

Copper and Caribou Inuit Skin Clothing Production

by

© Jillian E. Oakes

A dissertation
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy.

Interdisciplinary Studies

May 1988

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JILLIAN E. OAKES

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KEY WORDS:

Caribou Inuit, Copper Inuit, Ahiarmiut, Paallirmiut, Caribou Skin Clothing, Caribou Skin Preparation, Clothing Construction, Patterns, Winter Fashions, Historical Fashions, and Canadian Dress.

ABSTRACT:

Historical and contemporary skin clothing production procedures used by Caribou and Copper Inuit are described with great detail. A comparison of construction methods used by Inuit in Coppermine, Bathurst Inlet, Cambridge Bay and Eskimo Point provided the basis for study. In addition, a comparison between Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut (two groups of Caribou Inuit living in Eskimo Point) was recorded.

This study is a written presentation of information collected from experienced Inuit seamstresses using participant-observation methodology. Detailed information on caribou skin selection and preparation; pattern development methods using eye, hand and string measurements; cutting, fitting and alteration techniques were collected.

An analysis of skin clothing construction methods and usage of skin clothing revealed social, economic and physical factors influencing Inuit fashion production. Variations illustrate social interactions with others, individual creativity, varying lifestyles, changes in sociocultural environments, group identity, prestige, acceptance of traditional dress norms and adoption of new materials. The findings and discussion may be valuable to home economics teachers, curators, folklorists, ethnologists, northern educators, applied anthropologists, artisans, historians and skin conservators.

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COPPER AND CARIBOU INUIT SKIN CLOTHING PRODUCTION

I.0 INTRODUCTION

Caribou skin garments are highly visible, social identifiers. Each group of Inuit (historic inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic, "Eskimo") has specific dress customs as described by Stefansson (1919), Birket-Smith (1929), Jenness (1946) and Marsh (1976). Inuit clothing is a product of a highly sophisticated and ancient skin preparation technology (Hatt 1914). Hand softened skins are cut and sewn into "tailored" rather than draped garments (Horn 1981). Specific features on tailored Inuit clothing change creating new fashions (Birket-Smith 1929, Jenness 1945). Similarities in clothing styles used by Eurasian and North American Arctic dwellers suggest a diffusion of ideas from one region to the other (Borogaz 1929). Today, traditional construction procedures are still used to produce end products highly respected for their practical and aesthetic values. Modern techniques and materials are also incorporated into current skin clothing construction methods creating new style variations.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this research is to provide a

detailed description of skin clothing production procedures used by Copper Inuit (native inhabitants of the Coronation Gulf area) and two groups of Caribou Inuit (native inhabitants of the southern District of Keewatin area): Paallirmiut (Coastal Caribou Inuit from the Nunalla - Eskimo Point - Whale Cove area) and Ahiarmiut (Inland Caribou Inuit from the Ennadai Lake - Nueltin Lake - Padlei area). Caribou skin selection and preparation, pattern development, pattern layout and construction procedures are described for all three groups. Skin clothing production techniques and fashion features are analyzed to determine sociocultural and environmental influences on this traditional art form.

1.2 JUSTIFICATION

For the last ten years Inuit elders have repeatedly stated the importance of recording detailed descriptions of skin clothing production procedures used by each cultural group of Inuit. In the past groups were distinguished by their clothing. Today these differences are less pronounced as Inuit seamstresses adopt clothing styles from neighbouring groups. Recording cultural differences in Inuit clothing is becoming more and more difficult as styles are adopted by outsiders (Elders Conference 1984).

Elders also expressed serious concern over the current lack of interest by many young people in skin

clothing production (Elders Conference 1984). The harsh winter climate continues to dictate the practical need for skin clothing when travelling outside the protection of a settlement. Although elders advise young Inuit to protect themselves with skin clothing, southern-style clothing is often preferred. Fewer and fewer young women are learning skin sewing techniques. Other skills such as bilingual word processing, multi-media broadcasting and translating government documents into Inuktitut are a few of the skills that appear to be more important for survival in the economy of today's arctic settlements.

Documenting this highly visible portion of Inuit heritage will be invaluable to future generations of Inuit who may want to learn about their ancestors' skin clothing styles and production methods in the future. This research may also be useful to researchers in anthropology, folklore, historical costume, ethnic dress, skin conservation and restoration, museology, curriculum development and home economics.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

An examination of archival, museum and library holdings provided a background of available knowledge on caribou skin clothing production. Collections from the following archives were studied: Public Archives of Canada,

Photograph and Art Collection, Ottawa, Ontario; Public Archives Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Northwest Territories Archives, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories; Hudson's Bay Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Hudson's Bay Photograph Collection, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, Manitoba; and the University of Manitoba Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Holdings in the following libraries were studied: University of Manitoba, Dafoe Library and Interlibrary Loans, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Yellowknife Public Library, Northwest Territories; National Library of Canada, Rare Book Collection, Ottawa, Ontario; Hochelaga Research Institute, Montreal, Quebec; Boreal Institute for Northern Studies Library, Edmonton, Alberta; Arctic Institute for Northern Studies Library, Calgary, Alberta; Churchill Eskimo Museum Library, Churchill, Manitoba; University of Toronto, Rare Book Collection, Toronto, Ontario; Inuit Cultural Institute Library, Eskimo Point, Northwest Territories; McGill University Library, Montreal, Quebec; and private libraries and photograph collections of Mr. & Mrs. G. Cotter, Ms. E. Joss, Dr. and Mrs. W. O. Pruitt, Jr. and Dr. R. Riewe.

Collections in the following museums were studied: Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, Quebec; Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta; Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta; Churchill

Eskimo Museum, Churchill, Manitoba; Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories; Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, Ottawa, Ontario; Nunatta Sunaqtangit Museum, Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), Northwest Territories; and the Sipaliseequt Museum, Pangnirtung, Northwest Territories.

Inuit elders strongly recommended that I conduct the research in the Arctic. Participant-observation methodology was used to collect accurate descriptions and documentation of skills used by specific cultural groups. This methodology was chosen in an attempt to reduce misunderstanding caused by cultural and language barriers. It was also selected in order to increase the amount of detailed information collected throughout the less obvious stages of each procedure. From October 1985 until June 1987, 50 seamstresses in the Coppermine-Bathurst Inlet-Cambridge Bay area and 50 seamstresses from the Eskimo Point-Whale Cove area taught me skin clothing production techniques (Appendix A). Many other seamstresses, seamstresses' family members and friends acted as casual informants during a variety of activities including group sewing sessions, conversations over tea, daily activities with billets and on hunting trips. I participated in approximately fifty hunting and fishing trips with Inuit from the communities included in this study. Many of these

hunts lasted for more than two days. I also participated in long distance trips on snowmobiles (Cambridge Bay to Umingmaktok) during the coldest month of the year (February). These experiences provided me with an opportunity to participate in tracking, hunting and skinning game, as well as preparing meat for and retrieving it from caches. During these activities and inside tents or igloos in the evening, I had the opportunity to use and examine clothing worn by all members of hunting parties during harsh winter conditions. These excursions influenced my research in a favourable manner by providing a wholistic conception of the advantages and disadvantages of skin clothing, as well as the production, use and maintenance of skin clothing.

Under the direction of seamstresses recommended by Hamlet Councils, the Inuit Cultural Institute and local Inuit, I prepared twenty-five caribou skins, seven parkas, eight forms of footwear, eight pairs of mittens and two pairs of pants. Skin selection, skin preparation, pattern development, pattern layout and garment construction lessons were presented by Inuit seamstresses. The end products were worn throughout the winter and desired alterations were discussed with Inuit seamstresses. My active involvement in the entire skin clothing production process was invaluable. It helped seamstresses explain the subtleties of each step thoroughly and provided a concrete tool which we both used

to double check that the correct procedure was recorded. Many Inuit-made garments were used by Inuit seamstresses and hunters as aids to teach me individual, regional and historical variations in design and construction procedures. Garments I constructed were used for comparison and discussion by informants. In addition, many garments were observed and examined for style and construction variations. Seamstresses pointed out deviations from what they considered the normal clothing style worn by Caribou and Copper Inuit. The styles and production procedures are a summary of all styles and style variations recorded from observations and instructions from Inuit teachers.

Extensive field notes, sketches, photographs, patterns and samples were used to record information. The name and cultural group or sub-group of the seamstress who made each pattern was recorded on the pattern and envelope. The parts of the pattern were recorded in syllabics or Roman orthography. Special directions for techniques such as pleating, gathering, inseting designs and finishing tips were recorded. For each garment, the age and sex of the wearer and how the garment was used was also recorded. While seamstresses were making a pattern their measuring methods were also recorded. Some patterns were drawn on paper while others were cut from caribou skins and then traced on paper. One example of each garment made from caribou skin was included in this thesis. A total of 160

patterns were collected. Copies are stored at the Inuit Cultural Institute and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. In addition to collecting patterns, garments were collected for several museums including the Canadian Museum of Civilization, University of Manitoba Clothing and Textiles Museum and Bata Shoe Museum Foundation. These items are referred to throughout the thesis in order to provide future researchers the opportunity to study the same items from new perspectives.

The following steps were used to reduce the patterns to scale. Original, full-scale patterns and a ruler (which served as a scale) were taped to a wall and photographed. A black and white negative was enlarged to fit a standard 8" x 11" sheet of paper with appropriate margins. At this point, the length of the ruler was traced and used as a standard for all other pattern enlargements. The pattern silhouette was drawn on a piece of vanilla board, cut out and used as a template. Patterns were drawn onto a piece of opaque drafting paper using India ink. To prevent the ink from smearing under the template, the template was raised above the drafting paper by applying a thin piece of tape approximately 1/8" (.3 cm) from the cut edge. Pattern layout diagrams were created by placing each drafted pattern in the appropriate position on a caribou skin silhouette. Caribou skin silhouettes were drawn from calf skins for children's patterns and yearlings for adult patterns.

Caribou skin silhouettes were reduced to scale following the same procedures outlined for the patterns. Patterns were labelled by orienting the patterns all towards the top or tip of the wearer's hand or head. Labelled patterns were turned in various directions in order to match the hair direction correctly. Consequently, once patterns are positioned on the caribou skins the printing is often upside down or sideways. In addition, caribou skins and patterns varied from one individual to the next. The practical application of these patterns and pattern layouts may require piecing when the caribou skin is too narrow or short for the pattern pieces.

Hair direction (Appendix B), hair colouration (Appendix C) and hair length (Appendix D) on caribou body and leg skins were identified from the perspective of a seamstress.

The support, patience and thorough instructions received from the seamstresses made this research possible. Informants were repaid with copies of photographs and gifts. A copy of this dissertation was sent to the numerous institutions, including Inuit Cultural Institute, Arctic Science Institute, Nunatta Sunaqtangit Museum, Churchill Eskimo Museum, Department of Renewable Resources, Department of Natural Resources, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Canadian Conservation Institute, Glenbow Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

A summary translated into Inuktitut (Inuit language) was sent to each community involved in the research. In addition, a popularized version in the form of a travelling fashion show of skin clothing (Oakes 1987a, 1988a) and bilingual booklet titled "Inuit Annuraangit: Our Clothes" (Oakes 1987b), was presented at Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet, Cambridge Bay, Yellowknife, Iqaluit, Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Edmonton and during the XV Olympics '88 in Calgary.

The use of Inuktitut throughout the text is restricted for several reasons. Copper and Caribou Inuit speak different dialects and in some cases clothing terms differ. For example a woman's inner parka is called ILUBACH by Copper Inuit and AMAUTIK by Caribou Inuit. Terms also differ within the same dialect, for example, Caribou Inuit use either AMAUTIK or a series of words describing the key features of a particular woman's parka. Occasionally the same term has several meanings, for example, ILUBACH means an inner parka to Copper Inuit and an undershirt or shirt to Caribou Inuit. In another example AMAUTIK refers to the inner and outer woman's parka in the Caribou Inuit dialect. The listener determines whether it is an inner or outer parka by placing the sentence in its intended context. Another key difference is the way each group writes their language; Copper Inuit use Roman orthography and Caribou Inuit use syllabics. Finally, if one portion of a garment

is written in Inuktitut, such as AMAUT (pouch), then hip, shoulder, waist, neck, front, back, side and every other term relating to the parts of a garment should also be written in Inuktitut. If one portion of the skin is discussed in Inuktitut then all skin parts should be referred to in Inuktitut. The end result would be confusing and difficult to understand by Caribou Inuit, Copper Inuit and the non-Inuit reader. As a compromise this text is written in English with Inuktitut terms used by Copper and Caribou Inuit placed in Appendix E. Scientific names for animals mentioned in this dissertation are listed in Appendix F.

In the following chapter a brief outline of the geography, available resources and historical events affecting the Coronation Gulf and southern Keewatin areas are briefly discussed. Historical skin clothing styles are described in Chapter Three. Skin selection and preparation techniques used by Caribou and Copper Inuit are described in Chapter Four. Several patterns are selected to describe pattern development, pattern layout, cutting techniques and construction procedures in Chapter Five. A partial collection of men's, women's and children's patterns for parkas, pants, snowsuits, mittens and caps used by Copper Inuit are located in Appendix G. A similar collection for Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut are located in Appendix H. Historical fashion changes are discussed and recommendations for future research are provided in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER TWO: OVERVIEW OF THE COPPER AND CARIBOU INUIT

II.0 OVERVIEW

This skin clothing study is limited to Copper Inuit from Coppermine, Umingmaktok (Bathurst Inlet) and Cambridge Bay, and two groups of Caribou Inuit living in Eskimo Point (Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut). Fashions (changing clothing styles) adopted by these groups reflect a variety of contemporary and historical influences. This section summarizes the physical, social, historical and economic setting in which the skin clothing production was done.

II.1 GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

Coppermine, Umingmaktok and Cambridge Bay are predominantly Copper Inuit communities. Coppermine is located on the southwest shores of Coronation Gulf, at the mouth of the Coppermine River; Umingmaktok is nestled into the east side of Bathurst Inlet; and Cambridge Bay is on the southeast corner of Victoria Island (Figure 1).

Eskimo Point is the southernmost community in the Keewatin, perched on a low, wind-blown beach ridge along the Hudson Bay shoreline (Figure 1). It was originally a seasonal camp site for Paallirmiut, a coastal sub-group of the Caribou Inuit. In 1958 and 1960, Ahiarmiut (an inland sub-group of the Caribou Inuit) were moved to Eskimo Point (Gely, Pers. Comm. 1985-87).

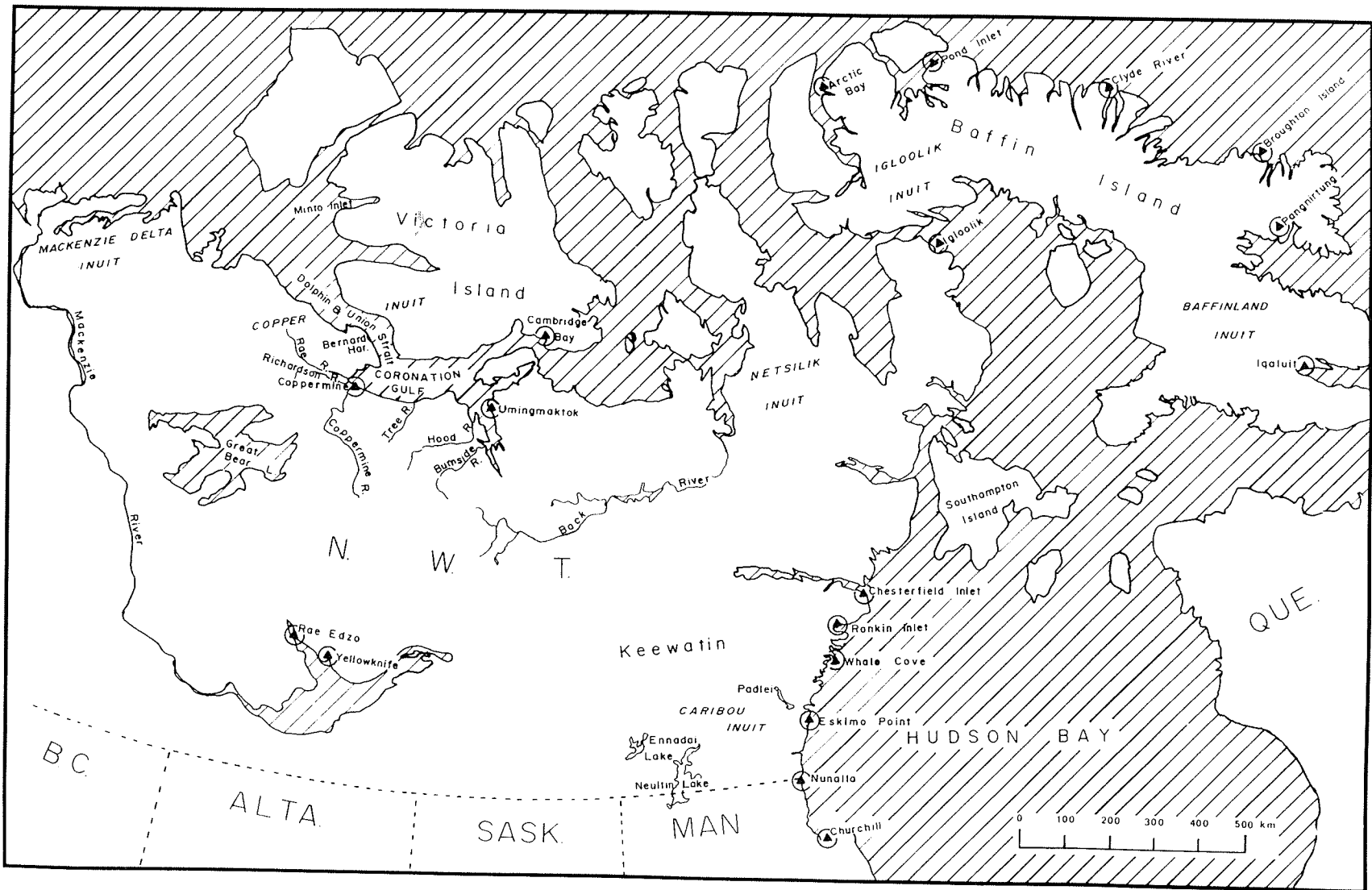


Figure 1. Map of Selected Canadian Arctic Communities.

II.2 WEATHER

Copper and Caribou Inuit enjoy a polar continental climate which provides short, cool summers with July mean daily temperatures between 4 to 7⁰C on the coast and 13 to 16⁰C inland. The winters are long and cold, with February mean temperatures of -36 to -27⁰C. The mean temperature for January and February in Eskimo Point is 3 to 5⁰C lower than in Cambridge Bay, Coppermine and Umingmaktok. The mean monthly wind speed ranges annually from 12 to 26 km/h (Environment Canada 1980, 1982). Around Eskimo Point the wind speed often increases as the temperature drops. This phenomenon rarely occurs in Copper Inuit communities.

II.3 WILDLIFE

The area surrounding Coppermine and Umingmaktok includes salt water, the treeline and the Coppermine, Rae, Richardson, Hood and Burnside rivers. This diverse environment provides food and shelter for a wide variety of animals. Copper Inuit living in Cambridge Bay hunt on Victoria Island and travel across to the mainland to gain access to the wider variety of available animal species. Cambridge Bay hunters are fortunate in that they have access to a herd of Peary's caribou which are unavailable on the mainland. The hair on Peary's caribou leg skins is lighter

coloured and have more white hair than barren-ground caribou. They are treasured by Cambridge Bay seamstresses for leg skin boots. Boots made from Peary's caribou leg skins are readily distinguished from barren-ground caribou leg skin boots and thus provide Cambridge Bay Inuit with a distinctive dress feature.

Copper Inuit harvest lake trout, whitefish, waterfowl, Arctic hare, Arctic ground squirrel, beluga, wolf, Arctic fox, red fox, grizzly bear, polar bear, ermine, wolverine, bearded seal, ringed seal, barren-ground caribou, Peary's caribou and muskox. Recently, moose have extended their range along the waterways on the mainland. Occasionally, muskrat, black bear, marten, mink, otter and lynx are found along the mainland water ways (Environment Canada and Indian and Northern Affairs 1972-84 Map 76E, 77D, 86J, 87A, 86N; Riewe 1987). The skins of many of these animals are used for Copper Inuit clothing. An occasional moose hide is prepared by Inuit women and made into mitts and boots. A few people wear inner or outer parkas, footwear and mitts cut from beaver, muskrat, wolf, mink, otter and other animals which travel along riverways.

Utilization of wildlife shifted as families adopted new economic opportunities. For example, very few wolves, Arctic fox, red (coloured) fox or wolverine were killed before 1916 (Freeman 1976). After 1916 fox trapping fluctuated with the price of pelts while trapping for wolves

and wolverine became important as a fashion fur amongst the Copper Inuit. In 1987 prime wolverine pelts sold for about \$250.00 at the Winnipeg Fur Exchange and are currently one of the less popular international fashion furs. In contrast, Copper Inuit working at full time day jobs will pay up to \$600.00 for a prime pelt on a frozen carcass as these skins are very popular among Copper Inuit.

The trapping industry has also influenced the type of animals hunted which in turn influences the materials available for food and clothing. For example, when fox trapping was encouraged by fur traders, Copper Inuit moved inland from their traditional winter sealing areas to trap Arctic fox. At the same time, between 1916 and 1955, polar bear and grizzly bear hunting increased on the mainland. Prior to this era Copper Inuit lived on the sea ice and hunted marine mammals during the winter (Freeman 1976). These shifts in hunting pressures are reflected in the use of polar bear skins in pant fashions (Figure 2) and the variety of furs used for trimming garments.

In contrast, Caribou Inuit at Eskimo Point harvest wildlife from an area with a more limited variety of animal species than the Copper Inuit. In the past Caribou Inuit harvested Arctic char, lake trout, whitefish, waterfowl, ptarmigan, wolf, Arctic fox, red fox and barren-ground caribou. In addition, the coastal lifestyle of the Paallirmiut included hunting beluga, polar bear, bearded



Figure 2. Copper Inuit Polar Bear Pants.
Hologok, a Copper Inuk hunting seals near Reid Island,
wearing polar bear pants. c. 1930. Credit B. Joss.

seal, harbour seal, ringed seal and the occasional walrus (Environment Canada and Indian and Northern Affairs 1972-1984 Map 55E, 55C; Riewe 1987; Welland 1976). Access to this larger variety of animal skins provided Paallirmiut with waterproof footwear. Ahiarmiut (inlanders) traded wood for seal skins (Gabus 1944a) or they used caribou skins as an inefficient substitute. Today Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut primarily hunt and fish on the land; some families also hunt marine mammals. In 1985-87 an occasional moose was harvested on inland hunts. Seal skins needed for waterproof boot soles are relatively easy to acquire through trade between families in Eskimo Point or intersettlement trade.

II.4 PRE-HISTORY AND HISTORY

Approximately 3000 years ago Inuit migrated across the Bering Strait to Arctic Canada and Greenland. Until 2800 BP (Before Present) the Paleo-Eskimos settled eastward across the Canadian Arctic leaving traces of their Pre-Dorset culture (Taylor 1965, 1976). By 2900 BP, the Dorset culture spread eastward from Bernard Harbour and Melville Island (the western border of the Copper Inuit area) (McGhee 1972, 1976). The Dorset culture lasted from about 2800 BP until about 600 BP. Remains of needle cases and bird bone needles indicated that tailored garments were created by the Dorset (Taylor 1976). A Dorset variant

culture occupied the Coppermine region from about 2200 BP to about 1900 BP (McGhee 1976, 1978).

The Thule culture spread eastward from Alaska and reached Greenland by about the 12th century where it was exposed to Viking influences. This culture prevailed until the mid-18th century (Taylor 1963, 1976). Oleson (1963) claims the Thule culture originated in Greenland and spread westward, however, this theory is discredited by archaeological evidence.

A minor ice age occurred between 1650-1850. Inuit moved off the Arctic Islands and southward across the mainland. Lacking whales and driftwood in the Coronation Gulf area, Thule people were forced to move east or west. The few that stayed in the area intermarried with other immigrants, forming the new population of Copper Inuit (Jenness 1923). Those that moved east may have adapted their culture to inland resources, forming the original Caribou Inuit (Burch 1986a).

Caribou Inuit origins are the focus of much debate. Early theories, such as those of Birket-Smith (1929), interpreted archaeological findings as proof that Caribou Inuit are the last remnants of the original Eskimo culture. The Copper, Netsilik and Igloodik Inuit coastal and interior lifestyles were viewed as an advanced stage of Caribou Inuit culture development. Mathiassen (1930) stated that Caribou Inuit lost their sea hunting technology when they turned to

barren-ground caribou for year-round subsistence. Burch (1979, 1986a), after 30 years of Canadian Arctic research, the last ten of which were intensively devoted to Caribou Inuit, stated that Caribou Inuit originated around the 1690's, during the last minor ice age. At this time, Copper Inuit migrated overland and settled near the barren-ground caribou herds. By 1719 Caribou Inuit were established on the west coast of Hudson Bay and actively trading for iron, beads and other supplies from the floating Hudson's Bay posts (Burch 1986a).

Caribou Inuit were relatively isolated from other Inuit limiting the degree of fashion diffusion. Their intermittent contact with Chipewyan Indians was occasionally hostile (Burch 1986a). Contact between Chipewyan Indians and Copper Inuit was hostile (Hearne 1795). Trading between the Caribou Inuit and Hudson's Bay Company continued from 1719 until 1790, after which the company stopped travelling up the Keewatin coastline. From 1791 onward, Paallirmiut occasionally travelled to Fort Prince of Wales to trade. A century later, Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut were travelling between Brochet in northern Manitoba and Bathrust Inlet to trade with Copper and Netsilik Inuit (Arima 1984; Hudson's Bay Company Archives A.12/FT MISC.207 July 28, 1913 in Burch Pers. Comm. 1986b; Jenness 1922; Tyrrell 1897). From 1860 to 1904 trade with over-wintering American whalers and Aivilingmiut in the northwestern Hudson Bay area provided

Caribou Inuit with beads, iron and other supplies (Birket-Smith 1929; Low 1906). Beadwork became a distinguishing feature of the Caribou Inuit men's and women's inner parka.

In the early 1800's, before Copper and Caribou Inuit began trading with each other, Copper Inuit traded mainly with the Mackenzie Delta Inuit. Once Hudson's Bay Company trading posts were established along the Mackenzie River, Western Inuit traded in the west and Copper Inuit traded with closer groups to the east. From the mid-1800's to early 1900's, Copper Inuit continued to trade with Netsilik, Igloodik and Caribou Inuit (Jenness 1921, 1922).

Up until the twentieth century, very little trade occurred between the Copper Inuit and whalers, traders or explorers. Franklin (1823), Dease and Simpson (Simpson 1843), Richardson (1851), McClure (Cooke and Holland 1978), and Hanbury (1904) travelled in the Coronation Gulf area; they had little interaction with or influence on the Inuit. In 1905, Captain Klengenbergh over-wintered in the area and in 1907 Captain Mogg also stayed over the winter. Both men met a few Inuit but had little immediate influence. When Klengenbergh and Mogg returned to the Western Arctic their unusual stories inspired Stefansson and resulted in the Canadian Arctic Expedition (Jenness 1921). It also encouraged them to convert their whaling ships into floating trading posts and move eastward.

Extensive trading with southerners occurred after the Hornby and Melville posts were established on Great Bear Lake in 1908 and in 1910 when Captain Bernard began trading in Coronation Gulf (Jenness 1922). Trade at Hornby and Melville was scant until Stefansson brought the Inuit and Indians together at Great Bear Lake. Between 1912 and 1916 Copper Inuit began trading with the Dog Rib Indians at Fort Rae (Jenness 1922).

II.5 RECENT HISTORY OF EACH COMMUNITY IN THE STUDY

The evolution from a seasonal camp to a firmly established community was extremely rapid for the communities included in this study. The recent history and contemporary services in each community is slightly different as summarized in the following paragraphs. Umingmaktok, Coppermine, Cambridge Bay and Eskimo Point are described in that order.

In 1920 Captain Klengenberg over-wintered in Bathurst Inlet to initiate fox trapping and trading. Copper Inuit in the area established a seasonal camp at Umingmaktok. The people in this area continue to relocate seasonally, spending the winter at Umingmaktok (Jenness 1946).

During the winter of 1986, Umingmaktok's population consisted of about 45 Inuit living in 12 wood frame, single room homes built in the 1960's. A fuel oil cook stove is

used for heat and water is collected by melting ice. Sewage is collected in a five gallon pail lined with a plastic bag. A propane lamp supplies light and a sleeping platform is available for a multitude of uses. A general store, managed by Ross & Associates from Cambridge Bay, is open whenever anyone needs supplies. Supplies are brought in by barge, and occasionally by travellers arriving by skidoo from Cambridge Bay. An Inuk teaches grades kindergarten to three in a new, one room school house. Higher grades are taken by correspondence under the teacher's supervision. Electricity for the school is provided by a portable generator; all other buildings are without electricity. School hours are flexible; when the weather is good for hunting the instructor cancels school; when the weather is poor, school is in session. High-frequency radios are used to communicate with other communities. Medical service personnel are flown in three times a year and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) services are provided as needed from the Cambridge Bay detachment. The Cambridge Bay Anglican mission provides religious services in Inuktitut several times a year and weekly services are read by a lay minister. The mail is picked up and delivered whenever a traveller is going to or coming from Cambridge Bay and the occasional chartered aircraft lands on an ice strip in winter. In summer, a short, dirt runway is located along the river valley but it is unacceptable to many pilots.

Float planes are preferred.

Cash income is obtained by selling crafts and carvings to tourists during the summer fishing season at the Bathurst Inlet Naturalist Lodge. Government transfer payments and trapping also provides some income. Caribou, muskox, barren-ground grizzly, seal, Arctic char and lake trout provide income in kind to the families in Umingmaktok. Families frequently travel from Umingmaktok to Cambridge Bay and Coppermine.

Coppermine became a permanent settlement shortly after the Hudson's Bay Company established a post and the Anglican Mission was constructed in 1928. The next year a temporary hospital was established. The R.C.M.P. arrived in 1932, a nursing station in 1948, a school in 1950, and a craft co-operative in 1960. In the 1970's, oil and gas exploration provided training and employment to many Coppermine residents. The current population of Coppermine is 900 people. Services include mail delivery four times a week, four flights to Yellowknife each week, a recreation complex, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) television, community radio, CBC radio, local and long distance telephone, water delivered bi-weekly, fuel oil heat, power from diesel generators, taxi, coffee shop, an Inn and a gravel runway. In 1986, 30 trappers earned over \$600 in furs each. The primary income was from municipal services and mining employment (Government of the Northwest

Territories 1986).

Inuit in the Cambridge Bay area first met a non-native in 1852, when Captain R. Collinson encountered over 200 Copper Inuit. Sixty years later, in 1910, Stefansson met Copper Inuit who had never seen a non-native. The Hudson's Bay Company opened a post in Cambridge Bay in 1921, the R.C.M.P. arrived in 1926, the Anglican mission and Bishop Breynat's Oblates arrived in the 1920's. A Loran Navigational Beacon was constructed in 1947 and a Defense Early Warning (DEW) Line site in 1955. Inuit moved closer to the DEW Line site to obtain employment and supplies. In 1958, a school was built and, in 1961, a co-operative was established (Government of the Northwest Territories 1986). Today, the community has similar population and facilities as those mentioned for Coppermine. In addition, Cambridge Bay is the Regional Headquarters for the Kitikmeot Administrative Region, providing many Inuit with government jobs. A local Yamaha dealer, aviation company, banking services, translation services, Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, video service, restaurants, craft shop and jobs related to the operation of light and heavy equipment also provide employment. Trapping is less significant; only 15 trappers earned over \$600 in 1986 (Government of the Northwest Territories 1986). The first Inuit-owned business complex was opened in 1986 in Cambridge Bay. The Territorial Government, transportation

and communication services are the major employers. Commercial fishing, trapping and tourism industries supply additional income.

Eskimo Point has grown from a traditional, seasonal camp site to the largest Inuit settlement in the Canadian Arctic. The 1985 population was 1200 (Jorgenson, Pers. Comm. 1986). Seasonal campers in the Eskimo Point area settled year round when the Hudson's Bay Company (1921), Roman Catholic mission (1924) and Anglican mission (1926) were established. The R.C.M.P. arrived in 1936, a nursing station in 1961, a co-operative in 1971, the Inuit Cultural Institute in 1974 and an Inuit-owned business complex, the Inuit Housing Association and the Regional Branch of the Government of the Northwest Territories Wildlife Services in 1987. Today, Eskimo Point has facilities and services similar to Coppermine. The major economic activities include some government and municipal services employment, handicrafts, hunting, fishing and trapping. Twenty-eight trappers earned over \$600 in 1985 (Government of the Northwest Territories 1986).

The influences that regional variations in natural resources, climate, prehistory, history and current events have on skin preparation, skin clothing construction and skin fashions are discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE: THE HISTORY OF COPPER, AHIARMIUT AND
PAALLIRMIUT FASHIONS

III.0 INTRODUCTION

Identifying the features of and origins of pre-1800 Inuit clothing styles is extremely difficult. The few wood cut, etchings, water colours, carvings and sketches depicting historical clothing and the scarcity of clothing artifacts provides a poor, and often non-existent, data base. Illustrations must also be questioned for accuracy. Artistic liberty was taken by some artists, making it difficult to determine which fashion features are accurately recorded and which are the artist's fanciful creations [Public Archives of Canada C2115 (c.1700), C99320 (c.1703)]. In addition, some illustrations were made by artists who had never seen an Inuk. Others provided models with skin clothing which may have inaccurately depicted a specific family's clothing style. In order to make substantiated statements on the origin of historic styles, data must be collected from specific groups in the same time period and then from the same groups during a later era. Analysis of social and psychological factors occurring during the time period examined may indicate why

certain fashion choices are made (Sproles 1979). The available information is inadequate to make such conclusions. The data are valuable from a broader perspective and are presented in order to determine historical Caribou and Copper Inuit fashion trends. This chapter also includes fashions used during the last century, including patterns and construction procedures. Detailed descriptions of pattern development and construction are included in Chapter Five, Appendix G and Appendix H.

III.I HISTORY OF COPPER INUIT FASHIONS

During the mid-1800's when Copper Inuit interacted with eastern Inuit groups (Section II.4), their clothing had similar features: long back tails, enlarged shoulders, enlarged hoods on women's parkas and parka pouches. Simultaneously, Inuit living in the Mackenzie Delta area wore clothing which was very different from their seldom-visited eastern neighbours and almost identical to the Alaskan native dress illustrated in Petitot (1887). By the end of the 1800's, the Mackenzie Delta population was decimated by disease and starvation. Alaskan natives moved into the MacKenzie Delta area at the peak of the whaling era (Section II.4) and many settled, bringing their clothing styles and other parts of their material culture with them. Their styles were heavily influenced by earlier trade

between the Hawaiian Islands, China and Alaska (Vanstone 1984). For example, a gut skin garment made by an Alaskan native was owned by King Kamehameha I of the Hawaiian Islands (Peabody Museum E3662). The brightly coloured Hawaiian dress, which was originally introduced to Hawaiians by missionaries, was adapted to northern climes by adding a hood trimmed with fur ("Mother Hubbard") and wearing it over a skin lining. A finger-woven sash was also introduced from Hawaii according to Abrahamson (Pers. Comm. 1987). By 1881-83 Mackenzie Delta Inuit used a colourful handmade trim ("Delta Trim") covered with repeated geometric designs made from light and dark haired caribou skins, bits of wool and braid (Smithsonian Department of Anthropology 128,407). Coincidentally, this trim looks similar to decorations used by Saami (Laplanders) who arrived on the Aleutians ten years later to teach native Alaskans how to herd reindeer (Spencer 1984).

The earliest detailed descriptions and collections of historical Copper Inuit material culture were made during the Stefansson-Anderson Expedition 1913-1918, immediately before a fashion revolution took place. The material culture was recorded in great detail providing a valuable basis for comparison with contemporary styles (Stefansson 1919; Jenness 1921, 1922, 1946).

Copper Inuit wore two layers of caribou skin clothing;

the inner layer with the hair to the inside and the outer layer had the hair to the outside. Parkas were worn over inner and outer pants. Skin mitts, boots, inner stockings, inner slippers and outer slippers completed the winter ensemble. Very few regional variations were recorded among the Copper Inuit families studied in the early 1900's. A few decorative differences were observed between Copper Inuit camped on the western and eastern extremes of the Coronation Gulf (Jenness 1946). The following sections are brief summaries of published information on pre-1916 Copper Inuit fashions and museum collections illustrating these fashions.

III.1.A. PARKAS

The inner and outer parka were waist-length pull-over styles with one optional, front tab 8 to 9" (20 - 30cm) long and a mid-calf back tail (Figure 3). The inner parka was cut slightly longer than the outer parka, overlapping the chest-high inner pants by about 6" (15 cm). The front pattern piece was often placed on the caribou skin by matching the rump edge with the front hemline, using the caribou tail as the front tab. A shoulder seam was omitted by extending the front pattern from the waist, over the shoulders and down the back to the shoulder blades or down to the back waistline. The back tail was cut in one piece.



Figure 3. Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Clothing, Front View.

Tassels and white haired insets were common as shown on this frontal view taken in 1914. Credit National Museums of Canada 51234.

The hemline was decorated with 1/4" (0.6 cm) wide strips of shaved, white or red skin (detailed descriptions of all skins are located in Chapter Four). Two large white haired insets were sewn over the chest of the outer parka. Copper Inuit from the eastern Coronation Gulf sewed red and white skins around the white breast pieces (Jenness 1946).

Hoods were peaked, barely covered the wearer's hairline and were trimmed with one or two strips of white haired caribou skin (Jenness 1946). The caribou nose was usually positioned near the peak and the caribou ears were about halfway down the hood. Hoods had a long, narrow extension extending from the neck line down the back to between the shoulder blades (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1170, IV.D.1259; McCord Museum ME967X.41) (Figure 4). The extension usually ended with a small (1", 2.5 cm) piece of white haired skin. Occasionally the white haired skin was created by positioning the hood pattern so the extension ended at the white haired tip of the caribou tail.

Armholes were cut with underarm gussets. Sleeves were a rectangular shape cut with the hair running towards the wrist. The sparsely-haired flank area was placed towards the front and the denser-haired areas were placed towards the back (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1170, IV.D.1259). Extra pieces were added to complete the sleeve shape and create extra fullness across the shoulders. Often a 1/4" (0.6 cm) wide white-haired inset was sewn around the

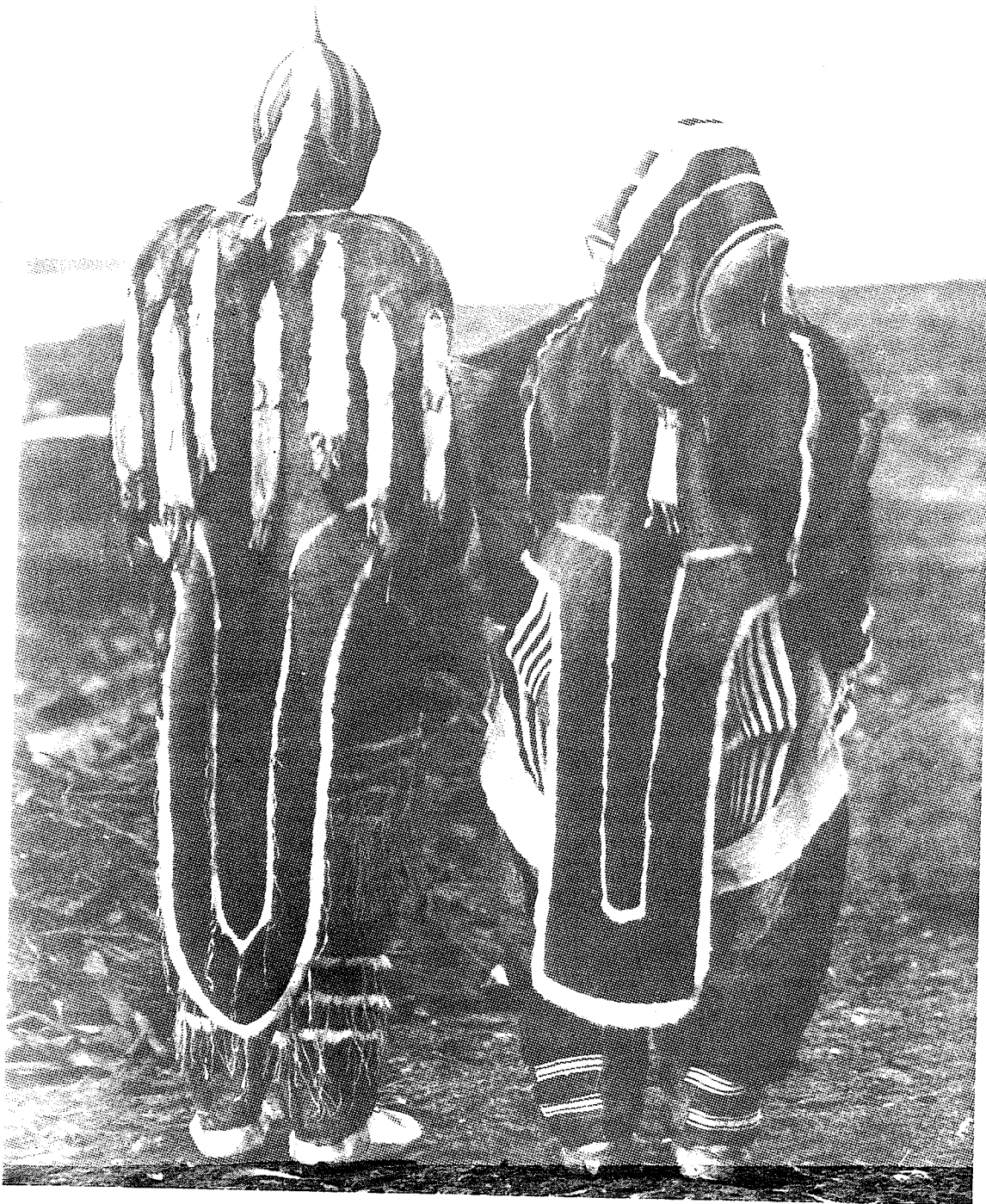


Figure 4. Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Clothing, Back View.
Strips of white haired caribou skin and case skinned ermine (weasel) were common as shown on this back view taken in 1914. Credit National Museums of Canada 51235.

upper sleeve. Sleeves were cut about 1" (2.5 cm) above the wrist and mild cases of frost bite were noted on wrists (Jenness 1946).

Tassels made from strips of white haired caribou skin and case-skinned ermine were sewn to the back of the hood and shoulders (Figure 4). Caribou skin tassels were also sewn to the hemline and wristbands. Tassels were attached individually among the Copper Inuit living along the shores of the Coronation Gulf and in clusters of three or four by the Copper Inuit camped at the Dolphin and Union Straits (Jenness 1946).

Copper Inuit fashions which were popular in the early 1900's dictated the use of thin summer skins, short waisted parkas, short sleeve lengths and brief hoods. These features provided hunters with inadequate protection from cold winter weather. Winter seal hunters and travellers required warmer clothing, therefore an overcoat made from heavier skins and extending past the knees was designed. Overcoats were also used to protect the white insets on the parka worn underneath from getting stained while the hunter was working (Jenness 1946).

The overcoat pattern pieces were cut from heavy, long haired caribou skins using the same layout as the inner and outer parka (Jenness 1922). Occasionally they were decorated with tassels and white haired strips identical to those used on the outer parka (Rasmussen 1932). A button

made from bone or muskox horn was sewn to the small of the back. This button was used to carry caribou or polar bear skin foot pads and bone wound pins while they were not in use. Foot pads were used to stand on while hunting seals at their breathing holes. Bone pins were used to close seal wounds so the blood would not spill when the seal was dragged back to the settlement (Jenness 1946).

Many hunters in the eastern Coronation Gulf area, and a few at the western end of the Gulf, wore a combination parka. This parka was made from medium weight caribou skins and extended down to the knees (Figure 5). It was decorated with white insets on the chest, arms and hemline as illustrated in Jenness (1922 Plate VI). The combination parka style was used for hunting and special occasions. When the weather was too warm for a long parka it was shortened by looping pieces of sinew from the hemline over wooden toggles sewn to the waistline. A caribou skin overcoat was worn over top during extremely cold weather.

Men with combination parkas usually had a light weight, hoodless parka which was used strictly for special occasions. Parkas made for ceremonial dances were decorated with weasel (ermine) (Jenness 1946) skins, coloured beads, tassels, teeth, polar bear claws and seal knuckle bones. Tassels were considered friendship tokens. When a new friendship was formed two strips of white haired caribou skin were tied to each shoulder (Jenness 1922).



Figure 5. Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Overcoat.

A heavy winter overcoat was worn over an inner and outer parka during severely cold weather. Credit Public Archives of Canada C86071.

During the summer hunting season an undecorated, knee length ringed seal skin parka was used. The hemline was left unfinished and often the holes used to stretch the skin were observed along the hemline (Jenness 1946).

Women's parkas were made similar to men's, except that the shoulder area and hood was enlarged (Figure 6). The hood was a long, lobular shape, similar to a gnome's hat (Stefansson 1919). The elongated curving lines were accented with rows of white haired skins and tassels. A centre back seam cuts the hood into two symmetrical pieces. A wide "v"-shaped gusset was sewn into the back of the parka (not the hood) to make room for carrying a baby. A cord was tied around the waistline to prevent the infant from falling through (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre Archives 73PH473).

Women's, and occasionally men's, parkas were decorated with strips of red stained skins (Jenness 1946). Tiny pieces of white skins were sewn to the red skins to form inverted "V" or parallel "I" symbols on the centre front (Figure 3). This form of decoration is very similar to that used by Inuit in Greenland (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.693). The reason for the shape and application of the design was unrecorded. One possibility is that it is easier for the seamstress to make the decorative lines follow the natural contours of the neckline and chest panels.



Figure 6. Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Woman's Parka.
Women often cut their parka hemlines with a narrow,
rectangular tab at the centre front. Credit Canadian Museum
of Civilization IV.D.775.

III.1.B. PANTS

Men's outer pants were designed to overlap slightly the tall stockings. They were made from light weight summer caribou skins. A pair of pants made from heavier weight fall skins were used during mid-winter sealing. Outer pants were decorated with thin bands of white and dark haired caribou skins (Figure 3 and 4, Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1986, IV.D.1157). Rows of white haired tassels were sewn to the white strips. The outer pants were held up with a drawstring or a belt with a loop and toggle. Occasionally two caribou ears sewn on each side of the centre front waist line were used as belt carriers (Jenness 1922, 1946; Rasmussen 1932).

Inner pants were about an 1" (2.5 cm) longer than outer pants and they were made from medium to heavy weight fall or early winter caribou skins. Inner pants were undecorated and were held up with a belt used for outer pants (Jenness 1946).

Women wore inner and outer pants in mid-winter. Their pants were shorter than men's and much more elaborately decorated. They had a slim cut leg style so the pant legs could easily be tucked into the top of their tall stockings (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.60). A triangular gusset at the centre front was made from white haired skin

accented with parallel strips of dark haired skin (Jenness 1946). Mothers made themselves a new pair of pants from their boys' first seal or caribou kill (Jenness 1922).

III.1.C. STOCKINGS

Inner and outer stockings were worn by Copper Inuit. Inner stockings were made from bits and pieces of assorted leftover caribou pieces while outer stockings were elaborately decorated. Horizontal strips of red, white, dark brown and black skins were inset into the upper section of men's stockings (Glenbow Museum AB975; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1160, IV.D.1176, IV.D.1210) and women's stockings (Glenbow Museum AB974; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.768, IV.D.3246). Women's stockings were cut with voluminous leggings, without a built in pouch. Soles were uncrimped and usually made from caribou skins, although seal skins were used occasionally (Jenness 1946).

III.1.D. BOOTS

Seal skin boots were made for men, women and children. The leg or upper section was cut in a stove-pipe style and made from haired or shaved seal skin. The upper section of women's boots flared into a voluminous legging that was held up by tying it or toggling it to a waistline garter. Boot

soles and vamps were made from shaved seal skin. The sole was either fitted with vertical pleats creating a boat-like shape, or pleated to a "v"-shaped vamp. Boots were tied on with a thong that was threaded through two loops sewn to each side of the foot and wrapped around the ankle (Jenness 1946). Construction procedures used during this time period are unavailable in the current literature. The procedure used to crimp the boot and outer slipper with a "v"-shaped vamp is unknown to the informants of this study. They did make attempts to duplicate it by looking at photographs of museum artifacts and published illustrations.

III.1.E. OUTER SLIPPERS

Men, women and children wore two styles of outer slippers: crimped (Figure 3 left) or uncrimped (Figure 3 right). The uncrimped sole is soft and flexible. It was preferred for working and travelling while the less flexible crimped sole was used for dances.

Overshoes were made from a sole and vamp section cut from ringed seal skins. Caribou skin overshoes were disliked because the hair shed when it got damp. Uncrimped overshoes had a vamp that extended over the toes, around the heel and down to the sole. The sole covered only the bottom of the foot, it did not extend around to the side of the foot. In contrast, crimped overshoes had a tiny, "v"-shaped

vamp that was about 1/2 to 1" (1 - 2 cm) wide and the length of the top of the foot. The sole piece extended the length and width of the foot, up the sides, over the heel and over the toes. The heel was fitted with pleats or by cutting out several triangular pieces and sewing the cut edges together. The front area was fitted by pleating the sole to the narrow vamp. Overslippers were finished with a braided sinew thong inserted through a seal skin casing (shaved, freeze dried or haired) sewn around the ankle (Jenness 1946; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.876, IV.D.1206).

Patches of shaved seal skin were carefully sewn to the soles to protect them from excess wear (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.873, IV.D.876). They were placed on the outside and sewn on from the inside. Care was taken to ensure the stitches penetrated only partway through the patch. If one stitch went all the way to the outer edge it would soon fray from the friction of the terrain and the neighbouring stitches would loosen. Zigzag strips were attached to shoes used extensively on ice and hard packed snow to provide extra traction (Jenness 1946).

III.1.F. CAPS

A few Inuit in each camp owned ceremonial caps which were shared with other dancers. These caps were made from short haired caribou skin trimmed with narrow bands of red,

white and black skins. Narrow tassels of white haired caribou skins were sewn randomly to the cap. The crown was decorated with the head, neck and bill of a loon and an ermine skin was usually attached to the bill (Jenness 1946; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1214).

A loon skin head dress was used in northern Alaska until the end of the 19th century (Jenness 1946). Copper Inuit may have adopted this style after trading in the Mackenzie Delta area in the early 1800's. It is unknown, however, when the loon bill cap became popular with the Copper Inuit.

Bonnet-like caps made from fawn or marmot skins were worn by women and children for protection from mosquitoes. Children also used these caps during the winter for protection against the severe cold (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1687).

III.1.G. MITTENS

Three pattern pieces were used, a back piece, upper palm and lower palm. Mittens were made from caribou, polar bear and seal skins. Skins were worn with the hair to the inside or outside. When additional warmth and increased grip was needed mitts were made with the skin on the palm sewn with the hair inside and the rest of the mitten assembled with the hair to the outside (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1015). The palm skin on dance mittens was

shaved to reduce the insulation and improve the grip on the drum. Usually mittens extended to the wrist, however, gauntlet style mittens were made from caribou leg skins and used while building igloos. Decorative bands of white haired caribou skin were sewn across the back and wrists (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1118); small white haired tassels were sewn to dance mittens. Gloves were also used for special occasions (Jenness 1946; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.31).

III.1.H. CHILDREN'S WEAR

Information on pre-1900 children's wear is scarce. It is known that infants were nude until they began to walk. Then they wore a caribou skin snow suit with a centre front opening and a split crotch area for easy elimination (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.776). According to Jenness (1946) mittens made from caribou, marmot (probably Arctic ground squirrel) and hare skins were sewn onto the sleeves. Seal skin boots and caribou, marmot or hare skin socks were attached to the snow suit or worn separately. Boys and girls wore clothing styles similar to their parents and when they reached puberty they wore adult styles (Jenness 1946).

III.2. CONTEMPORARY COPPER INUIT SKIN FASHIONS

The shift from whaling to trading economies caused a series of events resulting in the introduction and adoption of a new Copper Inuit style. In 1916, Captain Klengenberg moved to the Coronation Gulf area and established a store on the southwestern shores of Victoria Island. Klengenberg brought his wife (Kenmek), an Inupiat from Point Hope, and children with him (Jenness 1946). Kenmek dressed her family by following the patterns she learned from her Alaskan elders (Figure 7). She continued to sew her traditional western arctic styles and taught the same styles to her eldest daughter, Etna. In the late 1920's and 1930's, when Joss was managing the Reid Island Post off Victoria Island, Alaskan clothing styles as well as traditional Copper Inuit styles were sold in the trading post (Figure 8).

Etna recalled (Bolt, Pers. Comm. 1986) moving to Tree River soon after her family arrived on Victoria Island. She recalled trying on one of the short waisted traditional Copper Inuit parkas and finding it cold compared to her mid-calf length parka. Etna cut out a woman's caribou skin parka using her old parka as a pattern. She let a Copper Inuit woman sew up the pattern pieces and gave the parka to Alice Kilikaviyok's mother, Manigogina. Etna then cut out a cotton shell ("Mother Hubbard") for the caribou skin liner and taught Manigogina how to assemble the pieces. Copper



Figure 7. The Klengenberg Family Aboard the Maid of Orleans.

Klengenberg's wife, Kenmek, and daughter, Etna, taught Copper Inuit seamstresses how to sew their traditionally Alaskan parka styles. c. 1924. Credit Public Archives of Canada C38499.



Figure 8. Reid Island Trading Post.

Alaskan and traditional Copper Inuit fashions were available in the trading post. c. 1930. Credit B. Joss.

Inuit seamstresses living in the Tree River area began using Manigogina and Etna's parka for a pattern.

Once the Hudson's Bay Company Post opened up at Tree River in 1919 fabric became available. The more affluent families were those that could afford to use some of their skins to buy cotton and duffle. Only the wealthiest families could afford to purchase enough material to make the longer, fuller, western parka style. Increasing pelt prices and increased trapping pressure enabled almost every seamstress to own a "Mother Hubbard" by the following year.

In 1924 Etna Klengenbergr married Ikey Bolt, an Inupiat from Point Hope, Alaska, who had worked earlier as a dog team driver and interpreter for the Stefansson-Anderson Canadian Arctic Expedition. At the time he was married, Ikey was working for Captain Klengenbergr at the Rymer Point Trading Post. Early in their marriage, Ikey was an ice pilot for the Canalaskan Company. He piloted the annual supply ship from the west to each Hudson's Bay Company Post along the Arctic coastline (Sperry 1983). Their extensive travels throughout the region also brought Etna's "Mother Hubbard" pattern to many more Copper Inuit.

III.2.A. PARKAS

During the 1920's and 1930's men's parkas extended to the upper-thigh (Figure 9), women and children's to the

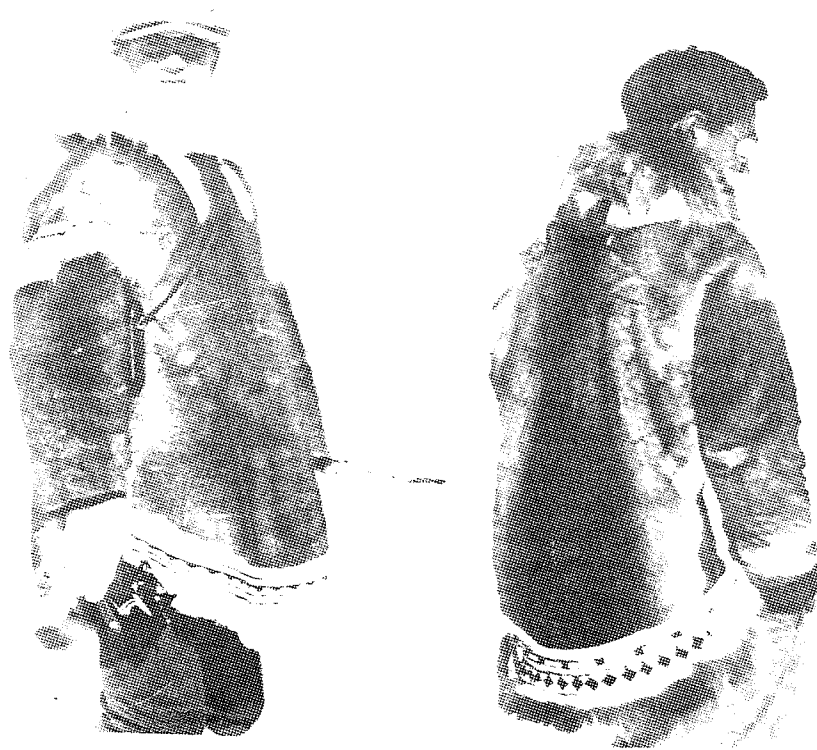


Figure 9. Copper Inuit Men's Parka Hemline.

Copper Inuit men wore parkas with a slightly curved hemline at the front and back. The decorative trim is made from small pieces of light and dark haired caribou skin. c.1930-50. Credit B. Joss.

mid-calf. Parkas consisted of an inner caribou lining covered with a cotton shell and an outer caribou skin layer. The women's cotton shell was cut about 4" (10 cm) longer than the outer layer, thereby demonstrating their ability to afford the cotton shell over their inner skin parka (Figure 10). This is still common today (Klengenber, Pers. Comm. 1985). Men and women's parka shoulders were rounded and fit the body contour rather than the exaggerated traditional shoulder style. The white chest panels common on traditional Copper Inuit styles were omitted; white side panels appeared on the sides of men's, women's and children's hood.

Men's and boy's hood styles remained almost the same as the pre-1916 styles; the new version was trimmed with a wolverine or wolf fur ruff.

Women discarded their elongated hood and adopted the closer fitting men's style. Unlike men, hoods worn by women and girls, from the 1920's to present, were either trimmed with wolverine, wolf or fox or with an array of wolf and wolverine mounted on a stiff seal skin or canvas backing and called a "Sunburst Ruff" (Figure 11).

Men, women and children's hemlines were decorated with trim made from geometric pieces of white and dark haired caribou skin. Sleeves and hemlines were finished with a wolf or wolverine edge.

The new parka style for women was pouchless. Parkas



Figure 10. Contemporary Copper Inuit Woman's Outer Parka.
Lena Kikpak, enroute from Coppermine to Umingmaktok,
wearing a caribou skin parka decorated with wolverine
tassels and handmade trim. The inner parka, or "Mother
Hubbard", is longer than the outer parka. Coppermine, 1986.



Figure 11. "Sunburst Hood"

Etna Bolt wearing her "Mother Hubbard" made from a small floral print and decorated with a glorious array of wolf and wolverine called a "Sunburst Hood". Coppermine, 1986.

made for women carrying young children had extra fullness incorporated across the back pattern piece. A baby was slipped under the hem and worked up to the mother's back. It was held in place by tying a woven sash around the parka at the waistline. Once children began playing outside they wore miniature versions of their respective adult parka styles (Royal Ontario Museum HC2838; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1259).

Throughout the ensuing decades, the basic parka style worn by men underwent several subtle changes. The printed fabrics worn by women and girls remained essentially unchanged (Figure 12). In the 1940's, men's parka hemlines dropped to just above the knee and were curved up at the sides towards mid-thigh. A similar hemline style was worn by a group of Inuit called Kittagazuit from the Mackenzie Delta (Public Archives of Canada PAC/CAP C23640, C23642).

By the 1950's, men's parka hemlines and hood styles changed. The front hemline remained just above the knee and dropped to a point below the knee at the back. In addition, men began wearing hoods with rounded rather than peaked crowns. An interesting similarity between the silhouette of a man wearing his parka hood (ruff attached) up and the stalking pose of a wolf was noted by Pruitt (1965). While stalking caribou with his hood up he noted that caribou fled; with the hood down the caribou were approachable.



Figure 12. Historic "Mother Hubbard".

By the 1920's, "Mother Hubbards" were used throughout the Coronation Gulf. Fabric with large stripes is occasionally used today. Cambridge Bay, c. 1925. Credit Public Archives of Canada PA99228.

Children continued to wear miniature versions of the adult parka. Pre-adolescent parkas were occasionally decorated with a small beaded panel in the shape of a heart, square and other shapes (Figure 13). These beaded shapes were exchanged as friendship tokens and sewn to the parka.

Over the last twenty years public drum dances, community frolics, festivals, cultural events in the Arctic Olympics and tourism have stimulated a need for elaborately decorated dance costumes. Today a "Mother Hubbard" worn over a duffle liner (Figure 14) is worn by almost all females at drum dances. They are also commonly worn as every day wear, to church services and for outdoor festivities. Men also often wear their fabric shell over an inner liner.

Outer caribou skin parkas made from light, short haired skins are worn by a few women during spring fishing trips and outdoor winter festivals. The amount of decoration on the caribou skin parkas worn today varies with seamstresses, however, all outer parkas have at least the hemline and side hood decorated with white haired skins. Sheared sheep or rabbit skins are used as a substitute when white haired caribou skins are unavailable. Wolverine tassels stained with packaged dye (mainly red) are sewn to the shoulders, front and back areas of many women's parkas. In addition, strips of hand made skin trim are inset in the parka seams (with the exception of the side and underarm seams) of a few of the older women's parkas (Figure 15 and 16). Parkas with



Figure 13. Beaded Friendship Tokens.

David Omingmak holding Elizabeth Koigalok who is wearing an Arctic ground squirrel parka with a small heart-shaped beaded friendship token. These tokens were common in the 1950's. Coppermine, c. 1950. Credit B. Joss.



Figure 14. Contemporary "Mother Hubbards".

June Klengenber watching Nellie Hikok drum dance in Coppermine. Both of their "Mother Hubbards" are decorated with brightly coloured appliques and "Delta Trim". 1985.



Figure 15. Copper Inuit Woman's Outer Parka, Front View.
Almost every seam in June Klengenberg's outer caribou skin parka is elaborately decorated with wolverine tassels and caribou skin trim. Coppermine, 1985.



Figure 16. Copper Inuit Woman's Outer Parka, Back View .
White side-hood panels, wolverine tassels and trim inset
into the hood, shoulder, hem and sleeve seams decorate
Copper Inuit parkas. Modelled in Eskimo Point, 1987

fewer tassels and less trim are used by hunters and travellers during extremely cold weather (Figure 17).

Tattoos were common in the past (Jenness 1946) but are extremely rare today. I met one tattooed woman (Figure 18).

III.2.B. COMMON AND RARE PANTS

Skin pants are rarely used by Copper Inuit today, padded wind pants made from purchased fabrics are commonly worn. Informants state that the few contemporary skin pants that exist are cut identically to the pre-1916 stove-pipe leg style, omitting the white insets and tassels and adding about 6" (15cm) to the pant leg. The shorter style was more appropriate for dog drivers who move around much more than snowmobile drivers when travelling. Today, men's skin pants are held up with braces, the skin is covered with a wind-proof fabric and a storm cuff is sewn inside each leg opening.

Contemporary skin pant styles for women are unavailable. Women wear homemade or commercially made fabric wind pants when they are exposed to the cold for long periods of time. Heavy nylons or leotards are usually worn under dresses or pants in town.



Figure 17. Contemporary Copper Inuit Man's Outer Parka.

Kikpak wearing a caribou skin parka with white haired, tusk-like insets on the chest and a broad band of light and dark haired trim around the hem. Wolverine is used to trim the hood, hem and wrists. He was en route to Umingmaktok from Coppermine, 1986.



Figure 18. Body Decoration.

In the past, numerous Inuit groups tattooed their bodies as a form of decoration. Ada Nalikak is the only remaining tattooed woman found during this study. Coppermine, 1985.

In addition to the common pant style, Copper Inuit from Umingmaktok make a pant with a similar silhouette but an entirely different pattern. This unusual, one-piece pattern excludes the side and back seams (Figure 19). A pointed tab at the base of the centre front seam acts as a crotch gusset. The pants are assembled by matching the numbered notches and sewing the inside leg seam; the hemline and chest-high waistline is left unfinished. These pants are worn without a belt or suspenders (Figure 20). They are adjusted to fit by taking in or letting out the centre front seam.

III.2.C. STOCKINGS, INNER SLIPPERS AND OUTER SLIPPERS

Men, women and children wear any of the following three stocking styles cut from caribou body skins, leg skins or duffle fabric:

1. The vamp, upper section and sole are cut separately. The vamp covers the top of the foot, extends to the heel and has a short centre back seam (Figure 21a). The sole is attached without crimping.
2. The vamp, upper section and sole are cut separately. The vamp covers the top of the foot and extends back towards the instep. The sole is attached without crimping (Figure 21b).
3. The upper section and vamp are cut in one piece

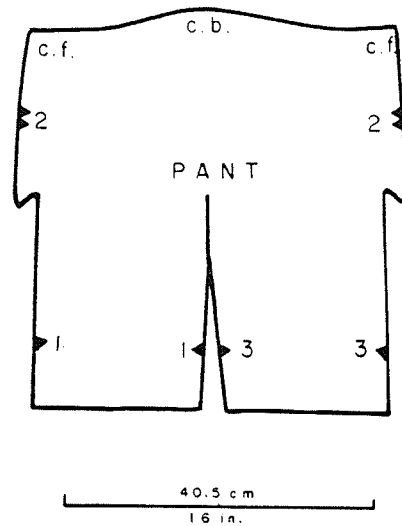


Figure 19. Rare One Piece Pant Pattern.

This unique pattern omits the side and centre back seams. The waist is adjusted by adding to or subtracting from the centre front seam. Umingmaktok, 1986.



Figure 20. Copper Inuit Inner Pants.

Inner pants made from a one piece pant pattern are also made with a stocking attached to each leg. Umingmaktok, 1986.

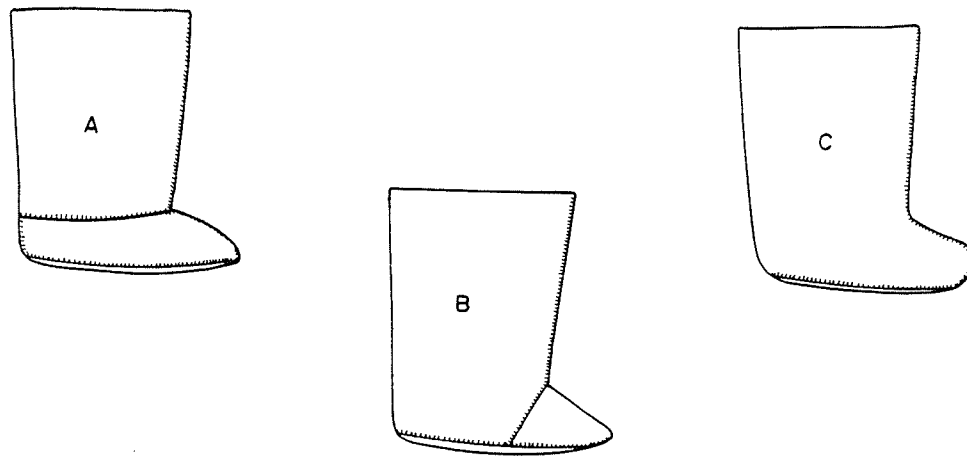


Figure 21. Three Basic Stocking Styles.

Stockings are cut from one of three basic patterns, a vamp that encircles the foot (A), a short vamp (B) and a vamp cut in one piece with the upper section (C). Vamps are attached to the sole without crimping.

with a centre back fold and a centre front seam. The sole is attached without crimping (Figure 21c).

Caribou leg skin inner slippers are worn by hunters. They are usually made from three pieces, vamp, side piece and sole. The vamp extends over the tip of the toes to the ball of the toes. The sole extends from the heel to the ball of the toes. The side piece covers the instep and heel, with a centre back seam at the heel (Appendix G.4).

In cold weather two pairs of boots are worn by Copper Inuit (see Section III.2.D.). Outer slippers are not used.

III.2.D. BOOTS

Copper Inuit wear boots with two styles of soles, one with boat-like soles with vertical crimps (Figure 22) and the other with flat, crimpless soles (Figure 23). The crimped style is made from ringed or bearded seal skins. The crimpless style is made from smoked moose, smoked caribou, vinyl, ringed seal, bearded seal, dehaired caribou or shaved caribou bull skin. Crimped soles are either sewn directly to the vamp and upper section or to a narrow ($1/4$ to $3/8$ " ; 0.6 - 1 cm) strip of skin. Usually dyed, shaved or depilated ringed seal skin is used for the side strip. Crimpless soles are sewn to a broader strip ($1/2$ to $1\ 1/2$ " ; 1.3 - 3.8 cm) cut from a wide variety of materials,



Figure 22. Crimped Boot Soles.

Tiny, vertical pleats encompassing the toe and heel area create a boat-like sole. These boots were made by Elva Pigalak in Coppermine, 1986 and are now in the Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.23. Credit R. Riewe.



Figure 23. Crimpless Boot Soles.

The sole is attached to a narrow side-strip without using crimps or pleats. Coppermine, 1986. Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.46. Credit R. Riewe.

including smoked caribou, seal skin and vinyl.

Two types of vamps are popular today. Either the vamp is cut separately from the upper section, covering the top of the foot and extending towards the instep (like Figure 21B), or the upper section is cut into panels and the vamp is an extension of the centre front panel. The latter vamp style is usually used when the upper section is cut from leg skins (Appendix G.5.c) or stroud (wool fabric). In the 1930's to 50's, men commonly wore a boot with a vamp that encircled the foot with a centre back seam at the heel (Joss Collection 1928-1950)(Figure 24). This style was sewn to an upper section which consisted of dark and light coloured vertical panels of stroud. This boot style is unpopular today.

Copper Inuit cut the upper section of the boot almost vertically, without any flare at the top or bottom. The height of the upper section varies from below the calf, to mid-calf to just below the knee. Canvas, stroud, vinyl and other fabrics as well as haired ringed seal skin, sheep skin and the legs of caribou, wolf, fox and dog are used for the upper section.

Boots made with stroud uppers are decorated with embroidery, purchased braid, "Delta Trim", appliqué or bead work. Men's boots are trimmed with a narrow strip of wolverine sewn at mid-calf; women's boots are worn without fur trimming. The top is finished by sewing a casing around



Figure 24. Copper Inuit Boots With Dark Vamps Encircling the Foot.

Many Copper Inuit at the Reid Island Trading Post in this photograph are wearing boots with a dark coloured vamp encircling their foot. This style is no longer popular. c. 1930 - 1950. Credit B. Joss.

the upper section. A drawstring is not always inserted through the casing.

A few seamstresses decorate the top with a band of white depilated skin. An old .22 shell is used to punch out rows of circles or heart shaped designs. Strips of solid coloured fabric are mounted behind the skin, producing an intricately woven appearance (Figure 25). A similar boot was made in the western Arctic during the early 1900's (Prince of Wales Heritage Centre 982.92.5).

Varying the fabric or skin used to make Copper Inuit boot styles creates a seemingly endless array of footwear that meets a wide variety of needs. Several women create an especially beautiful combination which is used for special occasions. An elegantly embroidered stroud vamp and upper section is sewn to a narrow strip of red depilated seal skin. Boat-like soles made from white ringed seal skin are sewn to the red strip setting off the clean, crisp lines of this colourful footwear (Figure 22).

Boots are held in place with a tie sewn to each side of the heel. The ties are crossed behind the heel and tied at the front. Farther west, Inuit make a similar boot with two loops sewn on each side of the foot at the heel and instep. The tie is guided through each loop, wrapped around the foot and tied at the back or front (Figure 25). This variation is occasionally used by Copper Inuit.

For protection against the severe cold, hunters wear a



Figure 25. Shaved Seal Skin Boots.

A seemingly endless variety of boots are created by using different skins and decorative techniques. The hearts and circles on these boots were punched out with an empty .22 shell. Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.31. Credit R. Riewe.

pair of boots made with stroud uppers and slip a second pair of boots (caribou leg skin uppers) over top. When children travel in winter they wear a pair of boots made with stroud uppers, a second pair of boots made with caribou leg skin uppers and a third pair made from caribou body skins. The outermost boot is made extra large. It has a pointed vamp which covers the toes and extends around just to the instep (Figure 21B). The upper section extends to the knees and a flat, crimpless sole is used. The pieces are cut from an early fall caribou skin. Pieces are sewn with the hair to the outside and occasionally a white inset is sewn to the upper section (Figure 26).

These styles are used by Copper Inuit, but variations are noted within subgroups living in Umingmaktok, Coppermine and Cambridge Bay. Umingmaktok and Coppermine residents prefer shiny, dark brown caribou leg skins with white hair at the toes. Cambridge Bay seamstresses prefer the whiter haired leg skins from Peary's caribou. Their proximity to the Peary's caribou herd on Victoria Island makes it possible to have a supply of Peary's caribou leg skins while Coppermine and Umingmaktok have to depend on inter-settlement trade.

The use of either Peary's or barren-land caribou leg skins influences the height of leg skin boots. Peary's caribou leg skins are shorter, hence the boots are shorter. Variations from one seamstress to the next are also noted.



Figure 26. Children's Travelling Boots.

Cheryl Denise Ahegona models a thick haired caribou skin travelling boot worn over two boots. Coppermine, 1986.

Seamstresses generally make the leg skin panels similar, making slight changes as the amount of piecing varies from one caribou leg to the next. Individual seamstresses vary the curvature of the centre front panel extending over the toe. This area varies from an elongated semi-circular shape to a rectangular shape with rounded corners. The narrow strip-vamp is cut with little variation between seamstresses.

