrum's quilt.

This chapter further shows that McCrum's quilt conflicts with itself insofar as it glorifies the British ideal of land cultivation whilst also purporting to celebrate the Indigenous cultures that were threatened by this ideal. This is an unsustainable position that anticipates the contradictions of the conservation movement that gains strength at the end of the nineteenth century. Given that this quilt predates the peak of conservationist ethics, which gives rise to romanticized sentiments about both nature and Indigenous people, one cannot presume that McCrum brings these politics to bear on her quilt design. That said, McCrum's inconsistent desires made the the settler-colonial dimension of gardening, farming, and parks visible insofar as they inspired her to borrowing formal elements from Woodland Indigenous beadwork to illustrate numerous identifiable garden flowers in a well-tended plot. This chapter thus establishes McCrum's quilt as a noteworthy if individual contribution to the establishment of a settler-colonial society in Victorian Canada, further demonstrating the important role that women's homecraft played in shaping national notions of territory and culture.

Situating McCrum's Quilt within the History of British Settlement on Indigenous Land

Margaret McCrum was born to Elizabeth Fletcher McCrum and Edward McCrum registered as residents of the Township of Oxford in Canada West's Grenville County in 1851, when they were both twenty-nine years old and their eldest child, Margaret McCrum, was five years old.[365]

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[364] Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 95.

[365] Given that Margaret McCrum is the eldest of her siblings, I have concluded that her parents would have arrived in Canada sometime before her birth in 1847: McCrum family. See *1851 Canada Census*, Grenville County, Canada West, microfilm reference C-11724, page 103, lines 2-6, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa Ontario, Canada.

The Enumerator identifies Elizabeth Fletcher McCrum (hereafter referred to as Elizabeth Fletcher) and Edward McCrum as Presbyterian and indicates that they were both born in Ireland, while their children were born in Canada. He has also described Edward McCrum as a *farmer*, which tells us that the McCrums were homesteaders. Elizabeth Fletcher and Edward McCrum were presumably a young couple anticipating the arrival of their first child when they first arrived in Oxford Township, territory that has been home and hunting ground to both Iroquois and Anishinaabe Nations.

As was established in chapter one, today's Leeds and Grenville United Counties contain what archeologists refer to as the Prescott cluster of St. Lawrence Iroquois village sites that date to 1450.[366] One of these villages, which was excavated by William John Wintemberg for the Geological Survey of Canada in 1912 and 1915, lies only twenty or so kilometers outside the historical boundaries of Oxford Township, where McCrum was born.[367] Now referred to as Roebuck, this village site measures three hectares in size and lies eighteen kilometers inland from the St. Lawrence River.[368] The village comprised of as many as twenty-four long houses, each housing a number of families. Its residents grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers on cleared land, and they gathered fruit and hunted in the surrounding forest.[369] The St. Lawrence Iroquois of Roebuck were likely genealogically connected to the Northern Iroquois populations in what is now commonly referred to as New York state.[370] Yet when this community abandoned

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[366] Timothy J. Abel, "Recent Research on the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians of Northern New York," *Archeology of Eastern North America* 30 (2002): 143.

[367] Ruth McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), 2; Jennifer Birch, Carley A. Crann and Jean-Luc Pilon, "Chronological Modeling and Insights on European-St. Lawrence Iroquoian Interaction from the Roebuck Site, Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology / Journal Canadien d'Archéologie* 40, no. 2 (2016): 333-334.

[368] Birch et al, Chronological Modeling and Insights on European-St. Lawrence Iroquoian Interaction from the Roebuck Site, Ontario," 333-334.

[369] Ruth McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville,* 2.

[370] Birch et al, "Chronological Modeling and Insights on European-St. Lawrence Iroquoian Interaction from the Roebuck Site, Ontario," 334.

their village in the mid-sixteenth century, they did not migrate south. Rather, they moved west to the Trent River Valley and formed part of the emergent Arendarhonon Nation that ultimately joined the Huron-Wendat, a Nation group that formed in the fifteenth century when the Attignawantan and Attigneenongnahac Nations confederated.[371] According to Champlain, the Arendarhonon Nation abandoned territory at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and in the Trent Valley for fear of their enemies.[372] As was discussed in chapter one, the threat of conflict and violence may well have compelled the St. Lawrence Iroquois to leave their villages in the St. Lawrence River Valley, including Roebuck.[373]

In the mid-eighteenth century then, there were no permeant Indigenous or French settlements in the area that are now commonly referred to as the Leeds and Grenville United Counties; though both groups frequented the region's rivers, lakes, and forests for food and furs.[374] According to local historian Ruth Mackenzie, "the woods, to all intents and purposes, belonged to the wild life that inhabited them – to the deer, bears, wolves, beaver, and other wild animals and birds."[375] This can likely be attributed in part to the then longstanding hostility between the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe Nations in the Ottawa River Valley to the north, which had rendered this region particularly dangerous for traders and settlers during the first half of the eighteenth century. Moreover, much of Grenville County sits on a thin-soiled, poorly drained limestone plain, which can be difficult to farm.[376] In 1780, McCrum's birthplace was sandwiched between the easternmost territory occupied by the Mississauga of the Anishinaabe

[371] Birch et al, 334; Bruce G. Trigger, "The Original Iroquoians: Huron, Petun, and Neutral," in *Aboriginal Ontario, Historical Perspectives on the First Nations,* eds. Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundern Press, 1994), 41.

[372] Birch et al, "Chronological Modeling and Insights on European-St. Lawrence Iroquoian Interaction from the Roebuck Site, Ontario," 334.

[373] Birch et al, 282-284.

[374] McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville*, 1.

[375] McKenzie, 1.

[376] H.D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd., 1927), 10; Winifred Wake, ed. *A Nature Guide to Ontario* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1997), 212.

Nations, which lay west of the Gananoque River, and the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe communities along the Ottawa River.[377] The perceived emptiness of this land made it appealing to British authorities charged with the resettlement of the United Empire Loyalists from the Thirteen Colonies. The development of Grenville County in particular was made possible by the acquisition of Algonquin territory along the upper part of the St. Lawrence River south of the Ottawa River, which was written into the Crawford Purchase.[378] The first Loyalists settled in the Edwardsburg, Augusta, and Elizabeth Townships of Grenville County in 1784.[379]

As discussed in the previous chapters, many of the settlers who left the British Isles for Upper Canada starting in 1816 were Anglo-Irish families who were seeking opportunity. If the McCrums arrived in the mid 1840s, however, their relocation may have been a response to crop failure and famine in Ireland. In a letter sent from Ireland's County Antrim to Canada West's Lanark County in November 1846, the year before McCrum was born, Hugh and Elizabeth Barkley tell their relative, Adam Stewart, that they believe a terrible famine will soon plague Ireland.[380] The famine that struck Ireland in the mid-1840s was caused by successive failures of the potato crop. One million Irish died due to the famine, and a further two million relocated to British North America, the United States, and Australia.[381] In 1847, the year of McCrum's birth, nearly 100,000 Irish set sail for British North America, and approximately 80,000 of these opted to establish their new lives in the central colonies of Canada West and Canada East, where thousands of Irish families had already settled.[382] Historian Mark McGowan describes those who

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[377] Edward J. Hedican, *The First Nations of Ontario: Social and Historical Transitions* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2017), 101; McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville*, 2.

[378] Robert J. Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830," in *Aboriginal Ontario, Historical Perspectives on the First Nations,* eds. Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundern Press, 1994), 102.

[379] McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville*, 8.

[380] Lucille H. Campey, *Ontario and Quebec's Irish Pioneers: Farmers, Labourers, and Lumberjacks* (Toronto: Dundern Press, 2018), 177.

[381] Mark McGowan, "Famine, Facts and Fabrication: An Examination of Diaries from the Irish Famine Migration to Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 33, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 49.

[382] McGowan, 49.

survived the journey as "haggard, vermin-infested, and diseased" and he writes that the tragic circumstances of their arrival left a lasting impression on the communities that received them.[383] McCrum's parents may have been amongst those who foresaw the famine and left Ireland pre-emptively, or else they were the wave of refugees who fled Ireland in 1847 and began their life in Oxford Township whilst recovering from a harrowing journey. Under these circumstances, McCrum's birth should be considered extraordinary.

McCrum turned twenty years old during the year of Canada's confederation in 1867, an event that surely made an impact on her sense of self. The British North America Act (1867) was an act of British Parliament that formed the Dominion of Canada from three British North American colonies, Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The term *dominion* describes autonomous territories that are loyal to the Crown and considered fellows within either the British Empire or Commonwealth. The Civil War in the United States of America compelled the authors of the British North America Act to prioritize political stability by centralizing power in the federal government.[384] Arguably, the emphasis placed on federal power by the British North American Act defined citizens in national rather than regional terms, sparking the ongoing pursuit of the Canadian identity. The lack of a unifying cultural mythology for the settler populations of dominion nations was well articulated by Canadian political scientist Alexander Brady in 1944: "In all cases this Dominion nationality has a short history with the emotional shallowness of such. Its spirit is not steeped in the legendary glories of country and town."[385] This lament helps to explain the interest that Canada's settler population took in Indigenous culture during the late nineteenth century. As a young woman, McCrum would likely have been

[383] McGowan, 49.

[384] Peter J. Smith, "The Ideological Origins of Canadian Confederation," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 20, no.1 (March 1987): 27.

[385] Alexander Brady, "Dominion Nationalism and the Commonwealth," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 10, no. 1 (February 1944): 1.

inclined towards the confident rhetoric of Confederation, and it is possible that the design sensibility she brought to bear on her quilt expresses her desire to identify with Canada and the long history of its Indigenous people.

McCrum's Quilt and English Claims to Indigeneity

Where the quilts by Mary Morris and Elizabeth Bell reference British decorative conventions and express strong British cultural ties, Margaret McCrum's quilt is informed by decidedly North American decorative conventions that represent her identification as a Canadian. For example, the quadrant-style quilt form that McCrum employs is believed to have developed in Pennsylvania in the 1840s, and it is most common in areas of North America settled by German and Scotch-Irish immigrants.[386] Moreover, her decorative motifs evidently derive from American coverlets and quilts, which began featuring urns, baskets, and pots of flowers as early as the 1830s. The popularity of these motifs developed alongside the popularity of the quadrant quilt style, and as a result many early quadrant-style quilts use the same bilateral symmetry favored by coverlet weavers and feature large flowerpot motifs (Fig. 28). American quilt makers at this time were partial to green and red colour schemes on a white ground, and many of the quadrant style quilts with flowerpot designs were produced in this bold but limited palette. The composition and content of McCrum's quilt apparently derive from these American applique quadrant-style quilts which she may have seen reproduced in print.

