Tlingit Tunic Design: Visual Definition, Meaning, and Identity

by

Jennifer Lynn Clevenger

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for degree of
MASTER’S OF SCIENCE
IN
APPAREL PRODUCT DESIGN AND ANALYSIS

APPROVED:

Joann Ferguson Boles, Chair

Catherine Cerny

Anita Puckett

March 30, 1998
Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: Tlingit, Tunics, Design, Definition, Meaning
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The Tlingit people have lived along the southeastern coast of Alaska since 1730. Historically, the highly decorated Tlingit tunics were worn at potlatches, as the first layer of regalia. The tunics were often covered with dance aprons, bibs, and blankets. Potlatches are still held today but with less frequency. Today, Celebration is held every two years, so that the Tlingit may gather to celebrate their heritage through music, dance, and art.

The purpose of the research was to define the physical tunic, as well as, to determine meaning associated with the tunics. Models were created to divide the fifty tunics into more manageable sections, which were originally based on DeLong's (1987) use of Gestalt theory of part-to-whole and whole-to-part viewing. The viewing relationships of interior design lines, silhouette, and surface design readily organized appearance into visual categories. The models were further divided into
subsections which displayed information on a particular part of the tunic (for example, side silhouette shapes). Meaning was determined by using form associations. An expressive response scale, which deals specifically with the Tlingit tunics, was adapted from DeLong's (1987) form association scale.

The researcher visited six museums along the Inner Passage of Alaska. Twenty-eight relics were viewed at the various museums. Nine old photographs were also viewed at the museums. Celebration '96 in Juneau, as well as a dance event in Haines, were attended and videotaped so that the tunics could be seen in actual use. Thirteen tunics were viewable using the videotape.

Definition of the tunics was determined by analyzing the interior design lines, silhouette, and the surface design. The physical tunic had a simple silhouette and interior design lines, while the surface design was found to be much more complex. In other words, the non-complex outline framed a complex surface design.

Tunics were placed into four possible categories in the expressive response scale. The tunics distinctly fell into two of the four categories. Meaning determined that the shape was large with emphasis on the silhouette. Line was discontinuous while the color
tended to be bright. The texture was able to fill the surface with coarse areas usually due to beadwork.

Group identity was conveyed through the use of similar silhouettes and interior design lines. Individuality was expressed in the uniqueness of the surface designs - in the type of design, varied location, and use of materials.
DEDICATION

This master’s thesis is dedicated in loving memory of my dad, William Douglas. My dad and mom helped to instill in me a love of learning and a thirst for knowledge. The Lord took my dad too young but left behind my family to continue on. This thesis is a record of the greatness my dad achieved by teaching me to go for my dreams and never settle for less. Thanks Daddy, you are always in my heart.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to extend her heartfelt thanks to the Tlingit people for sharing their culture, “Gunalcheesh!” The author would like to thank her mother for all her love, time, and efforts. She would also like to thank her husband, Kevin and her daughter, Cheyenne Raven for their patience and unstoppable love; without their unending support I would not have been able to complete my research. I would like to thank my in-laws, Ken and Irene Clevenger, for helping care for my daughter, so I could work on my research. I would like to thank both of my committee members, Catherine Cerny and Anita Puckett, for their help and suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank Joann Boles, my chair, advisor, support system, mentor and friend.
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Tlingit People

Tlingit, sometimes spelled Thlinkit or Thlinget, is pronounced Kling’ket and means tidal people. The society is matrilineal and does not recognize the father’s relatives. Tlingit society is divided into two moieties or phratry, which are two primary subdivisions among some tribes. The two moieties are Raven and Wolf/Eagle. Each moiety consists of approximately 25 clans (see Appendix A). Each clan (naa) contains house groups with ten to forty members (delAguna, 1991). Tlingit crests, at’u Pu, are concrete symbols of spiritual entities. The crests represented by animals refers to the spiritual entity, not the actual animal (Oberg, 1973). Tlingit have no moral qualms about hunting crest animals. There is a fundamental difference between the moieties. The raven is the primary symbol of the Raven moiety. Members of the Raven moiety relate themselves to the mythical raven, thought to be the creator of Earth (Oberg, 1973). Members of the Raven moiety believe they are actually “children” of the Raven. The Raven moiety can be likened to the chosen people in Judeo-Christian
society, i.e. the Jewish people. Members of the Wolf/Eagle moiety use the wolf as their primary symbol in the northern region of southeastern Alaska. Eagle is the primary symbol of the moiety in the southern region of southeastern Alaska. There is no mythical connection or unity between the Wolf/Eagle and the people (Oberg, 1973). The Wolf/Eagle moiety also believes that the Raven is the Creator but do not believe they are the "children" of the Raven. Crests are not worshipped or prayed to, they simply account for the existence of the Tlingit world.

Most crests were acquired through actual or historical events. Only a few crests come from supernatural circumstances, i.e. events or conditions outside the natural realm of one's existence. For example, a frog led a wandering clan to the spot known as Sitka (Oberg, 1973). The supernatural frog became the crest of two clans in the Raven moiety.

The Tlingit hold a large gathering of their people, called Celebration, every two years. Celebration '96 had almost 4000 participants, including Tlingits, a few Haida clans, and one Tsimshian clan. The Chilkat, a member of the Raven moiety, are a subdivision of the Tlingit. The Chilkat, while still associated with the Tlingit actually broke away from the Tlingit a hundred plus year ago.
The Tlingit, Haida, and Chilkat all used the potlatch ceremonies as the most important gathering or celebration. One clan would invite members of the opposite moiety to celebrate. Wealth from the potlatching clan would be distributed among the guests as homage for the event being celebrated. Tlingit, Haida, and Chilkat used the potlatch as both a political arena and a way to show status. Potlatches were also used for naming ceremonies and honoring the dead. Symbolic crests and ceremonial robes, tunics, and hats were used during the potlatches. All participants wore their finest regalia, in order to demonstrate their place in society.

The Haida have a matrilineal society divided into two moieties. The Tsimshian are also matrilineal but are divided into three equal groups (like moieties). The Haida work with the Tlingit on a government board called the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. Haida and Tsimshian adornment are similar to that of the Tlingit. All three tribes use similar crests on all the objects that were a part of their world, including bentwood boxes, screens, houseposts, totem poles, ceremonial garments, hats, and accessories. Bracelets with engraved crests were important in Tlingit and Haida society. In fact, “Haida bracelets continue to play an important role in the [Haida] potlatch” (Townsend-Gault, 1994, p. 456). The meanings of the
adornment of the self remains important in today's Native American societies. The elaborate Haida garments demonstrated that "appearances are very important in ceremony and self-respect a common value - the way we carry ourselves in public, appearing in a button blanket with our family crests, show pride in where we come from" (Townsend-Gault, 1994, p. 457). The Tlingit demonstrated pride through ceremonial garments, including tunics and button blankets, with tribal crests.

Protection from the elements was a major concern since the Tlingit live along the coast of Southeastern Alaska, known as the Inner Passage. Harsh cold and snow of the Interior was much more intensive than that of the Inner Passage. The Eskimos had to pattern their clothing with the warmest skins and furs. The Tlingit were able to concentrate on adornment of their garments since the harsh weather was of a lesser concern. Tlingits are "people of the sea and forest, drawing from both for food, clothing, protection, and spiritual strength" (Paul, 1979, p. 237). Spruce roots and dyed grasses were commonly used to make baskets and hats. Blankets were made from spun goat hair and cedar fibers. Decorative motifs on the blankets told a story or a myth. For example, a motif of Raven with the sun in His mouth told the myth of how light was brought to the world. Natural fibers and
local plants were used to create many of the garments. The Russians brought trade cloth (a heavy felted wool) which the Tlingit bought. Today, a combination of store bought materials and traditional materials are used.

The Problem

Tlingit garments were chosen as a research topic because of their many applied design characteristics, particularly crest motifs. Originally, the focus was on crests as applied to all garments in relation to status. However, the number of crests and garments among the Tlingit is too numerous, considering the several layers of crest adorned regalia. The number of crests cannot be calculated since every clan has one or more crest and each household has one or more crests. (deLaguna, 1991). Several of the Tlingit garments have been previously studied. Extensive research was found on Tlingit button blanket designs by Otness (1979) and Jensen and Sargent (1993), while the meanings associated with the Chilkat blankets had been studied by Paul (1979) and Vanderburg (1953). During a literature search, a photograph of two Tlingit men, one wearing a Bison crest tunic and the other wearing a Beaver crest tunic, was noted. The Bison and Beaver tunics (deLaguna, 1991) were not accompanied by button blankets or Chilkat blankets. A follow-up search for more tunics revealed little information. The tunics appeared
to be ceremonial garments because ceremonial paraphernalia in the form of a Raven rattle, frontlet headdress, and potlatch hat, accompanied the tunics. Several prominent authors (deLaguna, 1991; Jonaitis, 1986; and Oberg, 1973) on the Tlingit have included sections on ceremonial garments. However, these sections hardly mention the tunics worn with the rest of the ceremonial regalia. Since little information was found on Tlingit tunics along with ceremonial regalia, a literature search was completed into everyday Tlingit garments. According to deLaguna (1991) and Kan (1989), Tlingit's daily use garments are simple and functional, except for the aristocracy. The Bison and Beaver tunics were decorated with an allover crest design. According to deLaguna (1991), ceremonies, particularly potlatches, were occasions for everyone to wear crest adorned garments. The tunics were presumed to be of a ceremonial nature rather than of a daily use nature.

