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# FIELDIANA

## Anthropology

Published by Field Museum of Natural History

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New Series, No. 4

### CHAPASKAN CLOTHING AND RELATED OBJECTS FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

BY W. VANSTONE

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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# I

## INTRODUCTION

The Athapaskan-speaking Indians of central, western, and southwestern Alaska were contacted by Russian explorers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, relatively late when compared with the first European penetration of other areas of North America. The traditional material culture of the Ahtna, Tanaina, Ingalik, Koyukon, Tanana, Upper Tanana, Han, and western Kutchin Indians was modified quickly, however, and there were few opportunities for interested observers to make collections for preservation in European and American museums. Traditional clothing changed more rapidly than other items of material culture, possibly resulting from a desire on the part of the Indians to identify with the white man through similar dress, but also because ready-made European garments saved work and were, in most cases, more comfortable to wear (Osgood, 1971, p. 131). A decline in the caribou population and the eventual unavailability of imported reindeer skins may also have been factors.

In any event, although a number of museums have some items of northern Athapaskan clothing, usually undocumented, few have collections of any size and only one, that in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad, has been published (Siebert, 1967, 1980). This collection is of considerable importance for comparative purposes because it was acquired during the first half of the 19th century by some of the earliest Russian explorers and travelers in Alaska and most items can be attributed with some degree of certainty to specific Athapaskan groups. In addition to this Leningrad collection, a comparative study of Athapaskan clothing attributed to the Kutchin centering on the specimens in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, has also been published (Thompson, 1972). Ethnographers working in the field, notably Osgood (1936, 1937, 1940, 1971) and McKennan (1959, 1965), attempted to reconstruct aboriginal clothing patterns for the Ingalik, Tanaina, western Kutchin, Han, and Upper Tanana, but their efforts were handicapped by the limited information on the subject obtainable from their informants.

Collections in the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, contain 31 items of northern Athapaskan clothing and related objects that, according to information in the catalog and accession files, were obtained in the Yukon valley of Alaska near the end of the 19th century and are the subject of this study. By far the largest number, 26 (accession 112, catalog nos. 14931-37, 14942-44, 14946-54, 14958-59, 14970, 14973-76), were presented to the museum in 1893 or 1894 by Mr. Edward E. Ayer, a Chicago industrialist. Mr. Ayer exhib-

ited his extensive collection of North American Indian material at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and was one of those instrumental in establishing Field Columbian Museum, later Field Museum of Natural History, to house his and other collections gathered for the Fair. An avid collector in many areas of the world, Ayer apparently sailed to Alaska in the summer of 1887 with a certain Captain Carroll of the *Ancona*. The ship made stops "at every bay where there was a cannery . . . in need of supplies" and Ayer went ashore to purchase "relics." There is no indication that he ever visited the interior. When asked about personal experiences with native Americans on his various collecting expeditions, Ayer noted that he usually purchased through dealers and only very rarely from the native peoples themselves (Lockwood, 1929, p. 80). Like most collectors of his time, he rarely bothered about specific documentation for the artifacts he collected.

Three specimens (accession 62, catalog nos. 14963-64, 14972) are part of a collection made in 1890-1892 along the lower Yukon River for the World's Columbian Exposition by Marcus O. Cherry. From July 1889 until the summer of 1892, Cherry was an employee of the Episcopal mission at the Ingalik Indian village of Anvik on the lower-middle river (VanStone, 1979b, pp. 138, 156). Although he traveled extensively on the river and much of his collection is obviously Eskimo material from the lower Yukon, it is probable that these three specimens were obtained at Anvik and thus can be attributed with some degree of certainty to the Ingalik.

Two specimens (accession 67, catalog nos. 14945, 14960) were purchased as part of a larger collection from Mr. E. O. Stafford in January 1894. Stafford's wife was the daughter of A. P. Swineford, governor of Alaska from 1885 to 1889. In the summer of 1887, Governor Swineford traveled extensively throughout the Territory, both along the coast and in the interior (Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1887, vol. I, pp. 734-736), and made an extensive but undocumented collection of Indian and Eskimo artifacts.

## II

### THE COLLECTION

#### INTRODUCTION

A student of contemporary Athapaskan-speaking peoples has made a number of generalizations concerning attitudes toward clothing that are relevant for groups both in Alaska and Canada. To begin with, it appears to be a cultural ideal that a person should be fully dressed most of the time throughout his or her life. This interest in covering the body extends considerably beyond the practical conditions imposed by the environment. Modern natives of the Yukon Territory, for example, are described as extremely modest, both sexes being quite prudish about exposing their bodies at any time (McClellan, 1975, pp. 1, 299). McClellan (1975, pt. 1, p. 301) also mentions the aesthetic enjoyment of clothes which exists today in the southern Yukon Territory and apparently also obtained in the past. She also refers to the intimate connection between an individual and his clothing as reflected in the manipulation of clothing at life crises such as puberty and death. Elaborate dress at the time of burial has been described for several Athapaskan groups in Alaska (McKenna, 1959, p. 146; 1965, p. 59; Osgood, 1937, p. 166; 1958, p. 151), and according to E. W. Nelson (VanStone, 1978, p. 30),

relatives of Ingalik dead visited the grave a year after the death and replaced decayed clothing. Clothing was also an important indication of wealth, particularly with reference to beaded decoration, as will be noted in some detail later in this study.

Although items of northern Athapaskan clothing could be made of either caribou or moose skins, the former appears to have been preferred for most purposes because the prepared hides are lighter and more flexible. Summer clothing was made from skins with the hair removed, whereas for winter garments the hair was left on and turned in against the body. Skins were prepared by women during the summer and the preparation and tanning process was essentially the same throughout the northern Athapaskan area.

The first step was to clean the inner side of the skin, thus removing the fat and flesh adhering to it. For this procedure a one-handed scraper made from a moose or caribou tibia was used. The distal end was split off, leaving an angled edge, frequently serrated, while the proximal end was wrapped with hide to provide a firm grip. The worker scraped toward herself.

If the skin was to be tanned with the hair removed, it was soaked in warm water for several hours and then hung over a pole frame slanted at an angle toward the worker. The hair was then removed with a two-handed scraper made from a caribou ulna.

The actual tanning procedure was begun by soaking the skin in a liquid made from rotting caribou brains. After being soaked and twisted dry, the skin was hung over a horizontal pole and scraped and worked thoroughly with a slate scraper. The process of soaking and scraping, repeated many times, was the most important step in the process since it determined the degree of softness of the skin. The softened skin was then suspended over a small fire of wood punk, the smoke of which gave it a rich brown color. Caribou skins were frequently not smoked but simply allowed to remain in a soft, bleached condition (McKenna, 1959, pp. 83, 84; 1965, p. 38).

Skins were cut to the requisite shape with flint or slate knives, although it is probable that, throughout the Yukon River drainage, metal knives were used by the middle of the 19th century and perhaps earlier. On the upper Yukon at least, bone awls were still used early in this century for all sewing. Awls made from moose or caribou bones were used for coarse sewing, while for finer work those made from the foreleg of a lynx or a bird were employed (Schmitter, 1910, p. 5). Among the Ingalik on the lower-middle river a puncturing awl was made from the distal end of a beaver radius or fibula, while sewing awls were sometimes made from caribou bone (Osgood, 1940, pp. 71-73).

The clothing and related materials in Field Museum's collection, with certain possible exceptions to be noted later, were presumably all made from tanned caribou skin with the hair removed. Thus they are all summer garments. In the 19th century, however, Indians of the Yukon River drainage participated indirectly in an elaborate trade network involving the Chukchi of northeastern Siberia and the Eskimos of western and northwestern Alaska. Siberian reindeer skins were a staple of this trade and the explorer L. A. Zagoskin estimated that, at the time of his explorations in 1842-1844, an annual average of 1,000 skins reached the Yukon from Eskimo villages on Norton Sound. Yukon furs were exchanged for the deer skins, a variety of coastal Eskimo products, and items of European manufacture (Zagoskin, 1967, p. 101; VanStone, 1979a). It is possible,

therefore, that some of the clothing described here was made of imported reindeer skins rather than locally obtained caribou skins.

In the following sections the various categories of clothing are described and then compared with similar garments observed by early explorers and travelers, described by ethnographers, or illustrated in published museum collections. Since all the garments in Field Museum's collection are believed to have been made by Indians living in the Yukon valley of Alaska, comparisons are, for the most part, limited to other Alaskan groups in this and contiguous regions, specifically the Ingalik, Koyukon, Tanana, Upper Tanana, western Kutchin, Han, Ahtna, and Tanaina. When necessary, however, comparable information on Canadian groups has been utilized.

## TUNICS

### Description

14934.—This tunic has an extremely complicated pattern consisting of many separate pieces of skin. A single, large piece forms the back of the garment, folding over on the sides where it is joined to a flaring center section that extends down the front. This main piece also extends over the shoulders forming most of the upper portion of the left sleeve. Additional pieces complete both sleeves, and two narrow strips of skin form each cuff. Narrow strips of hare fur were sewn to the edge of each cuff but these have largely deteriorated. The garment flares slightly from under the arms to the bottom edge, which is cut in front and back to a center point (fig. 1).

The most conspicuous feature of the decoration is a broad band consisting of 10 rows of black, white, and blue beads worked on a separate piece of skin and attached, with a noticeable dip in the center front, across the upper front of the garment to the backs of the shoulders. The rows of beads are strung on two-strand sinew spot-stitched to the garment along the upper edge only. Along the lower edge there is a fringe, each strand of which consists of a narrow piece of skin split along three-quarters of its length. The split sections are beaded with black, white, white-lined red, and two shades of blue beads, but the rest is left plain. The split sections are threaded through two holes in the lower edge of the separate piece. The lower end of each strand is knotted below the beaded area.

The upper and lower edges of both sleeves also have fringes of black, white, and two shades of blue beads. Each strand is knotted through a hole in the garment. At each cuff are bands consisting of four rows of light blue and dark blue beads strung on narrow strips of skin spot-stitched to separate pieces (fig. 2).

Extending across the back of the garment just below the armpits is a fringe of white, black, and two shades of blue beads. Each strand consists of a split strip of skin like those previously described for the band on the front except that virtually the entire strip is split. Each is knotted at the upper end and threaded through two closely spaced holes in the garment. Between these holes is strung a large white-lined red bead. The lower ends of the strips, like those on the front of the garment, are not beaded (fig. 3).

The remaining beaded decoration on this tunic consists of radiating fringed rows of black, white, light and dark blue, and white-lined red beads that ornament the pointed lower edges on both sides. The rows are strung and spot-

stitched as previously described and fringe strands are single pieces of beaded skin fastened through holes in the garment. Along each side of the garment and extending approximately halfway toward the armpits are single rows of black and white-lined red beads, each with a fringe consisting of four strands of white and light and dark blue beads. On the front at either side near the center point are circles of black and white beads. Similarly located on the back are circles of light and dark blue beads. Traces of red pigment are visible along the edge of the front center point.

*Dimensions.*—Length from rear of neck opening to center front point, 119 cm; width across shoulders, 59 cm; width across lower skirt, 55.5 cm; width at armpits, 49 cm; sleeve length, 44 cm.

14960.—This short jacket has a relatively simple pattern, two pieces originally forming the front and back sewn together along the sides and across the shoulders. The back contains what are apparently four patches, one large virtually in the center of the garment, another a short, rectangular patch extending from the large one to the left shoulder, and two small ones on the lower half of the garment. This jacket is approximately 4 cm longer in back than in front and is slit for a short distance on both sides near the lower edge. The lower edges are notched both in front and back. A short collar is formed from a separate piece of skin and an opening approximately 12 cm in length extends from the collar down the front of the garment. There is a metal four-hole button and accompanying buttonhole slit near the top of this opening at the point where the collar joins the piece forming the front of the jacket. Each sleeve is made from a single rectangular piece of skin that flares slightly at the armpits, and is fringed along most of one side. The cuffs are also separate pieces with splits that extend into the sleeves. A fringe has been sewn into the seams along both sides of this jacket (fig. 4).

The primary decoration on this jacket consists of three rectangular pieces of red felt, each with a border of coarse cloth and decorated with seed beads strung on single-strand sinew spot-stitched directly to the cloth. These rectangular pieces are fastened to the garment on each shoulder and down the front at the neck. Each has a fringe of skin sewn around it. The decorative piece on the front of the garment has an outer border of translucent red beads, an inner border of white beads, and curving lines in white, pink, yellow, and red beads. Both shoulder patches are identical. The outer and inner borders are similar to those on the patch in the front and there are curving line motifs in yellow and white beads.

The cuffs, including the split openings, are outlined in white beads and have bands of coarse cloth and red felt outlined in yellow and white beads. A narrow strip of red felt has been sewn into the seam that joins the cuff to the sleeve.

Along the lower border of the garment, both front and back, is a narrow strip of notched red felt sewn a few centimeters above the edge. Only its upper edge is sewn to the skin and it is outlined with white beads. A narrow border of red felt, outlined on the outer edges with white beads, extends up both sides of the slits (fig. 5).

*Dimensions.*—Length from rear of collar to center front edge, 74 cm; width across shoulders, 59 cm; width at armpits, 57 cm; sleeve length including cuff, 48 cm.

14931.—The back of this tunic is a single piece of skin that folds around to form part of the front on each side. A broad rectangular piece, which flares toward the lower edge, extends down the center of the garment. Both pieces are cut to form a fringe at the lower edge. Each sleeve is made from a single piece of skin that flares in the region of the armpit and is seamed on the underside. The tunic is slightly flared at the bottom edge, which is cut to a slight center point in front and back (fig. 6).

A broad band of beadwork, worked on four connected separate pieces of skin is attached, with a dip at the center front, across the upper front of the garment to the backs of the shoulders. This separate piece is attached to the garment only along the upper edge and the seam is outlined with red pigment. There are eight parallel rows of blue, black, white, and translucent red beads strung on two-strand sinew spot-stitched to the separate piece through slight folds in the skin at approximately 3.5-cm intervals. Below the parallel rows of beads is a fringe consisting of narrow strips of skin strung with white, dark and light blue, white-lined red, and translucent yellow beads. Each strand of this fringe is threaded through paired holes in the lower border of the separate piece and beaded on both sides. The beads are held in place with a knot at the distal end of each strand.

Along the outer edge of each sleeve is a fringe of white-lined red, light blue, and dark blue beads. The individual strands are secured to the garment through holes and knotted. Each cuff is bordered with seven parallel rows of translucent red, dark blue, white, and translucent yellow beads strung on two-strand sinew spot-stitched at intervals to the skin. A strip of hare fur, most of which has deteriorated, is sewn around each sleeve edge. A separate skin fringe is sewn along each side of the garment from the armpits to the lower edge. Each strand is beaded with translucent yellow, white-lined red, and two shades of blue beads. The fringed lower edge on both sides is ornamented with beads of the same colors, although only alternate strands are beaded. Running around the lower edge just above the fringe is a single row of alternating blue, white, and black beads. In the same place on the inner lower edge is a line of red pigment (fig. 7).

On the back of this tunic is a broad band of beadwork, which is identical in virtually every respect to the one that crosses the upper front of the garment. This band begins at the level of the armpits and, like the one in front, has a dip in the center. The two separate connected pieces, to which the beadwork is sewn, are loose at the outer end for a distance of approximately 5 cm (fig. 8).

*Dimensions.*—Length from rear of neck opening to center front point, 116 cm; width across shoulders, 54 cm; width at armpits, 49 cm; width across lower tunic, 59 cm; sleeve length, 49 cm.

14944.—The basic pattern of this tunic is fairly simple. All of the back and most of the front are made from a single piece of skin that extends over the shoulders. In front the piece meets at the approximate center of the garment. Another seam extends at right angles on one side below the left armpit. This seam ends near the fold, suggesting that a cut was made in the single piece at this point, with the removal of some material, in order to make possible the long seam down the front of the garment. A narrow section of skin, which comes to a point, has been added in front at the right shoulder. Each sleeve is made from a single piece of

skin seamed on the underside. The bottom edge is cut in front and back to a center point. In front a V-shaped piece of skin has been added to form the front center point (fig. 9).

On the front of this tunic, as on two of those previously described, a broad band of beadwork, worked on a separate piece of skin, is attached across the upper part of the garment to the backs of the shoulders. This, however, is a far more elaborately decorative band. It consists of 10 parallel rows of white, light and dark blue, and translucent red beads, which are sewn directly to the separate piece in the same manner as on the previously described tunics. Below these parallel rows is an elaborate fringe consisting of beaded split strands forming two bands separated by narrow parallel strips of skin. The upper band consists entirely of white beads, while the lower includes dark blue and translucent yellow beads. Below these two bands, the strands are beaded with small white beads (fig. 10B).

Along the outer edge of each sleeve is a fringe of light and dark blue, white-lined red, and translucent yellow beads. Except at each end where there are single beaded strands, each strand of this fringe is run through two holes in the sleeve approximately 2.2 cm apart and then beaded at either end (fig. 10C). There are three parallel rows of black, blue, white, and translucent red beads around each sleeve edge. A poorly preserved strip of hare fur is also sewn to each sleeve edge (fig. 11).

A fringe of white, black, and translucent yellow beads extends across the back of the garment along a line of red pigment just below the armpits. Each strand of this fringe consists of a split strip of skin knotted at the upper end and threaded through two closely spaced holes in the tunic. Between these holes is strung a large white-lined red bead. At the lower end of each strip a knot holds the beads in place (figs. 10A, 12).

Decoration on the lower part of this tunic consists of vertical lines of beadwork down the middle of the center points on both sides. On both front and back this decoration consists of two parallel lines of black and white beads separated at intervals by a large, white-lined red bead. Extending from each of these large beads is a split strand beaded with black, white, dark blue, and translucent yellow beads. At the upper end of these vertical rows of beads, a third row is added to provide a short flare. A line of red pigment underlies these vertical rows. The lower edge of the garment is bordered with parallel rows of white, blue, and black beads underneath which can be seen traces of red pigment. There is a fringe consisting of single strands of skin looped through paired holes and beaded with light and dark blue, translucent yellow, and white-lined red beads (fig. 10D).

*Dimensions.*—The following dimensions are only approximate since the garment has been badly warped and stiffened, perhaps as a result of exposure at some time in the past to extreme dampness or to actual emersion in water: length from rear of neck opening to center rear point, 113 cm; width across shoulders, 59 cm; width at lower armpits, 48 cm; sleeve length, 55 cm.

14953.—With the exception of the sleeves, this jacket, which opens down the center, is constructed of a single piece of skin folded, cut, and sewn in such a manner as to compensate for overlaps at the shoulders. A narrow piece of skin is sewn around the neck opening. Each sleeve is a separate piece sewn along the

underside of the arm and flaring at the shoulders. The left sleeve contains a narrow triangular patch at the distal end. The bands of decoration, which extend from the sleeve ends, are sewn on separate pieces of skin. Strips of hare fur, missing in some places, were originally sewn to both sides of the front opening, around the neck opening, and at the sleeve ends. The opening down the front was held together with two sets of caribou skin ties, one at the neck and the other approximately 20 cm lower (fig. 13).

The most conspicuous features of the decoration on this jacket are applied bands of woven quillwork without sewing (Orchard, 1971, pp. 54-57), which extend down both sides of the front opening and around the bottom edge of the garment (fig. 14). Similar bands occur around the sleeve ends and across each shoulder. The bands are worked on sinew and rectangular strips of skin; on the shoulders they are 14 quills wide. The design consists of double rows of salmon pink quills alternating with double rows of brown and white quills, the brown and white sections being opposite to one another in each section of the design. Down both sides of the front opening and around the bottom edge the colors are the same, but there are only 12 bands of quills and the design arrangement is varied slightly. There are 14 bands of quills around the sleeve ends, again with the same colors but with a slightly different design. On the shoulders, down the front, and around the lower edge of the garment the quilled bands are attached with sinew thread. The bands at the sleeve ends form narrow extensions of the sleeves (fig. 15).

In addition to the woven quillwork designs on this jacket, there is also beaded ornamentation. Running completely around the garment at shoulder level is a series of beaded tassels, each consisting of a single strand of skin looped through a hole in the garment and beaded on each end with black, white, white-lined red, and two shades of blue beads. This pattern of tassels is repeated around the lower edge of the jacket just above the border of quillwork. On the shoulders along the seams of the sleeves is a fringe of light blue, black, white, and white-lined red beads fastened to narrow strips of skin sewn into the seams. Across the top of this fringe and at right angles to it is a single row of blue and white beads. On the back of the garment is a fringe of white, dark and light blue, black, and white-lined red beads extending from just below the armpit on both sides with a dip in the center (fig. 16).

*Dimensions.*—Length from rear of neck opening to center of back edge, 90 cm; width across shoulders, 60 cm; width at armpits, 48 cm; width across lower edge, 53 cm; sleeve length, 53 cm.

## Discussion

Three of the five tunics in Field Museum's collection (nos. 14944, 14934, 14931) adhere to the traditional Athapaskan form both in cut and decoration as it has been described among Alaskan and contiguous Canadian groups by early observers and ethnologists. A decorative band, quilled and/or beaded, extending across the chest and usually across the back as well and having a fringed lower edge, is reported for the Ingalik (Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 244-266), Koyukon (Dall, 1870, pp. 82, 83; Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 244-246), and various Kutchin groups (Richardson, 1851, vol. 1, opp. p. 377, p. 380; Jones, 1872, p. 320; Murray, 1910, p. 84, opp. pp. 82, 87, 89, 90, 94; Osgood, 1936, pp. 44, 45). This decorative band

is said to have been characteristic of both men's and women's garments, although Mackenzie (1801, p. 48), referring to the Kutchin of the Mackenzie drainage, described it as occurring only on men's tunics (fig. 17).

