SOUTHERN YUKON BEADWORK TRADITIONS
A Research Project

Prepared for the MacBride Museum
by
Ingrid Johnson

January 1994

Financial support provided by
Nothern Research Institute
and
Heritage Branch, Government of Yukon

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1.Inspiration and Objectives

My association with the present study came about through a series of interesting circumstances. As a 4th-year anthropology student at the University of British Columbia in 1993, I was working on a review of the book The Tlingit Indians by George Thornton Emmons, and I was struck by the many historical photographs which included coastal Tlingit people wearing items of clothing with elaborately beaded floral designs. The designs were excitingly reminiscent of those beaded on dance shirts, bags and mitts in the George Johnston Museum in Teslin. I had viewed them closely the previous summer in the company of my mother, a Teslin elder, who at that time was 86 years old. She had been able to name the makers of some of the articles on display by looking closely at them and recognizing individual styles. The discovery of this connection between the Teslin articles and the Emmons photographs led me to prepare a simple research proposal outline which I submitted to one of my professors, Julie Cruikshank, for her advice and recommendation.

My earliest vision for beadwork research was quite optimistic. My limited observations of the historical documentation and the Teslin museum articles led me to believe that the beaded items might represent an art form quite ancient in origin, and indicate underlying body of rich historical information. Such information might include special reference to women's work and inheritance codes, and the ceremonial and cultural practices associated with beadwork and beadwork patterns.

At that time I had proposed: "An investigative study of this nature would consist of at least three phases, and would not be limited to the George Johnston artifacts or the Teslin area, but would rather include all of the Yukon museums where such items exist. The first of these three phases would include collecting oral information about the artifacts that exist in present collections. There are presently a number of elders available who as young women in the 1920's were taught beadwork by women whose lives predated much of early white contact in the interior Yukon. A second and overlapping phase would be the documentation, visual and written, of existing artifacts. Special attention would be given to pre-1940's items of beadwork. The third phase would be a survey of archival and published information to assemble a bibliography of existing information. The resulting body of information would serve to document the articles more fully, as well as to provide further illumination of an often forgotton aspect of culture studies: women's work and art." ("Proposal Idea: A Historical Study of Yukon Beadwork," Johnson, Mar. 1, 1993.) At this time, I was certain

that I would discover the existence of a strongly defined system of ownership, use, and inheritance for beadwork designs.

Interestingly, at the same time, Joanne Meehan, the Curator/Director of the MacBride Museum was preparing a project proposal to the Northern Research Institute and other foundations, to enable primary and secondary research on beaded articles held in the Museum collection. One of the research advisors selected for the project was Julie Cruikshank, who then recommended a cooperative effort! For me, this led to the wonderful opportunity of studying the rich collection of beadwork at MacBride Museum, reviewing interesting sources of information, and meeting and talking with a number of elders and beadworkers.

We limited the study area to the southern Yukon, the region most affected by coastal First Nations influence, but also by other significant later influences: routes to the goldfields, and the Alaska Highway. We selected artifacts held in the MacBride Museum collection on the basis of being of probable southern Yukon origin. As collaborators, I chose women who are members of First Nations in the study area.

Objectives of the study were to learn about the artifacts themselves, to learn about beadwork art, and to trace a history of beadwork within the larger picture of historical change in the southern Yukon. Meeting these objectives would also satisfy the stated goals of the MacBride Museum:

> "1. To encourage First Nations individuals' expertise in Yukon beading and beading traditions to share and record their knowledge;
>
> 2. To increase access to and use of ethnographic collections presently located in the Yukon, by First Nations people and other interested groups and individuals;
>
> 3. To provide information and resources for use in the development of Yukon school curriculum." (MacBride Project Proposal, Mar., 1993).

2. The Project

A. Background and Method

The three basic components of the Southern Yukon Beadwork Project were:

(a) study of the objects,

(b) study of the accompanying documentation in MacBride Museum and other information, and,

(c) interviews with knowledgeable elders.

The objective was to bring together people and objects in order to generate new information.

B. The MacBride Museum Artifacts

As a first step, a group of artifacts was selected. The museum documentation on approximately 100 articles was examined with reference to: (a) the identity of known craftswomen, (b) identity and interests of the collector, and (c) considerations of style. From this, the selection was narrowed to twenty-five objects. The group of twenty-five artifacts was further divided into three groupings. Some were made available for portable display, others remained a part of permanent interpretive displays at the museum, and a third group remained in storage at the museum.

All of the items were photographed in print and slide format by a professional photographer. Over a period of two days, each of the articles was brought out of storage or display and arranged against a black backdrop. Special attention was given to the "esthetic" of the items: arrangement of fringes, straps, strings; "best side" forward, fur fluffed up, lint removed.

A third stage of preparing the artifacts for study was stabilizing their condition and arranging them for travel in a manner that would minimize the risk of damage. This was accomplished by the Territorial Conservator, who invited me to observe the process and assist in some of the stabilization procedures. Working closely with the actual construction of the item helped to give an unusual "inside" view of some of them. Seeing the reverse side of a beaded field gives some idea of the complexity of the work, and the sheer labour that went into its construction. Stabilizing just one bead or loose thread in a zipper-stitched border gives an appreciation of the skill and patience of the maker. Preparing the articles for photographing and travel, and assisting in the stabilization process allowed for a much closer view than is usually afforded the viewer of a museum artifact in an exhibit. The eleven articles which were mounted for portable display and study included: a babiche bag, two wallpockets, two firebags, a dance tunic, a hunting bag, a pairs of mukluks, a pair of gloves, a cartridge belt, and a napkin ring.

The study items which were on display in the museum included a dance belt, two octopus bags, a headpiece, a hat, and a dance apron. Three of the elders/beadworkers had the opportunity of viewing this grouping. The articles in storage included a 3-piece ensemble (jacket, skirt and headband, referred to as the "Taylor" articles), a cape, a hunting bag, and an ochre bag.

C. Other Sources and Publications

As a second step, a review was conducted of objects appearing in published research findings, other collections, and in other archival, photographic or published information. Publications found to be most useful were: Life Lived Like a Story by Julie Cruikshank, for the important information included about the importance of sewing and beading in the lives of women; Northern Athabaskan Art, A Beadwork Tradition by Kate C. Duncan, which became a very important reference book for its finely classified beadwork objects; The Tlingit Indians by George Thornton Emmonds, (ed. Frederica de Laguna), for the placement of certain styles of beaded items in an historical and geographic context; Crossroads of Continents, Cultures of Siberia and Alaska by Fitzhugh and Crowell, for its rich depictions of material culture and cultural change; My Old People Say, Vol. I &II, and Part of the Land, Part of the Water, by Catharine McClellan, for its comprehensive description of S. Yukon material culture (1950), as well as depiction of earlier (pre-contact) clothing styles; Pride of the Indian Wardrobe, Northern Athabaskan Footwear, by Judy Thompson, for its clear depictions and classifications of footwear; Images of the Inside Passage: An Alaskan Portrait by Winter and Pond, by Victoria Wyatt, for its historical photographs. (This is not a comprehensive list of books pertaining to the topic area, nor does it do justice in describing the contents of these volumes. This list highlights those publications which were relevant and immeasureably helpful in researching beadwork traditions.) A full bibliography appears at the end of this report. Other sources included both published and unpublished material at the MacBride Museum, various periodicals and articles. Photograph and video collections at the museum were also perused for relevant historical material.

