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Material Culture of the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Naskapi: The William Duncan Strong Collection

James W. VanStone

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> Gentry, P. J., J. R. Lloyd, and I. D. Pennington. 1963. A comparison of montane and lowland rain forest in Ecuador. I. The forest structure, physiognomy, and floristics. Journal of Ecology, **51**: 567–601.
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> Lasaponara, F. J. M. 1979. Yage among the Siona: Cultural patterns in visions, pp. 63–80. *In* Browman, D. L., and R. A. Schwarz, eds., Spirits, Shamans, and Stars. Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Netherlands.
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> Murra, J. 1946. The historic tribes of Ecuador, pp. 785–821. *In* Steward, J. H., ed., Handbook of South American Indians. Vol. 2, The Andean Civilizations. Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
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William Duncan Strong in 1928 (neg. no. 108960).

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Preface

In 1926 William Duncan Strong, having recently completed his graduate studies in anthropology, joined the staff of Field Museum of Natural History for the express purpose of taking part in the second Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition to northern Labrador (1927–1928). During a three-month sojourn in the interior of Labrador with a band of Naskapi Indians, he collected more than 500 ethnographic specimens and took a large number of photographs illustrating various aspects of Indian life.

Strong returned to the museum in the fall of 1928 and remained approximately one year before resigning to accept an academic appointment. During this period he cataloged his ethnographic collection. In the museum's Department of Anthropology, newly accessioned collections are entered in a card catalog, one card for each artifact, and also in a book catalog. The cards for the Strong collection are in the ethnographer's handwriting, but the book catalog entries are in someone else's hand. Although the entries in both catalogs generally include only an identification for each artifact, there occasionally is additional information, such as method of use, age, and maker's name. When such information appears on the cards, it is not always duplicated in the book and vice versa.

Material relevant to the Strong collection also includes more than 260 photographs in the museum's photographic files. The captions accompanying these photographs are generally brief but adequate for determining the event or activity depicted; of course, many photographs are self-explanatory. The archives of the Department of Anthropology contain nine drawings made by Naskapi Indians at the ethnographer's request, and the department's correspondence and expedition files include a number of letters and memoranda relevant to the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition. There is additional information of this nature in the expedition files of the museum's registrar.

After Strong's death in 1962, his wife deposited his Labrador diaries, field notes, some notes on Naskapi material culture, and a large collection of Naskapi drawings in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (Strong, 1928a–e). These are part of the William Duncan Strong Papers, which contain diaries, papers, notes, and correspondence related to all aspects of his professional career. The Papers also contain Labrador photographs, including a few not duplicated in the Field Museum set. The captions accompanying these photographs are in some cases more informative than those identifying the Field Museum prints.

At some point in his career, Strong began work on a manuscript describing his field experiences (Strong, 1928a). For more than a decade this manuscript remained in the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, where a typewritten copy was prepared under the supervision of Dr. Eleanor Leacock. A copy of this manuscript is now included in the William Duncan Strong Papers.

The Strong ethnographic collection is an important and significant assemblage of Naskapi material culture. Other collections, notably those made by Frank G. Speck for several American, Canadian, and European museums (see VanStone, 1982, pp. 2–3), were obtained among the Montagnais of southern Quebec. The only Naskapi collection of comparable size and comprehensiveness was made among people who traded at Fort Chimo on the Koksoak River (fig. 1) by Lucien M. Turner for the United States National Museum in 1882–1884 (Turner, 1894).

The Strong collection has never been described or illustrated and, in fact, has seldom been examined by students of Naskapi material culture. The primary purpose of this study is to make the collection better known to students of Naskapi ethnography through detailed description and il-

lustration of the specimens. Information on material culture in Strong's photographs, diaries, and field notes has been integrated into the artifact descriptions.

I am grateful to several colleagues at Field Museum for assistance during my study of the Strong collection. Dr. Glen Cole guided me toward a more accurate description of lithic materials, and Mrs. Sylvia Schueppert performed a similar service for sewn garments. The excellent photographs in this publication are the work of Mr. Ron Testa and Ms. Fleur Hales. The drawings are the work of Ms. Lori Grove, with the exception of figures 60, 63, and 66, which were drawn by Mr. Zbigniew Jastrzebski. Figures 2, 4, and 106 are reproduced with permission from the National Anthropological Archives.

Students of Montagnais-Naskapi culture with whom I corresponded profitably concerning the Strong collection and related matters include Mrs. Dorothy Burnham, Mr. Marc Hammond, Mr. Stephen Loring, Dr. Edward S. Rogers, and Dr. J. Garth Taylor. Staff members of the National Anthropological Archives were extremely helpful during my study of the William Duncan Strong Papers. For useful suggestions on the format and content of the concluding chapter of this study, I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Wendell H. Oswalt. Several drafts of the manuscript were typed with accuracy and dispatch by Mrs. Loran Recchia.

Material Culture of the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Naskapi: The William Duncan Strong Collection

Abstract

The collections of Field Museum of Natural History contain more than 500 ethnographic specimens collected by William Duncan Strong among the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Naskapi in 1927–1928. The artifacts in this collection are described and illustrated. Information on material culture in Strong's photographs, diaries, and field notes has been included to enhance the artifact descriptions.

I. Introduction

Historical and Ethnographic Background

The designation Montagnais-Naskapi encompasses three major groupings whose territories correspond to major drainage patterns on the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. In historic times the Montagnais have occupied the drainage of the St. Lawrence River, while the Naskapi have inhabited country which drains into Ungava Bay and the north Atlantic Ocean. The third group, the Mistassini, have lived along rivers and lakes which drain into James and Hudson bays. All three groups speak dialects of Eastern Cree and are part of the much larger Algonquian linguistic family (Rogers & Leacock, 1981, p. 169).

As Fitzhugh (1972, p. 180) emphasized, the relationship between the Naskapi and more southern Indian groups has long been a subject of interest to ethnographers. It is clear from the standpoint of language and material culture that the Naskapi are closely related to the Montagnais. These similarities, however, should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the subsistence activities of the two groups reflect the differing distribution of natural resources in the two drainage systems (Rogers & Leacock, 1981, p. 169). Nevertheless, virtually all ethnographic research carried out on the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula has stressed the cultural similarities between the two groups and tended to view them as a single culture.

Rogers and Leacock (1981, pp. 171–172) stressed that a high degree of mobility is one factor that has made it virtually impossible to draw precise boundaries between the two groups. As early as the 16th and 17th centuries, it was apparently customary for the Naskapi to make long trips to the south in order to obtain trade goods (Fitzhugh, 1972, p. 42). Since then, both the Montagnais and the Naskapi have always traveled extensively, maintaining contacts with bands in widely separated areas of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula.

Ethnographic research among the Montagnais-Naskapi began early but, except for Frank G. Speck's extensive work in the Lake St. John and neighboring areas between 1908 and 1932, has not been intensive. Lucien M. Turner was the earliest investigator to spend time in the country of the Naskapi; his report (Turner, 1894) is the only monograph on the northern peoples. Brief descriptions of Naskapi Indian life are to be found in the accounts of travellers who passed through the Indian House Lake region, the most important hunting grounds of the Naskapi, between 1900 and 1910 (Ellis, 1908; Wallace, 1907; Cabot, 1920). The next investigations were carried out in 1921 by F. W. Waugh (1925) and in 1927–1928 by Wil-

liam Duncan Strong. More recent research was conducted by the Finnish geographer V. Tanner in 1937 and 1939 (Tanner, 1944) and by William Fitzhugh, who compiled much useful ethnographic information in connection with his archaeological work in the North West River region in 1968 and 1969 (Fitzhugh, 1972). Compared with the inhabitants of other areas of subarctic North America, the culture of the historic Naskapi cannot be said to have been studied adequately.

In early historic times the Naskapi numbered 800 to 1,500 individuals, grouped into about half a dozen bands numbering approximately 100 individuals each (Fitzhugh, 1972, p. 181). At the time of Strong's fieldwork, the most northerly groups were the Whale River and Ungava bands occupying the drainages of rivers flowing north into Ungava Bay (fig. 1). His most intensive contacts, however, were with members of the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet bands. Both bands formerly occupied the Indian House Lake district in the interior, although the nucleus of the Davis Inlet band was originally from North West River, to the south. These two groups were spending varying amounts of time on the north Atlantic coast, the former at Voisey Bay and the latter at Davis Inlet (Strong, 1929, pp. 277–278). In the fall of 1914 the Barren Ground band was said to number as many as 250 individuals, but many died from influenza and other diseases during the winter of 1918–1919. At the time of Waugh's stay at Voisey Bay in 1921–1922, the band consisted of 16 adult hunters and a total of 75 or 80 individuals (Waugh, 1921–1922).

In recent times, including the period of Strong's fieldwork, the hunting grounds of the Naskapi included a vast area stretching 90 km west and 30 km north or south of Davis Inlet. The western part of this area consists primarily of barren mountains and rolling upland plains. There are scattered patches of conifers along the river and stream banks, and it was among these or on sheltered hillsides that the Naskapi located their hunting camps. This region was the locale of the all-important caribou hunt, on which the Indians depended almost entirely for their subsistence. The Atlantic coast in this area consists of many islands and deeply cut bays, some of which extend as much as 13 km inland. Although the outer islands are usually barren, those close to the mainland are heavily forested. In the interior the climate is dry and cold, the temperatures frequently reaching −50° centigrade. On the coast it is wetter and somewhat milder (Henrikson, 1981, p. 667).

European contact on the coast of Labrador took place quite early, beginning with the voyage of Jacques Cartier in 1532. For the next 300 years the only information on the Naskapi occurs in traders' reports, the Jesuit *Relations,* and journals kept by explorers. A Moravian mission was established at Nain in 1771, but in the far north significant contact did not take place until the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post at Fort Chimo in 1830. Subsequently, in 1838, Erland Erlandson and John McLean (McLean, 1932, pp. 202–237) explored the interior from Fort Chimo to Hamilton Inlet. In 1831 the Hudson's Bay Company established a post at Davis Inlet, and it may have been that the relative lateness of this contact in the north forced the Indians to undertake long trips to the south in order to obtain trade goods.

As elsewhere in the arctic and subarctic, the Indians' dependence on trade goods increased their involvement in the Euro-Canadian economy. Although in northern Labrador the Indians did less trapping than in other areas of the subarctic, they nevertheless expressed a continually increasing desire for trade goods and European food; thus, they were increasingly drawn out to the trading posts on the coast (Fitzhugh, 1972, pp. 45–46; Henrikson, 1981, p. 666).

Virtually no information is available concerning Naskapi subsistence activities during the early historic period. At a later date there is some data relevant to the band that formerly occupied the Indian House Lake area on George River in the interior, an aggregate from which both the Barren Ground band and the Davis Inlet band were derived. Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard (Ellis, 1908) and Dillon Wallace (1907) encountered this band in the summer of 1905. The Indians would wait at the lake for the annual migration of caribou herds from the west. At the height of the season, hundreds of animals were killed in a day as they swam across the lake, an activity described in detail by Turner (1894, pp. 276–277). William Cabot (1920, p. 239) described one of these hunts during the summer of 1906, when hunters in canoes speared 1,200–1,500 animals in a two week period.

