

ALASKA NATIVE ARTS AND CRAFTS
POTENTIAL FOR EXPANSION

Final Report to

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PURPOSE AND SCOPE

This is the final report under a contract for a "study to determine improved methods and changes needed to increase and expand the market for Alaska native arts and crafts." The sale of such items has long played a part in the basic economy of the native people of Alaska. In recent years, however, they have suffered increasingly from loss of sales, decline in income realized by individual craftsmen and craftswomen, and general public indifference. To seek a diagnosis of the cause and possible means of correcting this situation and expanding markets, the Bureau of Indian Affairs entered into a contract with the University of Alaska to conduct an investigation and make recommendations.

The original statement of scope put emphasis upon marketing practices, directing that a study be made of "markets and marketing methods for carved ivory and other Alaskan native arts and crafts products and recommend changes and improvements needed to increase the movement of such products on the market." The statement further prescribed that "the study is to be conducted under the assumption that a potentially enlarged and expanded market exists for Alaskan native arts and crafts products and that a sizeable portion of the market in the United States remains essentially unacquainted with Alaskan native products." Further contract specifications included "determination of changes or improvements in design" and "new native arts and crafts products," but the general scope was defined with the firm conviction that the remedy lay primarily in the improvement of marketing organization and practices, and in the conduct of a large sales promotion program.

In conducting the preliminary survey, however, it was concluded that the assumption upon which the original scope was written could not be supported if it referred to existing products. The basic problem of declining markets was related to product and production with marketing practices and lack of promotion being secondary factors. Marketing furthermore needed to be considered in terms of identification of several different types of markets and determining their requirements, rather than simply in terms of reorganization and sales promotion. The conduct of the project was accordingly directed toward product and production factors and the terms of the contract were later revised to incorporate this emphasis and authorize the investigation, testing and evaluation of reviving traditional woodcarving arts and crafts in southeast Alaska and their development into contemporary crafts production, and the revival and expansion of creative arts and crafts in northwest Alaska through adaptation of contemporary handicrafts to commercial production, value of local workshop training, and the selective training of promising artists and craftsmen at the University.

Although the production of a final report and submission of recommendations was the end product required by the contract, in the conduct of this project this report was considered as serving only a secondary purpose of satisfying a formal requirement. The preparation of the report was considered to be a means to other ends, not an end in itself. Anything which would contribute directly or indirectly to an improvement of the conditions being studied was considered as being within the scope of the project. During the conduct of investigations and preparation of the report, advice and assistance was given by the investigators when requested and full discussions were had of preliminary findings and conclusions while the work was in progress.

SUMMARY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Present Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Product and Market:

Arts and crafts potentially embrace a range of objects in which each in varying degrees combines functional, esthetic and sentimental appeal. The degree to which these appeals are combined in a given object serves as a clue to the place it best fits in the total spectrum of arts and crafts.

Art would include only objects with the highest and purest esthetic appeal. They must be highly original in conception and execution, imaginative, expressive of certain universal matters which are also expressed in native forms, etc. Fine Handicrafts are very close to art and could be held to be art in some cases. The elements of function and sentiment assume greater importance than in "art," however, but elements of originality, creativity and uniqueness continue to be of key importance. Traditional and derivative handicrafts have greater sentimental and functional appeal than fine handicrafts, as some can be or are adapted to the everyday use of the purchaser for other than ornamental use. Souvenirs have highest sentimental appeal as they are bought as mementos of an experience (a visit to Alaska) and their highest utility as keepsakes or conversation pieces. (Refer to Appendix A.)

The present Alaska native arts and crafts "product" is a widely diverse collection of specific items with nothing more in common than that they were made by Alaska natives in Alaska using hand production methods and have some reference or relation to the people and the country.

The range of items included in the ANAC catalogue embrace such diverse items as small representations of totem poles, "hand-painted" greeting cards, hand-sewn skin footgear and garments, beaded bags and belts, letter openers, dolls, baskets, carved driftwood dance masks, carved ivory, etc. Within each of these general groupings of types of items there is a wide range of prices. "Ivory carvings" include, for example, one-half inch charms at \$2.00, animal and bird figurines from \$4.00 to \$60.00, cribbage boards from \$30.00 to \$150.00, jewelry from \$5.00 to \$70.00, etc. (Refer to Appendix B.)

Despite the great variety in the "product" and the wide range in prices, the dominant orientation is to one market, the tourist souvenir market within Alaska.

A close study of the development of the present range of items supports the opinion that the present "product" evolved from authentic or imagined aboriginal sources as a response to the demands of souvenir seekers. The design of most items was either determined by or influenced by early traders and collectors, school teachers, government officials, etc., who had some familiarity with the forces of this market. Present marketing organization and practices of ANAC are oriented to serving this limited market.

The present Alaska native arts and crafts situation can be generalized as one of declining sales, increasing inventories, deterioration of quality, and decreasing returns to craftsmen and craftswomen.

The peak value of Alaska native arts and crafts was reported during the fiscal year 1945 with sales of \$485,641 (this included output of the Nome Skin Sewers Association contracted for by the U. S. armed forces). Following World War II, total sales of ANAC fell from \$181,799.49 in calendar year 1956 to \$118,220.21 in calendar year 1962, while value of inventories on hand rose from \$103,925.15 to \$169,648. In addition to the inventories held at the ANAC Clearing House, there are also backlogs of items held in village stores which were not accepted. Due to the increasing costs of materials (e.g., most carvers must buy their ivory and other materials have gone up in cost) and the prevalence of the consignment system of procurement, the returns to the crafts people have been declining. A comparison of individual items produced a few years ago with current output indicates a general deterioration of quality in many cases.

The basic cause of this situation arises from the limitation of the "product" almost exclusively to one market (sales to tourists and military personnel within Alaska).

Some sales of native craftsmen and craftswomen are made directly to individual tourists, military personnel and private dealers, but most of their output is disposed of through the clearing house of ANAC. More than 90 percent of the dollar volume of the clearing house sales has been to retail and military outlets within Alaska, direct mail orders to individual purchasers outside the State accounting for less than 10 percent.

Sales declines within this restricted market were due to reduction of defense personnel stationed within Alaska (sales movements correlated generally with statistics on number of military personnel), increasing failures of "product" to meet price and quality competition from non-Alaskan producers of "Alaskan" souvenirs, and decrease in the output and number of practicing craftsmen and craftswomen.

With a few exceptions, the bulk of the items which comprise the present "product" do not meet the requirements of markets other than the Alaska tourist market.

Among the ivory carvings there were found some lively examples of animal and bird carvings which are good on all counts as fine handicrafts, some of the earlier examples of Eskimo dance masks showed promise of reaching higher levels, and the dwindling output of basket-work could find a small but select collectors market. The general output, however, is appropriate only to the Alaska souvenir market in all respects but price. Although there has been no serious effort by ANAC to reach other markets, this opinion of the investigators was confirmed from other sources.

The prospect is that the present situation in Alaska native arts and crafts will get progressively worse rather than better unless there is developed a means of making the "product" more competitive in the market presently being reached and other potential markets are identified and appropriate products developed to meet their requirements.

The present Alaska tourist market is only one of several potential markets for Alaska native arts and crafts. These markets must be identified, their requirements defined and new products developed which will meet these requirements. The nature of the present tourist market must be more fully recognized and present products and production methods modified to meet the price, quantity and characteristics requirements.

2. Potentials for Developing Alaska Native Arts and Fine Crafts

a. Objectives

The development of art and fine crafts would serve a mixed objective. It would be economic in providing a decent living for the best practitioners and a profitable sideline for others. It would be social in providing all native peoples with a source of pride and a means of acquiring a new outlook (i.e., familiarity with the market economy, etc.). It would be artistic in the discovery and development of fine arts and handicrafts for their own sake and in providing an outlet for the creative and artistic urges of the people. It would also serve other indirect objectives in providing an inspiration to raise the quality of other handicrafts and in improving the broad popular image of the Alaskan native and his cultures.

b. General product description

The type of product would be either art in "pure" form or in the form of fine crafts. The range of specific products would

include all forms of artistic expression commonly implied by the terms "fine arts" (painting, sculpture, graphics, etc.) and "fine crafts" (fine household furnishings and decorations, jewelry, fabrics, utensils, etc.).

Each item must be highly unique or differentiated. They may take their inspiration from Alaskan subjects or traditional indigenous art and craft forms, but basically they must be original creations and expressions of the individual artist or craftsman. The fact that the product is produced in Alaska by an Alaskan native may have some importance in the market (e.g., the current "primitive art" boom), but it must be able to stand on its own as a true work of art. It must strive to embody high esthetic appeal, originality of style and exceptional technique or craftsmanship.

c. Market aspects and development potentials

The geographical range of the market would not be limited to Alaska, but to wherever there are potential buyers with developed esthetic appreciation and necessary purchasing power.

The most immediately promising geographic areas would be the large metropolitan and cultural centers of the United States. The specific character and qualities of products in demand at any time will be subject to change in response to trends in popular taste and fashion. These trends are, in turn, subject to influence by the impact of an unusual new talent or innovation.

The products must be directed away from the usual tourist markets (curio and souvenir outlets) and distributed only through art dealers, galleries, and better handicraft centers. Prices will be determined by the quality and appeal of the Alaskan work in relation to the work of others.

The potential for development will not be limited so much by the extent of the market, as by the number of Alaskan native artists and fine craftsmen who are practicing and the quality and quantity of their output. In terms of numbers of persons and gross income, this will never be very large, but the influence upon crafts in general in other categories will be extremely beneficial.

d. Production requirements and programs

The basic production requirement is the existence of a body of creative talent and high technical skill. Vitality and continuous creativity and inventiveness are also essential requirements in view of the highly changeable nature of market demand.

The actual productive process is highly individual and subjective and organized programs can only be limited to those which would discover and encourage original talent, provide technical

training and education, and assist in the promotion and marketing of the output.

e. Prospects of achieving the potential

Despite some indications of decline, there exists in Alaska a widespread and varied handicraft activity which provides a ready-made base from which to develop fine arts and handicrafts.

The most promising area is among the Eskimos in northwest Alaska. Most of the people in this area live a "handicraft" way of life in that they are to an important degree dependent upon the traditional economic activities of hunting, whaling and fishing and have limited cash income for purchase of ready-made utensils, tools, etc. Furthermore, these people have been producing handicrafts and souvenirs for sale for several decades and their output is the backbone of the contemporary Alaska native handicrafts and souvenir production.

Although much of this work is technically excellent, several generations of repetitive producing of items to meet market demands, coupled with unrealistic standards of uniformity and false "primitiveness," have all but stamped out originality and creativity among our Eskimo craftsmen. Therefore, there is an urgent need for revival and encouragement of artistic creativity among the traditional Eskimo craftsmen and the younger people who have not yet been subject to the pressures which stifle originality.

The second largest concentration of contemporary native handicrafts production is in southeast Alaska, this area has had a rich traditional art which is no longer vital. Except for the wood-carving of a few men and the recent experiments in revival of traditional carving at Port Chilkoot, most of the current output of this area is women's handicrafts--moccasins, beadwork, baskets, etc. For the most part this does not provide a basis for the development of fine arts and fine handicrafts. The people do not live in a handicraft way of life, as in the case of the northern Eskimo, and there is need for revival of skills needed to develop any excellent crafts work. Most of the output of the balance of Alaska is also in the category of women's work.

There are strong cultural barriers to the emergence of the natural artist and unusually creative craftsman from native groups.

As in any group at any time, there will be among the Alaska native people a certain number of potential artists and highly creative craftsmen. In the case of the Alaska natives, however, the concept of "art for art's sake" is an alien one. There is virtually no knowledge or understanding of markets other than the tourist souvenir market. There is a strong fear on the part of the individual of being different from his fellows. For these and other reasons, there will be the need for a sympathetic and skilled "outside" assistance to discover and encourage the emergence of artistic talent.

Our survey of the Canadian experience in rehabilitating and expanding their Eskimo arts and crafts has pointed out that the problems faced in Alaska are not unique and that an intensive program of intelligent and sympathetic rehabilitation and development can lead to phenomenal success in creating fine arts and fine handicrafts from an existing handicrafts base.

The major lesson to be drawn from the Canadian experience is that any program which aspires to develop arts and crafts among an indigenous people must be taken directly to the people where they are inspired to create within the familiarity of their own environment (refer to Appendix C). This called for a few exceptionally dedicated non-native artists and craftsmen (such as Jim Houston who is identified most prominently with the Cape Dorset graphics and carvings) who were willing for several years to share the lives followed by the people with whom they were dealing and to completely submerge themselves and their own work in the interest of promoting the goals of the program. It also called for a thoughtful selection of only the most promising areas for such development and a concentration of effort (in this case two villages). In contrast, until recently the approach in Alaska has been to attempt to supervise craft activities through brief and infrequent visits by specialists of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and correspondence from ANAC headquarters.

The pilot projects conducted under the revised terms of this contract suggest that a compromise between the recent Canadian and the past Alaskan approaches would be most appropriate here.

This would be the creation of two or more regional production-training workshops at strategic locations in relation to existing crafts activities or potentials coupled with a program for the discovery and encouragement of promising talent and further art education and craft training at established arts and crafts centers in Alaska or elsewhere (refer to Appendices D and E).

It would take several years of subsidized trial and error and intensive effort to determine whether or not the Alaska native arts and fine crafts potential could be achieved.

3. Potentials for Developing Alaskan Native Traditional and Derivative Handicrafts

a. Objectives

Because they are based upon objects produced by means of familiar skills and materials, traditional and derivative handicrafts offer income and employment opportunities to a wider range of Alaska natives than do art and fine handicrafts. They can never provide a good permanent economic base for these people, but these activities have and can continue to have importance as a means of providing supplemental cash income.

The production of these handicrafts can also serve as an element in a planned transitional economy which would assist the native people in the more geographically and culturally isolated areas in making a move into the larger wage-salary economy of the State as a whole. The handicrafts skills and products could be adopted to other more commercially important skills and products. In the more organized activities, native people could be introduced into more advanced concepts of marketing and management which would prepare them for taking advantage of more rewarding future economic opportunities.

Finally, this range of product activities provides the basis for development of the other two general categories used in this analysis. Its practitioners provide a pool from which special skills and talents may be selected for possible development as artists and fine craftsmen. Its products provide a range of subjects which might be adapted to production for the souvenir market.

b. General product description

These products are related to the previous category, but are distinguished from art and fine crafts in that they do not draw as heavily upon individual creativity and talent. They may have commercial value for decorative or ornamental purposes, but draw their inspiration directly from existing handicrafts which are currently or have traditionally been functional, or from a body of recognized "folk art." Authenticity rather than originality is the distinguishing characteristic. They are distinguished from souvenirs primarily in terms of quality, price and handwork production. It is this element of being "hand-made" and "untainted" by machine process which gives the product its unique value.

The range of specific products includes hand-sewn skin and fur garments (moccasins, mukluks, mittens, parkas, etc.), baskets, personal ornaments (jewelry, the better beadwork, etc.), carvings based upon or copied from traditional or "folk art" objects (carved wooden totemic wall plaques, masks, mortuary poles, ivory animal and bird figurines, the better dolls, etc.). The range could also include modern adaptations of these items, such as high fashion designed fur and skin garments.

c. Market aspects and development potentials

The market would not be as clearly defined as either the art and fine handicrafts market, on the one hand, or the souvenir market, on the other. It would lie between the two and would tend to overlap at both ends of the range of items arranged by quality and esthetic appeal.

The more authentically traditional products would be geographically oriented to Alaska and the Pacific Northwest where functional items might find some use in contemporary living or the regional decorative motif would have greater appeal.

Entry into other geographic markets would be limited by need to compete with handicraft products from other parts of the world having high quality standards and low costs. The geographic extent of the market could be extended, however, by new design and adaptation to items having broader use and appeal.

The market for handicrafts embraces a diversity of types of specific outlets. The better quality examples could be sent to museum craft shops and handicraft centers throughout the Nation, but competition from other areas would limit most to distribution through regional gift and craft shops. In cases where sufficient volume of production could be achieved and maintained, outlets might be developed through large department stores and mail order houses. To the extent that new designs and adaptations are developed, a range of other distribution outlets might be found including resort shops, dress shops, etc.

The market potential would be more variable and difficult to determine than either of the other two major categories. The "bread and butter" production probably has a potential market only slightly greater than that now being reached by Alaska native crafts. The possibility of expanding the extent of the market would depend upon the ability to develop new designs and product adaptations having broader appeal.

d. Production requirements and programs

The production requirements are an established and popularly recognized body of handicrafts and art forms, a pool of semi-skilled and skilled handworkers, and the absence of competitive opportunities.

Although the emphasis is upon individual handwork, the design is not original, being copied or adapted from familiar traditional objects or designs which have been suggested to the individual craftsman or craftswomen. The production process, therefore, is more susceptible to group organization and direction than in the case of fine arts and crafts. Work may be carried out either on a "cottage industries" basis or a more centralized crafts workshop basis.

The future continuation of these activities will require programs to develop new designs to be reproduced by the craftsmen and craftswomen, new product adaptations (e.g., high fashion design of skin and fur garments and accessories), more efficient organization of materials procurement and production, and better marketing.

e. Prospects of achieving potentials

The immediate problem of Alaska native traditional handicrafts is one of maintaining or regaining a position once held by these activities. Long-range decline is inevitable, however, and from the standpoint of human welfare is desirable.

As already noted, there exists a body of practicing craftsmen and craftswomen among Alaska natives and an established tradition. The sale of their output appears to have suffered serious decline in recent years and there has been a growing awareness among native people of the marginal nature of their earnings. As better paying employment opportunities are opened to native groups, it should be expected that they will leave their traditional handicraft way of life and enter the specialized wage and salary economy. As this desired transition takes place, the base for maintaining or expanding handicrafts will decline.

A whole range of the present output of handicrafts are nothing more than souvenir quality items produced at high cost because of use of scarce and costly materials, primitive tools and handicraft methods. The continued reproduction of these items is a major cause of the present increase in inventories and goods returned by the ANAC Clearing House. Only the best handicrafts should be encouraged (refer to Appendix B).

There is a need to introduce improved designs and product adaptations.

The Canadian Eskimo experience with the traditional women's handicrafts demonstrates that improvement of economic returns from these activities requires the introduction of new design (i.e., the redesigning of fur and skin garments along more widely acceptable fashion lines, the introduction of new items such as men's and women's fur hats, accessories, etc.) and an aggressive and effective promotional campaign. In the case of Alaskan Eskimos, similar efforts have been started in skin and fur sewing. These tentative beginnings should be more fully developed. Other opportunities exist for adaptation of other handicraft skills, such as the production of copies of old Eskimo hunting helmets by basket weavers for sale in exclusive resort shops, etc., (refer to Appendix E).

Rather than attempting to perpetuate the remaining handicrafts through subsidization or other artificial means of encouragement, there should be a shift to the other two areas of craft or craft-related work.

The best craftsmen and craftswomen should be encouraged to move up into arts and fine crafts if they have the necessary talent and where they can achieve greater personal and economic rewards. Others should be assisted to increase efficiency of production through training in use of more mechanical tools or organized into group production. They will achieve a higher level of earnings through production for the souvenir market than in the traditional handicrafts.

4. Potentials for Developing Alaska Native Souvenirs

a. Objectives

The objective of producing souvenirs is purely economic. Organized on a fully commercial basis, the production of Alaska native souvenirs would provide regular employment and income to semi-skilled workers. There would be indirect educational and vocational training benefits to be derived from the production process itself.

b. General product description

The product would be a range of items which would be purchased primarily as mementos of visits to Alaska with utility to the buyer as keepsakes or conversation pieces. Accordingly, they must be characteristic of Alaska and popular conceptions of Alaska native culture. They must be labeled as having been made by Alaska natives in Alaska. Finally, they must be capable of being produced cheaply and sold at a "reasonable" price (i.e., less than \$5.00 per item).

The range of specific items would be limited primarily by cost of production, but would include costume jewelry, charms, pins, beaded belts and bags, miniature totem poles, simple toys (e.g., dolls, Eskimo yo-yos, etc.), molded wood fibre copies of reproductions of handicraft items, etc.

c. Market aspects and development potentials

The consumers would be Alaskan tourists and military and government personnel. Sales to resident Alaskans would be limited to gift purchases for "outside" relatives and friends.

The geographical extent of the market would be limited to tourist centers within the State of Alaska and outside Alaska at the principal points of origin or completion of an Alaskan trip (i.e., Seattle-Tacoma airport, Canadian border towns, etc.). These souvenirs would be inexpensive items and not really examples of the Alaska native handicrafts and could not be expected to find other non-Alaskan outlets in craft and gift shops. Although a machine or semi-machine made product, they could not be expected to compete with similar items produced in industrialized areas by large-scale producers.

Within the Alaskan souvenir markets there would be some competition from the lower priced handicraft items in the previous category, and considerable competition from imported plastic jewelry and souvenirs. The Alaska product, however, should be able to overcome a reasonable range of price competition by reason of its identification as an item made by an Alaskan Indian or

Eskimo in Alaska and hence having greater souvenir value.

Market outlets would be through the present ANAC Clearing House or direct sales to gift and curios retail shops.

d. Production requirements and programs

Souvenirs would be produced in several small workshops located in villages at which some craft activity is present, electric power is available and transportation to tourist outlets is economic. The shops should be organized to employ not less than ten workers as a minimum required to make most effective use of power tools. Building requirements would vary but would generally be for a building about 40' x 40'. Investment in fixed capital other than building would not be large, being limited to a few standard shop machines such as band saw, sander, shaper, drill press, etc. Actual equipment requirements would vary with the product.

Labor skills could be easily acquired through retraining programs. Production could be diversified and increased as demand warranted.

Special programs would be required to provide initial financing, product design, production organization and labor training. Eventually, these enterprises might be managed by local natives, but initially it would be necessary to provide experienced outside supervision to assure success.

i. Prospects of achieving potentials

The prospects of achieving the full souvenir potential are excellent. Alaska has been enjoying an expanded tourist trade since World War II and the most promising immediate prospects for economic growth are based upon a further expansion of this trade. Where tourism plays such a significant role in a regional economy, local souvenir industries have been successful elsewhere. The labor, materials, and basis for design can all be made available in sufficient amounts to provide the means of establishing small factory production of Alaska native souvenirs at prices which would gain a large share of this expanding market.

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR
IMPROVEMENT OF ALASKA NATIVE ARTS AND CRAFTS

This section deals only with general requirements for improvement drawn from the project findings and conclusions, and recommendations for basic programs and policies. Specific recommendations relating to the findings of the two sub-projects undertaken under the contract modifications are presented in detail in Appendices D and E.

1. General Requirements

The improvement of the present Alaska native arts and crafts product and market situation requires: (1) the development of marketable products acceptable in the fine arts and crafts markets, the handicrafts markets and the souvenir markets in Alaska and elsewhere; (2) the training and/or retraining of craftsmen and craftswomen to meet the requirements of each of these generalized markets; and (3) the establishment and maintenance of standards of excellence, quality, authenticity and workmanship in the first two market categories and achievement of quantity and economy production in the third. When satisfactory improvement has been made in the products there will be a basis for the improvement of marketing and promotion.

Programs to promote means of meeting these requirements can be organized under five generalized groupings of functions:

a. Research and design:

The past practice of continuing production of items which are no longer marketable and of failure to produce to meet new demands must be corrected. The markets for the arts, fine crafts, handicrafts and souvenirs are subject to a complex of erratic forces such as trends in popular taste, general levels of purchasing power, etc. There is need, therefore, for continuing market research to guide all other aspects of Alaska native arts and crafts programs in the most promising directions.

Research on the nature and origins of traditional aboriginal work and design would have important educational benefits both to the native artists and craftsmen and the general public. It would increase the appreciation of traditional handicrafts and increase the appeal of souvenir items.

Ideally, the improvement of design and introduction of new designs should arise once more from the native people themselves. Because of the past emphasis upon copy work, uniformity, exposure to undesirable market effects, etc., native creativity has been all but lost. The revival and encouragement of original native

design is a long-range proposition which will be dependent upon the responsiveness of the people to programs of education and training and examples of art and fine crafts which in the future may be produced by the best practicing artists and craftsmen. During a transitional period, it will be necessary to have trained specialists and teachers take the initiative in introducing improved design in order to produce an immediate improvement in products.

The design of souvenirs would probably continue to come from non-native sources as it must respond most strongly to a highly commercial and relatively undiscriminating market.

b. Education and training

Because of the history of past development, a long-range program of education must be undertaken which will eventually lead the native people into a better understanding and appreciation of the elements of good design, on the one hand, and the business nature and product requirements of the several potential markets for their work.

In areas where handicrafts are still actively practiced, there is limited need for vocational training in such skills. There is need for re-training in certain instances, however, in order to adapt existing skills to new media and production methods.

In dealing with established craftsmen, the most effective means of introducing education and training programs would be in connection with their actual production activities. The establishment of regional production workshops would provide a means of accomplishing this. In carefully selected cases, exposure to formal classroom type instruction would be feasible.

The objective of encouraging a two-way movement from traditional handicrafts into the more rewarding areas of arts and fine crafts and appropriately priced souvenirs will require a range of specific educational and training programs, including formal courses or informal guidance in principals of design, fine arts, craft techniques, machine-tool operation, shop production, etc.

c. Production

The production requirements for the three major market classifications are discussed above under "summary findings." They will vary in each instance and require different types of programs.

In general, the organization of regional craft production workshops would provide the principal means of improving the organization of production of traditional handicrafts by removing some

from the present highly inefficient "cottage industry" type production. They would also provide encouragement for development of arts and fine crafts by making work space and special tools available.

The production of souvenirs on a self-sustaining basis will require establishment of small factory production in a number of additional shops separated from the art, fine crafts and handicrafts production.

d. Establishment and maintenance of standards of quality and authenticity

The need for and nature of these programs are fully stated in Appendix E.

e. Marketing and promotion

The improvement of Alaska native arts and crafts would require not one, but two or possibly three different types of marketing programs oriented to the different marketing characteristics of arts and fine crafts, handicrafts, and souvenirs. Promotional programs patterned on the Canadian programs should be launched when suitable production is achieved (refer to Appendix C). These would include programs of general public education, exhibits, illustrated catalogues and handbooks, news stories, and advertising.

2. Allocation of Agency Responsibility and Coordination of Action

There have been a number of long established programs in each of the five categories discussed above (refer to Appendix B for description and evaluations). In the several existing programs involved in fostering Alaska native arts and crafts, however, there would appear to be enough combined technical talent and money now available to make a much better showing than has been the case to date. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board, through its Arts and Crafts Specialists in Alaska, would appear to have the personnel and funds to provide essential minimum guidance in promoting improved and new design on a continuous basis. The entire Canadian art and fine crafts program, for example, was launched with much smaller budgets than those now available to Alaska. The recently established Branch of Industrial Development of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its positions of project development officers provide at the local level a means for study and assistance on organization of methods of production, local marketing, etc. ANAC, within the limits imposed by its present primary orientation to Alaskan tourist markets, has accumulated valuable experience in the practical details of collecting and distributing materials and products.

The fault lies neither in the stated purpose and internal organization of the several existing agencies, nor with the individual persons engaged in these programs. It would appear to arise

from the absence of any clear-cut statement of general policy and intent, definition of detailed purpose, rational distribution of responsibilities, and an overall means for achieving and maintaining coordination and harmonious working relations between the various organizational units. Again referring to the Canadian experience, these desirable elements seemed to have been achieved spontaneously resulting in the harmonious working of individual craft specialists, area administrators, teachers and welfare workers within government and the cooperation of volunteer "lay" groups and committees outside government.

