


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title CULTURAL CHANGE AS REFLECTED IN THE DRESS AND
ACCESSORIES OF THE INDIAN TRIBES ON THE PACIFIC NORTH-
WEST COAST

Abstract approved 
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This thesis is a study of the dress and accessories of the Indians on the Pacific Northwest Coast at the time contact with white man was made, and during the period following contact, until cultural disintegration was complete.

Information was obtained from historic accounts by early explorers, and books written by anthropologists. Examination of items in the Portland Art Museum, The Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, and Victoria Provincial Museum provided necessary association with the clothing and accessories worn at the time. Several conversations with Dr. Erna Gunther were of invaluable assistance.

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A study of clothing and accessories has value as it is related to the cultural achievements of the people, for viewed in isolation, these items played only a minor role in the total cultural development. Consequently, this study has been correlated to the history, religion, social structure, artistic accomplishments, and aspects of daily living of the Pacific Northwest Coast peoples.

Shredded cedarbark clothing was worn by the Indians on the Pacific Northwest Coast from the Columbia River area to Alaska. These garments were mainly conical flaring capes for both sexes, or dresses and aprons for the women, and finely-woven rain hats. Fur robes, worn mainly by the northerners, and skin clothing by the mainland groups, were a part of the clothing pattern. Dentalia, abalone, copper, iron, and other materials were worn both for personal ornaments and for decoration on garments.

Dress for ceremonial occasions was more elaborate, that of the chiefs with the Chilkat blanket, ornate headdress, and other clothing items, designed to command respect and indicate rank.

The "button" blanket and dance shirt were developments of the Indian's clothing resulting from the use of goods brought by traders.

Pacific Northwest Coast art was revealed in all aspects of the Indians' daily lives. Closely related to nature, the art was

encouraged by the Indian's religious beliefs and system of social organization.

Influence of the white man's culture at first spurred the Indian to achieve new heights in cultural attainment. A brief period of cultural glory was followed by cultural disintegration when the Indian was unable to adapt to the new system imposed by the white man.

CULTURAL CHANGE AS REFLECTED IN THE DRESS
AND ACCESSORIES OF THE INDIAN TRIBES ON
THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST COAST

by

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CULTURAL CHANGE AS REFLECTED IN THE DRESS
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is accepted that no pattern of society remains the same over a period of time. As its members increase their knowledge about the environment in which they live, changes in their cultural pattern result. Those modifications of pattern which result from contact of one group of people with another, are the more striking, for they are external changes that are readily observable. When the geographically isolated groups of Indians on the Pacific Northwest Coast were exposed to the customs of early explorers, such as those of the Spaniard, Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra in 1775, and the Englishman, Captain James Cook, in 1778, the Indians were given an opportunity to compare their customs with those of other peoples. It was natural that those features which the Indians liked in the new society would be preferred to those customs rated less highly in their own society. This process of acculturation, or the intermingling of cultures (38, p. 197), was well illustrated in this coastal area, where many aspects of the European culture were eagerly adopted by these isolated groups.

This process can most clearly be observed with the Nootka group of Indians, for it was at Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island, the headquarters for these Indians, that the English established a trading post in 1778. The following year the Spanish captured Nootka from the English and developed an extensive trade along the coast (21, p. 4). Almost immediately thereafter, there followed a brisk trade in sea otter skins and other furs with Spanish, French, American and English ships. "It has been estimated that 48,500 skins were shipped from the Pacific Northwest Coast during the years from 1799 to 1802" (21, p. 4). With this tremendous trade came great wealth to the Indians; and with the adoption of white man's skills resulting in an improvement of his methods and techniques, the Indian's civilization was rapidly able to reach new heights. This unexpected wealth provided an opportunity for greater display, so that the tribal artists were requested constantly by their chiefs to produce objects for use at festivals and ceremonials to advance the position of a chief in rank, wealth and prestige. "The institution of the potlatch, a ceremonial feast, at which a man who had accumulated great material wealth gave it away to his guest and, by so doing, added to his own prestige" (21, p. 21) was an important social custom among the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians. It provided incentive for production of art objects to be

used at the ceremonials held during the periods of leisure time in the winter months.

Unfortunately, with the dwindling of the sea otter population around Nootka Sound, the trading ships naturally passed by this area, calling at trading posts on the mainland where supplies of furs were yet available. For the Nootkans, this began a period of cultural decline, during which time their "art and society ceased to function simultaneously because of their unusually close relationship" (14, p. 7).

However, there was a brief period following contact with the Europeans, during which the artistic developments of the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians were at a high stage of advancement. This was the vital period when full expression of native talents was evidenced, when seldom had a primitive people achieved such artistic triumphs, displaying an intensity of feeling found only rarely among modern groups.

Although the clothing and accessories of these people were only minor elements of their total culture core, significant adaptations of these items were evidences of the process of cultural change. Because the topic of ceremonial clothing is so intimately related to the highly complex world of the supernatural spirits and the Indian's mythology, the writer has intentionally avoided too much overlapping in this specialized overall area of social behavior.

If the reader feels that the author may be overly enthusiastic about the degree of perfection which was found in the areas of artistic endeavour and the heights which were achieved by these Pacific Northwest Coast peoples, this belief may be largely attributed to the influence of Dr. Erna Gunther, professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington.

Dr. Gunther, a noted authority on the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast, on numerous occasions gave unstintingly of her time and energy, in acquainting the author with her beliefs and understandings of these peoples, as well as making it possible for the close observation and contact with various museum collections, so indispensable for a personal appreciation and understanding of the subject. When one has had this privilege, and shares a deep appreciation for the geographic setting in which this culture was developed, one cannot help but experience a feeling of wonderment at the accomplishments of such people. No finer friend did the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast have than this noted anthropologist.

Dr. Gunther was so accepted and trusted by groups of Indians in recent years that she was invited to attend some of their ceremonials, and thereby acquired an understanding of the Indians' philosophy which we, as outsiders, must be content only to read about.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the changes in the culture of the Indian groups on the Pacific Northwest Coast after contact with the European traders and explorers, and to discover how these changes are reflected in their dress and accessories. Through an analysis of the clothing of these groups of people, it is hoped that a contribution will be made toward a greater appreciation of their cultural attainments, as evidenced by a rich, artistic expression, which disappeared upon the intrusion of the white man and his way of life.

The findings will be presented by compiling authentic information about the clothing worn by the Indians at the time of contact with the Europeans, by comparing through analysis the influences brought about by contact with white man.

The Writer's Interest in the Problem

Interest in the problem developed from an awareness of the present stagnant cultural position of the coastal Indians, a position that is devoid of artistic accomplishment and shows little sign of the former cultural attainments of their ancestors. A once proud people who achieved a richness of artistic expression unknown in other areas of North America, are now content to emulate the white man,

to adopt his mode of life, without entirely assimilating the conditions, or believing in the substance of such a life. Along with his exposure to this new world, has come a disbelief in his own ancient lore, for white man, not understanding Indian mythology, scoffed at the rituals and performances which were so important to the continuity of the Indian's pattern of culture. Now the young people of the Indian groups have lost considerable respect for their elders, for belief in their elders' way of life has been questioned. Since the prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible to achieve social eminence, former ambitions have been replaced by idleness, feelings of despair, and less worthwhile enterprises. Even though it was inevitable that white man's pattern of life would eventually overtake the Indians', it is unfortunate that valuable elements of the primitive coastal culture core could not have been preserved for the benefit of future generations of both cultures.

Changes in clothing are as significant of cultural change as are changes in other areas of daily life. In support of this idea, it will be shown that the natives of the Pacific Northwest Coast used for their clothing, materials which were admirably suited to their environment and way of life. They showed considerable ingenuity in adapting to change created by the introduction of a variety of new materials, such as buttons, beads, and woven fabrics which were brought by the Europeans. Even though they eagerly adopted white

man's ways, they failed to realize the significance involved in substituting essential elements of their own culture with elements of a foreign culture suited to another way of life. Since many of these elements were unsuited to conditions of living on the Pacific Northwest Coast, the Indians were unable to incorporate them in a meaningful way to further their own needs.

Hypotheses

1. The clothing and accessories worn by the Indians were primarily suited to their environment and way of life.
2. The variations of materials used for clothing, its construction and decoration are reflected in the character of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast.
3. The influence of the white man on the culture of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast is reflected in his manner of dress. These adaptations, mainly in ceremonial dress, occurred soon after the appearance of the Europeans and were changes of materials, rather than changes of style.

Procedure and Technique

This is a study of historical research. The procedure involved an analysis of historical data concerning the clothing and accessories

of the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians, and a survey of items in museums.

Primary sources of data were the exhibits in the Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, The Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle, Washington, and the Victoria Provincial Museum, Victoria, British Columbia. The privilege to examine minutely the collections in the first two museums mentioned, was due to arrangements made by Dr. Gunther. Objects studied were types of clothing, blankets, jewelry, equipment, such as spindles and photographs. Historic records including logs, books and journals written by those who experienced the events, were also included in the primary sources of materials.

The numerous books available in libraries proved a major source of information for this study. The William Jasper Kerr Library on the campus of Oregon State University in Corvallis, Oregon, the library of the Provincial Archives in Victoria, British Columbia, and the library of Mr. Wilson Duff, anthropologist at the Provincial Museum, Victoria, provided books valuable for the study. From private libraries were books lent by Miss Ida Ingalls, Acting Head, Clothing and Textiles Department, Oregon State University, and Mr. Philip D. Macbride of Seattle.

Secondary sources of materials include books written by authors who reviewed the original sources for their information.

The photographs were obtained from the personal files of Dr. Gunther, from the Newcombe Collection in the Provincial Museum, Victoria, and from the photographic collection in the Provincial Archives, Victoria. This contribution to the study illustrates and completes the ideas presented here, without which, much value would be lost.

Limitations of the Study

The broad scope of this study has made it necessary to set the following limitations:

1. Clothing and accessories only will be used as a means of interpreting the culture of the Pacific Northwest Coast, omitting details of face painting and tattooing, as well as the use of masks and rattles, that are important adjuncts to the ceremonial clothing.
2. The Pacific Northwest Coast area is defined as that beginning near the Columbia River and extending north along the coasts of Washington and British Columbia into Alaska.
3. The time limits of this study will be the period of white man's impact until the period of disintegration of the Indians' culture when native clothing was no longer worn.
4. Examination of items such as Chinook blankets and cedar bark

clothing is limited to the relatively few examples in the coastal museums.

Since much of the early clothing made by the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians was of a perishable nature, it being made of cedarbark which disintegrated readily in a moist climate, there remain few cedarbark garments for examination. The less perishable woven items, such as the Chilkat and Salish blankets, are few in number, even though some fine examples exist in the museums mentioned. Understandably, much of the original color has disappeared from some of the Chilkat blankets, since vegetable dyes did not resist exposure as do the commercial dyes. Sufficient examples do exist, however, to show the remarkable accomplishments of a primitive people in the area of weaving.

A few excellent examples of finely woven basketry hats are to be seen, as well as numerous examples of button blankets, the latter being a unique adaptation resulting from contact with the traders.

Among items of jewelry are found some striking necklaces of dentalium shells, abalone ear-rings, and the not-so-elegant labrets, about which all explorers wrote as being a disfiguring ornament, a monstrosity to their wearers among the female population.

Since many of the finest specimens of early Indian craftsmanship

were taken by explorers and traders back to their homelands, several museums throughout Europe to-day house some of the outstanding collections of early Pacific Northwest Coast art objects.

Information pertaining to the early clothing of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast is inadequate, since source material is limited to explorer's accounts and items in museums. Early accounts varied, also, with the perception of the writer and his ability to record accurately what he saw. Since the Indians did not write books describing their civilization, there are no writings by these peoples which describe their costumes.

CHAPTER II

SETTING OF THE STUDY

The Pacific Northwest Coast of North America is defined as that strip of land which extends from the Columbia River, up the coasts of Washington and British Columbia to southeastern Alaska. It is an area of geographic isolation, for the high mountains on the east, and the ocean on the west, interrupted by countless islands of all sizes, virtually prevent intrusion by any but coastal visitors. On the shores of this broken coastal area lived a number of Indian groups who developed a culture that was colorful and unique, and independent of outside influences. This situation existed only until the 18th century explorers offered another mode of life, thereby transforming the Indians' culture. The year-round moderate climate, due to an off-shore Japanese Current, produces temperatures so mild that a hardy race of people needs little protection from the cold. This same current is responsible for the characteristically heavy rainfall of the area, and likewise, a dense specialized vegetation, consisting mainly of stands of conifers: the Douglas firs, hemlock, yellow cedar, red cedar, and spruces. The yew, another tree common to the coastal area and the most commonly known of the gymnosperms, extends along the coast into Alaska. Smaller deciduous trees, such as the alder, oak and maple, and a dense undergrowth, often of

salal, are found in certain areas only.

The northern area of this coastal terrain, with its towering mountains and unyielding rock, its deep chasms and glacial streams, presented an inhospitable, yet dramatic countenance which formed a natural barrier to communication between the groups of coastal Indians and those of the interior. As one moves southward into the Puget Sound region along the coast of Washington, the terrain become less impassable; the coastal hills and gentler rivers offer greater mastery to the traveller.

The abundant resources of the area contributed to the highly developed civilization possessed by the coastal Indians. Among the large game animals to be found were the deer, wolf, elk, cougar, and a variety of bears, with the prized mountain goat inhabiting the mainland regions only. A variety of smaller fur-bearing animals, the otter, marten, muskrat, beaver and mink, were also present. Certain species of animals favored specific areas along the coast, so that on Vancouver Island, for example, it was possible to find only the black bear, while farther north on the mainland, grizzly bears could also be seen.

Bird-life was important to the coast peoples. Apart from the large flights of water fowl which followed the coastline on their annual migrations, there were the majestic permanent residents, the eagles and herons, as well as the more abundant gulls and crows.

One of the most important natural resources which made life along the coast possible for the tribes of Indians, was the amazingly abundant supply of marine life. The ready supply of fish, even though it was often seasonal, induced a shore population, and encouraged navigation. Probably these people could not have existed without fish, for it was their staple dietary item. Their employment and places of habitation were regulated largely by the seasonal "runs" of salmon and the inshore and offshore migrations of the halibut. Oolachen, herring and other small fishes were also important to their economy. For the adventurous Nootka tribe, the whale could be added as a luxury item, since this was the only group of Indians who ventured forth to hunt these mammals (11, p. 11). The ocean also provided other large mammals, such as the sea otter, sea lion, hair seal and porpoise, as well as numerous species of edible mollusks and crustaceans.

On land, the Indians had another source of seasonal food supply in vegetable products, such as berries and roots which supplemented their seafood diet.

Anthropologists agree that a rich culture among primitive peoples is linked with economic productivity that accompanies the acquisition of agricultural techniques and the domestication of animals (11, p. 1). The enlargement of the economic capacity effected by agriculture produces a raise in living standards, permits

population increases and provides more time for cultivation of the arts. It also enables these peoples to elaborate on social concepts, and to perfect material aspects of their culture. The Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast differed, however, because their culture developed without benefits of agriculture, and without domestication of farm animals, since they depended entirely on natural products for their livelihood (11, p. 2). Fortunately this was an area of abundance, and by relying entirely upon the natural products of their area they were able to attain a high level of civilization.

Following the intensive periods of seasonal activity, mainly during the fish "runs", when the harvesting and preservation of fish were full-time activities, there would be periods of relaxation and leisure which could be devoted to cultural pursuits. Because the food supply could not readily be transported from place to place, the Indians remained in their villages, utilizing this leisure time for the development of art and ceremonialism.