The black ground and bright colour scheme of McCrum's quilt are distinctly different, however, from this American style, and they suggest another design tradition in her work. Namely, the Woodland Indigenous beadwork tradition. Historically, Woodland Indigenous artists had adorned hides with natural materials, including quills, bones, teeth, shells, seeds, and

[386] Patricia Cox Crews and Carolyn Duc, *American Quilts in the Industrial Age, 1760-1870: The International Quilt Study Center and Museum Collections* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 428.

dried berries.[387] Glass beads were introduced to the Woodland region by the French in the sixteenth century, and they appealed to Indigenous artists because they were durable and reflective, and because they expanded their expressive capabilities. [388] The first beads traded in North America were small and white, appropriately called *seed beads*, and they were initially applied to deerskins. By the late eighteenth century, beadworkers were applying a broader range of opaque coloured beads in different sizes to grounds of trade cloth.[389] The specific preference that northeastern Woodland Indigenous beadwork artists developed for black trade cloth and velvet may be due to the fact that these imports resembled the black-dyed hides that had been used in their artistic traditions for centuries.[390] The early beadwork style is exemplified by a beaded pouch in the collection of the Madeline Island Museum (La Pointe, WI), which has been dated to approximately 1780 and attributed to the Ojibwe tradition (Fig. 29). This pouch of black wool cloth is adorned with traditional Woodland motifs worked in a limited range of colourful beads, producing a striking effect that may well have inspired the black ground and bright colour pallet of McCrum's quilt.

Significantly, over twenty of the flowers that McCrum has embroidered onto her quilt top resemble the sun motif specific to Woodland Indigenous iconography that figures on the front of this Ojibwe pouch, arguably confirming that McCrum looked to Woodland Indigenous beadwork when designing her quilt top. The sun is an important manitou associated with the Thunderbird and the Sky World. Traditionally, the sun manitou is represented by a circle or series of

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[387] Lois S. Dubin, *Floral Journey: Native North American Beadwork* (Los Angeles: Autry Center of the American West, 2014), 11; Laurier G. Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption: French Beads in North America, 1500-1700," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9, no. 1 (Fall-Winter 2001-2002): 96.

[388] Turgeon, 87.

[389] Steve Cotherman, "Art Traditions of the Anishinaabe Bandolier Bags from the Collection of the Madeline Island Museum," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 93, no. 4 (Summer 2010): 30.

[390] Frank G. Speck, "The Historical Approach to Art in Archeology in the Northern Woodlands," *American Antiquity* 8, no. 2 (October 1942): 173.

concentric circles edged with projecting lines or patterns representing rays. The artist who beaded this bag has represented the sun manitou with two concentric circles edged with a zigzagging line, and she has emphasized the cultural importance of this motif by repeating it four times. McCrum uses a very similar motif to represent a flower head on her quilt top. Distinct from the other floral designs on McCrum's quilt top, this motif is composed of either a circle or a series of concentric circles edged with zigzagging lines (Fig. 30). While there are English and European floral motifs that take the form of circles or sequences of concentric circles, including examples on the quilts discussed in the previous chapters, the zigzagging lines that appear in each variation of this particular design on McCrum's quilt top suggest that it derived from an Indigenous source.[391] In chapter one, it was noted that zigzags were historically used to symbolize the lightning and thunder produced by the Thunderbird's wings, and it is possible that Woodland Indigenous artists who depict the sun with rays of zigzagging lines stress the powerful connection between these Sky World manitous.[392] Given that zigzagging lines are scarce in British floral embroidery, the flower heads composed of circles and zigzagging lines on McCrum's quilt top are almost certainly informed by the Woodland Indigenous sun motif.

This speculation is made all the more credible by the fact that Woodland Indigenous beadworkers disguised the sun manitou as a flower head in order to protect their cosmologies from the assimilationist attitudes and policies that intensified over the course of McCrum's lifetime.[393] In chapter one, it was established that Indigenous artists in the Great Lakes and St.

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[391] Consider, for example, the four round flower heads filled with concentric bands of colour in the centrepiece of the Fallowfield quilt (See Fig. 20). Mary Morris uses a similar motif for the feature flower in the centrepiece of her quilt (See Fig. 5). These designs likely signify chrysanthemums. Ann Pollard Rowe dates the appearance of "chrysanthemum-like flowers" within English embroidery to the turn of the seventeenth century, which saw "a large infusion of chinoiserie design elements." See Ann Pollard Rowe, "Crewel Embroidered Bed Hangings in Old and New England," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 71, no. 365/366 (1973), 108.

[392] Phillips, Ruth. *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Kleinburg: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), 28.

[393] Dubin, *Floral Journey*, 67.

Lawrence River Valley regions began incorporating floral designs into their quillwork and mooshair embroidery at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and one can speculate that the advent of floral beadwork in the northeastern Woodland region at the mid-nineteenth century was informed as much by the reimagination of these older artistic mediums as by the wider variety of beads that were then available.[394] The graphic representations of the Thunderbird and Mishipeshu manitous that had been so prominent in the region's visual and material culture prior to contact were viewed with suspicion by the British because they represented non-Christian spiritual beliefs (see Fig. 17). The development of an Indigenous floral iconography was therefore seen to herald the Christianization of Indigenous populations and their eventual assimilation into settler society.[395] Moreover, it seems to have suited the settler-colonial narrative to extend the domestic and feminine values associated with craft and flowers in the British worldview to Indigenous people. As art historian Ruth Phillips has observed, the development of a floral iconography by northeastern Woodland Indigenous people was widely seen to signify the submissive and feminine role that the First Nations willingly played in settler-colonial society.[396] This became especially so as florals became increasingly commonplace in Indigenous material culture during the Victorian period, an era that stressed gender difference through dress insofar as men wore plain clothes and women adorned themselves with floral patterns and accessories that testified to their frailty and beauty. Gendered inferences were made with particular passion by missionaries and Indian-rights activists in the second half of the nineteenth century who stressed the pacific nature of Indigenous peoples.[397]

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[394] Cotherman, "Art Traditions of the Anishinaabe Bandolier Bags from the Collection of the Madeline Island Museum," 30.

[395] Phillips, Ruth. *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 175.

[396] Philips, *Trading identities*, 193.

[397] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 193.

In keeping with the cultural agency exercised by their initial appropriation of English printed cotton fabrics and floral decorations at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the northeastern Woodland Indigenous people subverted increasingly oppressive assimilationist policies and attitudes by concealing sacred information in their floral beadwork. Consider, for example, the open-faced flower beadworked on the front of a beaded purse in the Thaw Collection at the Fenimore Art Museum (Cooperstown, NY), which has been dated to the mid-nineteenth century and attributed to either the Mi'kmaq or Maliseet traditions within the Algonquian language group (Fig. 31). This decorative statement, which can be described as a white circle framed by a sequence of colourful, concentric rings of linework, is likely a variation on the traditional representations of the sun manitou. Finished with a scalloped edge that is typical of conventional British florals, the artist seems to have impeded settlers from recognizing the sacred significance of the concentric circles and zigzagging lines that have historically been used to signify the sun and its place in the Sky World. Significantly, plants are seen to carry the energy of the powerful sun manitou in Woodland Indigenous cosmology, and artists in this tradition had previously associated the sun in the Sky World with the plants in the Earth World by modifying the sun motif to look like a flower head.[398] This is evident in the central motif that appears on the vamps of a pair of moccasins dating to the eighteenth century in the Jasper Grant Collection (Fig. 32). In her catalogue annotation for these moccasins, which have been attributed to the Cree tradition within the Algonquian language group, Phillips writes: "The central image probably represents a type of flower thought to have special powers deriving from the sun manitou because of its resemblance to that celestial body."[399] Such precedents would have inspired Indigenous artists to conceal the sun manitou and other sacred symbols within their

[398] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 195; Dubin, *Floral Journey*, *67*.
[399] Phillips, *Patterns of Power*, 47.

floral beadwork in the nineteenth century. The success of this cultural strategy is seen on McCrum's quilt, which is generously peppered with a motif that she likely misunderstood.

Small, beaded chatelaine purses like the one that has just been considered were popular accessories that Victorian Canadian women wore on their belts for the safekeeping of keys, scissors, money, card cases, and other small items that symbolized their domestic and social roles, and it is likely that McCrum would have been familiar with one or more such purses since they formed the bulk of the Indigenous souvenirs collected in the northeastern United States and Canada during the Victorian period.[400] The trade of Indigenous souvenirs was concentrated at Niagara Falls and other picturesque sites that were made accessible by scheduled rail and steamship services as early as the 1840s.[401] Museums and curiosity shops selling Indigenous souvenirs or *whimsies* opened at Niagara falls as early as the 1830s, and Indigenous women were selling their own wares at the attraction by 1852.[402] Tuscarora women were the most prominent salespeople at the Falls and they were sought out particularly for their beadwork, though other northeastern Woodland Indigenous women sold beadwork at the site as well.[403] An illustration published in a summer issue of *Harper's Weekly* from 1877 entitled "Scene at Niagara Falls – Buying Mementos" shows an Indigenous woman seated on the ground presenting a white woman with what might be a beaded chatelaine purse like the one that survives at the Fenimore Art Museum (Fig. 33). Whether or not McCrum was ever in the position of the white women pictured here, it seems certain that she derived formal inspiration from a purse or other souvenir that was purchased in such a manner.

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[400] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 218-220.
[401] Phillips, *Trading Identities,* 202.
[402] Beverly Gordon, "Souvenirs of Niagara Falls: The Significance of Indian Whimsies," *New York History* 67, No. 4 (October 1986): 393, 396.
[403] Gordon, 391.