The most frequently described characteristic of Athapaskan tunics is a bottom edge that is cut to a deep center point both front and back (figs. 18, 19). Among Yukon River drainage and contiguous peoples, this is generally believed to have been a particular feature of men's garments (Richardson, 1851, vol. 1, p. 380; Kirby, 1865, p. 418; Jones, 1872, p. 320; Whympier, 1869, p. 173; Dall, 1870, pp. 82, 83; Adney, 1902, p. 625; Murray, 1910, p. 85; Osgood, 1936, pp. 42-44; 1971, pp. 91, 93, 94; McKennan, 1959, pp. 78-80; 1965, p. 44), although among the Ingalik (Osgood, 1940, pp. 253, 254; Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 244-246) and Mackenzie River drainage Kutchin (Mackenzie, 1801, pp. 48, 49), it is mentioned as having been characteristic of the tunics of both sexes. This type of bottom cut seems to have been absent entirely among the Kachemak Bay Tanaina (Osgood, 1937, p. 47). In spite of the ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence just noted, it seems probable, on the basis of an analysis of some museum specimens, that the presence of pointed tunics is not necessarily and exclusively a male fashion (Thompson, 1972).

Whatever may have been the difference in the cut of men's and women's tunics among the Tanaina and in the Yukon and Mackenzie drainage, however, women's garments were invariably longer than men's. The latter usually reached to the knee or just below, while women's tunics always reached well below the knees and sometimes almost to the ankles (Mackenzie, 1801, p. 48; Richardson, 1851, vol. 1, p. 380; Jones, 1872, p. 320; Adney, 1902, p. 628; Osgood, 1937, pp. 46, 47; McKennan, 1959, pp. 78-80; 1965, p. 44; Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 244-246; Osgood, 1971, pp. 91, 93, 94).

All three of the tunics in Field Museum's collection which show the traditional form are identified in the catalog as men's garments. However, the sex attributions of tunics in museum collections are rarely based on reliable information. Because of its considerable length, there is little reason to doubt that no. 14944 was a man's tunic. It must have reached well below the knees of even a fairly tall man. No. 14934, although considerably shorter, is so heavily beaded that the garment weighs nearly 5 kg, a fact that at least suggests a male attribution. Of the three, the overall dimensions of no. 14931 seem most appropriate for a woman's garment. With this possibility in mind, the tunic was tried on by a female, 5'4" tall, with a small frame. The length of the skirt seemed correct, reaching slightly less than halfway between the knees and the ankles. Both the neck opening and the sleeve ends were appropriately small, but the sleeves themselves were long, extending approximately 3 cm beyond the fingertips. Since the skin of which the tunic was made is extremely soft and pliable, the arms may have stretched out of their normal length while the garment was exhibited on a manikin for more than 50 years. The shoulders, on the other hand, were an almost perfect fit as was the general width of the tunic from the armpits to the lower edge. It should also be mentioned that this tunic has the least pronounced center points of any of the three. None of this, of course, constitutes conclusive evidence that the garment was intended for a woman. It does, however, suggest that such an attribution is a reasonable possibility.

Turning to a consideration of specimens of traditional Athapaskan tunics in museum collections, the broad band of beads or quillwork with a dip in the

center and crossing the front and back of the garment as seen on Field Museum's specimens is characteristic of virtually all illustrated Athapaskan tunics whether designated as men's or women's. Although not mentioned in any of the historic or ethnographic sources, the same can be said for the vertical line of beads or other ornamentation that runs down the center of the pointed edge of Field Museum's specimens and is considerably elaborated on no. 14934 (Cadzow, 1925, p. 292; Osgood, 1936, pls. 2-4; 1937, pl. 5c-e; Zagoskin, 1967, fig. 18; Benndorf & Speyer, 1968, pl. 3; Thompson, 1972; *The Far North*, 1973, nos. 188-190; Conn, 1974, no. 144; Clark, 1974, nos. 176, 177, 179; *Sacred Circles*, 1976, no. 176; Siebert, 1980, pp. 56, 57, figs. 11-18). The use of red pigment to delineate seams and edges, also characteristic of Field Museum's specimens, is said to be common (Thompson, 1972, p. 20) but is not mentioned by ethnographers or noted in ethnohistoric sources. A tunic in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, attributed to the Kutchin is described as having seams outlined in red pigment (Thompson, 1972, p. 16) and the failure to note this characteristic on other museum specimens is probably due to the fact that few such specimens have been described in detail.

Two Field Museum tunics (nos. 14953, 14960) do not conform to the aboriginal pattern. They are square-cut jackets that reach to or just below the waist. One opens down the front (no. 14953), while the other has only a short opening below the neck hole (no. 14960). Oddly enough, the former is the only tunic in the collection to exhibit quillwork decoration.

Jackets similar to these specimens do not occur in published descriptions of Athapaskan clothing from Alaska and contiguous areas. However, a similar square-cut tunic in the Royal Scottish Museum has a short neck opening and no decoration except for a caribou skin fringe across the neck and shoulders. It is illustrated in Clark (1974, no. 173) and was collected among the Dogrib at Fort Rae in 1860 by B. R. Ross. Although this tunic only marginally resembles those Field Museum specimens just mentioned, a noteworthy fact is the early date and the presumed European influence that is probably characteristic of all garments of this particular cut. In considering the age of similar garments among the Han, Osgood (1971, p. 97) notes that they were part of traditional dress in the first half of the 19th century; however, he considers it more than likely that Russian or English coats could have been obtained in trade by interior groups at a relatively early date well before any Europeans had actually encountered the Han. The same can doubtless be said for the entire Yukon valley. Clothing of a European cut could have come from traders in Cook Inlet or elsewhere in coastal southwestern Alaska or as part of the Siberia-Alaska trade that linked the Eskimos and Indians of west-central Alaska with Russian trading posts on the Kolyna River. Although there is no reason to believe that Field Museum's specimens are as old as the one collected at Fort Rae by Ross, it should not be considered unusual to find garments of this type in a collection of late 19th century clothing from the Yukon valley.

This type of jacket, particularly no. 14953, combining native and European designs, may be derived from the "chief's coat" first mentioned by Murray (1910, p. 59) as having been awarded to a Kutchin Indian at Fort Yukon in 1848 for service to the Hudson's Bay Company. Simeone (n.d.) has described the manner in which this style of coat, utilizing different materials and new decorative motifs, has persisted until the present time among Alaskan Athapaskans.

## MOCCASIN-TROUSERS

**Description**

14935.—The pattern of this pair of moccasin-trousers is relatively simple. The legs and waist area are a single piece of skin, while the soles of the feet are separate pieces. There are also small, triangular-shaped pieces over each instep and at the crotch (fig. 20). An opening at the front of the trousers is approximately 18 cm long with a single button, now missing, at the upper end.

This specimen is characterized by fairly elaborately beaded decoration. A band consisting of six rows of blue, black, and white beads strung on open-stitched, double-strand sinew extends down the front of each leg from the thigh to the ankle where it bifurcates and joins a beaded band extending around the ankle. In the center of the bifurcated area is a single row of blue and black beads, which extends to the ankle band and is continued on the other side as far as the sole seam. The band extending around the ankle consists of 10 rows of white, yellow, blue, black, and translucent red seed beads.

Two bands consisting of three rows of black, white-lined red, and blue beads strung on spot-stitched, double-strand sinew extend from the thigh to the ankle paralleling on either side the band that runs down the front of each leg. Extending from these bands at intervals are fringes consisting of single strands of skin beaded with blue, black, and white beads, each one knotted through a hole in the garment (figs. 21, 22). A line of red pigment can be seen beneath all these vertical bands, but on the outside of the left leg the band has clearly been moved to one side of the line of pigment, since rows of holes produced by the earlier spot-stitching are clearly visible (fig. 21).

At each knee there is a horizontal band consisting of four rows of blue, white, black, and white-lined red beads. These garter-like bands are fastened to the trousers only at the front of each leg. The rows of beads are strung on narrow strips of skin cut from a single piece and tied in a loop. Separate pieces of skin placed vertically at intervals serve to stiffen these bands.

*Dimensions.*—Approximate length from center back of waist to center of moccasin sole, 123 cm; width at thigh, 46 cm.

14970.—Closely resembling the pattern of the previously described specimen, the waist and legs of this pair of moccasin-trousers consist of two pieces of skin sewn up the back of the legs. There is a large piece inserted in the crotch that joins the two. The right instep consists of two pieces, the left, of one, and there are separate pieces for the soles of the moccasins. There is an irregularly shaped opening at the front of the trousers (fig. 23). Unlike the other moccasin-trousers in Field Museum's collection, this pair shows considerable signs of wear.

The beaded decoration on this specimen is quite simple. A band consisting of two rows of black and white beads extends down the front of each leg from the thigh to the ankle where it bifurcates and joins a band of four rows of white beads extending around the ankle. In the bifurcated sections some white-lined red beads are included. The beads on the vertical bands are strung on strips of skin that pass through holes in the garment between each pair of beads. The rows in the band around each ankle are strung on spot-stitched, double-strand sinew. There are lines of red pigment under all decorative bands to serve as guides for the person applying the decoration. Such a line also extends down the

center of each bifurcation at the instep, suggesting that at least one row of beads was intended in these areas (fig. 24).

*Dimensions.*—Approximate length from center back of waist to center of moccasin sole, 112 cm; width at thigh, 47 cm.

14954.—The pattern of this pair of moccasin-trousers also resembles those of the previously described specimens with the legs and waist cut from a single piece of skin and separate pieces at the crotch, insteps, and for the soles of the moccasins (fig. 25). There is a V-shaped opening in the front of the trousers with a strap on either side. The straps are sewn on with rough twine. The rear upper edge of this garment is cut to a point in the center.

Around the waist at intervals are fastened six buttons, all sewn to the garment with twine, that presumably were intended for suspenders. Four are plain, brass, coin-shaped discs having an eye of the same material with bent ends soldered to the back. The backs of these buttons carry the words "Fine Plated Surface," which were intended, according to one source, to call attention to the quality of the button and to catch the eye of the purchaser. Plain-faced buttons such as these were popular as Indian trade goods beginning in the early 19th century. The other two buttons are of plain, cast, white metal with a heavy eye cast at the same time as the button. Buttons of this type were in use from the mid-1700s until well into the 19th century so it is clear that neither style of button makes possible the precise dating of this garment (Olson, 1963, p. 552).

Like the pattern, the beaded decoration on this specimen resembles, in general form, that characteristic of moccasin-trousers already described, although there are a number of variations. The bands that extend down the front of each leg from the thigh to the ankle consist of seven rows of white, black, and blue beads strung on double-strand sinew and fastened to rectangular strips of skin sewn to the garment. At the instep, the bands bifurcate and the two ends join a band consisting of 12 rows of red, translucent red, white, and two shades of blue seed beads strung on double-strand sinew and also fastened to separate strips of skin. Down the center of the bifurcation at each instep is a single row of black and white beads which extends to the seam that joins the instep to the sole. Similar but shorter single rows extend from opposite the bifurcations to the same seam. Lines of red pigment can be seen under much of the beaded decoration on the moccasins. At the knees are garter-like bands extending at right angles to the vertical bands and consisting of four rows of dark blue and translucent yellow beads which are strung and attached in the same manner as similar garter-bands on a previously described specimen (fig. 26).

*Dimensions.*—Approximate length from center back of waist to center of moccasin sole, 127 cm; approximate width at thigh, 49 cm.

14932.—The legs of this specimen are separate pieces of skin as are the insteps and moccasin soles. Two irregularly shaped pieces of skin have been sewn together to form the back of the waist and a separate piece extends from the crotch to the waist in front (fig. 27).

The beaded decoration on this pair of moccasin-trousers consists of the usual vertical bands running down the front of the legs and bifurcating at the insteps. These bands consist of three rows of red, white, and blue beads strung on spot-stitched commercial twine. At the point of bifurcation, white and three shades of blue beads are used. Bands consisting of five rows of dark red, black, and white beads strung on double-strand sinew circle each ankle. A garter-like

band consisting of two rows of white, white-lined red, and two shades of blue beads circles each leg at the knee. These bands, the beads of which are strung on narrow strips of skin, are attached to the garment on either side of the vertical bands which run down the front of each leg. Hanging at intervals from these knee bands are short, beaded, split strands of skin. A distinctive decorative feature of this pair of moccasin-trousers is a series of five beaded strands utilizing the same colors that occur elsewhere on the garment and placed at intervals down the inner and outer side of each leg; these strands are inserted through paired holes in the garment. Single lines of red pigment underlie all the decorative bands except those circling the knees (fig. 28).

*Dimensions.*—Approximate distance from center back of waist to center of moccasin sole, 110 cm; approximate width at thigh, 43 cm.

14945.—The only thing distinctive about the pattern of this specimen is the absence of separate pieces of skin at the insteps. The separate leg pieces widen at the distal ends and are cut to rounded points so that they can be sewn directly to the moccasin soles. A separate piece has been added at the crotch and two pieces at the waist in the back. Sewn to each leg in front at the thigh and at the upper end of a decorative band is a narrow strip of skin, the other end of which is sewn near the center of the waist in the back. These strips fit over the shoulders of the wearer and served as suspenders (fig. 29).

This pair of moccasin-trousers is the only one in Field Museum's collection to exhibit quillwork rather than beaded decoration. The decorative motif, however, resembles that on previously described specimens, consisting of a band down the center of each leg which bifurcates at the insteps and joins another band running around each foot at the ankle. The vertical bands on the legs consist of 13 parallel rows of single-strand sinew spot-stitched to the garment. The outer three rows on each side have porcupine quills of an indeterminate color wound around them. The next two rows of spot-stitching on either side are more widely spaced and the quills form a plaited pattern (Orchard, 1971, p. 35, fig. 18). The quills used for these bands appear to have been dyed a bright yellow, although they have faded to a cream color in most places. In the center of each band between the two rows of quillwork are three rows of spot-stitched sinew around which red and blue yarn has been wrapped. At the point where the bands bifurcate over the insteps the number of rows of spot-stitched sinew is reduced to 12. The pattern remains the same, however, except that an outer row of sinew on each side is wrapped with blue yarn. On the bands around the ankles, the number of rows is further reduced to 11 and the plaited pattern includes some sections of quills dyed purple as well as yellow. Sections of the decorative design appear to have been outlined with red pigment before the stitching was begun. There are also traces of red pigment along some of the seams (fig. 30).

*Dimensions.*—Approximate distance from center back of waist to center of moccasin sole, 123 cm; approximate width at thigh, 46 cm.

14951.—This specimen consists of a pair of leggings with moccasins attached and are thus not moccasin-trousers in the same sense as the specimens previously described. Presumably, they would have been worn with a pair of trousers reaching at least to the knee. The pattern of each legging-moccasin is a simple one consisting of a single piece of skin that forms the legging and is sewn up the back with separate pieces for the instep and the sole of the moccasin. The upper edge of each legging is cut at a sharp angle with the high point at the front. Here

is fastened a narrow strip of skin 66 cm long, which was presumably used to secure the legging either by tying it around the upper leg or by suspending it from a belt or strap circling the waist (fig. 31).

The decoration on these legging-moccasins is a simplified version of that which has been shown to be characteristic of other specimens in Field Museum's collection. A band consisting of three rows of white, blue, and translucent yellow beads strung on double-strand sinew extends down the front of each leg and bifurcates at the instep before joining a band that extends around the ankle. Red beads replace those that are translucent yellow in the short section of the vertical band that is bifurcated. An extra row of beads is added so that there are two for each bifurcation. The ankle bands consist of 10 rows of blue, translucent red, and clear seed beads strung on double-strand sinew. Beneath the vertical bands and their short bifurcations is a broad line of red pigment (fig. 32).

*Dimensions.*—Approximate length from front upper edge to center of moccasin sole, 78 cm; approximate width in center of leg, 19 cm.

### Discussion

Clearly, moccasin-trousers like those described in this study were characteristic of those of most, if not all, groups of northern Athapaskans, and were worn by both men and women. In the Yukon River drainage and contiguous areas this form of lower garment has been reported for the Koyukon (Dall, 1870, pp. 82, 83; Zagoskin, 1976, pp. 244–246), Ingalik (Osgood, 1940, p. 262; Zagoskin, 1976, pp. 244–246), Kutchin (Mackenzie, 1801, p. 48; Richardson, 1851, vol. 1, p. 380; Kirby, 1865, p. 418; Jones, 1872, p. 320; Adney, 1900, p. 505; 1902, p. 628; Murray, 1910, p. 84; Osgood, 1936, pp. 39, 40; McKennan, 1965, p. 45), Han (Osgood, 1971, pp. 93, 94), Upper Tanana (McKennan, 1959, pp. 78–80), Ahtna (Allen, 1887, p. 131), and Tanaina (Osgood, 1937, p. 46).

All of Field Museum's specimens are identified in the catalog as being men's garments and all but two appear too long to have been worn by women. Nos. 14932 and 14970 are the exceptions, but obviously length alone is not a reliable criterion for sex attribution.

Among the Ingalik an alternative type of trouser reached to just above the ankle (Osgood, 1940, pp. 260, 261), whereas Peel River Kutchin trousers were sometimes cut off at the ankle and moccasins added (Osgood, 1936, pp. 39, 40). A specimen of this type is illustrated in *The Far North* (1973, no. 189); it has the traditional decorative pattern characteristic of moccasin-trousers. Separate legging-moccasins like no. 14951 could be worn over trousers of this type.

Of those observers who noted the presence of moccasin-trousers as the characteristic form of an Athapaskan lower garment, only McKennan (1959, pp. 78–80), discussing Upper Tanana clothing, has anything to say about the pattern. He notes that such trousers were essentially single-piece leggings with a V-shaped gusset sewn into the seat. The moccasin sole was attached directly to the legging portion except at the instep where a V-shaped piece of hide was inserted. This, of course, is essentially the pattern of five of Field Museum's specimens. The feet of Upper Tanana moccasin-trousers were usually cut large to accommodate the insertion of hare skin duffel in cold weather, a characteristic not relevant to Field Museum's specimens since all are summer garments. Both McKennan (1959, pp. 78–80) for the Upper Tanana and Osgood (1971, pp. 93, 94) for the Han indicate that moccasin soles were made of tanned moose skin rather

than caribou skin because of its superior wearing qualities, but, as far as can be determined, this does not seem to be characteristic of any of the specimens described here.

McKenna (1959, pp. 81, 82) has advanced the plausible theory that the moccasin-trouser may represent an adaptation of an Eskimo style of inner boot or stocking to the special requirements of people who wear snowshoes. He finds evidence for this in a type of stocking described by Murdoch (1892, p. 129) for the Point Barrow Eskimo, which was occasionally substituted for outer boots when caribou hunters were hunting in winter over dry snow and wearing snowshoes.

Although few explorers and other observers of contact-traditional Athapaskan life noted in detail the style of decoration on moccasin-trousers, it is clear from the brief references that do exist that a pattern which includes bands of beads or porcupine quills around the knee and down the front, with bifurcations at the insteps which join a band running around the ankle, was widely distributed. In the Yukon and Mackenzie river drainages, variations on this basic pattern have been reported for the Ingalik and Koyukon (Dall, 1870, pp. 82, 83; Zagoskin, 1976, pp. 244–246), Kutchin (Mackenzie, 1801, p. 48; Richardson, 1851, vol. 1, p. 380, opp. pp. 377, 379; Jones, 1872, p. 320; Murray, 1910, p. 84, opp. pp. 87, 94; Osgood, 1936, pp. 44, 45; McKenna, 1965, p. 45), and the Upper Tanaina (McKenna, 1959, pp. 78–81). With reference to the latter, McKenna noted that the band of decoration bifurcating over the instep was, in some cases, structural since it followed the seams of the V-shaped inset (McKenna, 1959, p. 81). It is clear from one Field Museum specimen (no. 14945), however, that the bifurcation occurs even when there is no separate instep piece, the legging being sewn directly to the moccasin sole.

A much clearer idea of the variation that is possible within the basic pattern just mentioned is revealed through an examination of moccasin-trousers in museum collections. A specimen in the United States National Museum attributed to the Kutchin has vertical bands only (Osgood, 1936, pl. 5a), whereas another Kutchin example in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, lacks the characteristic bifurcations (Clark, 1974, no. 177). "Red paint" as a decorative element is mentioned with reference to Kutchin moccasin-trousers illustrated in the same source (1974, nos. 167, 169, 178) and the seams of a specimen in the Dartmouth College museum are noted as being outlined with "red ochre" (McKenna, 1965, p. 45). Osgood (1937, pl. 4e, f) illustrates Tanaina specimens in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, with decorative bands around the ankles only, as well as similarly decorated legging-moccasins (pl. 4d, f) resembling no. 14951. A Kutchin specimen in the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen (Thompson, 1972, pl. 10d), also has this reduced form of ornamentation. Of the various illustrated museum specimens, some have the band of decoration around the knees, but this is missing from many others. Decorative materials vary and include beads, quills, and a combination of the two along with dentalium shells. The oldest examples, dating from the late 18th century, and those showing the finest quillwork decoration are in European museums; e.g., specimens attributed to the Tanaina are contained in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad (Siebert, 1980, p. 58, figs. 22–26).

Like other items of traditional Athapaskan clothing, moccasin-trousers had virtually disappeared as items of everyday wear by the time of modern ethnographic fieldwork. Osgood (1937, p. 52) noted that no examples remained

among the Tanaina at the time of his research in 1931, and among the more isolated Upper Tanana, McKennan (1959, p. 79) remarked that in 1929 and 1930 moccasins with wraparound tops were gradually replacing moccasin-trousers.

#### CHILD'S COSTUME

##### Description

14973 (*Tunic*).—The collection contains a complete costume for a child, consisting of a tunic and a pair of moccasin-trousers. The tunic has an attached hood and sleeves, which are closed at the end in the form of mittens with a slit in each cuff through which the hands could be extended. The lower edge of this tunic is cut to a point both in front and in back.

The pattern consists of one large piece of skin that forms the back as well as the rear portion of the hood. The front is also a single piece that extends up the left side of the hood to the top of the hood but not up the right, this side of the head consisting of a separate piece with a seam at the level of the shoulder. Two narrow, separate pieces are also sewn around the face opening. Each sleeve consists of a separate piece that includes the front of each thumb. A narrow strip of skin, to which a decorative fringe is attached, is sewn all around the lower edge of the garment (fig. 33).

An important feature of the decoration on this child's shirt is a fringe with a dip in the center, which extends across the back from one sleeve seam to the other. This fringe, the lower edge of which is cut to form many strands, is sewn to the garment. The upper end of each strand is wrapped with porcupine quills dyed red, green, and yellow. Just above the fringe is a band of plaited quills utilizing the same colors. Along the lower edge of this band is a border consisting of a single row of feather spines wrapped with flattened quills dyed red. A similar band circles the face opening.