This geographical setting of the Pacific Northwest Coast residents influenced the culture by inducing development along certain lines, and inhibiting it in others. The Indian's mode of transportation was his canoe, in which he paddled along the coast, from point to point, always remaining within sight of land. The seasonal nature of his food supply, mainly his harvests of fish, influenced his immobility. The readily available stands of timber offered a

convenient material for use in countless ways in the Indian's culture. It may be said that his culture was a "wood" culture, the abundance of wood, making wood-working a natural development along this coastal area. The Pacific Northwest Coast Indian worked little in stone, for only the deposit of argillite, a form of slate, on the Queen Charlotte Islands lent itself to being worked, the other stone being too hard to manipulate and too massive to transport easily.

Altogether, geographically, the Pacific Northwest Coast has proved to be a land where men could live well, if they managed their time and energies so that an adequate store of food was available over the winter months. Living in splendid isolation, beyond the barrier of the Rockies, at the edge of the Pacific, these groups of people effected a cultural elaboration that was distinctive when compared with other native civilizations of North America.

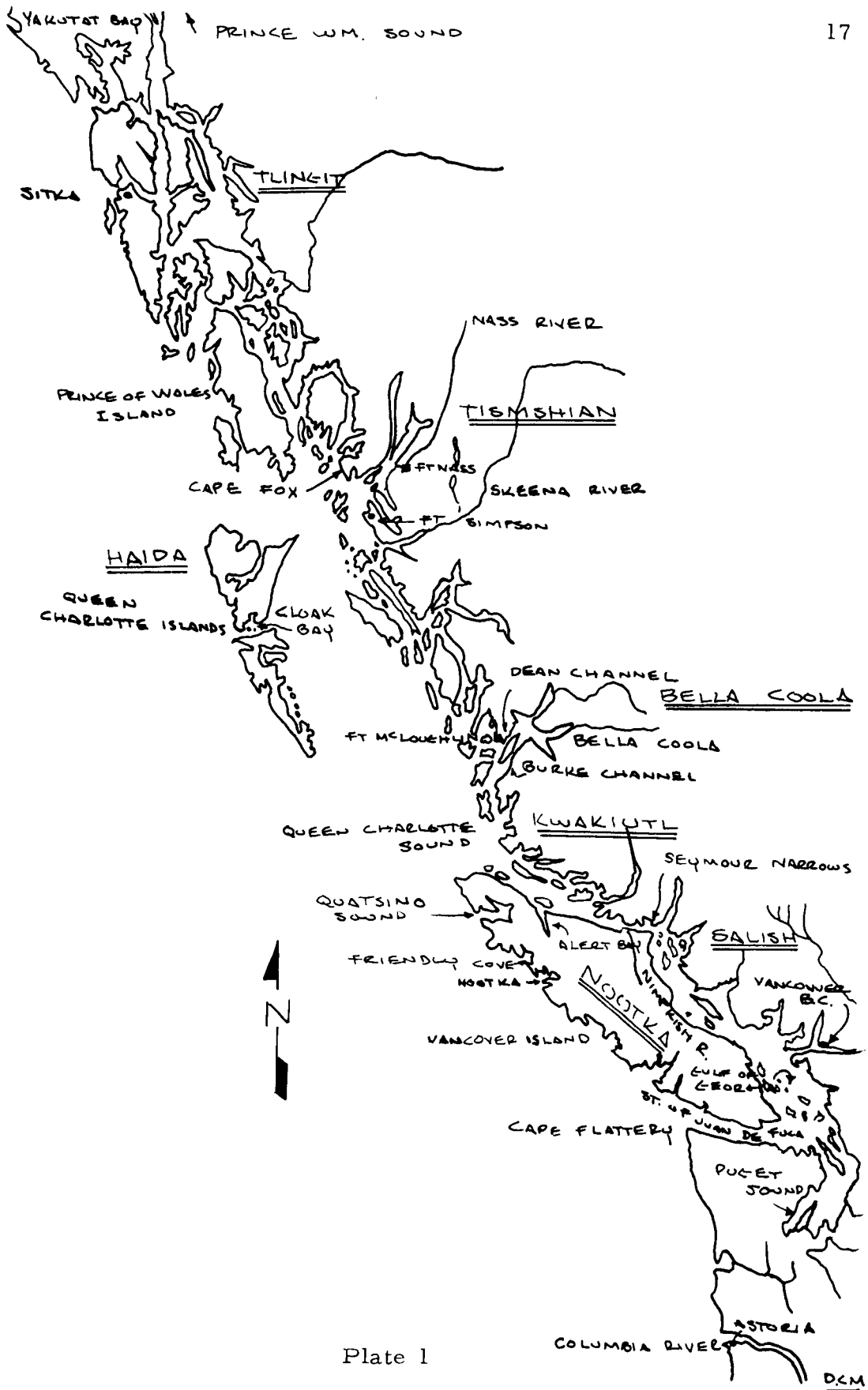


Plate 1

CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST COAST

Geographical Location

Along this rugged and beautiful coastline lived a number of Indian groups who differed somewhat in their physical characteristics, and considerably in their language. However, because of the geographic environment, many common cultural aspects were shared by all groups. Some groups tended to be more closely related than others, where a greater sharing of cultural elements occurred.

According to Gunther, the coastal Indians are divided into three main groups: the northern group, comprising the Tlingit, including the Chilkat-Tlingit, the Tsimshian, and Haida; the central, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola and Nootka; and the southern, Salish. These three divisions refer to groups of Indians who shared a common language and a common culture, although they may have shared neither interests nor political unity. The Tlingit, consisting of fourteen tribal divisions, occupied the coast from Yakutat Bay to Cape Fox, and spoke a language believed to be related to their interior neighbours, the Athapascans (11, p. 7). (Plate 1, Chapter III) Living on the mainland and adjacent islands were the Tsimshian, who had three major subdivisions, each of which spoke a slightly divergent dialect, and

differed somewhat culturally (11, p. 8). Also included in this northern group were the Haida, who inhabited the Queen Charlotte Islands, and the southern part of Prince of Wales Island in Alaska. They spoke a language believed to be related to the Athapascan, although it differed from the Tlingit (11, p. 8). This was a proud, warlike race of people, whose life was oriented towards the sea and coastline, and who were noted for their lengthy journeys among the coastal islands.

Down the coast from the Tsimshian were the Kwakiutl, with three major dialectic divisions. The Southern Kwakiutl, consisting of numerous independent groups and tribes, occupied the coastal area from Queen Charlotte Sound south to Cape Cook, which included the northern end of Vancouver Island (11, p. 10). One of these groups, the Lekwiltok, the southernmost group occupying the area around Seymour Narrows, was noted for its war-like characteristics, and numerous are the accounts of explorers and traders who encountered these hostile people.

The Bella Coola villages, of which there were more than twenty in number (30, p. v), were located in the upper reaches of Dean and Burke channels and in the Bella Coola River valley (11, p. 10). It is said that these Indians spoke a Salishan language, even though they were separated from the Salish by a considerable distance. Because the mountains in this area seem to overhang the Bella Coola River valley, producing a feeling of confinement, this group of Indians

experienced cultural isolation. This resulted in their possessing a distinctive language and culture of their own (30, p. v).

The Nootka occupied the west coast of Vancouver Island south of Quatsino Sound and an area on Cape Flattery across the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Those living on the Cape were known as the Nootkah-Makah, or Makah. The language of the Nootkans is distantly related to the Kwakiutl, their neighbours to the north. Drucker says there were two, or possibly three, dialectic divisions spoken by these people (11, p. 11). It was this particular group of Indians who possessed a specialized form of Pacific Northwest Coast culture, one that was so well adapted to the area. The central groups, the Nootka, Kwakiutl and Bella Coola, placed geographically between the three main northern groups and the southern Salish, incorporated into their system some of the concepts of both neighbouring nations.

The southernmost group of Indians participating in this unique culture was the Coast Salish. Their villages were located near the shores around the Gulf of Georgia, Puget Sound, on the Olympic Peninsula, and along the coast of Washington to the Columbia River. Part of a larger group who lived in the interior, this coastal group maintained its own dialect and possessed cultural differences which separated these people from their interior relatives. The Cascades proved an effective barrier to a unified culture for the Salishan peoples.

The People in their Villages

In physical appearance the coastal Indians were much alike. Generally they had broad heads and broad faces, and tended to be of stocky build. Their hair varied from straight to slightly wavy, and was dark brown in colour (11, p. 16). Their noses were flattened, with the exception of the Kwakiutl, who had longer faces, and narrow, highly-arched noses (11, p. 17). The groups in the north were taller, with physical superiority resting with the Haida (31, p. 236).

Langsdorff (1805) describes the Tlingit as follows:

They do not appear to have the least affinity with the Mongol tribes; they have in general large, fiery eyes; a small, flat, broad nose; and large cheek-bones; indeed, in all respects, large and strongly marked features (25, p. 112).

The eyes were very dark brown, or black, and the eyebrows small. The young men had no beard, while the older men suffered a scanty one. Chief Maquinna of the Nootka had a moustache, as a mark of dignity (22, p. 113). Both Dixon and Langsdorff commented on the light colour of the Indians' complexions. Dixon (1787) said that they were "very little darker than the Europeans in general" (9, p. 238). Langsdorff stated this also (25, p. 112). Cook described the countenances of the Nootka people in this manner:

During their youth, some of them have no disagreeable look, if compared to the generality of the people; but this seems to be entirely owing to the particular animation attending that period of life; for, after attaining a certain age, there is hardly any distinction. Upon the whole, a very remarkable

sameness seems to characterize the countenances of the whole nation; a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them (7, p. 303).

Of the Indians further north at Prince William's Sound, he wrote that "very few can be said to be of the handsome sort, though their countenance commonly indicates a considerable share of vivacity, good-nature, and frankness" (7, p. 367).

There is evidence from early accounts, as stated by Portlock (1787), that "they treat their wives and children with much affection and tenderness" (9, p. 290). It was also agreed that the women showed modesty in their deportment becoming to their sex.

Because of the habit of sitting on their knees, and spending endless hours in their canoes and houses in this position, their legs were misshapen, giving an awkward appearance. The teeth of the young were white and fine, whereas those of the older members were often discolored and ground down. Niblack says of the northern tribes that this was due to their "eating dried salmon on which sand and grit have been blown during the drying process" (31, p. 237).

Deforming of the heads was practiced among the southern and central tribes, but not among the northern groups. Head shapes varied from the wide, flat type of deformation practiced by the Salish, to the narrow elongated type of the Nootka and Kwakiutl (11, p. 91).

Daily bathing by all tribal members, along with the habit of

wearing a limited amount of clothing, and exposure to all weathers, hardened the body. Those who tended to be weak did not survive the rigorous existence required of people living along the coastal area.

The Indians usually lived in large, communal houses in a single row facing the shore, just beyond the high water line. These houses were massive in construction, but could readily be dismantled when the village moved to another location, such as to the fishing grounds in the spring season. Moving was a methodical matter, for following the dismantling of the houses, the wall planks were placed between two canoes to support the family possessions, and in this manner the families paddled to their new location.

The people slept on a board platform extending around three sides of the house interior. On this same platform sat the guests during a ceremonial, with strict adherence to rank and social position being considered during their placing. In the centre of the house were fires, providing light and warmth. The giant supports for these houses were frequently carved in such a manner as to inspire awe and command the respect for the chief who owned the house.

According to Gunther, the society of the Pacific Northwest Coast was based on a hunting, fishing and gathering economy, which established an annual cycle of activities (14, p. 10). The spring, summer and autumn were the busy food-gathering times of the year, for during this time, while the men caught the winter's supply of fish,

the women were employed in drying it, and gathering berries and roots. Transportation of these products back to the winter headquarters was a project in itself. Ownership of the best hunting, berrying and fishing grounds was by the wealthy people of the village, who invited those who did not have such privileges, to use them after their own needs were satisfied (14, p. 11).

Not only was it necessary to consider food supplies for the tribal members during winter, but also for the various feasts held throughout the year, principally in the winter months, which demanded intensified food-gathering activities. These items were also used in exchange for products such as mountain goat wool, hides and horns, obtained from trade with the interior groups by means of "grease trails", so-called because of the oolachen grease (14, p. 11). These were trails used by the Indians for trading purposes, since each group could benefit from receiving the others' goods.

The daily diet consisted largely of salmon and halibut, as well as the smaller herring and oolachen. Fish roe with oolachen oil was considered a delicacy. Mounds of clam shells on the shore indicated the use of clams by the coastal peoples. Berries, eaten either fresh or dried, and some vegetables, were other dietary items.

This maritime economy prevailed up and down the entire area. Differences in products appeared where animals inhabited specific areas; and the Nootkans, with their whale-hunting activities, had the

prerogative in this specialized activity. However, since all items were traded freely among the various Indian groups, it was possible to find an item typical of a certain area, at a distant location.

Social Structure

Among the various Indian groups participating in the Pacific Northwest Coast culture there existed much diversity in social organization. Outstanding features that were common to this culture, and which differed from the customs of other North American Indians were: the presence of "an aristocracy which inherited rank, property, specific duties, and powers" (21, p. 21), the institution of the potlatch, and the custom of keeping slaves.

Society in all groups was divided into four ranks, each having many gradations and distinctions which were rigidly kept and enforced (21, p. 22). At the top of the scale were the chiefs of tribes; next were the chiefs of clans and house chiefs; the freemen or common people made up the largest element of the population; and finally at the lowest level were the slaves, who formed about one third of the population (21, p. 23). A group of households in which each member could trace his origin to a common remote ancestor, was called a clan (21, p. 22). Among the northern tribes, there was a division of the clans into phratries, or groups of related families with each phratry taking unto itself a symbol. "The Haida had two phratries

whose symbol was the Raven and Eagle; the Tsimshian had four, the Raven, Eagle, Wolf, Bear; the Tlingit had two, Wolf and Raven" (21, p. 22).

Among the central tribes and the Salish, the clan system was less important, the clans were not organized into phratries, and the important social unit was the village community. In very large communal houses lived house groups, headed by a house chief.

Among the northern tribes the kin groups, or groups of relatives who occupied houses, were of a different nature from those of the south, for in the north "descent was counted principally on the mother's side and the child was raised in the house of his mother's family" (14, p. 12). This meant that "membership in the social divisions, and also the inheritance of social position and of worldly goods, came to each individual from his mother and her side of the family" (11, p. 107). With the more southern groups "descent was reckoned like ours, on both sides of the family" (14, p. 12). Inheritance rights, as intangible as they may have been, carried specific obligations, as well as giving the person or group involved permission to use "certain crest designs and to perform certain dances involving the use of masks and specific songs" (11, p. 13). Social status was not acquired at birth, for it was necessary at a formal ceremonial event to display evidence of one's right to use the prerogatives to which one had fallen heir.

Social structure of the Indian groups was confined to the individual villages, and "missing almost completely from this society was a political unity beyond the village" (14, p. 13). A link with villages was established, however, when marriage between members of socially prominent families took place. The practical motivation behind this was that the more extended the family, the more people there were to assist in the preparations for the feasts, and the possibility for greater social eminence.

With the Coast Salish, wealth was accompanied by prestige, so that from childhood throughout life, one struggled to acquire property to improve his economic position. It was theoretically possible for a commoner to improve his social position to become a chief, by displaying some outstanding skill or ability and through acquisition of material wealth; however, in actuality, modifications of status occurred slightly up or down within a certain stratum (11, p. 119). If a person of low rank proved himself a particularly valuable member of a group, he might be given by the chief a higher-ranking title, or the right to use a special crest, or exclusive rights to a good fishing spot, as rewards for superior performance (11, p. 120). Likewise, if one behaved in a less commendable manner, he might receive a very limited share of the economic benefits of the group. Among the Salish and Bella Coola groups there was greater movement on the social scale than among the other tribes. Drucker states that "social

status on the Northwest Coast did not depend entirely either on heredity or on wealth, but on the interrelationship between the two" (11, p. 120). The head chief of the group, being the custodian of the lineage wealth, could use and manipulate the properties as he desired. As one moved down the social scale, one had access to very minor rights from among the family treasures. Less status differentiation occurred among the Coast Salish than among the northern groups, and they possessed less wealth in the form of titles, crests and ceremonial privileges.