A number of specific recommendations for improving the organizational and policy aspects of promoting Alaska native arts and crafts were considered which have since been accepted or instituted. Specifically, these include the cooperative arrangement between the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University of Alaska for the pooling of teaching talent and facilities, the initiation of the establishment of the Nome production-training workshop, the clearer definition of the role of the Sitka demonstration workshop, the continuation of support of the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc. experiment in the development of "team craftsmen" production of reproductions of traditional northwest Indian arts and crafts, and the move in the State of Alaska Legislature to create an Alaska Art and Craft Council. In presenting this summary statement of recommendations, however, these will be restated for the sake of completeness. What is already underway together with what is still required will be discussed below in terms of the five general program categories listed above.

a. Indian Arts and Crafts Board

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board is the one agency in which there resides the broadest responsibility and authority to conduct programs relating to any and all aspects of all Alaska native arts and crafts activities. It should continue to be the principal focus and source of inspiration and drive for the whole range of these activities, but as a practical matter it cannot implement all of the stated and implied objectives in the act of Congress which created it. As in the past, it must attempt to select those specific areas in which it believes it can make the most important contribution with the means available to it. This special emphasis will change over time in response to changing requirements. There is need, however, for periodic review of its policies and areas of activity and clear statements made to all concerned.

In addition to continuing flexibility of policy, there should be a greater attempt than has been true in the past to expand areas of joint effort with other existing agencies and programs in order to provide more complete coverage. The Board's program of providing arts and crafts specialists to guide and assist Alaska natives can be increased in effectiveness through cooperative arrangements for the mutual sharing of teaching staff and facilities with other

agencies of art and craft education. The recently considered cooperative arrangement with the Department of Art of the University of Alaska to make professional staff available to the Board as required should be fully implemented and expanded (refer to Appendix E). If it proves workable, consideration should be given to similar arrangements with other institutions of higher learning in the State where suitable staff and programs are in operation.

The Sitka demonstration workshop's principal objective should be more clearly defined in order to remove any trace of the present misunderstanding that it is somehow in competition or conflict with other training or production workshop programs. Its principal purpose should be to provide a means of improving general design of product and the stimulation of individual creativity. This is being attempted through a program of freeing a limited number of established native artists or craftsmen for set periods to experiment and exercise to the maximum their creative instincts and abilities, and be exposed to influences which will enhance their esthetic and design senses.

The scope of the program and the number of persons accepted under it should not be expanded as it should be reserved for only the very best recognized talent. The benefits of this program will not be limited to the direct benefits to the few persons who will be invited to participate in the workshop, but should have important indirect benefits in elevating the level of all other similar activities. Recognition given to good design and top craftsmanship through awards, publicity, and better prices should provide inspiration to all practicing native craftsmen and artists to give freer rein to imagination and creativity and to strive for similar improvement in their work.

Because it would require maximum ability to judge quality and an acquaintance with markets and conditions outside Alaska, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board should assume primary responsibility for promotion of marketing of Alaska native arts and crafts outside Alaska. This should be done through the periodic selection by the Board's specialists of outstanding Alaska native products suitable for placement in the various markets for fine arts, crafts, gifts, etc. Items in the handicrafts and souvenir range would be selected from the products currently available in stock at the clearing house, production of the Nome and Port Chilkoot workshops, and any other native craftsman or group of craftsmen capable of quantity production. The selections would be arranged into exhibits by the Board and presented to buyers attending annual meetings of the American Association of Museums and nationwide and regional shows for gift and specialty shops, home decorators and furnishers. Items which would qualify as fine arts and fine crafts in the judgment of the Board's specialists could be selected from the current output of the Sitka arts and crafts center and individual

native artists and craftsmen throughout Alaska, and exhibited in private and public art galleries.

b. Branch of Industrial Development

The Branch of Industrial Development should be concerned with the basically business aspects of production, management and marketing. Through its regionally dispersed Research Development officers and Industrial Development specialists, it should provide continuing advice and guidance to groups of craftsmen and craftswomen on matters of organization of production, business management, marketing, formulation of projects, and securing financial backing and technical aid.

After securing adequate funds, it should secure the services of qualified industrial designers to suggest design and production plans for souvenir items, fashion re-design of fur and skin handicrafts, etc.

c. Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative Association, Inc.

ANAC and its clearing house should continue to serve as a focus for the more traditional handicrafts production. Rather than attempting any extensive reorganization of ANAC, the role which it has evolved for itself should be more clearly understood (refer to Appendix B). It should be left to continue the limited role it has taken for itself of providing a marketing clearing house for isolated or scattered individual craftsmen and craftswomen. When the regional workshops recommended below achieve any commercial output, their products would be sold directly to retail outlets within Alaska or dealers outside Alaska as no purpose would be served in going through the ANAC Clearing House. This would also be true of any small factory production of souvenir items.

Although it would continue to accept out of state mail orders as at present, any major promotion or marketing of products outside Alaska would be done by or directly under the auspices of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board.

c. Regional production-training workshops

In order to achieve the objective of elevating as much of Alaska handicraft activity as possible from the present "cottage industry" type production, to improve quality of product, to increase quantity and lower price, there should be established craft production workshops at strategic locations in relation to existing handicraft activities. In addition to providing space and facilities for individual and group handicraft activities, these would also provide the physical focus for the promotion of fine arts and craft activities, providing vocational training, and organizing the more fully mechanized factory production of souvenirs.

The Canadian experience with such craft centers at Cape Dorset and Povungnituk provide a guide (refer to Appendix C). Initially, the shops would be subsidized by the government and be supervised by specialists provided by federal programs. The Canadian workshops have progressed to the point where they are self-supporting craft cooperatives and hire their own professional managers. The marketing of their output continues to be through the independent Eskimo Art Committee.

The existing workshop of the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., at Port Chilkoot and the proposed Nome workshop would serve as the initial units in such a program. These appear as the most promising locations for establishment of arts and crafts centers drawing upon the northwest Eskimo and the southeast Indian. Following a period of subsidized operation, if their ability to become self-supporting has been demonstrated they might be organized as craftsmen cooperatives on the Canadian pattern. Specific recommendations on each are given in Appendices D and E.

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the Branch of Industrial Development of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should seek funds for the initial subsidization of these operations and provide supervision and guidance in design and management respectively.

e. Arts and fine crafts guilds

The separation of arts and fine crafts from general handicrafts and souvenirs makes advisable the establishment of an Alaska native fine arts guild or guilds and an advisory committee. These organizations would not supplant the presently operating ANAC Cooperative Association, Inc., and ANAC Clearing House, but provide a means of channeling highly original art and fine crafts into the best markets and assuring appropriately higher returns to the truly creative artists and craftsmen.

Due to the great regional and cultural differences between the main areas of Alaska native population and craft production, it may not be feasible or desirable to have a single statewide guild. Initially, two guilds would appear justified oriented to the two major workshop centers discussed above. Organization would be recommended by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board when an appropriate body of artists and craftsmen are established. A guild might be constituted as follows:

- a) Membership to be based upon creativity and originality of output of Indian and Eskimo artists and craftsmen. Voluntary application through submission of examples of work to existing guild membership and advisory committee for judging.
- b) All work of members will be annually judged and approved for certification by the guild. Work not up to guild standards to be rejected and membership of individual

members subject to revocation if they fail to produce significant output of work meeting standards for three years.

- 3) Pricing to be determined by the guild members or a committee representing the guild, in consultation with the advisory committee.
- 4) Guild will encourage members to improve their design and technical skills. In cooperation with the Indian Arts and Craft Board and the University of Alaska it will consider programs for discovery, selection and development of young artists and fine craftsmen.
- 5) The guild will serve as principal marketing outlet for the work of native artists and fine craftsmen with the advice and assistance of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board as discussed above.

In addition to such guilds, there should also be a single statewide fine arts advisory committee modeled on the Canadian Eskimo Art Committee (refer to Appendix C). If the Alaska Arts and Crafts Council proposed in the 1963 session of the State Legislature is established, this body would serve these purposes (refer to Appendix F). The Committee of Council would guide the guild or guilds in the establishment of standards, review pricing, and play a principal role in directing promotion.

GENERAL BACKGROUND AND DETAILED FINDINGS

Background information and the findings of the several phases of the investigation are presented in Appendices A through F. The initial project investigations were carried out over a period of four months (September through December 1964) followed by the conduct of two pilot projects and an evaluation of their results during the year 1963, as described below. Due to the dynamically changing state of the programs of agencies concerned with Alaska native arts and crafts immediately following the awarding of the contract, the completion of submission of the final report was delayed until the potential future effects of a number of basic policy and program changes became more apparent and reconsideration could be made of the conclusions of the earlier investigations.

Conduct of the Project

The study team provided by the University of Alaska originally consisted of an economist, Dr. George W. Rogers, and two artist-craftsmen, Professors Danny Pierce and Ronald Senungetuk.

The opening phase (September 1962) was devoted to an examination of the accounting and correspondence records of the ANAC Clearing House and a review of the operations of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in Alaska by George Rogers, and an evaluation of the current representative output of products as presented in the ANAC dealers' catalogue by Danny Pierce and Ronald Senungetuk (refer to Appendix B). The product evaluation and marketability was further tested during October and November 1962 while Rogers and Pierce were traveling outside Alaska. A supply of copies of the ANAC catalogue, a few small examples of ivory carving available from ANAC, and three examples of contemporary jewelry by Professor Senungetuk were shown to and discussed with dealers and others in Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, New York and San Francisco.

The basic problems of ANAC were seen to arise from the limitations of the present market being reached (primarily sales to Alaskan tourists and military personnel within the State) and the increasingly adverse relations between price and cost, and price and value of the products offered in this market. With only minor exceptions, the current output of products could not be expected to be able to enter other markets than those currently being supplied.

Correction of this situation appeared to be in the direction of identification and definition of the several possible markets existing for present and potential Alaska native arts and crafts products and determination of the possibility of producing items meeting their product and price requirements. This involved the

discovery of markets not now being reached and the solution of the related problems of supply and production. The past development of Alaskan native arts and crafts had been relatively specialized in response to a limited tourist market and thus was of value only in stating where matters stood, not in discovering means for dealing with the central problems of new products and markets.

Because of the limitations of past Alaska experience as a means of identifying a wider range of markets and their requirements, the course of our investigations were next directed toward the study of regions where folk or primitive arts and crafts had been successfully developed over a wide range. Preliminary consideration was given to the southwest United States, the Scandinavian countries, Africa and Canada. A close study of the recent highly publicized postwar development of soapstone carving and graphic arts among the Canadian Eskimos and the continuation of the handicrafts of the Canadian Indians promised to provide the most pertinent parallels to the Alaska situation.

Following a collection of published materials and extensive correspondence with Canadian officials, an intensive field investigation was conducted by Pierce and Rogers in Canada during the month of October 1962 (refer to Appendix C).

The study of the Canadian experience pointed up that, although definition of possible new markets was important, the critical questions are concerned with the possibility that a suitable range of products would be forthcoming. This resolves itself into a matter of supply--raw materials and a pool of artists and/or craftsmen capable of producing--and cost-price relationships. The most critical in this range of problems and questions are concerned with determining whether or not craftsmen and artists with the necessary talent, skills and creative desires exist or could be brought into existence from among Alaska's native people. The degree to which this could be done would be the primary determinant of the nature and extent of any further development. No promotion program or management reorganization could achieve greater development without this.

The assessment of potential crafts production in Alaska was the subject of the remainder of the activities conducted under the terms of the contract. Through a financial contribution to the woodcarving program of Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., the conduct of a summer art and craft session at Nome and contacts with practicing craftsmen, and the granting of support to an established carver to attend formal art classes at the University of Alaska, an attempt was made to determine answers to several basic production questions: (1) can traditional art forms be revitalized and made productive after prolonged periods of abandonment; (2) what handicraft items of contemporary native use can be adapted to sale in wider markets;

(3) what means can most effectively uncover hidden creative talent among native peoples and direct it into productive channels; and
(4) to what extent do the native peoples really want to become involved in expanded arts and crafts activities? (Refer to Appendices D and E.)

APPENDIX A. ALASKA NATIVE ARTS AND CRAFTS -
SOME INITIAL THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

(This represents a formal restatement of the subject of informal discussions and correspondence between the investigators held at the outset of the investigations. Its original purpose was to provide basic definition and theoretical agreement for the conduct of the study. It is being reprinted here because it may serve a similar purpose for further discussion and understanding of conclusions of the final report.)

The question "What are Native Arts and Crafts" seems too obvious to be asked. Yet the fact that it is not asked and an answer of sorts given has caused much of the ambivalence and confusion which has marked the development of these programs in Alaska. It also is at the heart of the economic problems relating to decline in sales and loss of existing markets to cheaply produced "imitations" from non-Alaskan and non-native sources. In short, the answering of this question is the first step toward accomplishing the purpose stated in the contract under which this study is being made--"to determine improved methods and changes needed to increase and expand the market for Alaska native arts and crafts" (Contract No. 14-20-0650-1053).

What is "Native?"

What is the official answer to the question? Not as given in carefully worded statements of purpose and objectives found in legislation, regulation and directive, periodic reports, and publicity materials. But the answer as given in the range of actual items presented in the 1962 catalogue of the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Clearing House. This represents what is commonly thought of when the question is asked, but as an answer it is not satisfying. There has been bulked together handpainted greeting cards, harpoon letter openers, skin garments and carved driftwood masks. The only common denominators are to be found in who the producers are--the Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska--not what is produced and how it is produced.

The term "Native" is the main distinguishing factor, and the geographic region "Alaska" is another. But there are complications. Is an Eskimo who moves from his native environment, is given a general art education, and who emerges as an artist who has won an international appreciation for his work, a "Native" artist? Other factors must be included.

To a much lesser degree the materials used might be said to contribute to the definition, provided we include a very generous latitude for substitutes for "Native" materials. But this does appear as a critical element. Many of the items included in the ANAC catalogue are made of materials imported from outside Alaska

(furs from the Seattle fur exchange, beads from England, tanned hides from Pacific Northwest tanneries, knifeblades and jewelry settings from Chicago and New York supply houses, etc.) Nor is this limited to Alaska. The Canadian Eskimos of Cape Dorset, for example, are turning out graphic art printed on Japanese paper utilizing sheet copper salvaged from the re-roofing of the government buildings in Ottawa.

The remaining element in an item of "Native" arts and crafts is that it be a part of or be inspired by a past or contemporary "Native" way of life, again providing a very generous latitude. For example, a totem pole, even a tiny one, is a representation of a past way of life and a dance mask may be part of a contemporary way of life. But what of the modern Tlingit Indian who produces beadwork items derived from the traditional crafts of the Plains Indian without any feeling that this is ridiculous? The creator may be inspired by reference to his own folk heritage or contemporary way of life, but his (or her) work is more likely to seek its inspiration from the market. Drawing upon the examples in the ANAC catalogue, therefore, the reference to a "way of life" is determined by what the buyer conceives as representing something "Eskimo-like" or "Indian-like." Alaska native arts and crafts are what Alaskan natives produce in response to what non-natives are are willing to accept as representing their way of life.

This is too general and subjective to serve as any practical guide, but it is stated in order to make the point that policy and programs appear to have evolved on just such a basis. Individual officials and specialists have looked at the subject of Alaska native arts and crafts with lenses fashioned by personal bias and the resulting discussion has been a babble of tongues. About the best we can do is to accept the definition of "Native" as implying that the person doing the work be ethnically so classifiable, the locale be within Alaska and the general feeling or reaction induced in the observer or purchaser of the object be that this is "Native" in nature.

A Definition of "Arts and Crafts"

Moving on to a consideration of the other terms, "arts and crafts," a means may be found for arriving at a range or spectrum of classifications which could lead to a basis for considering and evaluating existing activities and thinking of future developments. Again, we must consider the subjective reaction of the observer or potential purchaser when confronted with a specific object. Let us take a harpoon head.

The hunter will evaluate it in terms of function in the purest sense. This is a tool of his trade and his evaluation of its worth will rise from his professional sense of its functional design. The artist will evaluate it in similar terms, but as a reflection of what is esthetically pleasing in the beauty of its functional design.

The tourist will consider it as an interesting memento of his having been at this place where harpoons and other curious things were in everyday use. Its value is something to talk about when he gets home.

The harpoon maker would be influenced in his work by the subjective evaluation of the most likely purchaser (assuming that the hunter is a purchaser) if he were aware of it. If he dealt only with hunters, his product would take one form. If his clientele were limited only to artists, he might in time begin to modify the form in such a way that the esthetic elements began to take precedence over the functional. Finally, for the tourist the work need not be either functional nor esthetic, but only roughly identifiable as a harpoon head such as Eskimos use.

We might broadly define arts and crafts, therefore, as objects which in varying degrees combine functional (the hunter), esthetic (the artist) and sentimental (the tourist) appeal. The degree to which these three appeals are combined in a given object serves as a clue to the place it will best fit in the total spectrum of arts and crafts.

General categories might be set up: art, fine handicrafts, traditional handicrafts, souvenirs. Art would include only objects which have the highest and purest esthetic appeal to the observer. They must be highly original in conception and execution, imaginative, expressive of certain feelings concerning universal matters which are also expressed in native forms, etc. This discussion need not be belabored. Fine handicrafts are very close to art and could be held to be art in some cases. The very finest of the present carvings and basket work would fall into this category. The elements of sentimentality (because they can be more readily identified as "Native") and function assume greater importance than in the case of art in its purest form. The productive elements of originality, creativity and uniqueness, however, are greater in fine handicrafts than in the next category of traditional handicrafts. These items will also have even greater sentimental and functional appeal than the fine handicrafts, for some might even be adapted to the everyday use of the purchaser for other than ornamental use. Finally, souvenirs are items which can be produced and sold cheaply and will have the highest sentimental appeal. They are things which are mementos of an experience (a trip to Alaska) and their highest utility as conversation pieces or keepsakes.

The potential role of arts and crafts in the Alaskan native economy and policy and programs for its development can be given more ideal expression when the subject is thought of as such a spectrum moving from art through various levels of handicrafts to simple souvenirs. In terms of arts and crafts programs, these roles might be combined into two distinct sets, carried on simultaneously, but having different aims, requirements and time

dimensions. The following will be used as means of evaluating the adequacy of existing programs:

1. Alaska Native Arts and Crafts - Transition Role and Programs

(a) The aim should be almost purely commercial or to provide a substitute for continuation of welfare. It should be considered only as a transition program in order to assist the native people in moving into better paying forms of employment. If general development is being promoted, these programs should not be expected to continue after a transition is accomplished.

(b) The type of product should be one that will trade primarily upon identification with Alaska and Alaskan natives and a visitor's experience. The market is limited to Alaskan places and tourist outlets (airports, etc.). Price must be relatively low, which means that the product must be simple to produce, uniform in design and made by semi-mass production methods.

(c) Organizational requirements are improvement of production and marketing organization, high degree of supervision oriented to market demands and changes. Production will be organized on a combination of cottage industries model (for women's work) and central workshops or craft centers. Marketing outlets are tied to centers within region of origin, with supplemental distribution throughout the State of Alaska.

2. Alaska Native Arts and Crafts - Long-range Role:

(a) The aim should be the development of art and fine handicrafts to provide an outlet for the creative and artistic urges of the native people. This is a mixed objective: it is economic in providing a decent living for the best practitioners and a profitable sideline for others. It is social in providing native peoples with a source of pride and a means of acquiring a new outlook (i.e., familiarity with the market economy, etc.). It is artistic in the discovery and development of fine arts and handicrafts for their own sakes.

(b) The type of product should be either art in pure form or in the form of fine handicrafts. Each item must be highly unique or differentiated. The fact that the product is produced in Alaska by an Alaskan native will have some importance in the market, but ideally it should be able to stand on its own feet. Hence, the market would not be limited to Alaska but, in contrast to the simpler and cruder forms of handicrafts, would be primarily reached through national outlets in art galleries, museums, etc.

(c) Organizational requirements must provide a means of constantly discovering talent and provide arts and crafts training (either through workshops or arts and crafts scholarships), a means for raising and maintaining standards, and control of sale to insure that output will not be downgraded through marketing through tourist outlets.

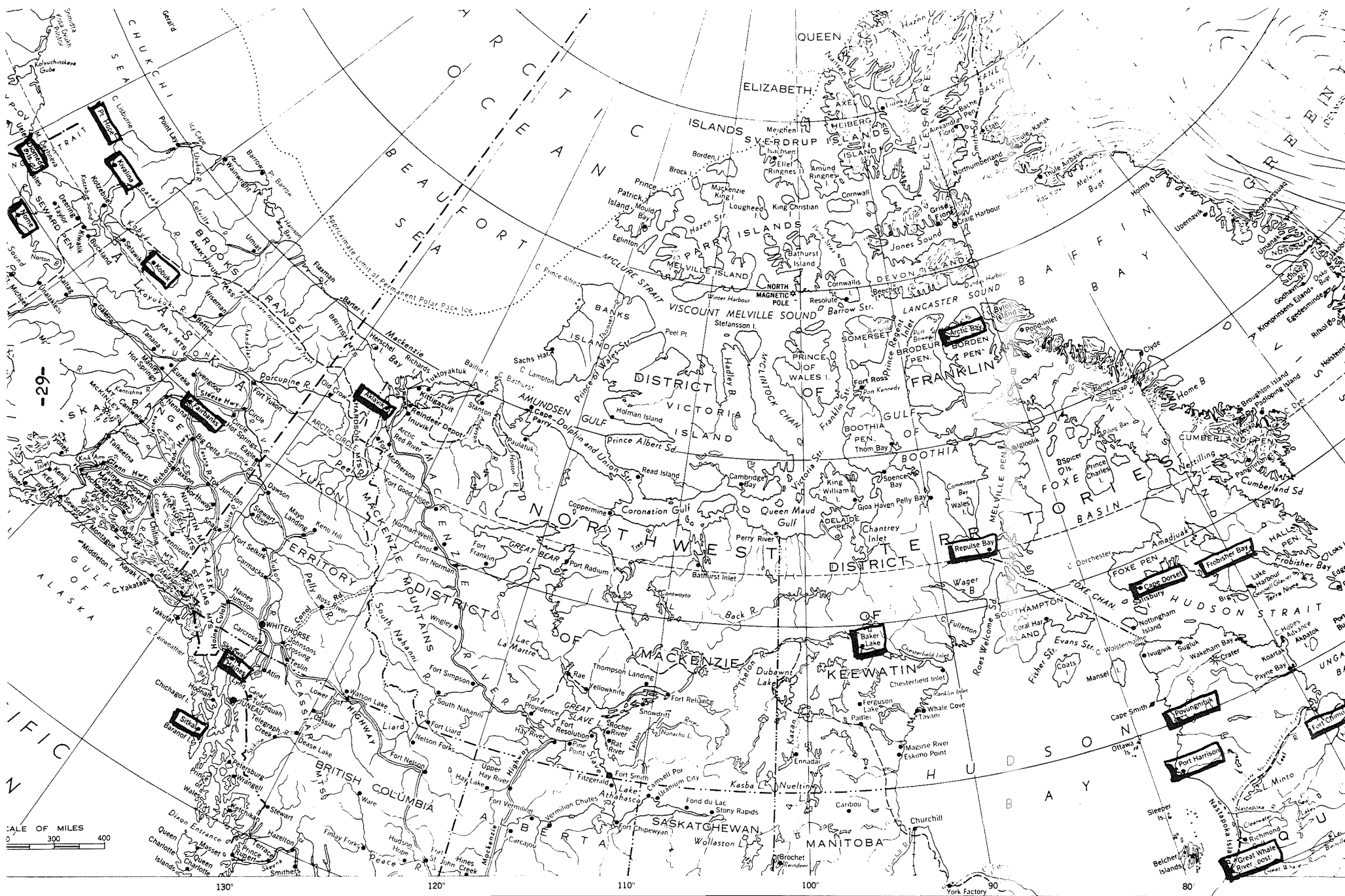


Figure 1. Location of Places Referred to in Appendix B and Appendix C

APPENDIX B: ALASKA NATIVE ARTS AND CRAFTS - PRESENT STATE

(Report of August 28, 1963, as revised after review and meetings of May 25 and 26, 1964)

This report of findings of the initial investigation of the present state of Alaska Native arts and crafts (conducted between August-November, 1962) is in terms of (1) the "product," (2) production and the producers, (3) the present organization of the process of production and marketing, and (4) the agencies responsible for any phases of this process.

The Product--Evaluations of the 1962 Output.

The "product" known as "Alaska native arts and crafts" is not a simple one but a whole range of diverse items which have somewhat arbitrarily been so defined by government reports and the general public. Although these items find their ways into markets through a number of official and non-official outlets, the range of actual items presented in the 1962 catalogue of the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Clearing House issued to prospective retailers is as good a representation of the present range and nature of the "product" as any available.

The first page of the catalogue is headed "Southeastern Indian Woodcarving and Totems," a natural and normal opening as the word "Alaska" immediately brings to mind either "totems" or "igloos." The small totem carvings presented here are a sad parody of this once vital art form. In terms of quality of workmanship and appeal, it is an item falling far below the standards of a true handicraft, despite being guaranteed to be "hand-made," and can

qualify only as a tourist souvenir or curio. As such it is an item that lends itself to being copied extensively by Japanese and other outside manufacturers and sold for far less than those produced by hand and distributed by ANAC.

Such souvenirs are in good demand, however, as the average tourist continues to think in terms of this Alaska stereotype or cliché. Rather than attempting to continue the present practices of carving each pole by hand, it is recommended that a carver be hired to re-create the best of the old poles as authentically as possible.^{1/} Simplified copies could be mass-produced by native workers using modern machine tools, and the product sold at a fair souvenir price.

The energies now going into the endless duplication of the same group of poles could better be used in other activities. One possibility is the re-introduction of the individual totem figure which would be in demand in higher markets than the present tourist souvenir because they would be excellent examples of a very sophisticated "primitive" art form. There are many examples of this type of carving in museums and private collections which could serve as the initial models. The carvers will be given the freedom of creating something that the present reproduction of totem poles does not allow and eventually they may turn their abilities toward truly creative sculpture.

^{1/} There are many excellent art books on the market from which materials could be drawn. Marius Barbeau, Totem Poles, Volumes 1 and 2 contain a list of all known poles.

When examined, the halibut hooks illustrated on this page clearly do not live up to the description of "old time Tlinget halibut hooks." The examples examined fall into the tourist souvenir classification and for the quality and appeal they present are even overpriced in this market. If the sale of such hooks is to be continued, there must be adopted a firm policy of refusing to purchase any that do not conform to the dimensions of the original items. These were purely utilitarian and as a result of this functionalism were beautifully proportioned and pleasing to the eye. Furthermore, a description of the manner in which they functioned makes them an interesting "conversation piece." There is a wealth of readily available published materials for comparison. If good carving is insisted upon in addition to conformation to original specifications, the resulting product could fall into the true handicraft classification.

The so-called "shaman rattles" were poor in all respects and grossly overpriced. The canoe paddles are reasonably accurate copies of ceremonial paddles originally used in dances. They should have a good sale as they have immediate eye appeal and are decorative. Although we were told these are entirely hand-carved and painted, they still can be classified only as tourist souvenirs. They should be mass-produced in order to permit sale at a lower price to fit the market in which they belong. Paddle blanks could be machine-made in a workshop and then finished with a very minimum of hand-carving and smoothing. The designs should be silk-screened to eliminate much of the sloppy painting which

makes the present paddles inferior even as tourist souvenirs.

An interesting variety falls under the next heading, "Nunivak Island Eskimo Driftwood Carving." The quid boxes and dishes have high commercial potential and those which are well done are true handicraft items in the best sense. Unfortunately, on many of the samples examined, much of the painting is sloppily applied. The impression gained from the actual items listed in this section of the catalogue is that here is an area of great potential for interesting and creative expansion of handicrafts. To assist the Eskimos in improving their designs and their products, a craft shop under the direction of a Crafts Specialist should be established on Nunivak Island, somewhat on the pattern of the craft and art center at Cape Dorset in Canada. Such a workshop was proposed by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in August, 1962.