The historical case for connecting McCrum's quilt to the Woodland Indigenous floral beadwork tradition is further strengthened by the fact that the beaded purses, pincushions, wall pockets, picture frames, and other so-called Indian [sic] wares that Victorian Canadian women collected on their regional travels were commonly referred to as exemplars for homecrafts.[404] According to Phillips, the 1850s saw the publication of several books and magazines that provided their female readers with instructions for making "beadwork in the Indian [sic] style."[405] As an example, she cites an American needlework manual published in 1859, which asserts that the beadwork produced by "Canadian Indian [sic] women [for] the visitors to the Falls of Niagara…is very successfully imitated by the lovers of this kind of work."[406] The imitation of what Phillips calls "Indigenous Victoriana" by settler women in Canada remained popular well into the 1880s, spanning the period within which we know that McCrum made her quilt.[407] Given the formal similarities that we have established between McCrum's quilt and beadworked souvenirs produced by Woodland Indigenous women, it seems fair to implicate her in this cultural phenomenon of imitation that was supported by the aforementioned view that flowers neutralized Indigenous identity politics. Meaning, white women like McCrum were only sanctioned to delight in and emulate Indigenous decorative arts at the mid-nineteenth century because there was a sense that the production of floral imagery by Indigenous artists signalled the willingness of First Nations to surrender their political and cultural autonomy to the Canadian nation state. As a result, one might read McCrum's quilt as a misinformed tribute to the so-called vanishing Indian [sic].

[404] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 218.
[405] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 216.
[406] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 216.
[407] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 222.

The tendency to historicize Indigeneity was pronounced in British North America during the first half of the nineteenth century. This is evidenced in Susanna Moodie's description of "The Wilderness, and Our Indian [sic] Friends" in *Roughing It In The Bush* (1852), wherein she laments instances of poor relations between her fellow British settlers and their Indigenous neighbours, as well as the misfortune of the latter : "Often have I grieved that people with such generous impulses should be degraded and corrupted by civilized men; that a mysterious destiny involves and hangs over them, pressing them back into the wilderness, and slowly and surely sweeping them from the earth." Though Moodie may be seen as sympathetic to members of the Mississauga Nation here, her assessment of their treatment and fate are saturated with the racial and cultural supremacy that was used to sanction settler colonialism during her lifetime. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, European empires justified expansionism by claiming that they were "bringing civilization to savage people who could never civilize themselves."[408] As such, Moodie characterizes the Mississauga as *generous* or naïve and her fellow countrymen as *civilized*, and she falsely mourns the apparent inevitability that the Mississauga will vanish on account of their inability to modernize. Earlier in the same chapter, Moodie describes the so-called Indians [sic] as "a people whose beauty, talents, and good qualities have been somewhat overrated, and invested with a poetical interest which they scarcely deserve." Statements like this reveal Moodie's sense of superiority and underscore the extent to which individual sentiments were informed by colonial mythology.

Hostility towards Indigenous people was common in British North America, and British settlers exhibited a particular resentment towards the relationship that First Nations in the northeastern Woodland region had to the land. According to historian Donald Smith, "settlers

[408] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2015), 46.

had little appreciation for a hunting and gathering society – if they could suffice on a few acres why did each Indian [sic] need many square miles to support himself?"[409] Of course, Woodland Indigenous societies practiced agriculture. The Iroquois of Roebuck, for example, grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers on cleared land.[410] However, they also relied on wild forests for game and fruit, and the rate at which British settlers cleared the bush and sowed the ground alarmed Indigenous people because it threatened their way of life.[411] It is no wonder then that Indigenous people saw little incentive to adopt commercial agriculture. Restricting Indigenous subsistence to small, discrete plots of cultivated land was deemed necessary by British authorities who prioritized the settlement of British immigrants, and – as discussed in the previous chapter – Western notions of land were thus incorporated into the earliest residential school programs. As early as 1847, the superintendent of schools for Upper Canada, Egerton Ryerson, recommended the establishment of residential schools to teach Indigenous youth kitchen gardening, farming and mechanics related to agricultural implements, amongst other subjects.[412]

The offence that British settlers took to the resistance of Indigenous people to capitalist norms of land use in the first half of the nineteenth century accounts, in some respects, for the reception of Indigenous souvenirs and handicrafts in the second half of the nineteenth century. These objects were seen to prove the success of assimilation programs, including residential schools, because they were consumable and thus demonstrated that Indigenous people were indeed capable of being transformed into productive workers.[413] According to Ruth Phillips, "the

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[409] Donald B. Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians: A Missing Chapter in the Early History of Upper Canada," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives,* eds. J.K. Johnson and Bruce G. Wilson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 41.

[410] McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville*, 2.

[411] Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians" 33.

[412] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report,* 51.

[413] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 198.

redefinition of Aboriginal people as a new artisanal class of commodity producers was contained within the rhetoric of progress, cultural evolution, and assimilation."[414] By the 1850s, much of the land that northeastern Woodland Indigenous communities in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley regions had long depended upon had been appropriated by settlers and turned into farmland, making the transition away from hunting and gathering by Indigenous people an economic necessity rather than a meaningful indication of their cultural assimilation.[415] In fact, the production and distribution of handcrafted souvenirs enabled Indigenous communities to maintain some semblance of their traditional lifestyle. The occupation enabled the continuation of visual and material customs, as well as the seasonal cycle of travel and trading that had been habitual for many centuries before the arrival of Europeans.[416] As a result, some Indian agents regarded the Indigenous tourist trade as a subversion of the government's plan to convert Indigenous people into a class of farmers.[417]

The lack of forested land that incited Indigenous people to begin dealing in souvenirs also inspired romantic interest in both Indigenous life and the natural world amongst Victorian Canadians. Broadly speaking, the first British settlers and inhabitants of Upper Canada perceived trees and woodlands as threatening. This sentiment was informed by the fact that they could not farm until they cut, felled, and burned all of the trees on their land. This clearing process was a physical and financial hardship that was borne by the entire family as no crops could be enjoyed or sold until the land was rid of trees and stumps.[418] Where local populations allowed, communities held logging bees, not unlike quilting bees, to share and expedite this gruelling

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[414] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 199.
[415] Philips, *Trading Identities*, 257.
[416] Philips, *Trading Identities*, 256.
[417] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 257.
[418] See Peter A. Russell, "Forests into Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822-1839," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives,* eds. J.K. Johnson and Bruce G. Wilson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989).

work.[419] Between 1826 and 1831, the amount of so-called improved land in Upper Canada increased from just over 600,000 hectares to 3.7 million hectares.[420] According to Alan Smith, the sense that Ontario's wilderness was at risk of disappearing began percolating amongst settler Canadians in the 1860s, and new sentiment for the region's forests found form in conservationist movements in the 1880s that resulted in the establishment of provincial parks in the early 1890s.[421]

Canada's increasingly urban and industrial economy amplified this emergent environmentalism and created a nostalgic longing for nature that Victorian Canadians extended to Indigenous peoples.[422] British settlers and officials had historically regarded Canada's Indigenous people as senseless or obstinate for resisting the adoption of farming. By the late nineteenth century, however, traditional Indigenous life had become the subject of pathos and charity for Canada's settler population, whose political and fiscal success afforded a new morality regarding both environmental and cultural sustainability. White Canadians performed their joint concern for nature and Indigeneity by visiting Niagara Falls and other regional sites that bound their architypes of wilderness with those of the romanticized Indian [sic].[423] Victorian Canadian women, in particular, consumed and reproduced Indigenous souvenirs in part because the craftsmanship and artistry of such objects were seen to challenge the historical characterizations of Indigenous people as coarse and unrefined, and in part because they soothed

[419] Russell, 134.

[420] Frank D. Lewis and M. C. Urquhart, "Growth and the Standard of Living in a Pioneer Economy: Upper Canada, 1826-1851," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (Jan 1999): 154-155.

[421] Alan Smith, "Farms, Forests and Cities: The Image if the Land and the Rise of the Metropolis in Ontario, 1860-1914," in *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless*, eds. David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 74.

[422] Philips, *Trading Identities*, 201.

[423] Gordon, "Souvenirs of Niagara Falls," 391.

feelings of guilt by testifying to the continuation of a traditional Indigenous life that was perceived to be threatened by the development of Canada's land.[424]

Indeed, mourning wild nature and Indigeneity ultimately reassured Victorian Canadian women that settler colonialism was a success, and one might ask whether McCrum's quilt represents her desire to assume an Indigenous identity in the changing cultural landscape of post-Confederation Canada. Indeed, the formal references that McCrum makes to Woodland floral beadwork in her embroidered quilt seem to exhibit her desire to *feel* Indigenous, rather than her regard for Indigenous culture. The correspondence between Indigeneity and authenticity in the Western worldview is well documented, and it is exemplified by Modernists in the twentieth century who held art by non-Western cultures to be timeless and natural. The trappings of Indigenous history and culture were duly considered an appropriate remedy for the lack of a unifying Canadian national identity or mythology felt by Canada's settler population following Confederation. By virtue of their gendered authority on fashion and domesticity, women were the brokers of this cultural translation. Case in point, in 1878 Canada was depicted as a white woman adorned with indigenizing accessories, including a beaded purse, in an illustration by Sir John Tenniel for the British weekly *Punch* (Fig. 34).[425] In styling her embroidered flower garden after Woodland beadwork, McCrum thus contributed to decorative and domestic fashions that distanced emergent notions of Canadian national identity from its British heritage using Indigenous signifiers.

[424] Philips, *Trading Identities*, 260.

[425] Carmen J. Nielson, "Caricaturing Colonial Space: Indigenized Feminized Bodies and Anglo Canadian Identity, 1873-94," *Canadian Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 480-482.

An Embordered Garden and the Importance of British Taste to Notions of Progress in Ontario

The settler-colonial dimension of Margaret McCrum's style is reinforced by her subject, the garden, which has long served as a metaphor for settlement and the related myth of progress. What is it about McCrum's embroidered quilt top design that reads as a garden? Even without recognizing that the flowers she has worked are garden variety blooms, McCrum's embroidered scene is immediately recognizable as a garden because it is anchored by four flowerpots or urns. Of course, flowerpot or urn motifs originally derive from the eighteenth-century Indian chintz fabrics and palampores that were at issue in the first chapter. That said, the popularity of flowerpot or urn motifs in American decorative arts experienced a surge in the 1830s when jacquard coverlet weavers introduced urns of garden flowers into the borders of their designs in an attempt to capitalize on the swelling interest that many American women were exhibiting in flowers and gardening.[426] According to historian Glenn Moore, the interest in gardening amongst American woman towards the mid-nineteenth century was in large part a reaction to the seemingly unnatural conditions of urbanization and industrialization.[427] The popularity of flowerpot and urn motifs developed alongside the popularity of the quadrant quilt style, and as a result many early quadrant-style quilts use the same bilateral symmetry favored by coverlet weavers and feature large flowerpot motifs. This trend is exemplified by our case study, a quadrant style quilt organized around four flowerpots.