Along the shoulder seams and the seams on the back of the hood are paired strips of skin sewn into the seams and decorated at the upper end on either side with blue and white beads. Single strands similarly ornamented extend down the center of the lower front and back to the points. These strands are connected by heavy lines of red pigment. The lower edge of the shirt is ornamented with a quill-wrapped fringe utilizing the same colors as the fringe across the back. Similar fringes are sewn into the seam around each mitten. The mittens are separated from the rest of the sleeve by a broad band of red pigment bordered with feather spines wrapped with flattened red quills. The slits for the hands have a similar border. Most of the seams on this shirt are decorated with red pigment (figs. 34, 35).

*Dimensions*.—Length from top of hood to front center point, 69 cm; width across shoulders, 30 cm; width at armpits, 30 cm; width across lower skirt, 34 cm; sleeve length, 32 cm.

14973 (*Moccasin-Trousers*).—A pair of small moccasin-trousers completes the child's costume. Each leg is a separate piece of skin, as is the crotch which is V-shaped in front and extends up the back of the garment to the upper edge. There are also separate pieces at the insteps and for the moccasin soles (fig. 36).

Down the center of each leg is a narrow band of plaited porcupine quills dyed red and green. Each band reaches to the point of the instep seam and thus does not quite join the bands of quillwork of the same colors which circle each ankle.

Along the outer edges of all these bands are feather spines dyed green and wrapped with flattened quills dyed red or black.

The instep seams are outlined in red pigment and there is a similar line drawn down the center of each instep. The leg and sole seams are similarly outlined and there appears to be red pigment under the vertical bands of quillwork on the legs. Around each knee is a band consisting of four strips of quill-wrapped skin cut from a single piece and fastened to the leg at the front through a hole that runs under the vertical quillwork bands. In two places on each of the knee bands are three vertical strips of quills dyed red and at the front on the right knee is a single, short strand of skin strung with blue and white beads. At one time a similar strand probably hung from the left knee (fig. 37).

*Dimensions.*—Approximate distance from center back of waist to center of moccasin sole, 58 cm; approximate width at thigh, 27 cm.

### Discussion

It may be possible, on the basis of limited accession information, to determine a more exact provenience for this child's costume than for the other items of clothing discussed in this paper. According to a penciled notation on the back of the catalog card, it was "sent by Robert Kennicott with 10-11-12-13-14 and 15 to his sister [-in-law?] Mrs. Riley Kennicott." On the front of the card it is noted that the child's costume is nos. 8 and 9. Of the other numbers mentioned, all except no. 10 are part of the collection being described here, although none are among the basic items of clothing that have been discussed so far.

Between 1859 and 1863 Robert Kennicott, a young Illinois naturalist, made natural history collections in northern Canada and Alaska under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution and the Chicago Academy of Sciences. He came to Alaska by way of the Mackenzie and Porcupine rivers, arriving at Fort Yukon in late September of 1860 and remaining until the following August (Smithsonian Institution, 1860, p. 66; 1862, p. 59; James, 1942, pp. 8, 9). Since Fort Yukon was his only base in Alaska, it seems likely that he collected the child's costume and other materials during his stay in that community. How the specimens later came into the hands of Edward Ayer cannot now be determined.

If the child's costume described here was indeed collected at Fort Yukon during Kennicott's stay there in 1860 and 1861, then it can, with some certainty, be attributed to the Kutchin. It would also be considerably older than most specimens of Athapaskan clothing in American museum collections.

In 1865 Kennicott was appointed scientific leader of the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition, an elaborate but abortive undertaking to survey a route for a telegraph line that would cross the Bering Sea to Siberia and connect America with Europe. In his capacity as scientific leader, Kennicott was at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt (St. Michael) north of the mouth of the Yukon River in 1865 and traveled to Nulato in January of 1866, where he died unexpectedly in May of that year. It seems unlikely that Kennicott had any opportunity to collect ethnographic specimens during his relatively brief stay at Nulato during which he was continually occupied with organizational and logistic problems relating to the expedition (Sherwood, 1965, pp. 18-21, 24).

Whether the Kutchin attribution for this child's costume is correct, it is clear that the use of a hooded shirt with mittens sewn to the sleeves and slits for the hands has a wide distribution among northern Athapaskans. Children's cos-

tumes virtually identical in design to the one in Field Museum's collection are described for the Han (Osgood, 1971, p. 97), Upper Tanana (McKenna, 1959, pp. 78, 80), and particularly for the Kutchin (Jones, 1872, p. 320; Edney, 1900, p. 506; Osgood, 1936, p. 44; McKenna, 1965, p. 44). This garment was worn by both boys and girls. Writing of the Kutchin living in the vicinity of Dawson, Yukon Territory, Adney (1900, p. 506) noted that "when a small boy gets ready to go outdoors, he lies on his back and sticks his legs into the air, while the mother draws on his 'pants.'" Adney includes an amusing drawing of this activity (p. 504).

The most distinctive feature of the child's upper garment or shirt is the attached hood, which is not characteristic of any other type of traditional Athapaskan tunic. The earliest sources make no mention of an attached hood, although Murray (1910, opp. p. 82) illustrates a child wearing what is apparently a parka in one of his sketches. In speculating about the use of the parka by the Han, Osgood (1971, p. 97) was of the opinion that because of the widespread distribution of such a garment for children, the form was almost certainly known to these Indians and other Athapaskans in aboriginal times. The Han (Schmitter, 1910, pp. 4, 5; Osgood, 1971, p. 91), Ingalik (Osgood, 1940, pp. 253, 254), Kutchin (Osgood, 1936, pp. 39, 40; McKenna, 1965, p. 44) and other northern Athapaskan groups clearly adopted the parka after the coming of Europeans, leading Osgood (1971, p. 97) to wonder why it was not used more extensively before contact. With specific reference to the Han, he speculates that it might have been a matter of style. The parka is clearly an Eskimo garment and possibly the Han did not want to look like Eskimos. On a more practical level he points out that the main advantage of the parka hood, its warmth, may have been more than offset by the manner in which it restricts seeing and hearing, sight and sound being more important to forest dwellers than to Eskimo inhabitants of the treeless coast. It would seem, however, that hoods like those described next in this study, although not attached to the tunic, nevertheless functioned in much the same way as a parka hood. There is no reason to think that such hoods were not part of the traditional clothing of Yukon River Athapaskans.

## HOODS

### Description

14942.—A single V-shaped piece of skin is notched and sewn at the upper end to form the hood (fig. 38A). There is a strip of hare fur sewn along the front edge where it would touch the face, and the lower edge is cut to form a fringe. Red pigment has been used to delineate the edges of the garment and to indicate the lines where beaded decoration is sewn.

This hood is decorated with white, blue, black, and translucent red beads applied in rows. There are three rows adjacent to the fur trim, two single parallel rows across both sides of the hood and two rows along the folded and sewn edge. At intervals along all the rows except those adjacent to the fur trim are single strands of skin beaded at both ends and there are similar strands at intervals along the fringed lower edge. All beaded decoration except the strands and beaded fringe is sewn on two-strand sinew spot-stitched to the garment. At the lower ends of the fur trim on each side are sewn strips of skin to tie the hood under the wearer's chin. They are split into three beaded strands at the ends (fig. 39).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 50 cm (not including fringe); width, 25 cm.

14952.—The pattern for this hood is similar to that of the previously described specimen as is the overall arrangement of the beaded decoration and method of attachment to the garment. A thin line of red pigment follows the lower edge of the garment, which is ornamented with white-lined red, white, blue and translucent yellow beads. Paralleling the front edge are four rows of rectangular blue and translucent yellow beads. There are remnants of a hare fur border in this area. The fringe is more heavily beaded than that of the previously described specimen. Plain strands of skin serve as ties (fig. 40).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 43 cm (not including fringe); width, 24 cm.

14943.—The outstanding characteristic of this hood, the pattern and ornamentation of which are similar to the previously described specimens, is its long and heavily beaded fringe. On each side and along the folded and sewn edge there are parallel rows of white-lined red, white, blue, and black beads sewn on two-strand sinew spot-stitched to the garment. At intervals along these rows are beaded strands knotted through holes in the skin. Along the front edges are five rows of black and white beads. A single row of beads runs along the lower edges. The ties are strands of skin that are split and beaded at each end. The fringe, which consists of strands of skin threaded through paired holes and beaded at either end, adds greatly to the weight of this specimen, which totals 820 g (1 lb, 13 oz) (fig. 41). Such a heavy hood must have caused the wearer a certain amount of discomfort. The other hoods average approximately 382 g (12.5 oz).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 53 cm (not including fringe); width, 20 cm; length of fringe, 23 cm.

14946.—Three pieces of skin were used in the construction of this hood which is roughly rectangular in shape (fig. 38B). The specimen is bordered by a single row of white-lined red and two shades of blue beads strung on two-strand sinew spot-stitched to the garment. The row is doubled along three quarters of the open edge. On both sides are a series of eight short strands inserted through paired holes and beaded at either end. The single row of beads along the folded edge has similar beaded strands at intervals (fig. 42).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 45 cm (not including fringe); width, 23 cm.

## Discussion

Hoods similar to those just described, although occurring in a number of museum collections, are infrequently noted in Athapaskan ethnographies. For the Kutchin, McKennan mentions a "two piece cap or bonnet with seam along the crown and a tie under the chin" (1965, p. 45) that was fringed and worn by both men and women. Osgood describes a garment worn by Tanaina women that "looks similar to an aviator's helmet" (1937, pp. 48, 49). DeLaguna (1973, p. 147) has noted that the fringe on such hoods was designed to protect the neck from mosquitos.

Virtually all the illustrated hoods located in various museums are more helmet-like than those in Field Museum's collection, and all are attributed to either the Kutchin or the Tanaina. Hoods with Kutchin attributions, most of them tentative, include a specimen in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, that is part of a man's costume described and illustrated by Cadzow

(1925, pp. 292–295). Thompson (1972, p. 18), however, has questioned whether, in fact, it is a man's costume since Cadzow bases his identification entirely on the fact that the tunic is pointed. There are also hoods attributed to the Kutchin in the United States National Museum (Osgood, 1936, pl. 5b; *The Far North*, 1973, no. 190), the National Museum of Man, Ottawa (Thompson, 1972, p. 15, pl. 16c; Clark, 1974, no. 179), and the American Museum of Natural History (*The Far North*, 1973, no. 190, p. 149). A hood attributed to the Tanaina in the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Thompson, 1972, pl. 8a, c; *The Far North*, 1973, no. 189) resembles those in Field Museum's collection, but another Tanaina specimen in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (Osgood, 1937, pl. 3g), is more helmet-like. Another helmet-shaped hood in the Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Manitoba (Thompson, 1972, pl. 14c), lacks any provenience.

Among most, if not all, Athapaskan groups, it is apparent that both men and women wore some kind of headgear, and various types of "caps" are described in the literature. Nevertheless, it would appear that, as Thompson (1972, p. 19) has suggested, a detached hood, like those described here, was worn as an integral part of the summer costume and was characteristic of female rather than male dress.

## CAP

### Description

14963.—This cap is constructed of a single rectangular section of wolf skin, the two ends sewn together with commercial twine. At the rear a small separate strip of skin is sewn on to form a "tail." The open area at the top is covered with a piece of transfer-printed cloth gathered and tied in the center. In the seam that joins the cloth to the section of wolf skin, a fringed piece of skin has been sewn (fig. 43). This cap would have covered the entire head and extended on the sides to just below the ears.

*Dimensions.*—Circumference, 60 cm.

### Discussion

Since this specimen was acquired from Marcus O. Cherry, it was presumably collected among the Ingalik in 1890–1892. "Caps" of martin, lynx, beaver, or hare fur are noted but not described for the Kutchin (Jones, 1872, p. 320; Adney, 1902, p. 628), Han (Schmitter, 1910, pp. 4, 5), and Tanaina (Osgood, 1937, p. 48). More fully described headgear, referred to as two-piece caps, with the seam running across the top of the head and the sides hanging down over the side of the neck so that they could be tied under the chin, are said to occur among the Kutchin (McKenna, 1965, p. 45) and Upper Tanana (McKenna, 1959, pp. 78–80), but these may be references to head coverings identical to those described in this study as hoods. For the Ingalik, Osgood (1940, p. 273) describes a "hat" constructed of pieces of tanned ground-squirrel skin sewn together to form a hemisphere that fitted over the top of the head and extended down on the sides far enough to cover the tops of the ears. The description of this form of headgear seems closest to the specimen in Field Museum's collection. Regardless of the form, however, it is clear that all types of headgear described for northern Athapaskans except hoods were worn by men only.

## DECORATED STRAP AND WRISTLETS

**Description**

14976.—This strap, possibly a belt, is characterized by extremely fine quillwork decoration involving a weaving process without sewing, a method described in some detail by Orchard (1971, pp. 54–58). The decorative element, woven on a bow loom (Orchard, 1971, p. 57, fig. 36; Clark, 1974, no. 142), is sewn to a rectangular strip of soft tanned skin. When examined closely, this form of decoration appears to be made up of many small cylindrical beads. Because of the nature of the technique, the designs are necessarily geometric.

The primary design on this specimen consists of three wide bands of paired triangles separated by narrow bands of solid colors. The background quills are white, the separating bands are blue, and the geometric patterns involve the use of quills dyed red with borders of blue and yellow. All the colors are much faded. Along one edge are two rows of quills dyed so as to produce alternate red and white rectangles. Along the lower and upper edges the sinew warp strands are wrapped with quills dyed blue. At either end a narrow rectangular strip of blue cloth is sewn to the backing and to the outer edges are fastened small pieces of wood wrapped with quills dyed blue. There is no indication as to how the ends would be held together around the waist of the wearer, if indeed this strap is a belt (fig. 44A).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 72.2 cm; width, 5 cm.

14974–75.—Similar in construction and decoration to the strap or belt just described are a pair of wristlets. Here, too, the woven quillwork is sewn to a backing of soft tanned skin and the geometric designs also utilize the same colors as those on the strap. At the borders, the sinew warp and weft threads have been strung through blue seed beads. These wristlets were tied in place with strips of blue cloth, which are still present on one of them (fig. 44B,C).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 15 cm; width, 5 cm.

**Discussion**

The strap or belt and wristlets are among items in the collection associated with the name of Robert Kennicott and thus probably collected in 1860–1861 and attributable to the Kutchin. A similar strap and a pair of wristlets attributed to the Kutchin are illustrated in *The Far North* (1973, nos. 196–198). Beaded belts of the same general type from northern Athapaskan groups in the Mackenzie drainage are shown in Clark (1974, nos. 144–151).

References to belts and wristlets occur infrequently in the ethnographic and historical literature. Osgood (1940, pp. 264, 265) describes an outer belt decorated with quillwork worn by Ingalik women, and Tanaina girls in the Upper Inlet area are described as wearing wristlets (Osgood, 1937, p. 54).

## MITTENS AND GLOVES

**Description**

14972.—The pattern for this pair of mittens is simple, consisting of a front and back piece cut in such a manner that a separate piece is not needed for the thumb. A narrow strip of skin is sewn into the single seam throughout the entire length. At the wrist the edge is cut to form a fringe, each strand of which is partially wrapped with flattened porcupine quills.

The primary decoration is a broad band at the wrist within which is a quill and embroidered design. The background consists of quills folded in a double-serrate line, the thread, presumably sinew, being caught into the skin between the points. The work is drawn so tightly, however, that the sewing is entirely concealed (Orchard, 1971, pp. 66, 68). The quills, although much faded, appear to have been dyed white. Across the background is an embroidered geometric design in brown cotton thread. The quills between the parallel lines were dyed yellow but are considerably faded. The band has a sinew strand border tightly wrapped with quills. Around the base of each thumb is a series of six quill-wrapped strands of sinew. Two parallel bands, each one consisting of three short sections of embroidery, extend from the base of each thumb to the top of the decorative band. There are traces of red pigment along the seam and outlining the decorative band. A faint line of pigment, largely invisible in the photograph, also runs down the center of the front and back of each mitten (fig. 45).

Since this pair of mittens was obtained by Field Museum from Marcus O. Cherry, it presumably was collected at the Ingalik village of Anvik during Cherry's residence there between 1890 and 1892. The collection formerly contained another pair of mittens collected by Cherry, but they have apparently been lost.

*Dimensions.*—Length, 23.5 cm (not including fringe); width at the thumb, 11 cm.

14986.—The collection contains one pair of gloves, the front and back of which are cut from a single piece of skin. The thumbs are separate pieces and there are separate V-shaped sections between the fingers. Attached to the wrists with commercial thread are narrow strips of white cloth over which have been sewn strips of red cloth of the same size. At the cuffs are sewn narrow strips of hare skin (fig. 46).

The gloves are attached at the cuffs to a beaded cord. The beads are strung on two lengths of commercial twine that come together at intervals where both strands have been inserted through the holes of large blue, green, translucent yellow, and white-lined red beads. Where the strands are beaded separately, small white beads are used. At the proximal end of the cord where it would loop around the neck, the beaded lengths of twine are fastened to a strip of skin (fig. 47).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 27 cm; width at the thumb, 22 cm.

## Discussion

Although there is some question as to whether mittens and gloves suspended from a cord around the neck were part of the aboriginal Athapaskan costume, the style is, at least with reference to the mittens, very old, having been noted by Mackenzie (1801, p. 48) for the eastern Kutchin. Osgood (1936, pp. 39, 40) and McKennan (1965, p. 45) also believe them to be aboriginal among the Kutchin, and examples collected in the 1860s are to be found in museum collections (Clark, 1974, nos. 177, 178). Mittens suspended by cords are also described by early observers of the Kutchin (Jones, 1872, p. 320; Adney, 1902, p. 628). The absence of such a suspension cord is noted only for the Ingalik (Osgood, 1940, p. 271).

The antiquity of gloves among northern Athapaskans is also a matter for conjecture, but like the mittens with suspension cords, some early examples occur in museum collections. In the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnogra-

phy, Leningrad, are examples from the Tanaina collected in the 1820s and a pair obtained by Zagoskin among the Ingalik in the early 1840s, which has insets between the fingers like Field Museum's specimen (Siebert, 1980, p. 59, fig. 35). Gloves are mentioned as being aboriginal for the Ingalik by Osgood (1940, p. 273).

All ethnographers and early observers who describe Athapaskan mittens and gloves note that when they were made for winter wear, they were prepared with the fur facing the inside. Both specimens described here, however, lack fur and were presumably made for summer wear. Osgood (1940, p. 271) notes that, among the Ingalik, summer mittens were used only as a protection for the hands when paddling canoes.

The specimens described here, as well as those illustrated from collections in other museums, are cut so as to extend just above the wrist. More recently, most northern Athapaskans have made mittens and gloves of the gauntlet type, often heavily decorated with beads on the backs.

## MOCCASINS

### Description

14964.—This pair of moccasins, collected by Marcus O. Cherry, is made of tanned moose skin. The bottoms are a single piece and have T-shaped heel seams; the toe seams are straight and extend slightly onto the underside of the foot. The wraparound ankle bands have thin strips of skin sewn into the seams that join them to the bottoms. There are U-shaped inserts for the tongues which have pieces of bleached skin sewn over their lower sections, presumably for decorative effect. This form of moccasin has been referred to as the Athapaskan type by Mason (1894, p. 355) and belongs to series VI in Hatt's (1916, pp. 165, 166) classification of North American moccasins. This pair was tied to the wearer's feet with long strands of skin that run through holes at intervals in the bottom sections just below and parallel to the seams joining the bottoms to the ankle bands. The strands then run through holes in the lower borders of the ankle bands on either side of the inset tongues.

Decoration consists of a narrow band of quillwork around the edge of the lower halves of the tongues. Between two rows of single-strand, spot-stitched sinew is a pattern of plaited quills. Between the bottom row of spot-stitching and the seam, lengths of two-strand sinew wrapped with flattened quills have been sewn in. The quills in this decorative motif appear to have been dyed purple and yellow although the colors are much faded (fig. 48).

*Dimensions.*—Length from tip of toe to base of heel, 23 cm.

14959.—The pattern of this pair of moccasins, one of the specimens possibly collected by Robert Kennicott at Fort Yukon in 1860–1861 and, thus, attributed to the Kutchin, also belongs to Hatt's series VI (1916, pp. 165, 166). The bottoms are made of tanned moose skin, and the ankle bands are of a lighter, bleached material, probably caribou skin. Like the previously described moccasins, the U-shaped inserted tongues on this pair also have pieces of bleached skin sewn over their lower sections. The ankle bands are sewn to the bottoms in such a manner as to leave short flaps that extend below the seams. The narrow strips of skin serving as binders and inserted through single holes in the lower edges of the ankle bands on either side were intended to be wound around the ankle several times in order to provide an effective tie.

The decorative motifs on the outer flaps of the tongues consist of embroidered floral designs in green, yellow, red, and brown cotton thread, which is considerably faded. Two rows of quill-wrapped sinew have been sewn into the seams that join the tongues to the bottoms. The quills appear to have been dyed red and blue (fig. 49).

*Dimensions.*—Length from tip of toe to base of heel, 23 cm.

14958.—A pair of child's moccasins, also possibly collected by Kennicott at Fort Yukon, are similar in design to those already described and thus can be placed in Hatt's series VI (1916, pp. 165, 166). The material is tanned moose skin and strips of the same material are sewn into the seams that join the ankle bands to the bottoms. Narrow strips of skin running at intervals through holes in the bottoms and in the lower edges of either side of the ankle bands serve to bind the moccasins to the wearer's feet (fig. 50).

### Discussion

Although there can be no doubt that moccasin-trousers were the original northern Athapaskan footgear, other types of covering for the feet are also described as being aboriginal: knee boots were worn in winter by the Tanaina (Osgood, 1937, p. 46), in summer by the Upper Tanana (McKenna, 1965, p. 79), and year-round by the Ingalik (Osgood, 1940, pp. 265–269). These boots, however, were apparently similar in construction and decoration to moccasin-trousers.

Among Athapaskans of the Yukon River drainage, moccasins with wrap-around tops appear to have gradually supplanted moccasin-trousers, a process that must have begun quite early, judging from the date postulated for two of the specimens just described. A pair of moccasins of unknown provenience in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad are described and illustrated by Siebert (1980, pp. 58, 59, fig. 28). They are certain to predate the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867.