"Eskimo Masks and Miscellaneous" also embraces a wide range of objects with quality and interest ranging from bad to excellent. The masks are the most promising. They should be left in the hands of the individual, skilled, creative craftsman rather than diverted to workshops or mass-production methods, as has been recommended for a number of other items. They can be a highly valuable means of self-expression, particularly in those areas where the old dances are being revived. The mask is a vital part of the dance and when produced in this connection can reach the height of a truly creative art. Unfortunately, there are now many examples of poor work on the market which undermines

more general acceptance of this item as a true art object. Poor workmanship should be firmly discouraged and better work encouraged through differential payment to the craftsman-artist. The market into which these items should be moving can stand the resulting higher price for authentic and attractive masks. As a by-product or as a means of occupying the less skilled or the apprentice carvers, the appendages of these masks suggest that a good handicraft product would be the carving of individual animals in driftwood. The whale-bone masks from Point Hope are more limited in scope by the material, but are an excellent handicraft product. There should be insistence upon only good work and the use of hard bone to avoid deterioration. The Anaktuvik Pass skin masks are a semi-mass-produced item requiring little real craft skill. They are overpriced in terms of what they are, but apparently at these prices they have ready sale. No recommendations can be made for this item, either to improve the product or its sale, or to reduce cost and price.

Snow goggles (hoof, ivory and driftwood) are a suitable handicraft item. Although they could easily be mass-produced for a tourist souvenir, it is doubtful that sales would increase significantly. It would be advisable to keep them as they are and in the handicrafts class. "Models of Kayaks and Other Miscellaneous Items," with emphasis upon good craftsmanship could be maintained as handicrafts, with poorer items falling into the souvenir class. A study of all of these particular items by a Crafts Specialist familiar with workshop skills and training could find ways of im-

proving items and at the same time cut down costs of labor and price.

The next page headed simply "Art" comes as a shock, particularly if we are to take it at its face value as the official definition of "native art." The greeting cards are cute, in the worst sense of that word. The so-called primitive drawings are in the most cases just examples of very bad drawing. Furthermore, the media used is not native in the remotest sense. The only "selling point" is that these were done by Eskimos. This whole section and the official attitudes which must underlay it were disturbing and call for a minor digression in the discussion at this point. These people are not primitive any longer, nor are they uninfluenced by the non-native teacher, trader and tourist. To hold those who might have artistic talent in an artificially imposed "native" mold is wrong. The truly talented and gifted natives must be given an opportunity to exploit their latent gifts to the fullest through education and suitable art school training. In this case the aim would be to develop "artists" in the fullest sense of the word, who could hold their own in any company. The aim should not be the development of something called "native artist" who turns out greeting cards and crude pen and ink sketches, even if there is a market for these. It should be to discover and develop artists.

"Basketry" presents a definite handicraft product difficult to evaluate in relation to marketing. The buyers in this market are highly individualistic collectors, primarily, with an occasion-

al well-heeled tourist thrown in. These items can never be produced as a souvenir item, and no amount of short-cuts or mass-production methods would turn out something which could compete with the truly cheap products coming from the Orient and Latin America. Emphasis must be upon the maintenance of quality and the continued use of native materials to keep the product unique and acceptable in the most discriminating buyer market. This also means that the expansion of production and markets must be a secondary consideration if at all.

The dolls of the Southeastern Alaska Indian either should be elevated to the handicraft classification through improved workmanship and design, or dropped altogether. As a tourist souvenir, which is all they seem to aim at, they do not and could not qualify in price because of the material and labor involved. The Eskimo dolls, on the other hand, in most instances qualify as a handicraft product, but care must be exercised to ensure continued high quality. The markets in which these dolls find their way will be those in which the buyers are collectors.

The huge range of beaded crafts, skin sewing and footwear is difficult to classify. Almost all of it is basically in the souvenir classification, in all respects but price. Beaded ashtrays (\$14 large and \$10 small), hairseal pin cushions (\$5), lapel pins (\$1.80), etc., are uniformly in the worst possible taste and poor quality. The Indian moccasins and Eskimo slippers and mukluks are staple items, and on the whole the quality as handicraft is good. Any significant expansion of their market outside Alaska,

however, would require substantial reduction in price, and this would involve semi-mass-produced methods, the cutting out of the hides in workshops by mechanical means, etc. Such practices have been used by Indians in other parts of the United States and experienced crafts specialists could be made available to set up any change in methods.

The bulk of the catalogue is given over to ivory carving and "jewelry" and this also appears to comprise the backbone of ANAC's trade. Taken as a whole, the present state of ivory carving is sad indeed. The general carving has deteriorated into a mass-manufactured product look, although it still is produced by the most antiquated hand tools and methods. The oft overheard tourist remark that they look like they are made of plastic is, unfortunately, an accurate statement of the effect produced by looking over showcases crammed with almost identical items carved from shiny white "ivory." Furthermore, it is scarce and should be used for only the best work.

There are some lively examples of animal and bird carvings which are good on all counts as fine handicrafts. Much of the output has become unduly standardized, but might be revitalized through the inspiration of a skilled and understanding Craft Specialist. More immediately, the use of black and especially red on carved figures should be abolished as a cheapening device spoiling some otherwise respectable carvings. With modest improvement these carvings could enjoy the same markets and popularity now enjoyed by Canadian soapstone carvings.

The miscellanea of letter openers, cribbage boards, etc., are turned out with little regard to markets and ANAC purchasing policy has done little to control or influence production. As a result, letter openers are a drug on the market. Cribbage boards are of very limited use today and consume large quantities of ivory. Instead, well carved figures for chess sets should be encouraged.

Dining sets and cutlery should come under workshop production where all the modern tools of craft shops can be employed to reduce labor costs per item. This is also true of the general run of jewelry--earrings, necklaces, etc.--now handled by ANAC. Much of this is greatly overpriced "junk" jewelry or trinkets, although the simpler necklaces fall into the handicraft class, and there are potentials to develop really fine jewelry.

The Product--Some Hard Truths

Output of Alaska native crafts represented in the ANAC catalogue is a mixed bag. Many of the items could not be classed as "authentically" native in nature. The women's work, with the exception of such things as the cruder "Indian" dolls, coin purses and pin cushions, was found to be generally closer to these ideals than much of the work of the men. The baskets and skin and fur sewing (footgear and clothing) are still relatively functional in the contemporary native society, or were very recently so. The fact that they may not be purchased for similar uses by the non-native buyer does not exert too much influence upon the original

design, the method of production, nor the relatively high quality of the final product. On the more popular tourist items, non-native influences have been most marked because of the use of imported materials and semi-mass-production methods. Much of the bead-work was a nineteenth century innovation and was influenced by designs suggested by the bead manufacturers or distributors. This has introduced an element of corrupted design of the Plains Indian into some of the Alaska Indian work. The output of Tlingit moccasins has achieved a degree of mass-produced uniformity, but a selective purchaser can without too much difficulty find many interesting and original examples among the banalities.

The men's work is represented principally in ivory and wood carving. The Eskimo masks carved of driftwood, sometimes ornamented with feathers and quills and painted in a few basic colors, are the most interesting and the most purely native in inspiration and nature. As in the case of the women's work, these masks were produced to serve a function in the present native society as integral parts of dances still performed or recently revived in areas in which they had been discouraged by misguided missionary efforts. The carver may be making a mask for sale, but he is working in vital native tradition and some of the original inspiration still finds its way into his market production. These items were also fortunate enough to find their way into commercial markets at a time when there was a widespread interest in "primitive art" and a greater appreciation of the true sophistication

of primitive crafts than earlier in the present and the last century. As a result, there has been less attempt by non-natives to "improve" the products.

The woodcarving of the Southeast Alaska Indians, except for the work of three or four truly skilled carvers and the group output of the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., is a sad parody of the output of a people who once were unchallenged masters in this medium. The bulk of the examples found in the ANAC clearing house are of small, mass-produced totem poles and larger poles very crudely carved and garishly painted. As has been noted in the previous section of this report, the copies of other Southeast Alaska Indian artifacts are of a similar low quality. One possible explanation is that although once these items served important ceremonial and social functions in the aboriginal culture, they have been without meaning to the native people for several generations. For example, totem pole carving was once a vital artistic expression of the Northwest Coast Indian culture. The originals were carved to commemorate individuals and events, or merely to represent family crests and lineages. Only the most skilled carvers were permitted to work on these monumental carvings. The stylization and designing of interlocking forms were of the highest artistic order. With the coming of the new civilization and the decline in the aboriginal culture, these poles lost any continuing meaning and their production halted.

Eskimo ivory carving, which is generally most prominently represented in any selection of Alaskan native crafts, is a truly

mongrel craft. Archeological sites have yielded examples of human and animal figurines which might be said to represent the ancestors of today's carvings, but most of the development can be traced to innovations by a long list of non-Eskimos extending from the late nineteenth century white traders through the World War II G.I. Diamond Jenness gives this summary of the development of ivory carving up to the end of the nineteenth century: "From as early as the mid-nineteenth century a handful of Eskimos along the coast had carved small figurines from walrus and mammoth ivory to sell to crews of whaling vessels, and to the traders, missionaries, and schoolteachers who succeeded them; and curio shops in Seattle had displayed these bibelots in their windows along with argillite carvings from the Queen Charlotte Islands, and figures of wood, bone, ivory, and jade from the Orient. Their handicraft work brought the Eskimos useful house-money, enough at times to support one entire family in a settlement, especially if the articles were mailed direct to the Seattle office of the Bureau of Education and sold without commission in the luxury market of that city. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that before the century ended an enterprising trader taught the natives to convert hand sewing machines into small lathes and to turn out ivory necklaces, cribbage boards, and various other knick-knacks alien to Eskimo culture--not to mention imitations of rare archaeological specimens that could be 'aged' by immersion in strong solutions of coffee, alder, or other stain and passed off as genuine antiques

to unwary collectors."^{1/}

Dorothy Jean Ray finds an almost complete breaking with old traditions in contemporary carving and has been able to identify the origin of most of the items as a "willing response" to the omnivorous requests of the souvenir seekers." Putting aside the salt and pepper shakers, cribbage boards and other clearly non-Eskimo items, the remaining items she has also found to have come from some outside source. The most famous (or infamous) is the billiken. "The billiken, one of the least imaginative objects made by the carvers, is also their least favorite. The first one of ivory was made in 1909 by Happy Jack. At the insistence of a storekeeper known to the Eskimos as 'Kopturok,' or 'Big Head,' he copied a billiken statuette that was the rage at that time in the United States. Since then thousands, if not millions, have been made in all sizes by the Alaskan carvers....Originally the billiken was carved in ivory only as a figurine, but it is now made also as earrings, bracelet links, necklaces, rings, salt and pepper shakers, letter openers, gavels, and almost anything else that might appear to be suitable...Additional changes have taken place in the billiken. The most notable occurred during World War II when soldiers stationed at Marks Field suggested the addition of breasts. Thus the 'milliken' was born, leading to the creation of entire families--mama, papa, and children. Other experiments have been made with the billiken but none so successful as the

^{1/} Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration: I. Alaska, Technical Paper No. 10, Arctic Institute of North America, Montreal, July 1962, pp. 37-38.

milliken. One is the rarely seen 'billiken in a barrel', a male billiken with movable genitals. Carvers occasionally have attempted to portray billikens in different positions or in action."^{1/}

Many misleading stories have been perpetuated by curio stores concerning the origin of the billiken, that it is a copy of a large stone statue on Big Diomedes Island, that it is an Eskimo good luck charm, etc., but it was actually invented by an art teacher in Kansas City, Missouri in 1908. A final ironic touch is added to the tale by Dr. Ray: "Billikens have recently been made by Siberian Eskimos under the guidance of the Siberian Arts and Crafts Board in that area. Antropova illustrates three of them carved in 1945 and lodged in the Museum of Anthropology, Soviet Union Academy of Sciences."

The popular bracelets and bird and animal figurines were not made extensively until about twenty-five years ago, according to Dr. Ray's investigations. "The animal and bird figurines found in almost all archeological periods differ greatly from today's carvings. Those of Okvik and Old Bering Sea are impressionistic and highly decorated while those of the more recent Thule culture are very crude. Today, the St. Lawrence and King Island carvers are noted particularly for the carving of bird figurines. The finesse of the very realistic ducks and geese made today is attributed to the interest of Admiral (then Captain) Edward Darling Jones of the United States Coast Guard in the 1920's. He showed the carvers pictures of birds, especially, and described the way

^{1/} Dorothy Jean Ray, Artists of the Tundra and the Sea (Seattle, 1961) pp. 122-124.

he wanted them made. Over a period of time he selected only the best carvings, and thus a very high standard was established. The King Islanders and the Eskimos from the mainland copied them at that time, when trips between Nome and St. Lawrence Island were made more frequently than now....Bracelets were first seriously produced in the 1920's when an unknown Eskimo carver began to make them for a man employed by the Alaska Road Commission."^{1/}

Dr. Ray's work has revealed the recent origin (and in many cases the actual originator) of almost every Eskimo carving item now sold, and also identified the influences which have determined the evolution of their present nature. With the more active interest of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in native handicrafts starting in the 1930's, another force was introduced. Much of this has only been superficial. For example, the surface appearance of much of the current output of ivory carving she attributes to the influence of the ANAC Clearing House, "which desires pieces that are highly polished, smooth, and easily cleaned."^{2/} The continuing influence of this source on matters of small detail rather than basic design, was found in an examination of the Clearing House correspondence files which included periodic instructions and comments from the manager to individual carvers suggesting that they use more red on the mouth of the bears, etc.

This discussion could be expanded, but it is enough to illustrate the generalizations we have formed from an examination of actual items now being produced, a comparison of the contemporary

^{1/} Ray, op. cit., pp. 124-225.

^{2/} Ray, op. cit., p. 148.

with the aboriginal, and a review of the reports of other investigators. The "product" can be characterized as including within its wide range a collection of true handicrafts produced as an extension of contemporary or very recent native use, unoriginal copies of aboriginal handicrafts and arts done without understanding of their original meaning or function, and knick-knacks which have been introduced at the request of non-native sources. With the possible exception of some of the better Eskimo masks and a rare individual piece of ivory carving, there is nothing in the total "product" which even remotely approaches art (even with an extended definition of the term) and little of the remainder can be classified as good handicrafts. Varying degrees of native or aboriginal influence are present, but these seem to be introduced into the "product" to give it an Eskimo-like or Indian-like flavor rather than being the natural source from which the "product" arises. The overwhelming impression is summed up in the apt phrase of Dr. Ray which described much of the ivory carving as a willing response to the "omnivorous requests of the souvenir seekers." In terms of the classifications used in the opening discussion, the output is primarily in the souvenir class, although materials and methods used in production are those appropriate to fine crafts and handicrafts.

This is a generalization and an over-stated one at that. It has been made in this manner and at this point in order to dispel at the outset alot of romantic nonsense about the subject of the contemporary output of native crafts which stands in the way of a serious treatment of its problems. Most of it has been strongly

influenced or has arisen from non-native sources operating over a period extending at least back to mid-nineteenth century. The "product" in its many manifestations, therefore, need not be treated as something sacred which cannot or should not be tampered with. It has been the result of just such a process and if it is to be improved (to elevate it into higher art or higher craft markets) or changed (to better fit the price and quality requirements of souvenir markets), there should be no hesitation to move forcefully in with the necessary direct guidance and assistance.

Production and the Producers

In volume of items stocked and volume of sales, the major part of the above described output is produced in Southeast Alaska (moccasins and totem poles) and Northwest Alaska (ivory, fur and skin sewing), particularly in the Nome area. Important outputs came from the remainder of the Bering Sea coast and Aleutians (driftwood carvings and baskets) and scattered amounts from the interior Alaskan villages (beadwork, skin sewing). In part, this distribution might be explained in terms of the relative geographic concentrations of native peoples. Historically a correlation between present output might be found with those areas having the longest and most intensive contact with white traders who first provided a commercial market for handicrafts and took an active role in influencing the nature and direction of their development. As will be pointed out later in this section, these areas of heaviest production are also the areas which have received the most attention from the Bureau and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in the promotion of handicrafts.

Between October 1962 and February 1963 a questionnaire survey made by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board gave some further indications of the distribution of arts and crafts activities and their nature.^{1/} This was not intended as a definitive study but was conducted merely to gauge the general outlines of arts and crafts and serve as a guide to planning of further investigation and planning of the Board's programs. It is not clear from the results, for example, to what extent the persons counted as "craftsmen" are actually that or to what extent they are currently engaged in production. The annual cash income figures appear to be highly unreliable even as rough indicators. Within the limitations of the survey (which are fully recognized by the Board), however, the results are very useful and informative as to the location and types of crafts still practiced. The following table summarizes the distribution of total craftsmen by geographic regions.

	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>% Total</u>
NORTHWEST ALASKA		
Coastal Eskimo	646	45.0
Interior Eskimo	54	3.8
SOUTHWEST ALASKA		
Coastal Eskimo	127	8.9
Interior Eskimo	37	2.6
Aleut	19	1.3
SOUTHCENTRAL ALASKA		
Eskimo	6	0.4
Aleut	5	0.3
INTERIOR ALASKA		
Athapascan	186	13.0
SOUTHEAST ALASKA		
Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian	<u>354</u>	<u>24.7</u>
Total	1,434	100.0

^{1/} Robert G. Hart, "Indian Arts and Crafts Board Survey of Alaska Native Arts and Crafts," April 26, 1963.

Not all places were covered in the survey, but the returns were unusually high for this type of investigation--91 communities out of a possible 155 being included in the findings. More than half the practicing craftsmen were found to be women and their output of skin sewing and dolls was primarily limited to Alaskan tourist markets, baskets alone having a broader appeal. The majority of the men were classified as carvers--337 coast Eskimos in ivory; 49 coastal Eskimos, 6 interior Eskimos and 33 southeast Indians in wood; and 10 coastal Eskimos in soapstone. In general, the type of crafts still practiced, as revealed by the survey, are well represented in the ANAC catalogue.

The methods by which the products are manufactured in general have remained unchanged since the days of the first commercial production of Alaskan native handicrafts. The distinguishing characteristics on which the items are sold are that they have been "hand made" by Alaskan native craftsmen in Alaska using native materials to the fullest extent possible. All have important selling appeal, and they are identified and protected by the ANAC tags attached to the individual items. Although these characteristics are insisted upon, the only result has been a gradual rise in cost of production. At the same time esthetic and craft characteristics can be seen to have declined when contemporary items are compared with older pieces in museums and private collections. The combination of a continuation of outmoded production methods with failure to maintain quality has resulted in conditions which invite competition from sources outside Alaska.

These "imitators" cannot always be passed over as producers of junk, however, as Dr. Dorothy Jean Ray points out in her study of the Eskimo craftsmen. "Several of the exceptionally talented young ivory carvers, spurred by the success of their signed pieces, have forsaken their own cultural milieu for Seattle, where they make designs and patterns for machine-finished bracelets, pendants, and tableware. With their Eskimo hands creating the original design, these items made of elephant, sperm whale, and walrus ivory can without deceit be sold as 'Eskimo made.' The system is reminiscent of the medieval guild crafts, with a master artist creating the original design and artisans completing the remainder of the work."^{1/} In many instances the resulting products compare favorably with the "hand made" Alaska version in esthetic and sentimental appeal and are generally sold at a fraction of the price.

Although imitations and machine-manufactured "Eskimo made" items have taken significant tolls of the markets once held by Alaska native handicrafts, in our opinion they are not an important basic cause of the decline in the sale of the authentic items. Prior to World War II, handicrafts were never more than a subordinate sideline in the native economy. With the stationing of thousands of troops in Alaska, they suddenly became big business. The sudden drop of sales from \$420,200 in 1944 to \$263,582 in 1945 correlates with a drop of military personnel in Alaska from 104,000 in 1944 to 60,000 in 1945. More recently the drop in sales from

^{1/} Dorothy Jean Ray, Artists of the Tundra and the Sea, (Seattle: 1961) p. 29.

\$181,800 in 1956 to \$124,500 in 1958 follows a similar drop in military personnel from 48,000 to 35,000.^{1/} In other words, the rise in sales during the 1940's was no more than a boom created by the temporary increase in the defense establishment. The Bureau files contained much evidence of search for a scapegoat in management of ANAC and its marketing organization, but the explanation is simply that the huge military market was a transitory one and tourism will take many years of development to replace it. This subject will be returned to in the discussion on ANAC.

Aside from the disappearance of this temporary market, there has been a decline in production even for the remaining markets because of lack of interest on the part of the native peoples. Excerpts from testimony heard by the Secretary of Interior's 1962 Task Force on Alaska Native Affairs give some clues as to reasons for decline in production not related to market decline. The samplings reported from widely separated centers given an excellent summary of the more important reasons--inadequate cash return to producer, social disorganization in the community, competition from welfare payments, inadequate guidance and information. Each of these points will be quoted and commented upon in turn.^{2/}

With the expansion of wage employment opportunities, or knowledge that such sources of income exist, it is unreasonable to expect craftsmen and women to work long hours at tedious hand work

^{1/} Sales trends are discussed below under "ANAC--the 'Official' Channels of Production and Distribution."

^{2/} The quoted materials in the following discussion not identified are from "Report to the Secretary of the Interior by the Task Force on Alaska Native Affairs," December 28, 1962, pp. 48-49.

for pennies per hour. "In some of the Athapascan villages the Indians declared that they have ceased to make such objects as moccasins and other beaded items--at which they excel--because the prices which they get do not compensate them adequately for the time spent in manufacture. Many believe they should receive from arts and crafts an hourly wage comparable to the highly inflated wages which they receive from other types of work."

In the experience of the authors of this report, the wages received in other occupations need not be "highly inflated" to be competitive. An example of the sort of cash return realized from handicrafts is given in the community survey of the village of Nikolski. "Three women in the village manufacture dolls, made of hair-seal skin, and ornamented with white rabbit fur and colorful textile and beads. One of these workers is able to make a doll per day, priced at \$5.00, but another can produce only two dolls per week, each priced at \$2.50. It is estimated that about eight dolls can be produced out of one hair-seal skin, procured from Juneau at \$20 apiece, and three dolls can be ornamented by means of one rabbit pelt, procured at \$3.50 apiece. Adding to this cost an average of \$3.00 for beads, twine, needles, etc., the average cost of producing one \$5.00-doll is \$4.00, not counting the direct labor involved. The income from this occupation is, therefore, insignificant."^{1/}

This is not an unusual case, as similar examples can be found in almost every place handicrafts are practiced. To move to another

^{1/} Lado A. Kozely, "Community Fact Survey, Village of Nikolski, Alaska," May 21, 1963, p. 8.

geographic extreme, a report on a remote and primitive Canadian Eskimo village where wage employment is very limited echoes this conclusion: This is very limited, and only a few men engage in this occupation to increase their income significantly. Though soapstone and some ivory is available, the great majority of men consider it unprofitable except when weather or other circumstances preclude all other forms of earning. The effort brings only five to fifteen cents per hour for all except the most skillful. Only one man, Davidii, a fine ivory etcher, has the requisite skill and interest to make it anything but a part-time occupation.^{1/} Although this village is near the center of the much-publicized Canadian Eskimo art output, the report concludes that, because of the extreme limits of the market, "it would only be practical and fair to encourage the best talent."

Low income is not limited to the women's handicrafts or the simpler men's work. The most venerable and respected of contemporary Alaskan native crafts, the Eskimo ivory carvings yield far less than the income from unskilled occupations in the Nome area. Dorothy Jean Ray, in her definitive study of the subject, found that the best carvers could earn at most only eight or nine hundred dollars a year on a full-time basis. "In my timing of the making of dozens of kinds of objects, the highest hourly wage approached \$1.25 per hour, and the average was just under \$1.00."^{2/}

^{1/} N.H.H. Graburn, "Lake Harbour, Baffin Island," Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, February 1963, p. 10.

^{2/} D. J. Ray, Artists of the Tundra and the Sea, (Seattle: 1961) p. 118.

(Italics added.) In addition, the carver had to secure his ivory, the cost or effort of which was not figured in Dr. Ray's time studies. In effect, as one carver pointed out to her, "you the buyer are getting the ivory for nothing."

The Task Force's conclusion on the matter of relation of cash return to production is bluntly honest. "It is unlikely that a revival of arts and crafts will be possible where Indians and Eskimos feel that they should receive wages of \$2 to \$5 per hour for handicraft work." It is simply not a matter of "feeling" on the part of the native Alaskan as to how much he should receive for an hour's work. If the native people are to be elevated in their standards of living to something approaching what is generally considered to be a minimum "American standard," they must be able to receive such return for their labor.

A decline in handicrafts production was not limited to villages where opportunities for better paying wage employment existed. "The Task Force also gained the impression that in some of the villages where the men are largely unemployed and where arts and crafts work is performed by women, the men are resentful about the breadwinning roles of their wives." It does not seem farfetched under such circumstances to find that the menfolk might put pressure upon their women to discontinue handicrafts. In Canada we were told that the training of the British Columbia Cowichan women in the knitting of their famous sweaters brought a new source of income into the tribe, but at the cost of the serious demoralization of the men who were unable to make comparable incomes. Male Alaskan natives observed

by the Task Force might prefer the relative demoralization of accepting relief to the complete demoralization of being supported by his wife.

In areas of chronic unemployment the existence of welfare programs appear to provide a more lucrative alternative to engaging in handicrafts as a means of support. "At the village of Shungnak, which is located near a large mountain of jade, the Task Force found only one active jade carver. He reported that there are other jade carvers in the community, but instead of working at their trade, they are subsisting on unemployment compensation and other welfare payments." As will be discussed more fully below, this is the area in which the Bureau, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, and the Alaska Rural Development Board have subsidized projects attempting to establish a jewelry industry. This observation, however, does not indicate that the present welfare programs are overly generous. Rather it reflects the poor return to be realized from arts and crafts even by specially trained craftsmen working in a shop equipped with electrically powered jade cutting and polishing tools provided by government agencies.

Finally, the Task Force reported, "Testimony at some of the communities indicated that there are natives interested in arts and crafts who have never received any assistance from the Arts and Crafts Board and who are not even aware of its existence or of the existence of A.N.A.C." Handicraft markets are difficult to discover and are subject to sudden shifts. Crafts require special training. Market information and technical training,

therefore, are essential to any continuing handicrafts. Agencies exist to provide these essentials and their present operations and organization were studied in an attempt to discover what gaps, if any, existed between need and services available.

Before proceeding to a review of agencies most directly concerned with native arts and crafts, there are some myths which might just as well be disposed of at this point. One set relates to the native in relation to arts and crafts. All Indians and Eskimos are not "natural artists" or even craftsmen, any more than would be the case in any other ethnic groups. There are artists present, but they must be discovered and "brought out." Because many of their everyday activities require the use of their hands and handicraft skills, they are probably more able to take up craft production than are other non-native Alaskans, but the range of ability and skill is wide and technical training and guidance is necessary. This is particularly true of the southern Alaskan Indians who are further from a handicraft technology than other natives. Finally, we doubt that the majority of Indians and Eskimos are really interested in handicrafts as a means of supplementing their livings today or as a means of satisfying some "inner drive for creative expression." All of these points will be repeated and elaborated upon later in the report, being stated in advance merely to focus attention upon them.

There also are some basic misconceptions concerning the role played by handicrafts in the total native economy. Typical of both

the official and the popular view is the statement, "Arts and crafts products have been and will continue to be very important to the economic development of the Natives."^{1/} This section has cited the conclusions of the Task Force regarding the present decline of interest and participation of the natives in handicraft activities and examples of returns to individual craftsmen and women have been cited in evidence of the marginal economic nature of even the best of these. The Nome Skin Sewers Co-operative Association, which will be discussed further below, indicates that past attempts at group handicrafts have been as marginal as those of individuals. During the period of the 1940's the Association appeared to have enjoyed some financial success, meeting the demands first of the United States Antarctic Expedition and then the United States Army for large quantities of cold weather garments. During the period of the 1950's the volume of business dropped sharply and, according to a special report made as the basis for considering a loan application, the Association operated at an annual net loss until it lapsed into its present state of suspended operations. For example, with gross sales of \$22,312.14 reported for calendar year 1954, the net loss amounted to \$10,771.52. The credit division, in commenting on this report, pointed out that substantial outstanding obligations were overlooked in the accounting and that the actual financial performance was probably worse

^{1/} Quoted in letter from Area Director to the Manager of ANAC, dated September 13, 1962.

than the official analysis indicated.^{1/}

The report points out a number of specific factors which may have contributed to the poor financial showing of this operation (poor management, loss of local military market, etc.) and suggests changes in pricing policy and marketing which might improve the situation. But heavy justification is given to the fact that whatever the overall business showing, 145 Eskimos did receive a total of \$9,533.04 in direct cash benefits during the off-employment season of calendar year 1955, an amount, which, it would seem to be implied, would otherwise have been paid from welfare programs.