While the nineteenth-century American garden was understood as a retreat to nature, the nineteenth-century Canadian garden would have been heralded as a signifier of culture. Cultural analyst Gaile McGregor has observed that while Americans historically celebrated the natural

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[426] Crews and Duc, *American Quilts in the Industrial Age, 1760-1870,* 438.

[427] Glenn Moore, "'A Very Housewifely Ambition': Women Gardeners in Industrializing America," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 20, no. 1 (July 2001): 18.

world as a source of inspiration and morality, their Canadian counterparts tended to fear nature, particularly wilderness: "there is plenty of evidence in the Canadian corpus to suggest that our national response to the environment has been almost completely negative."[428] As was just discussed, the hostility that British visitors and settlers to colonial Canada felt towards its natural features was informed by the economic imperative of deforestation, and many subsequently regarded the garden as a reassuring sign of so-called progress. Let us consider, for example, the description of a house in Upper Canada's London District belonging to an unnamed Admiral that appears in Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838): "The woods are yet close up to the house; but there is a fine well-cultivated garden and the process of clearing and log-burning proceeds all around with great animation."[429] For Jameson, the menacing forest is mitigated by the garden plot and its promise of further development. Cultivated, productive landscapes remained the ideal in Victorian Canadian culture until the 1880s, when conservationist movements mobilized in response to the then widely felt sense that Ontario's wilderness was at risk of disappearing.[430]

The date range attributed to McCrum's quilt (1860-1880) coincides with a time when Ontario's horticultural societies reinforced the value for cultivated landscapes by encouraging a general interest in potted plants, which manifested in a proliferation of greenhouses in Toronto in the 1860s.[431] In *Eighty Years Progress of British North America* (1864), Henry Youle Hind reports that Horticultural Societies have been established in Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, Peterborough, St. Catharines, Niagara, Cobourg, and Paris, and that "there exist many thousand

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[428] Gaile McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 10.

[429] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Vol. 2, 1838 (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1972), 126.

[430] Smith, "Farms, Forests and Cities," 74.

[431] Jeanne Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1970), 1.

square feet of glass-roofed structures" in Toronto for growing foreign grapes…and exotic plants.[432] Jameson stresses the settler-colonial import of these greenhouses and conservatories, calling them "proof of advancing wealth, and civilization and taste."[433] As previously noted, flowerpots motifs appeared in American coverlets and quilts towards the mid-nineteenth century in response to the growing interest in flowers and gardening amongst American women. Urns became design elements in Ontario's gardens in the second half of the nineteenth century, and one can speculate that the four flowerpots on McCrum's quilt illustrate this fashion.[434] Potted plants would have appealed to Victorian Canadians in part because houseplants had become popular in Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, promoted by some commentators as an antidote to the polluted and depraved environmental conditions of urban centers.[435] Of course, in Canada, the relatively underdeveloped terrain combined with the longstanding feelings of antagonism towards the wilderness meant that potted plants and flowerpots, like those depicted in McCrum's quilt, were understood as markers of culture, rather than as gateways to nature.

McCrum was an unmarried woman when she made her quilt in the 1860s or 1870s, and her embroideries were therefore likely inspired by her mother's garden, rather than her own. What would her mother's garden have looked like? Writing for a 2014 issue of *Historic Gardens Review*, Brian Malcolm calls Ontario's garden history a story largely untold.[436] Nevertheless, one can speculate on the answer to this question by considering what is known about the McCrum family homestead and the history of early Ontario gardens. McCrum was born soon after her parents, Elizabeth Fletcher and Edward McCrum, fled Ireland and established their farm in

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[432] Henry Youle Hind, *Eighty years' progress of British North America* (Toronto: L. Stebbins, 1863), 50-51.
[433] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, vol. 1, 144.
[434] Helen Ross Skinner, "With a Lilac by the Door: Some Research into Early Gardens in Ontario," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 15, no. 4 (1983): 36.
[435] Roy Ellen and Reka Komaromi, "Social Exchange and Vegetative Propagation: An Untold Story of British Potted Plants," *Anthropology Today* 19.1 (February 2013): 3.
[436] Brian Malcolm, "Speaking Out for Ontario's Historic Gardens," *Historic Gardens Review* no. 30 (April 2014): 11.

Canada West's Township of Oxford in the mid-1840s. Although horticulture and garden design were not chief concerns for British settlers who arrived in Canada before the mid-nineteenth century, flower gardens formed an important part of their homesteads and it is probable that the McCrums established their garden within months of their daughter's birth.[437] Catharine Parr Traill and her sister, Susanna Moodie, for example, both established their garden plots in the spring of 1833 following their first winter in Canada. In April of that year, Traill wrote, "I am anxiously looking forward to the spring, that I may get a garden laid out in front of the house; as I mean to cultivate some of the native fruits and flowers, which, I am sure, will improve greatly by culture."[438] As Traill's language suggests, garden plots were typically the purview of settler women and any garden on the McCrum homestead would thus have managed by Elizabeth Fletcher. [439]

It is most likely that Elizabeth Fletcher first planted an island bed of wildflowers. Island bed gardens were the earliest, crudest garden types seen in Upper Canada, so called because they were initially simple mounds of humus and rubbish near the house that were converted into informal plots for growing vegetables and flowers.[440] American seed merchants began advertising in Upper Canada soon after the United Empire Loyalists migrated north, and by the 1830s milliners and general stores were carrying flower seeds. Nevertheless, many of the first British women to settle in the region initially transplanted berries and flowers growing in the forests and wetlands around them.[441] This was certainly the case in Traill's first garden, in which she grew wild strawberries, raspberries, grapes, currants, and gooseberries from cuttings that she

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[437] Malcolm, 1.
[438] Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, 103.
[439] Eustella Langdon, *Pioneer Gardens at Black Creek Pioneer Village* (Toronto and Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1972), 14.
[440] Skinner, "With a Lilac by the Door," 36.
[441] Gary Thomson, *Village Life in Upper Canada* (Belleville, Mika Publishing Company, 1988), 72; Minhinnick, 14.

collected in the woods surrounding her homestead. Wild phlox, training rose, honeysuckle, and cowslips were amongst some of the wildflowers that could be found in these early Upper Canadian gardens.[442] These island bed gardens eventually developed into dooryard or parlour gardens, fenced plots just outside the house for decorative plants and trees (Fig. 35). The earliest fences would have been close laid tree roots, recently pulled from the ground as part of the family's clearing effort. These crude fences were eventually replaced by cedar fence rail or picket rail fences.[443] With the development of dooryard gardens, vegetable and herb gardens were moved to the back of the house.[444] Dooryard gardens were considered fashionable until the beginning of the 1840s and remained common in Ontario's small towns for years thereafter.[445] Island beds and parlour gardens remained customary in the region throughout the nineteenth century.

McCrum's embroidered quilt seems to picture an island bed that has been improved in accordance with the regional gardening trends that developed during the second half of the nineteenth century. The chickens and geese that wander through the scene suggest that the garden she has represented is not fenced in, making it an island bed rather than a dooryard or parlour garden. The flowerpots or urns that punctuate the otherwise disorderly plot may simply be inspired by the American coverlet and quilt designs mentioned earlier. Or else, they might reflect the growing interest in formal garden designs that developed in Ontario after the mid-century. By the 1850s, garden plans were being designed by Canadian nurserymen and architects, and flowerbed layouts were being published in garden manuals.[446] Manufacturers responded to these cultural developments, producing inexpensive cast iron chairs, benches,

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[442] Thomson, 72.
[443] Thomson, 72.
[444] Langdon, *Pioneer Gardens at Black Creek Pioneer Village*, 15.
[445] Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, 8.
[446] Minhinnick, 15,

tables, and urns in popular Baroque and Rococo styles (Fig. 36).[447] Victorian Canadian women duly began augmenting their lawns and gardens with walkways, furniture, and ornaments.[448] Given the timeframe within which McCrum likely made her quilt (1860-1880), it is possible that she illustrates her mother's garden updated with such effects.

The advent of garden furniture and fixtures coincided with the development of regional horticultural societies and seed houses, as well as the introduction of new garden flowers.[449] While Elizabeth Fletcher may have initially planted local wildflowers, McCrum's embroideries suggest that her mother eventually added a number of the garden-variety flowers that would have been common in Ontario's front yards during the second half of the nineteenth century, including peonies, roses, and amaranths. Flower varieties often circulated through informal networks of female friends, rather than distributed as commodities, and it is possible that Elizabeth Fletcher's garden developed as her local network of friends grew.[450] The peonies in McCrum's embroidered scene are tightly closed pink buds, recognizable by their distinctive round shape (Fig. 37). Peonies bloom in May and June, making this a springtime garden scene full of anticipation. In the horticulture section of the July 1849 issue of *The Canadian Agriculturalist* (1848-1863), the peony is lauded for its effortless beauty: "the species of the family are, in most cases, easily cultivated, hardy, showy and flower early."[451] The flower's dramatic annual display is precisely what made it so popular amongst Canadian gardeners. Front yard flowerbeds were points of pride for early Canadian women and often engendered their competitive spirits.[452]

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[447] Minhinnick, 16.
[448] Skinner, "With a Lilac by the Door," 36; Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, 15.
[449] Minhinnick, 16.
[450] Minhinnick, 2.
[451] "Cultivation of Hardy Plants," *The Canadian Agriculturalist* 1, no. 7 (1849): 184.
[452] Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, 5; Langdon, *Pioneer Gardens at Black Creek Pioneer Village*, 15.

