History of Yukon first nations art

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Chapter Seven-Art of the Hunt & War

Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the art on items that were used for hunting and warfare. Generally speaking, weapons used in the hunt were also used for warfare. I will examine items, such as drums, arrow quivers and bone charms that have hunt or warfare scenes on them. There is enough information about hunting techniques in the various ethnographic books about Yukon First Nations, so I won't comment on these. I will however give a brief overview about Yukon First Nations and surrounding area warfare, since there is very little written about this subject. I have not seen examples of the style of warfare from other areas of North America.

Brief overview of Yukon First Nations methods of warfare

Athapaskan and Tlingit people in the Yukon region made war by using two main methods; the first was a sneak attack early in the morning, the second was the raid to capture wives and/or slaves. With the sneak attack there was no small build up of retaliations or raids, no warning, no facing the enemy in the field of battle. The warfare was simply to kill everybody in the camp right away to prevent people killed on the attacker's side and any type of retaliation. This attack was done early in the morning when all the people in the camp were sleeping to ensure the greatest chance of success. Most wars were an act of retaliation from a mistreatment, revenge a murder or counter a raid, but it was also to prevent a future retaliation. The second type of warfare was raids and these were not designed to kill people but to capture them. The targets were often women to be taken for slaves or wives. The raid to get slaves was launched at a time when there was little protection for the camp, for instance when all the able bodied men were away hunting. The coming retaliation could be prevented by using stealth for a clean get away. The camp's men would return to find their camp raided and the women gone and if the raiders were skillful enough the camp's men would not be able to find their escape route and track them. There are stories from various groups that tell about captured women being able to leave a trail and help the camp's men to track the raiders. The camp's men would then conduct an early morning attack to kill all the raiders and free their women. There are also stories about girls or women vanishing. When the search could not find them they were thought to be stolen by Bushmen, the term of Yukon First Nations people for the Sasquatch. In one story two girls vanished from Klukshu in the southern Yukon. When the girls could not be found they were believed to have been taken by Bushmen. Yet years later, when some Klukshu people travelled to Carcross, they saw those girls with the Tahltan people and realized that the Tahltan had stolen them. This occurred after the arrival of the white man and the wars had ceased, so there was no counter raid.

Wars were not common and as a result little was later written about the early conflicts. With the already small populations in the region wars were deeply thought about before any action was taken. Some of the wars were an attack on a large group of people while at other times the attack was on a small group. When the attack concerned a single family it was considered murder rather than war. When war was decided upon, the men would do the required rituals in order to alter the mind set, so they would become capable of killing other humans. Without the rituals there was a high chance of getting killed in the upcoming battle. Shamans were consulted and were an integral part during the duration of the war. They forecasted the outcome, were able to locate the enemy camp, and so on. The man who had most experience or was the bravest would be chosen as the war chief. He planned and led the attack.

In my research I have come across a number of wars, some that have been published and others that I heard about from Elders. An example of published wars included the two Ahtna-Russian encounters during two Russian expeditions heading up the Copper River into Ahtna territory in 1794-95. Russians in the first expedition were killed off because of how badly they abused the Ahtna people. People in the second Russian expedition in 1848 were also killed, even though they treated the Ahtna people with respect. The cause for this misfortune was the great fear the Ahtna people had of any possible retaliation from the Russians. Another published Ahtna war is about a story that involved a camp of Bushmen who were called the Cet'aenn. Athapaskans do believe in Bushmen, better known as Sasquatches. While the Sasquatch remains unproven in today's scientific milieu, there are many First Nations stories about Bushmen. I have never seen a bushman personally, but know three First Nations people in the south-central Yukon who said they have seen Bushmen. In the story the Cet'aenn murdered an Ahtna man and was using his head as a football. The Ahtna attacked in the best possible situation: their shaman made it rain and caused all the Cet'aenn to go into their dens to avoid getting wet. That way the Ahtna could approach the Cet'aenn camp without being seen and set the Cet'aenn dens on fire. In this manner the Ahtna were able to kill all the Bushmen. There were also a number of Tanana wars. One of these wars was against people who invaded their territory from down the Tanana River. The offending group raided the Tanana camp, killing everybody except for the two women they took with them as slaves. The Tanana women escaped and returned to their own camp. There they found ten Tanana men who were from their camp but were out hunting when the attack happened. Since the ten were too few to attack they went to other Tanana camps and gathered a force of three to five hundred warriors. This force then followed and caught up to the raiding force. They attacked and killed all the raiders.

A well known war is the Dezadeash Massacre, also known as "Last Indian War". In this attack the Snag people (Upper Tanana) and allies (who may have included the Tancross people as well as Northern Tutchone people) massacred all the Southern Tutchone people that were camped at Dezadeash Lake. This happened in retaliation for the abuse and death of one of their women who was taken against her will by the Southern Tutchone chief Laan. An older man saw the war party when he was gathering firewood. He tried to warn Laan but he was dismissed as being lazy and trying to get out of gathering firewood. After the chief's response he left with his child. Another woman survived by hiding under hides. One Snag man was killed during the attack because he refused to take part in the war rituals. Right after the Snag people had killed everybody, they fled the area. They believed that either a Southern Tutchone war party was coming to attack them, since there were other Southern Tutchone camps nearby, or that ghosts were coming since they heard hollering. In fact, it was the old man returning and shouting if anybody was there. See figure # 278 of my drawing of the massacre scene at Dezadeash Lake. This war is also well known to the people in the surrounding areas, such as the eastern most Southern Tutchone, Tlingit and Athna. The attack is believed to have taken place around 1838-1840.

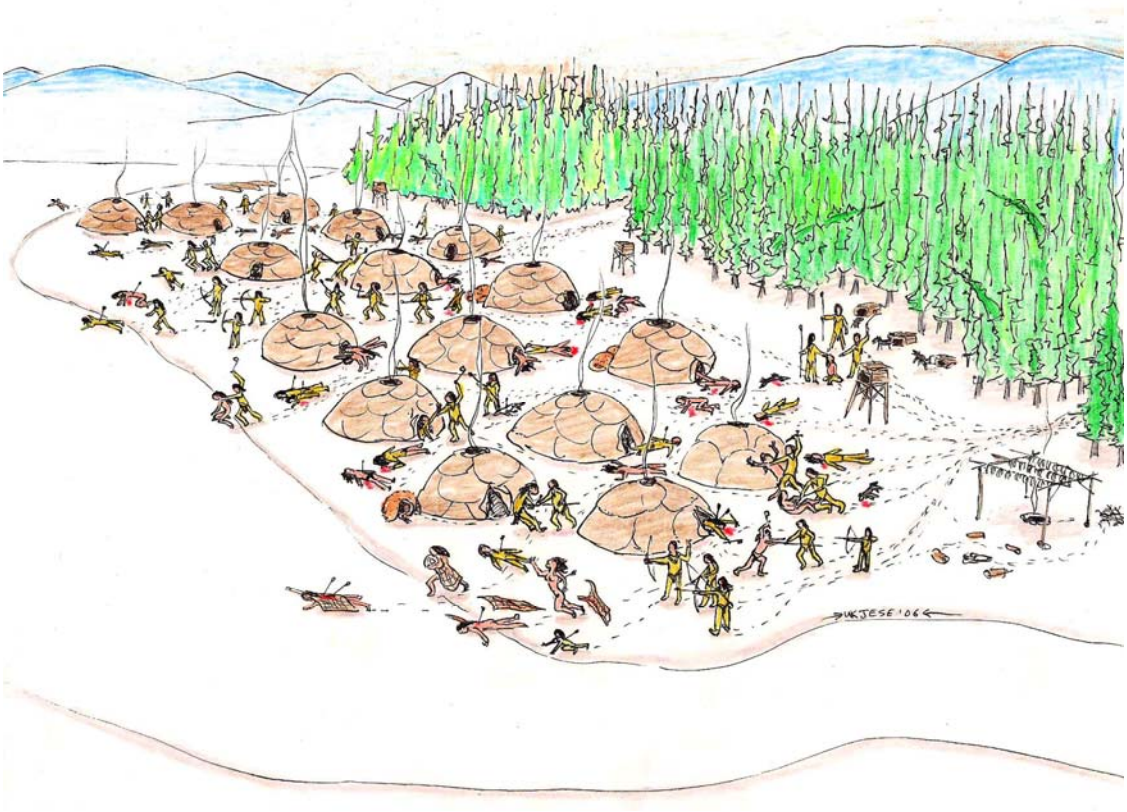


Figure # 278. Dezadeash Lake massacre. UvK drawing.

Another war that has little written material is the annihilation of the original Pelly River people by the Laird River people. The void left by the Pelly River people was filled by the Francis Lake Kaska and Northern Tutchone people. There were also a series of raids back and forth between the Inland Tlingit and the Tahltan. These raids eventually lead to the Tahltan people being displaced by the Inland Tlingit in the southern Yukon.

There are a couple of unwritten wars relayed to me by Northern and Southern Tutchone Elders. An example is the Lake Lebarge massacre. When I was a teenager nobody seemed to know anything about the event. When I asked Elders about the Lake Lebarge massacre, they had never heard about it. One day Elder Irene Smith mentioned the Nalin War and I inquired about it. This turned out to be the Lake Lebarge massacre but the Elders only knew it as the Nalin War. In this case a Lake Lebarge man killed five Tlingit traders and stole their trade items when they were returning from the north from a late summer-early fall trading trip. He killed them at the base of Nalin Mountain, which is also known as "Look-out Mountain". A sixth man escaped and made it back to the coast. In the following years that man returned to the north on trading trips with his people and always had the intention of retaliation. The local Lake Lebarge people knew about the killings and were afraid of retaliation so they would hide whenever they knew that the Tlingit traders were passing by the Nalin-Lake Lebarge area. For a number of years the Lake Lebarge people were successful at hiding from the Tlingits but just as the Tlingits were about to give up on the idea of retaliation, their shaman on Nalin Mountain saw smoke off in the distance. They attacked the Lake Lebarge people's camp at Swan Lake early next morning and killed everybody. The void that was left at Lake Lebarge was later filled by Hutshi and Tagish Kwan people.

Another unpublished war was Chief Kwan'tuk's War. In this case a coastal Tlingit trading party travelled to Ess Lake in Northern Tutchone territory to conduct trade. Things turned sour and the Tlingit killed the chief Northern Tutchone trader during negotiations

following which the Tlingits were driven away by the Northern Tutchone. After being driven out by the Northern Tutchone, the Tlingits no longer returned to Ess Lake to trade. The Ess Lake Northern Tutchone people found this to their disadvantage and decided to send an expedition to Tlingit territory in an effort to restart trading. The Tlingit learned of the expedition and ambushed the group. They killed them all with the exception of Kwan'tuk. Kwan'tuk was so badly wounded that they just left him, believing he would die. Kwan'tuk however lived and managed to return to Northern Tutchone territory. There he became chief because of surviving such an ordeal. Kwan'tuk then raised an army and set an ambush for the Tlingits. The ambush was conducted at Five-Finger Rapids and was successful. The Northern Tutchone captured all the Tlingits in the trading party. The Northern Tutchone later let the survivors return to the coast with warnings. This mercy was unusual but was probably planned in order to allow trade to resume, which indeed happened some time later.

The Tanaina style of warfare was also an exception to the normal practice of killing everybody. The Tanaina would attack, kill some and let the others escape to allow them to return to their people. It was believed that the escapees would inform their folk on the toughness of Tanaina warriors, thereby deter future attacks. With the Athapaskan method of sneak attacks, regular hunting weapons would be sufficient. There was no need for any specialty weapons, body armour, helmets and shields.