III.2.E. MITTENS

A variety of skins and styles are used to make wrist length and gauntlet mitts similar to traditional styles described in Section III.1.G. (Glenbow Museum AB976, AB977). Commercial rabbit, Arctic hare, squirrel, beaver, muskrat, wolf, dog, Arctic fox, grizzly bear, otter, ringed seal, caribou and musk-ox calf skins are made into mitts. Polar bear was used before it became a valuable collectors item to southerners. Dog was used by Copper Inuit on Victoria Island when caribou or seal was unavailable. Today, the most common skins used for mitts are caribou legs, caribou bodies and ringed seal skins. Leg skin mittens are very common. Homemade gloves and mitts decorated with bands of white haired skin and tassles are not typically made today. Purchased mitts and gloves are commonly used in town and on hunts.

III.2.F. CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Most infants and children wear homemade or purchased fabric clothing. Skin clothing is used by more traditional families who participate more fully in a hunting and trapping lifestyle. Snow suits are usually made from insulated wind proof fabric, however, a few are made from caribou skins. The caribou skin snow suits are made identical to the fabric suits with front zippers and rounded hoods. Hoods are decorated by positioning the caribou ears and antler velvet skin near the crown.

Caribou skin parkas are made for a few children. The style and decoration is identical to adult parkas. Boys wear the parka cut to mid-calf or knee length until they get older. Then it is cut shorter to allow for more movement. Girl's parkas often have an extra ruffle sewn to the top of the armhole of the cloth cover. Caribou skin clothing is preferred for long distance winter travelling; fabric clothing is usually worn in the community. Fabric clothing is often handmade and includes the Copper Inuit caribou skin parka style features.

Skin boots are made identical to adult footwear. The first pair of hand made boots worn by an infant are often seen mounted on the wall. Skin boots are one article of clothing worn by all ages.

Thumbless mittens ("budgoods") are worn by toddlers and children during extremely cold weather. "Budgoods" are cylindrical tubes made from caribou or duffel lined with fabric (Figure 27). The fabric cover is often made from left over fabric used for the child's parka shell. Mittens with thumbs are also worn. A braided tie is sewn to each mitt to prevent them from being lost. The tie consists of one long strand connected to both mittens and a shorter strand tied to both sides of the mid-way point in order to create a harness. The "idiot strings" are worn over the outer parka by slipping one's head between the short strand and the mid-way point (Figure 28). When working with bare hands the mitts are flipped to the back, twisted around the opposite mitten string and left to hang out of the way at the back.

III.3. EVOLUTION OF AHIARMIUT AND PAALLIRMIUT FASHIONS

Historical and contemporary Caribou Inuit fashions are discussed in the following sections. Unlike Copper Inuit fashions, very few major changes are noted. Therefore, separate sections were unnecessary for historical and contemporary styles.



Figure 27. Thumbless Mittens.

"Budgoods" or cylindrical tubes are worn by Ms. Tikhak and many other children during the winter. Umingmaktok, 1986. Credit R. Riewe.



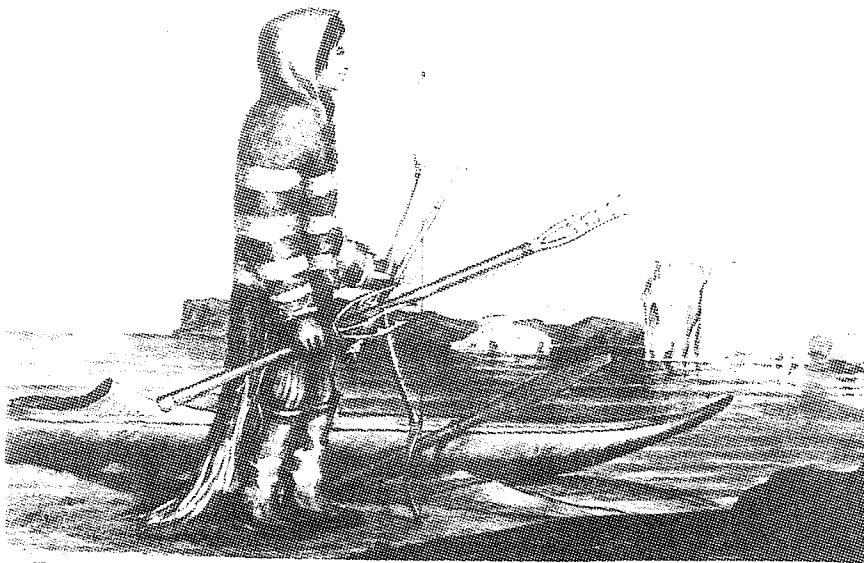
Figure 28. Yarn Mitten Holders.

Men, women and children use braided yarn ties to keep their mittens handy and to prevent them from being lost. Holman Island, 1987. Credit R. Riewe.

III.3.A. MEN'S PARKAS

Ellis (1748) mentions in his journal that Inuit men he encountered on the northwestern shores of Hudson Bay wore parkas with long back tails. The first illustration of Caribou Inuit clothing is in a water colour by Halkett (dated 1882) which was done from a sketch made at York Factory in 1832 (Hudson's Bay Company Library 69-24). This painting depicts a man's parka with an ankle length back tail and a waist length front hemline (Figure 29). The hood is rounded, without a knob at the peak. Light coloured strips painted across the sleeves and chest may indicate white haired caribou insets or they may be an expression of the artist's imagination. Birket-Smith (1929) reported that items such as strips of skin, case skinned ermine, lemmings and voles, pieces of skin thong, scraps of fabric, bones and teeth were sewn across the shoulder blade area.

One cannot determine exactly when the long tailed style become popular among the Caribou Inuit. Styles with similar features, without white bands across the chest and arms, are found in Clyde River (Parry 1821), Pond Inlet area (Parry 1824), southern Baffin Island (British Museum PS131736 {1577}) and the Igloolik area (Lyon 1825, Boas 1901-07). According to Burch (1986a), Caribou Inuit began travelling north to trade with Aivilingmiut (Inuit inhabiting the area south of Igloolik) at the end of the 1700's. If one could



TATTANNAEUK, Esquimaux Interpreter, named by the English in Hudson Bay **AUGUSTUS**, faithful follower of Captains S. John Franklin, G. B. B. B. & D. Richardson, in their Arctic land Expeditions in 1845-46.

Figure 29. Pre-1900 Caribou Inuit Clothing.

Historically, men wore parkas with a long back tail and a short, waist length, front hemline. Credit Hudson's Bay Company Library 69-24.

determine that the Caribou Inuit wore a different parka style prior to when they began trading with Aivilingmiut then one might conclude that the source of this parka style was inspired by the Aivilingmiut who were also influenced by Baffin Island Inuit. Another possibility is that the Caribou Inuit, Igloolik Inuit and Baffin Island Inuit all wore similar styles with slight variations between seamstresses. It is known that the long tailed parka was popular amongst the Caribou Inuit by the 1800's (Hudson's Bay Company Library 69-24).

Women's, men's and children's parkas were beaded when beads were available. Low (1906), Birket-Smith (1929) and Tyrrell (1897) elaborate on the importance of beading in the Caribou Inuit area. Beads have been available from the Hudson's Bay Company's floating trading posts since 1719. In the late 1800's the floating trading posts stopped travelling along the Hudson Bay coastline and Inuit travelled from the Eskimo Point area to Fort Churchill to trade (Burch 1986a). When beads were unavailable, teeth, bones and ivory were used to decorate Caribou Inuit parkas (Tyrrell 1897). Beaded men's parkas were used primarily by Paallirmiut. The beaded back panels were placed across the shoulder blade area, replacing the amulets but still containing similar spiritual connotations (Birket-Smith 1929).

Men continued to wear parkas with a long back tail, two

beaded panels attached to the chest, one beaded panel across the back and beaded tassels on the hood into the early 1900's (Figure 30; also see Public Archives of Canada 19690; Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.2664; Royal Ontario Museum AC2297; Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H5.21-377). By the 1920's beadwork was still used on men's parkas but the back tail was shortened and the front hem was lengthened as illustrated by Birket-Smith (1929:200-202).

Factors influencing changing hemlines are difficult to determine. Driscoll (1980) feels that seamstresses emulated clothing worn by whalers, explorers and traders by adopting a straight hemline similar to the non-natives' jackets. On the other hand, Caribou Inuit were exposed to non-natives on a regular basis during the early 1700's (Burch 1986a) and early 1800's (Lyon 1825). Non-natives began living year-round at Caribou Inuit encampments in the 1920's. The Eskimo Point trading post was inhabited year-round after 1921 and the Anglican and Roman Catholic Missions were established in the area during 1924 and 1926, respectively, a few years later the tail-less parka style became fashionable. Other possible factors include a change in some other aspect of the Caribou Inuit material culture, such as a scarcity of caribou skins, or influences from neighbouring Inuit groups. Pougat (Figure 31), a Paallirmiut elder living in Eskimo Point, shares a culturally unique explanation as understandable as the whims



Figure 30. Caribou Inuit Man's Beaded Parka.
Edwin Oakes wearing a beaded parka purchased in Eskimo Point while working as an accountant for the Hudon's Bay Company. His fashionably dressed son, George, creates a sharp contrast. York Factory, Manitoba, 1921. Credit J. Oakes family photo.



Figure 31. Helen Pongat

Helen Pongat, an elder from Eskimo Point, describes the series of events which stimulated an abrupt change in men's fashions in the late 1910's. Eskimo Point, 1986.

of American, English and European fashion designers.

Poungat tells a legend about a young man lost at sea. During the hero's attempts to return home (a few miles north of Eskmimo Point) the lost man encountered many trials and tribulations. In one incident he saw two mountains periodically crashing across a valley he had to traverse. He grabbed his canoe under one arm and carefully timed his exit. The mountains crashed just as he escaped to the other side, tearing off his long parka tail. Poungat concludes by saying that since she was young, men's parkas were made without long tails (Poungat, Pers. Comm. 1986; Inuit Cultural Institute 1984; Oakes 1987c). Over the last few decades, this style has become common across the eastern arctic and has undergone a few minor variations.

Inner parkas were made from patterns identical to the outer pattern. A strip of dark haired caribou skin was sewn around the hemline, wrist and hood edge (Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H5.21-291). Beaded or plain fabric was used whenever it was available. Once Inuit settled into permanent camps they were less able to get the dark haired caribou skin used to trim hemlines. This type of skin is from a caribou killed in late spring during spring break-up (Section IV.3.G). Travelling conditions are extremely arduous during spring break-up, therefore, this type of skin is very difficult to obtain unless hunters are camped amongst the caribou in late spring. The parka side splits

were trimmed with depilated caribou skin fringe. During the 1920's and 1930's, several Paallirmiut parkas had fringes sewn along the hemline but most had only the side splits fringed (Birket-Smith 1929; Marsh 1976). According to Marsh (1987), to prevent poor hunting Ahiarmiut hunters ripped off the fringes of their parka hemlines when they arrived at the coastline. It is also possible that when tailed parkas became unfashionable amongst the Paallirmiut, the tails were cut off leaving an unfringed edge. Possibly, Ahiarmiut ripped their fringes off in order to look more fashionable.

During the 1920's and 1930's, Ahiarmiut men wore parka styles adopted from the Qairnirmiut (Caribou Inuit near Back River) and the Aivilingmiut (south of Igloolik). The hemline was cut slightly rounded across the upper thigh and dropped straight down to knee length at the back hemline. The hood was cut like other parkas described in this section. The back was decorated with three white haired blocks divided in half with a thin strip of dark haired caribou skin. The hemline and hood face edge were decorated in a similar fashion. Occasionally, parkas made by Qairnirmiut from Baker Lake were seen in the Eskimo Point area. These parkas were decorated with two rectangular white haired insets on the chest. White haired caribou skin tassels were attached to the hood and centre back but were becoming unfashionable as a result of ridicule from non-natives (Birket-Smith 1929). Copper Inuit and

Paallirmiut wore parkas with white ermine tassles attached in the same places. Steenhoven (1955) observed two Ahiarmiut men's inner parkas decorated with a narrow strip of beadwork basted to the hood face edge. The other parkas were undecorated.

Today, the length of Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut men's styles varies considerably from one person to the next. The average back hem length is just below the knee (Figure 32). It ranges from about 6" (15 cm) above the ankle to knee length. The front hemline is about knee length, although it also varies from below the knee to just above the knee. White insets are rarely used; a few are made with thin strips of dark haired skin dividing the white panels in half (Figure 33). Hemlines are left undecorated and edged with depilated fringes. White haired fringes are sewn to the side splits. Bead work is not used on contemporary men's inner skin parkas, instead, 3/4" (2 cm) wide strips of bias tape or fabric are sewn along the inner hemline, hood face edge and wrist band. Wider strips are often used around the wrist band (Figure 34).

Differences between Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut styles are discussed by seamstresses, however, Ahiarmiut seamstresses currently produce skin parkas using Paallirmiut variations. Distinctions between each group's styles are diminishing although the Ahiarmiut are still considered outsiders by local Paallirmiut. According to Inuit seamstresses,



Figure 32. Contemporary Caribou Inuit Men's Parkas.

Current parka fashions are usually mid-calf to knee length. The outer parka worn by Peter Alareak (left) is generally made with very little white decoration. The inner parka (right) worn by Nick Riewe is covered with a fabric shell. Eskimo Point, 1986. Credit R. Riewe.



Figure 33. Contemporary Caribou Inuit Men's Parkas With White Insets.

Joy Hallauk is one woman in Eskimo Point who occasionally sews men's and boy's parkas with three white haired blocks of skin inserted across the back. The Hallauk family, Eskimo Point, 1987.



Figure 34. Contemporary Caribou Inuit Man's Inner Parka.
The inner parka is worn with the hair to the inside. A strip of braid or fabric is sewn around the hood, wrist and hemline edge to protect it from stretching and ripping. Ulayok Kaviok, Eskimo Point, 1986. Credit Rick Riewe.

Ahiarmiut styles are several inches longer at the back, the knob on the hood is broader and higher, and the side-hood panels are less gathered than Paallirmiut styles. These differences were more evident in the early 1960's, immediately after the Ahiarmiut arrived in Eskimo Point. Today, Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut styles have converged into an "Arviatmiut" (Eskimo Point Inuit) style. This style has very little decoration. Occasionally several women in Eskimo Point make the parka style with white insets sewn across the back.

On cold winter days, a finger-woven belt is tied around the outer parka at the waistline. A four strand braided tie (about 18" or 0.4 m long) is sewn a couple of feet (0.5 m) from each end of the belt. The braided ties rather than the sash are tied into a bow (Figure 35). The bow is positioned at the wearer's back, therefore, if the bow loosens, the belt falls off in front of the wearer and is picked up. If it falls off to the back of the wearer, he or she may keep on walking and not notice that the belt is missing.

Traditionally, shamans wore a belt during spiritual rites. Shamans' parkas often looked different from other Inuit as the shamans' spirits dictated (through dreams) how each parka was decorated (Aulutjut, Pers. Comm. 1987; Birket-Smith 1929; Mystic Seaport Museum 66.339.68).

Today, men rarely wear caribou skin parkas in the community. The use of skin clothing changes dramatically



Figure 35. Finger Woven Belt.

A four strand braided tie is attached to the belt and tied behind the back. Richard Tutsuitok, Eskimo Point, 1986.

when travelling on the land in winter. All hunters I travelled with (25) during the winter either wore their skin clothing or packed it on their sleds in case of an emergency. This observation was also made by other avid winter travellers (Zieba, Pers. Comm. 1988). A few hunters say they find skin clothing too bulky and too warm for hunting, however, it was still brought along in case a storm blew into the area. In the spring, when many of the more traditional families move into their summer cabins, they bring skin clothing in addition to their warm fabric clothing.

III.3.B. WOMEN'S PARKAS

Descriptions of pre-1900 Caribou Inuit women's parkas ("amautik", singular; "amautiit", plural) are unavailable to date. A wood cut (British Library 1750C2(4), c.1566) and water colour (British Museum PS40470, c.1577) depicting northern Labrador and Baffin Island women, respectively, a painting of a northern Quebec Inuit woman (Public Archives of Canada 95201, c.1770), Lyon's (1825) Igloolik sketches (Public Archives of Canada 25704) and Parry's (1824) sketches of Inuit from Southampton and Igloolik, indicate that the general trend in eastern Arctic fashion was pullover parkas with mid-thigh front tails and mid-calf or ankle length back tails. Large elongated hoods were

illustrated with a centre hood seam and without side seams. The centre hood seam and face edge were decorated with an edging, probably white haired caribou skin (British Library 1750C2(4), c.1566). Tusk-like extensions on each side of the centre front neck line are included in one Baffin Island water colour (British Museum PS40470, c.1577). Similar insets are worn by Copper Inuit today, but Caribou Inuit do not use these tusk-like inserts.

In the 1920s, women wore an inner and outer caribou skin parka (amautik) with exaggerated shoulders, long broad squarish back tails, short broad front tails, a long lobular hood and a pouch sewn into the back area (Birket-Smith 1929, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H5.21-409). Few changes were made to contemporary amautiit hemlines, silhouettes, shoulders and hoods used by seamstresses in Eskimo Point (Figure 36). Many women make eastern and western arctic styles from fabric, however, none of these styles are made from skins today and are therefore excluded from this discussion of skin clothing fashions.

The basic amautik is used by married women with children. Slight variations are made for married women without children, older women and unmarried women without children. An older woman without infants or toddlers wears a parka that has the pouch cut down smaller than the full-sized pouch. The back is cut narrower across the shoulder blades and the wide shoulders are reduced



Figure 36. Caribou Inuit Woman's Inner Parka.

The exaggerated shoulders, elongated hood and long front parka tails are typical features seen on parkas in Eskimo Point. Meg Kuksuk, Eskimo Point, 1985. Credit R. Riewe.

slightly. The top extension at the centre back neck line is cut smaller and the back tail is cut about 4" (10 cm) shorter. Women with babies cut their back tails longer because when the parka is tied around the waistline some of the length is pulled up, shortening the back hem length.

Inner parkas are made with style features identical to outer parkas. Side seams are cut about 1" (2.5 cm) narrower and the side hemline is tapered down to the tail so it will not show below the outer parka hemline. Decorative white insets are not duplicated on the inner parka, but, the inner and outer pattern shapes are usually identical even though the inner pattern pieces are cut from brown haired skins and the hair is turned to the inside. According to Birket-Smith (1929), the face edge, hem and waistband were edged with a strip of dark haired skin, red duffle or black fabric. Today dark fabric or combinations of brightly coloured bias tape are used.

Two distinct versions of the woman's parka are used by Ahiarmit and Paallirmiut seamstresses. The style historically used predominately by Ahiarmit is referred to as the Ahiarmit style and likewise for the Paallirmiut fashions. A third version included style features from the Ahiarmit and Paallirmiut styles. This version is referred to as the Tasiujarmiut style as it includes a combination of features from the other two styles. The cultural group of Caribou Inuit called Tasiujarmiut refers to those people

that move back and forth between coastal and inland cultures. Today, fashion features labelled as Tasiujarmiut, Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut are mixed and matched by individuals in all three groups, the Paallirmiut version is most popular.

Women identify parka styles to individual seamstresses rather than to one of the cultural groups. Eskimo Point is still small enough for everyone to know everyone else therefore seamstresses see their fashion as individual creations rather than part of the Ahiarmiut or Paallirmiut group. The styles used by these groups are recognized by elders from other Inuit groups as belonging to Inuit from the Eskimo Point area.

All three parka hood styles create similar silhouettes and a close examination is needed to determine slight variations in their construction. Seamstresses claim that the Ahiarmiut hood style moves in a swimming motion which is the object of much humour. This hood style is narrow, just covering the shoulders, while the Paallirmiut hood style is so wide it falls off the shoulder in a cape-like fashion. Differences in shoulder, pouch and hemline construction also exist as described in Section V.12, 13 and 14. In the past a caribou skin cloak was thrown over a woman's shoulders when the weather was too warm to wear the outer parka. By 1921-22, woollen shawls were used (Birket-Smith 1929). According to Hilton (Pers. Comm. 1987) cashmere shawls were

preferred in the summer and heavier plaid woolen shawls in the winter. Today, similar shawls are purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. A fringe is sewn or crocheted to the shawl hem. Fringes are about 4" (10 cm) long, the length and colour is irregular when the seamstress runs short of yarn. Solid red yarn is hooked or sewn to solid red areas; blends of green and white, green and red, red and brown, red and yellow are attached to corresponding plaid colour combinations. In the past shawls were worn in summer camps and on short summer journeys (Birket-Smith 1929). Today, shawls are worn during winter and summer, over cloth or caribou amautiit (Figure 37).

Cloth amautiit are worn for everyday wear and special occasions. They are worn while shopping, going to the nursing station, meeting people at the airport, picking up the mail, attending local picnics and community games, going on short summer excursions and while attending special occasions including drum dances and religious festivals. The amautik is especially useful while babysitting and is worn by men and women when looking after infants or toddlers.

Caribou skin amautiit are rarely worn in Eskimo Point. At special occasions, the number of skin garments present range between one to five for a group of 75 to 400 people. Most women wear cloth amautiit. On the very rare occasion a woman may slip on a caribou skin amautik and wear it



Figure 37. Fringed Shawl.

Elizabeth Nibgoarsi is one of many women who wear bright red tartan shawls over their parkas. The fringes are made by hand. Eskimo Point, 1986.

around town while visiting or shopping. Even less commonly made and used is the caribou skin outer amautik (Figure 38 and 39). One of the two outer parkas seen in Eskimo Point was decorated with white haired trim as described by Birket-Smith (1929) and Pharand (1975)(Figure 40). When women participate in a winter hunting trip they use a man's caribou skin parka, however, it is most unusual to see a woman travelling in winter (Okatuk, Pers. Comm. 1986). Cloth parkas made from white and navy fabric imitating the traditional amautik style are used today.

III.3.C. BEAD WORK

Beading by Caribou Inuit dates back to 1719 when Inuit traded blubber, caribou skins and other materials for beads, knives and other supplies from floating Hudson's Bay Company posts (Burch 1986a; Graham 1969). Birket-Smith (1929) suggested that beaded fringes began with an earlier usage of teeth, fish vertebrae and small bones. Ellis (1748) stated that fringes finished with teeth were used by Inuit at Bibby Island, 20 miles (35 km) north of Eskimo Point. Two hundred years later, by 1924, it was unusual to see caribou teeth on fringes (Birket-Smith 1929) and today they are rarely used.

Birket-Smith (1929) believed that the shape and placement of beaded panels was derived from the white haired

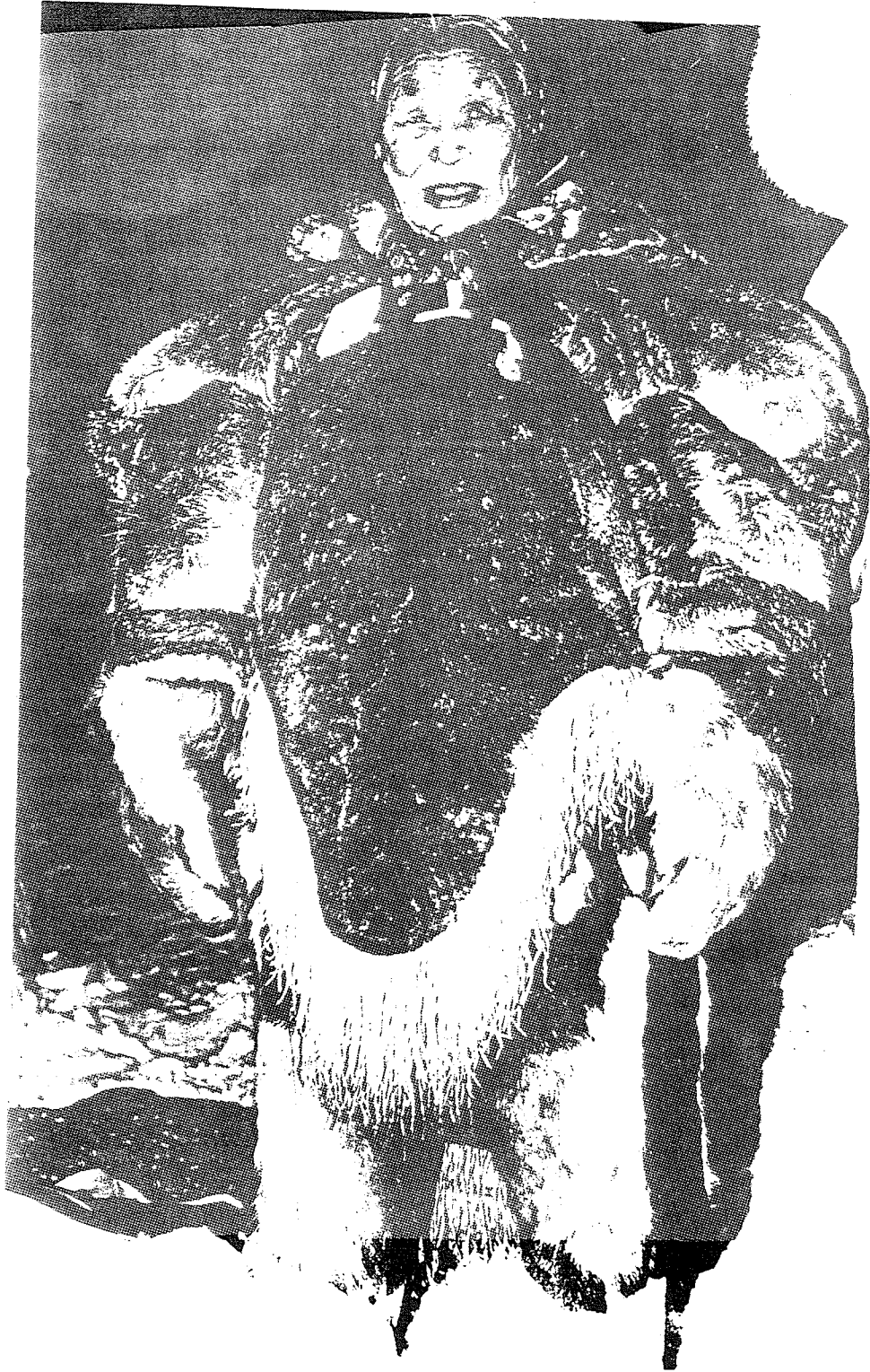


Figure 38. Caribou Inuit Woman's Outer Parka, Front View.
Theresa Angmak's outer parka has a double layer of skin
fringe sewn to the hemline. Eskimo Point, 1986.



Figure 39. Caribou Inuit Woman's Outer Parka, Back View.
The white haired lines on the hood are created by cutting the pattern from the caribou tail area. Eskimo Point, 1986.



Figure 40. Caribou Inuit Woman's Decorated Outer Parka.
The white decoration on this parka are identical to
Birket-Smith's (1929) description. Martha Katsuak, Eskimo
Point, 1986.

insets used on outer parkas. In the 1920's Birket-Smith (1929) observed seamstresses from Baker Lake wearing outer parkas with rectangular shaped white insets on their parka fronts. At the same time they decorated their inner parka fronts with rectangular shaped beaded panels. It is known that beads were available since the 1700's and plentiful during the 1800's, however, detailed descriptions of how the beads were used and what the outer parka was decorated like during the 1700's and 1800's are unknown. Once that information is available, one can determine whether the white insets on parka fronts were influenced by the beaded chest panels or vice versa.

Another point to consider is that, unlike Baker Lake Inuit, Inuit in the Eskimo Point area did not wear outer parkas with white insets on the front yet they did wear beaded chest panels during the early 1900's (Marsh 1976; Birket-Smith 1929). Frequent interaction between both groups makes it possible that Paallirmiut and Ahiairmiut seamstresses picked up the idea from the Baker Lake Inuit or vice versa. The lack of beaded artifacts from the 1700's and 1800's in the Baker Lake and Eskimo Point areas makes it impossible to determine which group of seamstresses were the first to make rectangular shaped beaded chest panels. The style may also have been inspired by Inuit from the Chesterfield Inlet area who had intimate contact with the whalers during the early 1800's (hence easy access to beads)

yet wore outer parkas without white haired insets on the front (Lyon 1825).

Beaded panels follow the natural design lines of each garment, accenting the features (hood, shoulder and hemline silhouettes) that distinguish one group's style from another. Bead work provides seamstresses with a way of expressing their creativity and appreciation for beauty. The chest panel serves an extra purpose as it covers up the raw edges of the shoulder epaulettes and hood panels.

Chest panels are often outlined and divided in half with parallel rows of beads. The result is two beaded rectangular shapes which are then filled in with a variety of beaded designs (Figure 41). A horizontal panel at the lower edge of the front panel is separated from the rectangular shape with a horizontally repeated beaded design. The front panel was possibly much smaller when it was originally used. The lower horizontal section was added on to the main panel, although, today it is usually beaded all on one piece of fabric with a strip of string beads added on separately. Informants say seamstresses always mixed and matched beaded panels as they do today. Old bead work was and is combined with new bead work, creating larger panels and a broader variety of designs. An example of this is seen on Selma Karetak's amautik (Figure 42). The chest panel is from Selma's future mother-in-law's amautik while the wrist, hood and shoulder panels were originally from



Figure 41. Beaded Chest Panel.

Chest panels are often beaded in two vertical sections and the lower edge is beaded horizontally. Elizabeth Suluk, Eskimo Point resident dancing in Coppermine, 1985.



Figure 42. Unmarried Caribou Inuit Woman's Parka.

Childless, unmarried women wear their pouchless parkas with the tail tied up. The beaded hood, shoulder and wrist panels on this parka were originally made in 1930. Charlotte St. John (left) and Sally Karetak (right), Eskimo Point, 1987.

Winnie Crawford's amautik (Figure 43) (Oakes and Karetak 1987). Other examples of mixing beadwork made at different times by different people are found in Eskimo Point and recent museum acquisitions (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.5211; University of Manitoba Clothing & Textiles Museum E10e980, E11e980; Oakes 1988b). Contemporary seamstresses are also combining bead work with appliqué, rickrack and other trim to produce a rich burst of colour (Figure 44)(University of Manitoba Clothing & Textiles Museum E9e980).

Beaded girl's parkas are often passed on to the nearest relative or namesake that the parka fits. It is unusual for a child to keep a parka once it is too small, unless the parka is worn out. In that case the bead work is removed and saved for another parka. The beaded panels placed on a parka vary depending on what panels are available and the time available to baste them to a new parka. Occasionally parkas are decorated with only the hem and shoulder panels, or not at all.

The beaded shapes described by Birket-Smith (1929) are still popular today. Women use circles, ovals, triangles, zigzags, half-circles, wavy lines and rows of parallel lines to decorate the panels. Currently, three beading styles are noted: large geometric shapes (Section V.8); small floral designs (Figure 41), geometric shapes (Figure 45) or garment shapes (Section III.3.D), and bead work combined with narrow



Figure 43. Beaded Heirlooms.

The beaded wrist, shoulder and hood panels on Winnie Crawford's (centre) parka are now used on the parka in Figure 42. Credit Hudson's Bay Company Library E-18.



Figure 44. Embroidered Chest Panels.

Wool embroidery, appliqué and rickrack are contemporary materials used to decorate chest panels. Eskimo Point, 1987.



Figure 45. Beaded Parka Made by an Ahiarmiut.
Martha Etak's parka weighs about 30 lbs. (13.5 kg).
Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.5211. Eskimo Point,
1987.

rows of delicate lace, trim and bias tape. Most women bead large geometric shapes similar to those depicted by Marsh in 1933 (1976). When smaller designs are used, the panel is outlined with three or four rows of beads and the remaining area is left unbeaded. The combination of bead work and appliquéd trims was possibly introduced to Ahiarmiut by Paallirmiut seamstresses as they had easy access to bias tape, rickrack, grograin ribbon, trim tape and fabrics in the 1920's when the Hudson's Bay Company and independent traders established posts in the area. According to George Swinton, the symbolic meaning of Inuit beading patterns is often linked to animal skeletons (in Driscoll 1984), as well as power and life experiences (in Oakes 1988b). Inuit seamstresses say that the symbols they use do not have a predetermined meaning as is seen in native Indian groups [for example heart shaped symbols represent strawberries in Ojibway decoration (Benton-Banai 1979)]. Inuit women repeatedly explained that they used shapes and colours because they liked them, it filled the space, or it was design or colour they could do with the available beads.

Beading was less prolific among the Ahiarmiut as they had fewer trade items with which to acquire beads than Paallirmiut. They also had to travel to Churchill or Brochet to trade while Paallirmiut traded with floating Hudson's Bay Company posts during the summer. Steenhoven (1955) observed two beaded hood bands and several baby

bonnets edged with beading when he lived with the Ahiarmiut in 1955. Elderly Ahiarmiut informants also recall a shortage of beads and men did not wear beaded chest panels during the 1940s and 50s. Today, Ahiarmiut living in Eskimo Point have relatively easy access to beads. A heavily beaded parka made by an Ahiarmiut woman is illustrated in Figure 45. Marsh (1976) depicts several Paallirmiut men's parkas with bead work in the early 1930s.

The quality and supply of beads influences beading. Inuit preferred brightly coloured Italian seed beads rather than the poor quality beads supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company in Churchill (Steenhoven 1955). Milk-white porcelain beads were scarce and treasured more than the clear glass beads (Birket-Smith 1929). Today, milk-white beads continue to be used in large quantities. They create a sharp contrast against the red or navy duffle and are used to outline smaller patterns of multi-coloured bead work. In 1921-22, an extravagantly beaded amautik cost \$60.00 (Birket-Smith 1929). A similar parka costs \$14,000 from the Arctic Trading Post, Churchill, Manitoba in 1987.

Beads were also used to decorate fashion accessories including brass headbands with ear ornaments and hair sticks. Men and women wore head bands with ear ornaments. Beaded bracelets and rings were worn by women; necklaces were unknown. Wealthy Paallirmiut women decorated their beaded chest panels with objects such as the parts of a

watch (Birket-Smith 1929). Today, wedding bands and hat pin collections are worn by older women, otherwise very little jewelry is used. Younger women wear an array of exotic costume jewelry purchased through the Hudson's Bay Company, Sear's Catalogue, Eskimo Point Cooperative or during shopping trips to southern centres. Multiple pierced ears and long dangling earrings were fashionable during 1985-87.

III.3.D. PANTS

Pre-1900 men's pants had stove pipe legs which were tucked into boots extending to just below the knees (Hudson's Bay Company Library 69-24).

In the early 1920's and 30's, two pant leg styles were used by men: a stove-pipe leg and a flare leg style (Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H5.21-374). Both styles extended to the knee or slightly above the knee. The stove-pipe style consisted of four pieces sewn together with a waistband folded over to the outside. A strip of skin, with a toggle at one end and a loop at the opposite end, was threaded through the band and used to hold the pants in position. Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut wore this style more often than Caribou Inuit farther north (Qairnirmiut at Chesterfield Inlet). A few Paallirmiut wore the flared leg style which was more exaggerated than those worn by Qairnirmiut. The flared pants were cut with a fitted front

and back section extending down to the crotch. The flared legs were cut on a fold and had an inner leg seam. Two gussets were sewn into the crotch seam. The hemline was decorated with a wide strip of white haired skin followed by thin strips of alternative dark and white haired skins (Birket-Smith 1929)

Informants say that, in the 1950's, Paallirmiut made their stove-pipe skin pants long enough to overlap their boot tops by several inches and the Ahiarmiut version extended almost to the ankle. Ahiarmiut also extended the pattern pieces well above the waistline while Paallirmiut seamstresses added a waistband to the top. The hair was turned inwards on the waistband and two loops were attached or several slits were cut to form the belt loops. Paallirmiut men's pants were undecorated, Ahiarmiut positioned the pattern so a white strip from the caribou tail area accentuated the lower back pant leg hemline. Occasionally a band of white belly skin was sewn to the hemline.

Today, flared pants are not worn by Ahiarmiut or Paallirmiut. Until the 1960's when travel by dog team was still common, dog drivers found the flared legs ventilated easier than stove-pipe legs. Today, seamstresses still remember how to make the flared leg style, but, they cut the flared legs with a side and inner leg seam rather than on the fold (as they were in the past) (Appendix H.4).

Today, outer caribou skin pants are rare while inner caribou skin pants with stove pipe legs are commonly worn by hunters. Inner pants are usually covered with a firmly woven cotton-polyester blend fabric shell. The hunter's preference determines the length of the leg and the height of the waist.

In the early 1900's women wore only an outer pant style (Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H5.21-390). Their pants extended from high above the waist to just over the knees. The slightly flared legs were decorated with a long side strip running from the waist to the hem. A centre front waist gusset was cut from a caribou head skin and the ears were tacked down and used for belt loops. Leg skins were placed on each side so a white strip of hair lay next to the strip closest to the back (Birket-Smith 1929). Prior to this time, when tall stockings with side pouches were in fashion, informants say that narrow legged, undecorated, thigh length pants were tucked into the top of the stocking.

Contemporary Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut women use skin pant styles similar to the mid-1900's. Both groups cut side strips from dark or light haired caribou skin (Appendix H.4) rather than the traditional leg skins. A white spot from around the tail is placed about halfway down the side strip on all Paallirmiut and most Ahiarmiut style pants. Informants claim that Ahiarmiut traditionally omitted the white tail area on their side strips.

Women continue to wear caribou skin pants to special drum dances, church events and special occasions (Figure 46). They rarely use them on the land as women seldom travel during the winter season when caribou pants are needed. When they do travel in cold weather, women wear homemade or ready made fabric wind pants.

III.3.E. INNER AND OUTER STOCKINGS AND INNER SLIPPERS

Prior to the 1930's (Marsh 1976), women wore tall caribou skin boots cut with a vamp, upper section, inner sole and outer sole. The upper section tapered to a small point at the upper thigh and was fastened with a loop or bone button to a belt. A side pouch was incorporated into their design. Birket-Smith (1929) suggested that the side pouches were used to carry small children; Greenlandic natives are known to do so according to McGrath (Pers. Comm. 1986). Kaviok (Pers. Comm. 1985-87) said the pouches were used to store and dry spare caribou skin diapers. Large sections of neck skin were set under the naked baby at the base of the parka pouch. When the diaper was soiled, it was cleaned with a caribou brow tine or dull scraper and placed in the woman's boot pouch to dry. A dry diaper was removed from the boot and placed in the parka pouch. A third diaper was stored in the second boot pouch and was used the next time a diaper was needed, thus rotating the skins. In



Figure 46. Caribou Inuit Woman's Skin Pants.

Annie Sewoee is one of a few women who wear skin pants to special events during winter. Eskimo Point, 1985. The parka is now in the University of Manitoba Clothing and Textiles Museum E10e980.

addition, when mothers breast fed their babies, their mitts were usually placed in the boot pouch for safe keeping. This stocking style is not currently used in Eskimo Point.

According to Birket-Smith (1929), inner stockings were made from thin haired caribou skins and worn with the hair to the inside. Men's stockings were a variety of lengths, however, in winter they usually extended over the knee so the inner pant leg could overlap by several inches. By the 1930s duffle stockings were used for summer wear.

Today Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut use stocking patterns which are identical to the three styles used by contemporary Copper Inuit (Figure 21A, B and C). The style depicted by Figure 21B has a short vamp, sole and upper section. Paallirmiut seamstresses cut the vamp with a slightly convex seam (Figure 47A₁, a-b) while the Ahiarmiut style is cut with a straight seam that comes to a point (Figure 47A₂), like the Copper Inuit style. The rest of the cutting line follows the natural curvature of the front foot. This vamp style was unrecorded by Birket-Smith (1929) and may have been adopted from Copper Inuit in the Bathurst Inlet area or Caribou Inuit in the Back River area within the last fifty years of inter-settlement trade. The upper section has a centre back seam. In the early 1900's this seam was placed in the centre front (Thompson, Pers. Comm. 1987). The upper section is cut a variety of lengths, from below-calf to mid-thigh height.

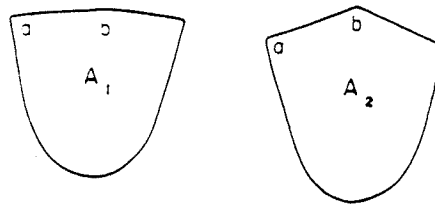


Figure 47. Vamp Variations.

The Paallirmiut vamp style (A_1) has a slightly curved vamp-instep line (a-b) while the Aharmiut version (A_2) is sharply pointed.

The style depicted in Figure 21C has the sole cut separately and sewn to the upper section with very little gathering. This style is shown in Halkett's water colour (1877) depicting a Caribou Inuk hunter (Hudson's Bay Company Library 69-24). A similar style found in the Prince of Wales Heritage Centre (982.61.1) has a centre back seam. The upper section is cut on the fold with a centre front seam running down the skin to the tip of the toes.

A third vamp style used by Caribou Inuit encompasses the entire foot (Figure 48). This style is identical to a duffle stocking used by Igloolik Inuit in the Foxe Basin area in the 1940's (Manning and Manning 1944) and by Copper Inuit (Figure 21A; Jenness 1946). It is not mentioned in the literature for the Paallirmiut or Ahiarmiut and was possibly adopted from Igloolik or Copper Inuit.

A fourth style is a traditional Ahiarmiut stocking style cut from one pattern piece, similar in shape to a Christmas stocking (Figure 49). The seam travels down the centre front leg section to the toes and across the sole to the heel. The pattern is placed on a caribou skin, matching the centre back fold lines (Figure 50). One stocking is cut from the lower half of a caribou skin, the second stocking is cut immediately above the first. The seams are sewn from the heel, across the sole, then up to the upper edge, matching numbered notches. The height varies from thigh high to ankle high and the top is left unfinished. This

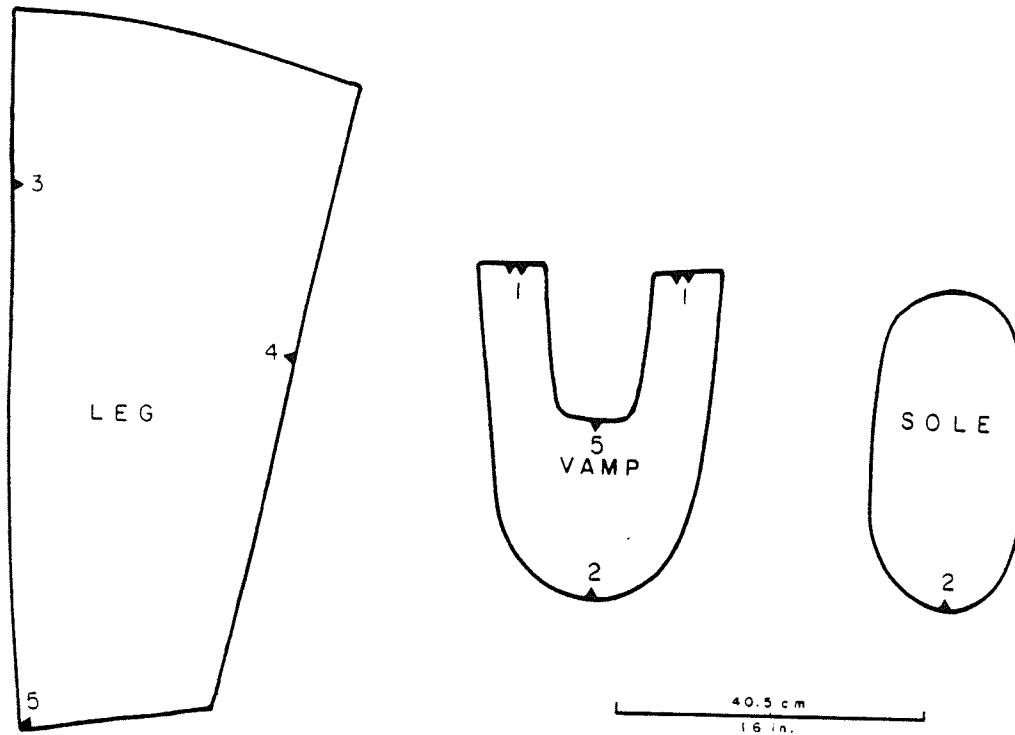


Figure 48. Stocking Pattern With Vamp Encircling Ankle.
The vamp is sewn to the leg section and then attached to the sole without crimping.

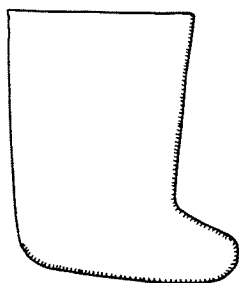


Figure 49. One Piece Stocking.

According to Annie Sewoee (Pers. Comm. 1985-87) this stocking style was commonly made by Ahiarmiut seamstresses. It was also used by a few Copper Inuit and is rarely used today.

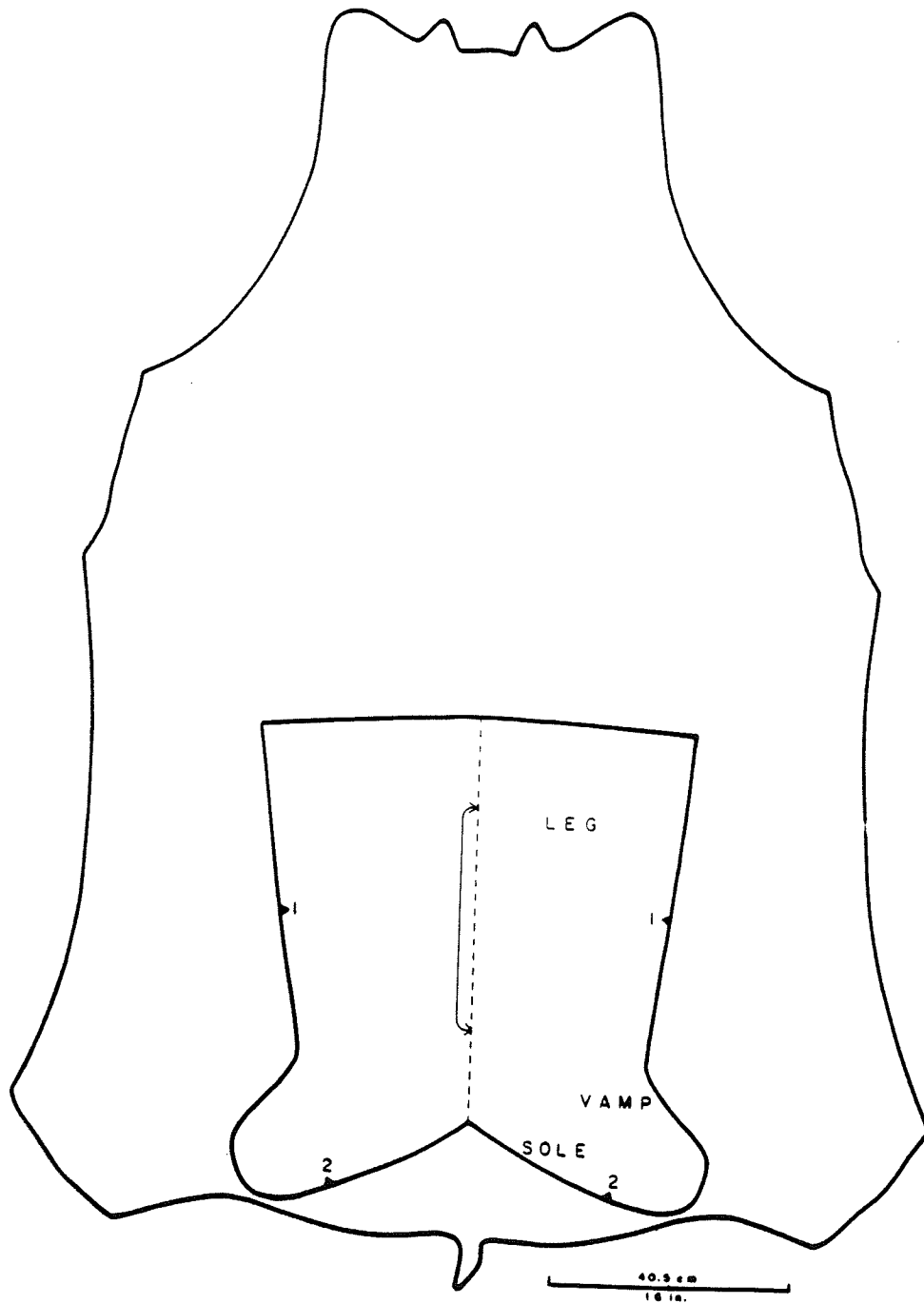


Figure 50. One Piece Stocking Pattern and Pattern Layout.
The second leg of this pattern is cut immediately above the first leg. A single seam is sewn by matching numbered notches.

pattern is not commonly used today. Birket-Smith (1929) included it in his description of Caribou Inuit clothing used in the early 1920's. A similar stocking style was worn by Copper Inuit in the early 1900's (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1005).

In the past one of two inner slipper styles were worn over inner stockings. One style was made from two pieces with the seam down the centre front leg, across to the toes, along the sole to the heel and up the centre back leg (Similar to Figure 49). The other style was made from an upper leg section sewn down the centre front to the toes and a flat sole piece was attached with a seam circumscribing the foot (Birket-Smith 1929)(Similar to Figure 21C).

Currently, slippers are commonly made with a vamp which encompasses the foot and requires one short centre back seam before attaching it to the flat sole (Figure 51)(also described in Manning and Manning 1944). A variation of this style is created by sewing a short strip across the centre front at the ankle (Figure 52). Inner slippers (Figure 53) are also made following the same pattern variations described for inner stockings, but omitting or shortening the upper section. Today they are made from seal, caribou leg skin, caribou body skin or duffle and are worn in skin and rubber boots. Contrary to Birket-Smith (1929), elders

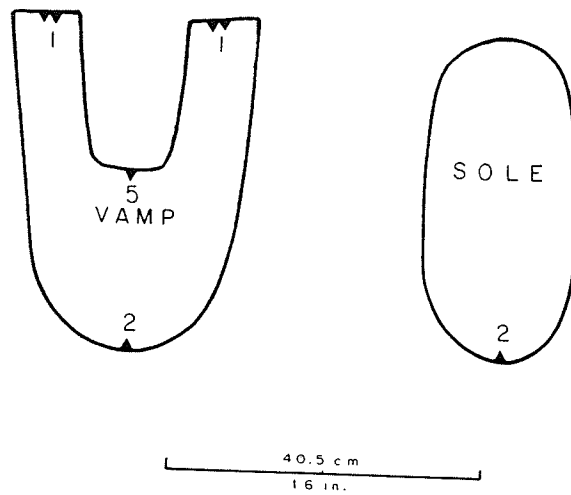


Figure 51. Inner Slipper Pattern.

The vamp encircles the ankle and is sewn to the sole without crimping.

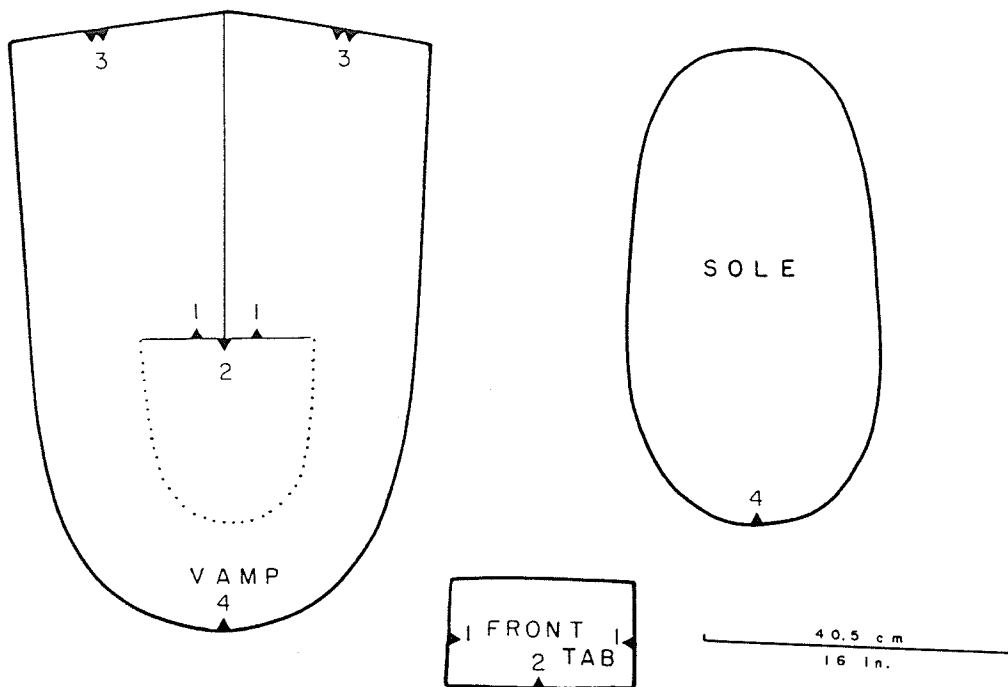


Figure 52. Variation of the Inner Slipper Pattern.
 The sides of the vamp are extended slightly and a short tab is inserted at the centre front making the slipper a bit taller than the pattern depicted in Figure 51.

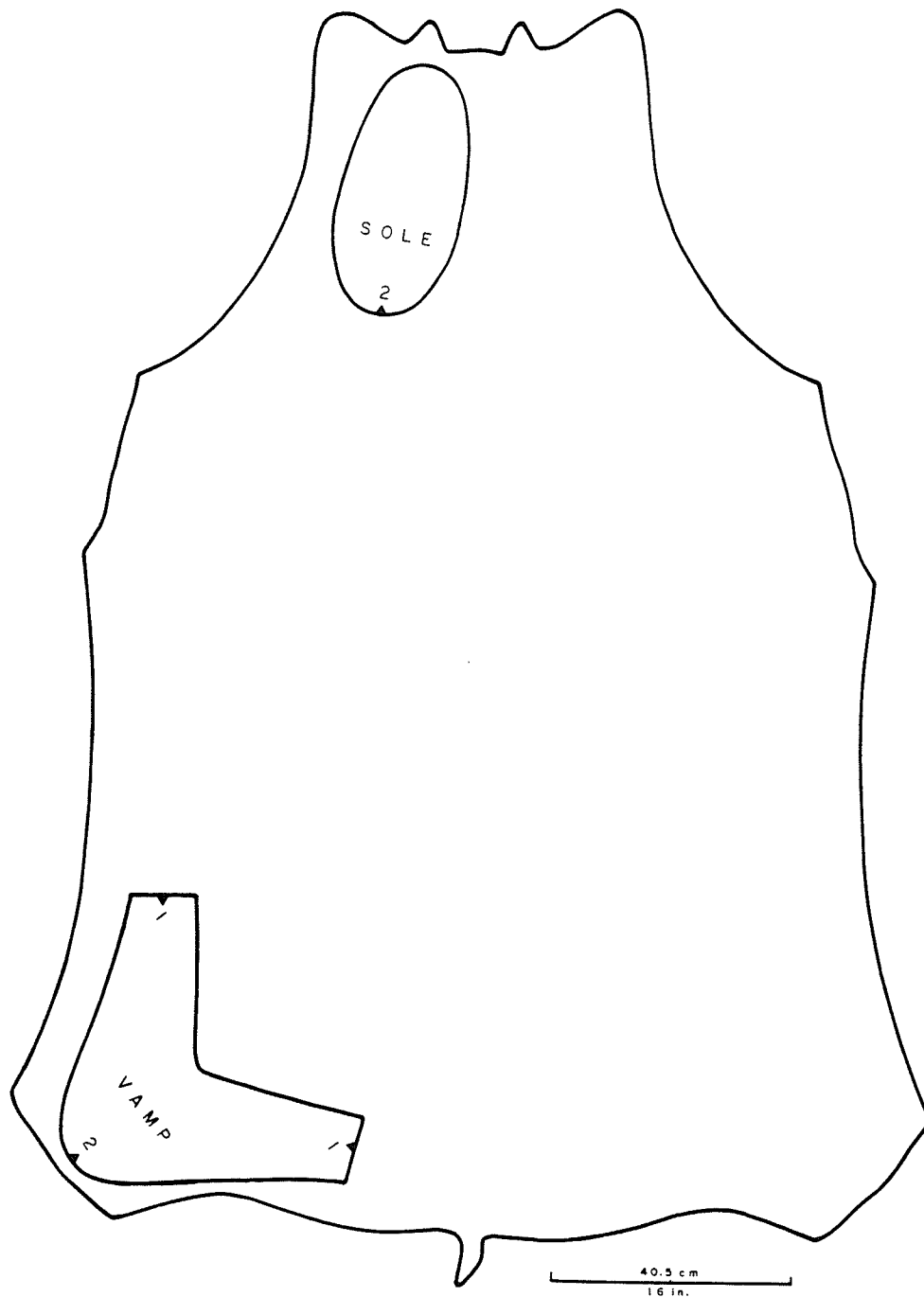


Figure 53. Inner Slipper Pattern and Pattern Layout.
Pattern pieces are positioned so the hair direction flows towards the toe.

say they occasionally stuffed dry grasses and sheared caribou hair into their boots (St. John, Pers. Comm. 1987).

An outer stocking is made from thick haired caribou skins sewn with the hair to the outside (Figure 54). An outer stocking-overshoe combination is used to provide protection equivalent to a boot. Sometimes duffle is substituted for caribou when cutting out the sole and vamp for the stocking-overshoe combination.

III.3.F. BOOTS

Pre-1900 boots appear to be cut in two pieces, an upper section and a sole (Hudson's Bay Company Library 69-24). There was possibly a centre front seam extending from the upper section to the toes because Halkett's sketch does not show a centre back seam. The sole is illustrated as a separate piece sewn to the upper section without any pleating. Figure 21C depicts a similar pattern worn by Copper Inuit. A similar style, with a centre back seam, is possibly from the central or eastern Arctic and found in the Canadian Museum of Civilization (IV.C.921).

Men wore two caribou skin boot styles in the 1920s. One style was cut from a single pattern piece, identical to the inner stocking described in Section III.3.E. (Figure 49). The top came just below the knees and was tied with a braided cord. This style is rarely used today. The second

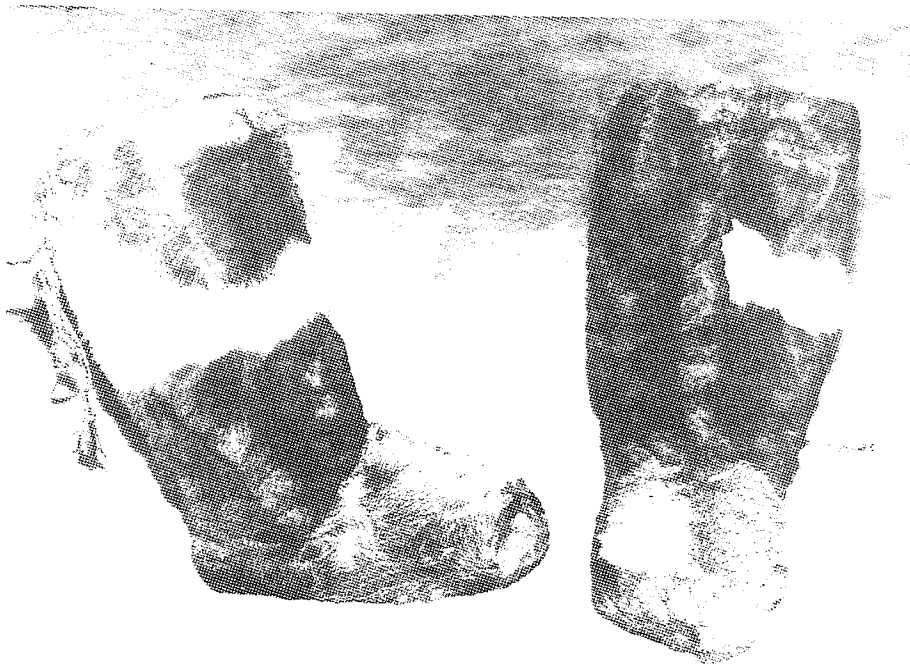


Figure 54. Outer Stocking

One version of the outer stocking has a white stripe across the upper section. The side with the white line is worn to the outside of the leg. Credit R. Riewe.

style was made with an upper-upper section, lower-upper section, vamp and sole (Figure 55). The upper-upper section was cut from thick haired caribou skins worn with the hair to the outside. The lower-upper section, vamp and sole were cut from thin haired caribou and sewn with the hair to the inside. The sole was crimped around the toe and heel and another sole was sewn to the bottom (Birket-Smith 1929). This style is still worn by hunters today (Figure 56).

A third boot style is worn by some Ahiarmiut elderly men and women today. This style is identical to the style described in Figure 55; occasionally the upper section is cut in one piece. The hair on all pattern pieces is turned to the inside and possibly shaved. They are worn without ties or casings.

In the early 1900's women wore a boot style which included an upper-upper and lower-upper section, vamp and sole piece. All pieces were worn with the hair to the inside and a loop was sewn on each side of the instep. A tie was threaded through the loop and wrapped around the foot in the same manner as men's boots and an extra sole was sewn to the outside (Birket-Smith 1929). Casings around the top of the upper section and ties were omitted.

According to Birket-Smith (1929), Paallirmiut wore only a triangular apron to cover their genitals and a short boot cut from depilated seal skins while they were inside a tent or igloo. The boots were made with an upper, vamp, inner

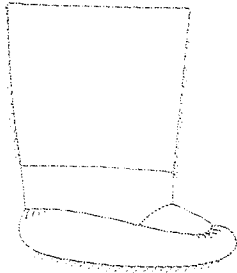


Figure 55. Caribou Body Skin Boot Diagram.

The upper leg section is sewn with the hair to the outside and the lower leg section, vamp and sole are sewn with the hair to the inside. An outer sole is attached for added traction and insulation.



Figure 56. Caribou Body Skin Boots.

This boot style is popular among Caribou Inuit hunters travelling during the winter. Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.33. Credit R. Riewe.

sole and outer sole section. They were sewn together with a water proof stitch. References to this style were not found for the Ahiarmiut.

Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut hunters occasionally wear boots made from leg skins. They are cut out as described in Appendix G.5.c. Inuit informants hypothesize that Copper Inuit developed this style from Alaskan natives. Today, leg skin boots are made by Inuit in all Canadian Arctic regions. Copper Inuit and Baffin Island Inuit (especially Inuit from Broughton Island and Pangnirtung) are exceptionally well known for their leg skin boot designs (Figure 57). A row of light and dark haired seal skin inserts is sewn vertically down the sides of each leg of women's boots. Men's boots omit this decorative detail (Aglukark, Pers. Comm. 1986; Okalik, Pers. Comm. 1986). A similar style is made by one woman in Eskimo Point. This style may have been introduced to Aglukark by Baffin Island Inuit with whom she interacted at regional meetings. Exchanging clothing as gifts to new friends formed while attending courses or meetings is common in the Arctic today. This method of acquiring fashions is demonstrated by Napayok. Napayok is the Eskimo Point representative for Pautuutiit (Inuit Woman's Association) and attends annual meetings with Inuit from across the Arctic. About ten years ago, Napayok brought back to Eskimo Point the skills needed to make a "Mother Hubbard". In addition, Napayok lived in

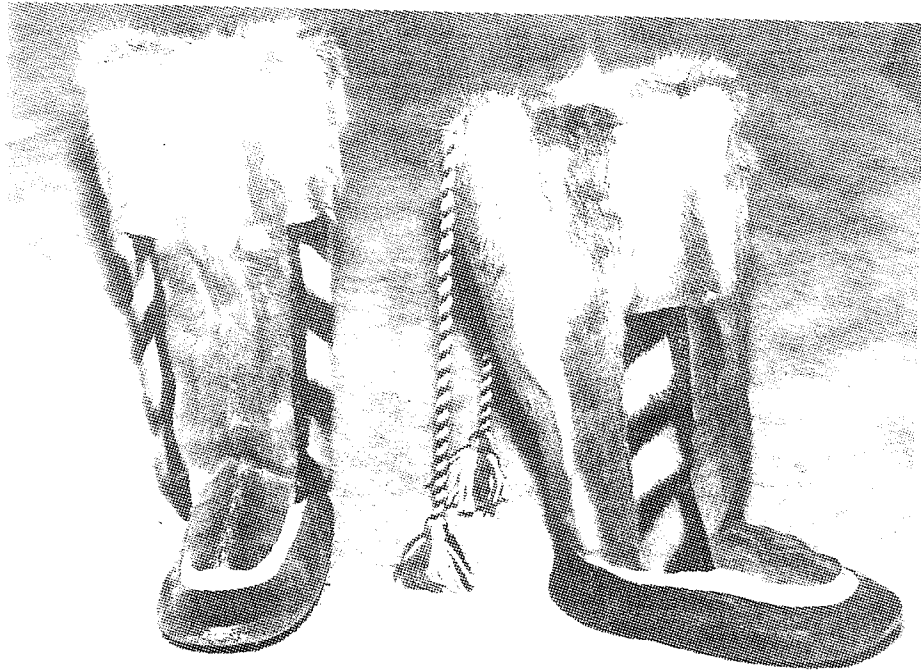


Figure 57. Caribou Leg Skin Boots.

One seamstress in Eskimo Point inserts pieces of light and dark haired skin down the sides of her family's caribou leg skin boots. This version of the leg skin boot is most common on Baffin Island in Pangnirtung and Broughton Island. Credit R. Riewe.

Pangnirtung for a few years and acquired the Pangnirtung leg skin boots which were possibly the source for Aglukark's boots.

Waterproof boots were needed during spring and summer. Paallirmuit used shaved seal skin boots, often bought or traded from the Aivilingmuit north of Chesterfield Inlet (Birket-Smith 1929). Occasionally, Ahiarmiut received seal skins through trade with Paallirmiut (Gabus 1944a) or from seals killed in inland lakes. Seal skins were scarce, therefore, Ahiarmiut usually used depilated caribou skin (Figure 58). Boot soles were cut from bull caribou throat or forehead skins to provide strength. The waterproof stitch described in Section V.1. was used to prevent seam leakage (Birket-Smith 1929; Steenhoven 1968). Depilated caribou skin boots worked satisfactorily when walking on marshy tundra with dry peat hummocks but quickly saturated when the dry mounds were scarce.

Before wearing waterproof boots, Inuit submerged them in water for about ten minutes to allow the skin to expand. They were then slipped on over caribou skin inner slippers.

Waterproof boots were tied on with a thong threaded through one loop sewn on each side of the instep. The thong was laid across the foot, wrapped around the ankle, crossed behind the heel, threaded through the instep loops and tied at centre front (Birket-Smith 1929). Thongs are still used when boots are ill fitting and on boots made for children.



Figure 58. Water Repellant Caribou Skin Boots.

Ahiarmiut seamstresses used depilated caribou skins when seal skins were unavailable through trade with the coastal Inuit. These boots were made by Annie Sewoee and are located in the Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.29. Credit R. Riewe.

Today, several Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut make waterproof seal skin boots for spring hunts. The most active seamstress who sews waterproof boots in Eskimo Point moved from Pond Inlet about fifteen years ago. In Pond Inlet, sealing is much more common and seal skins are used extensively for footwear, mitts, parkas and pants.

Other types of seal skin boots are commonly made and worn in Eskimo Point today. Winter seal skin boots are made with haired ringed seal skin for the upper section (Figure 59). A mid-calf version of this boot is worn during the summer.

Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut cut the upper section with very little flare and no gathering at the lower centre front. These features made Caribou Inuit footwear different from footwear made by Inuit living in Arctic Bay (Oakes 1987d) and Pond Inlet (Muckpah, Pers. Comm. 1985-1987). Historically, slight differences also existed between Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut boot styles. Ahiarmiut seamstresses cut their vamps longer and made larger crimps in the sole than Paallirmiut seamstresses. Today the Paallirmiut boot version prevails in Eskimo Point.

Today, women's boot styles are made several inches shorter than men's styles. The haired upper section of women's winter boots are decorated with a pattern encircling the boot horizontally rather than vertically like the man's boot. Designs are limited to stripes and simple geometric

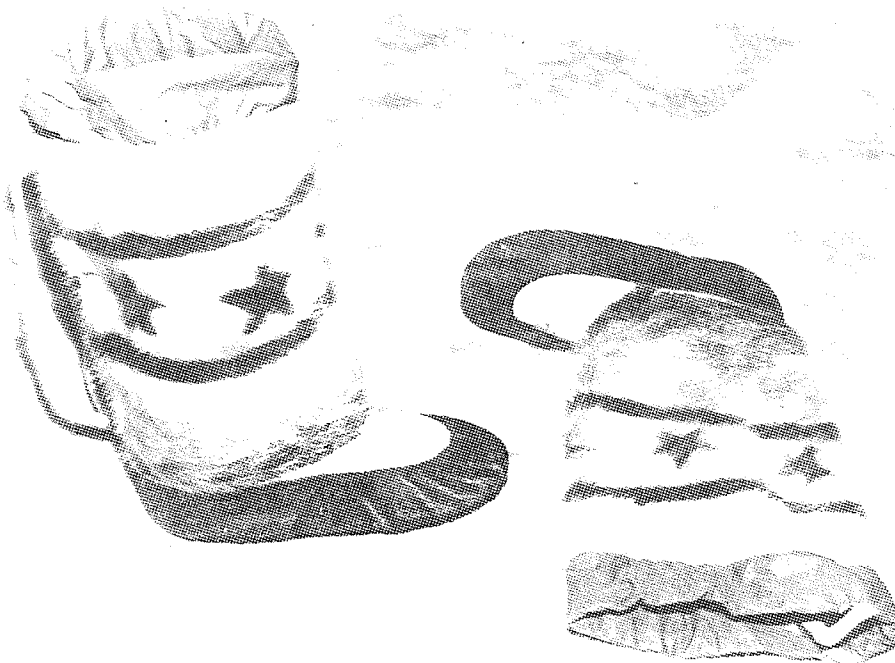


Figure 59. Eskimo Point Haired Seal Skin Boots.

The ringed seal skin upper section is decorated with vertical designs on men's or horizontal lines on women's boots. Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.30. Credit R. Riewe.

shapes, unlike the complicated designs used by Inuit in Arctic Bay (Oakes 1987d). Women's summer boots made from depilated skins have a flared upper section with a wide strip of dark haired ringed seal sewn around the top. Men often have a shaved upper section with a white haired strip sewn across the top.

III.3.G. OUTER SLIPPERS

Caribou skin outer slippers (overshoes) were pulled over skin boots to provide extra insulation and traction on snow or ice (Figure 60). Today, hunters continue to wear outer slippers during the extremely cold winter weather. Women never wore overshoes in the past. Today, informants repeatedly state that they are not used by women as they rarely travel in winter.

Birket-Smith (1929) states that skin sandals were tied over the overshoes when embarking on a long walking journey. Seamstresses say the sandals were made by sewing a thong brace to the centre back of the extra sole and attaching a tie to the upper part of the brace which was tied around the ankle. Another tie was sewn to each side of the toe area and tied over the vamp.



Figure 60. Eskimo Point Outer Slippers.

Caribou skin overshoes (outer slippers) provide extra insulation when worn over caribou or seal skin boots. Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.25. Credit R. Riewe.

III.3.H. INFANTS

Traditionally, children up to the age of four or five years old were naked inside tents or igloos. A caribou calf skin bonnet was often tied to an infant's head (Birket-Smith 1929; Steenhoven 1955). Today, newborns are dressed in purchased baby clothing, wrapped in a light baby blanket and wear either crocheted or skin bonnets. Skin bonnets are made from commercial rabbit, imitation fur, or calf skin.

Occasionally, bonnets are decorated with narrow strips of white and dark haired caribou paralleling the face edge. Boy's bonnets usually have fewer white haired strips than girl's bonnets (Napayok, Pers. Comm. 1986).

Slightly older infants (about six months of age) were dressed in a caribou calf skin vest (Birket-Smith 1929). This garment is not made today. Today, several women in Eskimo Point use a small bunting bag made from calf skins. Bunting bags have a miniature man's hood style and are closed with three fabric ties.

III.3.I. TODDLERS

In the early 1900's, toddlers wore play suits, with boots and mitts attached, until they were about five or six years old. Today, similar suits are made with or without mitts and boots (Figure 61).



Figure 61. Snowsuits.

Amanda Muckpa plays in a snowsuit design used by seamstresses all over the arctic. Mittens and boots are either attached or made separately. Eskimo Point, 1987.

Bonnets were worn with hoodless playsuits. A tippet of fringed caribou skin was worn around the neck (Birket-Smith 1929). Illustrations of this neck piece were not found for the Eskimo Point area. Children in Igloodik were sketched wearing a similar cape in 1821-22 (Lyon 1825). Tippetts are not used today, although children and adults tuck a piece of longhaired caribou skin around the lower part of the hood opening to protect the neck from freezing.

III.3.J. CHILDREN

Children's mitts, boots, stockings and slippers are miniature versions of adult styles. Girls and boys rarely wear caribou skin pants, when they do they are cut the same as men's stove-pipe pants.

Boys and girls have their own parka styles, they also wear miniature versions of their respective sex's parkas. In addition, girls wear a miniature version of a man's parka when a more practical parka is needed. Traditionally, when a boy was named after a woman and that name was used to identify the boy, girls' styles were worn by him. Also, when an infant died the child nearest to the infant's age wore a parka cut with the hair running down one side and up the other. Or, the child nearest to the infant's age wore a parka made from caribou and seal skin (Birket-Smith 1929). Today, a few children in Eskimo Point have caribou skin clothing; many wear clothing made from duffle with a

cotton/polyester or nylon shell.

Like Copper Inuit children (pre-adolescents), during the 1950's it was fashionable to wear small beaded panels exchanged between friends. Today, trends such as giving a bead to each of their friends and slipping the bead onto a safety pin which is pinned to fabric parkas goes in and out of fashion periodically. Traditionally, amulets (devices which provide protection against spirits) included ermine skins, "hawk" feet, small skin pouches, plant parts, beaded pieces or inanimate objects which were sewn to men's, women's and children's parkas (Birket-Smith 1929).