If many caribou were taken in this manner during the summer and fall, the band would remain together during the winter, living on the large store of dried caribou meat. Otherwise, it would break up into smaller groups to fish through the ice and hunt caribou on foot. If caribou could not be located, starvation was a very real possibility. In spring the small groups would gather once more

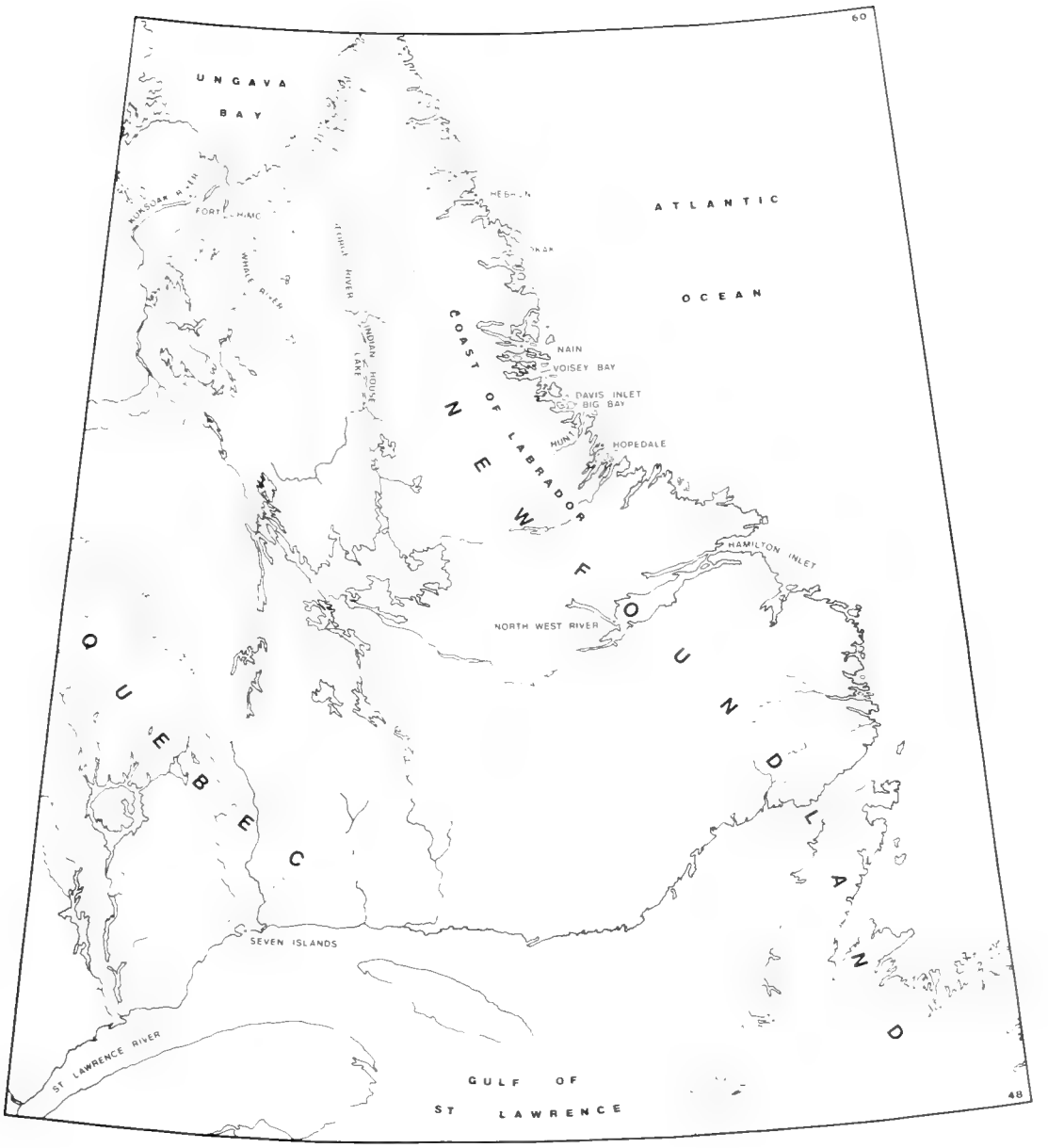

FIG. 1. Map of Quebec-Labrador.

to fish during the early summer and to prepare again for the fall caribou hunt (Fitzhugh, 1972, p. 181; Henrikson, 1973, pp. 8–9).

Traditionally, then, the Naskapi never undertook regular seasonal migrations to the coast. As Fitzhugh (1972, p. 181) has noted, the Indians developed an extremely specialized adaptation to what was essentially a single resource economy, an adaptation that was the only one possible in the barrens. This intensive adaptation to caribou hunting made possible a more stable life than was characteristic of the Montagnais, who were generalized hunters and had to seek out game rather than simply station themselves at known migration routes. It is this specialized adaptation that is obscured when the Montagnais-Naskapi are considered to be a single culture. Turner (1894, p. 280), therefore, was not exaggerating when he stat-

ed with reference to the Ungava band Naskapi, the subjects of his research, that "without reindeer [caribou] the very existence of the Indians would be imperiled."

In the fall of 1916, for reasons that are not clearly understood, the main caribou herd failed to appear at Indian House Lake. Up to that time, the herd had invariably appeared there in October, moving from the north and east, then crossing the lake and passing on to the south and west. In May it came back up the east side of the George River, moving to the northeast (fig. 1). As a result of the considerable slaughter that took place every year, there were great piles of caribou bones around the lake. Strong's informants believed that the animals smelled these bones, were offended, and informed the caribou god, who then refused to allow the herd to come south. Neglect of religious rites associated with the caribou was also believed to have been involved (Strong, 1930a, p. 2). Overkill was certainly a factor in the disappearance of the herd, but forest and tundra fires along with winter icing may also have played a role (Fitzhugh, 1972, p. 181).

As a result of the decline of the caribou herds, the Naskapi were forced to move to the trading post at Davis Inlet. Once they had moved their families to the coast where they could supplement hunting trips with trade, the Indians discovered that it was a major undertaking to go inland on a regular basis. At the time of the move they had very few dogs, which meant that it took a long time to travel into the barrens. Also, it was not possible to carry a great deal of food from the post store as a protection against a shortage of game. Since it continued to be difficult to find caribou after the herds had changed their migration routes, the Naskapi stayed closer to the coast and relied increasingly on store food (Henrikson, 1973, p. 13).

In the summer of 1924 a Roman Catholic missionary arrived at Davis Inlet and, after appointing an English-speaking Naskapi as "chief," promised to return every summer if the people were there to meet him. From 1927 the missionary came each summer, and gradually the Indians began to spend their summers in the vicinity of Davis Inlet. Even after finding it necessary to spend more and more time on the coast, the Naskapi nevertheless retained their orientation toward the interior and did not utilize to any great extent the resources of the sea (Henrikson, 1981, p. 666).

William Duncan Strong arrived on the Labrador coast in the summer of 1927, at which time the Davis Inlet band was composed of 36 members living alternately on the coast and in the interior (fig. 2). The seasonal round of this band in the 1960s was described in some detail by Henrikson (1981, p. 668) and is summarized here, since he believed the essential pattern remained unchanged from the time the Indians first began to frequent the post in summer.

As in the past, caribou were hunted by members of the Davis Inlet band at all times of the year but only sporadically in summer. From October until March or April the people lived in the barrens, where virtually all the time was spent hunting caribou. Strong (1930a, p. 5) described this winter hunt as it occurred while he was living with the band in the interior from January to April 1928. Hunters went up on the barren plateaus or hills to look for the animals or their tracks. Once located, the caribou were followed, often with dog sleds, until the game was close. Then the dogs were tied up and the hunters attempted to approach the herd as closely as possible. One man fired at the farthest animal, which tended to drive the others toward the hunters. Each caribou that attempted to lead the herd away was killed and the leaderless herd continued to mill in a circle, not knowing which way to go. Frequently all the animals in the herd could be killed.

In summer, caribou were killed with short spears as they swam across lakes, but they were also stalked in much the same manner as in winter. Strong's informants told him that aboriginal hunting methods included the use of snares and corrals into which caribou were driven to be shot with bow and arrow, clubbed, or speared.

At any time of the year, if there were sufficient caribou, other types of food were obtained only for the purpose of providing some variety to the diet (Henrikson, 1981, p. 668). Strong (1930a, p. 5) mentioned that the black bear, very common in the timbered river valleys, was, next to caribou, the most important food animal. Bears could be killed easily with a caribou spear or a knife in winter, when they are comatose.

During the winter of 1927–1928 there was a scarcity of all species of wildlife (Strong, 1930a, pp. 1–2). It was not unusual for Indian hunters to travel 30 or 35 km a day and not see a single bird or animal track. In spite of continuous hunting, only two snowshoe hares were killed; ptarmigan and spruce grouse were also scarce. Strong was sure that if a few small herds of caribou had not been encountered and trout secured with nets set under the ice, many Indians would have died of star-

vation. Porcupines were occasionally caught in wooded areas, as were foxes and wolves. Foxes were common near the coast and more likely to be hunted than trapped by the Indians. A hunter on snowshoes could run down a fox before shooting it (Strong, 1930a, p. 7).

It is important to remember, however, that Strong's informants spent very little time hunting animals other than caribou. Basic commercial foods such as flour, sugar, lard, tea, and tobacco were obtained at the store at Davis Inlet and brought into the barrens by the Indians.

During late March or early April, the Naskapi returned to the coast at Davis Inlet and hunted seals during their stay in the settlement. Although precise information is lacking, it seems likely that utilization of the resources of the sea was of less significance at the time of Strong's fieldwork than it was in the 1960s, the period documented by Henrikson. Canada geese and various species of ducks were also hunted and trout were caught through holes in the ice (Henrikson, 1981, p. 668). Black bears emerge from hibernation in late April or early May and were hunted with rifles along river banks. Strong (1930a, p. 5) noted that at nearly every old Naskapi summer camp there were bear skulls set on posts as part of ceremonies to appease the spirit of the bear.

With reference to the 1960s, Henrikson (1981, p. 668) noted that in late September the Indians traveled by boat into bays south of Davis Inlet where they hunted seals and fished for arctic char. When the rivers were finally frozen, the people once again moved inland in search of caribou. After the decline in the herds and the changes in migration routes, the Indians had no way of knowing when or where they would first encounter these animals. At the time of Henrikson's fieldwork, the men first went into the interior without their families. After shooting a supply of caribou and storing it on scaffolds, the hunters returned to the coast for their wives and children. These caches of stored meat served as base camps from which the hunters operated further into the barrens. Henrikson noted that this strategy was possible because all Indians had equal rights in a hunting area and to the resources of that area. Also, people could not be excluded from a hunting camp; everyone in a camp was entitled to a share of the game obtained by the hunters (Henrikson, 1981, p. 668).

As in most hunting and gathering societies, there was no system of institutionalized leadership among the Naskapi. An individual became a leader or "first man" (*ucima.w*) by taking the initiative in joint actions, such as hunting trips, or the decision to move a camp. When the task was completed, a man was no longer *ucima.w* (Henrikson, 1981, p. 668).

After the unexpected sudden decline of the caribou herds in 1916, the Naskapi were more careful to observe the rituals which appeased the spirits of game animals, particularly the caribou. The most important of these caribou rituals was the *makusa.n* during which all the hunters in a camp, under the direction of an *ucima.w*, spent an entire day scraping meat off the long bones of animals killed since the previous *makusa.n*. The ends of the bones were crushed and boiled and the fat extracted. Then the bones were cracked open so that the men could eat the marrow. After the men had finished, women and children were permitted to partake of this sacred food. Henrikson (1981, p. 670) has emphasized that the *makusa.n* and other communal feasts confirmed the special relationship that existed between the Naskapi and the spirits of various animals.