McCrum also incorporated rosebuds into her embroidered quilt top (Fig. 38). As seen in the previous chapter, roses loomed large in the British cultural imagination and figured prominently in British decorative traditions. This might in part explain the popularity of roses amongst nineteenth-century Canadian gardeners. Significantly, roses were often amongst the first garden variety flowers planted by settlers in part because their leaves, petals, and hips were chief ingredients in a number of the herbal remedies that were prepared by women for their families.[453] During the earliest years of Upper Canada's settlement, growing and gathering medicinal plants as well as making poultices, salves, and ointments would have been tasked to settler women, and it is possible that McCrum associated roses with her mother's care and tenderness.[454] Indeed, roses were signifiers of familial ties between mothers and daughters in nineteenth-century Ontario, where it was customary for married women to christen their gardens by planting cuttings from their mother's roses.[455] Many rose varieties that flourished in Ontario's first gardens, including the damask and sweetbrier roses, came to Ontario from Massachusetts with the United Empire Loyalists, and it is possible that Elizabeth Fletcher grew her roses from a cutting gifted to her by a more established neighbour.[456]

In addition to the peony and rose, McCrum repeatedly represents a long, floppy, fuzzy flower that may very well be the *amaranthus caudatus* (Fig. 39), which was so popular amongst early Canadian gardeners that it remains a feature in the heritage gardens at Upper Canada Village. This flower, which produces ropes of red flowers, was historically cultivated as a grain in South America, a fact that might explain why McCrum depicts songbirds feeding at this

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[453] Langdon, 32.
[454] Langdon, 31.
[455] R.W. Oliver, *Outdoor Roses in Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1950), 7.
[456] *Plants of Pioneer and Early Days in Ontario*. 1970 (Toronto: Paragon Press Ltd., 1986), 21-22; Oliver, *Outdoor Roses in Canada*, 7.

particular plant.[457] Europeans introduced amaranths into their gardens as an ornamental in the sixteenth century, and Carl Linnaeus first encountered it in George Clifford's garden in Holland in 1730s.[458] As a relatively robust flower, amaranths were favored in Upper Canada's dooryard gardens.[459] Its enduring appeal throughout the Confederation era is evident in the *John A. Bruce and Co. Seed Catalogue* issued from Hamilton, Ontario, for the spring of 1878, which describes the amaranthus family as "an extremely graceful and interesting character, producing a striking effect whether grown for the conservatory or out-door flower garden."[460] This catalogue refers to the amaranth by its common name, *love lies bleeding*, a Victorian moniker that seems ominous in relation to McCrum, who died just four years after her husband of only three years, Samuel Thomas Gibson (1849-1884). They are interred together at the Bishop Mills Cemetery in Leeds and Grenville United Counties, Ontario.

The historical evidence indicates that it is likely that McCrum modeled her embroidered garden scene after a real garden in rural Ontario, perhaps her mother's own. This case study thus reinforces one of the conclusions arrived at in the previous chapter, that British settler women in nineteenth-century Ontario produced embroidery designs from their observations of nature. Where Elizabeth Bell sought out the unfamiliar in wild nature and thereby performed the colonial mandate to discover and record, McCrum seems to have been more inspired by the comforts and reassurances of domesticated landscapes. As such, the style and subject of McCrum's embroidered quilt top combine to express the settler colonial worldview held by many Victorian Canadians, who romanticized Indigeneity and wilderness whilst projecting British notions of discipline and taste onto Canada's cultural and natural landscapes. Indeed, as

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[457] Jonathan D. Sauer, "The Grain Amaranths and Their Relatives A Revised Taxonomic and Geographic Survey," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* 54, no. 2 (1967): 127.

[458] Sauer, 126, 130.

[459] Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, 5.

[460] *John A Bruce & Co.'s Illustrated and Descriptive Seed Catalogue for the Spring of 1878*, 59.

has been discussed, the popularity of beaded bags and other Indigenous handicrafts amongst Canada's settler population in the second half of the nineteenth century was underpinned by the belief that Canada's First Nations and the undeveloped land that they had long managed were fated to be replaced by the Canadian nation state and a patchwork of productive plots. McCrum exemplifies this sentimental, destructive posture in her quilt by borrowing elements from Indigenous visual culture to represent a garden landscape that exemplifies western ideals of progress.

Conclusion

If one accepts that McCrum has represented her mother's garden in an embroidery style that has been inspired by Woodland Indigenous beadwork, then her quilt top might be seen to celebrate the British ideal of land cultivation as well as the Indigenous cultures that were threatened by this ideal. This might seem incompatible with the previous conclusion that related the popularity of Indigenous souvenirs to an increased concern for both the survival of Indigenous culture and the protection of Canadian forests, however, the conservationist ethics that emerged in Ontario at the end of the nineteenth century were riddled with such contradictions. Before addressing the compatibility of McCrum's quilt with late Victorian Canadian conservationism, it bears remembering that McCrum made her quilt as much as twenty years before this movement peaked in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Her quilt top may thus be completely lacking in political awareness and exhibit a purely aesthetic appreciation for the Woodland Indigenous art forms that were both consumed and reproduced by settler women by the time McCrum was a girl. If McCrum made her quilt in the 1860s, her embroidery style and garden subject might simply be a display of confidence befitting the years surrounding Confederation inspired by what was then viewed as the largely successful collective effort to appropriate and transform Canada's

Indigenous land. Of course, at this time her quilt top could also be understood in relation to the government's ongoing efforts to control the Indigenous relationship to land and nature. Without the influence of conservationist politics, McCrum's quilt top might be seen to visualize the Victorian Canadian position within settler colonialism insofar as she seems to feel free to appropriate the aesthetic or decorative aspects of Indigeneity precisely because the British have seized and remade the environmental and cultural landscape of southern Ontario.

This interpretation of McCrum's quilt stands even when one factors in the potential influence that the rising concern for Ontario's forests and Indigenous communities may have had on her artistic expression towards 1880. This is because even the most ardent conservationists at the end of the nineteenth century ultimately maintained the faith in cultivated landscapes that had produced the ecological and social problems that they claimed to care about. Consider for example, Ontario's first park, Algonquin, which was established in 1893, five years after McCrum's death. At the time, it was celebrated as a pristine wilderness, ignoring the fact that its name refers to the Indigenous people whose hunting, fishing, and trapping rights were curtailed by the provincial government as part of the parkland's institution.[461] Despite the purported romance that Victorian Canadians projected onto the traditional Indigenous life, official policy reveals that Indigenous populations were still seen be an obstacle to North America's settler-colonial imaginary and its need for gardens, farms, and finally, parks. As Indigenous author Thomas King wryly describes it, "spend your evening at Dead Indian campground, and in the morning cycle across Dead Indian Meadows on your way to Dead Indian Peak."[462] Conservation ethics were never truly extended to Indigenous communities. In fact, conservation ethics were

[461] Bruce W. Hodgins and Kerry A. Cannon, "The Aboriginal Presence in Ontario Parks and Other Protected Places" in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, eds. John Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Dundurn, 1998), 53, 58.

[462] Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Toronto: Anchor Canada: 2012), 56.

wielded to justify the restriction or annulment of the Indigenous land claims. The fact that commercial logging was permitted in Algonquin Park from its beginning underlines that Canada's concept of natural heritage and the designs that support it have long caused harm to Indigenous peoples and bolstered capitalist land management philosophies that were represented by the ideal of the garden.[463]

Like the previous quilts that have been examined, McCrum's flowered quilt contributes to the hardening of settler-colonial power in nineteenth century Canada. The economic and scientific themes of the previous case studies find form in McCrum's quilt given that gardens exemplify the productive, orderly societies that were promised to spring from the establishment of British society in colonized territories. In her study of early American women and the myth of homespun, historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich describes needlework as a field of personal expression that simultaneously operates as a site for cultural production.[464] Meaning, one can appreciate the artistic and creative aspects of embroidery by Victorian Canadian women while also thinking critically about the worldview that their embroidered projects represent. The flowers worked by McCrum are close studies of the natural world that attest to her deep desire to identify with the Canadian land. At the same time, the design histories and cultural references contained within her quilt can be read as contributing to the objectification of Canada's wilderness and the marginalization of its Indigenous peoples.

[463] Hodgins and Cannon, "The Aboriginal Presence in Ontario Parks and Other Protected Places," 59.

[464] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 40.

Conclusion

The flowered quilts that Mary Morris, Elizabeth Bell, and Margaret McCrum produced during the nineteenth century contributed to a visual and material culture that supported the interests of Canada's settler-colonial society. Specifically, their embroidered quilts aestheticize the transformative impact that British economics, science, and land cultivation practices had on the environmental and cultural geographies of southeastern Ontario. I therefore conclude that British women living in southeastern Ontario during the nineteenth century expressed their investment in the project of nation building through their homecrafts, and that the floral decorative language they favoured can be fairly characterized as an invasive species insofar as it helped to naturalize the condition of settler-colonialism on Indigenous land. Morris, Bell, and McCrum's quilts are not well represented in the extant literature on Canada's design and art histories, and my case studies thus make important contributions to these fields. Furthermore, by subjecting the decorative arts found in nineteenth-century Canadian homes to feminist, environmental, and settler-colonial modes of analysis, this dissertation situates historical folkways produced by women within contemporary social discourse.

The oldest quilt considered by this dissertation is the quilt produced by Mary Morris in 1825 (see Fig. 1), four years before she and her family relocated to the South Crosby Township of Upper Canada's Leeds County in 1829. This signed and dated quilt, which would certainly have been a treasured keepsake within the Morris family homestead, is a patchwork of printed cottons surrounding panels of white cotton embroidered with representations of flowers, birds, and bugs, as well as two hunting scenes. Significantly, its floral embroideries are inspired by Indian chintz fabrics and its printed cotton pieces are amongst the earliest produced by English manufactures. Citing the history of Indian chintz in British consumer culture and its eventual

reproduction by English manufacturers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first chapter of this dissertation shows that Morris's quilt contains global material histories that changed the environmental and cultural landscapes in southeastern Ontario. For example, the trade in Indian chintz and printed cottons by the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, respectively, were integral to the British imperial economy and enabled settler-colonial ambitions in Canada, where fabrics of British manufacture were popular amongst settlers and traded with Indigenous peoples for access to natural resources and land. Morris's quilt therefore represents the imperial economy that was imposed upon Indigenous people in and around the Hudson Bay drainage basin starting in the seventeenth century, disrupting their environmental and political relationships, and ultimately separating them from their traditional territories. As such, Morris's seemingly innocuous floral decorative language is part of a visual and material culture that sought to normalize the occupation of Indigenous lands by the British.

Chapter one further considers the effect that imported patterned cottons had on the decorative traditions of Upper Canada's First Nations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Meaning, while the floral decorations represented on Morris's quilt are informed by her imperial worldview, Indigenous people in the northeastern Woodland region were not hostile to floral motifs. Rather, they seem to have delighted in them. Citing a particular episode documented by Catharine Parr Trail, wherein she received Indigenous women at her homestead who wished to admire her husband's chintz dressing gown, the first chapter of this dissertation shows that Indigenous people in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Valley region took an active interest in the flowered cottons and other manufactured goods that were introduced by British settlers and trade.[465] Changing regional tastes result in Indigenous people incorporating

[465] Catharine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, 1836 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 121.

printed English cottons into their dress sometime in the late eighteenth century, and Isaac Weld is credited for having observed these new fashions in the 1790s.[466] Furthermore, by the turn of the nineteenth century Indigenous artists had developed a new floral vocabulary and were incorporating floral motifs into their moosehair embroidery. The emergence of floral decorations within northeastern Woodland Indigenous art is substantiated by prior research undertaken by Ruth Phillips and exemplified by a pair of moccasins made in Huron-Wendat tradition sometime in the early nineteenth century (see Fig. 19).[467] The appropriation of printed English cottons and British floral motifs by northeastern Woodland Indigenous people enriches our understanding of Morris's quilt as a physical artefact of the first stages settler colonialism by affirming the adaptability and resilience of the region's Indigenous communities during this period.