Boys and girls wear a parka with a short front tail, triangular back tail, moderately exaggerated shoulders and an attached hood (Figure 62). Boys use a rounded hood with a knob at the peak, like a man's hood. Girls use either an elongated or rounded hood style. The tail silhouette varies in length and shape. Generally it is about one handspan long and the same width. It usually tapers from the hemline up to the waistline; some silhouettes are roundish while others have sharp corners (Figure 63). Similar back tails were worn by children in Baker Lake (Rasmussen 1930).

At the age of six or seven, or earlier, boys generally wear a miniature version of a man's parka. As girls grow taller, the back tail is made longer. Once puberty is reached, the back tail extends to mid-calf and is curled under slightly by tying it up to the inside (Figure 42).



Figure 62. Caribou Inuit Children's Parka, Front View.

Girls and boys wear parkas with a short tail at the centre front hemline. Sarah Hallauk was the only child seen wearing a beaded parka for everyday wear. Eskimo Point, 1987. Photo Credit R. Riewe.



Figure 63. Caribou Inuit Children's Parka, Back View.
The back tail begins as a short flap and is cut longer
and broader as the child grows up. Eskimo Point, 1986.

Hoods are longer and wider, shoulders are cut wider and the side seams are cut closer to the hips. Inuit men say these changes are made to attract the opposite sex's attention. Some seamstresses say the tail strings are cut when menstruation begins, others say girls wear their pouchless parka with the strings uncut until they have a child or are married. Today this style is rarely made from skins or fabric, yet many women can still make the pattern. Birket-Smith (1929) mentioned that this style was not used in the 1920's and that all young women wore amautiit.

III.3.K. MITTENS

According to Birket-Smith (1929) three main pattern pieces were used to make caribou skin mitts, a back, upper palm and lower palm (Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H5.21.405). These pieces were cut so the hair flowed towards the finger tips on the back and lower palm patterns and towards the wrist on the upper palm pattern. Occasionally the upper palm was sewn with the hair to the inside. Mitts were edged with strips of dark and white haired caribou skins. Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut mitten styles are similar. Traditionally Ahiarmiut seamstresses extended the back and lower palm sections, omitting the extra seam required by a wrist strip. The extra length is folded over to form a small cuff. Ahiarmiut made mittens

from depilated caribou skins rather than seal skins for the wet spring and summer weather. Paallirmiut had access to seals and used seal skins for summer mitts (Manning and Manning 1944). Caribou leg skin mitts were made from back leg skins as these skins were cut in a manner (described in Section IV.1) that created a more appropriate shape for the back mitt pattern. Current mitt styles use the same pattern omitting the strips of decorative skin. They are also identical to styles used by contemporary Copper Inuit.

Skins used today include haired and depilated seal, commercial rabbit, skunk, polar bear, beaver and sheep. Haired seal skin mitts are usually trimmed with Arctic fox; a few are trimmed with dog and wolf skins.

Caribou sinew is commonly used to sew mitten seams; waxed thread is used to overcast the wristband. The stitches around the wristband are pulled tightly so the skin rolls slightly to the inside, omitting the need for a separate wristband.

Unlike other mitt styles, leg skin mitts are worn without duffle, imitation fur or skin liners. When the wearer's hand begins to get cold in the leg skin mitts, it is removed and submerged into snow for a few seconds before plunging it back into the dry mitt. According to Inuit informants, the snow melts inside the mitt, making it more pliable and easier to warm up.

A gauntlet style was made for building igloos, its

construction and design was not found in the literature. Skin gauntlets are worn by a few men today. In the past, caribou skin gloves were occasionally used for winter hunting expeditions. Birket-Smith (1929) claims gloves are a result of European influence. An incomplete data base makes it difficult to determine whether or not Inuit began making gloves before or after the arrival of Europeans.

Today, purchased gloves and mitts are used in town during winter and out on the land during summer outings. The wrist length mitt and caribou leg skin mitt are commonly used by hunters in winter.

This historical summary of Copper, Ahlarmiut, and Paallirmiut fashions provides insights on the evolution of northern fashions. Factors influencing Inuit fashion changes are discussed in Chapter 6. The following chapter describes historical and contemporary methods used to prepare caribou skins for clothing.

CHAPTER FOUR: SKIN PREPARATION TECHNIQUES

IV.0 INTRODUCTION

Untreated skins are stiff and will rot when wet, therefore, skins are dried, cured, semi-tanned or tanned in order to produce warm, flexible and durable clothing skins. The available literature briefly outlines skinning techniques, skin selection and skin preparation procedures (Birket-Smith 1929; Boas 1888; d'Argencourt 1981; Gabus 1940-41; Hatt 1914; Jenness 1946; Manning and Manning 1944; Stefansson 1945). Information on Paallirmiut methods were generally included with northern groups of Caribou Inuit. Skin preparation methods used by Ahiarmiut were first mentioned by Gabus (1940-41). This chapter describes historical and current skin preparation techniques.

IV.1 HISTORICAL AND CURRENT SKINNING PROCEDURES

Traditional and contemporary Copper and Caribou Inuit skin a caribou by making an incision from the throat to the tail, from the hocks to the knee and up the thigh to the belly. The skin is peeled off in one piece, beginning at the rump and working up to the cheeks, nose, forehead, ears and antlers (when in velvet). The skin is cut away at the ears when the antlers are large. When the white belly fur

is short (ideal for trim, fringes, edgings and insertions), Copper Inuit cut around the belly, peeling it off in one section rather than cutting down its center (Jenness 1946). Caribou Inuit are not known to cut the belly in one piece as their fashions do not require broad sections of white haired skins like the Copper Inuit fashions.

Caribou and Copper Inuit cut front leg skins differently than the back leg skins. Front legs are cut around the bone just below the shoulder joint and slit up along the inside of the leg. The back leg skins are cut around the bone at the top of the leg and sliced up the centre back of the leg, following just inside the tuft of long hair which runs up the leg. Legs are often cut right off and brought home for the seamstresses to skin. Only some caribou skins are saved for clothing. The following section outlines the process used for selecting clothing skins.

IV.2 HISTORICAL AND CURRENT SKIN SELECTION

In the early 1900's, Copper Inuit cut their winter overparka from dense, long haired (about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4" or 4 - 5 cm long), early fall skins (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.807). Caribou Inuit used the same type of skin for their outer parkas (overparkas were not used by Caribou Inuit), stockings, pants and overslippers (Canadian

Museum of Civilization IV.C.578; Glenbow Museum AB533). Copper Inuit cut their long underwear, stockings, pants, inner parkas and outer parkas worn under the overparka from short-haired (3/8 to 5/8" or 1 - 1.6 cm long) mid-summer skins (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.60, IV.D.768, IV.D.987, IV.D.1075, IV.D.1157, IV.D.1170, IV.D.1186, IV.D.1259, IV.D.3246; McCord Museum ME967X.41). Caribou Inuit used similar skins for their men's inner parka (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.582, IV.C.2664, IV.C.4080). Today, similar skins are selected except the Copper Inuit wear a slightly heavier inner parka and the overparka is omitted. Short, dark haired skins with areas of longer, unshed, light hairs were preferred for inner amautiit (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.663, IV.C.709, IV.C.4085; Glenbow Museum AB595) and heavier skins were used for the outer parka (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.628). The reverse is true for Copper Inuit women's parkas (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.775, IV.D.1750).

The thickness of caribou hair on skins used for clothing is important as it provides insulation against the cold. According to Irving (1966), 1 1/2" (4 cm) thick caribou hair provides 7 clo units (1 clo unit equals the amount of clothing insulation required to be comfortable while resting at room temperature) of insulation. At

-40⁰C, in a calm environment, a person involved in very light work requires about 7 clocs to be comfortable. As more energy is exerted, less clocs are required.

Leg skins from caribou killed in late fall (October-November) are preferred for adult skin boots. Calf leg skins are used for children's skin boots. According to Inuit hunters, spring caribou leg skins are seldom used because the interdigital gland is enlarged at this time. Research by Quay (1955) and Pruitt (1960) studied the purpose of the interdigital gland. Seasonal fluctuations in gland size may occur due to increased activity; this is undetermined to date. Thick bull skins and old sled skins (bull skins softened from use on sleds) are used for boot soles. In the past, Ahiarmiut (Steenhoven 1968) and Paallirmiut (Birket-Smith 1929) used bull skins for boot soles and overslippers. The neck area of bull skins was also used for "diapers". Occasionally extra thick-haired skins were used for boots or overslippers. The hair on these skins was combed to remove excess insulation. This is still done today. Similar skins are selected by Saami in Scandinavia (Delaporte and Roue 1980).

Contemporary seamstresses explain factors, other than hair density and length, that they consider before selecting skins. They consider the available skins, how the garment will be used and skin thickness. For example, skin thickness ranges from thick bull skins used for outer

footwear because they last longer to thinner skinned yearlings used for parkas, pants, footwear and mitts, to flexible, velvet-like calf skins chosen for children's clothing. Hair colour is also considered when selecting skins. Generally skins with matching hair colour are preferred. Some caribou skins have a row of white haired dots on either side of the back bone. The dots are called "Pepper's Patches" and Koamayok of Cambridge Bay stated that seamstresses value skins with these markings for clothing (Pruitt 1986). White (belly) and dark (back) haired sections of the skins are used differently in regionally unique styles, influencing skin choices. Caribou populations and migration routes, weather and travel conditions influence the number and variety of skins brought home to seamstresses. Annual and individual variations in diet, health and seasonal variations in weather influence caribou skin thickness, hair density and hair length.

An extreme example of the influence that caribou herd size, migration routes, weather and terrain have on caribou skin clothing was observed by Riewe (1973). The Inuit living in Grise Fiord in the High Arctic have limited access to the nearest caribou (Peary's) which are now located about 150 miles (240 km) from the community. The difficulty of crossing the mountain passes in late August when the skins are ideal for clothing and the relatively small herd limits the availability of caribou clothing skins. From 1953 to

1973 an average of 26 animals were harvested per year by Grise Fiord hunters (population of Grise Fiord is about 100)(Riewe 1977). Rarely were any of these caribou skins taken when they were ideal for clothing skins. In order to supply their family with warm clothing, seamstresses imported barren-ground caribou from other northern communities or purchased sheep skin as a practical substitute.

Historically, Caribou Inuit clothing was primarily made from caribou skins (Hoffman 1976); Paallirmiut also used ringed and bearded seal skins (Birket-Smith 1929). Dog skins were avoided and the use of Arctic hare, Arctic ground squirrel and polar bear is unmentioned in the literature. Copper Inuit used a variety of skins including: Arctic hare, Arctic ground squirrel, muskrat, wolf, polar bear, wolverine, bearded seal and ringed seal. Copper Inuit living on Victoria Island used dog skins. On Victoria Island, some men kept puppies just until their fur was prime (Kapakatoak, Pers. Comm. 1986). Dog skin was used for parka ruffs, trim and mitts and the legs skins were used for boots. Dog was rarely used by Copper Inuit on the mainland (Coppermine-Umingmaktok area). Wolves and wolverine were plentiful on the mainland and preferred over dog for trim and ruffs. Polar bear skins were made into pants up until the 1950's (Joss Photo Collection; Nalvanna, Pers. Comm. 1985). Today, polar bear skins are sold to southerners for

substantial sums of money, making their use as pants impractical. Ground squirrel skins were commonly made into parkas in the early 1900's (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.1685; Jenness 1946). Muskox calf skins were occasionally made into mitts by Copper Inuit and by Inuit living farther east in the Back River area (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.3354). Ringed seal skins were used for parkas in the past and some informants recalled stories of gut skin parkas but were unable to recall further details. Ringed seal skins were also used for skin boots and bearded seal skins were used for boot soles.

Today, chemically tanned skins are readily available from the Winnipeg Fur Exchange, Arctic Co-operatives and Hudson's Bay Company stores. Commercially tanned wild mink is occasionally used for inner and outer parkas, although it is considered too fragile for long lasting garments. Commercially tanned Arctic hare is made into a very warm inner parka. Commercial rabbit and cowhide is made into stylish inner or outer parkas seen at festivals and community events. Rabbit is also used as a substitute for white belly skin in decorative insets. Cowhide, deerhide, moosehide, yarn and silk tassles are used as substitutes for caribou skin fringes on Caribou Inuit parkas. Commercially tanned ringed seal skins are commonly used for the upper section of seal skin boots as well as for mitts and wall hangings sold to Arctic Co-operatives. Short sheared (1/4

to 1/2", .5 - 1 cm) sheep skin is used for parka liners and white insets when caribou belly skins are scarce. Caribou Inuit also use it for outer slippers, inner slippers, mitts, inner parkas and caps. Smoked caribou skins are also available from commercial outlets and from relatives attending school at Fort Smith. These skins are used for boot soles. One Inuit seamstress visited Indians in Rae Edzo and learned the smoke tanning process (Klengenberg, Pers. Comm. 1985). Commercially tanned Arctic ground squirrel skins are occasionally used for mitt liners and as substitutes for caribou nose skins used on the outer caribou skin parka's hood. The short-haired, light brown features of squirrel skin make it an attractive substitute. Strips of commercially tanned wolf, fox, black bear and other assorted furs are used by Caribou Inuit to trim parka hoods and mitts. Wolverine are extirpated in the Eskimo Point area and rarely used by Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut.

Today, a wide variety of winter fabrics and imitation furs are available. One of a kind items made from home softened or chemically tanned skins such as skunk mitts, beaver mitts, otter parka, polar bear mitts and polar bear overshoes are seen. Imitation mink, rabbit and cowhide, as well as brightly coloured imitation fur is used to make the traditional Copper Inuit parka style. Fabrics are made into traditional patterns with additions including zippers, pockets and new hemlines.

Although an ever increasing variety of skins are available to northern seamstresses, caribou skins remain the most popular. Women are generally very conscientious about selecting the best skin for a specific garment. Occasionally they may ask a particular hunter in Eskimo Point (Casimer Nutarasungnerk) to kill an animal with certain colouring or hair thickness. Casimer has a reputation for being able to fill these special orders.

IV.3. HISTORICAL AND CURRENT SKIN PREPARATION PROCEDURES

Skin preparation techniques are time-consuming, arduous and highly technical. Experienced workers take about eight hours, spread over several days, to make a dried skin suitable for skin clothing. Improperly treated skins are stiff, brittle and lose large flakes of epidermis and hair. The following procedures produce soft, velvet-like skins.

Historically, Caribou and Copper Inuit garments required depilated, shaved, dyed, plucked and haired skins. Depilated skins have the hair and epidermis removed. Shaved skins have the hair cut off with short bristles remaining. Dyed skins either have the hair and epidermis removed prior to dying or are dyed with the hair intact. Plucked skins have the long winter hairs removed revealing the short new spring hair. Haired skins have all the hair left intact.

The first steps in the preparation process for each of these types of skins are identical. Variations are discussed separately in this section.

IV.3.A. CLEANING AND DRYING CLOTHING SKINS

Skins were initially prepared by removing the fat and meat particles. Blood stains were rubbed out with snow and blood-caked hair was cleaned by soaking the skin in cold water (Hatt 1914; Boas 1888; Birket-Smith 1929; Jenness 1946; Stefansson 1945). Skins taken from animals killed while crossing a river or lake had the water removed with a knife-like wooden tool before the skins were dried (Birket-Smith 1929; Manning and Manning 1944). During summer migration, clean skins were placed on long poles and laid across their packs. Skins were stretched out on the ground every time the group stopped travelling (Jenness 1946). During late August or early September Ahiamut pegged the skin, fur down, on the ground and left it to dry for two to three days (Gabus 1940-41). Birket-Smith (1929) mentioned that the Inuit he observed dried clothing skins without pegging them down. Today, skins are laid out on the ground to dry and stored flat in work tents or sheds until needed for clothing.

Copper and Caribou Inuit began the softening process by further drying the skins. Copper Inuit dried the skins

above a seal blubber lamp (Stefansson 1945). Paallirmiut usually dried skins by sleeping under them because they seldom had seal blubber for lamps (Birket-Smith 1929; Gabus 1940-41; Hanbury 1904). Today, skins are usually dried by leaving the skin on a drafty floor of their heated wood framed homes overnight. The Copper Inuit at Bathrust Inlet prefer to dry their skins on a rack placed high above the fuel oil stove. The following day, Inuit mechanically soften skins with their hands, feet, teeth and scraping tools. Scraping tools and positions vary between Copper and Caribou Inuit, but the steps are similar.

IV.3.B. TOOLS

Copper Inuit scrapers have long, arching handles made from caribou antler or musk-ox horn. Blades were made from black slate prior to the late 1700's; by the late 1800's, copper was predominately used. Copper was possibly introduced through trade with Yellowknife Indians at Great Bear or Great Slave lakes or with Paallirmiut through the Brochet trading post (Jenness 1923). Brass, iron and steel blades were popular by the 1900's (Stefansson 1945; Webster 1949). Today, musk-ox horn or hardwood scraps are commonly used for ulu (curved woman's knife) handles, while antler handles are used for scrapers. Antler handles are designed so one antler tine fits up between the thumb and index

finger, a larger tine fits into the palm. The sharp scraper is made with a small blade, about 1 1/2" (4 cm) long and 1 1/2" (4 cm) wide at the widest place, rivetted to the end of a long, slender piece of antler (Figure 64A). The blade is bevelled and sharpened on both sides. The dull scraper has a broad (2 to 3", 5 - 8 cm wide), slightly curved blade cut from scrap metal. It is rivetted or bound to the antler and either bevelled on one side and sharpened or left dull (Figure 64B). Unlike Caribou Inuit ulus, Copper Inuit ulu blades are bevelled on both sides and sharpened by holding a pair of sissors in the left hand and drawing the ulu across the shears.

Caribou Inuit used caribou shoulder blades (scapula) and stone scrapers for scraping tools (Birket-Smith 1929). Some iron was available after 1719 by trading with the Hudson's Bay Company (Burch 1986a). Scrapers are shaped like the letter "J". Dull scrapers (Figure 65A) are about 6" (15 cm) long, while sharp scrapers (Figure 65B) are about 4" (10 cm) long and bevelled on the top side. Handles are made from old gun stocks, oak stairs, ammunition boxes, plastic sled runners or plastic cutting boards. Blades are manufactured from scrap metal such as 45 gallon drums or cross-cut saw blades. A small "sewing ulu" (Figure 65C) or curved knife is often used by Caribou and Copper Inuit. Caribou Inuit usually cut the upper edge of the blade slightly curved inwards rather than straight.

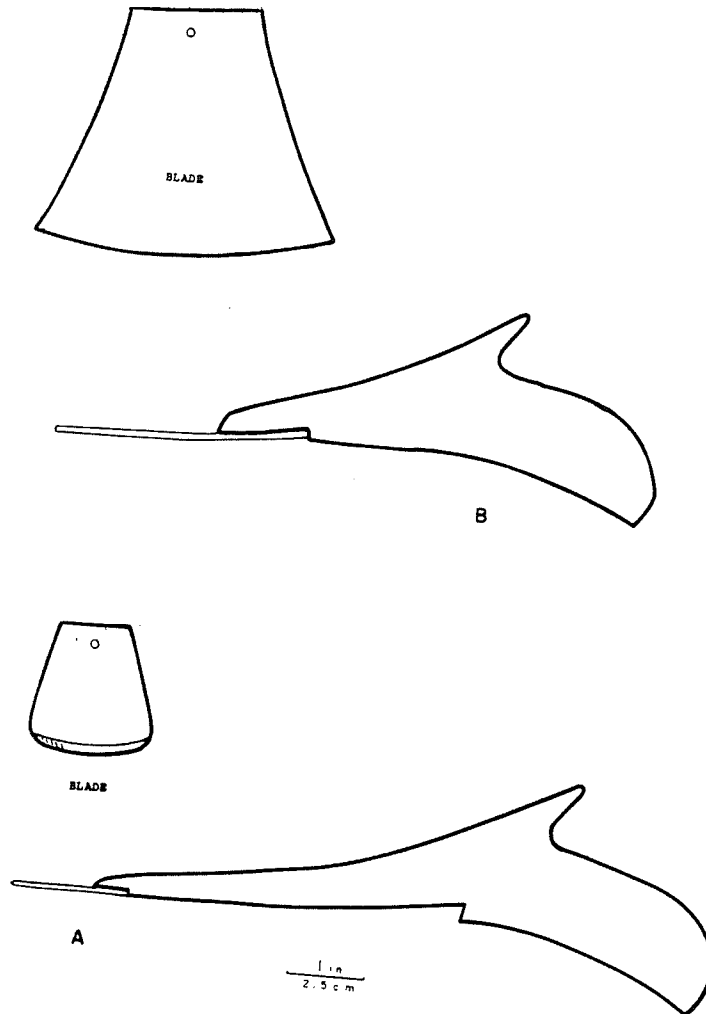


Figure 64. Copper Inuit Scraping Tools.

Sharp (A) and dull (B) scrapers are usually made with a slightly arched caribou antler or muskox horn as a handle.

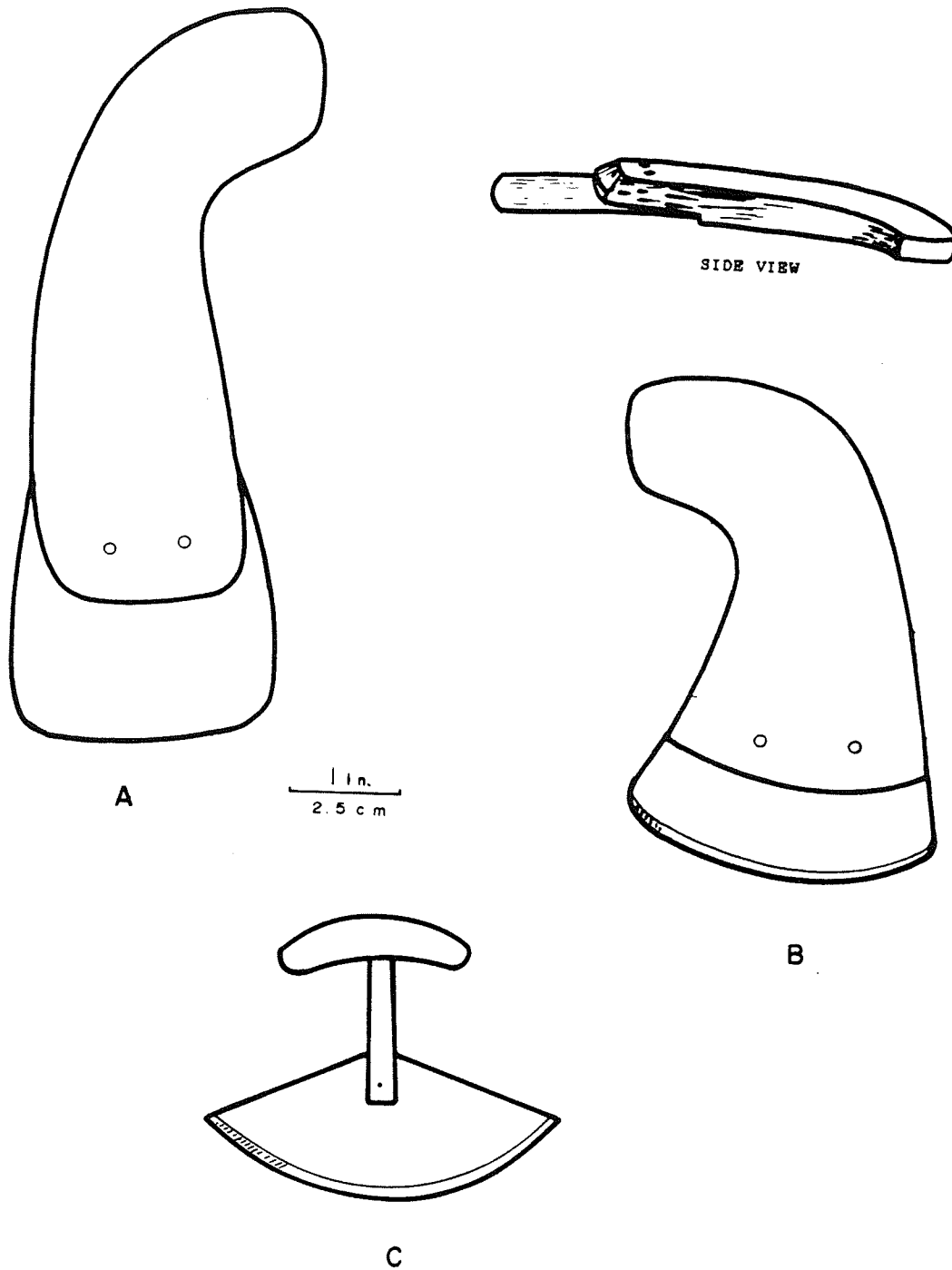


Figure 65. Caribou Inuit Skin Scraping Tools.
 Dull (A) and sharp (B) scrapers used today have "j" shaped handles which are usually made from wood. A small knife ("ulu",C) is used by some Copper and Caribou Inuit while sewing.

IV.3.C. FIRST SCRAPING

The physical properties of caribou skins influence scraping directions and softening procedures. Skin consists of fibre bundles fanning out from the centre back to the neck, belly and rump areas. The alignment of the fibre bundles influence the skin strength, flexibility and extensibility (Haines 1981). Fat and lipid cells are broken and fibre bundles are realigned while scraping with a dull scraper.

Copper and Caribou Inuit hold the scraper vertically and drag it slowly but firmly from the outer edge towards the centre of the skin. The scraper follows the general direction of the fibre bundles to avoid excess stretching. The skin is then rescraped, this time the outer edge is folded over and pulled against the scraper. The outer edge is scraped first, then the scraper works towards the skin's longitudinal centreline. The procedure is repeated, beginning at the tail, working towards the head and back to the tail. Short (about 4" or 10 cm long), slow strokes prevent large sections of caribou hair and epidermis from cracking away from the dermis. The underarm, flank and nose areas are thinner and split easily. Care is taken to avoid ripping the skin in these areas and cracking brittle areas.

The first scraping requires strength, muscle control,

skill and time. The skin is scraped until it does not produce a crackling sound, which usually takes an experienced woman about two hours. Gabus (1940-41) mentioned that Aharmiut used only one scraping step to remove the fascia and soften clothing skins. Additional details are unavailable. Birket-Smith (1929) explained that the first scraping was accomplished by scraping the skin in two directions with a bone scraper. Manning and Manning (1944) noted that a sharpened metal scraper was used. This contradiction in types of scrapers used (metal, bone or stone) may be influenced by observing Inuit with cultural differences, a change in the availability of metals between 1944 and the early 1920's, differences in skin thickness or the age of the animal skin being softened, or the women randomly picked the handiest scraper. Today, dull metal scrapers or bone scrapers are used interchangeably for the first scraping; metal scrapers are more common.

Once the skin is partially softened with a scraper it is ready to be dampened, scraped and re-scraped. The order of these steps are inter-changeable; when a skin is extra stiff the steps to soften a skin are repeated.

IV.3.D. WETTING STAGE

Manning and Manning (1944) explained the wetting step by saying that about a pint (.5 l) of water or enough to

dampen the skin without turning it blue is applied to the skin. The skin is then rolled into a bundle, set aside for about twenty-four hours and stretched with a dull stone or brass scraper. Birket-Smith (1929) observed skins being dampened and then hand wrung after the second scraping stage was completed.

Today, the procedure outlined by the Mannings (1944) is used by Caribou Inuit. Dull metal or bone scrapers are preferred. Copper Inuit add about one cup of flour (baking powder, baking soda or salt is used when flour is unavailable) to the water and rub the skin with a wet bar of laundry soap. Flour-water mixtures are also used today by Netsilik Inuit from Gjoa Haven and Mackenzie Delta Inuit. Young (Pers. Comm. 1986) describes the bio-chemical reactions occurring by saying that dampening skins stimulates autolysis (destruction of cells stimulated by serum) and causes depolymerization of ground substance which helps to soften the skin.

Extra water is rubbed into dry areas; too much water loosens the hair while too little water makes the skin dry and brittle. The damp skin is folded with wet sides together, rolled up, tied tightly, and set aside in a cool place for several hours to let the water soak into the skin.

IV.3.E. SECOND SCRAPING

A dull scraper is used to rescrape and stretch the dampened skin. The mechanical action of the scraper forces the fibre bundles in the corium to become less vertical and more parallel to the lower edge (rump area) of the skin. More strenuous scraping is needed to stretch the rump and back than the belly and neck areas because the fibre bundles are thicker in the rump and back areas (Young, Pers. Comm. 1986). The skin is stretched by slowly working towards the centre (following the directional run of the fibre bundles) rather than by working from one end to the other. While scraping, the skin is folded to expose only about one square foot (0.1 m^2), preventing the rest of the damp skin from drying out. Once the initial stretching is complete, the skin is rescraped. This time the skin is scraped from head to tail, across the directional run of the fibre bundles, enabling additional stretching to occur. The skin is stretched gently, enough to create spaces between each small cluster of hairs. Seamstresses stress the importance of taking short, slow strokes throughout the scraping process. The skin should be scraped evenly so the garment will hang properly and the hair follicles should be left intact.

Copper and Caribou Inuit use different sitting positions while scraping. Copper Inuit place the skin, hair down, on a straight chair or platform. The worker sits on the skin, usually with one knee bent. The area being

scraped is held a few inches (5 - 10 cm) over the chair's edge, scraping actually occurs a few inches (5 - 10 cm) off the chair's edge. Caribou Inuit place the skin on the floor and kneel on the skin while scraping. Sometimes it is clamped between their outstretched legs and pulled over their thighs, which form a soft scraping platform.

According to Jenness (1949) this latter position was used by Copper Inuit while sitting on a flat surface or sleeping platform.

Scraped skins are further softened by wringing them by hand. A damp rag (Copper Inuit also use a soapy rag or hand lotion) is rubbed over the skin before it is folded down the centre back, rolled into a bundle and weighted down with a sofa cushion or similar weight. After about half an hour the moisture is partially absorbed into the skin. Some women freeze the dampened skin for a week before continuing. Freezing helps to soften the skin as the ice particles cause some skin cells to rupture. The slightly damp, thawed skin is placed on the floor, fur down. The worker kneels on the skin and grasps it in both hands rubbing and twisting it vigorously, taking care to avoid splitting brittle areas. A good quality skin becomes velvety-soft and pliable. Copper and Caribou Inuit seamstresses recalled chewing caribou skins and stretching them by standing on one area, clamping one's teeth on another area and pulling the skin.

IV.3.F. THIRD SCRAPING

Today Copper and Caribou Inuit remove fascia from the pliable clothing skin by scraping it with a sharp metal scraper. Scraping begins in one small area, once it is satiny-white the neighbouring area is tackled. Scraping continues for several hours until the high pitched scratchy sound of the scraper against the skin becomes low and resonant. The final results are a pliable, satiny-white, velvety skin ideal for clothing. Birket-Smith (1929) briefly mentions a thin layer of skin being removed by a sharpened scraper. By piecing together scant descriptions used by historical Caribou Inuit to soften skins, it appears that the process used was similar to that used today. It is important to note from a conservator's and ethnologist's perspective that the application of brain, liver, fat or smoke was unknown to the Caribou Inuit (Hanbury 1904). Neither is it used today. In contrast, Harrington (1952) claimed that Chipewyan skins were much better than skins prepared by Inuit because Chipewyans used fatty substances during skin preparation.

Contemporary Copper Inuit sprinkle flour, baking powder or baking soda over the area being scraped. The grainy powders act as an absorbent and a fine abradant, making the final scraping easier to complete. According to

Jenness (1946), unlike the Caribou Inuit, Copper Inuit were exposed to Inupiat from Point Hope, Alaska, who used flour and other powders to soften their skins. Flour was also used by the Saami from Europe while softening reindeer skins (Islawin 1862 in Hatt 1914).

Manning and Manning (1944) briefly explained that leg skins were either softened by following the same method used for body skins or chewed and scraped once. Additional details are unavailable in the literature.

Today, Copper and Caribou Inuit dry and soften leg and belly skins with slightly different techniques than those used on the main body skin. Leg skins are dried by either basting them, hair sides together; plastering the wet skin to a cool wall; or flattening the skin, hair up, on a snow bank. Once the skins are frozen they are strung to a railing or line and left exposed to the elements until autumn. Although leg skins have thick fibre bundles, weathering partially softens the skin and eliminates the need for re-aligning the fibre bundles with a dull scraper. Skins are chewed until pliable and the fascia is removed with a sharp scraper, using the same technique as described for the body skins. On the other hand, belly skins have very thin fibre bundles, which are easily re-aligned by chewing the skin. Belly skins are pegged out to dry, then chewed and scraped with a sharp scraper, using the same technique described for the body skin.

Throughout the softening process, rests are best taken after the first and second scraping and any time during the final scraping. Skins are stored in sheds or work tents; holes and tears are sewn prior to cutting the skin into garment pieces.

IV.3.G. PLUCKED, SHAVED, DEPILATED AND DYED SKINS

Multi-textured, colourful clothing is created with plucked, shaved, depilated and dyed skins. Regional variations in skin fashions influence the types of skins prepared for clothing. Past and present Copper Inuit fashions require plucked, cropped, depilated and dyed skins. In the past, Ahiarmit and Paallirmiut used shaved and depilated skins, but they rarely used dyed skins. Today, shaved and depilated skins are used while rickrack is used as a substitute for plucked skins.

Copper Inuit crop seam edges by placing the pattern, hair down, on a cutting board and cropping all hairs protruding from select seams. Good quality cropping is neither slanted inwards nor outwards from the skin; the hair is cut vertically, creating an even, blunt edge of fur. Cropped hair exposes and emphasizes the adjacent trimming.

Caribou Inuit shave caribou skins to remove excess, bulky hair on their footwear and fringes. Paallirmiut cut the hair by holding the ulu parallel to the skin, slicing

the hair off about 3/8" (2 cm) from the skin. An even, crew-cut-like appearance is created by experienced seamstresses. A similar method used on seal skins is described in detail by Oakes (1987d). Ahiarmiut press the hair flat and hold the ulu vertical to the skin, chopping through the hair but not through the skin. The result is an uneven, choppy surface of cropped hair. Sissors are also used to shave skins today. Shaved skins are softened using the steps described in Section IV.3.A, C, D, E and F.

Plucked skins are used by contemporary Copper Inuit for decorative trim and were used by Caribou Inuit for hemline edging on inner parkas before the 1960's. Historically, Copper Inuit plucked skins by pulling out the long winter hair from skins collected in early spring (Anavilok, Pers. Comm. 1986; Jenness 1946). In 1985-87 the same technique was used to acquire short, very dark haired skins. Traditional methods used by Caribou Inuit are unrecorded in the literature searched.

Historically, depilated skins were used for fringes by Paallirmiut. Ahiarmiut used depilated skins for fringes as well as footwear (when seal skin was unavailable). Copper Inuit used depilated skins for decorative trim (Birket-Smith 1929; Gabus 1940-41; Hatt 1914). The oldest and most widely used method of depilation is to rot the skin just long enough to dissolve the proteinaceous substance between the corium and epidermis (Stambolov 1969). Copper

and Caribou Inuit accomplish this by soaking skins in water until the hair begins to slip (Birket-Smith 1929; Hatt 1914). Another method was used by Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut on fall bull skins which are very thick. According to Steenhoven (1968) skins were covered with "moss" and left just long enough for the hair to rot off. These skins were then chewed and used for boots. Unlike the natives of West Greenland (Cranz 1765 in Hatt 1914) and traditional Inuit from Baffin Island and Igloolik (Lyon 1824), urine is not used as a tanning substance or a cleansing wash by Copper or Caribou Inuit today. Informants also claim it was not used in the past.

Today, Copper and Caribou Inuit soak skins in a local pond or tub of water for about a week and then rub off the hair and epidermis. A dull scraper is used occasionally. The process is speeded up by placing the skin in a plastic bag and storing it in a warm area until the hair begins to slip. This latter procedure is also used by Inuit in Arctic Bay on ringed seal skins (Oakes 1987d). The same procedure, omitting the plastic bag was used by Point Barrow Eskimos in Alaska (Murdoch 1892). Depilated skins were dried flat, hung over a line or wrapped around a post to bleach white (Birket-Smith 1929; Gabus 1940-41). The same procedure is used today, then the skin is softened by scraping on both sides with a sharp scraper.

Another method of producing white, dehaired skins is

to shave the hair off last year's caribou skin, using an ulu. The skin is then softened as described for haired skins. The softened skin is turned over to the haired side and scraped with a sharp scraper until the hair and epidermis lifts off, creating a soft, white, dehaired skin. This technique is briefly discussed by Jenness (1946).

Traditionally, Copper Inuit stained depilated skins red by rubbing them with litharge (lead monoxide) or they were blackened with galena (partly purified lead ore). These crushed rocks were collected near Bernard Harbour. This camp was abandoned when the community moved to Coppermine in order to be closer to the centralized social services. Plucked skins were obtained by plucking the long winter hair from skins collected in early spring (Anavilok, Pers. Comm. 1986; Jenness 1946). Depilated clothing skins were never painted, dyed or stained by Caribou Inuit. Clothing bags and kayaks were decorated with paint made from red ochre or black mineral colour mixed with fat (Birket-Smith 1929).

Today, Copper Inuit stain depilated and haired skins red by soaking the softened skins in a concentrated solution of red fabric dye (using half the specified amount of water). Other colours are rarely used. The skin is partially dried and softened while drying, or left stiff, depending on how the skin is being used. Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut leave their caribou skins undyed.

CHAPTER FIVE: SKIN CLOTHING CONSTRUCTION

V.0 INTRODUCTION

The ability to produce finely stitched skin clothing from hand-softened skins was and still is a highly respected skill. Good quality clothing was especially important in the past when Inuit depended entirely on skin clothing for protection. Pougat (Inuit Cultural Institute 1984) recalls a story about a young man who was living with his mother-in-law. The man desperately wanted to return to his own settlement so he kept pretending to lose his mitts and boots. His mother-in-law remade him numerous pairs and once he had enough to last the journey home he sneaked away from the camp. Today, elders continue to encourage anyone travelling on the land to carry or wear caribou skin clothing in case the weather turns stormy. This chapter describes sewing, pattern development, cutting and construction procedures used by Copper Inuit, Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut.

Unique pattern features are used in Inuit clothing in order to provide optimum protection against winter weather. Stefansson (1955), Riewe (1975) and Moran (1982) clearly describe the importance of wearing layered clothing designed to overlap adjacent garments in order to reduce drafts and trap hot air. Inuit skin clothing is designed so the boot

tops are overlapped by stove-pipe legged pants and the parka overlaps the pant's waistband area. Closures are omitted to reduce the need for clothing maintenance and to eliminate drafts associated with them. These basic features enable the clothing to contain the hot air in the torso area. Venting is controlled by slipping the closely fitted hood off or by removing one's mittens. Additional protection from drafts is provided by using clothing with dropped shoulder and armhole seams, and a discontinuous hood-neckline seam. These seams are positioned so the front and back pieces have less strain on the stitches, preventing the seam from loosening prematurely. Armholes are made large and roomy to enable the wearer to easily slip his arms out of the sleeves in order to wrap them around his body to keep warm (Stefansson 1951). Alareak (Pers. Comm. 1985) explained that his father also told him to take his arms out of his skin parka sleeves when he was sitting in a tent or igloo to prevent the parka from smelling like a "weasel", thus protecting a parka from absorbing underarm body odors.

V.1 SEWING MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Strict taboos and roles were connected with sewing. Women sewed their family's skin clothing, although men carried a small sewing kit with them so they could make small repairs if necessary. Caribou skins were sewn in the autumn after the fall caribou hunt was complete. While

women were sewing, men prepared their winter hunting equipment. Traditional Caribou and Copper Inuit beliefs prohibited women from sewing while hunting was underway (Jenness 1922; Vallee 1967). By restricting sewing activity the whole community was able to focus their energy into hunting. Today, women generally sew in the fall, although new garments are made in the winter and spring if they are needed. Sewing is rarely done in the summer as the weather is too warm and there are too many other activities such as berry picking, fishing and camping on the land with the family. Today, women prefer to sew in tents or igloos built next to their homes. Some sewing is done inside homes, however, skins to dry out and stiffen in the warmer temperatures.

Traditionally, women sewed with a bone or ivory needle, sinew thread and skin thimbles. Caribou Inuit used needles made from a caribou metatarsal bone. Paallirmiut also used ivory needles with two holes drilled in the eye (Birket-Smith 1929). Needles were kept in a moss pin cushion and carried in a sewing bag. When possible, scraps of stiff tubing (possibly copper pipe) were used for needle cases; bone needle cases were not used by Paallirmiut and Aharmiut. Imported steel needles were available and used since the Hudson's Bay Company began trading in 1719. Today, number nine sharpes are preferred; glovers needles are rarely used as they cut the skin. Smaller needles are

used when soft, thin skins (calf skins) are sewn. Smaller needles enable one to make tiny stitches (Birket-Smith 1929; Kaviok, Pers. Comm. 1985-87).

A thimble is worn on the index finger. Thimbles were made from caribou (Ahiarmiut) or seal (Paallirmiut and Copper Inuit) skins. Once metal thimbles were available (1900's for Copper Inuit, 1700's for Caribou Inuit), they were preferred, although skin thimbles are still used by some seamstresses.

Sinew was, and still is, collected from along each side of a caribou's spine. Meat particles are chewed off and then the sinew is scraped clean with a blunt knife. Sinew is then soaked and plastered to a flat board until dry. Once dry it is stored in a freezer or a cool, dry place until needed. Strands of thread are split away from the main slab of sinew. Each strand is moistened between the lips and threaded through the needle's eye (Birket-Smith 1929; Manning and Manning 1944) without rolling or twisting it. Sinew has a grain and it frays easily when sewn against the grain. The tapered end should be inserted into the eye, the blunt end of each strand should be knotted. Today, sinew is often used on leg skin mitts and on some families' skin boots.

Today, waxed thread called "artificial sinew" is used on most clothing. As mentioned in Oakes (1987d), a white coloured, number seven polyester lacing twine is available

from Leckie's in Halifax, Nova Scotia. A cream coloured thread marketed as "artificial sinew" by Irocrafts Ltd. in Ohsweken, Ontario is preferred when it is available. In addition, a waxed nylon thread, called Blue Mountain waxed thread, is purchased through the Winnipeg Fur Exchange from Atlanta, Georgia. Waxed thread is usually sold by 4 ounce spools for approximately \$15.00 in the arctic communities in 1987.

Sewing begins by tying a knot in the thread. After the needle is threaded a loop is made at one end of the thread. The needle is inserted half way through the loop, rotated three or four times, then the loop is grasped between the thumb and index finger and slipped off the needle. Seams are held with the top skin overlapping the lower skin and with the hair grain pointing downwards towards the seamstress. By sewing with the seam allowances overlapping rather than butted up against each other a flat seam is created. Hair protruding from the seam allowance is smoothed away from the seam as one sews. Sewing goes from right to left, enabling the left hand to keep the hair pressed away from the seam as the right hand progresses along the seam (Figure 66). Holding the seam so the hair direction and overlap is correct and also so stitching progresses from right to left is difficult when they also must be sewn from the bottom up to the top. For example, in order to sew from the bottom up to the top of a leg section,

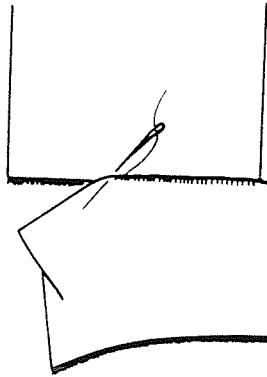


Figure 66. Sewing Caribou Skins.

Overcast stitches are made from right to left while smoothing the caribou hair away from the seam.

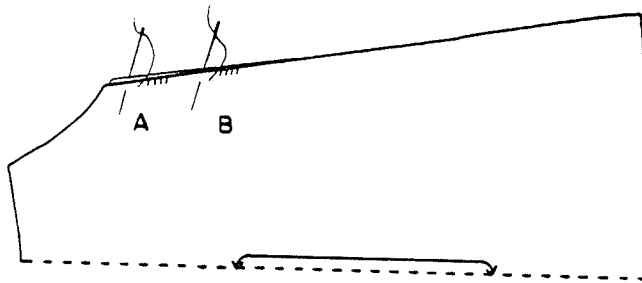


Figure 67. A Unique Stitching Procedure.

Seams are always held so that the hair direction flows towards the seamstress' body and they are then stitched from right to left. For one stocking this is accomplished by beginning a few inches (5 cm) (A) from the bottom edge and working towards the bottom. Then the seamstress moves up a few inches (5 cm) (B) and continues sewing towards "A".

one section must be sewn with short seam lengths. Beginning few inches (5-10 cm) from the bottom edge, the seam is sewn towards the toe edge (Figure 67A). Once the seam is sewn down to the toe edge, the needle is moved up the seam a few inches (5-10 cm) and sewn to where the first stitches were made (Figure 67B). The seamstress continues making her way up to the top of the upper section, still sewing from right to left.

Overcast and running stitches are used by Inuit seamstresses (Pharand 1975; Oakes 1987d). They penetrate all the way through both skins or only half way through the second skin. The latter method creates a waterproof seam. Stitches are made by pushing the needle into the skin and then grasping the needle between the thumb and thimble index finger and pulling the needle through. This technique is awkward for beginners. Stitches are made about 1/16" (0.16 cm) wide and 1/16" (0.16 cm) deep. Experienced seamstresses sew exceptionally fast. Their advice to beginners is to hold the needle in almost the same position from one stitch to the next, eliminating unnecessary movements. The needle is held with the sharp end pointing down towards the palm. The thread is wrapped around the hand and tension is held with the baby and index finger. Every third stitch is pulled tight with the needle held in the sewing position. Immediately after tightening the stitch, the needle is ready to make the next stitch

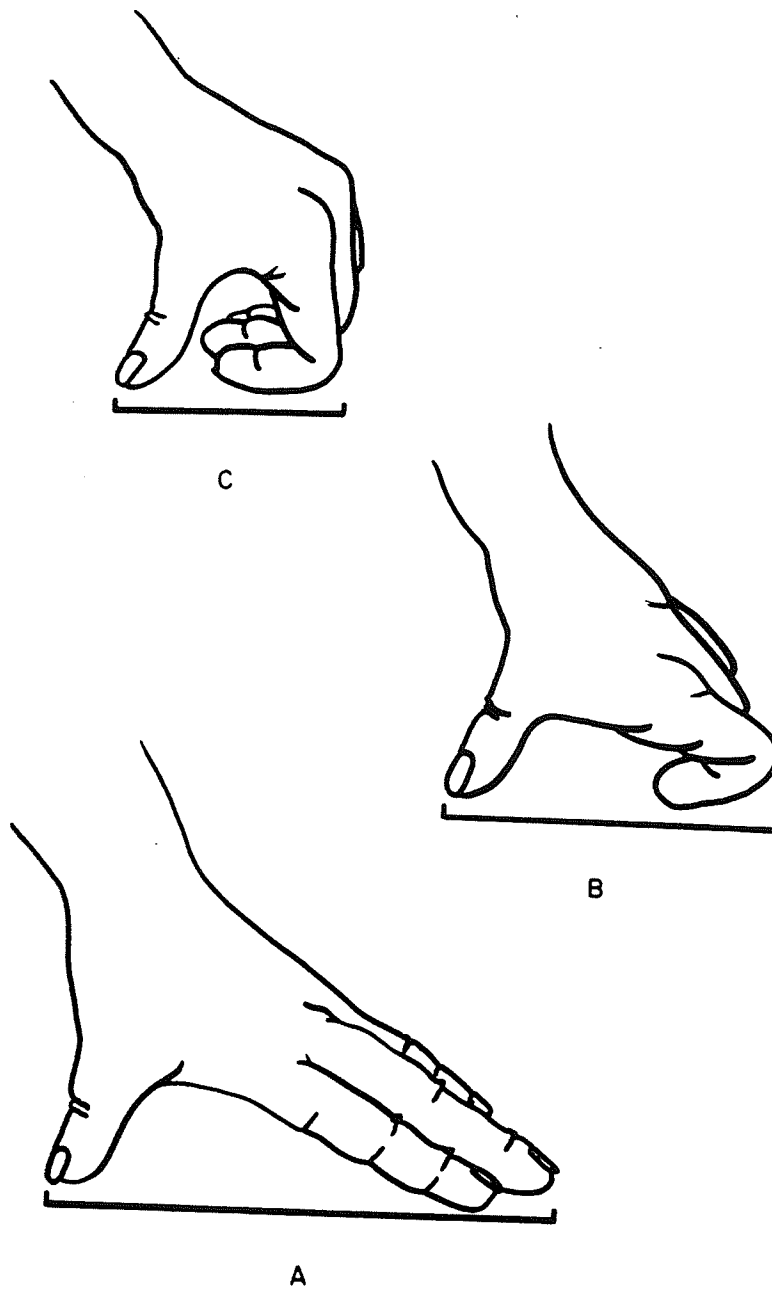


Figure 68. Full and Partial Handspans.
Handspans (A), 3/4 handspans (B) and 1/2 handspans (C)
are used in conjunction with eye measurements.

without being repositioned. When tightened the side closer to the seamstress should slightly overlap the skin farthest from the sewer, producing a flat seam.

While sewing dry skins, seam allowances are moistened to prevent the needle from splitting the skin. Sewing is finished by passing the needle through a loop in the sinew and pinching the loop until it is tightened flush with the seam. The thread is cut, leaving a 1/2" (1 cm) tail. Loosely sewn seams will work apart, wearing out the needle holes, weakening the seam and creating more drafts. Poorly made or maintained seams have caused frozen limbs that later required amputation (Alareak, Pers. Comm. 1985). Copper Inuit seamstresses reinforce large stitches and brittle seam allowances by gluing a piece of fabric over the skin.

Before or after patterns are cut from skins, bullet holes and other small holes are patched by cutting around the hole and keeping the cut out piece as a patch pattern. Small skin patches are sewn with skin sides together so the hair on the patch is on the inside of the parka. Large patches are sewn with the hair poking out of the hole. The hair direction is matched on outer parkas and occasionally on inner parkas. Patches are appliquéd to the skin using an overcast stitch. Patches sewn to boot soles are stitched on by pushing the needle all the way through the inside skin and half way through the outer patch. If one stitch penetrates all the way through the patch it is easily frayed

by walking over sharp objects, weakening the seam. A good quality patch should lie flat.

While constructing a garment seams may need piecing or recutting. Whenever a cut is made through stitches on an adjacent seam, the seam is restitched for about 1" (2.5 cm) on each side of the cut area. These extra stitches prevent the rest of the stitches in the seam from loosening.

V.2 PATTERN DEVELOPMENT

Pattern development procedures are passed down from one generation to the next, using hand, string and eye measurements (Angugatiag 1973; Conn 1974; Driscoll 1980; Hantzsch 1977; Hatt 1914; Manning and Manning 1944; Mathiassen 1928; Oakes 1987d; Pharand 1975; Turner 1888; Wilder 1976). Until now, detailed descriptions of how patterns are actually developed have been limited to seal skin boots made in Arctic Bay (Oakes 1987d).

The following section describes Copper and Caribou Inuit women's contemporary and historical parka patterns. Detailed descriptions of basic construction techniques, decorative trims, fringes, finishing touches and hood ruffs found in the following sections form a basis on which all Copper and Caribou Inuit clothing are made. Examples of parka, pant, footwear, mitten, bonnet and snowsuit patterns used by men, women and children are located in Appendices G

and H.

Pattern development instructions create medium sized patterns (men's size 38 to 42, misses' size 32 to 36 and children's size age 3) using medium sized seamstress' hands (women's hand size 6 1/2 to 7 1/2). Larger and smaller sizes are fitted by altering the length and width of side, sleeve, shoulder, hood and leg seams. Measurements described in inches are actually measured by eye; inches are used to describe the approximate eye measurement. Markings are recorded directly onto the skin by biting the skin or using ink. Measurements are marked out as reference points, complete cutting lines are rarely drawn onto a skin.

Caribou Inuit and some Copper Inuit use hand spans as a basic measuring device. One hand span equals the distance between the thumb-tip (1st digit) and the tip of the outstretched middle finger (3rd digit) (Figure 68A). Two hand spans are measured using the standard hand span technique or by measuring the distance from the elbow to the baby finger-tip (5th digit). Half a hand span equals the distance between the thumb-tip and the large knuckle (metacarpal) that joins the index finger (2nd digit) to the hand. The point under the metacarpal is measured by bending the index finger at the middle knuckle (proximal interphalangeal) and placing the middle knuckle directly below the large knuckle (metacarpal) (Figure 68C). Three-quarters of a handspan is measured by bending the

index finger at the middle knuckle (proximal interphalangeal) and placing the bent finger in an outstretched position rather than directly below the metacarpale (Figure 68B). Handspans are used as guidelines. It would be inaccurate to translate one, three-quarters or half a handspan into a set ruler measurement. Handspans are used as a base upon which the eye measurement is added. Usually seamstresses used identical hand measurements as guidelines. When handspan measurements are used in the following sections and in Appendix G and H they are the measurements passed down from elders to beginning seamstresses. They are not the actual measurement of the line. For example, in Appendix H.1.b. on Figure 131, the distance from the neck hole to the underarm (r-v) is taught to be 1 1/2 to 2 handspans across. In actual fact, the seamstress measures 1 1/2 to 2 handspans and then adds the rest by eye. Once the side and shoulder seams are sewn the parka is tried on and the armhole is enlarged. Experienced seamstresses omit this last step as they have made the same parka pattern so many times they determine exactly how much should be added to the hand measurements. They also look at the partially completed garment and enlarge the armhole by eye, without actually fitting it on the potential wearer. Comparing patterns made by experienced seamstresses produce amazingly accurate results. For example, two pant patterns, one made by an

Ahiarmiut woman and the other by a Paallirmiut woman, were reduced to the same size and found to be exactly the same silhouette. This degree of accuracy comes from years of experience using the hand and eye measurements taught to seamstresses by elders, not by duplicating paper patterns.

Seamstresses teach pattern development without the use of patterns and numbered measurements. By including patterns drawn to scale in this dissertation it gives a false impression of accuracy. The patterns are included only as a tool to represent unfamiliar pattern shapes. Seamstresses who simply enlarge the patterns to scale will need to follow the alterations suggested in the text in order to make the pattern fit thier own body measurements. If the patterns are used as a guideline in conjunction with hand and eye measurements, a seamstress will soon learn the abstract spatial concepts needed to reproduce Inuit patterns following techniques used by Inuit seamstresses. Those who attempt the latter method are rewarded with an exciting step into a culture wherein numerical concepts are dealt with in a manner different from Euro-Canadian cultures.

Unlike Caribou Inuit, most Copper Inuit seamstresses use old parkas rather than hand and eye measurements. An old parka in the correct size is easily borrowed from another community member. The steps used by Copper Inuit to recreate each pattern piece are outlined in the following sections. If the reader is unable to borrow a Copper Inuit

parka he or she could use a hooded winter jacket. The difference between the Caribou and Copper Inuit usage of hand versus old parka measurements may relate back to the relatively recent introduction of Copper Inuit patterns and the more established Caribou Inuit patterns.

Patterns cut from stiff cardboard such as discarded pilot biscuit, premium cracker or disposable diaper boxes are used by Caribou and Copper Inuit for footwear and mittens. This type of paper is durable and in greater supply than lighter weight paper. Old garments and hand measurements are also used to create footwear and mittens.

Garment pieces are usually cut directly out of the skin, combining pattern development, layout and cutting skills. Less experienced seamstresses often ask more experienced seamstresses to cut their caribou skins into garment pieces. In each community certain women were noted as exceptionally good at cutting out a specific garment. It takes less than an hour for an experienced seamstress to cut out the pieces needed to make a man's parka. Their speed and confidence make the task appear simple. Their expertise is acquired by cutting out identical pattern silhouettes repeatedly. Hand and eye measurements used to create the familiar patterns are easily enlarged or reduced by experienced seamstresses to fit new people for whom they are sewing.

All clothing skins are initially marked along the

longitudinal centre back line by folding along the hair's centre part, skin side together. The fold is bitten from the hairy side of the skin. One half of the piece is then marked out, cut, folded down the centre back and then used as a pattern to cut the second half of the skin to match.

V.3. CUTTING PROCEDURES

Cutting skins is one of the many tiny steps that appear easy when done by experienced seamstresses. A good quality cutting line has undisturbed hair, is smooth (without rough edges) and unstretched.

An ulu is held almost vertical to the skin side of the caribou pelt. The skin is punctured with the sharp tip of the ulu and the hair on the reverse side of the skin is carefully spread away from the cutting line so only the skin is cut. Cutting away from the body with a long, smooth cutting motion helps create a smooth cutting line. When cutting dry portions of skin, the cutting line tends to get ragged; the ragged edges are trimmed with sissors or an ulu.

To avoid stretching the pattern pieces, the cutter positions herself so she is holding a portion of the skin which will not be part of the garment. When the partially cut piece is grasped during the cutting process it is easily pulled out of shape. Pieces are cut by beginning and ending at the centre back fold line whenever possible.

V.4. FRINGES

Special cutting techniques are used to create fringes used by Caribou Inuit on their parka hemlines and side splits. Dehaired, sunbleached caribou skins are preferred for the hemline fringe and haired skins which have been shaved are often used at the side-split area. Two layers of fringed depilated skin are usually sewn around the hemline. The side splits are usually finished with two layers of fringes cut from haired skins or one layer cut from depilated and the other from haired skins.

Haired fringes for the side split of one parka are cut from one caribou belly skin. The upper right belly section is used for the back left split. The upper left belly section is used for the back right and the lower section is used for the front left split. The skin is cut about 6" (15 cm) wide (slightly wider than the white band of belly hair) and the length of the side split plus the length of the front and back fringe (Figure 69). The cut edge is sewn, hair sides together, to the split. Hair grain is matched so the belly hair flows towards the hem. The bottom edge is cut diagonally. After the piece is attached, seamstresses use a sharp ulu to cut 1/8" (0.3 cm) wide fringes up to within 1/2" (1 cm) of the seam (Figure 69). Even, thin fringes are preferred. Experienced seamstresses

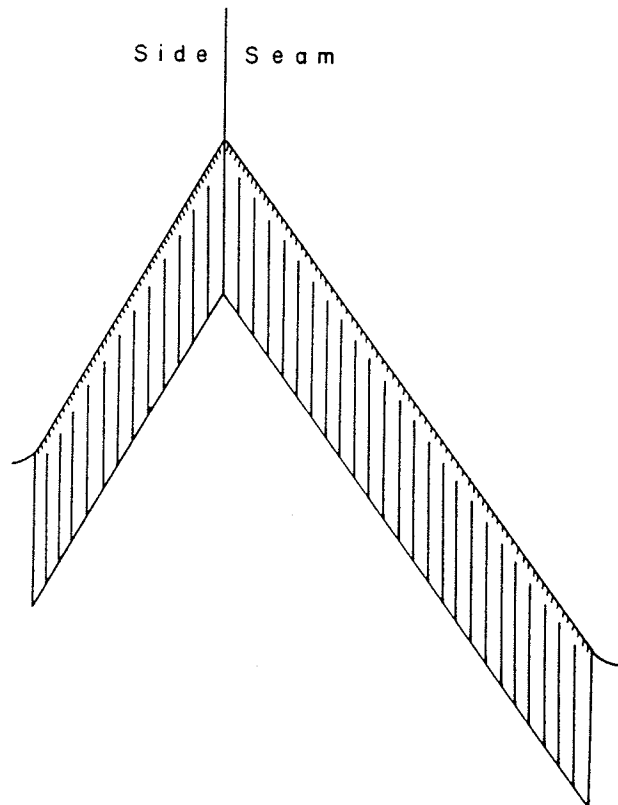


Figure 69. Construction Details of Side Fringes.

A broad strip of haired skin is sewn to the side split of men's parkas and then cut diagonally into thin fringes.

cut them quickly; when lines get crooked they are corrected by slicing off excess skin. Fringes are cut parallel to the bottom cut line so the finished fringe lies flat rather than sticking out. At the top of the split the fringe is cut off diagonally. Another strip of skin is sewn to the opposite side of the split and the fringing process is repeated. A piece of skin or fabric is overcast to the top of the split to reinforce the area. In the past, a strip (1/4 to 1/2", 0.5 - 1 cm wide) of plucked skin was sewn over top the fringe seam. Today, bias tape, grograin ribbon or a strip of fabric is sewn around the hem, wrists edges and face edge of inner parkas. Paallirmiut usually sew a narrow strip about 1/2" (1 cm) from the cut edge, Ahiarmiut sew a wider strip several inches (5 - 8 cm) away from the cut edge.

Fringes are also cut before applying them to the hemline. An imaginary line is drawn about 1/2" (1 cm) away from the skin's edge which will be sewn to the parka hemline. The skin is placed on a cutting board. A slicing motion is made by beginning near the body and working away from the body. Beginning at the imaginary line, slices are cut towards the opposite edge. Fine, thin fringes are made by making the cuts close to each other.

Copper Inuit do not use fringes on their clothing. Their inner and outer skin parka sleeves and hem are trimmed with wolverine. Wolf, dog, fox and other assorted furs are used when wolverine is unavailable. The fur is usually sewn

with the hair to the inside on the inner parka and to the outside on the outer parka. When the inner parka is intended to be worn without the outer caribou parka, the fur is often sewn with the hair to the outside or a wide strip is used and the fur is folded to the outside. Wrist and hemline trim is made by overcasting $1/4$ to $1/2$ " (.5 - 1 cm) wide strips of fur around the raw edges.

Wolverine tassels, and occasionally tassels imitating wolverine which are made from strips of wolf with a bit of beaver inserted in the middle, puppy skins or young muskox skins, are sewn across the chest and arms. The tassels are from 8" to 12" (20 - 30 cm) long and about $1/2$ to 1" (1 - 2.5 cm) wide. The tassels are attached in groups of two. They are either inserted into the seam line before it is sewn or inserted into small slits cut into the parka. Wolverine tassels are often inserted in the dropped shoulder seam at the sleeve cap and at the tip of the tusk-like white haired insets and across the lower shoulder blade area.

V.5. FUR RUFFS

Several different techniques are used to produce fur ruffs which are attached to parka hoods. Traditionally Caribou Inuit did not finish their hoods with a fur ruff (Birket-Smith 1929). They sewed a caribou skin facing to the inside of the outer parka hood. This technique is still

used today. Also, today some Caribou Inuit wear an inner caribou skin parka with a fabric covering instead of an outer parka. The hoods of the fabric shell are usually trimmed with wolf and occasionally dog skins. A wide variety of commercially tanned furs purchased from the Winnipeg Fur Exchange or Hudson's Bay Company are also used. Copper Inuit have worn hood ruffs since 1916 (Jenness 1946). They are primarily made from wolverine and wolf pelts. A large ruff made by combining wolverine and wolf on a seal skin or canvas backing is extremely common on parkas worn by Copper Inuit females. This latter style is called a "Sunburst Ruff" and is not generally made in Eskimo Point.

Caribou Inuit cut their ruffs from pelts or from pre-sewn skin strips. Pelts are cut into ruffs by cutting a 2" (5 cm) wide strip across the shoulder area. The strip is overcast to the face edge with the fur side to the inside. It is then folded to the outside, creating a buffer against direct wind blasts. Copper Inuit use a similar method although they cut the strips about 3 to 4" (8-10 cm) wide and often include the paws. The strip is centred on the inner hood face edge. Sections are added or removed at the centre top until the paws hang loosely on the wearer's chest. The strip is overcasted to the inner parka's face edge, with hair sides together, and turned to the outside. The outer edge is cut about 1" (2.5 cm) deep every 3" (8 cm) or so. These slits allow the ruff to spread apart at the

outer circumference when it is turned back.

An exceptionally full, well rounded version of the style used by Caribou Inuit is noticed on some parkas in Eskimo Point. These ruffs are made by Kusugak (Pers. Comm. 1986) from fox or wolf tails. A commercially tanned and pre-sewn fur strip is sewn around the face edge. A strip cut across the shoulder areas of a pelt can also be used. Then a tail from the same species and with matching hair colour is cut longitudinally down the centre and sewn to the hood ruff. The skin width tapers from about 1/2" (1 cm) to a pointed tip. The tip is matched to the centre top head area and sewn along the outer edge, ending around the wearer's cheek bone and chin area. When the finished ruff is turned back, the bushy tail section produces a thick, luxurious ruff.

The "Sunburst Ruff" requires one wolf pelt, half a wolverine pelt, either a bearded seal skin or several layers of heavy canvas, and a medium weight sewing thread such as #50 Koban. The backing for the ruff is made by measuring the hood face-edge with string and transferring the measurement in an oval fashion onto a stiff piece of bearded seal skin or canvas. A hole is cut out along the string's outline and a second oval is drawn about 4 1/2" (11 cm) from the first cut line. This line is cut, creating a large doughnut-like shape. When canvas is used, three or more pieces are cut out and machine-stitched together, using a large zigzagging pattern. This stiff backing is slipped

over the head to make sure it fits properly. Once attached to the hood, it should slip on and off easily but not sloppily.

The outermost edge of the backing is decorated with long haired pieces of wolf skin cut about 3/4" (2 cm) wide, down the centre back length of the wolf skin. This strip is cut into pieces about 1/2" (1 cm) long (Figure 70A). A piece is placed 1/2" (1 cm) from the outer circumference of the backing material, with the hair flowing off the backing edge. The next piece is sewn adjacent to the first (Figure 71A). Some seamstresses overlap the pieces, creating a densely haired fringe. Pieces are usually top-stitched by machine although hand stitching is also used. Glue has also been tried successfully by Copper Inuit.

A second, wider strip of fur is cut 2 to 3" (5-8 cm) wide on each side of the wolf skin's centre back. Both sections are cut into smaller strips about 2" (5 cm) wide (Figure 70B). The first piece is positioned so the hair overlaps the outer row of pieces by about an inch (2.5 cm). It is top-stitched into position and a second piece is butted up to the first, touching at one corner (Figure 71B). The process is repeated until the row is finished. The rest of the canvas is left uncovered. Later it will be covered by a wolverine ruff which is attached to the inner parka. If the wolverine is not wide enough, a third row of wolf is added to the backing.

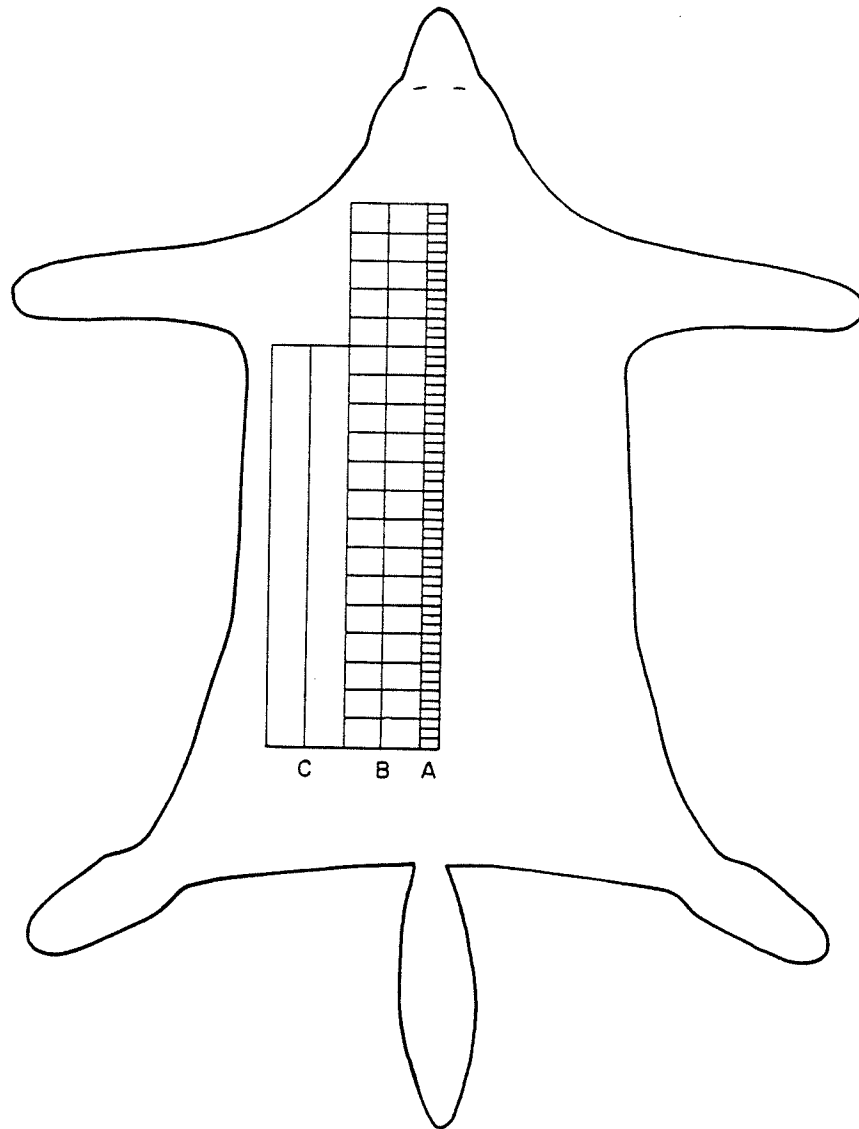


Figure 70. Wolf Skin Pattern Layout for a "Sunburst Ruff".
The centre back strip (A) is cut into small strips and used for its long, black tipped hairs. The slightly shorter haired skin (B) and belly fur (C) are also used to decorate a "Sunburst Ruff".

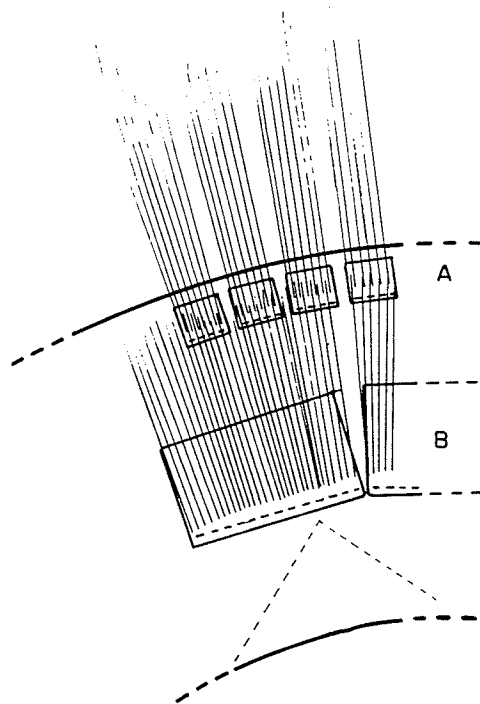


Figure 71. Construction Details of a "Sunburst Ruff".
The tiny pieces cut from the centre back of the wolf skin are placed on the outer edge of the stiff backing used for the sunburst ruff (A). Shorter haired skins are placed towards the centre of the ruff (B).

Another strip about 2 to 3" (5-8 cm) wide is cut from the soft, long haired belly area of the wolf skin. The strips are cut into rectangles about 1 1/2 to 2" (4-5 cm) long and 2 to 3" (5-8 cm) wide (Figure 70C). These rectangles of skin are top-stitched to the inside circumference of the back side of the stiff backing. An extra row is added until the entire backing is camouflaged with wolf hair, thus completing the "Sunburst Ruff". The ruff is attached to the inner parka hood with tacks placed about every 4" (10 cm). A wolverine ruff, cut in the same manner as described at the beginning of this section, is applied to the inner parka. It is folded over the face edge of the "Sunburst Ruff", covering the tacks and the front side of the seal or canvas backing material.

V.6. TRIMMINGS

Traditionally Caribou Inuit finished the edge of their inner parkas with strips of plucked skin as described in Section IV.3.G. Today, strips of bias tape, grograin ribbon or narrow strips of fabric are used. This trim is overcast about 3/4" (2 cm) from the raw edge. It helps to protect the edge from curling and tearing. These trims are also sewn over the fringe seam to protect the stitches and finish the edge.

A colourful decorative trim used frequently on Copper

Inuit parka styles is called "Delta Trim". "Delta Trim" is numerous rows of bias tape sewn together with brightly coloured bits of bias tape intermixed in a preconceived pattern (Figure 72). "Delta Trim" is made by placing a strip of folded bias tape 1" to 2" (2.5 - 5 cm) from the hemline and opening up the fold. The tape is then stitched to the parka by following the fold crease (Figure 72a). The tape is then refolded, hiding the first row of stitches. This first row is also applied by placing the folded bias tape on the parka and top stitching close to the fold. When the seamstress wants to begin the geometric pattern she begins topstitching the next row of bias tape down. When she gets to the preconceived point where the geometric design is to begin she stops sewing, slips a short (2", 5 cm) strip of bias tape in a contrasting colour partially under her work and continues topstitching until she reaches the next point where coloured bias tape is to be added. The short strips of bias tape are only slipped half way under the row of tape so about 1" (2.5 cm) is hanging over the decorative trim (Figure 72b). The next row of tape is applied, inserting short pieces of bias tape in a preplanned fashion. When the seamstress comes to a place where a short strip of bias tape was inserted on the previous row, she brings the loose end under the new row of tape and top stitches it in position (Figure 72c). Additional rows are added until the geometric pattern of colour is complete.