W. D. Strong and the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition of 1927–1928

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 Archaeology and Ethnology (Field Museum, Dept. of Anthropology, correspondence files [DA/CF], 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, anticipating his departure in June 1927. In August 1929, following his participation in the expedition, Strong resigned the curatorial position and for the next three years taught at the University of Nebraska. In 1931 he became Senior Anthropologist at the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. He moved to Columbia University in 1937, where he remained until his death in 1962 (Solecki & Wagley, 1963).

Commander Donald Baxter MacMillan, a noted arctic explorer, had participated in numerous northern expeditions, beginning in 1908. For the summer of 1926 he proposed an expedition to Labrador and Greenland with scientific research as the sole purpose, and approached Field Museum to secure a sponsor. Stanley Field, president of the museum, persuaded Frederick H. Rawson, a Chicago banker, to underwrite the expedition.

As a result of Rawson's support, the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition of 1926 sailed from Wiscasset, Maine on June 19, stopping along the coast of Labrador, the west coast of Greenland as far north as Disko Island, and at Baffin Island before returning to Wiscasset 11 weeks later. Field Museum's representatives on the expedition were a bird taxidermist, an assistant curator of fishes, and a geologist from Cornell University who went along to collect geological specimens for the museum (Walsten, 1982).

At the conclusion of the expedition, which was declared a success because of the large number of specimens obtained for the museum's collections, Commander MacMillan persuaded the museum and Mr. Rawson to sponsor a second expedition to begin the following summer. This was to be a much more ambitious undertaking, planned to last for 15 months, with a representative of each of the museum's four scientific departments to accompany the expedition. For this purpose, William Duncan Strong joined the staff of the Department of Anthropology.

With the idea in mind that a winter camp for Field Museum scientists would be established on the coast of Labrador, the various scientific departments made plans for their participation in the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition of 1927–1928. In a memorandum to D. C. Davies, the museum's director, Berthold Laufer, Chief Curator in the Department of Anthropology, recommended two seasons of archaeological work and went on to present a plan for ethnological research.

> But in addition, special efforts would be made to study the nomadic Naskapi. These people are almost unknown to science, and it is highly important that they be fully studied, as they still follow the old customs and live largely on the caribou herds that are very numerous in the interior of Labrador. During the summer friendly relations with those coming to the coast to trade would be established, and a good interpreter and guide secured. In the autumn a trip would be taken into the interior in their company, living and hunting with some selected group. Thus it would be possible to obtain a good account of their mode of life, their social organization, shamanistic practices, folk-lore, language, and religious beliefs . . . . Whenever the opportunity offered, good specimens of their weapons, clothing and religious equipment would be secured, and in addition typical plant and animal species collected so that their culture and close relationship to their environment might be more vividly exhibited in the museum's collections. [DA/CF, Laufer to Davies, December 23, 1926]

To a very large degree, but not without overcoming considerable difficulties, Strong was able to carry out successfully the research proposals outlined by Laufer.

Commander MacMillan's schooner, the *Bowdoin,* along with the schooner *Radio* and the power boat *Seeko,* left Wiscasset, Maine, on June 25, 1927, reaching Hopedale on July 18. There, Strong was able to undertake some brief archaeological investigations (Department of Anthropology, expeditions file [DA/EF], Report of Assistant Curator Strong on his Activities on the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition, 1927–1928 [Strong report]). From Hopedale the expedition proceeded to Nain, where a winter station was to be constructed about 20 miles northwest of that community. All members of the expedition, including the scientific staff, were immediately put to work unloading supplies. Strong estimated that about three months of house building, woodcutting, and other labors would be necessary before the scientific work of the expedition could begin. He was already concerned, however, about the problem of obtaining specimens.

> As for getting a collection I don't know where the funds will come from. MacMillan has some trade goods, but apparently no actual cash to pay for specimens. It is hard to get a representative collection unless one has direct control of funds to purchase it with—however, I trust that our trade goods will suffice, or that later Capt. MacMillan can let me have two or three hundred dollars in cash to purchase direct from the Indians. This winter I hope to get an interpreter and go in and stay with the Naskapi for several months but now all is manual labor and scientific work must wait. [DA/EF, Strong to Laufer, July 29, 1927]

Strong also looked forward to collecting a large amount of skeletal material from old Eskimo graves to augment the "scanty phys. anthrop. collections in the Museum." He was, however, already beginning to show signs of anxiety about the future success of his research, feelings with which all ethnographers will sympathize.

> I am well aside from a few bad boils caused by infected mosquito bites, and enjoy the hard work. All our supplies had to be landed from the ships in dories—including 29,000 feet of lumber, 40 tons of coal, a great bulk of food and house supplies, etc., but that is mostly finished at present and now we must build the big station; as there are only twelve of us to do all the work, no one is excepted and our other interests are in abeyance. Can't say I think much of Labrador either as a collecting field or as a senic [*sic*] location—the black flies, gnats and mosquitos are terrible, and the country unbelievably lifeless and desolate. I only hope that the winter may yield material worthy of the effort, time and expense. At present I am not overly optimistic. [DA/EF, Strong to Laufer, July 29, 1927]

On August 7, without having completed the winter station, the *Bowdoin* left on a three week cruise around Frobisher Bay on Baffin Island. During the course of the trip, Strong met a camp of Eskimos who were living in "quite primitive style," but was frustrated in his attempts to obtain specimens by the absence of an interpreter and a lack of trade goods. In a letter to Stanley Field, he complained about the lack of trade goods and purchase funds, indicating that he had not yet discussed the matter with Commander MacMillan: ". . . as I really know nothing concerning what we have to trade and have no funds to purchase material I feel rather helpless, for without money one cannot get collections" (DA/EF, Strong to Field, August 30, 1927).

Although Strong collected some archaeological material on the Frobisher Bay trip, he considered these collections severely limited, not only because of the paucity of sites, but also because the *Bowdoin* moved frequently and there was no opportunity to work at any site for more than a day. Having experienced this frustration, it is no wonder that he looked forward to winter when

> I hope to receive trade goods from Captain MacMillan and acquire a representative collection . . . . This winter's work seems entirely a gamble, but if I can acquire a good interpreter and dog driver combined, the chances for interesting material and data should be good. [DA/EF, Strong to Field, August 30, 1927]

On the basis of having met a few Naskapi at the winter station, he considered them "a rather surly and untrustworthy group, so I anticipate several thrills this winter" (DA/EF, Strong to Field, August 30, 1927).

The *Bowdoin* returned to the site of the winter camp on August 29. The next month was spent in constructing houses, cutting a winter's supply of firewood, and preparing the boats for wintering. As he contemplated a month of hard work unrelated to anthropology, Strong's initial pessimism returned.

> I hate to seem entirely pessimistic but must admit that there is not much of promise in sight as regards either the acquisition of anthropological collections or scientific data. The country is unbelievably desolate, the Labrador Eskimo thoroughly civilized and the Naskapi culturally poverty stricken. [DA/EF, Strong to Field, August 30, 1927]

The ethnographer was looking forward impatiently to the time when freeze-up would make interior travel possible and he would have an opportunity to meet Indians.

Strong was also extremely dissatisfied with his archaeological accomplishments so far, attributing his lack of success to being tied to a permanent base and a preordained course: "most of the time is spent cruising in barren places instead of working steadily in the productive regions" (DA/EF, Strong to Field, August 30, 1927). In any event, his concern about having funds to purchase specimens must have been relieved when, in early September, he received a letter from Laufer informing him that Commander MacMillan had set aside $1,000 for the purchase of specimens (DA/EF, Laufer to Strong, September 1, 1927). It is not clear why the obvious misunderstanding with regard to trade goods and purchase funds was allowed to continue as long as it did. Certainly it would seem that Strong could have settled the matter by simply making direct inquiries of MacMillan.

On September 29, Strong left on a trip south to Big Bay and up Hunt River in the hope of locating a band of Naskapi reported to be in that area. On this canoe trip of over 60 km, he had with him an 18-year-old interpreter who, as it turned out, had never been in the area before and could not locate the Indians. Although the main purpose was not achieved, old camps were visited and photographed and the ethnographer learned a great deal

about interior travel. Before returning to the winter station on October 15, the travelers encountered severe snowstorms and ice in the lakes; Strong felt that he had returned to the coast just in time. This experience convinced him that the Indians might be difficult to locate, since they were always on the move following the irregularly migrating caribou. Winter clearly would be the best time to intercept the Naskapi, for rapid travel by dog team in the interior would be possible (DA/EF, Strong report; Strong to Laufer, October 21, 1927).

It was apparently at this time that Strong learned about Joe Rich (Shushebish), with whom he was to live during his stay with the Davis Inlet band and who was to be his chief informant (figs. 3–4). Although he did not meet Rich until later, he began to make definite plans for work after freeze-up. It was probably this activity rather than any definite accomplishments that encouraged the ethnographer and brightened his frame of mind. "On the whole I feel that prospects for valuable work, both as regards specimens and acquisition of scientific data, are much improved" (DA/EF, Strong to Laufer, October 21, 1927). During his travels along the coast on the way to the Hunt River, Strong reported a number of interesting archaeological sites and also made a collection of Eskimo skeletal material. He planned further investigations and excavations the following summer.

Mid-October until early January 1928 was, for the most part, a period of inactivity for Strong and other members of the expedition. Since ice was forming, travel was virtually impossible. Most of the time was spent working on the houses at the winter station and performing other chores. Between December 11 and 14, however, Strong, accompanied by one man and a dog team, was able to visit a Naskapi camp about 25 km northwest of the winter station. Some photographs and specimens were obtained, but the visit was prematurely terminated when the Indians decided to move their camp to a new site near the station. From December 15 to mid-January, Strong had some contact with these Indians at their new camp, but there was no interpreter and so he was unable to accomplish a great deal. The Indians were apparently members of the Davis Inlet band, but Joe Rich was not among them (DA/EF, Strong report).

On Tuesday, January 17, 1928, Strong left for the interior with members of the Davis Inlet band, having arranged room and board with Joe Rich for $1 per day. On that day he exclaimed enthusiastically, "My work has begun!" Among his companions were men who were to become his best informants, including Edward (Mistanapish) and Tommy (Shinabest) (Strong, 1928b, vol. 2). Crowded in a small tent with as many as 10 Indians, eating what they ate, helping haul toboggans, and hunting with the men, Strong's introduction to field ethnography was an arduous one. His diaries clearly show the periods of encouragement and discouragement, depression and exhilaration—certain to occur under such circumstances—which are familiar to ethnographers who have worked in the arctic and subarctic in winter.

After approximately one month with the Davis Inlet band, Strong, Joe Rich, and other Indians made a brief trip to Davis Inlet for supplies. He was thus able to send a radiogram to Davies:

> Just back from month with Indians living in country good specimens photographs and considerable information secured. They are living in tents and eating caribou and trout in old Indian style, making snowshoes, tanning skins etc. . . . . Will probably live with them all through spring and early summer. If I am able to stay with them for a long period my studies should be unique and valuable. [Registrar's office, expedition files (RO/EF), Strong to Davies, February 3, 1928]

Strong went on to note that, since game was scarce during the winter, the Indians were more willing than usual to have a white man join the band. He apparently brought with him some food as well as cash and trade goods with which to pay for specimens and information. After resting up at the winter station for about a week, working with his interpreter, he returned to the camp of the Davis Inlet band, which at that time was located about 60 km southwest of the winter station (RO/EF, Strong to Davies, February 3, 1928).