Occupying the lowest position on the social scale were the slaves who had been acquired in war or through raids. An unenviable lot was theirs, for they possessed neither social position nor rights, and could be used at the will of their masters. On certain occasions they were sacrificed, meaning "that the owner was so rich and powerful that he could unconcernedly destroy a valuable possession" (11, p. 123). The slave was considered valuable, not so much for his economic contribution to the group, but because his being owned indicated either the possession of wealth by a chief sufficient to purchase him, or success in war. "Among the Tlingit, when a new house was being constructed, a living slave was sometimes placed in the hole dug to receive the house post before it was raised" (21, p. 23).

The Potlatch

The possession of certain prerogatives, as well as material wealth, formed a fundamental part of the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians' social structure. Among the intangible possessions which were highly valued were myths, songs, dances and names, the last being the most important. "Each family had a series of titular names, the use of which was strictly observed and inherited or acquired by giving a potlatch to raise the individual's rank within the tribe" (21, p. 24). Validating one's right to use these intangible possessions was secured by distributing gifts at a ceremonial feast.

Among the Pacific Northwest Coast peoples the currency of the monetary system included possessions such as blankets, carved boxes, canoes, dentalium shells, and etched or painted copper sheets, the last-named attaining a very high value, sometimes as high as several thousand blankets (21, p. 25). These "coppers" were large shield-like sheets hammered from placer copper obtained in trade from the Copper River in Alaska (11, p. 133). Following contact with the traders, coppers were made from European sheet copper. These objects were closely associated with the potlatch, their value increasing each time they were given away, and were held in highest regard by the Southern Kwakiutl (11, p. 133).

It was at a potlatch, a status-seeking ceremonial, during which

validations of rank and title were secured, that many kinds of items were given away. The word "potlatch" was originally a Nootka word meaning "gift" (21, p. 25). During one of these large-scale ceremonies, the guests who were to witness the validating of rights, were entertained on a lavish scale. Display of property to be distributed was important, as was the use of elaborately carved feast dishes, and other items used for the occasion. The truly destructive element of the potlatch was its economic side, for everything given away was expected to be returned with interest up to 100 percent. Preparations for these events sometimes took a year or more, and all members of the group participated, hoping to gain in status through this gift-giving, or destruction. Frequently, valuable articles were either burned or thrown away in order to show how little their value was to a particular chief. Sometimes, however, the potlatch led to the bankruptcy of a group. If a rival group was unable to outdo the ceremonials of his neighbouring chief, he lost face and assumed a lowered status among the hierarchy of chiefs.

Among the Bella Coola, it was believed that "the value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution they were only of potential value" (30, p. 179). The ceremonial which they regarded as the most important was the rite in which one's ancestral myth was displayed. Here the family myth or history was recounted, during which the potlatch given not

only increased one's prestige, but also incorporated the traditions of his parent (30, p. 182).

Religion

Among the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians there was not an overall, carefully defined set of religious beliefs. Certainly the concept of the supernatural and the guardian spirit pervaded the life of all tribal peoples. Explanations of the present, past and future, were in terms of these beliefs, which were closely connected with their mythology, totemism and elaborate ceremonials. Myths, which became the basis of family crests, grew out of adventures with the supernatural spirits, and were accepted as a part of the beliefs of each village.

Animals played such an important part in the Indians' lives, that they were endowed with human characteristics (21, p. 29). A series of ritual practices to ensure the return of such economically important species as the salmon, accompanied the beliefs about the immortality of such creatures. It was believed that everything that grew, including trees, plants, animals, birds and men, were habitations for spirits.

The religious rites and observances prior to a warring or fishing expedition, or a potlatch, were important aspects of the preparations. At this time an appeal to one's personal guardian spirit for

success in the venture, would also be made. This concept of the guardian spirit who assisted one throughout life, played an important role in the Indian's concept of himself and the universe.

Great variation in the religious patterns among the coastal people is partially accounted for by the numerous myths and legends current in an area, possibly citing the origin of the group. Since each extended family had its own myth to explain its kin group, numerous variations would result.

Apart from the Coast Salish, the Indian groups believed in a Supreme Being who played a distantly remote role in the affairs of men (11, p. 140). According to some myths, he was a Creator; in others a Transformer (setting things in order in an incomplete world). The Nootka believed in a variation of the pattern, for they referred to four "Great Chiefs", each of whom ruled a segment of the universe (11, p. 140).

Totemism was a feature of the religion as well as of the social organization of the peoples. It means "an association between groups of people, and some animal, plant, or inanimate object" (21, p. 30). Tribes were divided into several totemic groups, each group having a specific relationship with a totem, which was the badge or crest of the clan. The totem animal was looked upon as clan protector, or guardian for the tribe, hence the religious aspect.

Among the Pacific Northwest Coast Indian groups were medicine

men or women, also called shamans, or witch doctors, who were supposed to possess supernatural powers enabling communication with the spirits to predict the outcome of events, cause or cure illnesses, create misfortunes for enemy tribes, and perform other similar deeds. The shaman was often a commoner who had been granted these special powers, and therefore respected, and feared by his fellow men.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF CONTACT

Until the first authenticated visits of the explorers Bering and Tschivikow to the Pacific Northwest Coast in 1741, there was no evidence of European contact with the Indians. A brief visit in 1774-5 by the Spaniards, Juan Perez and Bodega y Quadra, did not have the impact which followed the visit by Captain James Cook on his third voyage of exploration in 1778 (11, p. 19). During Cook's visit to Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island, definite contact was established with the natives, who traded and gave away sea otter skins to the seamen. When it was realized that the sea otter pelts brought exorbitant prices on the Chinese market, several mercantile companies, notably the British and American, sent ships to trade in the area. Interesting accounts of early expeditions followed visits by Captain Meares of the East India Company (1786), Captains Portlock and Dixon of the King George's Sound Company (1787), and others. By 1778, American ships out of Boston had joined in the fur-trade race, so that rich hauls of furs taken from the inlets up and down the entire coastal area were bringing vast profits to the shipping companies.

For the first few years, eagerly sought-after trade items by the Indians were iron adzes, chisels, or blades of any type, even

though Cook had recorded that the Indians were already quite familiar with iron (11, p. 20). Trade items such as cheap glass beads, copper, iron neck rings and bracelets experienced a fad existence, until the Indians' desires were satisfied. Later, as faddism decreased, practical articles such as "coats, jackets, trowsers, pots, kettles, frying-pans, wash-hand basins, and whatever articles of similar nature could be procured" (Queen Charlotte Islands, 1789) became the sought-after goods (29, p. 368). Luxury items such as molasses, rice, rum, and firearms were also in demand (11, p. 21).

Since most of the traders came to the coast to make their fortune in one trip, they often cared little about establishing friendly relations with the Indians, their object being to get the sea otter furs, even if it meant robbing or cheating the natives. Since justice and fair play were highly valued by the Indians, it sometimes happened that retaliation for some outright act of piracy by one trading vessel resulted in an attack by the Indians on the crew of the next trading vessel that appeared along the coast, "for in their view all white men were of one tribe" (11, p. 21).

During this period, before the establishment of land-based fur trading companies in 1793, the traders were exploiting the Indian population, and stripping the coast of sea otters, the Indians' valuable trade item. At this time (1790), both Spanish and English claims to the Nootka Sound region created an awkward situation, which almost

resulted in war between Spain and England.

The situation improved considerably with the establishment of land-based companies such as that at Fort Archangel, near Sitka, by the Russians, in 1799; and later, in 1821, with the coalition of the Hudson's Bay and Northwestern Companies (11, p. 21). At the permanent trading posts there was developed a feeling of friendship and co-operation, based on trust, which could benefit both the Indians and the white tradesmen. It was around these trading posts that many of the Indian villages later clustered, rather than remaining in scattered isolated pockets down the length of the coast.

At the time when explorers and traders entered the coastal scene, which is referred to as the period of contact, the Indian groups were participating in a culture that showed evidence of rich artistic expression, belonging to a vital people who had adapted to the conditions of living in the coastal area. These people utilized materials available to them, and with primitive implements of shell and bone, constructed canoes, houses, utensils, made large-scale carvings, and wove fabrics that impressed the early explorers, "who found it difficult to reconcile this excellence with their rude manner of life" (13, p. 1). The Indians possessed limited quantities of native copper, which could not be used for edged tools, since they lacked knowledge of its tempering. With iron supplied by the early traders, and from observing the ships' blacksmiths and armorers,

they could make tools suited to their needs. Improved tools permitted more elaborate construction, so that a great step forward in the development of their civilization could be realized.

During this period, far-reaching and rapid transformations touched everyone, and all aspects of the Indians' lives. It was a period of movement, when new ideas came so quickly that the Indians scarcely had time to consider whether these ideas could successfully be incorporated into their culture.

With improvement in tools, artistic achievement was spurred to reach new heights, and the Indians' innate artistic ability could be more freely expressed. Accompanying the Indians' increased wealth as a result of the fur trade, there was an increased demand for art items, since more elaborate ceremonials were being given to prove social eminence. More and better potlatches created a demand for products of artistic endeavour.

At first, progress centred around Friendly Cove at Nootka, for here the ships came to get the sea otter pelts. As the sea otter population in this area declined, the traders bypassed Nootka in favor of other mainland centres. Cultural progress lasted only as long as the sea otters, so that when trade at Nootka ceased, the Nootkan culture began its period of decline. It had been the first of the Indian groups to experience the benefits of an improved culture, but also the first to feel the pangs of cultural disintegration.

The new opportunities of trade had immediate effects on the Indians who possessed a love for ostentatious display. Contact with the Europeans had a decided effect upon the clothing of the period, as will be seen in later chapters.

Since this society had abundant leisure occasioned by its seasonal economic endeavours, it was natural that this leisure time during the winter months would be used to further artistic creations, which played such a prominent part in the ceremonials. The wealthy Indians obviously demonstrated the fact of their wealth in the kind and quantity of goods given away at their potlatches. During these celebrations, which often lasted several days, an Indian chief might give away slaves, blankets, canoes, clothing and other prized possessions to his guests and rivals (21, p. 26). Sometimes a rival chief could be shamed at such an affair when he was given more gifts than he could return with the accepted rate of interest, or when a chief deliberately destroyed all his treasures, thus stripping himself of his own goods. This subjugation of a rival was the peak of ambition, for rivalry was at the heart of the culture (21, p. 27). One facet of life which has never been duplicated or even matched in degree of extravagance, was the potlatch, which reached its peak of elaboration during the period following contact with the traders.

This materialistic tendency seemed responsible for other things as well, for it resulted in considerable native ingenuity, which will

be shown in the adaptations made to their items of clothing.

Throughout the Pacific Northwest Coast area, Indian vitality ran through everything, and its greatest expression was in the period following contact with the explorers and traders. This was a dynamic era, and brought forth an expression of feeling seldom found among primitive peoples.

CHAPTER V

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COAST ART

Features Important to Clothing

An artist desires to communicate. It may be his ideas, feelings or attitudes he wishes to express, or it may be the reproduction of a realistic object, or an imaginary concept that has captured his emotions. The medium he selects for expression, and the method he employs for its execution, will depend upon his subject matter, and his feelings towards it. The final result will be determined by the artist's skill in handling his materials.

The artist is free to select from the environment whatever he feels is important to record for his purpose. Not infrequently does an artist wish to overemphasize particular features, so that these features appear out of proportion to the rest of his design. His manner of expression is his own choice, governed by such factors as his previous experience, his personality, what similar work is currently being done, and public demand.

The artists on the Pacific Northwest Coast developed an art style that was strong and unique, complex and mature; a style that was strongly influenced by the totemic aspect of their social structure (21, p. 46). So closely interwoven was the social structure with

their art, the one fostering the other, that to separate the two would have been difficult indeed.

The Pacific Northwest Coast artists seldom reproduced an object realistically, preferring to use it as a starting point only. Forms which may have been realistic at an earlier date, lost so many details that only a geometric character remained.

Since animals played such an important part in the Indians' lives, it is understandable that animal symbols were used in all forms of art throughout the coastal area. The Indian's art was "aimed at the depiction of the supernatural beings, in animal, monster, or human form, who according to lineage or clan traditions had appeared to some ancestor, or, in some instances, had transformed itself to human form and become an ancestor" (11, p. 166). All the descendants of this particular ancestor inherited the right to display symbols of the supernatural being so represented. These motifs were called "crests" and appeared prominently displayed on ceremonial clothing to indicate the person's status and affiliation within a group.

As with other primitive peoples, the recording of the visual impression of an object, showing only what could be seen at a glance, was an unsatisfactory solution to the coastal artists, since certain essential features needed for the identification of an object, would not be apparent (5, p. 537). For instance, a person seen from the

back does not exhibit facial characteristics, such as eyes, nose and mouth, which we know are present. To the Indian artist it was important that these distinguishing characteristics be included in an artwork, for they were essential elements of the object under consideration. "The idea of rendering the momentary impression must be given up, because it may not be possible to see all these different features at the same time; and thus we find that one of the characteristic traits of primitive art is the disregard of the relative position of the essential elements of the object of representation" (5, p. 537).

To the Indians, the essential features of an object had to appear in his representation. If the artist wished to portray a killer whale, the high dorsal fin would always be shown, while the remainder of the body may have one or more of the following: long and large head; round eyes; large nostril; blow hole; big mouth set with teeth (21, p. 41) (Plate 2).

It was the women who worked principally in weaving, using designs that were abstract and nonrepresentational (21, p. 45). Sometimes the men, when carving in wood, used designs ranging from representational to abstract.

Even though a design always contained certain identifying features, an animal might appear differently on varied objects, for the Indians always attempted to squeeze the symbols representing an animal, into the decorative field (5, p. 539). In order to adapt a

design to fit a specific area, several methods were followed. One method was to split the animal from the head to the tail, and lay it out flat in two halves, each half shown in profile, back to back, head to head, or tail to tail (11, p. 168)(Plates 2, 3, 4, 5). In a second method, the figure was again split, the head seen in front view, while the two halves of the body were extended on each side. The third method was to emphasize the important features, and to minimize those features of lesser importance. Not infrequently does the internal anatomy of the animal appear in an abstract manner (Plate 6). The Indian artist had great desire for symmetry in design, so that he employed repetition of shapes to produce a feeling of balance.

An interesting feature of Pacific Northwest Coast art was the use of eye-like forms, often used merely as space-fillers. "They sometimes have no obvious meaning or relationship to the object portrayed other than a design value" (21, p. 45)(Plates 3, 5, 7, 8). The Haida believe that the source of these eye-like forms or elliptical designs seen on so many of their works of art is the young skate (35, p. 5) (Plate 9). On each side of a young skate's body there is an elliptical brown spot surrounded by a ring of bright yellow, and a brown ring outside of all. These spots disappear as the young skate grows larger.

The Indian artists frequently felt an urge to fill in all blank spaces, so that considerable detail appeared in many designs. In

Plate 3 the design on the Chilkat blanket on the left is an example of this characteristic. The blanket in Plate 7 is rare in this respect, for blank areas surround the "coppers" to give added significance.

Outlining was also important to the Indian artist, to help separate his ideas, to relate one form to another, or to give emphasis and provide rhythmic movement. The woven hats in Plates 8 and 10 illustrate this feature.