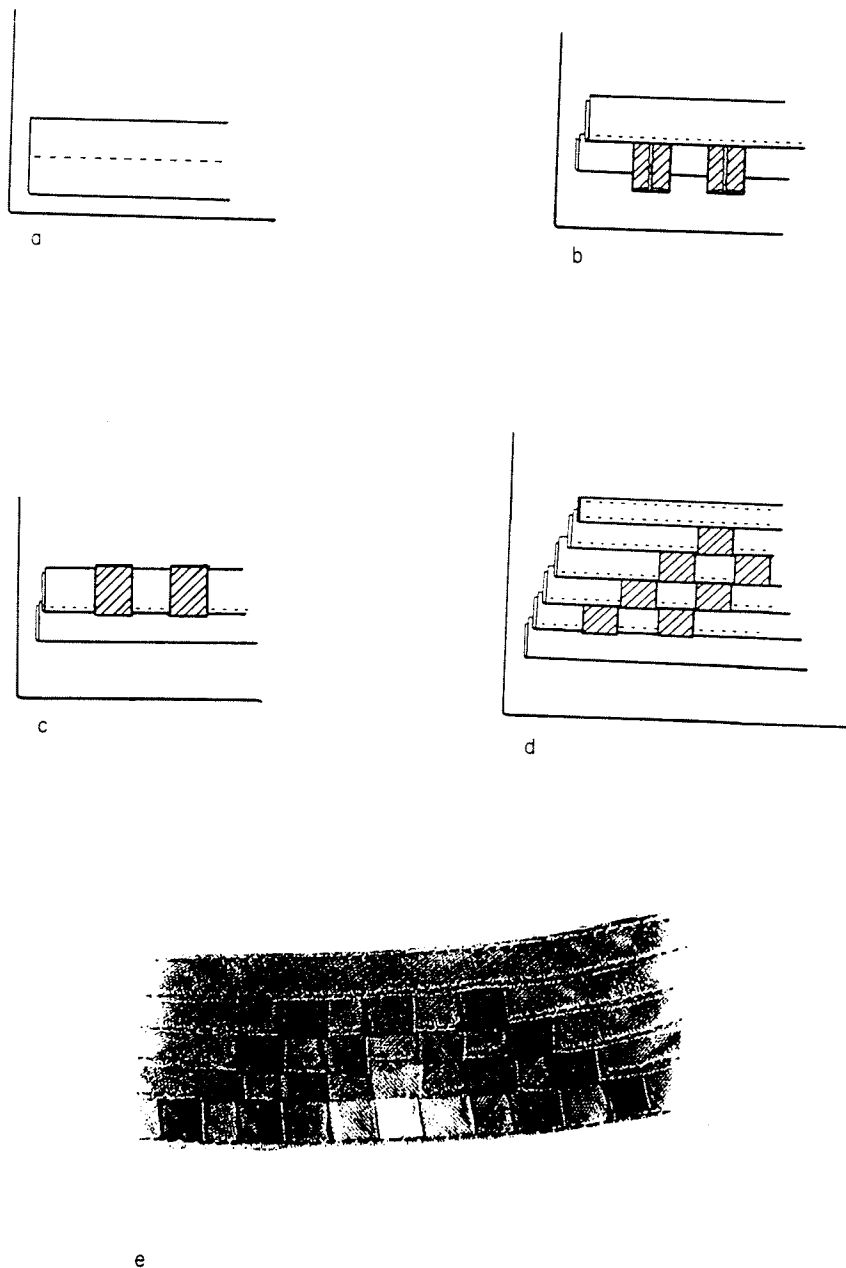


Figure 72. Construction Details of "Delta Trim".
 A strip of bias tape is sewn near the hemline (a). Then additional rows are added, inserting small pieces of bias tape in a predetermined pattern (b and c). The trim is finished by topstitching another row of bias tape across the top (d and e).

The decorative trim is finished by top stitching one or more rows of bias tape to the top edge of the trim (Figure 72d, 72e).

The background colour on "Delta Trim" is usually made from a colour that matches the parka fabric. The colourful bits of bias tape that create the pattern are selected from a wide range of colours.

The Copper Inuit outer parka hemline is decorated with a plain strip of white haired skin or a row of light and dark haired plucked caribou skins, depilated, dyed skins and shaved skins (Figure 73). Another variation of this trim is made by piecing together rows of geometric designs and adding strips of skin, yarn and rickrack to create a sharp contrast between colours and textures (Figure 74). A diamond shaped pattern is popular and one seamstress observed it looks similar to the diamond shaped silhouette of whale skin drying in the western Arctic (Figure 75) (whale skin is not dried in the same manner in the eastern Arctic). These elaborate trims are inserted along the dropped back shoulder seam, side-hood and hood seams, and the dropped shoulder-sleeve seam of some parkas. Individual preferences, abilities, materials, time and end uses of the parka determine the amount of trimming sewn to each parka.

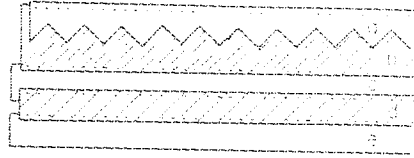


Figure 73. Trim Made From Depilated, Dyed and Shaved Skins.

A colourful trim is created by piecing white depilated skins (a, c, and e), dark shaved skins (b) and skins dyed red (d) together.



Figure 74. Trim Made From Light and Dark Haired Skins.

Geometric patterns created by piecing light and dark haired skins together are sewn to parka seams and hemlines. Rows of miniature rickrack, crocheted yarn and narrow strips of felt add a touch of colour.



Figure 75. Diamond Pattern on "Delta Trim".

The diamond pattern is extremely popular as shown by Alice Kilikaviyok. Whale skin drying in the sun creates a similar pattern. Coppermine, 1986.

V.7. GENERAL SLEEVE PATTERN DEVELOPMENT AND PIECING

Copper and Caribou Inuit cut sleeve patterns by following one of three basic styles. Neither group saves sleeves from old parkas for patterns, new sleeves are made to fit the armhole of the parka and the length of the wearer's arm. The bottom portion of a caribou skin is usually used for the sleeves. The skin is folded and cut down the centre line to a point roughly an arm-length from the caribou tail (Figure 76, x-w). A second line is cut from the centre back to the outer edge (x-y).

Point "x" is tacked to the front underarm area and stitched around the front, over the top towards the back. Some women tack point "x" to the back underarm area and sew towards the front. The thinner haired areas are therefore positioned at the underarm and the thicker haired areas are placed at the sleeve back and cap area. The sleeve is pieced, tapering down to about 1 1/2 handspans wide at the wrist. The lower portion is usually pieced with skin from the neck. This piece is cut so the hair spirals outwards, around the arm towards the wrist (Figure 77). The underarm seam either spirals around the arm to the wrist or travels in a straight line. Differences between these two underarm seams are unnoticeable by seamstresses and parka users. When an extra skin is available, sleeves are cut in one piece, eliminating extensive piecing.

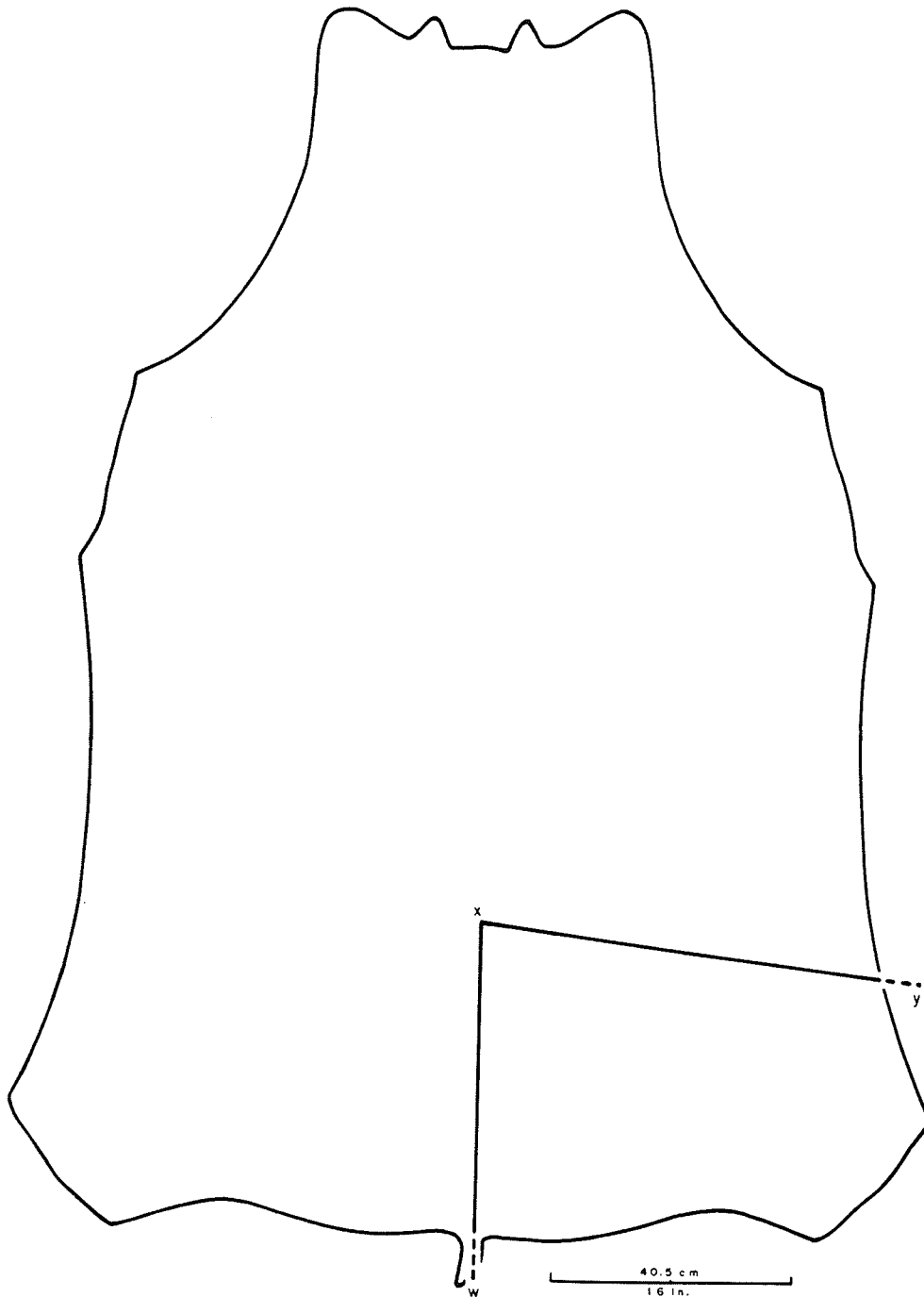


Figure 76. Copper and Caribou Inuit Sleeve Pattern and Pattern Layout.

Sleeve patterns are cut from the bottom portion of the skin used to cut out the back pattern. Line "x-y" is cut and pieced until it measures the length of the armscye. Line "x-w" is pieced until it equals the length of the arm.

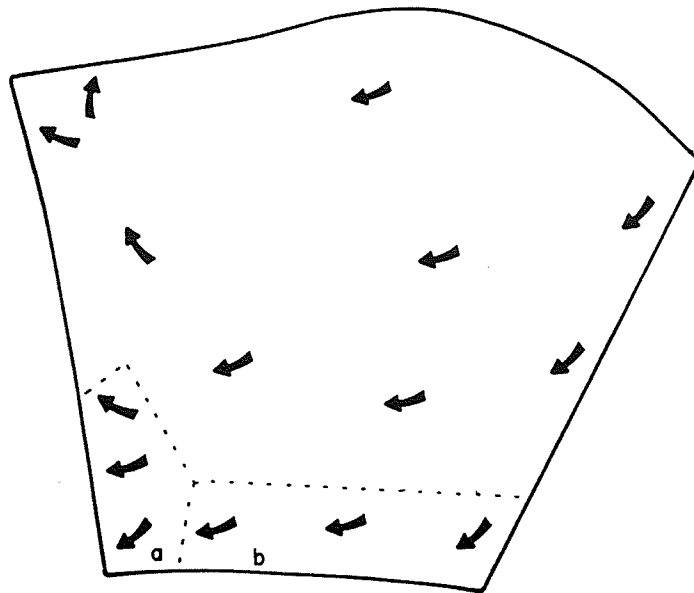


Figure 77. Sleeve Piecing Technique.

The sleeve is pieced (a and b) so the hair direction of the piece matches the hair direction of the main sleeve pattern.

On men's parkas, especially the outer parka and more commonly on Caribou Inuit men's parkas, sleeves are cut from three pieces. The upper sleeve section is cut from the caribou tail area (Figure 78A), creating a white band on the sleeve. The mid-sleeve section (B) is cut slightly higher on the caribou skin than the upper sleeve section and the lower section (C) is cut from the neck area. The lower section is either cut widthwise or lengthwise in the caribou neck area. When it is cut lengthwise the hair direction runs downwards towards the wrist and around the sleeve. Other seamstresses cut sleeves from two pieces, omitting the neck area piecing. The number of available skins and time influences whether or not a seamstress pieces the sleeve from left-over skins or cuts it from one large skin.

The remaining portion of this chapter describes pattern development, pattern layout and construction techniques used to make a Copper Inuit, Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut woman's parka. The general guidelines provided in Section V.1, V.2, V.3, V.4, V.5 and V.6 are used throughout the construction procedures described in this chapter. These guidelines also apply to construction procedures used to create Copper and Caribou Inuit parkas, pants, footwear, mittens and children's wear styles described in Appendices G and H.

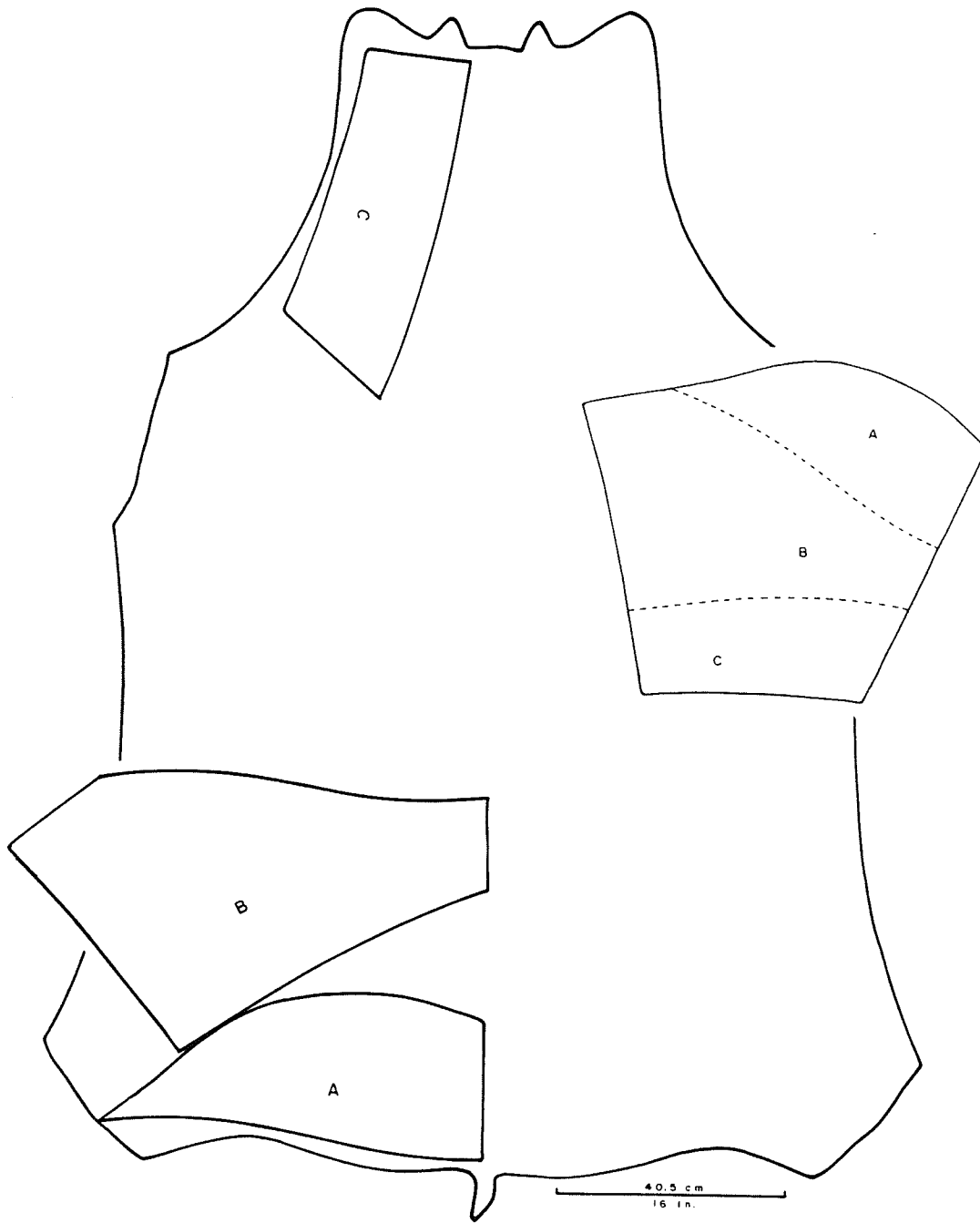


Figure 78. Outer Parka Sleeve Pattern and Pattern Layout.
The cap (A) is cut nearest the tail, the middle section (B) is cut immediately above the cap and the wrist section (C) is cut from the neck area.

V.8. COPPER INUIT WOMAN'S CONTEMPORARY INNER CARIBOU SKIN
PARKA PATTERN

This section describes the construction techniques used to make an inner parka as described in Section III.2.A. A variety of materials are used including muskrat, recycled mink, stroud, duffle, caribou, squirrel, imitation fur and rabbit. Duffle is the most common material used today. Three metres (150 cm, 60 " wide) for woman's sizes (1 m for a two to four year old girl) are purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company or local Co-operative. The following description is limited to parkas made from caribou skin.

V.8.A. BACK

For an inner and outer parka, Copper Inuit select the thickest skins for the inner parka. The thicker skins are further inspected; the slightly thicker skin is used for the front and back, and the thinner skin is used for the sleeves. The widest skin is preferred for the back piece.

The back piece is usually cut first. The back hem width is determined by measuring an old parka with a piece of string and folding the string in half. This string measurement is transferred to the rump edge of the widest caribou skin (Figure 79, a-b). A curved hemline is cut, dropping the centre back area (a) several inches (5-10 cm)

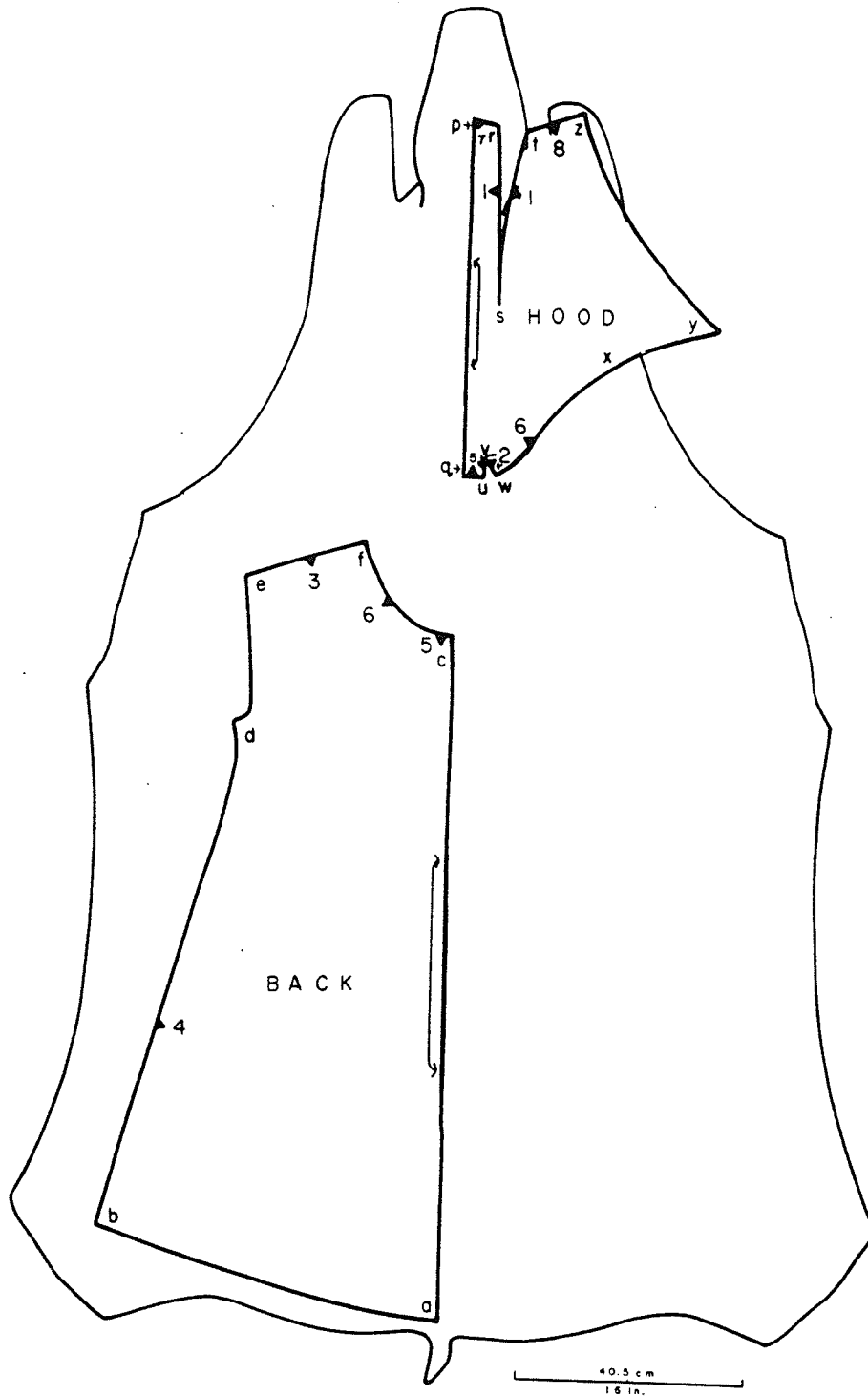


Figure 79. Copper Inuit Woman's Inner Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The hood and back pattern pieces are usually cut from the same skin.

longer than the sides (b). Some seamstresses drop the centre back hemline more than others depending on personal preference. In addition, women carrying babies usually cut the back hemline longer to accommodate the extra distance needed to cover the baby's bulge on their back.

The length of women's, girl's and young boy's parkas is determined by measuring from about one and a half handspans below the knees up to the eighth vertebra. (Older boy's and men's parkas are knee length as described in Appendix G.1.) The distance is transferred from the caribou's tail towards the neck (Figure 79, a-c). A measurement from the eighth vertebra to the underarm is transferred to the skin, determining the slope by eye (c-d). Point "d" is used as a reference point for the top of the side seam (d-b) and bottom of the armhole. Women carrying babies require extra width across the back and shoulders which is added to line "c-d" and is continued to the hemline (d-b), creating a fuller skirt. When the skin is too narrow, the edges are trimmed to a straight line and an inset is attached. Insets are usually of similar thickness to the rest of the skin, although seamstresses are less concerned about the hair direction when piecing the inner parka.

The length of the back armhole is measured from the underarm to the shoulder cap. The armhole is cut by eye by curving the line in slightly at the underarm before cutting

straight up to the shoulder area (d-e). The length and slope of the shoulder line is cut by eye or measured with a string (e-f). The back neck line is usually dropped to the eighth vertebra (c), varying slightly with individual preference and the parka's intended use. Women carrying babies prefer a neck line which is dropped about 3 to 4" (7 - 10 cm) below the eighth vertebra.

V.8.B. FRONT

The front piece is measured by laying the back piece on the front caribou skin, matching centre back fold lines. The front hemline (Figure 80, g-h) is usually cut about 1" (2.5 cm) shorter (about 4 to 5" or 10 - 13 cm shorter on parkas worn by women carrying babies) than the back hemline. Front side seams (h-i) and shoulder seams (j-k) are cut to match the back pattern. A measurement is taken from the wearer's throat to their underarm. This measurement (about one hand span) is spread between the neck area of the pattern piece towards the underarm area (l-m). The neck line is cut about 1" (2.5 cm) higher than the back neck line. On parkas cut with a plunging back neck line, the front neck line is cut using the shoulder line (k) as a reference point. The centre front neck line is about 2" (5 cm) below the shoulder line. A tab, about 2" (5 cm) wide and 3" (8 cm) long extends from the centre front neck line

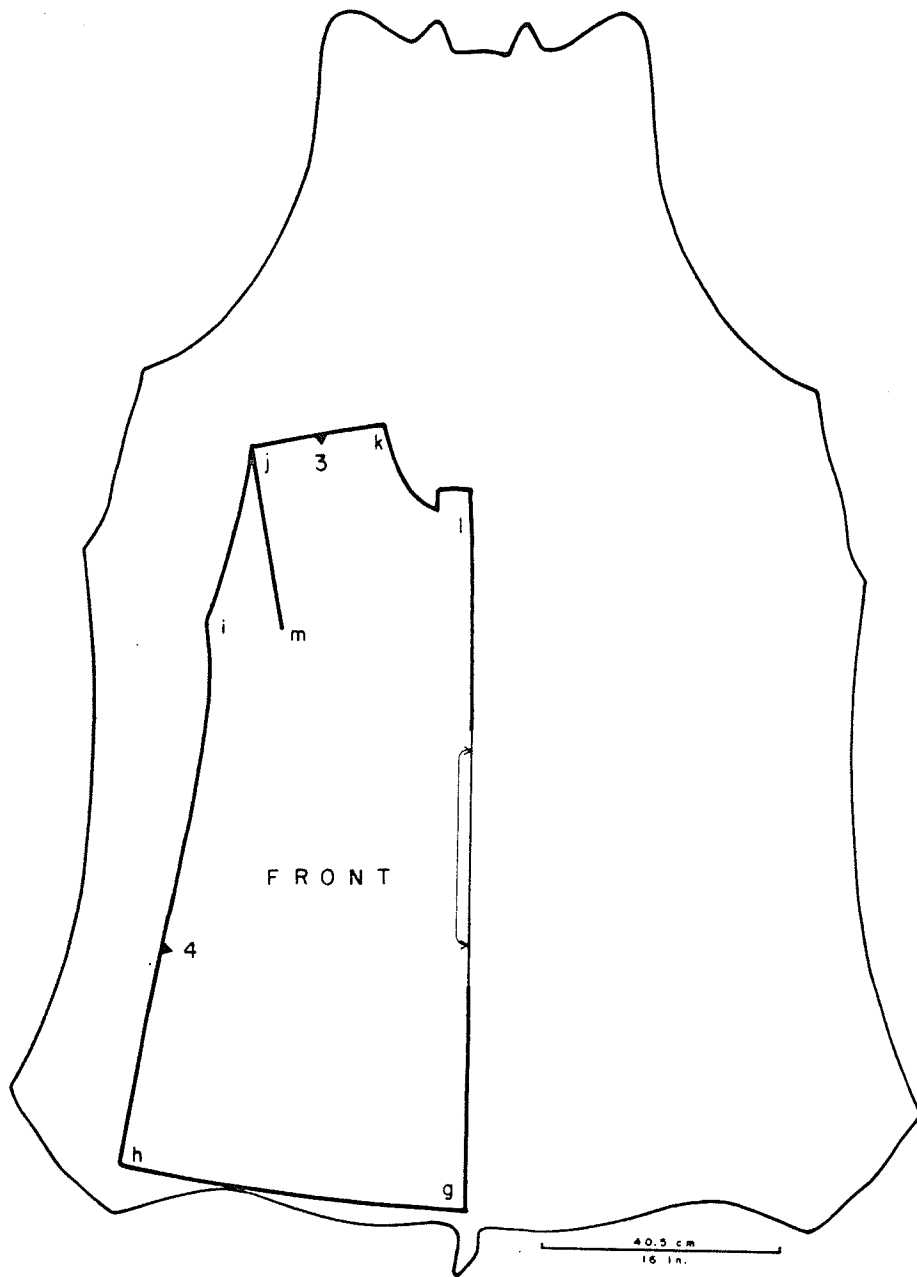


Figure 80. Copper Inuit Woman's Inner Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The front hem, shoulder and side seams are cut to match the back piece. Pieces for the sleeves are cut from the neck area of this skin.

(1). A line is drawn and slashed from the underarm at point "m" up to the shoulder line area (m-j). The triangular flap (i-j-m) created by the slash line is eventually sewn to the underside of the sleeve, creating an underarm gusset. Northern Alaskans also used underarm gussets in their patterns (Murdoch 1892); they are not used by Caribou Inuit.

V.8.C. SLEEVE

A variety of methods are used to create sleeves as described in Section V.7. Contemporary Copper Inuit women's inner parkas are usually made by cutting the sleeve out in one piece and piecing it as described in the first example in Section V.7. Copper Inuit seamstresses pay little attention to matching hair direction when constructing the inner sleeve. The lower edge of the inner sleeve is finished with a thin (1/4", 0.5 cm) wide strip of wolverine or wolf skin as described in Section V.4.

V.8.D. HOOD

The hood on a female's parka fits smoothly over the front-top of the head and forms a peak at the crown. The hood fits smoothly over the rest of the head and extends to the natural neck line at the front. At the back, the hood extends below the natural neck line and a dart on each side

of the centre back forms a cup- or sac-like formation at the base of the hood (Figure 79).

The inner parka hood is cut from a left-over piece of skin, usually the neck area. An old parka hood is measured from the peak to the base of the cup-like formation (Figure 81A, n-o) and the distance is marked out along the caribou centre back fold line (Figure 79, p-q). Measurement "q-p" is equivalent to the distance from the crown down to the eighth vertebra plus about 3" (8 cm). A line is marked and cut from a point about 1 1/2" (4 cm) from the top fold line (r) travelling almost parallel to the fold line to a point about 9 to 10" (25 cm) down the centre back (s). The length of this slash line corresponds to the curvature of the wearer's head. On a young girl's hood it starts about 1" (2.5 cm) from the peak (p) and extends about 6" (15 cm) down the centre back fold line (s). The tab formed by this slash line is placed over the uncut skin and curved slightly to form a guideline for the next cutting line (s-t). Later, these two cutting lines are sewn together to create a large slashed dart (r-s-t). At the hood's base, about 3/4" (2 cm) from the foldline (about 1/2" or 1 cm on children's sizes), a slash is cut parallel to the fold line, penetrating about 2" (5 cm) up from the neck line (1" or 2.5 cm for smaller sizes) (u-v). The slash curves back to the hood-neck line, creating a small, slashed dart (u-v-w). When these two cutting lines are sewn together a small bulge is created.

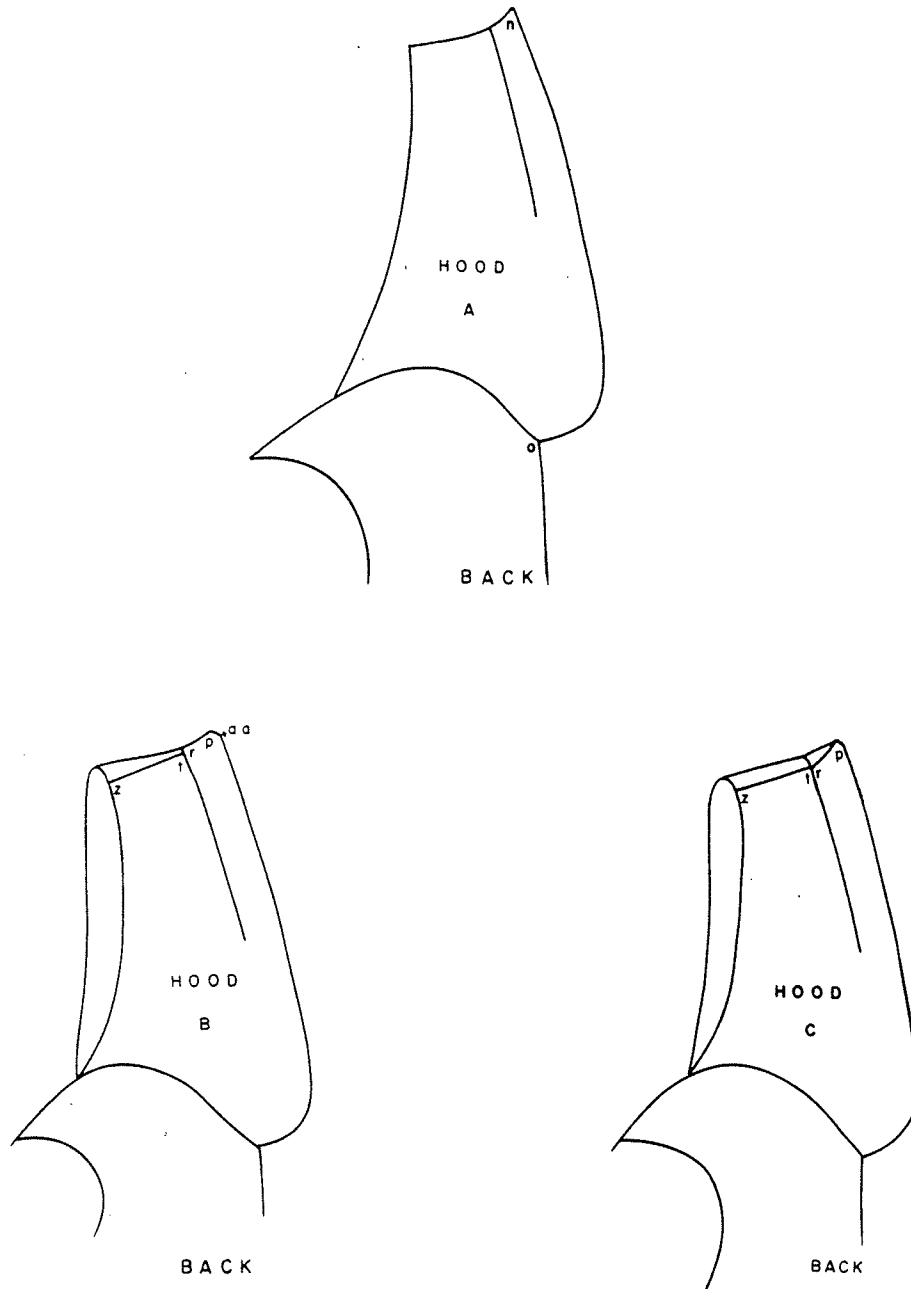


Figure 81. Woman's Hood Silhouette and Peak Seams.
 Hood "A" indicates the basic silhouette with a sac-like formation at the base. Hood "B" illustrates an inset sewn across the crown and Hood "C" illustrates a triangular inset sewn to the peak.

The depth and width of the cup-like formation varies with individual preference and a few seamstresses omit it entirely. The lower hood edge or hood-neck line is determined by taking a measurement from the junction of the neck and shoulder (x), over the ears, to the centre of the wearer's head. This distance is transferred between points "x" and "z". Point "x" is positioned about mid-way along the hood-neck line. A curved hood-neck line is drawn from the centre back to the shoulder areas (x) and continued by eye to the throat (y). This cut line is difficult to get correct the first time; piecing is usually necessary at the side and face edge (y-z). Once the hood piece is cut the slashed darts are sewn by matching numbered notches. Then the crown peak is made by cutting a small (1/4", 0.6 cm) slashed dart at the centre fold line (Figure 81B, p-aa). The dart and line "p-r" is sewn by matching the numbered notch, thereby forming a peak. Another way the peak is made is by sewing a small triangular piece to the peak seam (Figure 81C, p-r). The triangular piece is often cut from white haired skin on inner and outer parkas. After the peak is complete, a rectangular or tapered strip about 3/4" (2 cm) wide at the face edge and the length of the crown seam (Figure 81B and C, t-z) is sewn from the peak to the hair line.

V.8.E. CONSTRUCTION AND FITTING

The hood, shoulder and side seams are sewn by matching numbered notches on each pattern and piecing when necessary. The hood is sewn from the centre back to each shoulder seam. The parka is tried on for a fitting before the hood-neck seam is completely sewn. The sleeve is sewn around the armhole, the triangular underarm flap is sewn down the underarm seam. The sleeve, front, back and hood hemlines are finished as described in Section V.4 and 5.

V.9. CUTTING AND ASSEMBLING THE FABRIC SHELL

A fabric shell with a gathered flounce around the hemline ("Mother Hubbard") is worn over the inner parka. Males also wear a fabric shell over their inner parka, omitting the gathered flounce (it is not called a "Mother Hubbard"). Historically, the "Mother Hubbard" was made from fabric with broad stripes (Figure 12), large plaids (Public Archives of Canada 99228) and large prints (Harrington 1952). Today, brightly coloured fabric with tiny prints on a mauve, navy blue, emerald green, yellow, red or orange background is common. Fabric with striped or checked prints is occasionally used; large prints and solid coloured fabric is less common. Fabric shells worn by males were historically made from plain, white twill (Figure 24).

Today solid colours including mauve, rose, light or dark green, dark brown and dark blue are popular for males. The variety of colours and prints is limited to the bolts purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company or local Co-operatives. Slight variations are found when Inuit seamstresses travel to neighbouring communities. On rare occasions Inuit purchase through the MacPhee Workshop's (Winnipeg and Edmonton) mail order catalogue in order to get a wider variety of cotton-polyester prints. Access to the wide variety of colourful prints in southern shopping malls is limited. When seamstresses do get an opportunity to shop in the south their choice of fabric for the fabric shell is similar to that available in the north.

Fabric purchased in Cambridge Bay and Coppermine cost \$6.00/m (45", 115 cm wide) in 1986. About 4 m (4 1/2 yds.) is needed for adult women, 2 m (2 yds.) for adult men, 1 1/2 m (1 2/3 yds.) for girls and 1 m (1 1/3 yds.) for boys parkas. The material is used without pre-shrinking.

The fabric is folded in half lengthwise and widthwise, forming a piece equal to the length of the parka (for men). For women's parkas about 8" (20 cm) (4 to 6" or 10 - 12 cm for girl's parkas) is subtracted from the parka length to account for the ruffle sewn to the hemline.

An old parka is folded in half, tucking one sleeve inside the other sleeve. It is placed on top of the new material, matching fold lines. Alterations are made as the

piece is cut out. If an old "Mother Hubbard" is unavailable the inner caribou skin parka described in Section V.8 is used.

About 1/2" (1 cm) is added to the length and width of all fabric shell pieces. This allows the shell to fit easily over the inner parka. Seams are usually sewn with 1/4" (.5 cm) seam allowances; extra length and width for seam allowances is usually not considered. The basic pattern pieces needed to make a "Mother Hubbard" include a combined front and back pattern, sleeve, hood, hem ruffle and optional sleeve ruffle (Figure 82).

The back hemline is cut along the raw edge of the top two layers of fabric by following the old parka's hemline (Figure 83A, a-b). The front hemline is cut about 2 to 4" (6 - 10 cm) shorter than the back. It is cut by folding up the top two layers of fabric and cutting the bottom layers. The side seams are cut up from the hem (b-e), cutting through four thicknesses of fabric. The back armhole is a straight line cut up at a slight angle from the side seam to the shoulder fold (e-f), cutting the top two layers. The front armholes are cut straight down from the crosswise fold (shoulder line) to the lower armhole and then are curved towards the side seam (f-g-e). They are cut from the bottom two layers of fabric. The shoulder seam is omitted by placing it on a fold (f-h). The front and back neck line

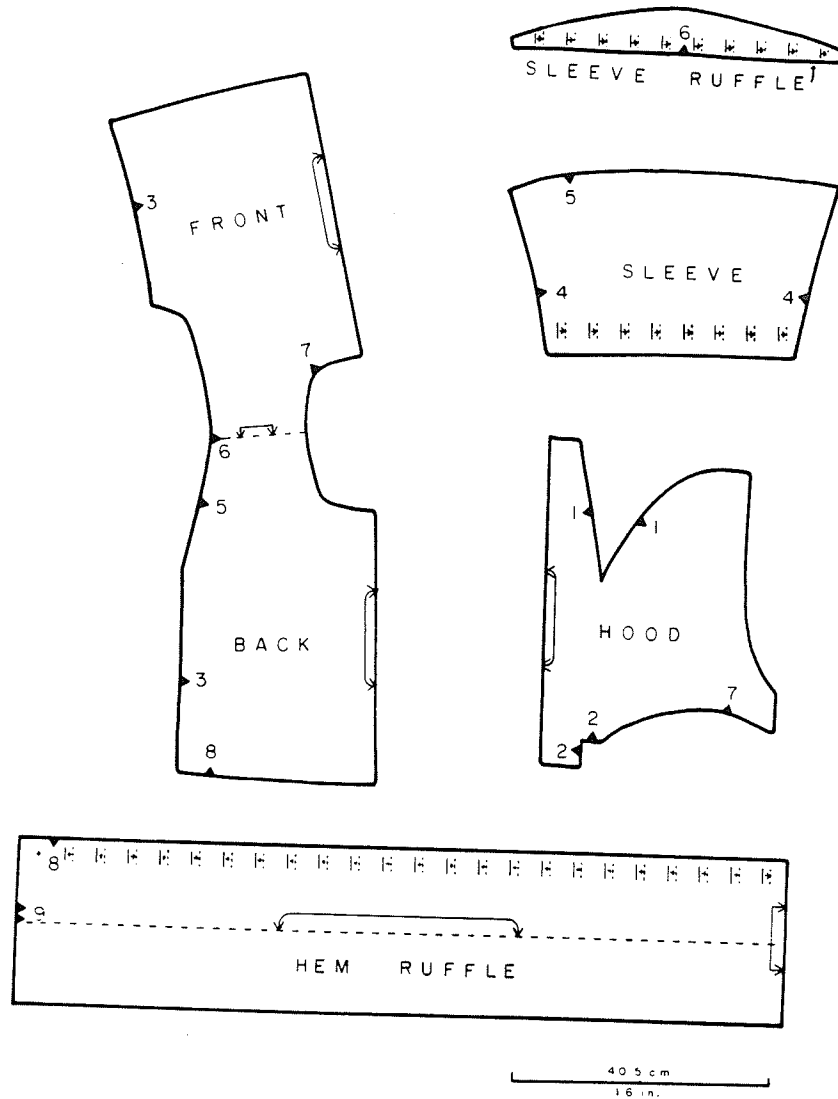


Figure 82. Copper Inuit Child's "Mother Hubbard" Pattern.
 The front and back are cut with a centre back, centre front and shoulder fold line. The sleeve ruffle is optional. Hood, sleeve, and hem ruffle are identical to larger sizes.

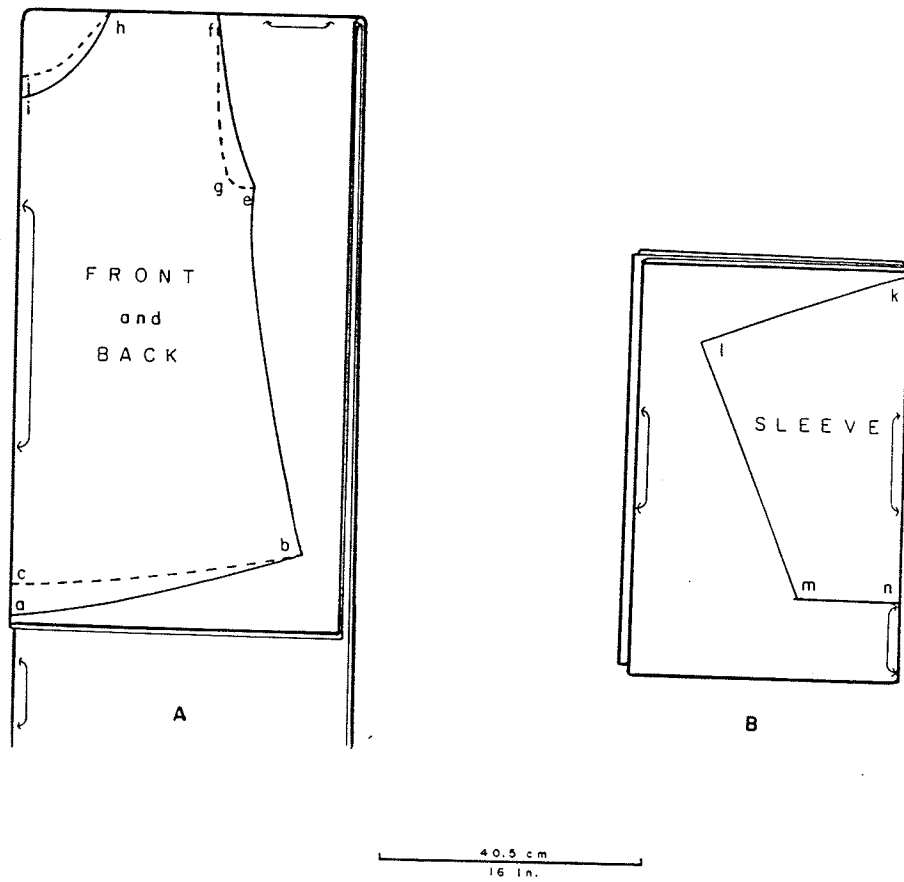


Figure 83. "Mother Hubbard" Pattern Layout.
 The front, back (A) and sleeve (B) are cut out from fabric which has been folded until it is four layers thick.

is measured by following along the old parka described in Section V.8. The back neck (h-i) is cut from the top two layers and the front neck (h-j) is cut from the bottom layers.

Sleeves are cut on the lengthwise grain. A piece of fabric (45", 115 cm wide) is folded, selvages together, then it is folded again so the first fold matches the selvages. An old parka sleeve is placed along the fold. The cap is cut in a straight line drawn at an angle from the fold (Figure 83B, k-l). The underarm cutting line (l-m) tapers towards the double fold and is the length of the arm plus several inches (7 - 10 cm) forming line "m-n".

Sleeves are constructed by pleating the wrist area before sewing the underarm seam. Bias tape is top stitched onto the sleeve, about an inch (2.5 cm) from the hemline. As the tape is sewn on, 1/8" (0.3 cm) tucks are made about every inch (2.5 cm). The hem is turned under about 1/4" (0.5 cm), twice, to form a hem. The pleating and bias tape is usually omitted on men and boy's parkas today. This was not true in the past (Figure 24) (Harrington 1952). The underarm seam is either sewn with the side seam or sewn separately and set in after the side seams are finished. A small ruffle is cut out and top stitched to the cap area of the sleeves on girl's parkas and occasionally on women's parkas.

Once the side seam is sewn a wide ruffle is sewn to the hemline of women's and girl's parkas. The ruffle length is cut about 2 1/2 times the parka width. The ruffle width is usually cut twice the width of the finished ruffle. It is folded in half and topstitched to the parka hemline. While topstitching, 1/8" (.3 cm) pleats are made about every inch (2.5 cm). Purchased or hand made trim is top stitched over the stitching. Another method used is to fold about 1/2" (1 cm) to the right sides and top stitch it down with a piece of bias tape or trim to cover the raw edges. "Delta Trim" (Section V.6) and fabric shapes are appliqued to the ruffle before it is pleated onto the parka.

The hemlines of parkas worn by males are decorated with rows of "Delta Trim" or commercial trim which are top stitched a couple of inches (about 5 cm) above the sleeve and parka hemline.

The hood piece is designed and cut from fabric by following the directions in Section V.8.D. About 1/2" (1 cm) is added to length and width measurements in order for the fabric shell to fit easily over the inner parka. The top centre strip and triangular inset on the hood (Figure 81B and C) is often omitted on the fabric shell. A 4" (10 cm) long and 1/4" (.6 cm) wide, double ended dart is often sewn across the top seam line about half way along the seam "t-z" in Figure 81B. A small hem is turned under and top stitched around the face edge of the hood.

V.10. COPPER INUIT WOMAN'S CONTEMPORARY OUTER CARIBOU SKIN
PARKA PATTERN

Outer parkas have a silhouette similar to the inner parka and are elaborately decorated with white and dark haired caribou skin insets. Length and width measurements taken from an inner parka are enlarged by about 3/4" (2 cm) in order for the outer parka to slip easily over the inner parka. When outer parkas are designed for drum dance costumes rather than hunting and travelling, they are worn without the inner parka. In this case length and width measurements are not enlarged. Outer parka patterns used to construct parkas worn by females are described in this section. Today, some females wear parkas with the male hood style described in Appendix G.1.a. instead of the style described in this section. Women also wear a shorter version of this style, omitting the gathered hem ruffle. Zippers are occasionally inserted into the centre front of contemporary parkas.

V.10.A. BACK

Seamstresses begin by rescraping the nose and cheek sections with a sharp scraper. Stiff portions are cut away and patched with pieces of matching hair length, direction

and colour. The caribou nose is pieced until it is large enough to cut out the long centre-hood tab (Figure 84, a-b-c). Each cheek is trimmed in a curved fashion (c-d) to create a long, slashed dart (b-c-d). The cheeks are used for the crown area and the top portion of the face edge (e-f). Unlike inner parkas, outer parkas usually have a white haired side-hood piece framing the face. The side of the hood is determined by measuring from the centre back fold to the face edge in four or five places on an old outer parka. The measurements are transferred to the new parka hood piece and the cutting line is drawn by connecting the marks (f-g). If an old parka is unavailable, the side of the hood is drawn almost parallel to the curved slashed hood dart lines and top seam (c-d-e). The sac-like formation at the base of the hood is measured and sewn as described in Section V.8.D. If the caribou skin is long enough, the hood and back piece are cut in one continuous piece. When that is impossible the hood and back pattern pieces are separated anywhere along the narrow, centre back panel below the sac-like formation.

Several measurements are taken from an old outer parka immediately below the sac-like formation and transferred to the new back skin. On women's parkas, this section is about 2" (5 cm) from the fold immediately beneath the sac (Figure 84 Hood, h-i), tapering to about 1 1/2" (3.5 cm) wide 12" (30 cm) below the sac (Figure 84 Back, j-k). On girl's

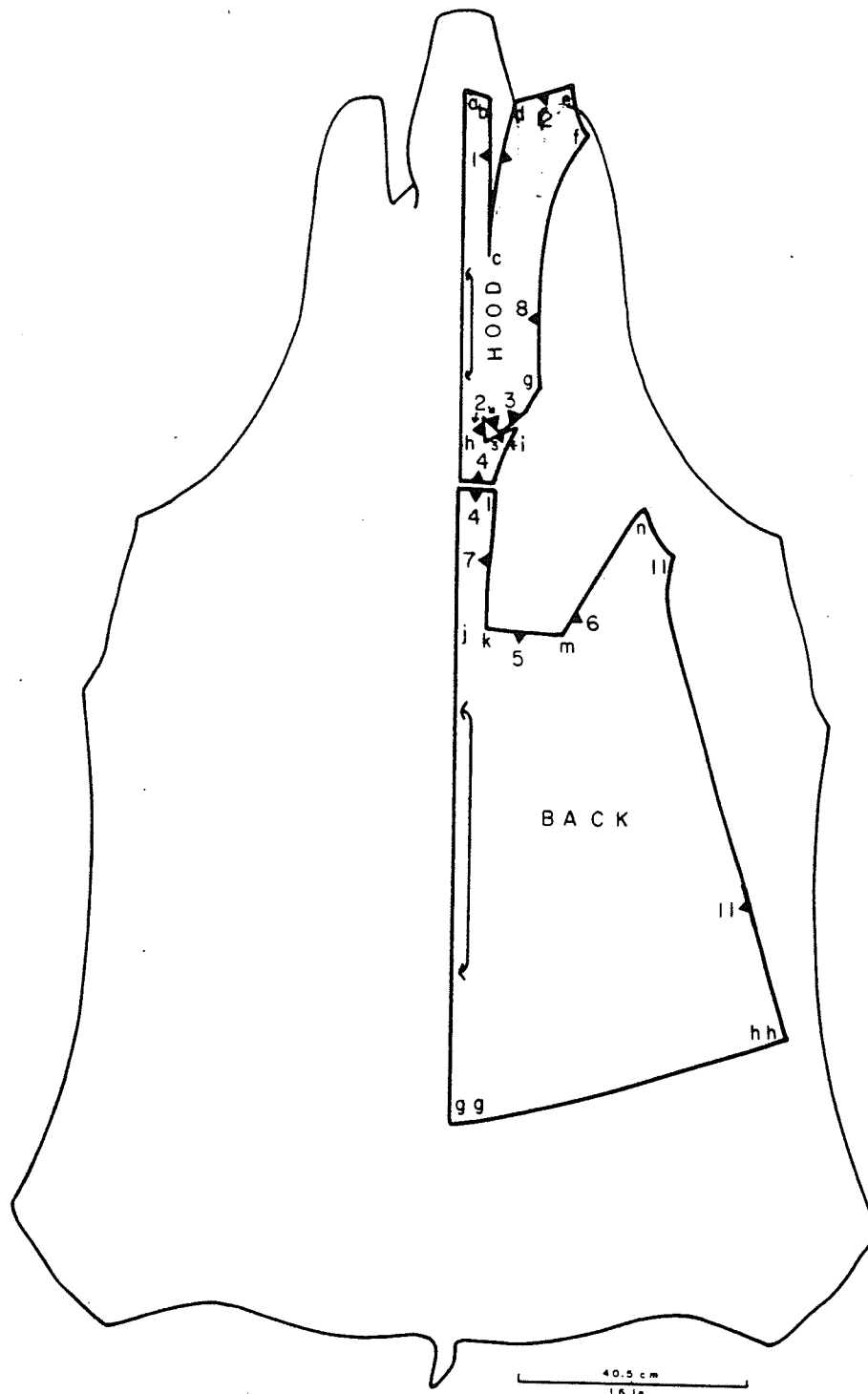


Figure 84. Copper Inuit Woman's Outer Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The back and hood pattern are usually cut from the same skin, using an old parka or the inner parka as a guideline.

parkas, measurements for this area are proportionately narrower and shorter. The piece extends from just below the shoulder blades to the eighth vertebra (k-l). A dropped shoulder seam (k-m) is cut about one small hand span (about 16 cm) long on women's parkas and half a hand span on girl's parkas. The cutting line is angled down so point "m" is about 1" (2.5 cm) lower than point "k". At point "m", about 120° from line "k-m", a cut is made towards the skin's outer edge (m-n). Side seams, hemline and armhole cutting lines are left until after the front piece is cut.

V.10.B. SIDE-HOOD

Two side-hood pieces are cut from a white belly skin. The skin is cut in half longitudinally and pieced until it is wide enough to fit two side-hood pieces. Hair direction, colour and thickness are matched when piecing.

The curvature and length of hood line "f-g" (Figure 84) is matched to the belly skin, marked and cut (Figure 85, o-p). The side-hood piece is placed next to the hood and the curvature of the hood-neck line "i-g" (Figure 84) is continued onto the side-hood piece. Gradually the neck line curvature is increased, ending at a point almost at right angles from the beginning (Figure 85, p-q). The rounded, tusk-like extensions on the side-hood pattern are cut by eye. They are about 2" (5 cm) wide (1 to 1 1/2" or 2.5 - 4

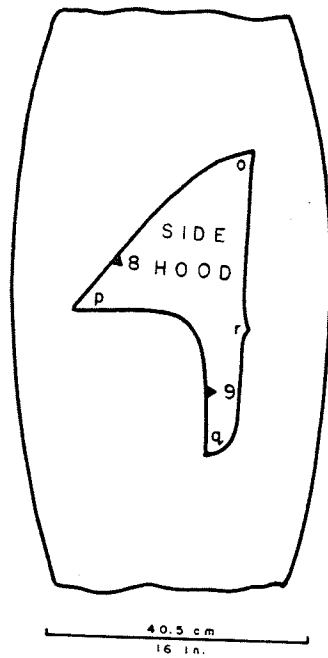


Figure 85. Copper Inuit Outer Parka Side-Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout.

A belly skin is pieced until it is wide enough to accommodate the side hood piece.

cm for children's sizes) and curve up to the face edge (q-r). The face edge (r-o) is determined by placing the side-hood over another hood and adding pieces until the face edges match. When the seamstress is satisfied with the first side-hood shape, it is placed with skin sides together on the second half of the belly skin and used as a pattern. Often seamstresses cut the side-hood piece from a cardboard pattern used for previous parkas.

The side-hood piece neck line and tusk-like appendages are then placed on a cutting board. All hair protruding from the neck line and tusk-like shapes is cropped evenly and bluntly as described under shaved skins in Section IV.3.G.

V.10.C. FRONT

A second skin is cut just below the ears and a mark is placed about $3/4$ " (2 cm) from the skin centre line (Figure 86, u). The shoulder line is measured from point "u" at an angle towards the outer edge of the skin (u-v). The length of this dropped shoulder line equals the back shoulder line. Both seams are matched together and line "v-w" (Figure 86) is cut to match the angle and length of line "m-n" (Figure 84). Line "u-x" (Figure 86) is cut to match the length of line "k-l-i-g" on Figure 84. Point "x" (Figure 86) is approximately half way along line "u-x-y".

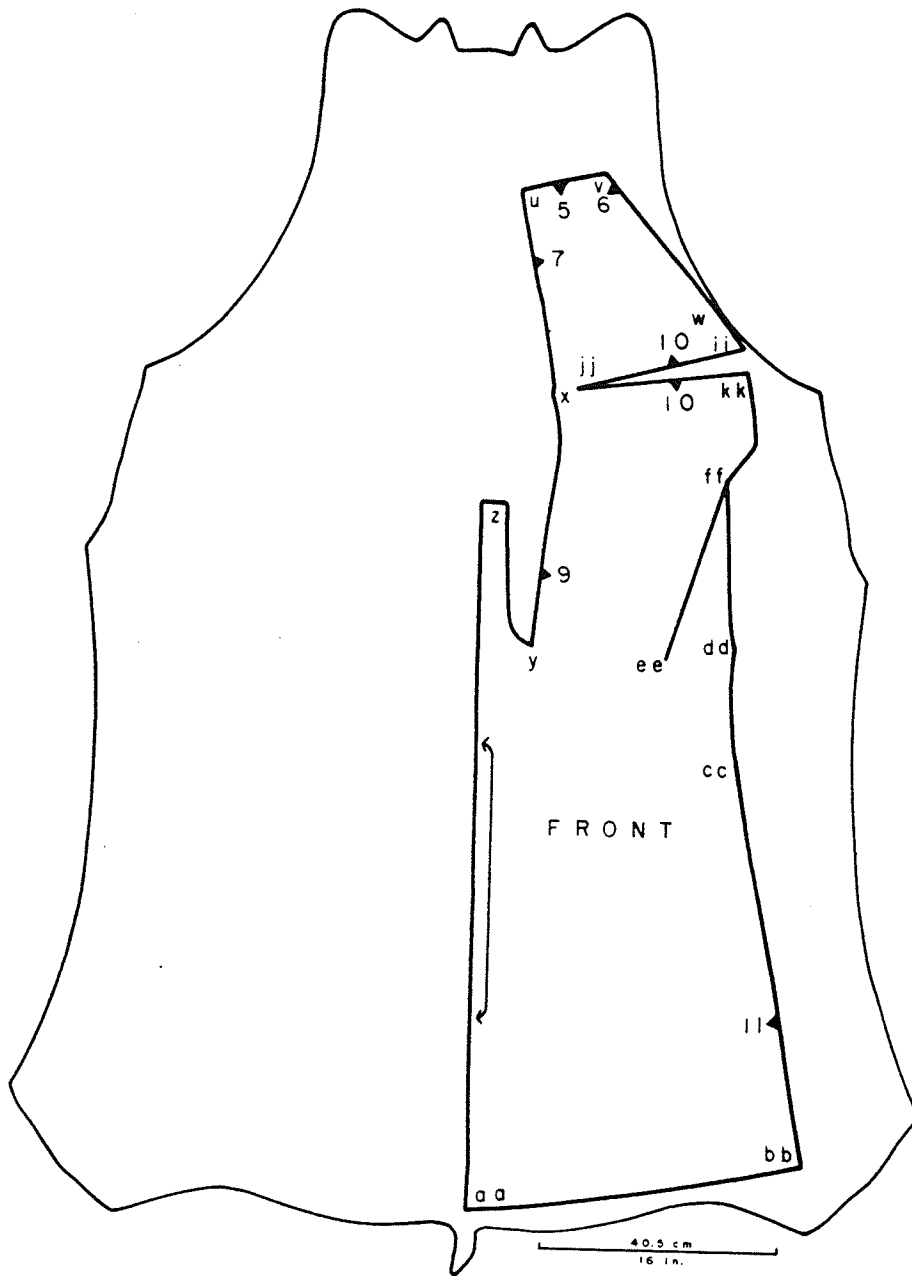


Figure 86. Copper Inuit Woman's Outer Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

Front pieces are cut using the back piece and reference points illustrated as guidelines.

The tusk-like shape on the side-hood is duplicated on the front piece. The length and curvature of line "r-q" on Figure 85 is duplicated from point "z", running parallel to the centre front fold line and creating line "y-z".

Before continuing, the front and back pieces are fitted together. Line "u-x-y-z" (Figure 86) is trimmed until the hood and side-hood pieces fit. Line "o-p" (Figure 85) on the side hood is also trimmed if necessary. Tacks are placed at the tusk-like shaped tips, lower hood seam and shoulder seams. The shoulder, neck and side-hood areas are sewn, matching numbered notches.

The front length is determined by measuring the inner parka front neck to hem and transferring the measurement to the outer parka (Figure 86, z-aa). Women and girl's outer parkas are often made 3 to 4" (8 - 10 cm) shorter than the inner parka to reveal their brightly coloured fabric shell. Using string, the inner parka's front skirt width is measured at the hemline, waistline and underarm sideseam area. The marks are transferred to the new parka forming points "bb", "cc" and "dd", respectively (Figure 86). The side seam is then cut by eye, matching these reference points. The distance from the centre front-throat area to the underarm is transferred to the new parka front (z-ee). An underarm gusset is created by cutting a line from point "ee" to the skin's edge (ff). The armhole area is left uncut at this time. The half-pattern is folded over and

used as a guideline to cut out the opposite side.

Seamstresses then return to the back piece. A measurement from the base of the inner parka hood to the hem is transferred to the new outer parka piece (Figure 84, h-j-gg). The skirt width and hemline curvature is transferred (gg-hh). The back side seam length is transferred from the inner parka by measuring up from the new parka hemline (hh) and placing a mark at the underarm (ll). The front side seam is cut to match.

The shoulder area of the front piece is fitted with a slashed dart (about 1 1/2", 3.5 cm wide) located just opposite the hood base (Figure 86, ii-jj-kk). The dart is sewn closed before proceeding. The shoulder area width (x-kk) is determined by measuring from the hood's base to the armhole on the inner parka. Piecing is usually necessary in order to make the skin wide enough at point "kk".

When the inner parka is slipped inside the outer parka, the sac-like formation and hood peak should match. The top hood seam (Figure 84, d-e) is trimmed until it runs symmetrically across the wearer's head. It is then finished as described in Section V.8.D. Young calf skins are preferred for piecing the hood because the skins are thinner, the hair is finer and the black epidermis is camouflaged by the dense, fine, white hair.

Once the hood fits, sleeves are constructed as

described in Section V.7.

The outer parka is then decorated with wolverine or wolf edging, a "Sunburst Ruff", wolverine tassels and trim made from light and dark haired skins. Details on these decorative details are located in Section V.4, 5 and 6.

V.11. PRE-1916 WOMAN'S PARKA PATTERN (REPLICA)

Jenness (1946) and Conn (1974) included detailed drawings of the pattern pieces used in Copper Inuit women's pre-1916 parkas. Museum specimens (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.775, IV.C.1750) were made from similar pieces. This style has not been used for several generations of sewers. Today, several women in Coppermine have expressed a renewed interest in learning the styles used by their ancestors. They have made replicas for local displays, school plays and Halloween costumes by looking at old photographs (Figure 87, 88 and 89). It is interesting to note that these replicas are made from different shaped pieces than those used by the seamstress's ancestor (Figure 90), yet the final silhouettes are similar. On the replicas the large, elongated hood is made from two pieces sewn together with a transversal seam (Figure 87 and 88), similar to the seaming used by Aharmiut in the early 1900's. The pointed shoulders are more exaggerated in the replica than in the original designs. In addition, fringes

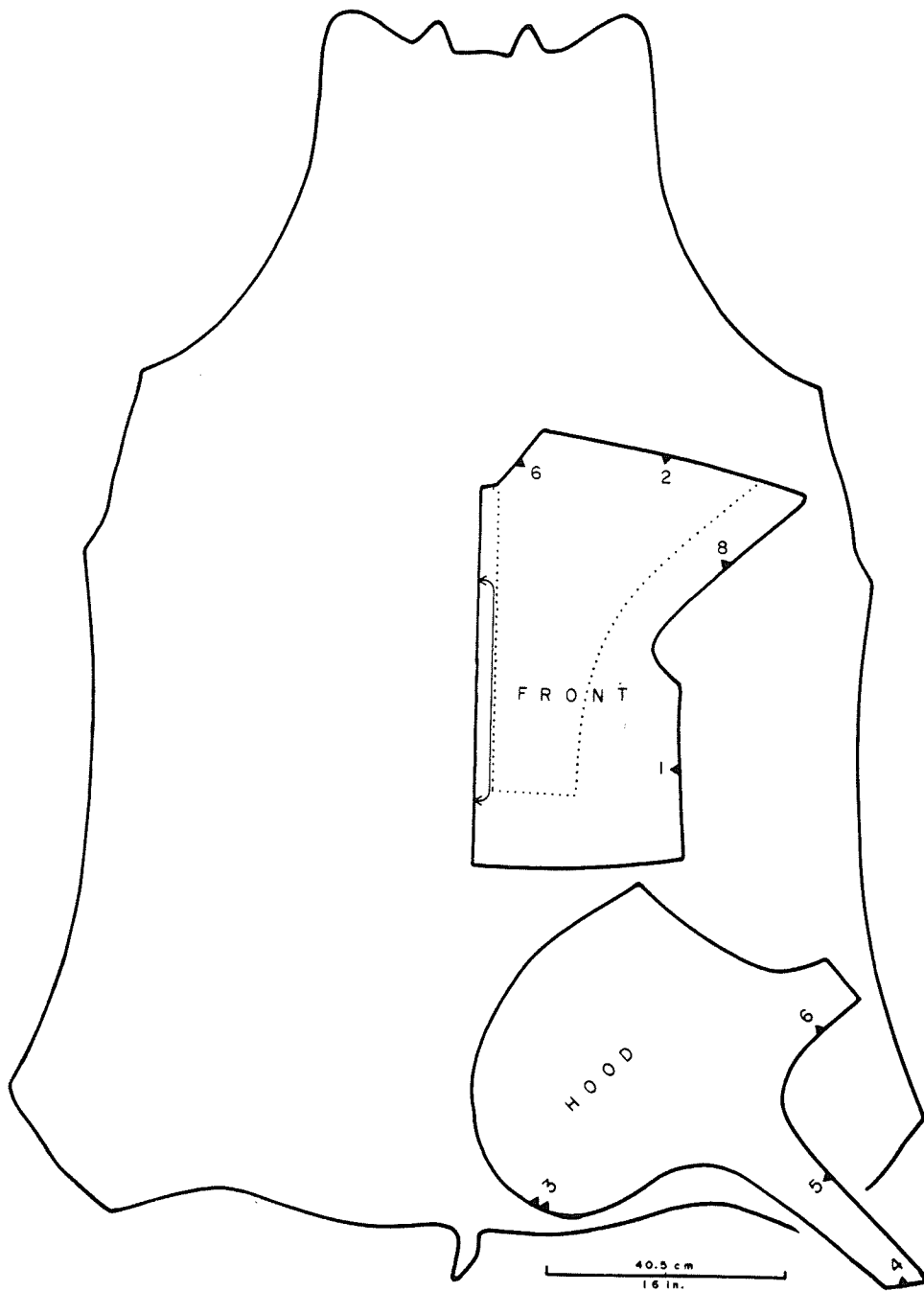


Figure 87. Replica of Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Woman's Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The dotted line on the front pattern indicate areas covered with white haired skin (optional).

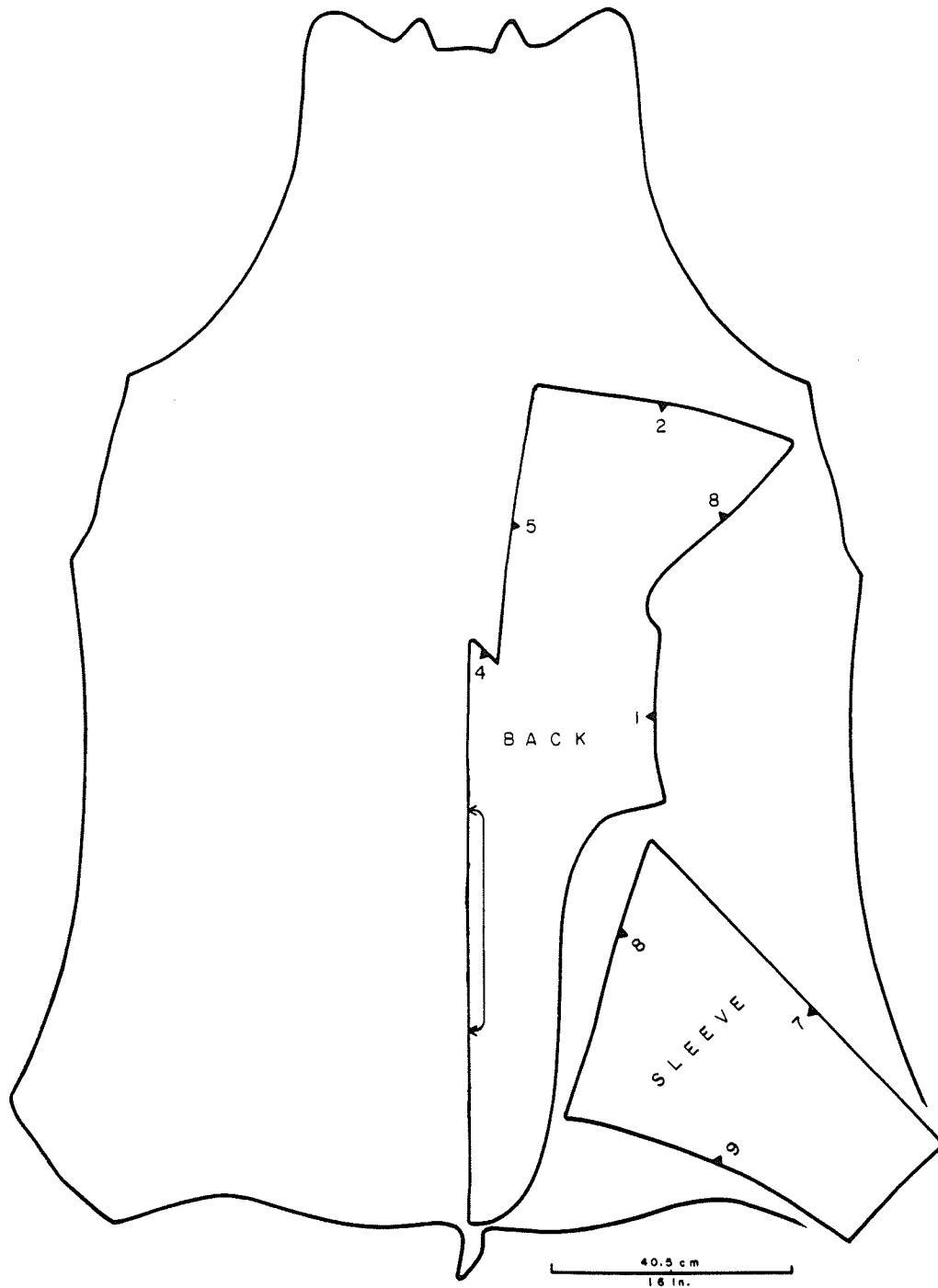


Figure 88. Replica of Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Woman's Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.
Four sleeve patterns are cut and pieced together.

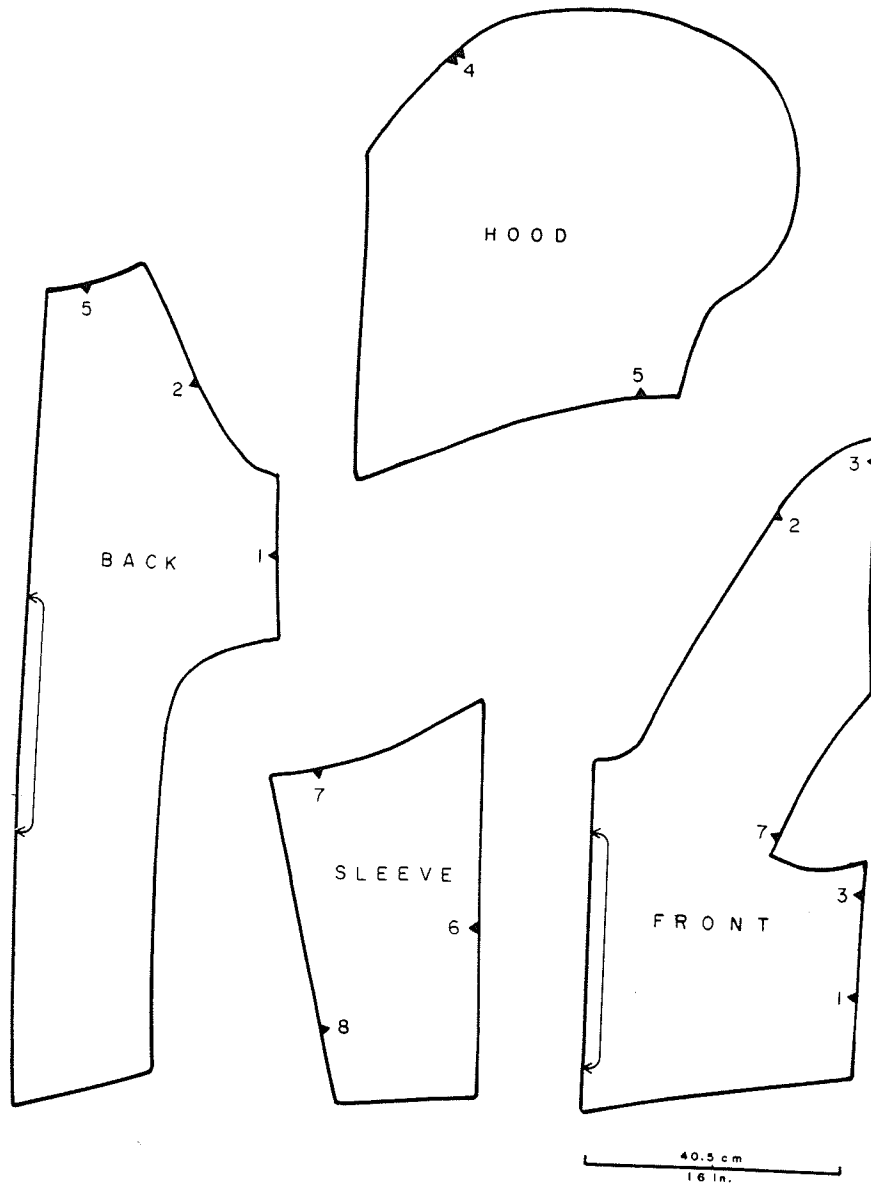


Figure 89. Replica Number Two of Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Woman's Parka Pattern.