Strong's sojourn with the band ended sooner than he had anticipated. Because of the scarcity of caribou, the Indians returned to the coast and the vicinity of the trading post on April 5. Nevertheless, the ethnographer had spent nearly three months with the band, collecting more than 500 ethnographic specimens and taking a large number of photographs (DA/EF, Strong report).

The months of April, May, and most of June were devoted to collecting anthropometric data from Eskimos at Hopedale, Nain, Okak, and Hebron. When waterways were again navigable in late June, archaeological surveys and excavations were undertaken on Hunt River and Big Bay, at

Hopedale, and on the islands east of Nain. The expedition left the Labrador coast on August 23 and arrived at Wiscasset on September 8, 1928 after an absence of almost exactly 15 months (DA/EF, Strong report).

Although Strong frequently found it difficult and frustrating to work within an expedition framework and MacMillan was apparently somewhat authoritarian at times, both were eventually pleased with the anthropological results of the second Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition. Strong expressed his satisfactions as well as his frustrations in his diaries, field notes, and letters to museum personnel. MacMillan's opinions were offered in a letter to Stanley Field which constituted a final report on the expedition.

> The principal reason for locating our headquarters . . . no farther north than Nain was to establish and maintain constant communication with the little-known Nascopie Indian tribe. In this we were eminently successful and Dr. Strong's report and ethnological collection will speak for themselves. I feel that the Expedition has brought back more than all other expeditions or anthropologists combined; that is, something really authentic and of real value. [RO/EF, MacMillan to Field, October 3, 1928]

II. The Collection

Introduction

In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, the Strong collection of Naskapi ethnographic material (accession 1788) is assigned 481 numbers representing 570 specimens. Paired objects such as moccasins, leggings, and snowshoes have one number and are counted as single specimens. At the time this study was begun, 468 catalog numbers representing 557 specimens, including one from accession 2334 acquired by the Museum in 1944, were located in storage and on exhibition (see Appendix 3). Fourteen specimens are no longer in the collection; one was exchanged and the rest have apparently been lost.

The present condition of the Strong Naskapi collection is good, there being very few damaged or incomplete specimens. A small number of cloth and skin objects have been damaged by insects, and a few multipiece objects, such as traps, are incomplete. In the catalog, 347 specimens are listed as having been obtained from members of the Davis Inlet band, 174 are from persons affiliated with the Barren Ground band, and 36 objects are without band designation; this information is included in Appendix 3. It will be recalled that at the time of Strong's fieldwork, the Davis Inlet band, with whom he lived, included former members of the Barren Ground band. When an object was collected, the ethnographer presumably inquired concerning the band affiliation of the former owner; however, neither his diaries nor field notes indicate that this was in fact the procedure followed.

Objects in the collection are described within the following use categories: shelter, hunting and trapping, fishing, transportation, tools, household equipment, clothing, personal adornment, charms and religious objects, musical instruments, smoking complex, games and toys, decorative arts, and drawings. The descriptions of artifact types incorporate information derived from Strong's unpublished notes, diaries, and manuscripts, which are cited when relevant. When information concerning the use of particular objects is mentioned without documentation, it should be understood to have been derived from the book and card catalogs. For comparisons I have relied heavily on Turner (1894), on Speck's publications relating to his Montagnais-Naskapi research, and on Rogers (1967). Other ethnographic accounts are, of course, also cited when relevant.

Shelter

According to Turner (1894, pp. 298–300, fig. 114), the Naskapi lived both in winter and summer in wigwam-shaped tents covered with caribou skins. He described the construction of such a dwelling, noting that skins of an inferior grade were usually selected for tent covers. One of Strong's photographs (fig. 5) appears to show this form of dwelling, but it is not clear whether the covering is of canvas or skins. This is also true of a similar photograph taken by Waugh in 1921 or 1922 (Jenness, 1958, p. 271). The collection contains a crudely shaped *model tent* of wood that resembles the form illustrated by Turner. The entrance and tops of the poles are darkened with indelible pencil (fig. 23H). This model, or toy, may have been made by a child.

Much more commonly in use at the time of Strong's fieldwork was a variant of the *ridgepole lodge*, the construction of which he described in

considerable detail in his diaries and field notes (Strong, 1928b, vol. 3; 1928c, vol. 1) and illustrated with photographs. This lodge was being constructed in February 1928 by the family of Joe Rich, with whom Strong was living.

The place where the lodge was to be built was selected by Akat, Joe Rich's wife; two men then scraped off the loose surface snow in a six meter circle. Wooden shovels (fig. 57) and snowshoes held in the hand were used for this purpose (fig. 6). Men, women, and children all took part in this task, the loose snow being thrown outside the circle to form an embankment. Spruce poles approximately 4 m in length were then cut by the men (fig. 7), and while this was being done, the women brought in bundles of spruce boughs (figs. 8–9). Before spreading the boughs and putting up the poles, the Rich family stopped to have tea (fig. 10).

Beginning in the center of the circle, the family laid boughs to form a soft floor about 15 cm deep, thickened near the edges to form a wind break (figs. 11–12). When this task was completed, the men began setting up 34 poles around the rim of the floor. The ends of these poles sloped inward but did not meet in the center (fig. 13). At each end, approximately 1 m apart, posts forked at the upper ends were put in place. At one end, these posts formed the framework of the door, with three short logs laid between the posts to form the lower part of the door. For this particular lodge, the door faced northwest to protect it from the prevailing winds.

When all the poles were in place with an open rectangular space approximately 2 by 2.25 m at the top, two ridge poles were laid across and into the forked poles at either end of the lodge. Additional poles were laid from the ridge poles to the wall poles and lashed with strips of caribou skin (figs. 14–15). An open space was left at the top for the stove pipe.

Once completed, the frame was covered with an old canvas tent, part of a caribou skin tent cover, and a large piece of new canvas. The only openings were at the top and at the door (figs. 16–18). The flap for the door, which was larger than the opening, was of double thickness, smoked caribou skin on the outside and canvas on the inside. It was held down by leaning a pole against the outside of the lodge.

Strong was particularly interested in the pieces of old caribou skin tent cover used as part of the covering. The collection contains a pieced section of skin described in the catalog as having been "used for *tent covering.*" The section is approximately 122 by 75 cm and consists of four separate pieces sewn together by overcast stitching with narrow strips of skin. Around the edges at regular intervals are small, oval perforations; some have thongs attached, which served as ties. The skin is much darker on one side than on the other and generally gives the appearance of having been heavily used. Another specimen, unfortunately now missing from the collection, is described as a "section of tent covering" and was made of "thin, white embryo caribou skins." It may have been part of a door flap.

Strong noted that coverings of caribou skin were particularly suitable in a high wind because they could be tied to the poles at intervals. When canvas was used, it was held in place by poles leaning against the outside of the structure.

When completed, the tent constructed by the Rich family had an oval floor space of 4 by 5 m, a relatively flat roof about 2 by 2.25 m, and a height of 2.25 m in the center with a slight slope at the eaves. On the inside, across the front, a pole was lashed at a height of about 1.5 m to serve as a drying rack. On the outside, boughs were placed around the lower walls, and snow was then banked around the lodge and packed tight by beating it with snowshoes. Strong believed that the work of building the lodge was shared almost equally by two men and two women, who completed it in about five hours (fig. 19). The women fitted the covering and placed the boughs, while the men cut and handled the poles.

A small, homemade sheet iron stove was placed in the center of the lodge; it rested on four short posts notched at the top to receive the four corners of the stove (fig. 51P). The stove pipe extended just above the roof and was kept in the center of the opening, away from the canvas, by a series of small green spruce twigs.

Strong (1928a; 1928c, vol. 1) noted that the proper maintenance of a ridgepole lodge required constant work. The heat and tramping within the structure caused the floor to sink and the boughs to lose their needles. New boughs had to be brought in two or three times a week, the roof poles shifted to avoid burning, and the stove legs adjusted often. At frequent intervals, new snow had to be banked and packed around the outside walls. Even with careful maintenance, it was usually desirable to shift the location of a lodge every three weeks and sometimes more often. When this occurred, only

the best poles were retained for use in the new lodge. Strong (1928b, vol. 3) commented that "one would certainly make a grievous error to judge the number of people in a Naskapi group by the remains of the tents left behind."

Strong's informants told him that bark-covered dwellings were once constructed by the Davis Inlet band (Strong, 1928a). One woman had several rolls of bark about 60 cm long and 30 cm wide consisting of two sections sewn together, with strips of birchwood at each end. The ethnographer acquired one of these *rolls of birch bark,* which is sewn with black thread and tied with a piece of sinew (fig. 23E). The informant told him, however, that originally root fibers would have been used for sewing. The rolls could be unrolled by dampening and then fitted over the lodge frame like shingles. Turner makes no mention of bark-covered dwellings, but Speck (1935, pl. I) illustrated a wigwam-shaped tent covered with this material, in use by the Montagnais of southern Quebec.

Strong makes no mention of the use of commercial canvas wall tents by the people with whom he lived and traveled, but these tents appear in several of his photographs (e.g., fig. 20).

Hunting and Trapping

Since the Naskapi depended almost entirely on hunting, trapping, and fishing for their livelihood, devices for the capture of game form a significant part of the Strong collection. At the time of his fieldwork, however, traditional hunting and trapping techniques had largely disappeared and many of the specimens described here were obviously made for the collector.

Even at the time of Turner's residence at Fort Chimo, the Indians had nearly ceased to use bows and arrows for hunting large game animals and relied on firearms obtained from traders. The earlier weapons, however, were still used for small game such as ptarmigan and hares, since ammunition was too expensive to be expended in the taking of animals that could easily be killed by the cheaper method. Turner mentioned that the Indians were highly skilled in the use of the bow and arrow and were able to kill ptarmigan and hares consistently at a distance of 25 m (Turner, 1894, pp. 312–313).

In September 1905, Wallace (1907, p. 136) encountered Davis Inlet Indians on the George River who, in spite of having adopted firearms, still used the bow and arrow occasionally for caribou and small game. Strong (1928c, vol. 1) noted that a hunter after spruce grouse often carried a gun in case big game were encountered but would always shoot small game with a bow.

The Strong collection contains eight full-sized *bows,* which vary in length from 154 cm to 176 cm and are approximately 2 cm thick at the grip. The staves were made with a crooked knife from single pieces of dried juniper wood (Strong, 1928c, vol. 1), without backing, and are only slightly narrow and thinner at the ends. The backs of the staves are flat and the fronts are either flat or have a slight ridge extending along the entire length. The sides are flat and on all but two specimens the grip is not noticeably thinner than the limbs. On three bows, paired, V-shaped notches are cut near the end of each horn for attachment of the bow string, while on five specimens there are paired notches at one end and a single notch at the other. Strings consisting of two twisted strands of tanned caribou hide are present on four bows (fig. 21A–B).

According to Strong (1928c, vol. 1), the bowman used the Mediterranean release and wore a glove on his left hand, in which extra arrows were held parallel to the bow. In the ethnographer's photograph best demonstrating use of the bow and arrow, however, the hunter has gloves on both hands (fig. 22). Neither quivers nor bow cases were employed, and the weapon was unstrung when not in use.

A rudimentary form of decoration occurs on four bows. On one specimen the area of the grip is delimited by single narrow bands made with an indelible pencil; the horns beyond the notches are also penciled. Another has three narrow bands made with a red crayon at evenly spaced intervals along the stave. A third has a broad band of red at the grip and narrow bands at the horn, while a fourth has a group of three bands (red-blue-red) at the grip and at both horns (fig. 21A).