The colors used most frequently by the Indians were red, black, yellow, and green-blue, with the pigments being made from "fungus, moss, berries, charcoal, cinnibar, lignite, white, red and brown ochre, and various vegetable compounds" (21, p. 42). The striking green-blue color often seen in the Chilkat blankets was made by allowing copper to corrode in urine, the latter acting as a mordant.

According to Gunther, the religious concept of the guardian spirit was the basis of the arts on the Pacific Northwest Coast (14, p. 13). She states that "throughout the area there is a fundamental belief in powerful spirits that live beyond the sea, under lakes, under the earth, and in the atmosphere who can bestow on human beings some of their power to be successful at those activities which are socially sanctioned by the group" (14, p. 14). The artists' ideas of these spirits as represented in designs on ceremonial clothing varied considerably, for sometimes the artist might "obscure his meaning in order to keep the significance of his design from profane eyes"

(5, p. 552). Because of the variety of symbols represented on an object of art, and the numerous myths of the Indian groups, it is understandable that meaning attached to designs by the Indian may be interpreted differently by different people.

It is worthy of note that such a sophisticated treatment of art forms was a part of the existing culture of the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians at the time contact with the white man was made. When the white man entered the coastal area, and the Indian craftsman found himself with tools to perfect his works of art, the Indian did not alter the original form of his art, nor change his style, but increased his artistic output.

Pacific Northwest Coast art pervaded all aspects of the Indian's culture. The sculptural quality of his art using highly conventionalized figures was seen dramatically in the finely carved totem poles and ceremonial masks. In the latter, the artists showed skill at realistic representation, as well as in the use of more conventionalized forms. Engraving in silver following contact with white man illustrated his ability to adapt his designs to this medium. The Indian used paint to decorate his totem poles, some of his early textiles, his skin garments, and other items. In all aspects of his daily life, his art was represented, whether on the prow of his canoe, on a carved wooden box, or on the appliqué of a ceremonial shirt.

At all times his representations revealed a closeness with nature, reflecting sharp observation, and resulting in a vitality and strength seldom found in the arts of primitive cultures.

CHAPTER VI

CLOTHING WORN AT THE PERIOD OF CONTACT

The clothing worn by the Indians on the Pacific Northwest Coast was a distinctive aspect of their culture. A similar basic clothing pattern was found throughout the coastal area, with minor regional variations prevailing within the limits of this pattern (11, p. 72). The traders were early attracted to the region by the character of some of the clothing worn by the natives, particularly those items consisting of valuable furs sewed together, the sea otter fur being the most prized.

Along the Pacific Northwest Coast three distinctly coastal fabrics were produced by the Indian weavers. The best known of these textiles is the ceremonial Chilkat blanket, admired by early explorers who visited the area in the 1780's. The Salish dog wool and mountain goat wool blankets also received notice for they possessed a certain vitality of their own. Deserving of special attention, since it was the basis of so much of the Indian's clothing were the versatile cedarbark garments. Although the art of weaving cedarbark was known the length of the coast, it was practiced mostly by the central and southern tribes. The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands, however, produced the finest examples of cedarbark workmanship among the coastal peoples (31, p. 265). It seems that the

Haida have been "noted for their readiness to adopt the customs and ideas of others, and to develop and adapt them to their own peculiar needs" (31, p. 265). The Tsimshian have been content to act as middlemen in trade between the north and the south.

Two types of looms were used on the Pacific Northwest Coast for weaving. The Chilkat and cedarbark robes both used a loom consisting of two solid uprights placed the desired distance apart, with a horizontal warp beam bridging the top. The robes woven on these looms used closely related techniques, for they were both woven from the top down, and both used free-hanging warps. Salish blanket-weaving was done on a two-bar loom, with a single continuous warp stretched over two horizontal beams set one above the other, and attached to the uprights. Geometric designs were frequently woven into blankets for decoration. Sewing equipment used by the Indians was an awl for punching holes in the skin garments. These people did not use a needle with an eye when the traders arrived, this item being introduced by the white man. The sinews of animals were drawn back and forth through these holes with the fingers, and acted as thread. Thongs of leather were used for fastening the robes.

It was the inner bark of the cedar tree, or that which lay between the outer bark and the wood itself, that was used for so much of the clothing. Collecting the yellow cedarbark was done by both the men and women, for carrying bundles of the bark from its source

back to the village was a heavy job. In order to pry the bark free, a cut was made near the base of a young cedar tree which was free of branches in that area. The woman with her digging stick pried the bark loose at this point and separated it from the tree along the sides of the strip. This was then firmly grasped and pulled from the trunk of the tree as the person backed away. The strips of cedarbark obtained in this manner were folded into bolts approximately three feet long, and packed into bundles to be either carried back to the villages or transported in the canoes (10, p. 93).

Once in the village, the bark was unrolled and taken to a quiet salt water bay to be softened. Rocks were placed on the strips in the water, and the bark was left for a period of several days (10, p. 94). After the inner bark was soft and pliable, the strips were removed from the water, placed on a plank, and beaten with a club-like, grooved whalebone beater, until the inner layers of the fibres separated easily. Jewitt says that care was taken to see that the mass was constantly moistened with water, so that the fibrous layers could be easily pulled off. They were further beaten, however, in order to separate them yet more finely.

A period followed during which these fibres were soaked in fresh water for several days (10, p. 94). The final stage of preparation involved their being removed from the water, wrung almost dry, then spread on the beach to bleach and further dry out. Drucker

states that "the short broken lengths of fibre could be culled out, and the rest saved to be woven" (10, p. 94).

These soft, fine strands of yellow cedarbark were then spun into yarns by the women, on their bare thighs, following which they were woven into capes, robes or blankets, and women's aprons (Plates 11, 12, 16). Sometimes mountain goat wool, obtained in trade from their mainland Kwakiutl neighbours, was mixed with yellow cedarbark strands to increase the strength. Mountain goat wool was highly prized, so that a robe with some mountain goat wool in it was more highly prized than an all-cedarbark one. It was only the chiefs who could afford this luxury. In order to make a garment, shredded cedarbark hanks were suspended over a beam, or "half-loom," and interlaced or "twined" with cords of yellow cedarbark or goat wool strands (10, p. 94). In "twining," the wefts were doubled, and each pair was crossed over each suspended warp, in turn, across the width of the blanket (11, p. 74). This blanket was similar in shape to that of the Chilkat, having the top and sides straight, with a curved lower edge. For decoration, strips of fur were sewed around the edge, or wool borders applied. The rain cape was made entirely of cedarbark, however, without the addition of mountain goat wool.

The preparation of the red cedarbark will be mentioned briefly, for it was not commonly used for robes, but for items as baskets, mats, soft cloths, towels and mattresses. It was also used for

ornaments when twisted into turban-like neckrings, bracelets or anklets and worn on ceremonial occasions (10, p. 95). The method of obtaining the strips from the tree was the same as for obtaining the yellow cedarbark strips. The method of preparation differs, however, for after the woman had a number of strips of red cedarbark, she proceeded to strip off the coarse outer bark. This she did by prying the outer bark and the inner bark apart with her fingers at only one end of each strip. Then, with the outer bark in one hand and the inner bark in the other, she rested her hands on her knees. The other end of the strip she held with her foot. As she slowly separated her knees, the strips also separated. These strips of cedarbark were then taken home and stored for future use. The shredding of the bark involved placing the strips across a paddle blade, and chopping them with a chopper of whalebone, until finely shredded (10, p. 95). With continued shredding, very soft, fluffy material was obtained that made the red cedarbark useful for a variety of purposes.

Pacific Northwest Coast weaving reached its peak of development with the Chilkat blanket, a beautiful example of a weaver's art. This was a highly valued robe possessed only by people of rank and wealth and worn on special occasions (Plates 3 and 7). Woven by the women, these robes or blankets had yarns spun of mountain goat wool, the warp having a cedarbark core for strength. The men hunted the mountain goats to collect the wool, which was often found on the

bushes in the feeding grounds. They also made the half-loom and painted the pattern board from which the women wove the designs (Plate 14). The Chilkat blanket, as this robe was commonly known, was made on the same type of loom as was the cedarbark robe, for it was "twined" on a half-loom, the weaver working from the top downwards. No shuttles or bobbins were used in the process, the fingers only carrying the filling. The warp was first measured and cut to the desired length to form the curve of the lower edge, then these lengths were bound to the beam (11, p. 77). After dividing the warp into the number of panels she needed for her design, the weaver tied each section of the warp that formed a panel, into a bundle which was tucked into a container of dried mountain goat or bear gut to keep it clean (11, p. 77). The bundles of warp were then weighted with sand-filled bags. The blanket was woven in separate sections, and sewed together as the weaver progressed. The principal colors used were black, a bright blue-green, and yellow on the natural white ground, the first three colors being obtained by "soaking hemlock bark, copper, and lichen imported from the interior, respectively, in mordant solutions of urine, then dipping the yarns" (10, p. 78). The borders on the sides and lower edge were finished by braiding, the lower edge being longer and thickened by additional yarns.

The Salish peoples were noted for their weaving abilities, and for their use of a wide range of materials in their woven garments.

Apart from using mountain goat wool, they used the hair from a special breed of small, woolly dog which they raised especially for their fur. Gunther said that these dogs were owned by the Salish women and were an indication of wealth.

Ledyard, in 1778, described one type of clothing the Indians wore resembling "the New-Zealand Togo, and is also principally made with the hair of their dogs, which are mostly white, and of the domestic kind: Upon this garment is displayed very naturally the manner of their catching the whale--we saw nothing so well done by a savage in our travels" (26, p. 71).

The fine down of ducks and geese, and the soft pappus of cattail reeds and fireweed were materials also used with the wool to make yarn (11, p. 8). These materials, however, were mainly employed for unusual and decorative effects. In one type of Salish weaving, the fabric was woven in one piece around two rollers which were at the top and bottom of the upright loom. When the weaving was finished, the blanket was cut open and assumed a rectangular shape.

Another type of Salish blanket-making used the Nootkan simple "twining" technique for rectangular-shaped blankets (11, p. 83). The Salish "organized" robes, in which the weft yarns were very close together, so that they formed the surface of the blanket, showed that the weavers possessed considerable technological skill.

More elaborate weaving techniques were developed by these Salish people involving spinning by the use of a spindle (Plate 15). There is evidence that they also used simple bobbins, heddles and beaters in their weaving. These blankets had geometric border designs or panel-type geometric designs on the natural, off-white ground, and were often fringed (Plate 20). Highly valued by both the Indians and traders, they were widely traded up and down the coast.

Generally, among the Nootkan tribe, the costume of the men was scanty, and on warm days consisted of no clothing whatever. At other times a single robe-like garment made of yellow cedarbark which reached to below the knees was worn "over the back, with the corners brought forward over the shoulders to be pinned together" (10, p. 99) or more commonly put on as described by Cook, "under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder, by a string before, and one behind, near its middle; by which means both arms are left free" (7, p. 304). Worn in this manner it covered the left side, leaving the right open, unless fastened round the waist by a belt. The upper edge of this garment was frequently ornamented with a narrow strip of fur, while the lower edge was fringed. This garment was known by such terms as cloak, mantle, robe or kutsack. Jewitt states that these kutsacks of the common people were painted red with ochre, the better to keep out the rain, but that the chiefs wore them of the natural pale yellow color, ornamenting them with borders

of sea otter skin obtained from the south (22, p. 105). He refers to the dog's hair obtained from the flocks of dogs kept by the Salish Indians and specially bred for their hair. Drucker, however, believed that dog hair was not used by the Nootkans (10, p. 105). Decorative designs in red or black, such as men's heads, the sun and moon, or fish and animals were also sometimes painted on or woven in these garments, according to Jewitt (22, p. 105). He also observed that the belt used to fasten the robe snugly in place at the waist "is in general more highly ornamented, and serves them to wear their daggers and knives in" (22, p. 106).

For added protection during the rain, the Nootka wore "a rain cape of double matting that covered the back with extensions that were brought forward over the shoulders to be tied or pinned" (10, p. 100). This cape was woven of yellow cedarbark and hung from the neck to the elbows. Jewitt mentions also an additional capelike garment with fur at the top and bottom, and worn only in winter (22, p. 106).

The women's garments differed from the men's somewhat, for their mantle had holes for admitting the arms, and tied closely under the chin instead of over the shoulder (22, p. 106). Meares stated that the women's dress was "in the form of a shift, without sleeves, which falls to the ankle" (29, p. 253). Jewitt agrees with the length of the garment but stated that "it has also loose sleeves, which reach to the elbows" (23, p. 144). These garments, he stated, completely

enveloped them, and were tied at the waist with a girdle of sea otter skin. In addition to this garment, women wore under their robes a front apron made of strands of shredded cedarbark which formed a loose fringe hanging from some "twining" across the top edge.

Women also wore flaring, conical outer capes with only a circular opening to admit the head (Plates 11, 13, 16).

The head covering was an important item in this area where rainfall was heavy. A rain hat, woven either of red cedarbark or of spruce root, and having the shape of a rather blunt, or truncated cone, with convex sides and inner fitted band, was usually worn by both men and women (10, p. 99). A chief's rainhat differed by having painted designs on it (Plate 17). Cook described a Nootkan hat as "having the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round or pointed knob, or bunch of leathern tassels; and there is a string that passes under the chin, to prevent its blowing off" (7, p. 304). He went on to say that he had "sometimes seen the whole process of their whale-fishery painted on the caps they wear" (7, p. 327) (Plate 17). Jewitt states that this hat was worn only by the king, the commoners wearing "a kind of hat or bonnet in form not unlike a large sugar loaf with the top cut off" (23, p. 107). Jewitt refers to Maquinna, the chief of the Nootkans, as a king. Many of the white men believed that a system of royalty existed among the coast peoples.

It is notable that this particular type of head covering was prevalent from Nootka Sound to the Columbia River in the coastal region (45, p. 65). Often these hats consisted of two hats, an inner and an outer one, joined at the rim. The inner hat or lining does not usually have a woven knob at the top corresponding to the knob on the outer hat (45, p. 65). On some of the hats, the outer knob was woven separately and later attached to the hat. Willoughby states that the outer hats which he examined were woven principally of grass spires and cedarbark with a strip below the knob of fine cedar roots (45, p. 65). Split cedar roots also appeared to be used for the warp, these being fine and strong. The cedarbark used with the ivory white grass for the woof, was usually dyed a dark brown or black.

The characteristic design upon these hats represented the chase of the orca whale (Plate 17). The design showed the whale after it had been harpooned, the harpoon line with attached floats trailing behind. A man stood in the bow of the canoe about to dispatch the mammal with a spear. Other canoes, either with or without people, filled out the design. The designs on these hats were noted for their vivacity, and for their absence of unnecessary objects so frequently used by Indian artists to "fill-in" spaces. Shallow crowned hats with fairly wide brims of cedarbark were worn for everyday wear.

Upon their feet the Indians wore no covering, except by the men

who donned a crude form of moccasin made of skin for journeys across the mountains.

The garment that was so frequently admired by the traders was that one made either of three sea otter skins sewed together, or of a number of other furs, such as marten, or mink, and worn only when the weather was cold. Such garments were not infrequently purchased off the backs of the Indians by the traders for a few trifling items that happened to catch the Indians' fancy. Cook noted that these garments were also made of bear or wolf skins, and were worn "sometimes before, and sometimes back" and tied as a cloak near the neck edge (7, p. 304). Jewitt wrote that these garments were worn by the chiefs only, and upon special occasions (22, p. 106). From the numerous accounts by traders and explorers of Indians wearing fur robes, it appears that those robes made of less highly valued furs were worn by the common people in the colder regions, while the chiefs possessed particularly beautiful ones of sea otter pelts which they saved for special occasions. Confusion existed in the minds of the explorers regarding clothing worn for ceremonials, and for purpose of rank distinction. They seemed convinced of a definite royal class system, and because they knew little about the social structure of the Indians, yet observed differences in dress upon semi-ceremonial occasions, it is probable that they placed an overemphasis upon differences in the everyday dress of chiefs and commoners.