The pattern pieces are similar but not identical to Figure 87 and 88.

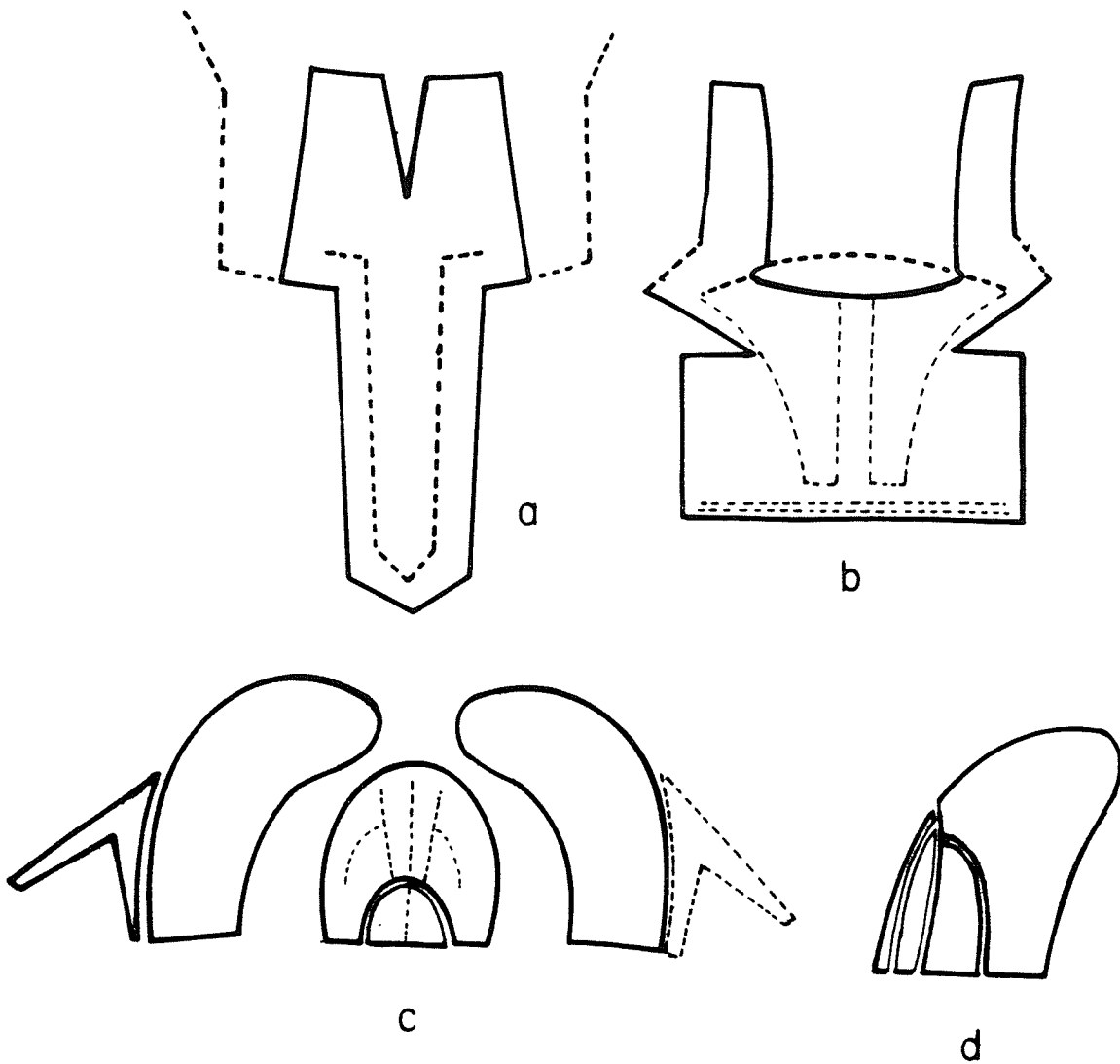


Figure 90. Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Woman's Parka Pattern in Jenness (1946).

This pattern was used by women before they began making the Alaskan parka styles. The back (a), front (b), outer hood (c) and inner hood (d) varies considerably from the pattern used to make replicas today. Credit Jenness 1946.

were applied to the replica by sewing a 5" (13 cm) wide strip of belly skin around the hem of the outer parka and cutting it into thin strips. This method is similar to Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut rather than the traditional Copper Inuit fringe. Traditionally, hemlines were edged with a narrow (1/4", 0.5 cm) strip of shaved skin and clusters of two or three tassels were sewn around the hemline (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.D.775, IV.C.1750).

V.12. AHIARMIUT AND PAALLIRMIUT WOMEN'S INNER PARKA PATTERN

Ahiarmiut and Paallirmuit women's parkas are described in Section III.3.B. Parkas are made from front, back, sleeve, side-pouch and hood pieces. The inner parka is made first; minor adjustments are made before using it as a pattern to cut out the outer parka. Pieces are created with hand and eye measurements, using the caribou hair thickness and length as a guideline. An advanced understanding of the physical properties of each caribou skin is required to make the best cut. Beginner seamstresses often take their skins to an experienced woman to cut out.

V.12.A. FRONT AND BACK

The broad shoulder area of the front piece is the first cutting line to be drawn on the skin (Figure 91). Seamstresses position the pattern's shoulder area and armhole over the top of the caribou leg area. The change in hair direction from the caribou centre back area to the leg conveniently covers the armhole seam (Figure 92). The scanty haired axilla (caribou armpit) area is cut away, creating the exaggerated indentation at the lowest point of the armhole (Figure 91).

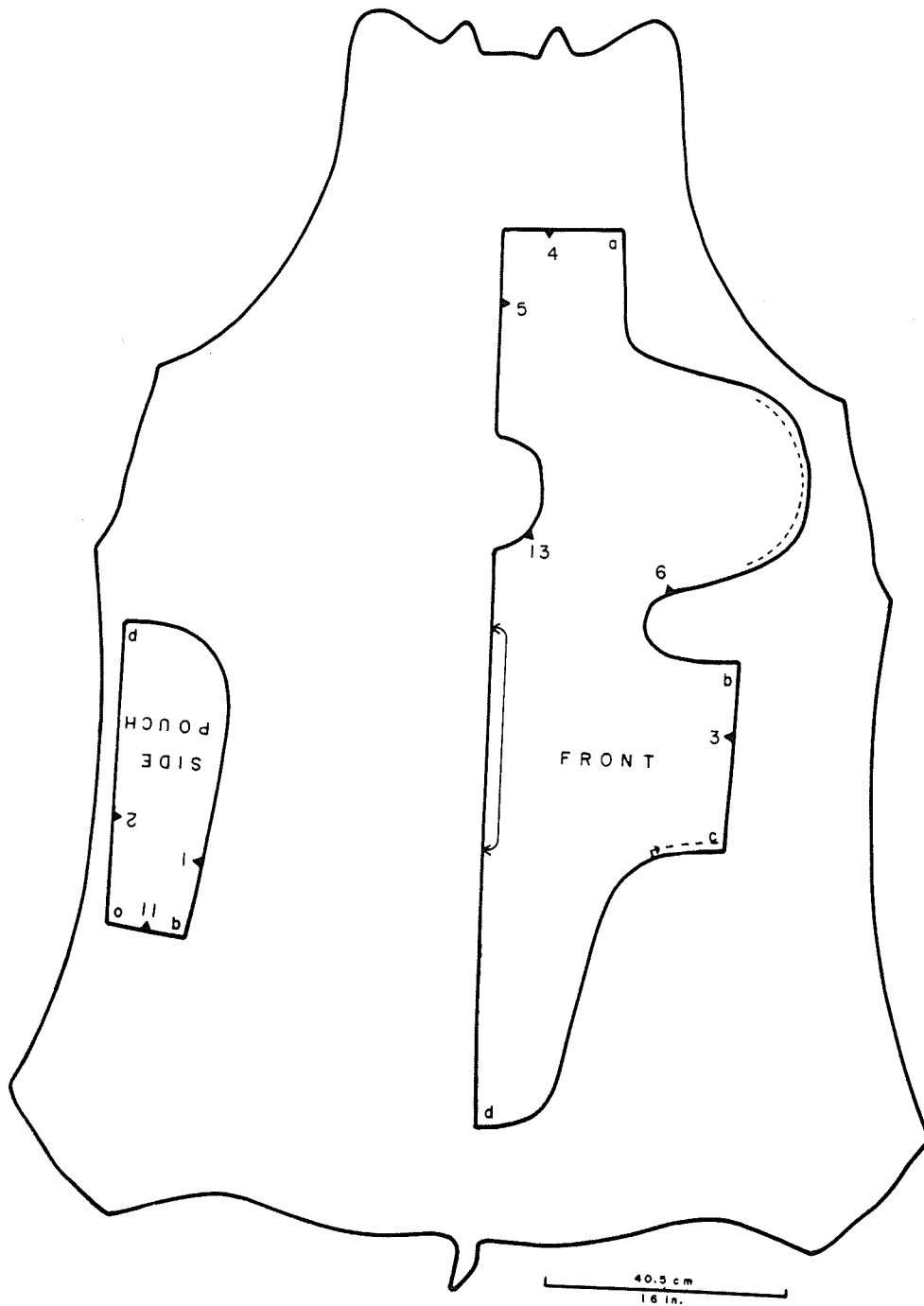


Figure 91. Caribou Inuit Woman's Parka Front and Side-Pouch Patterns and Pattern Layout.

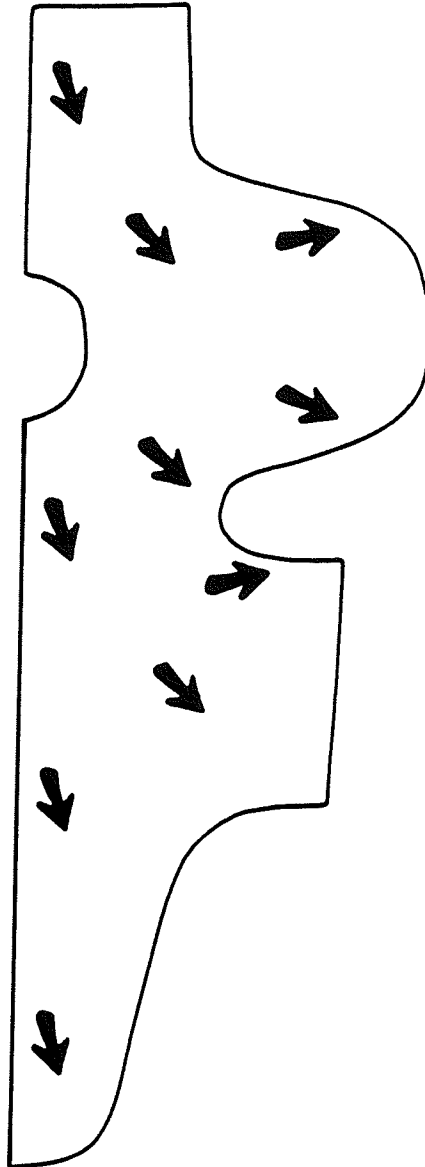


Figure 92. Hair Direction on a Caribou Inuit Woman's Parka Front Pattern.

The pattern is cut so the hair direction flows in a downwards and sideways direction, covering seamlines.

Using hair direction as a reference and years of experience cutting out the same pattern silhouette, the seamstress cuts the armhole seam (Figure 91, a-b) along the general contours of the caribou neck line. The seam then curves outwards at the caribou leg area forming the widest portion of the parka shoulder. The seam then curves sharply towards the armhole. The length of the armhole seam varies between Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut styles. The Paallirmiut style has a much more exaggerated shoulder area and is cut from 1/2 to 1 hand span wider from the centre fold line to the armhole at the shoulder than the Ahiarmiut style (Figure 93). The dropped shoulder seam is determined by marking a line about one hand span long and at right angles from the armhole at point "a" on Figure 91. The centre fold line is slashed up to a point parallel to the widest portion of the shoulder area. A neck hole measuring about 1 hand span wide and long is cut from this area. It is enlarged later if necessary.

Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut cut the side seams (Figure 91, b-c) approximately 1 1/2 hand spans (narrower for thinner women) from the fold line and about one handspan long. The hemline (c-d) is drawn by running a finger through the richly coloured, thick caribou hair rather than by using hand spans. Proportions are slightly different for Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut styles. The Paallirmiut front tail style is about one hand span wide and extends to about

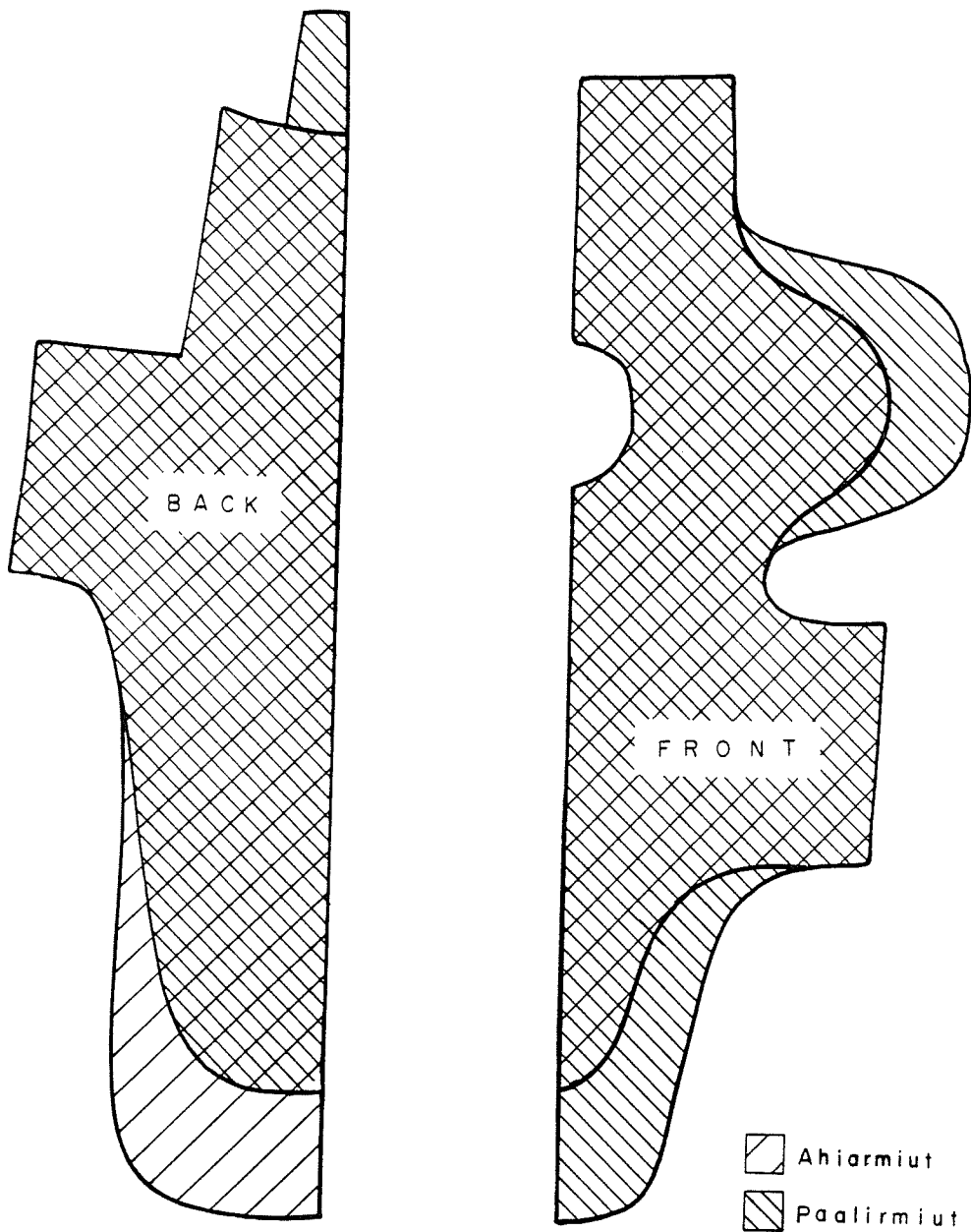


Figure 93. Variations in Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut Woman's Parka Styles.

The Ahiarmiut front pattern style is shorter and the sleeves are narrower than the Paallirmiut parka style. The Ahiarmiut back pattern style is longer than the Paallirmiut style.

4" (10 cm) above the knee. The Ahiarmiut style is about 1/2 hand span wide and about 1 1/2 hand spans above the knees (Figure 93). Once the appropriate width and curvature of the front hemline is obtained, the skin is pinched or bitten from the hair side to mark the cutting line. The skin is turned over and a few pen marks or ulu marks are placed along the potential cutting line.

The back piece is designed by beginning at the lower edge of the skin and drawing out the back tail. The hemline (Figure 94, e-f) is drawn with a finger, bitten and marked on the skin side. The Ahiarmiut style back hemline is rounded, about 1 1/2 hand spans from the fold line and extends almost to the ankle. The Paallirmiut version is shorter, extending to about 8" (20 cm) below the knee, and about 1/2 to 1 hand span narrower (Figure 93). Side seams (Figure 94, f-g) are cut almost parallel to the centre back fold, they may taper slightly toward the back fold line. Back pattern side seams are cut about the same distance from the centre fold line as on the front pattern (1 1/2 hand spans). Some women make the back piece about an inch (2.5 cm) or more narrower than the front, causing the side seam to be situated more towards the back than directly under the arm. The length of the back side seam is cut to match the front. The dropped shoulder seam cutting line (g-h) is positioned below the shoulder blades. It begins at right angles from the top of the side seam and is cut to match the

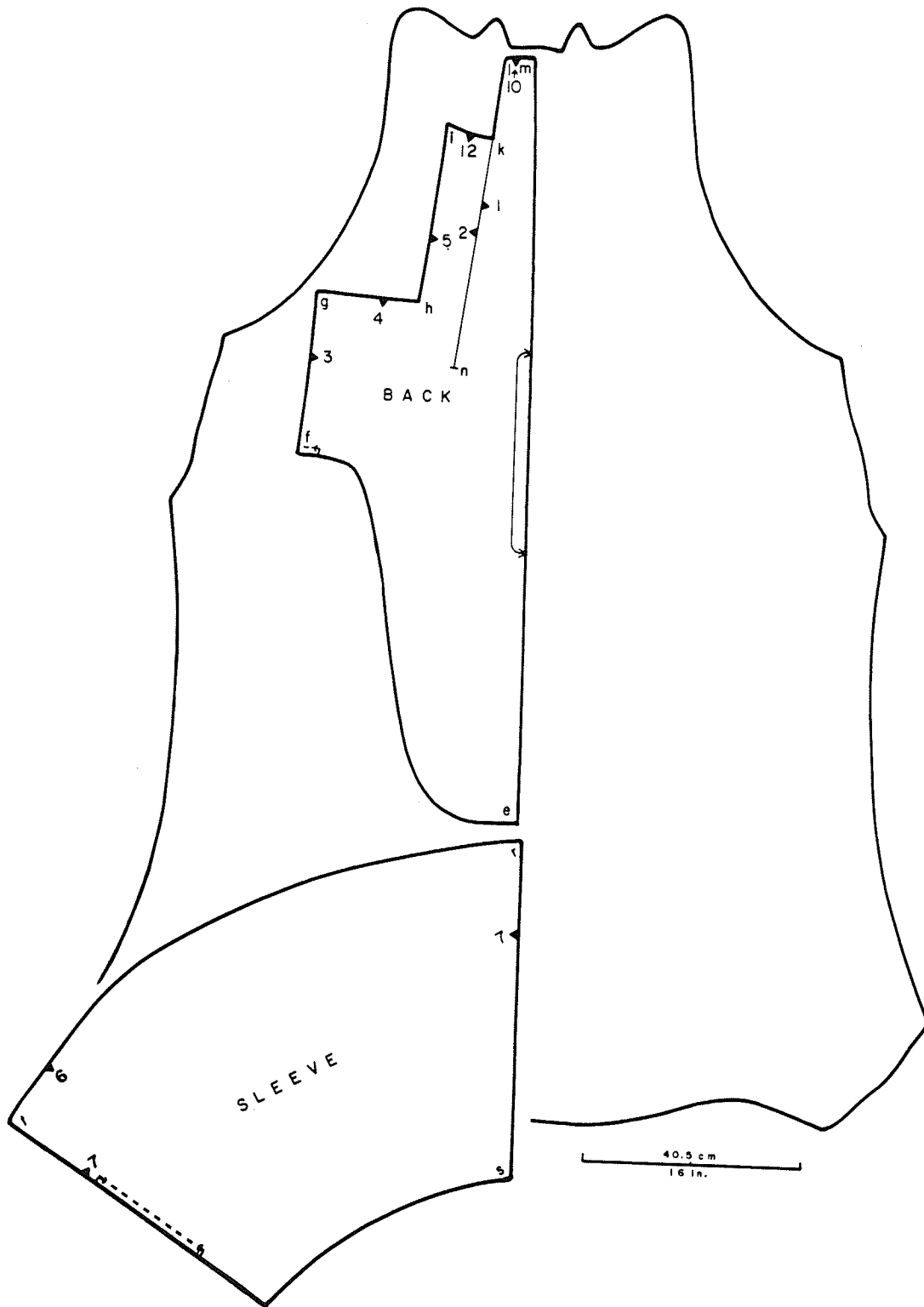


Figure 94. Caribou Inuit Woman's Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

length of the front shoulder seam (about 1 hand span). This cutting line turns another 90° , running almost parallel to the centre back fold line up to the neck line (h-i). Line "h-i" is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hand spans long and matches the distance from the neck hole to the shoulder seam on the front pattern.

Several neck line styles are used by Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut seamstresses. The traditional Ahiarmiut neck line style (Figure 95, a-b) is continuous while the Paallirmiut neck line style (Figure 94, i-k-l-m) contains about a 2 to 4" (5 - 10 cm) extension (k-l-m) at the centre back. This latter style was used by Paallirmiut in 1921-22 (Birket-Smith 1929) and is used by both groups today. Pouch slash lines on the Ahiarmiut neck line style begin at the fold line (Figure 95) while the Paallirmiut version begins about 1" (2.5 cm) away from the fold (Figure 94, l-k-n). Both style variations usually angle away from the fold to a point approximately 2 hand spans down the back. Slash lines are cut in a straight line or they curve slightly at the lower end of the slash.

V.12.B. SIDE-POUCH

Side-pouch pieces have one long straight edge (Figure 91, o-p), which is cut to match the depth of the slash line (Figure 94, l-k-n). When the Ahiarmiut neck line version is

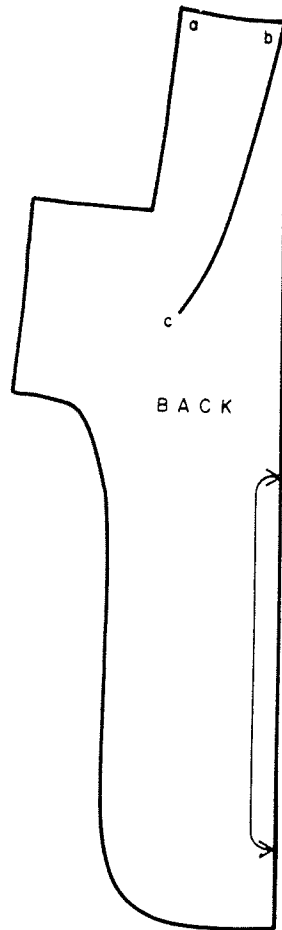


Figure 95. An Alternative Pouch Slash Line and Neck Line.
Traditional Ahiamut style neck lines (a-b) are cut without an extension and the pouch slash line (b-c) is cut with a curved or straight line.

used the side-pouch is cut about 2 to 4" (5 - 10 cm) longer than the slash line. In this case the side-pouch is sewn to the slash line and the top portion is sewn to itself (Section V.14). The long, "j" shaped edge (Figure 91, p-q) gives the pouch its curved shape. The "j" shaped edge is sewn to the slash line closest to the centre back fold (Figure 94, matching notch number 1).

Pouches are enlarged as the infant grows. The length of the pouch slash line and the width and length of the side-pouch is adjusted to fit the baby's size. Young women and elders without babies wear a parka with a side-pouch cut shorter and narrower than those carrying infants. Women with growing infants enlarge the pouch by unpicking the side-pouch seams, extending the slash line (Figure 96A, a) and inserting an enlarged side-pouch piece. The replacement is either the old piece with an extension added or a new piece. When the old side pouch piece is used it is lengthened by sewing an extra section to the top as well as to the centre back neck line (Figure 96B). When the pouch needs to be wider and longer a new side-pouch is cut. The enlarged section is sewn to the slash line and an extra piece is sewn to the centre back neck line (Figure 96C).

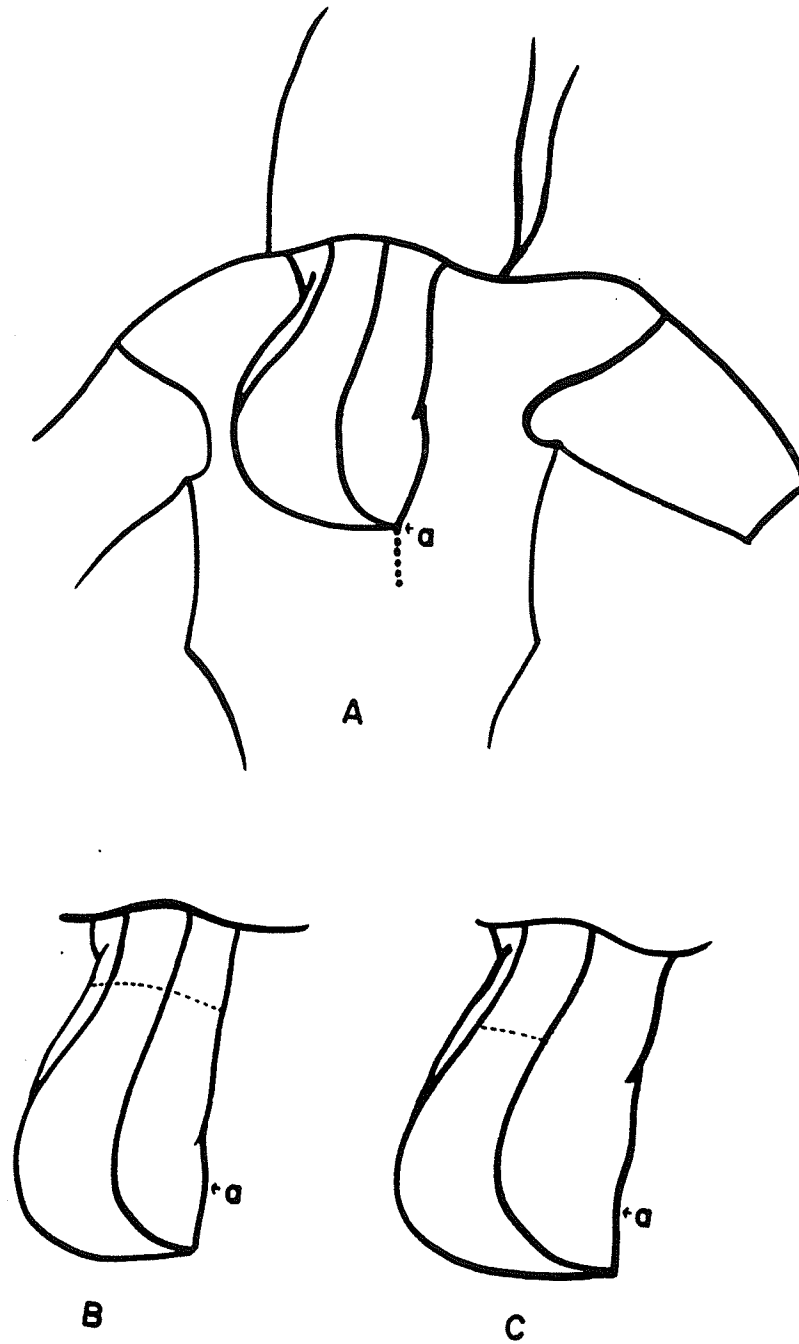


Figure 96. Construction Details for Altering Pouches.
 When the old side-pouch pattern is used the pouch slash line is extended (A, point a) and the old side-pouch piece is resewn to the slash line (B). Extra pieces are added to the top of the side piece and the centre tab. Using a new, broader side-pouch piece (C) reduces the amount of piecing.
 Credit C. Kemp.

V.12.C. SLEEVES

Sleeves are cut by following the directions outlined in Section V.7, adding a slight cap. The main sleeve seam is matched to the front armhole, not the side seam.

V.12.D. HOOD

The elongated hood is a key identifying feature used by Caribou Inuit. Hand measurements are not consciously used to make hood pieces, the silhouette is drawn in the fur until the desired shape is achieved. Slight variations are seen in Eskimo Point. The Ahiarmiut hood style is made from two pieces, a left and right side with a lateral seam. Pieces are positioned on the bottom half of a caribou skin, with the hood's face edge closest to the rump edge (Figure 97). Some seamstresses use a similar shape and layout as the Ahiarmiut style, however, the hood is wider, requiring an oval inset which is placed at the centre back (Figure 98). The side-hood pieces are gathered to the centre back piece (Kaviok Pers. Comm. 1985-87). The Paallirmiut hood style consists of two side panels eased on to one large centre back piece. The side panels of this hood style are placed at the lower edge of a caribou skin with the face edge placed towards the rump area (Figure 99) or the side panel is placed vertically on the skin with the face edge

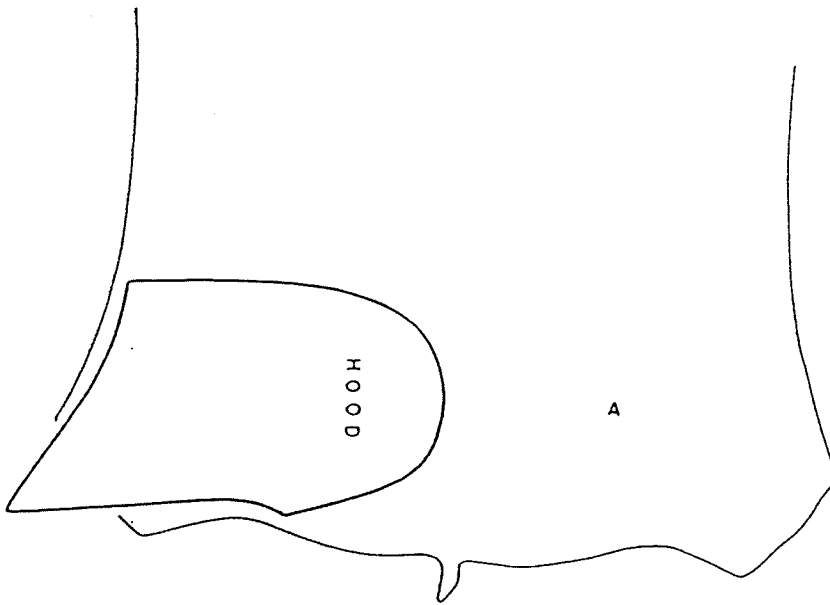


Figure 97. Eskimo Point Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout Variation A.

The traditional Aharmiut hood style was cut with the face edge at the lowest area of the caribou skin.

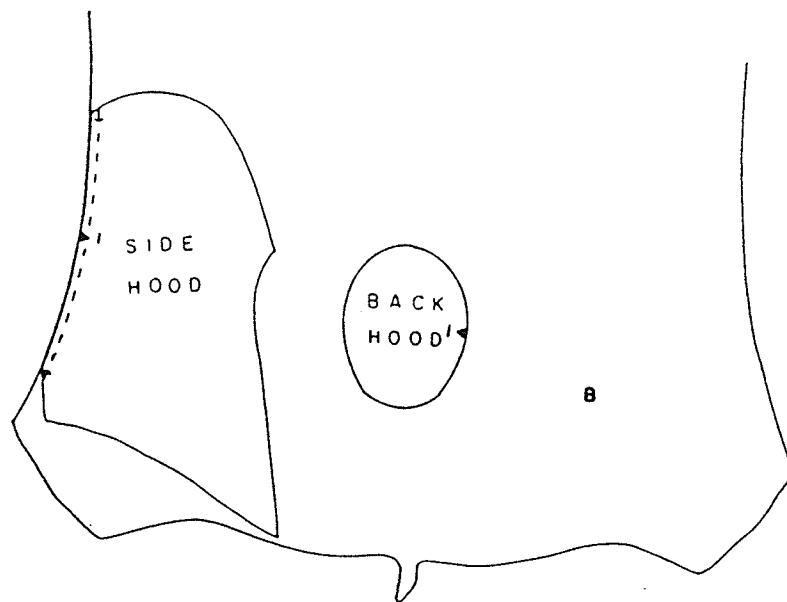


Figure 98. Eskimo Point Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout Variation B.

The hood is cut out along the side of the caribou skin and gathered to an oval piece at centre back.

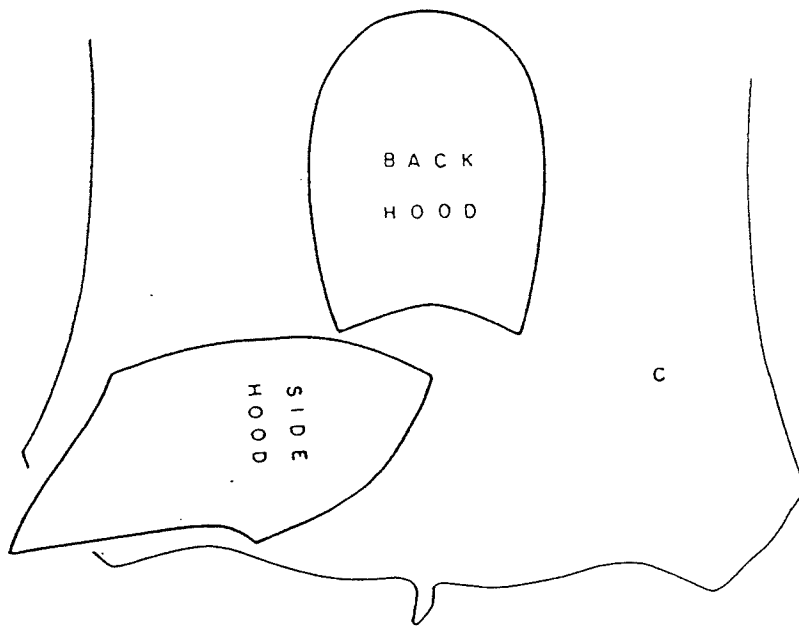


Figure 99. Eskimo Point Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout Variation C.

A third and most common contemporary hood pattern and layout consists of the side-hood piece placed at the lowest edge of the skin and the back hood cut from the centre area.

facing towards the belly area of the skin (Figure 100). Often a triangular piece with white hair from the tail area is sewn at the tip of the hood. When the side-hood is placed vertically on the skin a band of decoration across the hood is noted (Figure 39).

The side seams, pouch and sleeve pieces are overcasted together, matching numbered notches. The parka is then adjusted by adding gussets and taking in seams where needed.

The hood is assembled and attached to the neck. A strip of bias tape is usually sewn along this seam for reinforcement.

One or two loops, about 4" (10 cm) long, are attached to the centre front. These loops are used to relieve the pressure of the baby's weight against the woman's throat. According to Swinton (Pers. Comm. 1987), they are also remnants of a power symbol which is first seen as tusk-like teeth insets in the Copper Inuit clothing. Large teeth, depicting the top predator in the food chain, provide Inuit hunters with powers equivalent to the top predator. The loops worn by Caribou Inuit women are said to be a practical application of the tusk-like formations found on Copper Inuit clothing.

When an outer parka is worn over top of the inner parka, the loops are pulled to the outside of the outer parka and used to secure the belt. A braided or woven belt is tied to

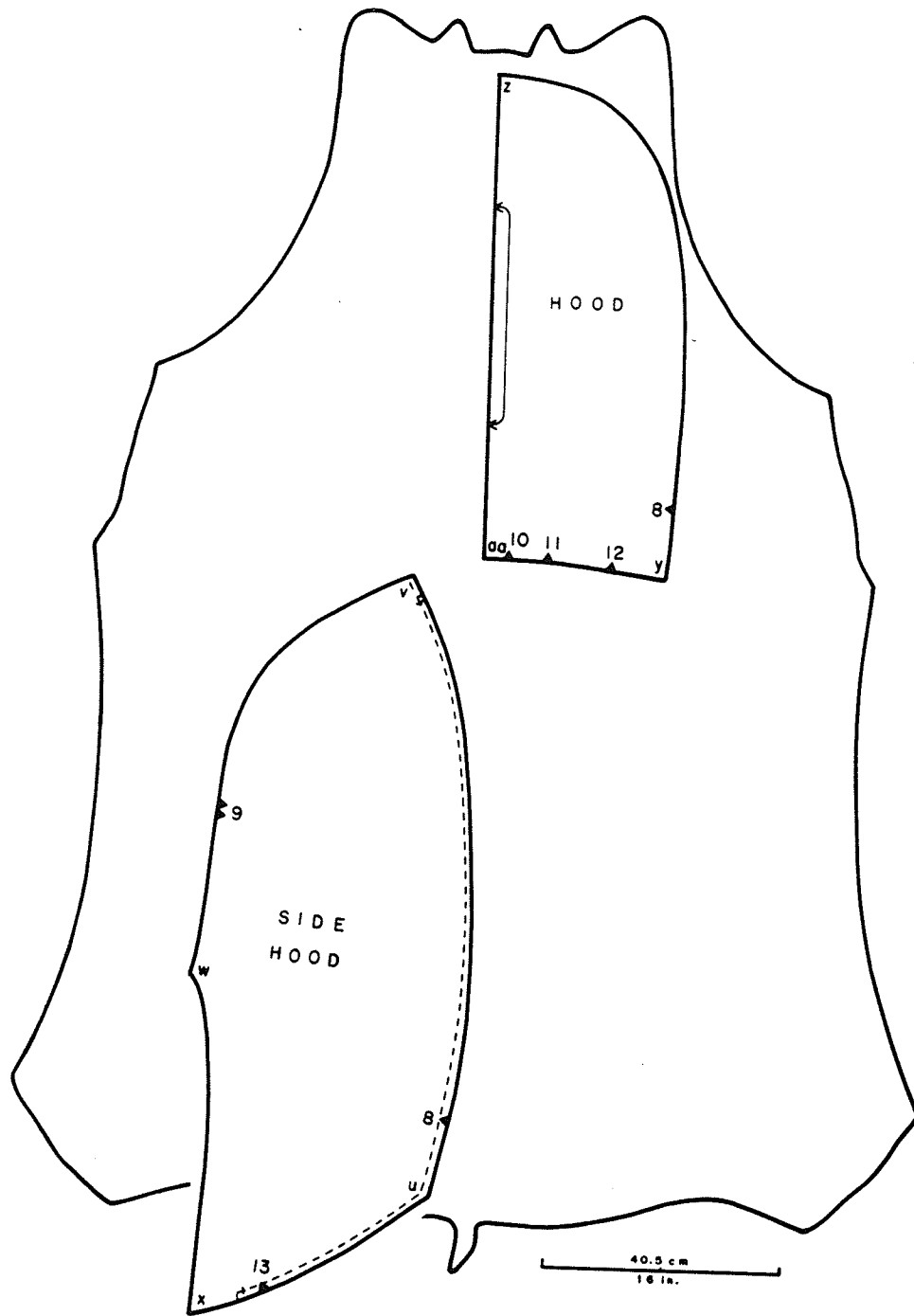


Figure 100. Eskimo Point Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout Variation D.

A fourth method of cutting out the hood is to place it vertically on the skin.

one loop, wrapped around the back below the pouch and then tied to the second loop using a slip knot (Figure 101). Examples are seen in Figures 44 and 46. Some women use a diamond or oval shaped ornament made from walrus tusk or caribou antler to anchor the belt rather than using a knot (Figure 38 and 44). More recently, thick white plastic cutting boards or plastic sled runners are used as substitutes. Walrus used to be killed just north of Eskimo Point; their range has shifted farther north and today walrus are acquired only through inter-settlement trade. Today, these ornaments are edged with carved lines or decorated by drilling numerous 1/8" (.3 cm) diameter holes partially through the material in a geometric design. Holes are filled with plastic made by melting down red and blue toothbrush handles. A hole is carved into the back so thin string can be threaded through and knotted. The string is then tied to the four-strand braided belt that is wrapped around the waist (Figure 102). Woven belts are becoming popular, however, they are usually worn with a Baffin Island Inuit parka style.

Strips of cloth, bias tape or beading are basted to the wrist, hemline and face edge. The face edge strip is about 1 1/2 to 2 1/2" (4-6 cm) wide, the wristband strip is about 4 to 6" (10-15 cm) wide and the hemline strip is about 3/4 to 1 1/2" (2-4 cm) wide. Paallirmiut usually use narrower

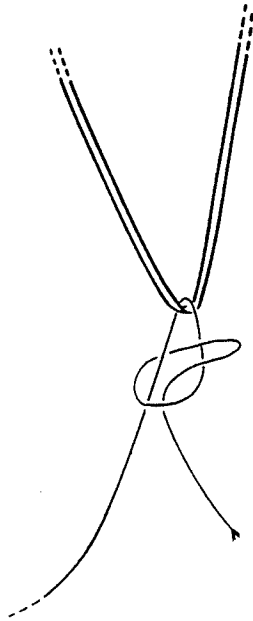


Figure 101. Knot Attaching Belt to Parka Loops.

A slip knot is tied to one loop, then the belt is wrapped around the waist and tied to the other side with another slip knot.

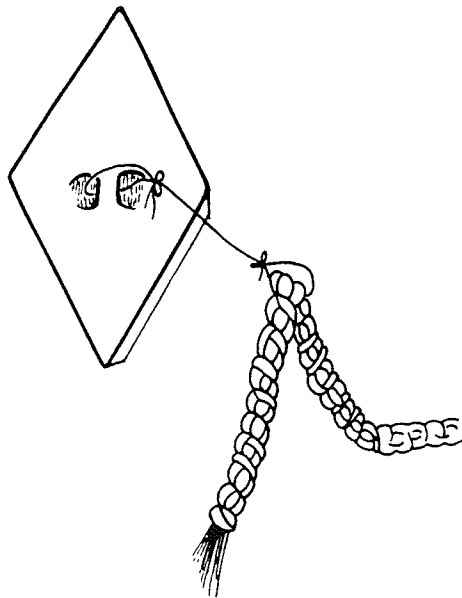


Figure 102. Belt Ornaments.

An ivory, wooden or plastic ornament is carved and attached to the end of the belt with a bit of string. The ornament is then slipped through the parka loops, covering up the knot.

strips than Ahiarmiut. The hemline is finished with two layers of finely fringed depilated caribou skin (Section V.4). Today, other types of fringes made from material such as purchased tassels, cowhide and heavy embroidery yarn.

V.13. BEADWORK

Beaded panel shapes are cut by eye from duffle, stroud or other fabric and applied to skin or fabric parkas. The chest panel (Figure 103a) curves around the neck line and over the shoulder. An inverted "u" shaped curve at the shoulder ends in a straight line that runs parallel to the centre front fold. This line usually comes just in front of the parka armhole. The bottom cutting line is cut straight across near the waistline and is finished with a beaded fringe. Panels vary in length, width and in the depth of the inverted "u" shaped shoulder curve. Traditionally, Ahiarmiut styles were a few inches (5-8 cm) shorter and slightly narrower than Paallirmiut styles. A beaded fringe sewn to the bottom edge of the chest panel is about 8" (20 cm) long on Paallirmiut and 6" (15 cm) long on Ahiarmiut styles. Today the Paallirmiut version is most common (Figure 45).

The shoulder panels (Figure 103b) look like epaulettes and one seamstress said they may have originated from navy uniforms. These panels are cut approximately 2" (5 cm) wide

and the length of the voluminous shoulders. The epaulette extends from just under the front panel, or just meeting the panel, around to either the back vertical seam (Figure 94, h-i) or a few inches (5 - 8 cm) from this seam. When the back edge of the shoulder panel extends to the back vertical seam, women sew the panel right into the parka seam. When the shoulder panel is shorter, the back edge is often rounded as depicted in Figure 103b. Some women leave the end squared as the hood covers the raw edges (Figure 104). Traditionally the Ahiarmit style was shorter and both ends were rounded.

Wrist panels (Figure 103c) are cone shaped to accommodate the tapered sleeve. They are 4 to 6" (10 - 15 cm) wide; the Ahiarmit version was traditionally broader and less solidly beaded than the Paallirmiut style.

Hemline edgings are made 2 to 3" (5-8 cm) wide. Paallirmiut were known to sew their bands narrower (about 2", 5 cm wide) and covered them with more beading than Ahiarmit bands (about 3", 8 cm wide). Today seamstresses make them as wide and as beaded as they like. The hemline panel is made by piecing together a strip of fabric until it follows the shape of the hemline. This fabric is then beaded and basted to the hemline.

A pouch ornament (Figure 103d and 104) is sewn to the lowest area on each side of the pouch. These beaded panels are a variety of shapes, including oblong, triangular, oval,

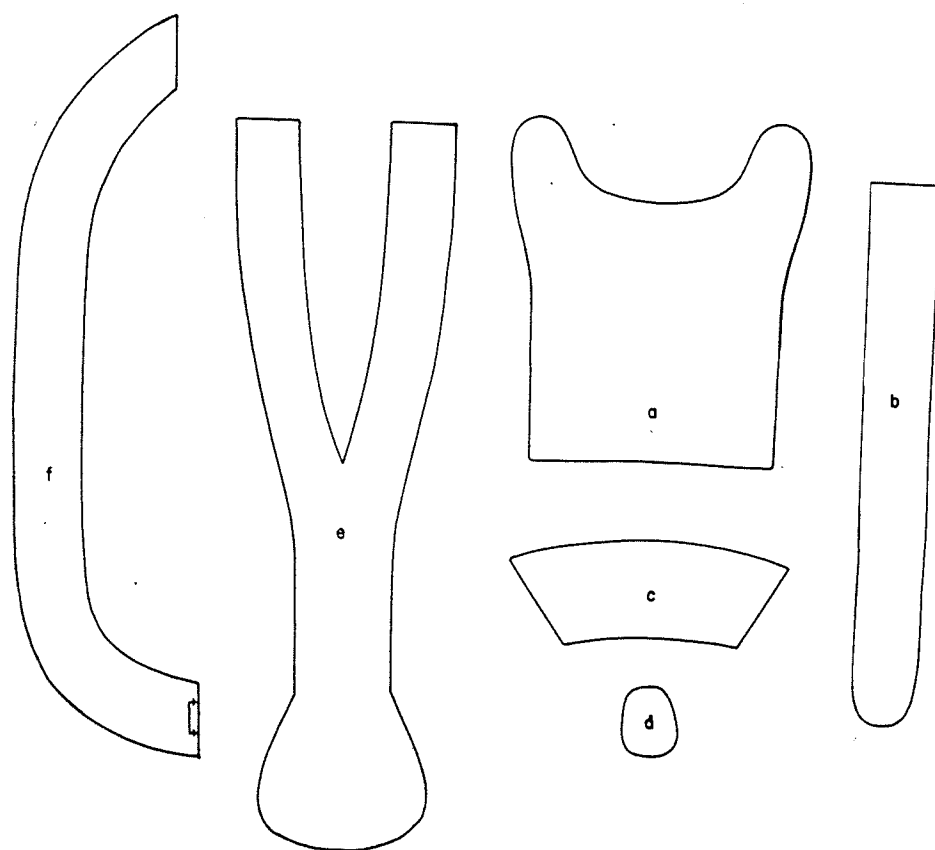


Figure 103. Diagram of Beaded Panels Used in Eskimo Point.
Front (a), shoulder (b), wrist (c), pouch (d), centre hood (e), side hood (f) and hem panels are beaded. Any combination of the beaded panels are used on contemporary parkas worn by women or girls.



Figure 104. Eskimo Point Beaded Parka.

Mary Agartuk decorates her parka with a variety of large geometric, small geometric and floral designs. Eskimo Point, 1987. This parka is now in the University of Manitoba Clothing and Textiles Museum E11e980.

circular and the shape of a vamp. A cluster of long beaded fringes is sewn to the lower edge of the panel.

Traditionally, informants say the Ahiarmiut style used shorter fringes (about 10", 25 cm) and the Paallirmiut style used longer fringes (about 25", 64 cm). This is not evident today.

The centre-hood panel (Figure 103e and 104) outlines the face edge and extends back along the centre hood seam line. An enlarged, squarish beaded panel with rounded corners is attached to the end. This panel is usually decorated with a solidly beaded design and edged with beaded fringes.

The side-hood panel (Figure 103f and 104) circumscribes the hood and is edged with beaded fringes about one hand span long. In the early 1900's, the Ahiarmiut were known to wear a side-hood panel that extended along the sides of the hood but did not continue across the tip (Marsh 1976). These shorter, straight side panels were sewn to each side of the hood and ended with a row of beaded fringes or an enlarged panel similar to that used on the centre-hood panel. This style is rarely used today (Figure 105). Side- and centre-hood panels are decorated by outlining the panel with several rows of beads and beading geometric, floral or abstract symbols along the centre portion.

One colour of duffle is usually used for the chest panel. The lower edge of the front panel and parts of other panels are often pieced together from bits of fabric.



Figure 105. A Variation of the Eskimo Point Beaded Hood Panels.

Using three beaded hood panels instead of two was commonly used in the past. Anoee, Eskimo Point, 1986. This parka is now in the University of Manitoba Clothing and Textiles Museum E9e980.

Strips of navy and red duffle are often sewn together for the shoulder, hood and cuff panels to help create a complimentary splash of colour on the white caribou skin or fabric. The raw edges are bound with matching bias tape by some but not all seamstresses. The outer edge is outlined with several rows of beads.

Two needles are used while beading: the first needle is used to pick up about four beads and the second needle tacks down the thread between about every fourth bead (Figure 106). Straighter rows are made by tacking the thread between every single bead. Caribou sinew is preferred, especially for the first needle, as it is stronger.

In the past, lead weights and caribou teeth were commonly used on the end of each piece of beaded fringe (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.663, IV.C.769; Royal Ontario Museum HC2357). Today, the use of caribou teeth is rare and lead weights are not used at all. In the past, Birket-Smith (1929) explained that the caribou teeth were drilled by women using a miniature bow or hand drill. Today, they are drilled in a similar fashion. A small stick is stuck into a thimble and the thimble is placed in the driller's mouth. A triangular glovers needle is inserted into the end of the stick and a thong is wrapped around the stick enabling one to twist the stick back and forth quickly. This time-consuming process is effective in that it does not split the teeth and creates a hole just large

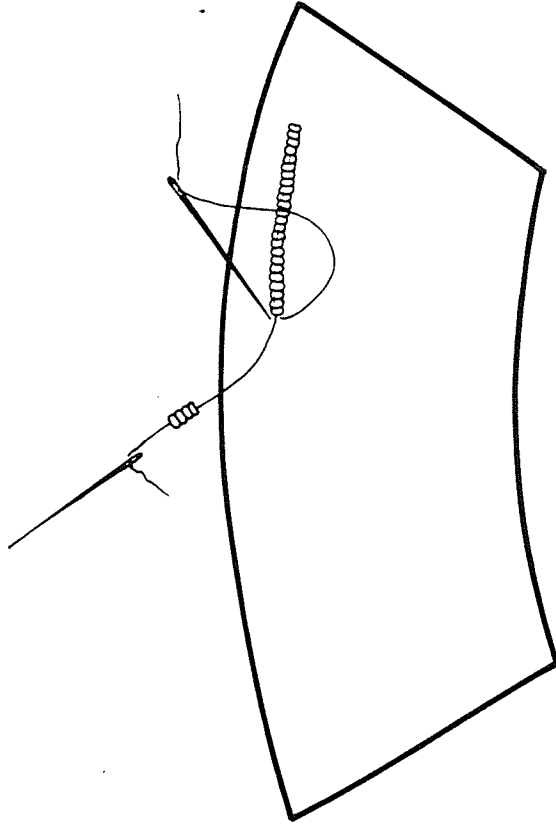


Figure 106. Construction Details of the Beading Procedure.
One needle is threaded with strong thread or caribou
sinew and picks up three or four beads at a time. The
second needle tacks every third or fourth bead in position.
Some women tack down every bead to make a straighter row.

enough for the needle to penetrate.

Beaded fringes are made by stringing one large bead or about six seed beads on a long unknotted thread. The end is looped into a circle and tied to secure the end beads. Groups of white or yellow beads, alternated with groups of red, dark blue or black beads, are strung onto the thread until the desired length is acquired. The thread is then sewn onto the edge of the panel, knotting it on the reverse side.

V.14. WOMAN'S OUTER PARKA PATTERN

Women's outer parka pattern pieces are measured and cut using directions similar to the inner parka (Section V.12.). About 1" (2.5 cm) of ease is added across the side seams and the hemline is tapered to fit over the inner parka. Special allowances are made by the seamstress when she plans to decorate the parka with white haired insets.

Traditionally, outer parkas were decorated with white haired caribou skin as described by Birket-Smith (1929). A 3 to 4" (10-12 cm) band of white haired caribou skin was inserted along the hemline. A narrow strip of dark haired skin was an optional addition sewn down the centre of the white band. A strip of dark fabric was sewn along the lower edge and occasionally along the upper edge of the white band. The Ahiarmiut style was usually made with a strip of

fabric about 1-1/2" (2.5 - 3 cm) wide, the Paallirmiut styles were about 3/4" (2 cm) wide. The face edge was finished with a 1" (2.5 cm) wide strip of dark fabric or depilated skin (Canadian Museum of Civilization IV.C.4085). According to Marsh's paintings (1976), red strips were fashionable in the 1930's. Red cloth tassels were popular during the 1920's amongst Baker Lake Inuit (Birket-Smith 1929).

Ahiarmiut style sleeves had two white haired, longitudinal strips intermixed with dark haired strips. Birket-Smith (1929) describes similar decoration, with the addition of a transversal strip on the front panel. Paallirmiut sleeve styles had one broad band of white extending across the top of the sleeve into the back shoulder panel. A strip of dark haired skin tapering from 1" (2.5 cm) wide at the back to 1/4" (.5 cm) wide at the front, was sewn about 2" (5 cm) down from the top of the sleeve. A second strip was sewn diagonally from the top back white panel to the underarm. Marsh (1976) painted a similar parka used in the Eskimo Point area in the 1930's.

The pouches were also decorated with white haired panels. The Ahiarmiut style cut the side panel pattern out of white haired skin (Figure 107A). A second variation has white side panels with brown haired skin separating each panel (Figure 107B). The Paallirmiut style has white haired side panels and a very dark brown split-"t" shaped inset.

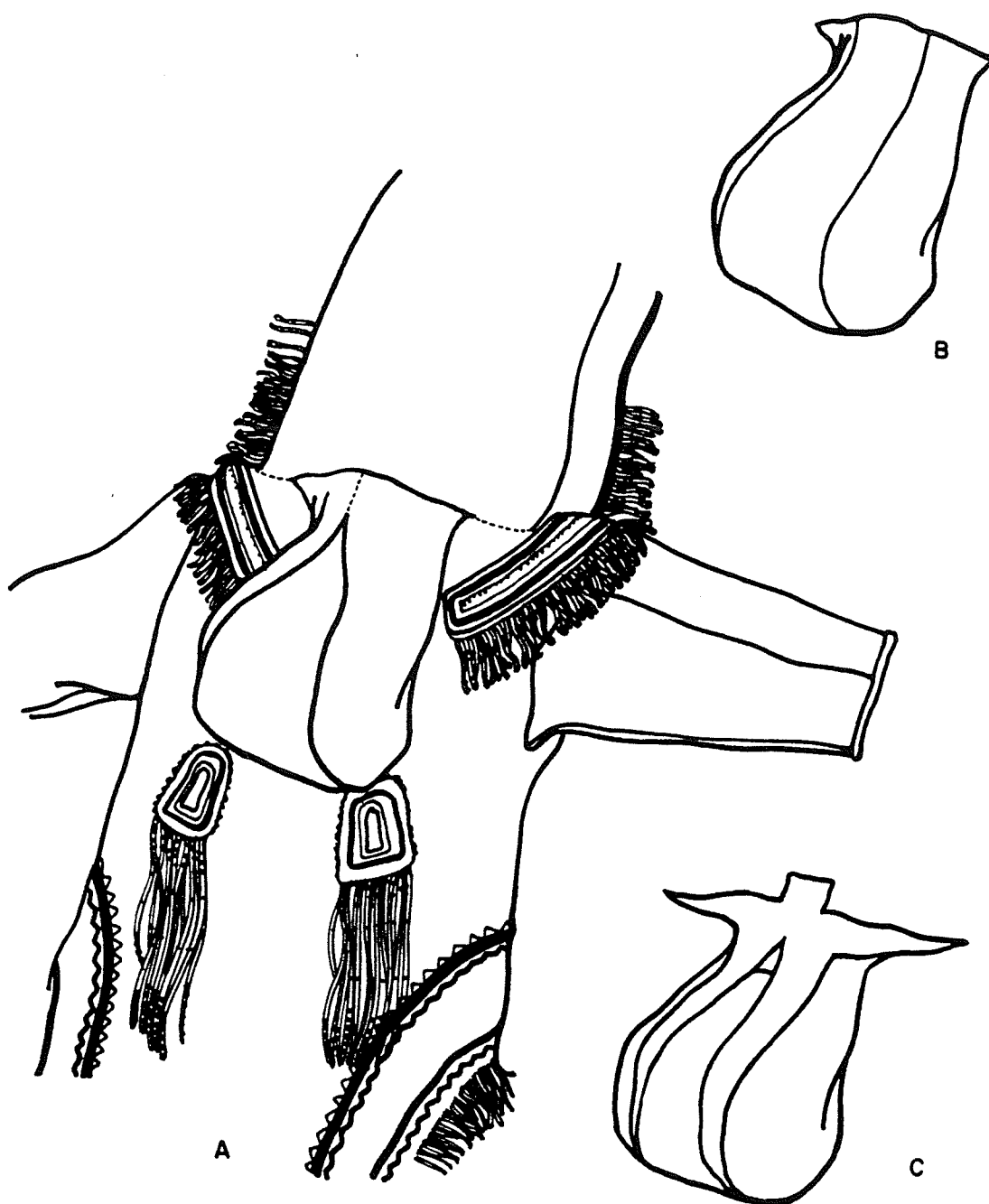


Figure 107. Side-Pouch Variations in Eskimo Point.
 One version is sewn to itself at the centre back (A), another is sewn to an extension of the back pattern (B) and a final variation is sewn to a split "t" shaped inset cut from dark haired skin. A triangular piece of white haired skin is inserted at the crotch of the split "t" inset.
 Credit C. Kemp.

A white haired triangular inset was sewn at the pointed portion of the split-"t" inset (Figure 107C). These variations are also used on inner parkas. The inner and outer parka pouch styles usually match, even though the white haired skins are invisible on the inner parka.

Outer parkas are finished with two layers of fine fringe (Section V.4). The Paallirmiut style uses fringes about 5" (12 cm) long, Ahiarmiut styles use fringes about 3" (8 cm) long. Seamstresses noted that fringes were made longer when lots of skins are available rather than for cultural reasons.

V.15 SKIN CLOTHING STORAGE AND MAINTENANCE

Skin clothing must be kept free of melting snow and away from warm temperatures for optimum usage. Traditionally, Inuit removed snow from their clothing by beating it with a wooden beater when entering a tent or igloo (Birket-Smith 1929). Similar tools are used today, including the dull edge of a snow knife, broom handle or someone's arm. Traditionally, damp clothing was carefully dried on a rack above a seal blubber lamp. Ahiarmiut had little access to seal blubber. They laid their damp items under sleeping robes (Birket-Smith 1929). Dried garments are stiff, cold and the dermis is a dark greyish-black colour. Scraping and rubbing garments between one's hands soon returns the skin

to its soft and flexible state. Seal skin soles are reched to soften them after being dried.

Historically, clothing was stored in large skin bags made from haired or depilate caribou skins. Red ochre was occasionally used to decorate the bags (Birket-Smith 1929). Bags were also made by case skinning a young caribou calf. These bags are extremely rare today (Kaviok, Pers. Comm. 1986), however, they were ideal for storing mitts, bonnets and footwear.

Today, Inuit recommend storing caribou and seal skin clothing by laying it flat or by loosely packing it in bags. Old mail bags are often used. The clothing is placed in a cool, dry shed or porch. Care is taken to avoid squashing too many clothes together as the hair is relatively fragile and will break.

In Eskimo Point clothing is stored in cold rooms attached to the house, work tents and outside sheds. In Umingmaktok, Coppermine and Cambridge Bay skins were stored in cold porches, outside sheds or in trunks stored near drafty doors.

Skin clothing should be repaired whenever tears, loosening seam or holes appear. According to Birket-Smith (1929), it was common to have holes in stockings, however, if holes occurred in boot soles or along the pant crotch seam, legends claimed that the highly treasured goose eggs would be impossible to find.

Skins are kept clean and dry in order to extend their life span. Commercially tanned wolf and rabbit skins are washed in a washing machine, rubbed with hand lotion and scraped until dry. Home dried haired seal skins are also washed in the washing machine and reused. The skin must be worked by hand while it is drying. Caribou skins are wiped clean with a wet sponge. Damp hair is frozen and then the icicles are easily removed with a wooden or bone beater. Damp caribou skins are scraped until dry.

In summary, this research illustrates that skin clothing is produced by Caribou and Copper Inuit in a variety of ways. The following chapter compares the procedures used by Copper Inuit, Paallirmiut and Ahiairmiut. Traditional and contemporary techniques are discussed along with factors influencing differences and similarities.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

VI.0 DISCUSSION

Skin clothing production is influenced directly or indirectly by almost every aspect of Inuit life. After studying each step of the production processes used by Caribou and Copper Inuit, key factors become evident (Figure 108). These factors are divided into cultural, environmental, physical and economic factors. The key issues which played a role in creating contemporary Inuit skin fashions are discussed in this chapter.

The entire process involved in transferring raw hides into clothing requires highly technical skills and knowledge. Skin preparation, pattern development and garment construction skills take years of experience to master. The degree to which seamstresses have mastered each skill is reflected in their finished garments.

The physical characteristics of caribou skins influence scraping directions and procedures needed to create soft, pliable clothing skins. Skin consists of fibre bundles fanning out from the centre back to the neck, belly and rump. The directional run of fibre bundles influences skin strength, flexibility and extensibility. The thickness and weave of each bundle varies between individual animals and

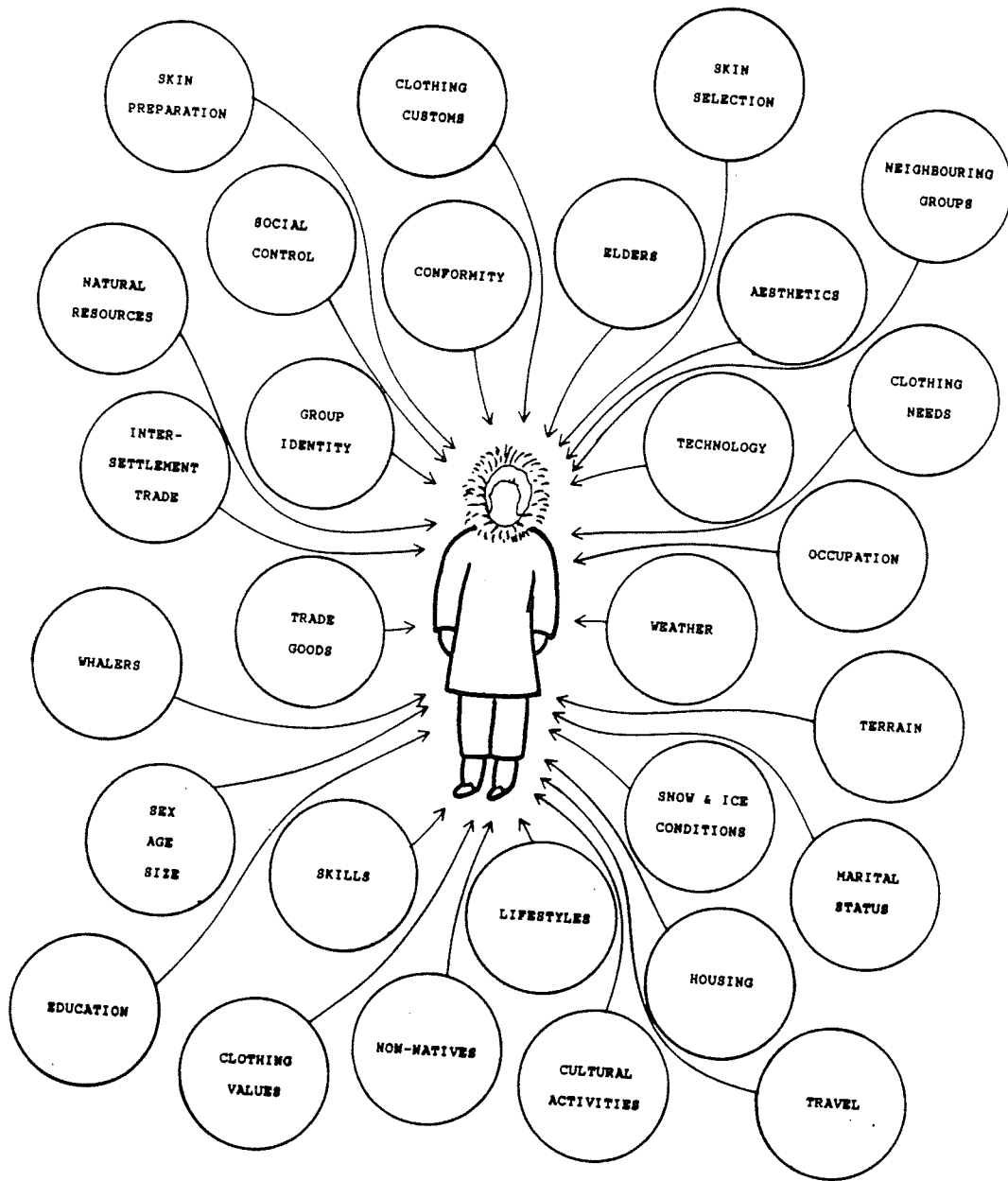


Figure 108. Schematic Diagram of Factors Influencing Skin Clothing.

Environmental, economic, cultural and physical factors influencing skin clothing include many inter-relating features.

over each part of an animal skin (Haines 1981). The first scraping on haired skins follows the direction of the fibre bundles. Bundles are partially broken and the ground substance between and within each bundle is partially removed. The addition of moisture and a shift in scraping directions helps remove ground substance and break down fibre bundles mechanically. Belly skins are thin, with less compact fibre bundles, therefore less effort is needed to soften the skins. Leg skins are thicker and more compact than belly skins, however, exposure to the harsh elements partially breaks up the fibre bundles and removes the ground substances, eliminating the use of the dull scraper.

Although skins have the same basic physical properties, regional and historical variations in skin preparation techniques are noted. Historical influences from neighbouring groups are evident in skin preparation skills passed from one generation to the next. Copper Inuit inter-acted with Inupiat interpreters travelling eastward on floating trading posts. Unlike Inuit groups to the east, Inupiat used flour and an assortment of other powders to soften their caribou clothing skins. Copper Inuit also use a variety of powders including flour, baking powder and baking soda. Inupiat and Copper Inuit also used similar methods to stain their clothing skins. Copper Inuit substituted litharge for ochre because ochre was unavailable in the Coronation Gulf area. In contrast, Caribou Inuit

had little contact with western groups in the early 1900's (when the use of stained skins in fashionable clothing began to move eastward). There is no record of their use of dyed clothing skins or of softening skins with the help of dry powders. Similarities between Copper and Caribou Inuit skin preparation methods also exist. Both groups depilated skins similarly, unlike distant natives in Greenland (Cranz 1765).

Regionally unique caribou skin fashions are influenced by changing end uses which in turn influence the skin preparation procedures used by each group. For example, the increased demand for elaborately decorated, regionally unique dance costumes is met differently by Copper and Caribou Inuit. Copper Inuit use fabric dyes as well as traditional skin preparation techniques to produce a colourful array of coloured skins. Caribou Inuit use elaborately beaded panels, occasionally mixed with appliqué and purchased braid to create colorful clothing.

In addition to the physical properties of caribou skin, the hair colouring, hair length and density influence pattern layouts, piecing, sewing techniques and maintenance. Regional variations in animal hair colouring influenced fashions and the limitations of caribou, wolf, wolverine and other skins used for trim influenced the skin selection procedure, tool shapes and composition, and decorative features. One example of regional variations

caused by resource limitations is evident by comparing fur trim used by Copper and Caribou Inuit. Wolverine skins are readily available to Copper Inuit and are used extensively for clothing trim. Caribou Inuit use caribou skin fringes; wolverine is scarce in the southern Keewatin. Another example is the water repellent caribou skin boots made by Ahlarmiut when they were unable to acquire seal skins from Paallirmiut.

Available resources influence the shape and composition of tools and preferred sitting positions while using each tool. Musk-ox horn and caribou antler are readily available and used for handles by Copper Inuit, while Caribou Inuit used caribou bones, antler and flint stones. Copper Inuit made blades from flint stones, copper, and more recently, scrap metals, while Caribou Inuit used stone and bone blades before scrap metals were available. Bone and stone tools made in the "J" configuration are easier to use while one is sitting on the floor. This is especially true for the short, sharp scraper. In contrast, the long, arched musk-ox horn and caribou antler handles are more comfortable when held and used while sitting on a chair or platform.

Today, inter-settlement trade increases the availability of regionally unique products to Inuit with strong personal contacts in other communities. Raw materials and finished products are sent with people travelling from one community to the next. Air travel has increased the feasibility of

inter-settlement trade. Trade also occurs by skidoo and freighter canoe between neighbouring communities such as Whale Cove and Eskimo Point. Historically, trading with neighbouring groups played a significant role in fashion diffusion. During the mid-1800's, Caribou and Copper Inuit traded heavily with each other and also wore parkas with similar hemlines, hoods, pouches and decorated chest panels. The introduction of floating trading posts, owned by non-natives who hired native interpreters, exposed Copper Inuit to Mackenzie Delta Inuit and Inupiat fashions. Non-native traders encouraged contact between Inuit living on the Arctic coast and Caribou Inuit earlier in history, influencing the exchange of fashion features. It is important to note that over the past five years Baffin Island parka styles have become extremely fashionable in Eskimo Point. These parkas are made from fabric, none have been made from caribou skin yet. One reason for this is possibly that the experts that are consulted when cutting out a caribou skin parka feel they do not know how to cut out another group's parka style correctly.

Climatic factors such as temperature restrict the types of available animal skins, degree of fashion extremes, and end usage of caribou skin clothing. The tailored, pullover aspect of skin clothing is used by all groups studied as it provides optimum protection from the harsh climate. Inuit clothing is generally thought of as being heavily

influenced by climate restrictions, however, impractical fashion features also evident in the Arctic. For example, pre-1900's Copper and Caribou Inuit men's parkas were as short as feasible. If the front hemline had been any shorter it would have provided inadequate protection from the cold. As it was, the inner parka was cut slightly longer than the outer parka and chest high caribou skin underwear was worn underneath to keep the body torso warm (Jenness 1946). Changes in fashion features on Copper Inuit women's parkas also provide good examples of fashion innovations which disregard climate restrictions. The short front hem and long, narrow back tail on the traditional style provided inadequate protection from the cold.

Since the early 1900's, hemlines have risen and fallen, the use of pouches has varied in importance, hoods have changed in size and shape, and shoulders have increased and decreased their exaggerated silhouettes. The lack of fashion data for Copper and Caribou Inuit prior to the 20th century makes it impossible to determine earlier fashion changes. After looking at overall changes occurring in the last century one may assume that a similar degree of change may have occurred throughout the 3000 to 5000 years that Inuit have inhabited northern Canada.

During the 1970's and 1980's, special occasions began to change from private celebrations held in personal

homes and enjoyed by small groups to public displays viewed by large numbers of strangers. Drum dances are now held at Arctic Olympics, community festivals, Expo '86, summer demonstrations for tourists, Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programs as well as in private homes and local community halls. Drum dancers receive increased public exposure and are performing in large, centrally heated buildings which has stimulated changes in decorative features and materials used in dance parkas. Dance parkas generally followed the same fashion trends as everyday-wear until the 1930's and 1940's. Then the old fashions were retained and decorated for special occasions while new fashions for hunting evolved. As drum dances began to receive more exposure, dance costumes were more elaborately decorated and fabrics were often substituted for caribou skin. Copper Inuit dance parkas evolved into highly decorated outer parkas worn without inner parkas. Today, Caribou Inuit women wear elaborately beaded inner parkas and some men wear fabric versions of their hunting parkas at public gatherings.