The collection contains four *children's bows* which are constructed in much the same manner as the larger specimens, although more crudely made. The longest, 99 cm, has a string made of commercial twine. The stave narrows slightly at the grip. The remaining three are approximately the size of the illustrated specimen (fig. 23D) and have strings made of a single strand of tanned caribou skin. Turner (1894, p. 313) noted that shooting small birds with a bow and arrow was a favorite amusement of Indian boys.

Of the 12 arrows for large game, nine have metal

heads with long, thin tangs and flattened, double-edged, diamond-shaped points. The tangs are inserted into holes in the distal ends of juniper or spruce wood shafts that are circular in cross section. On six of these the hafting is reinforced with heavy thread lashing that is seated in a narrow groove running around the shaft. Red pigment has been daubed on the lashing of three specimens (fig. 23A). Two arrows have no lashing, and the haft of one specimen is reinforced with babiche lashing (fig. 23C). The proximal ends of the shafts are flattened on opposite sides, and notches have been cut at right angles to the flattened surfaces.

All nine of the arrows with metal points are fletched with ptarmigan or grouse feathers split in half. The barbs have been removed from each end of the vane, exposing about half an inch of the shaft or spine; each arrow shaft is feathered with three vanes placed approximately 3 cm from the proximal end. Each vane is parallel to the long axis of the shaft and is not spiraled. The spine at the distal end of the vane has been bent double under the vane and tied near the proximal end of the shaft with heavy red thread. The proximal end of the vane has also been tied to the arrow shaft with sinew (fig. 23C) or red thread (fig. 23A). Arrows fletched in the same manner as those in the Strong collection are described by Rogers (1967, pp. 68–70) for the Indians of the Lake Mistassini region in southern Quebec.

The three remaining arrows for large game have bone points, similar in shape to those made of metal but larger. These points are inserted into the split distal ends of the shafts and lashed with sinew. On two specimens the lashings and 4.5 cm of the proximal ends of the shafts have been painted with red pigment. Three bone-pointed arrows are not feathered (fig. 23B). In addition to the complete arrows of this type, there are three bone *arrow points* with long, flattened tangs (fig. 23G).

Strong's informants told him that arrow points were often loosely hafted so that the shaft would become detached and could be recovered by the hunter if the caribou escaped. This was especially important in the barrens where wood could not be easily obtained for additional shafts (Strong, 1928e).

The collection contains 18 *blunt arrows* for birds and small game. Nine of these are not fletched; nine are decorated, six with bands, dots, and geometric designs in crayon or red pigment (fig. 24A,C,E), and three with designs applied with an indelible pencil. On one of the latter stylized birds, possibly grouse, are depicted (fig. 24B). Strong (1928e) refers to this design as the "partridge" motif. Five blunt arrows are fletched with ptarmigan or grouse feathers in the manner previously described; the lashing is sinew and white thread. Single bands of red pigment at the proximal end occur on three of these (fig. 24E). Two arrows have sharp points carved at the distal ends and were almost certainly used for small game animals rather than birds. One of these is fletched, the other unfletched but decorated with simple bands of red pigment (fig. 24C).

The two remaining blunt arrows are quite distinctive, having separate small antler heads with notched projections. The heads are inserted into holes in the distal end of the shaft and lashed with sinew. Both are fletched with grouse feathers lashed with sinew (fig. 24D). A single *blunt arrow point* of this type has a wedge-shaped tang (fig. 23F). Blunt arrows similar to those in the Strong collection are illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 313).

According to Strong's notes (1928b, vol. 3), at least some of these arrows were used in a competitive game played by four men on a side. The men stood opposite each other, shooting at arrows placed upright between the sides, the object being to break the arrows. Small bows and arrows were used by the Lake St. John Montagnais in a divination game for predicting the number of otters to be killed in a future hunt (Speck, 1930, pp. 429–430, fig. 109; 1935, p. 198).

The collection contains four *crossbows* made of juniper or spruce wood. Three bows appear to be large enough to have been used for hunting game birds such as ptarmigan and grouse; the fourth is clearly a model or a child's toy. The stocks of these bows are shaped like gun stocks and are expanded slightly at the distal end, where a transverse rectangular hole has been cut and into which the stave is fitted. There is a groove running the length of the stock along the top surface. Approximately two-thirds of the distance from the distal end are one to three notches, along the right-hand edge of this groove, in which the bow string was held when the weapon was cocked. A loosely fastened trigger of wood is attached to the side of the stock next to these notches to release the bow string. Twisted caribou skin bow strings are present on two specimens.

The largest crossbow (fig. 25) is accompanied by four blunt arrows, or bolts, which were propelled by the string along the groove in the top of the stock. These bolts widen to form a knob at the distal end and have a narrow, rectangular projection at the proximal end to engage the string. The

other three crossbows have three similar bolts each. The stocks of the three crossbows not illustrated measure 73.5, 65.5, and 49 cm. All four specimens show little or no sign of use and appear to have been made for the collector.

Crossbows occur widely among the Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi, and other Algonquian-speaking peoples (Flannery, 1939, p. 70; Burgesse, 1943; Lips, 1947, p. 17), and there has been some speculation as to whether or not the weapon occurred in aboriginal times. In describing the crossbow as used by the Mistassini Indians, Rogers (1967, p. 68) suggests that it was introduced by early traders for killing fur-bearing animals at a time when firearms and ammunition were limited. The shape of the stock also suggests European influence. According to Rogers (1967, pp. 68, 118–119), children at the time of his fieldwork (1953–1954) still occasionally used the toy crossbow in the "caribou game," which involved shooting at miniature wooden caribou and may once have had religious significance. Turner (1894, p. 313) also mentioned the use of the crossbow by children. Strong (1928e) indicated that the largest of the bows just described was used for "sport" as well as for hunting.

The collection contains four *caribou spears* for killing these animals as they swam in lakes. All have round wooden shafts varying from 129 cm to 152 cm in length. The distal ends of the shafts have raised knobs. The blades are made from steel files beaten to a flat triangular point. The long, thin tangs of these points have been fitted into a groove in the distal end of the shaft, which is then covered with a piece of wood and reinforced with babiche lashing. The illustrated specimen (fig. 21C) has a lashing knob. One specimen is decorated with a pair of red crayon bands near the center of the shaft and another band at the distal end. There is also a *caribou spear point* of bone that is shaped like the metal points just described (fig. 24F).

Turner (1894, pp. 313–314) described the rather peculiar manner in which the caribou spear was grasped by the hunter: "The closed hand over the butt end of the weapon is so placed as to have the fingers upward and the outside of the hand toward the point; this rather awkward grasp enables the person to let go of the weapon in case of threatened disaster resulting from a misdirected thrust." Strong (1928c, vol. 1) was told that the bow canoe paddler held the spear in his teeth while approaching a swimming caribou. He then took the weapon in his right hand and stabbed the animal toward the back under the ribs, a downward thrust, then made an upward probe for the heart. If he hit the heart, the animal died in the water; otherwise, it swam to shore and died there. The fact that caribou could be killed or wounded in the water made spears far more efficient than guns for this important type of hunting. F. W. Waugh (1925, p. 131) noted, however, that in the early 1920s spears were seldom used for killing caribou in the water.

A *model caribou spear* closely resembles the full-sized specimens except that it has an antler point. There is babiche lashing and a lashing knob (fig. 24G). Turner (1894, p. 314) noted that these models were sometimes used as arrows to shoot larger small game, such as wolverines and wolves, when the Naskapi were hunting ptarmigan and hares.

The collection contains two *snares*, the most complete of which is a spring pole snare used for Canada jays. This type, which is described in some detail for the Mistassini Indians by Rogers (1967, p. 77, fig. 40), consists of a juniper sapling sharpened at the large end and grooved at the other. A hole has been drilled 24.5 cm from the large end and a section of babiche passed through it and tied about the groove at the narrow end. A short stick, now missing, wedged the babiche in place and prevented the bent end of the sapling from straightening. A noose made in the free end of the babiche was draped over the stick where a piece of meat for bait was secured. The jay, resting on the stick, dislodged it when attempting to remove the bait and, as the pole straightened, the bird's foot was caught in the noose (fig. 26A). A spring pole snare was also employed to capture hares. The collection contains a loosely braided babiche *slip noose* for use with such a snare. The setting of these snares, which were placed in the animals' runways, is described and illustrated by Rogers (1967, p. 77, fig. 39).

Strong's informants described a snare for caribou, consisting of eight thick braided strands of babiche in a loop with a slip knot. It was placed between two high posts over a caribou trail so that an animal's antlers or head would become entangled (Strong, 1928c, vol. 1).

Three *model marten deadfalls* were made for Strong, but unfortunately many of the pieces are now missing and the traps can no longer be reconstructed with certainty. Nevertheless, they are clearly of the underpropped, Samson-post type (Cooper, 1938, pp. 59–84) and were probably baited with fish. Deadfalls of this type are described and illustrated by Rogers (1967, pp. 71–72, fig. 31) for the Mistassini Indians.

Of the four cloth *cartridge cases* to hold rifle

ammunition, three have elaborately decorated folded flaps with convex bottom edges. The most elaborate of these is lined with red flannel and edged with printed cotton cloth. The opening extends the width of the pouch just above the middle of the section under the flap. The outer side of the flap is decorated with a strip of red-and-white-patterned cotton cloth, beaded borders, and central beaded geometric designs. A variety of colored pony beads, spot and lazy-stitched and thread-sewn, are used, including green, translucent green, red, blue, translucent blue, translucent brown, and white. At either end of the upper edge of this pouch are loops of tanned caribou skin to which the carrying strap is attached with buttons. The strap is lined and edged with red flannel and red-and-white-patterned cotton cloth. On the outer surface are geometric beaded designs in light blue, dark blue, and translucent green beads (fig. 27A).

The second and third pouches are similar in design and construction to the one just described, except that they are lined with black wool felt and lack carrying straps. Both have elaborate multi-rowed beaded borders and central stylized floral designs, spot-stitched and thread-sewn. On one of these the designs are primarily in red and blue pony beads (fig. 27D), while on the other green pony beads are added. This pouch is edged with pink-and-white-patterned cotton cloth (fig. 27B).

The fourth pouch, which shows signs of considerable use, is simpler in construction but lacks an elaborate flap. It consists of six small pieces of cotton cloth of various colors sewn together and edged with a binding of orange cotton cloth. An opening extends the width of the pouch somewhat above the middle. There are loops of tanned caribou skin at either end of the upper edge, to which is tied a narrow carrying strap of the same material. On the front and just below the upper edge are crude floral and geometric designs in red and white cotton thread (fig. 27C). This pouch is identified by Strong as having belonged to a boy.

A *hook for carrying game* is made of the natural bend in an antler tine and has a hole drilled in the proximal end. A rope carrying strap is inserted through this hole (fig. 26B). Another hook of the same material has no suspension hole and is sharpened slightly at the distal end; its use is uncertain. Strong (1928c, vol. 1) noted that caribou as well as small game animals were carried with the aid of hooks, usually attached to lines of braided babiche. One man could carry a doe or a young stag.

The collection contains six pairs of *snow goggles* to protect the eyes of the wearer from the glare of the sun on the snow (fig. 28). Five specimens are cut from single blocks of birch wood and, of this number, three have eye holes and central notch to fit over the nose. Narrow strips of string or tanned caribou skin fitted over the head of the wearer (fig. 26D–E). Two specimens have a broad, rectangular opening in front and are perhaps more accurately termed visors rather than goggles. One of these is blackened on the inside to deflect the sun's rays and has a headband of sinew (fig. 26F). The sixth pair of goggles is made from a single flat strip of birch wood, steamed and bent, with the overlapping ends fastened together with sinew; the front is completely open. There is a notch for the nose and the headband is a strip of sinew (fig. 26C).