The tunics have received little attention because they are the first layer of regalia. In most cases, several other layers of regalia cover the tunic, including dance aprons, bibs, and blankets. The tunics are, however, as decorated as the other ceremonial paraphernalia. According to deLaguna (1991), most ceremonial paraphernalia was highly decorated with beadwork, buttonwork, and felt appliqués. The seldom seen tunics were no exception. According to deLaguna (1991)
and an on-sight experience at Celebration '96 (a gathering of the Tlingit people to celebrate their heritage). Tunics would not have been so highly decorated if the Tlingits did not value them as ceremonial garments.
Chapter II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gestalt Theory and Visual Analysis

A theoretical framework for visual analysis was used. Gestalt was the underlying theorist principle for visual analysis. Gestalt theory suggested that individuals organized their impressions in a manner that allowed for easy understanding (DeLong, 1987; Kaiser, 1990). In Gestalt theory, this impression was described as whole-to-part and part-to-whole observations. The whole referred to a viewer’s overall perception of the object, where the whole was understood as greater than the sum of the parts that comprised the object. The part referred to the component features that contributed to the person’s overall impressions. A change in one part modified the person’s overall perception. According to DeLong (1987), visual form was a “structure of parts related to other parts and to the whole form” (p. 5). Whole-to-part viewing occurred when the eye first perceived the entire form and then viewed the details. Part-to-whole viewing occurred when the eye focused on the details within the entire form and then saw the whole. A visual part functioned either to integrate or divide the space within an object. Through perception, the viewer organized the parts to
define their place in the whole. DeLong (1987) noted that perception of the form was influenced by its expressive effect and culturally established meanings.

For this study, I analyzed the Gestalt impression from three perspectives: tunic definition, tunic meaning, and tunic identity. Tunic definition considered the relationship amongst the physical features of the tunics, including silhouette, interior design lines, and surface design. First, silhouette (i.e., the outline of the garment) was seen as the whole with interior design lines (i.e., seamlines joining garment parts) and surface designs (i.e., woven or applied designs to the ground layer of the garment) viewed as parts. Second, interior design lines and surface designs were each viewed as wholes with their form properties as the parts composing them. Both Dondis (1973) and Osborne (1970) agreed that any garment system (e.g., tunic) is a whole created from interacting parts.

Tunic meaning considered the relationship of visual definers (i.e., shape, line, color, and texture) in the expression of meaning. Visual definers provided perceptual definition to the visual parts. DeLong (1987) operationalized meaning as form associations with expressive effects, which she described as elementary mental states. She
suggested that four distinctive interactions of shape, line, color, and texture contributed to the perception of excitement, calmness, strength, and delicacy. For DeLong (1987), meaning was derived from the “form properties and the associations they create within the whole” (p. 137-139).

The situational milieu established a common context for perceiving the meaning of form, as it allowed for individual interpretations. Tunic identity related similarities and uniqueness amongst form properties across whole/part relationships observed in Tlingit tunics.

DeLong (1987) analyzed the apparel body construct (ABC), the “visual form presented by the interaction of apparel on the human body” (p. 3). The ABC was a construct understood through perceptual processes. Using Gestalt theory, DeLong related costumed bodies to the surrounding space. As whole, DeLong suggested that to understand “the function of a part in the whole requires taking into account all visual parts, regardless of their visual primacy” (p. 97). The present study used Gestalt theory to analyze the Tlingit tunics. First, the tunic and its constituent form properties were the singular focus for examining whole/part relationships. Second, consistencies
and variations amongst the form properties were viewed in relation to usage, defined as the wearer, the wearing, and the occasion.

The primary concern of this thesis rests on meaning. DeLong expanded the understanding of meaning to include the process of perception; meaning is "a result of a specific visual structure's effect upon the viewer" (p. 165). Understanding meaning of the Tlingit tunics necessitated an examination the visual inter-relationship of the parts to the whole that constituted perception of the tunics. The first objective of the study was to define the visual parts of the tunic and to examine their part/whole interrelationships. The second objective of the study was to locate the interrelationship of the visual definers (i.e., the perception of shape, line, color, and texture) amongst Tlingit tunics according to DeLong's expressive associations. The third objective was to relate the findings of similarity and uniqueness in form properties amongst the Tlingit tunics to concepts of group identity and individuality through knowledge of the situational milieu.
Chapter III

PROCEDURES

Locating Information on Tunics

Few photographs were available to examine, since other ceremonial paraphernalia usually covered the majority of the tunic. Several photographs seen in the literature were from the National Museum of the American Indian, George Gustav Heye Center (also known as the Heye Foundation) in New York City (deLaguna, 1991). A trip to the Heye Foundation allowed on-site viewing of two tunics. One tunic was covered by a Chilkat blanket while the other was covered by a button blanket. A small portion of each tunic was visible. This viewing indicated that some tunics were available in museums in the lower 48 states.

The next step was deciding which museums had Tlingit tunics available in their collections. Using interesting, detailed photographs from Tripp (1994), deLaguna (1991), and Jonaitis (1986), some museums were identified for potential tunic collections. Each museum was sent a letter requesting information on their Tlingit collections, particularly tunics. Access to study and photograph every tunic in each
museum's collection was requested. Lighting information, for
photographing the collection was also requested. An inquiry about
existing slides and/or photographs of the museum's collection, along
with the provenance was made. Follow-up phone calls were placed to
each curator about their collection.

Tlingits live in the southeastern coastal region of Alaska and the
tip of Canada. A museum search was begun in the areas heavily
populated by the Tlingit, as well as museums known for their Native
Every museum with a Native American or Tlingit collection was
contacted by letter to inquire about Tlingit tunics. Museums with the
most extensive Tlingit tunic collections were determined through
conversations with curators about the quality and availability for
research. Several curators gave more current information than the
directory about other museums and the number of tunics in their
collections.

Several prominent government agencies were contacted for
documentation on the Tlingit. The National Archives and the Bureau of
Indian Affairs were unable to provide information, since the Tlingit were
not a fully recognized tribe by the federal government until 1982. BIA
records before 1982 were scant when compared to other Native
American groups. Alaska was not acquired by the United States until 1867. Together the Haida and Tlingit asked the federal government to give them a reservation and protection in 1889. However, the government ignored their requests and hoped that they would assimilate into the white man's world. The fight for recognition continued until 1941. At this time, the first federally recognized gathering of Tlingit finally took place in Wrangell, Alaska. However, the government still did not allow the Tlingit to interact with the Bureau of Indian Affairs until 1965. The Tlingit were not fully recognized by the federal government and were not allowed to receive BIA services. The Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribe of Alaska were finally put on the federal register in 1982, allowing them to receive BIA services (Gov't. Doc., 1989). Since this research covered tunics from the 19th and 20th centuries, documentation from the BIA was not available.

Development of a Data Collection Sheet

The research was focused on Tlingit tunics. However, no specific area was decided upon, since no complete tunics had been seen. A data collection sheet was developed to collect as much physical information as possible (Appendix B). Background information, such as year, owner, and geographic location were obtained from provenances.
whenever possible. A section on prestige value associated with additional regalia accompanying tunics was developed. However, since most tunics were viewed in storage rather than on display, the tunics were not accompanied by other regalia. This section was eliminated on subsequent museum visits.

The physical tunic was the major section of the data collection sheet. Silhouette, interior design lines, color, fabric type, and relationship to the wearer were the subgroups of the physical tunic. Fabric type was broken down into weave, count, crest application, trim, and visual qualities. Weave and count were eliminated since a substantial portion of the tunics were nonwovens - felt, fur, or leather. Even when the materials were woven, the count proved too difficult to be accurate in the low light conditions. Based on DeLong's (1987) model, the visual qualities were determined using a visual relationship scale (see Appendix B, III, 4, €).

Crests were the final section of the data collection sheet. Design, significance, materials, color, location, and proportion of coverage were the subgroups of the crests. Significance of the crest was eliminated since this required wearer participation and wearers were not available in the museums. Unfortunately, while wearers were present at Celebration '96 and the dance events, no one was available for
Interview. Color identification of the crest was not feasible, since the majority of the crests were constructed from thousands of different colored beads.

Extensive measurements and sketches were made of every tunic. Each museum was given a number code, while each tunic in the collection was given a letter code. The codes help to identify and separate the different tunics. Photographs were taken of every tunic to accompany each data collection sheet.

Photographic System

Each museum tunic was photographed. Photographs were shot from several angles, since the tunics would only be seen once. A Minolta Spxi 35mm camera was used to photograph the tunics. A 2000xl flash was allowed, however, no additional lighting was permitted. Two different lenses were used. A power zoom 35-80 AF Minolta lens was used for most angles. Some additional close-up details were photographed using a Minolta zoom xl 100-300 AF lens. The film used for the photographs was Kodak 35mm 200 speed. Two museums permitted the photographing of old photographs. A magnification filter (Quantary 49+2mm filter) allowed photography of existing photographs. A video camera (VHS Sharp™ video camera with
a Scotch™ extended play videotape) was used to videotape a special festival (Celebration '96) in Juneau and a dance event in Haines, Alaska.

The Trip

Museums on the Alaskan coast were selected by interviewing curators about the size and quality of the tunics in their collections. The region was selected on the basis of the most museums with the best collections. The majority of tunics were in areas inhabited by Tlingits. The Alaska State Museum, the Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center, The Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., Sitka National Historic Park, the Sheldon Jackson Museum, and the Juneau Douglas City Museum granted access to their Tlingit collection. Juneau, Haines, and Sitka were chosen because they each had two museums. During a telephone call, the curator of the Juneau Douglas City Museum indicated a cultural celebration of the Tlingit would take place from June 6-8, 1996 in Juneau. Celebration '96 was a festival of the Tlingit heritage through music, dance, and art. Approximately 4000 Tlingit, including a few small Haida clans and one Tsimshian clan, gather together every two years to celebrate, in an effort to recapture their nearly lost heritage.
Juneau became the preeminent stop with Celebration '96, as well as the Alaska State Museum and the Juneau Douglas City Museum. The Alaska State Museum had 17 tunics, including present-day examples. The Juneau Douglas City Museum had two tunics of viewable quality. The videotape of Celebration '96 had examples of both the historic and modern tunics. Ten tunics from the videotape were viewable. Hundreds of tunics were seen on the tape, however, only ten were seen both front and back. The second stop was at the once prominent Tlingit town of Haines. Collections at both the Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center (this is a single entity) and the Alaskan Indian Arts, Inc. were accessed. The Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center had two tunics, as well as, many historic photographs showing the Tlingit in tunics. I was able to re-photograph 24 of the original photos. However, due to the angles and age of many of the photographs, only eight tunics could be seen clearly and were analyzed. The Alaskan Indian Arts, Inc. had fifteen tunics which were still being actively used during the Chilkat dance performances. A performance of the Chilkat dancers, sponsored by the Alaskan Indian Arts, Inc., was attended to see and videotape the tunics in actual use. Although the stage was somewhat dark, several tunics could be seen clearly. The final stop was in Sitka to visit the Sheldon Jackson Museum and the
Sitka National Historic Park. The Sheldon Jackson Museum had five tunics and one old photograph, while the Sitka National Historic Park had two tunics. All of the museums granted permission to photograph the tunics. Table I summarizes the tunic distribution at museums and events.