These everyday garments served the Indians well, for they provided considerable freedom of movement, formed adequate protection from the cold, and could be constructed from materials close at hand. The clothing of pliable cedarbark was said to be warm, tended to shed water, and chafe the skin slightly to make one "feel fit" (33, p. 309). This cedarbark clothing which furnished the standard everyday dress for the Indians of all ages was well suited to their type of life. A garment was never cleaned, but worn until it was deemed desirable or necessary to discard it and replace it with a new one.

In a conversation with Gunther, she spoke of the Nootka making an occasional fur blanket or robe using small skins sewed together, and rouging some of the skins for decorative effect. Since small land animals such as the marmot, are not numerous on Vancouver Island, few such blankets would have been made. The coloring of the skins points out the Indian's love for decoration.

Nootkan men wore their hair loose, about shoulder length, so that it could be tied on top of their heads for ceremonial occasions. The women also wore their hair long and loose, tending to keep it more orderly than the men. As a token of grief, the hair would be cut short (22, p. 181).

Personal ornaments formed an essential part of the Indian's costume. Even the men in warm weather wore a few ornaments,

when clothing was lacking. Ornaments consisted chiefly of ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, rings for fingers and ankles, and nose jewels. Since many of the Indians pierced the lobes of their ears, and the septum of the nose, single jewels or clusters of jewels, frequently shells, were worn for adornment (Plate 12). "Persons of high rank usually had holes not only in the lobes, but in the helix of their ears" (10, p. 100). From continued use of various ornaments, these holes sometimes became quite large and would admit any ornament of moderate size. Jewitt mentioned the use of feathers, pieces of brass or copper, and beads for use as nose jewels (22, p. 114). He also noted the use of a smooth, round stick extending about eight or nine inches beyond each side of the face, and worn as a nose jewel by the common class men who could not afford the copper appellation (22, p. 119). Bits of bone, quills fixed upon a leather thong, and bunches of woolen tassels for use as ear ornaments, were listed by Cook (7, p. 305). Sometimes metal rings merely pinched the septum, and hung over the upper lip. The wives of commoners wore around their wrists and ankles, leather strips or thongs. Several sources mentioned anklets of sea otter strips also. The wives of chiefs displayed bracelets and necklaces of the dazzling-white dentalia (Plate 18).

The dentalium is a shell approximately three inches long, sometimes called a tooth-shell, that is slightly curved, hollow, and gradually tapers to a point (Plate 18). It was obtained chiefly along the

shores of Cape Flattery and Koskeemo Sound (22, p. 115). Jewitt states that the method of procuring this shell, which the Indians called Ife-waw, was fatiguing and laborious. He describes it as follows:

To one end of a pole is fastened a piece of plank, in which a considerable number of pine pegs are inserted, made sharp at the ends; above the plank, in order to sink it, a stone or some weight is tied, and the other end of the pole suspended to a long rope; this is let down perpendicularly by the Ife-waw fishers in those places where that substance is found, which are usually from fifty to sixty fathoms deep. On finding the bottom, they raise the pole up a few feet and let it fall; this they repeat a number of times, as if sounding, when they draw it up and take off the Ife-waw which is found adhering to the points . . . they seldom take more than two or three of these shells at a time, and frequently none (22, p. 116).

The dentalium was highly prized by the Indians, and bartered up and down the coast. Jewitt says that "the dentalium was strung on threads of bark and sold by the fathom; and formed a kind of circulating medium among the nations, five fathoms being considered the price of a slave, their most valuable species of property" (22, p. 115).

Another shell which the Indians used for decoration was the abalone, often called the "ear-shell," prized for its mother of pearl color on its internal surface. The Indians found abalones at low-tide level on the west coast of Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands. They cut this 4-5 inch shell into rectangles for their use (Plate 12).

Both sexes painted their faces, partly to protect their complexions from sunburn, and partly for decoration. According to Jewitt, the women did this less than the men, merely "coloring their eye-brows black and drawing a bright red stripe from each corner of the mouth to the ear" (22, p. 114). The men, however, painted themselves more elaborately, according to the occasion, or their whim. Most frequently the Nootkan men painted their eye-brows black in the form of a half-moon, the face and part of the body either painted red or black with spots or squares, as fancied (22, p. 117). Cook also mentioned the addition of a white color, by way of ornament, giving "them a ghastly, disgusting aspect" (7, p. 305). On extraordinary occasions the chiefs strewed over their faces, after painting, a black powdered mica which glittered in the sun and which was probably obtained from the Nimpkish River (22, p. 116).

On ceremonial occasions, a Nootkan wore his best garments. It was then the chiefs wore their robes with mountain goat wool, if they owned any, or those luxurious ones of three otter skin pelts. On such occasions the chief's hair was well ciled, tied on top of his head, and secured in place with a bough, possibly of spruce. A chief then strewed over his head the down of birds, Jewitt stating that the white down from a large brown eagle was used (22, p. 118). So adorned, the Indian chiefs met the explorers and traders when the ships arrived. Their singular appearance could scarcely have gone

unnoticed by the Europeans. The dress of Chief Maquinna of the Nootkans, and that of his chiefs when they arrived on board the ship "Boston" on March 15, 1803, is worth noting. This is Jewitt's description of the meeting:

On the 15th the king came on board with several of his chiefs; he was dressed . . . in his magnificent otter-skin robe, having his face highly painted, and his hair tossed with the white down, which looked like snow. His chiefs were dressed in mantles of the country cloth of its natural colour, which is a pale yellow; these were ornamented with a broad border, painted or wrought in figures of several colours, representing men's heads, various animals, etc., and secured around them by a belt like that of the king, from which it was distinguished only by being narrower: the dress of the common people is of the same fashion, and differs from that of the chiefs in being of a coarser texture, and painted red, of one uniform colour (22, p. 62).

It is of interest to note that seven days later, the crew of the "Boston" was murdered, with Jewitt being one of two survivors. He lived in slavery to Chief Maquinna for a period of over two years until freed by the arrival of another ship from Boston.

The sea otter, so highly valued for its pelt, played about the off-shore islands and bays along the coast. It was about five feet long, excluding the tail, which was approximately twelve inches in length. The tail was said to be very thick where it joined the body, and had fur that was finer and closer than that found on the body of the animal. For this reason, the tails were always cut off, and sold to the traders separately. The body was a silky black, except for the tip of the tail and a stripe down the centre of the head, which

were white. Jewitt said they were in general very tame, and permitted a canoe to approach quite close before they dived (22, p. 120). A prime skin reached from a man's chin to his feet, the value of a skin being determined by its size.

Sea otters were hunted by men in swift, slim-waisted canoes. The Indian threw his harpoon at an animal, played the animal until he had pulled it beside his boat, then clubbed and boated it (11, p. 34). With the dwindling of the sea otter population, these animals were hunted by groups of men in 20 to 30 canoes who went on hunting expeditions. After circling the sea otters, the Indians proceeded to kill them with volleys of arrows whenever they surfaced. In this manner the sea otter population along the Pacific Northwest Coast was ruthlessly diminished.

Cloak Bay, lying between North Island and Graham Island in the Queen Charlotte group, was discovered and so-named by Dixon in 1787 because of the great number of sea otter cloaks he obtained there from the Indians. He observed that these cloaks "generally contain three good sea otter skins, one of which is cut in two pieces, afterwards they are neatly sewed together, so as to form a square, and are loosely tied above the shoulders with small leather strings fastened on each side" (9, p. 202).

For protection in war, the Nootkans wore a thick covering of heavy elkskin hide, which covered the body almost to the heels. Cook

noted that this garment was "sometimes, ingeniously painted in different compartments;" and according to the Indians, could resist both arrows and spears (7, p. 308).

Elements of the Nootkan's dress were found among the other coastal groups; however, regional variations were noteworthy.

The clothing of the northern coastal tribes differed mainly from that of the Nootkans by the use of a few skin garments. They favored the use of a cloak or robe, a garment that was popular throughout the coastal area. Many early contacts with the traders were made by the Indians coming out to the ships in their canoes, at which time the Indian frequently wore a fur robe, perhaps a hat, and little else (Plate 19). Before the transaction began, a lengthy speech was made by a spokesman, accompanied by numerous gesticulations and a display of their furs.

The "men wore an undercoat, a cloak, and sometimes a breech clout, although the last named seemed to be a very unimportant and often omitted article of dress" (31, p. 263). Dixon describes their clothing as:

... made as such skins as fancy suggest, or their success in hunting furnishes them with, and sometimes the loose cloak thrown over the shoulders, and tied with small leather strings. Besides this, some of the more civilized sort... wear a small piece of fur tied round the waist, when the heat of the day causes them to throw their coat aside, or they are disposed to sell it. The dress of the women differs in some respects to that of the men. Their undergarment is made of fine tanned leather, and covers the body from the

neck to the ankle, being tied in different parts to make it fit close: over this is tied a piece of tanned leather like an apron, and which reaches no higher than the waist; the upper garment is made in much the same manner as the men's coats, and generally of tanned leather, the women not caring to wear furs, as they are always unwilling to be stripped of their garments, which, should they happen to be worth purchasing, their husbands always insisted on their being sold" (9, p. 239).

The Haida also used raincoats of cedarbark matting, and on cold days a robe of finely shredded yellow cedarbark might be used beneath the rain cape (11, p. 74). Drucker states that the "Tsimshian and Tlingit relied principally on robes, and the Haida, Kwakiutl, and Nootka used rectangular rain capes of cedarbark matting" (11, p. 74).

A variation of the Nootkan robe and war garment is reported by Lisiansky, at the Russian fort in Sitka in 1805.

The men cover their body with square pieces of woolen cloth, or buck-skin: some dress themselves in a kind of short pantaloons, and a garment resembling a shirt, but not so large. Their war habit is a buck-skin, doubled and fastened round the neck, or a woolen cuaca, to the upper part of which, in front, iron plates are attached to defend the breast from a musket-ball. Formerly a sort of coat of arms was worn, made of thin pieces of wood nicely wrought together with the sinew of sea animals The cuacas are not made by the natives, but are furnished by the traders from the United States in exchange for sea otter skins. In the cold season they occasionally wear fur dresses; though woolen cloth is mostly in use. The rich wrap themselves up sometimes in white blankets, manufactured in the country, from the wool of wild sheep, which is as soft and fine as the Spanish merino. These blankets are embroidered with square figures and fringed with black and yellow tassels. Some of them are so curiously worked on one side with the fur of the sea otter, that they appear as if lined with it, and are very handsome" (27, p. 237).

Gunther explained that the wool mentioned above was from the mountain goat, not the sheep. She said that this was a common error made by the early travellers because wool was derived from sheep in Europe, and knowing of the mountain sheep in the Pacific Northwest Coast area, they drew this conclusion.

The blanket referred to in Lisiansky's statement is a variety of the Chilkat blanket woven principally by the Chilkat tribe of the Tlingit group.

An early example of a Chilkat blanket showed designs that were painted on rather than being woven (Plate 20). The asymmetrical design on this blanket is unusual for the Pacific Northwest Coast.

Dance shirts and leggings were made using the Chilkat blanket technique. The designs on these garments were highly abstract, and full of meaning. Gunther stated that a Chilkat dance shirt having a face at the back of the neck facing upside down, indicated to the host that the wearer would shortly be giving a potlatch at which the honored guest would be the present host.

The Chilkat blanket formed only one item of a chief's costume for a ceremonial occasion. Beneath the blanket was a ceremonial shirt, woven in the same manner as the blanket, and usually trimmed with cuffs and collar of sea otter fur (Plate 21). On his head the chief wore an elaborate head-dress that was skillfully wrought (Plates 3 and 22). It generally consisted of a carved convex wooden

frontlet that formed the most impressive part of the head-dress. Usually rectangular in shape, with a slightly curved top, and frequently made of yellow cedar, it was designed to impress the onlooker with the status and dignity of the wearer. The abalone inlay, the powerful carving, often of one or two stylized faces of an animal, person or bird, and the touches of red, green or black paint, resulted in a headgear well illustrating native craftsmanship and inspiration.

This frontlet was attached to a framework which provided a base on which rows of ermine skins were sewn, and which hung down the back of the wearer almost to his waist. Set in across the top of the frontlet and continuing around the headpiece were the orange feathers of flickers, and sea lion's whiskers. This area was filled with bird's down, which, as the wearer moved, fell picturesquely about him.

Leather leggings, decorated with rows of puffin bills which rattled when the person danced, were also worn. The chief, with the Chilkat blanket around his shoulders, in firelight or daylight, would exhibit a costume that displayed the height of ingenuity, craftsmanship and imagination possessed by the artist of the Pacific Northwest Coast. The textile arts of the Indian groups were so linked with the Indian's mythology, that to capture even a brief glimpse of the setting, one cannot avoid mentioning the ceremonial

costumes which played so important a part in the culture of these peoples.

Less tanning of leather was done by the coastal groups than by the interior tribes, and they took far less interest in buckskin. For people living in an area where the rainfall was heavy, skin garments were not too practical, for they became very stiff when dried, after being wet. On the mainland in a colder, drier climate, skin offered protection from the cold, and was more serviceable. The animals, elk, caribou and moose, were also available. A group of Indians, such as the Tlingit, who lived adjacent to the Athapascans, would frequently adopt aspects of the clothing pattern of their neighbouring tribe. Generally, both men and women of the north wore a robe, under which was an undergarment reaching to the waist. The women wore a skirt reaching almost to the ankles, while the men wore a breech cloth or belt (31, p. 263). Nearly all coastal groups went about barefoot, although most had moccasins for long mountainous journeys. The men in the Bella Coola area wore leggings and moccasins of dressed moose or caribou which they traded from their interior neighbours (30, p. 2). The northern tribes wore a type of trowser for use in the winter. Mackenzie reported robes consisting "of the skins of the beaver, the ground-hog and the rein-deer, dressed in the hair, and of the moose-skin without it" (28, p. 97). Gunther noted that when larger animals were not available, fur robes

were made by sewing together the skins of the ground squirrel or marmot in diamond-like shapes, with the fringe of caribou skin added for decorative interest.

Elaborate garments of tanned skins were worn for ceremonial occasions. These included a fringed knee length shirt painted with the design of the wearer's crest, and painted skin leggings (Plates 2 and 6).

Possession of garments made of skin by the coastal peoples was a sign of prestige, for it meant that the owner had sufficient wealth for their purchase.

Since there is no record of traders' complaints regarding the preparation of the sea otter skins and the skins of other animals which were purchased, it is assumed that the Indian's method of scraping the flesh side of the skin with a large mussel shell was satisfactory.

Finely woven, wide-brimmed basketry rainhats, conical in shape, with painted designs, and sometimes decorated with shells, were also worn by the northern groups and the central Kwakiutl and Tsimshian (Plates 3, 12, 23). Rings on the top of the hat, woven separately and attached, or sometimes made of wood, indicated the number of potlatches the wearer had given (Plate 8). Volkov and Rudenko commented on the woven hats among the Tlingit and Haida as follows:

They are woven, almost without exception, of the fine twigs of spruce root and are painted on top, usually with some totemic representation in various colors. These hats, which in form resemble very much those of the Chinese, consist of a cone with a very broad base and often with a truncated tip; sometimes the crown is woven in the form of a cylinder, rather tall and small in diameter (40, p. 41).