The place of handicrafts can be most realistically described in terms of the conclusions drawn by Diamond Jenness for Alaska Eskimo handicrafts:

There can be no doubt that the handicraft industry has never occupied more than a very subordinate place in the totality of the Eskimo economy. Even in its best years northern Alaskan sales probably averaged no more than \$200,000, which for a population of 16,000 represents an income of only \$12.50 per head. Nor can we reasonably expect any marked expansion. The industry will always remain an infant financially, even when the tourist traffic doubles its present volume.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to dismiss it as an insignificant enterprise, especially now when the economy of the entire state of Alaska has reached a crossroad and the future path of its Eskimo population is still uncharted. Just as every added twig increases the strength of a bundle, so every occupation that brings in even a tiny in-

^{1/} Robert Hart, "Special Report on Nome Skin Sewers Co-operative Association," four-part analysis in support of loan application, undated (transmittal date to Area office December 21, 1956). Credit Division comments contained in denial of loan application by Area office, March 7, 1957.

come increases the economic resources of an impoverished people, provided that it does not impinge too greatly on time that might be used for more rewarding occupations. What is still more important, it greatly strengthens the morale of any people that stands, as the Eskimos of both Alaska and Canada stand today, balanced between survival and extinction.^{1/}

Indian Arts and Crafts Board

The Act of August 27, 1935 (49 Stat. 891; 25 USC 305) establishing the Indian Arts and Crafts Board within the Department of the Interior states the purpose of its program as "promoting the economic welfare of Indian tribes through the development of their arts and crafts." This is to be accomplished through the provision of "technical advice and assistance in production and marketing to Indian crafts groups and to individual Indian artists and craftsmen." Judging only by the items in stock in the ANAC Clearing House and a comparison of past catalogues with the 1962 edition, the only tangible results of the Board's several years of Alaskan operations has been the addition of cut and polished jade mounted on a variety of factory-manufactured settings purchased from outside sources and a collection of caribou hoof accessories (cuff links, tie tacks, etc.) and jewelry (earrings and necklaces) made by the Kivalina Eskimos.

There are reasons for this, however. The operations of the Board in Alaska have been hampered by limited personnel and funds, the vastness of the distances and the great local differences in

^{1/} Dimond Jenness, Eskimo Administration: I. Alaska. Technical Paper No. 10, Arctic Institute of North America, Montreal, July 1962, p. 47.

local materials and people, etc. Until 1960 there was only one Arts and Crafts Specialist operating in all of Alaska, and he was stationed at Juneau with limited travel funds and many outside calls on his time. Since then the Alaska staff was increased to three specialists, one of whom has been subsequently submerged in the budget for the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., discussed below, and another who has responsibilities extending outside Alaska. While this study was being conducted, the Board programs in Alaska were undergoing basic changes aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the work of the still limited staff. Until this is more clearly formulated, however, it will not be possible to comment on anything but the past performance. Because the comments are based only upon evidence provided by file material in the Area Director's office, they will be limited to a review and evaluation of the few identifiable projects undertaken and will necessarily be unable to give recognition to the benefits which may have arisen from relationships between arts and crafts specialists and individual craftsmen.

The initial basic policy of the Board in Alaska appeared to be one of providing advisory assistance only on a voluntary basis until 1961. With only a single Craft Specialist for all of Alaska, it was not practical to become involved in formal teaching or in production or marketing. In 1961 the basic policy of the Board was broadened and it has launched a program of setting up regional workshops and of development of cooperative programs with other agencies.

Several specific projects were undertaken in the pre-1961 period. Shortly after its creation in 1936, the Board assisted in setting up and operating an Arts and Crafts Clearing House which was later to evolve into the present Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Co-operative Association (discussed fully below). In 1946 a study was conducted by the Board and presented in a "Report on Potentials for Arts and Crafts in Alaska." On the basis of the generally favorable appraisal of the potential given by the report and the impression that Southeast Alaska presented a very promising area for development, a craft center was set up at the Mt. Edgecumbe school in 1947 with the Board providing the salary of one craft teacher. In 1948 a lapidary project was started at Shungnak. Following a visit to Alaska by William Spratling, seven Eskimos were selected as apprentices to learn goldsmithing and silversmithing at his art center at Taxco, Mexico.

The Shungnak lapidary project is illustrative of the intentions and the shortcomings of the Board's past programs. The known existence of a large jade deposit in the Kobuk River basin, popularly described as "a mountain of jade," led to the proposal that this resource be used by the local Eskimos to produce a whole new line of crafts and fine handicrafts to supplement the traditional skin sewing and ivory carving. In 1948 lapidary equipment was purchased by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and sent to Shungnak. According to an opinion expressed in a 1957 report, this was far from ideal. "It is no reflection of discredit of the originators of the idea that some of the equipment was not the type required

for production work, and that some essential machines were omitted. Only an experienced lapidary would have been likely to do better."^{1/} The question this raises is why the advice of an experienced lapidary was not sought. The files give no clues as to the answer. Because they had no training and apparently nobody accompanied the equipment and tools, the local Eskimos appear to have simply cut slabs of jade for sale to hobbyists or for use by professional lapidaries elsewhere.

It was not until four years after the arrival of the equipment and tools, in February and October 1952, that the first visits were made by the Arts and Crafts Specialist of the Board. During these two brief visits he gave elementary training to one adult and one boy on use of the equipment and tools to cut and polish stones. Output was limited to simple geometric forms and cabochons set in commercial made mountings. This was considered an initial program to simultaneously develop technical skill and provide income. The project employed as many as eight persons (in 1957 there were two adults and the balance were school boy apprentices), and in a 1960 report an Arts and Crafts Specialist rated it as "reasonably successful."

It is difficult to evaluate the economic results of the project (the creative arts and crafts results have been nil) because of wide fluctuations in annual gross sales reported and the amount of subsidization. For the eight-year period 1952 through 1959, gross sales totaled \$20,127.19, but fluctuated from \$740 in 1952

^{1/} Supporting information accompanying BIA application to the Alaska Rural Development Board for a loan, dated March 14, 1957.

to a high of \$4,830.19 in 1954 and dropped rapidly back down to \$861.95 in 1959. Of these gross receipts only \$9,548.80 (an annual average of only \$1,193.60) was actually paid to the Eskimo workers. The balance was expended on the purchase of mountings, other supplies, etc. In addition, as of May 27, 1960 a total of \$9,276.34 had been expended from BIA and Arts and Crafts Board grants and Alaska Rural Development Board loans for purchase of tools, equipment and workshop. A second lapidary and jewelry project was attempted in 1953 at Noorvik, but the Arts and Crafts Specialist was unable to find suitable quarters. This was revived later and a total of \$4,632.60 was spent in 1958 and 1959 from the three federal and state sources of grants and loans, plus a \$2,000 extension from the local store. No sales records were seen in the files and in 1960 the Arts and Crafts Specialist pronounced this project as a flat "failure." The Kivalina project, started in 1956, is reported as being "promising" and has produced tangible results in the form of the polished caribou hoof accessories and jewelry items now shown in the ANAC catalogue. These items were copied by the Eskimos from models made by the Arts and Crafts Specialist and, although unoriginal in design, are of good workmanship and have considerable sales appeal.^{1/}

In 1961 the Board's program in Alaska was expanded by increasing the number of resident Arts and Crafts Specialists to three,

^{1/} Separate memoranda by D. Burlison to the Area Director dated March 1960 and forwarded to Washington, D.C., June 7, 1960. The Director added the comment that these analyses make no allocation of costs of supervision provided by the Arts and Crafts Board and other officials.

and grants to encourage the expansion of an already going crafts program at Port Chilkoot-Haines were made. One of the specialists was the manager of the Port Chilkoot program, but has since been shifted back to this position. The other two specialists, one stationed at Sitka and another at Juneau, planned to carry out their assignments by regular annual visits to the northern villages which are either producing handicrafts or have promise of doing so. Examples of handicrafts or designs were shown to the local craftsmen with such guidance and training as the brief annual visits allowed. Tangible results of the very brief period of operation of this expanded program have been the increase in woodcarving activities at the Port Chilkoot center (which will be discussed more fully below), the rescue of three practicing Tlingit woodcarvers from the production of "pot-boilers" and an experiment with soapstone carvings by the Eskimo carvers at Savoonga.

This last development was an experiment to encourage the Alaska Eskimo carvers to use materials other than ivory. The soapstone does not occur locally, but it is a highly workable material. The results, which we saw only in photographs, unfortunately look like imitations of the Canadian soapstone carvings. This was not intentional as the Alaskan Eskimos had seen no examples of the Canadian work, but should have been expected given the ethnic similarities. No matter how good future Alaskan soapstone carvings might be, however, they will always be stigmatized as copies. Furthermore, there is strong evidence that the

market for these products is already being flooded, and Canadian officials are seriously concerned that there may be a collapse in the offering (refer to Appendix C). The soapstone experiment has demonstrated that the Eskimo craftsmen are receptive to new materials and media but are conservative in regard to ideas and design.

In October 1962 the Board launched a mail questionnaire survey "to fill the need for immediate information regarding arts and crafts activities in the State of Alaska." The results were supplemented by estimates made by the Arts and Crafts Specialists "from their personal knowledge of the areas" in order to cover all native communities and are contained in a report dated April 26, 1963 from Robert Hart, general manager. They are interesting for their general picture of the distribution of craftsmen which ties in very closely with an evaluation of the present stock in the ANAC Clearing House by point of origin.

This report also outlines a proposed future program for the Board in Alaska. In addition to the continuation of counseling by Arts and Crafts Specialists, a demonstration-workshop has been established at Sitka to which outstanding craftsmen from all over the State will be brought "for special training which would be of value in the work of their particular community." Although this center was officially "established" late in 1962 and special equipment and supplies have been assembled, it has been unable to move very far toward serving its purposes because of lack of suitable workshop space and funds for grants to native craftsmen. At this

writing, the Sitka director of the workshop reported only one Tlingit carver working under the program on a continuing basis, although others have had brief contact with it and many indirect benefits may have come from the center being at least "established."

Another project to which the Board has provided financial support and valuable guidance and encouragement is the operations of Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., a non-profit corporation at Port Chilkoot dedicated to the perpetuation of the art and lore of the Tlingit Indians. This program will be the subject of further study under this contract and will be reported on more fully at a later date. At this point, however, it can be stated that it appears to have more promise for future development within the broad range of native crafts, handicrafts and good souvenirs than any other at present in operation. The basis for this judgement is found in several key factors. The program evolved over a long period of trial and error extending back to 1947. The fact that this history is spotted with evidence of false starts, mistakes and occasional poor judgement is not evidence of failure, but rather of the highly flexible experimental nature of the process which has brought it to the point where it can be said to be highly promising for the future. Today it has broad acceptance and considerable participation in by both the oldest members of the Chilkat tribe and the present crop of teen-agers. This has come about because originally it was not launched as an "arts and crafts for arts' and crafts' sake" program, but to serve other ends. Carl Heinmiller, as a Boy Scout executive, was interested in doing

something to relieve local juvenile delinquency, improving the social outlook of the local natives and creating a new industry which might make some contribution to the local economic base. The revival of art forms and crafts was related to something which could take on some vital meaning in the present day lives of the local people. Finally, a very practical matter has been the strategic location on the main line of the new Southeast Alaska marine highway (ferry system) which places it within easy reach of the burgeoning Alaska tourist industry.

From this starting point, the program has progressively assumed a greater focus as providing the basis for future expansion of native arts and crafts in a more formal manner. That the program has finally reached the point where it could take off was demonstrated in the formal dedication of the Port Chilkoot tribal house on August 11, 1962. This was performed as a tribal house name-giving potlatch with native and non-native members of the communities of Klukwan, Haines and Port Chilkoot participating. Both the potlatch ceremony and the performance of the Chilkat Dancers dramatically demonstrated the roots of the native "arts and crafts" in ceremony and in the performing arts. In themselves, the blankets and carved masks are interesting as objects of abstract art, but when used as adjuncts to a dance or ritual, they take on another role. When supplied with body, motion and voice, they give the audience a clue to the inner emotional life of the people, etc. Another dimension is added to the pleasure and meaning the object itself conveys, which is lost if not introduced

through the dance.

These events also demonstrated another relationship--that between living tradition and living art. It is not enough to start with the usual arts and crafts approach that these people were traditionally great carvers and then reason that they can today be trained to be carvers. There must be a desire or, at least, a willingness on the part of the subject people to produce great carvers. The people must be informed about their traditional inheritance and then develop a pride in it. The source of knowledge of this tradition is now only in the very old people of the tribe (it is not enough that it be in the papers and books of professional anthropologists), and this is a highly perishable source. For about two generations they have not been able to transmit this tradition on to their descendents because there has not been a receptive atmosphere and they have felt defeated. It was significant that the two main active participant groups in the potlatch were the very old and the young teen-agers. The young adults and middle-aged were almost completely absent.

Once the tradition has been revived (even if in a highly modified form) or at least achieves a basis for self-respect, the groundwork is laid for the encouragement and training of carvers and eventually individually creative arts or artisans. Without this conditioning or preparation, the sending of a skilled craftsman or highly creative artist (or teams) to teach the natives will end in a very limited development. All small communities (whether they be "primitive" in culture, or modern) are jealous of those

who do not conform or appear to set themselves up as "being better" or different. In the typical Alaskan native community, the talented native probably would have to divest himself of his native surroundings and associations in order to bring forth his gifts.

With the sort of community conditioning which has been going on, it is not thought strange that able-bodied young men should engage in craft work. This is illustrated by the manner in which the corporation this spring completed a thirty-six foot totem pole on order for the Standard Oil Company of California to commemorate the dedication of the first refinery in Alaska. The design was worked out in conference with a group of the elders of the tribe, much as it would have been done in aboriginal times. Each figure was selected to bear some relation to the story the client wished to tell. The carving was performed by several of the young men working in teams, and the entire project was completed on schedule and within the cost limits set by the client.

The timing of the Board's involvement appears to have been almost ideal. If it had come earlier, the program may have become looked upon as simply another federally supported operation and local participation reverted to the passiveness typical of too many of these cases. It also came at a time when outside technical art and craft guidance and assistance was sorely needed. If the program is to progress beyond the reproduction of already existing aboriginal items and the production of souvenirs, the local sources of education and training must be supplemented by more specialized and creative art-oriented guidance.

ANAC--the "Official" Channels of Production and Distribution

The product "Alaska Native Arts and Crafts" has been described as something which has evolved either directly from aboriginal sources, or imagined aboriginal sources, to its present state through exposure to the forces of the souvenir market. The process until the mid-1930's was largely guided by traders and, in a few instances, interested government employees and missionaries. The Seattle office of the old Bureau of Education did assist in the distribution of artifacts to retail outlets in the "States" and individual schools sometimes allowed craftsmen to use the limited facilities and tools available locally. But generally it was not until the change in programs and policies within the Bureau of Indian Affairs which accompanied the establishment of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1936, that any really significant and sustained official interest was displayed. Today the ANAC label and the coined word "Anac" is popularly assumed as synonymous with native arts and crafts. The role of private Anchorage and Fairbanks distributors dealing directly with native craftsmen and women appears to be expanding, but for the present the core of the production can be said to move through these "official" channels.

The persons to whom this report is directed are familiar with the history of ANAC and its operations, but enough of the highlights will be presented here to serve as a basis for a tentative evaluation of the present operation and its future. Although ANAC in its present form was established in 1956, its start might

be dated from October 1937 when a superintendent for arts and crafts in Alaska was appointed and the Juneau administrative offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were designated as a clearing house for the marketing of native arts and crafts. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board provided limited funds for support of the position of supervisor and the Bureau provided space and utilities. In 1944 a full-time manager, clerical help and utilities were supported by a four percent service charge on merchandise handled (paid by the craftsman and the dealer) and by 1952 the clearing house was declared to be self-supporting.

The Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative Association, Inc., (ANAC) was established in 1956 with the past function of marketing assistance continuing as its main purpose. It is not a craftsmen's guild. The corporation represents and deals with groups and organizations rather than individuals. The "members" are the native communities represented by the 18 native stores or the local council president or chief. Four of the directors represent these members. Individual craftsmen are considered as "associate members" and are represented by one director. In 1961 the first retail outlet, the ANAC Cache, was opened at Juneau.

Value of transactions handled through the Juneau Clearing House for the calendar year 1938, the first official figure, were reported at about \$30,000.^{1/} For the fiscal year 1939 the value of

^{1/} For fiscal years 1938 through 1957 inclusive, sales and other figures are from the annual reports of the Governor of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior. Official figures from other sources may vary due to different reporting periods, different coverage, etc.

native arts and crafts rose to \$98,000 and thereafter enjoyed a phenomenal rise until the mid-1940's. In part, this was due to contracts with the United States Antarctic Expedition made in 1939 and 1940 and a number of contracts with the United States Army for the sewing of fur garments by what was to become the Nome Skin Sewers Cooperative Association. It was also due to the rapid expansion of the number of troops stationed in Alaska as World War II broke out.

The Governor's annual report gave the peak value of native arts and crafts as \$485,641 during fiscal year 1945 (including the contracted output of the Nome Skin Sewers Association). Immediately thereafter there was a dramatic drop in the reported value of sales to a low of \$101,133.43 in fiscal year 1946. In part, this may be due to the limitations of coverage of the later as compared with the earlier figures, but making due allowance for this factor it can be attributed to the equally dramatic drop in military personnel in Alaska from a high of 152,000 at July 1, 1943 to a low of only 19,000 at July 1, 1946. Military personnel rose only slightly thereafter (26,000 on July 1, 1950) and then began to rise again (38,000 on July 1, 1951 to 50,000 for the period between 1952-1955). Roughly correlated changes were noted in the reported value of sales of native arts and crafts, achieving an annual amount fluctuating within a minor range around \$150,000 during the first half of the 1950's.

Since the mid-1950's ANAC sales have declined and inventories increased as a result of return of unsold merchandise from post

exchanges in 1958 and increasing inability to sell certain craft items which continue to be produced. Total net sales of ANAC fell from \$181,799.49 in calendar year 1956 to \$123,859.06 in 1960 and \$130,395.23 in 1963. Inventories rose from \$103,925.15 at the end of 1956 to \$177,990.34 at the end of 1960, declining to \$158,390.74 at the end of 1963.

In its operations and policies, ANAC is today influenced by its origins and past history as a service organization. The manager maintains that the corporation was not created to make money but simply to provide service to isolated craftsmen in securing raw materials at wholesale and in bringing their products to a wider market than that afforded in the village. He considers that ANAC is neither organized nor financed to become involved in the development of new products, fostering of increased production, or the promotion of wider sales. These views appear to be shared by the board of directors. The budget process is influenced by the previous year's performance and the desire to conserve money. If income drops, the items that are first considered for cuts are promotion and travel funds.

As a result of this philosophy and related policies, procurement and marketing functions are carried out in a totally passive fashion. The manager does not go into the field to make purchases. The backbone of merchandise is received from the northern villages in the form of periodic consolidated shipments made by the native stores. These shipments are graded and priced by the manager and his staff at Juneau and merchandise considered as unsalable is

returned. The balance is held and paid for when sold by ANAC. Mothers' clubs and other informal groups from interior villages from time to time send in special shipments of dolls, purses, and other items, frequently through the encouragement of a school teacher. In Southeast Alaska individuals, rather than stores or groups, bring or send in their merchandise to the clearing house or the retail outlet. Unlike the native stores, these individuals are paid when their merchandise is accepted by ANAC.

Marketing is likewise carried out in a passive fashion. Orders are not solicited. They are filled as received if merchandise requested is in stock. About 90 percent of sales are to established dealers in Alaska who are generally very long-time customers. There is virtually no advertising, until recently this being limited to a small add in the Alaska Sportsman and some advertising in Alaskan newspapers. The highest advertising expenditures were \$2,924.17 in fiscal year 1959, and the 1963 advertising budget was set at only \$2,500.

The ANAC Clearing House also procures raw materials for craftsmen and sells or barter them at cost plus a small service charge. Standard items, such as beads and needles, are purchased in large lots directly from foreign suppliers. Alaskan skins and furs are sent Outside for tanning at a commercial plant and returned through the Juneau clearing house to the point of origin. Furs from non-Alaskan sources are also purchased through the Seattle fur exchange. No attempt appears to have been made to "shop" among commercial tanners for price or quality, nor to explore the possi-

bility of securing furs from other fur exchanges at lower prices.

The product sold by ANAC has become very rigidly standardized. This standardization arises from resistance of craftsmen to change (all are specialists in the narrowest sort), reluctance of retailers to take on new items for which the market is unknown (they prefer to order the same line without change year after year), lack of funds and staff to undertake experimentation and innovation, and the passive nature of the entire management of ANAC which puts a premium upon uniformity.

The price for each item has been established on the basis of what the manager believes is required to keep products coming and what the market will take at retail stores and the acceptance of a small volume of direct mail retail business. Price and quality of product in themselves probably limit ability to compete beyond the already established markets. The only unique value attached to the items is their "conversation piece" value (i.e., the purchaser either has been in Alaska and uses the item to talk about it, or has some sentimental interest in Alaska).

The overwhelming impression is that all phases of ANAC's operations have become completely static. Through some twenty-five years of trial and error the present line of items handled by ANAC would appear to be reaching the limits of their feasible market. Product price-cost relationships have become stabilized as a result of the combined conservatism of the craftsmen, ANAC managers and dealers. Relationships between overhead and operating costs and sales also seem to be fairly constant over time and

within reasonable bounds. The only dynamic aspects to be found in an audit of accounting records were the increase of inventories relative to sales volumes and on the balance sheets the rising importance of inventories in the make-up of total assets, the significantly greater ratio of total liabilities to total assets, and the rising importance of accounts payable within the liability side. These observable changes in the composition of the operating and balance sheet statements are all signs of a declining business, and this is, of course, reflected in the downward trend of ANAC sales and the reports of increasing return of craft items to native stores because ANAC is unable to sell them.

ANAC in the past has provided almost the only continuous contact with native craftsmen. As noted above, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board influence has been extremely limited and until recently most craftsmen were unaware of its existence. Through infrequent visits but regular correspondence, the general manager of ANAC has provided the principal guidance to the practicing craftsmen on what to produce, what constituted acceptable quality, etc.

Despite this influence and the organization of ANAC as a cooperative association, however, there is little personal identification of the individual craftsmen with the association. Its tangible being is the clearing house at Juneau, which is remote from all but the Indians in Southeast Alaska. The practice of procurement of merchandise on a consignment basis imposes a hardship on the individual craftsmen, discouraging them from further

production due to the sometimes long delay in payment and in cases where their village store purchases, the financial burden placed upon an organization in which they have a more direct involvement. The measure of the general financial hardship imposed by the consignment system can be gauged from an examination of the income and expense statements which have recorded a concurrent rise in accounts payable and inventories on hand. In view of these circumstances it is not surprising that the native not only has no feeling that ANAC is his association, but has no sense of loyalty to it and sometimes looks upon it as a hostile force.

A loan of \$190,000 made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in October 1, 1962 aimed to correct the consignment problem and put ANAC on a sound financial basis. The evidence of financial statements, however, is that beyond clearing off the books the outstanding indebtedness of the native stores, little has changed. There still is a substantial cash shortage and consignment procurement must still be practiced in most cases. Costs of operation have been increased by the annual five percent interest payment due on the loan. Sales volume has not changed significantly. All the past's static characteristics continue.

The recent decline in ANAC sales can be attributed to its present management, form of organization, and lack of promotion only to the extent that they have limited the native arts and crafts product to a market which is, in turn, declining. The present output of items has evolved in response to a particular market and production has since become standardized and static.

With very minor exceptions, the "market" for which these items are designed includes only a portion of the present Alaska tourist trade and the military personnel trade. There has been some invasion of this market for "ANAC-type" products by other sources of supply, and ANAC's share of even this limited market undoubtedly has been somewhat eroded by increased direct purchases from native craftsmen by private dealers. But the basic cause of decline in sales is not primarily due to loss of the market so much as it is due to reduction of the market itself. (Bear in mind that in this case the "product" in effect defines its own "market.")

As has been noted above, there has been a decline in military personnel in Alaska and, consequently, it should be expected that there has been a decline in sales to these customers. In addition to the direct sales to service men from private dealers, ANAC has made substantial sales to military outlets on post exchanges. These sales also have dropped off as military forces were reduced in Alaska. Stocks in the post exchanges, furthermore, have become seriously backlogged. ANAC sales to these outlets declined from \$54,199.70 during calendar year 1956 to \$14,376.25 in calendar year 1960, and it appears that in the foreseeable future, with the prospect that military personnel will either continue to decline in number or stabilize at present levels, sales to these outlets will not expand.

Tourism is on the increase in Alaska and holds the greatest promise in the immediate future for improving the economy of the State as a whole. This is a new and robust phenomena, however,

having little relationship to the genteel round-tripper tourism of the past. On the whole, the present line of products handled by ANAC evolved in response to the demands of this old form of tourism. Some items are finding a place in the markets now emerging from the new tourism, but ANAC's general sales position cannot be expected to benefit from general increases in tourism unless the products presented for sale are changed and price ranges revised. There may be some room for improvement in the operating efficiency of the present form ANAC has taken, although the importance of this would appear to be grossly overstated in the comments reviewed. Certainly there is room for expansion of promotional effort. But none of these things would touch the basic cause of decline and the means for improvement--change in the "product."

Another market extending outside the bounds of Alaska which is by-passing ANAC is the contemporary "primitive art" boom. Again ANAC's "product" must be redeveloped if it is to participate in this source of potential sales increase.^{1/}

In the final analysis, the problem gets back to the native people themselves--the degree to which they are able and willing to participate in a new and expanding version of native arts and crafts. But there are purely administrative and organizational aspects which will be of significant, if secondary importance.

^{1/} The investigator's judgement is that present ANAC output would find only a small market outside Alaska even with intensive promotion. This was tested by sending a small selection of the best basket items to Mr. Carl Fox, the manager of the Brooklyn Museum gift store. The price was found to be prohibitive and the product looked "machine-made." Fur and skin items were not accepted because of price and quality lacks as were ivory items. The baskets were disposed of at less than cost.

In reviewing past reports and files, it is clear that in the past and at present ANAC has held an ambivalent position in the total Alaska native program. It has always been a neglected stepchild, originally of the Division of Education then Native Resources and Credit. The major interest and workload of the nominally "supervising" division has not related to arts and crafts and hence ANAC has received little real attention beyond casual inquiries as to how things were going. ^{1/} For example, two detailed analysis and studies prepared by the ANAC Clearing House manager in 1952 and 1954 should have been invaluable guides to higher policy, but there was no evidence in the files that they had even been acknowledged as being in existence.

There is also need for the building of more intimate working relations between ANAC and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in Alaska. There appears to have been a definite lack of rapport between these two agencies in the past. But beyond this there is the need for a clearly stated and accepted overall official philosophy and policy which will assure the harmonious working of all specific programs toward the common goal of improvement. In short, ANAC cannot go it alone.

^{1/} Credit has become greatly concerned recently because of the deteriorating financial condition, but this interest does not relate to product.

