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THE SPECK COLLECTION
OF MONTAGNAIS MATERIAL CULTURE
FROM THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE DRAINAGE, QUEBEC

JAMES W. VANSTONE

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I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION¹

In historic times, the Montagnais-Naskapi have inhabited the entire Quebec-Labrador Peninsula, with the exception of coastal areas to the north and northeast. They speak dialects of the Cree language which belongs to the Algonquian language family.

The designation Montagnais-Naskapi encompasses three major groupings whose territories correspond to major drainage patterns on the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. The Montagnais occupied the drainage of the St. Lawrence River, while to the north the Naskapi inhabited country which drains into Ungava Bay and the north Atlantic Ocean. The third group, the Mistassini, lived along rivers and lakes which drain into James and Hudson bays (fig. 1). Traditionally, all the Montagnais-Naskapi lived by hunting, trapping, and fishing, but their material culture and subsistence patterns reflected the differing distribution of natural resources in the three major drainage systems. It is, however, impossible to draw precise boundaries between the three groups since the pattern of seasonal movements in all groups brought about frequent interchange of peoples between neighboring bands. The Montagnais-Naskapi have apparently always traveled widely, maintaining contacts with bands in widely separated areas of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula.

Since the ethnographic materials described and illustrated in this study were, with few exceptions, collected among the Montagnais, these introductory comments concerning subsistence and European contact will be confined to that group. However, they also apply, in large measure, to the Mistassini.

The Montagnais of the St. Lawrence region inhabited an environment which contained a wider variety of food resources than were available in any other part of the Montagnais-Naskapi area and the Indians exploited most of them. This was particularly true before the Montagnais were pushed north by European settlement in the 17th century. Important land animals were moose, caribou, black bear, beaver, porcupine, fox, hare, marten, and squirrel. Also available were a variety of waterfowl and fish including eels, salmon, pike, carp, sturgeon, whitefish, and smelt. Wild berries of many varieties were gathered and maple trees were tapped for their sap.

During the fall large numbers of eels were caught in stone weirs or speared

¹ Most of this section has been summarized from Rogers & Leacock (1981).

with leisters. The eels were dried and, along with porcupine and beaver meat, were an important source of food until the snow was sufficiently deep in late winter so that moose could be tracked and killed with spears. It was almost impossible to get close enough to these animals, if the snow cover was light, to kill them with a bow and arrow. Moose meat was smoke-dried for storage. Also in winter, beaver were sometimes caught in nets set through holes in the ice near their houses. However, it was not until the breakup of the river in spring that these animals were taken in large numbers.

With the coming of spring, deadfalls and snares were set for bears, although occasionally these animals were killed with spears while hibernating in winter. Hares were caught in nets, snared, or shot with arrows. Porcupines were also snared, as were a variety of small mammals, particularly when other food was scarce. Large numbers of fish were taken in nets or with hooks to be smoked and stored for winter use.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the presence of European ships on the St. Lawrence River encouraged the Montagnais bands of the interior to move toward that waterway. By the 1600s there are many references to Montagnais living east of the Lake St. John area and during the 1700s, Indians were living permanently in southeast Quebec.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, there was an increase in the number and size of white settlements along the St. Lawrence. Some of these settlers, in addition to agriculture, undertook extensive trapping. At the same time, trading posts were established in the central interior of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. These two developments encouraged the Montagnais to move away from the coast. Trapping became the most important feature of the Montagnais economy and led to the development of trading post bands—groups of Indians who traded at a particular post and whose seasonal movements included time spent at the post. Nevertheless, the Montagnais retained their patterns of seasonal movement throughout the 19th and into the 20th century, thus frustrating the efforts of both Hudson's Bay Company traders and missionaries who attempted to persuade the Indians to settle in one place so that trading and missionizing would be easier. However, like hunters and gatherers elsewhere in North America, the Montagnais eventually became sufficiently dependent on European goods so that their seasonal movements were increasingly centered around frequent visits to trading posts. By the middle of the 20th century, the trading post bands in the Montagnais area, as well as elsewhere in the region occupied by Montagnais-Naskapi, were being replaced by large, permanent Indian settlements where government services were available and where the Indians spent the greater part of their time.

Although much important early information concerning the Montagnais is found in the writings of 17th century Jesuit missionaries (and in a few published sources), serious ethnographic research in the area dates from 1908, when Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania began investigations among the Indians of Lake St. John, later extending his work to neighboring groups. Speck's research continued until 1932. During his many seasons of field work he made ethnographic collections for numerous institutions, including the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, the American Museum of Natural History, the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the National Museum of Canada, the Danish National Museum, and Field Museum

of Natural History. A large private collection was purchased after his death by the Royal Ontario Museum.

FRANK G. SPECK AND FIELD MUSEUM

In the summer of 1926, following completion of his graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, William Duncan Strong joined the staff of Field Museum as Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology and Archaeology (Field Museum, Department of Anthropology, correspondence files, Strong to Laufer, May 10, 1926; Laufer to Strong, May 17, 1926). He was assigned to accompany the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition to northern Labrador and anticipated a departure in June 1927. Hoping to spend at least part of the winter of 1927-1928 among the Naskapi Indians living in the interior south of Ungava Bay, Strong wrote to Frank G. Speck at the University of Pennsylvania in March 1927 requesting a list of sources to read and suggestions concerning possible research problems. He also hoped to arrange a meeting with Speck in Philadelphia before departing for Labrador (Field Museum accession [FMA] 1734, Office of the Registrar, Strong to Speck, March 30, 1927).

In his answer, Speck encouraged Strong to make the trip to Philadelphia, noting that it would be difficult "to do justice to your inquiries" by correspondence. He also mentioned that he was about to leave for the Lake St. John area and queried Strong as to whether Field Museum might be interested in obtaining a representative ethnographic collection from the Montagnais of southern Quebec (FMA 1734, Speck to Strong, April 5, 1927). In his reply, Strong reiterated his intention to come to Philadelphia in June and encouraged Speck to write to Field Museum's director, D. C. Davies, concerning the possibility of making a collection for that institution, noting that a collection from southern Quebec would nicely complement the one he hoped to make in the north (FMA 1734, Strong to Speck, April 7, 1927).

Speck wrote on April 9, noting that his departure for the field would be on the 13th and that he was sufficiently encouraged by Strong's remarks to suggest, since time was too short for correspondence, that Strong speak to Davies about the collection that Speck proposed to make. Such a collection, he pointed out, could be made for less than \$300 and would consist of about 100 specimens, including "hunting utensils, domestic wares, costume parts, and specimens exhibiting decorative techniques." Because he expected to stay in the Lake St. John area for only about two weeks, this collection would be, of necessity, "modest," but nevertheless an indication of what might be obtained on subsequent trips. Speck urged Strong to drop him a short note at a Quebec City address indicating the director's response (FMA 1734, Speck to Strong, April 9, 1927).

This terminates the Speck-Strong correspondence preserved in Field Museum's files, and it is not known whether the museum's new curator actually managed the trip to Philadelphia before the Rawson-MacMillan Expedition departed for Labrador on June 25. He did, however, immediately inform Berthold Laufer, Chief Curator of Anthropology at Field Museum, about the correspondence, and Laufer wrote to Speck on April 13 at the Quebec City address urging him to make the collection and then report to the director after returning to Philadelphia, submitting a list of the collection and the asking price. Laufer

was enthusiastic about the proposed collection and felt sure that the director would approve (FMA 1734, Laufer to Speck, April 13, 1927).

Speck wasted no time in making the collection for Field Museum. Slightly more than two weeks after leaving for southern Quebec, he was back in Philadelphia and writing to Laufer enclosing a bill of lading for a shipment of specimens to the Chief Curator of Anthropology (FMA 1734, Speck to Laufer, April 28, 1927). Then followed a somewhat frantic correspondence between Speck and Laufer and Speck and the director, Davies, necessitated, apparently, by the fact that the ethnographer had violated sacrosanct museum procedures by dealing directly with the Chief Curator of Anthropology rather than the director of the museum. Of more serious consequence, the collection had been addressed to Laufer personally rather than to the museum and this caused the shipment to be held up by customs (FMA 1734, Laufer to Speck [2], April 29, 1927; telegram, Speck to Laufer, May 2, 1927; Speck to Laufer, May 3; Speck to Davies, May 3; Speck to Davies, June 10; Davies to Speck, June 14; Speck to Laufer, June 19; Field Museum, Department of Anthropology correspondence files, Speck to Laufer, June 10; Laufer to Speck, June 13). Speck's asking price for the collection, including a birch bark canoe that had not yet been shipped, was \$395. Finally, on June 30, Laufer recommended to the director that the collection be purchased for that amount (FMA 1734, Laufer to Davies, June 30, 1927). Davies reduced this amount to \$300, suggesting that the canoe not be included. Speck, who had left for the field again in mid-July and possibly wearied by the entanglements, found this arrangement acceptable (FMA 1734, Davies to Speck, July 8; Speck to Davies, July 24).

In his letter of July 24 to Davies, written in Bersimis, Quebec, Speck, in addition to accepting the financial arrangements for his collection, informed the director that he had made another small collection from bands east of Lake St. John. This he offered to the museum to fill in some of the gaps in his earlier collection (FMA 1734, Speck to Davies, July 24). Although there is no correspondence concerning the mechanics of this proposed transaction, the specimens, numbering 16, were received by the museum on September 17, 1927, and two days later Laufer wrote to Speck that the collection was acceptable and that a check for \$25 would be mailed in a few days (Field Museum, Department of Anthropology correspondence files, Laufer to Speck, September 19, 1927).

II

THE COLLECTION

INTRODUCTION

In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology at Field Museum of Natural History, the Speck collection of ethnographic specimens from the Montagnais of southern Quebec (Accessions 1734, 1739) is assigned 166 numbers representing 170 specimens. Paired objects such as moccasins, mittens, and snowshoes have one number and are counted as single specimens. At the time this study was begun, all specimens were located in storage or on exhibition (see Appendix).

The present condition of the Speck Montagnais collection is good, there being very few damaged specimens. Some of the cloth clothing has faded as a result of the lighting in exhibition cases, and a few cloth and skin specimens have been damaged by insects. Since many specimens appear never to have been used, it

is likely that they were made specifically for the collector, presumably in imitation of items of material culture no longer in use at the time of Speck's fieldwork and perhaps known to the maker only indirectly as part of his or her cultural heritage (Hallowell, 1951, p. 70).

With the collection, Speck submitted a map of Quebec-Labrador, probably similar to his published version (Speck, 1935, fig. 1, p. 14), showing band locations; it has since disappeared. Also submitted were a list of specimens and six photographs, two of which are reproduced in this study. The list contains very brief comments concerning the use of some items. When such information is included in the following pages without other documentation, it should be understood to have been derived from this list.

All the specimens in accession 1734 were collected among the St. John Montagnais in April 1927, with the exception of 10 items from the Kiskisink settlement, which grouped itself with the St. John band; one item from the Natasquan band and six from the Chicoutimi band, both neighbors of the Lake St. John people; and a woman's costume attributed to the Mistassini Indians at Lake Mistassini. Speck believed that the specimens in this collection represented most of the classes of objects used by the southern bands. It was to supplement this collection, however, that he offered the museum the 16 specimens making up Accession 1739, which he obtained during a field trip in August 1927. Only two of these are from the Lake St. John band, the remaining being from the Natasquan (13) and Barren Ground (2) bands.

All specimens in both accessions not from the Lake St. John area are so identified in the text and the appendix. The collection must be considered all the more remarkable for the fact that the bulk of it was obtained in a period of approximately two weeks. This surely attests to the many good contacts and excellent rapport that the ethnographer had established in the Lake St. John area since beginning his fieldwork in 1908. Speck also occasionally purchased specimens from traders who were aware of his requirements in advance of his field trips (Deschênes, 1981, p. 208).

Objects in the Speck Montagnais collection are described within the following use categories: subsistence, utensils, containers and tools, clothing, bedding, and personal adornment, travel and transportation, games and toys, and charms and religious objects. The brief descriptions of artifact types which follow should be read while examining the accompanying photographs and drawings. For comparisons I have relied heavily on Speck's many publications relating to his Montagnais-Naskapi research and on Rogers (1967). Other ethnographic accounts are, of course, also cited when relevant.

SUBSISTENCE

Although the Montagnais depended entirely on hunting, trapping, and fishing for their livelihood, the number of artifacts in the Speck collection associated with these activities is relatively small, consisting entirely of devices for the capture of game and fish. At the time Speck made his collection, steel traps were used extensively, and although information concerning traditional trapping techniques almost certainly could have been obtained, the devices themselves would have been difficult to include in a museum collection except as models.

The collection contains a heavy *spear* for killing caribou in the water, presum-

ably from a canoe. The point, made of moose antler and with a single large barb, tapers toward the proximal end which is inserted into a hole in the long wooden shaft. At the distal end the shaft is split slightly and notched to receive strips of moose hide lashing which extend up onto and around the proximal end of the point (fig. 2).

Shorter, lighter versions of this spear were used for taking beaver and the collection contains the shaft of a *model beaver spear*; the point is missing. The shaft is round and 60.2 cm in length with a slit in the distal end into which the point would have been fitted. Narrow creases in the wood indicate that the point was held in place with sinew. A small bone *spear point*, made from a rib, has a single barb and resembles the larger one associated with the caribou spear. It may have been part of a model like the one just described (fig. 3i).

The stave of a *toy bow* was made with a crooked knife from a single piece of birchwood and lacks backing. Both the back and front are slightly convex and the sides are flat. Paired V-shaped notches at the sides are cut near the end of each horn for attachment of the bow string which is made of commercial two-ply cord (fig. 3l). Associated with this bow is a *toy arrow*, the shaft of which is circular in cross section and made of birchwood. The proximal end of the shaft is flattened on opposite sides and a notch is cut in the end at right angles to the flattened surfaces; there are no feathers. This type of arrow, which would have been used primarily for game birds such as ptarmigan and spruce grouse, had no attached point. The distal end of the shaft widens to form an enlarged striking surface (fig. 3m). In the past, the neighboring Mistassini Indians used the bow and arrow for hunting caribou as well as a variety of small game animals and birds (Rogers, 1967, p. 67). Small bows and arrows were used in a divination game for predicting the number of otters to be killed on a future hunt (Speck, 1930, pp. 429–430, fig. 109; 1935, p. 198). A label in Speck's handwriting attached to the bow indicates that it was collected at the Kiskisink settlement.

Fishing equipment in the Speck collection includes seven *fish hooks*, five of which have wooden shanks and bone points. The shank is split at the distal end for insertion of the point at about a 30 degree angle. Commercial two-ply twine was used to bind the split area of the shank and more twine was secured about the center of the point and then about the shank. There is a knob at the proximal end of the shank to which is fastened a short piece of caribou skin which served as a leader (fig. 3g). Two metal fish hooks are also composite in design. Large commercial steel hooks are lashed to iron spikes with heavy twine. Lighter twine binds the point of the hook to the distal end of the shank. At the proximal ends of both specimens are leaders consisting of short strips of moose hide to which are attached lengths of two-ply twine fish line (fig. 3b).

Hooks of both types were baited with minnows and used with set lines. Muskellunge, pike, and other large fish swallowed the hook which then caught in the stomach rather than in the mouth or gills. Fish hooks with wooden shanks were used by the neighboring Mistassini and are described and illustrated by Rogers (1967, p. 88, pl. XIV-A).

A single *gill net* is in very fragile condition, and its total length cannot be determined with certainty, although it appears to be at least 35 m long and 40 cm wide. The meshes are square and approximately 5 cm on a side. The net is made from light twine knotted with a weaver's knot. The selvage lines, placed along the top and bottom edges, are of a heavier twine than that used for the mesh. The manner in which the selvage lines are attached to the net is described

in some detail for Mistassini nets by Rogers (1967, pp. 85–86). According to Speck's notes, a net of this type was "for general purposes" but it would seem to be too light for taking large fish.

In making a net of this type, a wooden *netting needle* was used. The single specimen in the Speck collection is flat, pointed at one end, and concave at the other; it is made of birchwood. A portion of the center has been removed, leaving a needle-like spike of wood extending from the center of the needle almost to the tip. A section of netting twine is attached (fig. 3e).

The mesh of a net was held to a constant size with the aid of a *mesh gauge*, one of which occurs in the collection. It is a thin, rectangular piece of birchwood with beveled edges and a short handle (fig. 3h).