A large source list was compiled with the help of members of the advisory committee, and a number of these sources were reviewed for relevance to the study. Yukon-specific information was consulted with a view to learning about makers or donors. This included attempting to trace their life histories in the Archives through newspaper clippings, in photo collections and specific books, other ethnographic works, and through other informants or descendants of the beadworkers or donors. These sources are numerous.

Four other museums were visited during the course of the study: the Atlin Museum, the Kluane Museum at Burwash, George Johnston Museum at Teslin, and the Sheldon Museum in Haines, Alaska. Each of these museums was visited in the interest of locating and viewing similar beaded artifacts, accompanying documentation and display methods. Proposed visits to other institutions outside the Territory were reconsidered and thought to be premature at this stage of the research.

Throughout the course of the research, other individuals were referred to the study or were recommended as valuable contacts. Some of these were intended while others were unsolicited. Frequently, people presented themselves out of their own interest in the topic. They offered opinions, information, and suggested still other sources and people. Some of these included friends and family members of donors, makers, or former owners, a UBC graduate student working on a similar project, a Yukon artist, a Southern Tutchone artist, a First Nations traditional clothing expert, and others. Researchers from other projects were also consulted: the Council for Yukon Indians Elders Documentation Project, and Northern Native Broadcasting Yukon (NNBY) Potlatch Video project.

D. Working with the Elders

The most revealing focus of the study was the work with elders. (I refer to these women as "elders," although this has less to do with their ages, and refers instead to their skills and knowledge.) A list of possible collaborators for the study was prepared with the assistance of the five research advisors. Although this list of accomplished beadworkers was very long, it was evident that we could not interview them all, and it became necessary to limit our choice to a few women with the aim of working intensively with them. We invited three elders/beadworkers, and one contemporary beadworker, with the later addition of one further elder, to participate in the study. The five women were representative of the southern Yukon study area: two Inland Tlingit women, a Southern Tutchone woman, a Tagish woman, and a Tahltan woman. Brief biographies of these women appear later in this report.

The women were advised that one of the objectives of the study was to learn more about the twenty-five items themselves, for example, who their makers may have been, their place of origin, their purpose and meaning. Special attention was accorded to the beadwork style and design, and what their special meanings may have been. Information known about the articles was shared with the women, and they were also told that we wanted to learn more about how things were done a long time ago, how women learned to sew and bead, and how ideas were shared. In some instances, the women were also invited to comment generally on the present and future state of beadwork.

Each of the women was interviewed on at least two occasions with two exceptions: the Tahltan elder was interviewed once, and the oldest, Mrs. Johnson, my mother, was interviewed on three occasions. All of the beadworkers were presented with the collection of artifacts and photographs, again with the exception of the Tahltan elder, who viewed only those items identified as being of Tahltan origin. Three of the women were given the opportunity of viewing the displays at MacBride Museum. Two of

these three women also viewed one or more of the stored items. Three of the women also perused the book Northern Athapaskan Art by Kate C. Duncan, as part of an interview. Three of the elders were visited in their homes during all of the formal interviews, while two chose to be interviewed at the Museum on both occasions. On one occasion, the two oldest women were brought together and interviewed simultaneously.

All of the women were asked at some time to share their own experience of beadworking: when, how, and by whom they were taught, where they got their ideas and patterns, when they sewed and beaded the most, (and to some extent why), and what role beadworking currently plays in their lives. As well, each of the women was asked at times to comment broadly upon beadworking in general: what it once meant, what it's like now, and where they see it going. While attempting to keep to "beadworking traditions," I also invited them to speak about whatever they felt was relevant and connected to the topic.

All of the interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. This information was then applied to three areas:

- information about the objects,

- information about beadworking art, and

- information about cultural change as reflected in beadworking changes.

Further, we learned something about the presentation and interview process itself:

how do people respond to ancient artifacts?

what are people inspired to talk about?

what memories are evoked by certain articles?

This was a valuable process in learning about the significance of beadwork art in First Nations culture, the meaning of beadwork, and the influences and change experienced.

3. The Findings

A. From the Artifacts

The selected artifacts were examined carefully to evaluate both stability, and similarity of design, colours, and materials. This visual study continued throughout the project, and revealed some interesting information. Items can be grouped by age and area of origin by similarities in the appearance of beadwork

design, beads and materials. For example, by comparing the design motifs and beading techniques on a jacket such as the John Joe tunic, it is possible to identify other articles made by Southern Tutchone women at about the same period.

Examining kinds of materials used also enables a less-reliable grouping by area and age. The earliest used materials of course were animal hides and furs. The arrival of cloth was somewhat later, around the turn of the century. (Duncan, 1989, p. 68). However, the arrival of cloth did not mean that it was then used exclusively - items continued to be produced from indigenous materials after cloth was introduced. Although there are presently no or few caribou in the southern Yukon, it is well-remembered by elders that they were prevalent in the Southern Yukon pre-1942. Caribou skin items then were common in the area prior to the building of the Alaska Highway.

Study of hide texture and colour reveals slight differences which can be attributed to different tanning and smoking techniques and practices in different areas. Smoked skin colours vary widely in shade with certain shades seemingly concentrated in particular regions. This may be due to different materials or different techniques being used in the process. This bears further investigation as a possible method for classifying items by region of origin.

The primary characteristic of these artifacts of course is the beadwork. Beads were a trade item from earliest times and varied in type, size, colour, and substance depending on their place of origin and time of manufacture. It is possible to trace this information about beads through reference to Duncan, 1989, p. 41, for example. While it may be possible to place or date items through the beads that adorn them, there is evidence that beads as a durable item of exchange were frequently "recycled," and were likely to travel over both distance and time. Examples of this are evident in the information provided by the elders.

Photographing artifacts also lent a new view of them not available by simply studying them. The artifacts became works of art, transformed from their real selves into a picture to be looked at and "appreciated." For me, this came to be revealing of a number of things not heretofore noticed. The intended co-ordination of colour and texture became evident. While viewing the objects themselves, I recorded the various materials that went into construction of them. In preparing them for photographic display, the precision of colour-, design- and texture-matching became startlingly obvious. For example, where I noted that the backing of an article is made from a colourful plaid material, I assumed that materials at hand were utilized and that this availability determined their inclusion. When viewed as a "picture" however, it became evident that this was not necessarily so, rather the articles exhibited a degree of

harmony certainly intended by the maker. Choice of colour for backings and other trimmings always came from the same primary colour grouping as the main theme on the front of the article, or from a complementary grouping. None of the colours "clash."

Viewing the artifacts as slides also revealed another aspect of them. Again, their beauty as works of art was evident. The precision and balance built into the articles is revealed clearly when they are formally posed. However, when these images are projected onto a large screen in a darkened room, something magical happens. Stained glass windows appear. A long-ago song proceeds from a wall-hanging. A firebag literally hums with energy and power. Whispered messages reach out from across the ages. Powerful and moving.