An unusual implement also associated with snow blindness is a *nasal "bleeder."* It consists of a split piece of wood bound with sinew at one end and notched at the other on one side (fig. 29E). This device was spread to fit over the nose and a knife was drawn across the groove. Profuse bleeding relieved the blood congestion that was believed to cause snow blindness (Strong, 1928c, vol. 1).

Fishing

Fishing equipment of the Naskapi appears to have been limited, consisting primarily of hooks used with set lines. Gill nets and spears were also used.

The Strong collection contains 11 *fishhooks,* four of which have wooden shanks and antler barbs. The shanks are split at the distal end for insertion of the barb at about a 30° angle. Babiche has been used to bind the end of the split area of the shank and to secure the barb to the shank. A length of babiche line is attached to the proximal end. The shanks of all four of these hooks are decorated with three bands of red pigment (fig. 29G). Three hooks of similar design have wooden shanks and barbs made from nails. The shank is grooved for lashing, and a single strand of babiche holds the barb in place and also serves as the line (fig. 29D). A much smaller hook has an extremely long wooden barb fastened to the shank with thread, with a length of babiche line attached (fig. 29C). Two unfinished hooks have antler shanks and barbs. The proximal end of the barb is inserted in a hole drilled in the shank and lashed with thread (fig. 29B). The last hook is carved entirely of antler. It is made in imitation of European metal hooks, with a barb and a line hole (fig. 29F).

With the possible exception of the European-style hook, the barbs or gorges in the Strong col-

lection were baited with minnows and used with set lines. Pike or other large fish swallowed the hook, which then caught in the stomach rather than in the mouth or gills. Fish hooks with wooden shanks are described and illustrated for the Mistassini by Rogers (1967, p. 88, pl. XIV, A). A hook with a bone shank and metal barb used by Naskapi in the Fort Chimo region is illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 321, fig. 149).

The collection contains what is identified in the catalog as a "model section of old type *trout net*." The netting is made of knotted, tanned caribou skin line with four sinkers of medium to coarse granitic rocks attached with babiche. The selvage lines, placed along the top and bottom edges, are also of babiche. There are two summer net floats, long flat pieces of dry wood pointed at the broad end and notched at the end attached to the net (fig. 30). Accompanying this model net is a wood stick 39 cm long, described as being used "for attachment." It is pointed at one end and may have served to hold part of the net upright when it was set out from shore.

Two *net floats* do not resemble traditional forms. One is simply a square piece of cork with a length of caribou skin line tied around the center (fig. 29I), while the other is a section of spruce branch stripped of its bark and grooved in the center, where a length of twine is attached (fig. 29J).

A gill net was constructed with the aid of a wooden *netting needle,* two of which occur in the Strong collection. They are flat, pointed at one end, concave at the other, and made of birch wood. A portion of the center has been removed to leave a narrow spike of wood extending from near the center of the needle almost to the tip (fig. 29H).

A heavy *fish spear* for taking salmon, trout, suckers, and other large river fish, especially in rapid water, consists of a wooden shaft with two heavy wooden side prongs attached at the distal end with babiche and deerskin lashing. A center prong of heavy wire has been driven into the distal end of the shaft (fig. 31B). For fishing with this type of spear, two canoes were lashed together. In the bows were two spear men, in the stern the paddlers. The spear was thrust, not thrown; the fish was pinned to the bottom and then thrown into the canoe. Spear fishing was often done at night with the aid of birch bark torches (Strong, 1928c, vol. 1). This type of spear was used from North West River southward, occasionally by the Davis Inlet band (Strong, 1928e).

Two *ice chisels* are described by Strong (1928e) as being an "old type." Both specimens have long wooden shafts of approximately the same length. At the distal end is a chisel-shaped antler blade with saw and file markings and a square tang snugly fitted against a cutaway section of the shaft and nailed in place. The haft is strengthened with caribou skin lashing on one specimen and twine lashing on the other. The distal end of the shaft is covered by an antler ferrule with an oval socket fitted over the shaft and held in place with an antler peg. The chisel with caribou skin lashing is decorated with bands of red pigment just below the antler ferrule, in the center of the shaft, and on the lashing (fig. 31A). Such chisels were used to open holes in the ice on lakes and streams for winter fishing (fig. 32) (Strong, 1928b, vol. 2).

Once holes in the ice were opened, they were kept open by removing the newly formed slush ice with an *ice scoop.* The collection contains three such scoops; all have wooden shafts rectangular in cross section and scoops made of the palmate areas of caribou antlers, the distal ends of which have grooves and holes for babiche lashing. The outer edge of the antler scoop has been worked to an edge and the proximal end is flattened. The largest specimen is illustrated (fig. 31C); the others are 114 cm and 99.5 cm in length, respectively. According to Strong (1928e), the two longest specimens were made to use, while the shortest was made for trade, presumably to himself. Turner (1894, fig. 144, p. 318) illustrated an almost identical ice scoop.

In addition to the complete ice scoops, the collection contains a single *ice scoop blade,* smaller than any of those on the complete specimens (fig. 29K).

Transportation

Since the Naskapi Indians were highly mobile, it is not surprising to find that Strong collected a sizeable number of artifacts associated with land and water transportation. Three styles of netted *snowshoes* are represented in the collection by two pairs each. All have birchwood frames and netting made from unsmoked caribou skin babiche laced in an hexagonal weave (Davidson, 1937, pp. 33–34).

Two pairs are constructed in the "swallowtail" style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 67–68, fig. 27C), in which the ends of the frame form a tail. Both pairs have a two-piece frame, lap-spliced at the toe and lashed together with babiche at the tail. There are two slightly curved crossbars morticed into the frame. The netting between the crossbars consists

of wide, thick thongs, with finer thongs in the toe and heel areas. Harnesses on one pair are made of loops of untanned caribou hide (fig. 33C). This style is said to be the most widespread in Quebec-Labrador (Rogers, 1962, pp. 58–60).

Two pairs of snowshoes are examples of the "round end" or "elbow" style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 67–68, fig. 27B; Rogers, 1962, p. 62). The frame consists of two pieces spliced on each side between two slightly curved crossbars. As with the swallowtail style, the coarser webbing occurs between the crossbars. Neither pair has harnesses. The larger pair is decorated with lines of red pigment on the inner surface of the frame at the toe and heel, at either side of the toe opening, on the webbing at the sides between the crosspieces, and on both crosspieces (fig. 33A).

The final two pairs of adult snowshoes are constructed in the "beavertail" style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 67–68, fig. 27A), a form believed to occur only among the Montagnais-Naskapi (Rogers, 1962, pp. 60–62). The frame is lap-spliced on the sides and has two crossbars, where coarser webbing occurs. There are no harnesses. Both pairs are decorated with tassels of red, green, white, and blue yarn drawn through paired holes in the frame, at the heel and on the toe. In addition, there are lines of red and blue pigment at various locations on the frame and webbing (fig. 34A–B).

The collection contains five pairs of *children's snowshoes,* two of which are constructed in the beavertail style and resemble those previously described. Both pairs are decorated with parallel lines in red and blue pigment on the frame and on the coarse webbing between the crossbars. One pair has single loop harnesses of tanned caribou skin, as well as yarn tassels of indeterminate color at the toe and heel (fig. 35A).

Two pairs are examples of the swallowtail style and resemble their adult counterparts in construction. The largest is 54 cm in length, while the other is much smaller, with simple loop harnesses of tanned caribou skin and thread webbing in the toe and heel areas. In Strong's catalog notes, this pair of snowshoes is described as "old" (fig. 35B).

The fifth pair of child's snowshoes is of a style not represented among the adult specimens, the "bearpaw" style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 57–58, fig. 23B). It has a two-piece frame with lap splices on the sides and a single morticed crossbar at the front of the toes. The webbing above the crossbar is less coarse than that below the bar. There are loop harnesses of tanned caribou skin (fig. 33B). In Strong's catalog information, these snowshoes are also described as "old."

A similar style of snowshoe is described and illustrated for the Ungava Bay region by Turner (1894, p. 31, fig. 129, p. 309). He noted that this style was infrequently used because it was difficult to make. It was considered, however, to be the easiest to wear and walk in once its technique was learned. Among the Mistassini, bearpaw snowshoes were an old style preceding the beavertail and swallowtail forms, but at the time of Rogers' fieldwork in the 1950s they were worn only by children between the ages of five and seven. Contrary to Turner, Rogers noted that bearpaw snowshoes were easy to make because they required fewer lacing materials (Rogers, 1962, p. 58; 1967, p. 91).

A nicely made pair of *model snowshoes* constructed in the round end style has thread webbing in the toe and heel areas. At the sides of the area between the crossbars, there are lines in red and blue pigment on the webbing. Tassels of red, green, and yellow yarn are attached at the heel and toe (fig. 36E).

Two single model snowshoes of the bearpaw type have frames made from a single bent twig, crudely spliced along one side, and a single morticed crossbar. The webbing of one specimen is made of babiche (fig. 36B) and the other of string, with a loop harness of tanned caribou skin (fig. 36J). According to Strong's catalog notes, these models were examples of the "simplest" snowshoe design and may be the type Rogers had in mind (1967, p. 91) when he mentioned that the bearpaw style could be made "quickly when the need arose."

The fourth pair of model snowshoes is extremely small and made of single pieces of birchwood with openings cut for the toes. The two shoes are tied together with sinew (fig. 36K). Because they are so small, these specimens may actually be toys and not intended to represent any particular style of snowshoe, though they might be crude representations of the swallowtail style. On the other hand, they could represent examples of wooden snowshoes, a style which has a wide distribution among Algonquian-speaking peoples and was also used by the Caribou Eskimos and the Eskimos of Prince William Sound, Alaska (Davidson, 1937, ch. VIII). Turner (1894, p. 312, fig. 131, p. 311) described and illustrated two-piece wooden snowshoes made of spruce boards resembling the swallowtail style and worn on soft snow by the Naskapi of Whale River.

The collection contains a roll of *bleached caribou skin* riddled with small fly holes and prepared for the cutting of snowshoe webbing, as well as two circular *pieces of bleached skin* from which strips have been partially removed for the same purpose (fig. 36A). There is also a piece of old *snowshoe webbing* which Strong collected for stitch analysis; it shows the typical hexagonal weave.

Several implements were employed in the manufacture of snowshoe frames and the lacing of webbing. A *frame spreader* is a rectangular piece of birchwood which narrows toward the center and has small projections at each end (fig. 36O). It served to round the frame after splicing, before the steamed and bent wood was dry. Its size suggests use on children's snowshoes.

Also used during the construction of snowshoe frames were *clamps* of birchwood, to hold the frames in position when necessary. The collection contains 11 pairs which can be divided into two types. The type 1 clamps, of which there are five pairs, consist of two semicircular pieces of wood with semicircular depressions on one side. They were inserted into the center of the rear frame of beavertail snowshoes to create the characteristic U-shaped extension (figs. 36D, 37A–B). The six clamps of the second type consist of two identical pieces of wood notched for lashing at one end and tapering to a wedge-shaped point at the other (fig. 36C). They were lashed on either side of the U-shaped extension forward of the bend (fig. 37A–B). Similar clamps are described by Rogers (1967, p. 47) for the Mistassini.