The collection contains two wooden *net floats*, both of which are intended for use with summer nets. Each is approximately circular in cross section and notched at one end (fig. 3c–d). Floats were attached to the selvage line of the net with twine. Similar floats are described and illustrated for the Mistassini by Rogers (1967, p. 86, fig. 49). There are two beach pebble *net sinkers*, one of gray limestone and the other of granitic material (fig. 3k). A piece of twine is attached about the center of each sinker; the other end would be attached to the bottom selvage line.

A flat, narrow, and roughly worked piece of birchwood, concave at either end, served as a *reel* for fishing line. A length of two-ply twine is wrapped around the reel (fig. 3f).

TOOLS, UTENSILS, AND CONTAINERS

Wood-working tools in the Speck collection are represented by three *crooked knives*, all with wooden handles and metal blades made from large kitchen knives. The hallmarks of English makers of cutlery occur on two blades. The faces of the blades within the bend and along the length of the same side are sharpened. The handles form approximately half the total length and are made of birchwood. Two handles have a pronounced curve at the proximal end. One of these, hafted for a right-handed individual, has a shallow slot cut along one side of the handle to hold the proximal end of the blade, which is lashed in place with cord (fig. 4e). Another knife, for a left-handed individual, has a slit in the distal end of the handle into which the blade is inserted and lashed with cord (fig. 4d). The third knife has a handle which comes to an asymmetrical point at the proximal end and has a long slit for the blade, which is held in place with metal rivets (fig. 4a). The manufacture and use of the crooked knife among the Lake St. John and Mistassini Indians is described by Lips (1947, pp. 50–51) and Rodgers (1967, pp. 45–46, fig. 16, plate VIII-A).

Crooked knives were sharpened on *whetstones*, fine-grained beach pebbles of which there are two in the collection (fig. 3j). A snub-nosed *scraper* of white quartz is retouched at the distal end (fig. 3a).

Awls are described as wood-working tools because, according to Rogers (1967, p. 47), they were used by the Mistassini to make holes in snowshoe frames for the selvage thongs. However, they were certainly also used for making holes in hides. Of the three awls in the Speck collection, two have circular wooden handles into one end of which metal points are inserted. The point of the largest specimen appears to have been made from a small file (fig. 4f), while that of the smaller is made from a sharpened nail (fig. 4c). The third awl, with a

point made from a small file or file fragment, has a bone handle (fig. 4b). Two of these specimens are from Kiskisink.

For skinning beaver and other animals, a bone *skinning tool* was used. Of the four specimens in the Speck collection, one, collected in the Kiskisink settlement, is made from a transversally cut bear's leg bone beveled at the working edge (fig. 4i). The other three are moose leg bones, two of which are cut transversally and have beveled, serrated working edges (fig. 4h); the third also has a beveled edge but is not cut (fig. 4g). Although these particular specimens are undecorated, Speck (1930, p. 449; 1935, pp. 216–217) notes that similar implements had ceremonial associations and were thus sometimes carved or perforated according to motifs received in dreams. Game and fur-bearing animals were believed to derive satisfaction from having their pelts removed with leg-bone skinning tools (Speck, 1935, pp. 216–217).

Three two-handed *scrapers* made from caribou leg bones were used for removing the hair from caribou and moose skins, a process described in some detail by Speck (1937, pp. 350–351). Part of one side of the central portion of the bone is removed and one or both sides sharpened (fig. 5g–h). One of these scrapers (fig. 5g) was collected among members of the Natasquan band who occupied territory to the east of Lake St. John.

A large *knife* or cleaver is made from the leg bone of a moose. The bone is split in half at the distal end and has a beveled edge. Attached to this specimen is a shoulder strap of moose hide which is inserted through a hole approximately 5 cm from the proximal end (fig. 5a). According to Speck's notes, this knife was made to demonstrate what is done in the bush when metal knives are lost or no metal is available.

A knife *sheath*, probably for an instrument with a metal blade, is made from a single piece of moose skin. A fringe of the same material has been sewn into the seam and there is a loop at the proximal end for attachment to a belt (fig. 5d).

A *pick* made from a bear bone is crudely sharpened at one end (fig. 5b). Speck indicates that it was used to punch holes in meat which was to be smoked and preserved for making pemmican. Such holes open up the meat, allowing the smoke to penetrate.

Four birch bark containers, all from the Chicoutimi band which utilized territory to the east of the Lake St. John Band, are described as *eating dishes*. Each is made from a single piece of bark and has sides that slope outward to an oval or round rim. The rims of all four dishes are separate pieces of wood, probably birch, secured, in three cases, to the tops of the containers with spruce or larch root which was also used to stitch the corners. At intervals on the rim of one of these dishes, four pieces of red cloth, approximately 9 cm in length, have been woven into the root lashing as decoration (fig. 6). The rim of the fourth vessel is tied on with twine and this specimen has been extensively repaired with both twine and roots. One dish has heart-shaped etched designs on all four sides (fig. 7), a decorative technique that will be discussed in more detail when covered baskets are described. The four vessels range in height from 12 to 20 cm, and in diameter from 36 cm to approximately 49 cm.

Two *trays* consist of three rectangular pieces of birch bark tied together with string. To prevent splitting, sticks the width of each end were split in half and secured on either side of the ends with spruce root (fig. 8). According to Speck, meat obtained through dream instructions was placed on these trays at the time of feasts. Rogers (1967, pp. 34–35) describes similar trays used by the Mistassini

and he notes that they may have been used only for feast food. When not in use, these trays were rolled into a cylinder and tied.

There are three wooden *spoons* in the Speck collection, two of which have oval bowls and slightly curved handles (fig. 9b–c). The third has a round bowl and a handle that is sharply curved at the end (fig. 9a). These are described as having been used by hunters at a grease feast at which a bear is eaten and the guests bring their own spoons. Such spoons would thus appear to have more ceremonial than utilitarian significance. Although Speck (1930, p. 446) notes that such spoons were always dyed a dark color, these have not been dyed. Rogers (1967, p. 33, fig. 3, pl. IIIA) also describes and illustrates such spoons for the Mistassini.

A small *drinking cup* of wood has a flaring base and is wrapped with sinew (fig. 5e).

Two *pot hooks* of alder twigs are bent at one end to form a loop and lashed with spruce root. At the other end a hook is formed by a small branch (fig. 5c).

The collection contains three covered birch bark *baskets*, each made from a single piece of folded and sewn bark with a rectangular bottom and sides that taper inward slightly. The dark inner surface of the bark, which is peeled in spring, faces outward. A separate rim of birchwood is lashed to the outer edge of the bark with spruce root. A tight-fitting lid consists of a flat, oval top and a vertically placed, recessed rim approximately 3.5 cm wide lashed to the top with spruce root (figs. 10–12). The largest specimen has a narrow cloth carrying strap (fig. 12). The method of construction of this form of basket is described in detail by Speck (1937) and Lips (1947, pp. 51–59). A fourth basket is similar in construction to those just described, but is much smaller and narrower and has no lid (fig. 9n).

A characteristic feature of these baskets is the presence of etched designs on tops and sides. The primary method of producing this ornamentation is by laying cut-out birch bark design patterns on the surface and scraping away the dark inner bark everywhere except where the design has been traced with the point of a knife. The positive design thus stands out dark against a light background (Speck, 1937, p. 71). Ornamentation on the three covered baskets consists exclusively of stylized floral designs. All sides of the two larger specimens are decorated (figs. 11–12), while on the smaller, the two ends have been left undecorated (fig. 10).

A different technique has been used to decorate the small, uncovered basket. Negative designs are produced by scraping them into the dark coating of the inner bark so that they are shown a lighter color than the surrounding bark (Speck, 1937, p. 72). On one side of this basket are what appear to be a series of crude floral designs and on the other a crude representation of a canoe with two occupants (fig. 9n).

Also decorated with positive etched patterns are two *comb cases*, each a single folded length of bark sewn across two sides with spruce root. Both have suspension cords of moose skin, with small triangular tabs of bark at the ends, which served as cleaners for the combs (Speck, 1937, p. 65). The smaller tab is decorated with the figure of a beaver on one side and a bear on the other (fig. 5f). The larger tab has two fish on one side and a pattern of cross-hatched lines on the other (fig. 9l). A rectangular birch bark *case* of unknown use is sewn with twine at intervals on two sides and has a loop of the same material at the open end. It is decorated on both sides with identical floral designs (fig. 9m).

The collection contains a set of four birch bark *cut-out patterns* of floral motifs (fig. 13) used on one of the illustrated covered baskets (fig. 12). Another set of nine patterns, which includes human forms, a fish, a canoe, and floral stencils, is described by Speck as having been used for bead and silk work (fig. 14). However, one of the patterns, that of a fish, was used on a previously described comb case (fig. 9l).

Speck (1935, pp. 190–191) has noted that for the Montagnais, the symbolic pictorial representation of a plant or animal was equivalent to the actual plant or animal and those portrayed were believed to come under the control of the individual human spirit. Dreams played a major part in suggesting the relationship between specific animals or plants and an individual. The spirit was strengthened by having its dream promptings obeyed and success in subsistence activities was thereby assured.

An undecorated birch bark container is a large *berry pail* that may be unfinished. Like the previously described baskets, it is made from a single folded and sewn piece of bark with the outer surface facing inside. The sewing has been done with string and there is a large, rectangular patch on one side; there is no rim (fig. 15). A similar but finished specimen with a flat lid is illustrated by Speck (1930, p. 441, fig. 115). Such baskets might also have been used for storing dried and pounded fish.

A cylindrical container of birch bark is a *case for beaver scent* or castoreum that was carried on trapping excursions by hunters. This type of container was also sometimes used for matches (Speck, 1937, p. 63, pl. XXI, group A). The rolled piece of bark is morticed in place and the bottom is a section of wood held in place with small tacks. The mouth is closed by a wooden plug (fig. 5i).

A *grease container* made from the bladder sac of an otter was for cold bear grease that hunters carried with them to add to their food. The drinking of animal grease was also believed to induce dreaming and was thus an important element in the practice of magic (Speck, 1935, pp. 180–181). This specimen is in very poor condition and its original size and shape cannot be determined.

A *needle case* made from the leg bone of a lynx has a wooden bottom inserted flush with the edge of the bone, and a stopper of the same material (fig. 9k).

Among the most highly decorated items in the Speck collection are six *roll-up sewing bags* used by women to hold needles, thread or sinew, and other sewing materials. All are approximately rectangular in shape and have three pockets or compartments. Since each is quite distinctive, they will be described separately.

The most elaborately decorated bag has strips of white fox fur sewn on cotton lining to form the lower half of each pocket, while the upper halves are of alternate strips of red and black wool felt. The back is of blue patterned cotton cloth and the entire bag is trimmed with purple cotton tape. A non-functional white button is sewn in the center of each pocket and loops of seed beads in a variety of colors are sewn along the edges with additional beaded decoration on the upper halves of the pockets (fig. 16b).

A smaller and less ornate bag also has strips of white fox fur ornamenting the lower halves of the pockets, much of which has deteriorated, revealing a cotton lining underneath. The upper halves of the pockets are alternating black, red, and blue strips of wool felt and the specimen is trimmed on the sides with purple cotton tape; the upper and lower edges have narrow strips of light green

tape and the back is a single strip of black wool felt. There are loops of seed beads sewn to each side and beaded designs on the upper halves of the pockets (fig. 17c).

Perhaps the most attractive of the roll-up bags, and certainly the one in the best condition, has heavy wool felt pockets covered with strips of loon and grebe feathers, the latter covering the center pocket. The upper and lower pockets have beaded strips of red wool felt at the openings while the middle pocket has a beaded strip of black felt in the same position. At the upper end is a section of blue felt with a beaded cross in the center and a series of short strands of beads around the edges. The binding is gray cotton tape to which are fastened short alternating strips of red and yellow beads and loops of blue and yellow beads; the back is of blue wool felt (fig. 18c).

The upper and lower pockets of the fourth roll-up bag are ornamented with strips of deteriorating dog skin and the center pocket has a strip of mink skin. The lining is of black printed cotton cloth. Outer edges of the bag as well as the edges of the pockets are bound with blue and gray cotton tape and decorated with loops of seed beads. At the upper end is a semi-circular section of patterned wool felt cloth, in the center of which is a stylized floral design in orange, green, clear, and two shades of yellow seed beads; the backing is of brown cotton cloth (fig. 17b).

The four roll-up bags that have just been described were collected among the Natasquan band. The remaining two bags, from Lake St. John, are made entirely from cloth. In excellent condition is a bag of black and red wool felt ornamented with embroidered floral designs in pastel colors. The edges are bound in blue and green cotton tape. There are rows of widely spaced pink and red seed beads around the inner edge of the binding and around the pockets. A loop of green silk is attached at the upper end (fig. 18b).

Less ornate is a bag of black and red wool felt ornamented with geometrically cut strips of purple, blue, and orange silk. The binding is of dark red cotton tape and there is a moose skin loop on the back near the top (fig. 18a).

A *gun case* of heavy black wool felt is ornamented with a strip of serrated light brown cotton cloth sewn into the seam on the lower side. At the opening are strips of red and green wool felt and a strip of red cotton tape feather stitched with yellow yarn; a similar set of strips occurs at the center of the case. At the distal end a tassel of red, blue, green, and purple strips of silk and wool felt is sewn into the seam (fig. 19c).

Before the acquisition of breech-loading firearms, the Montagnais-Naskapi, like other Indians, used muzzle-loading percussion guns. These required the carrying of *shot pouches*, of which there are five in the Speck collection. The size of the shot pouch was determined by the size of a hunter's fist, since he would be reaching in for a hand-full of shot (Speck, 1935, p. 213).

Two pouches, both of which appear to have seen considerable use, are made of black wool felt, the seams being bound with cotton tape. Buttons are provided to fasten the flaps. One pouch, from Kiskisink, has a shoulder strap of the same material as the pouch (fig. 20b), while the strap on the second is made of moose skin. This pouch has a smaller pouch sewn to the front just below the flap, which was probably intended for percussion caps (fig. 21b).

Another pouch of black felt has edges bound with red and white striped cotton tape. Along the lower edge of the flap is a row of red, yellow, white, and blue seed beads. Below the flap is a crude beaded floral design utilizing beads

of the same colors. The strap, which is short, is made from a narrow strip of moose skin (fig. 21c).

The most elaborate shot pouch is made of wool felt with seams and edges bound in cotton tape. Along the inner edge of the binding are two rows of silk-wrapped cording and narrowly spaced blue yarn stitching. There is a broad shoulder strap of the same materials and the flap is held in place with a white glass button. Embroidered floral ornaments in yellow, blue, and purple thread occur on the front of the pouch, on the flap, and along the strap where there is also silk-wrapped cording (fig. 16a).

The fifth pouch is somewhat different, being made of heavy wool felt with seams bound with red cotton tape. On the inner edge of the binding are two rows of purple silk-wrapped cording. Instead of a shoulder strap, there are two loops for attachment to a belt. On the front is a floral design in red, white, blue, and green seed beads (fig. 20a).

Speck (1935, pp. 213-215) notes that the period during which shot pouches were used most extensively corresponded with the availability, at posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, of beads and a variety of cloth fabric of different colors. Thus the pouches, which were made by women, became one of the most important vehicles for Montagnais artistic expression. As with other decorated objects made and used by these Indians, the designs on shot pouches served as the means by which the spirits of individual owners achieved control over game animals.

Also associated with percussion firearms were *cap pouches*, which were large enough for the insertion of two fingers (Speck, 1935, p. 213). The collection contains three, all of which are highly decorated. One is made of red wool felt with green cotton tape binding and a strap of the same material. There is light blue cording around the inner edge of the binding. The flap closes with a snap and the front is ornamented with embroidered floral designs in blue, purple, and yellow cotton thread (fig. 22d). Another specimen made of red wool felt has a blue tape binding, a strap of moose skin, and a stylized floral design on the front in blue, yellow, red, and white beads (fig. 17a). The third cap pouch is made of wool felt and the trim is of red silk. The flap is held in place with a glass button and there is a simple floral ornament in red and green seed beads on the front. Around the edges and on the flap are rows of widely spaced blue and green beads (fig. 22f).

A large *powder horn* from Kiskisink is closed at the distal end with a piece of wood carved with circles and a cross, held in place with a pair of nails. At the proximal end is a wooden plug wrapped in a piece of cloth. The strap is a piece of heavy wool felt edged on both sides with cotton cloth (fig. 21a).