The opportunity of touching and moving the articles about by hand allowed for yet another view of them. In particular, the function of articles was sometimes evident. Dance bags and dance aprons dance! Wallpockets are strengthened and made to hang to maximize durability. "Daji" bags or firebags fit the wearer's body to the best advantage for immediate access. Fringes and other hangings add an extra dynamic of movement to "doing" items, such as gloves, mukluks, cuffs, and leggings.

B. From Documents, Other Institutions

(i) MacBride Museum Documents

The first source of investigation was the documented information forming part of the museum artifact. Of the many layers of information surrounding an object in a museum, this is the innermost when an object moves to a museum context. Since it comes with and defines the object and its existence as a museum artifact, it is therefore a part of, and inherent in that object. For the twenty-five articles in the study group, this information was quite minimal as compared to that usually attached to items coming from the dominant society. (A summary of the documented information appears at Appendix B.)

Biases and insufficiencies in information are due to a number of factors. These may simply be cultural differences between the original donor/maker and the museum collector or museum donor. Language differences and differing values of wealth, ownership and possession may be among these. Articles may have been inappropriately acquired at some stage of their journey to the Museum. It may be that they were sold to private collectors out of need for food, shelter, or alcohol, by individuals who might not have had the right to sell clan or family heirlooms. Again, this may also have been for simple profit, or it may have been at the insistence of some collector.

Some of the artifacts were donated to the museum by the owner, or estate of the owner, who did not know the identity of the craftsperson or original owner. These were simply known by (possible) area of origin. Sometimes, donors gave the names of the makers, but this information is not always verifiable. Often, makers in the last century had only traditional names which were unintelligible to English-speaking collectors. Women were usually identified in the European way, as Mrs. John Brown, for example, giving no clue to her own name, family origin, or nation. Since polygyny was a commonly accepted practice in traditional cultures, this way of designating an individual woman could also be problematic.

Artifacts in the study group which were most completely documented approximated the ideal maker/donor/collector relationship in a cross-cultural setting. In particular, these were articles which came to the Museum in the last few years, among them, the John Joe and the Taylor articles. This is reflective of a number of "requirements" in good museum practice: intent, motive, and recognition of appropriate resources on the part of the donor; and availability and accommodative response on the part of the museum. Essential background information was collected at the acquisition stage which otherwise might not have been obtained. This information enables probable classification of the items chronologically and geographically.

However, additional information might have been obtained through learning more about the original owner, maker, or donor at the time of acquisition. Questions might have been asked of John Joe for example, about the tunic. Why they were not, may be due to cultural differences, a lack of education about those cultural differences, and also to changing museum practices. There may have been no resources to do the work. Whatever accounts for the absence of information, the fact remains that it is missing, and once missing, it is difficult or impossible to recover. This may be due to the passage of time, which in some instances may be lengthy, spanning several generations. With the decease of makers and donors and the subsequent dissolution of family units characteristic of the passage of time, information becomes increasingly irretrievable.

Reviewing documented and other sources for the missing "innermost" layer of information revealed instead more general information. Instead of information about specific artifacts and specific people, we usually found information about other objects and other people.

(ii) Yukon Archives

Information in the Archives was reviewed with the specific purpose of locating information about the known makers of

artifacts in the study group. This included review of personality files, newspaper articles, and referenced photographs. The information this exercise yielded was minimal. We located references to two of the craftswomen. Both of these women were married to historically recognized individuals, and information about the men was detailed, however, this was not so for their wives. One of the women was identified as "Mrs. John Doe," rather than by her own name which was never mentioned, making it difficult or impossible for the researcher to learn her traditional name or her clan and family membership, important information when researching cultural history.

Broadening the focus to include beadwork art in general revealed that specific information is limited to newspaper coverage of special events such as a "Yukon Indian Art Show," or the formation of an arts and crafts society. The few items that were highlighted were not identified by specific maker. Other aspects of the articles, such as age or "uniqueness" were noted. None of the study group artifacts was included.

Other references in the Archives include publications such as those of Thompson and Duncan, (see Bibliography). Also available for review are "craft files," a Yukon First Nations bibliography, and an extensive photograph collection. Review of the latter would necessitate a considerable investment of time and effort which might or might not yield relevant information. A cursory review yielded little in terms of information specific to the the topic and the study area.

(iii) Museums

(a) Atlin Museum

The Atlin Museum was visited with a view to locating artifacts similar to those in the study collection. The Atlin Museum is located in Atlin, B.C., which is one of three traditional Inland Tlingit communities. The museum contains a display identified as being Taku River Tlingit in content. A number of historic photographs, weapons and tools, a dance tunic, and several other beaded artifacts, among them some ochre bags, are included. Makers of the articles are not specified in the interpretive information. In viewing the display with my mother, a Tlingit elder, I found that she was able to identify people in a number of the photographs, as well as the former owner of a black dance tunic. She also identified the use of ochre bags, and informed me where ochre was traditionally found.

(b) Kluane Museum

The Kluane Museum contains a few ancient beaded artifacts. The majority of the beadwork collection is composed of articles which were specially ordered and made for the museum at the time

of its building in the 1970's. Some of the unusual designs and decoration evident on these pieces may have been due to this awareness on the part of the craftspersons. Most of the items are identified by maker, however, the one obviously ancient beaded article on display, a knife scabbard, is not. A group of artifacts made by one Burwash elder demonstrates a unique floral design typical of beadwork made by more northerly people.

Interpretation of the beadwork displays at the Kluane Museum is arranged in a natural history style. Information on women's work and life is interesting and informative as are notes on historical trading patterns. The displays include a belt which is beaded using Donjek berry seeds.

(c) George Johnston Museum, Teslin, Yukon

The George Johnston Museum in Teslin is a treasure-trove of Inland Tlingit history. The displays include numerous items of Inland Tlingit manufacture. Some of these are identified by maker, former owner, and donor; many are not. This may be due to the assumption that this information is unnecessary since Teslin is a small community, and virtually all of the artifacts are from the immediate area. This information may yet be available. Several of the artifacts are similar in design and style to those located in the study collection.

(d) Sheldon Museum, Haines, Alaska

The Sheldon Museum is located in Haines, Alaska, which is adjacent to the traditional coastal Tlingit community of Klukwan. A large section of the main gallery is dedicated to Tlingit culture. On display are a number of beaded items, some of which are recreations of traditional dance regalia. A pair of moccasins are similar to a style identified by Duncan as Tahltan. These particular moccasins have a skirted upper which is beaded in an unusual asymetrical formation. This style is evident on only one other item that I have seen. This is the headpiece in the study group identified as possibly Teslin Inland Tlingit in origin, (72.1.53b).

General information about the Tlingit culture is provided as interpretation for some of the displays. This is helpful in understanding the culture that produced certain items. For example, a detailed explanation of the clan or moiety system introduces the main gallery. This then helps the viewer to place the various animal motifs found on items in the displays into a more meaningful context.

(iv) MacBride Photo Collection

Three photographs in the MacBride photo collection are particularly revealing. Both contain views of artifacts

presently in the study group. The first of these is a picture taken by Matthew Watson in Carcross of a group of dancers at a potlatch held there in 1912. Among the group of men in the photograph is Skookum Jim. More interestingly is a man identified as Big Salmon Jim (Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, 1981, p.), who is wearing a dance tunic strikingly similar to that in the study collection. In the photo, a younger man to the right of Big Salmon Jim is identified as Johnny Fraser, and a child in the group is identified as John Joe.