Table I - Usable Relics and Documents of Tunics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUSEUM/EVENT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RELICS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF OLD PHOTOGRAPHS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TUNICS IN VIDEO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALASKA STATE MUSEUM</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUNEAU DOUGLAS CITY MUSEUM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHELDON MUSEUM AND CULTURAL CENTER</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALASKAN INDIAN ARTS, INC./CHILKAT DANCERS</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHELDON JACKSON MUSEUM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SITKA NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CELEBRATION '96</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL = 50</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approximately 400 photographs were taken of the tunics and performances. The first roll of film was immediately developed to ensure that the equipment was working properly. Each film cartridge was coded while at the museum. A list was made of the contents of each film cartridge to ensure accuracy in labeling. The film was
developed after the visits to the museums were completed. The code from each cartridge was written on the label of the development envelope. This ensured that the coding system remained intact. Once developed, each photograph was then labeled and coded to match the data collection sheets. Packets were assembled with pictures and data collection sheets. Each set of pictures were placed in a manila envelope and matched with the appropriate data collection sheet.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was divided into two major sections. First, silhouette, interior design lines, and surface design were analyzed to determine the visual definition of the tunics. Secondly, the DeLong (1987) expressive associations model was used to determine the visual meaning of the tunics.

Visual Definition - Silhouette

Silhouette of the tunics was divided into three subsections. All of the silhouettes were drawn out with a front and back view and then sorted into appropriate categories. The first part of the silhouettes drawn were necklines. The necklines were then sorted into categories of no collar, falling band, standing band, or fur collar (see Figure 1).
The second part of the silhouette was the sleeve (see Figure 2). The silhouettes were sorted first by long sleeves or sleeveless. Only two short sleeved tunics were found. Next, the silhouettes were sorted by whether or not there was any fringe, which was on the sleeve hem or along the underside of the sleeve.

Thirdly, the tunics were categorized by the silhouette of the side of the body of the garment. The shape was either straight or A-line (see Figure 3).
The final subsection of the silhouette was the hem (see Figure 4). The hems were sorted out by whether the hem was a plain folded edge or had fringe on the hem. The hems with fringe were further sorted into a straight, curved or diagonal silhouettes.

The total silhouette (see Figure 5) was a compilation of all the silhouette components.
**Visual Definition - Interior Design Lines**

Interior design lines included any seams within the body of the tunic. Sleeve, neck treatment, neck overclosure, and cuff were the four subsections of the interior design line portion of data analysis. All interior designs were drawn out before sorting began. The sleeves were either set-in or cut-on. The set-in sleeve was a curved shape at the armscye while the cut-on sleeve has a straight shape (see Figure 6).

**Figure 6**

**Interior Design Line-Sleeves**

- cut-on sleeve
- set-in sleeve
This next section was neckline seam because the shape of the collar made no difference in the shape of the seam. There were no subdivisions. The third section of interior design lines dealt with the front neck opening, finished with a placket lap or butted and faced as a slit (see Figure 7).

![Figure 7]

Neck Overclosure
- placket
- slit

The neck overclosures portion was divided into plackets and no plackets. Finally, seamed cuffs concluded the interior design line section. There was no further subdivisions.

The total interior design lines (see Figure 8) demonstrated that there were only four possible locations for an interior design line. Interior design line categories had fewer subdivisions than silhouette categories did.

![Figure 8]

Total Interior Design Line Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cut-on sleeve</th>
<th>set-in sleeve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neckline seam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>placket</td>
<td>slit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cuff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The third section of data analysis involved surface design which had the most variety and complexity. Again, each subsection of the surface design was drawn out before examination began. Three subsections were necessary for the surface design. The first subsection was the "Type of Surface Design" (see Figure 9) which were crests, florals, and geometric shapes. These major categories were further combined for tunics which had more than one surface design. The combined categories are crests with floral; crests with geometric shapes; florals with geometric shapes; and crests, florals, and geometric shapes. Next, the location of the surface design was analyzed (see Figure 10).
The location was divided into two major sections: 1) body of the tunic and 2) sleeve of the tunic. The body was further divided into four sections: upper body, belt, hem, and overall body. The upper body had several subdivisions. Surface design could be located on the yoke, top of shoulders, collar, placket, and segmentae (a shape that is on the front of the tunic below the shoulder area - see Figure 11) of the tunic. The term segmentae was borrowed from Roman and Byzantine costume. Segmentae were patterned squares or roundels located on the shoulders and/or the front of the tunic (Payne, 1995). The only surface design located on the sleeve was on the hem. Finally, the materials used to construct the surface design were categorized (see Figure 12).
The surface design could be woven directly into the body of the tunic. Beads and buttons were the major applied materials used to construct the surface design. Ribbon, either wide or narrow, was another applied material used to construct the surface designs. Felt and leather were used as either figure or ground for applied surface design. Figure constituted the motif, floral or geometric shape being constructed from the material. Ground was a material applied to the body of the tunic and then the crest, floral, or geometric was applied to the ground material. All of the applied materials except felt and leather were used as figure only. Yarn was used to construct tassels. Fur was used in a limited number of tunics to create an applied surface design.
Figure II- Double Raven/Two Face tunic; Alaska State Museum; segmentae: p. 26.
The total surface design (see Figure 13) was complex. There were seven separate types of surface design which could be placed in several different locations. In addition, the designs could be woven or applied using one or more types of materials.
Visual Meaning

The final section of data analysis was the expressive form associations. The tool was developed by adapting DeLong's (1989) visual analysis framework (see Table 2) to the Tlingit tunics. DeLong (1987) suggests that certain formal relationships within apparel design contribute to the expression of feelings. This expression is referred to as visual meaning. Expressive form association was subdivided into four categories for viewing the tunics. Each association can be further divided into viewing the tunics by shape, line, color, and texture. The
viewing was a perceptual viewing, rather than an objective formal analysis. Perceptual viewing involved the way the eye reacts to design features.

The viewer expects certain designs to be viewed in a particular pattern. Shape, line, color, and texture are the definers in viewing expressive effects. According to DeLong's (1987) definitions,

- **shape** is "a bounded area usually perceived as having at least the two dimensions of length and width (planar) or three dimensions by including depth (that which appears thick and rounding)" (p.165);
- **lines** are an "actual or imagined linkages between points or areas, a contour" (p.165);
- **color** is "the spectrum of light perception, which provides definition and potential visual relationships through the dimensions of hue, value, and intensity" (p.163);
- **texture** is "having a surface that appears filled and active" (p. 166).

Expressive effects (different combinations of shape, line, color, and texture) lead to different types of feelings in the viewer.

Shape was analyzed by the appearance of the outline of the tunic - silhouette. The inside of the tunic was analyzed by the relationship of the garment silhouette to the surface design. Both the outline and the inside of the tunic were simultaneously analyzed. Association 1 required that a tunic have a simple outline but a complex inside (emphasis on the interior surface design), while Association 3 required a large tunic surface area with an emphasis on the silhouette.
(see Figure 14). Association 2, needed the tunic to have only a few
definite shapes with little complexity (inside the tunic) and a clear
hierarchy (a pattern of definite shapes which the eye can clearly follow),
whereas Association 4 needed a small rounded silhouette with a soft
(indeterminate - fuzzy) edge. The tunic had to meet all the criteria listed
under shape for each association category.

Line was analyzed as either being continuous or discontinuous.
This was the perceptual way the eye traveled across the surface
designs on the tunic. Line dealt with the way in which a design was
organized in space, not the traditional artistic use of "line" as a definite
object. A continuous line was dominant - thick and bold (Association
3) and/or followed the body axes (Association 2). The eye moved
across the surface in a vertical and/or horizontal motion (see Figure
15). A discontinuous line caused the eye to skip from one surface
design to the next or from one part of a design to another part of the
same design. The eye moved in a diagonal or zigzag motion
(Association 1), or a curved motion (Association 4) (see Figure 16).
Table 2 - Form Association Scales (DeLong, p. 137, 1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DeLong's scale for form associations - expressive effects</th>
<th>Adapted scale for form associations - expressive effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EXCITEMENT</strong></td>
<td><strong>ASSOCIATION 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape - simple, contrasting, several to many</td>
<td>Shape - simple (outside - silhouette), contrasting (inside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line - discontinuous, diagonal, zigzag</td>
<td>Line - discontinuous - diagonal or zigzag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color - intense primary hues, contrasts in value</td>
<td>Color - primary hues and/or contrasts in values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texture - smooth surfaces that do not interrupt edge viewing or filled surfaces that do</td>
<td>Texture - filled surfaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CALMNESS</strong></td>
<td><strong>ASSOCIATION 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape - few with little contrast between or clear hierarchy</td>
<td>Shape - few shapes with little contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line - continuous and mostly related to the body</td>
<td>Line - continuous - with the body axis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color - muted, neutrals, cool colors</td>
<td>Color - muted, neutrals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texture - smooth surfaces with uninterrupted edge viewing, subtle background</td>
<td>Texture - smooth surfaces, subtle background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STRENGTH</strong></td>
<td><strong>ASSOCIATION 3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape - large, with silhouette emphasis</td>
<td>Shape - large, emphasis on the silhouette (not interior design lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line - continuous, directed, dominant, thick, bold</td>
<td>Line - continuous - dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color - value contrast, dark colors, neutral light</td>
<td>Color - value contrast, dark/bright colors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texture - smooth surfaces to edge, very coarse textured areas often used in combination with smooth, dark surfaces or in unusual combinations</td>
<td>Texture - coarse textured areas used in combination with relatively dark smooth surfaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DELICACY</strong></td>
<td><strong>ASSOCIATION 4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape - small, rounding, soft edge</td>
<td>Shape - small, soft edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line - curved, discontinuous, light weight</td>
<td>Line - discontinuous - curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color - clear warm colors, tints of warm or cool colors</td>
<td>Color - warm colors or tints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texture - minute variations, often printed or blurred</td>
<td>Texture - printed surface or surface with minute variations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 14 - Ermine tunic; Alaska State Museum; back of tunic; Association 1 and 3 - emphasis on silhouette; p. 32.
Figure 15 - Yellow dance tunic; Alaska State Museum; Association 2 and 3 - continuous line; p. 32.
Figure 16 - Black Velvet Multi-Crest tunic; Alaska State Museum; Association 1 and 4 - discontinuous line; p. 34.
Color was analyzed to identify whether the tunics were bright colors or muted neutrals. Hues and tints (intensity) as well as value contrast were also factors of color. Association 1 required primary hues (red, blue, and yellow) but contrast in value (lightness or darkness) (see Figure 17), while Association 3 also required a contrast in value but dark or bright (intensity) colors (see Figure 18). Association 2 needed muted and/or neutral colors whereas Association 4 needed warm colors or tints of colors (see Figure 19).