The Coast Salish, the southernmost group mentioned in this study, also wore cedarbark garments as did the other tribes participating in this Pacific Northwest culture. The basic clothing pattern consisted of the following: frequently men and children wore no clothing, or the men merely a breech clout; girls at about the age of 12 years, and women wore fringed cedarbark skirts which extended from the waist to the knees, with a cape or robe over the shoulders (13, p. 230).

There was greater use of skin garments by the mainland groups of Indians, who obtained the skins in trade from the interior peoples. Buckskin shirts and trousers for the men, and skirts, aprons and shirts for the women, were worn mainly during the winter (1, p. 71). Skin clothing was worn only by the upper class, or by hunters. The outer robes worn by both sexes were made of the skins of the bear, marten, racoon, deer or cougar (1, p. 71). Few sea otter robes were seen in this southern area. Conical-shaped cedarbark hats were not made by all the Salish peoples, but were worn in most areas. Most Indians preferred to go hatless, however.

Among the women of the northern groups, the Haida, Tlingit

and Tsimshian, and the central Bella Coola and Kwakiutl, was found the custom of wearing a labret, or lip ornament, in a slit cut horizontally in the lower lip (Plates 24 and 25). This was a symbol of maturity, a token of rank, and a sign of social position. "Female slaves were invariably forbidden the privilege of wearing them" (31, p. 257). The first incision was made when the girl was quite young, the object first inserted being a piece of copper wire or a shell. Vancouver observed that the copper or brass "corrodes the lacerated parts, and by consuming the flesh gradually increases the orifice until it is sufficiently large to admit the wooden appendage" (39, p. 408). Gradually this opening was enlarged, by the insertion of larger and larger lip objects, so that in old age, the labret dragged the lower lip down, creating an unusual appearance. The labret varied in shape and size with the tribe, the Tlingit using almost circular ones, while the Haida and Tsimshian preferred an elongated type. Sometimes labrets were ornamented with copper and inlaid with haliotis shell "to increase one's beauty" (31, p. 256). Dixon (1787) described the custom as follows:

An aperture is made in the thick part of the under lip, and increased by degrees in a line parallel with the mouth, and equally long: in this aperture, a piece of wood is constantly wore, of an elliptical form, about half an inch thick; the superficies not flat, but hollowed out on each side like a spoon, though not quite so deep; the edges are likewise hollowed in the form of a pully, in order to fix this precious ornament more firmly in the lip, which by this means is frequently extended at least three inches

horizontally, and consequently distorts every feature in the lower part of the face. This curious piece of wood is wore only by the women, and seems to be considered as a mark of distinction, it not being wore by all indiscriminately, but only by those who appeared in a superior station to the rest (9, p. 172).

Niblack stated that labrets "varied in size from 4 inches long by 3 broad down to small buttons to wear in the first incision" (31, p. 257). They were made of materials such as stone, wood, bone, ivory, shell and copper, and sometimes a combination of several of these materials.

One Bella Coola village was called by an Indian name meaning "Labretted." The name was explained in this manner:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, ^Taiakwala by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at [`]Anutsqwa-^ʔst^ʔ and carved on his totem-pole the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure (30, p. 7).

As with the Nootkans, both men and women pierced the septum of the nose and the lobes of the ear for insertion of ornaments. Besides wearing ornaments of copper, iron and shells, the north-erners used ivory, shark's teeth, bear's teeth, and horn for their decorations.

The people of the north adopted a somewhat different hair style to that of their southern neighbours. Portlock (1787) wrote that "The women wear their hair either clubbed behind or tied up in a bunch on

the crown of the head; the men wear theirs either loose or tied at the crown" (9, p. 290). Mackenzie reported women's hair tied in large, loose knots over the ears, with some women adding beads for a decorative effect (28, p. 232). Elaborate combs were sometimes used for hairdressing, although these were not worn (11, p. 90) (Plate 26).

With the coastal peoples, then, cedarbark cape-like garments were worn extensively, the cedarbark being in plentiful supply in this geographical region. Cedarbark was practical for it provided protection from the rains, was light in weight, and quite warm. Skin garments made by the mainland groups and traded to the coast, were a sign of prestige. Fur robes, worn mostly by the northerners, were constructed of a variety of skins, the most luxurious being the sea otter. Finely woven basketry hats varied in shape depending upon the location, but displayed workmanship of high quality. The Chilkat blanket, with its tapestry-like designs, was a unique fabrication for use on ceremonial occasions. The Salish dog wool blanket was another type of weaving that was distinct to the Pacific Northwest Coast region. Among the ornaments worn by these peoples were shells, particularly the abalone and delicate dentalium. The labret worn by the northern and central tribes, apart from the

Nootka, was the decoration least appreciated by the traders. These Pacific Northwest peoples, then, skillfully utilized products native to the area for clothing and accessories that well suited their pattern of living.

CHAPTER VII

CHANGES IN CLOTHING FOLLOWING CONTACT

When the traders and explorers visited the Pacific Northwest Coast, they found that the Indians eagerly accepted the various trade goods presented to them. After their desire for iron to make tools was satisfied, they turned their attention to ornamental items such as beads, and metals to be made into neck bands, bracelets and rings, and brass buttons. With their love for display, it was natural that many of these trade items were used by the Indians for personal adornment. Discretion in the use of these goods was at first somewhat lacking, for there was an experimental period during which time they over-embellished their garments in their eagerness for personal display. The problems of how to utilize the new clothing ideas presented by the traders, and how to incorporate the trade goods to their best advantage into their Pacific Northwest Coast clothing pattern, were suddenly thrust upon these native peoples.

Cook reported on June 6, 1788, that when he visited Chief Maquinna of the Nootkans, he "found him dressed in an European suit of cloaths, with a ruffled shirt, and his hair queued and powdered" (7, p. 123). On this occasion each of Maquinna's chiefs also wore an article of European dress. So much interest was shown in the traders' manner of dress, that articles of European dress

presented in trade would usually turn commercial negotiations in the European's favor. The use of woolens among the Indians was encouraged by the traders, so that before long many Indians possessed wool fabric and a few articles of a white man's costume.

In 1787 at Norfolk Sound, Dixon related the following incident concerning a chief who had been given a piece of Sandwich Island cloth he had admired:

Soon after day-light the next morning, our friend appeared along-side, dressed in a coat made of the Sandwich Island cloth given him the day before, and cut exactly in the form of their skin-coats, which greatly resemble a waggoner's frock, except the collar and wrist-bands. The Indian was more proud of his new acquired dress than ever London beau was of a birth-day suit, and we were greatly pleased with this proof of these people's ingenuity and dispatch; the coat fitted exceedingly well, the seams were sewed with all the strength the cloth would admit of, and with a degree of neatness equal to that of an English mantua-maker (9, p. 189).

It was in the Nootka Sound area, where the initial influence of the traders was felt, for the English established a trading post at Nootka in 1778 (21, p. 4) (Plate 27). Goods of the European culture were thrust upon the Indians, while the sea otter population lasted. However, the slaughter of the sea otters was so rapid that it was not long before the Nootka region was stripped of these prized animals. The introduction of the gun by the Europeans into the Indian's life facilitated the sea otter's destruction. According to Gunther, fur trade at Nootka was over by 1815-1820, so that since Cook's visit in 1778, a period of just over 40 years had brought an impact sufficient

to change a former mode of life. Trade along the Pacific Northwest Coast became a "mainland" trade rather than an "island" trade, the Nootka groups being cut off the regular trade routes. With the establishment of trade centres on the mainland, European influence shifted to the other tribes. Cultural impact, therefore, occurred at different times with the tribes along the Pacific Northwest Coast, the Nootkans being the first to receive the influence.

The establishment of land-based trade centres encouraged trade on a more permanent and friendly basis, so that these centres were important to the Indians' cultural advancement. Trading centres were established from the Columbia River to Alaska, extending white man's influence throughout the entire Pacific Northwest Coast region. The Russians established two trading posts in Alaska, the first at Kodiak Island in 1783, the second at Sitka in 1799 (21, p. 4). In 1814 the Northwest Company founded a centre at Astoria, Oregon, and during the next few years the Hudson's Bay Company established a chain of posts along the Pacific Northwest Coast. These posts included Fort Langley, in the vicinity of Vancouver, British Columbia, built in 1827; Fort Nass in 1831, abandoned and replaced by Fort Simpson in 1834, and Fort McLaughlin in 1834 (11, p. 22). From these posts the Indians received, in exchange for their furs, tools, clothing and other goods. With guaranteed sources of supplies at these locations, the Indians gradually moved from their

isolated villages to the area around the trading posts. The Hudson's Bay Company did much to assist the Indians, for its policy of "a minimum of direct interference with native cultures" permitted the Indians to acquire what they wished in the form of worldly goods, and use them as they pleased (11, p. 23). Because of satisfactory trade relations, many of the Indians have remained on their ancestral sites, avoiding the demoralizing effects of segregated reservation life (11, p. 23).

Cultural change, however, is slow. These Indians were eager to "try on" a new way of life, or those aspects of it which were presented to them through trade opportunities; this was a challenge they were willing to accept, the results of which could not be determined.

For a people used to outdoor living in a moist climate, European cloth was a poor substitute for cedarbark or fur. The protective qualities of the cedarbark were not present in textiles brought in by the traders. In clothing where rain followed the strands of the cedarbark and dripped to the ground, leaving the wearer almost dry, the Indian had found a material suited to his needs. Trade goods textiles did not possess this important quality, for they "clung sodden and cold to the backs of a people whose work carried them out of doors" (33, p. 309). Since white man's culture required that clothing be worn at all times, the wet garments were not removed when one entered a house, but dried upon the backs of

the Indians. In the Indian way of life, clothing was removed as one wished. Since modesty did not require that the body be covered at all times, a damp cedarbark cape was taken off indoors and set aside to dry. Little wonder that the incidence of colds and tuberculosis increased with the adoption of white man's manner of dress.

Throughout the coastal area, the shift in clothing materials was to cotton, wool and hemp, with less use of cedarbark and skins which had so adequately fulfilled the requirements of these people. At first, the new materials seemed to be used almost entirely by some groups, for they were a novelty. When the supply of fabrics and garments was greater, the Indians sometimes combined garments made of European textiles with others of their native materials (Plate 28). However, their garments did not noticeably change in style. Langsdorff (1806) wrote of the Tlingit:

The clothing of these people is very simple, consisting of a covering around the waist, and an outer garment made of a piece of cloth or skin about 5 feet square, two ends of which are either tied round the neck or fastened together with a button and button-hole (25, p. 112).

"The change in ordinary dress, as the Indians became stripped of sea-otter and seal skins, consisted largely in the substitution of cloth for garments and European blankets for fur cloaks" (31, p. 266).

Before white man came to the area, the coastal Indians decorated their cedarbark garments with abalone and dentalium shells (Plates 12 and 23). When buttons brought by the traders

proved durable and versatile, and provided the Indian with greater flexibility in his garments, he substituted these for his shells. Also, abalone brought from the coast of California, and dentalium from further north became less highly valued after the traders used these shells as trade items, and their supply became plentiful. Gunther stated that in the 1820's pearl buttons appeared among the coastal peoples. She said that there is no record of where these buttons came from, although it is likely they were brought to the area by a trading vessel.

Langsdorff reported a demand for thimbles as a desired article of trade, and was surprised to find them used not for sewing purposes, but for clothing decorations (25, p. 112). A Tsimshian dance apron at The Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum (No. 4222) is made of red wool with leather fringe. Attached to the fringe are thimbles and puffin bills.

Chinese coins were also used for decoration by the Indians, the attraction being "the cabalistic characters on them" (31, p. 266).

Because the Indians did not know how to construct garments similar to those worn by the traders, they used the woolen materials received in trade to make garments of similar style to their own. Eventually, a garment unique in its use of trade materials and known widely as the "button" blanket, was developed by these peoples (Plates 4, 28, 29). Frequently made of the dark blue Hudson's Bay

Company blanketing, it was bordered with red flannel. To the centre back portion of this blanket was appliquéd, also in red flannel, the design of the animal crest of the wearer. Mother-of-pearl buttons were used to outline the design, and to create the details such as eyes and mouth. Gunther says these "button blankets became the most popular ceremonial garb, especially among the Kwakiutl in the latter part of the 19th century" (14, p. 26).

The ceremonial dancing shirt, resembling in shape the Chilkat dance shirt, was another item widely made employing a similar use of materials as the button blankets. Made of Hudson's Bay blanketing, it had a large crest design on it appliquéd in red flannel, and sometimes decorative detailing of pearl buttons (Plate 5). Other ceremonial shirts had the design formed of pearl buttons only (Plate 4). These shirts were highly individualistic in character, displaying a boldness of decoration showing the imaginative ability of the artist. The Hudson's Bay blanket was also used for the Indian's dancing aprons. Sometimes in combination with tanned skin, it was frequently decorated with ivory, dentalia, puffin bills, or the dew claws of deer (Plate 30).

European influence was also felt by the weavers of Chilkat blankets. Following a period of using European-type dyes and imported colored yarns, both of which tended to fade, the weavers

returned to the use of their native materials.

Among the northern Tlingit, delicately beaded collars of red cloth bound with satin ribbon were also made (Plate 31). These collars were worn by men over a European-style white shirt to conceal the neck opening. European-manufactured trowsers and a type of outer shirt were also worn on such occasions. The beading was solidly done, representing stylized animals or birds, often in beads of light and dark blue, yellow, white, black, green and turquoise.

The metal which was used widely for decorative purposes by the Indians following the arrival of the Europeans was silver. Used for making bracelets, ear-rings and other items of jewelry, this new material permitted the artist to display his designs to advantage (Plate 12). Pacific Northwest Coast art motifs appeared well in this new medium, so that elegant jewelry of silver was used with either his native garments or those made of trade goods. A pair of silver ear-rings in the Portland Art Museum is made of a 4-petalled flower design of European influence, and centred with copper (No. 2622). It is of interest that when Cook visited Nootka in 1778 he saw two Indians wearing silver spoons around their necks. These spoons he believed were of Spanish origin (14, p. 26).

The use of the labret for decorative purposes decreased following contact with the white man. Where its use persisted in certain

areas, labrets of considerably smaller size were worn (Plate 25).

Pieces of brightly-colored trade cloth frequently were used to bind the hair of the women either in a club-shape at the back of the head, or as a decorative note along with the braids being worn by many of the Indian women.

The use of European shoes, stockings and hats did not become quickly popular, for the Indians preferred to go barefooted, or use their own moccasins made of buckskin or elk-hide. They also preferred to wear their own woven hats. Hats woven with a higher crown, and sometimes decorated with trader's beads were the result of European influence (Plates 10 and 23).

It was to the ceremonial clothing of the Pacific Northwest Coast peoples that these changes were largely made. The character of the Indian's clothing remained the same. With a wider range of materials from which to select his decorations, the Indian artist could express his talents more freely in creating elaborate regalia for ceremonials.

European cultural influences among the Indian groups in the former Russian territories of Alaska were rapid following the sale of Alaska territory to the United States in 1867. Before that date, however, European influences had been such as to cause considerable change in the Indian's way of life. Zagoskin (1844) reports that "ten years have not elapsed since the natives abandoned stone axes,

pekolki (sic), sticks for making fire, and bone needles, having replaced them with European articles" (46, p. 179). This author also noted that "in our principal settlements in the colonies the character of the people has become more uniform. The Aleuts wear jackets and frock coats, their wives and daughters wear calico dresses and kamleis (sic), that is, long woven or Chinese type shirts" (46, p. 16). The Aleuts were one of the ethnic elements inhabiting the former Russian-American possessions in Alaska, specifically the Fox Islands.