From a broad perspective, Copper Inuit, Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut fashions are similar to each other in that they all use a pullover, hooded parka. Boots, mittens and pant patterns are almost identical. A closer analysis reveals historical and current differences and similarities between each group's fashion features. The strongest

similarities are between Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut styles. In fact, outsiders may not be able to distinguish one style from the other. For example, unlike the Paallirmiut style, the Ahiarmiut women's parka style has a slightly longer back tail, shorter and narrower front tail and a hood with a transversal seam. While outsiders generalize and label both styles as belonging to Caribou Inuit, local seamstresses readily identify the seamstress-designer of each style. Subtle individual differences and deviations from the "norm" appear obvious and pronounced to local residents.

In contrast, Copper Inuit clothing, especially parkas, are readily identified as different from the Caribou Inuit style. The "Sunburst Hood", "Mother Hubbard" and "Delta Trim", as well as the unique hood shape, straight hemline, parka length and tusk-like insets produce an image readily recognized as belonging to Copper Inuit rather than Caribou Inuit.

The few similarities that do exist between Copper and Ahiarmiut or Paallirmiut fashion features relate primarily to Ahiarmiut features. For example, Copper and Ahiarmiut vamp styles and the one piece stocking pattern are the same. In addition, the pre-1916 Copper Inuit woman's hood and Ahiarmiut hood style have a transversal rather than a circumscribing seam. Also, Ahiarmiut made their old style of flared pants without a side seam which

is similar to the unique one piece pant pattern used by Copper Inuit in Umingmaktok. These similarities are not strong enough to support Burch's (1978) theory of the origins of the Caribou Inuit, however, they are worth noting. Ahiarmiut may have acquired these style features from inlanders at Baker Lake who interacted with Copper Inuit via the Netsilik Inuit. It is also important to note that Caribou Inuit themselves support Burch's (1978) theory by saying that they were historically related to the Copper Inuit and that they speak a similar dialect.

Differences between Ahiarmiut and Paallirmiut fashions are actually family or individual differences between sewers rather than cultural group variations. Small populations provide a small number of fashion stimulators and fashion setters. In addition, the method by which sewing skills are taught to beginners also controlled fashion changes. Fashion leaders were the elder seamstresses who taught pattern development to young women. New innovations were passed on to the younger generation. In the early and mid-1900's, populations were relatively low, about 56 Ahiarmiut in 1955 (Steenhoven 1955) and 100-300 Paallirmiut in 1938 (Gabus 1944b). Today, there are about 1300 Inuit in Eskimo Point (Jorgenson, Pers. Comm. 1987). Small populations indicate that inland groups consisted of several family units with possibly only one or two key seamstresses. The styles used

by those seamstresses had slight variations, such as the length and width of the tails, length and breadth of the hood, and breadth of the shoulders. These differences were influenced by individuals rather than large groups of people.

Variations were evident before 1960's, prior to when the Ahiarmit were moved to Eskimo Point. Twenty-five years later, seamstresses mix and match style features labelled as Ahiarmit and Paallirmiut. Today, many seamstresses in Eskimo Point use the Paallirmiut style, even though they may have spent their formative years and learned to sew with Ahiarmit.

Experienced seamstresses are the educators, they also are generally very traditional and conservative compared to the younger women. Elders ensure that the information they pass on accurately depicts the way their elders taught them. It is the "right way" to measure, cut and sew. The results are amazingly consistent. Caribou skin fashions are less important today than in the past in that fabric clothing is often used as a substitute. Young seamstresses are usually less conservative and some have travelled to southern cities more often than their elders. Young seamstresses readily adopt new fashions from other communities and a few actually mix features from several groups. These new fashions are made from fabric rather than skins and are held in high esteem by the younger

population. An interesting note is that when young seamstresses shop for fabric in the south, they gravitate towards the fabrics that are almost identical to those available in northern stores. This conservative attitude helps retain a strong group identity within each community.

A conservative lifestyle is more pronounced in the east than in the western Arctic. Caribou Inuit repeatedly explained that women do not usually travel in winter. One woman who did so for the first time claimed she never would again. In comparison, a few Copper Inuit families live at outpost camps year round and travel back and forth to the main community during all seasons. One woman was met travelling from Cambridge Bay to Umingmaktok in winter. Another woman from Umingmaktok said that once she had packed the sled with laundry and skidooed into Cambridge Bay to visit and do chores. The question of whether Copper Inuit adopted the longer, warmer contemporary parka style as a result of their winter adventures or if this style facilitated winter travel is left unanswered.

Economic changes also influenced Inuit fashions. The introduction of permanent trading posts in the 1920's, a shift towards the trapping economy, and the more recent introduction of social assistance programs enabled all Inuit to purchase sundry items. The goods selected by Copper and Caribou Inuit varied slightly. For example,

Caribou Inuit began applying grograin ribbon and bias tape instead of plucked caribou skins to their parka hemlines. Colourful fabrics, bias tape, rickrack and red fabric dye were used to add decorative details to Copper Inuit parkas. Both groups have substituted fabrics for caribou skins in many of the present-day dance costumes. When one group had less access to trade goods, regional differences occurred. For example, when Ahiarmiut had little access to good quality beads they used fewer and smaller beaded panels than Paallirmiut seamstresses who had greater access to trade goods.

In addition to providing access to a wide variety of materials, changes in economic bases have reduced the need for caribou skin clothing in many Inuit wardrobes. Only men who hunt during the winter need skin clothing. Many hunters are only able to hunt on weekends as they work in the community, and many are married to women busy raising children or working at day jobs. These women have less time to sew than those without jobs outside their homes. Also, some working women are uninterested in learning how to prepare skins and sew skin clothing; their clothing values and needs have shifted towards commercially manufactured or home sewn fabric fashions. The result is a decreased need for skin clothing and a shift in clothing values towards mass produced fabric clothing.

A monetary base also changed the value of certain

skins and trimmings. As some people were able to acquire more supplies, including fabric and beads, prestigious values were placed on new materials which were unequally available to community members. Copper Inuit trappers demonstrated their wealth by making the fabric parka shell longer than the outer parka. Less successful trappers were unable to make such long inner parkas. Caribou Inuit used beadwork and purchased trims as prestigious decorations. Beaded panels from old garments were combined with new panels covered with beadwork, bias tape and grograin ribbon. In the 1950's and 1960's, government social services made it possible for unemployed Inuit to obtain luxuries such as beads, fabric and trim. The length of the inner parka was less significant afterwards.

VI.1. CONCLUSIONS

Inuit parkas are excellent examples of classical clothing concepts such as custom in dress, the gradual evolution of fashion and sudden fashion changes occurring when styles reach their most extreme positions. Generally, Inuit fashions evolved slowly, making small changes in one fashion feature and leaving other features unchanged. A classic illustration of the total acceptance of revolutionary styles occurred when Copper Inuit parka front hemlines were as short as feasible and within two years

mid-calf length parkas were commonplace.

Cross-cultural diffusion of fashion occurred between neighbouring Inuit groups. Non-natives' influence was limited mainly to new materials incorporated into their skin clothing styles and skin preparation procedures. Internal acceptance of community fashions indicate a willingness to become cooperating members of a cultural group. An acceptance of local patterns communicates conformity to and acceptance of group values and norms in relation to customary dress codes and fashions.

The Canadian Arctic includes 27 major communities inhabited primarily by Inuit. Unique historical and current events have created unique clothing styles in many of these communities. Additional research is required to describe the skin fashions used by each of these groups and the factors influencing their styles. Research is also required to determine contemporary cloth fashion innovators; factors restricting fashion acceptance; and social, economic and physical environment factors stimulating fabric fashions in Arctic communities.

Historically, clothing was made from a wide variety of skins including polar bear, squirrel, seal, bird and whale skin. A detailed description of techniques used to produce clothing from these and other assorted skins would be extremely useful to younger generations of Inuit interested in reviving their ancestor's traditional skills.

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APPENDIX A: PRIMARY INFORMANTS

Eskimo Point:
Aggark, Theresa
Aglukark, Dorothy
Akammuk, Alice
Akpaliuk, Judith
Alareak, Peter and Elizabeth
Alikasuak, Mary
Amarudjauq, Atanuak Judith
Angmak, Theresa
Aniksak, Margaret
Anoee, Peouee Martina
Anoee, Arlene
Arnarauyak, Cathy
Arwallak, Martha (Whale Cove)
Aulatyut, Nutaraluk Elizabeth
Aulatyut, Marie
Code, Allen and Mary
Eetak, Mukjunik Martha
Eetak, Angie
Hallauk, Joy
Iblaut, Anita
Issumatardjuak, Martha
Iqaluit, Cecile (Whale Cove)
Konek, Helen
Katsuak, Monica
Karetak, Elizabeth
Karetak, Rhoda
Karetak, Sally
Kaviok, Ulajuk Lucy
Kuksuk, Meg
Kusugak, Monica
Komak, Martha
Kopak, Catherine
Kablutsiak, Irene and son Larry
Mikiyugiak, Alice
Misherlak, Elizabeth
Muckpah, Elizapea
Mukjunik, Okanak Eva
Nanook, Elizabeth
Napayok, Annie
Nibgoarsi, Elizabeth
Nutarasungnerk
Okutak, Martha
Oroluk, Martha
Otokala, Martha
Otuk, Rosanna
Pemik, Linda
Panigoniak, Winnie
Pauppa, Felicite
Poungat, Helen
St. John, Charlotte (Karetak)

Sewoee, Annie Alikasuak
 Shouldice, Monica (Kusugak)
 Suluk, Alice
 Taleriktok, Nancy
 Tasseork, Nancy
 Teenar, Agnus (Whale Cove)
 Thompson, Mary
 Tutsuitok, Lucy and Richard
 Ugalik, Elizabeth (Whale Cove)
 Uluadluak, Ruth
 Uppauak, Mainna Judith

Coppermine:

Ahegona, Betty Haniliak
 Algonga, May Okhomik
 Anavilok, Martina
 Atatahak, Niptanatiak Naomi
 Aviogana, Alice
 Bolt, Edna
 Bolt, Marion
 Eklok, Edith
 Hayohok, Tamoanoak Bessie
 Hikok, Nellie Kanovak
 Ipakohak, Frank and Margaret Avadluk
 Joss, Elizabeth Yaseyko
 Kapakatoak, Ida
 Kilikavioyak, Alice
 Klengenberg, June
 Klengenberg, Lilly Angnahiak
 Neriyyok, Agnes
 Nalvanna, Connie
 Ogina, Ada Kudlak
 Otoayoakyok, Kakayak Effie
 Pigalak, Elva Wenek

Cambridge Bay:

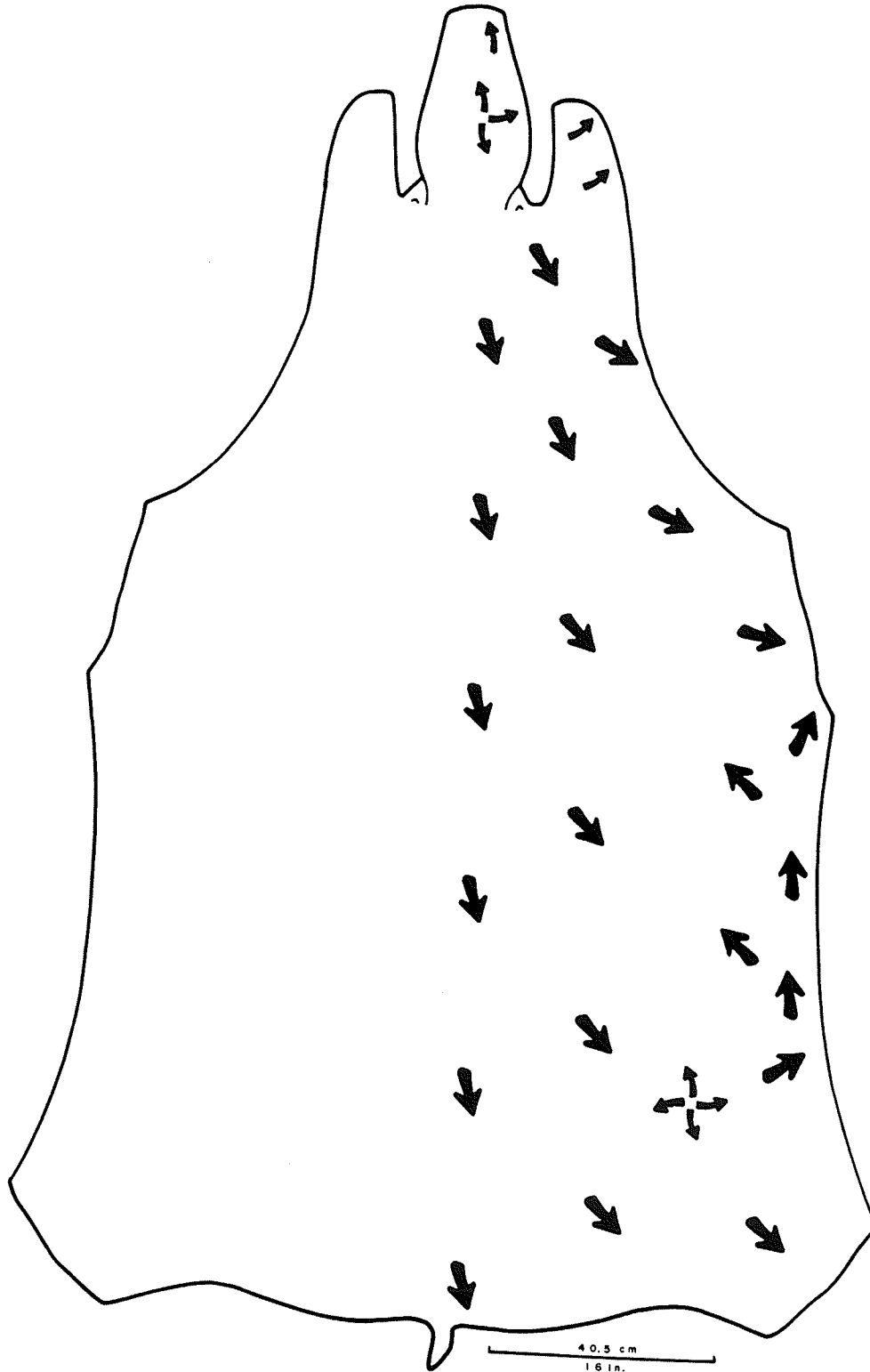
Bachmann, Rev. Paul and Ann Marie
 Dickie, Colin and Atee
 Hanak
 Ipakohak, Ruth
 Inuktalik, Roy and Mary
 Kilaodluk, Mary
 Maghagak, Mary
 Maksagak, Helen
 Mukserk, Ellen
 Omilgoituk, Bessie
 Takkikuq, Mary
 Topilokon, Lila
 May Hakongak

Umingmaktok (Bay Chimo):

Kamoayok, Lena
 Kikpak, Lena
 Panegyuk, Ella
 Tikhak, Gwen

APPENDIX B: CARIBOU HAIR DIRECTION

The arrows indicate changing hair direction found on a typical caribou clothing skin.



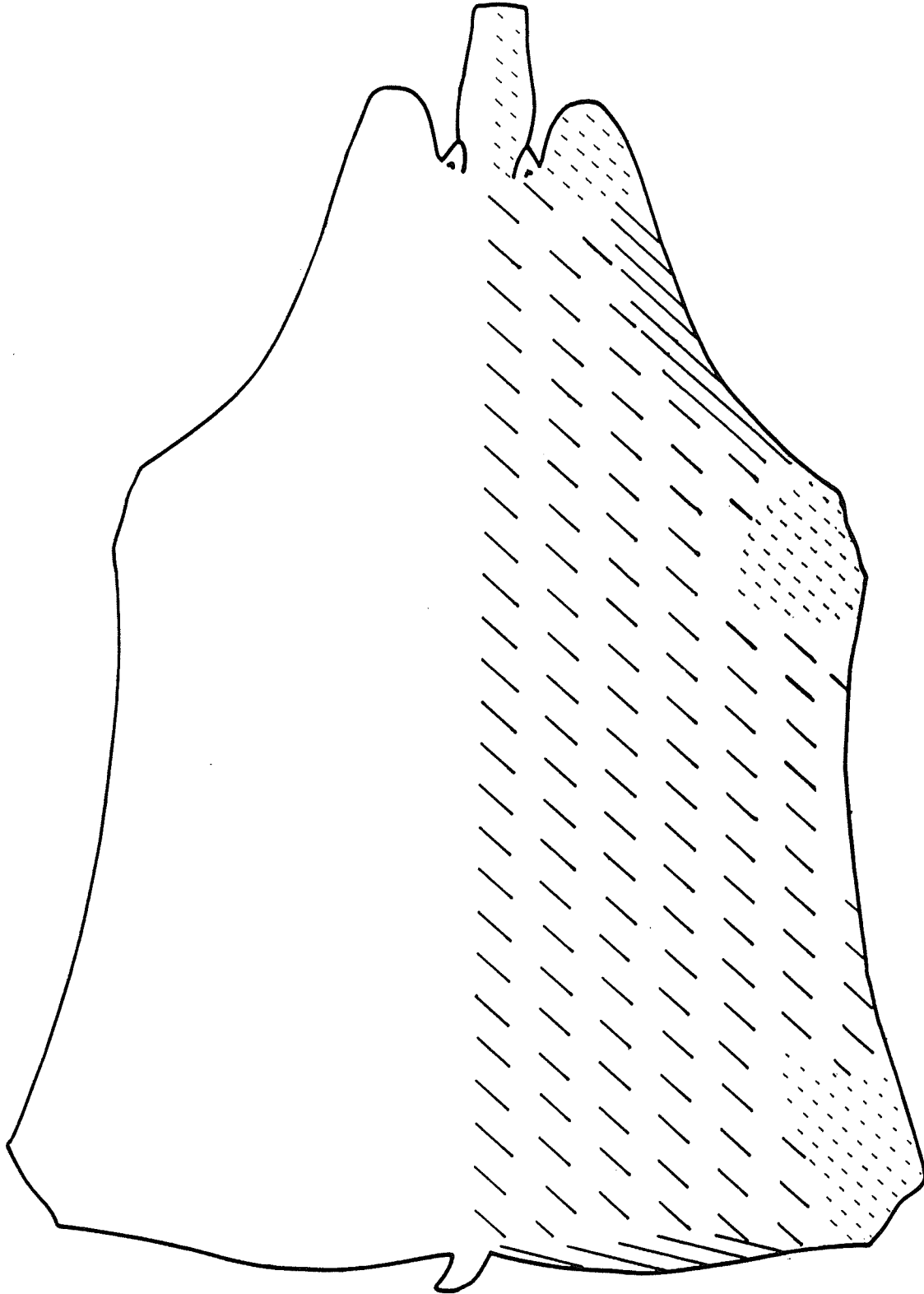
APPENDIX C: CARIBOU HAIR COLOURATION

Seamstresses cut patterns by taking into consideration the colour of the hair in each area. The light coloured spots on each side of the back bone are "Pepper's Patches" according to Pruitt and Pepper (1986).



APPENDIX D: CARIBOU HAIR LENGTH

The longest dashes indicate the longest hair and the shortest dashes represent the shortest hair on a caribou clothing skin.



Terms used by Ahirmiut and Paallirmiut are presented in syllabics. Adjacent to some of the syllabic terms are words in brackets. These words were included by Luke Suluk to indicate how to pronounce the word written in syllabics. Copper Inuit terms are written in roman orthography.

Footwear:

Thigh high stockings with the hair to the inside.

$\triangleleft \text{c}^{\text{96}} \wedge$ (alirq-ti),
Iliipi(r)ot or alirqti.

Thigh high stockings with hair to outside.

$\text{b} \text{r}^{\text{6}} \text{<}^{\text{6}}$ (kamik-pak),
Ulack or alirqti.

Mid-calf or ankle high inner slippers.

$\triangle \text{p}^{\text{96}} \text{J} \triangle^{\text{6}}$ (ikirn-guak),
Iliipikgoq.

Chest high skin underwear worn with the hair to the inside.

$\triangle \text{J} \text{c}^{\text{96}}$ (Illu'-lirk),
Ulutlirk.

Women's old style stockings (with pouches for Caribou Inuit, without pouches for Copper Inuit).

$\triangle \wedge \triangle^{\text{6}} \text{c}^{\text{96}}$ or $\triangle \text{c}^{\text{96}} \wedge$ (alirq-ti),
Alirqti.

Boots with haired seal skin upper sections.

$\triangle \text{p}^{\text{96}} \text{J} \triangle^{\text{6}}$ (ikirn'-guak) or $\sigma \triangleright \text{p}^{\text{96}} \wedge^{\text{6}}$
Ipii(r)ot or mitkoliik:

Boots with shaved seal skin upper sections.

$\triangle \wedge \text{9} \triangleright \text{p}^{\text{6}}$ (ipi'rau-siik),
Ipirautsiik.

Boots with caribou leg skin upper sections.

$\sigma \triangleright \cdot \text{r}^{\text{c9}} \text{d} \text{c}^{\text{6}}$
Ukoyaktuq or mitkoliik.

Boots made by Copper Inuit with fabric upper sections and skin soles.

Mukluks or hiavuhardlaq.

Boots made from caribou body skins.

$\text{r}^{\text{c9}} \text{d} \text{c}^{\text{6}}$ (miko-liik),
Mitkoliik.

Caribou skin outer slipper (not used by Copper Inuit).

$\text{r}^{\text{c9}} \text{<}$

Copper Inuit style fabric shell over inner parka (Mother Hubbard). $\overset{\circ}{b} \overset{\circ}{c} d$
Kaliku.

Copper Inuit, men's or women's, inner layer of inner parka (duffle or skin layer of the Mother Hubbard). Also called "attigi".

$\Delta \rightarrow \overset{\circ}{c}$ (illu-paaq),
Ilubach.

Copper and Caribou Inuit, men's and women's, outer parka.
 $\overset{\circ}{d} \overset{\circ}{c} \overset{\circ}{c}$ (Quli'taq),
Qulitaq.

Garment Parts:

- Parka front = $h \overset{\circ}{l}$ or $H \overset{\circ}{l}$, Haa-n-ga.
- Parka back = $\rightarrow \rightarrow \Delta$, Tu-nuaa.
- Parka shoulder = $\rightarrow \Delta \overset{\circ}{l}$, Tui-nga.
- Parka sleeve = $\Delta \Delta \overset{\circ}{l}$, Ain-nga.
- Woman's parka, back tail = $\Delta d \overset{\circ}{b}$, Ak-koq.
- White decorative trim = $\rightarrow p \overset{\circ}{b}$, Pukiq.
- Parka fringe = $H^{\Delta} \sigma p^{\circ}$, Hin-i-rut.
- Parka pouch = $\Delta L D^{\circ}$, Amaut.
- Parka side-pouch panel = $\overset{\circ}{b}$, Puuq.
- Back piece of man's hood = $\rightarrow \sigma c \cdot \rightarrow \rightarrow \Delta \sigma$.
- Hood knob on man's hood = $e h \rightarrow b^{\circ}$, Na-hau-jaq.
- Side-hood piece on man's hood = $e h$.
- Side-hood piece on woman's hood = $\rightarrow c^{\circ}$, Ulik.
- Woman's hood cut from one pattern = $\overset{\circ}{d} \overset{\circ}{c} \overset{\circ}{c}$, Qug-luk-taq.
- Woman's hood cut from two patterns = $e h^{\circ} h^{\circ}$, Nahak-haq.
- Hood facing = $H^{\circ} \cdot \overset{\circ}{l}$, Haa-nga.
- Toggles on end of women's belt = $\overset{\circ}{b} p^{\circ} \overset{\circ}{c} \overset{\circ}{l}$, Qaksu-var-vik.
- Beaded side-hood panel = $p^{\circ} \overset{\circ}{l} \rightarrow b^{\circ} c^{\circ}$, Hun-gau-jalik.
- Fur ruff on parka hood = $\rightarrow p^{\circ} c^{\circ}$ or $\rightarrow \Delta c$.

- Sunburst hood ruff = $\text{D} \Delta^{\cdot} \text{C}^{\text{'6}}$, Nui-laaq.
- Opening in child's playsuit = $\text{D}^{\infty} \text{L}^{\text{'6}}$
- Belt for pants = $\text{C}^{\text{'}} \text{P}^{\text{'c}}$, Tap-si-rut.
- Casing = $\text{>}^{\text{'6}} \text{P}^{\text{'6}}$, Puug-sijoq.
- Drawstring = $\text{<}^{\text{'6}} \text{N}^{\text{'6}}$ or $\text{D}^{\infty} \text{P}^{\text{'6}} \text{P}^{\text{'c}}$, Un-ngirk-hit.
- Back of mitten = $\text{D} \text{D} \text{D}$, Tu-nua.
- Thumb of mitten = $\text{d}^{\text{'}} \text{D}$, Kub-lua.
- Cuff of mitten = $\text{P} \text{P} \text{P} \text{C}$, Hi-ni-ri-taa.
- Palm of mitten = $\text{D} \text{N} \text{L}^{\text{'6}}$, Hi-muk.
- Boot sole = $\text{D} \text{D}$, Al-lu.
- Outer boot sole = $\text{D} \text{C}$, Al-la.
- Upper section of boot = $\text{'6} \text{P}^{\text{'6}} \text{<}^{\text{'6}}$, Atierauh.
- Vamp = $\text{'6} \text{C} \text{P}^{\text{'6}}$ (Qal-li-nirq), Qaaksaq.
- Boot side-strip between upper section and sole =
 $\text{P}^{\text{'6}} \text{P}^{\text{'6}} \text{D}^{\text{'6}}$ (Mirq-ho-vik) or $\text{D} \text{C} \text{C}^{\text{'6}}$ (Avali-taq),
 Avalit or avalitaq.
- Centre front panel of leg skin boots = $\text{P}^{\text{'}} \text{>} \text{P}^{\text{'6}}$ (Hi-vu-raq),
 Iviga or hivogaq.
- Side panel of leg skin boots = $\text{h} \text{P} \text{P}^{\text{'c}}$ (Hani-raq),
 Haniga or haneroq.
- Centre back panel of leg skin boots = $\text{P}^{\infty} \text{J} \text{P}^{\text{'6}}$ (Kingu-raq),
 Kingogaq.
- Tie sewn to each side of boot near the ankle =
 $\text{^} \text{D} \text{C}^{\text{'6}}$ (Pituu-taq),
 Hingiq.
- Caribou Skins:
- Short-haired, mid-summer skin used for inner stockings and
 some women's inner parkas.
 $\text{h}^{\text{'6}} \text{L}^{\text{'6}}$ Ha'g-gaq
- Medium length haired, early fall skins used for pants,
 parkas, boots and mittens.
 $\text{D}^{\text{'}} \text{d}^{\text{'6}} \text{h}^{\text{'6}}$ Oquk'-haq

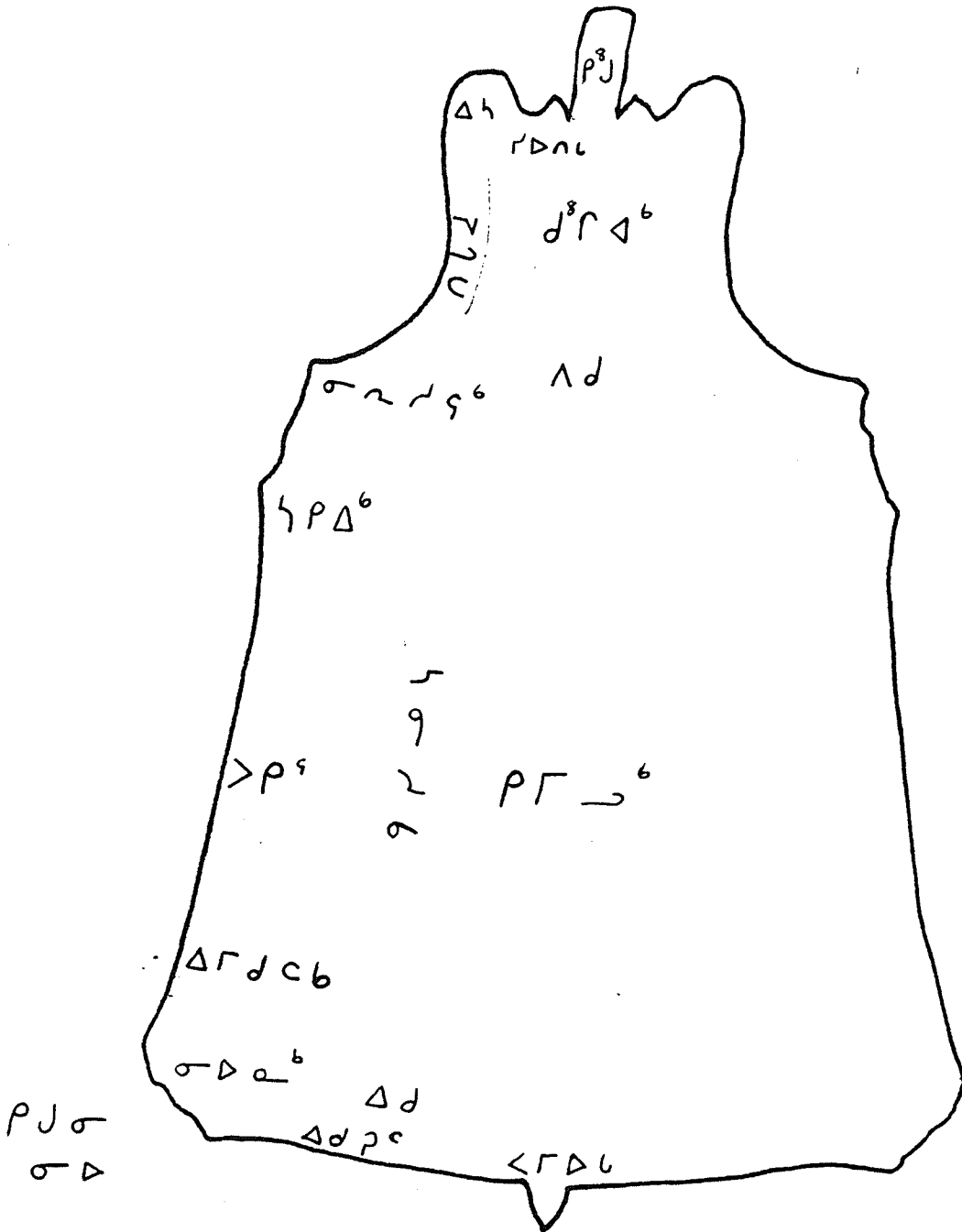
Long haired, dense, late fall skins used for mittens, bedding, boot soles and sled skins.

▷ P Δ ← '6 Ukiu'-lirq

Very thick, winter skins used for mattresses.

Δ N Δ '6 Atii-juq.

Parts of a caribou skin:



APPENDIX F: SCIENTIFIC NAMES FOR ANIMALS MENTIONED

FISH (Scott and Crossman 1973):

Arctic char	<u>Salvelinus alpinus</u>
lake trout	<u>Salvelinus namaycush</u>
white fish	<u>Coregonus spp.</u>
	<u>Prosopium cylindraceum</u>

BIRDS (Robbins, Bruun and Zim 1966):

waterfowl	<u>Anseriformes</u>
ptarmigan	<u>Lagopus spp.</u>

MAMMALS (Banfield 1974):

Arctic hare	<u>Lepus arcticus</u>
Arctic ground squirrel	<u>Spermophilus parryii</u>
beaver	<u>Castor canadensis</u>
lemming	<u>Lemmus sibiricus</u>
	<u>Dicrostonyx torquatus</u>
vole	<u>Microtus pennsylvaticus</u>
muskrat	<u>Ondatra zibethicus</u>
beluga	<u>Delphinapterus leucas</u>
narwhal	<u>Monodon monoceros</u>
dog	<u>Canis familiaris</u>
wolf	<u>Canis lupus</u>
Arctic fox	<u>Alopex lagopus</u>
red fox	<u>Vulpes vulpes</u>
black bear	<u>Ursus americanus</u>
grizzly bear	<u>Ursus arctos</u>
polar bear	<u>Ursus maritimus</u>
martens	<u>Martes americana</u>
ermine	<u>Mustela erminea</u>
mink	<u>Mustela vison</u>
wolverine	<u>Gulo gulo</u>
skunk	<u>Mephitis mephitis</u>
otter	<u>Lontra canadensis</u>
lynx	<u>Lynx lynx</u>
walrus	<u>Odobenus rosmarus</u>
bearded seal	<u>Erignathus barbatus</u>
harbour seal	<u>Phoca vitulina</u>
ringed seal	<u>Phoca hispida</u>
barren-ground caribou	<u>Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus</u>
peary's caribou	<u>Rangifer tarandus pearyi</u>
moose	<u>Alces alces</u>
muskox	<u>Ovibos moschatus</u>

APPENDIX G: COPPER INUIT PATTERNS

Many of the cutting lines on pattern pieces in this dissertation are labelled with letters and numbered notches. The letters are reference points used while measuring the cutting lines. They are labelled alphabetically in the order in which each seam or area is measured. The numbered notches identify matching seams and are numbered in the order that the seams should be sewn.

G.1. MAN'S CONTEMPORARY INNER PARKA

Men's and boy's styles have curved, rather than pointed, hoods which are cut without a sac at the base. Men's parkas extend to just above the knees, young boy's parkas are usually a bit longer. Pieces are made by measuring old parkas for key reference points, transferring the reference points onto a new skin and cutting the seam lines by eye. Occasionally, caribou skin parkas made for women and girls have men's hood styles. These parkas are made using the following directions, however, females usually retain their own skirt length, "Sunburst Hood" and flowered fabric shell pattern. Today, many parkas made from fashion fabrics are made using the men's rather than the women's hood style.

G.1.a. BACK

A slightly thicker caribou skin is selected for the back. The nose area is rescraped, hard areas are removed, narrow areas are patched and an extension is sewn on to accommodate the hood's centre panel. The width and length of an old parka's centre panel is measured and transferred to the back skin. Line a-b is about 2" (5 cm) and line "b-c" is about 8" (20 cm) long (Figure 109). A broad, curving line is cut along the caribou ears and up into the cheek area (c-d). A measurement from the old parka centre panel hood seam to its throat is used to determine the new hood's face edge cutting line (d-e). If an old parka is unavailable, line "d-e" can be left untrimmed until the parka is assembled.

The hemline is determined by measuring from the old parka hood (a) to the back hem (m) and a mark is placed on the new pattern on the hemline. Hemlines usually extend to lower mid-thigh or to the knees. The old parka width is measured at the hem and transferred to the new parka (m-n). Point "n" is several inches (5 cm) higher than point "m" and about 2 1/2 handspans long (50 cm). An A-line side seam is measured up from point "n" (forming point o) and a concave dropped shoulder seam is cut from point "o" to point "l".

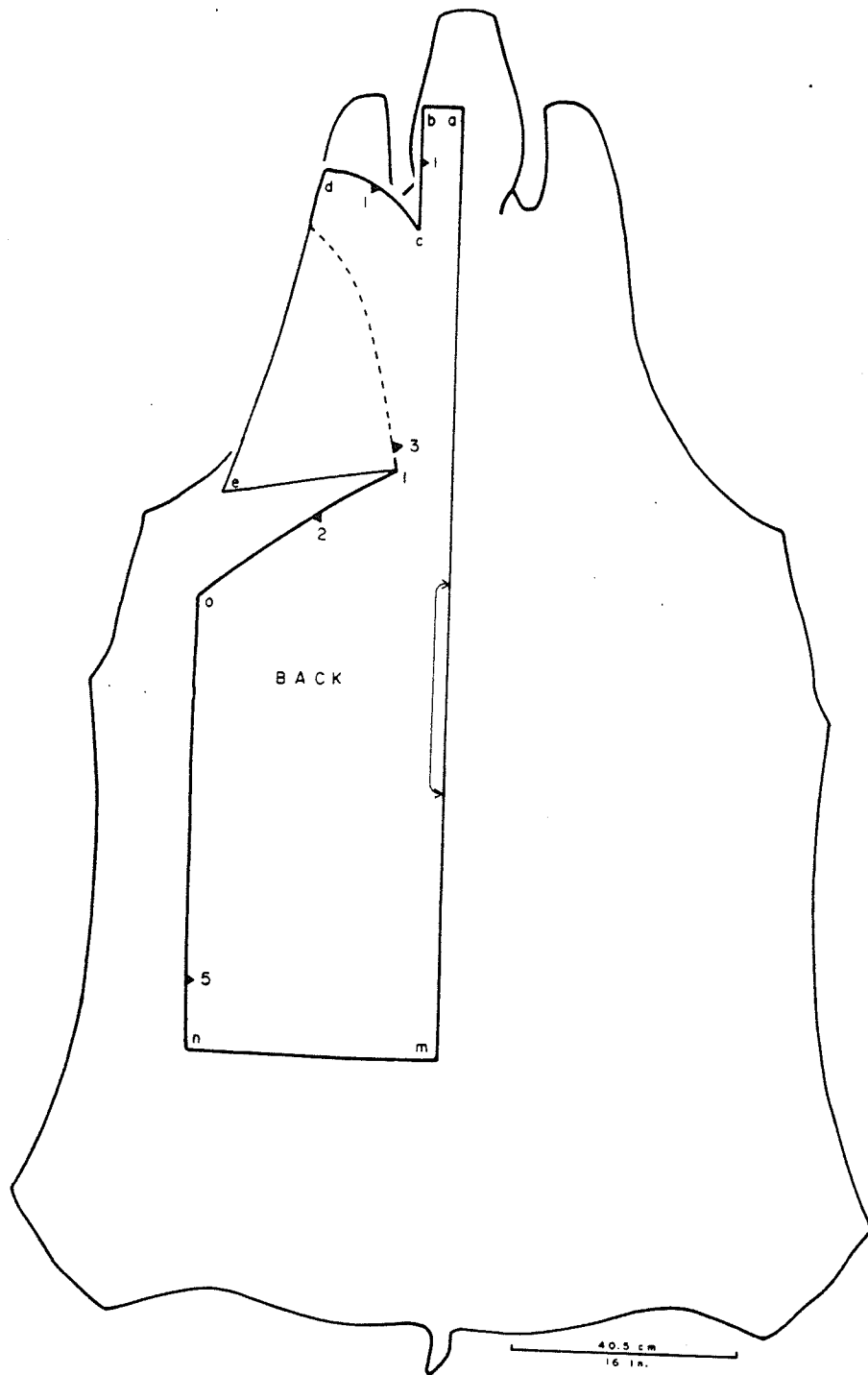


Figure 109. Copper Inuit Man's Inner Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

G.1.b FRONT

A measurement from the dropped shoulder seam around to the centre front at the neck line is transferred to the neck area of the front skin (Figure 110, p-q). The distance from the centre fold line to the neck line, at the dropped shoulder seam, measures approximately 4 to 5" (10 - 12 cm). A small tab, about 3" (8 cm) long and 2" (5 cm) wide, is left intact at centre front (r). The front shoulder seam (p-s) curves inwards slightly and matches the back shoulder seam length. The front shoulder seam is cut almost at right angles to the centre fold line.

An old parka throat-hem distance is transferred to the new skin by placing a mark on the proposed hemline of the new parka front (t). This distance is about 4 to 4 1/2 hand spans or to just above the knee or mid-thigh height. Parka width (about 2 1/2 handspans from the fold line) is copied from an old parka and marked at the sideseam (u). The side seams of the new back piece are placed next to the front piece and a mark is placed at the front underarm (v). Another point is placed about 3 to 4" (8-10 cm) at right angles to point "v" (forming point w). A long, slightly curved cutting line is sketched from point "s" to point "w". This line is cut, producing the dropped armhole and underarm gusset.

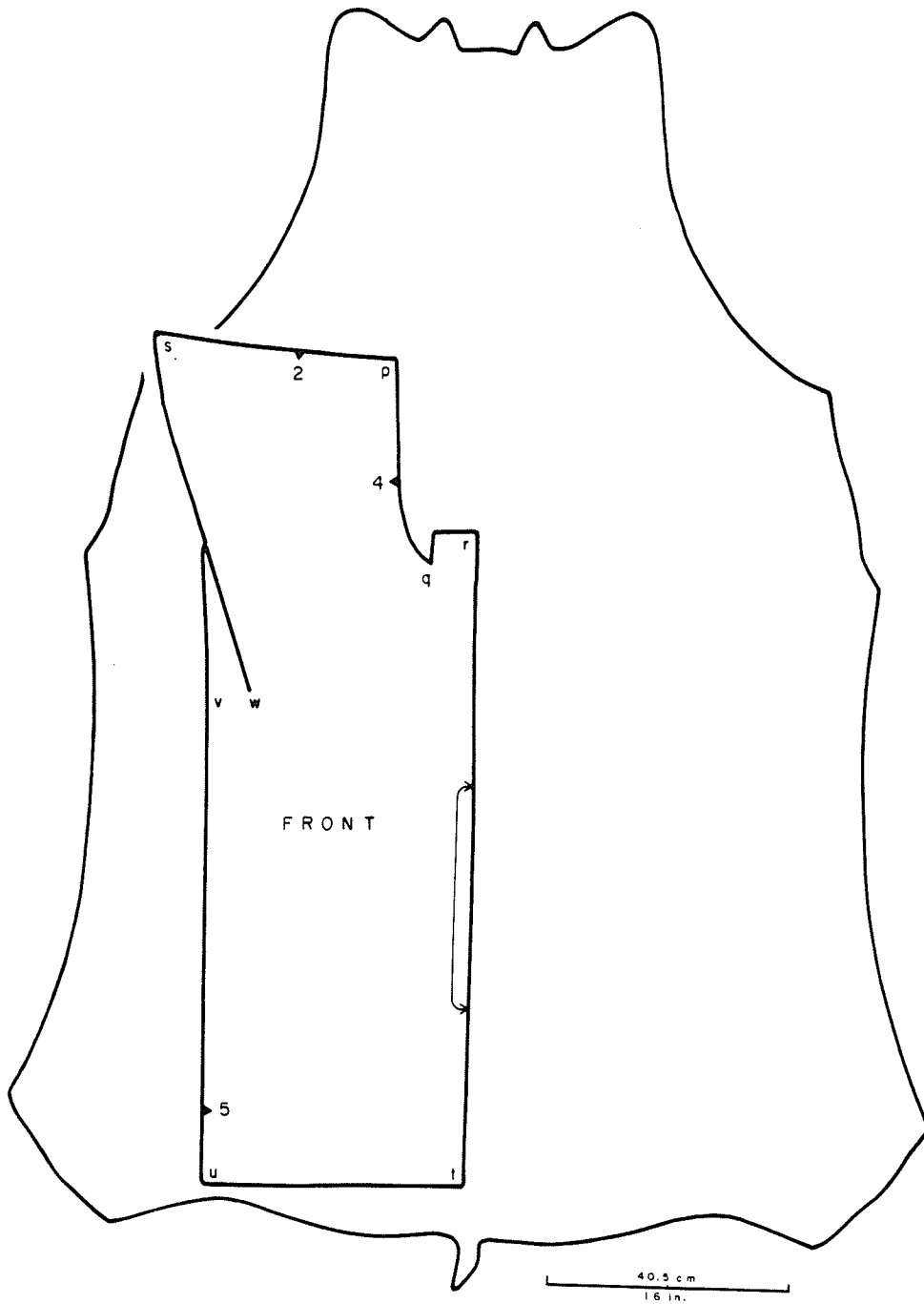


Figure 110. Copper Inuit Man's Inner Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

G.1.c. SLEEVE

Sleeves are cut as described for women's parkas in Section V.7.

G.1.d. CONSTRUCTION

The hood dart (b-c-d) is sewn first. Then the front and back shoulder seams (p-s and l-o) are sewn and the hood neck line (e-l) is sewn to the front neck line (line p-q). The neck line front tab is folded to the inside and tacked in place. The side seams are sewn from the hemline to the underarm and the sleeve is inserted as described in Section V.7. Hemlines are finished by sewing a narrow strip of wolverine or wolf around the edges.

G.2. MAN'S CONTEMPORARY OUTER PARKA

Outer parka pattern pieces are developed by adding about 1" (2.5 cm) to the length and width of the inner parka pattern. When hand made trim is used to decorate the hemline the parka is shortened to allow for the extra length that the trim will add.

G.2.a. BACK AND FRONT

The hood's centre tab and slashed dart (Figure 111, a-b and c-d) are measured as described in Appendix G.1.a. To accommodate a white, side-hood piece, the hood is cut in a gently curving line from point "e" to point "l" (Figure 111). The old parka hood is also measured width-ways in several places, measurement "j-k" is about 2" (5 cm) and measurement "h-i" is about 6" (15 cm) longer. Similar measurements are placed on the new skin. The shoulder seam is cut about 1 1/2 handspans long from point "l" towards the skin's edge. The convex seam drops down to meet the side seam at the underarm area (l-o). Hem, side seam and front pattern (Figure 112) measurements are identical to the inner parka described in Section G.1. About 1/2" (1 cm) is added to width measurements in the hood, back-neck (k-j), front and back skirt (u-t and n-m), and shoulder seams (p-s and l-o).

G.2.b. SIDE-HOOD

Belly skins are cut and pieced as described in Section V.10.B. If possible, side-hoods are made by cutting paper patterns using an old parka side-hood as a guideline. When this is impossible, the back-hood is placed on the white belly skin and a slightly steeper curved line

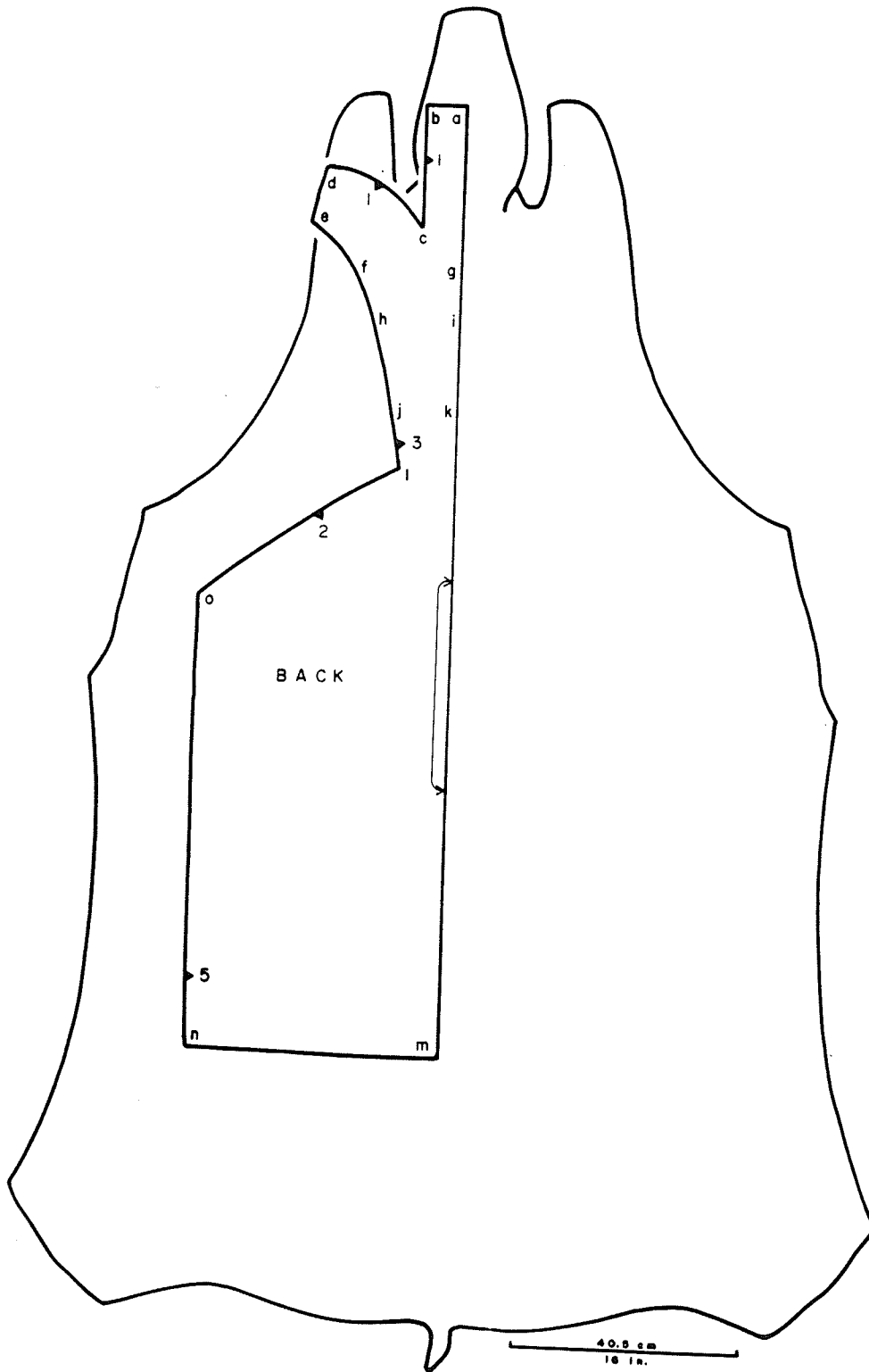


Figure 111. Copper Inuit Man's Outer Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

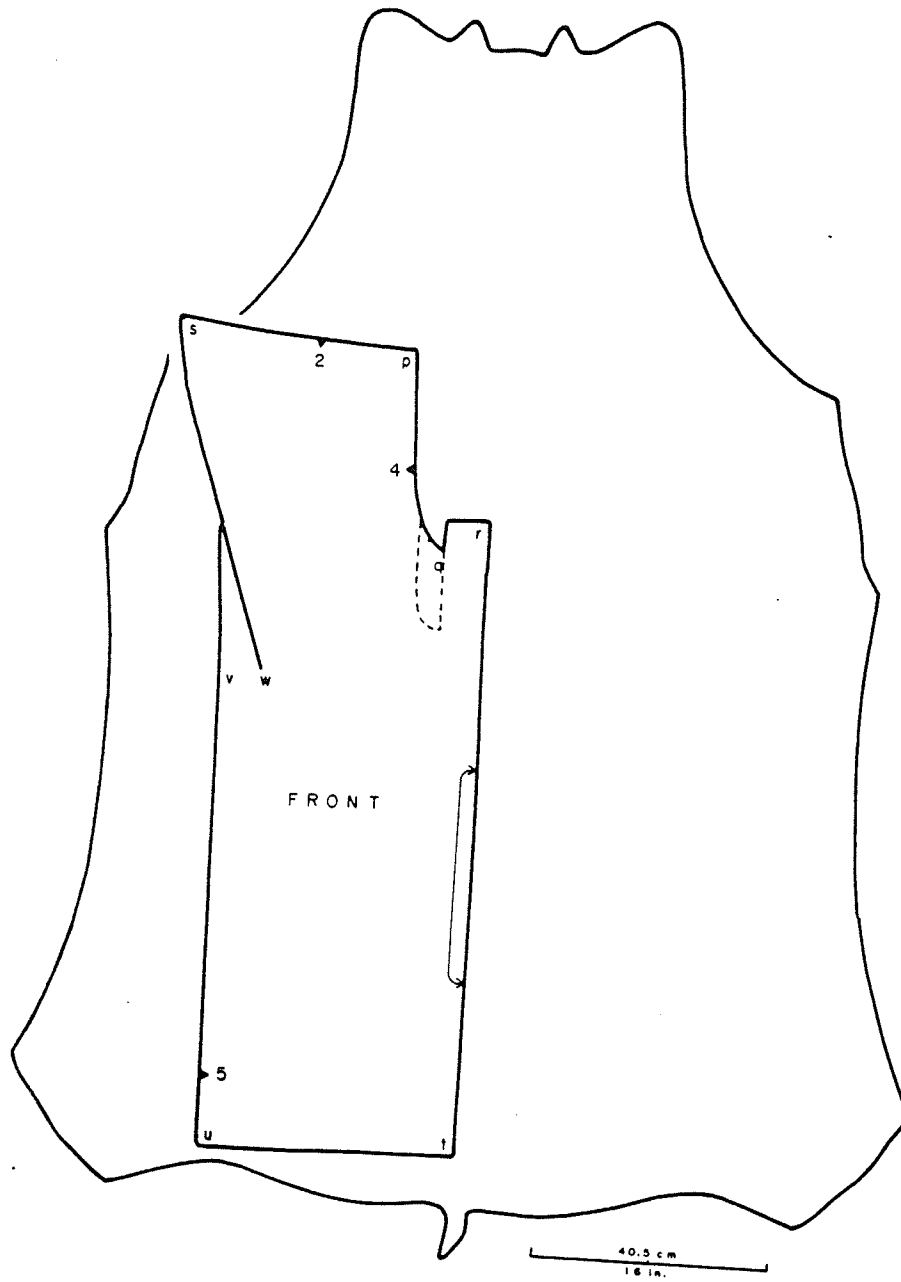


Figure 112. Copper Inuit Man's Outer Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

is drawn onto the belly skin (Figure 113, x-y). The straight face edge is cut at right angles to point "x" (x-z). The neck line length (z-y) is matched to the parka neck line length (Figure 112, p-q) and cut slightly curved.

Often seamstresses include a tusk-like extension on each side of centre front. This pattern piece is made as described in Section V.10.B. When tusk-like extensions are used, the front piece is altered slightly. The length, width and curvature of the extension is drawn on each side of centre front as described in Section V.10.C.

Sleeves are cut by following directions in Section V.7. Hemlines are finished by adding hand made skin trim, overcasting strips of wolverine or other furs to the unfinished edges and attaching a ruff to the hood (Section V.5 and 6.)

G.3. PANTS

Pants are cut directly from caribou skins by using the size of the skin and distinctive hair colouration as reference points. Pieces are added or cut away at centre back, centre front and leg hemlines to accommodate fuller and narrower figures. The crotch is baggy and therefore easily fits a wide variety of sizes.

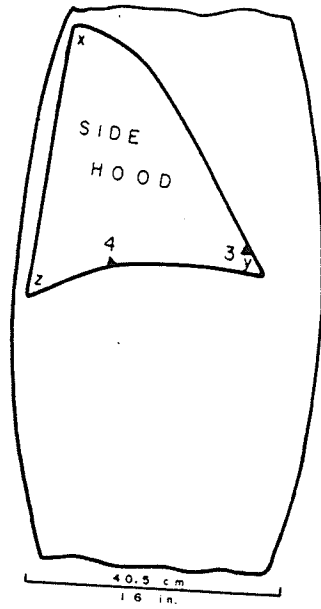


Figure 113. Copper Inuit Side-Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout.

Copper Inuit traditionally wore stove-pipe legged pants decorated with white-haired strips of caribou skin (Figure 114). Today the occasional hunter that wears caribou skin pants wears the same stove-pipe leg style without the white decoration.

Stove-pipe leg pants usually require one caribou skin. Skins are cut down the vertical (a-b) and horizontal (c-d) centre line (Figure 115). The front pant section is created by cutting from near the caribou underarm (axillia) area (e) to the beginning of the long haired neck area (f). The neck edge is trimmed, creating a slightly curved centre front seam (f-g). The waistline is made by cutting at an angle across the caribou head (g-i-h), level with the base of the ears.

The front section is placed with skin sides together, matching the front side seams (i-j) and hemline (e-j) with centre line "a-b" and the tail area. A mark is placed on the back to match the front side seam length (k-l) and hem width (l-m). The centre back waistline (k) is marked several inches (5-8 cm) lower and about 1/2 hand span wider than the centre front waistline. This reference point is adjusted to fit thinner and thicker waistlines.

The inside leg seam (m-o) is cut the same length as the front (e-f). The back crotch seam (o-n) is cut almost straight from the inside leg to the waistline. A belly skin is used to piece the centre front and is made into a

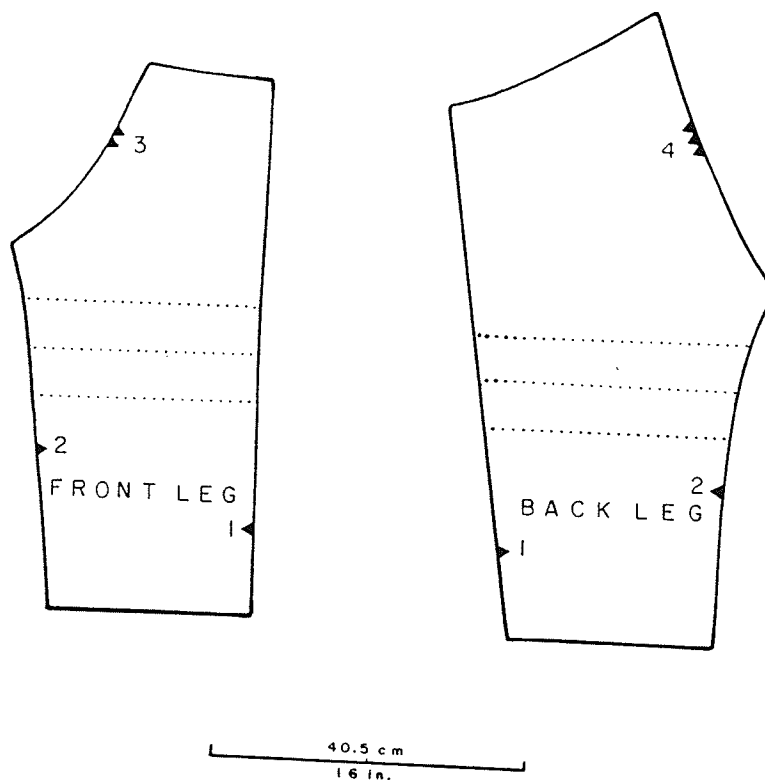


Figure 114. Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Pant Pattern.
The stove-pipe style front and back legs were decorated with strips of white haired skin and skin tassles as indicated by dotted lines on the pattern.

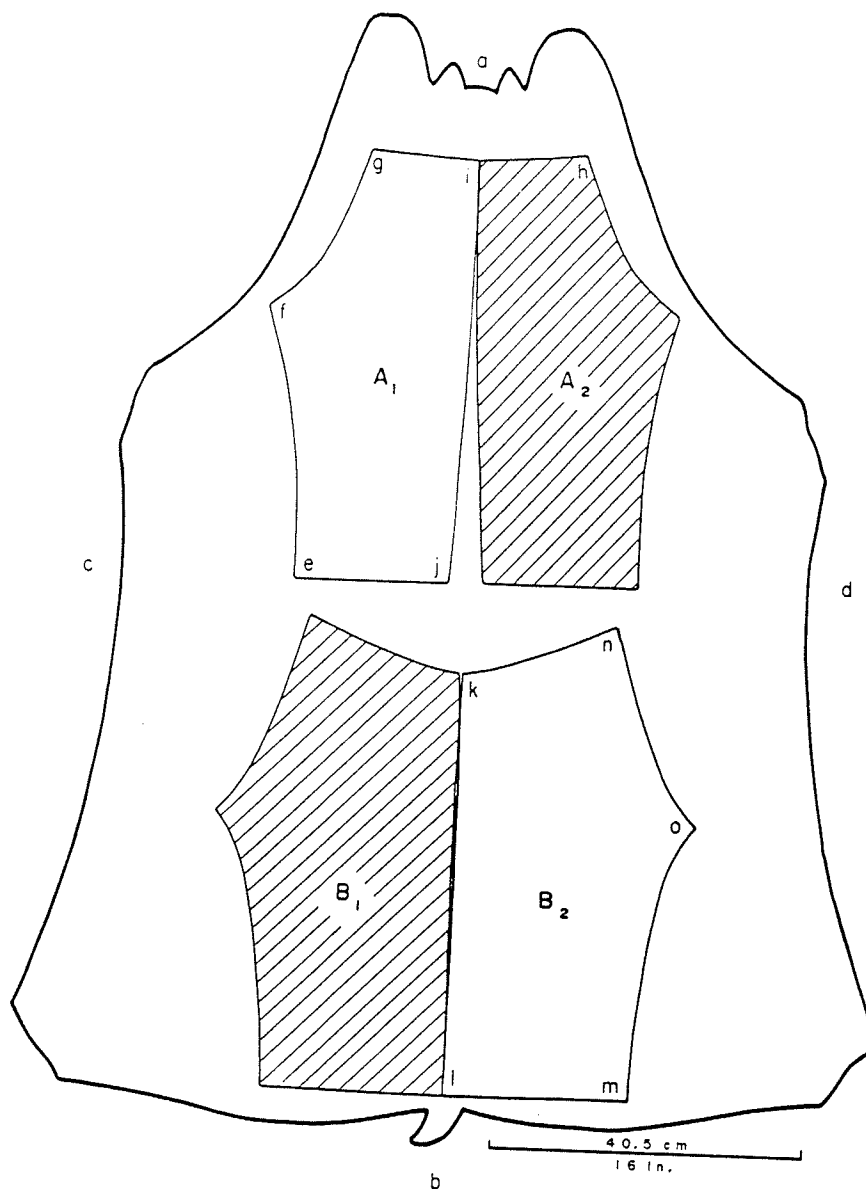


Figure 115. Layout and Assembly Details of Copper and Caribou Inuit Pant Patterns.

A caribou skin is cut in half vertically (a-b) and horizontally (c-d). Then the front and back pieces are cut out using reference points "e-o". The left front piece (A₁) is sewn to the right back piece (B₁).

waistband. The waistband is cut about 4" (10 cm) wide, slightly higher in the back. It is sewn to the top and the unfinished edge is overcasted or folded over and stitched.

The legs are sewn together by matching the top left piece (Figure 115A₁) with the bottom right piece (Figure 115B₂) and vice versa. Inside, side, crotch and waistband seams are sewn in that order, matching numbered notches. Openings and zippers are occasionally included, generally pants are loose enough to pull easily over the hips without openings. Suspenders or a drawstring with a toggle and loop are used to hold the pants up.

The hem is finished by sewing a 1" (2.5 cm) wide fur facing around the edge, turning it to the inside and stitching it in place. Occasionally the hem is finished by overcasting around the cut edge, pulling tightly so the edge curls under about 1/4" (.5 cm). Elasticized storm cuffs were sewn inside the lower leg on one Copper Inuit man's (F. Ipakohak) caribou skin pants.

In addition to these styles a rare, one-piece pant is described in Section III.2.B.

G.4. STOCKINGS AND INNER SLIPPERS

Stockings and inner slippers are made by using old footwear as patterns. Three styles are used by Copper Inuit (Section III.2.C, Figure 21A, B, & C). Each piece is cut

out on the lengthwise grain of the skin or fabric. The soles are cut from the neck area with the hair grain flowing towards the toe. The upper sections are cut, matching the caribou skin's centre back fold line to the pattern piece's fold line. When vamps are used they are cut on the skin left over on each side of the lower section (Figure 116).

The vamp is sewn to the upper section, matching centre front points and numbered notches. By following the sewing techniques explained in Section V.1 the centre front seams are sewn from the toe area up to the top. When the upper section is sewn to the vamp it is then tried on and adjusted to fit. The vamp should extend past the toes about half an inch. The sole is cut to fit the lower edge of the upper-vamp section. Soles are attached, matching centre front and back points and easing in fullness across the toes and heel when necessary. The soles are usually not crimped.

The upper edge of stockings are left unfinished. The height varies from mid-thigh to just above the ankle (inner slippers).

A combination leg-vamp section sewn to an uncrimped sole is also popular among Copper and Caribou Inuit (Figure 117A). In addition, Copper Inuit vary this style slightly by sewing a side strip between the leg and sole (Figure 117B). These stocking styles are cut out as described in Figure 116.

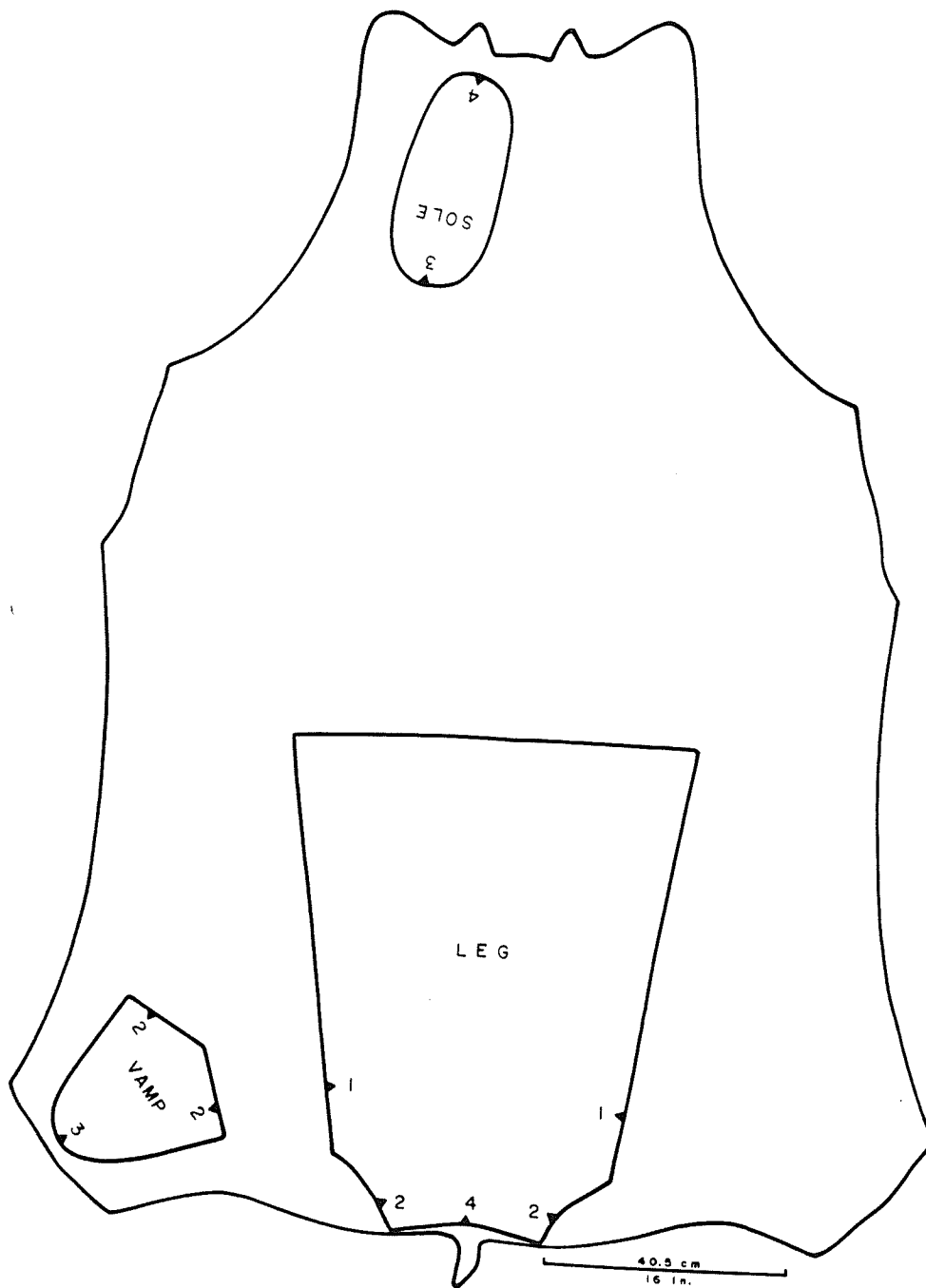


Figure 116. Copper Inuit Stocking Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The second leg section is cut out immediately above the leg section in the diagram.

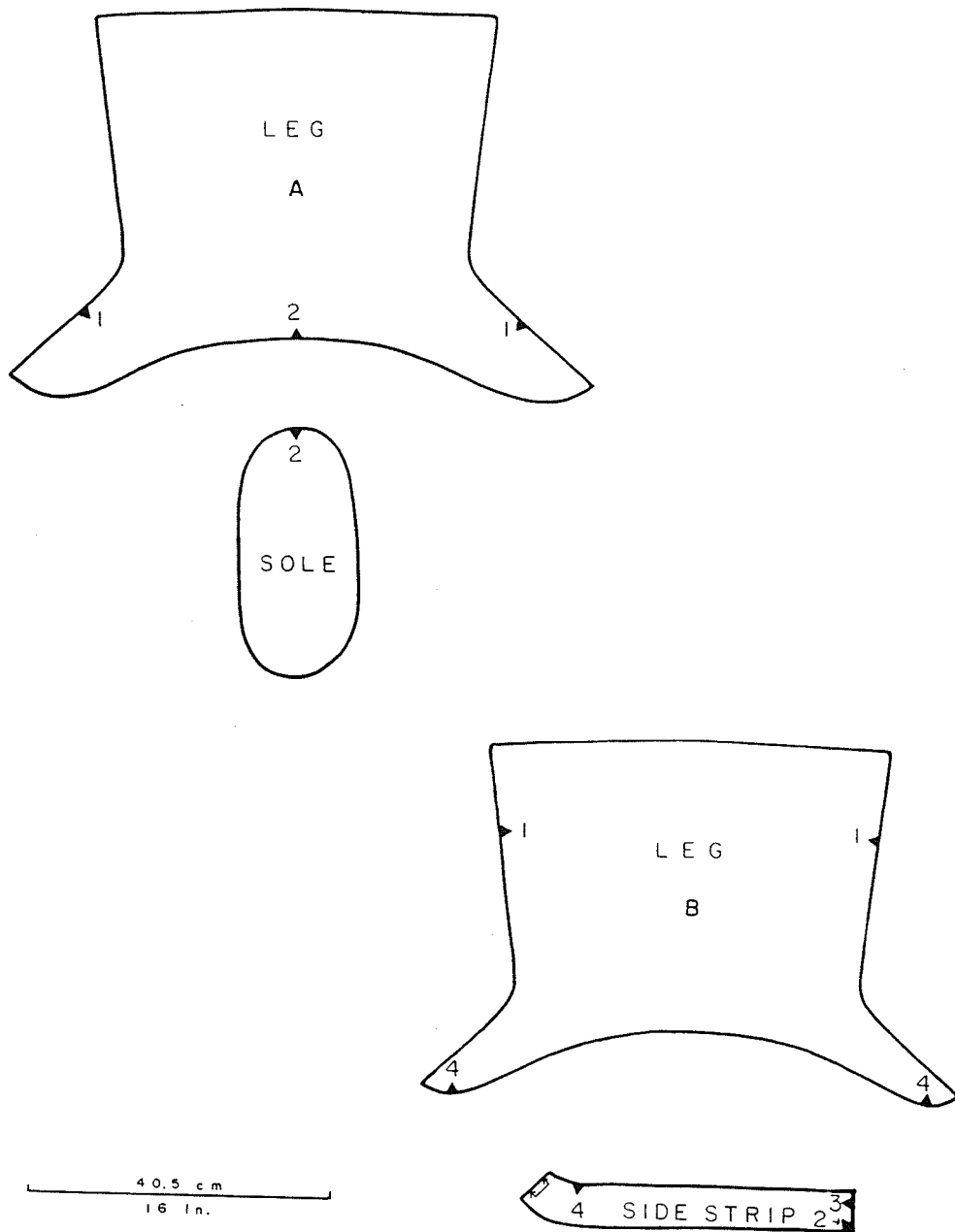


Figure 117. Variations in Combined Vamp-Leg Patterns.
 One variation occurs by cutting the vamp and leg section in one piece (A). A common variation of this style is to cut a side strip off the bottom edge (B). The latter style is more common among the Copper Inuit.

Inner slippers are made from stocking patterns or from a pattern used only for inner slippers (Figure 118). The latter style is usually cut from leg skins. The flared section or upper portion of a leg skin is cut using a slightly curved cutting line (Figure 118A and B, a-b). The flared section is cut into a vamp by trimming the raw edges, following the natural edges of the skin. Then a curved line, which arches up to the longest point of the skin is cut. When the flared leg skin area is long enough, the vamp is cut into two curved lines that meet at the centre front creating a heart-like shape (Figure 118B). This latter vamp style is slightly pointed and extends about 1" (2.5 cm) beneath the toes. The side sections are made by cutting the rectangular portion of the leg skin in half lengthwise. They are cut as long as required to encompass the ankle. When the slipper is worn with the hair to the inside, soles are cut with the hair direction running towards the toe. The hair direction is reversed on slippers worn with the hair to the outside.

The side piece is sewn to the vamp and fitted to the foot. Then the centre back seam is sewn. Soles are sewn, without crimping, matching centre front and centre back points.