The Speck collection contains nine *tobacco pouches*. Two of these are of the roll-up variety, consisting of two rectangular pieces of skin, one much longer than the other, sewn together on three sides. The larger piece serves as a flap when the pouch is rolled. One of these pouches is made from the skin of a moose leg with the hair on. It is tied with a narrow moose skin strap at the end of which is a fastener-pipe cleaner made from a loon's beak (fig. 22b). The other roll-up pouch is from Kiskisink and is made of muskrat skin. It is in extremely poor condition, ties with a strip of cotton cloth, and lacks a fastener.

The remaining seven tobacco pouches are rectangular in shape and close with semi-circular flaps. One pouch, made from the skin of a moose's leg with the hair on, has a moose skin strap attached to the center of the flap and is or-

namented with a short, single row of multicolored seed beads on one side (fig. 20f). Another is made of tanned moose skin edged with green cotton tape and a tie of the same material. There are beaded floral designs on the flap and the front and a row of yellow and white beads on the sides and around the edge of the flap (fig. 20d). A small pouch made of mink skin with cotton lining is decorated on the flap with a cross in red and blue beads. On the sides and around the edge of the flap is a single row of beads of the same color (fig. 20c).

Two pouches from the neighboring Chicoutimi band are made of imported sealskin. The largest of these is edged with dark green cotton tape and ornamented with floral designs in red, pink, white, and yellow beads on the flap and on the back. Around the edges are small loops of red beads (fig. 22a). The second sealskin pouch has a floral ornament in green, yellow, blue, red, and white beads on the flap and on the back, where there is also a beaded wheel-like design. Around the edge of the flap are small loops of yellow and white beads (fig. 20e).

Two pouches were collected among the Natasquan band. One, in very poor condition, is made from the skin of a loon's neck sewn on a piece of multicolored cotton cloth. The opening is edged with yellow cotton tape, and the sides and flap with purple tape. On the flap is a small, stylized floral design in blue beads. On the sides, flap, and opening are small loops of red, white, blue, and pink beads (fig. 22e). The other Natasquan pouch is made of muskrat skin edged with blue cotton tape. Sewn on the binding is a row of green beads, while around the edges are small loops of red beads (fig. 22c).

Tobacco pouches, particularly the roll-up variety, were frequently closed with the aid of *fasteners* which also served as pipe cleaners. There are 13 of these in the Speck collection and they are quite similar, consisting of a narrow piece of bone tapered or pointed at one end with a suspension hole at the other. Usually the neck constricts and there is a series of notches around the suspension hole. Another characteristic is parallel or crossed incised lines below the suspension hole. Typical examples are illustrated (fig. 9e,g,i-j). An unusual fastener is made from a bird bone sharpened at one end (fig. 9f). The two most carefully made specimens are from the Natasquan band (fig. 9e,i).

A *pouch*, apparently made from a whole loon skin, is in such poor condition that its form cannot be determined with certainty. It is roughly rectangular in shape but narrows toward the opening which is edged with red cotton tape. There is a narrow flap and a shoulder strap of tanned moose skin.

Four specimens which do not belong in this section are described here for convenience sake, since they do not readily fit into other sections either. One specimen is a crudely shaped piece of curved wood which is described as a *hook for drying clothes* in a tent. It has two suspension holes at the proximal end (fig. 9d).

An improvised *pipe* made from a piece of rolled birch bark tied with a short section of rawhide line is an important implement in bear hunting (fig. 9h). After an animal is killed, the hunters gather about it and smoke. Out of respect, the bear is also given a smoke with a pipe like this one (Speck, 1935, pp. 100-101).

The collection also contains a narrow moose skin *line* with a loop at one end and approximately 3 m 30 cm in length. It may have been used for lashing equipment to a toboggan. A specimen of *glue* has apparently been made from rendered sturgeon fat.

CLOTHING, BEDDING, AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Skin clothing, with the exception of mittens and footwear, had largely disappeared among the Montagnais many years prior to Speck's fieldwork, but traditional or contact-traditional styles were still made utilizing various types and colors of cloth.

Among the neighboring Mistassini Indians, Speck collected a complete *woman's costume* consisting of a cloth dress, sleeves, sash, leggings, and head band. This costume, or one very similar to it, is shown in a photograph made by Speck (fig. 23) which resembles photographs reproduced with a description in his publication on the Mistassini (1930, fig. 123, p. 453, fig. 124, p. 454). Since this style of dress was no longer worn at the time of Speck's fieldwork, the costume was undoubtedly made for the collector.

The sleeveless dress is made from two pieces of purple wool felt sewn together at the sides. The square-cut lower edge, sleeve openings, and V-shaped neck opening are edged with red cotton tape. Two short lengths of the same material are sewn to the lower edge of the neck opening. Sections of the front of this dress are faded as the result of lighting in an exhibition case. Separate sleeves of the same material and with the same edging are each made from a single piece of cloth. They are wide at the shoulders, overlapping the arm spaces of the dress, and narrow at the cuffs. They were tied across the shoulders by a rectangular strip of cloth (fig. 24a,d).

The sash, which was fastened around the waist, consists of three sewn pieces of purple wool felt with edging similar to the previously described garments and with a red silk tie at either end. (fig. 24e).

The leggings, which do not appear to be those worn by the young woman in the photograph, are each made from a single piece of red wool felt, into the seam of which is sewn a fringed strip of green felt. The bottoms and tops are edged with pink cotton tape. There is a strip of blue cotton tape at the top and a pattern of feather stitched yellow thread just above the edging at the bottom. These leggings, which reached from the ankles to just above the knees, narrow slightly at the distal end where there are thongs which slip over the feet. There are also thongs at the proximal end which are threaded through the edging and could be drawn tight and tied (fig. 24b).

This woman's costume is completed with an oval head band of purple wool felt edged with light purple silk. A strip of red cotton tape is sewn down the center of one side and there are silk ties, one red and one purple, at each end (fig. 24c).

In addition to those just described, there are four pairs of *leggings* in the Speck collection, two of which are identified as having been worn by women. One of these is made of a single piece of purple wool felt edged with green cotton tape. Just inside the edge are rows of orange, purple, and green silk-wrapped cording. The seam is sewn so as to leave a narrow flap at the outside of the leg on either side. These leggings narrow near the ankle where there is a red silk tie. At the proximal end is a strip of red and white cotton tape, presumably to tie the leggings to garters since they are too short for the tie to reach to a belt (fig. 19a). The second pair of women's leggings is made of a single piece of red wool felt edged with green cotton tape. The seam is sewn so as to leave a narrow flap at the distal end just above the point where the leggings narrow at the ankle. A strip of purple silk is sewn to the edge at this point as a tie (fig. 25c).

A longer pair of leggings made of black cotton cloth with a patterned cotton lining were, according to Speck's notes, worn by a man. They are edged with red and blue cotton tape. Two rows of silk-wrapped cording, green on one side and orange on the other, are sewn along the inside of the edging, and there is a wavy line decoration in orange and blue cording at the ankle. This decoration is separated from the rest of the leggings by a strip of blue cotton tape. As in the previously described specimen, the seam is sewn so as to leave a flap just above the narrow ankle region where a tie of blue cotton tape is sewn. At the proximal ends are strips, not visible in the photograph, of moose skin for fastening the leggings to a belt (fig. 25b).

A pair of short leggings from the Natasquan band is made of white duffel with strips of red and green wool felt sewn at the seam which runs down the side of the leg. There is a strap of duffel to go around the foot and a triangular piece of the same material is sewn so as to extend over the instep. The upper end of these leggings is edged with a strip of plaid cotton cloth. Just below the edge is a decorative band of blue cotton cloth with geometric designs in purple and black. The lower edge is decorated with feather stitched red yarn (fig. 25a). According to Speck's notes, this type of legging was adapted by eastern bands of Montagnais as a result of contact with Eskimos.

A narrow strip of moose skin approximately 166 cm long is identified as a *belt* for holding up a man's leggings. This suggests that the longer leggings which could be fastened to a belt were worn by men, although Rogers (1967, p. 52) maintains that Mistassini men's and women's leggings were of equal length.

Short leggings that reached to or just above the knees, and were presumably worn by women, were held in place by *garters*. The collection contains one pair made of narrow, oval strips of heavy wool felt edged with light blue cotton tape. Down the center of one side is a simple design in blue cording on one garter and green on the other. At either end is a short length of moose skin to serve as a tie (fig. 26b).

A man's *breech cloth* consists of two rectangular pieces of purple wool felt sewn together so that the seam is in the center. Around the edges on one side is a border of red and yellow cotton tape. At one end is a simple floral design in pale yellow silk-wrapped cording (fig. 19b).

The pattern of a man's moose skin *jacket* which opens down the front consists of a single back piece and two front pieces which are sewn down the sides of the garment and at the shoulders. Each sleeve consists of two pieces, a large piece and a narrow, V-shaped section. The major sleeve seam, into which is sewn a narrow strip of moose skin, is under the arm. The seams connecting the front and back pieces also have this strip sewn into them. The collar is a separate piece of skin and another narrow section is inserted between the front and back pieces and the collar. Down the front are five red buttons which are inserted into holes reinforced with red thread. A sixth is on the opposite side at the collar and there are single similar but non-functional buttons on each cuff. The garment is sewn with fine twine (fig. 27).

The primary decorative element of this specimen is binding of red cotton tape which extends around the lower edge, up both sides of the front opening, and around the collar. Strips of red wool felt are sewn into the seams which join the sleeves to the front and back pieces and around the edges of the cuffs. A strip of red tape is sewn around each sleeve 6 cm from the edge of the cuff. Along the lower edge of these strips is feather stitching in light blue yarn. Similar stitch-

ing in yellow yarn extends around the inside of the binding on the lower edge and up the right side of the front. Around the inside of the binding on the collar is the same stitching in white yarn.

Speck describes the embroidered ornaments in blue, red, and yellow cotton thread on either lapel as stylized flowers, but says nothing about their significance. On the left arm near the shoulder is a butterfly-shaped ornament of red wool felt outlined in blue yarn with a small rosette design of the same material in the center. It is described as simply a "decoration" (fig. 28). Speck further noted that the jacket was worn by a hunter and the red binding has "symbolic value, i.e. game." He noted the similarity between this binding and the painted red seams on Naskapi garments from the northern interior.

A man's *hat* is made from a strip of lynx fur sewn to a heavy cotton lining. On the top is an ornament made from a piece of a woodchuck's tail which, according to Speck, serves as a charm worn by the hunter when he goes out to cut birch bark for making a canoe.

A *neck warmer* is made from a lynx tail. It has moose skin ties at either end (fig. 26e). Also made from a piece of a lynx's tail and similarly shaped but smaller is a pair of *wrist warmers*, one of which is missing from the collection. The single tie is a piece of twine (fig. 29b).

The collection contains two pairs of *mittens*. One pair is made of tanned moose skin consisting of five pieces: one each for the palm and back of the hand, one each for the inside and outside of the thumb, and one for the cuff which is made from a rectangular strip of beaver fur. There are identical embroidered floral designs in red, green, yellow, purple, and pink cotton thread in the center of the back of each mitten (fig. 29c). A much more utilitarian pair of mittens from Kiskisink, showing signs of considerable wear, is made of canvas with a lining of heavy black wool cloth. They consist of four pieces, one each for the palm and back of the hand, and one each for the inside and outside of the thumb; there is no cuff.

There are two pairs of *moccasins* in the Speck collection. One pair is made of tanned caribou skin and shows signs of considerable wear. The bottom is a single piece and has a T-shaped heel seam. There is no toe seam, the bottom being gathered where it joins the tongue. This is the so-called "puckered" style which Rogers (1967, pp. 54-55) describes for the Mistassini and which is also described by Lips (1947, pp. 46-49) for the Lake St. John and Mistassini bands. The tongue is a U-shaped inset; the top, a rectangular strip of heavy patterned wool felt sewn to the upper edge of the bottom. A long strip of caribou skin was inserted through holes cut in the upper edge of the bottom, the ends emerging on either side of the tongue. This thong was wrapped around the wearer's ankle to hold the top of the moccasin in place.

Decoration on this specimen consists of embroidered floral designs in blue, red, yellow, and white cotton thread in the center of the tongue and two bands of orange silk-wrapped cording around the edges. The top is edged with red cotton tape (fig. 30a).

The second pair of moccasins, from Kiskisink, is made of tanned moose skin and lack tops. Like the previously described pair, these are "puckered" style moccasins and the bottoms have been extensively patched. There is no decoration on the tongue, but the upper edge of the bottom is edged with a light textured, multicolored cotton cloth (fig. 30b).

A pair of badly deteriorated winter *boots* is made of caribou skin with the hair on, taken from the region of the hock. The lower or foot portion of the boot consists of three pieces of skin, one fitting around the back and sewn down both sides of the foot, a second fitting over the instep and across the toes, and a third serving as the sole of the boot. The upper portion consists of four narrow, rectangular pieces of skin sewn together horizontally. The strips have been cut so that there is a fringe of white hair at the lower edge of each one. At the proximal end of the boot a narrow loop of tanned skin has been sewn to enclose a braided drawstring. This pair of boots appears to resemble somewhat the "leg-skin boots" described by Rogers (1967, pp. 58-59) as being worn by the Mistassini in spring for protection from melt water. However, the boots he describes usually reached only to the ankle while these clearly extend to the knees (fig. 30c).

Among the Mistassini, infants under a year were generally kept in what Rogers (1967, pp. 62-63) calls a "moss bag" and Speck (1930, fig. 105, p. 417) illustrates as a "baby sack." The collection contains a single *baby sack*, a rectangular piece of fawn skin rounded at the lower end and lined with green cotton cloth. This specimen, which seems small, may be a model. Lengths of moose skin line are sewn to the long sides and rounded distal end at approximately 4 cm intervals forming a series of loops. Another length of line is inserted through the loops so that the sides can be drawn together after the infant was placed in the sack. At the top is a rectangular strip of green cotton cloth to which are sewn a pair of moose skin loops for the adjustment of a tumpline (fig. 29d).

Associated with the baby sack is an irregularly shaped *wrapper* made from a number of tanned skins, probably from unborn animals. At irregular intervals along the edges are short ties of the same material. An infant would be wrapped in such a wrapper before being placed in the baby sack.

The manufacture of woven hare skin *blankets* by Indians of the Mistassini and Lake St. John bands is described in detail by Speck (1930, pp. 451-454), Lips (1947, pp. 42, 44), and Rogers (1967, p. 64, fig. 8, p. 40). Speck (1930, p. 454) notes that 100 skins were required for a blanket, while Rogers (1967, p. 64) states that a large blanket to be used by three people might comprise twice that many skins. These blankets were woven of narrow, twisted strips of hare skin on a three-pole frame by a coil netting technique in which the strip of skin was conveyed by a wooden or bone needle. The Speck collection contains two examples. The smaller, in poor condition, measures approximately 165 by 145 cm. The larger measures 220 by 152 cm and has short cloth ties at the four corners. It may have been worn as a robe.

According to Rogers (1967, p. 66), both men and women among the Mistassini wore their hair long and thick. If bear grease was being eaten, some was likely to be rubbed on the hair, as this was believed to increase the hair's blackness and glossiness. The Speck collection contains two objects from the Natasquan band identified as *brushes* which were used to comb the hair and possibly also to brush in grease. Both consist of narrow, tapered pieces of wood around the distal ends of which sections of a porcupine's tail have been wrapped and lashed with sinew. The handles of both specimens, one round and the other deeply notched, are painted with red pigment (fig. 29e-f). The brush with the notched handle has a twine wrist strap.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Two styles of netted *snowshoes* are represented in the Speck collection by a single pair each. Both pairs have birchwood frames and babiche netting. One pair, from Kiskisink, is constructed in the "swallow tail" style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 67-68, fig. 27c) in which the ends of the frame form a tail. Although Davidson describes this style in his chapter on snowshoes with two-piece frames, this specimen has a frame consisting of a single piece of wood, the ends of which are lashed together with babiche at the tail. There are two slightly curved cross bars which are morticed into the frame. The harnesses are made of clothes line and the wearer's heel rested on a rectangular piece of tanned caribou skin which is folded over the opening and sewn into the netting. One shoe has a large area of broken netting in the center which has been repaired with twine (fig. 31a).