The analysis of visual texture was two-fold: both the ground layer of the tunic (background) and the figure layer (surface designs) were factors. The impression of smoothness and coarseness of the layers were taken into account. Smoothness was analyzed in terms of flatness of the ground fabric - fabric with even some nap was considered smooth. Coarseness of a tunic was analyzed by an uneven surface quality, usually beadwork and buttonwork were present as surface design. Association 1 required a tunic to have a filled surface, a higher ratio figure layer to ground layer (see Figure 20). The criteria for Association 2 was a smooth surface and a subtle (unobtrusive, usually determined by color) background - a higher ratio ground layer to figure layer (see Figure 21). Association 3 required a tunic to have coarse textured areas used in combination with relatively smooth dark
surfaces (see Figure 22). Association 4 had to have either a printed surface or a surface with minute variations - small differences in color and visual texture of the background fabric (see Figure 23).

Figure 17 - Red/Aqua Athabaskan Floral tunic; Alaska State Museum; Association I - primary hues (red, blue) with contrasting values (white); p. 37.
Figure 18 - Three Piece Chilkat tunic; Sheldon Jackson Museum; Association 3 - contrasting values with dark and bright colors; p. 37.

Figure 19- Human Chilkat Child's tunic; Alaska State Museum; back of tunic; Association 2 and 4 - muted, neutrals and tints of colors; p. 37.
Figure 20 - Wolf/Ovids/Helping Hands tunic; Sheldon Jackson Museum; Association 1 - filled surface; p. 37.

Figure 21 - Frog and Raven tunic; Alaska State museum; Association 2 - smooth surface with a subtle background; p. 37.
Figure 22 - Brown Bear tunic; Alaska State Museum; Association 3 - coarse texture areas (beadwork) used in combination with relatively smooth dark surfaces; p. 38.

Figure 23 - Athabaskan Deerhide Floral tunic; Sitka National Historic Park; Association 4 - surface with minute variation; p. 38.
The DeLong (1987) scale was adjusted to handle the tunics. The adjustments were made to serve as cues to the researcher. The adjusted cues were used to focus specifically on the interior design lines, silhouette, and surface design of the Tlingit tunics. Instead of using specific feelings (such as excitement), each set of criteria were labeled as associations. The name of the expressive associations elicited must be determined within a cultural context - by the Tlingits. Therefore, the feelings were analyzed and labeled as numerical, objective associations since no Tlingit responses were available.
Chapter IV

TUNICS VISUALLY DEFINED

Tunics were also visually defined by their shape, structure, and applied decorations. The shape was analyzed to determine the different components of the silhouette, including neckline, sleeve, side, and hemline. Structure was analyzed in terms of the interior design lines, formed by joining the sleeves, different neck treatments, neck closures, and cuffs. Finally, applied decorations were analyzed by characterizing the type of surface design, its location on the tunics, and the materials used in rendering the design.

Silhouette

Silhouette was divided into four subsections: neckline, sleeve, side, and hemline.

Necklines

Standing bands, falling bands, fur collars, and no collars were the four types of neckline silhouettes on tunics (see Figure 24). Simplicity prevailed throughout Tlingit silhouette design. The neckline silhouette was no exception. The most often occurring and simple neckline was a tunic without a collar. Tlingit tunics had no collars 60% of the time. Each of the remaining tunics had an increasingly complex silhouette.
The remaining tunics had collars, of which 24% were standing bands, 10% were falling bands, and 6% were fur collars [the silhouette is shaped similar to a standing band except that the fur had an opening at the back with a closure which created a completed circle. The fur silhouette created a fuzzy rather than concrete line].

Sleeves

Sleeve silhouettes were categorized four ways: sleeveless, short sleeves, long sleeves with fringe, and long sleeves without fringe (see Figure 25). The dominant sleeve silhouette had long, straight sleeves (48%), followed by sleeveless silhouettes (38%). The dominating silhouettes were simplistic in design. The remaining 14% of the sleeves were long, straight sleeves with fringe (10%) and short, straight sleeves (4%). The most simplistic categories, "sleeveless" and "long sleeves without fringe", comprise 86% of the sleeve silhouette.
Figure 25 - Sleeve Silhouettes.

Side

A-line and straight are the two types of side silhouettes. These side silhouettes were seen almost equally. A-line silhouettes made up 52% of the total, while straight side silhouettes were 48% of the total (see Figure 26). Both of the side silhouettes are characterized by simple shapes, that is the lines are straight, one diagonal, the other vertical, and do not have any curves.
The final silhouette was that of hemlines. There were five different types of hem edge silhouettes: straight folded edge (62%), straight fringed edge (26%), curved fringed edge (8%), curved edge (2%), and diagonal fringed edge (2%) (see Figure 27). The hem edge was folded under while the fringed edges were not folded but cut to create the fringe. The simplest hem silhouette was the straight folded edge hem along with its counterpart, the same edge with fringe, which make up 88% of the total. The more complex hem silhouettes were only 12% of the total.
The major stylistic design component of the Tlingits’ tunic silhouette was characterized by simple shapes. The simplicity and sameness of the physical silhouette was in contrast to the greater complexity and individuality of the appliquéd woven surface design. The most often occurring component parts of the silhouette were collarless, sleeveless, A-line, and a straight folded hem edge (see Figure 28 and 29). In other words, a non-complex outline was the frame for the tunic.
Figure 28: Double Killerwhale/Eagle Tunic; Alaska State Museum; back of tunic; the most often occurring components of the silhouette were A-line, collarless, folded straight edge hem while the more complex component of the silhouette was the long straight sleeves; p.47.
Figure 29: Human Chilkat Child's Tunic; Alaska State Museum; front view; the most often occurring silhouette components were A-line, collarless, and sleeveless while a less often occurring but more complex part of the silhouette was the straight fringed edge hem; p. 47.
**Interior Design Lines**

Interior design lines were any seams or cut lines that were on the interior portion of the tunic. The interior design lines were subdivided into four sections: sleeve, neck treatments, neck closure, and cuff.

**Sleeve**

The interior design lines for the sleeve were categorized two ways: set-in sleeves or cut-on sleeves (the cut-on sleeve had a straight seam while the set-in sleeve had a sleeve seam that was shaped [curved]). A third sleeve treatment was no sleeves (sleeveless). Nineteen out of fifty tunics did not have sleeves. The sleeveless tunics were not analyzed in this section since no interior design lines were involved. The remaining 31 tunics were analyzed for interior design line. The majority of sleeves were cut-on (68%). Set-in sleeves were used the least, only 32% of the time (see Figure 30). Again, the simplest sleeve seam dominated.
Figure 30 - Sleeve Interior Design Lines.

Neckline Treatment

The neckline treatment had two options: a neckline seam or no neckline seam (dependent upon whether a collar was used). Since 60% of the tunics did not have collars, it follows that 60% of the tunics have no neckline seams. Although there were falling bands, standing bands, and fur collars, they all required a neckline seam. Therefore, 40% of the tunics had a neckline seam. The neckline seams of all of the collared tunics (12 standing bands, 5 falling bands, and 3 fur collars) was shaped to the body (see Figure 31)
Neck Opening

The neck opening was subdivided into four sections. Each of the four types of neck closures were used almost evenly. Eleven of the 50 tunics had no neck opening since the necklines were big enough to get the garment over the head. The tunics without a neck opening were not analyzed since no interior design lines were involved. The remaining 39 tunics were analyzed. Sixteen tunics had the most popular type of opening, which was the slit with a placket (41%). Twelve tunics had a back slit (30%) while the remaining 11 tunics had a front slit (29%) (see Figure 32).
Cuff

The cuff was the last interior design line. The cuff, like the neckline treatment, had only two options: a cuff seam or no cuff seam. Although cuffs appeared to be on the majority the tunics, there was not necessarily a cuff seam. Instead, 68% of the tunics had a sleeve hem treatment. The sleeve treatment resembled a cuff, but was actually an appliquéd piece of fabric at the sleeve hem. Hence, there was no cuff seam. Only 22% of the tunics had cuff seams, whereas the remaining 78% of the tunics did not have cuff seams.

The most common interior design lines were a cut-on sleeve and a slit with a placket (Figure 33). Most tunics did, in fact, not have interior design lines from the neckline to the end of the sleeves. All tunics had side seams and undersleeve seams.
Figure 33- Sheldon Jackson Museum; Killerwhales/Face Tunic; front view; cut-on sleeves and a slit with a placket; p. 53.
Surface Design

Surface design was divided into types of designs, location of designs, and materials used in the designs.

Types of Surface Designs

There were seven types of designs and design combinations (see Figure 34): 1) crests, 2) florals, 3) geometrics, 4) crests and florals, 5) crests and geometrics, 6) florals and geometrics, 7) crests, florals, and geometrics. Combination designs of crest/florals and crest/geometrics were the most used surface designs (28% each), accounting for more than half of the tunics. The singular crest (18%) and florals (16%) along with the previously mentioned combinations made up the bulk of the tunics (see Figures 35-38). Geometrics and crest/florals/geometrics were used infrequently, at 4% each, while florals/geometrics were rarely used (2%) (see Figures 39-41). The singular crest and the singular florals were used as a less complex design choice than the more frequently used combination designs.
Figure 34 - Surface Design Types

Figure 35 - Black Velvet Multi-Crest Tunic; Alaska State Museum; crests and floral; p. 55.
Figure 36 - Human face and Water tunic; Alaska State Museum; crest and geometrics; p. 55.

Figure 37 - Mildred Spark's Bear Tunic (far right); Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center; crest; p. 55.
Figure 38 - Ermine tunic; Alaska State Museum; florals; p. 55.