Daggers

Knives were the most common weapons and were also used in cutting animals and hides, hunting, bear defence and carving. I will not be discussing the knives for everyday use nor carving knives although you can see an example of a carving knife in figure # 36 on page 67. Of the remaining knives and daggers there are two types; metal and bone. The metal daggers were first made out of native copper and were later replaced with steel. These were made from traded tool steel or steel and iron files. There were two main styles of metal daggers; double pommel and single pommel. The pommel was in the form of a swirl motif coming out of the handle of the dagger. The common style metal dagger had twin pommels at the end of the handle and was used throughout the Yukon, Alaska and the Northwest Territories. The second style metal dagger was the single pommel which was also used over a wide area. These knives were unique to the northern Athapaskan territories in northern-western North America. I am not aware of these knife styles used anywhere else in the world. The other type of knife was made out of bone. The two main types are the small animal skinning knives that were often called gopher skinning knives and bone daggers used in bear defence, and possibly, combat. Examples of the gopher skinning knives can be seen in figures # 38 and # 41 on page 69 & # 42 on page 70. I will not be discussing the gopher skinning knives in this chapter but will look at a bone dagger later in this chapter.

Metal daggers:

As just mentioned, the common style metal dagger was made with twin pommels at the end of the handle and was used throughout the Yukon, Alaska and the Northwest Territories. The second style metal dagger was the single pommel. Sometimes these daggers had geometric markings on them and, as in the case of the knife from Aishihik, floral designs (figure # 287 on page 283). See figure # 279 for two examples of these copper daggers that are in the Alaska State Museum in Juneau.

Figure # 279, Double pommel copper knives at the Alaska State Museum. Left: II-C-294. Right: II-C-69. ASM

The dagger on the top has a series of engraved lines on the ridge as well as in the pommels. The large dagger on the bottom is almost like a small sword. It is rare to see any type of knife this large, 50% larger than the commonly sized dagger above. The dagger on the top is around one foot in length. Some daggers are smaller but rarely are they larger. The handles are wrapped in hide and the side of the blade that you can see has a ridge which is absent on the other side. The regular sized daggers were often carried in a sheath that hung around the neck and rested on the chest of the man. Early drawings also show the dagger tucked into a belt about the waist. See Murray's drawings in *Part of the Land, Part of the Water* on pages 68 and 71.

Another dagger in the Canadian Museum of Civilization was collected by E.E. Stockton in the Dawson City area between 1901 and 1906. This would make it either a Han dagger or it was traded to the Han by a group that made the copper daggers, such as the Tutchone. See figure # 280. The note on the museum card states:

> The dagger is probably made from a single piece of metal. Metal surfaces are intentionally stained a dull brownish colour, possibly with fish oil (Witthoft and Eyman 1969:15), to produce a corrosion-resistant surface. The blade shows small irregular voids carried over from natural copper. (...) Used as a hunting implement more than as a fighting weapon. Witthaft 1969:22 suggests pommel on such daggers used as tool to separate hide from carcass in skinning game.

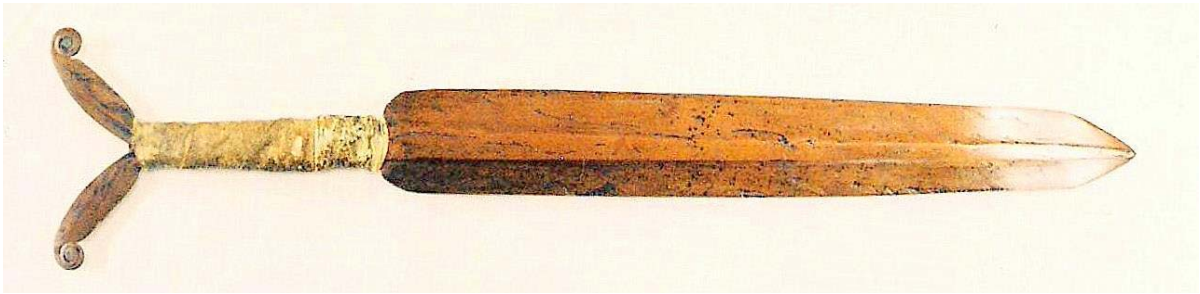


Figure # 280, copper knife from the Dawson City area. VI-F-16, CMC.

In the Royal Ontario Museum the card for the same type of knife listed as Tutchone states:

> Leaf-shaped outline. Concavo-convex section. Short, broad, flat handle. A killing knife for wounded animals, carried around neck or belt. Collected by a Chilkat Indian about the Hootchi river. Produced by interior Dene on the headwaters of the Stikhine, Taku, Yukon and White rivers. Recd. 6/23/39" HK2327, ROM.

There are illustrations of Athapaskan hunters killing swimming moose from their canoe using only these copper daggers. See figure # 281 of an engraving from a Frederick Whymper sketch of June 1867. This engraving was copied by Yan 'Dargent in 1869 for the *Le Tour du* Monde, a French illustrated magazine. Whymper was an artist who also travelled a great deal in north-western North America in the 1860s. Along the way he made many sketches including this one on the Yukon River above the mouth of the Dall River. Dall River is located on the Yukon River about half way between Fort Yukon and the Tanana River mouth which is in Koyukon territory. There is a similar engraving that is shown in the Handbook of the American Indian, Volume 6 on page 536 and the caption states that these are either Koyukon or Tanana hunters.

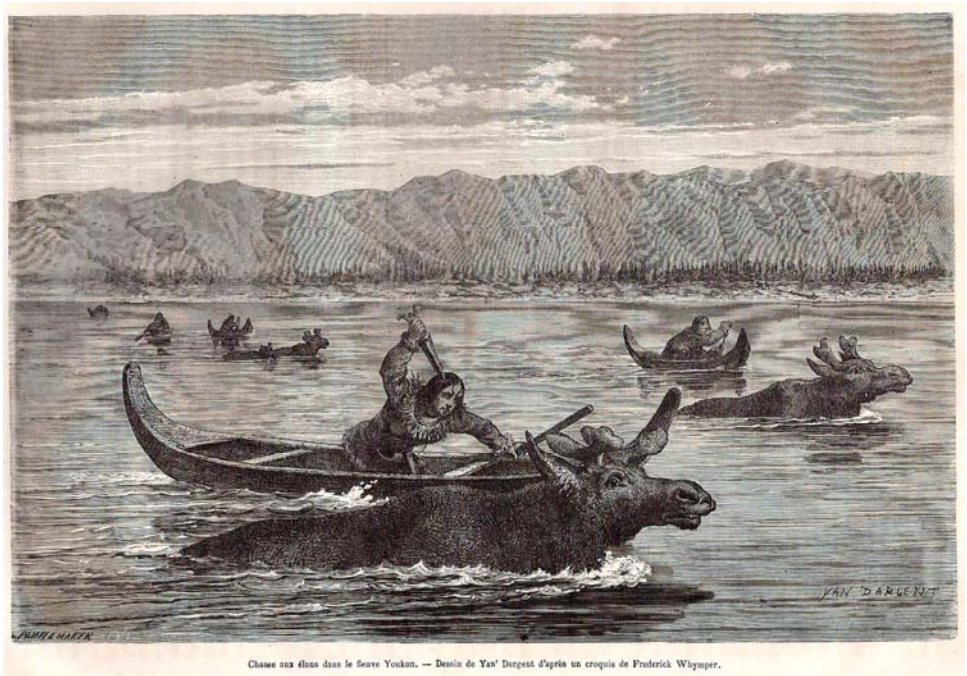


Figure # 281. 1869 Yan 'Dargent engraving after Frederick Whymper sketch of June 1867. UvK Collection.

In the above image the hunter is stabbing the moose and in this next illustration the hunter is cutting the throat of the moose. The location is just at the Yukon-Alaska border so this would be a Han hunter image. This was in the days when hunting was up close and personal! The image is from page 261 in Schwatka's *Along Alaska's Great River.*

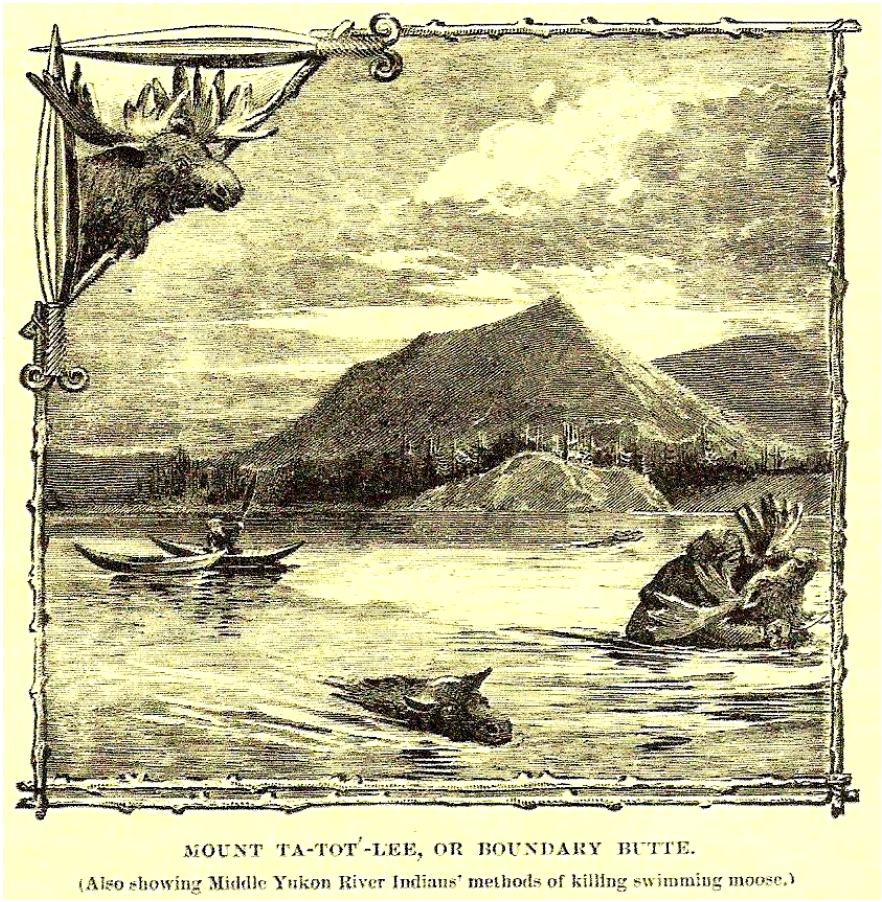


Figure # 282. Han hunter killing moose on the Yukon River. *Along Alaska's Great River*, page 261.

In the following image in figure # 283 is my drawing of the double pommel knife attached to a pole, thus becoming a spear. These spears were used for bear defence and warfare.

Figure # 283. Illustration of knife-spear combination. UvK drawing.

This combined knife-spear is described in *My Old People Say* on page 290 in the following manner:

> The Southern Tutchone used to tie long copper knives onto wooden shafts and use them as bear spears or battle weapons. A Southern Tutchone granddaughter of the famous Copper Chief of White River eloquently explained how effectively a man might cut off anybody's head with such a weapon. (McClellan 2001: 289)

For bear defense Yukon First Nations also used bone knives such as the example in figure # 43 on page 70. While the above statement is a Southern Tutchone example the range of these daggers covered the rest of the Yukon, northern British Columbia, the interior of Alaska and at least the western part of the Northwest Territories. All followed the general pattern of a dagger with a hide wrapped handle and double spiral pommels.

There are a few variations of the standard double pommel knife. In the Peter the Great Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia, is a dagger on display that has a ridge with raised edges as well as a very distinct pointed blade. See the top knife in figure # 284. Next is a version of the double pommel dagger that is in the Anchorage Museum and it lists this as an interior Alaska bear spear head. This dagger would have been intended to be attached to a pole. Note that the handle is wider than other knives and the pommels do not end in swirls. These are steel daggers and would have been made after trade was established with the Russian American Trading Company.

Figure # 284, Versions of double pommel copper daggers. Top: Dagger from the Peter the Great Museum. Bottom: Dagger from Anchorage Museum.