The second chapter of this dissertation examines an unsigned and undated embroidered quilt that was made, at least in large part, by Elizabeth Bell (see Fig. 2), an Irish settler who arrived in Canada West's Carleton County as a child in 1837. Citing archival and visual evidence, I conclude that Bell completed the quilt during her engagement in the late 1840s, making it approximately twenty years younger than the quilt made by Morris. There are over eighty embroidered floral sprays on Bell's distinctive quilt, and these sprays likely derive from an early modern British embroidery convention that was informed by the first natural science texts. Tellingly, a number of the flowers that figure in the quilt's embroideries are popular British motifs, making them signifiers of nostalgia for the British countryside in a Canadian context. I have substantiated the cultural identification with flowers felt by Upper Canada's

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[466] Isaac Weld, *Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London: 1799), 380.

[467] See Ruth Phillips, *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Kleinburg: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984); Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

British settlers by citing passages in the autobiographies of Anna Jameson and Susanna Moodie.[468] Of course, such ecological longings motivated British settlers, including Bell, to orient themselves to their new homes using strategies borrowed from botany, including natural observation and collection. Using formal analysis, I argue that a number of Bell's embroidered sprays resemble the red trillium flower indigenous to the temperate woodlands of eastern North America, making this motif an exercise in natural observation and plant identification. Bell's botanical embroideries are in keeping with the fact that botany was regarded as a suitable pursuit for women, a cultural phenomenon that has been well documented by Ann Shteir and others.[469] Citing Kristina Huneault's recent research on the transplantation of the British female botanical tradition to Canada, chapter two shows that Bell's quilt is an attempt to cultivate a sense of place and belonging through the direct observation of plants and flowers.[470]

Having established that Bell's quilt relates to the British botanical science tradition and its place in the British imperial imagination, the second chapter of this dissertation further argues that this object can be contextualized within official efforts to replace the traditional knowledge developed over centuries by North America's Indigenous people with settler-colonial epistemologies. I substantiate this by showing that the association between botany and British femininity exemplified by Bell's quilt informed the important role that naturalistic needlework played in the education of Indigenous girls administered by Canada's pre-Confederation residential schools, which ultimately sought to disrupt the ecological and social sustainability of northeastern Woodland Indigenous communities. Indeed, Bell completed her quilt at the same time that Anglican missions in Canada West were beginning to teach naturalistic floral

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[468] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Vol. 1. 1838 (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1972), 144; Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush; or Life in Canada*, 1852 (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), 173.

[469] See Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[470] See Huneault, Kristina. *I'm not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.

embroidery to young Indigenous women in an attempt to redefine Indigenous gender relations in Western terms, prescribing polite domesticity to women and land management to men. Citing historical documents, I have shown that the emphasis that residential schools placed on gender was meant to establish the conditions for marriage between Indigenous boys and white women or educated Indigenous women, and to encourage Indigenous youths to homestead beyond the bounds of their traditional communities. Given its place in residential school curricula, which were designed to disassociate young Indigenous people from their ancestral lands and social groups, the naturalistic floral embroidery convention exemplified by Bell's quilt is necessarily implicated in the painful history documented by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada between 2008 and 2015.[471]

The third and final case study that figures in this dissertation is a quilt made by Margaret McCrum (see Fig. 3) in the Oxford Township of Ontario's Leeds and Grenville United Counties. The quilt is signed but not dated, and I conclude that McCrum produced it as an unmarried woman sometime between 1860 and 1880. This is a four-block or quadrant-style quilt that is embroidered with four urns or pots of flowering plants rendered in bright, lively colours on a dark ground. Amongst the myriad of floral designs that McCrum has embroidered onto her quilt top, one bears a striking resemblance to the sun motif specific to Woodland Indigenous iconography, and I refer to a combination of visual and textual evidence to establish that McCrum likely looked to northeastern Woodland Indigenous beadwork when designing her quilt top. This small act of appropriation is indicative of her position in Canada's settler-colonial society because it suggests that she regarded Indigenous visual and material culture as a means to

[471] See Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary.* Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2015.

develop her own Canadian national identity in the Confederation era. Furthermore, it suggests that she subscribed to the romantic interest in Indigenous peoples that Canada's settler population indulged in towards the end of the nineteenth century. This romantic sentiment for Indigenous people extended to the wilderness since both were falsely mourned as casualties of settler-colonial development. As such, I contextualize the Indigenous motif that appears on McCrum's quilt within the rise of regional tourism in Ontario during the second half of the nineteenth century, when Victorian Canadians sought out sterile encounters with both Indigenous life and wild landscapes. I take a particular interest in Niagara Falls, where the sublime backdrop and trade in Indigenous souvenir arts catered to the popular desire to consume architypes of both Indigeneity and nature. Niagara Falls may well be the site where McCrum or someone that she knew purchased a beaded bag adorned with the sun motif that later appeared in her quilt top design.

Chapter three further argues that McCrum compounds the settler-colonial significance of her quilt top by embroidering a garden scene. McCrum's embroidered quilt top likely depicts a real rural garden, perhaps her mother's own. Like the previous case studies, McCrum's embroidered quilt must be considered part of the cultural effort to strengthen settler-colonialism in nineteenth-century Ontario since gardens were celebrated as signifiers of British settlement in North America. By incorporating an Indigenous motif into her embroidered garden scene, McCrum unintentionally makes visible the settler-colonial worldview held by many Victorian Canadians, which romanticized Indigeneity and wilderness whilst insisting that both conform to British ideals of civilization and progress. This chapter unpacks this contradictory posture by examining the rise of conservationist ethics at the end of the nineteenth century, which led to the establishment of Algonquin Park in 1893. Despite the purported value that Victorian Canadians

placed on traditional Indigenous life and untouched wilderness, Indigenous people were limited from utilizing park lands and extraction industries were accommodated. Therefore, while the flowers worked by McCrum express her personal identification with the Canadian land, the form and content of her quilt also reference the objectification of Canada's wilderness and the marginalization of its Indigenous peoples.

Significantly, the critical interdisciplinary analysis that I apply to these case studies shows that the folkways produced by historical Canadian women are relevant to contemporary discourses on gender, ecology, and reconciliation. In the past, Canada's quilting tradition has been represented in simple, idealistic terms that celebrate resourceful and resilient settler women. My case studies complicate this cultural mythology by showing that historical Canadian quilts and the women who produced them were invested in the visual and material culture of settler colonialism. As stated in the introductory chapter, contemporary feminist analysis does not presume to celebrate historical women's work. Rather, contemporary feminist analysis requires an intersectional perspective that accounts for the privilege of white women and their role as oppressors. I have already cited cultural studies scholar Hazel V. Carby, for example, who has implored white feminist scholars to interrogate the participation or complicity of white women in racist histories, and who has specifically implicated British women in the problematic history of Empire.[472] This dissertation responds to Carby by situating the homecrafts of British women living in Ontario during the nineteenth century within the cultural context of settler colonialism, implicating these otherwise seemingly polite and innocuous objects in upheaval of Indigenous ecologies and culture.

[472] See Hazel V. Carby, "White Woman Listen!: Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood" in *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 1970s Britain*, ed. the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (London: Routledge, 2004).

The history of design and art may seem distinct from ecological concerns due to a tendency to regard culture and nature as incompatible or conflicting; but these are false binaries. As Kjetil Fallan explains in his introduction to *The Culture of Nature in the History of Design* (2019), "both as a species and as individuals, humans have designs on nature."[473] He continues, "design is both making and unmaking the environment. Conversely, it might be argued that the environment is both making and unmaking design." This dissertation explores some of these dynamics by considering the possibility that women's homecrafts in nineteenth-century Ontario utilized floral decorations in ways that promoted a specifically British understanding of nature, thereby contributing the entrenchment of settler-colonialism in Canada. In the case of Morris's quilt, I have shown that the floral imagery and manufactured materials combined therein are representative of the British imperial economy that purchased access to North America's natural resources and land from Indigenous peoples throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ultimately instituting private and commercial land use where a shared ethos of land stewardship had previously been the norm. I have also shown that the form and content of Bell's quilt is informed by British botany, an inventory science that was used to undermine traditional Indigenous plant knowledge and rationalize British settlement on Indigenous land. Finally, I have read the embroidered garden on McCrum's quilt as a tribute to the cultivated landscapes that British settlers identified with and actively established by various means, including deforestation and the establishment of park lands. Together, these quilts suggest that British women in nineteenth-century Ontario prescribed to the settler-colonial understanding of nature as a prospect for investment, research, and development.

[473] Kjetil Fallan, "Introduction" in *The Culture of Nature in the History of Design,* ed. Kjetil Fallan (London: Routledge, 2019), 2.

The floral embroideries worked by Morris, Bell, and McCrum likewise suggest that British women in nineteenth-century Ontario regarded Indigenous people in capitalist, scientific, and aesthetic terms. The imagery and materials that figure on Morris's quilt represent the British imperial economy that valued Indigenous people as suppliers of raw materials and consumers of finished goods; the decorative and scientific traditions represented in the Fallowfield quilt were wielded to undermine the sustainability of Indigenous epistemologies and cultures; and the imagery that figures on McCrum's quilt expresses the tendency of Victorian Canadians to romanticize Indigeneity. These case studies thus demonstrate that objects of Canadian design, including quilts, represent the historical social attitudes that have resulted in exclusive national narratives and heritage constructions, including museums and heritage parks. As such, this dissertation directly responds to art historians Richard Hill and Gerald McMaster, both of whom were cited in the introductory chapter. [474] Hill and McMaster have argued that museums and other such institutions ought to present the integrated history of Indigenous and settler populations using objects in their collections. In keeping with Hill and McMaster's recommendations, this dissertation shows that there is value in contextualizing historical Canadian material culture within settler-colonialism and exploring the effect that even seemingly unthreatening objects, like quilts, have had on Indigenous lands and cultures.