Until the purchase of Alaska by the United States, the history of that region was largely the history of the Russian-American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Significant changes resulted following the extension of American influence into Tlingit territory. This influence came in the form of missionaries and government agencies. Gunther stated that the Indians gave lip service to the missionaries; they attended church in European-style clothing, while later the same day the noise of the potlatch could be heard in the distance. To the Indians, white man's church was another good supernatural spirit to be incorporated into their own mythological world.

These, then, were the major changes to the clothing worn by the Indians on the Pacific Northwest Coast. Apart from the button blanket, dance shirt, and beaded collar, no other item of clothing unique to his culture was developed following contact with white man. Changes were made to the existing garments only by means of using

new materials for purposes of decoration. The Indian's original garment, the robe or blanket, was still worn until cultural disintegration occurred completely, at which time he adopted European style of dress. Until then he substituted European cloth for cedarbark or furs while continuing to use his original garment style.

Gradually, under the pressures of white man's civilization pressing forward in an overwhelming flood, the Pacific Northwest Coast Indian discarded his native style of dress in favor of the European style. It was the Indian women who adopted this new style of dress earlier than the Indian men, for, as Gunther stated, "they did not care to go shopping in town in cedarbark clothing."

With the introduction by the white man of new materials such as iron, more copper, silver, woolens and decorative items, the Indians further developed the concepts of their own culture which already existed prior to the European's arrival. These materials permitted increased output of artistic endeavours. The Indians' culture encouraged the elaboration of existing concepts, so that his cultural development following contact with the Europeans was rapid. His culture was influenced by those items the traders brought, first the Nootkans by visiting trading ships, later the mainland groups by visiting ships, followed by the establishment of trading posts. Cultural decline came at different times with the various groups;

first with the Nootkans, when trade moved from Vancouver Island to the mainland; later, with the mainland groups.

With the onslaught of western civilization in the form of traders and missionaries with their epidemics and new social and economic systems, a new world was thrown open to these coastal peoples, and for the first time they realized how much larger it was than they had imagined. Along with these new ideas, the Indian questioned his own ancient lore and way of life. The white man did not care to understand his mythology, and laughed at his dramatic ceremonials (31, p. 532). Gradually, belief in his own social system was shaken, through skepticism and lack of respect for his elders' ideas. With the prohibition of the potlatch, he was unable to achieve recognition; ceremonials ceased to have meaning to him. Unfortunately, in his overt acceptance of white man's culture, the Indian found nothing to substitute for this gap in his life. Unable to adjust to the new conditions imposed by white man, the Indian was helpless to prevent the decline of his own culture.

Formerly they were ambitious for ceremonials, and they had a goal in life. Later, without such a goal, this vacancy was too readily filled with idleness, drinking and despair. Since it was relatively easy to earn sufficient money to satisfy his needs, and there was no incentive to produce objects of art as his ancestors had done, the

Indians' former culture has completely disintegrated. It is unfortunate that when one civilization takes over another, progress does not preserve those elements of civilization that would be of benefit to all peoples.

CONCLUSIONS

Clothing and accessories are not accidental, but are a reflection of the period in which they exist. Clothing of one period is not interchangeable with that of another.

Major trends of a culture are revealed visually in the arts. The boldly vital Pacific Northwest Coast art reflected the times of the society for which it was created.

Decisions governing what was considered correct to wear came with the clothes. The Indians' basic clothing style remained essentially unchanged until cultural disintegration set in under the pressures of an onrushing civilization.

The structure of Indian society encouraged the display of wealth and rank through material expression. The chiefs of the Indian groups were symbols of luxury and material achievement. Possession of abundant food, blankets, elegant clothing, slaves, canoes, feast dishes, and coppers were realistic demonstrations of wealth. Indian chiefs in ceremonial garb were examples of the realistic and materialistic world they dominated. Elaborate decoration contributed to the impressions of power and confidence designed to perpetuate and enhance the mythological beliefs. In contrast, everyday dress was essentially practical with no excessive decoration and suited to the Indian's environment and way of life.

The Indians' clothing following contact with the Europeans reflected the complexities and shifting attitudes of the times.

With the coming of another civilization which disapproved of the aims of his society, resulting in the prohibition of the potlatch, the structure of the Indian society collapsed. As cultural disintegration occurred, native artistic expression ceased, so closely had the arts been related to social and ceremonial needs.

The period is unique, and when viewed objectively, its strengths and weaknesses can be seen. It is so complex and offers so much variety, that there are many possibilities for further study and analysis.

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APPENDIX

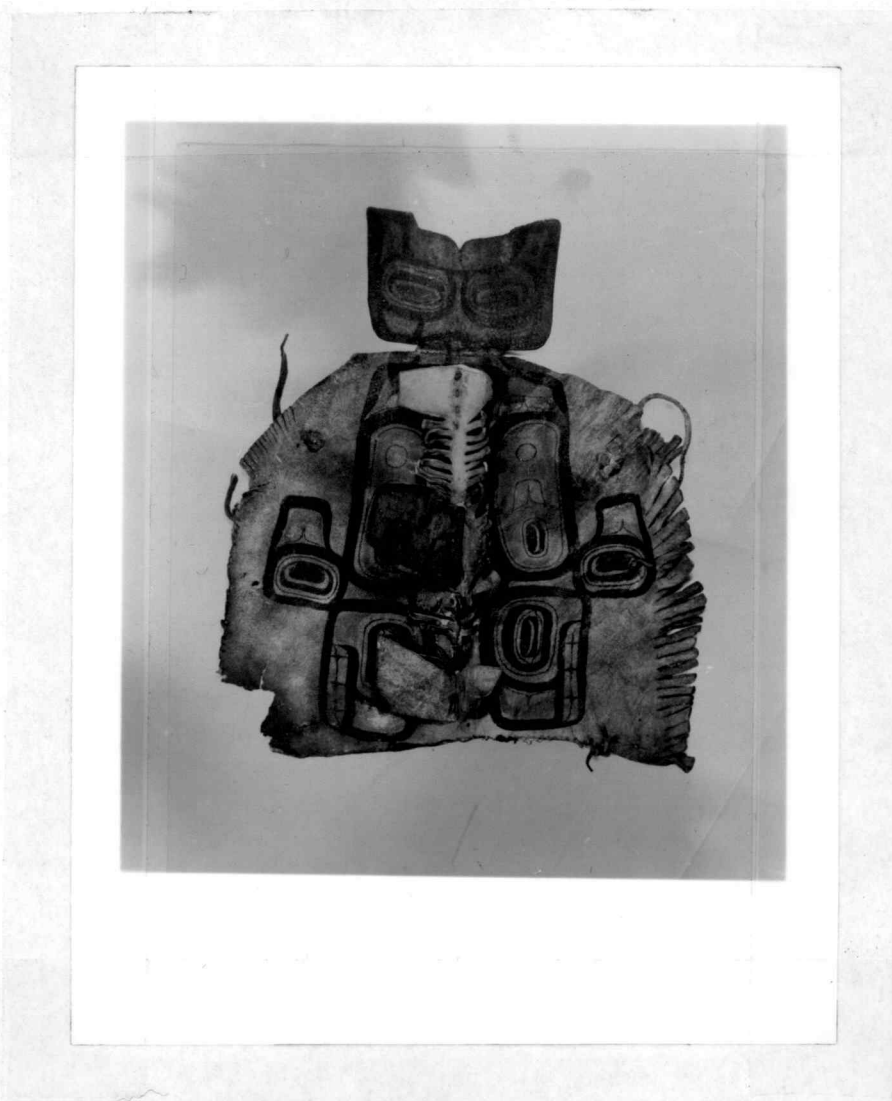


Plate 2. Painted legging. This is one of a pair of skin leggings worn by a chief. The figure of a killer whale, painted in black and red, is slit down the centre and opened flat on either side of the centre fringe. A wooden dorsal fin is set in the fringe. $12\frac{1}{2}$ " x 14".



Plate 3. Chilkat blanket and button blanket at Alert Bay, Vancouver Island. A basketry hat with painted design is on the ground beneath the chief's ceremonial headdress.

8. Ceremonial Shirt. Scarlet Flannel with a Shark Design. Tlingit.



Plate 4. Ceremonial shirt. Tlingit, from Wrangell, Alaska. Scarlet flannel bound in blue silk ribbon, with tabs of the ribbon along the side seams, and beaded yoke and cuffs on black wool cloth. The shark design is triply outlined with small pearl buttons. The head and body are split to allow for the front opening on the shirt.



Plate 5. Totemic shirt. Tlingit. Sleeveless flannel shirt with appliquéd design in red broadcloth. The design is the thunderbird or hawk; the head is in double profile.



45 / Ceremonial Shirt

Plate 6. Ceremonial shirt. Tlingit, of painted caribou skin in front, fringed at bottom, and red flannel at the back. The painting represents a Grizzly bear with another bear's head beneath him. Ankle joints are indicated by eyes; the internal organs are sketched in X-ray style. Length - 48"



Plate 7. Chilkat blanket, a ceremonial robe worn by those of high rank; made by the Tsimshian and Chilkat group of the Tlingit. It is woven of a mountain goat wool weft and a shredded cedarbark and mountain goat wool warp. The design has two "coppers", one on each side of the centre panel.



Plate 8. Hat woven of spruce root and worn as part of a ceremonial costume. Each ring represents a potlatch given by the owner; in this case he has given six, equivalent in wealth to a millionaire. The painting in red, black and blue, represents a form of an animal included in the family crest.

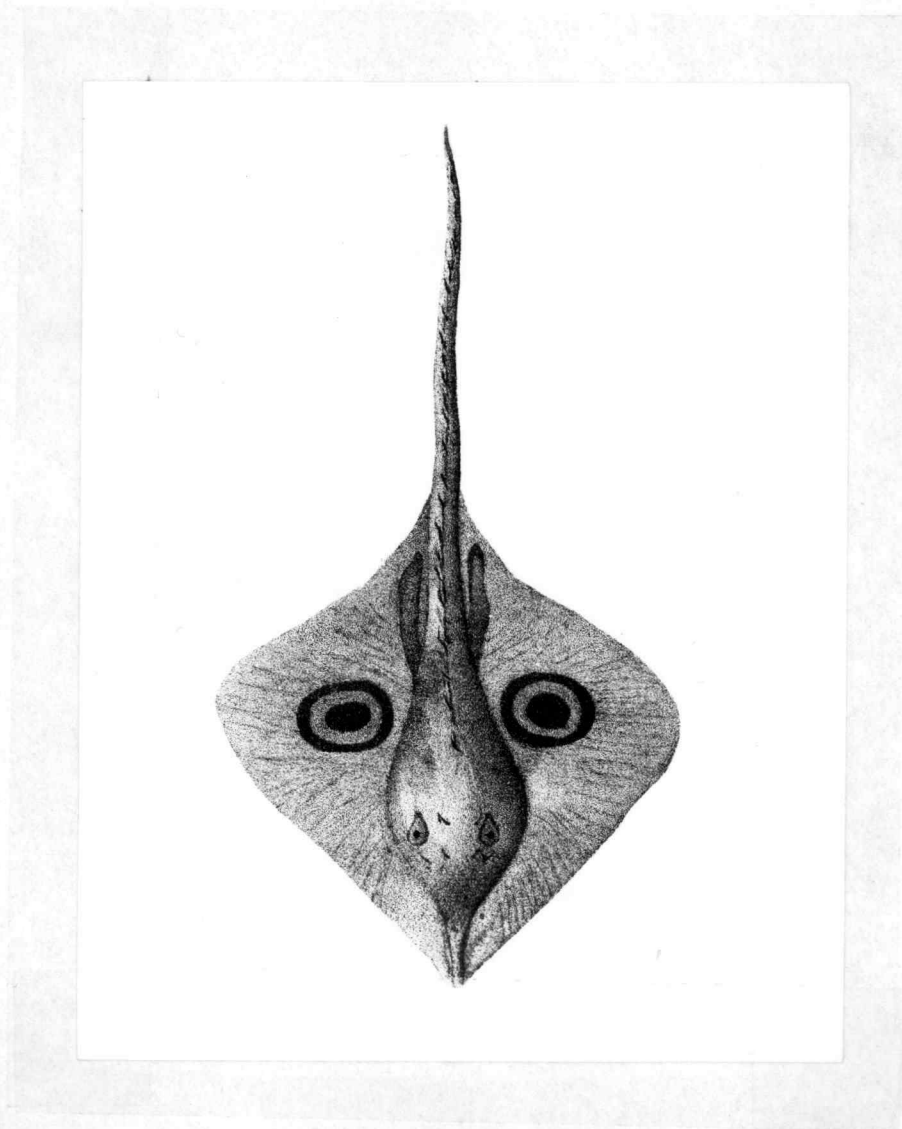


Plate 9. The young skate (actual size) has on each side of its body an elliptical brown spot surrounded by a ring of bright yellow, and a brown ring outside the yellow one. This spot disappears as the skate matures. The Haida believe it is the source of their eye-like forms used in paintings.

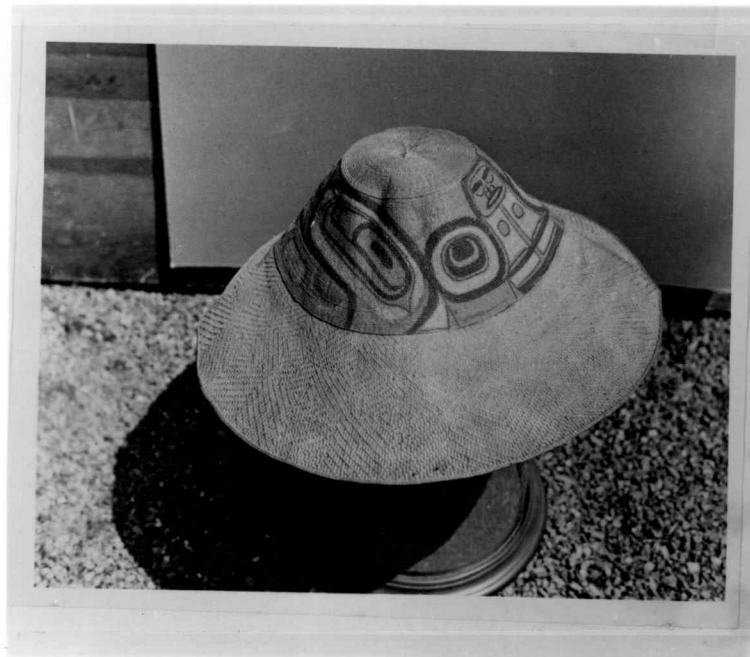


Plate 10. Chief's hat with a woven pattern in the brim, and painted crown. The lowered and painted crown indicate the early origin of the hat.



Plate 11. Fringed cedarbark work and finished cape.



Plate 12. Kwakiutl woman of high rank wearing cedarbark cape, hat with abalone, abalone earrings, and silver bracelets.



Plate 13. A Nootka woman wearing cedarbark garment and conical-shaped hat.