The following dagger in figure # 285 was collected from the Tlingit by the early Spanish explorers sometime between 1776 and 1800. It is listed as Tlingit but has distinct interior traits, such as the blade design and a double pommel. While the pommels do not end in swirls we can see that the interior Alaska made knife on the bottom in figure # 284 also does not end in swirls. The museum information lists that this dagger was produced in Canada, which would suggest the interior, since the Tlingits along the coast are all in Alaska and they obtained copper knives from the interior. It appears that this dagger was either traded from the interior or was made by the Tlingits, but influenced by interior dagger designs. Another interesting thing about this dagger is that the museum notes state that it is made of iron or steel. The Museum notes in Spanish list the material as “hierro”. This

indicates that at least the coastal Tlingits and possibly the interior people were using iron or steel to create knives possibly as early as 1776 and for sure by 1800. This begs the question, where did the iron or steel come from? I would suggest via the trade networks from Siberia.

Figure # 285. Tlingit used dagger made in Canada. 01595. Museo de América

There is a second dagger in the museum that is very interesting to me. It has a face in the butt of the handle but has the exact blade as the dagger above. As you see in figure # 286, the face is of simple design and not done in the typical Tlingit Northwest Coast Indian, but more Athapaskan-like art style. It is unusual since I have seen no other heads on Athapaskan knives. There was very little collected from the interior until the late 1800s and early 1900s and these daggers are some of the earliest possible interior artifacts collected. Other examples of daggers with faces on them may be lost in time. Also, if these daggers are Athapaskan then it may support the theory some researchers have suggested, which is that Athapaskan knives influenced Tlingit knife making. Since the copper knives came from the interior and had faces on them, such as in figure # 286, then who is not to say that the Tlingits adopted the tradition of placing heads on their daggers. They would create these heads in their own Tlingit style.

Figure # 286. Tlingit knife. 01596. Museo de América

The second most common knife style is the single pommel knife. There are examples of the single pommel knife in several museum collections. An interesting example is at the Canadian Museum of Civilization and was collected from Aishihik which is Southern Tutchone territory. See figure # 287 of a photograph of the knife. This knife was collected in the summer of 1911 from Taylor and Drury in Whitehorse by D.D. The knife is reported to come from Aishihik and Catherine McClellan feels that this knife was made by Chief Isaac: "I suspect the knife was made by old Chief Isaac, father of the present chief." If this is the case then it is my third great-grand father who made this knife. Unique to these knives are the engraved designs on both sides of the blade. There is a stylized motif one side and a leaf

spray on the other. When examining this knife I noticed that the motif side had gone over, re-engraving the earlier design. I suspect that when the knife was purchased by Taylor and Drury, they themselves or the owner re-engraved the design to make it stand out better. They missed some lines which revealed the earlier engraving. Also note the initials 'JRX' engraved in the blade. Were these the initials of the person who bought the knife, one of the owners of the knife, or the person who made it? If the maker was JRX then he was not old Chief Isaac. Or are the initials JR and then an "X"? During the time that Chief Isaac was alive in the early 19th century they were not using initials on artifacts. This practice did not start until the end of the 19th century and ended in the early 20th century.

There are different approaches to the designs on each side of the blade. The design on the top view is a mix of floral patterns and possibly a head of an animal. On the other side is a leaf spray that is in the same style as beaded leaf designs. Why the engraver decided to use a beaded design on the knife is anybody's guess. The person may have had the design on some part of his clothing and decided to use the same on the knife. The design on the other side is unique and I can only guess at what the images may represent. The head on this knife reminds me of the heads on the carved animals in figure # 197 on page 207 and the painted animal on the drum in figure # 264 on page 257. The image at the tip of the dagger could be a beaver. The cross hatched pattern at the bottom represents the tail of the beaver in the same way the Northwest Coast Indians depict their beavers. This may represent Beaverman, also known as Asuya, who, along with Crow, made the world safe for the humans. If this is indeed Asuya, then the bottom figure may be a highly stylized Crow. Another idea is that the whole top figure is a face with its eyes along the edge. Under this design is a smaller leaf spray and below that is yet another image, which I think might also be part of a face. In *Part of the Land, Part of the Water* McClellan wrote:

> From the same site came two nice bone tools for skinning small animals. One is broken, but their elongated shapes and notched ends are reminiscent of the thousand-year-old bone flesher from Old Crow found by Peter Lord. These tools are smaller, though, and each has a design incised in it with a metal implement. Aishihik Indians of the 1960s saw in one of these designs a giant woodworm-a creature that the Coast Tlingit say was raised by a girl at Klukwan. Aishihik people of Bennett Lake times probably learned the story from the Coast Tlingit with whom they used to trade. (McClellan 1987: 58-59)

This story is told in the button blanket section of this thesis in Chapter Eight-Art of the Potlatch & Death. Maybe the artist made the design to represent another story.

Figure # 287, Southern Tutchone knife with single pommel from Aishihik. VI-Q-32, CMC. UvK drawing.

An example of what appears to be a small dagger that would be attached to a pole for bear defence was discovered at the old Nalin War site just a few miles north of Whitehorse. I was told about this knife by Jim Robb, a local artist and historian, who had seen and examined it after it was found on the ground by a local First Nations Elder. It was identified as an early copper knife by Chief Albert Isaac and was held in a sheath and worn around the neck, either at the chest or the side under the arm. The knife looks very much like a spear point yet is first thought of as a knife by Chief Albert Isaac. Chief Albert Isaac is the son of the above mentioned Chief Isaac. There are no photographs of this knife nor have I come across any similar knives. I have seen a Tutchone knife that is about the same size and is shown below in the drawing in figure # 288. This small copper knife has a single pommel that does not spread to the side like the dagger in figure # 287 above. See the top knife in figure # 284 of my drawing of the small copper knife from the Nalin battle site based on Jim Robb's drawing and the bottom photograph of the small copper Tutchone knife at the Field Museum.

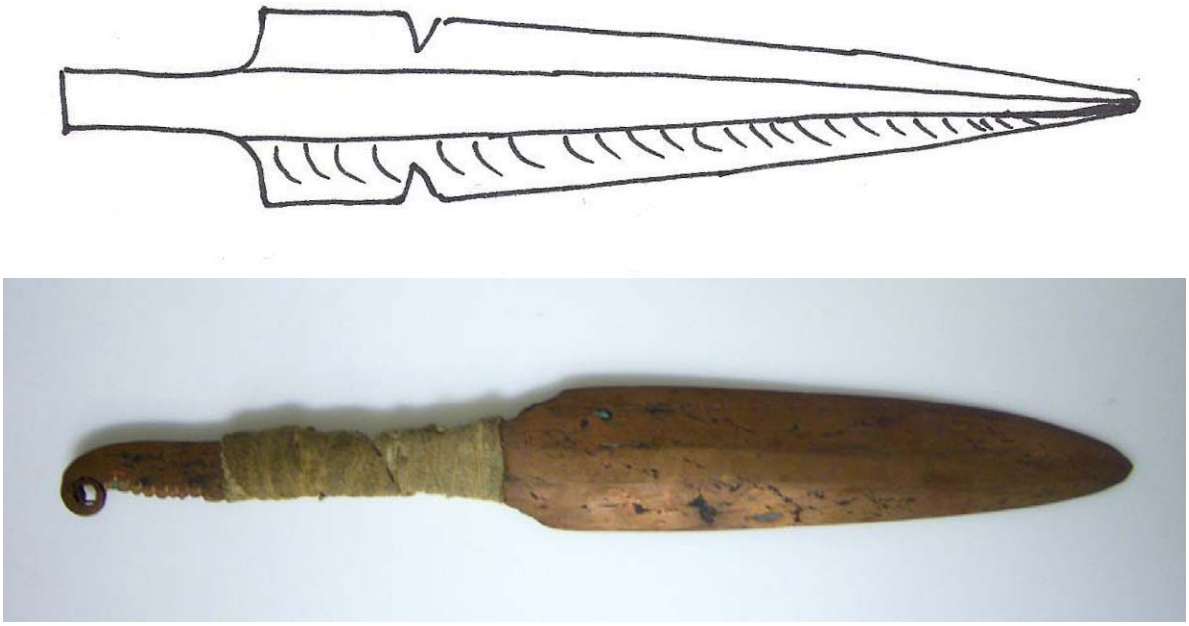


Figure # 288, Top: Small Southern Tutchone copper knife. UvK drawing. Bottom: Small Tutchone copper knife. 1925.1595.051707, Field Museum.

The Nalin War knife was donated to the MacBride Museum in the 1970s and was, together with other artifacts, stolen from the museum shortly afterwards. Since it is a smaller knife I wonder if this was a woman's knife. This may have been more practical for general use and also have the option of being attached to a pole for bear defense. I suspect that these knives were not as common as the larger double pommel knife. Furthermore, being a 'woman's knife', there may have been less interest in collecting them.

The other copper knife in # 288 is listed as Tutchone and has the same general appearance as a copper knife in figure # 289 that was collected on Victoria Island in Arctic Canada. This places that other copper knife in Inuit territory. Edward Rodgers in' *An Athapaskan Type of Knife* states he thinks this knife is Eskimo, made from a group that was somewhere between Baillie Island of the Arctic coast in the Northwest Territories and northern Alaska. He also noted that there was an active knife trading network with knives produced in the areas with a copper source and then traded out. There is also a source of copper on Victoria Island. Since I have seen other Athapaskan knives in this style I would not discount that the knife below is of Athapaskan manufacture and then traded to the Inuit. A more detailed study into Inuit knives would help solve this question. The knife is presently in the Royal Ontario Museum collection.

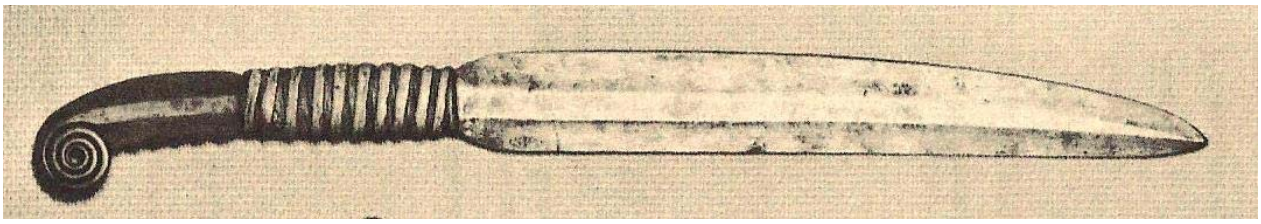


Figure # 289. Copper knife collected in Victoria Island, Northwest Territories. 920.70.11, ROM.

The next knife makes a good transition to bone daggers. It is in the Museum of the American Indian collection in Washington DC and was purchased by the museum in 1914. There is little provenance but it is listed as Athapaskan. From the style it is certainly an Athapaskan knife. In figure # 290 you can see that the blade is made of steel and is done in the typical Athapaskan dagger style. The handle on the other hand is made of bone but is styled with a double pommel, the same as the daggers discussed above. Note that one pommel tip is broken off.

Figure # 290, Steel and bone dagger. Athapaskan. 036710.000, NMAI.

While I believe that this knife is made from a steel file I believe many steel daggers were made from bars of traded tool steel. Starting before the 1740s tool steel was manufactured in Sheffield and was a very common trade item. It was sold and traded just like other products, such as flour, crockery, etc. The present literature, museum notes, etc. about Athapaskan daggers state that they were made out of traded steel files. The above knife may be an example of a knife made out of a file since the maker of this dagger used the tang, the pointed end of the file, to fit the bone handle. This would be an obvious choice since the purpose of the tang was to fit a handle to make the use of the file easier for the worker.

However, most of the daggers have double pommels coming out of the handle and I would imagine that working with bars of traded tool steel would be easier than working with traded files. I am amazed at the skill Athapaskan people had in converting flat pieces of steel into knives, using only material found in nature! It must have taken a great deal of determined work and time.