The second photograph of interest is a group of dancers performing on a stage in Whitehorse (Allish collection). To the centre of the photograph is an elderly man identified as Johnny Fraser, wearing the red dance tunic in the collection. Another man in the photo is wearing the octopus bag (72.1.65j) as a headpiece. The third photo portrays John Joe wearing the dance tunic at the time it was turned over to the museum.

Another photo taken at the time of the Queen's 1959 visit is interesting. (X89-1-1A-305PH). Several people in the receiving line at the train station in Carcross are dressed in traditional clothing. Such depictions are not only useful in examining style, design and artwork, but also in understanding the clan and station of the wearer. A photograph of a chief and his family in Teslin in the 1940's is also revealing for these reasons. Depictions of clan motifs illustrate familial associations and background of the wearer, thus providing an added understanding to beadwork designs.

Photographs are a useful way of obtaining information about specific artifacts and groups of artifacts. They tend to be dated in some way so that the viewer is able to place the subject at some particular point in time. Objects of clothing worn by people reveal something about the person and also about the use of design motifs as a way of encoding important information about the wearer. Photographs are also revealing of relationships among people, and may be valuable ways of tracing living individuals who may possess knowledge of particular objects.

(v) Books and Publications

Several publications were found to be very useful to the project and were referred to time and time again throughout the course of the study. These were of two basic kinds. Some of them provided information about specific beadwork artifacts located in other collections. Information in these texts is catalogued by geographic/cultural area and specific artifact documention. Since documentation is generally quite complete, and is presented in an organized and visual way, these texts provide invaluable information for the researcher attempting to identify and learn about less documented pieces. As well, the

frequent perusal of these texts results in a more "practiced eye" at identifying and correlating shapes, motifs, and designs.

Other texts provided historical background information relating to cultural groups resident in the study area and adjacent to it. Incidental to the focus of these publications are references to beadwork items. This group of books is invaluable in understanding the flow of history surrounding beadwork art, the societies concerned, and their structures and customs.

Information gleaned from all of these texts was enlightening, pertinent, and abundant. A few "finds" are notable and worthy of further investigation:

- the central eagle design on a headpiece in the study group, (72.1.53b), bears an arresting resemblance to that pictured on two artifacts in the Duncan (1989) book, a wallpocket identified as Inland Tlingit, Fig. 10.8, and moccasins, also identified as Inland Tlingit, Fig. 10.14 (also pictured in Thompson, 1990, Fig. 73.) One of the elders identified the original owner of the headpiece as Joe Squam of Teslin, and thought that it may have been made for him by his wife, Mary. (Johnson interview, October 13, 1993).

- three items in the study group, a firebag, (X72.1.65c), a dance belt, (72.1.65h), and an octopus bag, (72.1.65b), are strongly suspected of being Tahltan in origin because of their similarity in beadwork and design to articles pictured in the Duncan book and identified as Tahltan. This feeling led to an informative and valuable interview with a Tahltan elder, (Norby interview, Sept. 14, 1993), which helped to substantiate this probability.

- the dance tunic (77.46.2), in the study group could provide the central focus in itself for another related study. My own experience as a member of the Teslin Tlingit community and my earliest research findings led me to believe that red dance tunics had some special cultural significance. I am not aware if this is related to beadwork design in a specific way. It appears that only certain important individuals were entitled to wear a dance tunic, and only on important occasions. The tunic in the study group is strikingly similar to a dance tunic in a photograph taken in Carcross in 1912. This particular photograph appears in Duncan, 1989, Fig. 10.9, in Sturtevant (ed.), 1981, and in the MacBride photo collection (see above section on MacBride Museum Photo Collection), and is lately seen reproduced as a postcard. It is the information in the Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, that is key in tracing the history of this particular tunic, (given that it is the same one.) Additionally, interesting information about dance tunics appears in McClellan, 1975, p. 322-3. McClellan's information that there

were also black dance tunics was borne out by the presence (discovered later) of one such tunic in the Atlin Museum. McClellan 1975, is also helpful in understanding the significance of some clan designs.

- a hunting bag (987.42.1) includes an unusual reverse swastika in its beadwork design. The only documented reference to such designs is found in My Old People Say, (McClellan, 1975), which states that these designs were seen tatooed on the forearms of young Inland Tlingit women. This could lead one to believe that the "swastikas" on the bag are not incidental or copied but have some special cultural significance.

- Numerous photographs of coastal groups and individuals displaying beaded dress items said to be of inland origin are found in the Emmons book, 1991. This evidence substantiates general knowledge about coastal-inland trading patterns.

- beaded designs on a ceremonial cape, (72.1.80), depict mythical figures engaged in mythical acts. When related to "myths," or old stories, (Cruikshank, 1990), these designs take on special meaning and significance.

There were a great many other finds, some seemingly small and unimportant, some general and some more specific, but all valuable in expanding the understanding of cultures that produced beadwork art. Two of the authors who were contacted indicated their interest and extended offers of help and encouragement. It is reassuring to know that these resources are available, and that valuable information is being preserved.

C. From the Elders

Investigation of artifacts, museums, books, and people, served as a stepping stone to the most important source of information for the study, that of oral history. The indigenous cultures of the Yukon Territory and adjoining areas were not literate societies. History, knowledge and skills were retained and transmitted orally. (McClellan, 1987). In researching Yukon First Nations artifacts, it therefore becomes mandatory to consult sources of oral history in order to obtain more conclusive information.

The five women who collaborated in the study were presented with different media at different times as a starting point for discussion about the topic. All were presented with some or all of the eleven artifacts specially prepared for the study, as well as photographs of the twenty-five articles in the study collection. Some of the women viewed the Museum displays containing six of the study group artifacts. Some perused the

book Northern Athapaskan Art by K. Duncan. On one occasion, two of the informants were interviewed together.

All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed and remain on file at the MacBride Museum. During the initial interviews, informants were presented with artifacts, photographs, a display, and/or a book, and were allowed to comment freely upon the subject matter. They were informed that my objectives were to learn something about the artifacts, about their own experience with beadworking, and about earlier times and ways of living. The women were asked to comment on the present "state" of beadworking and what they saw for the future. Generally, the interviews were quite unstructured and the informants were given the freedom to speak about whatever they felt was relevant or connected to the topic.

All of the five women seemed to favour this open agenda and to enjoy the topic area immensely. Their initial reactions on being asked to participate in the study ranged from being generally positive to being very enthusiastic. All seemed honoured to be able to contribute. Brief biographical sketches of each of the women appears at Appendix A.

(i) Responses to Artifacts

When the five women were presented with the collection of artifacts and photographs, they responded by speaking about several of ten general topic areas:

1. the artifacts,
2. the makers,
3. similar objects and their connection to
   a. old time trade(s)(ing)/travel,
   b. family and activities, and
   c. changes, (the war, the highway),
4. the art/industry,
5. puberty,
6. songs,
7. stories, and
8. potlatch.

1. The Artifacts. Each of the women of course expressed her impressions of the specific items. Generally, their immediate reaction was that the pieces were awe-inspiring. All of the women commented on the beauty of the articles and the skill of the beadworkers. Some expressed regret that such work is no longer being done and that this art is being lost.