Table 1. ALASKA NATIVE ARTS & CRAFTS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, INC. (WHOLESALE)

- CONDENSED COMPARATIVE INCOME AND EXPENSE -

<u>Calendar Year</u>	<u>Total Net Sales</u> ^{1/}	<u>Cost of Sales</u>	<u>Gross Profit</u>	<u>Operating & Selling Expenses</u>	<u>Net Operating Profit(Loss)</u>	<u>Total Other Income Expense</u>	<u>Net Profit</u>
1963	130,395.23	84,015.70	46,379.53	52,268.95	(5,889.42)	(7,960.71)*	(13,850.13)
1962	118,220.21	79,507.67	38,712.54	46,982.75	(8,270.21)	(6,583.29)*	(14,853.50)
1961	132,716.63	99,015.18	33,701.45	41,158.69	(7,457.24)	111.61	(7,345.63)
1960	123,859.06	78,147.68	45,711.38	43,871.17	1,840.21	75.30	1,915.51
1959	129,835.50	85,228.78	44,606.72	44,329.53	277.19	171.59	448.78
1958	124,467.68	81,763.66	42,704.02	43,110.62	(406.60)	383.05	(23.55)
1957	140,425.81	100,391.19	40,034.62	37,800.34	2,234.28	601.09	2,835.37
1956	181,799.49	129,669.73	52,129.76	46,696.66	5,433.10	272.87	5,705.97

* Includes interest expense on Department of the Interior loan of \$7,546.88 in 1962 and \$8,967.89 in 1963.

^{1/} Included for 1961, 1962 and 1963 are wholesale sales made to ANAC "Cache," the retail outlet.

Table 2.

ANAC "CACHE" (RETAIL)

- CONDENSED COMPARATIVE INCOME & EXPENSE -

	12 Months Ending December 31:		9 Months Ending
	<u>1963</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>12/31/61*</u>
Total Net Sales	45,641.28	44,976.06	37,792.50
Less: Cost of Sales	<u>28,672.46</u>	<u>30,894.89</u>	<u>26,460.79</u>
Gross Profit on Sales	16,968.82	14,081.17	11,331.71
Less: Operating & Selling Expense	<u>12,922.04</u>	<u>12,846.34</u>	<u>10,210.47</u>
Net Income	2,046.78	1,234.83	1,121.24

* ANAC "Cache" began business on April 3, 1961.

Table 3. ALASKA NATIVE ARTS & CRAFTS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, INC.
 - CONDENSED COMPARATIVE BALANCE SHEETS -

As of Dec. 1	ASSETS			LIABILITIES			CAPITAL RESERVES
	Cash	Inventories	Total	Accounts Payable <u>1/</u>	U.S.D.I. Loan <u>2/</u>	Total	
1963	40,366.23	158,390.74	210,357.96	656.77	159,351.00	166,151.87	44,206.09
1962	78,458.53	169,648.60	263,028.35	10,082.26	190,000.00	207,017.54	56,010.81
1961	10,862.09	160,041.75	186,871.03	112,347.09	--	113,043.85	69,629.48
1960	8,791.89	177,990.34	200,767.82	122,078.12	--	124,913.95	75,853.87
1959	4,941.95	177,994.82	197,898.41	121,998.13	--	124,089.46	73,808.95
1958	15,857.96	158,050.13	186,588.05	110,974.31	--	113,350.47	73,261.13
1957	12,096.30	124,098.16	148,031.09	72,798.16	--	74,771.37	73,259.72
1956	26,371.18	103,925.15	141,303.69	67,047.12	--	70,966.23	70,337.46

100

1/ Principally accounts with native stores representing merchandise consigned to ANAC less charges for raw materials, advances and prepayments.

2/ Loan bears interest of 5% payable annually. First payment on principal due October 1, 1972 at \$19,000 with similar annual payments thereafter.

APPENDIX C: CANADIAN NATIVE ARTS AND CRAFTS

(Report submitted August 28, 1963 based upon research and travel in Canada by Professors Rogers and Pierce, October 28-November 21, 1962)

"Something very unexpected happened in Canada during the past decade. Canadians discovered Eskimo Art--and the Eskimo--and took a great liking to both. Cash income from sales of Eskimo carvings for the calendar year 1949 amounted to \$1,500 or an average of only 13¢ per head of the 12,000 Eskimo population. But a decade later, during the fiscal year 1959-1960, this particular sector had expanded more than a hundred fold to an amount of \$200,000 or \$16.50 per person. In addition, art prints, the sale of which started only in the latter half of that same fiscal year, yielded a cash income of \$20,000, and cash income from home craft articles amounted to about \$70,000. Thus altogether the cash income from home crafts and arts for the fiscal year 1959-1960 was \$295,000 or about \$25 per person of the Eskimo population. Furthermore, these are only the officially known figures....the total cash income of the Eskimo population for the 1959-1960 fiscal year from home arts and crafts is probably much nearer to \$400,000 than to the official figure of about \$300,000 from the Department of Northern Affairs."^{1/}

Since this review statement was written, Eskimo graphics have burst into full bloom and the Eskimo art boom had continued its remarkable expansion. Income from carvings and other handicrafts maintained their levels during 1961 and 1962, and income from prints rose from \$20,000 in 1960 to \$62,000 in 1961.

^{1/} The Role of Crafts and Cottage Industries in Economic Development," Report IE-1, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, December 1960, (preliminary report classified "Confidential").

This experience is the more remarkable when it is realized how relatively few Eskimos are directly involved in the creation of the income. Although 11,500 Eskimos live in the Northwest Territories, northern Quebec and Labrador, all of the prints and almost all of the carvings come from three centers--Cape Dorset with a population of about 330 Eskimos, Povungituk with 160, and the Northern Affairs Eskimo Rehabilitation Centre at Frobisher Bay. The carvings were the product of about 100 carvers at Povungituk (mostly men, but including possibly 10 to 20 women) and 25 to 30 carvers and print makers at Cape Dorset. The output of other handicrafts was more widespread and involved more people (mostly women) but in a less intensive way.

The reporting and analysis of this experience will be on the basis and in the order of the relative importance of the three major classifications of Eskimo arts and crafts--soapstone carvings, graphics and fine handicrafts--and will be followed by a brief treatment of the less important Indian handicrafts.

Eskimo Soapstone Carvings

Eskimo carvings had no market, as such, prior to the beginning of the decade of the nineteen fifties. Such stone carvings as were made prior to that time were a strictly private affair, either done for the pleasure of the carver or possibly for some supernatural purpose. They had been seen and some collected by non-Eskimo travelers and officials in the past, but most versions of the story we heard would place the year 1949 as the date of their discovery as a potential art form with commercial possibilities. In 1948 James Houston arrived at Port Harrison to sketch

and paint in the North. The Eskimos among whom he lived were fascinated by his work and when he gave them some of his pictures they returned the gifts with examples of their small stone carvings. He immediately recognized their merit and brought samples to the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Montreal. With a commission of \$1,000 from the Guild and an additional \$400 from his own sources, he returned for three months of travel and further collecting. The "discovery" of Eskimo soapstone carving might be dated in October 1949 when the Guild presented its first showing of the collection and sold it out entirely in one day. The new industry was established in this initial burst of enthusiasm and has expanded on the tide of widening popular enthusiasm.

Under a series of government grants totaling \$31,000 over the next four years, the Guild extended Houston's work into other Eskimo camps at Povungtuk, Repulse Bay, Frobisher Bay, Lake Harbour, Chimo, Arctic Bay and Cape Dorset. During this period he was able to stay long enough in these communities to learn of their art, examine its commercial possibilities and collect. He finally settled at Cape Dorset as Area Administrator of the Department of Northern Affairs.

At this point, Houston had to assume the government's primary economic welfare concerns, as well as his own concern with pure art development functions. Because his new mission embraced the increasing of the Eskimo's income through expansion of production and sale of art and craft items, he increased his own direct influence on their work through making sheets of drawings of suggested subjects which would sell well, etc. This seemed a perfect-

ly logical step at the time, for the market was a complete unknown to the Eskimo and there was urgent need to either increase the Eskimo's self-sufficiency or welfare programs. Too much direction at this point can snuff out creativity (the Eskimo is all too eager to please others), however, and halt further development of the art form as other than a reflection of the advisor. This danger was almost immediately recognized, and the 1951 manuals were recalled and destroyed.^{2/}

By the mid-nineteen fifties cash income to Eskimo carvers increased phenomenally, but perhaps of even greater interest was the reception by the "art world." The National Gallery of Canada presented major exhibits of Eskimo sculpture in 1951, 1955 and 1963 and tour exhibits through North and South America, Europe and Asia. Recently an exhibit circulated in Africa caused African authorities to study the Canadian experience for a

^{2/} In promoting new Alaskan native art forms, Houston strongly recommended that we not use models prepared by our specialists to be copied but a patient policy of watchful-waiting of original production with influence and guidance exercised indirectly through price policy. Purchasing must be done by persons with a well developed sense of artistic and commercial values. Items which the buyer knows will bring a good price should not be purchased for as little as the Eskimo will take, but at what the buyer estimates will be a fair value for the product. In some cases, it would even pay to make some purchases for re-sale at no profit in order to assure continuing production and improvement of quality.

George Federoff in his October 14, 1963 report stated: "I concur with Mr. Houston's recommendations. But would like to dispel the notion that Indian Arts and Crafts Board's Specialists are currently producing models which are to be copied. Models are useful in suggesting new products, graphically, and serve only as a stimulous in generating new ideas, particularly in craftsmen who may not be able to understand verbal explanations, regarding uses of the products, techniques or elements of design. It must also be noted that during the past few years the Board has been, and is making purchases of various products, as samples and for evaluation. Prices which are paid are well above their "wholesale" value, and are based on the quality of the product. It does not mean that every product is of superior quality."

means to be used in the fostering of their own indigenous art forms. Canadians as a whole, seeking for their own "national identity," hailed the Eskimo art as an uniquely Canadian art form. As such, it has greatly enriched both their cultural life and national pride.

The organization of the "industry" is simple and flexible and seems to have changed informally from year to year. The major centers of production have been Povungtuk, Cape Dorset and Frobisher Bay (in about this order) with lesser and fluctuating production from other communities. The Department of Northern Affairs assumes general responsibility for technical advice and assistance to the artist through their arts and crafts specialists, for maintaining standards of quality and artistic merit, and for major promotional work. Canadian Eskimo Art, a richly illustrated and highly romanticized story of the carvings was published in 1954 and has gone through several editions in English, French and Spanish. In 1958 the National Film Board produced a 33 minute documentary, "The Living Stone," centered around an old legend about the carving of the image of a sea spirit to bring food to a hungry camp. This has been widely shown in commercial movie houses and TV in Canada and in art movie houses in the United States and elsewhere. A continuing promotional campaign has been carried out in all other possible media and must be credited with a large measure of popular acceptance of these stone carvings.

Originally, the purchasing and pricing of actual pieces was done by the Manager of the local Hudson's Bay Company store. The Company attempted to give their managers some training in art appre-

ciation, etc., to improve their ability to judge quality and assert a beneficial effect upon future production through their purchasing. The Company also supplied materials and tools and assumed the cost of collecting, packaging, shipping, etc. With passage of an ordinance by the Council of Northwest Territories in 1959, cooperatives were formed at several places and many of these functions are now being assumed by the craftsmen themselves.

The retail territory is largely divided between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. The Company supplies its own stores and a number of private outlets in the west and the Guild wholesales its allotment to private outlets in eastern Canada and one non-profit United States organization. The only exception noted was the Povungnituk cooperative in northern Quebec which markets through Birks, Ltd., on an exclusive basis.

The wholesale policy has been to limit the number and character of retail outlets in order to avoid mixing these carvings with tourist curios and junk, such as "Indian" totem poles, etc. Adherence to this policy has not been entirely successful outside of Canada. Tags are attached identifying the individual articles as "Canadian Eskimo Art." As explained by one official, "This registration does not certify that the piece is art. It merely says that it was produced by a Canadian Eskimo in the Arctic in circumstances which give rise to the art, that it is not mass produced and is not an imitation." There have been attempts to imitate (most coming from southern Canadian commercial sources), but so far these have all failed due to the alertness of the Department of Northern Affairs and the generous and complete cooperation of the press.

Stone carving was thought of at the beginning of its commercial development as an activity which could be engaged in as an offset to cycles of fur prices and other fluctuations in the existing economic base of the Eskimo. Its unanticipated popularity, however, has caused it to become virtually a full-time activity at Povungituk which had the fortune of being located upon a huge reef of soapstone. This has had the double-edged effect of raising the material standards of this settlement, but also of deterioration of the art and giving the community a dangerously narrow economic base. The earliest pieces are by far the best from the esthetic standpoint. Possibly these more directly reflected the life and surroundings of the individual craftsmen and the smaller number engaged tended to be those with greater natural talent. They had more the attributes of "art" than simply "handicrafts." Subsequent evolution has been toward a smoother, more refined and fussier product with numberless repeats of the same figure or idea as over-commercialization and mass production increased. The actual picture of almost an entire settlement engaged in chipping out blocks of stone with pickaxes and a row of carvers deftly turning out given objects on a specialized basis is a far cry from the romantic version of the hunter-artist "wasting" precious hours waiting for the "spirit" in the stone to reveal itself.

Everywhere we went in Canada, looking both at retail displays and stocks being held back in wholesale outlets, we had the impression of an impending flooding of the market. This fear was voiced

from many quarters. Social anthropologists and government officials indicated some concern that a falling off of the sculpture boom might create in the most active centers a new Metis group without any other means of support but relief. Although as yet there has been no actual collapse, the precariousness of the present market situation must be noted.

There was a considerable body of opinion among both the severe critics of the carving program and its ardent supporters that work had deteriorated with the passage of time. (There were, of course, those who staunchly maintained that the art was as pure and vital as ever.) One opinion was based upon what appeared to be the coincidence of the formation of art co-ops with the decline in the art. Although the co-op was felt to be well suited to production of handicrafts (i.e., setting and enforcing standards of excellence, etc.) it was argued that it was incompatible with art production. Art is a highly individualistic affair and when the artists had to conform to the ideas and tastes of a committee, originality was snuffed out and conformity and dullness took over. Others held that as the Eskimos' technical skills were elaborated through the specialisation of his activities and the repetition required to meet the expanding markets, his work became slicker and superficially elaborated with less concern for form and sound basic design. This tendency was reinforced by the popular and unsophisticated tastes of the widening market which equated fussiness with "better" work.

The most widely held explanation was some variation of the rationalization that creativity was lost as the Eskimo artist moved

further away from seeking inspiration in personal experience or producing for some aboriginal wish fulfilling end (i.e., success in the hunt) toward a commercial market which he could never see nor comprehend. The critics of the carving program saw this as inevitable and urged the acceptance of the passing of Eskimo art as an original and vital form. If carving was to be continued, according to these views, it should be recognized as being and promoted only as a handicraft without the present pretensions of art.

Others who agreed that the original Eskimo art was in decline, however, claimed that what was needed was stronger and more sympathetic guidance by professional art specialists. Through appreciation of the aboriginal art and the Eskimo and understanding of the modern art market, they could assist the Eskimo artist in making the transition into other creative channels. Something of this sort has been attempted with the carvings at Cape Dorset. Other stone than soapstone has been used in the last two years' collections and subject matter has shifted from naturalistic to super-naturalistic. Among the examples examined there were some evidence of a reviving vitality, but on the whole the shift to the so-called super-natural resulted mainly in a shift from uninspired realism to bizarre surrealism.

Alternative means to achieve re-vitalization have been proposed. The most promising would appear to establish a program to provide the talented Eskimo artist with formal art education and training so he could attempt to establish himself as an artist in his own right after the aboriginal influence is gone. A program of this type was being used among the Indians, but not in Northern Affairs.

Another alternative which was launched several years ago was to seek an entirely new art media for the restatement of "Eskimo art."

Eskimo Graphics

With Eskimo sculptures a booming operation and anticipating that it could decline, James Houston sought another art form which might be developed. The decision to teach the Eskimo print-making was inspired by examples of older incised drawings on carvings and implements. Some experiments took place early in 1958 with carved stone blocks and sealskin stencils, but it was apparent that new tools and methods had to be devised. Houston flew to Japan in the autumn of 1958 for a year's intensive study of handblock techniques under the modern print master Unichi Hiratsuka. The first collection of Cape Dorset prints was exhibited at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in 1959, but it was not until a second showing at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 1960 that the public interest was aroused. In a few days the entire output was sold out and the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative grossed \$20,000. More important to the future, the prints were bought for the permanent collections of the Museum of Fine Arts in Montreal, the National Museum of Canada, the Museum of Modern Art in New York and other important galleries. The 1960 series produced by 23 artists and exhibited in 1961 was a bigger success both financially (the co-op grossed \$62,000) and artistically.

As in the case of the soapstone carvings, promotion has played an enormous role in the establishment of this new art form. Each year's collection is duplicated in a beautifully printed catalogue

issued by the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative and sold for \$1.25. Prints are used in government publications, as backgrounds for fashion models, on an exclusive licensing basis for greeting cards, etc.

Magazine articles and other mass media have carefully created the popular image of the Eskimo artist as adapting the traditional Japanese print making techniques to his own art. "But the Eskimo print method is still very much his own. He chips the face of the stone flat, then painstakingly files it smooth. Next he polishes the surface by rubbing it with seal oil. Then, brow creased, the Eskimo feels the stone, lets its texture and shape tell him what design is in it. As he works, he depends more on feel than sight to guide him, because the seal lamps make an igloo's interior too smoky to see clearly. The temperature in the igloo is at best just above freezing, but he works with his bare hands."^{3/}

There are other versions of the process by which the graphics are made. "The hunter who has in mind to make a print--or the woman planning a sealskin stencil--starts off usually by obtaining a supply of paper from the Centre and taking it back to the camp to work out a few rough sketches in pencil or crayon. Then is a good time to drop into the Centre again so that other artists may take a look at the sketches and offer opinions. This is the stage at which the artist decides whether the finished print should be executed as a sealskin stencil or stone block print. Not all the Eskimos at the Centre are print makers. Some prefer to carve in soapstone. Others are content to make only sketches."^{4/}

^{3/} "Land of the Bear," TIME, February 22, 1960.

^{4/} Irene Baird, "Land of the Lively Art," The Beaver, Autumn 1961.

Time did not permit a visit to the Cape Dorset art center to observe the actual process of print making, but from second hand it would appear that typically as many as two to three persons may be directly involved in the actual production of each print--the person who did the original sketch, the block or stencil maker and the printer: Although the prints are signed in English by one name and are so identified in the catalogues, the print carries in a corner names of the artist and the block or stencil maker in Eskimo syllabics. In addition, the design might be said to be influenced by and in some instances represents the joint product of the Eskimo artists and craftsmen, the art advisor and the Centre's artists' committee which passes on the work and makes decisions as to what should be developed into finished prints.

Following the initial success of the 1960 print collection, the co-op hired a Vancouver artist, Terence Ryan, a graduate of the Ontario College of Art, to act as art advisor and Secretary. This had the effect of shifting the important function of guidance and influence of art standards from the Department of Northern Affairs's area administrator to an employee of the co-op. (James Houston had since taken employment in New York, but retains informal contact.) At the same time an Eskimo Art Committee was established headed by Dr. Evan H. Turner, director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and consisting of one representative of the Department of Northern Affairs and four members from outside government. The present membership is made of some of the most prominent and competent people in the Canadian art field who serve on a free, volunteer basis. They formulate policies on such matters as marketing, promotion,

production, exhibitions and distribution and their advice and assistance is available to other groups and individual Eskimos.

At the meeting we attended, the Committee reflected concern over the influence the changing social and economic status of the Eskimo will have on the "primitive art form." Criticisms from dealers on prices established by the Committee and the requirement that prints be bought in blocks rather than on an individual selection basis were discussed, as were plans for the first major exhibits in Europe. The Committee appeared to be very tough minded in making the selection of individual prints which would bear the stamp of their approval. Prices were established on the basis of what other Canadian, American and European print makers were receiving for similar work. Editions of each print were limited (fifty copies in the 1961 collection) and blocks and stencils destroyed to prevent further editions. Reproduction of prints for other purposes is rigidly controlled by the Committee and aggressive action taken against unauthorized reproductions. Following the success of the Cape Dorset graphics, the Sculptors' Co-operative at Povungnituk in 1961 financed its first venture into print making. Although the first two collections enjoyed a fair sale, both were rejected by the Eskimo Art Committee as being imitations of the work produced at Cape Dorset. We heard much criticism of the Committee for refusing to accept these prints but the only examples we saw, illustrations of legends and fables incorporating words of explanation in Eskimo syllabics, were technically poor and sadly lacking in originality or vitality. The Committee was clearly not acting on the basis of favoritism.

In the summer of 1962 Victor Tinkel, a Czech-born artist was assigned as technical advisor to the co-op by the Department of Northern Affairs and the next collection was approved by the Committee in February 1963. The collection consisted of 66 prints produced by 19 men and 5 women and was first exhibited at the Quebec Winter Carnival celebration in February 1963. It is now on tour with a selection of the latest works from Cape Dorset, and 20 to 35 copies of each work are available for purchase by the public. In a press statement, Dr. Turner described the new stone cuts as "extremely impressive" and the results as "totally different." According to the press story, "The Povungnituk graphics are notable for the fact that the artists do the stone cutting as well as the drawing...Whereas the Cape Dorset prints now deal mainly with subjects of fantasy, the Povungnituk works generally illustrate everyday life."^{5/}

During our 1962 field trip in Canada, we gained the general impression that Eskimo graphics were still considered the most exciting thing in contemporary Canadian art, but that their reception was becoming more tempered by critical judgement. Numbers of unsold prints were noted in private and provincial galleries, and we heard some talk of marking down of prices below those established by the Committee. There was general admission that after two years the market had become somewhat "sticky," but most persons involved saw no cause for surprise. The phenomenal sell-outs of the first two collections were abnormal and could not be expected to be repeated every year. There was some critical comment direct-

^{5/} "Canadian Weekly Bulletin," February 27, 1963.

ed at the Committee, such as the opinion that the slow down in sales was due to their lack of promotional skill (this could not be taken seriously after meeting the Committee and seeing it in action), over-pricing in relation to the work of established and internationally celebrated artists (there seemed to be some merit in this opinion), etc.

As in the case of stone carvings, there is evidence of a loss of vitality and appeal when the earliest Dorset graphics are compared with those that followed. This seems to be recognized and at Cape Dorset attempts are being made to seek revitalization in the shift to fantasy in choice of subject and the use of copper plate etching as the principal media for the 1962 collection. This last collection had been received by the Committee and reviewed, but at the time of our visit it was still being held "under wraps" and we were unable to make any judgements. Those members of the Committee and officials of the Department who had previewed the collection were uniformly enthusiastic about the results. Reports from the Paris exhibit sounded very much like those which had greeted the original introduction of Eskimo graphics in 1960. This raises a question as to whether the novelty or the true artistic merit of the prints was the cause of their initial success. The answer to the question will determine their durability as an accepted fine art form.

Some tentative attempts have been made to encourage the spread of graphics and soapstone carving to other areas, but these have been unsuccessful. Reading through available area and economic survey reports of the Industrial Division and the North-

ern Co-ordination and Research Centre, clues can be picked up which support this conclusion. In Repulse Bay it was noted that over \$10,000 worth of stone carvings were turned out in 1961-62 "but these were of low quality."^{1/} A report on the results of the Handicrafts Rehabilitation plan of the Welfare Division to establish soapstone carving at Aklavik stated that only five older Eskimos were induced to try the craft and their total earnings from early 1960 to August 1961 was only slightly over \$100. "As to the quality of the carvings produced, one can detect a certain amount of role-playing--the old Eskimos doing the carvings are aware that most white men know little about Eskimo soapstone carving, and they are not beyond doing hasty poor work and passing it off as 'traditional Eskimo.' The welfare official who is a connoisseur of the art is continually putting pressure on the carvers to do better work."^{2/}

Moving closer geographically to the present centers of soapstone carving and graphics, a report on Lake Harbour on Baffin Island noted arts and crafts poorly represented here. "The soapstone is there, the skins are abundant and wood and ivory are present in reasonable amounts....At present I see relatively little talent in the crafts now being practiced, but no doubt more would arise or be imported if new and more rewarding opportunities were given."^{3/} These reports and many of our interviews with non-govern-

^{1/} D.M. Brack, D. McIntosh, "Keewatin Mainland Area Economic Survey and Regional Appraisal," Industrial Division, March 1963, p. 121.

^{2/} D.H. Clairmont, unpublished manuscript of report on Aklavik, p. 27.

^{3/} N.H.H. Graburn, "Lake Harbour, Baffin Island," Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Feb. 1963, p. 30.

ment persons give indirect but conclusive evidence as to the great importance of outside guidance and influence in the creation or stimulation, development, and continuation of the "Eskimo arts" discussed. The above quoted report contains a warning, also heard by us from other sources, against any aggressive effort to expand these "art" activities. "There has been much dissension over the amount of dependence that the Eskimos should be allowed to develop on this small specialized 'art industry.' While Povungnituk and Cape Dorset might successfully exploit the present demands, it seems advisable not to make it the major occupation of more than a few artists of proven high quality. The market is uncertain and is a 'diminishing asset' in that it can easily be saturated. The rate of earning is low for all but a few of the best people."

Canadian Eskimo Fine Crafts

Soapstone carvings and prints have captured the limelight over the past few years, but the continuing backbone of Canadian Eskimo arts and crafts is to be found in the skin sewing (footgear and fur garments), dolls and baskets made by the women. These are similar to the Alaskan counterparts with the principal differences being in fashion details such as the shape of the parka hood, etc. Sales have been primarily through the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, although a varying amount appear to be sold directly to itinerant government officials and personnel at arctic outposts. In recent years a start has been made on the development of tourist travel to the Canadian Arctic and increasing sales are expected at the Hudson's Bay Company posts and the Eskimo co-operatives. This prospect is marred, as in Alaska, by an invasion of mass-produced imitations of "handicrafts" manufactured by Canadian firms and foreign producers. We saw samples of simulated Eskimo dolls produced by a large manufacturer apparently on order as "Arctic souvenirs." The attached tag told a story of the life of the Eskimo child, and we were told they are displayed along with authentic Eskimo crafts in northern trade posts in areas producing beautiful authentically handcrafted dolls.

Until very recently, the sale of these crafts outside the Arctic or sub-Arctic has been limited and the prospects of the development of a large export production is unlikely. In many shoe and sporting goods stores in the large cities we saw handsome after-ski and snow footwear patterned on the Eskimo mukluk and ankle boot. The uppers were made of sealskin without ornamentation, closed by a concealed zipper and attached to a standard commercial sole and

heel of the common boot or slipper. Although clearly machine-made (there is no attempt to deceive or mislead the buyer), the product has much of the eye appeal of the handicraft prototype because of the "borrowing" of the original design and materials and prices are low (the range was approximately \$10 to \$25). Again, the appeal of original Eskimo design is embodied in the wide variety of winter and ski garments mass produced in southern garment factories for children and adult wear.

In order to combat the invasion of the Arctic and the North by mass-produced simulated crafts and to create new southern markets for authentic Eskimo produced items, the Industrial Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources recently undertook a program to encourage the production of fine crafts and to educate the general Canadian public to their appreciation. The year of our visit to Canada saw the inauguration of the marketing phase of this campaign so it was too soon to evaluate the success or potential. The following statement by the Chief of the Division, however, expresses the official expectation.