Bone daggers

Besides the bear defense bone dagger that is shown in figure # 43 on page 70 there is another type of bone dagger that has been collected in the Yukon. This is a type of dagger that appears to be intended for combat only. It cannot be used for cutting, is too awkward to use for skinning small animals and cannot be easily attached to a pole to be used as a spear. These daggers look very much like the Northwest Coast Indian bone daggers. An example is in the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia's collection. See the dagger and head detail in figure # 291. This knife is listed as Northern Tutchone and was collected by Frank Burnett along the Yukon River between 1920 and 1927. It has an animal carved into the handle which has coastal Tlingit motifs. While this knife may have been traded to the interior, it could be argued that this is in fact a Southern Tutchone knife, as the Southern Tutchone were influenced by the Chilkat Tlingits. Since this carving is not as fine as coastal Tlingit carved items, one could speculate that it was made by a Southern Tutchone man who had a lot of exposure to the Chilkat Tlingits and then traded the dagger to the Northern

Tutchone. There are a couple of other artifacts collected in the Yukon which look like very crude Northwest Coast Indian art, such as the pipe in figure # 250 on page 245 which I assume were made by Southern Tutchone artists. The knife collected by Frank Burnett did not have the strict Tlingit style of rendering the eye and had the "U" shape coming back from the eye. This design is like the basic coastal Tlingit motif, but the lines do not connect and the eye is not a true ovoid. As for the type of head, the Elders thought it could be a number of different animals. One suggestion was the giant worm that was raised by the girl as mentioned earlier with the Aishihik knife in figure # 287 on page 283. One Elder thought it might be a fish, especially if it was made in the Klukshu area.

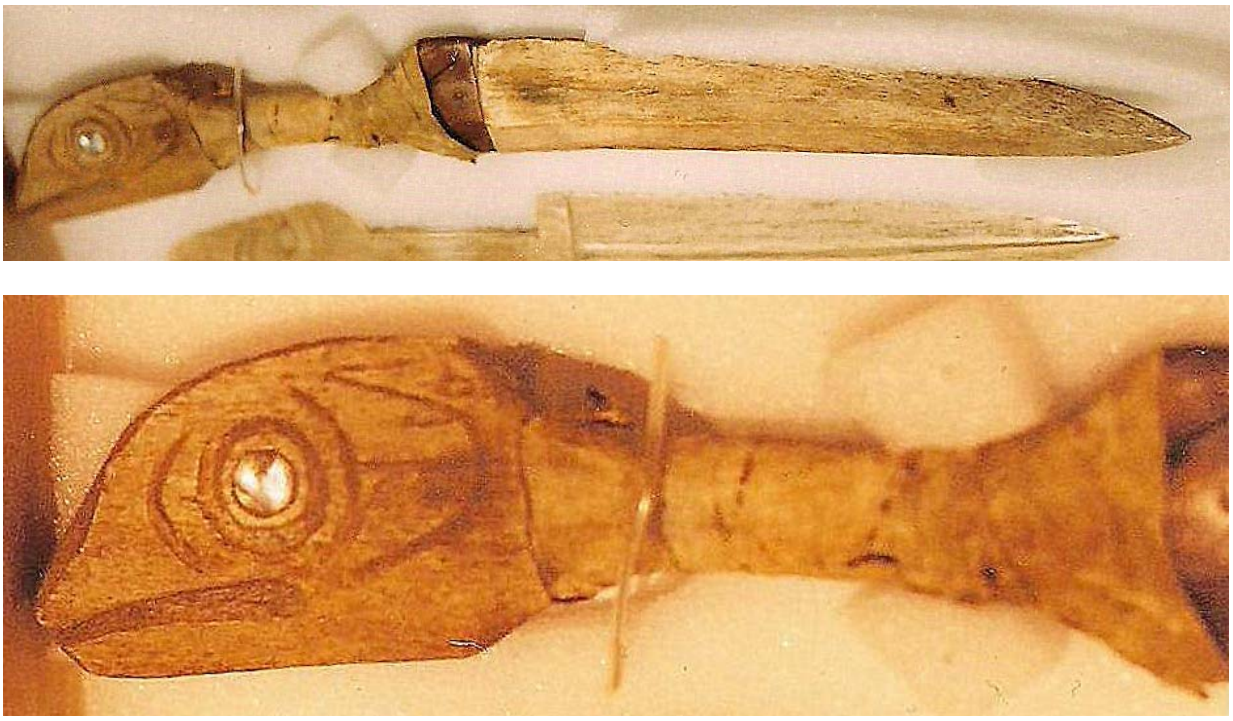


Figure # 291, Top: Bone dagger with an animal head designed into the handle. Bottom: detail of head design. A2.607, MOA, UBC.

The knife is made up of various materials. It is bone with abalone inlay in the eye and has leather, copper and wood on it.

Arrow, dart & spear points

There are many examples of arrow, dart and spear points. Because of the recent ice patch discoveries in the southern Yukon, I have been able to examine examples of bone points that date back about 9000 years. In the collection are various technologies used for the micro blade which have not been in use for at least the last 3000 years and some think longer, for at least 4500 or 5000 years. Micro blades are small sharp blades made out of stone that are about a quarter inch wide by one and a half inches long and very thin (7 x 40 x 2.5 mm). The micro blades were inserted in grooves of tools and in bone and antler arrow points. Micro blades were replaced with notched pointed technology. Notched points are stone arrow or throwing dart points that have notches near the base. This way the points could be easily tied to the ends of wooden arrows or throwing dart shafts. This change, along with other major technological changes, led archeologists to believe that a new people came into the area and displaced the established people. About 1200 years ago, bow and arrows replaced

the throwing darts rather quickly. The bow and arrows were in use until replaced by rifles in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Personally I question whether a technological change means that one cultural group of people moved in and replaced or displaced another already established group of people. Athapaskans had to be very adaptable in order to survive in such a harsh climate so if a new technology arrived in the area via trade or intermarrying, that new technology would have spread rapidly. And who is not to say that the existing people did not develop the new technology themselves?

Oldest example of Yukon First Nations art

On one micro blade piece of approximately 8000 years old, we find a motif. See in figure # 292 my sketch of the point and what this point may have looked like when it was in original use. This piece is a bone or antler with a thin groove around the outside edge so that the micro blades can fit into it to produce the cutting edge. There is a motif on one side of the point which has no practical function but symbolizes something or is a decoration. When I checked H.W. Janson's third edition of *History of Art*, I find that this single piece suggests that the art from the south-central Yukon is extremely old. South-central art is older than Celtic art (600 AD), Greek art (650 BC), and even ancient Egyptian art (3000 BC). We are dealing with the same timeline as the European Neolithic art from about 6000 BC. As you can see in the figure, the design is a simple series of repeating shapes that is copied on the other side of the center line. The point was straightened when made, but over the thousands of years the antler has returned to its original, natural shape. Many of the antler points that I will show have undergone the same changes. I have not come across another identical motif in my research, but I have seen similar ones. See figure # 293 for an example of a similar motif on a bone gopher skinning knife. While not exact, the two motifs do have a similarity that may give some connection in the reasons for creating the motif. The meaning of either motif is unknown, but they may be close enough to be linked, just like a First Nations story of which the basic contents are the same but the details different dependent on the region. This gopher skinning blade is from the Klukshu Museum.

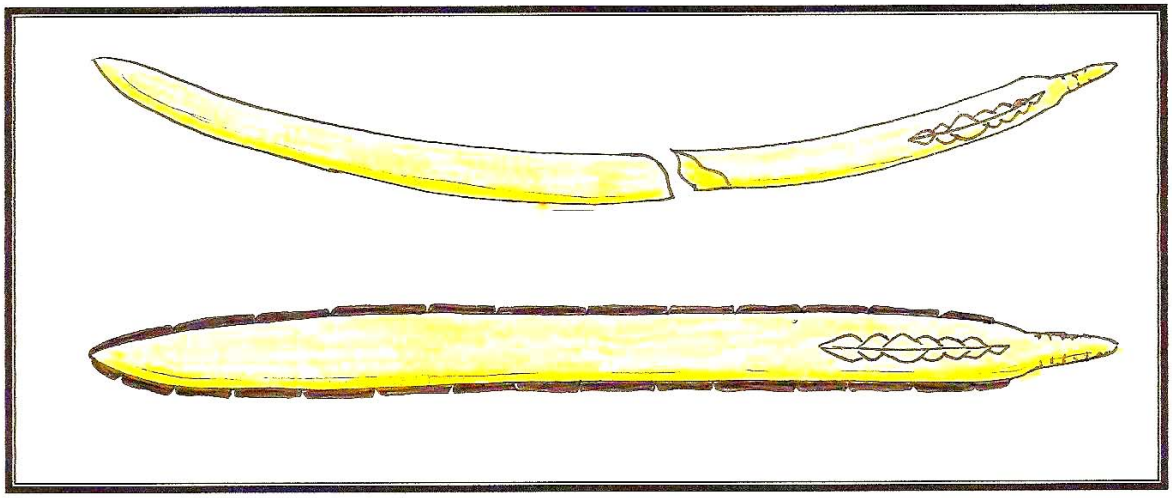


Figure # 292, Micro blade throwing dart point as it looks now and how it would have appeared when made with the micro blades inserted in the groove around the edge. 7310 $\pm$ 40BP. JHV1-1:1, IPC. UvK drawing.

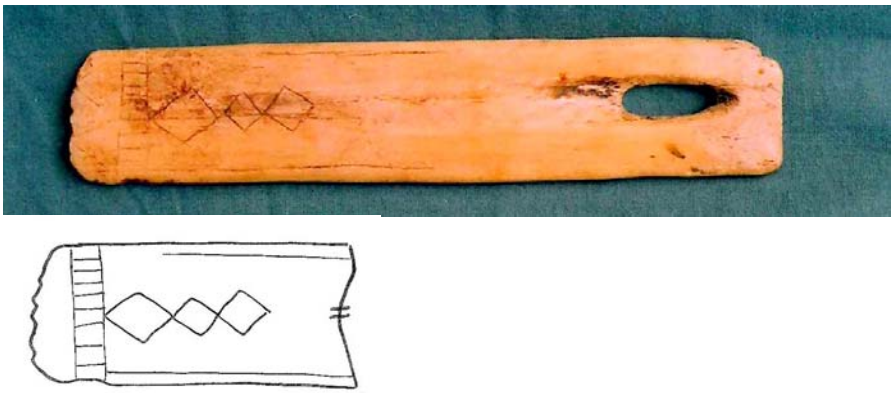


Figure # 293, Gopher skinning blade with motif, Klukshu Museum. UvK drawing.

Arrow & atlatl points

The following is a series of photographs and drawings of notched points made of bone and antler. In my conversations with Greg Hare, the Yukon Government archeologist, we noted that no two are alike and it seems that different blood lines (blood lines are those lines engraved into the point to facilitate the bleeding of the animal), barbs (which work their way inside the animal as they walk, which weakens them so they finally have to lay down to rest) and other carved details made very little or no difference to the effectiveness of the point. It seems that five or six barbs would do the job required, but there are many with more and some with fewer barbs. Note the very fine detailing and individual styling, such as the top point in figure # 294, where the maker engraved a series of stylized blood lines. This piece is undated. In my drawing of the middle bone point shows a very simple overall design. This point is about 4000 years old and because of total lack of decoration and makes me think it was hastily made, having no time to add additional bloodlines, bards or other decorations. Perhaps he was low on atlatl points and needed more for the hunt and then made only what was the very simplest point capable of doing the job. Or maybe it may not even a weapon point at all but another type of tool. I will now examine a more complex two-piece point shown at the bottom in figure # 294. This object is not dated. A smaller bone tip was attached to the larger bone point, but that larger piece itself would be efficient without the attached piece. Yet the maker decided to do something different. See figure # 295 for a variety of shapes of points. They illustrate a wide range of styles.

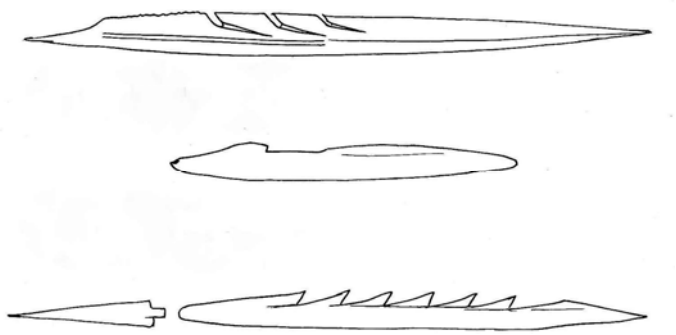


Figure # 294, note the blood line design. JgVe 1:3, IPC. very basic point. JcUu-1:23, IPC. two piece point. JiUl-1:1, IPC. UvK drawing.