According to Rogers (1967, pp. 91-92), swallow-tail snowshoes were used by the Mistassini at the time of his fieldwork in the early 1950s and were worn by both men and women. Men used them during November and December and again in the spring when the snow was heavy. During mid-winter they were used by men only on well-packed trails. Women used them all winter. The snowshoes of this type that Rogers describes had a one-piece frame like the pair in the Speck collection. According to Speck's notes, the swallow-tail style was the typical form among eastern Montagnais bands.

The second pair of snowshoes, from the Natasquan band, is an example of the "round end" style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 67-68, fig. 27b). The frame consists of two pieces spliced on each side between the two slightly curved cross bars. There are no harnesses (fig. 31b).

The manufacture of snowshoes among the Lake St. John and Mistassini Indians has been described in considerable detail by Lips (1947, pp. 69-77) and Rogers (1967, pp. 91-101). The webbing was laced with a *needle*, of which there are six in the collection, one made of wood and five of bone. These needles are pointed at both ends and have a hole in the center. All are approximately the length of the illustrated specimens (fig. 32d,i). A *spreader* was used to hold the toe hole open while the center section of the shoe was being laced. The collection contains a single specimen from the Natasquan band which is a narrow, thin piece of birchwood with a notch at each end (fig. 32e).

A pair of boy's *skis* is crudely made from two thin pieces of birchwood which turn up slightly at the front. The bindings are narrow strips of tanned caribou skin (fig. 33). Skis, of course, were not used aboriginally by the Montagnais or any other North American Indian group and these appear to have been made in imitation of those worn by Euro-Canadians in the area.

The collection contains two *tumplines* which, among the Mistassini, were used primarily during the summer to carry canoes and supplies and to pack game (Rogers, 1967, p. 114). Both specimens are made of tanned moose skin. The longest is 655 cm in length and consists of three pieces: two narrow strips of approximately the same length and a wider lenticular shaped piece sewn in the center with twine. This wider section, which would pass across the forehead when the tumpline was in use, is 6 cm wide in the center. The second tumpline is slightly more than half as long as the previously described specimen and is made from one piece of skin which widens in the center to a width of 3.5 cm (fig. 32j).

An oval piece of birch bark is identified as a *head protector* to be worn across

the forehead under the tumpline. On the outer surface, which is the inner surface of the bark, are positive etched designs showing a bear and a beaver (fig. 26c).

Closely resembling a tumpline is the *ceremonial game carrying string*, which was an important item in the religious equipment of hunters and was related to the placation of game animals. Such "strings" and their significance are described by Rogers (1967, p. 114) and, in considerable detail, by Speck (1935, pp. 203-212) and Speck and Hyde (1921). The collection contains a single example made of two pieces of tanned moose skin 233 cm long which widens in the center to a width of 3 cm. The two pieces are sewn together with twine at the center of the widened section. At intervals along the entire length are sewn strips of red wool felt and short pieces of silk-wrapped cording which symbolize game (fig. 32k).

GAMES AND TOYS

A variant of the *cup and pin game* consists of a bundle of cedar twigs wrapped in string. At the proximal end is fastened a length of twine to which is attached a wooden pin which tapers to a point at its distal end (fig. 29a). This game was used in gambling and simply for amusement. It also was associated with increasing luck in hunting (Speck, 1935, pp. 198-199; Tanner, 1979, p. 129).

A European-derived spinning *top* of birchwood from the Barren Ground band is wrapped with a narrow strip of tanned caribou skin at the pointed end (fig. 32h). Like some other Montagnais "toys," including the toy bow and arrow described in the section on subsistence, this one was used in divination games as well as being an amusement for children. Spectators were asked to express "wishes" and the individual indicated by the top when it stopped spinning would receive his or her wish (Speck, 1930, p. 433).

A *doll* is made from strips of tanned moose skin stuffed with moss or grass and stitched together with thread. Features are indicated with dark red cotton thread. A hat and dress are made of red wool felt, and strips of blue tape are sewn around the arms and waist. Short lengths of blue and clear seed beads are sewn on the hat. A length of clear beads circles the waist. Short lengths of blue and clear beads strung on purple thread (fig. 32g) are attached to the waist.

CHARMS AND RELIGIOUS OBJECTS

The consulting of oracles so as to determine where and when to hunt and to know the future with reference to the weather, illness, and personal matters was extremely important to the Lake St. John Montagnais. It is a subject that has been discussed in considerable detail by Speck (1935, pp. 138-147). A more recent discussion of the subject, with a different interpretation, is found in Tanner (1979, ch. 6).

Scapulimancy with the bones of a variety of animals, especially beaver and hare, along with the three examples of *burned scapulae* in the collection, apparently those of sheep, are described and illustrated by Speck (1935, pp. 144-145). These scapulae were burned and interpreted by an informant at Speck's request. The pattern of lines on the first scapula (fig. 32b) were said to denote the approach of trouble; those on the second (fig. 32a), the return of good fortune after bad luck; and the third (fig. 32c) a sign of good luck in the form of mone-

tary gain. The latter two scapulae have broken in the burned areas since they were illustrated by Speck (1935, p. 145, fig. 14b-c).

Divination was also practiced with other animal bones. The collection contains two *beaver pelvic bones* that were used in divination by touch. To learn the outcome of the next hunt, the hunter held the bone over his head and attempted, without looking, to put his finger in the oval opening (Speck, 1935, pp. 160-161; Tanner, 1979, p. 128). A *beaver's patella*, of which there is a single specimen in the collection, was used in a form of moving divination. The bone was placed on a hot stove or stone and a question was asked, usually with reference to the possibility of success in a coming beaver hunt. If the bone trembled, success was assured, but game would be scarce if the bone did not move (Speck, 1935, pp. 162-163). A single pair of *otter's feet* was used in a tossing-up divination, usually with reference to otter hunting. The two feet, placed facing each other palm to palm, were tossed into the air. If they came down with the feet facing up, it was considered good, while the reverse was believed to indicate bad luck. A moderate amount of good luck could be expected if one foot came down one way and the other the opposite way (Speck, 1935, pp. 165-167).

Placation of the spirits of game animals was also an important element in Montagnais religion. The collection contains two *black bear skulls*, one of which is lashed to a piece of wood with narrow strips of caribou skin (fig. 26d). In the Lake St. John area, as well as elsewhere among the Montagnais-Naskapi, the skulls of slain bears were placed in trees. The animals were believed to derive spiritual satisfaction from this procedure and Speck (1935, pp. 102-103, pl. 7) notes that it may be a form of tree burial in which bears, like people, are recognized as being immortal.

Also associated with respect for a bear's spirit is the removal of an animal's *tongue sinew* which was taken from the carcass by the killer. To do so was believed not only to placate the bear's spirit, but to be a way of announcing the killing of the animal to the hunter's family without mentioning it by name.

Although the hunting of bears was surrounded with more ritual than that of any other animal, there were ritual responsibilities toward others as well. The skulls of beavers were elevated (Speck, 1935, p. 114) and the collection contains three *beaver mandibles* which were taken from bushes where they had been placed to placate the spirits of slain beavers. The loon was an important bird of omen to the hunter and his cries were considered to be an indication of the coming direction and force of the wind (Speck, 1935, p. 126). To placate slain birds, the *loon's skull*, of which there is one in the collection, was placed in a bush with the mandible set perpendicularly in the nasal opening (fig. 35).

Two specimens in the collection were associated with attempts to control the wind. A *moose astragalus buzzer* with an attached string of babiche was operated to make the wind rise (fig. 32f). A fragment of dried *woodchuck scalp* was thrown into a lake to make the wind go down.

When a hunter had begun to think about securing game animals, his will could be strengthened and his chances of success increased through drumming and singing (Speck, 1935, p. 169). The collection contains a single circular drum with two heads. The body of the drum consists of a strip of wood approximately 36 cm long and 6 cm wide, the ends of which are lashed together with sinew. There are four hoops, each approximately 1 cm square in cross section with an inside diameter slightly greater than the body of the instrument. The ends of

the hoops are joined by a lap-splice held with sinew and small wooden pegs. The heads appear to have been made from pieces of thinly scraped caribou skin.

To assemble the drum the piece of skin was wrapped around one of the hoops which was then slipped over the body of the drum. A second hoop was slipped over the body from the same side in order to secure the first hoop. The same procedure was followed for the head on the other side. The two outside hoops have been lashed together across the body of the drum with babiche. There is no suspension cord. The wooden *drum stick* has a widened, notched end (fig. 34).

A similar drum is described by Rogers (1967, p. 122) for the Mistassini. Speck (1935, p. 170, pl. ix, lower) states that all Montagnais-Naskapi drums have a "snare" attachment consisting of a length of sinew stretched tightly across the head to which short sections of caribou bone or goose quills are tied; this drum does not have such an attachment.

The Montagnais-Naskapi believed that taking a sweat bath, like drumming, strengthened the will and "reinforced the soul spirit" of the individual (Speck, 1935, p. 212). The collection contains a *model bathhouse* from the Barren Ground band which is described in Speck's notes as being the "scene of a shaman's efforts." It consists of four narrow sticks of wood set in a wooden base and slanting toward one another at the top. Another strip is bent to circle the four at the top and lashed to them. This framework is covered with a strip of tanned caribou skin, the ends of which are sewn together with sinew (fig. 26a). The bathhouses of the Lake St. John Montagnais, the Mistassini, and the Naskapi of northern Labrador are all described as being dome-shaped and formed of poles thrust in the ground to form a circular enclosure (Speck, 1935, p. 212; Rogers, 1967, p. 14; Turner, 1894, p. 299). Rather than a bathhouse as Speck indicates, this specimen may be a model of a "shaking tent," a specially constructed lodge in which a shaman conversed with spirits (E. S. Rogers, personal communication).

A bundle of narrow bark strips is described simply as "*willow bark medicine*." According to Speck (1917, p. 315), the bark of the red willow was scraped and steeped to make a mash that was put in a bandage on the head for a headache. It was also dried and smoked as a substitute for tobacco.

III

CONCLUSIONS

Like some other northern peoples, especially the Eskimos, but unlike most North American Indian groups, the Montagnais retained much of their traditional material culture until relatively recently. This has occurred in spite of the fact that the Montagnais have experienced direct contact with Europeans for more than 300 years. There are certainly few other areas in all of North America where a collection like the one described in this study could have been obtained in the late 1920s. As Rogers (1967, p. 124) has suggested for the Mistassini, the retention of traditional manufactures by northern forest dwellers may be attributed, in part, to their involvement in the fur trade which, until very recently, required that the Indians continue to use the land in a manner that was at least peripherally related to traditional methods of utilization. At best, however, this can only be a partial explanation since other northern forest dwellers, the Athapaskan Indians of interior Alaska and the Mackenzie drainage of Canada

for example, lost most of their traditional material culture at a relatively early date.

The primary purpose of this study has been simply to place on record a previously unpublished collection of material culture from the Lake St. John Montagnais and neighboring groups, a collection which, unlike most of those in American museums, was made by a professional anthropologist with considerable experience in the area where he was collecting. Unfortunately, the correspondence between Speck and Field Museum discussed in the introduction provides no information concerning his method of collecting and this raises certain problems which will be discussed presently. Nevertheless, it is clear that he collected with a purpose, intending to provide the museum with as complete a type collection as it was possible to obtain given the limitations of time and money. The data which he provided with the collection, although not as detailed as might be desired, is also in marked contrast to that which accompanies most museum collections made during the first 30 years of the present century.

In addition to its inherent interest as a type collection representing Montagnais material culture in the 1920s, the assemblage acquired by Speck for Field Museum provides an opportunity to focus on changing Montagnais technology under the growing impact of Euro-Canadians and the exotic materials that were made available to the native inhabitants.

With reference to the Eskimos of western Alaska, Oswalt (1972) has defined four categories, or clusters, of material objects that reflect the presence or absence of historical introductions in collections of material culture and thus serve as a rough measure of technological change. They are as follows:

Eskimo continuities—Traditional Eskimo material culture.

Western imports—Objects of western European culture imported directly and accepted into the inventory of Eskimo material culture.

Eskimo-derived forms—Objects manufactured locally by Eskimos and modeled after aboriginal types, but made with imported materials.

Western-derived forms—Locally manufactured items modeled after foreign forms using local or imported material or a combination of the two.

Oswalt applies these categories to the contemporary Eskimo culture of southwestern Alaska, but similar examples of technological change can be found in the Speck Montagnais collection, suggesting the extent to which it too was subject to external influences.

Montagnais continuities—These are items of traditional Montagnais material culture and they number more than 50 items. Many have been modified to a limited extent by the use of materials foreign to the environment such as twine lashings and cloth bindings. In assessing the significance of the number and variety of Montagnais continuities, it is necessary to recognize that many of the items in this category were probably made at the request of the collector. There is nothing in Speck's notes to indicate which, if any, artifacts were made for him, but many appear to be newly manufactured and show no indication of use. Presumably, these are items which were no longer part of the material culture inventory at the time of Speck's fieldwork. Since he does not identify such objects or comment on the persons who made them, a question naturally arises as to the accuracy of such manufactures. Were they, in fact, made by

individuals who had firsthand familiarity with the old material culture or are they simply someone's uninformed approximation of the old forms? Considering Speck's experience among the Indians with whom he worked, there is certainly a better chance that these are accurate representations than if the collector was new to the area and without the knowledge of who would or would not make good material culture informants. Nevertheless, the presence of such items in the collection makes it difficult to determine with certainty the degree of retention of traditional material culture at the time of Speck's fieldwork.

Western imports—Although the collector could be expected to ignore the presence of western imports, some, such as muzzle-loading firearms and tobacco, can be inferred. Other imports, like twine, glass beads, and wool and cotton cloth, are clearly present.

Montagnais-derived forms—There are nine items in this category, with the woman's costume counted as one. With the exception of the composite metal fish hooks, the gill net of light twine, and the metal awl blades, all specimens in this category are items of clothing. Information concerning the exact nature of traditional Montagnais clothing is scarce and it may be that the almost complete replacement of animal skins by commercial cloth has resulted in changes that would place these specimens only marginally in this category.

Western-derived forms—Most of the 12 items in this category are related to smoking and the use of firearms. Thus, although such items as shot and cap pouches and tobacco pouches and fasteners are clearly western-derived, they have undoubtedly been integral parts of Montagnais material culture for a very long time. The same is true of the crooked knife which, by definition, requires a metal blade but which may have been in the Montagnais material culture inventory long before the Indians had direct contact with Europeans.

Oswalt (1972, p. 89) believes that the vitality of Eskimo material culture is most clearly revealed in the category of Eskimo-derived forms, since integrating new materials into aboriginal forms assures their continuity. This observation may not be strictly applicable when applied to the Montagnais since at the time Speck made the collection described in this study, their material culture was more completely intact than that of most Alaskan Eskimos even as early as the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, it is clear from the previous artifact descriptions that the Lake St. John Montagnais and their neighbors were fully aware of the advantage of using exotic materials in the manufacture of both Montagnais-derived and western-derived artifact types.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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APPENDIX
The Speck Montagnais Collection
(Accessions 1734, 1739)

Following is a list of the Speck Montagnais specimens described in this study. It is a complete list of the collection as it appears in the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, since all specimens were located. Where museum catalog numbers are preceded by an asterisk (*), the specimens are *not* illustrated here. Identifications given here are invariably those provided by the collector.