Two *wedges* of birchwood were also used in the construction of snowshoes. They are rectangular and worked to a wedge shape at one end (fig. 36I). A small rectangular "*block*" of wood may have served as a spreader to hold the U-shaped rear extension open during the construction of a child's beavertail snowshoes (fig. 36N).

Two *awls* are described as snowshoe-making implements. One is simply a sliver of caribou leg bone worked to a point at one end (fig. 36P) and used to maintain the size of the mesh during the weaving of snowshoe webbing. Strong (1928c, vol. 1) observed that, to make such an implement, the bone was split with an ax and then chopped to a point with the same tool; the point was smoothed off with a pocket knife. The entire process took about three minutes. The other awl has an antler handle with a separate rectangular antler point inserted in a hole at one end (fig. 36H). It was for making holes in the frames for selvage thongs.

Snowshoe webbing was laced with a *needle*, of which there are six in the collection, five of bone (fig. 36G,L) and one of brass (fig. 36M). These needles are pointed at both ends and have an oblong hole in the center. The illustrated specimens are typical.

The collection contains two *bags for snowshoe-making implements*. Both are made of vertical strips of caribou skin with the hair on, sewn together with heavy black thread to form the side panels. There is a separate bottom piece and two side pieces which include the animal's ears. Around the opening is a border of tanned caribou skin slit at intervals to receive a drawstring of the same material. The ends of a shoulder carrying strap, now missing, were tied around the ears (fig. 29A).

The manufacture of snowshoes among the Lake St. John Montagnais and the Mistassini Indians has been described in considerable detail by Lips (1947, pp. 69–77) and Rogers (1967, pp. 91–101). A less detailed description for the Ungava Bay region, where the three basic styles in the Strong collection also occur, is provided by Turner (1894, pp. 309–312, pl. XL–XLI). His pl. XLI, which mistakenly identifies a snowshoe as beavertailed, actually depicts the round end style.

Strong paid particular attention to the making of snowshoes, possibly because the activity took place in winter, mostly within the cramped quarters of the ridgepole lodge where it could be closely observed. The information in his unpublished notes, diaries, and manuscript provides considerable details concerning the process of their manufacture (Strong, 1928a; 1928b, vol. 2; 1928c, vol. 1). He noted that the making of snowshoe frames, the boring of holes, and the stringing of primary inner and outer lashings were the work of men, while the weaving of the webbing was done by women. Waugh (1925, p. 130) noted a similar division of labor. Decorations and personal marks on snowshoes were also the work of men. Strong mentions, however, that although he had never observed women making frames or adding decoration, he was certain that they could perform these chores if the occasion arose. One of his best photographs (fig. 38) shows his male informant Unkweyo putting the central webbing in a pair of snowshoes that was a gift to the ethnographer.

The pieces of birchwood selected for snowshoe frames were worked as soon as they were cut in order to assure a maximum of resilience. Spruce was used for the crossbars. All the wood used in making snowshoes was first worked roughly to

shape with an ax and then finished, after the preliminary bending, with a crooked knife.

As noted in the description of specimens in the collection, the frame was usually made of two pieces, each of which was whittled down to a tapered, sharp wedge at the end for the lap splice. Since the wedge-shaped ends had to fit each other in a continuous even line when they were joined, they were carefully measured both as to length and thickness, the bending points being marked with a plus sign at one end and a minus sign at the other. When the sections were joined, the signs occurred exactly at the point of juncture. This measuring and fitting required considerable skill to achieve the desired degree of curvature which would ensure the proper tensile strength and pliability of the two pieces. When the frame sections for one snowshoe were complete, a duplicate pair for the other shoe could be cut.

Strong believed that the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Naskapi preferred snowshoes of the beavertail style and, since construction of the U-shaped extension at the rear end of the shoes required special skill and equipment, he described the construction of this form in some detail.

The extension was made by soaking the center of the rear frame section in boiling water and gradually bringing the two wedge-shaped tips together. Before they met, however, a type 1 clamp (fig. 36D) was inserted into the bend and fastened in the center with lashings (fig. 37B). Then the two sides were brought together and temporarily lashed (fig. 37A). Two small type 2 clamps (fig. 36C) were placed outside and forward of the bend, depending on the size of the U-shaped extension desired. These were lashed to the frame with babiche and not removed until the frame had dried in a permanent bend (fig. 37A–B).

The next step involved the resoaking of the entire rear frame section so that the wedge-shaped tips could once more be brought apart. This was accomplished by a seated man who gradually worked the ends apart and rounded them around his knees (fig. 37C). Considerable skill was required to do this, for the frame section had to be kept constantly wet with a rag soaked in hot water. During this procedure, the beavertail extension continued to be held in place by the clamps and lashing.

When the rear section was shaped and sufficiently dry to retain its form, the second frame piece was lashed to one end. Then this section, after being soaked in boiling water, was gradually bent around the knees of the craftsman until the opposite ends met. When the plus and minus marks previously mentioned were in their correct positions, the joint was tightly lashed and, for added strength, pegged with wooden pegs. The frame was now complete, but the main body was oval in form. To make it round, a frame spreader (fig. 36O) was slipped over the frame as a temporary brace to hold the center apart.

When the frames for both shoes were complete, they were lashed together with their temporary braces in place and hung above the fire to dry and set. The crossbars were then inserted in rectangular slots on the inside of each snowshoe frame. Before the crossbars were permanently inserted, the shoe was fitted to the potential wearer to make sure that the toe would come just behind the forward crossbar. A space was left at this point in the webbing so that the wearer could push down with his toes to obtain traction when walking up an incline or hill. The frame stretchers were then removed, the crossbars inserted, and holes bored at one inch intervals around each end with an awl (fig. 36H). The shoes were now ready to be given to the women for weaving.

The first step in the weaving process was the insertion of babiche selvage lines through the holes in the frames and on either side of the forward crossbars. These served for the attachment and strengthening of the webbing, which was babiche made from scraped, untanned caribou skins pegged out to freeze while wet (fig. 39). A woman took such a skin while it was stiff and hard and cut it into oval sections approximately 40 cm long (fig. 40). The cutting of strips of babiche began along the outer edge of the oval section where a small outer strip was cut with a semilunar knife (see fig. 36A). The cutting was always away from the worker, who held the strip taut with her teeth. These babiche strips, cut very thin, were coiled in bundles like yarn and then, to remove any kinks, wrapped tightly around stakes driven in the floor of the lodge about 20 cm apart.

The webbing at the ends beyond the crossbars was woven first. In these sections the babiche was woven without preliminary soaking; since a fine mesh was required, it was cut from the skin of a female caribou. A two-string warp was stretched from each corner in front of the forward crossbar to the top center of the frame. The weaving was done with a bone needle (fig. 36G,L) and the webbing was built up from the corners toward the center. The cord was held in the worker's mouth and slack was taken up with the other hand (fig. 38).

The central webbing, as noted in descriptions of the snowshoes in the collection, was coarser and much heavier; it was cut from the skin of a young male caribou. The strands of babiche were first soaked in hot water and then laid on a cloth in coils while being woven. The same triangular warp was used in the initial weaving, the warp ends being fastened to selvage lines at either end of the forward crossbar and to the center of the rear crossbar. The weaving extended from the two upper corners and, as it progressed, the size of the mesh was maintained with the aid of a bone awl (fig. 36P). The webbing behind the space left for the toe was strengthened by binding it to the selvage lines with extra thongs.

When a pair of snowshoes was completed, it was hung outside to dry for three or four days. Special care was taken to keep it out of the reach of the dogs, who were fond of fresh babiche. A full day, sometimes longer, was needed to weave one snowshoe and about a week for one person to make a pair, including frame and webbing.

Strong described snowshoe harnesses as being made of thick caribou skin thongs fastened around the forward crossbar on either side of the toe hole to form a small loop, into which the toe fitted, and a large loop, which passed behind the ankle. Decoration of shoes with red and blue paint was the final step in the complex process of snowshoe manufacture.

The most common form of transportation in winter was the *toboggan.* The Strong collection contains two examples of this means of conveyance, of approximately the same size. Both are made from two pieces of hand-hewn birchwood held together by transverse wooden bars. The first bar is placed at the front of the upturned portion, the second at the point where the curve begins, the third approximately in the center, and the fourth at the back. The crossbars are lashed to the boards with babiche and, at the upturned end, the two boards are lashed together with strips of the same material. On the underside the lashing is countersunk to prevent wear.

On the most elaborately constructed of these two toboggans, the position of the transverse bars has been outlined in indelible pencil. Caribou skin lines run along each side through notches in the transverse bar to give added support to the upturned end. Additional lashing cord occurs on this specimen to hold a load in place (fig. 41). The bottom of this toboggan shows considerable wear; according to catalog information, it was used by the Indians at Voisey Bay.

On the second toboggan, the only lashing besides that joining the boards and transverse bars is a strip of babiche that runs from the first to the second transverse bar on one side. This specimen is decorated with lines of orange pigment on either side of the first transverse bar and in the vicinity of the babiche stitching that holds the two boards together at the upturned end.

The construction of Montagnais-Naskapi toboggans has been described for the Lake St. John people by Lips (1947, pp. 68–69) and for the Ungava area Indians by Turner (1894, pp. 308–309). A very detailed description of Mistassini toboggans is provided by Rogers (1967, pp. 102–106). Although toboggans were usually pulled by humans, occasionally a single dog was used (Turner, 1894, p. 309).

In addition to the full-sized toboggans just described, the collection contains two smaller specimens described in the catalog as *model toboggans,* which may also have been children's toys. The largest of these is constructed in much the same manner as the previously described specimens, except that babiche lashing as well as transverse bars hold the two boards together along the flat area of the vehicle. On the underside, the lashings are not countersunk, suggesting that perhaps the specimen is indeed a model rather than intended for use by a child. The front end is sharply upturned and lines of babiche extend from the first transverse bar to the second on both sides (fig. 42A).

The smaller model toboggan is made from a single piece of birchwood, but there are still transverse bars in the usual locations even though they are nonfunctional. Babiche lashing runs along either side, from the first transverse bar to the second and from the first to the third bar. The transverse bars are painted with red pigment, and simple lines in red and blue pigment appear on the outer side of the upturned end (fig. 43B).

The collection contains a single, crudely made *sled* which, according to catalog information, was intended for hauling firewood and camp equipment. It was made by Strong's chief informant, Joe Rich. This specimen is 134 cm long and 27 cm wide, and has two narrow runners which curve slightly upward at the front. There are two stanchions, one near each end, cut from the same piece of wood as the runners. Strong (1928c, vol. 1) noted that the runners were cut out almost entirely with an ax and then finished with a jack knife. The runners are connected by two transverse bars attached at the tops of the stanchions with string. The bed is formed by four parallel narrow strips

of wood of varying lengths, approximately 7 cm apart, attached to the crossbars at either end with string (fig. 44). A *model sled* is virtually identical, except that the bed consists of three strips of wood rather than four and the lashing is babiche (fig. 43A).

This style of sled was drawn by one man and appears to resemble the canoe sled described by Rogers (1963; 1967, p. 106) for the Mistassini Indians, except that the latter apparently had no bed, only crossbars connecting the runners. Rogers noted that this was the only type of sled indigenous to the Mistassini Indians.

The collection contains a roll of finely *braided babiche line* which, according to catalog information, was used as lashing on sleds.

As early as 1905 Wallace (1907, p. 136) reported that the Davis Inlet Naskapi were beginning to use heavy, flat-bedded sleds pulled by dogs, both items having been borrowed from Eskimos on the coast of Labrador. At the time of Strong's fieldwork, this form of winter transport was used exclusively by the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Indians. Dogs were harnessed to the sled in the typical Eskimo fan hitch (Strong, 1929, p. 287) (figs. 45–46).