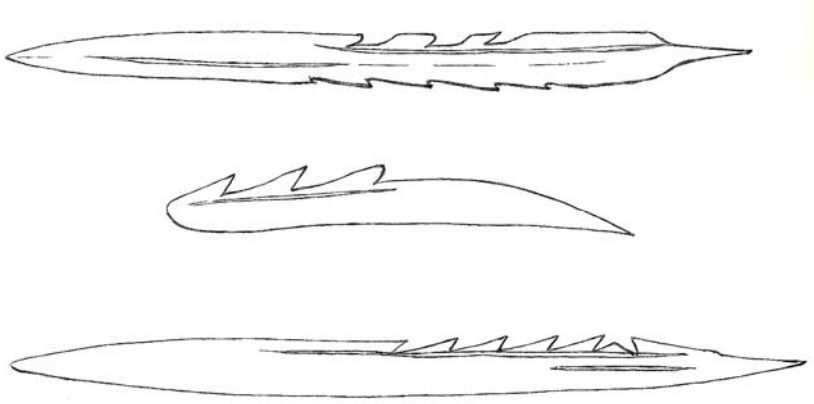


Figure # 295, a series of points, top: JbVb-1:2, 360 ± 40 BP, middle: JgVe-1:1, 660 ± 40 BP, bottom: JhV1-4:3, undated. IPC. UvK drawings.

While there are no points in the Ice Patch Collection that have the "repeating dot" motif, there are examples in other collections. See figure # 296 for examples of the detachable barbed arrow points:

> The detachable barbed points are about eight inches long from tip to the base of the tang. They are barbed on one side only, and they, too, have been geometrically incised with lines and dots into which red ochre has been rubbed. (McClellan 2001: 283)

The "repeating dot" pattern is seen on all three examples.

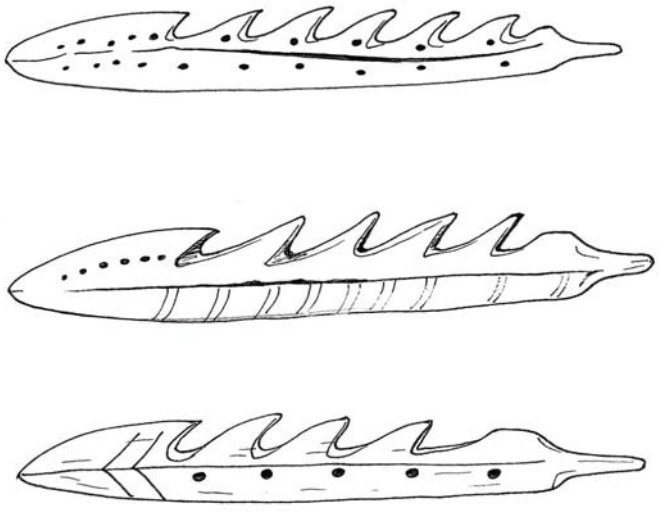


Figure # 296, detachable barbed points. UvK drawings adopted from *My Old People Say* page 285.

See figure # 297 for examples from McClellan's *My Old People Say*, on page 284, of common motifs on bunting heads of arrows: "There are three styles of head. They appear to be made of antler or bone, and each is incised with geometric designs into which red ochre is rubbed."

In these examples the "repeating dot" pattern is present in the top arrow head, along with a variation on the "repeating cone" pattern shown in the middle arrow head. The crisscross or variation of the zigzag can be seen in the bottom arrow head.

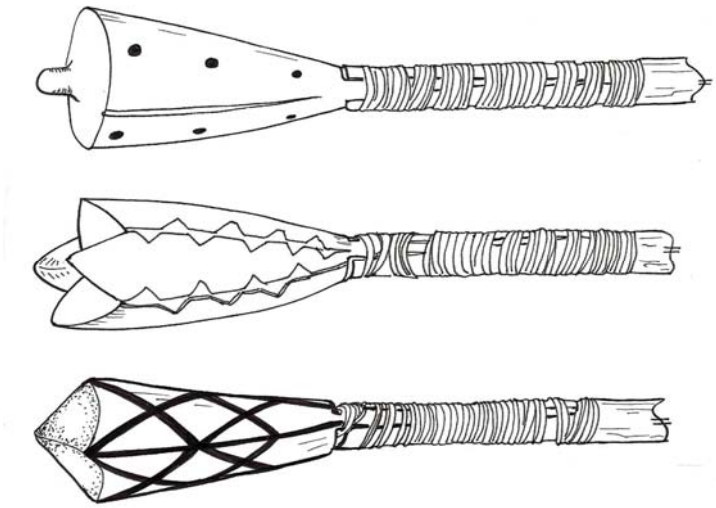


Figure # 297, hunting arrows. UvK drawings adopted from *My Old People Say* page 284.

The MacBride Museum also has this type of bunting head in their collection. See figure # 298 for their examples on display.

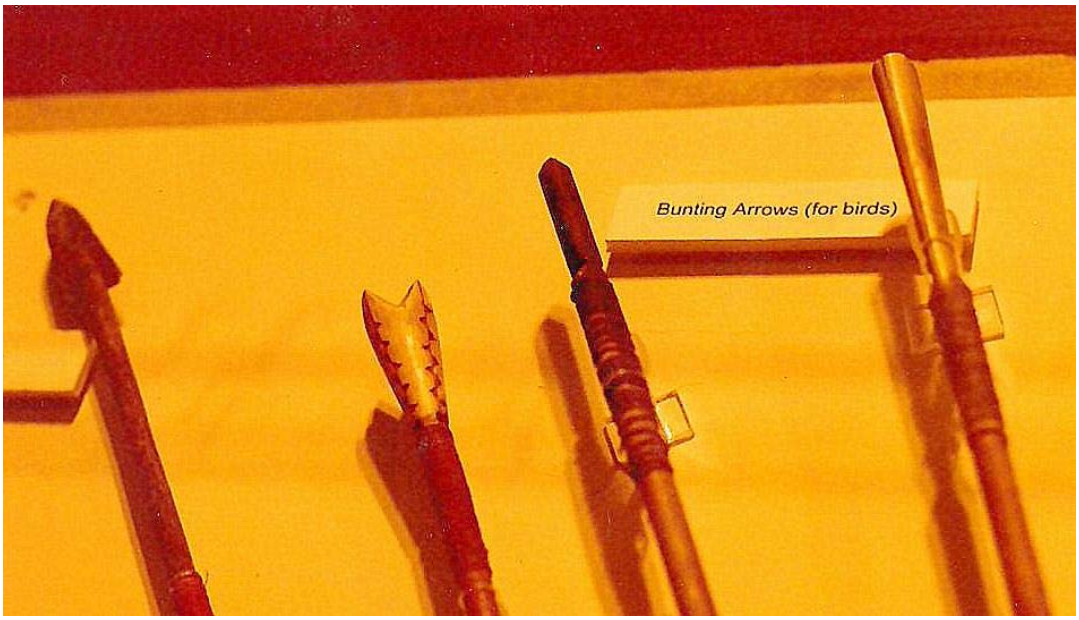


Figure # 298, note the bunting head second from the left, it has similar design to the middle bunting head in figure # 297. MacBride Museum.

There are some major design differences between the arrows and atlatl darts. The darts were designed to be heavier in the front and the feathers were simply attached close to the back to stabilize its flight. The darts were made mostly out of birch and some of spruce. Arrows, on the other hand, were made out of strips of mostly split spruce and some birch. The arrows were each carved so that the thickest, and thus the heaviest part, was in the center. The notch point was in the front and at the back, split feathers were attached. Some of the feathers have design notching in them in a zigzag pattern. In my conversations with Greg Hare about the flight characteristic of throwing darts and arrows, he stated that the notched feathers should not affect the flight characteristics at all. Since this is the case, these additional creative options give the maker a wider range of individual choices for the look of

the final product. As I noted earlier, the speaker's staff at the MacBride Museum also has notched feathers (figure # 166 page 187). Notching of feathers has been done for at least the last 5000 years.

The darts and arrows also have traces of red ochre. The oldest example with ochre is 6800 years old. I also examined some arrows that are less than 1200 years old. A personal pattern is applied for individuality and identification. Once the point detached itself into the animal, the arrow could have fallen to the ground. Found later, depending on where the marks were placed, one could have identified the owner of the arrow. The points were designed to work their way inside the animal to cause internal bleeding. The animal would flee and had to be tracked, but it would grow weaker and finally lie down. Once the animal was found and dispatched, the point would be recovered and through its decoration identify the hunter that made the kill. See figure # 299 for an example of a 440 year old arrow with a red ochre strip painted on the shaft.

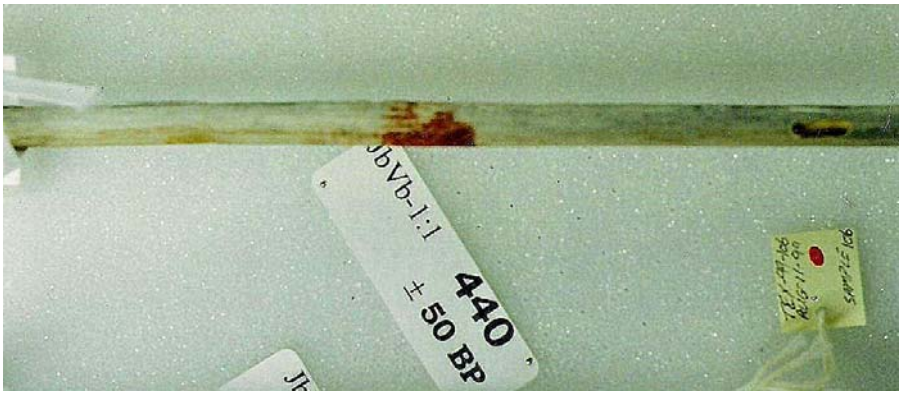


Figure # 299, JbVb-1:1, 440 + 50 BP, IPC.

In figure # 300 is an antler point that is approximately 4500 years old. Mr. Greg Hare felt that its long point was too big to fly through the air. He felt that the piece would be attached to a lance and may have been used to dispatch a wounded animal once the hunter was able to get up close to it. Yet, the long row of barbs does not make sense, as these barbs would inhibit the smooth thrusting and withdrawing of the point to quickly kill the animal. The Elders felt that this point could be used for spearing larger fish, for which activity barbs are required. If this is the case then maybe the hunter was packing this point with him while hunting the caribou and lost it during the hunt. I wonder if the row of barbs may have been a choice of individual artistic expression and identification.

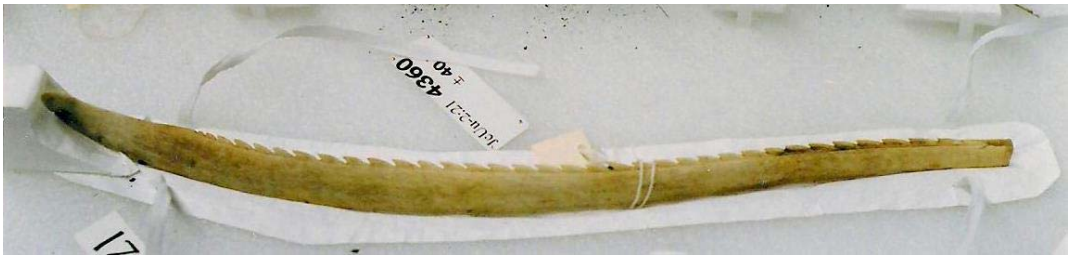


Figure # 300, JcUc-2:21, 4360 ± 40 BP. IPC.