"Early this year 1962 a pair of slippers brought international fame to Canada. Fashioned from tanned muskrat and Arctic hare by the skillful hands of an Eskimo woman from Aklavik, the slippers won second prize for design at a major international shoe show in New York, to which new designs were submitted by many of the world's better-known footwear manufacturers. The judges' decision in New York confirmed what Canadians in close contact with our most northern citizens have been quick to point out in the past--that Eskimo women have a sensitive awareness of

form and design. When that is combined with their acknowledged skill as seamstresses, something good is bound to come of it. This year, for the first time, a wide variety of extremely fine crafts from the Canadian Arctic are finding their way to southern markets. Those who have been experienced in exhibiting and selling the Eskimos' world-famous stone, bone and ivory carvings and their stone-cut and sealskin stencil prints, confidently predict these fine craft items will create as much enthusiasm and interest."^{1/}

The principal official promotional vehicle is a 67 page booklet depicting representative samples of the principal crafts in beautiful photographs offset by a lively text and black and white reproductions of early drawings of aboriginal Eskimo handicrafts to indicate the continuity of design and the sense of Eskimo "art."^{2/} In addition to the more traditional baskets, mitts and footgear, this collection features many new items and some highly appealing and imaginative adaptations of Eskimo design to "high-fashion" garments. Many of these are made of heavy woolen duffel rather than fur, and are attractively decorated by embroidered animal motifs and fastened by ivory toggles carved by the men. Crocheted caps and belts make attractive accessories which should have wide appeal. Most unusual, however, were the sealskin birds and animals made by the women of Ungava Bay, the wide variety of Eskimo dolls from Port Harrison and elsewhere, and the sealskin tapestries from Ungava Bay and Holman Island.

^{1/} Donald S. Snowden, "Eskimo Fine Crafts, Another Arctic Find," North, January-February 1962.

^{2/} Chris Lund and W. Larmour, Canadian Eskimo Fine Crafts, (Queen's Printer, 1962).

Last year's "launching" of Eskimo "fine crafts" was not a sudden event coming without advance preparation. There had been years of past production encouraged by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. This more immediate movement was an attempt to breathe new life and vitality into the established activities and was based upon the dedicated ground work of Craft Specialists of the Educational, Welfare and Industrial Divisions extending over several recent years. Two different approaches appear to have been used, one suited to the more isolated, remote settlements of the eastern Arctic and the other to the concentrated settlement of Eskimos and Indians at Aklavik and Inuvik in the western Arctic. Although a number of persons were involved in each promotion, as in the case of the promotion of soapstone carvings and graphics, one or two individuals stand out as being most intimately and completely identified with the movements.

In the more primitive settlements of the east which are less exposed to direct Outside influence, W. T. Larmour worked and lived among the people. Through patient encouragement and suggestion, rather than outright direction, he has induced the women sewers to experiment with new materials and ideas while still seeking inspiration in traditional forms. It was from these sources that the most original items of embroidered garments, stuffed toys and sealskin tapestries came. The women work singly or in small groups and because of their remoteness and unfamiliarity of the market with which they deal, they require almost continuous visits by the Craft Specialist to assure a reasonably steady output.

The Aklavik Fur Garment Project, launched in February 1959, presents a totally different approach to stimulation of the skin sewing crafts. Aklavik was established as a Hudson's Bay Company trading post in 1912 and soon after became the government and native population center on the Mackenzie Delta. It is not an aboriginal village, but has drawn into its orbit most of the native population of the region. In 1961 the "new town" of Inuvik was dedicated and attempts, only partly successful, were made to induce the people to relocate. In short, the native people of the region have long followed a mixed way of life--depending upon the specialized activities of the fur trade, accustomed to the benefits of government programs and only supplementing their living with traditional subsistence activities. By what would appear to be a twist of irony, however, output of the project is specialized in the most traditional forms of skin and fur garments and footgear in contrast to the newer forms coming from the regions where living is closer to the old ways.

The Aklavik Fur Garment Project started as a relief-vocational education project.^{1/} With the opening of the new town and the refusal or inability of many of the people to relocate, Aklavik created a critical relief problem. The most unfortunate were the widows with small children, unwed mothers and the older women with nothing to look forward to but relief and welfare payments. This was the center

^{1/} This discussion draws directly upon and largely paraphrases the stories and materials contained in an unpublished manuscript on the social and economic aspects of Aklavik by D. H. Clairmont soon to be released by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, and an article in The Beaver by J. R. Lotz, "Pelts to Parkas."

of an important trapping and fur trade and the women had a long tradition of making clothing from skins and furs. The creation of a native fur garment industry on a small factory basis appeared a reasonable means of reducing the need for relief and also assuring some market for the basic fur trade of the region. There were a combination of other aims, such as providing vocational education and, most importantly, introducing the people to the requirements of entering into steady wage work. Although possessing the basic skills, they did not have the training and experience needed to become garment workers even on a small scale commercial basis.

In February 1959 Ernie Latour, an Edmonton furrier employed by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, came to Aklavik to start the project as a vocational training program under the auspices of the Educational Division. The greatest achievement of the first three years of the project was the establishment of the factory itself with a core of reliable workers accustomed to working in a small industrial enterprise. The average number of steady workers was about 15 women, but there had been a high rate of turnover. Lotz reports, "At first, some women would just walk away from their jobs and never return. Others could not keep regular hours. Now the workers not only arrive promptly but even bring notes to explain any absences to the supervisor." D. H. Clairmont's report of the employment experience from February 1959 to August 1961 indicated that a total of 39 women had been employed. Seven moved to Inuvik, eight left because of sickness, eight were fired for lack of motivation or simply walked off. Of the 15 employed in August 1961, only six had been with the project since its beginnings.

The project also succeeded in its vocational education aims. By the end of 1961 eleven women were fully trained as qualified fur garment workers, capable of holding jobs anywhere in this highly skilled trade, and nine others had almost completed their training. Finally, a former two-room school building has been converted and equipped as an efficient and pleasant garment factory. It was at this stage that the project was finally considered as being ready to put on a commercial basis. It was organized as a co-operative and transferred to the Industrial Division in April 1962. Lotz summed up the project in these words, "Ernie Latour and his small group of women have shown that, with time, patience, understanding, and mutual respect, the women of the Canadian Arctic can effect the painful transition from the old way of life to the new without too many tears."

During the project's three-year training period, supervision was by the non-native fur specialist, Latour, and a white secretary with far-reaching business responsibilities. The secretary may be replaced by a native worker, but in 1962 no native male had appeared with either the skills or motivation to replace the white manager. None of the trained women will consider the assignment as none wants to be "boss" or to be "bossed" by another woman. Wages received by the workers during this period were referred to as technical allowances and paid out of a fund set aside by the Vocational Department for this purpose. The highest rate of pay was \$1.00 per hour and the minimum rate 65¢ per hour, and the work was conducted on the basis of a regular 40 hour week. In 1962 the hourly rate system was replaced by a piece-work rate system and eventually will be paid out of the earnings of the co-op. Furs are bought from the Hudson's Bay

Company then shipped to Winnipeg for processing and returned to the shop for manufacture.

At the time of our investigations, data was not available on the 1962 commercial experience of the project. Production is still relatively small and the operation not able to cope with the heavy demand which seems to exist for their products. We were told that an order from an American firm for 40,000 pairs of mukluks had to be turned down because the manager and workers knew they did not have the capacity to handle such a large order.^{1/}

Extension of the fur garment shop plan evolved at Aklavik will be made to a few carefully selected additional sites. The Industrial Division will also continue the type of individual craftswomen program developed by Larmour and will assume responsibility for testing new craft items on the market. As they develop and gain experience, much of the mechanics of distribution and ordering of materials, payment, pricing and shipping will be handled directly by local co-operatives. As the native people learn to manage their own financial affairs and assume responsibility for taking on more of the functions of production and distribution, a greater return will go to the local people. The Division is well aware of the temptation to impose mass-production techniques as the markets grow. The Aklavik plan is as far as they intend to go in the direction of improving the efficiency and increasing the scale of production. Any larger operation to meet demands such as the 40,000 order of mukluks are being resisted.

^{1/} From my notes, this appears to be the same firm which recently expressed interest in placing a similar order with the Nome Skin Sewers.

Realistically, it is recognized that the Eskimo cannot compete with the giants of mass production to the south and that the only hope for their crafts is to maintain exceptionally high standards of quality. Their fine crafts will always be in short supply and prices will be high, but those who engage in their production will find their work more satisfying, will be able to exercise their full creative talents, and will not find themselves trapped in a northern version of the notorious sweatshops of our garment industry's recent past history.

Indian Handicrafts

As of December 31, 1960 the total number of Indians in Canada was given as 185,169. The major concentrations of Canadian Indians are not in the Arctic or sub-Arctic, although there are some bands bordering on the geographic areas under the jurisdiction of the Department of Northern Affairs and joint Eskimo-Indian projects are operating such as those at Aklavik, Yukon Territory and Great Whale River, Quebec. In contrast with the Eskimo, who has only recently come under significant and continuous Outside contact, the bulk of the Indian peoples have had one or two centuries of over-powering contact with the non-indigenous peoples of Canada. Finally, while the Eskimo-related programs are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, those of the Indian are under the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Because of the major differences between Indians and Eskimos in ethnic characteristics, geographic distribution, historical experience in relation to non-indigenous peoples and federal government administration, there are major differences in the policies

and underlying philosophies of those responsible for developing and administering programs. The major emphasis in Indian programs seems to be one of promoting integration to the maximum. Although a wide variety of economic development programs were noted, the most importantly featured were those relating to employment and vocational training (education in "practical arts").

These basic differences are also reflected in any comparison made of contemporary Eskimo and Indian arts and handicrafts. The officially tagged items examined on sale and in the Department's wholesale outlet in Ottawa were uniformly shoddy and cheap tourist curios--crude birch bark canoes and wigwams, machine-made dolls wrapped in scraps of blanket materials, wooden tomahawks, etc., most of which were manufactured by Indians in Ontario and Quebec. There were important exceptions represented by some of the better moccasins and beadwork from Yukon Territory, the Cowichan sweaters from British Columbia and the basketry from the Maritimes, but the general impression was one of gaudy and crude trinkets for the tourist trade.

We heard much criticism of the Indian Affairs Branch for "allowing" handicrafts to deteriorate, permitting substitution of non-native materials (i.e., the "ruin" of basket work by use of imported straw from China in place of native sweetgrass, etc.), and not promoting the development of new "art forms" and handicrafts. The specialists and administrators of the Branch's programs, however, took the general attitude that handicrafts deteriorate as soon as they cease to serve any useful function for the people who originally developed them. To artificially maintain a handicraft merely because it once was practiced serves no useful purpose and

is something of a sham. The use of substitute materials is justified on the basis of shortages of native materials. Finally, because the Indian Affairs Branch's major policy is one of promoting integration of the Indian people with other Canadians, they feel that any attempt to create any new "Indian art" would be adverse to the ultimate good of the Indian.

The Indian Affairs Branch looks upon handicrafts only as a source of supplemental income, particularly to Indians in remote areas, those who are handicapped or otherwise are not in a position to make a transition into wage employment, etc. The only markets providing what they consider an adequate volume of trade to make any important contribution are the tourist souvenir and curio markets. The items encouraged are those that can be turned out with a minimum of hand labor, can be sold at a relatively low price, and sell only because they are guaranteed as being made by an Indian and are purchased in the place the tourist was visiting.

The Indian Affairs people we interviewed made no pretense that they were doing anything more and, in their turn, were somewhat critical of their critics who were promoting the new "Eskimo art." They do attempt to keep "art" promotion separate from welfare. When true handicraft items are sent in with the general output of the Indian reserves, these are separated out for special consideration. When we visited the Ottawa wholesale outlet, for example, we were shown some handsome carved wooden animals. These were of clean and simple lines and were unpainted, and had a "Scandinavian" feeling. These will be kept out of the general tourist markets and an attempt made to see that they got into higher priced channels. We were also shown some interesting original paintings by a young Ojibway artist,

Norval Morriseau, depicting the legends of his people and done in the "old style." An exhibit of his work was arranged in Toronto and he is enjoying a reasonable local success as an Indian artist. It is more customary, however, to search for signs of true artistic talent among the young people through the schools. Promising young people are then recommended for special education and training and the best are awarded scholarships which provide financial support while they attend art schools of their own choice. This choice is influenced by the guidance of advisors to the Branch, of course, but we were impressed by the fact that the choice was not limited geographically, but took in any art center in the world which was available and promised to be suited to the needs and abilities of the student. This program was in harmony with the general philosophy of the Branch in that the Indian with the potentials would be assisted in becoming an artist, but not an "Indian artist."

It was difficult to get any figures indicating the total economic importance of Indian handicrafts. The last annual report of the Branch available at the time of our trip, for example, estimated that value of "production" was \$590,000 in 1960-61 and \$560,000 in 1959-60. This included articles produced by the Indians for their own use, however, as well as for sale. The marketing outlet of the Branch at Ottawa made shipments valued at \$15,362 for the twelve months from April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1961 and \$19,394 for the nine months April 1, 1961 to December 31, 1962. The increase is attributed directly to increases in the Canadian tourist trade. This outlet accounts for only a fraction of total sales as many sales are made locally or through independent arrangements with private marketing outlets. Two co-operatives handle handi-

crafts produced by their members directly. The Yukon Indiancraft Co-operative Association, founded in May 1962, is reported to have made sales totaling \$10,000 in its first four months of operations. The Lac La Ronge Handicraft Co-operative of Saskatchewan, concentrating on the production of moccasins and bollo ties, maintains steady sales to Toronto and Winnipeg markets.

There are no formal arrangements covering all Indian handicraft activities. The Economic Development Division only provides advice on marketing and production when asked by the local Indian groups. Individuals or organized groups may send in samples of their work for evaluation by marketing specialists and for suggestions as to changes, etc. They may also send in their products to be wholesaled through the warehouse and marketing outlet provided at Ottawa. Most of the products handled through this outlet are those items which can be produced and marketed in quantity. Assistance is given through indirect means. For example, a grant was made last year to the New Brunswick Department of Industry and Development to provide formal craft instruction for the Big Cove Indians. They are reported to have achieved commercial production in a few items and are now organized as the Micmac Indian Craftsmen and are in the process of forming a co-operative. A handicraft instructor and advisor was provided jointly by the Indian Affairs Branch and Department of Northern Affairs to set up and operate an Eskimo-Indian handicraft workshop at Great Whale River, Quebec. The Division also provides maple-leaf tags to attach to authentic Indian produced items to distinguish them from imported items.

Future Development of Canadian Handicrafts

The problems faced and to be faced in the development of Eskimo handicrafts have been given excellent summary statement in the area economic survey for the huge Keewatin mainland region,^{1/} and this is quoted at length here because of its pertinence to similar situations in Alaska:

Apart from Repulse Bay the quantity and value of handicraft products are low but this is no indication of the potential value of a thriving handicraft industry - for such is its scope - to the region. Craft production is susceptible to organization at three different levels: firstly as profitable side line for individual men or women with the necessary skills, secondly as a part-time or full-time occupation of men or women - capable of being organized at the cottage industry level, and thirdly as an industry located in equipped workshops and employing a force of skilled workers. Carving is probably most susceptible to the first type of organization, and clothing manufacture to the third, but obviously a number of ways of organizing handicraft production are possible.

The possibilities for the three types of organization - side-line, cottage industry, and workshop industry - justify deeper appraisal than can be given here, but early steps should be taken to promote the expansion and broaden the scope of present production. Three matters require attention immediately. The first of these is guidance and encouragement. In every settlement there are men and women capable of producing fine crafts but who are unaware of the potential value of their skills. There are various ways in which awareness might be increased. Apart from personal encouragement by a specialist on the spot, more use could be made of literature and illustrations. . . .

Given that information, guidance, and instruction is available, the second aspect of handicraft production which requires early attention is the supply of materials. It is useless to try to encourage increased production without making the tools and materials available. Mr. Larmour has informed the writer that, also in Baker Lake, when he discussed various types of crafts with the men and women there he was told, "We can make these things,

^{1/} D.M. Brack, D. McIntosh, "Keewatin Mainland Area Economic Survey and Regional Appraisal," Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, March 1963, pp. 121-124.

but we do not have the materials." Bearing in mind the natural modesty of the Eskimo the assertion "We can make these things..." is probably an understatement. This is a plea for help - give us the tools and we will do the job - and it is a plea which is not difficult to respond to, for all that is required is organization.

Organization of production along profitable lines affects, of course, the whole system of production - guidance, training, acquisition of materials, collections of finished goods, and marketing. The first five of these call for efficient field work. This does not need a full-time specialist in each community but one or two specialists in the region visiting the various settlements periodically could provide sustained guidance and at the same time devise a system of inventory that would keep the workers supplied. A central supply of duffel, thread, and other materials maintained within the region is essential to steady and continued production. A central store of this kind could probably be eventually organized as part of - or as a specific - co-operative.

Organization is required not only for inventory and production but also for the collection of material. There is some very fine stone not too far distant from Baker Lake - the Survey was not able to determine its location exactly - which would apparently lend itself to a small quarrying operation to supply the settlement, but the Eskimos seem to be incapable of organizing themselves to exploit the deposit. . . .

In summary, with further guidance, encouragement, material, and organization, craft work in Keewatin could be developed to the point where the majority of families could derive some income from it, and some families could perhaps increase their income by several hundred dollars, and certain types of craft, e.g., hoof working lend themselves to workshop industry.

Handicraft has been dealt with at some length here because early action can produce early results, and because one of the major weaknesses associated with it - organization - has already been shown to be a weakness in other activities in the region. This lack of organization is a symptom of another prevailing deficiency in the socio-economic life of Keewatin today, namely entrepreneurship. . . .

Entrepreneurship is a concept normally equated with possession of capital to invest, ability to recognize

economic opportunity, and to organize, supervise, and if necessary "boss", other people. It is also, of course, associated in our society with the profit motive.

That entrepreneurship is apparently lacking among the Eskimos is understandable in so far as the notions inherent in entrepreneurship are generally alien to them. It is questionable if they are really interested in supervising or bossing people; they have practically no experience of organizing enterprises outside the family circle, and, even within the family, organization tends to be loose; and as for his "profit motive" we know very little indeed about this. . . .

It is not being suggested here that there is something bad or undesirable about a race who have a different view or understanding of the aims and objects of any activity from our own, nor that cupidity should be promoted as a measure of progress. What is being suggested is that the Eskimos of Keewatin require to be educated to understand the economy of modern life, the need for organization, the need for supervisors - and bosses, and the meaning of responsibility. That this education is now required is largely due to their previous cultural history and their contacts with the white man. . . .

An Alaskan Postscript on the Canadian Experience

(The following are excerpts from comments on the above report dated October 14, 1963 by George W. Federoff, Alaska Supervisor, Indian Arts and Crafts Board)

"I do not feel that the arts and crafts program in Alaska should be based on the "Canadian experience" to the extent implied in the report, although this experience does provide some guidelines.

"The Canadian experience is rather complete, passing through various stages, from its inception to success and finally to the dilemma which is facing it now. This experience began with a relatively fresh human resource, untainted by excess of outside influences, on and off programs and failures such as were evident in Alaska over a period of many years. The Alaskan Eskimo was conditioned by negative factors; there was no tangible program of assistance and information, which resulted in a lack of confidence in proffered plans for improvement of their economy through the arts and crafts. Wait-and-see attitude seems to prevail.

"In Canada the emphasis is primarily on art and fine crafts. The beginning was right, the development was not geared to mediocrity and there was no serious negative precedent. The direct influence was provided by perceptive artists and by officials and organizations which were aware of universal standards and esthetics. Alaskan Native people on the other hand were largely exposed, and for many years, to the questionable tastes of provincial, unenlightened influences which set a pattern of determination at the very inception of contemporary productivity.

"Consequently, unlike the Canadian experience, in Alaska one has to overcome and reverse trends which were maturing for a great many years. We are not dealing with unspoiled aborigines; by and large the Alaskan Native, perhaps with some rare exceptions, lost his own form of expression and was given a poor, alien substitute. There is a tremendous mess, over a vast area, which must be untangled before anything resembling an orderly program will begin to emerge."

Personal Sources of Information on Canadian Arts and Crafts

Acknowledgement is due the many persons in Canada who gave generously of their time and knowledge in interviews and correspondence. The discussion of Canadian native arts and crafts in this report is based upon a composite of their opinions and information, but the interpretations and presentation are the sole responsibility of the writers of the report. Particular thanks are given to J. R. Lotz, Dorothy MacPherson and J. R. Kidd who arranged interviews and appointments, organized the trip itinerary and have continued to send copies of reports and other materials pertinent to the subject of our investigation.

Battle, R. F.	Assistant Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa.
Bolus, Malvina	Editor, <u>The Beaver</u> , Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg.
Fried, Jacob	Associate Professor of Anthropology, McGill University, Montreal.
Gagne',	Linguist Section, Northern Welfare Services, Ottawa.
Hallenday, Norman	Formerly Industrial Designer for Northern Affairs engaged in promotional work for Eskimo graphics. Now with the National Film Board, Ottawa.
Herbert, W.	The Canada Foundation (responsible for recommendations on awards, grants, etc., in Canadian arts), Ottawa.
Houston, James	Steuben's Glass, New York. Formerly Area Administrator for Northern Affairs at Cape Dorset and person most intimately identified with soapstone carving and graphic arts developments among Eskimos.

Jennes, Diamond	Special Research Officer, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Ottawa. The "dean" of Canadian Eskimo and Indian research and affairs with active career extending back to turn of century. Ottawa.
Jones, Col. H. M.	Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa.
Kidd, J. Roby	Director, Overseas Institute of Canada, Ottawa.
Larmour, William	Crafts Specialist, Industrial Division, Ottawa.
Lightall, A.	Director, Canadian Handicrafts Guild, Inc., Montreal.
Lotz, James R.	Research Officer, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Ottawa.
Lowther, Gordon	Curator, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.
MacPherson, Dorothy	National Film Board, Ottawa.
Panegoosho, Mary	Editor, <u>Inuktitut</u> , Northern Administration Branch, also amateur artist, Ottawa.
Phillips, R. A. J.	Assistant Director, Northern Administration Branch, Ottawa.
Renaud, Father	Order of Oblate Fathers, past participation in formation of Povungnituk Co-op and development of arts and crafts, adult education, etc., among other Eskimo villages, Ottawa.
Robertson, John	Private gallery operator in Ottawa, formerly affiliated with Eskimo Arts Committee, an early promotor of Eskimo graphics and carvings.
Rudnicki, Walker	Chief, Northern Welfare Services, Ottawa.
Snowden, Donald	Chief, Industrial Division of the Northern Administration Branch, Ottawa.

Sprott, H. G.	Economic Development Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa.
Sprudge, Alec	Chief, Co-operatives Development Office, Northern Administration Branch, Ottawa.
Swinton, George	Professor, Department of Fine Arts, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
Sylt, Raoul	Economist, Economic and Social Re- search Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa.
Sametz, Z. W.	Director of Research, Economic and Social Research Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa.
Turner, Evan	Director, Montreal Art Association and Chairman of Eskimo Art Committee, Montreal.
Turner, T.	Economic Development Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa.
Valentine, V. F.	Chief, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Ottawa.
Vokes, Victor	Market Promotion, Industrial Division, Ottawa.
Williams, Stuart	Chairman, The Friends of the Povung- nituk Eskimos, Indian-Eskimo Asso- ciation, Toronto.

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In addition to specific references, general background and specific information can be gleaned from the following report series and periodicals:

1956-1963: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mimeographed reports of studies and research on northern subjects, predominantly in social anthropology concerned with the extent to which Eskimos, Indians and Metis are making effective adjustment to changed social and economic circumstances. These contain considerable information which directly or indirectly indicate the role of handicrafts in this process.

1959-1963: Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

Mimeographed reports in series of "area and economic surveys" of natural resources, transportation, housing, living conditions, economic development, etc., in specified northern regions and areas. Gives data on place of handicrafts in local economies, earnings by native craftsmen, etc.

1953-1963: Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

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APPENDIX D: REVIVAL AND EXPANSION OF
TRADITIONAL ARTS AND CRAFTS IN SOUTHEAST ALASKA

1. Alterations to Contract:

Paragraph "D" of Contract Number 14-20-06050-1053: "In addition to the above stated study and report, the Contractor shall conduct two (2) pilot projects testing two different approaches to the development and expansion of the Alaska Arts and Crafts program. These projects will be as follows: (1) The Contractor shall test in action the feasibility of reviving woodcarving and its development into items which could find a place in the contemporary arts and fine handicrafts markets in the United States. This project will be based in the Haines-Klukwan area and shall include but not be limited to (a) a time and cost or production analysis; (b) recommended pricing concepts; (c) selection of individual items to be marketed on a controlled basis; (d) arranging and displaying selected items at appropriate museums and art centers in Alaska and the contiguous States; (e) an examination of the possibility of establishing woodcarving on a self-sustaining basis; and (f) submission of a report which reviews and analyzes findings on or before October 31, 1963. Actual carving shall be accomplished during April, May, and June of 1963. Displays will be exhibited at later dates when deemed most advantageous."

2. Objectives

One object of this contract modification was to evaluate "in action" the feasibility of reviving a traditional art form and its development into items which could find a place in the contemporary fine handicrafts markets of the United States generally. A further objective was to test the feasibility of team craftsmen production. This concept is something which would be a compromise between straight machine-made mass production and traditional craft production on an individual craftsman or "cottage industry" basis.

The groundwork had already been prepared for the revival of general interest of the native peoples of this area in their aboriginal culture through previous programs of Alaska Indian Arts, Inc. Some initial success had been experienced in stimulating the reproduction of aboriginal art and handicraft items found in museums and local collections by a group of the young men of the area. A start had been made on experimenting with team production of handicraft items.

These basic questions remain to be considered beyond the accomplishments already made. Can these activities now be turned to the creation of original work and actual art? Can the reproduction activities be organized in such manner as to produce handicraft and souvenir items at a cost which will assure their finding a place in these markets?

3. Conduct of Project

(A) Preliminary Assessment of Production Potential. Starting on December 18, 1962 Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., conducted a project called "Operation Masks" employing some 26 unemployed men and two women in the Port Chilkoot-Haines-Klukwan area under a \$5,000 grant from the State Rural Development Fund. The official purpose of the fund was merely to give seasonal work-relief to unemployed in the villages, but the manager, Carl Heinmiller, utilized the expenditure of funds so as to provide the additional return of conducting an experiment in the team production of fine craft items and as a means to determine talent and craft potential of the local people. The \$5,000 could be used only for labor, the cost of materials, supervision, space and utilities coming from other sources. The project concentrated on the carving of reproductions of ceremonial masks indigenous to Southeastern Alaska. The workers were mostly unemployed fishermen with limited formal education (only one had been through high school) and virtually no previous carving training and experience. They were organized into groups according to their apparent abilities to cut blanks from logs, rough out general shape with bandsaw and belt sander, back carve, finish carve, paint and decorate.

In the thirty day period during which the funds were expended, a total of 47 masks were produced which the manager considered "acceptable." A selection of 28 masks were sent to Juneau for display and evaluation. Meetings were held with Carl Heinmiller and an evaluation made by Professor Pierce of the quality of the work represented in the selection. Retail prices were suggested for each item on the basis of Professor Pierce's professional judgement (and without regard to cost) with the following results: six were priced at \$60, nine between \$45-\$50, eight between \$35-\$40, and five at \$20. At the uniform wage rate of \$2.00 per hour paid all labor, there was relatively little difference in the cost of producing a mask judged to be of good quality and capable of commanding a higher price and that of producing a poor mask with a low price potential. The difference in results achieved for similar cost were primarily a reflection of the skill of the carver or qualities inherent in the original design.

The direct production costs of all masks was estimated by the manager to have averaged \$20.50 (direct labor \$20.00, materials \$0.50), with a range from between \$22.50 and \$18.50.^{1/} No allo-

^{1/} In a later time-cost study made by the area Division of Industrial Development, the following direct costs were recorded: direct labor \$16.17 (sawyer \$0.50, carver \$14.67, painter \$1.00), materials \$0.98, total direct costs \$17.15. Indirect and overhead costs were estimated at \$19.66 on the basis of an allocation of AIA, Inc., actual expenses between mask production and other activities for a total production cost of \$36.81 per mask. Letter from R. L. Bennett to R. G. Hart, January 14, 1964. No evaluation was made of the quality or price potential of the items tested.

cation of indirect costs (manufacturing overhead, management, administration, sales) was made because the operation of the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., was not on a commercial production basis and because this element in cost would vary directly with the volume of production achieved.