2. The Makers. All of the women wanted to know about the artists, who they were. On being given the information that is known, the informants either knew of or about the maker, or knew family members, or knew someone who did. All of the informants

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were able to make family or community connections, about some of the makers or donors. Other informants substantiated these connections. No one attempted to make a positive identification of any artist except on one occasion. One of the elders was able to name the original owner and maker of a headpiece, (72.1.53b), because she was familiar with it as part of a traditional clan costume.

3. Similar Objects. When presented with museum artifacts, the informants were reminded of some other similar object that they knew of or had seen. When viewing the red dance tunic, (77.46.2), one woman spoke about her first recollection as a child of dancers in costume. In particular, she clearly remembered one important man in her community wearing a red dance shirt similar to this one. She thought that he and the other dancers had appeared regal and majestic.

3.a. Similar Objects and Old Time Trade(rs)(ing)/Travel. All of the informants connected beads to trade, particularly trade with coastal peoples. One woman described the trading activities of her uncle. Another woman talked about her mother's widespread winter travels as a girl, going both to the coast and to the far interior of the Yukon. These recollections were touched off by no one object in particular, but seemed to be inspired by some of the oldest items, especially those which displayed beads of different sizes and ages.

3.b. Similar Objects and Family and Activities. One of the elders was reminded by a wallpocket (72.1.65a), of a similar one that her stepfather had owned. She described his life and family connections. Another elder talked about a wallpocket that her aunt had owned and reminisced about her aunt and her home. When viewing a pair of gloves, (X87.10.2a&b), one woman was reminded of a similar pair of gloves that her mother had owned, and recalled a story from her childhood about these gloves. One elder talked about how babiche bags were made by women for their husbands, and how the husband helped in the making. Another elder was reminded by the gloves of her aunt, who was a highly skilled needleworker, and who had taught the informant and her contemporaries as young girls in their community.

3.c. Similar Objects and Changes (the gold rush, war(s), the highway). One elder frequently referred to changes that occurred before and after Dyea was established as an important trading centre. Another elder described changes that were brought about by the war and the subsequent building of the Alaska Highway. She and her contemporaries were kept busy making articles ordered by soldiers and other workers. Moccasins and fur hats were especially in demand, as were fancier "souvenir" items such as fancy slippers, napkin rings, and purses. One woman described a beautiful beaded jacket that she had made for her father. She told how her father was pressured into selling it to a highway

worker who greatly admired the jacket. This woman also recalled her mother's experience in sewing to meet the demands of packers and goldseekers at Dyea, a departure point for the Chilkoot Pass, during the Dawson Gold Rush.

4. The Art/Industry. When viewing the artifacts, the informants were inspired at times to talk specifically about beadwork art or the beadwork industry. Topics that were touched upon were: kinds of beads - types and sizes, the predecessor to beads - porcupine quills, sewing bags and their uses, lighting - natural light and grease lights, designs - inspirations and meanings, sewing tools - scissors, pencils, needles, awls.

5. Puberty. Only one of the informants shared her knowledge of traditional puberty seclusion for young women, and how this was connected to beadworking and sewing.

6. Songs. One elder was inspired to share songs of which she was reminded during the course of the interviews, especially in the presence of another elder/informant. This seemed to be her way of recapturing the memories or spirit of ancient times.

7. Stories. One elder related a mythical story in connection with the firebags in the collection, and also related stories as background to the songs she performed.

8. Potlatch. All of the informants referred to potlatch occasions in connection with ceremonial dress and accessories. One woman described in detail a potlatch in which she had recently participated.

(ii) Different Responses to Different Media

Throughout the course of the interviews, the elders/beadworkers were presented with a variety of media which served as a starting point for discussion on the topic. These included objects in portable display cases, museum displays, photographs of artifacts, historical photographs, books, another informant, and a set of interview questions. Interviews took place in different locations: in elders' homes, in an office at the museum, in the museum galleries, and in the museum boardroom. Two of the elders were interviewed only at their homes. Two of the elders preferred to come to the museum to be interviewed, and one of the elders was interviewed both at her home and at the museum, as well as at the home of another informant. All of the interviews were audio-taped.

Positive response to any kind of media was measured by the informants' interest expressed in their willingness to speak, their facial and vocal animation, and their stated level of enthusiasm about the objective of the interview or the study as a

whole. Generally, it was the presentation of artifacts which most often evoked this kind of response. It seemed not to matter where this took place, whether at home or in the museum environment. When shown beadwork artifacts, elders/beadworkers became very excited by them. They were inspired to talk about many things, mainly the past and people in the past. Sometimes they adopted a hushed attitude. They regarded the artifacts at times with a respect and admiration befitting the appearance or presence of a royal personage.

People responded in different ways to photographs. Some viewed them in a "picture-viewing" fashion, that is, quite quickly with limited commentary. Others pored over the photographs, examining them closely. Incidentally, the elder who had the least to say about the artifacts themselves, probably had the most to say when viewing the photographs. She obviously felt more at ease in handling the photos.

The three elders who viewed the Kate Duncan book were favourably impressed with it. Some knew or knew of the people in the pictures. Some had seen examples of art from different areas. One elder talked at length about some beaded items she had seen that came from Ross River and east of there. These were similar to those items identified by Duncan as having originated in the MacKenzie River region. Another identified a group of individuals standing in front of her grandmother's house at Telegraph Creek.

Three of the beadworkers visited the MacBride Museum and viewed some or all of the displays. This seemed to be a positive experience for them but was somehow not closely connected to the objectives of the study it seemed. As museum guests, they adopted a "museum-viewing" attitude, examining artifacts, asking questions, speaking quietly, and generally not expressing their own associations or experiences.

The most dynamic media for two of the elders was of course, each other. The dialogue that occurred was lively, interspersed with songs, stories, and common recollections of people, events, and old times. Much of the speaking was in the Tlingit language. Laughter was frequent. On a small scale, it was cultural exchange at its finest.

All of the informants responded positively to interview questions. They were invited to speak freely about their own experience as beadworkers, and about the present and future state of beadworking. All of the informants responded thoughtfully, expressing their concern for the survival of the art and its importance to the survival of the old ways. Some were optimistic, others were not. One of the elders saw the decline of good beadwork as being reflective of the decline in cultural

and thereby, moral standards. Others connected beadwork to language and songs. All are being forgotten.

(iii) Champagne-Aishihik Elders Tea.

In attempting to locate an elder/beadworker from the area to interview as part of the study, one of the workers at the First Nation suggested that I come to the Elders Tea at Haines Junction and bring the study group of artifacts for the elders to view and talk about. This was a particularly interesting and rewarding exercise. The elders were intensely interested in the artifacts, and they were particularly excited about the red dance tunic which is known to have originated in Hootchi, an ancestral village of the Champagne-Aishihik people. One woman from the audience identified herself as a descendant of the donor and volunteered to obtain more information about the tunic and other items from her mother. Another woman was inspired to talk about her experience as a traditional dance group member as well as some of the history between the Champagne-Aishihik people and the Tlingit people. One elder brought along her own traditional blanket which she had created.

(iv) Potlatch Video Project.