Subsistence

176455	caribou spear
*176456	model beaver spear
176368	spear point(?)
176388,1	toy bow (Kiskisink)
176388,2	toy arrow (Kiskisink)
*176372	fish hook with wooden shank and bone point
*176373	fish hook with wooden shank and bone point
*176374	fish hook with wooden shank and bone point
176375	fish hook with wooden shank and bone point
*176376	fish hook with wooden shank and bone point
*176389	composite metal fish hook
176390	composite metal fish hook
*176377	gill net
176369	netting needle
176370	mesh gauge
176380	summer net float
176381	summer net float
*176378	net sinker
176379	net sinker
176371	reel

Tools, Utensils, and Containers

176415	crooked knife
176416	crooked knife
176417	crooked knife
176433	whetstone
*176434	whetstone
176435	scraper
176418	awl (Kiskisink)
176419	awl (Kiskisink)
176420	awl
176421	skinning tool (Kiskisink)
176422	skinning tool

- *176423 skinning tool
- 176424 skinning tool
- 176425 two-handed scraper
- *176426 two-handed scraper
- 176479 two-handed scraper (Natasquan)
- 176356 knife or cleaver
- 176315 knife sheath
- 176391 pick
- *176325 eating dish (Chicoutimi)
- 176326 eating dish (Chicoutimi)
- 176327 eating dish (Chicoutimi)
- *176328 eating dish (Chicoutimi)
- 176333,1-2 tray (2)
- 176382 spoon
- 176480 spoon
- 176481 spoon
- 176383 drinking cup
- 176384 pot hook
- *176385 pot hook
- 176329 covered birch bark basket
- 176330 covered birch bark basket
- 176331 covered birch bark basket
- 176332 open basket
- 176320 comb case
- 176321 comb case
- 176458 case
- 176436 set of birch bark cut-out patterns
- 176437 set of birch bark cut-out patterns
- 176324 unfinished(?) berry pail
- 176322 case for beaver scent
- *176457 grease container
- 176323 needle case
- 176470 roll-up sewing bag (Natasquan)
- 176471 roll-up sewing bag (Natasquan)
- 176472 roll-up sewing bag (Natasquan)
- 176473 roll-up sewing bag (Natasquan)
- 176351 roll-up sewing bag
- 176352 roll-up sewing bag
- 176319 gun case
- 176343 shot pouch
- 176350 shot pouch (Kiskisink)
- 176342 shot pouch
- 176344 shot pouch
- 176345 shot pouch
- 176347 cap pouch
- 176348 cap pouch
- 176349 cap pouch
- 176353 powder horn (Kiskisink)
- 176336 tobacco pouch
- *176338 tobacco pouch (Kiskisink)
- 176337 tobacco pouch
- 176346 tobacco pouch
- 176341 tobacco pouch
- 176339 tobacco pouch (Chicoutimi)
- 176340 tobacco pouch (Chicoutimi)
- 176474 tobacco pouch (Natasquan)
- 176475 tobacco pouch (Natasquan)
- *176357 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- *176358 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- 176359 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- *176360 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener

- *176361 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- *176362 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- *176363 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- *176364 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- 176365 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- *176366 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- 176367 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener
- 176484 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener (Natasquan)
- 176485 pipe cleaner and tobacco pouch fastener (Natasquan)
- *176460 loon skin pouch
- 176386 hook for drying clothes
- 176459 improvised pipe
- *176462 moose skin line
- *176355 specimen of glue

Clothing, Bedding, and Personal Adornment

- 176406 dress (Mistassini)
- 176408 sleeves (Mistassini)
- 176407 sash (Mistassini)
- 176410, 1-2 leggings (Mistassini)
- 176409 head band (Mistassini)
- 176411, 1-2 leggings
- 176412, 1-2 leggings
- 176393, 1-2 leggings
- 176476, 1-2 leggings (Natasquan)
- *176395 belt
- 176402, 1-2 garters
- 176394 breech cloth
- 176392 jacket
- *176396 hat
- 176405 neck warmer
- 176404 wrist warmer
- *176397, 1-2 mittens
- 176398 mittens
- 176399, 1-2 moccasins
- 176403, 1-2 moccasins (Kiskisink)
- 176400, 1-2 boots
- 176401 baby sack, model(?)
- *176463 wrapper for baby sack
- *176453 blanket
- *176454 blanket
- 176477 brush (Natasquan)
- 176478 brush (Natasquan)

Travel and Transportation

- 176414 snowshoes (Kiskisink)
- 176413 snowshoes (Natasquan)
- 176427 snowshoe needle
- 176428 snowshoe needle
- *176429 snowshoe needle
- *176430 snowshoe needle
- *176431 snowshoe needle
- *176432 snowshoe needle
- 176483 snowshoe spreader (Natasquan)
- 176335 pair of boy's skis
- 176317 tumpline
- *176318 tumpline
- 176319 head protector
- 176334 ceremonial game carrying string

Games and Toys

- 176387 cup and pin game

- 176482 top (Barren Ground)
176354 doll

Charms and Religious Objects

- 176446 scapula used in divination
176447 scapula used in divination
176448 scapula used in divination
*176450 beaver pelvis used in divination
*176465 beaver pelvis used in divination
*176451 beaver patella used in divination
*176449,1-2 otter feet used in divination
176441 bear skull tied to piece of wood
*176442 bear skull
*176440 bear tongue sinew
*176443,1-3 beaver mandibles
*176444 loon skull
176445 moose astragalus buzzer
*176452 fragment of dried woodchuck scalp
176439,1-2 drum and drum stick
176469 model of bathhouse (Barren Ground)
*176438 willow bark medicine