Assuming that the eventual operation could be organized on a basis comparable to that presented in a case study of a typical small machine-made souvenir shop (total annual costs \$89,320; sales \$120,000 at wholesale; 11 direct workers), a reasonable percentage of direct to total costs would be 70 percent. This would result in an average total cost of \$29.30 per mask, based on the average direct costs of the production of the winter of 1962-63.^{1/} This direct-indirect cost ratio would require an annual output of about 3,000 masks to achieve. If 10 carvers were employed, this would be about one finished mask per worker per day.

An annual output of this volume would require a considerable investment in shop equipment, extensive building renovations, changes in the management behavior of Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., and availability of a labor pool willing to work under semi-factory discipline.

An all-out commercial souvenir operation did not appear feasible. However, achieving a sufficient dollar sales volume to make a self-supporting enterprise could be approached through either maximizing physical output or increasing price per unit of output. To achieve quality which could command higher prices would require further improvement in the technical skill of some of the present carvers and an improvement in the original designs.

It is dangerous to push analysis by analogy from a small sample too far. Therefore, the analysis possible at this time could not be taken as providing conclusive findings as to ultimate feasibility. This investigation did lead to the belief, however, that some compromise approach might be found which would lead to achievement of a feasible team craftsman production of a semi-standardized craft item. This would require further subsidized experimentation and trial extending over a period of at least three years. From examination of the masks presented, it would appear that a body of craftsmen was already available for such an operation who would primarily require further experience and a little additional training to be capable of top quality work.

^{1/} From "Industrial Profile" of an 11-man wood fibre souvenir plant, Industry Fact Sheets, International Cooperation Administration, Washington, D.C., 1960, "Wood Fibre Souvenirs," S.I.C. 2499.

A number of immediate suggestions were made applicable to production of ceremonial masks. It was suggested that the output be restricted to five general types (raven, eagle, hawk, bear, portrait). Heinmiller stated that during the approximately six months of the year when there was a surplus labor supply in the area (the off-season for fishing), about 20 men could be employed in logging, cutting blocks, and bandsawing out the five standardized blanks. These machine produced blanks would be stockpiled for hand carving on a year around basis by six to ten skilled carvers and finishers. Further variety could be provided in this final carving and finishing.

It was recommended that six masks selected by Professor Pierce as outstanding not be sold, but kept as part of a permanent collection to serve as inspiration for future production.

(B) Further Testing of Production Potential. An immediate fruit of Operation Mask was the assembling of a team of ten men with above average ability as carvers who might form the nucleus of a continuing and expanding operation. Unfortunately, although a contract was being negotiated in March 1963 to carve a 36-foot totem pole for the Standard Oil Co. of California (this was done between April 1 and May 31, 1963), there would be a period of about a month during which no funds were available to pay these men to continue carving. In order to avoid a break in the carving activities which had been launched at the beginning of the year, to keep together the group of craftsmen who had been developed and to provide a further means for testing the team craftsman approach and the soundness of attempting to revive a traditional art form, this contract was modified to permit the continued employment of these men for a further period of experimentation.

During the period from March 18 to April 19, 1963 ten men were employed for a total of 1,223 hours and paid a total \$2,446 from this contract's funds. They were engaged primarily in the continued carving of masks, but devoted some time to experiments in sculpture of single totemic figures in wood, talc and soapstone. The expenditure of these funds achieved the important objective of providing transition employment for the carvers and saved the core team assembled under Operation Masks.^{1/} It also gave these men further valuable training and experience.

The use of these funds unfortunately fell short of providing further information on the potential of team production of carvings

^{1/} This in turn preserved the manpower which was later used for the carving of the Standard Oil pole, other poles for the Totem Village project immediately following, the continuation of the long-range project of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, and exhibition carving at the New York World's Fair.

such as masks. In the first place, the time and money made available were too limited to come to any conclusions. Secondly, the timing of the expenditure was dictated by the pressing need to conserve the existing pool of craftsmen and could not be postponed. As the result of a conflicting demand for the services of George Rogers by the Department of the Interior, it was impossible for him to make the planned on-the-spot investigation of the work while in progress.^{1/}

Finally, because of the lack of direct supervision from the project director and what proved to be a misunderstanding on the part of the AIA manager, the work of the carvers was not focused upon sustained production of masks as a means of testing production potential but was allowed to stray into experimentation with new media (talc carving) and new subjects (single totemic figures). Carl Heinmiller later stated that it was his understanding that "the intent was to discover talent only, not primarily to manufacture masks."^{2/} The carvers also displayed an understandable reluctance to becoming "specialists." When forced to repeat the same type of work they became bored and their quality and productivity reportedly declined. Therefore, they were allowed to experiment and vary their activities.

Professor Pierce spent three days at Port Chilkoot at the end of May 1963 to see the craft shop layout, the craftsmen in action, and to evaluate the inventory of craft items on hand. The following description of the project in operation from his brief written report is an unintentional statement of the problem faced in moving this project to a sound production basis: "Carl had three carvers working in the workshop during my visit. All were employed at making a copy of a wooden totem in that white material which was then treated to look like soapstone /talc/. A handful of boys and girls were sorting beads for the dance robes or painting panels and crude dance paddles. Another three to five men were working on the totem pole for Standard Oil.

^{1/} During much of the months of March and April 1963, George Rogers was employed as a staff member by the Bureau of Reclamation which was engaged with all other Department of the Interior agencies in the drafting of a departmental report on the proposed Rampart Dam project. Although launched on an all-out crash basis with a high priority assigned by the Secretary, the deadline was subsequently repeatedly extended. The initial urgency, priority and time requirements of the Rampart report project, however, did effectively prevent his continued full participation in the conduct of the arts and crafts project at this point.

^{2/} Letter from Heinmiller to Rogers, June 21, 1963.

"The carving was completed and painting was in progress. The masks on hand were stored in the costume room and most of these were crudely done when examined closely. Admittedly, they all were better or as good as most of the masks currently being produced by the Eskimos, but I feel that this is a poor standard to go by. The best masks we had recommended for the permanent collection and inspiration for further work were not in evidence." Pierce's general conclusions included the following: "In order to become self-supporting, the project must turn out a larger and more continuous production than it has done to date...I doubt that the project could ever become the means of stimulating creative art and original crafts, but I can see it leading to the production of technically good craft items in quantity if he Carl Heinmiller could be forced into concentrating upon one thing." (This last comment does not mean one item, but rather one type of product or related products as contrasted with past tendency to dabble in everything from food to 36-foot totem poles.)

(C) Failure to Test Markets. In February 1963 the 28 masks sent to Juneau for evaluation and pricing were exhibited at a sale show by a local artist. The masks were displayed throughout the exhibit to show off to best advantage, were identified by labels giving the name of the mask and the carver, and price lists were available at the registration desk. Considerable interest was created and the masks received much favorable comment, but only one sale was made (\$40.00).

No further attempt was made to market a selected line of items on a controlled basis, nor to organize displays for showing at museums and art centers. From Professor Pierce's examination of the items on hand at the end of May and his request for items from which to organize a display for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in September 1964, he judged that the quantity and quality of available items were not appropriate for such purposes. The six outstanding masks he had selected for a permanent collection were requested for the BIA display, but apparently were no longer available. Instead he received 11 new masks, only three of which he considered suitable as exhibition material.

The carving of individual totemic figures which started during this period has since been expanded, and the examples produced during the winter of 1963-64 under the continuing support of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board are excellent. It was the production of this type of item which we had strongly recommended upon our return from the 1962 visit to Canada and the eastern United States. The mask idea, however, had already taken hold with AIA and was consequently followed through until interest began to wane. In the light of the Canadian experience and the advice we received as to markets, it should be expected that there will be a more attractive market for wood and stone sculpture than for carved masks.

The 1964 annual report of the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., to the Indian Arts and Crafts Board gives a full accounting of the exhibits and competitions in which were entered samples of the output of these projects and the continuing project with the Board.

(D) Further Testing Required to Determine Possibility of Achieving Self-Sustaining Production. Beyond demonstrating the existence of a body of craftsmen capable of technically good work and indicating a range of possible items for production, this experience was inconclusive as a means of determining eventual feasibility of the project as an economically self-sustaining operation. It is still our belief, however, that this project holds promise of achieving eventual commercial production of handicraft items and souvenirs of greater interest and quality than those being currently produced in the region and with greater economic gain to the craftsmen and related workers.

There is need for further subsidization of experimentation and for greater focusing of effort upon better defined objectives than was true in the past. For this reason, considerable time was devoted to encouraging the negotiation of mutually satisfactory modifications of the contract between the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in the summer and fall of 1963.

4. Summary Recommendations

The most critical need of the project at present is additional guidance in design and production. Unassisted (except for financial support) it has been unable to progress beyond copy work and sporadic output. Therefore, it is recommended that:

(1) The present contractual arrangement between the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., and the Indian Arts and Craft Board should be continued with more intensive focus upon a range of products which could eventually achieve commercial production utilizing presently available craftsmen and workers. This recommended focus and the nature of past operations of this project, however, do not lend themselves to the fostering of individual creativity and the production of original art items. This can only come from the work of individual artists and craftsmen of unusual talent and should be fostered through other means (e.g., the Sitka demonstration workshop, the University of Alaska cooperative training program, etc.) The project, however, could serve as a starting place for such individuals.

(2) In addition to the periodic written reports of expenditures of funds and production now required under the contract with the Board, there should be further supervision through field

checks to evaluate the actual conduct of the project in action, determine the extent of progress being made toward the main objectives, and to give spot technical advice and assistance. From time to time, the Board's representative should make a selection of items from the production deemed suitable for display or promotion to determine marketability beyond sales to Alaska tourists.

(3) Although its operation and orientation may differ, the Port Chilkoot project should be treated in the same general manner as the proposed Nome workshop. In addition to serving as a facility for improving regional crafts production, it should also be considered as an indirect means for training local native craftsmen. From time to time as need and opportunity arise, visits should be made by arts and crafts instructors from the University of Alaska or elsewhere to give special training and education to the practicing craftsmen in the workshop.

(4) Plans made by the Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., for remodeling of existing buildings to provide workshop space and layout of shops and equipment should be appraised by the Board's specialists and the faculty of the University's Department of Art. Funds should be immediately sought to implement a program of reconstruction and equipping the project as recommended by such review.

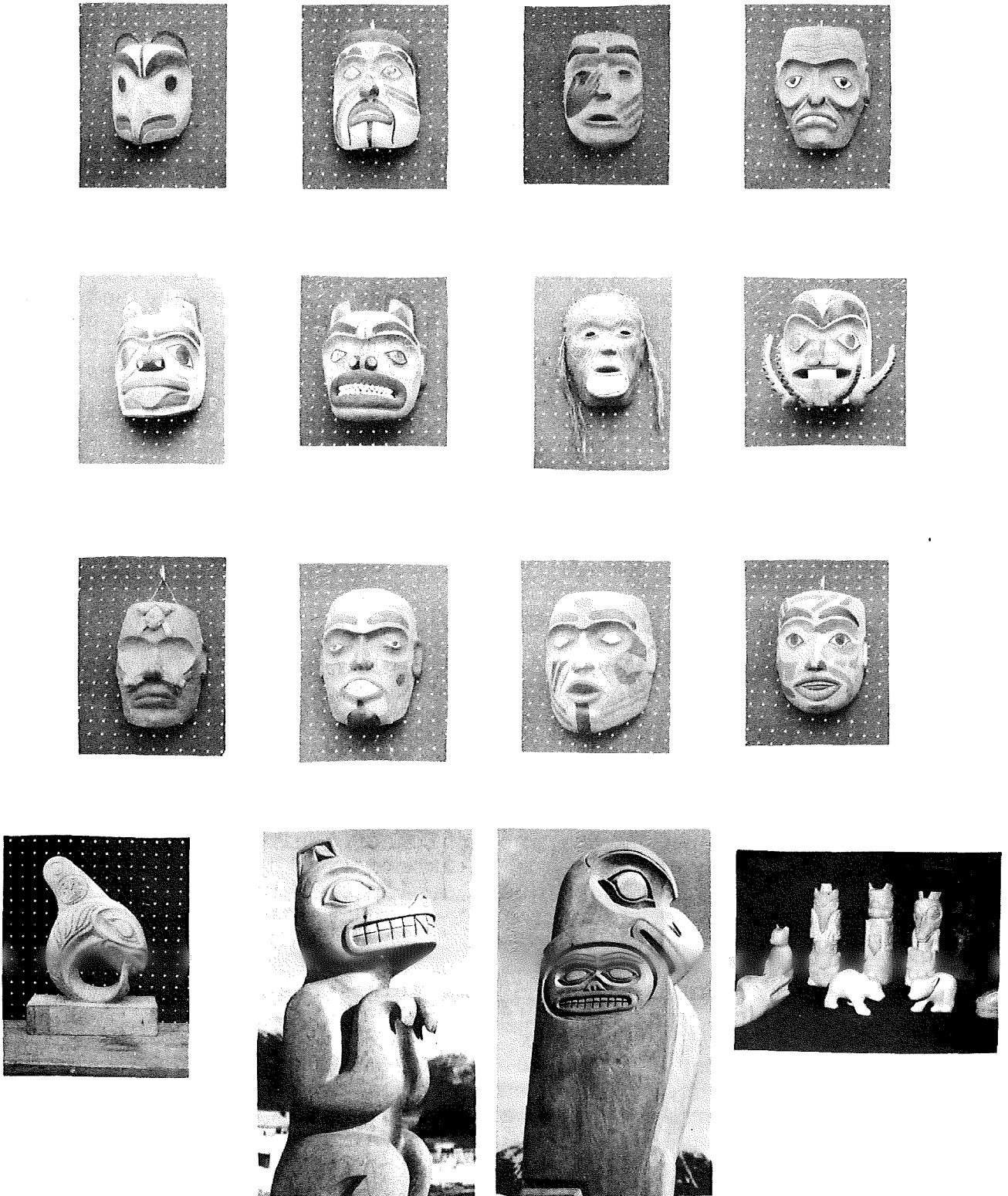


Figure 2. Examples of Carvings Produced by Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., Craftsmen During 1963 Experiment

APPENDIX E: REHABILITATION AND EXPANSION OF CREATIVE
ARTS AND CRAFTS IN NORTHWEST ALASKA

1. Alterations to Contract

Paragraph "D" of Contract Number 14-20-0650-1053: "In addition to the above stated study and report, the Contractor shall conduct two (2) pilot projects testing two different approaches to the development and expansion of the Alaska Arts and Crafts program. These projects will be as follows: ... (2) During the months of July and August the Contractor shall conduct a handicraft project at Nome, Alaska aimed at determining the feasibility of the adaptation of contemporary native handicrafts to the production of items which might find outlets in broad commercial markets outside Alaska. In this project no attempt will be made to revive skills no longer practiced, but rather to experiment with ways of adopting existing skills to new products. As an additional part of this project, if persons of outstanding ability are discovered, up to three of these people will be offered a scholarship to the University of Alaska for up to one (1) academic year, in order that (a) their response to traditional art and design training can be observed; and (b) the impact of their formal training on the crafts work of other craftsmen of their respective villages can be learned. A report summarizing and analyzing findings will be submitted to the Government on or before June 31, 1964."

2. Summary Findings and Recommendations

On the basis of the conduct of the August 1963 workshop and the follow up experience of exposing one established carver to a full academic year of art education and training at the University of Alaska, it is recommended:

(1) That a production workshop facility be provided at Nome for the established carvers and craftsmen and craftswomen which could be used by them in the production of their regular output. It should also serve as a means of introducing instruction and training in production techniques, design, new media, etc., through a qualified shop supervisor or manager and instructors.

(2) That the mass production of the following items be attempted on an experimental basis in time to use the New York World's Fair as a means of test marketing:

a) Adaptation of bullhead and tom cod fishing hooks as bolo tie slides. These should find a ready market among sports fishermen who are always eager to wear unusual lures as ornaments.

b) Adaptation of the women's knife (ulu) for domestic house use (i.e., vegetable chopper, etc.). The blades would be mass-produced by a commercial firm and assembled by the Eskimo craftsmen with simple ivory or wooden handles. For promotion purposes they would be mounted on an informative card and sold for a reasonable price (retail below \$5.00).

c) Use of reindeer antler tips and bone for the manufacture of toggles for sports coats, women's purses, etc. Standard patterns and sizes should be established to assure production output of sufficient volume.

(3) That an experiment be made to introduce Eskimo made and inspired items into high fashion markets. An initial item suggested is the adaptation of the old style hunting helmets worn by Aleuts and Eskimos of the river deltas as sun hats for the exclusive beach resort trade. (See report by Professor Pierce following).

(4) That the program of offering special student status at the University of Alaska to promising young artists and craftsmen be continued and expanded.

(5) That a formal arrangement be made between the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University of Alaska to further their mutual interest in the development of Alaska native arts and crafts. (See the memorandum of understanding of March 31, 1964).

3. Initial Report on the Nome, Alaska Workshop - August 1963
(As submitted by Professor Danny Pierce on September 28, 1963)

Aims and Conduct of Project. Nome was chosen for this experimental workshop because it is near the center of the area from which the main native handicraft production is currently coming--the area extending south along the Bering Sea drainage to the Yukon River, east to the Koyukuk River basin, north to Point Hope and west to St. Lawrence and other islands. The town has a substantial Eskimo population to begin with and this is further increased by the regular summer influx of Eskimos seeking work and sale of their handicrafts during the tourist season. I was fully aware, as the local Bureau of Indian Affairs man informed us, that many of the Eskimos would be occupied in various summer activities such as fishing and berry picking that would take them outside of the immediate vicinity of Nome, therefore limiting the number of possible students. August was picked as the month to operate the workshop because it was felt that by August the population would be more stable. Since the activities of the Eskimos does not go by seasons but is a constant thing I felt that we had to start sometime and one time would probably be no better than another.

The workshop was open for anyone having the desire to learn regardless of ethnic group. It was hoped that a feeling of friendly equality would result that would be beneficial to the project. With this in mind I contacted Mr. Victor Charles, Superintendent of the Nome Public School, asking him if I could use one of the High School classrooms under these conditions. Mr. Charles was interested and cooperated with the workshop in every way possible.

I arrived in Nome on August 3, 1963 and made the necessary arrangements for registration and the last minute advertisements of the workshop. Professor Senungetuk arrived on August 4, 1963. The workshop officially began operations on August 6, 1963. Formal instructions were offered in drawing and theory of design. The drawing course included the basic elements of three dimensional concepts, free hand perspective, composition and the interpretation of outdoor sketching towards finished works. The classes were conducted outside whenever the weather permitted, which was not too often unfortunately. Work was carried on from still life material during inclement weather.

The design course was primarily theoretical since the actual application of design through the various media would have necessitated transporting of equipment and supplies which was impractical for a workshop of only one month duration. The course then emphasized the special relationships and balance of form as approaches to better designing for home arts and crafts.

The summer workshop program had three general aims. The formal instruction was offered to test the interest in self-improvement of the craftsmen and untrained artist if given the opportunity. It was also done to test response to a formal classroom-type offering such as would be given in a school. Finally it provided an understandable reason for our being at Nome.

The second aim was to associate as much as possible outside of actual classroom time with the native craftsmen on their own ground. Sort of artist to artist exchange. It was expected that established carvers would not consider attendance at the workshop worthwhile.

The third aim was to search out new items that could possibly be marketed as handcrafted items. These were looked for among their household utensils. This work was carried out mostly by Professor Senungetuk since his background gained him quicker access into the homes than I.

Evaluation of the Workshop by Professor Pierce. The interest shown by the Eskimos was slight, as was anticipated, since no all out advertising campaign was conducted. Articles did appear in the paper announcing the workshop and stories were run about the

instructors prior to our arrival. The Nome Nugget and the local radio cooperated wholeheartedly during registration and the first week of classes.

There were fifteen students enrolled in the drawing class of which only three were Eskimos. Two were older men who came in of their own volition. The third was a boy waiting for his return application to the Indian School in Santa Fe, New Mexico, brought to the class by Mr. Patterson from the Bureau of Indian Affairs local office.

Bernard T. (Tuglamina) Katexac is a King Islander and is 40 years old. He is a very talented man and has the potential of becoming an excellent artist as well as being an accomplished ivory and wood carver. I was very happy to nominate him as a candidate for further training. He is now enrolled in the Art Department of the University of Alaska as a special student.

Charles Dickson is also a very talented man of 35 years. However, due to his family he was unable to accept the opportunity to enroll as a special student at this time without additional financial support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Of the other twelve students all were white, of varying ages, and all interested in drawing. Before the workshop terminated more interested people were showing up, but were unable to attend enough classes to make it beneficial. With more promotion and a longer time in Nome, many more potential craftsmen and artists could be reached.

I recommend that workshops be established in various villages in Alaska as a means of improving the quality of handicrafts and the means of reaching the talented potential artisans. Along with these workshops, I recommend establishing a system of scholarships in the arts and crafts and that they be given the same benefits as is presently given to the vocational training programs. It is my opinion that the further training of the craftsmen is vocational training because it certainly improves his means of bettering his standards of living, which in turn benefits the village as well as the entire State of Alaska.

Evaluation of the Workshop by Professor Senungetuk. Design for crafts and basic design were concurrently offered to all interested people at Nome in August. Five people registered and came to the first class period. Two dropped out after hearing that the class would mostly deal with creative design. They appeared to want to study the already established design in Eskimo crafts. One young man stayed for one week before dropping out. He had difficulties in comprehending the values in design. The two who

stayed throughout the course have completed formal education and have discipline. This course applied very closely to their interest in drawing.

The course as a whole has not been directly fruitful to the Nome people. It has instead shown the need for a program in designing through practical application, that of doing some craft item and consciously stressing pleasing lines, shape and textures. The sense of design is little understood by most Eskimo carvers today for they are mostly accustomed to doing copy work. The layman who purchases their output or encourages their work generally has no more sense of design. This summer's experience demonstrated that if this part of Alaska is to produce creative work, its craftsmen will first need a gradual introduction into basic design. Then the design can be applied to any craft item with certainty, not with the present hit and miss approach. In a small town such as Nome, where copy work in crafts has been established, it is difficult to introduce design in a direct manner such as we attempted. Some of the difficulties are in the existence of sentimentality and romanticism of "Eskimo crafts."

Even though the existing craft form needs considerable improvement, it is still not without merits. The ivory carvers are thoroughly familiar with and skilled in the methods they use. Although they do not change their methods drastically, they will change subtly and gradually if they see the need. Their sense for design is more inherent than acquired, but it is haphazard. Sometimes they will have an animal form just right and sometimes it misses miserably. Because of the lack of understanding of designing they will hesitate to be more creative for fear of failure.

They however realize the need for improvement. Mr. Paul Tiulanna, for example, briefly suggested to us some needs and their implied problems during transition.

- (1) Faster methods of production to reduce costs, increase sales.
- (2) Improvement of products.
- (3) Better marketing to increase sales and returns to craftsmen.
- (4) Acceptance of and training for use of other materials.
- (5) Problems of training Eskimos
 - a) Dropouts from schools are difficult to deal with.
 - b) The older Eskimos with Eskimo and Western backgrounds are problematic. They are neither one nor the other and their set ways cannot be changed.
 - c) Ten-year-olds would be much easier to work with.

Present marketing practices are not particularly advantageous to the carvers. Many carvers today have little direct access to raw ivory and so have to rely on the local merchants who generally will give credit for the ivory. If the merchant provides the ivory on credit, he will most likely get the finished product. His mark-up is 100%. A carver may get \$7.50 for a bracelet, the same bracelet sells for \$15.00 at the local gift shop. The carver also sells the same kind of bracelet on the side for \$10.00. A more realistic markup for carved pieces should be 33-1/3%. A uniform marketing system would seem desirable for the marketing of carved ivory.

A guild system would possibly do away with some of the inferior work. ANAC has a stamp or a mark, but as a means of product improvement it is meaningless because quality is not stressed. A guild could segregate the good from the bad as well as provide prestige for those who become members.

New crafted items must be introduced to boost the economy of the carvers and to bring new meaning to the marketable Alaskan crafts. This can be brought about through thorough training or retraining of the craftsmen. They should also be encouraged to use driftwood, baleen, and other material combinable with the traditional materials. Immediate introduction of new products will necessitate the execution of samples which the craftsmen should see for comparison.

Contact with Local Craftsmen. As often as time permitted Professor Senungetuk and I visited with the local craftsmen. I spent most of my time with the King Island craftsmen while Professor Senungetuk associated with the individual craftsmen in Nome. We talked with them and suggested changes and new ideas freely. I especially concentrated on discouraging certain practices that cheapen the finished product.

I gave a demonstration in woodcutting techniques in the King Island carving hall one evening before a tourist dance to determine the response of the carvers to new materials and methods. At first the interest was not very high. Apparently this lack of response was due to not knowing what was happening. As soon as the block progressed to the point where they could recognize the subject matter of the proposed print, they became more attentive. The questioning became lively and were mostly concerned with the knives, type of wood, inks, paper, etc. While cutting I suggested other materials that could possibly be utilized for printmaking, such as the discarded walrus hides taken from their skin boats and at the present time having little or no value. Again, it is hard to evaluate the response since none of the craftsmen have experimented with either wood or skins. Before leaving the village at the termination of the workshop, however, I was asked when could I return to teach them.

Bernard Katexac made two successful prints, successful because he has sold at least one of each print, during the workshop training. These sales will no doubt have more influence upon other craftsmen than any suggestions by an outsider. One of the remarks made at the time of the demonstration pointed out the interesting fact that most of the carvers who engrave on ivory do not feel capable of drawing, "If I had a picture to copy I could do that too." With the proper amount of encouragement and instruction in drawing a number of potential printmakers could be developed. It was interesting also to find that Bernard's prints were so unlike the Canadian prints that no comparison is likely to result. This is not true in the few examples of soapstone carvings that have been introduced in one or two villages.

While at Nome we discussed the possibility of establishing a workshop with George Federoff and Arthur Patterson and advised on matters of operation, equipment, etc. We feel that based upon our experience in attempting to operate formal classes in art and design and our informal demonstrations and talks with the practicing craftsmen, teaching and training can best be introduced through the operation of a production workshop. Whatever the final facility provides, the Eskimo craftsmen must feel it is their property. The Canadian idea of organizing a craft cooperative to take title should be considered.

New Products. Professor Senungetuk has collected a supply of driftwood for experimentation into the combination of materials and will have some examples to exhibit to the village craftsmen sometime in November.

I found several bullhead hooks and fish hooks used for tom coddling of the old style that with slight adaptations could make unusual and very attractive bolo tie slides. I have introduced the idea to several business people in Alaska, and they were very much interested in the idea and promised to order a few to test the marketing. I personally feel that the potential is high because I have never seen a fisherman who was not interested in any type of lure.

The woman's knife, the Ulu, has also a great potential if put on a mass-produced basis, mounted on an informative card and sold for a reasonable price under \$5.00. The blades can be stamped out, in the states if necessary, then assembled with either ivory or wood handles.

Bone or antlers could also be utilized thus making use of a by-product of the reindeer industry that has suffered a blow through the reports on radiation. Other uses of these antlers are to be found in the knife trade, toggles for pocketbooks, and sportcoat industries.

These are a few of the handicrafts and uses of materials that were discovered. There are many more that could with slight adaptations be profitable on the contemporary market.

Upon my return, I met with a fashion designer in Seattle who became very excited over the possible adaptation of the old-style hunting helmets worn by the Aleuts and Eskimos of the river deltas. These can be manufactured out of grass, woven by the basket makers, or utilizing the new wood products that are as thin as paper and are easily shaped. The beautiful decorations of ivory that adorn the originals could be cheaply reproduced in plastics that resemble ivory and the entire hat be assembled in Alaska with the finished products finding an outlet in the Riviera or exclusive resort trade.

I would recommend the hiring of a buyer who is highly trained and with impeccable taste to assist ANAC and establish a standardization of quality in marketing Alaska native arts and crafts. Professor Senungetuk has suggested a guild for the craftsmen to achieve this purpose. I feel that this is not enough since the craftsmen will be slow in accepting guild practices. The immediate effect of such a standard in marketing will result in an improvement in the products. The Norwegians have solved part of this problem by forming under government agencies an Art Council that screens and allows only the best to represent the country abroad. Canada has a similar agency in the Canadian Eskimo Art Committee. It also has established a guide to the trading post managers in purchasing soapstone carving, relating the price to size and quality.