During the course of the Beadwork research, a video about potlatch traditions was also being produced by the Elders Documentation Project. Part of the research and filming took place at MacBride Museum and involved several of the artifacts in the collection. During the course of our contact with the producer and elder involved, information about the two projects was exchanged. The elder's comments on the artifacts being studied in this project were quite useful in terms of affirming the depth and richness of oral information and knowledge existing in the community.

(v) Other People

Other people came into contact with the research project on a continual basis. Certain people just came by to look at the artifacts or to talk to me about the work I was doing because they were interested in some aspect or another. These people brought with them significant information, sometimes indicative of yet further information. For example, a Southern Tutchone artist shared information about design motifs as a way of achieving a better understanding of subtle cultural differences among Yukon First Nations. While this may be the topic for further study of a depth not possible here, nevertheless, valuable insight is provided into the significance of shapes and styles of motif design.

4. CONCLUSIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

A. About the Artifacts

Beadwork artifacts must be recognized for the significance they bear in researching and understanding the history of Yukon First Nations people. The care and precision that went into the creation of beaded artwork is reflective of the importance accorded it by First Nations cultures. Much of the material culture produced in the past was consumable and therefore did not survive beyond its intended purpose. However, beadwork art, especially ceremonial dress and accessories, has been preserved in relatively great numbers, and may be invaluable in discovering and preserving cultural history.

Additionally, societal changes brought about dramatic revaluing of work, gender roles, and patterns of exchange, and this helped to create further separation between the objects and the culture from which they emerged. Ever-increasing white contact brought with it a shift in economy and commerce. Exchange of commodities gave way to an increased infusion of money as an item of exchange, thereby greatly revaluing the "worth" of hand-made articles and the work that produced them. For example, during the building of the Alaska Highway, women "mass-produced" saleable articles such as fur hats and mitts. (Peters interview, Aug. 18, 1993.) Time and resources that had been previously given to the creation of intricately-designed ceremonial items were then allocated to producing items in demand. Changes in beadwork art over time may profile historical change.

B. About Documents and Information

When studying the First Nations artifacts, it becomes evident that in many instances, the fundamental information about the article is sparse or missing. Objects are not simply objects, part of their entity is the accompanying information. This information, once missing, becomes increasingly difficult to recover with the passage of time and cultural distance.

One solution is to take the objects out to the community and get the information. This is not without some physical risk to the object, nor without some risk to the process itself. Bringing people and objects together is not always beneficial, particularly when their (the objects') presence in a museum may be controversial. In the attempt to recover specific and concrete information about objects, we find that we end up recovering more peripheral information, the kind of information that is more associated with the cultural meaning of objects for people.

For the present, people creating beading or any other object, it is important that they document some of the important things about their work, for this is within the realm of artists and their work or art. It is important for artists to talk about what they're doing.

C. About Oral History Sources

The information about artifacts is out there. Perhaps we need to broaden the base of investigation to find it. Family members have information through oral history. We need to go back to the oral history to gain missing information. Sometimes traditional items were also collected by individuals visiting or settling in the Yukon. Some of the people to interview further would be the people who collected these objects, for example, Jack Meek, who was an Indian agent and collector in the 1940's.

In order to do research we really have to rely on the experiences of people. In order to research information on objects, it is necessary to research the history of individuals. Often the object is interwoven in the family history. Certain family members keep family history and knowledge. It may be necessary to research family history and this presupposes co-operation with the family. It may be necessary to learn a geneology of families. For example, the tunic (77.46.2) has a history which is linked to a family history. (This raises a question about research, and who then is qualified to do research?) Objects may help to define relationships within a family.

However controversial the presence of First Nations artifacts in museums may be, the fact is that it has allowed for the preservation of a few pieces that can provide the basis of a a different kind of social history, one based in material culture as well as in oral history. (Cruikshank, letter, Feb. 27, 1994).

Beadwork art is an integral part of a culture that includes many other demonstrated "traits": language, music, and history; and as such, it cannot be simply lifted out of the culture and "saved." Its survival is contingent upon the survival of the culture as a whole.

Appendix A

Southern Yukon Beadwork Traditions
The Elders

Mrs. Mabel Johnson

Mrs. Johnson was the eldest of the informants. She is an Inland Tlingit woman who was born and raised in Teslin. She speaks both the Tlingit language and English. Mrs. Johnson was raised in the traditional way of living off the land, hunting and trapping, taught by her elders.

Today, at the age of 87, Mrs. Johnson continues to live an active life. She is by no means "retired." She works regularly at handcrafts, keeping her family and friends provided with mittens, socks, rugs and doilies. Occasionally, she produces a special item such as a beaded moosehide jacket, vest, mukluks, or a gun scabbard, for someone in her large family. Mrs. Johnson no longer beads on a regular basis although she once made her living from her beadwork.

Mrs. Johnson is the mother of six living children, the grandmother of 19, and the great-grandmother of 18 children. As the only surviving member of her own immediate family, she is the centre of a large circle of extended family and friends in whom she takes a lively interest.

Mrs. Johnson is a dynamic communicator. When inspired, she loves to talk and share. She readily shares her own history and that of her people, often speaking in both languages, and interspersing her words with traditional songs and stories. Her body language and facial expression provides rich illustration to her telling, and even enables the listener to follow the thread of the story whenever she resumes speaking in Tlingit.

When asked to share in this study, Mrs. Johnson readily agreed on the condition that she be allowed to "help," rather than just being an informant. Travelling and working with her has been a greatly enriching experience because of her open willingness to share her wisdom and knowledge. Her deeply-felt responsibility as a teacher and elder is wonderfully conveyed in her generosity of spirit, her wealth of feeling, and her engaging humour. Her contribution has been great, far exceeding the expectations of this study.

Mrs. Dora Wedge

Mrs. Wedge is a Tagish woman who was born and raised in the Tagish-Carcross area. Raised in the traditional ways of living off the land, Mrs. Wedge was also exposed to the white culture from her earliest childhood, as Carcross was a major transition

point to the Klondike gold fields and the interior of the Yukon. Mrs. Wedge speaks both English and the Tlingit language fluently.

Mrs. Wedge is the quietly dignified head of a prominent Yukon family. She takes her place of honour with a simple grace that bespeaks her proud Tagish heritage. She is the mother to one daughter and three sons, grandmother, great-grandmother, and beloved aunt to many, both related and adopted.

Today, at the age of 77, Mrs. Wedge lives an active life. She continues to harvest much of her livelihood in traditional ways, residing in different locations at different times of the year. In doing so, she also passes on her knowledge and wisdom to the younger family members who may have the privilege of accompanying her.

Mrs. Wedge takes her role of teaching very seriously. She participates actively in traditional events while keeping aware of programs and initiatives within the school and the community, overseeing the traditional and contemporary education of her own grandchildren and others.

Mrs. Wedge sews and beads very little at this time of her life, although at one time, it comprised a main part of her living. Although her sight has failed somewhat, she occasionally makes a special gift or order for a member of her family or a friend.

When asked to participate in this study, Mrs. Wedge agreed on the condition that she not be taken as an "expert," and she reserved the right to say "I don't know," if she wasn't sure of the information requested. Happily, this then opened the door for Mrs. Wedge to share the great wealth of knowledge that she does have.

Mrs. Wedge speaks in panoramas. Listening to her, one gets a wonderful sense of the vastness of the land and the complexity and rich diversity of the traditional life of the people who travelled and lived upon it.