Figure 39 - Mildred Spark's Chilkat tunic; Sheldon Museum and cultural Center; geometrics; p. 55.
Figure 40 - Frog and Raven tunic; Alaska State Museum; crest, florals, and geometrics; p. 55.

Figure 41 - Deerhide tunic (front and back views); Alaska State Museum; florals and geometrics; p. 55.
Location of Surface Design

The location of the surface design was divided into garment body and the sleeve hem. There were nine garment body locations (see Figure 42 - 45): 1) yoke, 2) top of shoulders, 3) collar, 4) placket, 5) segmentae, 6) belt, 7) hem, 8) overall body, and 9) side. Surface design was found on 88% of tunic hems. An overall body surface design was used on 76% of the tunics. Yokes with surface design were used on 42% of the tunics. Plackets, like neck closures, were seen on 32% of the tunics. Twenty-six percent of the top of shoulders and collars had surface designs. Collars themselves were considered surface design if they were of a contrasting color. Collars were further looked at as a location of surface design if they had a type of surface design. The side of the tunic was rarely (8%) decorated. However, when decorated, the side design was either fringe or a piece of fabric applied with buttons. Belt and segmentae (a shape that is on the front of the tunic below shoulder area) surface designs are found on just 4% of the tunics (see Figure 46). Surface design on the sleeve hem consisted of either a design that was a cuff style appliqué of fabric, often with additional surface design (such as a floral) or no hem surface design (plain hemmed sleeve edge). The majority of the sleeved tunics had a sleeve hem design (68%). Thirty-
Figure 42 - Seal/ Dogfish Salmon tunic; Juneau Douglas City Museum; yoke, top of shoulders, placket, hem, sleeve hem; p. 60.

Figure 43 - Seamonster tunic from Chilkat clan; Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center; top of shoulders, collar, hem, overall body, and sleeve hem; p. 60.
Figure 44 - Dark Green Athabaskan Floral tunic; Alaska State Museum; collar, placket, belt, hem, and sleeve hem; p. 60.

Figure 45 - Golden Wolf tunic; Alaska State Museum; yoke, collar, hem, and sleeve hem; p. 60.
four percent of the tunics had no hem design on the sleeve, except two of which were sleeveless.

Surface Design Locations

Figure 46 - Surface Design - Locations on Garment Body.

These do not add up to 100% because most tunics had surface design in more than one location.

Materials Used for Surface Design

Eskimos are sometimes referred to as the Tlingit "cousin".

Protection from the cold is of primary importance in Eskimo garments.

The furs are pieced together in a warm, waterproof ensemble.

Adornments are applied to Eskimo garments but not to the extent
Tlingits apply them. Dangling ornaments, coins, and beadwork are commonly applied to garments. The design motif for the adornment application can be highly individualized. Different panels are ornamented depending upon the tribe. Tribes from the Central Arctic tend to heavily bead motifs on the breast panel while South Baffin tribes bead the shoulders with motifs (Ewing, 1986).

The surface design of the Tlingit tunics was looked at according to the materials used for surface design. There were two major categories of materials: design woven into the tunic and applied design. The applied design category was further divided into: 1) felt, 2) beads, 3) ribbon, 4) buttons, 5) fur, 6) yarn, and 7) leather (see Figures 47 - 52). Felt was the most commonly used material in surface designs (29%). Felt was used as figure (6%), ground (28%), or both figure and ground (48%). Beads (23%) and ribbons (20%) were also commonly used figure materials. Narrow ribbon (82%), wide ribbon (2%), or narrow and wide ribbon (8%) were the types of ribbon used on the tunics. Buttons were used much less (8%) than other materials. Woven designs, usually on the Chilkat tunics which were woven with the design, were on 8% of the tunics. The design itself was considered to be figure and the tunic ground, even though the tunic was woven on a single plane. Leather, fur, and yarn were used infrequently (4% each).
(see Figure 53). Leather was used as figure (2%), ground (6%), or figure and ground (4%).
Figure 47 - Frog, Face, Ovid tunic; Alaska State Museum; beads and abalone shell buttons; p. 64.

Figure 48 - Octopus tunic; Alaska State Museum; beading detail; p. 64.
Figure 49 - Double Raven/ 2 Face tunic (back); Alaska State Museum; felt and ribbon; p. 64.

Figure 50 - Navy Potlatch tunic; Alaska State Museum; beads, fur (florals and bird), and leather; p. 64.
Figure 51 - Golden Wolf tunic; Alaska State Museum; beads, ribbon, felt, and yarn; p. 64.

Figure 52 - Three Piece Chilkat tunic; Sheldon Jackson Museum; woven design, yarn (twine), beads, and felt; p. 64.
Figure 53 - Materials Used for Surface Design.

The types of surface design seen most often were crest/florals and crest/geometrics. These types of surface design were most often located on the yoke, hem, overall body, and sleeve hem. Location combinations were unique to each tunic, with the exception of the Chilkat tunics. Felt, beads, and ribbon were the most commonly used materials to create surface designs singly and in combinations. Felt, ribbon, and beads were used together as surface design on 36% of the tunics.
Repeated Combinations

There were several reoccurring silhouettes and interior design line sets. However, surface design was almost always unique. The exception for surface design sameness occurs only on Chilkat tunics. Chilkat tunics were a highly prized style created by the Chilkat clan of the Tlingits. The Chilkat tunics had similar surface design because they were woven in a similar manner but with differing crest and geometric designs located in the same places. However, the tunics were unique to each individual because of the actual crest woven into the tunic. The crests were chosen on the basis of housegroup affiliations. The Tlingit tunics were uniquely personal, in that no two were exactly alike. There were so many different silhouette, interior design lines, and surface designs that no one tunic had all the same components. For example, a tunic might have the same combination of silhouette but would have different interior lines and surface designs.

Repeated Silhouette

The most often repeated silhouettes occurred only five times out of fifty tunics. A silhouette with no collar, no sleeves, straight sides, and a straight folded edge was seen on five tunics (see Figure 54). It
must be noted that this particular silhouette was observed only on
 tunics from Celebration '96. This silhouette appeared to be a modern
 simplistic variation on past tunics.

A second silhouette occurred five times, as well. No collar, no
 sleeves, A-line sides, and a straight fringed edge was seen (see Figure
 55). These tunics were from museums rather than Celebration '96.

There were three silhouettes which occurred four times each. The
 first silhouette had no collar, long sleeves without fringe, straight sides,
 and a straight folded edge (see Figure 56). The second silhouette had
 standing band, long sleeves without fringe, straight sides, and a straight
 folded edge (see Figure 57). The third silhouette had a standing band,
 long sleeves without fringe, A-line sides, and a straight folded edge (see
 Figure 58). Both the second and third silhouettes were very similar, the
 only difference being the side silhouette.

Several of the silhouettes were similar, with only one of the
 subsections of the silhouette being different. Sixteen out of fifty
 tunics had similar silhouettes. Additionally, there were three pairs of
 tunic silhouettes (yielding a total of six tunics). The remaining thirty-
 two tunics had unique silhouettes (see Appendix C).
Figure 54 - No collar, no sleeves, straight sides, and a straight folded edge hem; p. 70.
Figure 55 - Alaska State Museum: Chilkat Brown Bear Tunic; no collar, no sleeves, A-line sides, and straight fringes edge hem. (Due to the fragility of the tunic, the photo had to be taken without removing the tunic from its storage place; p. 71.)
Figure 56 - Alaska State Museum; Octopus Tunic; no collar, long sleeves without fringe, straight sides, and a straight folded edge hem; p. 67.
Figure 57 - Alaska State Museum; Shark/Face tunic; standing band, long sleeves without fringe, straight sides, and a straight folded edge hem; p. 71.
Figure 58 - Alaska State Museum; Yellow Athabaskan Tunic; standing band, long sleeves without fringe, A-line sides, and a straight folded edge hem; p. 71.
Repeated Interior Design Lines

Sets of interior design lines that most often occurred were no sleeves, no neck closure, no neckline seam, and no cuff seam (see Figure 59). Six tunics had this type of interior design lines. However, note that the most repeated interior design lines were actually the simple use of no interior seams or cut lines. Four of the six tunics came from Celebration '96 which was a more modern form of the tunic.

Three interior design line sets occurred three times each. The first set had cut-on sleeves, a slit and a placket, a neckline seam, and no cuff seam (see Figure 60). The second set also had cut-on sleeves and no cuff seam but then had no neck closure and no neckline seam (see Figure 61). The third set had no sleeves, a front slit, no neckline seam, and no cuff seam (see Figure 62).

Fifteen of the fifty tunics had similar sets of interior design lines. There were eight pairs of tunics with similar interior design lines (yielding 16 tunics). The remaining nineteen tunics had unique sets of interior design lines (see Appendix D).
Figure 59 - Sitka National Historic Park: Sea Monster/Bear tunic; front view: no sleeves, no neck opening, no neckline seam, and no cuff seam; p. 77.
Figure 60- Alaska State Museum; Double Raven/ Two Face tunic; cut-on sleeves, a slit and a placket a neckline seam, and no cuff seam; p. 77.
Figure 61- Alaska State Museum: Brown Bear tunic; cut-on sleeves, no neck opening, no neckline seam, and no cuff seam; p. 77.
Figure 62 - Alaska State Museum: Red/Aqua Athabaskan Floral tunic; no sleeves, a front slit, no neckline seam, and no cuff seam; p. 77.
**Repeated Surface Design**

Finally, surface designs were generally unique, in that the type of surface design and location of the design differ from tunic to tunic. Although there were many similarities within each set of surface designs, the majority of tunics were unique in some aspect. The exceptions were the Chilkat designed tunics.

Four tunics of the six Chilkat had crests and geometrics on the overall body and hem of the tunic. They did not have any surface design on the sleeve hem since the tunics had no sleeves (see Figure 63). All four had the design woven into the tunic. Two more tunics had crests and geometrics on the collar, overall body, hem, and sleeve hem (see Figure 64). The design was woven into the tunic and fur was used as an additional surface design material.