In the development of new products and the management of the production workshop and training programs which we have recommended, I believe the Eskimo is not yet ready to take the leadership. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is right in establishing this as a goal, but from my observations I would say it will be a long time before this can be done. Any program of the sort recommended which is set up at this time will have to be under the direction and leadership of someone from outside the local area. This is the case in the Cape Dorset and the Povungnetuk artists and craftsmen cooperatives, the Aklavik skin sewers shop and other successful arts and crafts programs in Canada. The reasons for this are not necessarily lack of ability, but appear to be more social and personal in nature and will take much time to overcome. It will also take an unusual person to reach the individual craftsmen as they do not readily accept help of this sort.

There is little of basic craft technique that we could bring to the Eskimo other than the secondary matters of use of new materials and tools. They all have a sureness and dexterity which we of the white race have lost and must re-learn through long and painstaking processes. But they do need help in bringing out their creativity. For this reason, the recommended program of selective training at the University (or some other place) will be important by teaching them something of art and design.

4. Experiment to Determine Response of an Established Craftsman to Formal Art Training - September 1963 to May 1964.

During the conduct of the Nome summer workshop, if Professors Pierce and Senungetuk discovered any local craftsmen whom they felt would benefit from exposure to art training at the University of Alaska under the terms of the contract amendment, they could nominate up to three candidates for grants to cover the cost of such training and subsistence. In the contract amendment and elsewhere, these grants have been referred to as "scholarships" in order to avoid difficulties in complying with regulations of the Internal Revenue Service and the University covering special students. However, this is not an accurate reflection of the intent of this project. The grants are not merit awards, but were rather a means of procuring subject craftsmen for the conduct of this experiment. The criteria for selection of candidates was not only evidence of talent, but also personal traits such as motivation, flexibility, responsiveness to new ideas, etc.

Bernard Tuglamena Katexac was nominated by Professors Pierce and Senungetuk for a grant and successfully completed one academic year at the University under this project. The total cost of this experiment was \$1,836.58 (University fees, room and meals \$1,202.65; supplies, tools, books \$233.93; monthly stipend for personals \$300; roundtrip ticket between Nome and Fairbanks \$100).

Bernard Katexac is an older craftsman (born May 22, 1922) who has supported himself and his parents by his ivory carvings, odd jobs and hunting. He was born and raised on King Island where he received all of his formal education. As an adult he lived six years at Nome and one month in Fairbanks but returned to King Island with summer visits to Nome. He was selected because he is a carver of recognized ability and because of his desire to do something more with himself and his talents. An autobiography which he wrote while at the University indicated a long felt desire to work in other media (he had attempted doing some oil and watercolor painting at one time), but a hopeless feeling as to how to break out of his environment.

Bernard enrolled in formal courses in printmaking, metalcraft, sculpture and oil painting. (On his own he also attended beginning English classes on a non-credit basis to take advantage of an opportunity to improve his spoken and written English). He has shown outstanding advancement in all work undertaken. Although there was no need to promote sales to meet his physical needs and the official policy of the Department of Art limited his sales to only those works which would permit reproduction, buyers sought him out. During the annual students' Christmas sale at the end of 1963, he received \$320 from sales of prints and \$180 for sales of other items. The head of the Department of Art estimated the potential sales value of his sculpture and paintings as about \$1,200.^{1/}

^{1/} Letter from Professor Helmut Van Flein, February 26, 1964

During the spring 1964 semester, there were further unsolicited sales of one hundred dollars or more, and two inquiries from art dealers in California and Texas wishing to handle his work. The University is investigating and advising on the matter of such commercial sales.

Immediately following the end of the 1963-64 academic year, Bernard returned to his home on King Island for hunting (he is the primary support of his parents and this would assure their meat supply) and to do sketching of his home island. He plans to spend the summer of 1964 at the art studio of Danny Pierce in Kent, Washington producing a series of prints on King Island life and scenes and to gain further practical experience of working with an established practicing artist. (He will be the guest of the Pierces).

Beyond this, Bernard has ambitions to operate a studio of his own at Nome and to engage in printmaking and painting in addition to ivory carving. The head of the Department of Arts has strongly recommended that he continue his work for another academic year at the University, however, before returning to Nome and King Island and attempting to launch an enlarged art career.

Looking beyond the experiment in training Bernard Katexac under the terms of this contract, the head of the Department of Art strongly recommended a continuation and expansion of this program in a progress report submitted at the end of the first semester:

The excellent results experienced with the training of Bernard Katexac expressed in the rapid acceleration of the artistic quality in his work would deem it desirable to further explore, find and train talented Eskimo-Indian artists of Alaska. We should study the feasibility of having groups up to twenty-five people enrolled in our courses. These people should be recruited from all the villages we can reach. This, in our opinion, could be within the realm of possibility....

The Eskimo-Indian artist enters the campus under the status of a Special Student. To make him feel at home, to enable him to dress warmly and properly, and to prevent him from going hungry, additional funds should be allotted. The native artist should not be forced to sell the works he makes while in the process of studying in order to sustain his physical needs.

The greatest impact of native arts and crafts will not come about through the scattered sale of individual items, but through concentrated exhibits, arranged by a reputable dealer. The campus community can only absorb a small fraction of these products anyway, and saturation sets in rather quickly if sales are conducted on a small-time basis. The works should be collected over a period of

at least one year, then shipped collectively to the dealer representing our Eskimo-Indian artists. The impact of such an arrangement will lead to a consistent demand of native works of art.

I would further recommend a study of the possible extension of the study period from one to two years for superior and highly qualified artists. The decision for recommending a student for a two year period of studies would be at the discretion of the Department of Art. I would consider the criteria to be: improvements shown, the quality of work achieved, and the attitude displayed toward learning, conduct with people and other students, and the need for further education.

In the case of Bernard Katexac we should immediately initiate an extension of his tour of studies for at least another year, and perhaps enable him to also continue his work during the coming Summer Session.^{1/}

^{1/} Letter from Professor Helmut Van Flein, December 4, 1963.

5. Proposed Arts and Crafts Workshop, Nome, Alaska

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
Juneau Area Office
Juneau, Alaska

September 17, 1963

Mr. Thomas J. Bichsel
Field Coordinator, ARA
Box 1451
Juneau, Alaska

Dear Tom:

Reference is made to previous discussions on need for arts and crafts training and/or re-training, my letter of July 19, 1963, and Mr. Patterson's proposals for the Nome area.

The attached copy of an arts and crafts workshop proposal was compiled by staff of the BIA, Nome Field Area; Mr. Federoff, Indian Arts and Crafts Board; Messrs. Pierce and Senungetuk of the University of Alaska Art Department.

The proposal has been submitted to the Commissioner for consideration by the Bureau and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in Washington, D.C.

If such a workshop can be implemented, we will investigate all available training programs, including the possible assistance under ARA re-training.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Ross L. Miller

Area Industrial Development
Officer

(The proposal, formulated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Arts and Craft Board, is reproduced here as a concrete statement of the recommendation which the findings of this pilot project would support.)

PROPOSED ARTS AND CRAFT WORKSHOP--NOME, ALASKA

There is a general agreement among those connected with arts and crafts that definite improvements will have to be made in design, types of products and production techniques in order to increase economic benefits to the Natives.

More definite and immediate steps should be taken. The approach should be from the practical standpoint--job training and retraining in the village under selected craftsmen.

The proposal is to establish a workshop in Nome, Alaska, and in this way work toward improvements in the Arts and Crafts in this entire area and to determine future potentials for Eskimo craftsmen.

It is the plan to provide facilities for twelve to fifteen students and to offer four to six months training. Thus, over a period of twelve months 24 to 26 trainees and craftsmen can receive training benefits that should result in improved quality products and higher economic returns.

Objectives are:

1. The development of marketable products acceptable in Alaska and elsewhere.
2. The establishment of standards of excellence, quality, workmanship.
3. The production of items related to positive economic returns.
4. The introduction of new media, techniques and materials, such as jade, wood sculpture, metal work, stone and others.
5. To provide facilities for training and retraining of trainees and adult craftsmen.
6. To strive for year-round employment through increased marketing opportunities.
7. To encourage the improvement of continuing growth and development of traditional arts and crafts and make it a living rather than static expression.

COSTS AND PROCEDURES IN STARTING

LAND:	Available and at no cost. King Island Village - outskirts of Nome		\$ <u> x </u>
BUILDING:	Temporary. Two quonset huts 16 x 30 feet joined end to end, 960 square feet of space.		
	Space Division		
	Work Space, trainees	640	
	Office, display, storage	160	
	Equipment	160	
	Costs: Labor and Material		
	Moving huts and foundation	\$ 1000	
	Renovation: roof, walls, floors, windows, insulation	4000	
	Installation: wiring and lighting, water, heat, services	5000	
	TOTAL BUILDING COSTS		<u>\$10,000</u>
EQUIPMENT:	Production Tools, equipment		
	Lapidary: trim saw, grinder, polishers, wet sanders, accessories	\$ 700	
	Small tools, etc.	<u>300</u>	
			\$ 1,000
	Wood working: Wood saw, 14 and 20 inch band saws, sanders, drill press	1500	
	Hand tools	220	
	Vice	80	
	Cabinet Work bench	<u>400</u>	
			2,200
	Furniture and Fixtures: Desk, chairs, display cases, file case, work bench stools, miscellaneous		1,000
	Freight:		<u>800</u>
	TOTAL EQUIPMENT		<u>\$ 5,000</u>

RAW MATERIAL, STOCK:

Jade, 200 pounds @ \$5.00	\$1,000	
Ivory, 200 pounds @ 2.50	500	
Wood, outside		
Wood, local		\$ 1,600

SUPPLIES:

Office	\$ 100	
Gift boxes, wrapping	100	
Packaging, other	50	
Miscellaneous	<u>50</u>	300

FREIGHT:

100

TOTAL MATERIAL AND SUPPLIES \$ 2,000

MANPOWER:

12 trainees, \$350 per month subsistence		
Average dependents - 3. \$4200 x 12	\$50,400	
Manager (GS-5)	5,700	
Arts and Crafts Specialist (GS-9)	<u>8,400</u>	<u>\$64,500</u>

DEPRECIATION:

Buildings		x	
Production tools, equipment 20%		\$ 500	
Other tools, equipment 20%		140	
Furniture and fixtures 10%		<u>100</u>	\$ <u>740</u>

OPERATION:

Maintenance, upkeep, repairs \$ 360

OVERHEAD:

Power	\$ 600	
Fuel	1,800	
Water	400	
Waste	<u>200</u>	\$ <u>3,000</u>

RECAPITULATION:

Temporary Building	\$10,000
Equipment	5,000
Materials and Supplies	2,000
Manpower	64,500
Depreciation	740
Operation	360
Overhead	<u>3,000</u>
	<u>\$85,600</u>

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Permanence. The immediate plan is geared to two quonset huts as a temporary enclosure for the workshop because of the need and desire for action as soon as possible. Additional flexibility can be obtained in space and in trainees by utilizing the present community house-workshop of the King Islanders.

A permanent frame structure, 24 x 80 feet, is a future possibility at an estimated cost of \$50,000. This would meet housing and space demands of a workshop. This facility would permit a broader participation of other Eskimo groups in the Nome area.

Perhaps some services or facilities of the contemplated vocational school (Nome, 1964) could be utilized at various times by the workshop. The benefits could be mutual. This is mentioned simply as additives to the program.

Adaptability of Administration and Agencies. The workshop will be a demonstration of coordination between the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the Projects Development Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. General promotion and strengthening of the workshop can be better facilitated by these two branches through cooperation, exchange of ideas, mutual help and assistance.

Operational Procedures and Responsibilities. Bureau of Indian Affairs: Administration; Rehabilitation and Improvement of Physical Facilities.

Indian Arts and Crafts Board: Technical assistance; Selection of Staff; Procurement of materials, supplies, equipment; Standards of Quality.

Joint Coordination: General policies and procedures; markets and marketing; Trainee Selection.

TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS

Raw Materials. Jade, ivory, wood will constitute the bulk of materials. It is important that jade of good quality be obtained to demonstrate better gem work so that trainees may obtain experience working it into various finished products. Some stockpiling is necessary to overcome gaps in supply, which could result because of the difficulty of securing jade during the winter months and high water--in the Kobuk area where jade is obtained.

Ivory may be secured from Gambell and Savoonga villages; cow, bull, old ivory. There should be little or no trouble in buying sufficient amounts of the kind and quality desired at reasonable prices.

Driftwood may be obtained along the beaches near Nome. However, it may be necessary on occasions to ship in different types of hardwoods for sculpture.

Storage requirements of all materials will not cause space problems because quantities used will be small and materials are not bulky.

Students and Trainees. Though the initial enrollments probably will be King Islanders, it is the plan to reach out to villages in the area. Twelve to fifteen persons may be handled at a session and from three to six months instruction will be given each trainee.

Trainees may be skilled carvers or younger persons with very little experience. It is to be hoped that some enrollees will be in the late teenage group.

It is recognized that many Natives are skilled craftsmen, but it is to be emphasized that new concepts, ideas, media must be accepted by some of these people who have become too narrow and limited in outlook, ideas, and design. Originality and creativity must be revived. Copying must be de-emphasized.

It is the thinking to pay a trainee with three or more dependents a stipend of \$350 per month. A trainee with two dependents would receive \$300 per month; with one dependent \$250; with no dependents \$200. The figures are tentative, but a sliding scale should be set based on dependents.

Staffing. There would be two, a manager with a GS-5 rating--a King Islander--and an arts and crafts specialist with a GS-9.

The arts and crafts specialist must meet the following qualifications:

1. Understanding of Eskimo people and their forms of arts and crafts.
2. Ability to get along with ethnic groups.
3. Understanding of the needs in relation to economic and esthetic development of arts and crafts.
4. Experience in a variety of crafts, i.e., ivory carving, wood carving, stone sculpture, lapidary work and metals.
5. Willingness to be stationed permanently in Nome.
6. To be prepared to do field work in outlying communities.

Transportation. This would be paid for residents outside of Nome.

Buildings. Under "permanence" some facets were presented and the accompanying rough sketch shows relative size, arrangement, and other space utilization and requirements.

To initiate the program, materials and facilities at hand are to be utilized. As the program begins to function, ideas and thinking will become more stabilized and permanence achieved throughout the workshops in personnel, course of study, equipment and building.

Site: The present location of the King Islanders at the outskirts of Nome was considered best for the following reasons: an initial source of trainees, available quonset huts; available BIA materials, supplies; part use of present community house-workshop of the King Islanders.

6. Memorandum of Understanding Between Indian Arts and Crafts Board and University of Alaska

March 31, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

Subject: Proposal for a cooperative program of the University of Alaska and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to foster and develop Alaskan Arts and Crafts.

Purpose: The purpose of this cooperative agreement is to broaden and extend the development of native skill in arts and crafts through a combined use of available resources. Specific objectives include:

- A) Establishing an atmosphere which will foster quality, stimulate creativity, and improve economic opportunity of native artists.
- B) Developing in non-native students an appreciation of those unique talents possessed by native artists.
- C) Utilizing the limited instructional resources in the most optimum economic manner.

Responsibilities:

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board will:

- A) Recommend and advise the University of Alaska on all phases of the cooperative program.
- B) Determine the need for such technical staff assistance.
- C) Provide financial compensation for such technical staff assistance requested from the University of Alaska.
- D) Provide financial assistance for the art and crafts workshop in the form of individual grants, supplies, and supplemental staff assistance as mutually determined with the University of Alaska.

March 31, 1964

Cooperative proposal (continued)

The University of Alaska will:

- a) Provide technical staff assistance to the Indian Arts and Crafts Board as needs arise.
- b) Instruct native students under the cooperative programs.
- c) Develop special programs to stimulate creativity among practicing craftsmen and locate unrecognized talent.
- d) Explore and recommend development programs for marketing Native Arts and Crafts.
- e) Locate and recommend development of Alaskan raw materials for use in native arts and crafts.
- f) Provide native students with a broad experience in art media.
- g) Assist native students in adjusting to the full University environment.

Program continuation:

Both the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University of Alaska will together seek financing for the cooperative program through state, federal, and foundation grants.

Program implementation:

The initial phase of this cooperative program would be a contract providing for the services of Ronald Senungetuk as a technical staff assistant to the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. In this capacity he will:

- a) Determine the needs and potential peculiar to this cooperative program in the native areas.
- b) Screen and select candidates for both the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University of Alaska.
- c) Develop and supervise the training program at the Nome workshop for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University of Alaska.

March 31, 1964

Cooperative agreement (continued)

Program implementation:

- d) Recommend courses of action for the Board and the University regarding the cooperative program.
- e) Perform teaching and faculty duties for the University of Alaska as mutually agreed upon by the Board and the University.
- f) Help the University of Alaska to guide, direct, and evaluate this program for special native art students.

Benefits derived from the cooperative program.

1. Develop talent with the concomitant production of quality art work and elimination of its present static state of development.
2. Assist in the integration of natives in the Alaskan economy.
3. Enable native artists to adjust to the total Alaskan environment through exposure to the University and Fairbanks community.
4. Train native artists competent to carry instruction to native settlements.
5. Increase effectiveness of existing program through the most economical utilization of limited finances of both the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University of Alaska and the optimum utilization of the instructing artists available in the state of Alaska.
6. Expand the scope of the statewide services of the University of Alaska.
7. Stimulate the growth of instructing artists of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the University Art Department faculty through involving them in a dynamic art development program.
8. Provide a center for the study and development of arctic culture and its more universal understanding and appreciation.
9. Enable University Art faculty to visit and become acquainted with native cultures and further educate all University students by exposing them to native artists and art.
10. Enrich the University's general art program through the influence of artists of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board on the University campus.

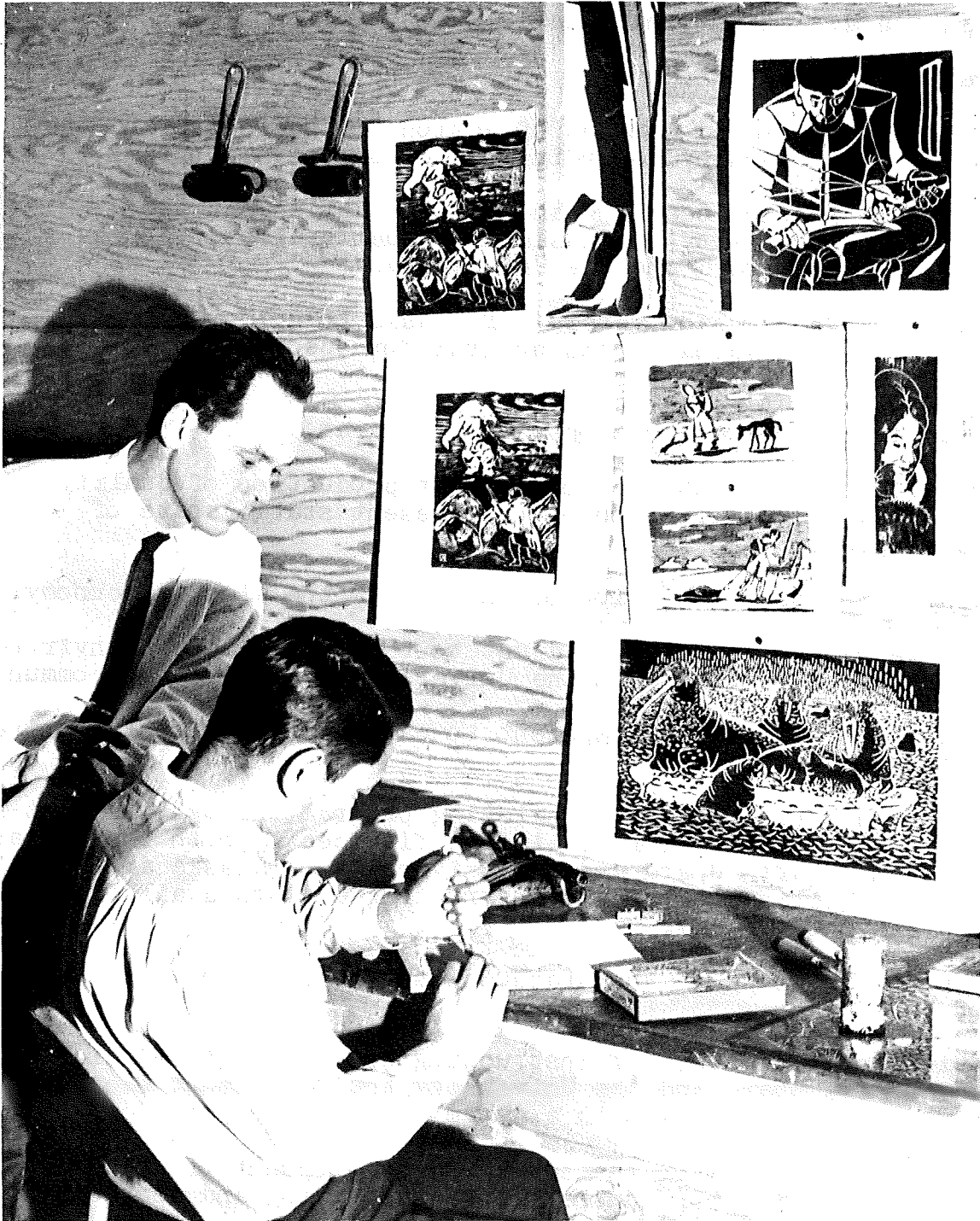


Fig. 3. Bernard Tuglamena Katexac Working in University Print Shop



Figure 4. Example of Finished Wood Block Print by Bernard Tuglamena Katexac

APPENDIX F: PROPOSED ALASKA ARTS AND CRAFTS COMMISSION

A L A S K A
S T A T E L E G I S L A T U R E
Legislative Council

Box 2199-Juneau

February 4, 1964

Dr. George Rogers
1790 Evergreen Avenue
Juneau, Alaska

Dear Dr. Rogers:

Senator Banfield spoke to me today concerning the possibility of forming a state commission of some kind which would be concerned with preservation and development of Alaskan art forms. Currently, the ANAC seal and the seal provided for by state law guarantee only that a piece with a seal has been made by a Native under certain conditions. I believe Mrs. Banfield feels that there should be a way for prospective buyers to determine other things about arts and crafts, as, for example, whether a totem pole, regardless of who made it, is in accordance with the Thlingit cultural precepts, or an invention of the carver. A means might be found for the unskilled collector or buyer to tell which of the genuine Native work is inconsequential and which of the non-Native work is of importance.

Senator Banfield suggested that I consult you on this matter to see if you had any ideas what sort of commission might be formed, and how it might make its influence felt on the arts and crafts economy of the state. I'd be glad to have you give me a call at 6-5298 or drop by Room R11A in the State Capitol if you have any ideas.

Sincerely,

/S/ Jonathan Wells

Jonathan G. Wells, III
Deputy Director

JGW:vd

cc: Senator Banfield

A L A S K A
S T A T E L E G I S L A T U R E

Legislative Council

Box 2199-Juneau

MEMORANDUM

February 20, 1964

SUBJECT: Alaska Art and Craft Council

TO: Dr. George Rogers

Here is the draft which I worked up based upon your suggestions. Please let me know your further suggestions about it. Your help, as you can see from the draft, was invaluable.

Many thanks.

/S/ Jonathan Wells

Jonathan Wells, III
Deputy Director

JW:cw

Introduced: 3/6/64
Referred: State Affairs

IN THE SENATE

BY SENATORS BANFIELD,
PERATROVICH AND HOPSON

SENATE BILL NO. 310
IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA
THIRD LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

A BILL

For an Act entitled: "An Act to establish the Alaska Arts and
Crafts Council; and providing for an
effective date."

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

* Section 1. The legislature recognizes that Alaska arts and crafts have suffered increasingly from loss of markets, decline of income realized by artists and craftsmen, and general public indifference. The correction of this situation is imperative if significant arts and crafts are not to be altogether lost and if an important source of income to a considerable portion of the population of the state is not also to be lost. Although prior legislative measures have been enacted to insure a certain amount of authenticity, a broader attack on the problem is necessary if the cultural and aesthetic aspects of existing Alaska arts and crafts are not to deteriorate into slavish imitation of the past, and if new and vital art forms are to be developed. The legislature therefore regards it as necessary to create a body which through study, analysis and evaluation of the forms of Alaska art, and through education, persuasion, and encouragement, will bring about a renaissance of Alaska art.

* Sec. 2. AS 44.19 is amended by adding new sections to read:

ARTICLE 8. ALASKA ARTS AND CRAFTS COUNCIL

Sec. 44.19.600. ALASKA ARTS AND CRAFTS COUNCIL. (a)

There is created in the Office of the Governor the Alaska Arts and Crafts Council, consisting of seven members appointed by the governor for overlapping three-year terms and subject to confirmation by the legislature. Members serve at the pleasure of the governor. Vacancies are filled in the same manner that regular appointments are made.

(b) The governor shall appoint to the council from among residents of the state one established practicing artist, one representative of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, one university-level art- or fine-craft teacher or equivalent, one anthropologist or recognized authority on Alaska's indigenous arts and crafts, one representative of the state concerned with general economic development, one commercial dealer in art and fine handicraft, and one lay member with demonstrated understanding and interest in Alaska arts and crafts. At least one member shall be of Alaskan Indian ancestry and one of Eskimo or Aleut ancestry.

Sec. 44.19.610. POWERS AND DUTIES. (a) The council shall

(1) establish standards of quality, authenticity and artistic merit for works of art or handicraft produced in the state, in order to encourage the best efforts of artists and craftsmen and to protect buyers;

(2) foster the creation of a body of identifiable Alaskan arts and crafts through preservation, revival and further development of traditional forms, and the creation of new forms which will reflect the unique spirit and nature of Alaska;

(3) seek to educate the public on the recognition and appreciation of Alaskan art forms;

(4) suggest pricing and marketing policies which will assure just return to the craftsmen for their work, and fair value for payment made by the purchaser;

(5) recommend means to protect the artist and the consumer against unfair competition from imitations and unauthorized reproductions;

(6) review and evaluate art and craft items sent to it by established governmental, private, and cooperative organizations engaged in the production of such items or by individual craftsmen.

(b) The council may

(1) endorse such items as meet with its approval and indicate such approval by means of a tag or seal;

(2) establish a system of classifying works of arts or crafts by aesthetic merit, origin, purpose, means or materials of manufacture, cultural authenticity, or any combination of these and other factors, and provide for the identification of objects it classifies, by means of a tag or seal;

(3) sponsor competitions and exhibitions and offer awards and prizes;

(4) adopt and use distinctive seals;

(5) designate subcommittees to carry out specified functions between regular meetings of the council;

(6) receive, manage, and spend for authorized purposes any gifts or grants which it may receive;

(7) employ necessary clerical assistance.

Sec. 44.19.620. MEETINGS AND OFFICERS. (a) The council

shall meet at least twice a year at times it determines. The chairman may call other meetings. A majority of the members of the council or of a subcommittee of it constitute a quorum for the conduct of business of the council, or of a subcommittee of it, as the case may be.

(b) The council shall annually appoint a chairman and a vice-chairman.

Sec. 44.19.630. COMPENSATION AND EXPENSES. Members of the council receive no salary, but are entitled to per diem and travel expenses authorized by law for boards and councils.

Sec. 44.19.640. FALSE REPRESENTATION THAT AN ARTICLE HAS BEEN CLASSIFIED OR APPROVED BY COUNCIL. No person may so use the name of the council, its tags, seals, or other identifying marks, or tags, seals, or marks having a similarity to those adopted by the council, as to indicate or suggest that an object of art or handicraft has been classified or approved by the council, when in fact it has not been so classified or approved. A person who violates this section is guilty of a misdemeanor.

* Sec. 3. This Act takes effect on July 1, 1964.