My research on the floral designs found on three nineteenth-century quilts confronts the romantic past that has typically been ascribed to Canada's early visual and material culture. Historians Ruth McKendry and Mary Conroy contributed to the popular perception of nineteenth-century Canadian quilts as charming artefacts that affirm the ingenuity of settler

[474] See Richard Hill, "Getting Unpinned: Collecting Aboriginal Art and the Potential for Hybrid Public Discourse in Art Museums," in *Obsession, Compulsion, Collection: On Objects, Display Culture, and Interpretation*, ed. Anthony Kiendl (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2004).

women.[475] Without denying the creativity, skill, and resolve of Morris, Bell, and McCrum, this dissertation shows that their flowered quilts must also be regarded as mediums of settler colonialism because they make visual references to the British imperial economy, inventory sciences, and cultivation practices that transformed Canada's environmental and cultural landscapes. In addition to presenting new case studies to the underdeveloped field of Canadian design history, this dissertation challenges the boundaries of Canadian art history by establishing that the homecrafts produced and cherished by British women living in nineteenth-century Ontario can fairly be considered complements to the heroic landscape painting tradition and its aura of nation building. This dissertation thus shows that the British authority and settler-colonial condition that saw Canada's physical geography and social fabric so altered during the nineteenth century was asserted at even the small scale of an embroidered flower on a single bed spread.

[475] See Ruth McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bedcoverings in the Canadian Tradition* (Toronto: Van Nostren Reinhold, Ltd., 1979); Mary Conroy, *300 Years of Canada's Quilts* (Toronto: Griffen House, 1976).

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Appendix: Illustrations

Figure 1. Mary Morris, quilt (1825), cotton and linen, 200 x 185 cm. Item #79-237 at the Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Québec, Canada.

Figure 2. Unknown, *Fallowfield quilt* (c. 1820-48), wool yarn on linen ground, 199 x 177 cm. Item #Q83.001 at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

Figure 3. Margaret Ann McCrum, quilt (c. 1860-80), wool yarn on wool ground, 194 x 172 cm. Item #2011.141.1 at the Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Québec, Canada.

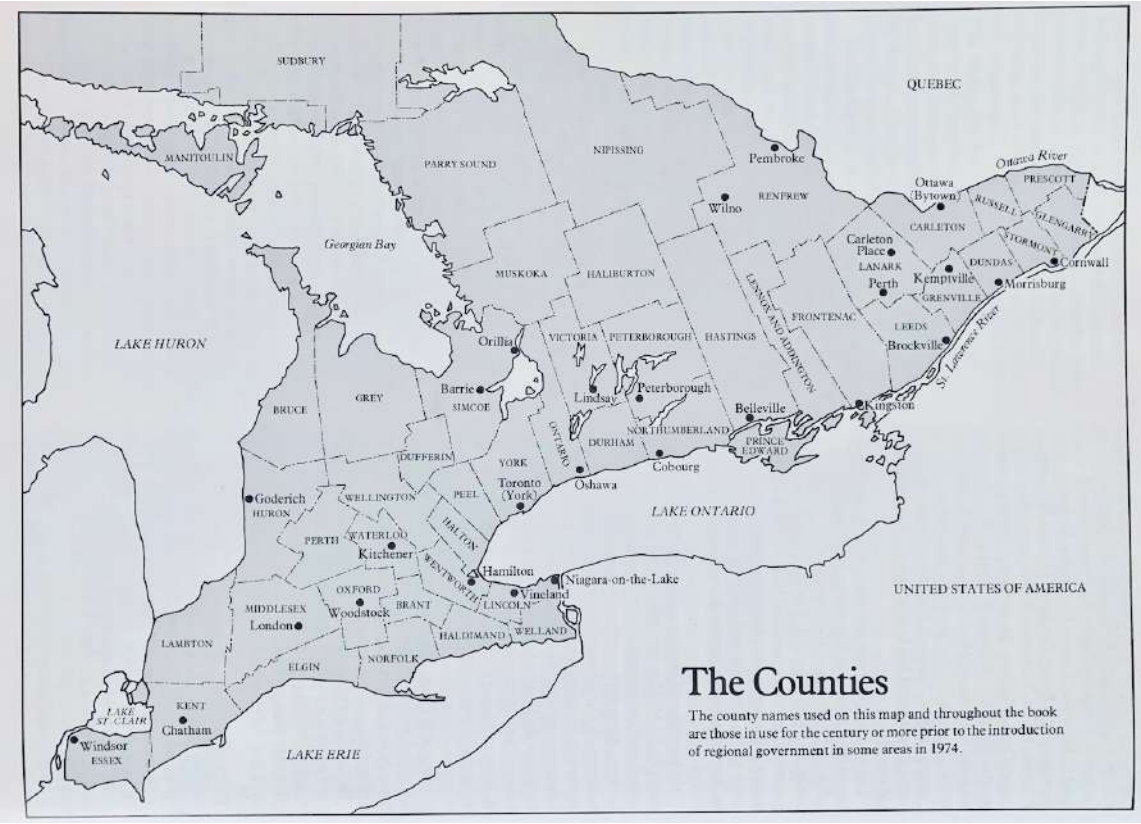

Figure 4. Map of Ontario's Counties. Image source: Ruth McKendry, *Quilts and Other Bedcoverings in the Canadian Tradition* (Toronto: Van Nostren Reinhold, Ltd., 1979), 12. Our case studies were produced in Leeds, Carleton, and Grenville Counties, respectively. These counties are close together, between the St. Lawrence River and the boundary with Québec, in the easternmost part of this region.

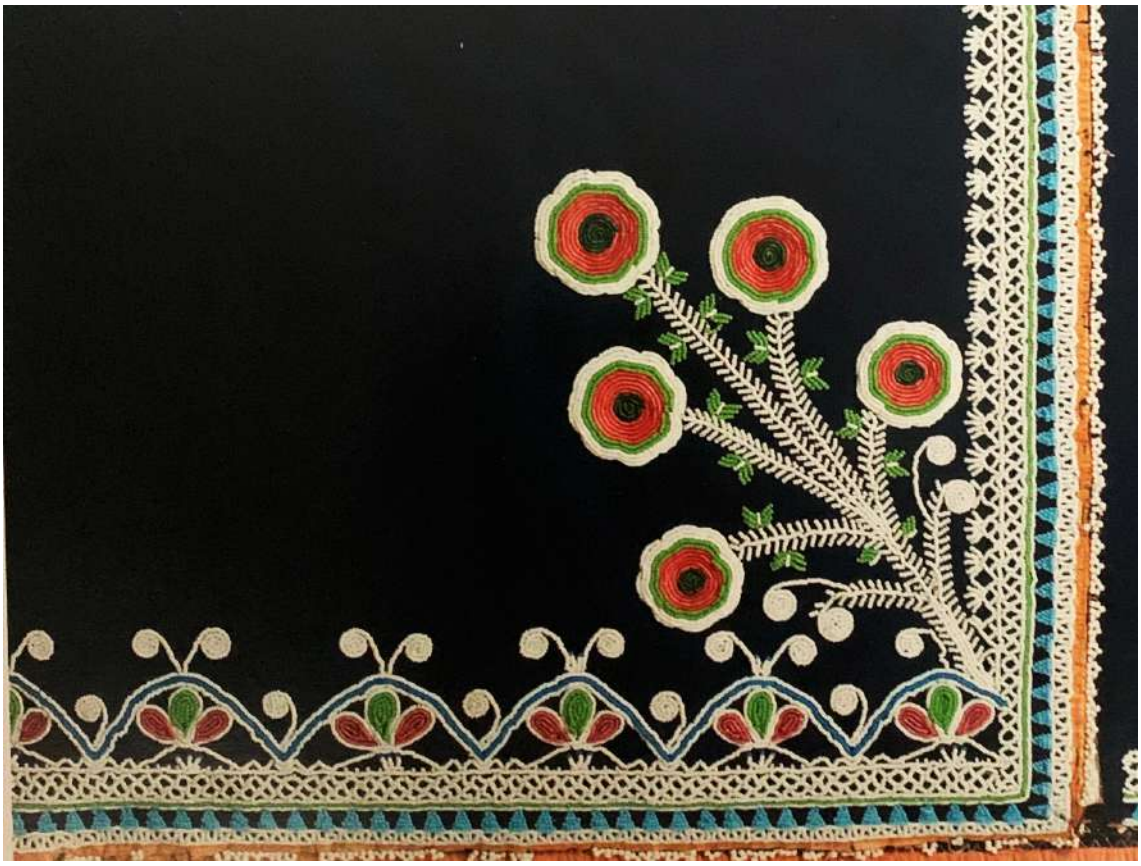

Figure 5. Caroline G. Parker, Seneca beaded skirt (detail) (c.1849), glass beads, silk ribbon, wool, 114.3 x 68.68 cm. The New York State Museum, Albany NY. Image Source: Jolene Rickard, "Arts of Dispossession," in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valeria Piccoli, and Georgina Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 115.

Figure 6. Figure 1 (detail). This is a detail from the centrepiece of Morris's quilt. Her embroidered signature can be seen underneath the potted flowering plant.

Figure 7. Unknown, quilt (1726), silk, cotton, linen, 208 x 208 cm. Item #M972.3.1 at the McCord Museum, Montreal, Québec, Canada. This is one of the three known bed quilts dated by their makers that survive from the first decades of the eighteenth century, and all three of which are English quilts made in the medallion style.

Figure 8. Unknown, palampore (c. 1700s), cotton chintz, 298.5 x 220 cm. Item #1982.66 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States of America. The medallion quilt style exemplified by Figure 6 derived from centrally planned *palampores* like this one. This example also shows the flowering tree motif that inspired the floral motifs in the embroidered centrepiece of Mary Morris's quilt.

Figure 9. Unknown, crewelwork hanging (17th century), wool embroidery on linen. The Burelll Collection, Glasgow, Scotland. Image source: Rosemary Crill, *Chintz: Indian textiles for the West* (London: V&A Publishing, 2008), 21.

Figure 10. Unknown, chintz hanging (1680-1700), painted and dyed cotton, 251 x 86 cm. Item # IS.156-1953 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England.

Figure 11. (Left) Figure 9 (detail); (Right) Figure 1 (detail). The dogs in Morris's hunting scenes (right) bear a striking resemblance to those that figure in those in this Indian chintz hanging in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (left).

Figure 12. Figure 1 (detail). Mary Morris's most explicit reference to the flowering tree motif seen in Figure 7 is found on the vertical sides of her coverlet's central pane, where small, leafy trees with exposed roots provide shade for strutting peacocks.