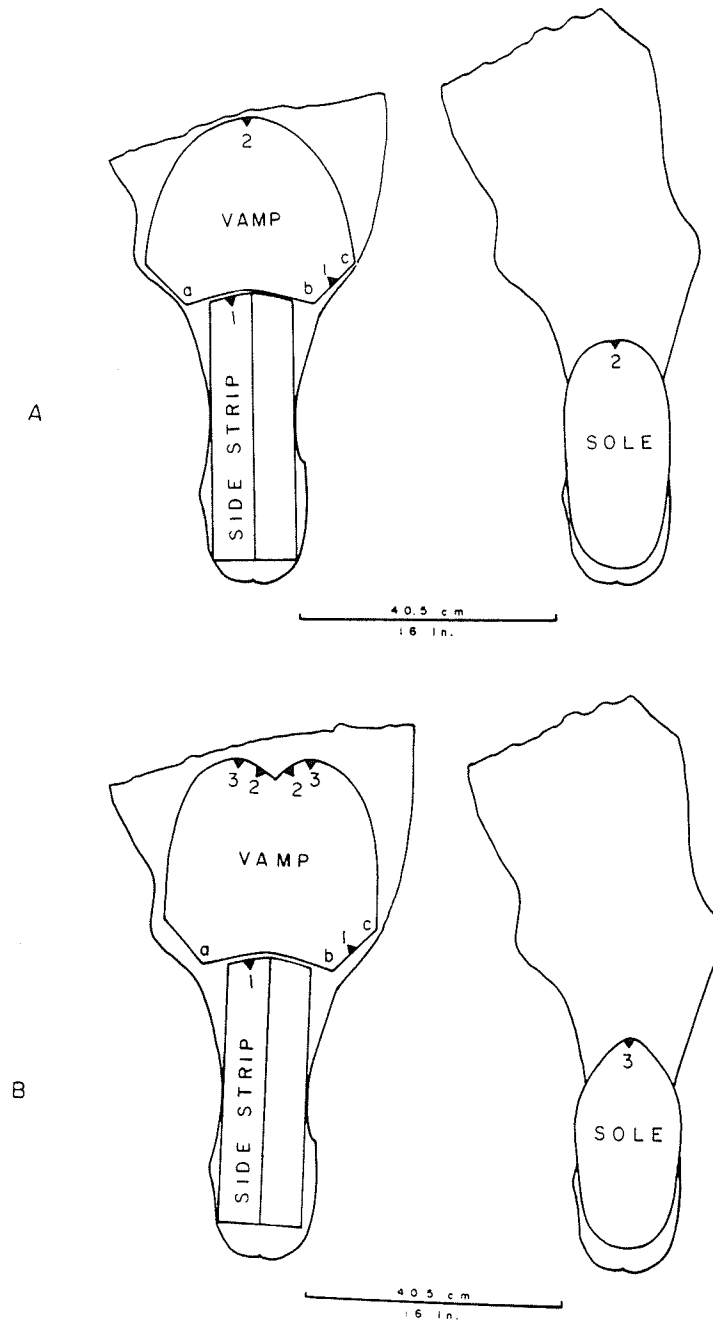


Figure 118. Copper and Caribou Inuit Inner Slipper Pattern and Pattern Layout.

Leg skin silhouettes are used as a guideline when cutting out inner slippers (A). When the skin is long enough the vamp is extended around the toes to the sole (B).

G.5. BOOTS

A wide variety of skin boots are made by the Copper Inuit (Section III.2.D) by mixing and matching the following sole, upper section and vamp patterns.

G.5.a. UNCRIMPED SOLES

Soles and strips are usually made from commercially smoked moose hide for winter use. Seal skins are considered too stiff for winter wear and are used for spring boots. Bull caribou skins are used for soles and side strips, sewn with the hair turned to the inside. When more room is needed inside footwear, the hair is cut. Caribou soles are more insulative than those made from moose or seal skin.

The sole piece is measured by laying an old boot on the skin and tracing around it. The sole is usually the width of the foot, with all socks, duffles, and liners included, plus about 1/2" (1 cm) ease. Boots intended for winter are made large enough to allow the wearer to use 1/2" (1 cm) thick duffle liners as well as wool socks. Soles, side strips and ties are also made from shaved ringed seal skin, shaved caribou skin, or shaved bearded seal skin.

A side strip is cut to fit between the bottom of the caribou leg section and the sole piece. This strip of even width is cut out in a slightly curved, "v" shape as shown

on the leg skin boot depicted in Figure 23 and in Appendix G.5.c. The width of the "v" shaped side strip is proportional to the boot size. Experienced seamstresses measure the width by eye, others copy it from an old pair of skin boots. For an adult's size the "v" is usually one hand span wide, one hand width down from the center front. The sides are cut long enough to extend around the foot to meet at the centre back. Another variation is made by cutting one side shorter than the other. One 'leg' of the "v" is cut off about one hand span from the center front. The second leg is long enough to be sewn down the side of the upper section, around the heel, and connecting with the first leg of the "v" along the second side. This distance is pre-measured with a string. The upper section is folded along the center back and front lines and the string is laid along the lower edge between the toe and heel. The distance is doubled and used to measure the inside line of the "v"-shaped strip. The width of the strip is copied from an old pair of skin boots. It is about 1 1/2 " (4 cm) on an adult's pair of boots.

The center of the "v" shaped side strip is lined up with the center of the upper section toe area. Working from the inside of the boot, the strip is overcast to the upper section. The caribou leg skin slightly overlaps the strip. The side seam is also overcast together before attaching the sole. The centre front and back of the sole

is marked by biting the skin. The sole is tacked into place and overcasted to the strip. Crimping is unnecessary. Soles are reinforced by stitching an extra layer of bearded seal skin to the bottom. Two pieces are used, a heel and toe piece. The pieces meet near the wearer's arch.

Ties are wrapped around the ankle in order to keep the boot fitting snugly. The ties are long enough to wrap around the foot and be tied into a bow at the front. They are usually cut from smoked moose hide. Shaved ringed seal skin, shaved caribou skin, and bearded seal skin is also used. Ties are sewn to the back of the heel at an angle which allows the ties to cross and continue to the front where they are tied into a bow.

A 4" (10 cm) wide strip of caribou, duffle or stroud is sewn to the fascia side at the top of the boot legs. It is folded over to the front and top stitched with a running stitch. Duffle and stroud are often decorated with a 1 1/2" (4 cm) wide strip of decorative trim or embroidery. Two holes are made, about 3" (8 cm) apart, at the back of the casing. Smaller boots have proportionately smaller casings. Casings are omitted when the leg skins are long enough or when the seamstress does not want to add them. The edge is then finished by overcasting around the top and pulling the stitches very tight, causing the edge to curl inwards. Ties are omitted on this style variation.

Four-strand braided ties are inserted into casings. The tie is threaded through one hole, behind the second hole, around the front and behind the first hole, exiting through the second hole (illustrated in Oakes 1987e). Yarn or braided sinew is used to make the ties. Yarn tassels are tied to each end of the drawstring. The drawstring is pulled tight and wrapped around the leg above the boot, rather than over top the upper leg section, so it can be tied tighter.

G.5.b. CRIMPED SOLES

Boat-style boots are made with depilated or shaved bearded or ringed seal skin soles. The soles are pleated vertically before sewing them to the upper section.

A boat-style pattern is made by placing the wearer's foot on the skin. Marks are made behind the heel and about 1/2" (1 cm) in front of the toe. Approximately 1 1/4" (3 cm) is added all around the foot outline to accommodate the sides of the sole pattern. The skin is cut slightly larger than the pattern, making sure the lengthwise grain runs the length of the sole.

Soles are softened with water before crimping begins. A damp towel is laid over top the inner side of the skin. Care must be taken to avoid getting the outer side, which used to be covered with hair, wet. The skin, with damp

towel covering, is placed under a sofa cushion and sat on for about half an hour. Once the skin is soft and pliable it is ready for crimping. When the damp towel is left on too long, the sole becomes too limp to enable the pleats to stay in position. When the sole is too dry, the skin is too stiff to crimp easily, resulting in large, uneven pleats.

Crimping begins by bending the skin in half longitudinally, with the inner sides together. Each crimp is finger pressed by folding the skin over the middle finger of the left hand and pinching the fold between the index finger and thumb. Then the fold is placed between the teeth and pinched together. The bottom row of teeth are slid up the tiny fold, pinching it against the upper teeth. This motion can be duplicated by placing a finger in one's mouth, pressing the finger on the upper teeth while the lower teeth are dragged against the finger, pinching a small layer of skin upwards. This method used by Copper Inuit is very different to that described by Oakes (1987d) used by Baffinland Iuit from Arctic Bay and the crimping used by Caribou Inuit in Eskimo Point.

A second pleat is made approximately $1/16$ " (0.1 cm) away from the first. The pleats are pinched together by carefully sliding the lower teeth up the first pleat with the upper teeth gently braced against the second pleat. A third pleat is formed and the second pleat is pressed into

it before beginning the fourth pleat. Crimps are made approximately $1 \frac{1}{4}$ to $1 \frac{1}{2}$ " (3 - 4 cm) long and about $\frac{1}{16}$ " (0.1 cm) apart throughout the toe and heel areas. The first few pleats are angled away from the centre front, then the pleats gradually angle towards the centre front until the last few pleats are perpendicular to the toe edge at centre front (Figure 119).

After the soles are pleated, the edge is trimmed evenly with sissors. About a $\frac{1}{4}$ " (0.5 cm) seam allowance is created by biting all around each sole. The sole is held so the upper teeth are gently braced against the white, outer edge and the lower teeth are slid up along the inner sole edge. When biting is complete the seam allowance protrudes at right angles to the sole sides. Soles are stored in a plastic bag in the freezer whenever a rest is required and until the upper section is ready.

The sole is sewn directly to an upper section or a thin strip (about $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 1 cm wide) is crimped and sewn to the sole edge. The strip is cut from shaved, depilated or dyed (usually red) skins. Crimping is done as described for the sole except the pleats are made about $\frac{3}{8}$ " (0.8 cm) apart and only around the toe area.

The strip is attached to the sole by using two types of thread, waxed thread (Section V.1) and black strand cotton. Traditionally caribou sinew was used. The cotton thread is placed on top of the strip to reinforce the

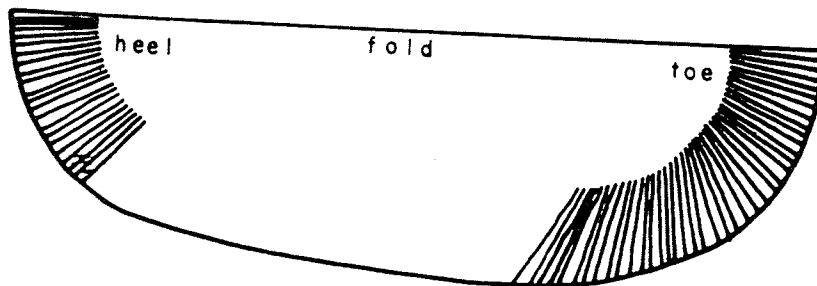


Figure 119. Copper Inuit Crimped Sole Pattern.
The sole is cut, then folded and pleated along the lines illustrated in this diagram.

stitches. A triangular glover's needle threaded with waxed thread is used to sew through the strip and sole skin. The needle is brought up through the sole to the top of the strip, then back through both skins, tacking the black cotton thread in the process (Figure 120). Two ties, about 3/8" (0.8 cm) wide and 18" (46 cm) long are sewn into the seam. They are positioned at each side of the heel to enable the wearer to tie the boot firmly around their ankle (Figure 22 and 23). As a substitute for the ties, some Copper Inuit seamstresses sew a loop on each side of the heel. A tie is threaded through the loops and tied at the front or back. Another variation is also used, an extra loop is sewn to each side of the instep and a tie is threaded over the toes, through both loops, around the ankle and tied at the front or back (Figure 25). Inuit living in the Mackenzie Delta and Sachs Harbour usually use the latter method.

G.5.c. LEG SKIN UPPER SECTION

One pair of leg skin boots require nine leg skins; two each of the left and right front legs and the left and right back legs, plus one extra leg skin for piecing. Leg skins are selected from two animals (animal A and B) with matching hair thickness and colouring. Copper Inuit often use white haired skins with fabric casings at the top,

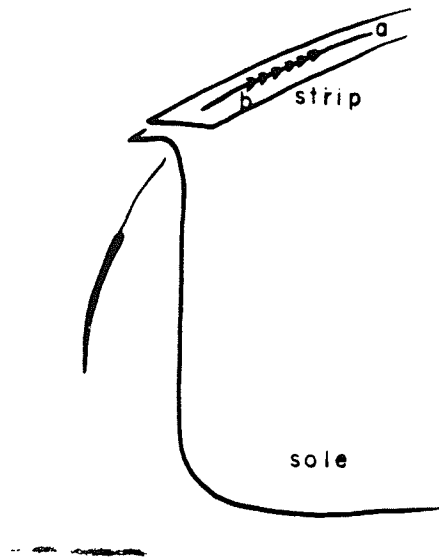


Figure 120. Construction Details of Crimped Soles.
A sturdy thread is laid over the strip (a) and used to reinforce the overcast stitches (b) which are used to sew the strip to the sole.

however, Bathurst Inlet Inuit prefer shiny, rich dark brown skins with white hairs around the hooves (from caribou killed in the summer). Farther east, in Gjoa Haven, Inuit prefer skins with lots of light brown or white hair (from caribou killed in October). The left front leg of animal A is used as a side panel for one boot; the right front leg is used for a side panel for the other boot. The same applies to the remaining legs, producing a pair of boots that appear to match perfectly.

Front and back leg skins are skinned differently (Section IV.2) creating two different skin silhouettes which are used in specific areas of each boot. Leg skins are examined to see if they were dried straight. If skins are dried crooked they will cause the boot to be pulled off centre. Crooked skins are folded down the centre hair line and the short side is chewed, stretched, rechewed and pulled until the grain is partially corrected.

The upper section comes to just below the knee or to mid-calf height and is about 1/2" wider than the circumference of the wearer's leg. The wearer's leg is measured, taking into account the thickness of the stockings, liners and slippers worn inside the boot. Copper Inuit also make a shorter version that comes to just below the calf. This style variation is usually made from wolf, fox or summer calf leg skins and a wide band of decorated fabric is sewn to the top.

Leg skin upper sections are made from back leg, vamp, and side leg pattern pieces (Figure 121). The leg skin outline is used as a guideline to cut the back leg (Figure 122A), vamp (B) and side leg (C). The long haired section at the top of each leg skin is avoided when possible. This long haired area wears much faster than the short, dense hair found closer to the caribou's lower leg area. The curvature over the toe (vamp) varies between seamstresses. Some prefer a round, tongue shaped curvature while others prefer a rectangular shape with slightly rounded corners. Skins are cut and pieced; a piece that is usually needed is on the front and back parts of the side panels. Pieces are stitched together, sewing from the toe to the top. The sides and front are sewn first, then the back is attached, matching numbered notches.

The outlying hair on the lower edge of the assembled leg section is then cropped. The skin is laid, hair down, on a cutting board and an ulu is used to cut the protruding hair, resulting in a blunt look.

A popular version of this upper leg style used by all Copper Inuit is made from stroud. Stroud is available from the Hudson's Bay Company store for \$30.00/m. A limited variety of colours are available. White stroud is usually used for the top, front and back panels. The side panels are usually cut from navy or red stroud (Figure 22). Maroon or emerald green is also used when it is available. Leg

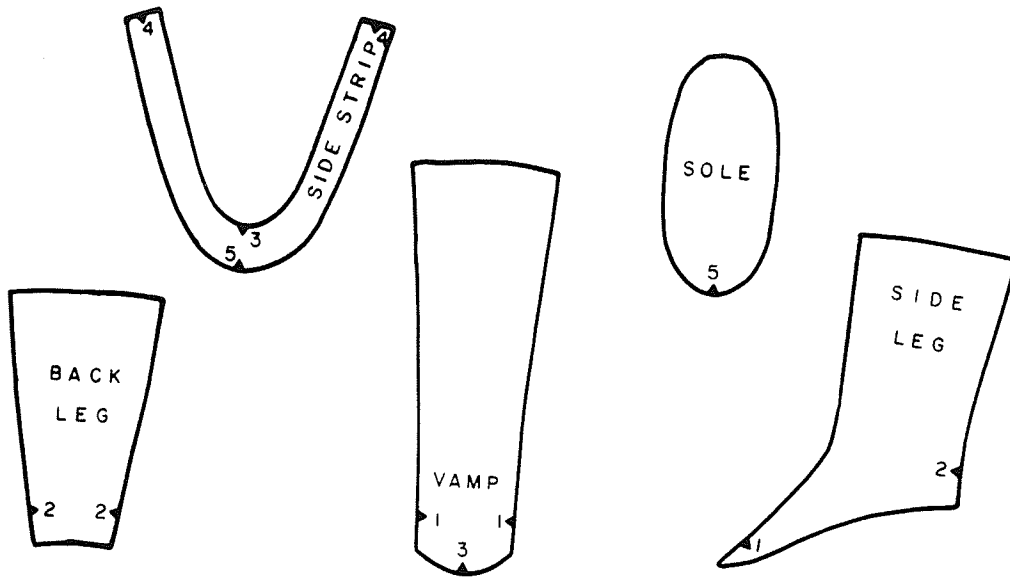


Figure 121. Copper and Caribou Inuit Leg Skin Boot Patterns.

The side strip, sole, vamp and leg sections are cut from a variety of skins and fabrics.

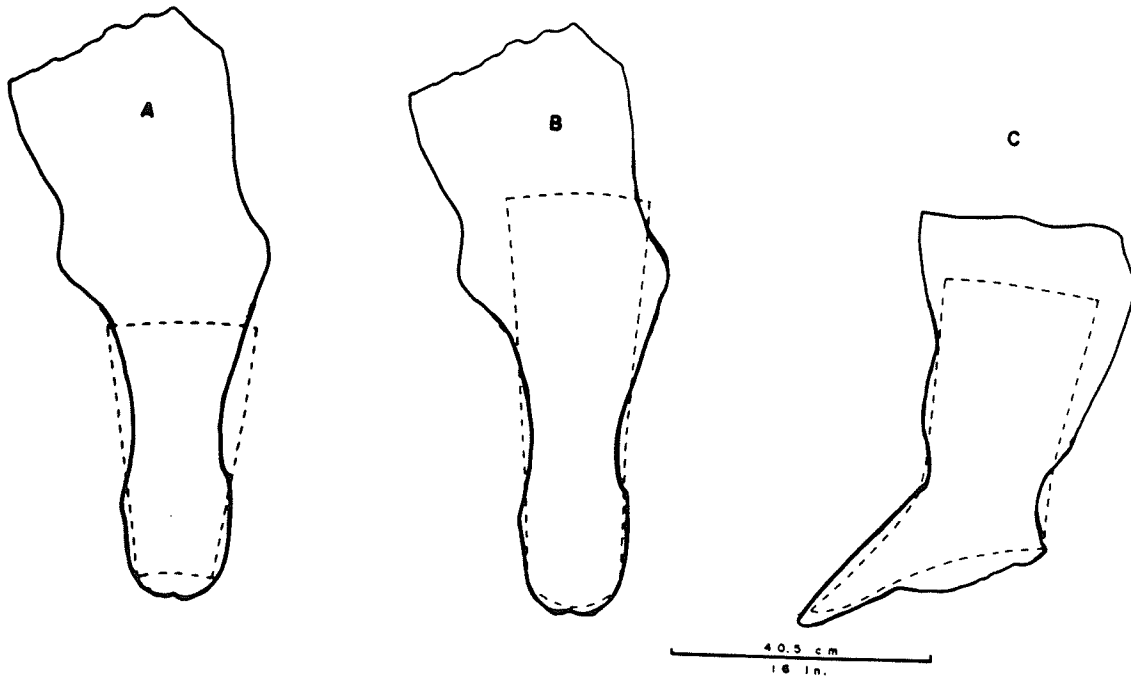


Figure 122. Copper and Caribou Inuit Leg Skin Boot Pattern Layout.

The front, back and side panels are cut out as illustrated and overhanging areas are pieced.

panels are cut about 3 to 4" below the intended height and a horizontal band is sewn around the top edge. The vamp is embroidered using satin, blanket, stem and other embroidery stitches, using a wide variety of colours. Informants can identify who made a pair of boots by looking at the design, embroidery stitches and colours used in the embroidery. Some women also decorate the vamp with beading. Their beading technique is identical to that used by Caribou Inuit (Section V.13), however, stitches are placed between every bead rather than every third or fourth bead. Beads are often threaded on caribou sinew and gold or black embroidery floss is commonly used in the second needle.

Once the vamp and horizontal top band are decorated the stroud leg sections are sewn together by machine. Seam allowances are top stitched flat, bias tape is sewn around the upper raw edge and over the horizontal seam. The assembled leg section is then sewn to either a crimped or uncrimped side strip-sole combination as described in Appendix G.5.a and b.

G.5.d. UPPER SECTION WITH SEPARATE VAMP

Copper Inuit cut their vamps with an exaggerated point at the centre front. The upper section is cut with the hair running vertically on men's boots, horizontally on women's. When haired ringed seal skin is used for the upper section,

it is usually cut so the dark haired centre back portion of the skin is placed at the boot's centre back and the light haired section is at the centre front. Occasionally the upper section is positioned so one side of the centre front seam is positioned along the dark haired centre back line of the skin. The result is a dramatic upper leg section with black haired skin on one side of centre front and white haired skin on the other side (Figure 123).

Pieces are usually made from paper patterns copied from other seamstresses. The patterns can also be created by hand measurements which are similar but not identical to those described in Oakes (1987d) which were used in Arctic Bay. The upper section (Figure 124) is one hand span wide (f-g) and one hand span plus two knuckles high (b-g). The lower width (a-b) equals the distance from the thumb to the index finger tip. A mark (c) is placed beneath the first index finger joint while the hand is stretched across the lower edge of the upper section. Point "d" is about one hand span from point "g". Line "a-c" curves slightly, while line "d-c" is straight. The vamp is made as described by Figure 47A₂. A broad band (about 3", 8 cm wide) is stitched to the upper section. The band is cut from skin (Figure 25) or stroud (Figure 23). When cut from stroud it is sewn to the upper section, then folded to the outside and top stitched by machine. A wide piece of trim is top stitched over the stitching,

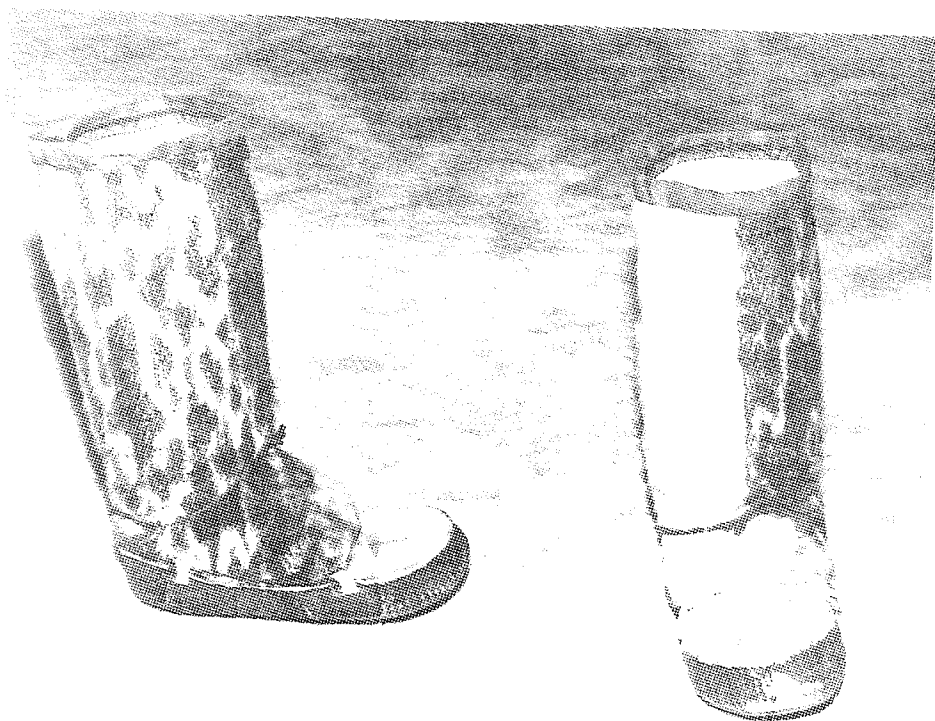


Figure 123. Copper Inuit Ringed Seal Skin Boots.

A dramatic effect is created by cutting the upper leg pattern on each side of the centre back of the seal skin. Bata Shoe Museum Foundation S88.24. Credit R. Riewe.

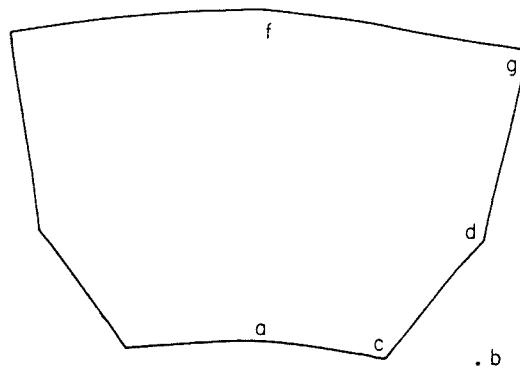


Figure 124. Reference Points Used to Measure the Upper Section of a Boot.

forming a casing and covering up the raw edges. Two holes are cut, about 5" (13 cm) apart at the centre back casing. A four-strand braided tie is threaded through the casing, crossing before coming out the holes.

Children's travelling boots (Figure 26) are made using the pattern described in Figure 116. Usually the ties are omitted or kept loose on children's travelling boots so the foot stays warmer. The upper section is sometimes cut so the white hair near the tail appears as a decorative line about half way up the leg section (Appendix H.9.).

Boots worn by women prior to 1916 were made from a slight variation to this vamp style (National Museums of Canada IV.D.768, IV.D.3246). The vamp was cut so it covered the top of the toes and extended around to the centre back heel (Figure 125). The upper section had a centre front and back seam and was cut from one skin. The pattern layout was identical to the pant layout in that the top left leg pattern was sewn to the bottom right pattern (Appendix G.3, Figure 115). Vamps and uncrimped soles were cut from left-over skin scraps. The upper section of this traditional boot style was often decorated with a multitude of dyed, shaved and depilated skins.

Outer slippers or overshoes were not used by Copper Inuit, however, today a short moccasin is worn outside around the community. The pieces are cut from cardboard patterns (Figure 126). The sole is usually cut from smoked

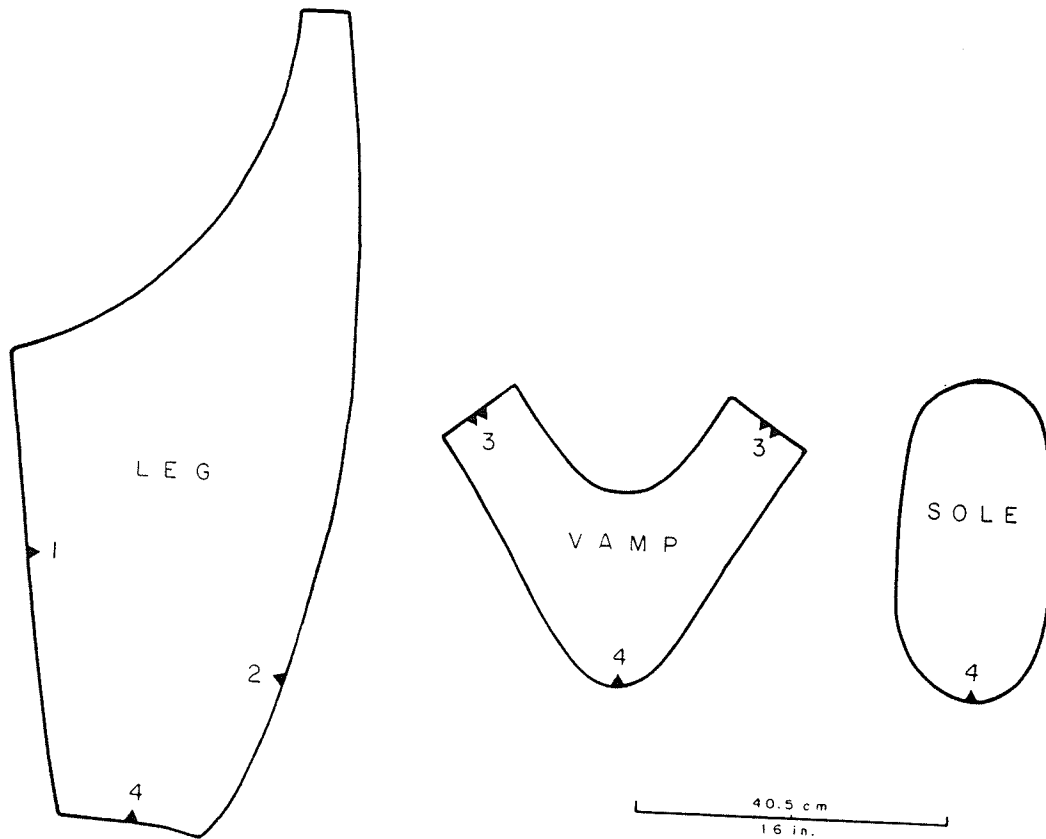


Figure 125. Replica of Pre-1916 Copper Inuit Woman's Boot Pattern.

This pattern currently used by Inuit women when making the traditional boot or stocking pattern includes a large leg section, a vamp that encircles the ankle and a crimpless sole.

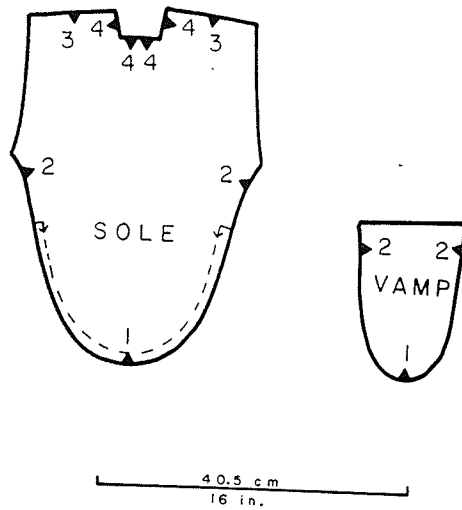


Figure 126. Copper Inuit Outer Slipper Pattern.
This slipper is worn over wool socks or leotards and used around the community rather than for winter travel.

moose hide and the vamp is embroidered or beaded stroud. A thin strip of moose hide is inserted between the seam while stitching the vamp and sole together. This was also seen in Rae Edzo. A strip of wolverine and red stroud is sewn around the top. A variation of this slipper is adapted to an infant's foot and is popular today (Figure 127).

G.6. MITTENS

Mittens currently used by Inuit in Cambridge Bay, Coppermine and Umingmaktok are cut either from body or leg skins. Procedures for cutting the pieces from body and leg skins differ slightly but the basic pattern is similar. Four basic pieces are used: a back, palm, thumb and wrist strip (Figure 128).

G.6.a. BASIC MITTEN PATTERN AND CONSTRUCTION

Pieces are cut from an old pattern, by measuring the potential wearer's hand, or by eye. Extra room is allowed when duffles or skin liners are worn inside the mitt.

The back piece width equals the back hand width plus about 1/2" (1 cm) on each side of the hand. The length is measured from the wrist, over the finger tips to the first finger joint. When the hair is worn to the inside, extra length is added to accommodate the fur thickness. The palm

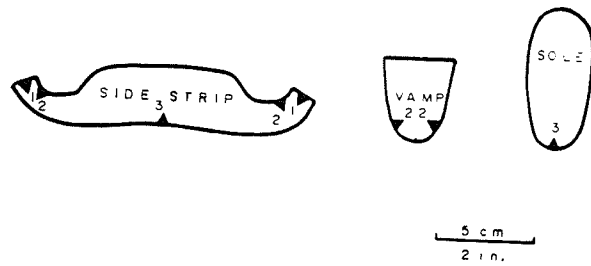


Figure 127. Copper Inuit Infant's Slipper Pattern.
These tiny slippers are saved for years after the child has outgrown them.

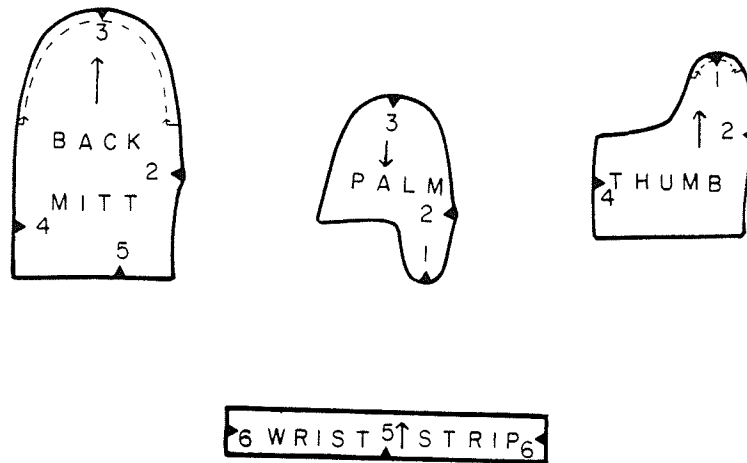


Figure 128. Copper Inuit Mitt Pattern.
 The thumb, palm, back and wrist strip are cut with the hair direction flowing in the direction of the arrows on the pattern. This pattern is also used by Caribou Inuit.

piece is measured from the distal knuckle of the index finger (2nd digit), down the palm to the thumb tip, 1/2" (1 cm) is added for ease. The palm pattern is about 1/2" (1 cm) narrower on the sides and about 1" (2.5 cm) shorter at the finger tips than the back pattern. The third piece covers the back side of the thumb and wrist. Its width equals the distance from the proximal knuckle of the thumb (1st digit) across the palm plus 1/2" (1 cm) on each side. Its length extends from the thumb tip to the wrist. A wrist band is cut about 3" (8 cm) wide and long enough to encircle the mitten.

Patterns are cut from scraps of skin, with close attention paid to hair direction. The palm section hair direction runs from the finger tips to the thumb. The back and thumb piece hair direction runs from the wrist to the thumb or finger area. The narrow strip hair direction runs width-wise. Mitts are often cut with the palm piece hair turned to the inside which protects the hair from wearing out so quickly when driving a skidoo. To improve durability the palm pattern is also cut from leg skins instead of body skins.

The palm and back-of-thumb patterns are overcasted together, easing in the extra fullness across the thumb tip. Uneven pleating causes the mitten to twist uncomfortably. The front and back pieces centre points are tacked together. Several more tacks are made on each

side of the finger area. Fullness is eased in evenly across the finger tips to produce a well fitting mitt. The band is sewn with the fur side inside and the hair direction flowing towards the unfinished edge. When the band is folded in half, fascia sides together, the hair direction matches the back.

G.6.b. CARIBOU LEG SKIN MITTENS

Leg skin mittens are made from three leg skins. The pattern is made by placing the hand on the skin, palm upwards, over the leg skin's knee area. The skin is folded over the fingers and palm, and up the inside thumb surface. A cut is made following the thumb's silhouette and adding about 1/2" (1 cm) ease all around.

From the second leg skin, the thumb-wrist pattern is cut with the hair grain flowing towards the thumb tip. Piecing is done as needed. The wrist strip is made from another leg skin cut in half longitudinally. It is sewn fur side to dermis side around the wrist edge. This strip is then folded back to the fur side creating a cuff.

Instead of sewing on the cuff, some seamstresses overcast tightly around the raw edge causing the skin to curl in slightly.

Leg skin mitts are extremely durable, especially when they are cut from the lower end of the leg.

APPENDIX H: AHIARMIUT AND PAALLIRMIUT PATTERNS

The letters and numbered notches on the following patterns are used as reference points while measuring and matching seams together as described in Appendix G.

H.1. MAN'S INNER PARKA

Caribou skin parkas worn by males in Eskimo Point are made from back, front, sleeve and side-hood pieces. Two to three caribou skins are needed to make a man's parka. The inner parka uses slightly shorter haired skins than the outer and the shortest skin is used for the back.

H.1.a. BACK

Each ear is cut out of the caribou skin and the wavy skin around the ear is trimmed until a flat seam is possible (Figure 129A). Cut edges are sewn together, creating a dart about 3" (8 cm) long (Figure 129B). The top hood seam begins at the centre fold line (Figure 130, a), curving sharply towards the caribou nose area and back towards the ear-dart seam (c) creating a knob. Point "c" is about 1/2 handspan from point "a". The hair is trimmed if it is so

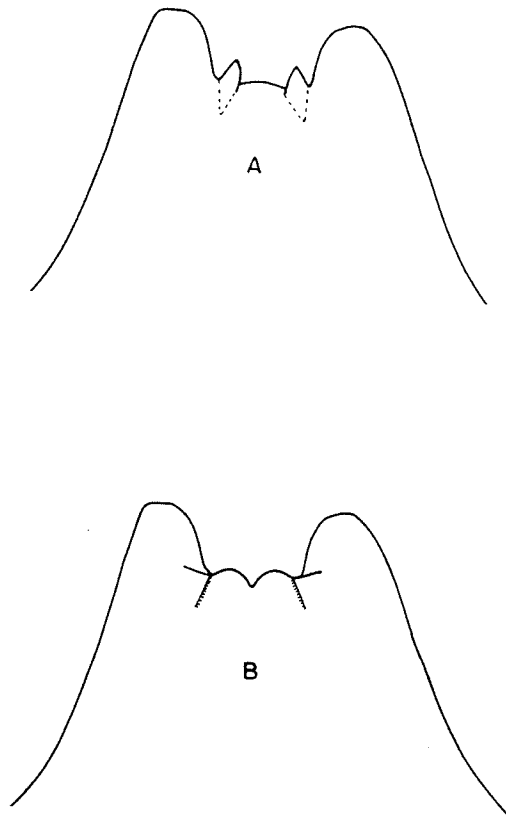


Figure 129. Construction Details of the Peak on a Caribou Inuit Man's Parka Hood.
The ears are cut out (A) and sewn so they lie flat (B) before cutting the rest of the parka hood.

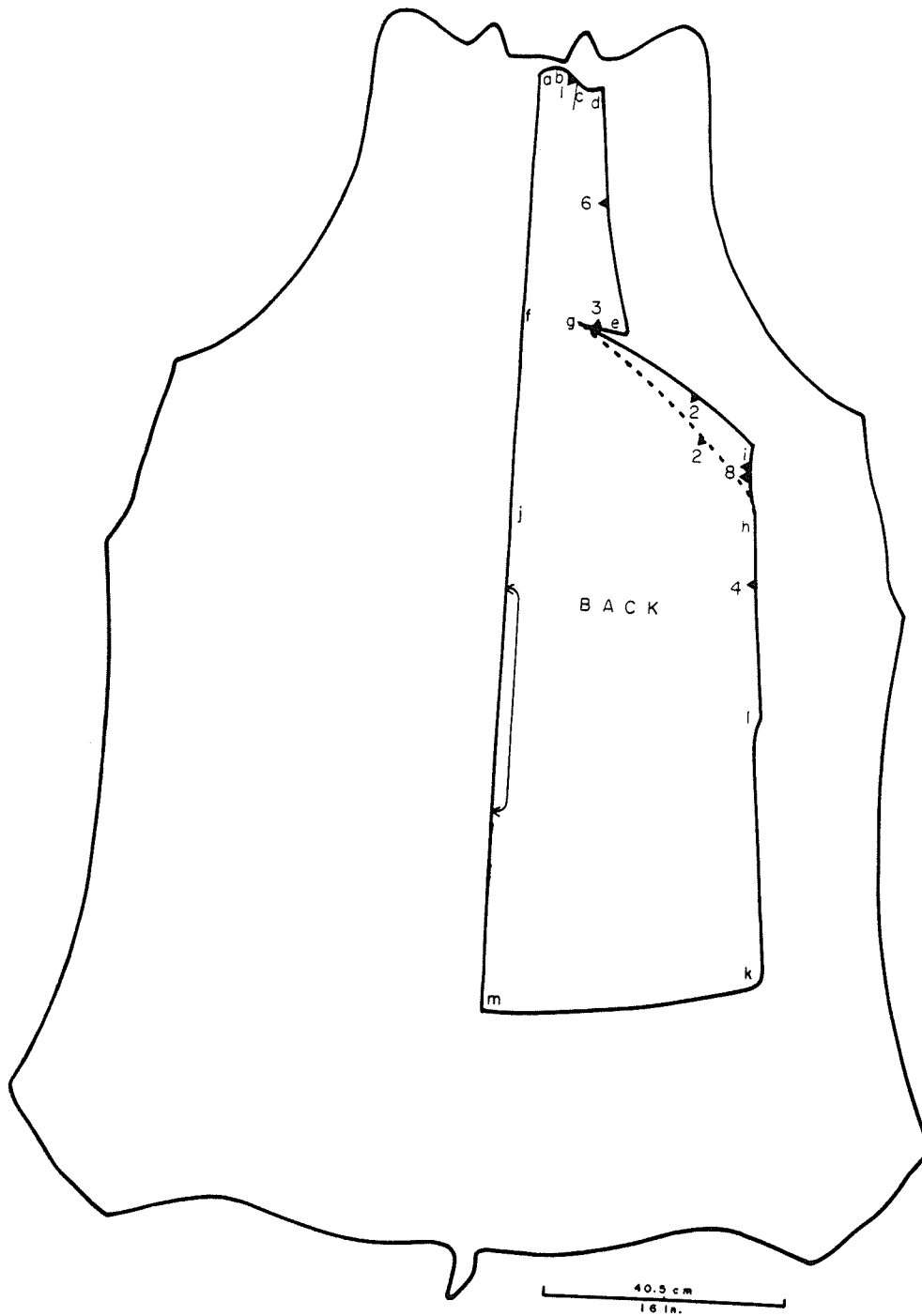


Figure 130. Eskimo Point Man's Inner Parka Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

thick the seam is impossible to sew. It is easier when the knob is cut closer to the nose area than the neck area as the hair is shorter and less dense. The knob size varies between groups and individuals. The Paallirmiut style has a small, low knob about $3/4$ " (2 cm) high and $1\ 1/4$ " (3 cm) wide while Ahiarmiut style is higher (about 1", 2.5 cm) and broader ($1\ 3/4$ ", 4.5 cm). The top-hood line is cut about $1\ 1/2$ " (4 cm) past the base of the knob, angling upwards slightly (c-d). The side-hood seam is cut two handspans long; some women use a measurement taken from the elbow up to the baby finger's second knuckle (d-e). The lower edge (e) is about $1\ 3/4$ handspan from the centre fold line (e-f). The back-neck width (f-g) is about one handspan wide, the hood-neck seam is cut from point "e" to point "g". Point "g" is about 1" (2.5 cm) higher than point "e". The Paallirmiut style has the shoulder seam dropped almost to the side seam (g-h). The Ahiarmiut style has the shoulder seam extending to about half way down the back armscye (g-i). The shoulder line is about $1\ 1/2$ to 2 handspans long and cut with a slightly convex curve.

Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut versions of the back armhole are cut by eye. The sparsely haired armpit section of the caribou is used as a guide when cutting the armhole. At the underarm area, parkas measure about 2 handspans wide from the centre fold to the side seams (h-j). The side seam is cut about 4 handspans long and almost straight down from the

underarm (i-k). Ahiarmiut and some Paallirmiut seamstresses cut the side seam straight, others cut a small notch about 1/2 handspans from the hemline (l). The hem width (m-k) may be several inches (5-8 cm) wider than the back-underarm width (h-j). Point "k" is rounded slightly and the hemline is cut, drooping towards centre back (m). Parka lengths vary individually, some Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut men prefer very long parkas which extend to just below mid-calf, however, most men wear their parkas just below the back of their knees. Informants say that Ahiarmiut's parkas are often cut several inches longer in the back, however, Paallirmiut were also observed wearing parkas with long back tails. Elders occasionally prefer a parka cut straight across.

Left-over pieces from the skin used for the back are used for the side-hood.

H.1.b. FRONT

The front skin is folded with fascia sides together along the centre fold line. The caribou neck area is then folded diagonally from the thick haired centre back area up to the thick, longer haired side neck area (Figure 131, o-n). The fold line is marked by biting into the skin through the hair before unfolding the skin. A slightly concave line (q-p) is cut near the pinched line (o-n). The

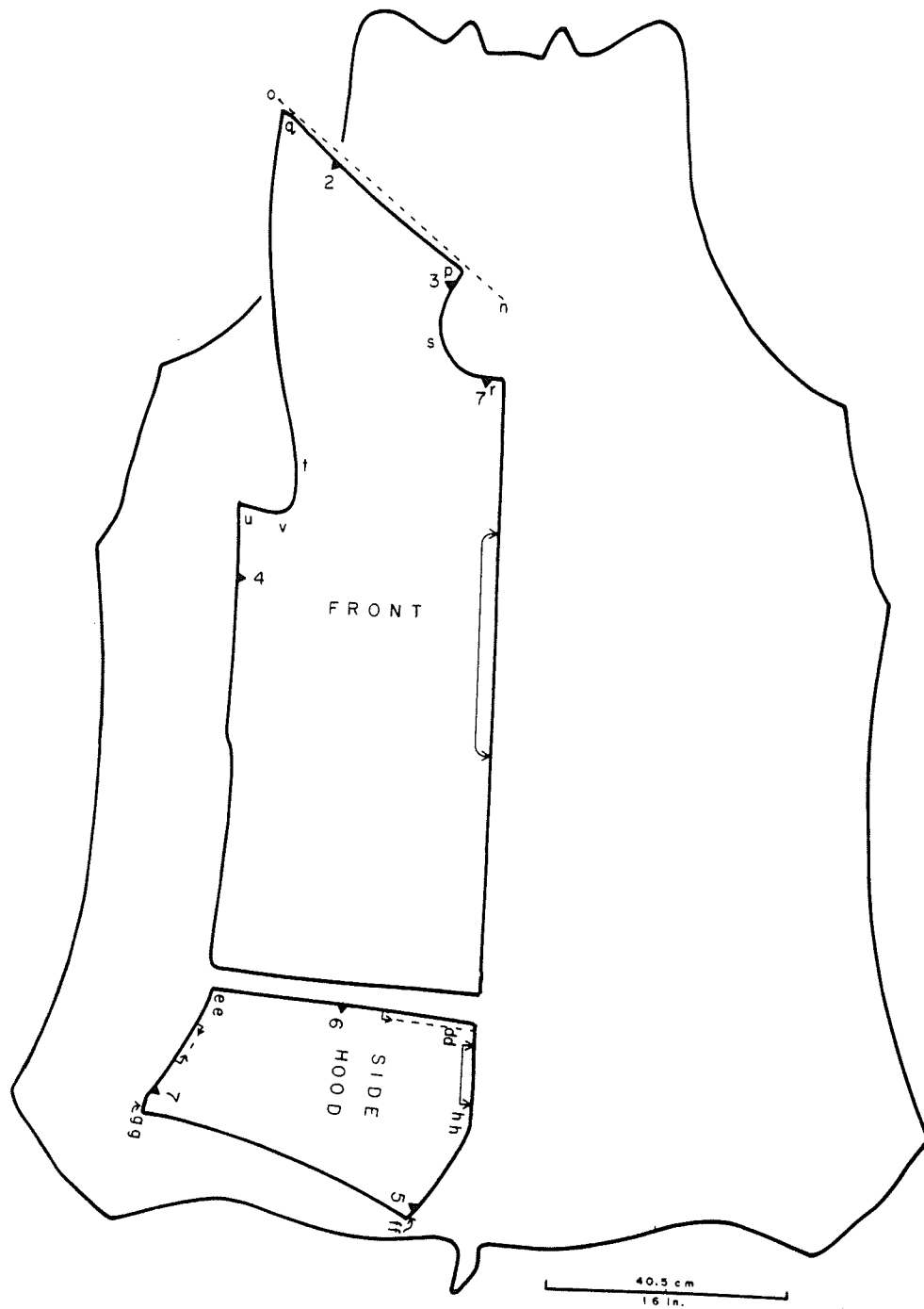


Figure 131. Eskimo Point Man's Inner Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

neck line is cut 1 to 1-1/2 handspans deep (r-p) and half a handspan from the foldline (r-s). The armhole (q-v) is measured 1 1/2 to 2 handspans from the neck line in several places to create a gently curving line. An enlarged armhole is cut about 2 handspans from point "r" (at point "v"). The armhole is cut about one palm-width wide (v-u) and 3/4 handspan deep (v-t), removing the sparsely haired armpit area. The armhole depth and width varies with individual preference, alterations are made after the sideseams are sewn. Larger armholes are easier to slip one's arms through, enabling the wearer to keep his arms warm next to the body. Point "u" is matched to point "h" or "i" on the back parka and the front and back side seams are matched. The Paallirmiut version of the front hemline is cut about 3" (8 cm) shorter than the back; the Ahiarmiut version is about 5-8" (13 - 20 cm) shorter. Hemlines vary as described in the back pattern section (Appendix H.1.a).

H.1.c. SLEEVE

Sleeve sections are cut as described in Section V.7.

H.1.d. SIDE-HOOD

Patterns are rarely available for side-hood pieces. The side-hood is cut from the rump area of the caribou back

skin. A line (Figure 131, dd-ee), a few inches (5-7 cm) longer than hood line "d-e" (Figure 130) is marked perpendicular to the skin centre fold line, about one handspan from the tail edge. A curved line is cut from the fold line to the face edge (hh-ff) forming a broad dart which is sewn up and fits the hood more closely to the wearer's crown. A slightly concave line is drawn about 2 1/2 handspans long (ff-gg) to form the face edge opening. This line can be left uncut until after the hood is tried on. The neck line (gg-ee) is drawn by connecting point "ee" to "gg" in a slightly arched line. Line "gg-ee" should be about 1/2 to 3/4" (1-2 cm) longer than the parka neck line.

H.1.e. CONSTRUCTION

The top hood seam and knob are overcast immediately after being cut, matching numbered notches. Once the front and back pieces are cut, the shoulder and underarm seams are sewn. The sleeve is set in and pieced and then the side-hood is attached. The side-hood is lightly gathered about 4" (10 cm) on each side of the centre top dart. The side-hood width and length is adjusted by trying the garment on and trimming or piecing until it fits. The neck line seam is sewn to the side-hood piece, gathering the side-hood slightly in order to ease it to the neck line. The hemline is completed with one or two rows of fringe (Section V.4)

and the face edge and sleeves are finished with a caribou skin facing (Section V.5).

H.2. OUTER PARKA PATTERN WITHOUT WHITE INSETS

Most men in Eskimo Point wear an outer parka that is made without decorative white haired insets. Inner parka patterns are used as a guide for the outer parka pattern (Figure 130 and 131). Approximately $1/2$ to $3/4$ " (1 - 2 cm) ease is added to the hood's width and length, about 1" (2.5 cm) is added to measurements from the fold line to the side seam, about 2" (5 cm) is added to the front and back length, about $1/2$ to $3/4$ " (1-2 cm) is added to sleeve width, and about 2" (5 cm) is added to sleeve length.

A sleeve pattern is developed by following the directions in Section V.7. Usually the style that has an upper, middle and wrist section is used for the outer parkas worn by males.

The hemline and side splits are fringed and edged with fabric as described in Section V.4.

Facings (about 2", 5 cm wide) are cut from the caribou neck and tail area. Some seamstresses prefer the belly area and others prefer using the rump area as it also creates a white decorative edging. The stiff skin is trimmed away from the neck or rump before cutting a facing. The caribou

neck edge has curvature similar to the face edge. Rump or neck skins used for facings are trimmed to match the face edge curvature. Facings are overcast in place with fur sides together and fur grain pointing towards the seam line. Then the facing length is trimmed to fit inside the hood and overcast to the inside. A slit is made about 2" (5 cm) from each side of the throat area, and a drawstring is threaded through the casing created by the facing. The drawstring is crossed behind each hole. The drawstring is tied so a snug fit is acquired by flipping the pre-tied string over the face and allowing it to rest in the dip just in front of the hood knob. The string is seldom re-tied; when a loosely fitting face edge is sufficient the drawstring rests on the parka chest.

A second parka style is used by several seamstresses in Eskimo Point. This style is described in the following section.

H.3. OUTER PARKA PATTERN WITH WHITE INSETS

This parka style has three white insets, one over each shoulder blade and one at centre back (Figure 33). The hood and back patterns are changed in order to accommodate the white insets. These patterns are used for inner and outer parkas, however, the white haired insets are less noticeable on inner parkas. A similar pattern is illustrated by Boas

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(1901-07) which was made by Kinipetu from Chesterfield Inlet.

H.3.a. WHITE INSET PATTERNS

Two patterns are used to cut out the white insets. One pattern is used for the right and left inset, another pattern is used for the centre inset. The centre inset is about 6" (15 cm) long and tapers from about 3 to 4" (8-10 cm) wide to about 2" (5 cm) wide (Figure 132). The centre piece is cut in two pieces with a centre seam (h). Each piece is cut from the upper belly, with the hair direction flowing from the centre seam towards the outside lower corners (Figure 132A).

The left and right side insets are approximately 8" (20 cm) wide and 6" (15 cm) long. They are cut from the lower belly section (Figure 132) and positioned so the hair direction on each piece flows towards the armscye, upper seam and lower seam (Figure 132B). The upper portion is cut away to form the lower armscye (n-o).

H.2.b. FRONT AND BACK

Cutting lines for the hood (Figure 132, a-b-c-d-e-f) are created using directions described in Appendix H.1.a. About 1/2 to 3/4" (1-2 cm) of ease is added to length and width

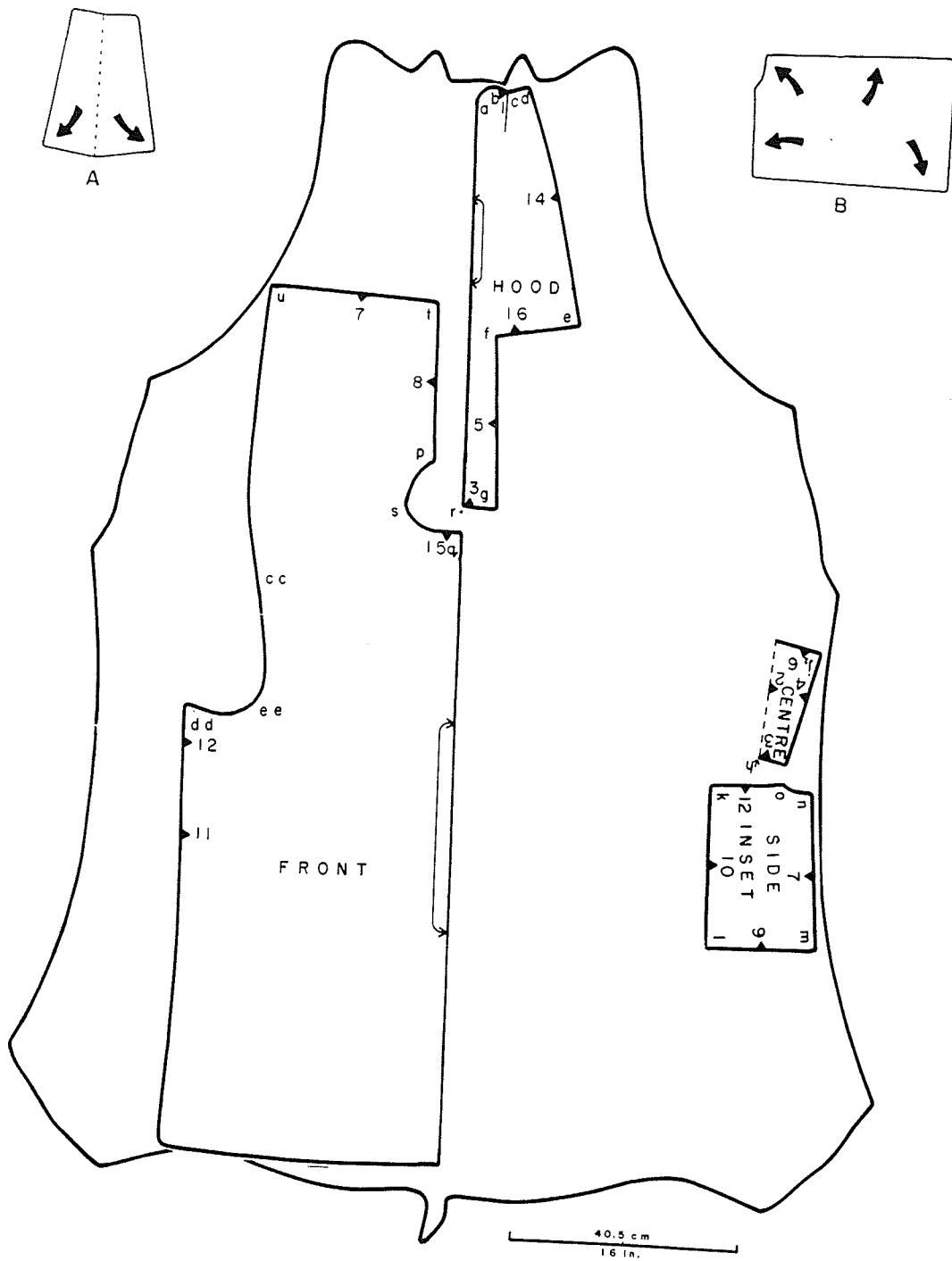


Figure 132. Eskimo Point Man's Decorated Parka Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.
 Arrows indicate hair direction on the centre (A) and side (B) insets.

measurements. As illustrated in Figure 132, a line $1\frac{1}{2}$ handspans long (f-g) is cut parallel with and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " (4 cm) from the fold line. The hood is left connected to the skin and white insets are prepared. The hood is cut at point "g" and the white centre section is attached, matching point "h" with the hood's centre fold line.

At the base of the hood an oval shape is cut about $1\frac{1}{2}$ handspan long and 1 handspan wide. The hood neck line (f-e) is extended to the edge of the caribou skin, forming the basis for the shoulder line (t-u). The white side insets are then sewn to the shoulder seam by matching point "n" with point "u" and by matching the numbered notches.

A second caribou skin is used to cut the back. A section is cut from the centre back area to allow the hood extension to be inserted. The length of the section removed (Figure 133, line v-w) equals the length of the hood extension plus the length of the white centre inset shown on Figure 132. Another line is cut about 3" (8 cm) away from and parallel to line "v-w", forming line "x-y". Line "x-y" equals line "p-t" on Figure 132 plus the length of the white side inset (l-m). The side seam (Figure 133, z-aa) is cut about $1\frac{1}{2}$ handspan from from point "y" and runs almost parallel to the centre fold line. It is about 2 to 3" (5-8 cm) wider at the hem than across the underarm. The hem (aa-bb) is slightly rounded, dropping down slightly to the centre fold line.

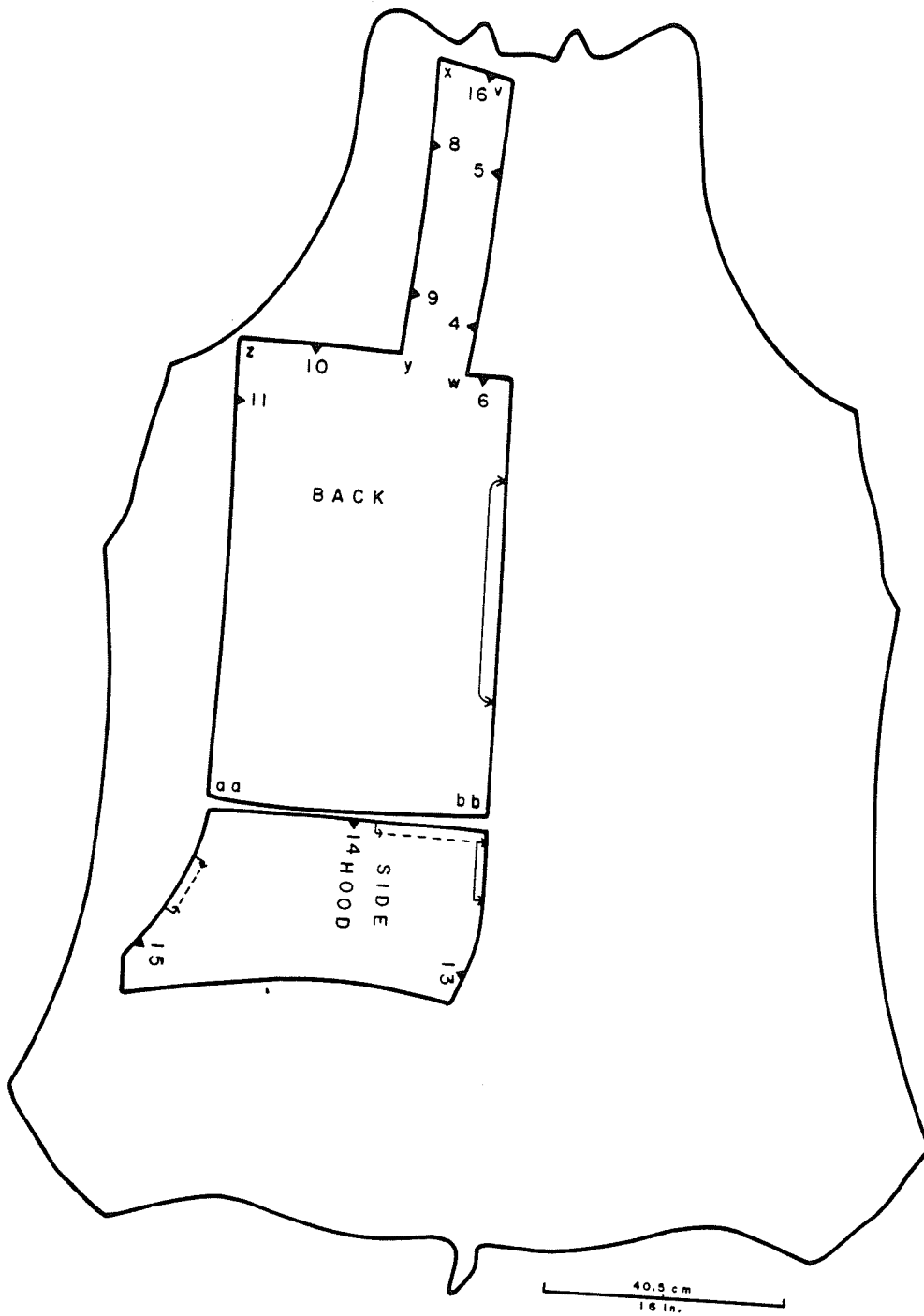


Figure 133. Eskimo Point Man's Decorated Parka Back and Side-Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The front and back shoulder area is cut about 1-1/2 handspans wide, using line "u-t" (Figure 132) and the neck hole opening as a reference point. A 1 1/2 handspan measurement about 45° from the centre front neck line (q) to the outer edge of the skin, provides a reference point for the underarm area (ee). The armhole is cut about one handspan across (cc-dd) and 3/4 handspans deep (dd-ee). The shoulders and side seams are sewn, then the outer and inner parkas are slipped on to determine the most comfortable armhole diameter. Sleeves, side-hood and fringes are made the same as the inner parka (Appendix H.1).

H.4. PANTS

Caribou Inuit men wear stove-pipe legged pants cut by following the same directions used by Copper Inuit (Appendix G.3.). Additional room is added widthwise (Figure 134) on Caribou Inuit pants.

In addition, a flared leg version is occasionally worn by Caribou Inuit today. A front and back leg panel is cut for each leg. The upper front and back pieces are cut with a centre seam and sewn to the upper pant, making sure the inside leg seam is sewn to the crotch (Figure 135). The side, crotch and centre back seams are sewn and the centre front seam is pieced until the waistline fits (matching numbered notches). The waistline is finished as described

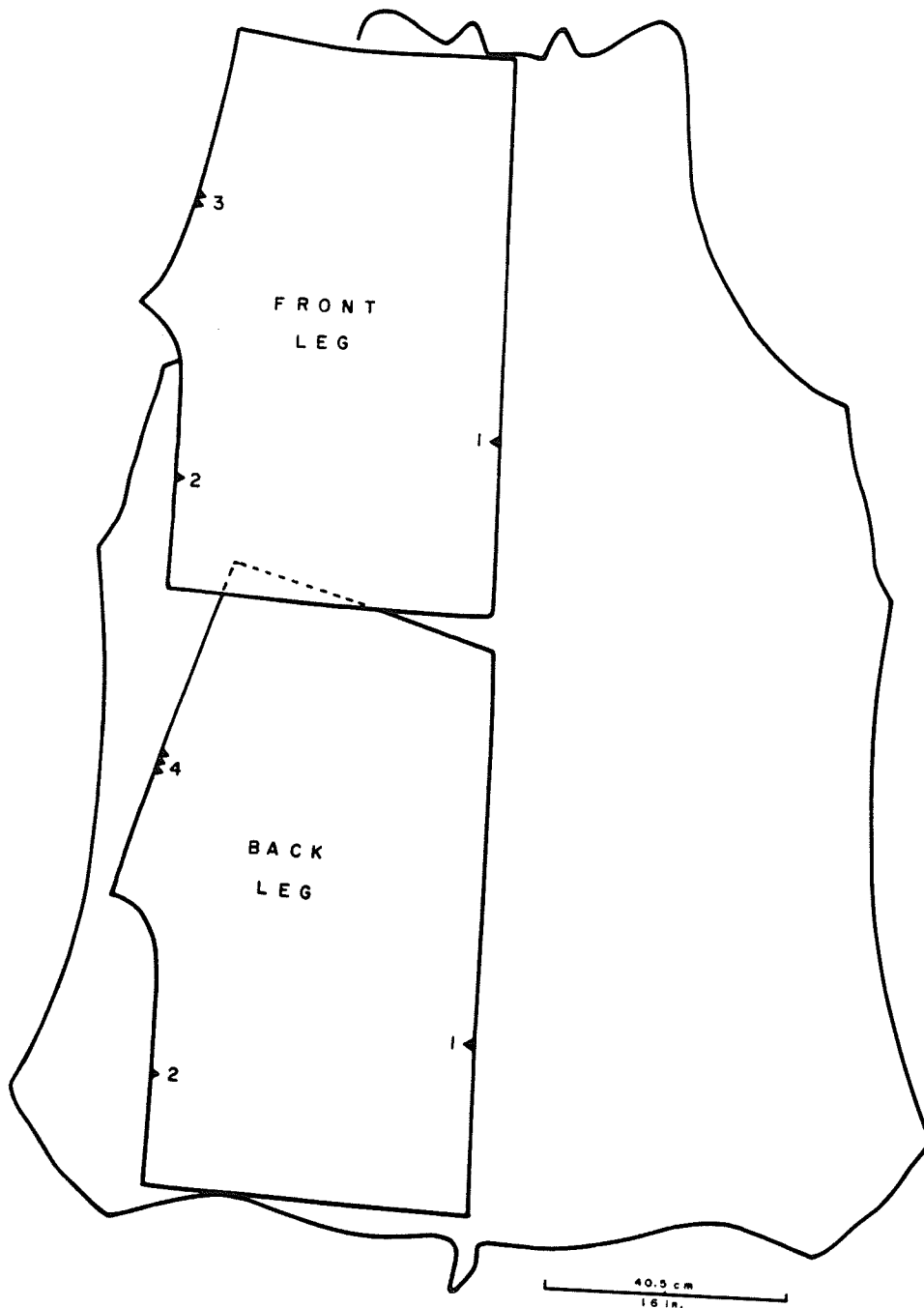


Figure 134. Eskimo Point Man's Stove-Pipe Leg Pant Pattern and Pattern Layout.
Scraps of skin are used to piece overhanging areas.

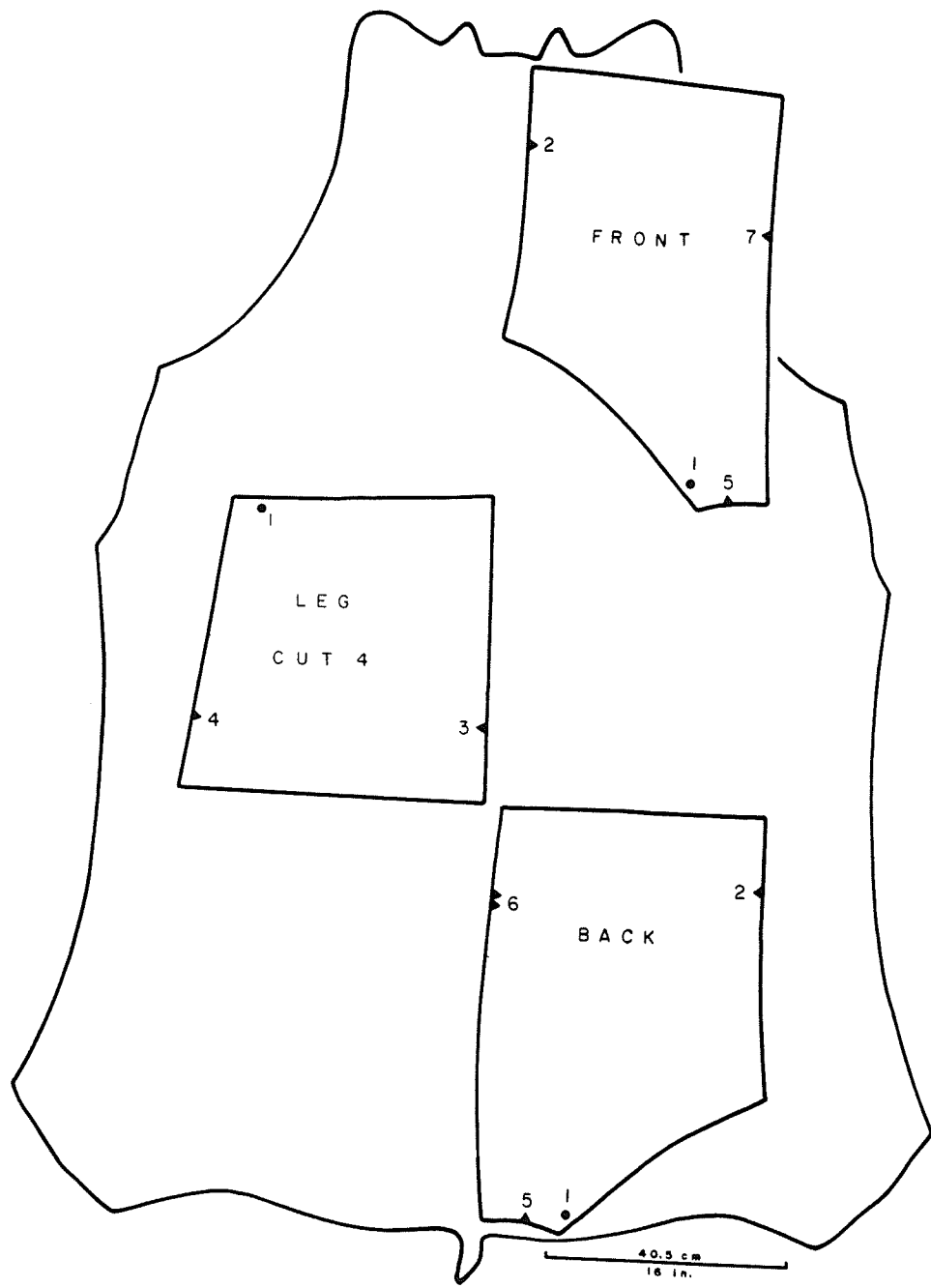


Figure 135. Eskimo Point Man's Flared Leg Pant Pattern and Pattern Layout.

in Appendix G.3. The hemline is left unfinished or overcast. A strip of caribou skin is occasionally sewn around the hem.

Women's pants have a stove-pipe type of leg with light and dark haired strips sewn down the sides. The front leg is cut separately from the upper pant while the back leg is often cut in one piece. One strip is positioned so the white haired area around the tail provides a sharp contrasting line at the mid-way point on the strip. A second side strip is cut from white haired belly skin and sewn next to the dark haired back leg panel before the back leg is attached (Figure 136). A variation of this layout is also used. The front upper panel and back are placed on the skin with the white belly hair on the pattern's side seam area. The side strips are cut from dark haired skin from the centre back of the caribou.

The pieces are assembled by sewing the lower front leg to the upper portion and adding the side strips. The side strip which is cut in two pieces (with the white hair from the caribou tail in the centre) is placed next to the front panel. The back panel is attached and the crotch seam sewn. The waist is finished by overcasting around the raw edge and a cord with a toggle is used as a belt (Appendix G.3).

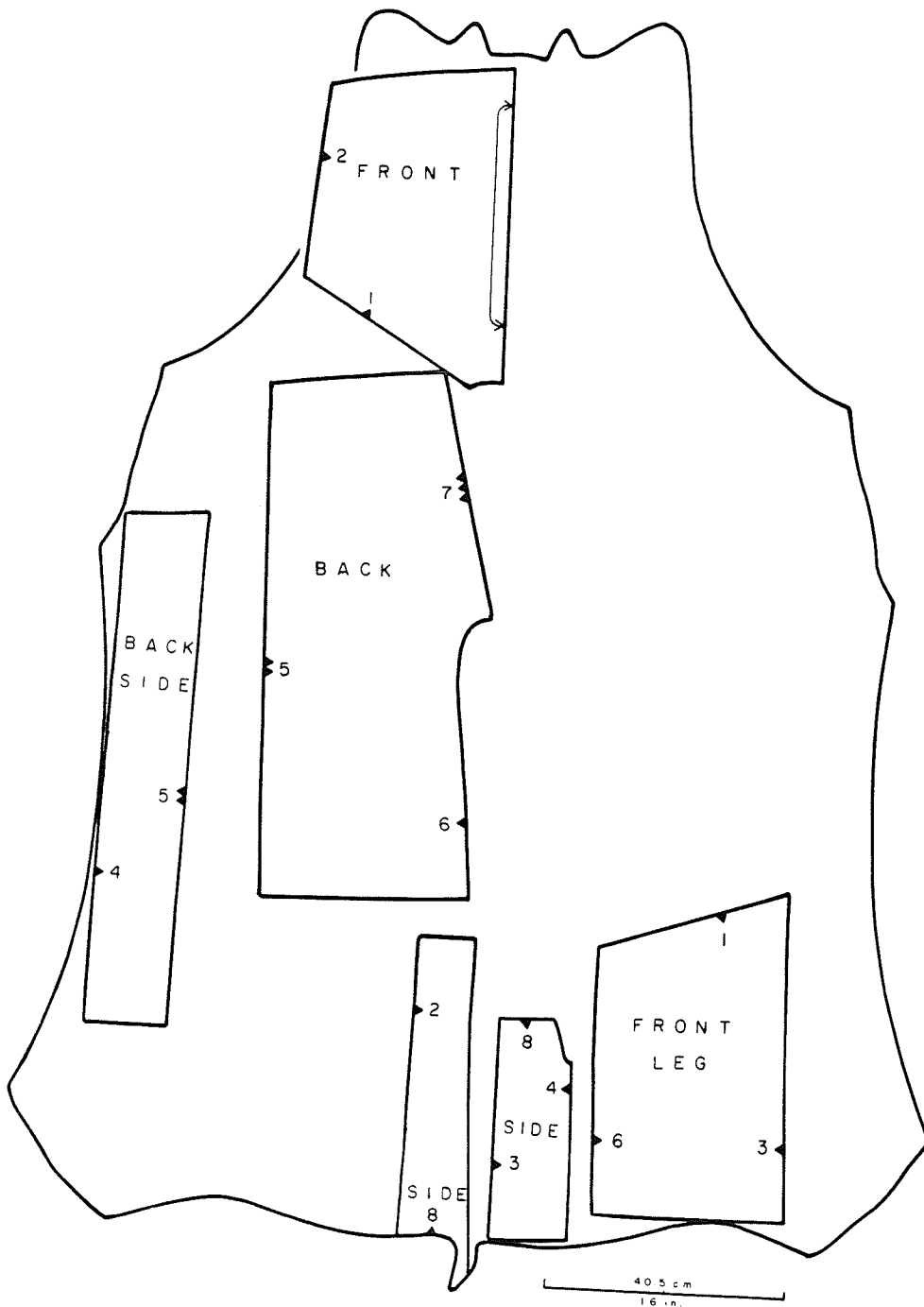


Figure 136. Eskimo Point Woman's Pant Pattern and Pattern Layout.