The Athapaskan-style moccasins retain to some extent the features of the moccasin-trousers; i.e., the flat heel and straight back seam. Also, the U-shaped tongue sewn over the instep may possibly be related to the similar inset that was an integral part of the aboriginal garment. As previously noted, among the Upper Tanana, moccasins with wrap-around tops were gradually replacing moccasin-trousers at the time of McKenna's fieldwork in 1930 (McKenna, 1965, pp. 78–80), but this change is likely to have occurred much earlier among other groups in both Alaska and Canada.

## QUIVERS

### Description

14933.—The pattern of this quiver consists of a single piece of tanned skin folded and sewn together at the ends and down the side around a narrow, rectangular, wooden reinforcement. On the opposite side a narrow strip of skin is attached at the fold and from this strip extends a beaded fringe which reaches from one end of the specimen to the other. This fringe consists of strands of skin inserted through pairs of holes and beaded on each side with blue, black, white, and white-lined red beads. Around the edge of the outer surface of the specimen run parallel lines of black, white, and blue beads, two rows adjacent to the fringe and four on the opposite side. They are strung on spot-stitched sinew. In be-

tween and running at a slight angle are separated parallel rows of black and blue beads. There is no decoration on the opposite side.

A carrying strap consists of three parallel rows of white, white-lined red, and two shades of blue beads strung on lengths of skin. The rows are kept separate by the insertion at intervals of short, vertically placed strips of skin. At the proximal end of the strap where it would pass over the shoulder, a narrow strip of skin joins the two beaded sections. At the opposite end, each side of the strap is fastened to the quiver by a thong which passes around the wooden reinforcement piece, holding it in place (fig. 51).

*Dimensions.*—Length of quiver, 59 cm.

14937.—This specimen is also cut from a single piece of skin sewn in the manner of the previously described quiver. The strands making up the fringe are fastened directly to the edge of the quiver and ornamented with white, black, blue, and white-lined red beads. The arrangement of parallel rows of beads, strung on spot-stitched sinew, around the edge of the outer surface is also similar to that on the previously described quiver. The center area, however, is ornamented with a single row of large blue and white-lined red beads arranged in a zigzag pattern. At the lower end are four parallel, slanting rows of white, black, and red beads which are a continuation of the border. A thick line of red pigment underlies all the decorative elements on this specimen.

The suspension strap consists of three parallel rows of dark blue and translucent yellow beads, the rows being separated at intervals with narrow strips of skin. A narrow rectangular strip of skin joins the two sections of the strap where it passes over the shoulder. At the opposite end, each row is knotted through a hole in the quiver. There is a wooden reinforcement piece extending along this side of the specimen on the inside, but it is not tied in place (fig. 52).

*Dimensions.*—Length of quiver, 59.5 cm.

## Discussion

Flat quivers similar to those just described are illustrated for the Kutchin by Murray (1910, opp. p. 94) and reported for the Tanaina (Osgood, 1937, pp. 90, 91) and Upper Tanana (McKenna, 1959, p. 55). Murray's illustration indicates that this type of quiver was worn so that it hung under the left arm (fig. 18) and Osgood (1937, p. 90) has noted that the form is particularly well suited for use in wooded country, since an arrow can be drawn and fitted to a bow in such a way that the tip makes only a short arc in front of the body.

Elaborately decorated quivers attributed to the Tanaina are illustrated in *The Far North* (1973, p. 150) and, in fact, most museum specimens appear to be associated with this Cook Inlet group. Three specimens in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, collected in the mid-19th century are illustrated by Siebert (1980, p. 54, figs. 3–5), and one showing particularly fine quillwork decoration was deposited in the National Museum, Copenhagen, 1853 by H. J. Holmberg (Osgood, 1937, p. 91, pl. 8h).

## POUCHES

### Description

14947.—This heavily beaded, rectangular pouch consists of two pieces of skin sewn together on three sides. The front is covered with rows of black and white

beads strung on sinew spot-stitched to the fabric of the pouch. The top three rows contain some light blue beads. Around three edges and on both sides of the opening is a single row of white and two shades of blue beads strung on sinew, which along the edges of the pouch, is looped through the ends of the sinews on which the beads on the front are strung. At the lower end of this pouch is a fringe consisting of strands of skin looped through the lower edge and beaded on either side with blue, white, and white-lined red beads. The suspension strap consists of a band of skin split into three strands except at the top. The individual strands are beaded with blue and translucent yellow beads separated at intervals with short, vertically placed pieces of skin. The distal ends of these strands hang down on either side of the pouch and are not beaded (fig. 53).

*Dimensions.*—Length, 17 cm; width, 12.5 cm (fringe and strap not included).

14948.—A knife sheath was made from two pieces of skin sewn together to form the front and back. The back piece extends 3.5 cm above the front. A fringed strip of skin, some strands of which are beaded with black and two shades of blue beads, is sewn into the seam. Around the front edge of this sheath run two rows of light and dark blue beads strung on sinew spot-stitched to the fabric. Across the top of the front are four similar rows, and four more run across that section of the back that extends above the front. At center front are short rows of black, red, and two shades of blue beads, as well as a single row of black, white, and white-lined red beads which extends the entire length of the sheath. The section of the back piece that extends above the front is bordered with a single row of black and white beads. The strap consists of two strips of skin, each split into two sections and beaded with blue beads in two shades and translucent wine-colored beads. The skin strips are joined at the proximal end to a rectangular strip of unbeaded skin (fig. 54).

*Dimensions.*—Total length of sheath excluding fringe and strap, 22 cm.

14950.—Another knife sheath is constructed from two pieces of skin, the back piece extending approximately 3.5 cm above the front. The opening is edged with black and white beads strung on loop-stitched sinew. On the front are floral motifs, also in black and white beads. The fringe consists of strands of skin inserted through paired holes at the edges of the sheath and beaded at either end with blue, white, black, and white-lined red beads. The strap, similar to those on previously described specimens, is two lengths of skin, each split and beaded with white, white-lined red, and two shades of blue beads separated at intervals with short, vertical strips of skin. At their proximal ends, both lengths are fastened to short strips of skin sewn together (fig. 55).

*Dimensions.*—Total length of sheath excluding fringe and strap, 26 cm.

14949.—This sheath is constructed of two pieces of skin of equal dimensions. A third piece, cut to form a fringe, is sewn into the seam. The strands of the fringe are beaded with white-lined red and two shades of blue beads. The front of this sheath is ornamented with parallel rows of light blue and white beads, including a double row that runs around the edge. The beads are strung on sinew that is spot-stitched to the skin. Just below the opening are 14 closely spaced rows of beads of the same colors. Lines of pigment underlie all elements of the decorative pattern on the front. A narrow strip of skin has been sewn around the edges of the opening and there may, at one time, have been a fur border. The strap consists of eight lengths of sinew, four on each side, beaded

with black, white, blue, and white-lined red beads. The lengths of sinew are separated at intervals by vertically placed strips of skin. At the proximal end the beaded sinew is attached to a short piece of skin (fig. 56).

*Dimensions.*—Total length of sheath excluding fringe and strap, 23.5 cm.

### Discussion

Specific references to pouches and knife sheaths in the historical and ethnographic literature are infrequent. Murray's (1910, opp. p. 94) drawing of Kutchin hunters shows a man wearing a rectangular pouch similar to no. 14947, and since he also wears a powder horn and carries a gun, the pouch may have been a receptacle for lead bullets or shot (fig. 18). All three of the hunters in this drawing are wearing the typical Athapaskan knife with double-curved handle in their belts, but none are wearing sheaths. The only reference to sheaths in the literature on Alaskan Athapaskans is Allen's (1889, p. 262) remark that "the beaded knife scabbard attached to the neck is considered indispensable to the well-equipped Atnatana [Ahtna] who does not take it off day or night."

Knife sheaths similar in shape to those described here and attributed to Alaskan or upper Yukon River drainage Athapaskans occur in other museum collections. Kutchin sheaths collected in the 1860s are illustrated by Osgood (1936, pl. 7c) and Clark (1974, no. 178). Two Tanaina specimens, also collected in the mid-19th century, are in the Speyer collection (Berndorf & Speyer, 1968, pl. 4).

### III

#### ORNAMENTATION

The decoration of clothing was the major artistic expression of northern Athapaskans, and the most important traditional decorative element was elaborate geometric designs of porcupine quills. Different colors were achieved through the use of natural dyes such as red and yellow ochre, berries, mosses, alder bark, and flowering plant infusions. The wristlets and strap or belt described and illustrated (fig. 44) in this study are excellent examples of the intricate designs characteristic of Athapaskan quillwork. Fringes wound with quills were also an important decorative element, and the child's tunic in Field Museum's collection illustrates fine examples of this form of ornamentation (figs. 34, 35).

Glass beads began to replace porcupine quills as the major element in Athapaskan clothing decoration early in the 19th century. Zagoskin (1967, pp. 148, 161, 162) noted that, between 1838 and 1844, red and white beads were among the most important exports to the Indians of the lower and middle Yukon River. Although most European goods traded to the eastern Kutchin came from posts on the Mackenzie River and its tributaries, Russian trade goods from coastal posts on Cook Inlet and Mikhailovskiy Redoubt (St. Michael) north of the mouth of the Yukon reached the upper Yukon as early as 1837, being diffused through various middlemen groups. In the early 19th century Tanaina Indians traveled each summer from Cook Inlet to the upper Susitna River where they met and traded with Ahtna Indians who had come there for that purpose (Wrangell, 1970, p. 12; Davydov, 1977, p. 199). Indians of the lower Tanana also served as middlemen (McKenna, 1959, p. 23; 1965, p. 25) as did various Yukon River groups. By the late 1840s, however,

Kutchin trade with the Russians appears to have been direct (Murray, 1910, pp. 51–53, 82; Krech, 1976, p. 217). Allen (1887, p. 131) noted that, by 1885, the year of his explorations, the Ahtna used beads almost exclusively for decorating their garments, but as late as 1865, Dall (1870, pp. 82, 83) observed that Indians of the Tanana River were still skilled at quillwork decoration. Some quillwork was still being done among eastern Kutchin as late as the 1950s and it is a skill that has been deliberately revived in recent years (Richard Slobodin, personal communication). The Tanaina intermingled beads and quills (Osgood, 1937, p. 52) as did other groups, and this combination is characteristic of two garments in Field Museum's collection.

The introduction of beads eventually resulted in a shift from the aboriginal geometric motifs to predominantly floral patterns. Beads permitted greater flexibility of design and were much easier to use than porcupine quills. Geometric designs did not disappear quickly, however, as the specimens in Field Museum's collection demonstrate. Indeed, there are no floral motifs on most of these specimens, but the geometric patterns are larger and less complex than the extremely fine work that is possible with the narrow, flattened quills. It is apparent that floral designs did not become truly popular until after the introduction of small glass seed beads and silk thread sometime after 1900.

More significant than their decorative value, however, is the fact that beads quickly became an important symbol of wealth among the various Athapaskan groups. Osgood (1971, p. 128) has suggested that beads fitted easily into the native conception of values because of the precontact trade in dentalium shells. Both Zagoskin (1967, pp. 144–146) for the peoples of the lower and middle Yukon and Murray (1910, pp. 84, 85) for the western Kutchin noted that the Indians wore large rolls of beads as necklaces in addition to their elaborately decorated clothing. In fact, following the general availability of beads, the use of porcupine quills by the Kutchin quickly became confined to those persons who were regarded as poor (Murray, 1910, p. 84; Richardson, 1851, vol. 1, p. 380).

The importance of beads as an indication of wealth is most clearly documented for the Kutchin, where strings of this commodity were equivalent to the Hudson's Bay Company standard of exchange, the Made Beaver (Krech, 1976, p. 218). Murray (1910, p. 90) believed that no Indian was regarded as a leader until he had accumulated 200 "skins" worth of beads, and several other early observers noted the extent to which beads provided an indication of prestige and influence (Kirby, 1865, p. 418; Hardisty, 1872, pp. 111–114; Jones, 1872, pp. 320–325).

It is clear that, among Alaskan Athapaskan groups, beads were highly valued quite apart from their usefulness for decorating clothing. As the impact of the new economy increased toward the end of the 19th century, however, beads inevitably lost much of their value in the monetary sense. Nevertheless, as decoration they continued to indicate wealth and influence. This certainly explains the amount of beaded decorations on some Field Museum specimens, an amount that, as noted earlier, adds considerably to the weight of the individual garments and undoubtedly made them awkward and somewhat uncomfortable to wear. Osgood (1937, p. 52) has noted that, among the Tanaina, elaborate decoration occurred primarily on summer gar-

ments and, among the Kutchin, wealthy persons sometimes had two or three sets of clothes (Osgood, 1936, pp. 39, 40). The summer clothing described in this study would appear to have been made, and decorated, for special occasions and not for everyday wear. It is possible, considering the immaculate condition of most specimens, particularly the tunics and moccasin-trousers, that at least some items were made solely for the collector and thus never worn.

#### IV

#### CLOTHING CHANGE

In the Introduction, reference was made to the appeal that ready-made European-style clothing had for northern Athapaskans in terms of convenience, comfort, and identification with the white man. The result of this attraction to new clothing styles was so pervasive that some of the earliest Euro-American visitors to Indian communities noted that changes in traditional apparel were already occurring.

Aboriginal clothing styles appear to have been intact on the lower-middle Yukon at the time of Zagoskin's explorations in 1842-1844 (Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 244-246), and Murray (1910, p. 56) at Fort Yukon in 1847 noted that the Kutchin believed, in spite of his efforts to persuade them to the contrary, that their clothing was superior to European garments. By the mid-1860s, however, Strachan Jones, a Hudson's Bay trader in the area, noted that aboriginal decorative forms were already undergoing change (Jones, 1872, p. 320), and Frederick Whymper, a member of the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition, found that, although Indians who gathered at the mouth of the Tanana River to trade were dressed in traditional garments, those at Fort Yukon were "wearing every variety of clothing, including those of a civilized kind, shirts, coats, 'capotes,' and pantaloons, obtained in the Company's store" (Whymper, 1869, p. 177).

Throughout much of the Yukon River valley, aboriginal clothing styles had virtually disappeared by the end of the 19th century. On the lower-middle river, Nelson (VanStone, 1978, p. 44) noted that in 1880 the Ingalik dressed entirely in clothing purchased either from traders or the neighboring Eskimos, and only seven years later white cotton drilling, unbleached muslin, and calico cloth for summer clothing were among the most desired trade items at Anvik (VanStone, 1979b, pp. 116, 117). By the end of the century, Indians in many Yukon River communities greatly desired cheap clothing, including shoes, hats, and stockings. Around white settlements in particular there was a rapidly increasing trade in bright-colored skirts for women and shirts and neckties for men. Straw hats were one of the novelties that were popular about 1900 (Cantwell, 1902, pp. 153, 154). At least one observer in the first decade of this century believed that most of the manufactured clothing offered to the Indians was cheap and shoddy (Stuck, 1917, p. 361).

By 1897, only the old men and women among the Kutchin still maintained some semblance of traditional dress although considerably modified (Adney, 1900, p. 506; 1902, p. 625). As previously noted, the relatively isolated Upper Tanana were still wearing moccasin-trousers in the early 1930s (McKenna, 1959, p. 79) and among some groups mittens, gloves, and moccasins are still

made today, both for use and for sale in community stores to visitors. Gloves of the gauntlet type with fur trim and beaded decoration on the back are a characteristic trade item among contemporary northern Athapaskans in both Canada and Alaska.

It is little wonder that the Indians appreciated the special qualities of wool—warm, lightweight, and washable—as opposed to tanned caribou skin, which is heavy and highly absorbent. Brightly colored fabrics also had obvious appeal, as did canvas and drilling, which could be cut easily and sewn into a variety of garments. With the introduction of these new fabrics, the ordinary family, perhaps for the first time, could afford to have several changes of clothing.

## V

### ATTRIBUTIONS

As noted in previous chapters, nine specimens in Field Museum's collection of Athapaskan clothing and related objects can be assigned proveniences with some degree of certainty on the basis of catalog and accession information. The most specific provenience is associated with the cap (14963), pair of moccasins (14964), and mittens (14972) collected by Marcus O. Cherry who lived in the Ingalik village of Anvik between 1890 and 1892. Although much of the material in Cherry's total collection (accession 62) is undeniably Eskimo and was obtained in settlements on the lower Yukon River, the only Athapaskan specimens are those listed above, and there seems little reason to doubt that he obtained them at his place of residence.

Of less certainty is the provenience assigned to the child's costume (14973), the quillwork belt or strap and wristlets (14974-76), a pair of adult's moccasins (14959), and a pair of child's moccasins (14958). These, it will be recalled, are attributed to the Kutchin on the basis of tenuous information on catalog cards to the effect that they were collected by Robert Kennicott, probably at Fort Yukon.

Unfortunately, none of these attributions apply to the basic and most abundant items in the collection, namely, the tunics, moccasin-trousers, and hoods. Given the absence of precise documentation, it appeared at the outset of this study that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to assign attributions on the basis of typological features alone. This seemed particularly true since an examination of the literature and a previous study of clothing attributed to the Kutchin (Thompson, 1972) revealed that the clothing styles and decoration of western Athapaskan groups were very similar. The previous descriptions and comparisons in this study indicate clearly the uniformity of style and decoration, both within this particular collection and throughout the western Athapaskan area.

Although the documentation accompanying Field Museum's specimens may be far from ideal, at least it provides an approximate date of collection and indicates that the materials were collected, or at least originated, in that part of the Yukon valley within Alaska. This is hardly a precise provenience, but the fact remains that much of the area is within the territory traditionally occupied by only two groups: the Kutchin and Koyukon. Comparison of the garments described and illustrated in this study with those described by early

observers and with examples currently in museum collections indicates that, however similar the style and decoration of all western Athapaskan clothing may have been, the tunics, moccasin-trousers, and hoods in Field Museum's collection bear an exceptionally close resemblance to descriptions of Kutchin clothing, as well as to actual specimens with either tentative or positive Kutchin attributions. As for the Koyukon, Dall's (1870, pp. 82, 83) description not only places their clothing firmly within the typology for the area as a whole, but his emphasis on the importance of white, black, and "brick red" beads sewn in alternate bands indicates that Koyukon decoration, in terms of color and design at least, closely resembled that of the specimens described in this study.

Admittedly, none of this is particularly convincing in any specific sense. Nevertheless, it seems that a reasonable case can be made for attributing the tunics, moccasin-trousers, and hoods described here as either Kutchin or Koyukon. If the case for the former is stronger, it is only because much more information is available both in the literature and in museum collections relevant to Kutchin clothing and thus comparisons are easier.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The value and usefulness of any study of material culture are determined to a large extent by the number and quality of its illustrations. I have been particularly fortunate in this regard. The excellent photographs are the work of Mr. Ron Testa, and the clothing patterns were drawn by Mr. Zbigniew Jastrzebski who first prepared more detailed working drawings from which the descriptions were written. For useful comments and suggestions, which clarified and focused my thinking during preparation of this study, I am grateful to Mrs. Loran Recchia and Mr. William Simeone. Errors of fact or interpretation are, of course, mine alone. The manuscript was typed by Mr. James Hanson and published with the assistance of the James R. Getz Fund.

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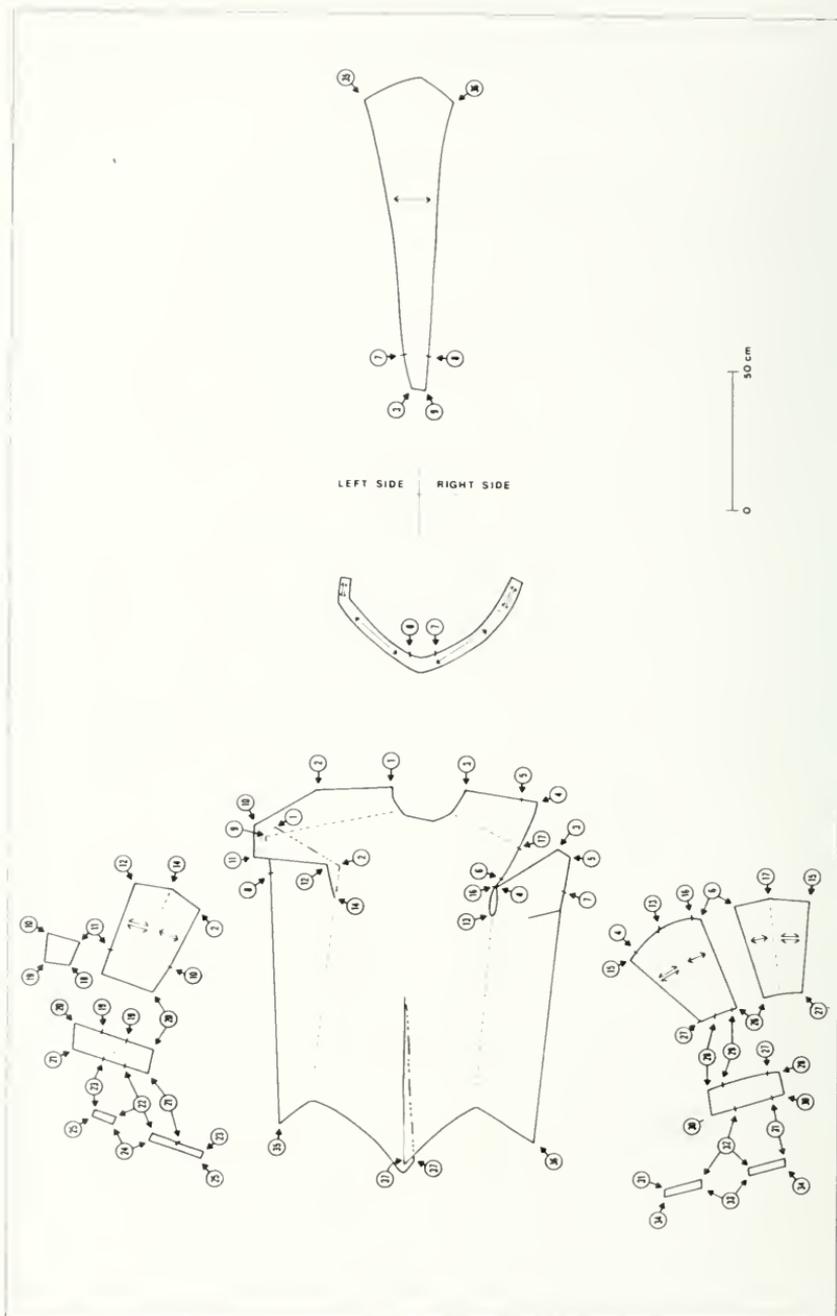


FIG. 1. Tunic (14934). The numbers in circles on this and subsequent pattern drawings indicate points of contact.