Mrs. Sophie Miller

Mrs. Miller was born and raised at Lake Lebarge where her parents and family lived a largely traditional life. She was the eldest child of five, three sisters and two brothers, of whom only the three daughters survive. Mrs. Miller speaks both English and the Lebarge dialect of Southern Tutchone fluently.

Mrs. Miller began sewing at about the age of nine, a talent which later earned her much recognition in the Yukon. She possesses a large collection of blue ribbons from Rendezvous contests as well as a photo collection of many of her beautiful creations.

Mrs. Miller is the devoted mother and grandmother of a large grown family for whom she enjoys making the occasional gift. She is extremely modest about the fine beadwork that she does, however, and today gives more priority to her many other interests. Much of Mrs. Miller's work has been influenced by her gifted creativity and her willingness to try new ideas and challenges. In doing so, she has authored a unique style that has earned her wide recognition among Yukon beadworkers and enthusiasts.

When she was asked to participate in the study, Mrs. Miller felt that other people would have much more to offer than she would. Her impressions of the traditional lifestyle as a child and young woman, her wide acquaintance with members of the Yukon First Nations community, and her concern for present-day problems were her invaluable contribution to the study. Mrs. Miller's love of colour and beauty is evident in her surroundings, her dress, and the work that she does.

Mrs. Thelma (Edzerza) Norby

Mrs. Norby is a Tahltan woman who was born and raised in Telegraph Creek. She is a fluent speaker of both the Tahltan language and English. As the eldest child of a large, prominent Tahltan family, Mrs. Norby's life experience has been rich and varied. She has been involved in a number of family businesses including placer mining, farming, big-game outfitting, and now owns and operates her own sewing and dress-making business.

At 65, Mrs. Norby is the devoted mother of a large family of accomplished children and grandchildren. She is a fine beadworker in addition to her notable talent as a dressmaker and designer.

Mrs. Norby was asked to participate in the study primarily to obtain her input on the several Tahltan pieces in the study collection. Although she was interviewed only once, Mrs. Norby contributed much to the content of the study with her wealth of historical knowledge and generous sharing. Despite her success in the larger society and her excellence in non-traditional work, Mrs. Norby continues to retain her traditional role as teacher, elder and speaker, responsibilities she takes very seriously.

Mrs. Pauline Peters

Mrs. Peters is the youngest of the informants at 43. She is an Inland Tlingit woman who was born and raised in Teslin. She

is the great-niece of Mrs. Mabel Johnson who also participated in the study. Mrs. Peters was brought up in the traditional way of being raised and taught by her grandmother.

More than any of the other informants, Mrs. Peters has embraced beadworking as a profession. Having made her living as a beadworker from time to time, Mrs. Peters has now made a commitment to set aside her career as a bookkeeper to pursue her art full time, not an easy decision as she attempts to establish herself.

Mrs. Peters was chosen as an informant because of her active beadworking career. She takes her work very seriously. Beadworking and sewing is not just a job, but a way of life to her. The traditional principles that guide Mrs. Peters' beadwork also serve as a guide to live by. Her dedication to her art and to traditional cultural ways was an inspiring and reassuring contribution to this study.

Southern Yukon Beadwork History
MacBride Artifacts

72.1.53b Headpiece

Bear fur, moosehide, beaded, 13 1/2" x 10 1/2", donor - Mrs. R. McCleery, Teslin.

Beadwork: blue, white, yellow, red. Lower front and the back are beaded in floral designs. Large eye shapes on middle front are filled in. Lower back has an eagle figure, upside-down. Floral and other designs are openwork and totally asymetrical in arrangement.

72.1.53p Ornament

Weasel skin, cotton backing, beaded fringe, 10 3/4" x 5 1/4".

Beadwork: blue, black, gold. Filigreed skirt of beads, loomed appearance, checked design alternating with one-colour bands. Resembles Pl. no. 3, Duncan, which is described as Loucheaux, ca. 1860.

72.1.53r Babiche Bag

Babiche, moosehide, strung with beads, ll 1/2" x 10 1/2". Donor - Mrs. E. Peele, Maker - Kate Carmack.

Beadwork: white, red. Large white and red beads "knitted" in, and strung on tassels.

72.1.53s Babiche Bag

Babiche, caribou hide, beaded trim, green cloth handle, coyote fur decorative strips, 7 1/2" x 6 1/2", origin and donor unknown.

Beadwork: white, metallic gold. Zipper-stitched at upper edge. Upper cuff has a string of white beads in a zig-zag design, accentuated with gold. White and gold beaded tassel "stems."

72.1.65a Wallpocket

Red cloth, beaded, black cloth lining and edging, pockets lined with cotton, three panels, 28" x 11". Maker - Mrs. Tagish Jim, (Mrs. Johnny [Annie] Smith's grandmother).

Beadwork: Three beaded panels, complex floral designs in white, black, yellow, green, blue, and metallic beads, colour contrasts and oppositions. Designs are predominantly symetrical, i.e. left/right mirror image, except for centre of middle panel, and one motif on lower panel.

Used as a wallpocket, a common household item, hung on the wall to keep valuables, or as a sewing bag which would be rolled up and tied with a string.

72.1.65b Octopus Bag

Red cloth, beaded, four double panels, yarn tassels suspended on large clear beads, bordered with caribou skin, braided yarn tie, 16" x 7", origin and donor unknown.

Beadwork: Red, blue and white, fingers 1, 2, and 4 are beaded in a "river" design, finger 3 is a contrasting tree design. The upper body of the bag is beaded in 2 colours, deep burgundy or brown, and a medium blue. The design is a Rorschach style composed of star and stylized floral design. Outer edge is beaded with light blue beads (not zipper-stitch style).

72.1.65c Firebag

Hide, red cloth strap, beaded, 29 l/2" x 6", origin and donor unknown.

Beadwork: white, black, flue, yellow. Geometric design, rather than floral or foliate. Edges are zipper stitched around. Lower body consists of horizontal rows of wave designs, upper beaded area is enclosed rectangular shape with black at the "centre", and moving outwards: yellow, white, light blue, darker blue, white. Edges of bag and strap have zipper-stitch edging, with an inner row of small white beads.

72.1.65d Dance Apron

Red cloth, beaded, four panels, silk ribbon and yarn tassels, braided yarn tie, 26" x 14", made by Mrs. Jim Boss.

Beadwork: white, blue, green and metal beadwork. Complex floral design on body of apron dominated by an 8-petalled starfish flower, joined to a 5-pointed star, which is then joined to the floral pattern. The four fingers are beaded with 5-petalled transectional flowers (tulip style). Outer edge zipper-stitched with white beads, inner border of small white beads.

72.1.65e Cartridge Belt

Red cloth, beaded, 7-cartridge capacity, cotton cloth lining, moosehide ties, 7" x 26", origin and donor unknown.

Beadwork: Foliate scrolls, yellow and blue design, bordered with large white beads, which is referred to as "zipper stitch" by Kate Duncan.

72.1.65h Dance Belt

Black serge, beaded, moosehide ties, 23 1/2" x 26 l/2", origin and donor unknown.