While there are many theories about possible reasons for variations in points, from flight characteristic to target considerations, it is my feeling that each point was different for two main reasons; artistic individuality and a means of identification. This is not to say points were not designed for specific purposes, such as type of animal to be killed. In Figure # 301

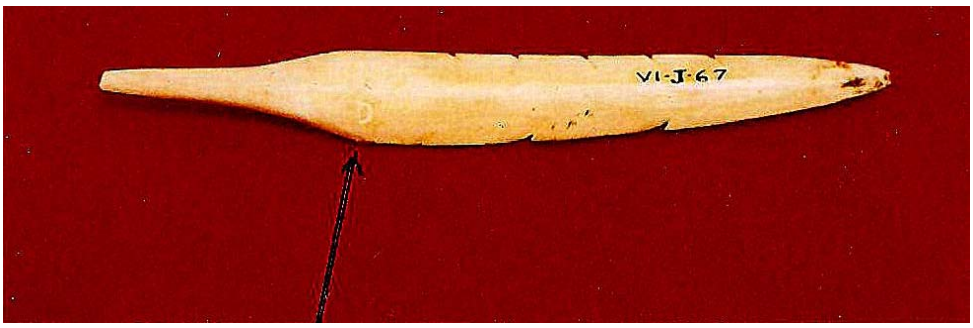
is a point from the CMC collection that has a unique pattern of a series of repeating "Xs" on both sides of the wide part of the point. It also has groupings of three lines that span half the width of the wide part of the point. It appears that these markings have no purpose but for identification and esthetics. There is also a series of small barbs incised along the pointed edge. This point was collected by D.D. Cairnes from the T&Ds store in the summer of 1911 and is reported to be Tutchone from White River. There was no other information available about this artifact.

Figure # 301, this arrow point has a unique series of 'x' incised on the side. Is this a form of identification? VI-Q-58. CMC.

A practice that began after the introduction of writing in the southern Yukon also leads me to believe these above mentioned markings were intended as personal identifiers. In *Part of the Land, Part of the Water* Catherine McClellan wrote:

> Indians and whites interacted during this period in many different ways. The archaeology shows that they did not just exchange artifacts; they also learned each others customs and ideas. For example, in a Bennett Lake site at Old Aishihik village there was a girl's drinking tube which is probably made of a swan bone. At first sight, the tube looks like it might come from the earlier Aishihik Culture, but scratched on its side is the name "Jenny." Indians living near where the drinking tube was found in 1963 thought that the name had been cut into it with a pen knife by the first person from their band who learned to read and write. Some of the elders remembered him well. In about 1892, as a young boy, he had gone to an Anglican mission school at Fort Selkirk. When he returned to Aishihik a few years later, his friends and relatives often asked him to carve their names on the things they owned. The Indians remember Jenny too. (McClellan 1987: 58)

The point illustrated in figure # 302 has the letter "D" engraved on the side. It is part of the collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. This arrow point was collected by D.D. Cairnes in the summer of 1911 at the T&Ds story in Whitehorse. It is reported to come from Teslin and therefore is listed as Inland Tlingit.



"D"

Figure # 302 "D" point. VI-J-67, CMC.

This initial "D" is a form of identification and is an example of the common practice of adding initials to possessions. This was the case for a short period at the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th. Note other examples, such as the initials on an early 1900s knife from Aishihik in figure # 287 on page 283 and the drum in figure # 5 on page 30. Adding the initials or name to items is just one indication of a culture in transition.

As new materials became available they were used. See figure # 303 for an example of a point that utilizes both bone and iron. This arrow point was collected by D.D. Cairnes in the summer of 1911 from the T&Ds store in Whitehorse. It is reported to be Southern Tutchone from M'Clintock River.

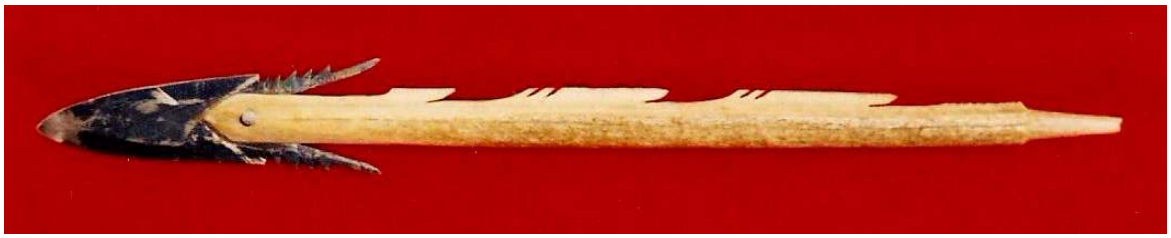


Figure # 303, A two piece point made from bone and iron showing a transition of material culture. VI-Q-28. CMC.

The next arrow point in figure # 304 is made totally of iron. It was also collected by D.D. Cairnes at the same time and place as the previous point. This one comes from Aishihik and is listed as Southern Tutchone. On the catalogue card it states: "'Arrow point' of steel, native work. Made with no other tools but axe head and file. Probably hammered out of old file."

Figure # 304, metal arrow point possibly made out of an old file. VI-Q-30, CMC.

There are a wide range of point styles. When I examined some of the bone and antler points up close I was amazed at the precise workmanship of the engraving and barb positioning. I admire the detail of the engraved blood lines that were done thousands of years ago. It looks like they were done with modern day precision tools. Mr. Greg Hare felt that gopher teeth were the tools used to incise the blood line. What is also amazing is the wide range of barb patterns that can be created for a hunting point.

Another hunting item with decoration on it is the bow. Bows that were made for displays to illustrate the old style bows at the Kluane museum of Natural History have a series of light and dark patterns ringing the bow. These patterns appear to have been added by controlled burning to brown the wood for the rings. They also may have added a kind of stain to achieve the rings. The ring pattern seems to have been done in the past in other parts of the Yukon. In *Part of the Land, Part of the Water* on page 68 is a drawing of the Loucheux (Gwich'in) man holding a bow. This drawing was done by Alexander Murray in the 1840s. We can see the same pattern in the bow that the man is holding. See figure # 305 for an example of the patterns and a pattern on an arrow that accompanies the bow from the Kluane Museum of Natural History.

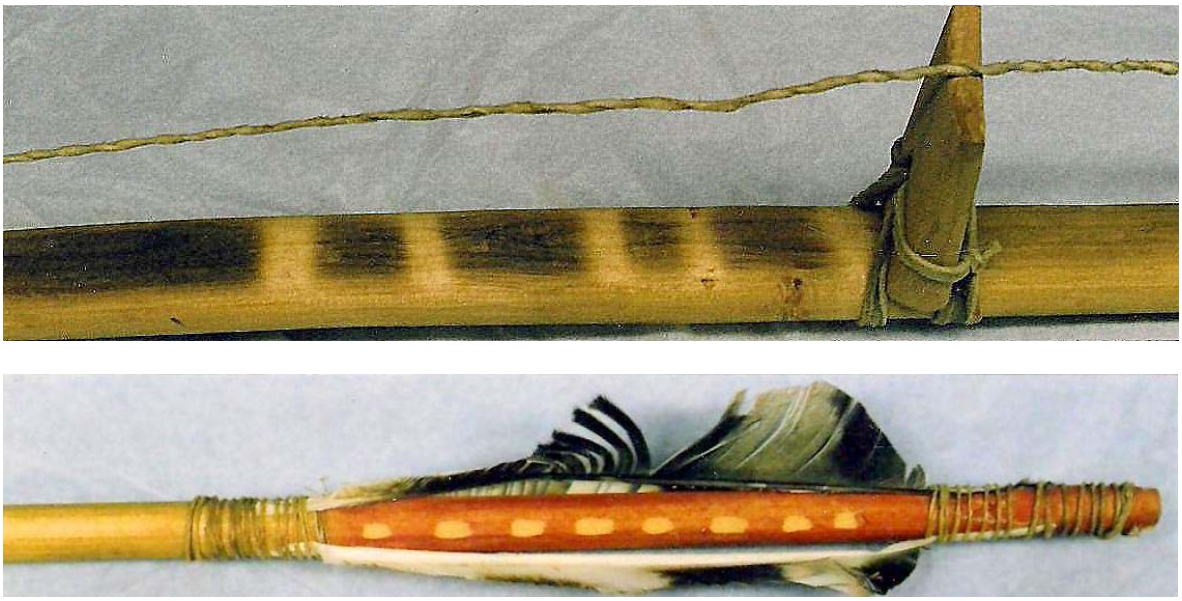


Figure # 305, ring patterns on the bow & pattern on arrow. 995.49, KMNH.

War clubs

While I have not come across any examples of war clubs from the south-central Yukon, I have seen many from the Tanaina, Ahtna and Gwich'in people. The war clubs may have been used in the south-central Yukon but no examples from this region have made it into museums. This is not such an unusual thing since I haven't seen examples of masks or rattles from the south-central Yukon either; I do know masks and rattles were indeed used in this area. In figure # 306 is a war club from the British Museum in London, England. It was from the Mackenzie River in the Northwest Territories and is listed as Athapaskan.

Figure # 306, Athapaskan war club from Mackenzie River, NWT. Am.2288, BM.

The handle end is broken off and the club is decorated with a very fine but common Athapaskan zigzag pattern. This club is typical of clubs from the Northwest Territories, Yukon and Alaska regions. The next example is in the Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, in Berlin, Germany. It was collected before 1830 by the London Missionary Society. The Church Missionary Society basically operated near a Hudson Bay post. This club would have come from somewhere around the Mackenzie River area, since the Hudson Bay Company did not go west of the Mackenzie River until the 1840s. Later the club was obtained by A. Speyer and sold to the museum in 1963. As A. Speyer's was a major collector he dealt with many artifacts. Recently some scholars have questioned the reliability of Speyer's identifications of the artifacts he sold. As a result the provenance and date of collection could be questioned.

Figure # 307, Athapaskan war club from Mackenzie River, NWT. IVA 9475, Ethnologisches Museum Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

There is no need to show more clubs as they all have a similar shape, except their lengths vary somewhat. Some have hide around the handle, others not. They are all decorated with various detailed geometric patterns, repeating cone and zigzag motifs being the most common.

Hunt and warfare scenes

In this section I will discuss various hunting scenes that are either painted on drums and arrow quivers or engraved on bone charms.

The first image is an engraved bird on a bone from the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural, Anthropology Department. Printed on the bone is: "5610 Yukon R. W.H. Dall Knife". The museum lists this as a bone charm and Kutchin. I believe however that it belonged to a Knife Indian, as this is written on the bone: "Knife". The Knife Indians are the Northern Tutchone people. While Dall did not spend time in the Yukon Territory, some of his party travelled to Fort Selkirk from Fort Yukon and returned with items,

including a charred piece from the then burnt Fort Selkirk. Fort Selkirk was pillaged and burnt by Chilkat Tlingits in 1852, because it was interfering with their trade monopoly with the Northern Tutchone and surrounding people. Besides charred wood, Dall's party may have brought traded items as well. If they did not bring the bone charm with them from the Fort Selkirk area, then Dall may have collected it in Fort Yukon. There were Tutchone people in Fort Yukon when he was there. The Upper Pelly or Northern Tutchone people were known at the time by the Hudson Bay Company as the Knife Indians. The image on the bone is a man in a canoe about to spear a bird. On the other side of the bone charm is a scene of what appears to be two wolves chasing caribou. Both sides are done in a combination of stick figure and outlined styles. The man is in a canoe and the bird is quite large in relationship to the canoe. Is this a swan? Swans were hunted and spiritually important and therefore may have warranted its depiction. Swan parts were used in many rituals and shaman practices. Obviously this is an important charm and would have been a valued item for trade. See figure # 308 for the bone with the bird hunting scene and the other side of the bone with a scene of caribou and wolves.

Figure # 308. Bone charm, listed as Kutchin, possibly Northern Tutchone. NMNH 5610.

This wolves/caribou scene shows an event that happens in nature all the time. In case you wonder whether the wolves could be dogs instead: dogs were not used often for hunting but mainly for packing. Also, if this was a scene with dogs I would think that the hunters would have been included in the scene. Wolves hunt in packs and I have no doubt the picture is of wolves. I wonder if the artist/hunter created this and the other scenes to indicate that he wants to be a successful hunter, like the wolves. Maybe the artist is a member of the wolf clan and in a metaphorical way he is using the wolves to represent his clan at a successful hunt.