Two additional items of note occurred within the surface design category. Materials used for surface design had two recurring themes. The first was the repeated use of the combination of beads, narrow ribbon, and felt. Eighteen of the fifty tunics used this particular combination. The actual design itself was not the same, only the materials used. Four more tunics used beads, ribbon, and felt with the addition of buttons. The Tlingit had established trading networks with the interior Athabaskans [to get beads for their ceremonial garments]
(Thorsen, 1996) and the Russians [to get mother of pearl buttons and Melton and Baize cloth, also referred to as "trade cloth" for their ceremonial garments] (Corey, 1996).

Several tunics had similar silhouettes and interior design lines. A few tunics had similar silhouettes and surface designs. However, no tunics had similar interior design lines and surface design, nor did any tunics share a combination of silhouette, interior design lines, and surface design. Individuality was a strong component of the Tlingit identity. Limited possibilities give a strong sense of oneness. For example, the Chilkat have a strong group identity in the sameness of their silhouette, interior design lines, and placement of the designs but an individual identity in the actual details of surface designs.
Figure 63 - Courtesy of the Sheldon Museum and Center for Culture; Mildred Sparks Chilkat tunic; crests/geometrics, overall body and hem, no sleeve hem; woven materials; p. 82.
Figure 64- A Winter and Pond photograph, courtesy of the Sheldon Museum and Center for Culture; crests/geometrics, collar, overall body, hem, sleeve hem; fur and woven materials; Chilkat tunic; p. 82.
Chapter V

TUNIC MEANING

Expressive Associations

Tunic meaning was explored through examination of the tunic. While the researcher recognized the symbolic content of the crest, the impact of these crests on the viewer are better understood through the analysis of the interrelationship of the visual definers (i.e., shape, line, color, and texture) in composing expressive effects.

Tlingit garments, masks, and other adornments are considered art. Townsend-Gault (1994, p.447) described Northwest Coast art is a "spiritual thing." Art can have several meanings conveyed simultaneously. Symbolic works of art, both historical and contemporary, contain a synopsis of history, the realization of myths, the revelation of power, and the proof of wealth (Townsend-Gault, 1994).

North and South American Indians use innumerable types of adornment on their garments. The levels of meaning of these adornments are dependent upon the tribe. Often tribes will have some similarities in adornment due to regional proximity. Many ideas flow through all tribal garments, although the meanings will vary from tribe to tribe. Maurer (1979) suggests that all tribes use color symbolism,
bird feathers, skins, hair, fur, shells, fringe, pigment, dyes, and objects of European origin. The Tlingit used shells, fur, skins, fringe, pigments, and European objects. Tlingit would trade for items like navy coats and transform them into non-traditional ceremonial tunics. The extent that these items were used was dependent upon the tribe and their regional topography. For example, only tribes that lived near the coast or had a trade network that included a coastal tribe could have acquired shells.

Bold, graphic designs were common motifs among Native American Indian males, although in most cases the garments were created by women (Mauer, 1979). Meanings in the garments can give the wearer and the seamstress special powers or blessings (Mauer, 1979). Tlingit women were the seamstresses. The beadwork was created with a special stitching technique. Even now, young girls are taught this beadwork by their female elders. The men often created the actual pattern of the surface design. In the case of the Chilkat woven tunics, men always painted half of the design on a pattern board - visual symbols for the weaver to follow. Tlingit tunics were not gender specific; men, women, and children wore similar tunics. The crest symbols were matrilineal, they define family groupings based on
maternal heritage. For example, a boy would wear his mother's family
crest (Raven) rather than his father's family crest (Eagle).

Symbols are an important way to convey information about an
individual and the group to which he/she belongs. Symbols embody
meanings, people within a society share an understanding of the
elements that compose these symbols and their arrangement in space.
This understanding influences their attitudes and behaviors. According
to Verkuyten (1995), a symbol is letting something stand for
something else, for example, a visual form standing for a value. One
can only interpret a symbol within its contextual framework through
knowledge of a culture and its social life. Symbols help people to
participate psychologically in society. Symbols give meaning to the
objects of everyday life and behavior. In order for symbols to be
useful, group members must participate psychologically in the symbolic
content (Verkuyten, 1995). This participation is most apparent in
rituals and ceremonies. The visible symbol is used to experience the
symbol's content and convey cultural values. For example, the
American flag (symbol) represents freedom and equality (symbolic
content) (Verkuyten, 1995). An example for the Tlingit tunic is the
Raven (symbol) representing the Creator and the many legends of the
formation of the Tlingit society (symbolic content). The people must
share understanding of the concrete symbols within their society. Harmony between the concrete form and the symbolic content halts confusion and misunderstanding that would result. The cultural content in Tlingit society is composed of the values, beliefs, and ideals of the collective members. Verkuyten states that, “the symbolic form becomes the symbolic content” (p. 270). Crests, worn both for ceremony and daily use by the Tlingit, embody the Tlingit values, beliefs, and ideals.

The most important part of the symbol is that it contains a multi-faceted message. However, the message must be represented simply so that everyone can understand the message. Verkuyten says that symbols, “formalize thoughts, feelings, and behaviour and direct communication” (p. 279).

Gestalt theory suggested that individuals organize their visual impressions in a manner that will allow for easy understanding (DeLong, 1987; Kaiser, 1990). DeLong (1987) suggested that symbols viewed as part of a design field arrangement with respect to garment shape and surface design can be experienced visually and contribute to the emotional impact of the symbols. Important to this visual impression are part-to-whole and whole-to-part relationships that readily organize appearance into visual definers. DeLong (1987, p. 72) breaks down the analysis of the whole ...“into layout and surface aspects that
characterize the parts” which are “line, shape, texture, and color.” Visual parts were defined by the edge and the surface depending on the relationship of the visual definers. DeLong (1987) explored the Gestalt concept of the whole as greater than the sum of its parts by examining the interrelationship of the visual definers as they define “form associations” with resulting expressive effects which composed the primary component of tunic meaning.

Excitement, calmness, strength, and delicacy are some of the feelings elicited when viewing a design. According to DeLong’s (1987) form association format (see Table 2), only excitement and strength apply when viewing Tlingit tunics. Calmness and delicacy do not apply to the tunics, since the definers do not fit the tunic design. For example, calmness and delicacy are elicited with soft edged, low contrast designs which do not occur in the Tlingit tunics. The combination of definers represented as excitement, strength, calmness, and delicacy are referred to as “Association” and a number.

Association I

In Association I (see Figure 65), the shape of the tunics was looked at for a simple outside shape (silhouette) with a contrasting inside shapes (complex surface design). Second, line was determined as to its continuity. For Association I, the line should be discontinuous
with diagonal lines or zigzagging lines. These lines could be actual surface design lines on the tunics or the pattern in which the eye moves from place to place following the surface designs. Third, color was looked at for primary hues and/or a contrast in values. Finally, the texture of the tunic needed to have a filled surface (the tunic is ground while the applied designs fill the surface as figures).

Each association followed the same basic pattern of determining shape, line, color, and texture of a tunic. However, the criteria for each definer changed for each association. All associations were based on the analysis of 50 actual tunics by the primary researcher. In Association I, 100% of the tunics were found to have a simple, yet contrasting shape. The majority of the tunics (72%) had discontinuous (diagonal or zigzagging) lines. The majority of tunics tended to be blue, black, red or yellow, therefore, eighty-six percent of the tunics met the criteria for color (primary hue or contrasting value). Finally, the overwhelming majority (92%) of tunics had a filled surface.
Figure 65 - Association I: tunic and graph; Wolf/Ovids/Helping Hands tunic; Sheldon Jackson Museum; p. 90.

Yes indicates the percent of tunics able to meet the criteria, while no indicates the percent of tunics unable to meet the criteria of each principle.
Association 2

Association 2 followed the same basic pattern for analysis - shape, line, color, and texture were analyzed using the criteria set forth in Table 2. First, shape was looked at to determine if the tunics had few shapes with little contrast (differences). Next, line had to be continuous, again either through actual surface design lines or the pattern which the eye follows the surface designs. In addition to being continuous, the line must have followed the axis of the body. Thirdly, colors had to be muted or neutral. Finally, the texture of the tunic had to have a smooth surface, uninterrupted view of the edge, and a subtle background.

While the results were not as clear-cut as in Association 1, the majority of the results did not favor the definers in Association 2. In fact, not one tunic was found to have a shape with little contrast or a clear hierarchy (0%). The majority of tunics (68%) did not have a continuous line that followed the body axis. However, thirty-two of the tunics did meet the criteria for line in Association 2. Color was analyzed and determined to meet the criteria on only 23% of the tunics. Finally, texture was nearly even when analyzing the tunics. Forty-eight percent of the tunics fit the criteria for the texture being smooth with a subtle background, while slightly more (52%) tunics did
not meet the criteria set forth.

![Bar chart showing percentages of different types of definers: Shape, Line, Color, Texture.]

**Figure 66 - Association 2: graph only.**

**Association 3**

The shape in Association 3 was large with the emphasis on the silhouette. The line was again continuous, like Association 2, but had to be thick, bold, and dominant (rather than follow the body axis). Color was similar to Association 1, in that it required value contrasts. However, rather than primary hues being a requirement, dark colors were part of the criteria. Finally, the texture had to have coarse areas used in combination with smooth, dark surfaces.

In Association 3 (see Figure 67), the overwhelming majority (98%) of tunics met the criteria for shape. Almost all Tlingit tunics
emphasized the silhouette, rather than interior design lines to create interest. The shape was large, in order to provide space (like a canvas) for the surface design to be displayed. Line, as in Association 2, did not meet the criteria for the majority of tunics (74%). Only 26% of the tunics had a continuous line that was thick, bold, and dominant. Since most of the tunics (86%) met the color criteria in Association 1, the majority (67%) of tunics met the criteria for color in Association 3. Finally, eighty percent of the tunics had coarse textured areas used in combination with smooth, dark surfaces.
Figure 67 - Association 3: photo and graph: Dark green Athabaskan Forals tunic; Alaska State Museum; p. 90.
Association 4

The last analysis was Association 4. The shape had to be small and rounded with soft edges. The line had to be discontinuous, like Association I. However, the line had to be curved rather than diagonal or zigzagging. The line could have both qualities in different areas of the same garment. The color had to have warm colors or be tints of colors. The texture of the tunic had to be printed and/or have minute variations.