FIG. 3. Tunic (14934); back.



FIG. 2. Tunic (14934); front.

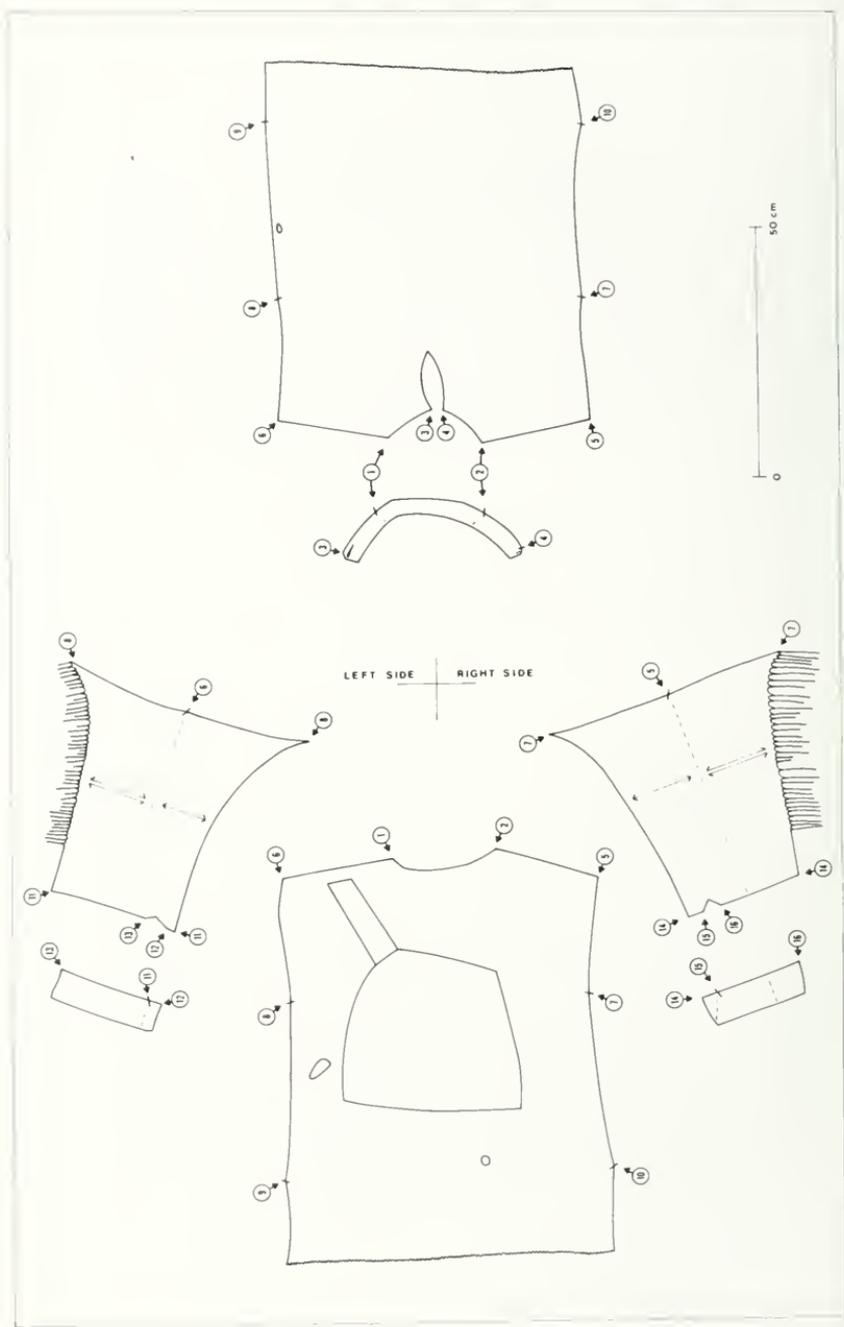


FIG. 4. Tunic (14960).



FIG. 5. Tunic (14960).

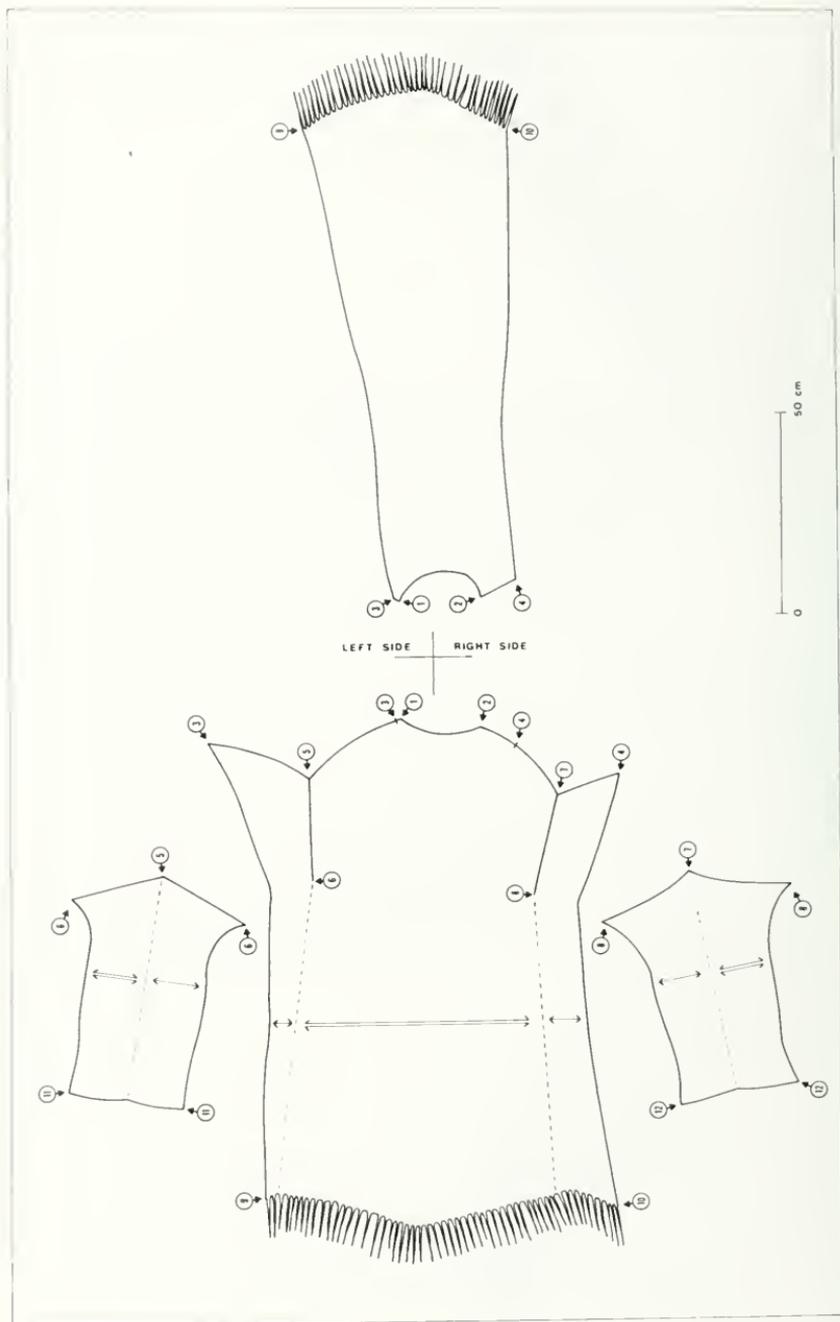


FIG. 6. Tunic (14931).

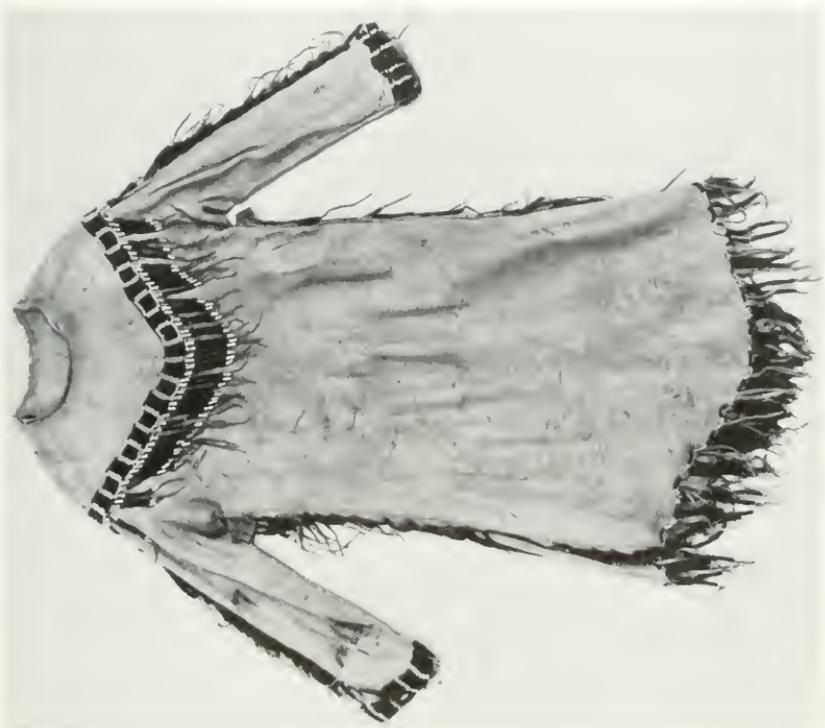


FIG. 7. Tunic (14931); front.



FIG. 8. Tunic (14931); back.

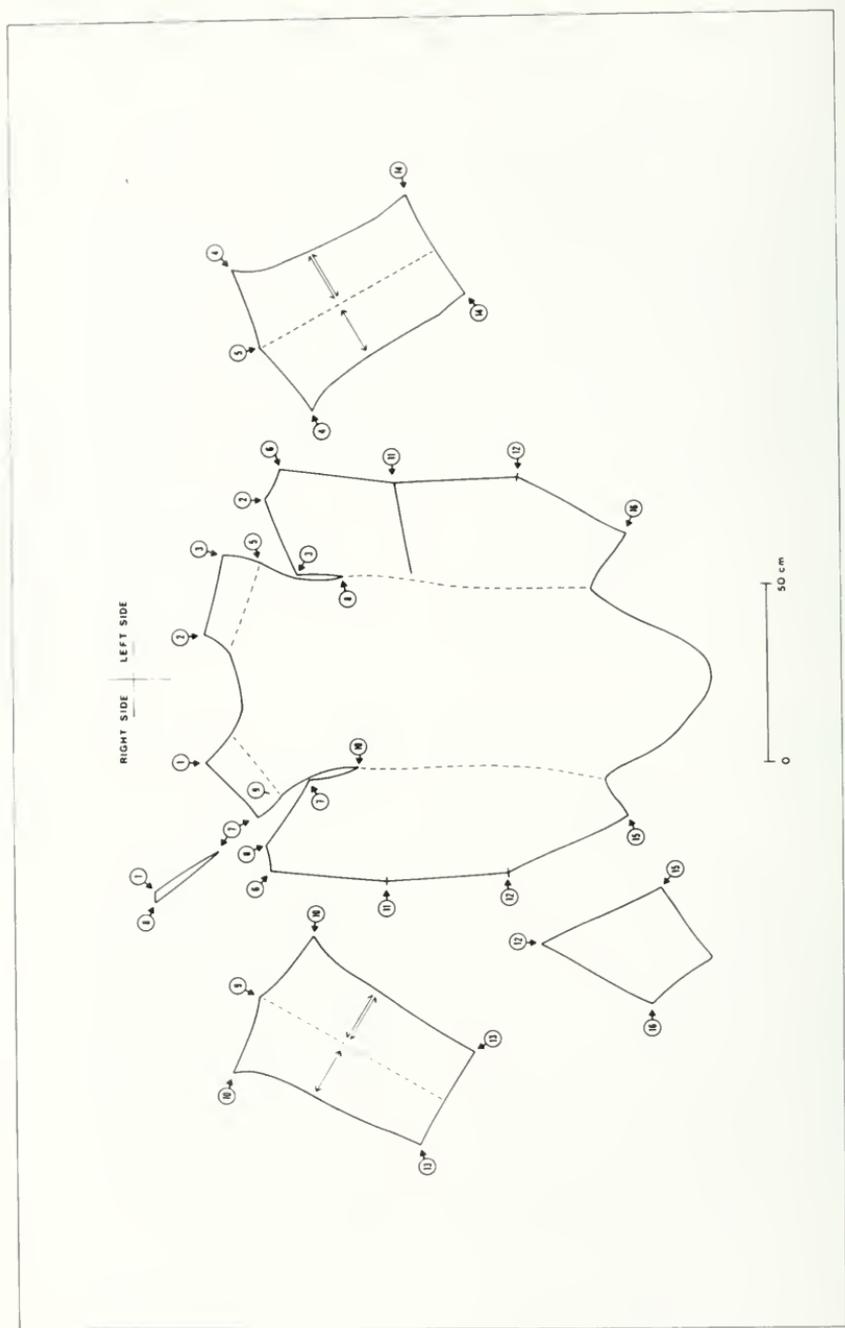


FIG. 9. Tunic (14944).

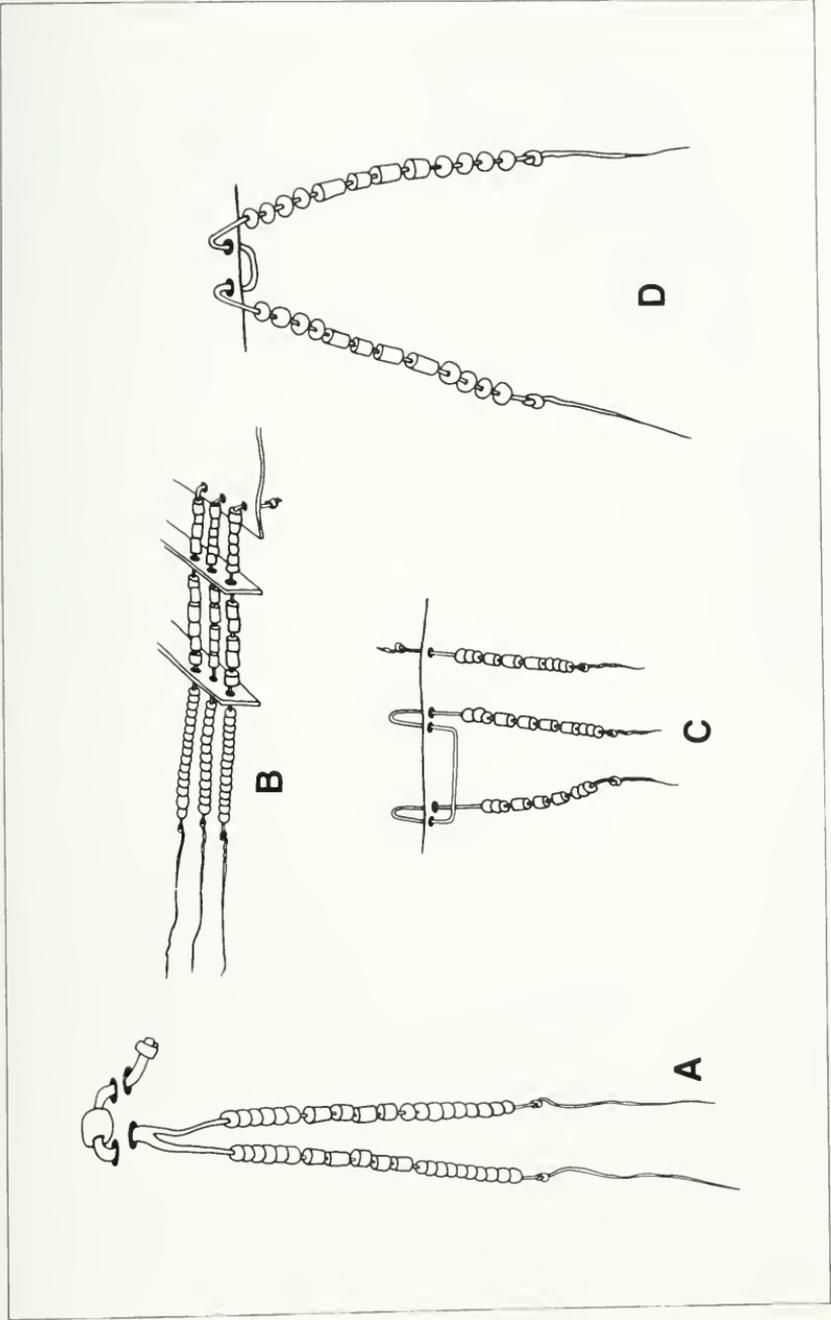


FIG. 10. Types of beaded fringes on tunics (slightly reduced).



FIG. 11. Tunic (14944); front.



FIG. 12. Tunic (14944); back.

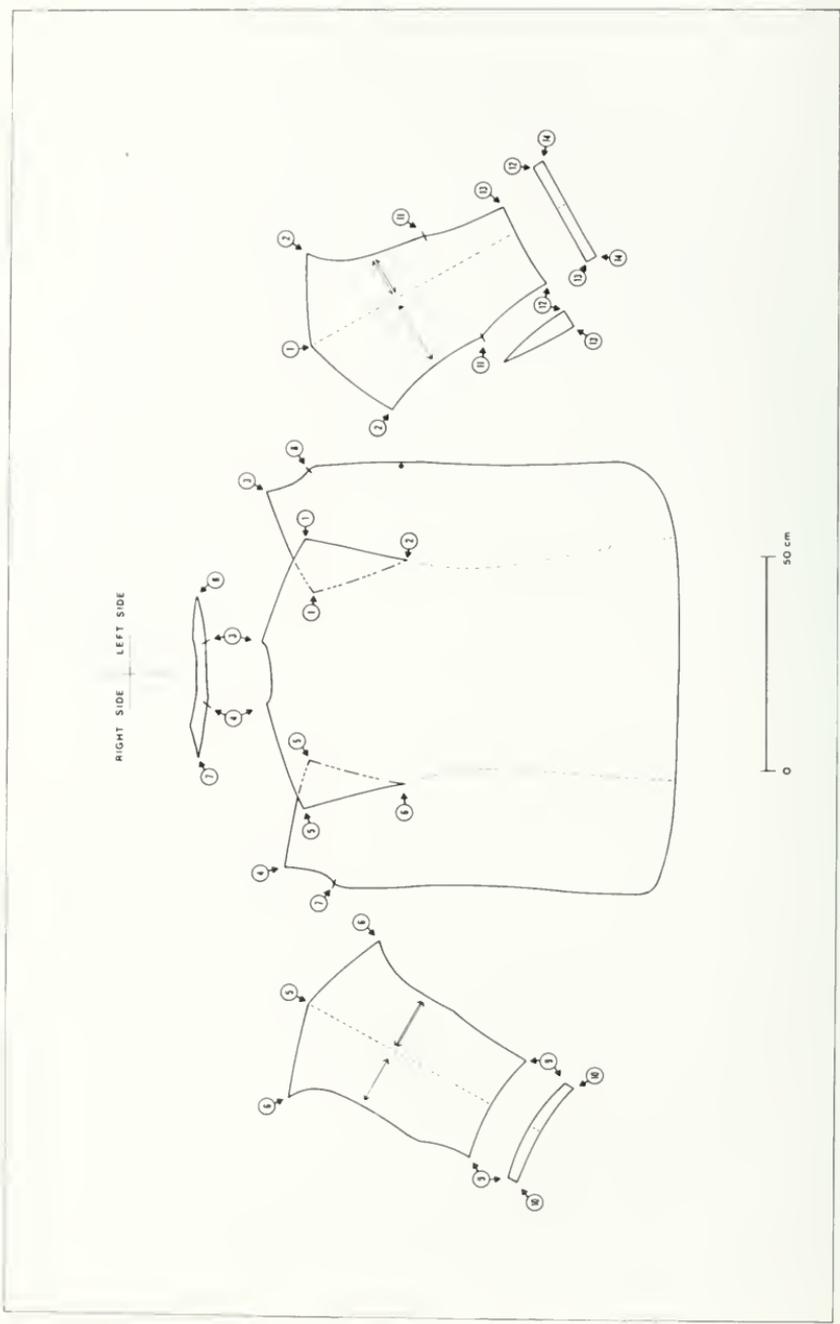


Fig. 13. Tunic (14953).