On another bone charm collected by Dall, at the same time as the above bone charm, is shown a hunting scene on one side and an event with a group of people on the other side. In figure # 309 is the hunting scene.

Figure # 309, Hunting scene on bone artifact. NMNH 5611.

The scene shows a lone hunter with a bow and arrow aiming at a herd of four caribou. Is the lone hunter the owner of this charm? Was there not enough room to place more hunters? These images are also done in both stick figure and outlined styles. The other side of the charm has a scene with a group of stick-figure people. See figure # 310. I am not sure what they are doing.

Figure # 310, Scene of group of people on bone artifact. NMNH 5611.

I think is shows either a dance or a battle scene. See figure # 311 for a closer look at the image.

Figure # 311. Scene of group of people on bone artifact. NMNH 5611.

Are they raising feather wands in the air as part of a dance to celebrate something or do they have knives raised in the air as part of a battle? Is the third man from the right killing the middle man? This is the only object representing a dance or battle scene that I have come across.

Hunting scenes on arrow quivers

Hunting scenes are often painted on arrow quivers. The Athapaskan arrow quiver is designed in the same basic pattern that covers the whole area from Northern British Columbia and into the interior of Alaska. One of the earliest examples of the Athapaskan arrow quiver is in the British Museum collection. This quiver was collected during Captain Cook's third exploration voyage of 1776-1780. See figure # 312 for a photograph of the image.

Figure # 312, Athapaskan arrow quiver. Am1978, Q.21 BM.

This quiver was collected by Captain Cook in May of 1778 when he explored Prince William Sound. Cook never positively identified the First Nations people he was trading with, but knew they were not like the people of Nootka Sound he recently left or the Eskimos. The area was the territory of the Chugach Eskimos, the present day Alutiiq, but there was a major pre-contact trading route with the Athapaskan Tanaina and Tlingits passing through the area. The two main items that the Native people wanted in trade were iron pieces of at least eight to ten inches long and sky-blue glass beads. I suspect the iron was to make daggers. Cook later sailed into Cook Inlet, the home of the Tanaina people, and also traded there. I believe this quiver to be Tanaina because of the style. Eskimo quivers are very different while the Athapaskan quivers will generally follow the same pattern. The exception to the typical Athapaskan pattern is the quiver that is shown in Alexander Murray's sketch in *Part of the Land, Part of the Water* on page 68. I have mentioned this earlier in this chapter. The Loucheux (Gwich'in) man is holding a bow and has a quiver that is not like any I have examined. I suspect that Murray got the details of the quiver wrong or that the detail was changed when the original sketch was transferred to engraving.

The quiver above has an opening on the head of the quiver like all Athapaskan quivers I examined which shows that they were worn on the left side of the body; the arrow would be pulled out of the quiver with the right hand while the bow was held by the left hand.

The opening is designed so that the shooter has easy access to the arrows. The arrows will not fall out of the quiver if it is tipped to a vertical upside down position. There is a strap that is attached to the top that allows it to be carried hands free. It is decorated with red ochre at both ends and porcupine embroidery around the opening, ends and center.

The porcupine embroidery is done in the typical Tanaina style. See figure # 313 for a detail of the embroidery that is added to the center part of the quiver. It is done in Tanaina colours of beige, sepia and brown. Compare these designs with the Tanaina porcupine embroidery that I presented in Chapter Three-Hide Clothing to Dance Shirts.

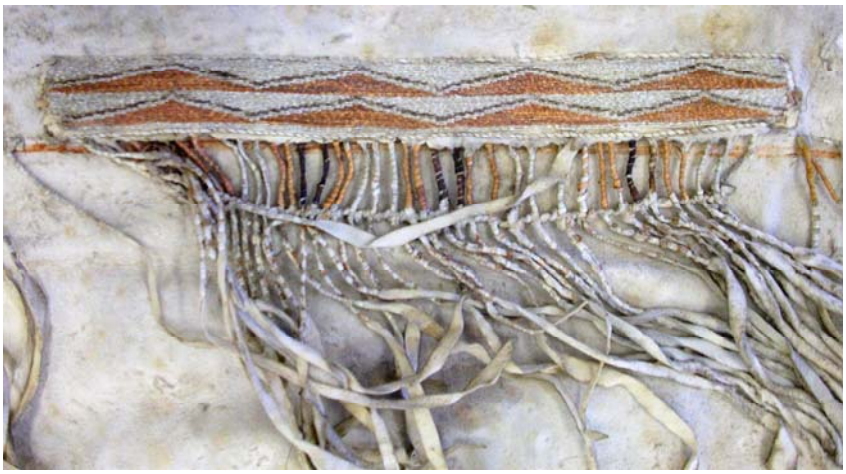


Figure # 313, Detail of Athapaskan arrow quiver. Am1978, Q.21 BM.

Because of the style I believe this to be the earliest Athapaskan quiver that was collected.

Following are painted quivers with animals and hunting scenes painted on them. Most are listed as Tanaina but some may be misidentified as Tanaina and come from other areas. This misidentification has probably the same reason as the tunics: they are often identified as Kutchin because of the pattern. The following four arrow quivers all have animals painted on them in red ochre and in the typical silhouette Athapaskan style. The first arrow quiver is from the Musee d'ethnographie in Geneva, Switzerland. The museum notes state that this quiver was made in the 1800s and was collected in Canada. It shows three sheep, two of which have arrows in their backs, as well as a beaver. The scene obviously makes reference to the hunt but the hunters themselves are not painted into the scene. See figure # 314.

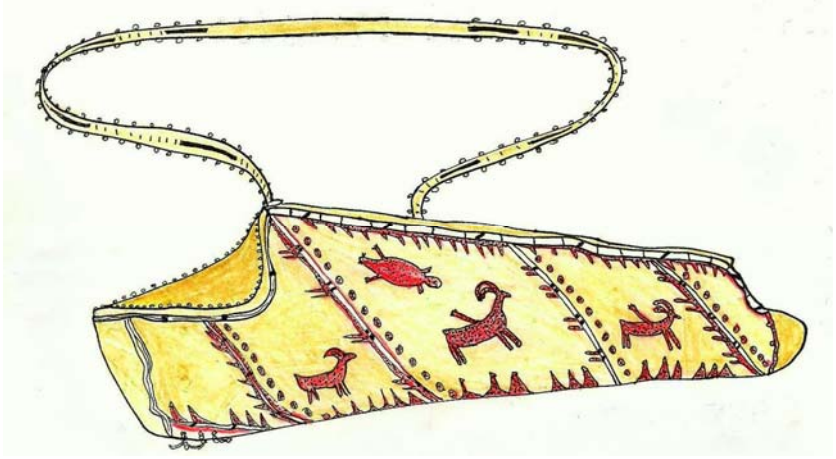


Figure # 314, Tanana arrow quiver with painted figures. Musee d'ethnographie

On the next three painted quivers from the collections of Peter the Great Museum in St. Petersburg, Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg and the Alaska State Museum in Juneau are animal chase hunting scenes. On the St. Petersburg quiver in figure # 315 are a dozen painted figures with the human hunters going after caribou while from the opposite direction there are most likely wolves going after two sheep. There are a total of four wolf-like animals on the quiver. The main caribou has an arrow in its back while the other large animal stands behind the hunters. While this may be a caribou without its antlers, it is heavier set, so may represent a moose.

Besides the caribou and sheep are two beavers. On an interesting note, one hunter has a bow to shoot the animals with while the other seems to have a different weapon. Is this a type of war club, a spear or a musket? There is a similar hunter on the quiver in figure # 317. I will examine the hunter in greater detail later.

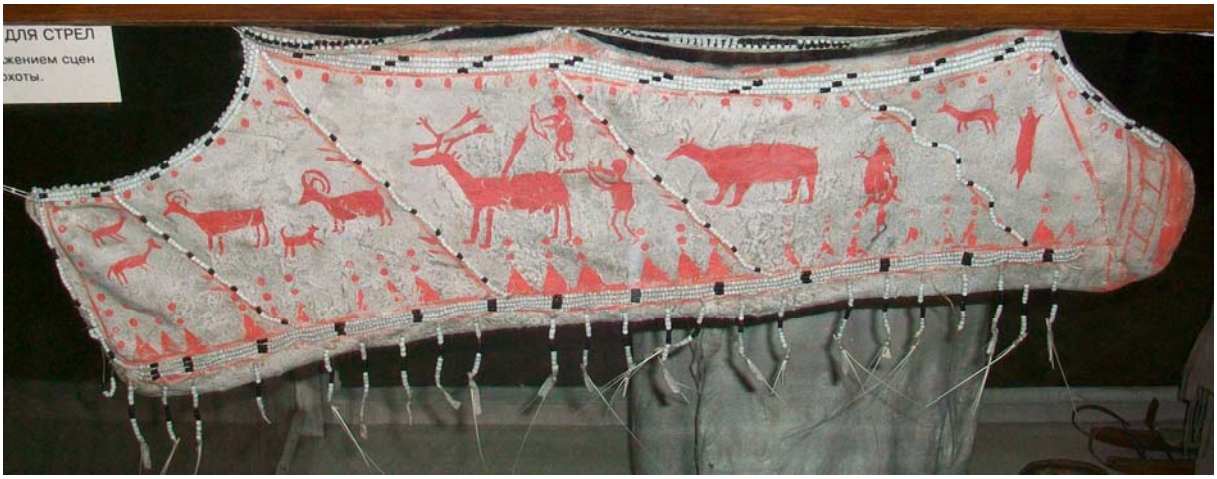


Figure # 315. Painted hunting scene on arrow quiver. Peter the Great Museum.

On the Hamburg quiver in figure # 316 is again a dozen figures with the wolves chasing the caribou, but there no hunters in the present in the scene. Again, there is at least one beaver represented.

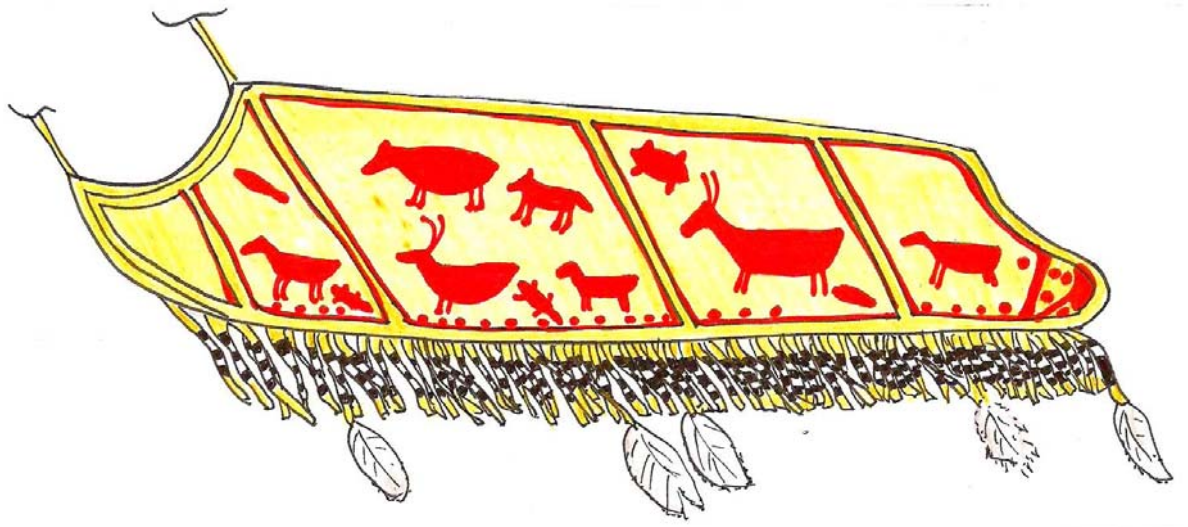


Figure # 316. Painted hunting scene on arrow quiver. Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg.