Since 100% of the tunics had a simple contrasting shape in Association I and 98% had a large shape with emphasis on the silhouette, it follows that 100% of the tunics did not meet the criteria for shape in Association 4. The majority of tunics (68%) did have a discontinuous line, as was the occurrence in Association I. Only 16% of the tunics met the criteria for color. The majority (84%) of tunics did not have warm colors or tints. Even fewer tunics (4%) had printed textures or minute variations.
Figure 68 - Association 4: graph only.

**Associations for Tunic Expressive Effects**

An objective association had to meet three out of the four definers to be considered a measure. Only Association 1 and Association 3 are measures of expressive associations for Tlingit tunics. Association 1 had an overwhelming majority of the definers met, thereby creating a common expression. Association 2 had very few of the definers met, no principle ever had a majority of the tunics meeting its criteria. Association 3 had three of the definers meeting its criteria: shape, color, and texture were all met by the majority of tunics. Association 4 had very few of the definers met. Tlingit tunics could not meet three out of the four definers criteria. Only line criteria was met by the majority of tunics. Using a variation of DeLong's (1987)
framework for form association, tunics could be analyzed using the original terminology. By DeLong’s (1987) designations, the Tlingit tunics exhibited much excitement and strength and little delicacy and calmness. The translation or naming of these associations within the context of the Tlingit culture remains to be done. If we could by Western values further divide the associations into loud and quiet, the tunics were loud. Expectations might be that associations are defined by loudness, although it is just as likely that these associations might be described as quiet by Tlingit values. The name of the associations emanates from the values of the viewer - the Tlingit.
Chapter IV
TUNIC IDENTITY

DeLong (1987) noted that the circumstances of viewing a visual form includes the broader situational milieu, inclusive of culture, time, and event. Furthermore, she suggested that a viewer’s interpretation was differentiated by being socially established, individual but universal, or totally unique. Social usage of the form contributed to common meanings. These commonalties were seen through attention to the Tlingits as wearers of the tunics, to the manner in which the tunics were worn, and to its use as part of ceremony. Whole/part analyses of the tunics and common expressive associations pointed out additional similarities; at the same time, they identified considerable variations in form properties. Evidence of these variations plus observations at Celebration ‘96 suggested a coincidence in the expression of group identity and individuality.

Situational Milieu

The exact origins of the Tlingit people is unknown. According to deLaguna (1991), two converging theories exist. The first theory contends that the Tlingit were "unquestionably" from interior Alaskan origins. The Tlingit migrated down the rivers until reaching the coast around 1730. The point of origin appears to be the mouth of the
Skeena River, once the home of the Tsimshian. Most of the migrating clans appeared to be Raven. Some people have theorized that the Haida and Tlingit split apart from a single family, the older member becoming Tlingit. The Haida accord the Tlingit clans first place at feasts, recognizing the seniority of the line.

The center of primitive Northwest Coast culture was at the Dixon Entrance, which is where the theories converge. Japanese refuse materials washed down into the Dixon Entrance. The ocean current flows from Japan toward the Aleutian Islands on to the Gulf of Alaska. Due to the influx of the Japanese current, many theorist believe that the Tlingit were racially mixed with the Japanese. Records kept by Brooks (1876), the Japanese consulate, showed Japanese shipwrecks along the Alaskan coast. Reverend Jones (1914), a missionary, believed the Alaskans were the first Japanese mixture, followed by the Pacific Islanders. All three have similar customs. Captain Belcher (1843) and Knapp and Childe (1896) concluded that the Tlingit were a mixture of Native American and Asian, most likely Japanese.

The Tlingit people seen during Celebration '96 were a mixture of full-blooded Tlingit and partial Tlingit due to outside marriages. Both females and males equally attended the Celebration '96 events. The ages ranged from a 3 month old baby to people in their 90's.
Approximately 50% of the people were 15-50 years old, 25% were infants to 14 years old, and 25% were 51-95 years old.

Tlingit tunics were not worn on a daily basis. The tunics were worn as the first layer of regalia during ceremonies. Often a potlatch hat, spruce root basket hat, a dance hat or headband was worn on the head. A bib was sometimes worn at the neck while a blanket was worn about the shoulders. An octopus fingers bag was often slung across the upper torso. A dance apron was occasionally worn at the waist with leggings strapped to the lower shins. Drums, raven rattles, and dance oars were additional pieces carried during ceremonies. All of these items were seen singularly and in combinations at Celebration '96 and other dance events.

Tlingits held potlatches with one host clan and two guest clans from the opposite moiety. Tlingit held potlatches as a "public proclamation of status of the host and his supporting group" (Tollefson, 1995, p. 67). Potlatches were held for numerous reasons, including house-raising and naming of grandchildren. The potlatches were a chance to wear one's best regalia. Today, potlatches are held infrequently.

Celebration '96 was a ceremony held to help the Tlingit recapture their nearly lost heritage. According to deLaguna (1991), informal
census' taken in the late 1800s numbered the Tlingit population at nearly 30,000 people. However, their numbers have been greatly diminished since the influx of European settlers. Approximately 4000 Tlingit attended Celebration '96. The celebration consisted of clan dances, arts and crafts, traditional foods and a parade. During the three day celebration, the Tlingit wore their ceremonial regalia. The tunic was often the only piece of regalia people had to wear. Although the weather was very warm, the Tlingit wore all the regalia they had brought with them for the entire three day period.

Crests are a common form of sartorial adornment. Tlingit use specially made ceremonial garments that display the crests. The Tlingit tunics were and continue to be worn by men, women, and children regardless of age. The tunics were the first layer of regalia. Often, the tunics were covered by layers of bibs, dance aprons, and blankets. Today, many Tlingit do not have all the layers and wear only the tunic or the blanket. During Celebration '96, many women and children were seen wearing only the tunics. The tunics were traditionally worn at potlatch ceremonies. Today, the tunics are worn at Celebration (a ceremony held every two years), potlatches, and dance events held for tourism purposes. These ceremonial garments are usually passed down from one generation to the next. According to Townsend-Gault
handmade valuables are a way to record the history of a people. Symbols are a way for the tribes to show their unity as a group. Native values are transformed into collective symbols for the society (Townsend-Gault, 1994).

Identifying Markers

Garments are an external way of symbolizing cultural identity. Adornment symbolizes individuality, sex, ethnicity, status, and age.

According to Svensson, “specific costumes may serve as effective usual markers of ethnic distinctiveness, and in numerous contexts they are used internally to reaffirm a sense of belonging and of community” (1992, p. 62). For example, the Sami people of Finland continue to wear traditional clothing, which gives the people a sense of pride and cultural unity. One does not have to wear the entire costume to be recognized as Sami. According to Svensson (1992), one easily identifiable part of the traditional ensemble was enough to promote one’s ethnic identity. The Tlingit tunic is one identifying marker.

Regardless of age, gender, or body type, the Tlingit people could be identified by their tunics during Celebration ’96.

The Tlingit tunics physically had a simple silhouette. The tunics had a large surface area due to the emphasis on common, simple silhouette that created a canvas for the more complex surface designs.
Past tunics were more complex than their modern counterparts. Group identity (being Tlingit) was seen in the use of similar silhouettes and interior design lines. Individuality of tunics was construed from the uniqueness of the surface designs - in the type of design, varied location, and use of materials. Fifty tunics were analyzed and countless others were seen at Celebration '96. No two tunics were found to be exactly alike. There were seven different types of designs that could be used on the tunics. There were ten different locations where the designs could be applied. Numerous combinations of the ten locations were used on the tunics. There were seven different materials used to applied the designs. The materials were used in several different combinations, as well. Group identity could be seen in the overall use of types of designs. While the use of a particular surface designs, garments silhouettes, and interior design lines suggested group identity, the actual pattern of the designs were greatly varied which suggested individuality. For example, an eagle crest was used in conjunction with geometric shapes (Figure 69) while a shark and face crest were used in conjunction with geometric shapes (Figure 70). There were ten basic locations for the surface designs - yoke, top of shoulder, collar, placket, segmentae, belt, hem, overall body, side, and sleeve hem. However, the combinations of surface design placement
Figure 69 - Double Killerwhale/Eagle tunic; Alaska State Museum; crest and geometrics; p. 105.

Figure 70 - Shark and Face tunic; Alaska State Museum; crest and geometrics; p. 105.
within those locations, as well as the number of locations used, varied considerably.

Finally, group identity could be seen in the use of materials. Beads and buttons were used on the majority of the tunics. However, the use of each type of material and its placement on the Tlingit tunic varied with individual tunic. Ewing (1986) suggests that Inuit (Canadian Eskimos) women’s amauti (a pullover parka) was also adorned to symbolize individuality.

Like the Tlingit themselves, each tunic is wholly individual or different, but parts were similar. The differences in the males and females was usually in size, just as it was reflected in the tunics. The age of the wearer was seen in the tunics. Children and adults tunics varied only in the size to fit the wearer, the proportions remained the same. Children’s tunics generally had less beadwork and more buttonwork. Beadwork was a time consuming and expensive adornment. Buttonwork was applied more quickly and less expensively to the tunics. Age of the tunic was reflected in older tunics with more elaborate adornments. Time was not in short supply in the past, as it is today. The older tunics had the majority of the surface covered with beadwork. As tunics began to deteriorate, the beadwork was cut off.
the tunics and applied to a new tunic. A few museum tunics and Celebration '96 tunics had re-applied beadwork on a newer tunic.

A common group look was conveyed by each moiety. Information was conveyed about the group through similar looking garments. Beliefs and values, of Tlingits in general, are conveyed by group look. Personal or individual look was conveyed by the wearer, too. There were three levels of group look in Tlingit society. The primary look was based on the moiety to which one belonged. The clan took a secondary position in importance of group look. House group holds a tertiary position. Once all three group looks had been conveyed, the wearer was able to express some personal information about him/herself. However, the individual still could express his or her own self through the arrangement (pattern) of the symbols on the garment.
Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

The creation of the research models which defined the component parts of silhouette, interior design lines, and surface design was useful in breaking down the tunics into more manageable sections. Each model displayed the information on a particular part of the tunic (i.e., side silhouette) which allowed for easy division of the fifty tunics into appropriate categories. Silhouette as a whole was divided into parts which included the neckline, sleeves, sides, and hemlines. The interior design lines were analyzed as a whole divided into its component parts of sleeves, neckline, neck overclosures, and cuffs. The surface design was also examined as a whole with component parts including the type of design, location of the design and the materials used for the design. Each whole had component parts which were further subdivided. Silhouette and interior design lines were characterized by simplicity of its parts while surface design was characterized by complexity of its parts.