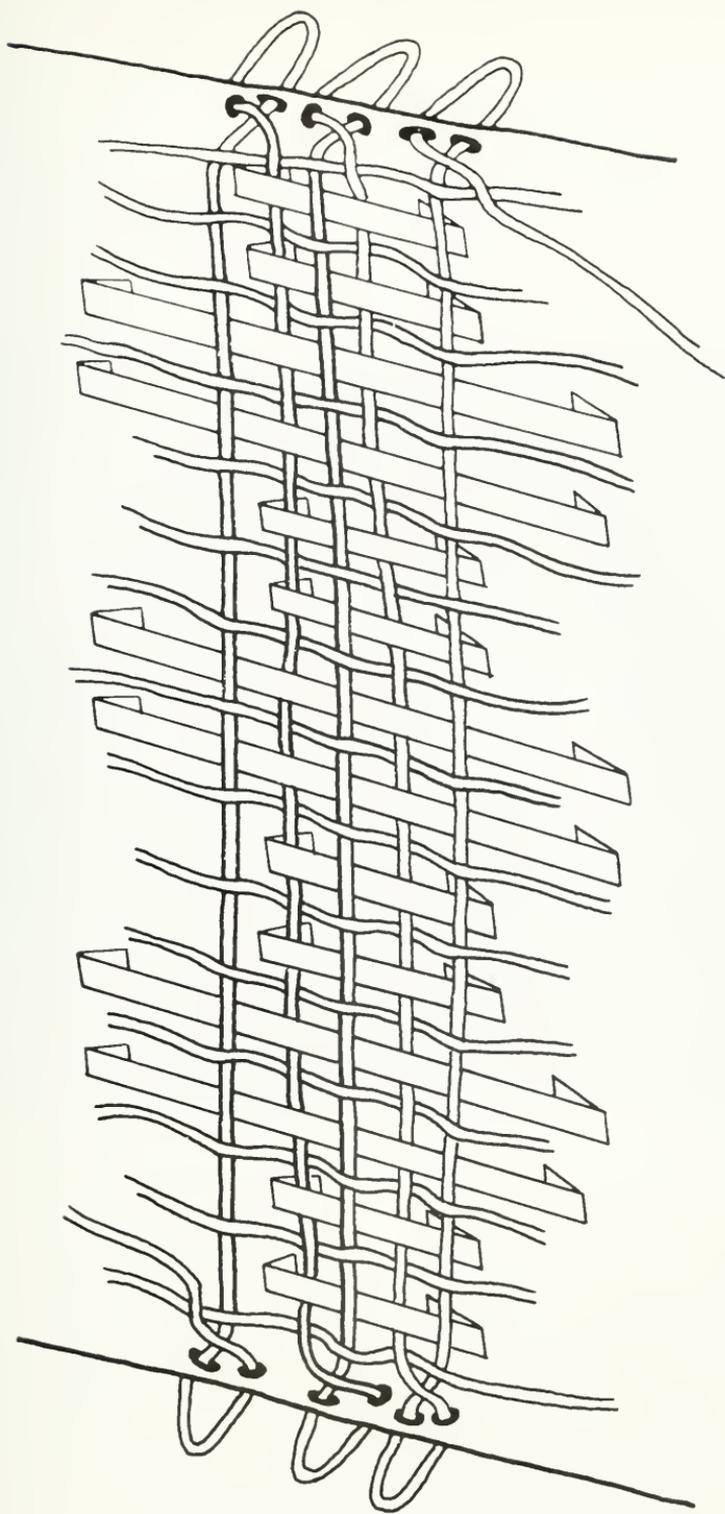


FIG. 14. Tunic (14953); detail of quillwork design (enlarged).



FIG. 15. Tunic (14953); front.



FIG. 16. Tunic (14953); back.



Saveeah, chief of the Kootcha Kootchin.

FIG. 17. A Kutchin leader (from Murray, 1910, opp. p. 89).

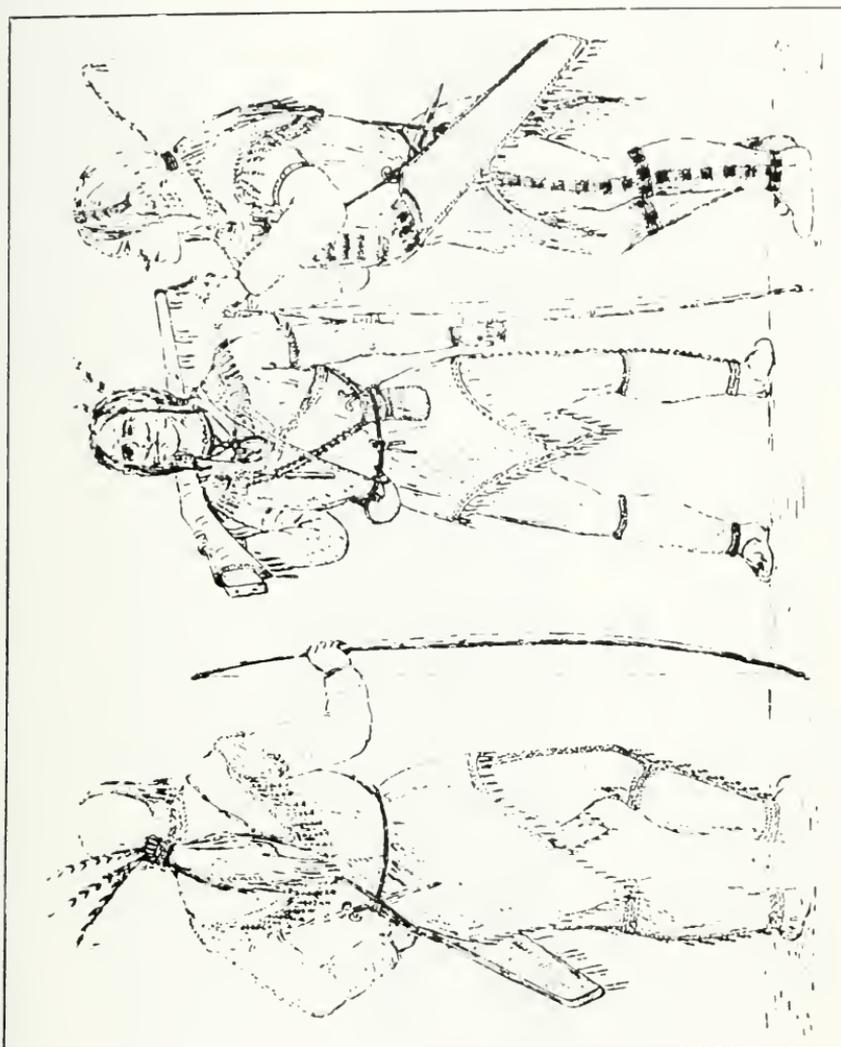


FIG. 18. Kutchin hunters (from Murray, 1910, opp. p. 94).



FIG. 19. A Kutchin hunter (from Gordon, 1917, opp. p. 195).

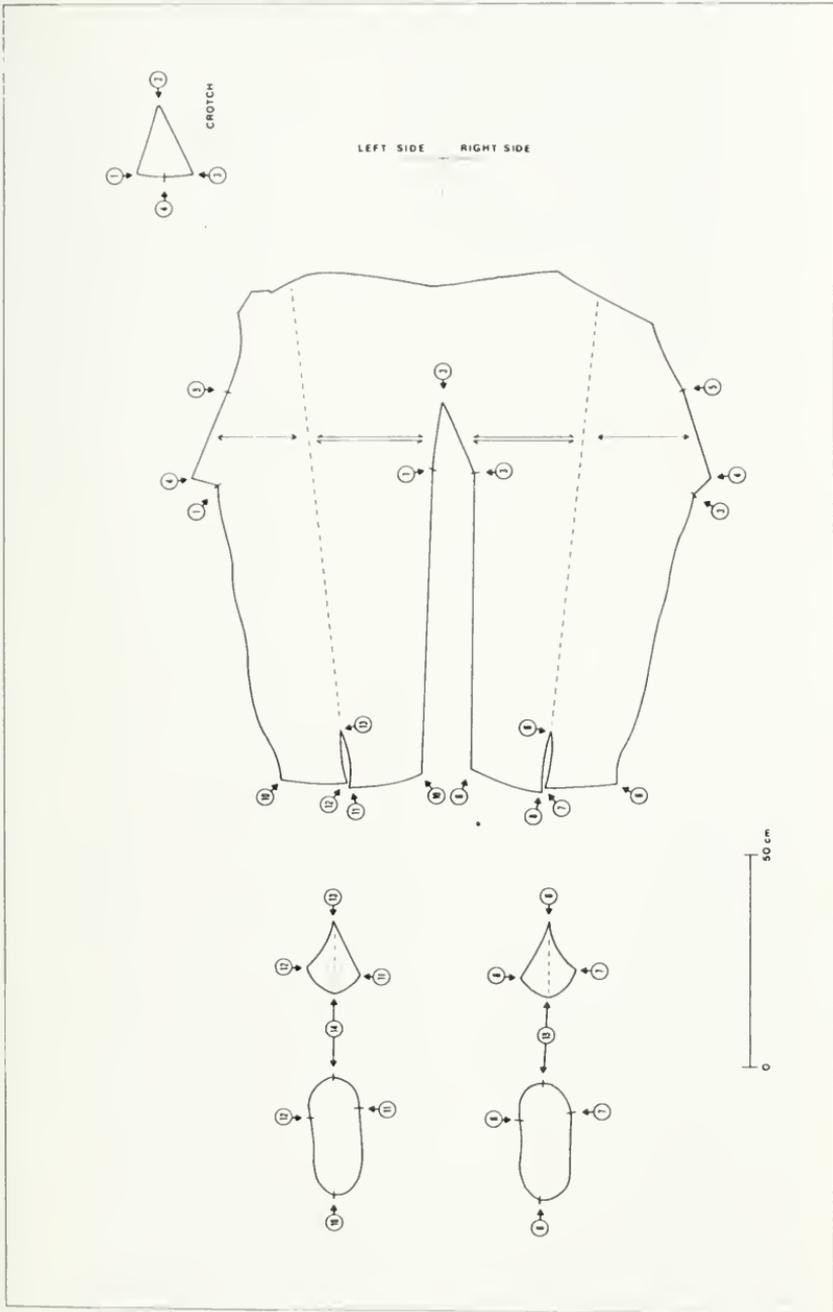


FIG. 20. Moccasin-trousers (14935).



FIG. 21. Moccasin-trousers (14935).



FIG. 22. Moccasin-trousers (14935).

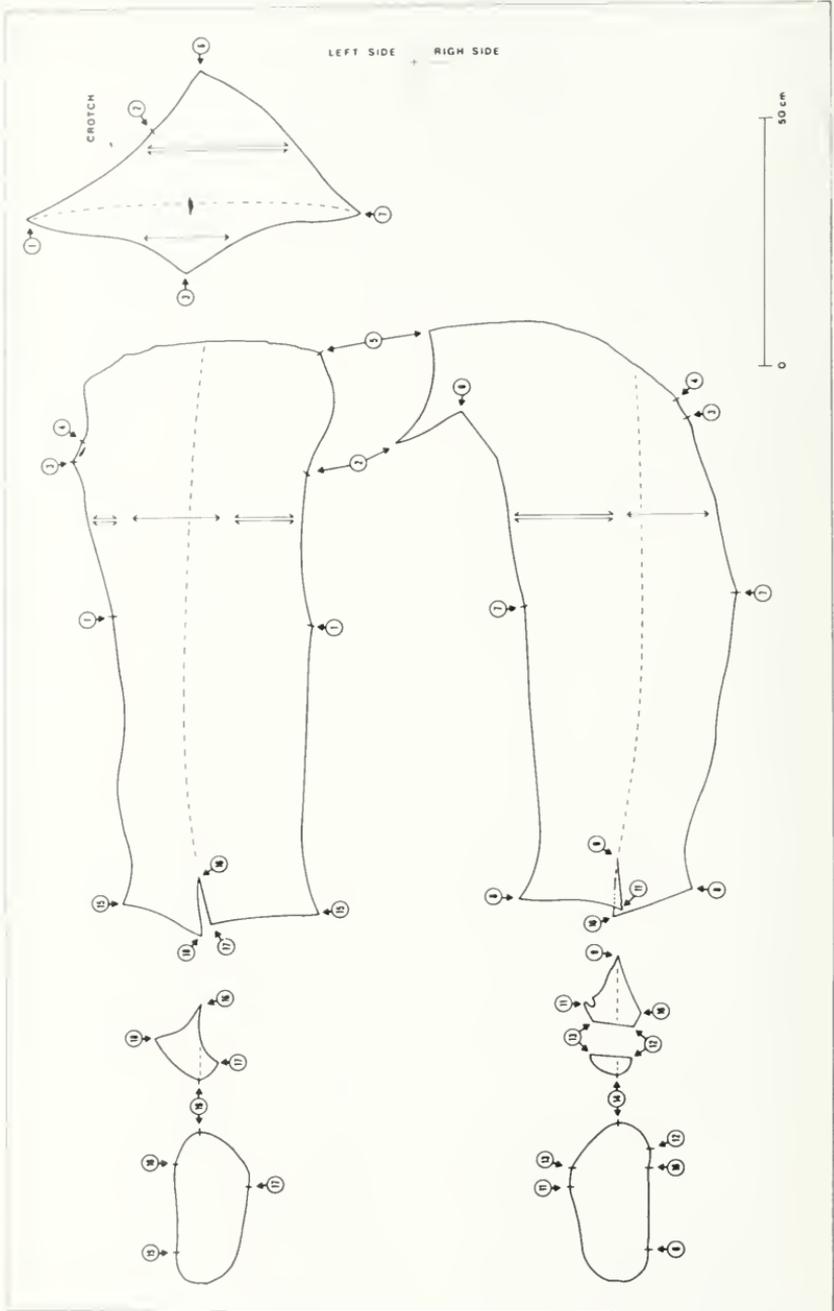
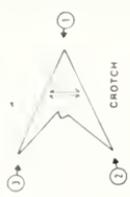


FIG. 23. Moccasin-trousers (14970).



FIG. 24. Moccasin-trousers (14970).



LEFT SIDE      RIGHT SIDE

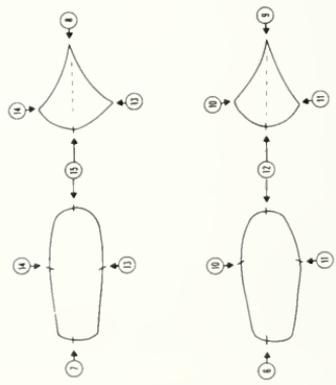
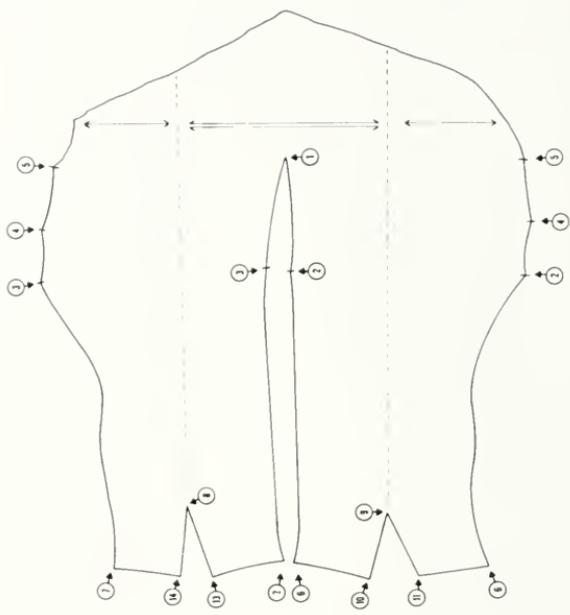


FIG. 25. Moccasin-trousers (14954).



FIG. 26. Moccasin-trousers (14954).

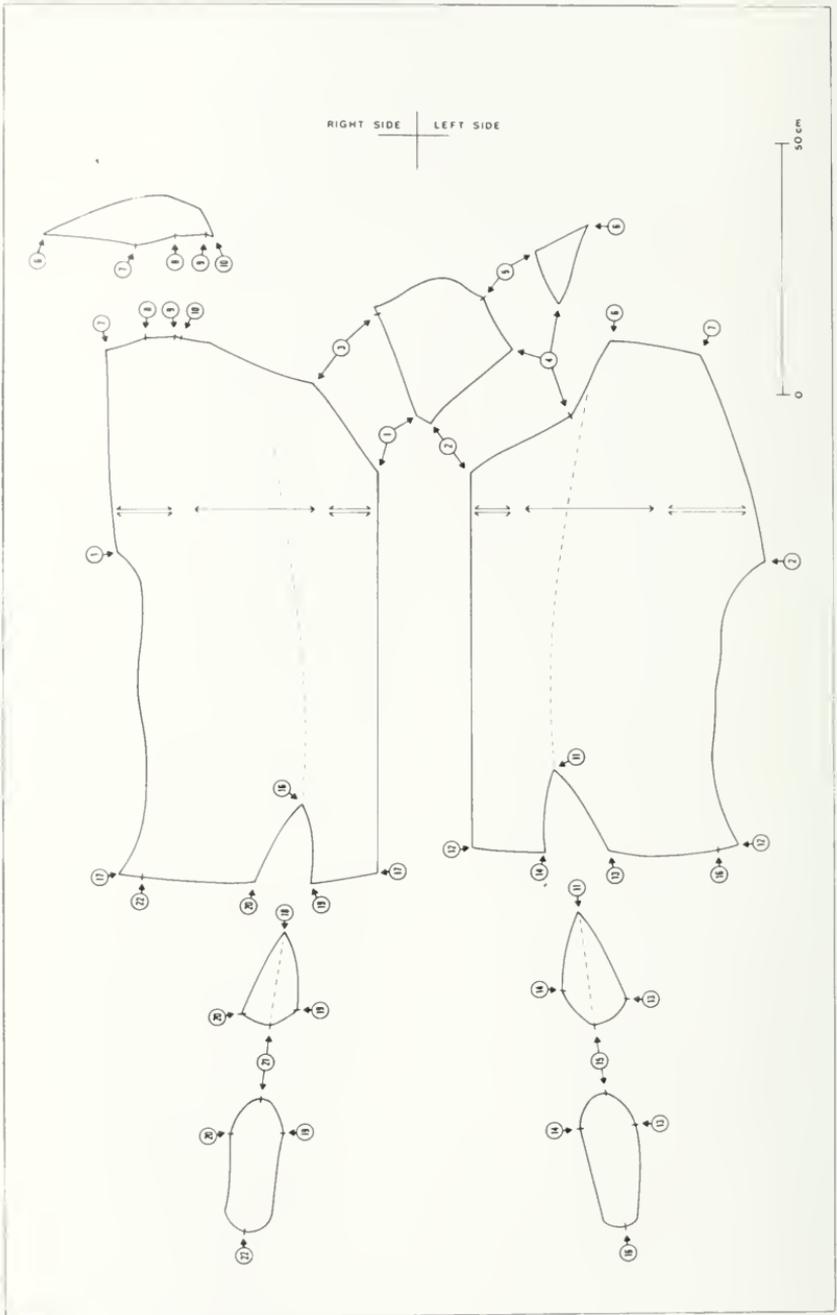


FIG. 27. Moccasin-trousers (14932).



FIG. 28. Moccasin-trousers (14932).

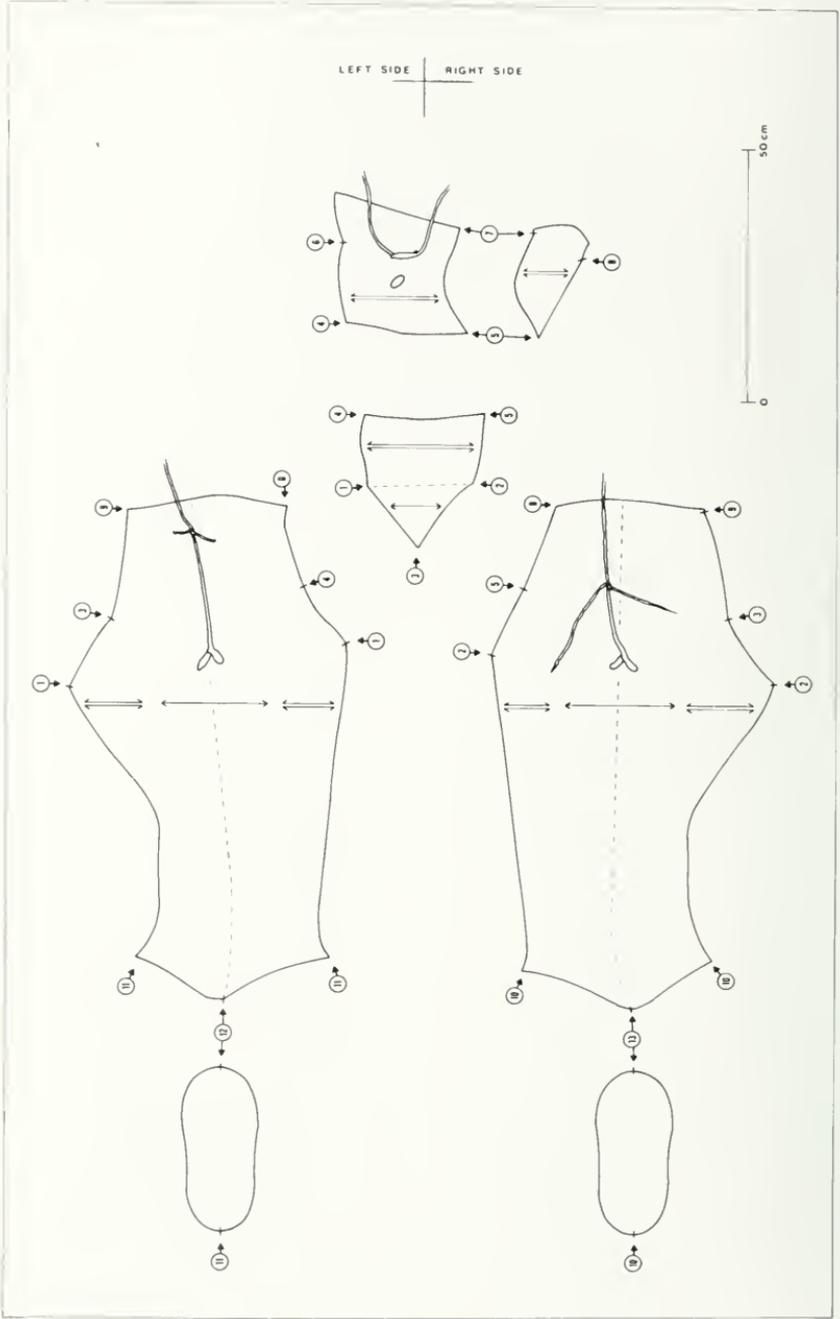


FIG. 29. Moccasin-trousers (14945).



FIG. 30. Moccasin-trousers (14945).