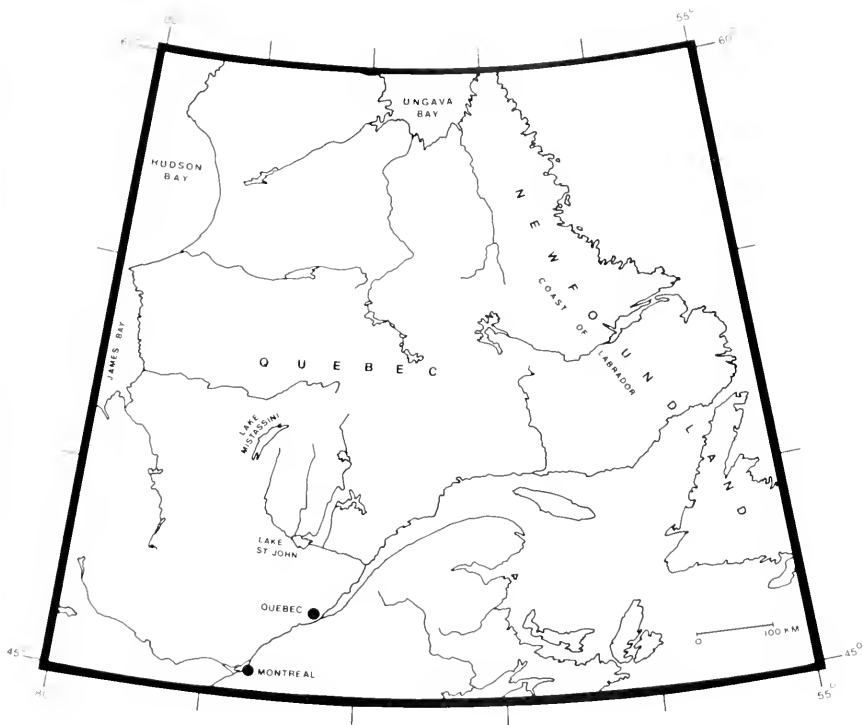


FIGURE 1

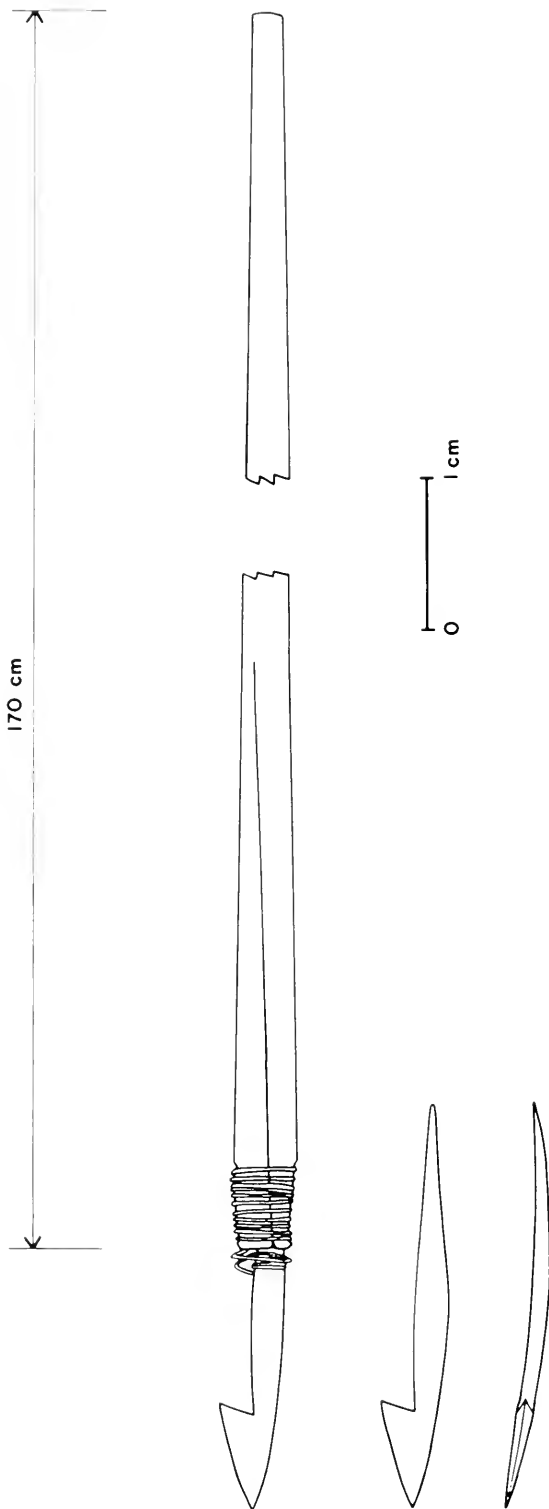


FIGURE 2

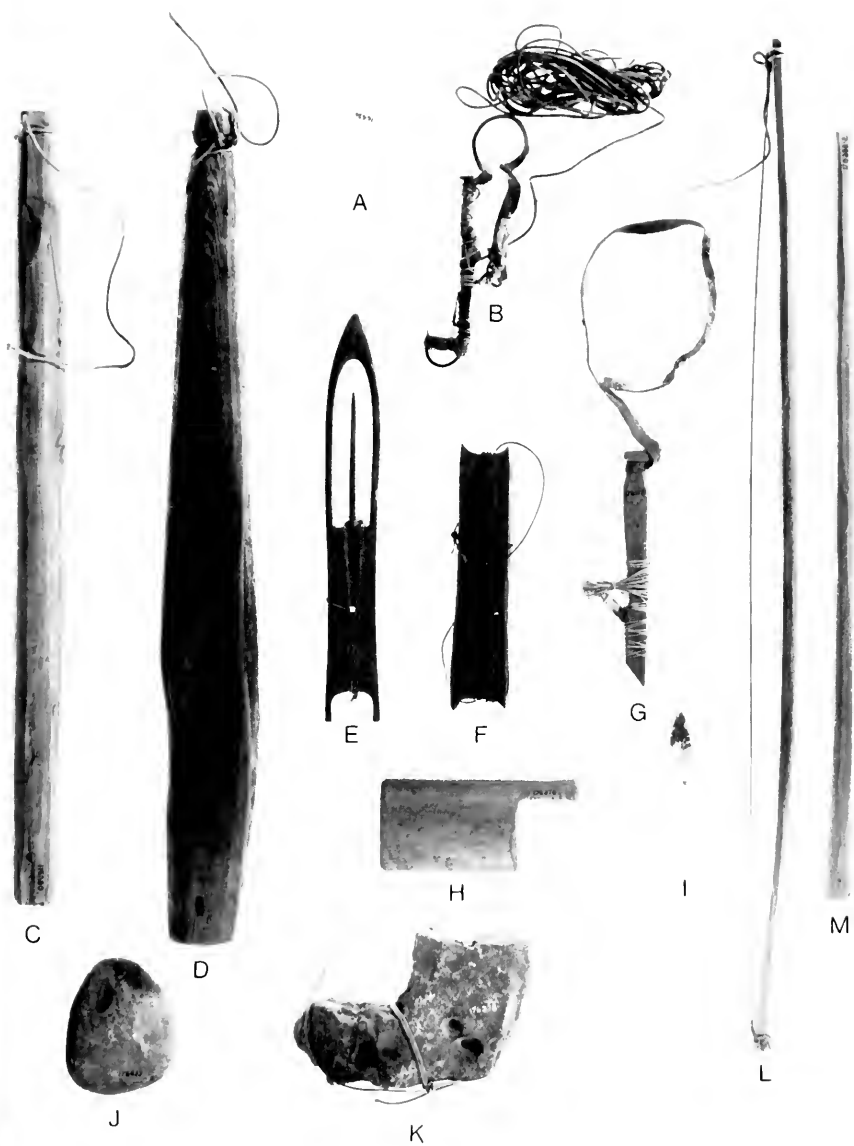


FIGURE 3

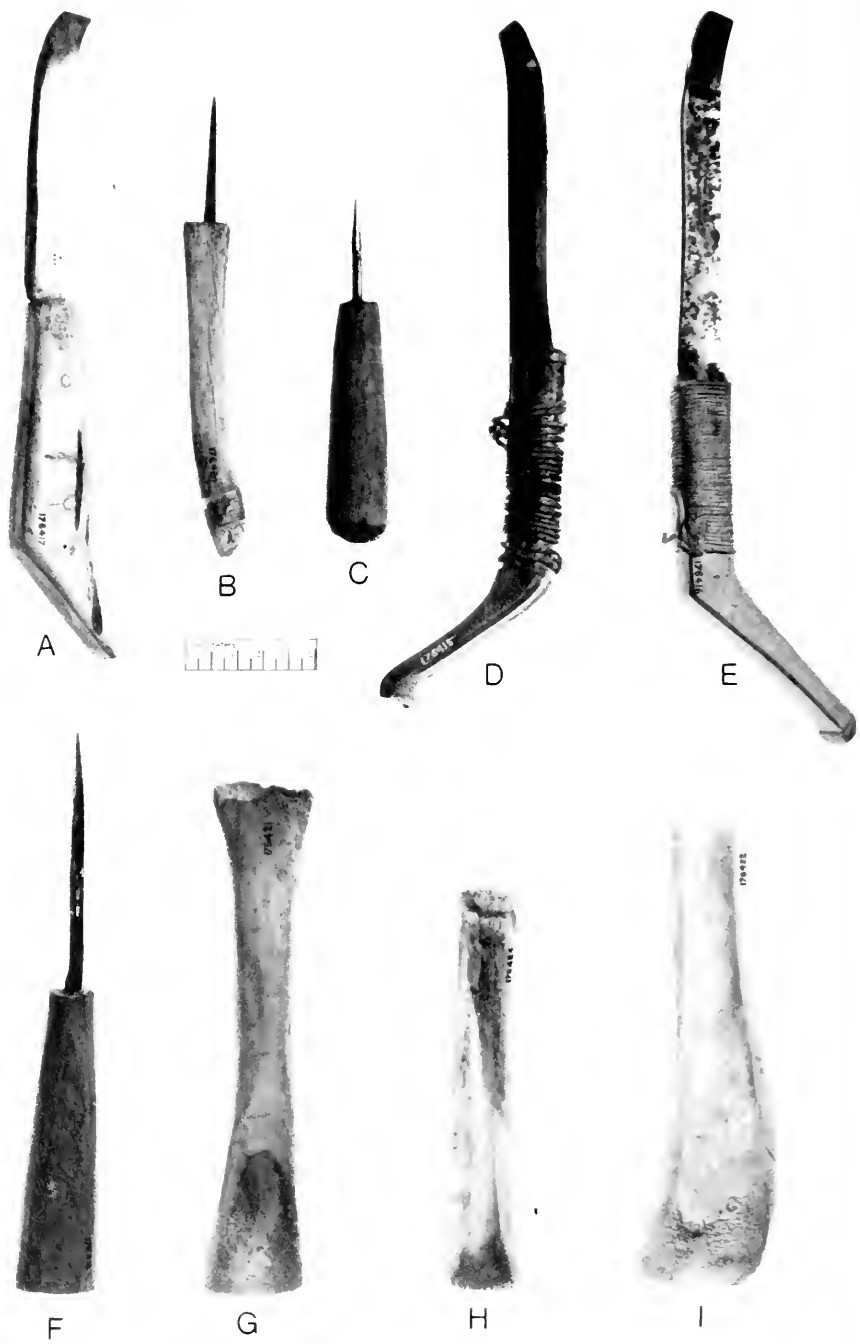


FIGURE 4

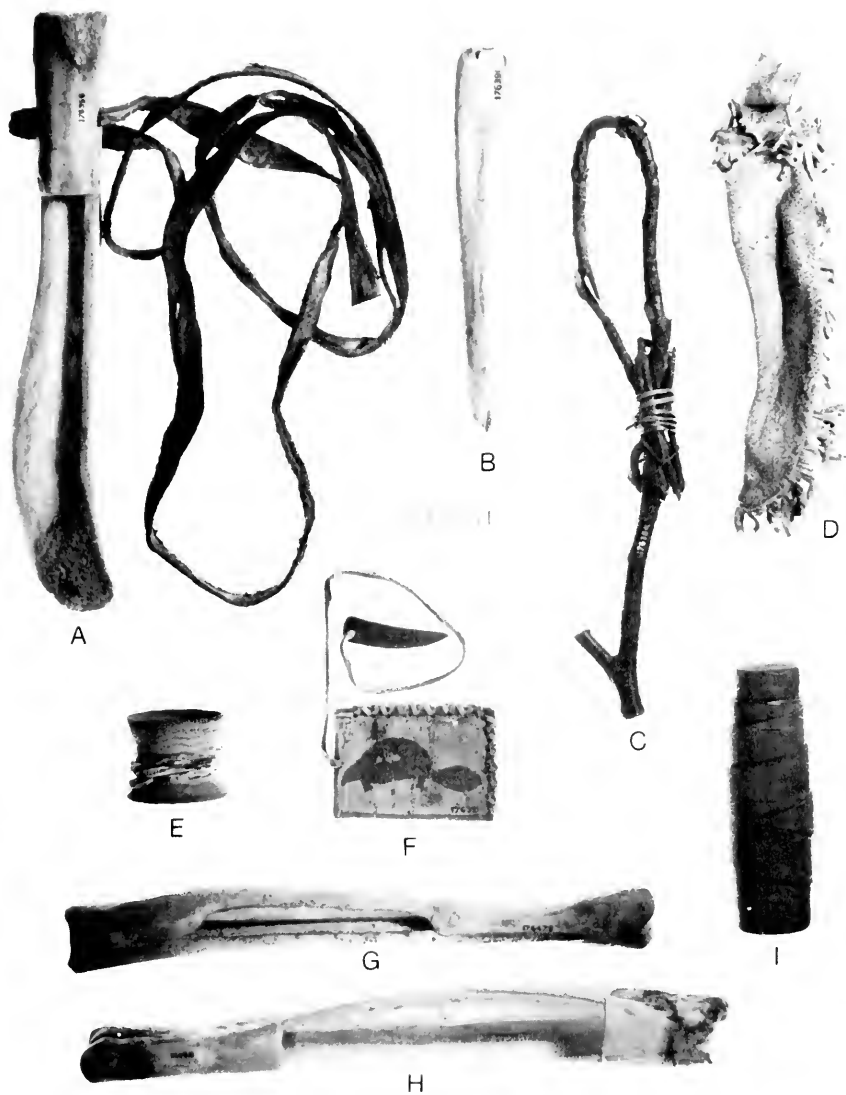
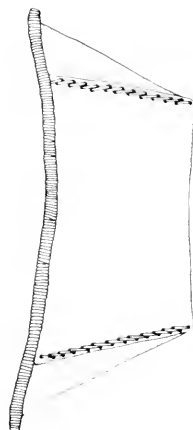
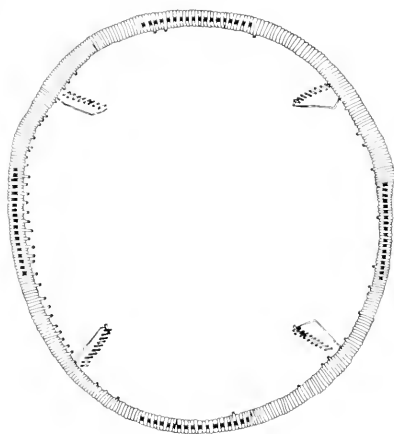


FIGURE 5

38.5 cm

X

Y



0 10 cm

FIGURE 6

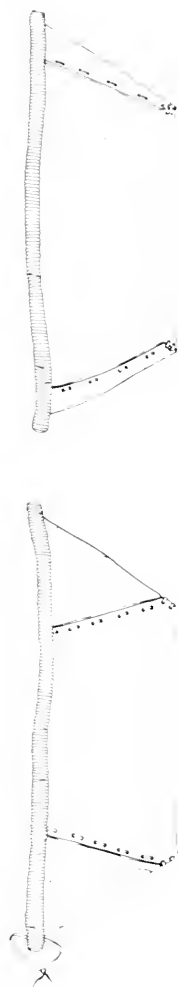
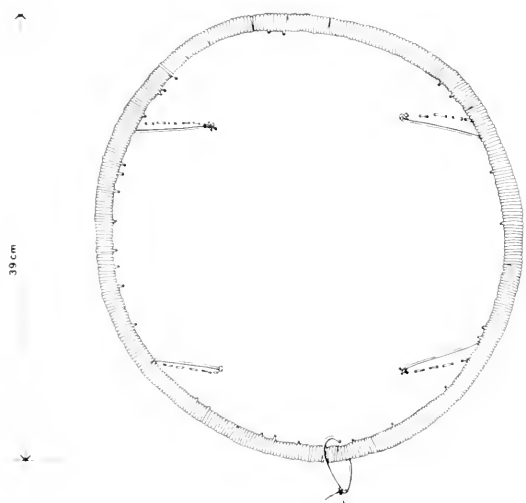