The adjusted DeLong format for form associations was useful for applying Gestalt theory to identify common expressive associations among Tlingit tunics. DeLong’s (1987) concept of expressive associations suggested that the perception of visual definers can elicit
particular emotional responses. Expressive effects are described as different types of feelings. Excitement, calmness, strength, and delicacy are some of the feelings elicited when viewing a design while shape, line, color, and texture are the visual definers. The relationship of visual definers to the feelings assumed a Euro-American Western cultural perspective which influenced perception. The Tlingit, while experiencing Western culture in some respects, also retain their strong Native American heritage. Therefore, the expressive categories, which included four distinct combinations of the visual definers, have remained the same but the elicited feelings cannot be presumed using only Western cultural standards. When viewing tunics, I found that only the expressive effects of excitement and strength would apply. Calmness and delicacy do not apply to the tunics, since the definers do not fit the tunic design. For example, delicacy and calmness are elicited with soft edged, low contrast designs (shape) whereas the Tlingit tunics elicit excitement and strength in Western terms through simple silhouette designs (shape). Consistencies were found regarding the shape, line, color, and texture in Associations 1 and 3. The shape tended to emphasize the silhouette. The surface was filled with coarse textured areas. The color of the tunics tended to have a primary hue with a contrasting values. Finally, the line tended to be discontinuous.
Although this study has dealt with tunic definition, meaning and identity of the tunic itself, the tunic defined the Tlingit. This body garment told of sex in terms of size and age in terms of size and materials used, and the age of the tunic due to the complexity of the surface designs. Symbols within the surface designs further distinguished moiety, clan, and housegroup of the wearer. The whole tunic reflected individual differences in the Tlingit. Since tunics outlast wearers, they remain as visual documents to inform us about the humans who wore them.
Chapter VII

FUTURE RESEARCH

There is much more work that could be done on the Tlingit tunics. In-depth color analysis has research possibilities not on the bead work but on the ground colors. A study of the Tlingit people through interviews would help researchers to gain a more exact understanding of the use of tunics. A study interviewing the Tlingit people using DeLong's (1987) terminology of excitement, strength, calmness, and delicacy would help to determine form associations rather than generic responses. This would also be a good test of the Western cultural standards versus Native American cultural standards using DeLong's (1987) terminology.

Tlingit Clans

Raven Moiety-Clans

Most Important Clans:

1. Ganaxtedi (people of Ganax); crests: woodworm, frog, black-skinned heron, and the Mother Basket.

2. Kiksadi (people of the island of Kiks); crests: frog, goose, owl, sea lion cry.

3. Qatsadi (people of Qats creek on Admiralty Island); crests: none.

4. KasqPaqwedi (camp called KasqPe); crests: eagle crane, raven beak, and green paint.

5. Lenedi (big dipper); crests: dog salmon names.

6. Kosk’edi (people of Kosex); crest: mouse.

7. Tluq’naxadi (king salmon people); crests: king salmon, swan, and sleep spirit.

8. Tiuqaxadi (quick people); crests: real ravens.


Less Important Clans:

10. Tenedi (bark house people); crests: none.

11. K’uxinedi (marten people); crests: whale.

12. Takuanedi (winter people); crests: black-skinned heron.
13. Saquetenedi (grass people); crests: none.
14. Tanedi (people of Tan creek); crests: land otter.
15. Q’atsanedi (people of Q’atsan); crests: none.
16. Kuyedi (people of Kuiu); crests: none.
17. Thitan (bark house people); crests: winter raven.
18. Tatqoedi (people of Tatqo); crests: a certain mountain.
19. Desitan (people of the end of the road house); crests: beaver.
20. Togyedi (outlet people); crests: none.
21. Anq’akitan (people of the middle of the valley); crests: none.
22. Taqdentan (retaining timber house); crests: whale, mountain at Cape Fairweather.
23. Taqhittan (slug house)-part of the above house.
24. Watanedi (part of Kiksadi).
25. Q’at’ka•yi (island people); crests: king salmon and sleep spirit.
26. Nuseka•yi (back of fort people); crests: none.
27. Staxa•yi - non information available.

Wolf/Eagle Moiety Clans

Most Important Clans:

1. Teqoedi (people of Teqo); crests: grizzly bear.
2. Naniyaya (?); crests: grizzly bear, mountain goat head, and shark.
3. Tsukanedi (bush people); crests: porpoise.
4. Kagwantan (burnt house people); crests: wolf, tc’it, murrelet, eagle, grizzly bear, and killer-whale.

5. Daklawedl (?); crests: murrelet, eagle, and killer-whale.

Less Important Clans:

6. Sinkukedi - no information available (NIA)

7. Tlqoayedi - NIA

8. Qaq’o’sit•an (human foot house people); crests: none.

9. Tsaquedl (seal people); crests: killer whale.

10. Nesadi (salt water people); crests: none.

11. Wasinedi (people of the river Was); crests: none.

12. Nastedi (people of Nass); crests: big rock near Kuiu.


15. Kayasidetan (shelf people); crests: none.

16. Xelgoan (foam people); crests: none.

17. Yenedl (hemlock place people); crests: wolf.

18. TsatPenyedi - NIA


20. Kukhit•an (part of the Kagwantan)

21. O’aq’ahit•an (part of Kagwantan)

22. Katagwedi - NIA

23. Taqestina (?); crests: thunder.
APPENDIX B

Museum_________________
Date_________________
Doc #_________________

Data Collection Sheet

I. GENERAL INFORMATION
I. Is tunic a. relic____ b. slide/photograph____ c. book____
   d. written document____

2. What is the view on the slide/photograph/book?
   a. frontal____ b. back____ c. side____

3. Occasion
   a. potlatch____ b. ceremony____ c. ordinary____

4. Provenance (xerox when possible)

II. PRESTIGE
I. WEARER (items besides the tunic)
   A. Headdress
      a. potlatch hat________ b. basket hat________
      c. carved helmet________ d. other________ e. none____

   B. Staff________________
   C. Rattle________________
   D. Other________________

2. OTHERS (in group photos)
   A. Position (of wearer in relation to others in group photo)
      left________ center________ right________

   B. Headdress (of people nearest the wearer)


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III. PHYSICAL TUNIC

I. SILHOUETTE
   A. Top  a. neckline ________ b. shoulder ________
   B. Bottom (hemline shape)
      a. crescent ________ b. straight ________ c. other ________
   C. Side  a. straight ________ b. split ________ c. other ________

2. INTERIOR DESIGN LINES (sketch pieces like a pattern)
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

3. COLOR (Munsell Color - tunics only)
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

4. FABRIC
   A. Weave type ________
   B. Count ________
   
   C. Crests (how applied to fabric)
      a. part of tunic weave (design woven same as tunic)?
         yes ________ no ________
      b. if answer no to part a, then
         1. Is crest appliquéd with thread ________
         2. glued ________
         3. painted ________
         4. embroidered ________
         5. other ________

D. Trim (draw, if necessary)
   a. type __________________________________________________
   b. location on garment ______________________________________

E. Visual Qualities (using a visual relationship scale - midpoint is neutral)
   __________________________ light
   __________________________ fitted
   __________________________ neutral
   __________________________ stiff
   __________________________ soft
   __________________________ textured
5. RELATIONSHIP TO WEARER
   A. Length
      a. shoulder to hem________________________
      b. width at bust__________________________
      c. width at hem__________________________

   B. Fit
      a. close________  b. loose fit__________  c. N/A________

IV. CRESTS
I. DESIGN ______________________________________

2. SIGNIFICANCE OF CREST
   a. moiety ________  b. clan______________
   c. housegroup__________  d. individual________

3. MATERIAL OF CREST
   a. fiber__________  b. metal____________
   c. shells__________  d. buttons__________
   e. other___________  f. N/A__________

4. COLOR OF CREST (Munsell Color)
   ______________________________________

   ______________________________________

5. LOCATION ON GARMENT
   a. front__________  b. back___________  c. shoulder________
   d. neckline________  e. hemline__________

6. PROPORTION OF COVERAGE (crest to tunic ratio)
   ______________________________________

   ______________________________________

PHOTOGRAPHS (if available/ sketches)
### APPENDIX C

#### REPEATED SILHOUETTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Silhouette:</th>
<th>Number of Repeats:</th>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>long sleeves without fringe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Silhouettes:</td>
<td>Number of Repeats:</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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### APPENDIX C (cont.)

**Silhouettes:**

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### APPENDIX D
### REPEATED INTERIOR DESIGN LINES

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### APPENDIX D (cont.)

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<tr>
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| no sleeves                     | 2                  |
| back slit                      |                    |
| neckline seam                  |                    |
| cuff seam                      |                    |

| no sleeves                     | 2                  |
| slit and placket               |                    |
| no neckline seam               |                    |
| no cuff seam                   |                    |

| set-in sleeves                 | 2                  |
| slit and placket               |                    |
| neckline seam                  |                    |
| cuff seam                      |                    |

| set-in sleeve                  | 2                  |
| front slit                     |                    |
| no neckline seam               |                    |
| no cuff seam                   |                    |

| set-in sleeve                  | 1                  |
| front slit                     |                    |
| neckline seam                  |                    |
| cuff seam                      |                    |

| set-in sleeve                  | 1                  |
| no neck closure                |                    |
| neckline seam                  |                    |
| cuff seam                      |                    |
## APPENDIX D (cont.)

### Interior Design Lines:

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<tr>
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<td>no cuff seam</td>
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<tr>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

Belcher, E., Captain. (1843). Narrative of a voyage round the world, performed in her majesty's ship Sulphur, during the years 1836-1843 (Vols. 1-2). London: Henry Colburn.


MUSEUMS


VITA

Name: Jennifer L. Clevenger
Place of Birth: Fairbanks, Alaska

Degrees Conferred:
Virginia Tech  B.S. in Clothing And Textiles        July 2, 1994
Virginia Tech  M.S. in Clothing and Textiles         May 8, 1998

Work Experience:
     Focus Group Leader - Virginia Tech; Blacksburg, Virginia. April 1998 - continuing.