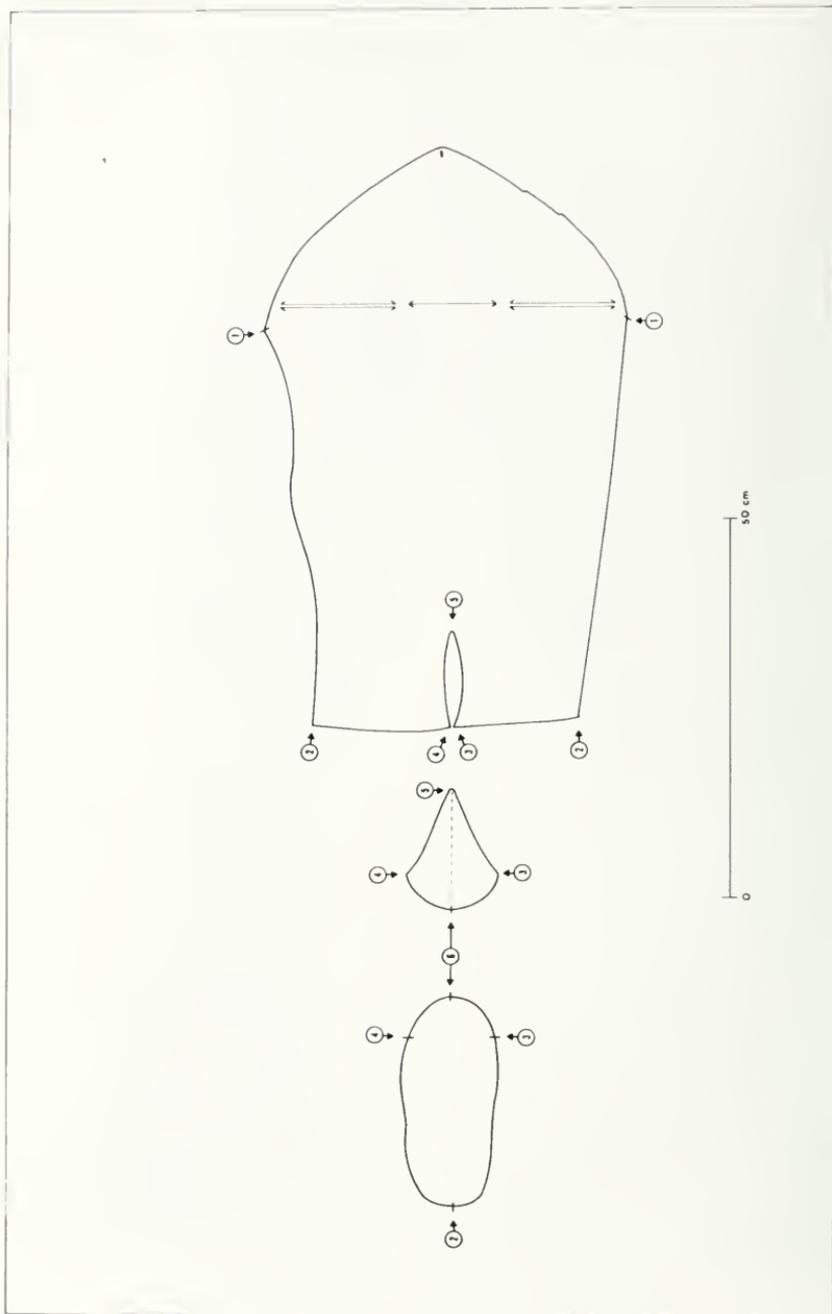


FIG. 31. Moccasin-leggings (14951).



FIG. 32. Moccasin-leggings (14951).

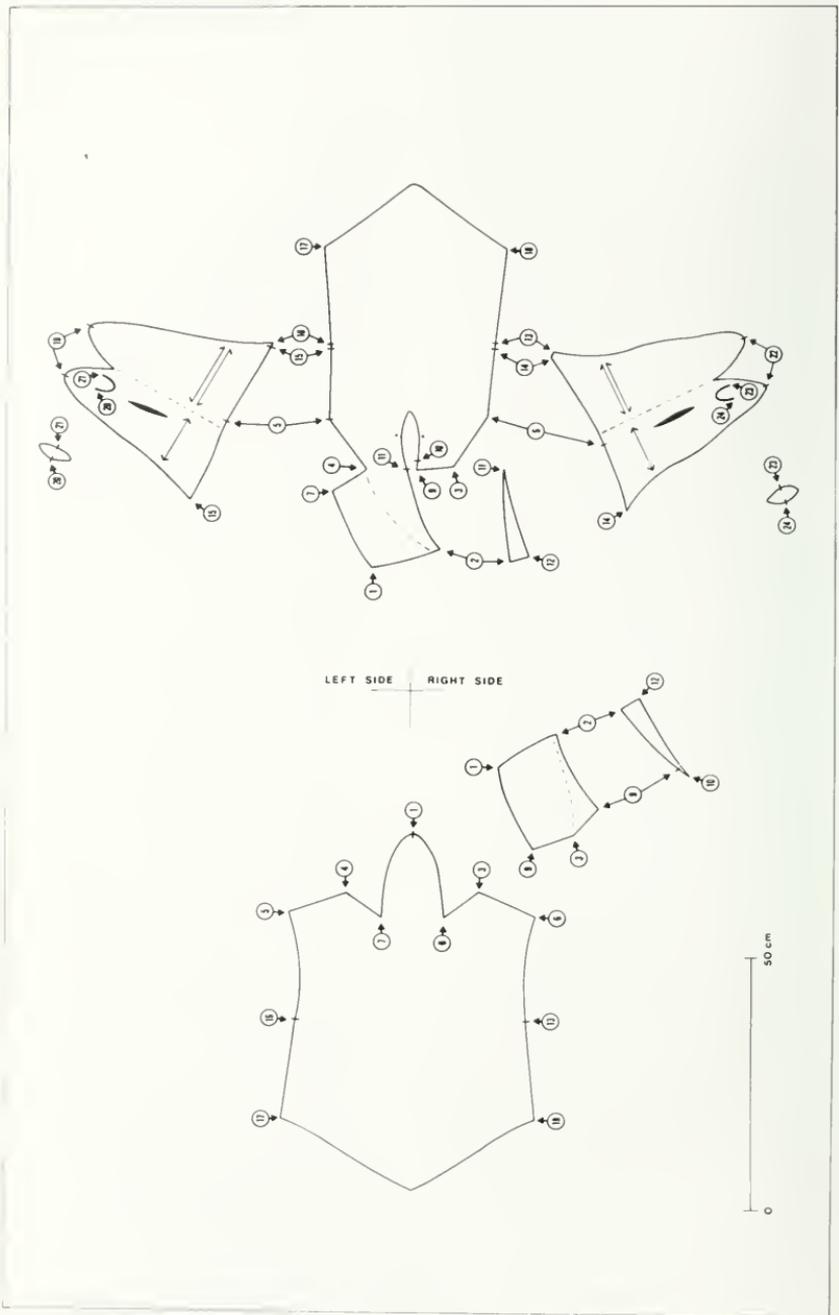


FIG. 33. Child's tunic (14973).

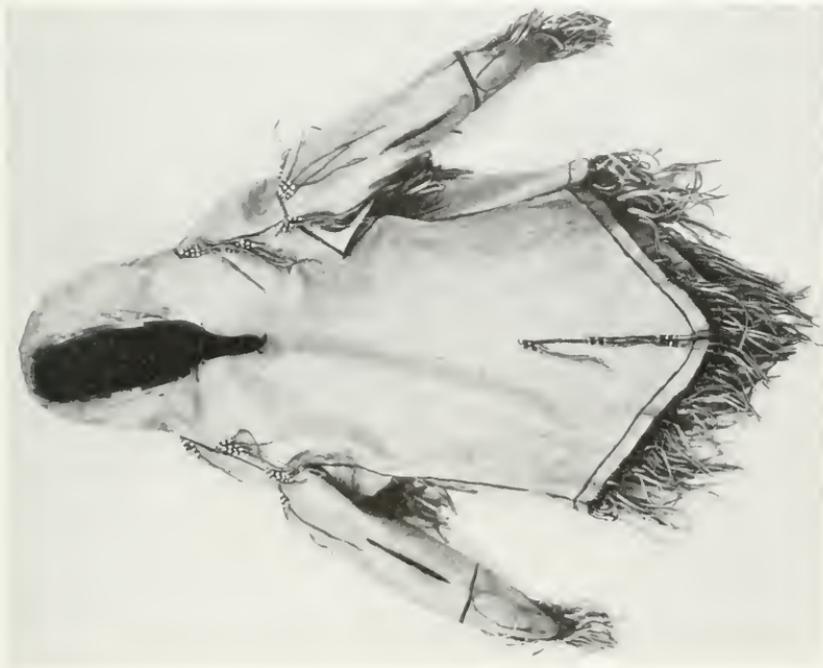


FIG. 34. Child's tunic (14973); front.



FIG. 35. Child's tunic (14973); back.

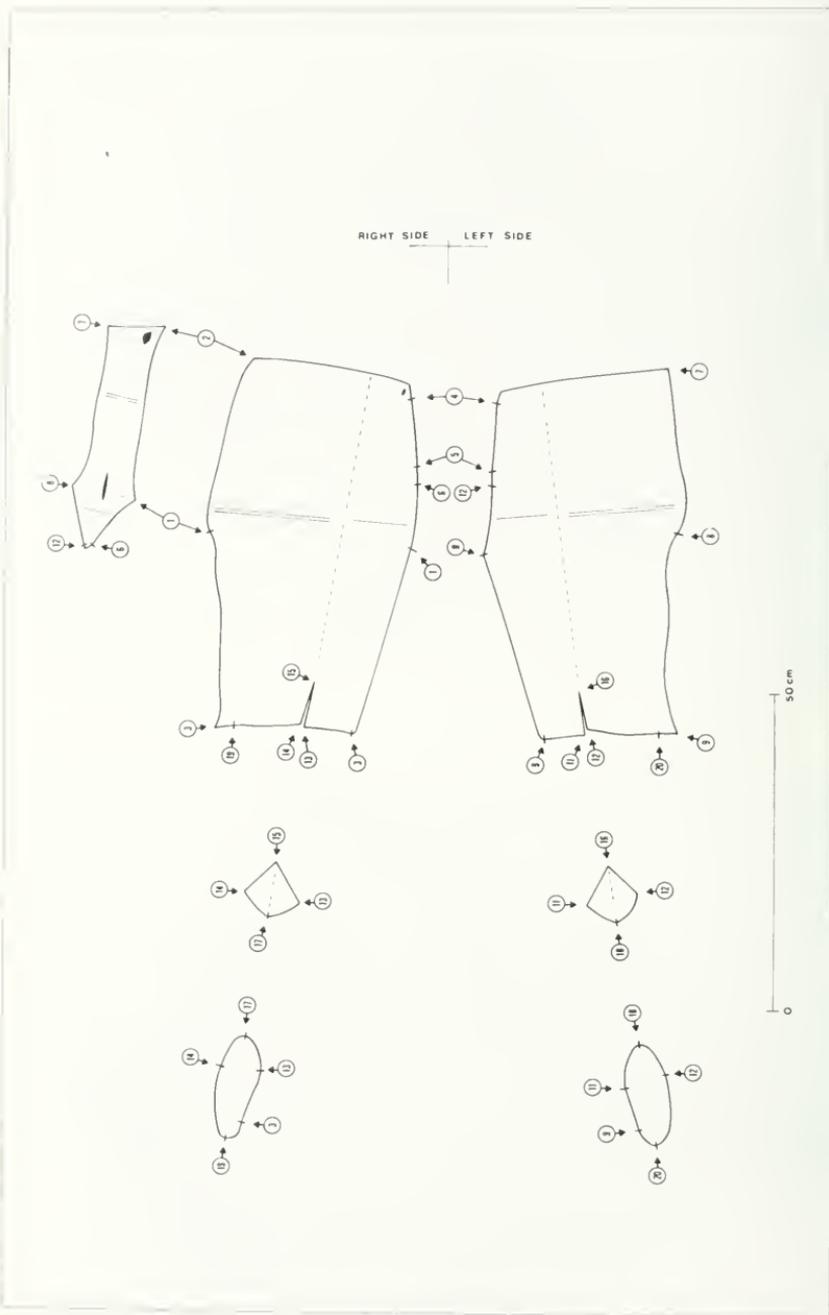


FIG. 36. Child's moccasin-trousers (14973).



FIG. 37. Child's moccasin-trousers (14973).

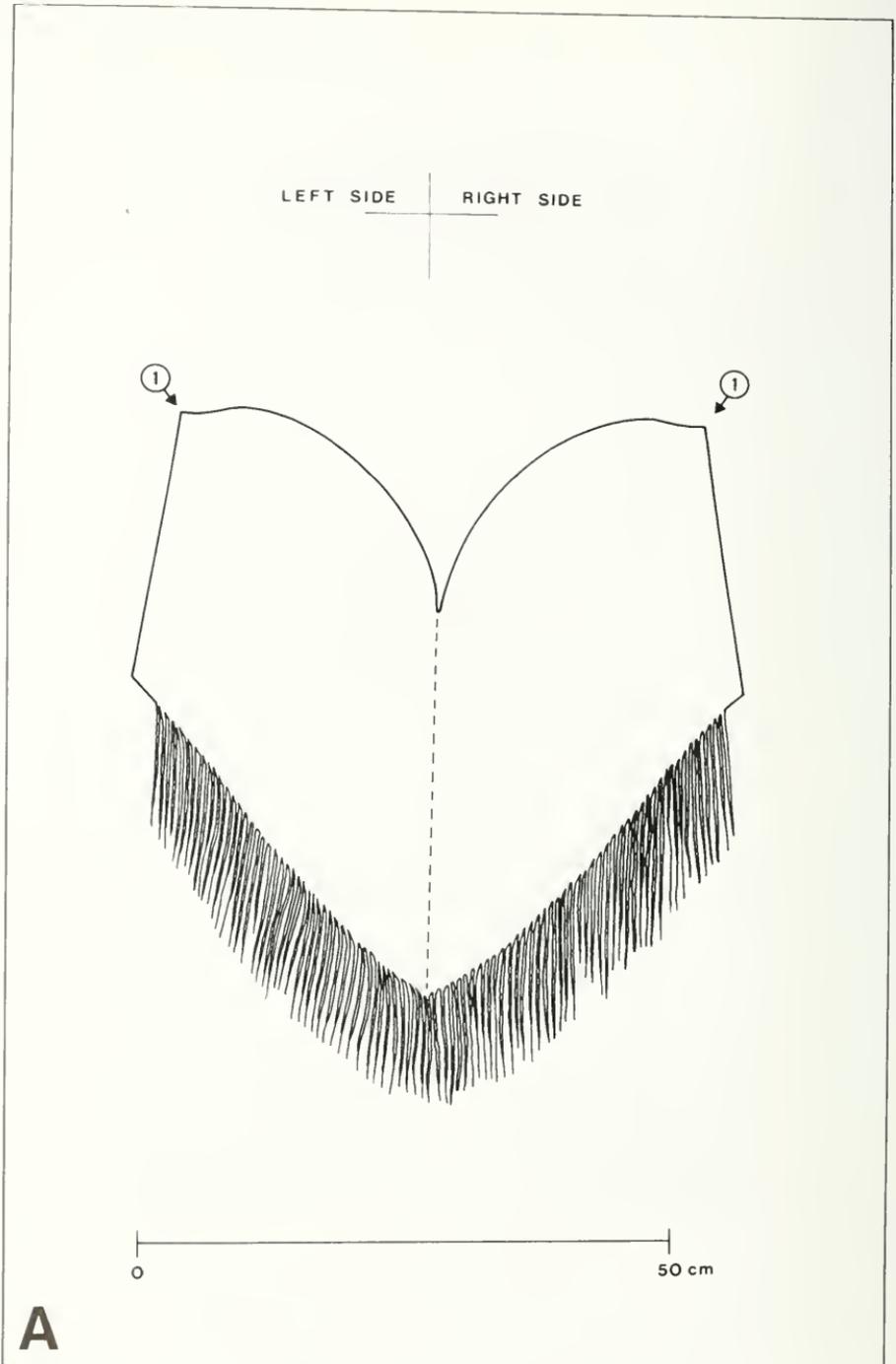


FIG. 38. A, Hood (14942).

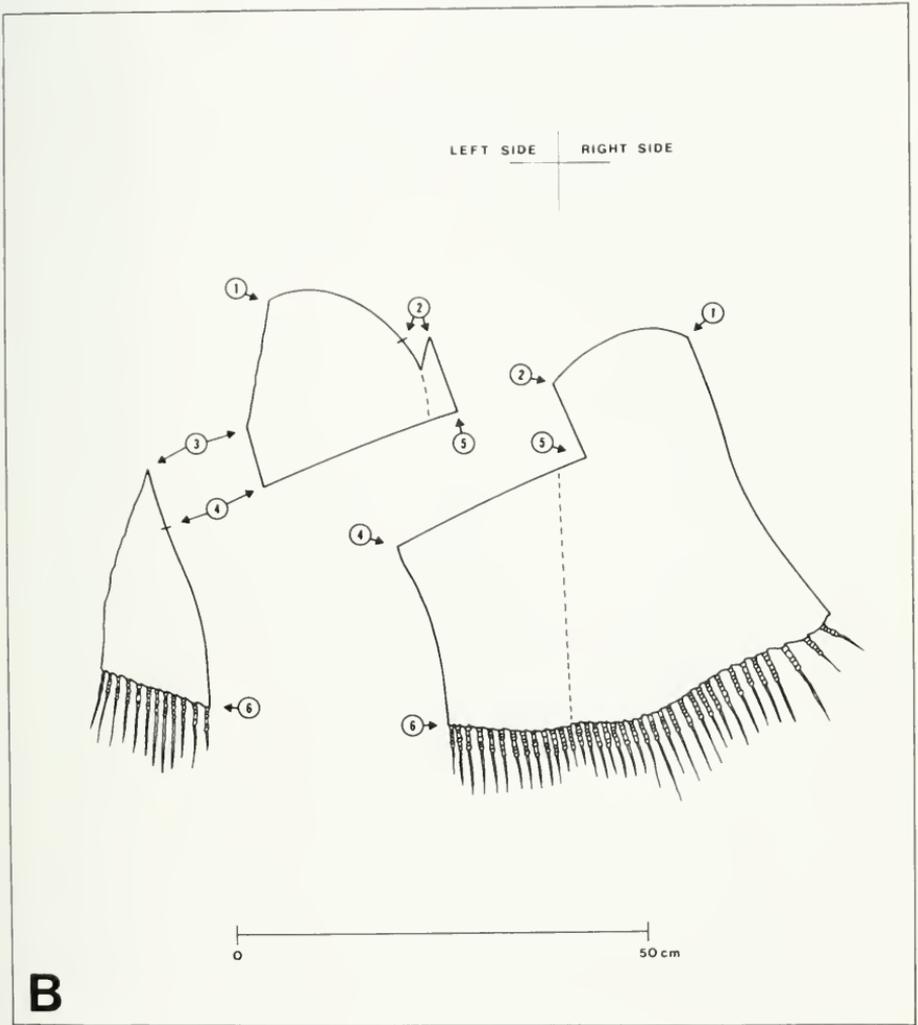


FIG. 38. B, Hood (14946).



FIG. 39. Hood (14942).

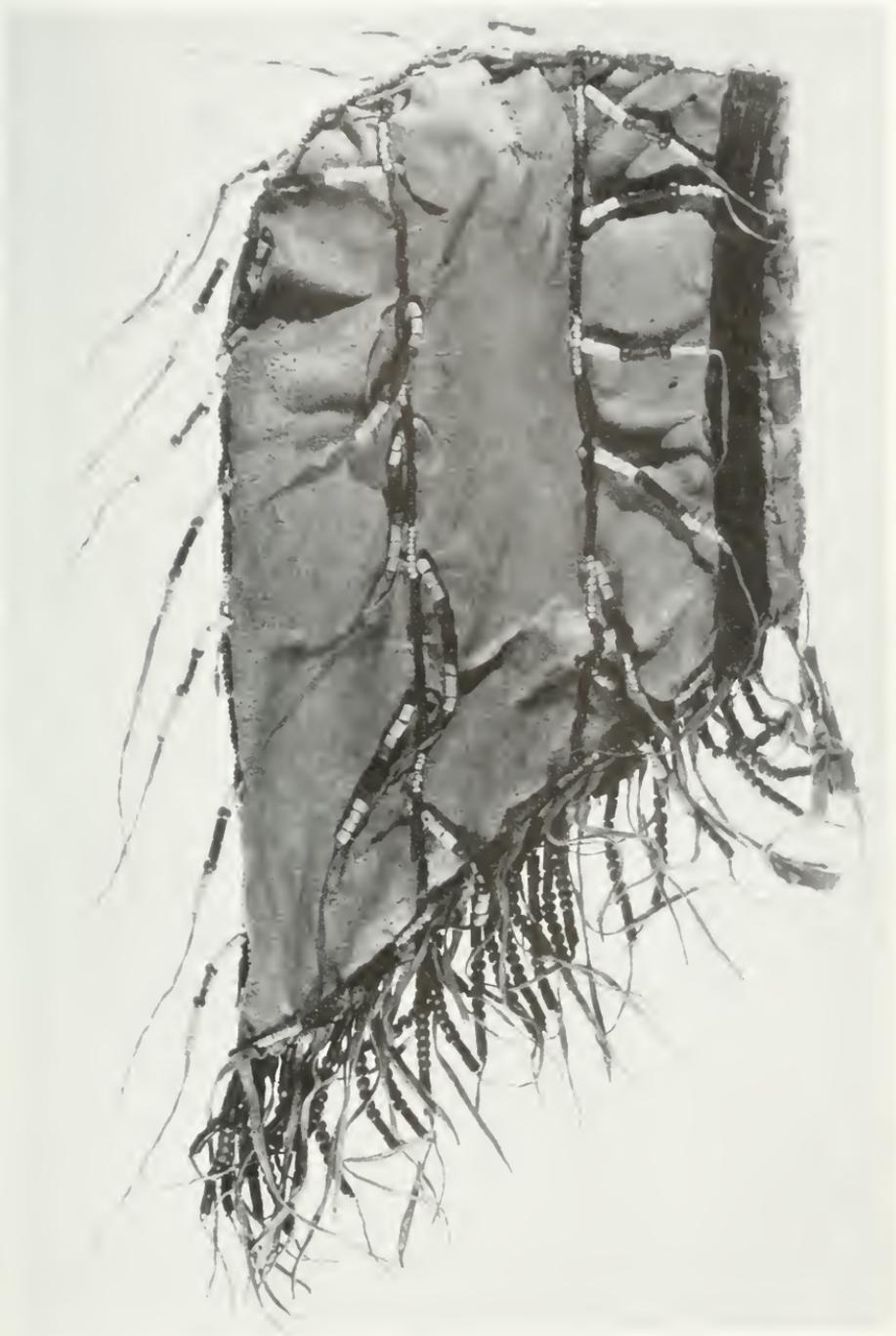


FIG. 40. Hood (14952).