Beadwork: orange, white, green, pink, and blue. Four-petalled design at the front which resembles four hearts joined at the tips. The sides are beaded with tulip designs with 2 leaves which are striped. At the breast, the designs resemble antlers, dry branches, or complicated "stick" animate figures.

72.1.65j Octopus Bag

Black Cloth, beaded, four double panels, yarn tassels suspended on large beads, silk ribbon tie, 20 l/2" x 12 l/2", made by Mrs. Jim Boss.

Beadwork: white, blue, yellow, green, red. Edges are zipper-stitched with white beads, with an inner row of small white beads. The four beaded fingers consist of two floral motifs joined by two tracks of beads. Fingers 1 and 3 are identical, as are 2 and 4. The upper body of the bag consists of two isolated flowers surrounded by serially joined designs with a left-right mirror image. All of the motifs contain colour-contrasting halves. All the beaded designs are filled in. This is the sister bag to the red dance apron (72.1.65d), and was made by the same beadworker. Many of the motifs have obviously been taken from the same design pattern.

72.1.65k Wallpocket

Red cloth, one large pocket, beaded, cotton print lining, plaid cloth backing, 18" x 12 l/2".

Beadwork: definite coastal style, symbolizing beaver, large eye, nostril and teeth depictions in white, blue, green, gold and white, leaf designs reminiscent of oak leaves, beaded around outer edge in zipper stitch, with an inner border of small white beads.

72.1.65m Firebag

Blue and red cloth, beaded, 23" x 7", origin and donor unknown.

Beadwork: white, navy, green, yellow. Floral design, two bell-shaped flowers extending from a centrepiece of leaves, independent six-petalled flower above. Openwork combined with filled-in work. Body edged with zipper stitch, strap edged with single row of white beads.

72.1.80 Cape

Black gopher fur, red cloth trim, flannel lining, beaded, weasel fur tassels, made by Kate Carmack.

Beadwork: gold, white, black, blue, green. Geometric design at both sides of front opening. Centre back panel contains bird figures, leaf designs, anthropoid figures, frog designs. Lower edge consists of leaf and floral designs, some serially joined.

73.1.107p Sheath

Soft leather, blue and red cloth trimming, turquoise beads, 18" x 4 1/2", ochre. Donor J>J> Elliott.

Beadwork: blue, beaded at seams and edges with small beads. Edges are zipper-stitched.

73.1.148 Napkin Ring

Moose or caribou hide, beaded, pink cotton lining, 4" x 1 3/4".

Beadwork: burgundy, green, white. Edging zipper-stitched in burgundy. Four-petalled flowers and smaller three-petalled flowers extending from complex foliage. Design encircles the band.

73.1.190 Bag

Caribou hide, red cloth trim, beaded, 12" x 9", donor - Mrs. Geo. Black, maker unknown.

Beadwork: blue, black. Single border of blue beads, enclosing small rectangular groupings of black beads.

974.40.1 Hat

Red cloth, beaded, cotton lining, made by Mrs. Patsy (Edith) Henderson.

Beadwork: white, d. blue, green, metallic gold, mauve, l. blue, yellow, m. blue, black. Consists of three floral designs, serially joined, "pinwheel" flower, 4-petalled "square" flower, 4-petalled white flower with stamens. Edged in white beads, modified zipper stitch, bordered in row of white and navy (black?) beads.

77.46.2 Dance Tunic

Red cloth, beaded, red and green felt fringes. Donor - John Joe, made by his mate aunt.

Beadwork: white, l. blue, m. blue, yellow, black, l. green, black, metallic gold, d. gre silver, mauve. Edgings in zipper and single line stitch. Predominantly floral designs, so serially joined, some not. Lower front and back dominated by white eight-petalled wl flowers, joined to other leaf and floral groupings. Colour oppositions within groupi Front bib is composed of groups of floral and leaf designs, stars, heart-shaped designs, four-leaved coat-of-arms design. Back yoke is centred around a large five-pointed star w five petalled flowers and plumed leaves extending outward, independent 4-petalled flow 7-petalled daisies with plumed leaves. Row of beaded fringes front and back.

77.46.3 Mitts

Moosehide, tanned and smoked, beaded, fringed. Donor - John Joe, made by his mate aunt.

Beadwork: d. blue, white, l. blue, yellow, red, green, black, mauve. Three groupings on upper side consisting of complex floral and anthropomorphic designs.

87.10.1ab Mukluks

White caribou skin, beaded, muskrat fur trim at top, laced, commercial boot laces, sir sewn, cotton flannel lining, 23.5 cm. l. x 13.5 cm. w. x 36.5 cm h. Origin - Teslin area, do - C.D. Taylor, from the estate of Florence Taylor.

Beadwork: Floral designs, centre flower with four others extending out from it, colo flat pastels, pink, light blue, green, darker blue, gold, brilliant rust, large, faceted red bea In the design scheme, 1 matches 4, 2 matches 3. Upper, "tongue", of the mukluk carries the theme of the upper floral design. Designs are striking in that leaf colours is n orange, black, dark green, and stems are dark brown.

87.10.2ab Gloves

White caribou skin, thread embroidered, cotton-lined, fringed at outer cuffs, machine-se Origin - Teslin area, donor - C.D. Taylor, from the estate of Florence Taylor.

Embroidery work: Yellow and purple lichen-type figures (paisley) at knuckle. At cuff, la 8-petalled flower, pink with blue inner leaves, yellow centres, surrounded by a bouque small flowers, rosebuds, 5-petalled navy, mauve, pink, flowers.

87.10.3 Headband

White caribou skin, beaded, accessory to 87.10.4 Jacket and .5 Skirt.

Beadwork: green, red, blue, brown, yellow. Serial design consisting of 3 flowers joined together, large rust (pink) 4-petalled flower flanked by two green "lily"-like flowers. Design and colour match that of the jacket, except that this is based on three rather than four groupings.

87.10.4 Jacket

White caribou skin, two beaded strips front and back, fringed collar, cuffs and lower edge, machine-sewn. Origin - Teslin area, donor - C.D. Taylor, from the estate of Florence Taylor. Accompanying skirt, (87.10.5), plain, with fringed sides and bottom.

Beadwork: green, red, blue, brown, yellow. The designs are limited to two sewn-on bands that extend over the shoulders and down to the hemline on the front and back. The designs consist of four groupings, left and right, front and back. Each grouping consists of four flowers serially joined, two four-petalled rust flowers, and two green "lilies," alternately placed. The beadwork is open-work style, i.e., not filled in.

987.42.1 Hunting Bag

Moosehide, smoked and tanned, sheep- or caribou-leg panels, beaded, zipper, red cloth trim, fringed panels. Donor - John Joe, made by his maternal aunt Kitty Henry.

Beadwork: white, d. blue, l. blue, rust, black, silver, pink, green, yellow, d. rose. Flap of bag is centred by a moose or caribou design serially joined to a "swastika" design, a three-petalled leaf design, and a 5-petalled star-like flower. The two lower panels of the bag contain a single 5-point star each, with a joining string of beads extending upward to two large pin-wheel style flowers, (which are hidden by the flap). All of the beading is openwork. The body of the moose has diagonal parallel white lines traversing it. The antlers have inner vein-like lines similar to those usually seen on leaves. The stars have a centre "button" with lines radiating outward to the points.

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