Figure 13. (Left) Figure 7 (details); (Right) Figure 1 (details). The Tree of Life in Figure 7 blooms with at least four flower varieties that seem to be duplicated on Mary Morris's quilt, including peony, rose, chrysanthemum, and lily flowers. Here, I have circled corresponding rosehip (top) and lily (bottom) motifs.

Figure 14. Unknown, banyan (1750-1775), cotton chintz, block printed cotton, 190 x 145 cm. Item #T.215-1992 at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England.

Figure 15. Figure 1 (detail). Morris frames the embroidered panels at the center of her quilt with concentric squares of patchwork containing several examples of English chintz that date to the second decade of the nineteenth century, making them early examples of industrially printed cotton The bulk of the English chintz fabrics in Morris's piecework feature small-scale floral prints that were most likely produced using roller-printers.

Figure 16. Elizabeth Jane Jones, quilt (c. 1810-1825), cotton, 276 x 264 cm. Item #1988.6.1 at the City of Toronto, Museum and Heritage Services, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Figure 17. Figure 15 (detail). One example of the so-called Indian style English chintz fabric that appears in this quilt.

Figure 18. Unknown, woven bag (front and back views) (1800-1809), nettlestalk fibre, animal hair, wool yarn, 60.4 x 42 cm. Item # 1902.327 at the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. Image source: Ruth Phillips, *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Kleinberg: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), 64.

Figure 19. Unknown, moccasins (c.1800), hide, moosehair, porcupine quills, sinew. Items #74.403.18 a,b at the Berne Historical Museum, Berne, Switzerland. Image source: Judy Hall, "'To Make Them Beautiful': Porcupine Quill Decorated Moccasins from the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes," in *Fascinating Challenges: Studying Material Culture with Dorothy Burnham* by Judy Hall, Leslie Tepper, and Judy Thompson in collaboration with Dorothy K. Burnham (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2001), 256. These moccasins have been attributed to the Huron-Wendat tradition within the Iroquois language group.

Figure 20. Figure 2 (detail). This detail shows the medallion of the Fallowfield quilt, as well as a number of the small, embroidered squares that surround it. The medallion features a spray of eight flower varieties tied together with a string looped into a bow, and it is bordered with a festoon of strawberry plants.

Figure 21. Unknown, slips (c. 1600), linen canvas, silk thread, ea. 16 x 19 cm (approx.). Item #CIRC.748 to B, D to F, I, J-1925 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England.

Figure 22. (Left) Figure 21 (detail); (Right) Figure 2 (detail). This comparison shows the formal correspondence between early modern slips (left) and the embroidered squares that figure in the Fallowfield quilt (right). Pansy flowers are pictured on both squares.

Figure 23. (Left) (Left) Unknown, set of thirteen slips (detail) (c.1625), silk thread on linen ground, ea. 22.2 x 19 cm. Item #928.14.1-13 at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada; (Right) Figure 2 (detail). This comparison shows the strawberry motif that is common in English embroidery as it appears on an early modern slip (left) and on the Fallowfield quilt (right).

Figure 24. (Left) Unknown, dress (detail) (c.1830), cotton muslin with wool embroidery and silk satin. Item #T.51-1934 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England; (Right) Figure 2 (detail). This comparison shows the rosebud motif common in English embroidery as it appears on the on the skirt of a Romantic era dress (left) and on the Fallowfield quilt (right). The embroidery on the dress skirt (left) helped me identify the embroideries in the Fallowfield quilt (right) as rosebuds, which are typically represented in this fashion, with fuzzy green sepals.

Figure 25. Figure 2 (details). There are two styles of embroidery represented on the quilt, suggesting that two women produced its blocks. Both of the motifs circled here represent rosebuds; but they are rendered in distinct styles. The schematic rosebud (left) may have been produced in Ireland by Elizabeth Bell's mother, Anne Little Bell; and the other rosebud (right), which is more naturalistic in its style, was most likely produced in Canada West by Elizabeth Bell.

Figure 26. (Left) Figure 2 (details); (Right) stock photograph of a red trillium flower. There are five trillium species native to the Ontario region, and the red petals in Elizabeth Bell's design resemble those found on the red trillium.

Figure 27. Unknown, samples from a set of embroidered hides (c. 1900), hide, moosehair. Item #13/5091 h, i at the National Museum of the American Indian, New York, United States of America. Image source: Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 165.

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Figure 28. Unknown, Basket of Flowers Quilt (1850-1870), cotton, 203 x 218 cm. Item # 1997.007.0013 at the International Quilt Museum, Lincoln, Nebraska, United States of America.

Figure 29. Unknown, beaded pouch (c. 1780), wool, silk beads, 38.1 x 13.97 cm. Item # 83.237.375 at the Madeline Island Museum, La Pointe, Wisconsin, United States of America. This pouch has been attributed to the Ojibwe traditions within the Algonquian language group.

Figure 30. Figure 3 (detail). Here, I have circled four variations on a motif that recurs on Margret McCrum's quilt over twenty times. It is composed of a circle or a series of concentric circles edged with zigzagging lines. I argue that this motif derives from the sun motif specific to Woodland Indigenous iconography that can be found in Figures 29 and 31.

Figure 31. Unknown, beaded purse (c. 1850), mixed media, 12 x 13.3 cm. Item #T674 at the Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown New York, United States of America. This purse has been attributed to either the Mi'kmaq or Maliseet traditions within the Algonquian language group.

Figure 32. Unknown, moccasins (before 1800), hide, wool, porcupine quills, sinew. Item #1880.1891 at the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. Image source: Ruth Phillips, *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Kleinberg: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), 75. These moccasins have been attributed to the Cree tradition within the Algonquian language group.

Figure 33. Unknown, "Indian women selling whimsies at Niagara Falls," *Harper's Weekly* (June 9, 1877), 441. Image source: Beverly Gordon, "Souvenirs of Niagara Falls: The Significance of Indian Whimsies," *New York History* 67, no. 4 (October 1986): 398.

Figure 34. After Sir John Tenniel, *The Best of Friends Must Part* (1878), wood engraving, 26.7 x 19.7 cm. Item #66.618.10(2) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States of America. This wood engraving was published in *Punch* (September 28, 1878).

Figure 35. A front dooryard garden recreated at Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg, Ontario, Canada. Photo credit: Vanessa Nicholas.

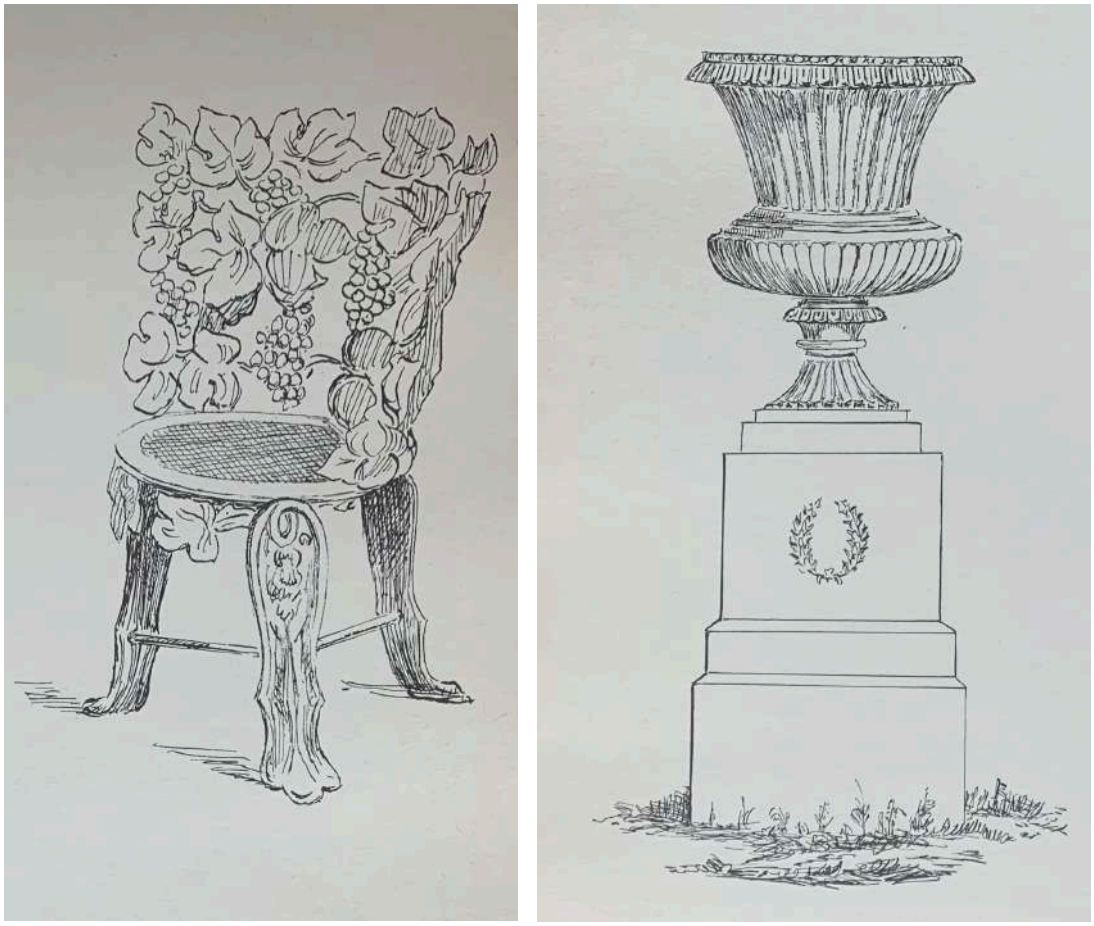

Figure 36. Illustrations showing a cast iron chair and urn dating to the 1850s. The chair was sold by J.L. Mott Iron Works and the urn was sold by Hutchinson and Wickersham, both of New York. Image source: Jeanne Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1970), 15.

Figure 37. (Left) Figure 3 (detail); (Right) Stock photograph of a peony bud. Here, I have circled the peony motif that recurs on Margret McCrum's quilt. This detail is shown here alongside a stock photograph of a peony bud.

Figure 38. (Left) Figure 3 (detail); (Right) Stock photograph of a rosebud. Here, I have circled the rosebud motif that recurs on Margret McCrum's quilt. This detail is shown here alongside a stock photograph of a rosebud. This motif would also derive from the English rosebud motif seen in Figure 21.

Figure 39. (Left) Figure 3 (detail); (Right) Stock photograph of an amaranth. Here, I have circled the amaranth motif that recurs on Margret McCrum's quilt. This detail is shown here alongside a stock photograph of a red amaranth.