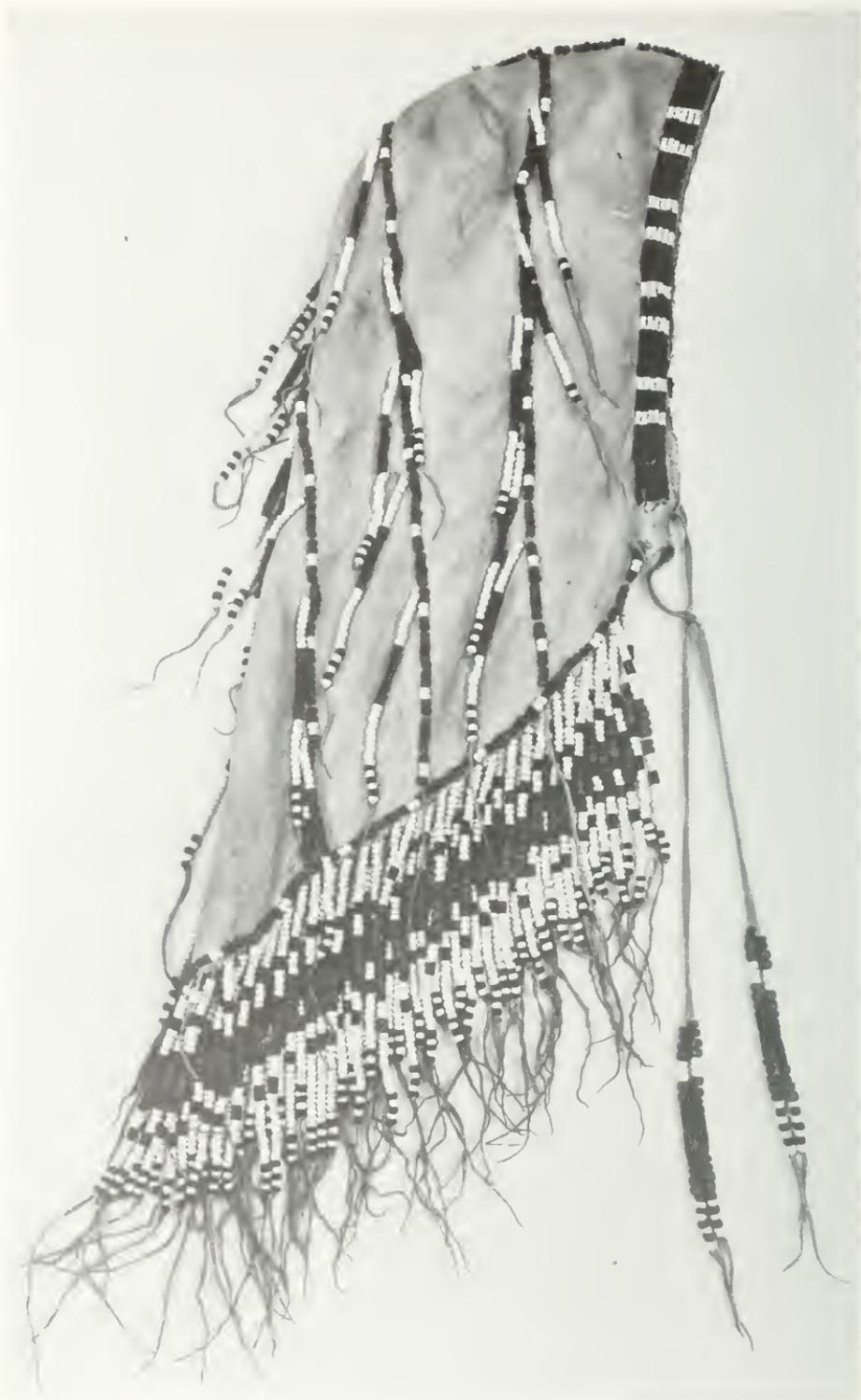


FIG. 41. Hood (14943).



FIG. 42. Hood (14946).



FIG. 43. Cap (14963).

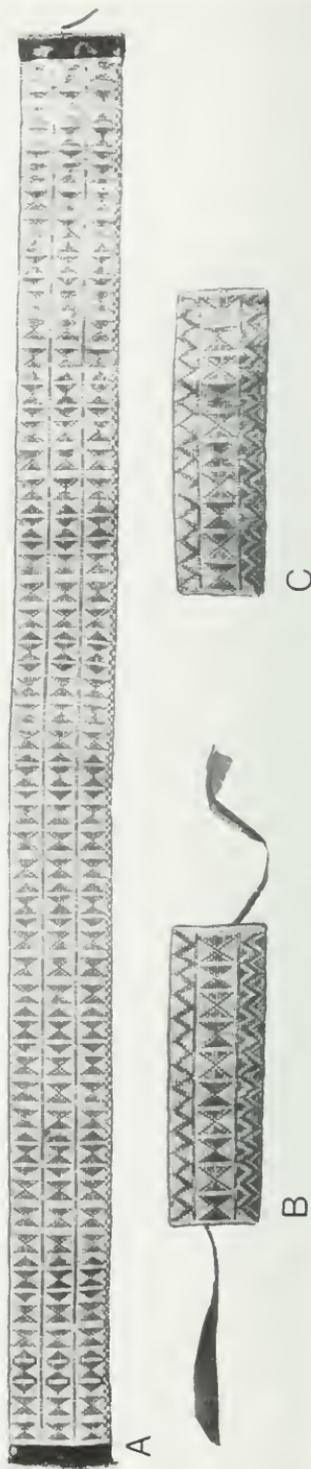


FIG. 44. A, Strap or belt (14976); B, wristlet (14974); C, wristlet (14975).



FIG. 45. Mittens (14972).

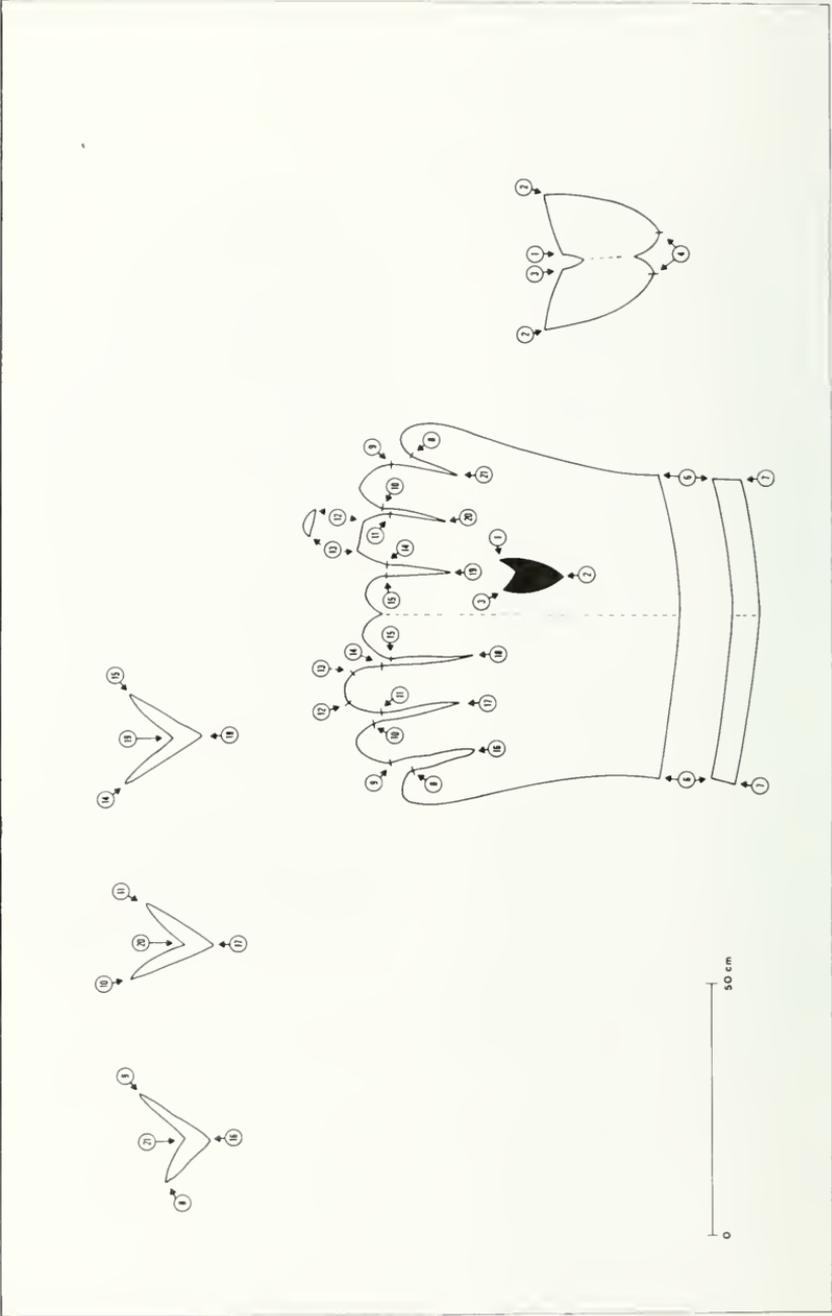


FIG. 46. Glove (14986).



FIG. 47. Gloves (14986).

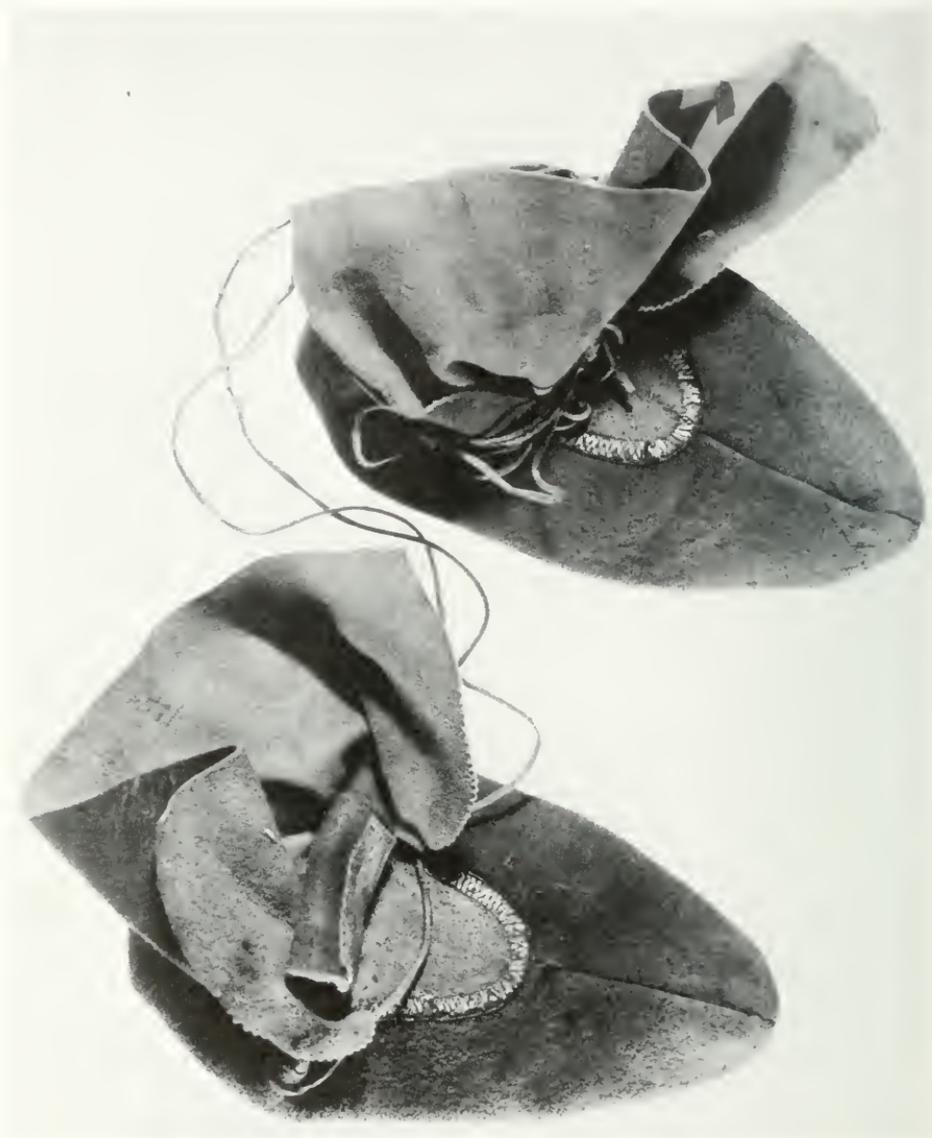


FIG. 48. Moccasins (14964).



FIG. 49. Moccasins (14959).



FIG. 50. Child's moccasins (14958).

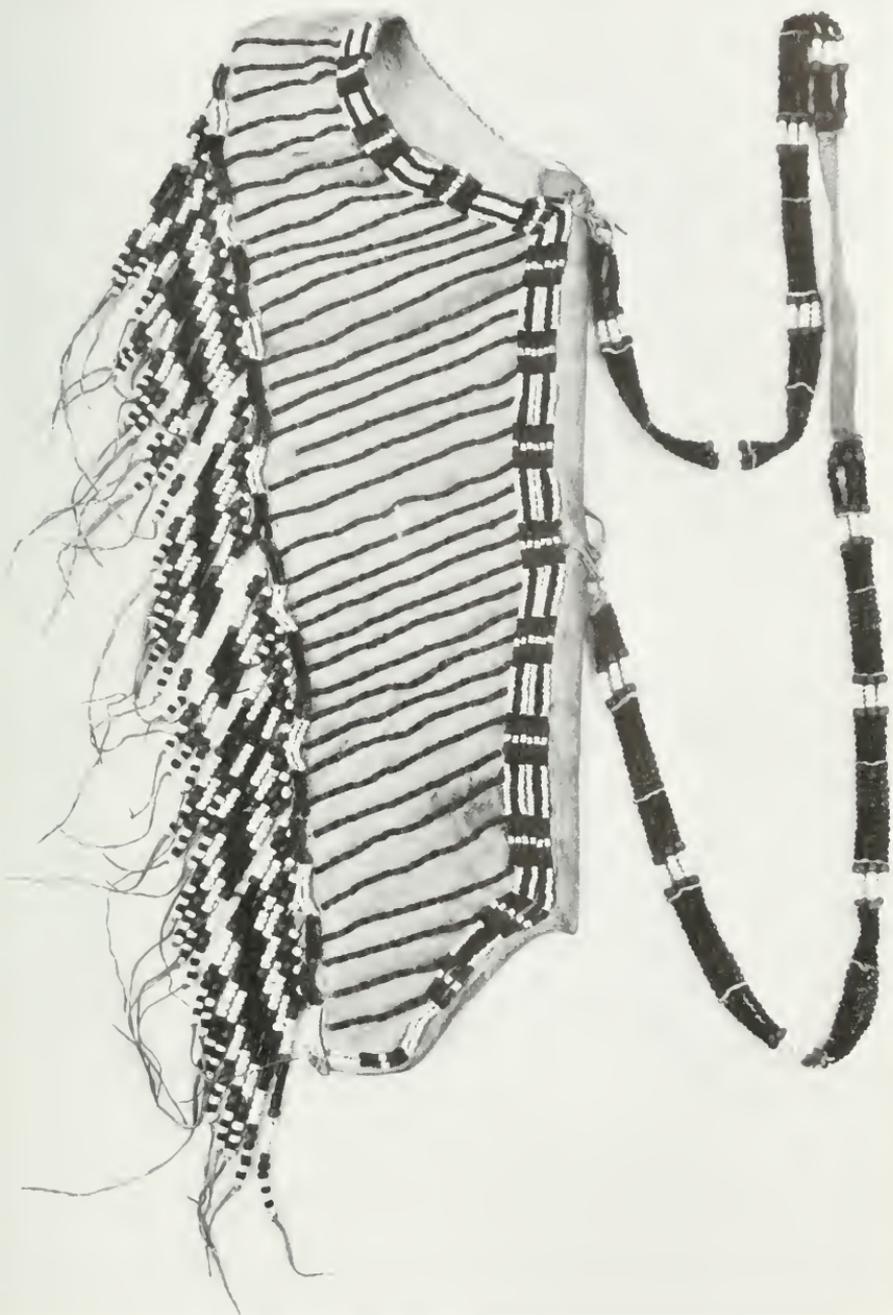


FIG. 51. Quiver (14933).

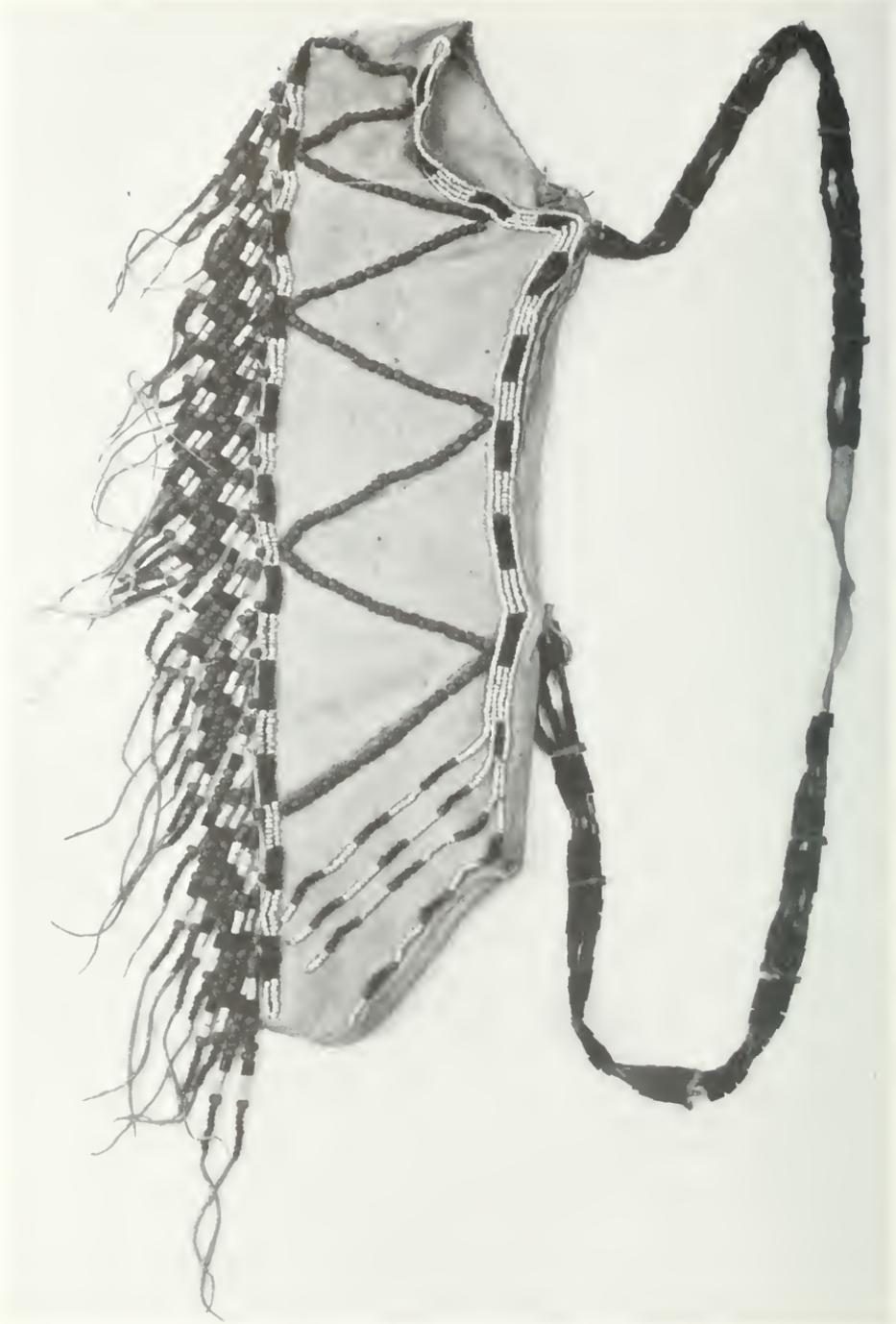


FIG. 52. Quiver (14937).



FIG. 53. Pouch (14947).

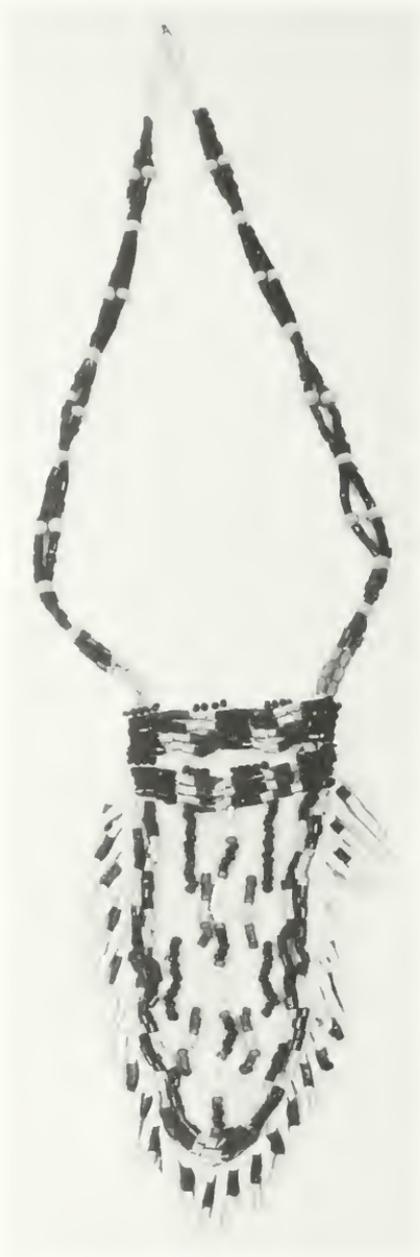


FIG. 54. Knife sheath (14948).



FIG. 55. Knife sheath (14950).



FIG. 56. Knife sheath (14949).









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