FIGURE 7

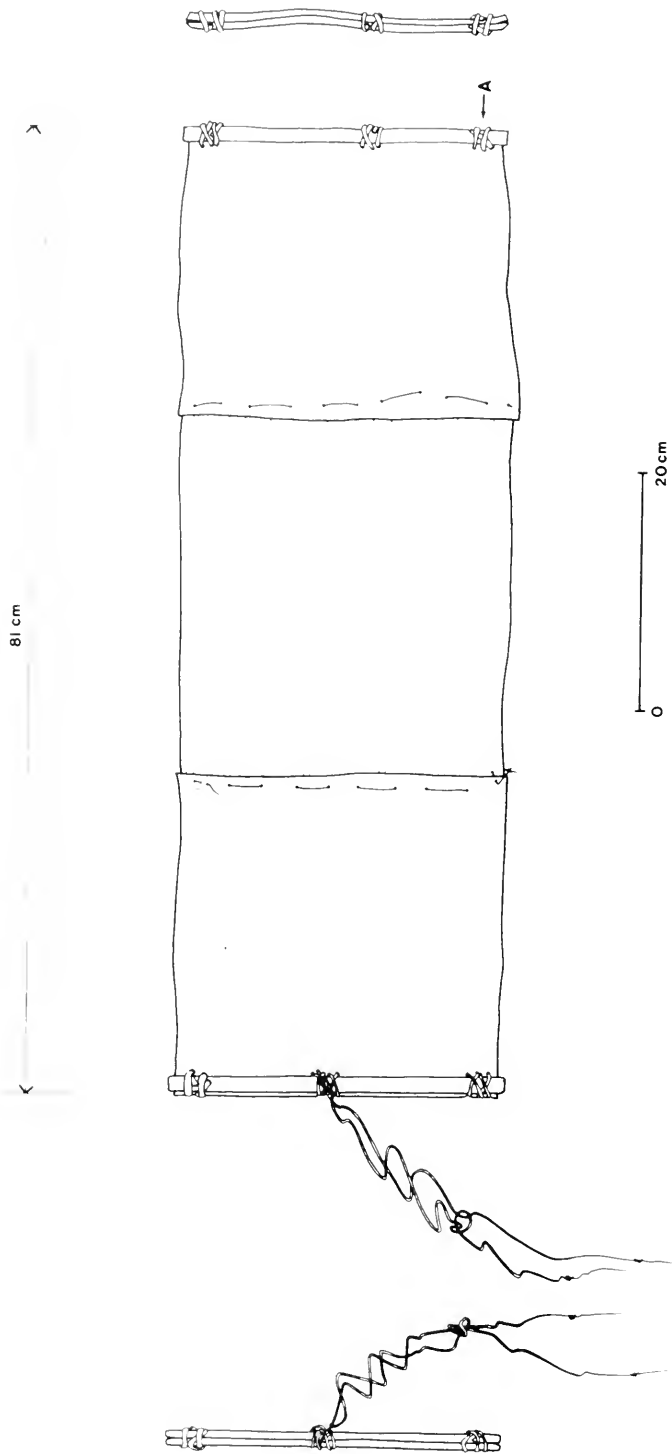


FIGURE 8

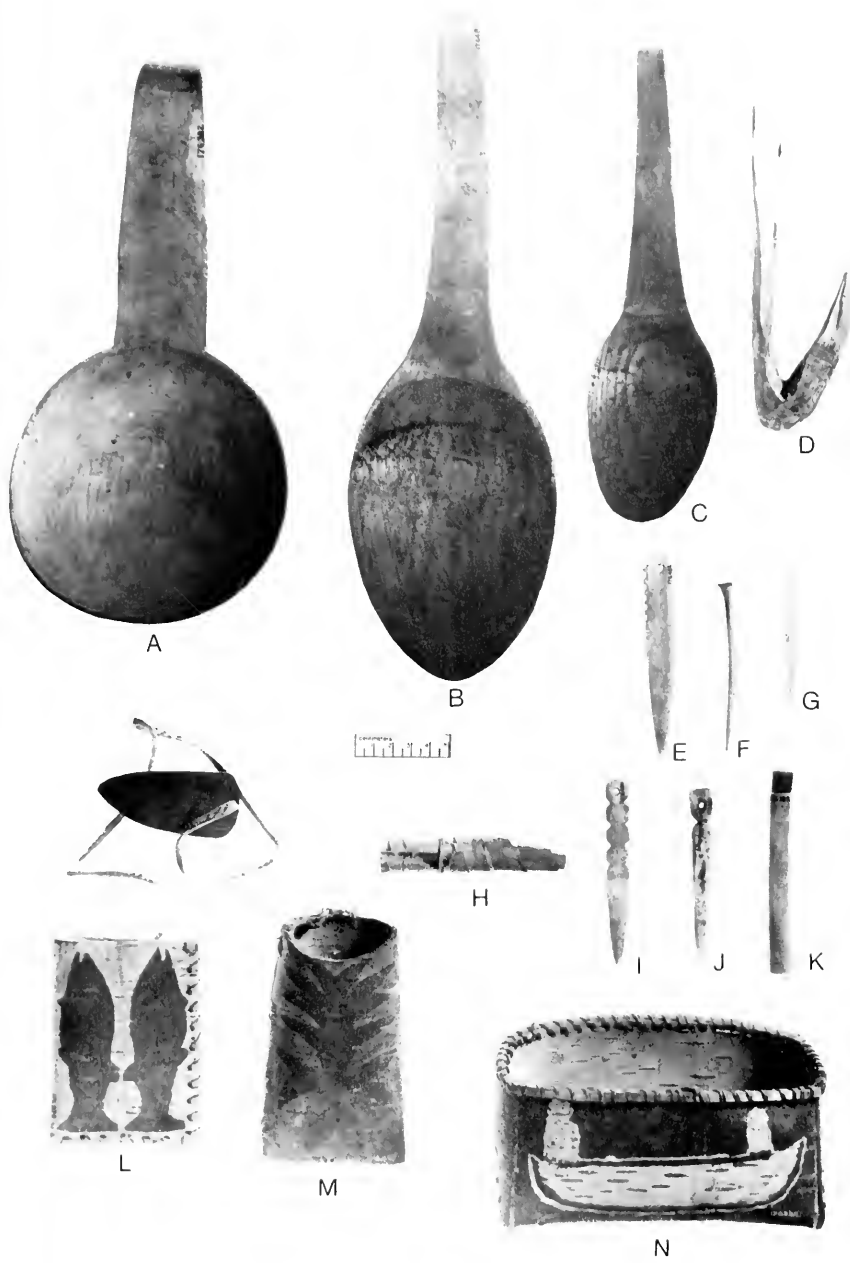


FIGURE 9



176989-2



FIGURE 10



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12

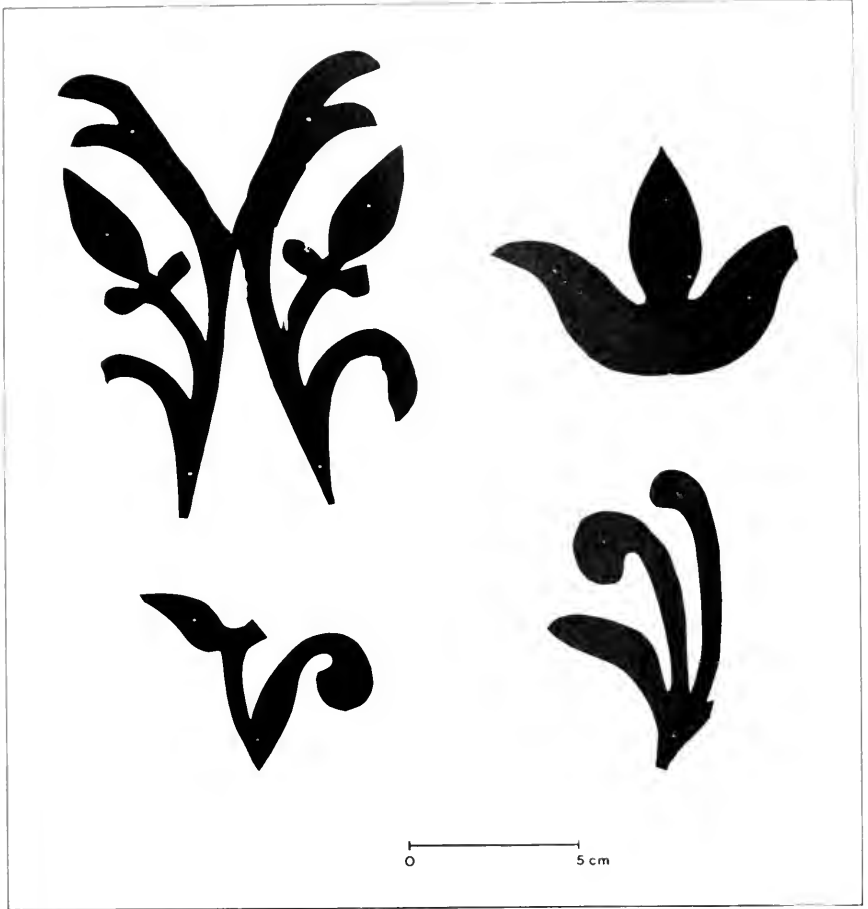


FIGURE 13

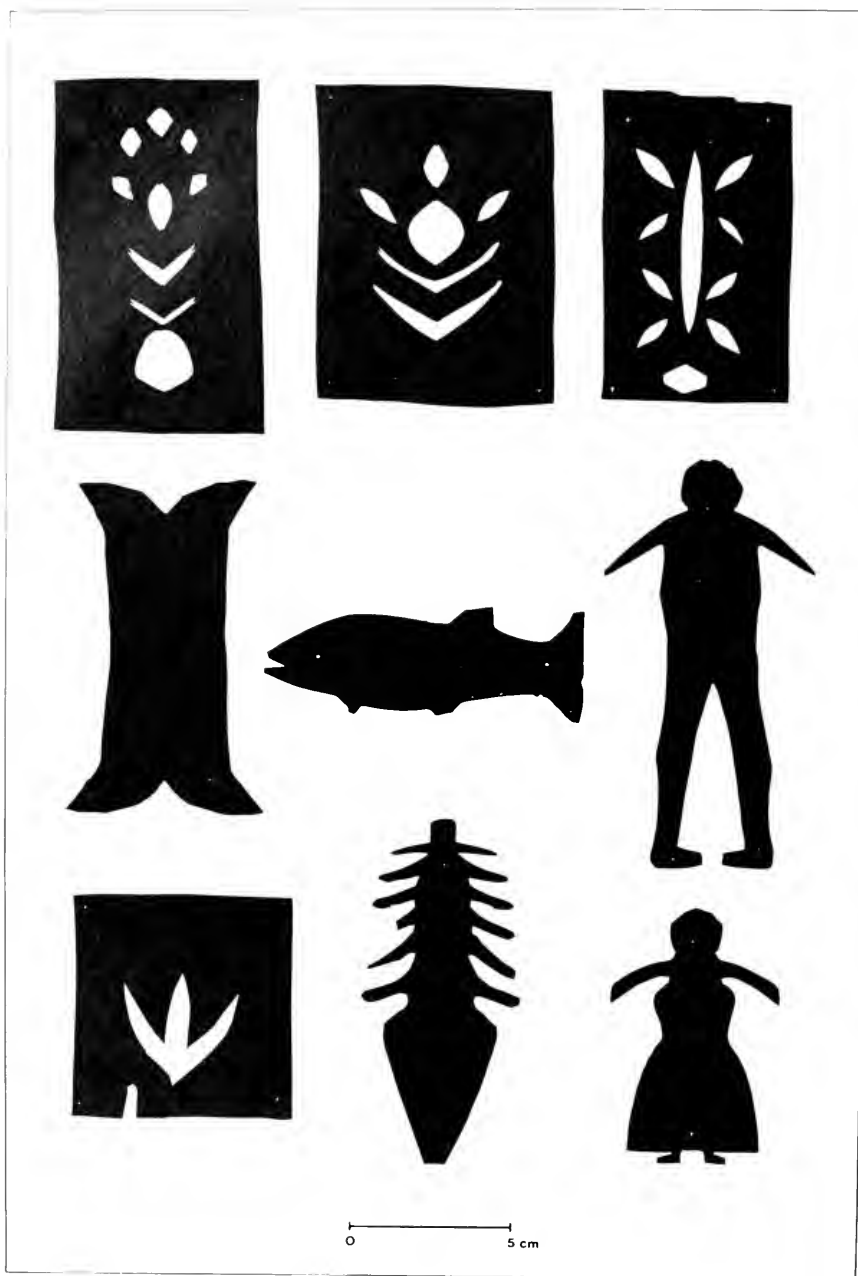
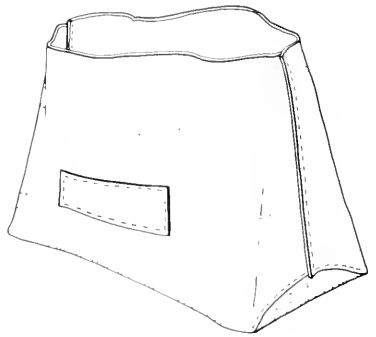
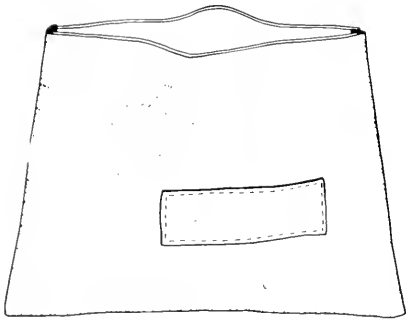
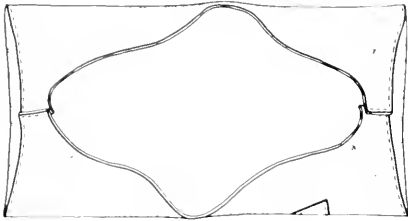