Several styles are used by Caribou Inuit to make stockings and slippers. The style with a separate vamp which extends just to the instep is described in Section III.3.E. The vamp (Figure 47) is about $1/4$ handspans from point "a-b" on the curved (Figure 137A₁) or the pointed (Figure 137A₂) style. It is about $3/4$ handspan long. The upper section is about $1\ 1/2$ handspan wide and extends from between mid-calf to mid-thigh down to about $1/2$ " (1 cm) above the instep (Figure 137B, c). The lower cutting line is created by measuring one hand span from the centre back (e) to the centre front cutting line (d). While the hand is spanning this distance, a mark is placed below the index finger's large knuckle (2nd digit metacarpale), about mid-way between the front and back points. This mark is lowered about $1/2$ " (1 cm) and the cutting line curves from the centre back (e) down to this mark (c). The centre front cutting line (d-c) begins about 1" (2.5 cm) higher than the instep. The leg section is cut with either a centre front or centre back seam line, or, more commonly, with a seam line at centre front and back. Sole width equals the foot width plus the foot height which equals about one handspan (Figure 137D, f). The sole length equals foot length plus heel height plus toe length (Figure 137D, g); or about 2 handspans. Usually cardboard patterns are used as guidelines, size adjustments are made by eye.

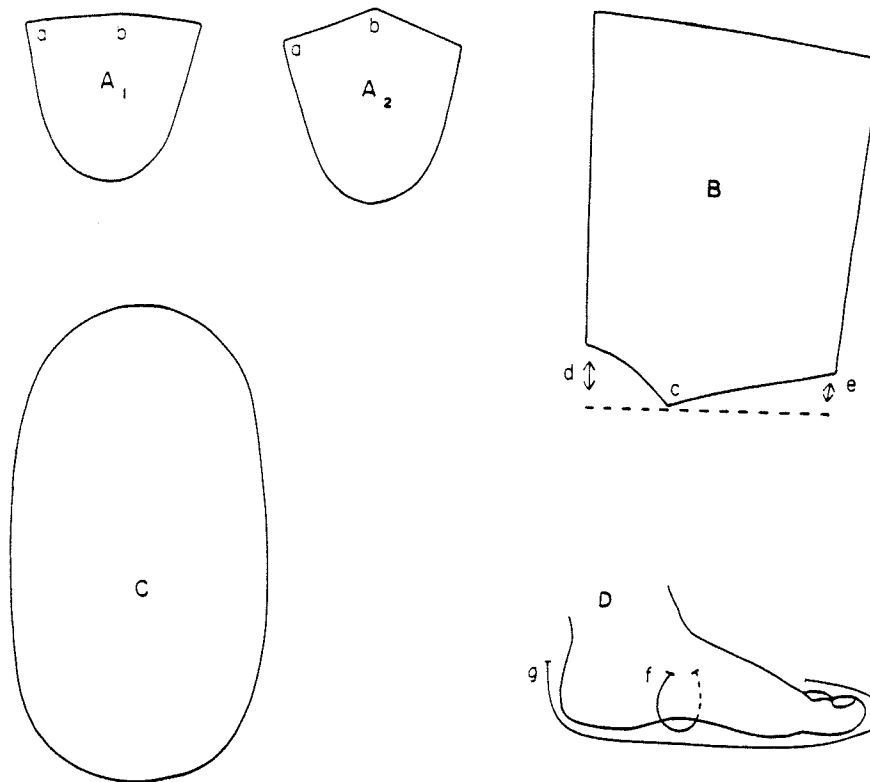


Figure 137. Measurement Details for Footwear Patterns in Eskimo Point.

Both vamp styles (A₁, A₂), upper section (B) and sole (C) are measured with handspans. Handspans equal the foot's length and width (D).

The vamp and sole are cut with the hair flowing towards the toe; the upper section is cut with the hair flowing towards the ankle. When there is a seam a centre front and centre back, the upper section consists of four sections: two left and two right hand pieces (Figure 138). The upper left (y_1) piece is sewn to the lower right (z_2) piece. Seams are sewn from the ankle to the top (see Section V.1).

The vamp is sewn to the upper section, matching centre fronts. The upper-vamp section is then slipped over the foot and adjusted to fit. The sole is cut to fit, tacked to the instep and lightly gathered along the sides, gradually increasing the gathers, matching centre front and centre back. The upper edge is left without a casing or hem.

H.6. WATER REPELLANT CARIBOU SKIN BOOTS

Ahiarmiut made water repellent depilated caribou skin boots when seal skins were unavailable. Vamps were cut with a straight, slightly pointed centre front ankle seam (see Section III.2.D). The vamp was cut about $3/4$ handspan plus a bit (about $1/4$ " or 0.5 cm) wide and long (Figure 139). The sole was $2 \frac{1}{2}$ handspans long and one handspan wide.

Seams were overcast together with caribou sinew which swells when wet, occluding the needle holes. Seam allowances were moistened before sewing. The soles were gathered at the heel, toe and around the sides. The upper

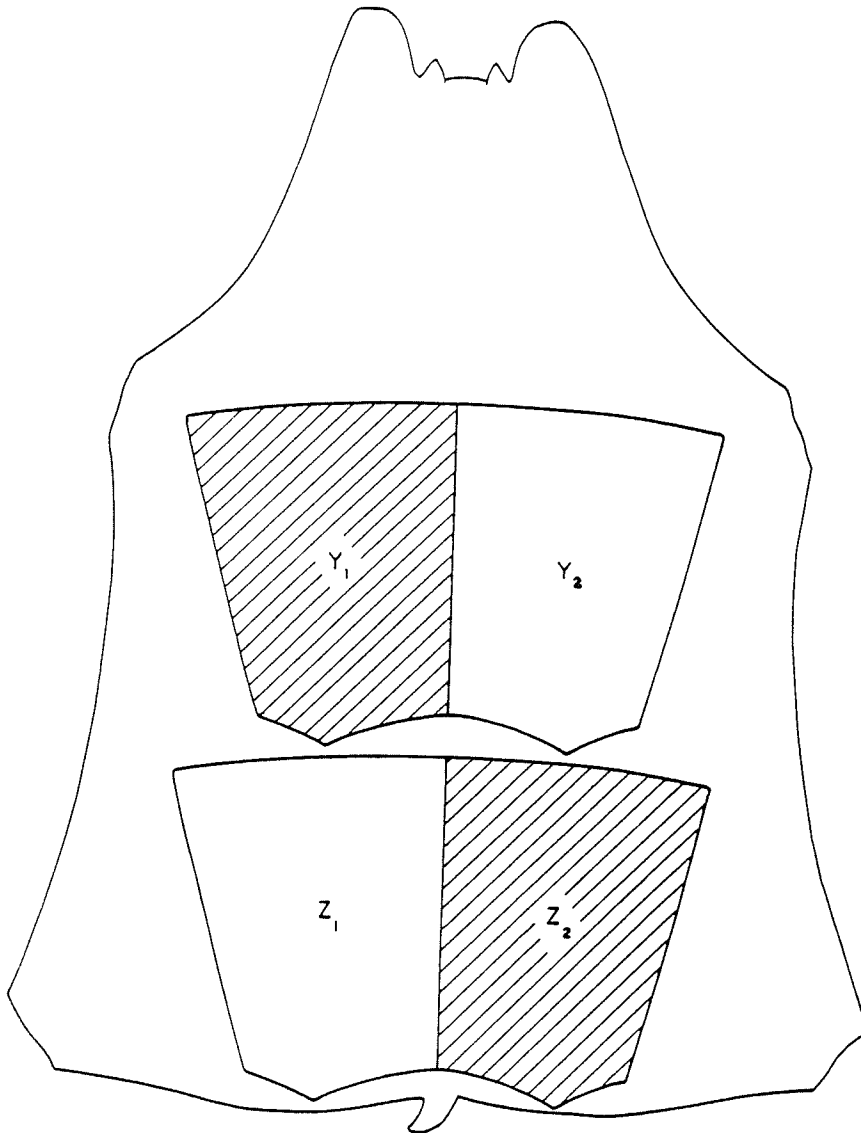


Figure 138. Layout and Assembly of Leg Section of Footwear.
Copper and Caribou Inuit match the upper left (Y_1) section to the lower right (Z_2) section, thereby producing a pair of matching leg sections.

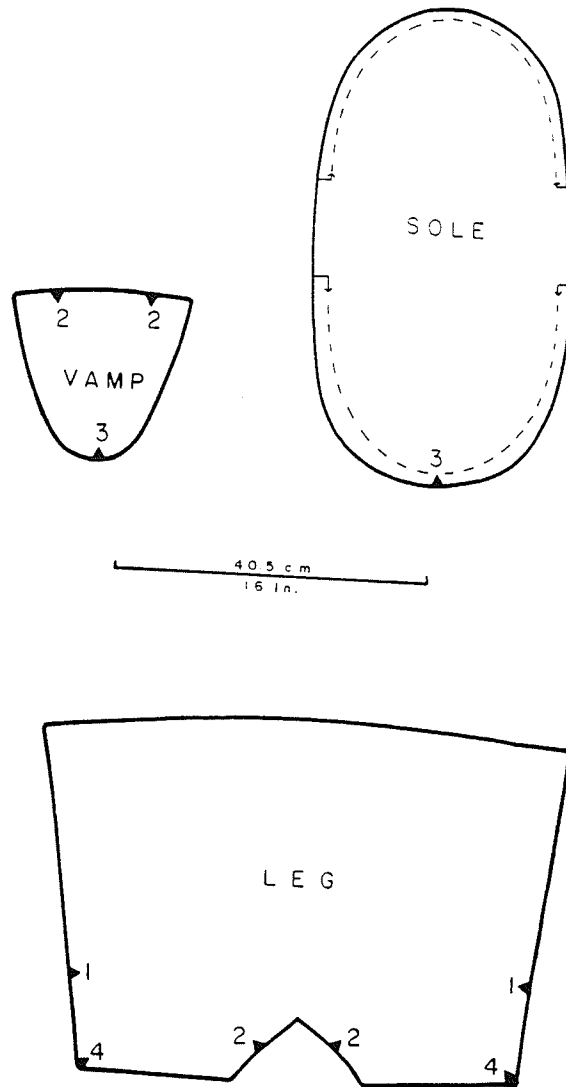


Figure 139. Eskimo Point Water Repellant Caribou Skin Boot Pattern.

In the past, this pattern was used by Aharmiut when seal skins were unavailable.

section was cut about 1 1/2 handspans wide and high. The pattern was folded in half along the centre front fold line. The lower edge of the upper section was shaped by cutting a line at a very slight downwards angle to about 3/4 handspan towards the centre front. The line was continued up to the centre front fold line by cutting a straight line. The upper edge was left without a casing. These boots are rarely made today.

H.7. CARIBOU SKIN BOOTS

The one piece Christmas stocking style caribou skin boot is made as described in Section III.3.F. The boot style with an upper section which is divided into two pieces (the lower upper section sewn with the hair in and the upper upper section sewn with the hair out)(Figure 55 and 56), it is made using the same basic pieces described in Appendix H.5 (Figure 137). Extra length and width is added to accommodate inner footwear. The upper section is cut with centre front and back seams and a horizontal seam placed about one half a handspan from the lower edge. The sole, vamp and lower leg sections are sewn with the hair to the inside, the upper leg section is sewn with the hair to the outside. Casings, ties and loops are omitted on this boot style. By cutting the upper section in one piece rather than two, a third variation is created. Leg skin boots are

made following the description in Appendix G.5.c. using the uncrimped sole variation described in Appendix G.5.a.

H.8. SEAL SKIN BOOTS

Boots made from haired, depilated or shaved seal skins are made from four pieces: a sole, vamp, narrow strip (optional) and upper section. The sole, upper section and narrow strip are cut on the lengthwise grain, while the vamp is cut on the crosswise grain. Unlike Copper Inuit seal skin boot soles, Caribou Inuit chew the soles to soften them before beginning to sew. Then they are scraped with a dull scraper, a thin layer is trimmed off from around the outer edges, they are re-cut to shape and moistened for about half an hour before attaching them to the vamp and ankle strip.

The vamp, sole and leg sections are created by following the directions outlined in Appendix H.5 (Figure 137). Men usually wear their boots with a taller upper section than women. Men's haired skin boots are sewn with the fold at the centre back and with a centre front seam (Figure 140). A single band of undecorated dark haired seal skin is sewn down the centre front of men's boots. A few men have boots with geometric patterns, however, ornate designs such as stooping falcons, whales, flowers and hockey team symbols are not used by Caribou Inuit in Eskimo Point as were observed by Oakes (1987d) in Arctic Bay. Men's shaved seal

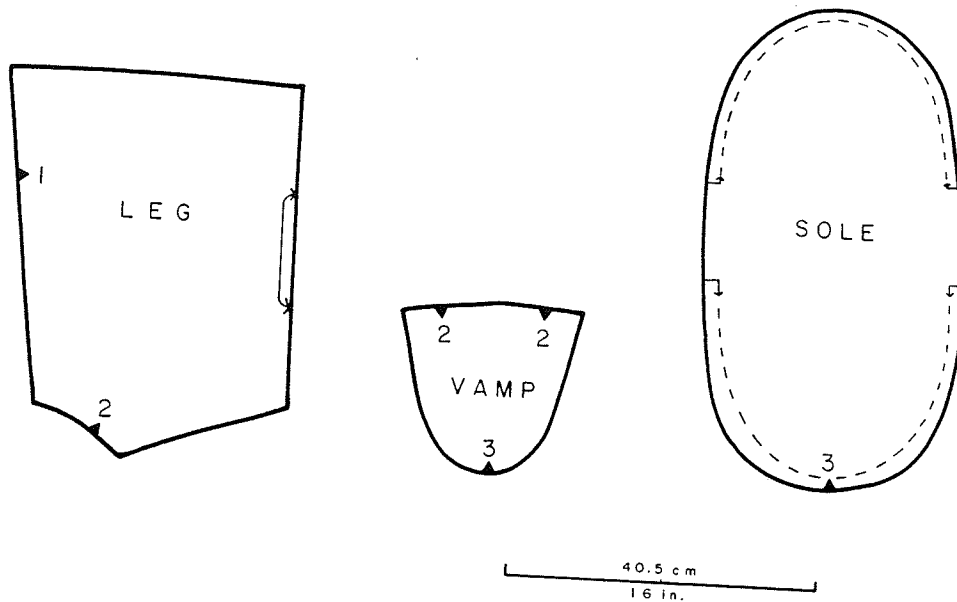


Figure 140. Eskimo Point Seal Skin Boot Pattern.
The leg section is cut with a centre front seam and a centre back fold line. Dashed lines on the sole indicate crimping.

skin boots are also made with a centre front seam. Women's boots are cut with the fold at centre front and sewn down the centre back. They are decorated with simple geometric designs, scallops or a band of dark haired seal skin. The upper section is finished by sewing a casing to the top and inserting a drawstring. The drawstring is often omitted on women's boots and on summer boots used by men and women.

An overcast stitch is used to sew the upper section seams. Stitches are spaced slightly wider on the seams connecting the light and dark haired skins and along the centre back seam. The vamp is sewn to the ankle strip with a close, tight, overcast stitch. The same stitch is used to sew the vamp-ankle strip to the upper section. The upper section is slightly eased onto the vamp at centre front, creating a bit of fullness.

The sole is attached to the vamp-ankle strip with the water-proof stitch (Oakes 1987d). The needle penetrates through the vamp seam allowance and half-way through the sole. The boot is turned inside out and the vamp seam allowance is overcasted to the sole, without penetrating through the sole skin.

On the inside of the boot sole three rows of running stitches are sewn about 1/4" (0.5 cm) apart around the heel area. One row of running stitches is sewn around the toe area, extending almost 1" (2.5 cm) from the vamp-ankle strip

seam. These rows of stitches reinforce the pleated edges and help hold the shape when the boot is damp.

Women's boots made from depilated seal skins are cut from the same pattern, although the upper section is cut just to the lower mid-calf and a 1 1/2" (4 cm) wide strip of dark haired seal skin is sewn around the top.

H.9. OUTER STOCKINGS

Outer stockings consist of three main pieces: upper, vamp and sole. Paallirmiut versions are made with a decorative strip of white on the outside panel of each boot. The upper leg section is divided into three pieces with a centre front, centre back and horizontal cut line. The horizontal cut line is used to incorporate a decorative strip of white hair from the rump area. The decorative panel is cut nearest the tail (Figure 141); the lower leg is cut immediately above the upper leg. The opposite leg is cut in one piece immediately above the divided leg. The vamp is positioned with the hair flowing to the toe. The vamp is cut with a slightly concave vamp-upper section cutline, unlike Copper Inuit stockings described in Section III.2.C.

The sole is cut from the neck area with the hair flowing to the toe. Soles are crimped at the toe, heel and to a lesser degree along the sides. The outer sole is omitted

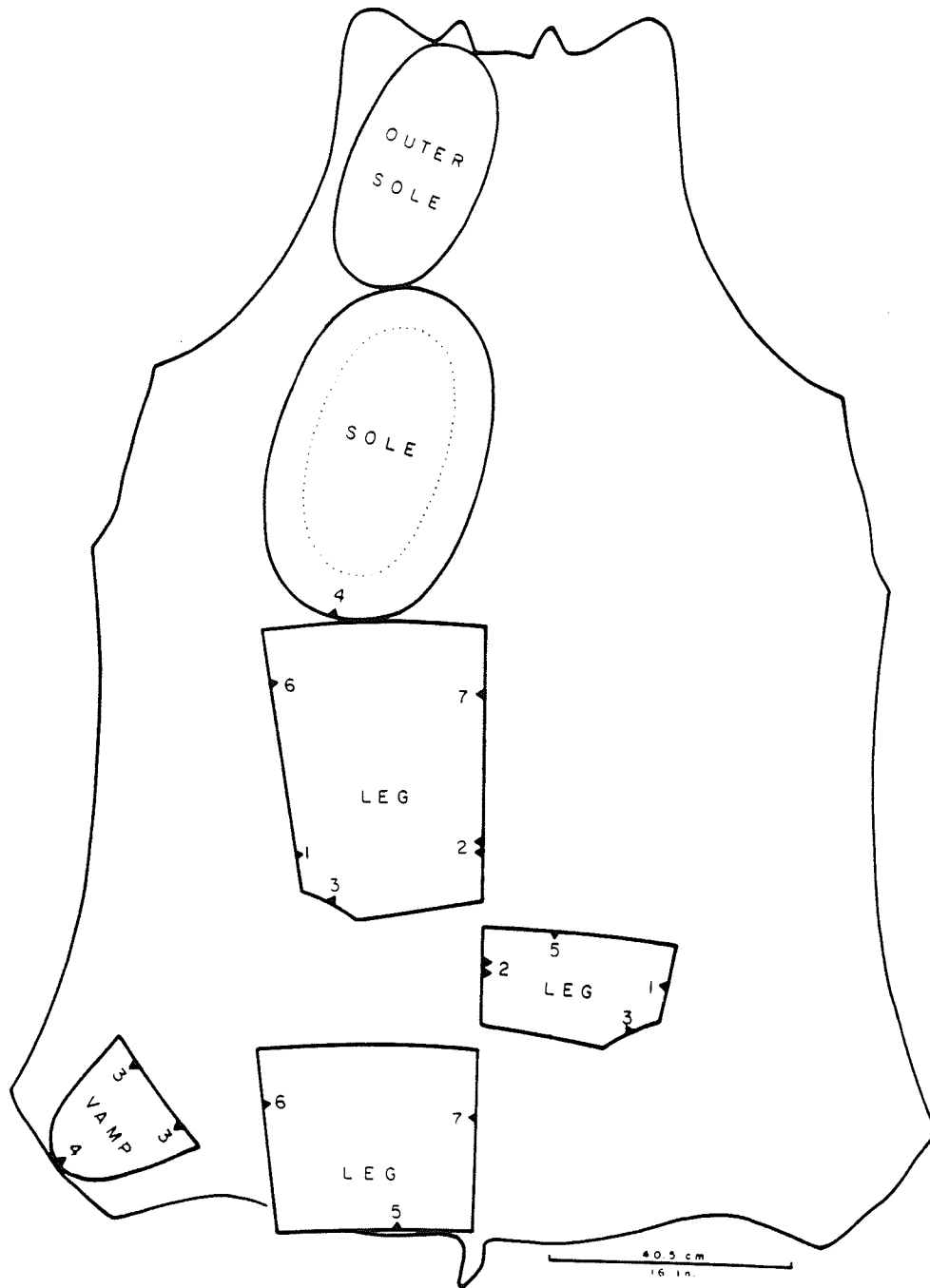


Figure 141. Eskimo Point Outer Stocking and Boot Pattern and Pattern Layout.
The outer sole is omitted on the stocking pattern.

when the pattern is used as a stocking. The same pattern is also used for the outer boot (Figure 55 and 56), however, both leg sections are divided into two pieces with a horizontal seam rather than only one leg section. The outer sole is sewn to the sole when used as a boot.

A 1" (2.5 cm) casing is cut from either fabric or a short haired skin and overcast to the top edge. A slit is cut on each side of centre back and a braided yarn or sinew tie is threaded through by crossing over each other before exiting at the splits.

Unlike stockings worn by males, the traditional woman's stocking extended up to the mid-hips and had a pouch sewn into each side at the calf. The pattern for this historical stocking style is included in Birket-Smith (1929). Contemporary Caribou Inuit women produce replicas of this stocking and pouch using similar pattern pieces. Replicas are only made when historical costumes are needed.

H.10. OUTER SLIPPERS

Outer slippers (overshoes) consist of four pieces: upper section, vamp, sole and outer sole (Figure 142). Pieces are cut as described in Appendix H.5 with allowances made so the slipper fits over the under layers of footwear. Inner slipper pieces illustrated in Figures 51, 52 and 53 are

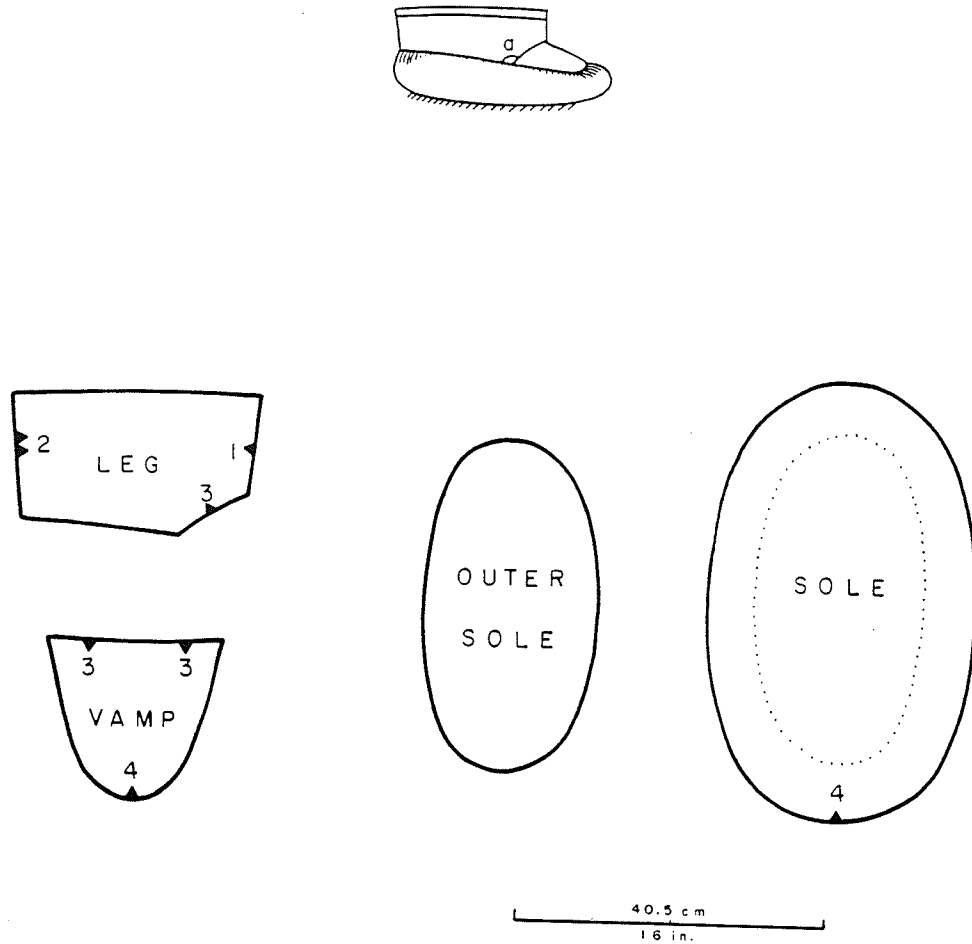


Figure 142. Eskimo Point Outer Slipper Pattern, Style A. The outer slipper consists of a short leg section, vamp, sole and outer sole. The dotted lines on the sole piece indicate where the outer sole is attached. A loop (a) is sewn to the vamp-sole-leg intersection and a drawstring is threaded through the loop. This style is the most commonly used in Eskimo Point today.

also used for outer slippers when they are cut from thick, sturdy, durable bull skins. When caribou hair is too long and thick it is shaved to allow more foot room and reduce the insulative value. The outer sole skin is also shaved to prevent long, snow-packed hair from rubbing against the adjacent boot and making the skin wet, thereby prematurely wearing out the boot.

Vamps are cut with the hair flowing towards the toe. Soles are cut from the neck area with the hair flowing towards the toe. Crimping is used at the toe, heel and a bit around the side areas. Seamstresses state that the Ahiarmiut style is to crimp around the toe, heel and a little bit along the sides while the Paallirmiut style is to crimp around the toe and heel, leaving the sides without crimping. However, many overshoes made by Paallirmiut also had side crimping. This detail is more likely influenced by the thickness of the skin selected for the sole. Thick skins are more difficult to crimp neatly and often require crimping along the sides to accommodate all the fullness.

A casing is made by folding over the raw edge and overcasting it to the outside, or by sewing a fabric casing to the raw edge. A drawstring is threaded through and crossed over at holes on each side of centre back. The tie is threaded through a loop on each side of the slipper and tied at centre front. The loops are made by laying numerous strands of sinew across the vamp-upper-sole seam

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intersection (Figure 142, a). Strands are reinforced by half-hitching them together. Dehaired and thin haired caribou skins are also used to make loops.

To add traction and insulation an outer sole is attached with the hair to the outside and flowing towards the heel. During springtime an additional layer of skin or fabric is sewn between the inner and outer sole. This layer helps absorb moisture, providing extra protection against dampness.

A variety of outer slippers worn indoors or around the community are illustrated in Figures 143, 144, 145 and 146. Patterns for these slippers are passed around to other interested community members. They are commonly made by Kusugak (Pers. Comm. 1986) from a wide variety of commercial and home tanned skins.

H.11 MITTENS

Caribou Inuit make their mittens identical to those described in Appendix G.6. Gauntlets are also made in Eskimo Point (Figure 147). A third style is a variation of the wrist length mitten and was used by the Ahiarmiut (Sewoee, Pers. Comm. 1985-87). These mittens were cut by extending the thumb and back mitt pieces and omitting the wrist strip piece. They were finished by turning up the extended area creating a wrist cuff (Figure 148).

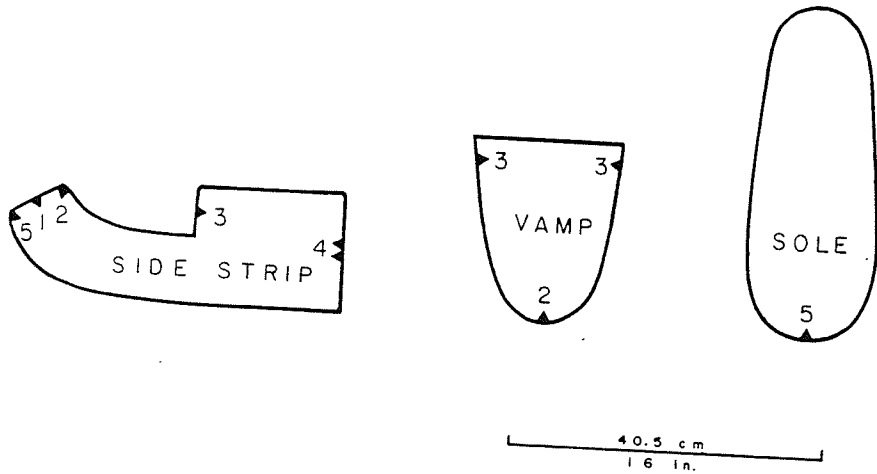


Figure 143. Outer Slipper Pattern, Style B.
 This crimpless sole variation includes a side strip that extends above the ankle, a vamp and a sole. This style is used occasionally in Eskimo Point today.

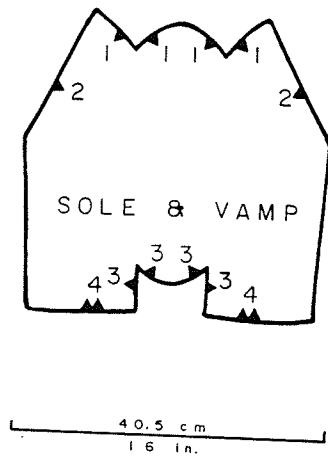


Figure 144. Outer Slipper Pattern, Style C.
 This one piece slipper is rarely used in Eskimo Point.

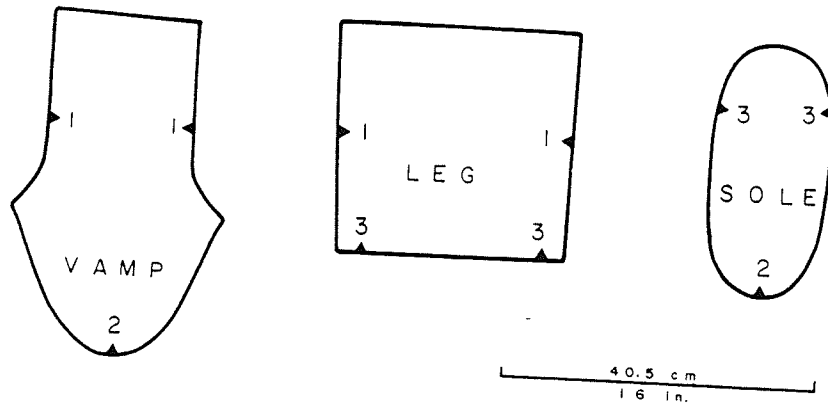


Figure 145. Outer Slipper Pattern, Style D.
 The vamp is extended to well above the ankle and the side strip is cut to match. This style is used mainly by one woman in Eskimo Point.

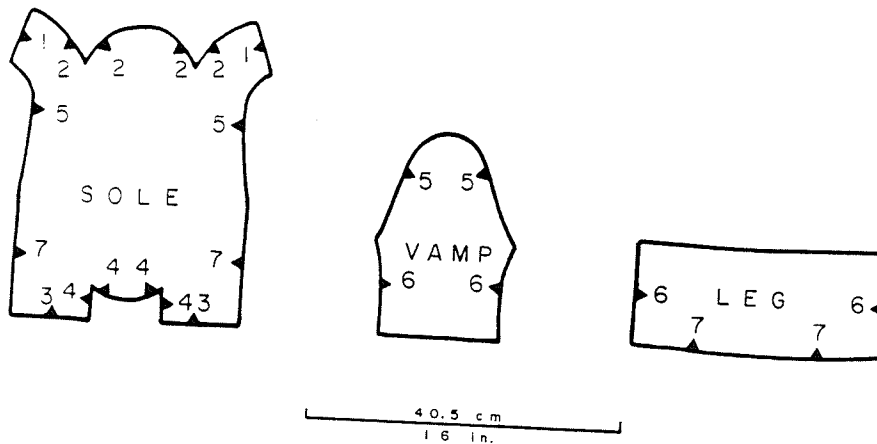


Figure 146. Outer Slipper Pattern, Style E.
 The side strip is cut in one piece with the sole while the vamp and leg sections are cut separately. This style is used by very few women in Eskimo Point.

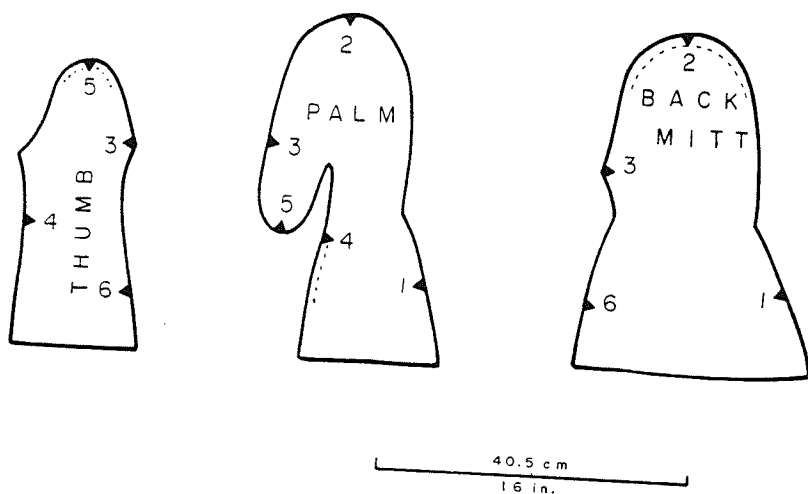


Figure 147. Gauntlet Mitt Pattern.

The thumb, palm and back mitt pattern pieces are extended in a flared fashion. This pattern is used by several women in Eskimo Point.

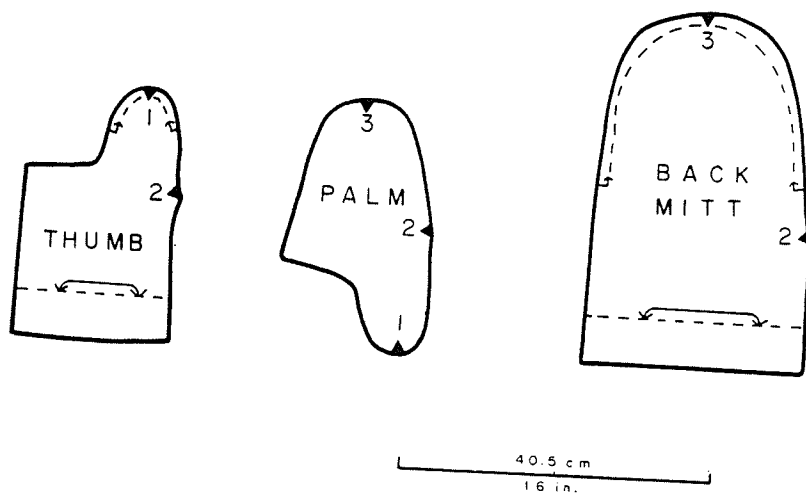


Figure 148. Variation of the Wrist Length Mitt Pattern.

The wrist strip is unnecessary when the thumb and back mitt pattern pieces are extended. The extension is folded back along the dashed line to create a wrist band. This pattern was used mainly by Aharmiut in the past. The same pattern, made with a separate wrist section is commonly used by Inuit in Eskimo Point today.

H.12. UNMARRIED YOUNG WOMEN AND CHILDREN'S PATTERNS

An unmarried, childless women's parka is made from pieces similar to those described in Section V.12, 13 and 14, however, parts of the back are cut differently. The back side seam is cut the same as was described in Section V.12,13 and 14 (Figure 94, f-g). From the lower edge of the side seam a cutting line about 3/4 handspans long is cut straight towards the centre back fold line (Figure 149, f-x). Line "f-x" is usually cut at right angles to the side seam although some women angle the cutting line so it is slightly higher at the end closest to the centre back (x). The cutting line then turns at a sharp angle (some women round off the corner more than others) and continues in a slightly a-line fashion towards a point at the lower edge of the caribou skin (x-y). The straight line flares outwards over the last 3" (8 cm) at the bottom hemline (y). The bottom hemline (y-z) extends to around mid-calf or upper-calf length. From the centre back fold to the outer edge of this long, tab-like hemline measures a little wider than one handspan.

The dropped shoulder seam is cut as described in Section V.14, however, some seamstresses round off the corner near the centre back fold line. The neck line is cut straight

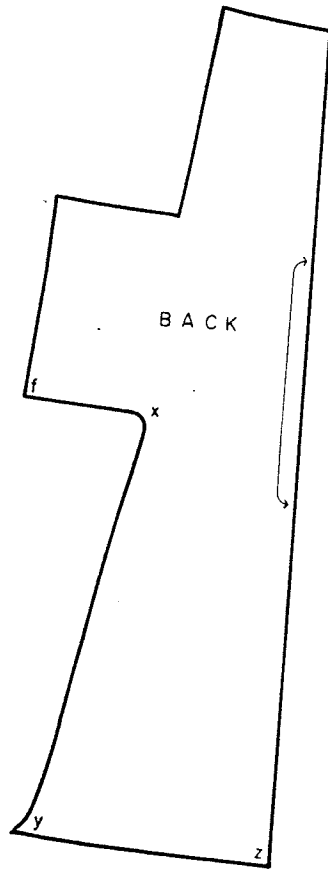


Figure 149. Young Caribou Inuit Woman's Pouchless Parka Back Pattern.

across or with a slightly drooping curve. The pouch slash lines are omitted because the pouch is omitted.

Hood pattern pieces are identical to the older woman's hood. They are reduced in size to keep in proportion with a girl's smaller body build.

The parka pieces are assembled as described in Section V.12, 13 and 14. The tab-like hemline is finished by sewing a strip of bias tape to the bottom edge. As the tape is sewn on, the skin is gathered until the flared edge no longer shows on the outside. A long tie is sewn to the bias tape at the flared edge (y) and tacked just below the dropped shoulder seam. The length of the tie is shortened until it causes the bottom hemline to curl inwards, hiding the bias tape. The front pattern and side (f-x-y) of the back pattern hemline is fringed as described in Section V.14, the bottom edge (y-z) is left unfringed.

Smaller boys and girls wear a similar parka with a tab-like tail. Their parkas are constructed in the same fashion, except the back tail is left hanging straight. Skins are cut with an old parka used as a pattern or by using half handspans in place of handspans. Instead of the elongated hood described in Section V.14, boys wore a miniature man's hood style cut in one piece with the back pattern (Figure 150). A separate side panel was gathered slightly to the back piece, fitting the hood loosely to the face. The Paallirmiut style was cut similarly except the back piece was divided into three panels. The panels were

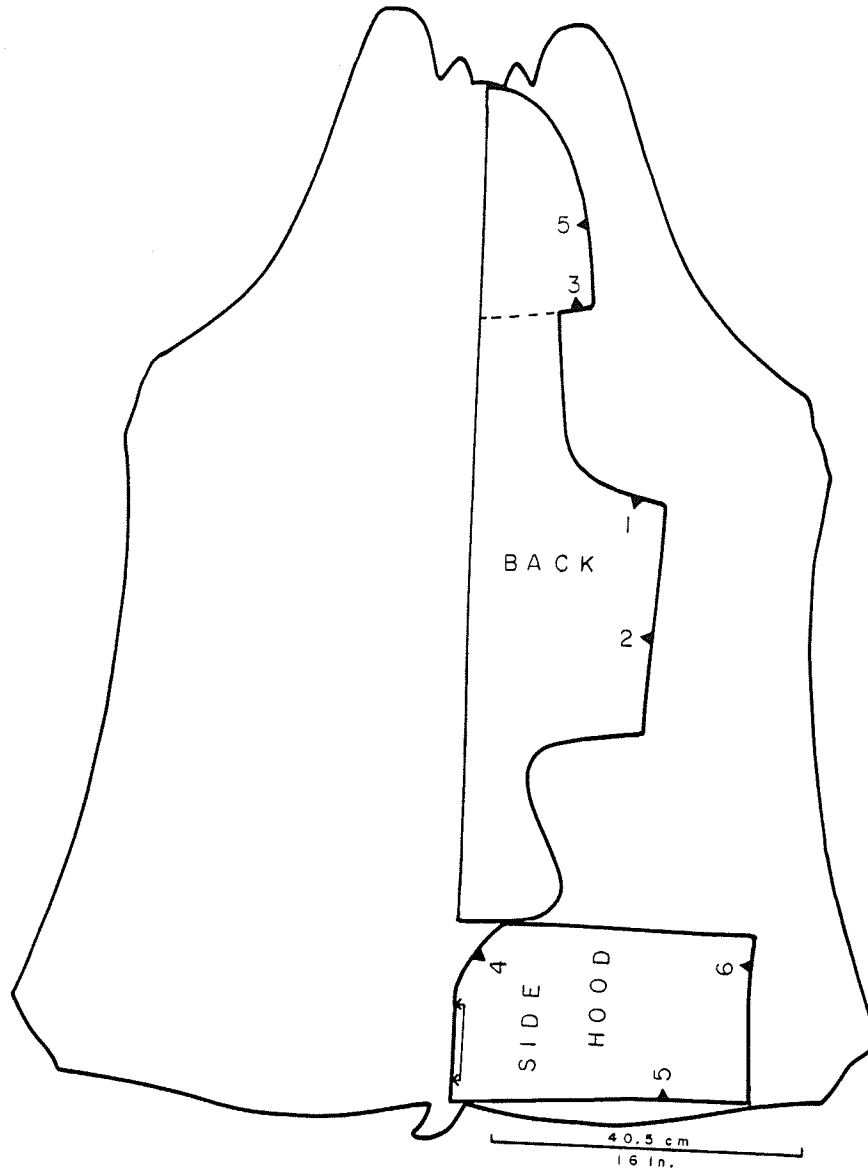


Figure 150. Eskimo Point Child's Parka Style A, Back and Side-Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout.
The horizontal broken line at the neck line indicates an optional seam.

cut from white haired skins when they were available. A side panel was then gathered onto the back piece and fitted closely to the face.

The Ahiarmiut style is cut with the back waistline edge on a downward angle towards the back tail. The Paallirmiut version is cut at an upwards angle towards the centre back, or straight across. Both styles use a dropped shoulder seam. Paallirmiut styles have a square seam and Ahiarmiut styles have a slightly rounded seam. The enlarged shoulder area is also used by boys and girls of both groups (Figures 150, 151, 152 and 153). Today these differences are much less pronounced; seamstresses usually use the Paallirmiut versions disregarding their ancestral background. Sleeves (Figure 154) are cut out and sewn as described in Section V.7.

Children's snow suits are measured by eye. Pieces are aligned with the lengthwise fold line and adjustments are made once the back and front sections are assembled. The front was cut from one piece and the back was divided transversely into two pieces. The crotch was left open for easy elimination and trimmed with caribou. Occasionally polar bear was used for trim. The front, wrist and hood openings are edged with a narrow strip of white haired skin with the hair turned towards the inside on an outer parka. Three or four ties of yarn or depilated skins are overcast to the front opening. A fur ruff is sewn around the hood.

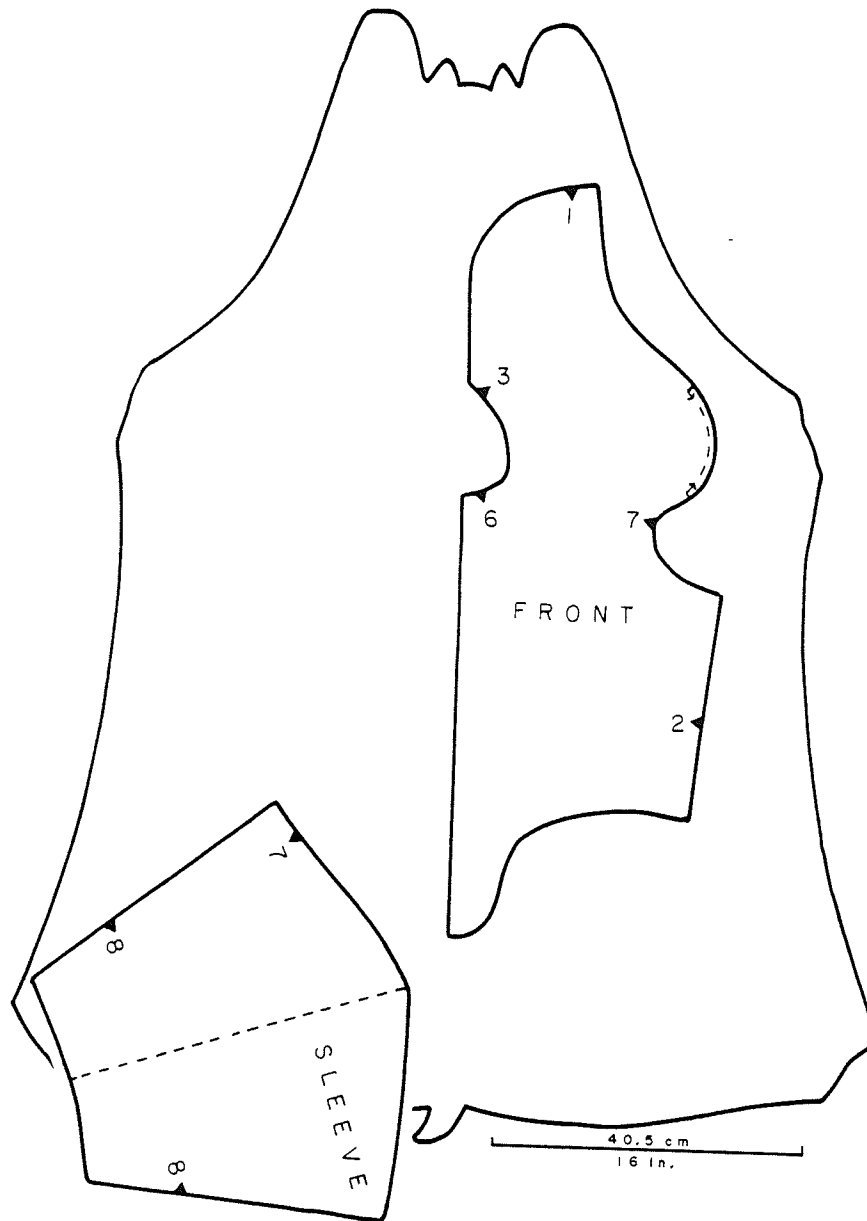


Figure 151. Eskimo Point Child's Parka Style A, Front and Sleeve Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The vertical broken line on the sleeve indicates an optional seam which eliminates extra piecing.

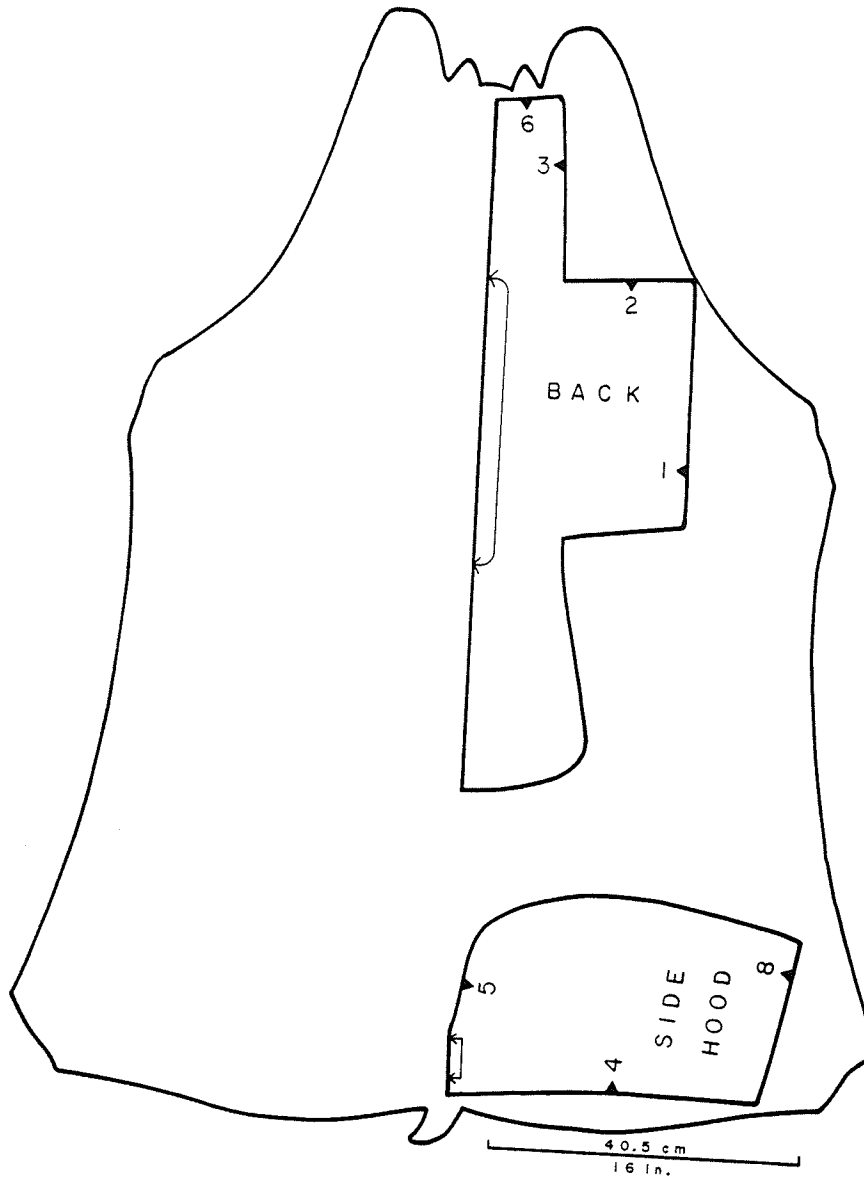


Figure 152. Eskimo Point Child's Parka Style B, Back and Side-Hood Pattern and Pattern Layout.
 The back pattern is cut with a neck seam and the corners of the tail are sharper than Style A.

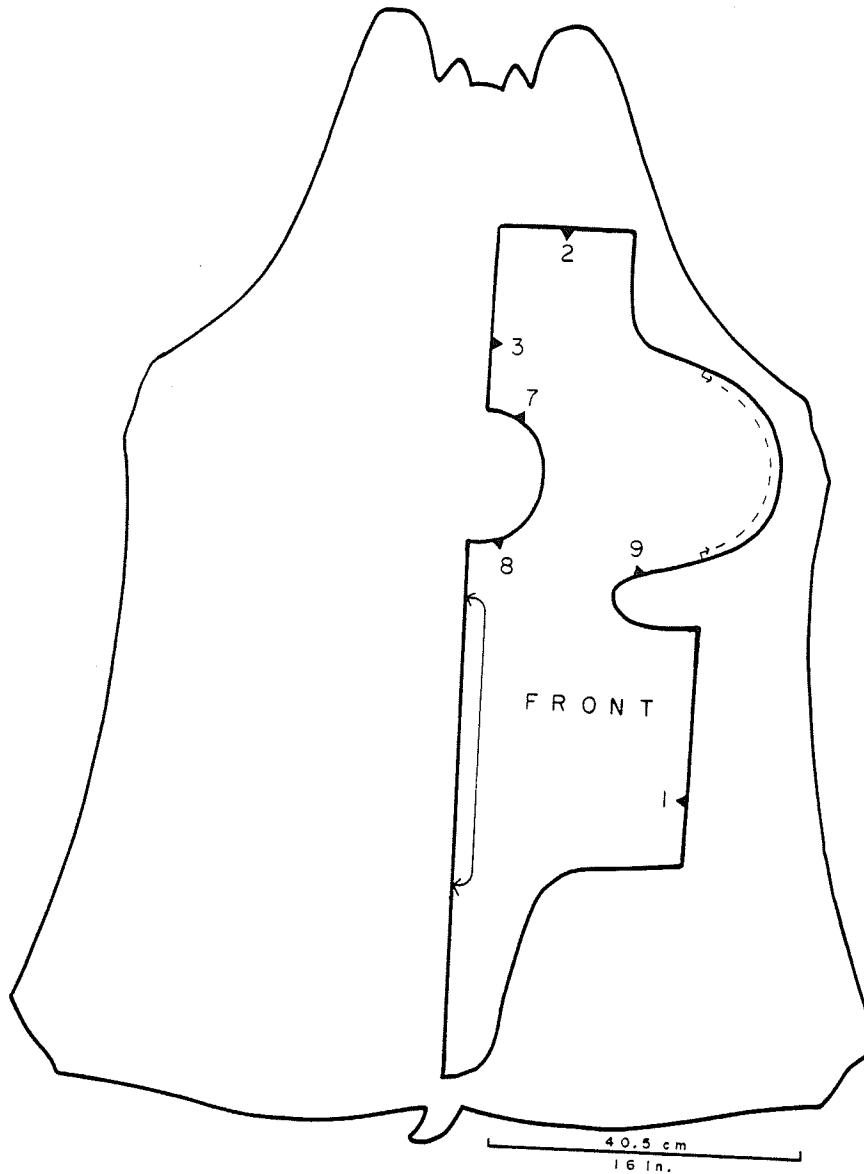


Figure 153. Eskimo Point Child's Parka Style B, Front Pattern and Pattern Layout.

The front tail is smaller and the dropped shoulder seam is curved compared to Style A.

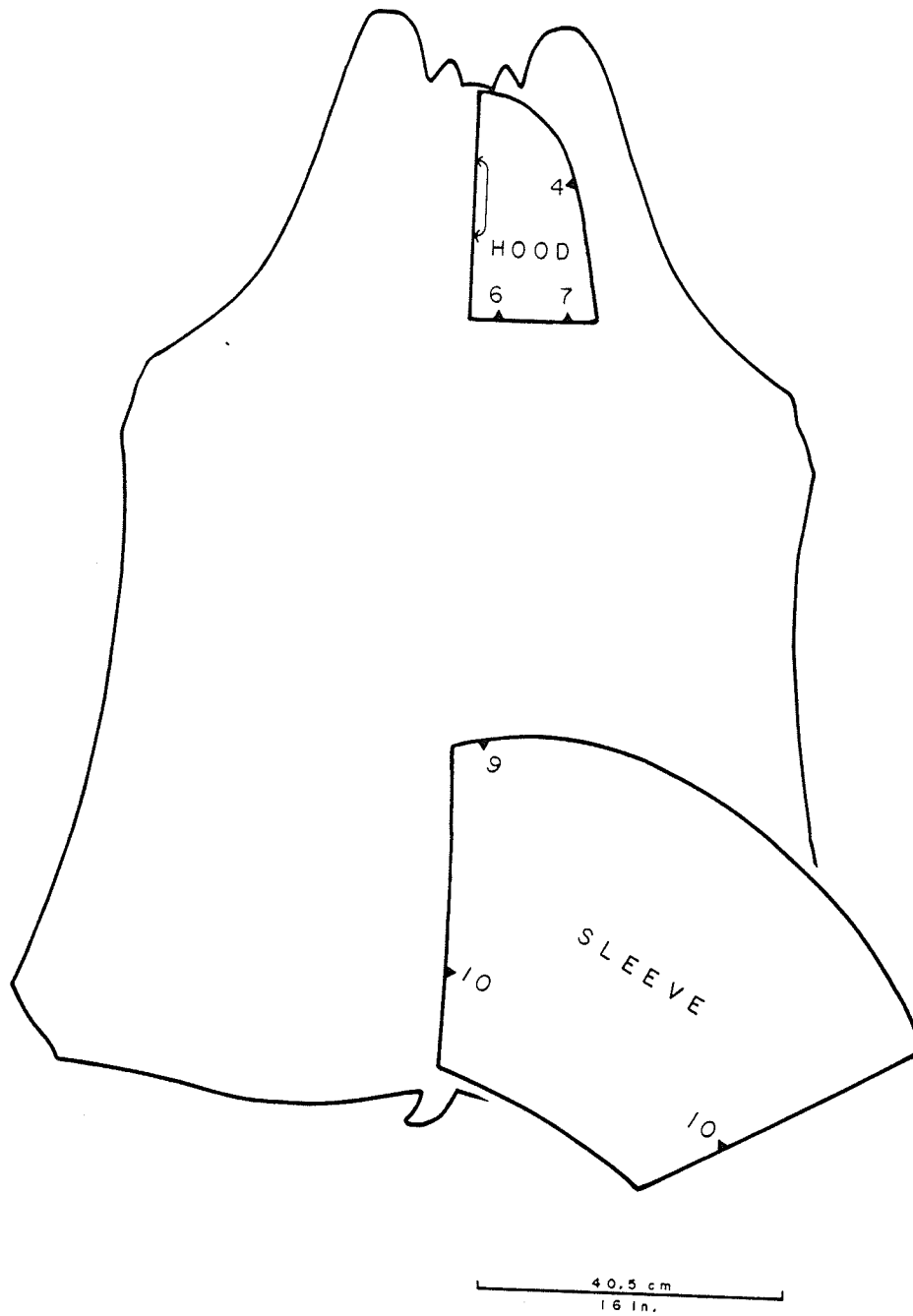


Figure 154. Eskimo Point Child's Parka Style B, Hood and Sleeve Pattern and Pattern Layout.
 The hood is cut from the neck area or some people cut it in three sections from the white haired belly area.

An intricately pieced pattern commonly used by Netsilingmiut living in Gjoa Haven (Qushuun, Pers. Comm. 1986) and Igloolingmiut living in Igloolik (Pharand 1975) is not made by Ahiarmiut or Paallirmiut seamstresses today. Hoods have a knob at the peak and slightly puffed sides like an adult man's parka hood. The caribou ears and antler skins were removed and contrasting trim was omitted on playsuit hoods made during 1985-87. Seamstresses explained that they could decorate the hoods if they wanted to, however, they rarely included the antler skins. The split crotch is trimmed with long haired caribou skin or a bit of polar bear skin when it is available. A girl's playsuit style with a built in tail (popular in Igloolik) is not made in Eskimo Point.

A second style is also used today. This style is made with front (Figure 155), back (Figure 156) and sleeve (Figure 157) pieces identical to purchased snowsuit patterns. The crotch is sewn shut, a zipper is installed at centre front and the suit is lined with imitation fur, quilted or unquilted fabric. Hood, mitten and boot attachments are optional. Parents complain that their children perspire when wearing these snowsuits. The synthetic linings inhibit the transfer of body vapour through the caribou skin. By removing the lining, body vapour is free to pass through the skin, thereby keeping the child warm and dry.

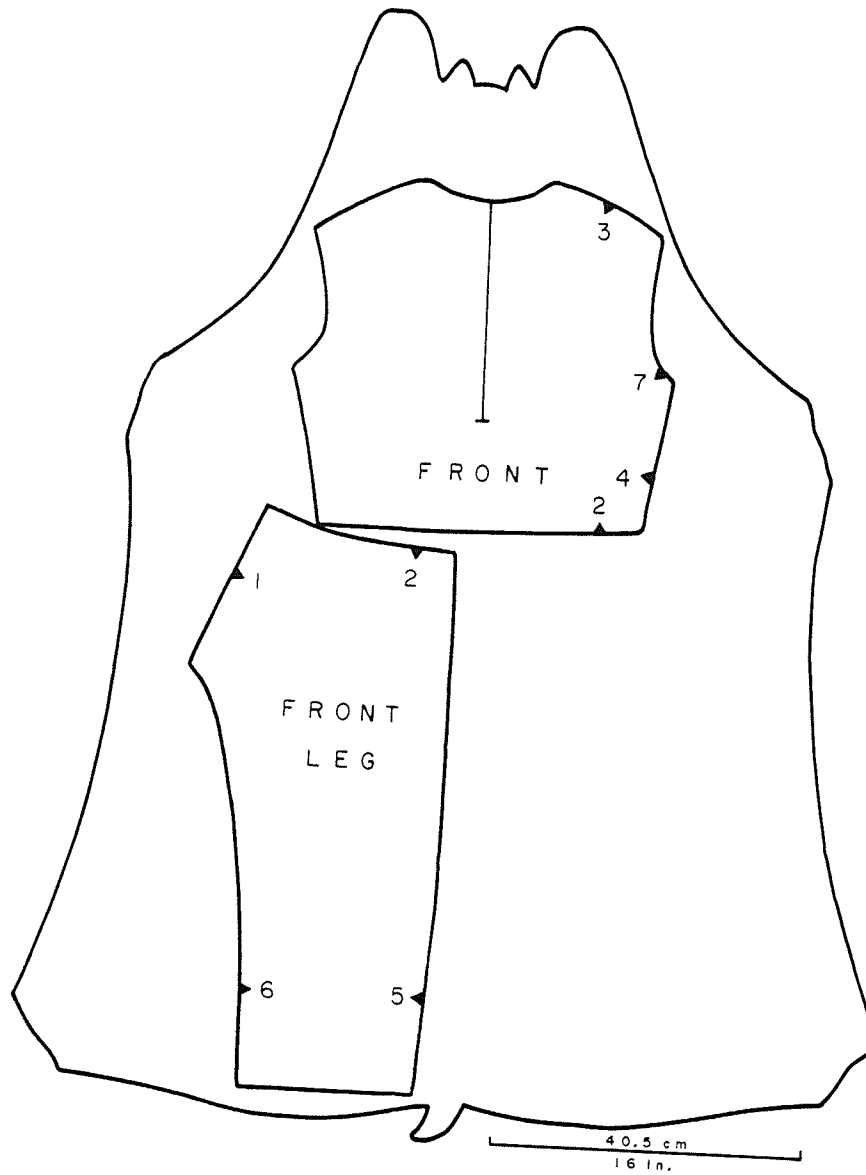


Figure 155. Contemporary Snowsuit, Front and Leg Pattern and Pattern Layout.

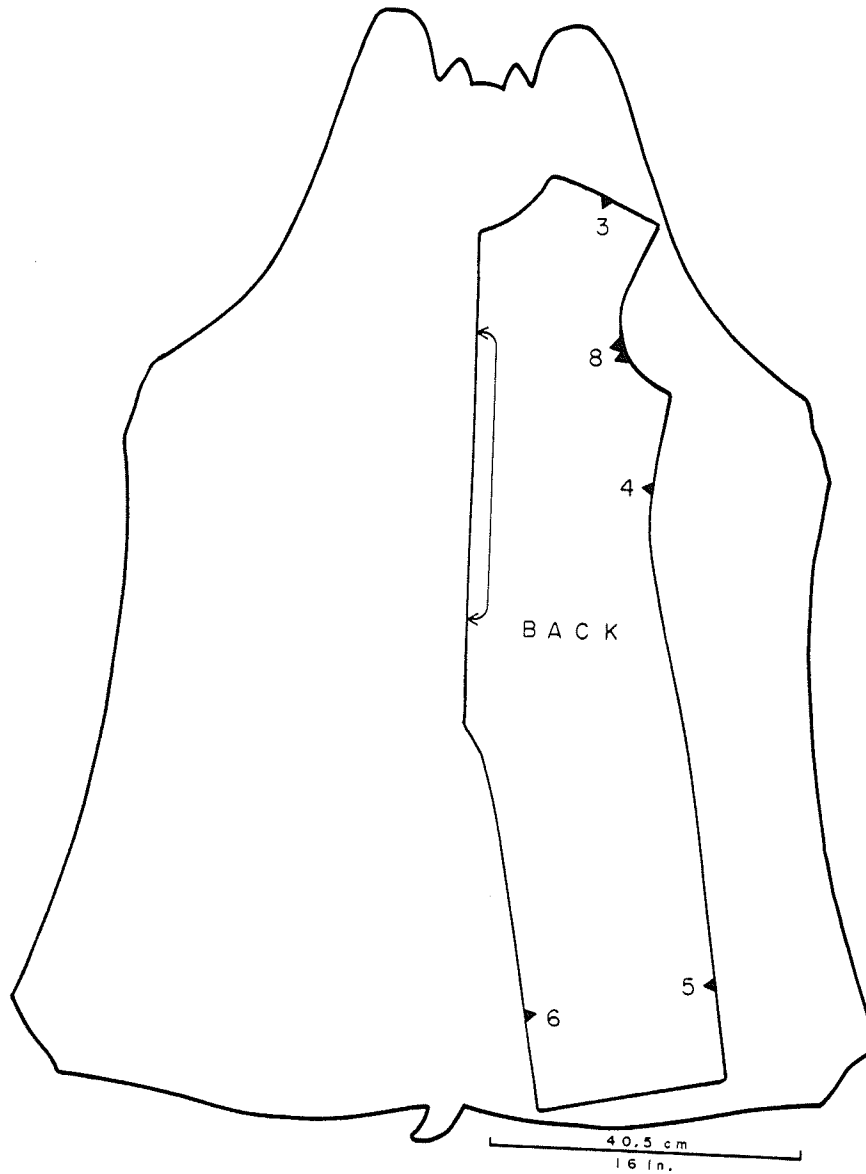


Figure 156. Contemporary Snowsuit, Back Pattern and Pattern Layout.

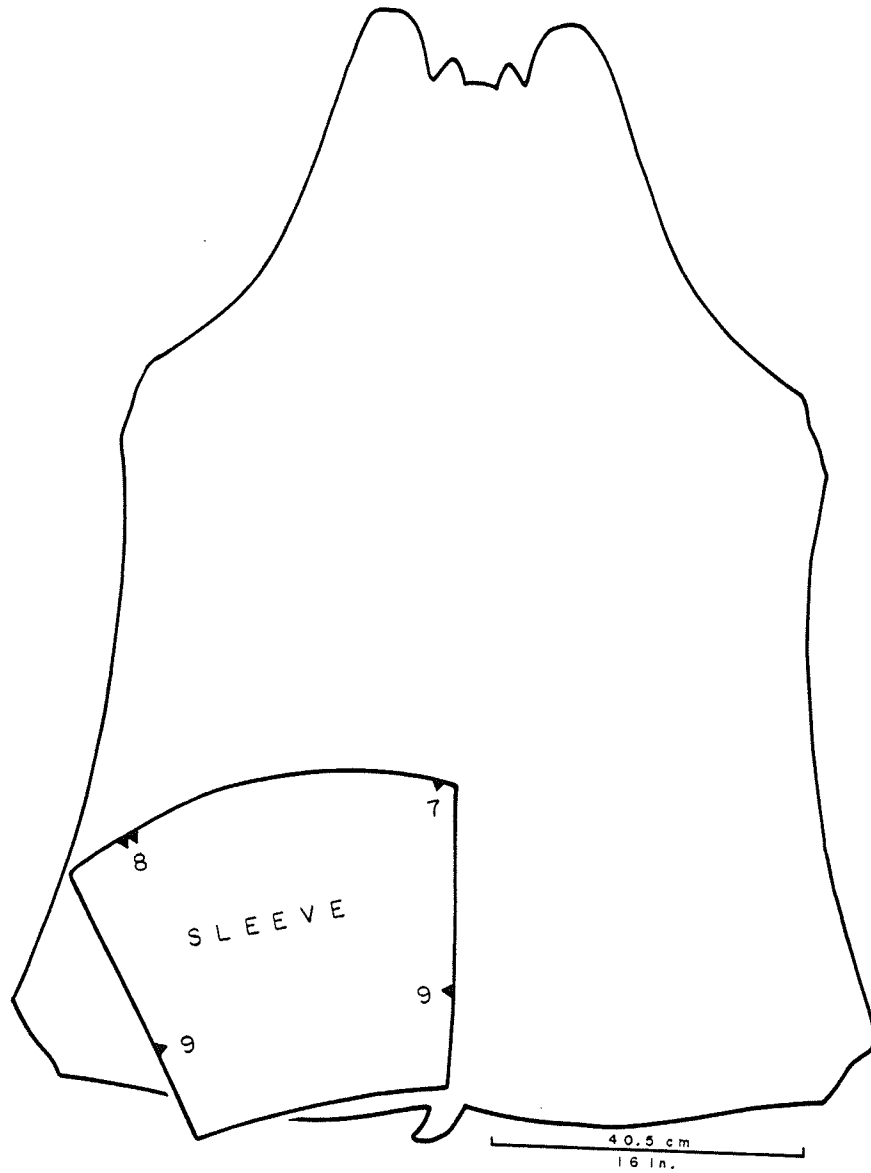


Figure 157. Contemporary Snowsuit, Sleeve Pattern and Pattern Layout.

One bonnet style was made by cutting two depilated skin pieces and sewing them together with a medial seam. This style is not used today. Another style consisted of two side pieces and one centre piece (Figure 158). Occasionally bonnets were partially covered with fabric and edged with beadwork (Birket-Smith 1929; Steenhoven 1955).

Bonnets cut from caribou skins are placed so the hair direction is running from the crown down the centre back and from the side panels towards the face edge (Figure 159). White haired fringes are cut about 1/4" (0.5 cm) wide and from 2" (5 cm)(Ahiarmiut style) to 4" (10 cm)(Paallirmiut style) long. Bonnets are trimmed by sewing strips of light and dark haired skins around the face edge. Boys usually have fewer strips of contrasting colour than girls. Occasionally the centre back panel is cut from white haired skins.

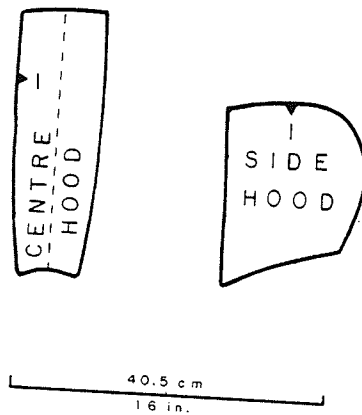


Figure 158. Eskimo Point Bonnet Pattern, Style A.
The neck edge is trimmed with haired skin fringe.

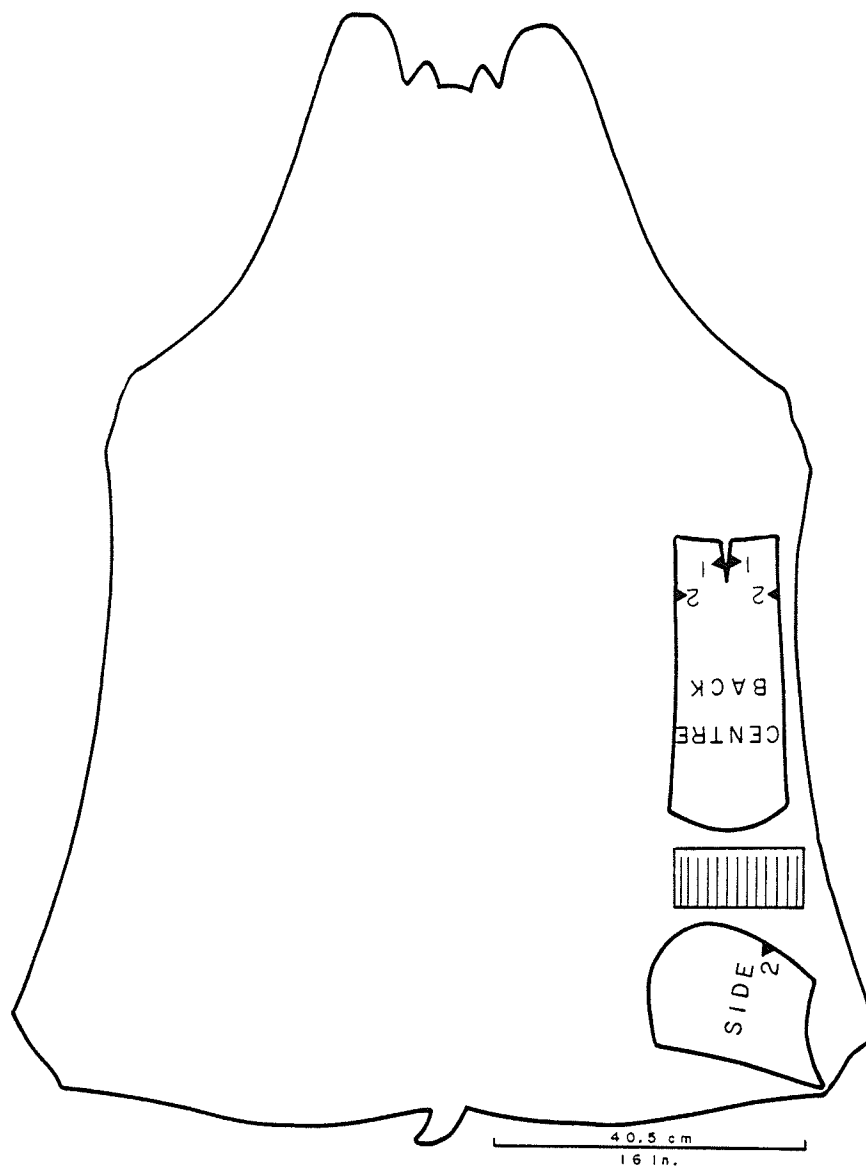


Figure 159. Eskimo Point Bonnet Pattern and Pattern Layout, Style B.

The centre back piece is fitted with a slashed dart. The fringe and centre back pieces are cut from white haired skin and the side piece is cut from a brown haired area.