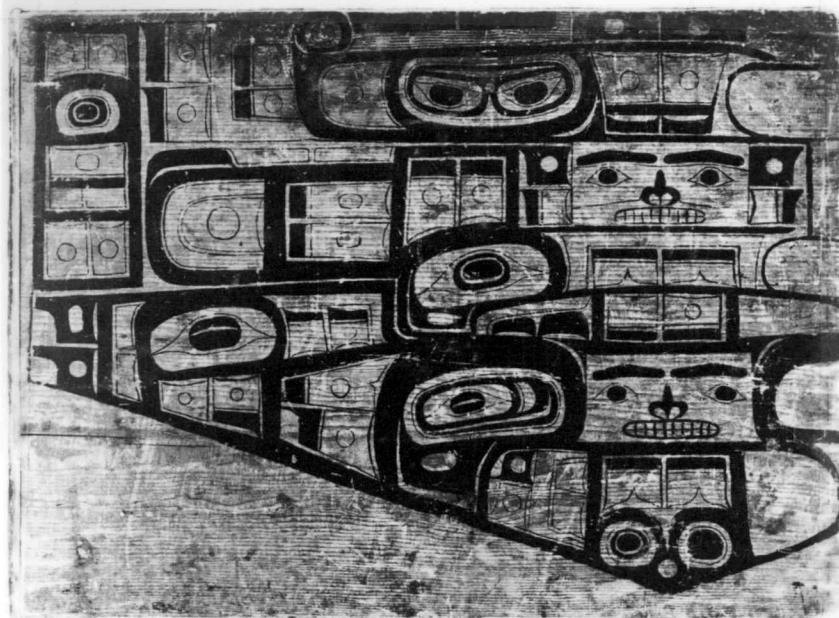


Plate 14. Pattern board for Chilkat blanket. Tlingit. Designs for the blankets were made by the men for the guidance of women weavers. Only the centre portion and left side of the design are drawn, the right side being a repetition of the left in reverse. The divisions of the right side near the centre are only indicated, with the repetition of the smaller patterns being omitted. From these boards, several blankets could be made.



Plate 15. Salish weaver with a spindle at Musquiam Village at the mouth of the Fraser River. The wool is mountain goat wool.

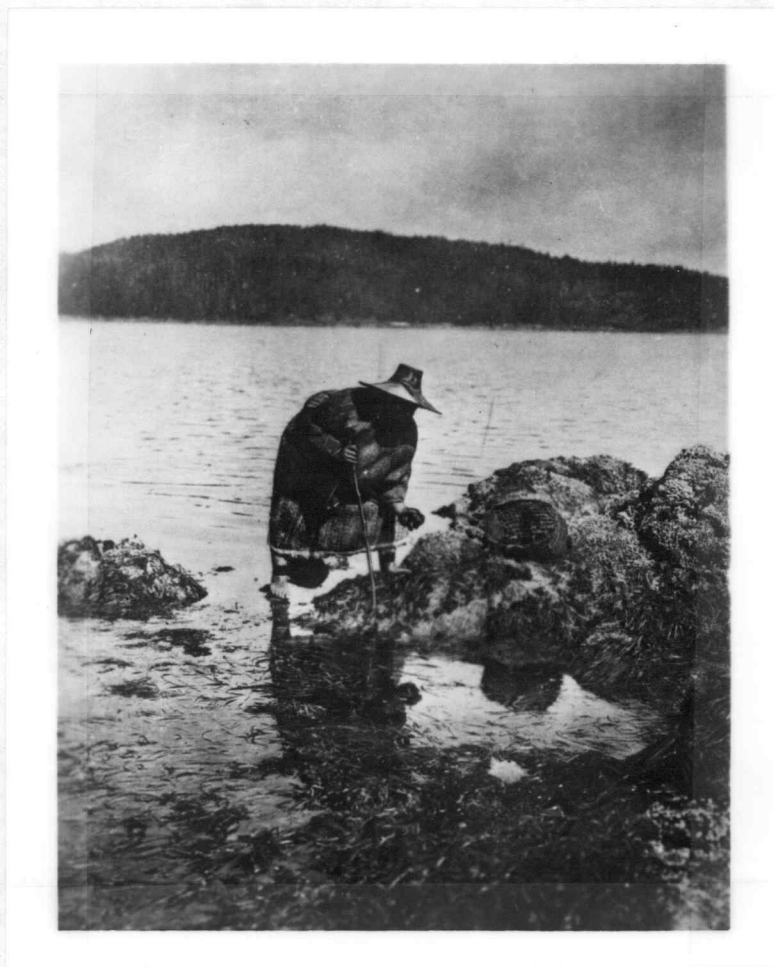


Plate 16. Kwakiutl woman picking abalone. Fairly extensive abalone beds occur on the rocky shores of the west coast of Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands.



Plate 17. Nootka chief (Maquinna ?) in bear skin robe and cedar-bark hat.

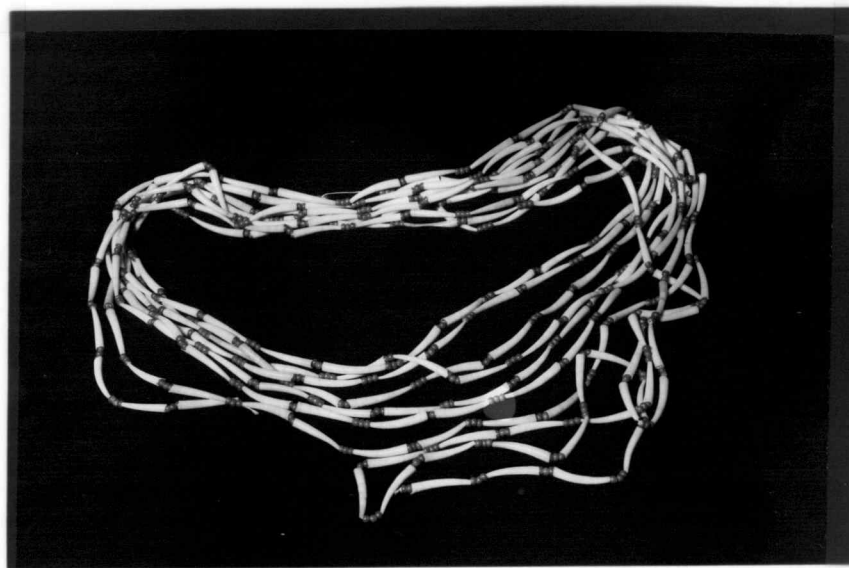


Plate 18. A lengthy string of dentalia and red trader's beads. Dentalia were deemed very valuable by the Indians and were used for monetary purposes up and down the Pacific Northwest Coast.

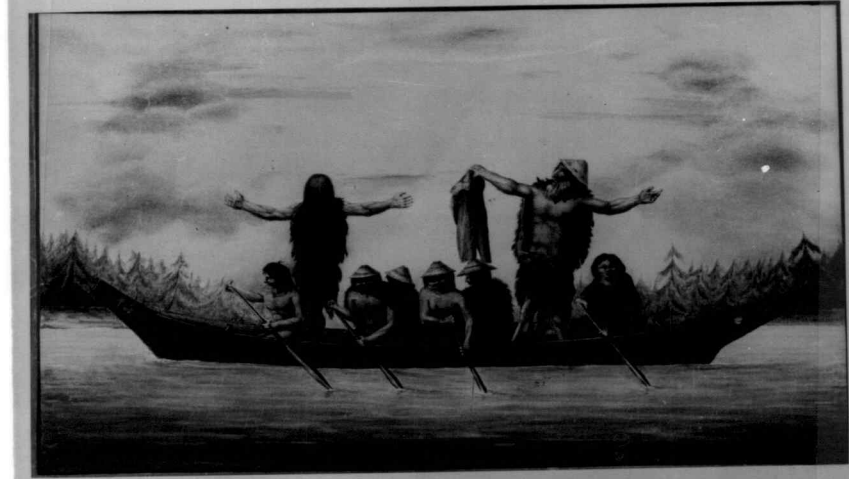


Plate 19. Indians in a canoe, trading.



Plate 20. Early Chilkat blanket with asymmetrical painted design. It was unusual for a design to be painted on a blanket instead of being woven; also, such an asymmetrical design was seldom found in Pacific Northwest Coast art. The bird is the raven, and has an unusual treatment of the eye, wing and tail feathers.

Early woven blanket with geometric design.



25. Chilkat "Brown Bear" Shirt. Tlingit.

Plate 21. Chilkat "Brown Bear" shirt. Tlingit, from Yakutat, Alaska. Edged with otter fur, the front of the shirt represents a brown bear. The shirt is woven in black, yellow, blue-green, and white on a warp of mountain goat wool wrapped around a cedarbark core. Five masks appear horizontally in the centre section. Since the shirt was too small for its owner, gussets of land otter fur were inserted at the sides. 49" long.



Plate 22. Chief's ceremonial headdress. The frontlet of this headdress is of copper repoussé with abalone inlay.

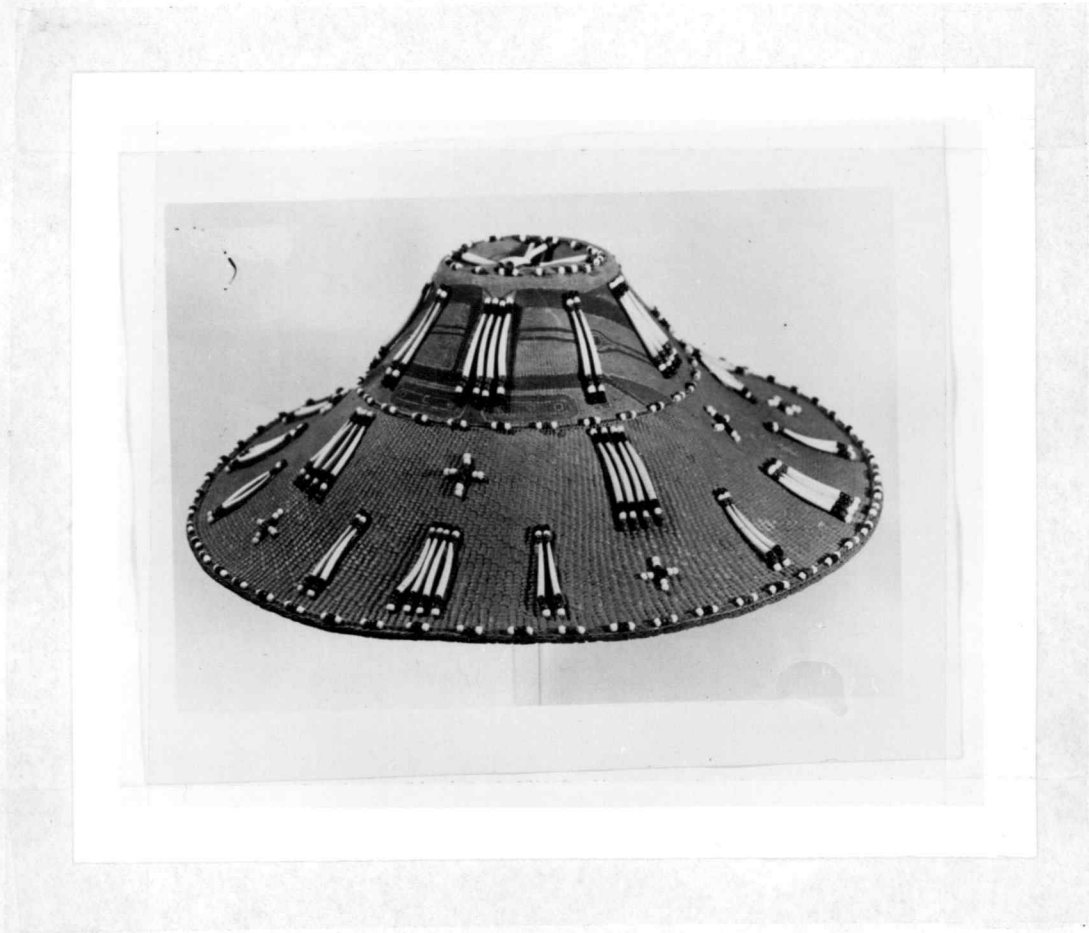


Plate 23. Woven hat decorated with dentalium and beads in clusters of two and four.



Plate 24. Young woman with a labret. The labret, inserted in the lower lip, was considered a sign of dignity and prestige.



Plate 25. Queen Johnnie of the Haidas wearing a labret.



Plate 26. Carved wooden comb with a design on both the front and back. On the front a bear holds a human being, while mounted on the back is another person whose face is seen on the front between the ears of the bear. 5 3/4" high, 2 1/4" wide.



Plate 27. Indians and seamen at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island.



Plate 28. Kwakiutl chief (?) on H.M.S. Boxer, 1873.



Plate 29. Indian chiefs (?) at Alert Bay (?), Vancouver Island, wearing button blankets.



Plate 30. Beaded collar. Tlingit, from Skagway, Alaska. The design represents three ravens which are worked in solid beads on red felt. The edges are bound in purple silk and finished with white beads. The colors of the beads are yellow, blue, black, white and turquoise. 12 3/4" wide.



Plate 31. Dancing apron or shirt. Tsimshian, made of tanned skin which is fringed at the bottom and covered at the top with blanket cloth. The section above the fringe is decorated with seal's teeth, the dew claws of deer, and carved bone amulets representing birds and fish. 4' 9" wide, 28" deep.

SOURCES FOR PLATES

- Plate 1. Pacific Northwest coast.
- Plate 2. Painted legging. Tsimshian; National Museum of Canada. No. 122.
- Plate 3. Chilkat blanket and button blanket, chief's headdress and basketry hat. Photographed by M. Halliday (?) at Alert Bay. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B. C.
- Plate 4. Ceremonial shirt. Tlingit, from Wrangell, Alaska. No. 48.3.567 formerly used while at Portland Art Museum; shirt is now at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.
- Plate 5. Totemic shirt. Tlingit. Portland Art Museum. No. 48.3.566.
- Plate 6. Ceremonial shirt. Tlingit. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. No. 10829.
- Plate 7. Chilkat blanket. Tlingit. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. No. 70.
- Plate 8. Chief's hat. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, No. 74.
- Plate 9. Young skate. From p. 5 of Swan, James G. The Haidah Indians of Queen's Charlotte's Islands, British Columbia. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 21:4-22. 1874.
- Plate 10. Chief's woven hat. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. No. 75.
- Plate 11. Cedarbark work and finished cape. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C. No. 2155.
- Plate 12. Kwakiutl woman of high rank. Photo by Curtis circa 1915. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 13. A woman of Noctka Sound. Curtis Photo. Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

- Plate 14. Pattern board for Chilkat blanket. No. 48.3.538 formerly used while at Portland Art Museum; pattern board is now at Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.
- Plate 15. Salish weaver with spindle. C. F. Newcombe Collection. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 16. Woman picking abalone. Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 17. Maquinna (?) Nootkan chief. Museum Naval, Madrid.
- Plate 18. Dentalia. J. L. Hill Collection, Horner Museum, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.
- Plate 19. Indians trading in canoe. Museo Madrid.
- Plate 20. Early Chilkat blanket with painted design. British Museum, London. Blanket with woven border.
- Plate 21. Chilkat "Brown Bear" shirt. Tlingit. Portland Art Museum No. 48.3.548.
- Plate 22. Chief's ceremonial headdress with copper ornament. Portland Art Museum. No. 48.3.440. Reproduced from "The Chief's Headdress" by Erna Gunther. Notes on The Rasmussen Collection, No. 3, Portland Art Museum. William Grand photo.
- Plate 23. Woven hat decorated with dentalium and beads. National Museum of Finland. No. 90.
- Plate 24. Young woman with labret. From Dixon, George. A voyage round the world, but more particularly to the Northwest coast of America: Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787 and 1788 in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon. London, Goulding, 1789.
- Plate 25. Queen Johnnie of the Haidas. Photograph by Maynard. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 26. Carved wooden comb. Princeton University Museum of Geology and Paleontology. No. 8.

- Plate 27. Group at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 28. Kwakiutl chief (?) on H.M.S. Boxer, 1873. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 29. Indian chiefs (?) at Alert Bay (?), Vancouver Island. Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.
- Plate 30. Beaded collar. Tlingit. Portland Art Museum. No. 48.3.708.
- Plate 31. Dancing apron or skirt. Tsimshian. National Museum of Canada. No. 105.