All three arrow quivers have the repeating dot motif and the Musee d'ethnographie as well as the Peter the Great Museum quivers both have the repeating cone motifs. Only the quiver in figure # 317 does not have the four diagonal lines going from the top to the bottom. This quiver is from the Alaska State Museum and on it is depicted a scene of larger and smaller animals. These animals, as in many of the other painted examples, are done in red ochre and are in the silhouette method. They appear to be caribou and since caribou were the main big game food source for many of the interior First Nations people, it would all make sense. Moose are fairly recent additions to the Yukon region, slowly moving into the area in the 1800s. The herds of caribou in the mountain ranges were so large that Elder Annie Ned, who was born in the 1880s, described a scene of "so many caribou, as if the whole mountain was moving". These giant herds were largely depleted by the end of World War Two. The quiver is identified as Tanaina type from Alaska.

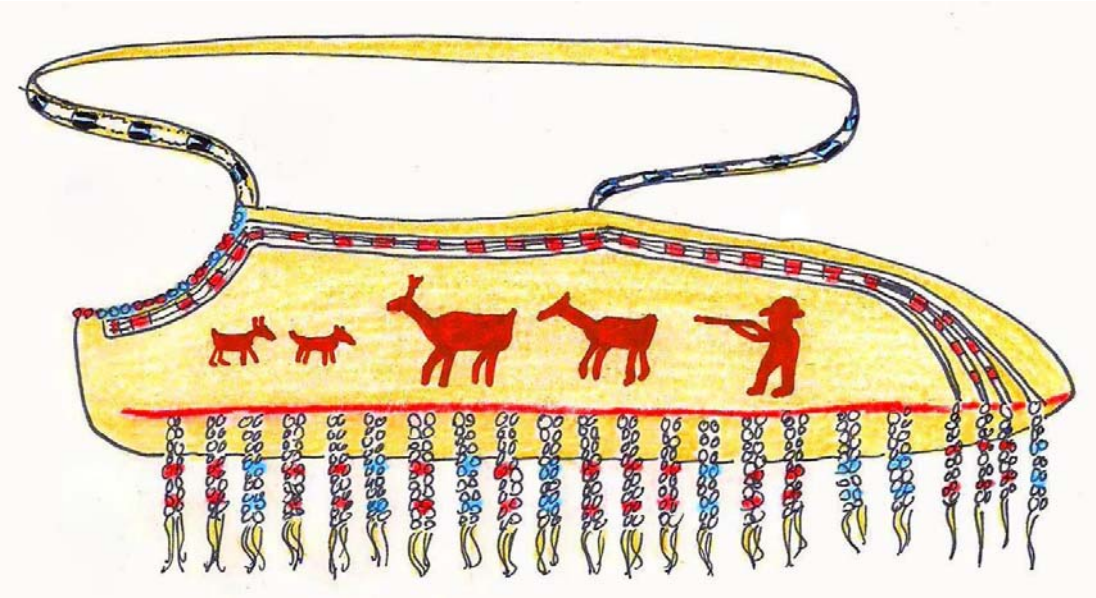


Figure # 317, Athapaskan quiver. ASM.

It appears as if the hunter is shooting the caribou with a rifle and is wearing a white man's hat. This does cause some questions. First, why would the artist put a rifle hunting scene on an arrow quiver, since it seems that the bow and arrows were intended to be used by that hunter? While there may be a time when the hunter used both a musket and bow and arrow it still would not explain why he would put the musket on his quiver. Maybe it was easier to paint the hunting scene of him using a rifle on the quiver than on the rifle stock. But then again, is the hunter instead holding a bow and arrow? The way the weapon is painted on the quiver may have to do with the way that Yukon First Nations shot arrows. They did not do it in the same way as Europeans or in the manner that is depicted by other First Nations from the south. Instead of holding the bow in a vertical position, Yukon First Nations held the bow almost horizontal. They shot their arrows from their bows while holding the weapon with an underhand grip. See an example in the following photograph in figure # 318.

Figure # 318, Ross River people shooting arrows. C1930s. Claude Tidd fonds # 7160, YA.

Yet the images of the hunters in figures # 309 and # 315 are holding their bows in a fashion that make it easily recognizable. Another hypothesis might be that the artist wants his arrow to fly as straight and deadly as a bullet, and therefore painted the gun on his arrow quiver. There were a few white men venturing into the interior in the late 1800s and this scene may be a reference to the First Nations person seeing the white man hunt with a rifle. After all, the quiver has beads as part of the design, so it was made anywhere between the 1840s and 1890s.

Another questionable image is the Whiteman's hat in figure # 317. See another image of a man that appears to be wearing a Whiteman's type of hat in figure # 319.

Figure # 319. Man and animals on Gwich'in Drum. Anchorage Museum. UvK drawing.

On the drum the top figure is a man that is wearing what appears to be white man's clothing. He is surrounded by animals, possibly moose, a wolf, a weasel, a caribou and, once again, a beaver. This drum is in the Anchorage Museum collection and was collected in 1948. It was made by the Upper Yukon Kutchin (Gwich'in). Since this drum is more recent in origin the man is wearing white man's clothing and hat.

But in the case of figure # 317, this might not be the case. There was a type of common root hat that was used by both Athapaskans and Tlingits about which little has been written. The hats might have been considered a copy of white man's hats. When painted in silhouette they would look like a white man's hat. See figure # 320 of an Athapaskan root hat that is in the Manitoba Museum's collection. The notes on this hat state that it was collected by Bishop Stringer from the Yukon. Bishop Stringer lived in various places across the north and was in and out of the Yukon around the turn of the 20th century. Starting in 1903 Stringer became more or less a permanent resident in the Yukon since he became Bishop in 1905. This hat would therefore be from around the turn of the 20th century. Another and much earlier hat is Tlingit and is in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München.

Figure # 320. Yukon Athapaskan root hat. H4-33-7, MM.

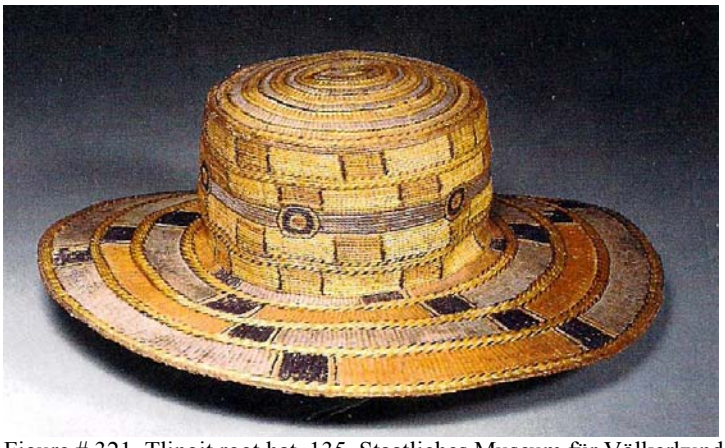


Figure # 321. Tlingit root hat. 135, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München.

The hat above was collected during Captain Cook's voyage of 1776 to 1780. As I mentioned earlier Capt. Cook was in the northwest coast area of Alaska in 1778. This places the hat style before the influence of white people and thus indigenous. Here we might have an answer to the hat in figure # 317.

A final quiver I will discuss can be seen in figure # 322. This quiver belongs to the Council of Yukon First Nations collection and the notes state that the animal designs on it are caribou and deer. These caribou are painted in red ochre and in "stick man" fashion, almost like the engravings on the speaker's staff that I discussed in Chapter Five-Figurative Art. While there is no hunting scene, there are animals painted on the quiver which are the targets of the arrows.

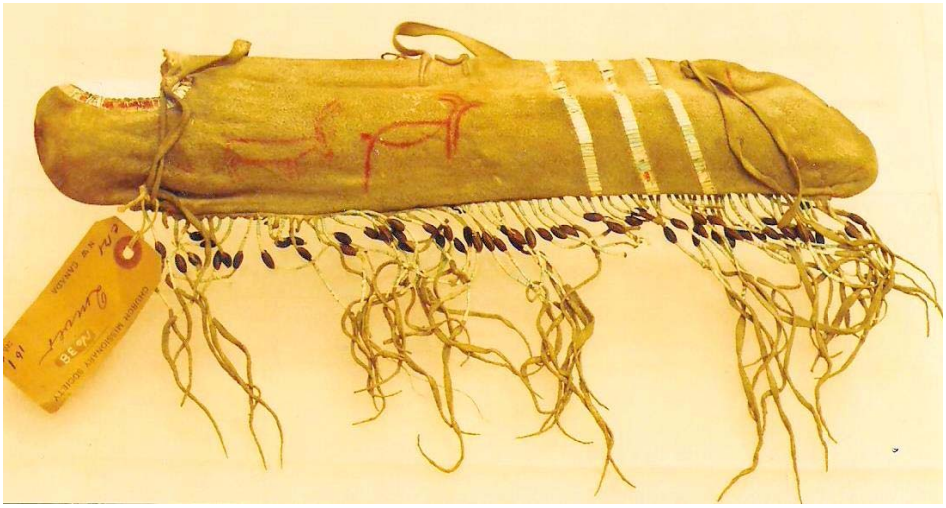


Figure # 322, painted quiver. CYFN.

This quiver was made either before trade beads arrived in the area in the 1840s, or it is a more recent object on which the maker decided not to use beads. The animal on the left is clearly a caribou but the animal on the right does not look like a deer as is stated in the note. Deer were only recently introduced into the Yukon. Also note that there is not an image of a beaver. I think that this quiver is from the Kluane Lake or Donjek River areas because of the Donjek berries that are located on the fringes at the bottom of the quiver. When I visited the Kluane Museum of Natural History in Burwash Landing there were a large amount of artifacts with the seeds of the Donjek berry. This berry comes from the Silverberry family and has been used by other Athapaskans. For example, the Gwich'in used them in their clothing, on fringes. I found that in the south-central Yukon, the most common use of these seeds was in the Kluane Lake area. Mrs. Annie Smith explained that the berry has to be boiled and the remaining seed was then used to put on fringes. Another reason why I think this quiver is from the Kluane Lake area is that the second painted animal is a dall sheep. The Kluane Lake area has a high concentration of Dall sheep on the St. Elias Mountains, besides Kluane Lake. The horns look like sheep's horns and the animal is not painted level, like the caribou, but on an angle, as if the animal was standing on the side of a mountain. Of course, since the Silverberries were wide spread, as was the practice of sheep hunting, the quiver could be from anywhere in the Silverberry range, which is central Alaska, southwestern Yukon and the Mackenzie basin areas. This quiver is smaller than a man's quiver and there has been discussion that this may have belonged to a child. I think that the work on it is too detailed to be a child's quiver unless an older relative made it for the child as a sign of affection or even a sign of wealth.

From the examples we can see that arrow quivers were often painted with hunting scenes or with prey animals. An animal predator, like the wolf, was most of the time included as well. Lastly, a beaver was often represented. Was this last animal depicted to represent the smartness of Beaverman and his ability to outsmart animals? Did the hunter want to be as smart as Beaverman in this case or was it due to the increased popularity of beaver pelts?

Additional comments

I have given a brief overview of the art related to hunting and warfare. There are some examples I have not mentioned. One such object is the scapula, on which images were placed. You can see two images in figures # 172 and # 173 both on page 191. But I have not seen any decorated scapulas to examine during my research. Neither have I seen any examples of hunter's amulets, of which I understand that they were often small carved animals. The next artifact was collected a long way from the Yukon but I think it is representational of a Yukon hunter's amulet. It has a long nose and appears to me a wolf's head. See figure # 323 for a photograph of the head that is also in the collection of the National Museum of Nature History. It is listed as Ingalik (Deg Hit'an) Tanana and was collected at Norton Sound, Alaska in 1880. The detailing of this artifact is very fine. The whiskers are shown as well as the nose and teeth. This size was typical of the carvings created by hunter-gatherer people. It is easily carried because of its small size. As for its purpose I agree with what Honigmann writes in *The Kaska Indians: An Ethnographic Reconstruction* on page 115 about hunting rites: "The wearing of animal figurines cut from bone insures success in hunting."

Figure # 323, Tanana Wolf head artifact. NMNH 43790.