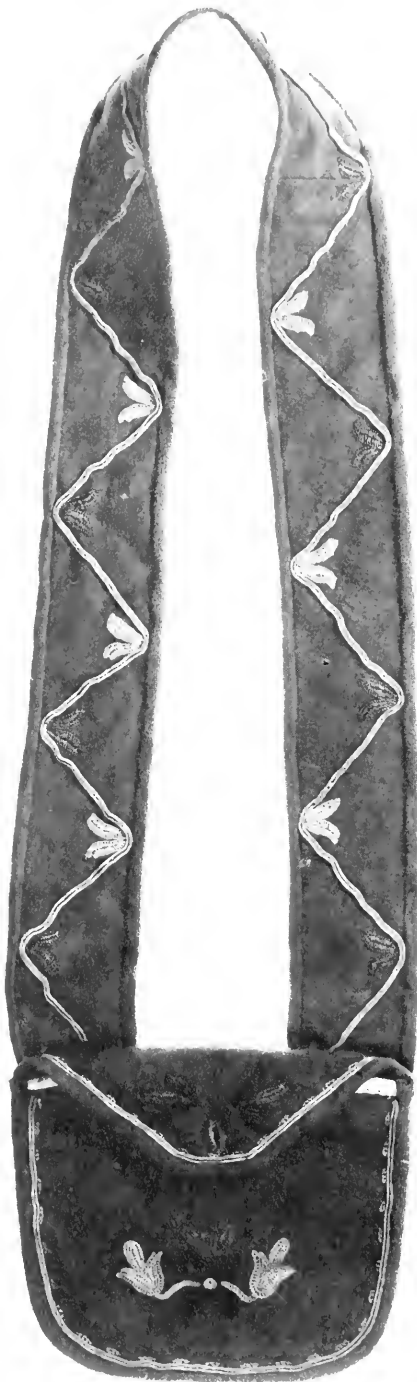
FIGURE 14

< 38 cm >



0 20 cm

FIGURE 15



A



B

FIGURE 16

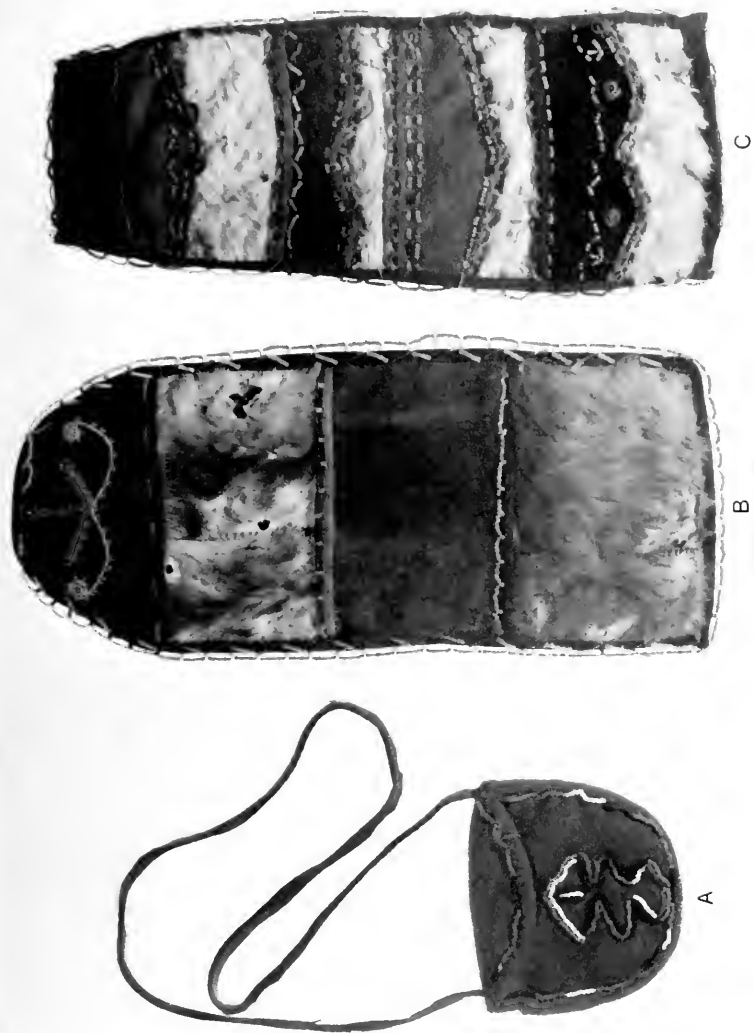


FIGURE 17



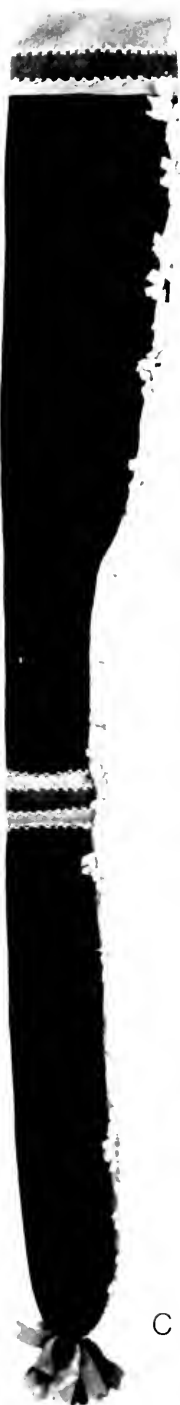
FIGURE 18



A

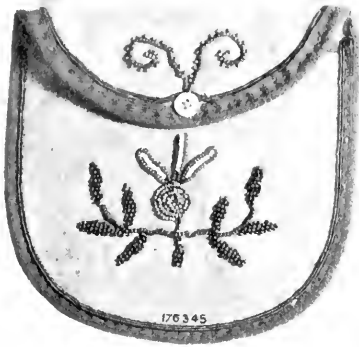


B



C

FIGURE 19



A



B



C



D

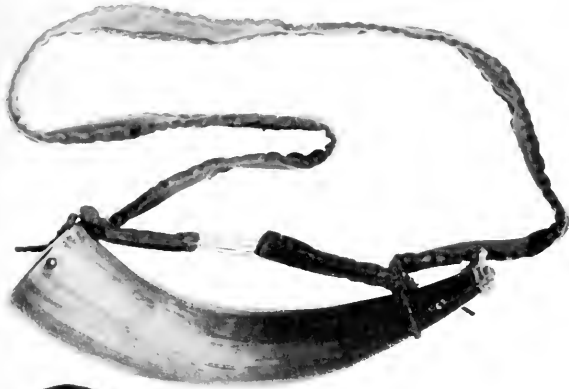


E



F

FIGURE 20



A

5.10.11



B



C

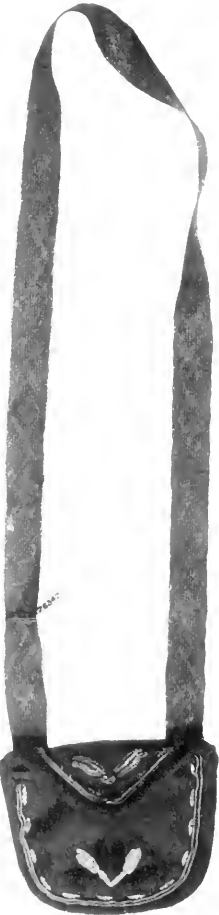
FIGURE 21



A



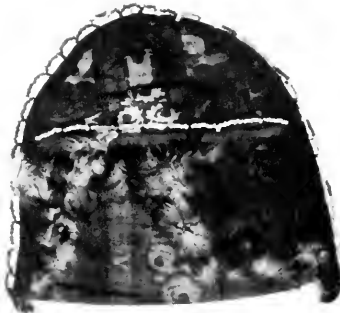
B



D



C



E



F

FIGURE 22



FIGURE 23



FIGURE 24

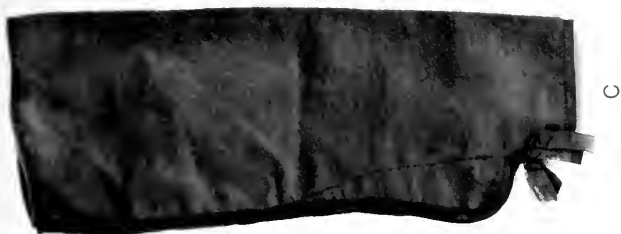


FIGURE 25

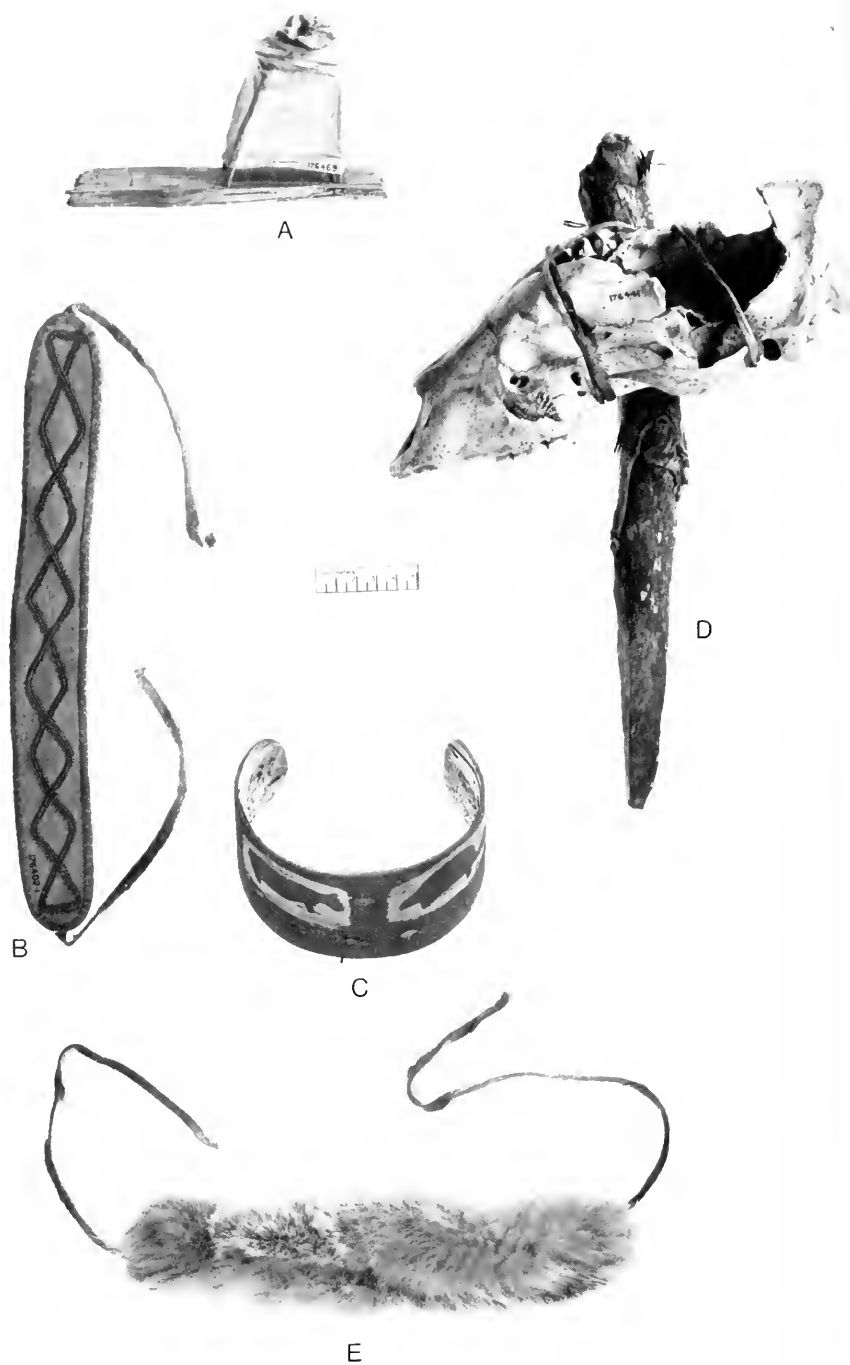


FIGURE 26

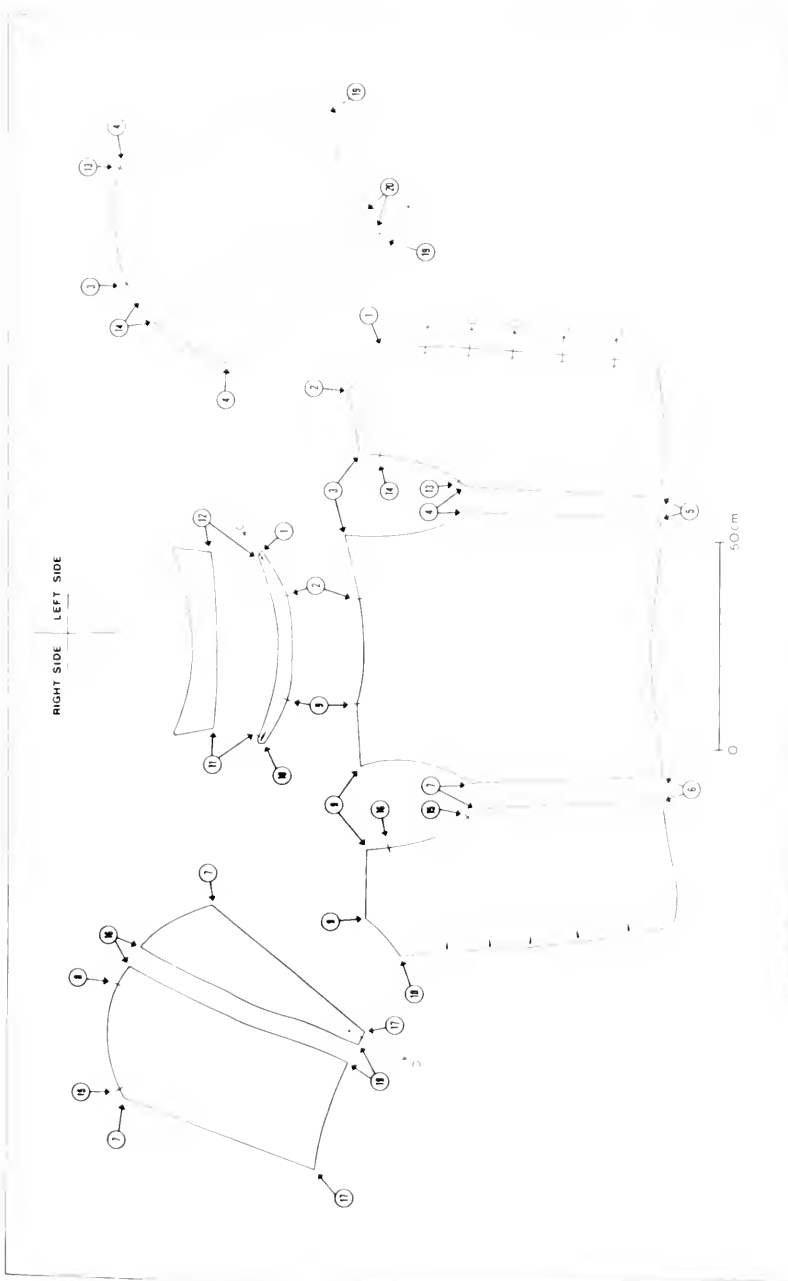


FIGURE 27



FIGURE 28

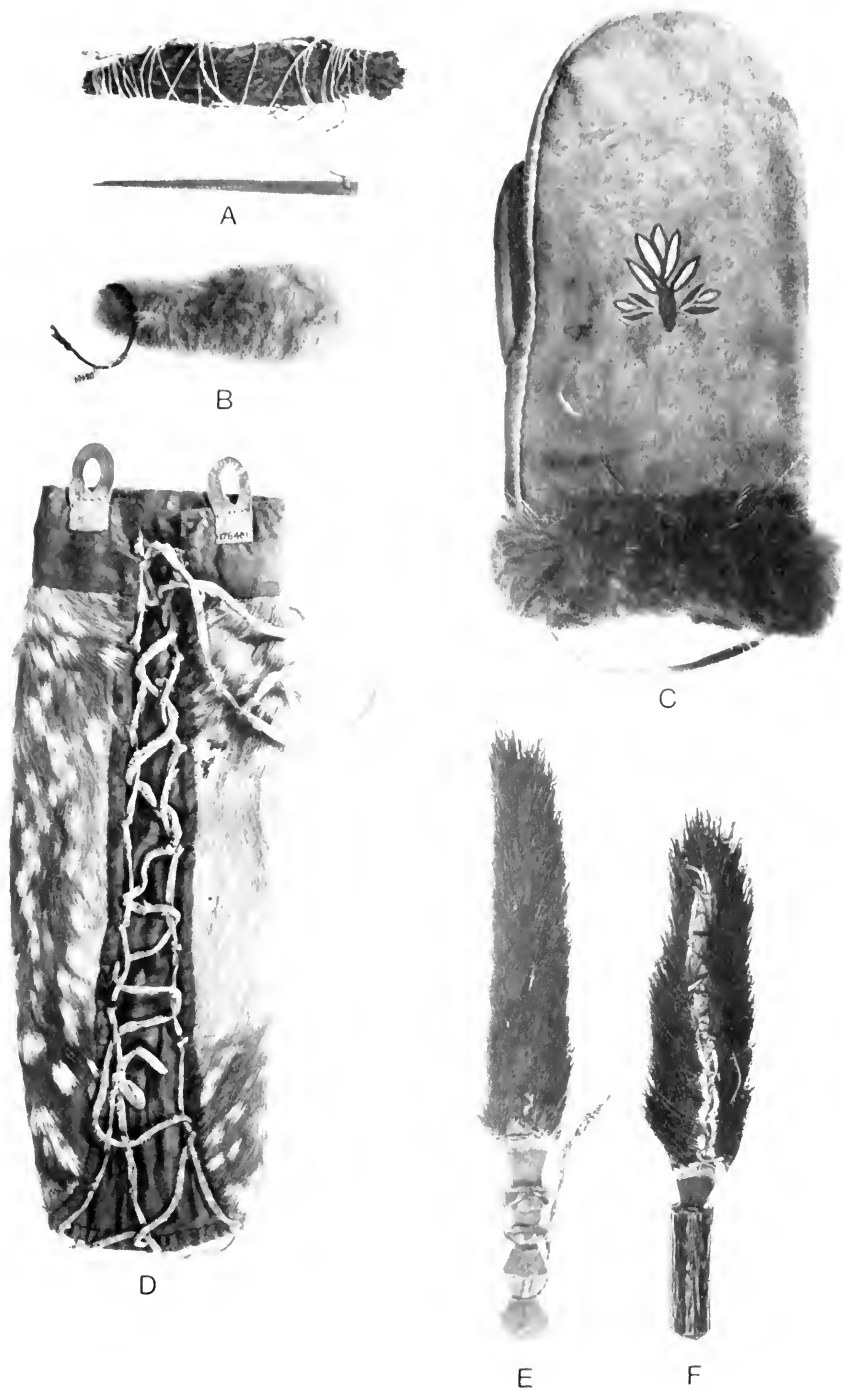
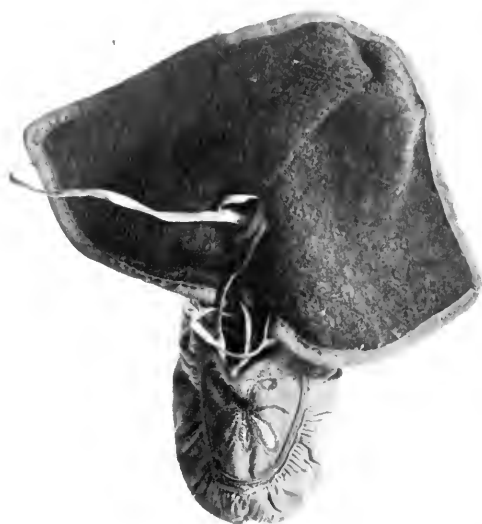


FIGURE 29



A



B



C

FIGURE 30

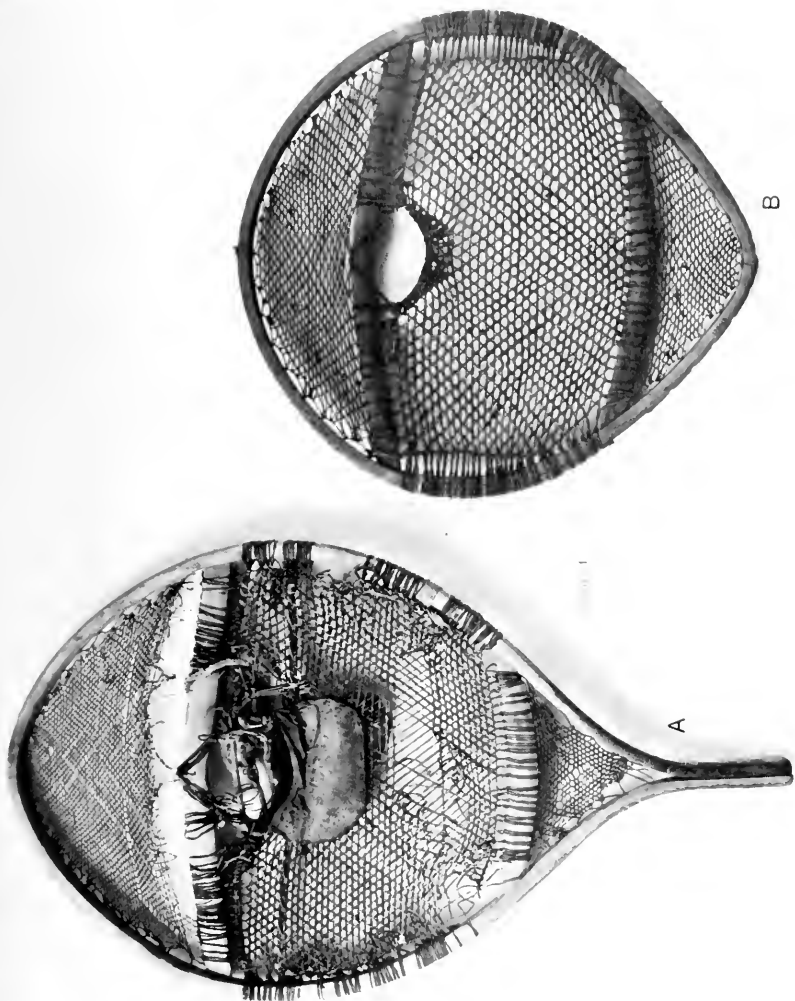


FIGURE 31

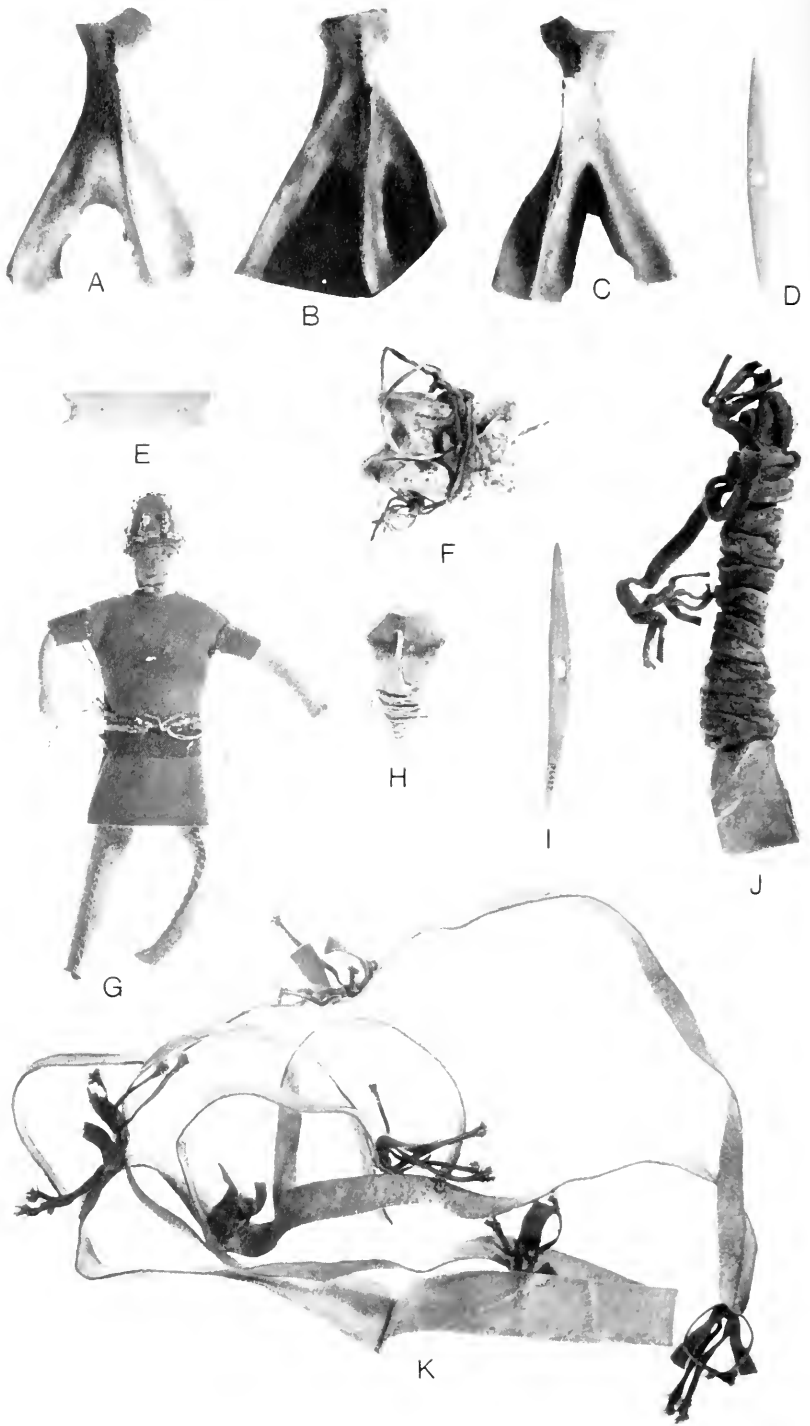
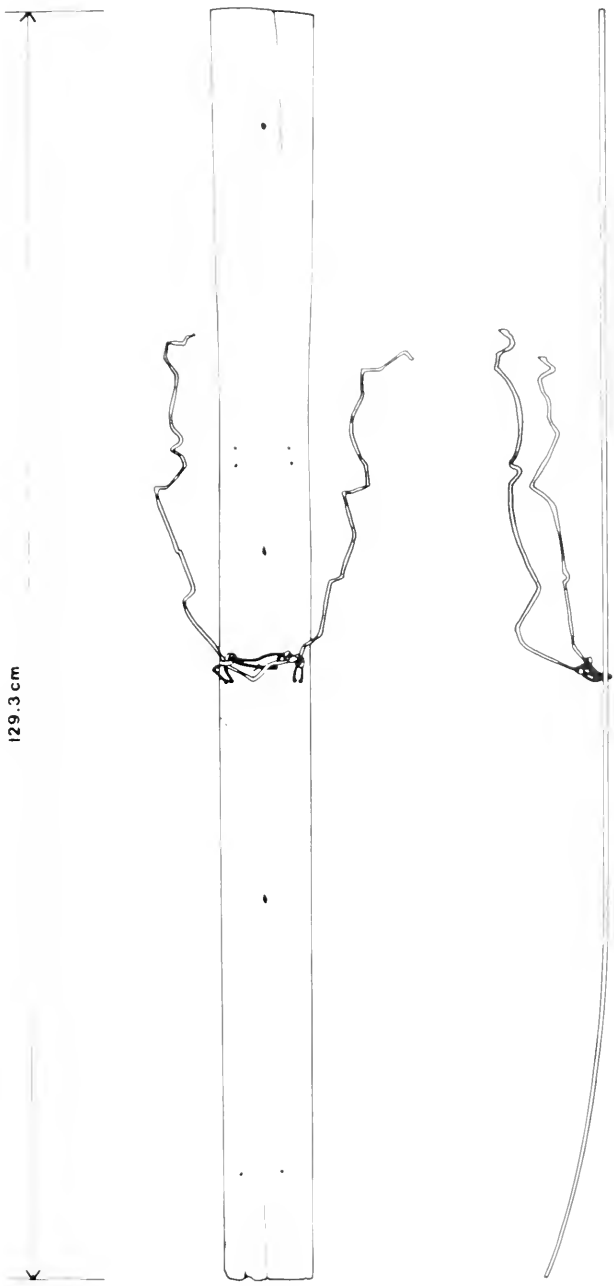


FIGURE 32



0 20 cm

FIGURE 33

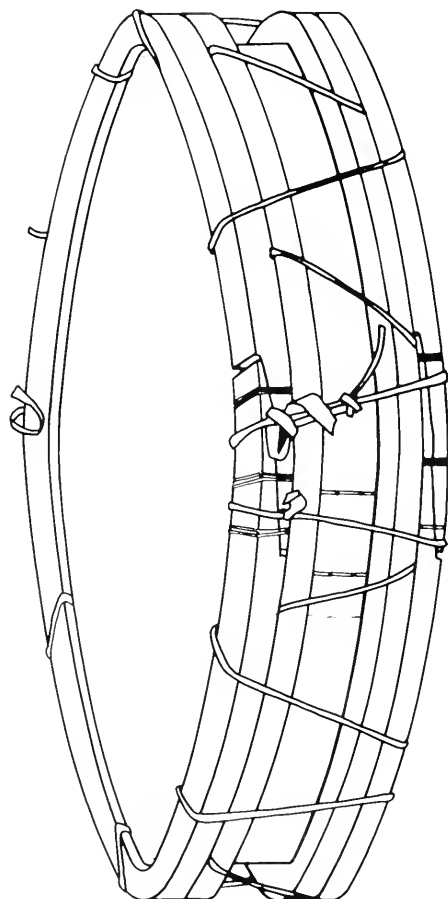


FIGURE 34



FIGURE 35



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