The only items in the collection associated with dog traction are six *trace buckles*. These are simply oblong pieces of antler which narrow slightly at one end and have a pair of holes, one slightly larger than the other (fig. 36F).

Watercraft in the Strong collection are represented only by *model canoes*. The largest, a replica of a full-sized *bark-covered canoe*, appears to have been constructed in the manner described by Turner (1894, pp. 304–306), in that the ribs and sheathing splints have been built up inside the bark cover. The greater part of this cover consists of a single piece of bark which has been split at regular intervals along the sides, sewn with babiche, and caulked with resin. The bark has been folded over the gunwales, covered with gunwale caps, and nailed in place with small nails. Paired stem battens hold the bark in place in those areas; their lower sections are wrapped with cloth and covered with resin. There are five thwarts which are inserted between the gunwale pieces on either side (fig. 47). Accompanying this canoe model are two small paddles, their blades decorated with designs in indelible pencil, and a model fish spear and caribou spear similar to the full-sized artifacts previously described. The canoe itself is undecorated.

This bark-covered canoe model resembles the "crooked canoe," the most common variation of the "Eastern Cree" type defined by Adney & Chapelle (1964, pp. 99–106). The crooked canoe is described as having a "very marked fore-and-aft rocker to the bottom without a corresponding amount of sheer" (Adney & Chapelle, 1964, p. 99). The model in the Strong collection resembles one collected at Great Whale River (pre-1921) now in the British Museum and illustrated by Taylor (1980, pls. 4–5). Distribution of the crooked canoe outside the Eastern Cree area is not well documented (Adney & Chapelle, 1964, p. 100). The model described here may be the first definite evidence of the use of this style on the east side of the Labrador Peninsula (Taylor, pers. comm.).

Turner (1894, p. 306) noted that forests in the vicinity of Fort Chimo did not contain birch trees of sufficient size to provide bark for canoes. The Indians obtained bark from the traders who imported it from the St. Lawrence River region. It is likely that suitable bark was also unavailable in the Davis Inlet area.

According to Waugh (1925, p. 130), men prepared most of the materials for making a canoe, put them in position, and inserted the ribs and covering. Women were responsible for the sewing and gumming.

The collection contains three *wooden canoe models*, the most elaborate of which has been hollowed out from a single piece of birchwood and has five skillfully inserted thwarts. There are two paddles, the blades of which are painted with orange pigment (fig. 48). This model appears to resemble what Turner (1894, p. 306) referred to as the "original form" of Naskapi canoe, nearly flat along the gunwales and with not much of an upturn at the bow and stern.

The second wooden model, also made from a single piece of wood, is cruder, being only partially hollowed out. Two of the original three thwarts are missing. Crude, wooden, armless human figures, their features indicated by penciled lines, are pegged into the bow and stern. There are two crude paddles and a model caribou spear. On the outside of this model along each side is a thick line in indelible pencil, with a small, penciled figure of a swimming caribou at the bow (fig. 43C).

A much smaller model, apparently representing a hunting scene, at one time had a human figure seated in the bow holding a caribou spear. A figure of a swimming caribou, its antlers missing, is attached to the front of the canoe (fig. 50A).

The collection contains seven *canoe paddles*, with handles approximately half the length of the

blades or slightly less. The blades are flat or have a slight ridge down the center and vary in width from 7.5 cm to 11.5 cm. The handles widen slightly and are flattened at the end. Only two specimens show signs of use. The blades of five paddles are decorated; the decoration on the illustrated specimens, in orange pigment, red crayon, and indelible pencil, is typical (fig. 49A–D). The partridge design and a motif which Strong (1928e) called "whale tails" occur on one paddle (fig. 49B). These bands of decoration appear to be a common feature on paddles, at least as far west as the Cree around Great Whale River (Taylor, p. 94, fig. 9).

A *canoe bailer* is made from a single piece of birchwood. It is shovel-shaped at the distal end and has a rounded handle (fig. 50D).

Tools

Tools in the Strong collection are confined almost entirely to those used in working wood and in preparing skins, clearly two of the most important activities of the Naskapi Indians.

Woodworking tools in the collection include eight *crooked knives*, seven of which have wooden handles and metal blades made from files. The faces of the blades are sharpened within the bend and along the length of the same side. The handles form more than half the total length of the implement and are curved at the proximal end; one specimen is drilled at the distal end and has a wrist loop of babiche (fig. 50K).

The blades of all these crooked knives are hafted in the same manner. A shallow, rectangular slot has been cut along one side of the handle to hold the proximal end of the blade. A thin piece of wood is placed over the slot and blade, the whole made secure with lashing of babiche (four examples) or string (three examples) (fig. 50I,K). The lashing of one specimen has been painted with red pigment (fig. 50K). According to Strong (1928e), the handle of one of these knives was covered with the skin of a red squirrel, the tail serving as a plume at the end. This skin is no longer on the specimen. Six knives are hafted for right-handed individuals and one for a left-handed person.

The eighth knife is quite different from the others. Although hafted in the same manner, the curved handle and the blade are of antler. The blade is sharpened on one side but is not curved. Strong considered this type to be the original style before availability of metal blades (fig. 50G).

The manufacture and use of the crooked knife among the Ungava, Lake St. John, and Mistassini Indians is described by Turner (1894, pp. 317–318, fig. 141), Lips (1947, pp. 50–51), and Rogers (1967, pp. 45–46, fig. 16, plate VIII, A).

Crooked knives as well as other types of cutting and scraping tools were sharpened on *whetstones*. The two in the collection are shale pebbles worked to a roughly rectangular shape (fig. 50B).

Awls are described as woodworking tools because, according to Turner (1894, p. 319), they were used by the Ungava area Indians primarily for piercing holes in wood. Rogers (1967, p. 47) noted that the Mistassini Indians used awls to make holes in snowshoe frames for the selvage thongs. Two such awls specifically identified by Strong as having been used in that manner have previously been described and illustrated (fig. 36H,P) as implements in snowshoe-making kits. However, awls likely were also used for making holes in hides.

Of the five specimens described in the catalog simply as awls, three have antler handles. Two of these have antler points inserted into a hole in the distal end of the handle (fig. 50L), while the third has a metal point made from a nail (fig. 50M). A single specimen has a wooden handle that tapers toward the distal end, into which has been inserted a large nail (fig. 50J). One of Strong's informants told him that this type of awl was also used to draw blood from wrist arteries when a man was ill (Strong, 1928b, vol. 2). The fifth awl is made from a sliver of bone worked to a point at one end (fig. 50H). It resembles a previously described specimen used to maintain the size of the mesh during the weaving of snowshoe webbing (fig. 36H).

An implement described in the catalog as a "model of ancient type of bone *ax*" has a bone blade inserted into the split end of a wooden handle and lashed with a strip of untanned caribou skin (fig. 50N). Although axes resembling this specimen are surely not aboriginal, it is possible that bone blades may have been used by the Indians when steel blades were unavailable. It is difficult, however, to imagine how a bone blade could have provided the weight to make such an implement an effective tool for chopping wood. The collection also contains two full-sized *ax handles* of birchwood, finished with a crooked knife and carefully worked at the distal end for insertion into the eye of a steel blade.

Prior to the removal of flesh and fat from a fresh caribou skin, the frozen and often bloody skin was thawed out in warm water. It was then placed hair

side down over a short post. A woman hacked off meat and fat with a *fleshing tool,* of which there are 11 examples in the collection, representing two basic types. The type 1 fleshing tools, seven in number, have large, bulbous wooden handles to provide added weight and driving power (Strong, 1928a) (fig. 52). Five specimens have spatulate-shaped steel blades with serrated edges inserted into the split distal end of the handle. The blades of two fleshers are lashed with strips of tanned caribou skin (fig. 50F); another two are wrapped with cloth and lashed with babiche (fig. 50C), and one is wrapped with cloth and lashed with string (fig. 50E). The sixth fleshing tool has a serrated antler blade and lashing of tanned caribou skin painted with red pigment (fig. 51E). The seventh specimen, which may be a model, has a bone blade lashed with babiche to the flattened and notched side of the distal end of the handle (fig. 51K). All but one of these implements have skin wrist loops at the proximal end, either tied around a notch or attached with a nail. Fleshing tools of this type are described and illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 294, fig. 105).

The type 2 fleshing tool is considerably smaller and, with one exception, consists of a single piece only. A bone specimen is worked to a spatulate shape at one end and serrated (fig. 51H). Another of approximately the same size has an antler handle and a spatulate-shaped, serrated blade of the same material inserted into a slot at the distal end of the handle and held in place with a pair of antler rivets (fig. 51L). Two other antler specimens lack serrated edges and may have been used for finer scraping after the initial layer of flesh and fat had been removed. One of these broadens at the distal end and has a beveled edge (fig. 51J). The other has a wedge-shaped, flat working edge (fig. 51I).

After the flesh and fat had been removed with a fleshing tool, a spruce pole was cut, stripped of its bark, flattened on one side, and driven into the snow so that the end reached just below a woman's waist. She held the pole between her legs and spread the skin along it, hair side up, to remove the hair with a two-handed *scraper.* There are four in the collection, each one made from a caribou radius. Part of the central portion of the bone is removed and one edge sharpened (fig. 51A). The worker leaned over the pole, holding the scraper in both hands. The tool was pulled with the grain of the hair and the accumulated pile of caribou hair blew away, unless it was to be saved to make a bed for newborn puppies (fig. 53). A large winter skin could be dehaired in about one hour (Strong, 1928a).

A different type of two-handed scraper, probably a model, is made from a split section of caribou antler thinned in the center on one side and sharpened in this area along one edge (fig. 51F).

The dehairing process is described for Indians of the Ungava region by Turner (1888; 1894, pp. 292–293, figs. 102–103) and, in greater detail, for the Montagnais-Naskapi in general by Speck (1937a, pp. 350–351).

If the prepared skin was to be used for babiche, it was soaked again and, as previously noted, staked out in the snow with wooden pegs (fig. 39). Then, if it was to be smoke-tanned, it was softened by stretching and twisting before being rubbed with a mixture of rancid fat, brains, and liver and laid away for a while. Finally, it was scraped of all extra grease and thoroughly wrung out to increase its softness.

One method of smoking which Strong observed involved basting skins in a skin bag with a small opening at the bottom and a large one at the top. This container was hung from the lodge rafters just below the smoke hole. The small end was inserted into a coffee can filled with coals covered with rotten wood. The point where the bag joined the can was wrapped with cloth and the entire can with an old skin shirt. Strong noted that the smoke was supposed to go up inside the skin bag and then out through the smoke hole. Actually it escaped from the top and bottom as well as from cuts and warble fly holes in the skin bag, quickly driving everyone out of the lodge. Smoked skins were used for moccasins and tent covers, but everyday clothing was usually just tanned (Strong, 1928a).

The collection contains four *semilunar knives,* which Strong refers to as "women's knives" and which resemble the Eskimo ulu. Three have metal blades; on two of these, the blade is riveted directly to an antler handle (fig. 51M). The third has an upright intermediate piece of copper which is inserted into a wooden handle (fig. 51O). The fourth knife has an antler blade fastened to an antler handle with a peg of the same material (fig. 51N). Rogers (1967, p. 42) noted that among the Mistassini Indians such "knives" originally had antler blades and were used for scraping skins rather than for cutting them. Strong (1928a) noted that those knives with metal blades were used in the same manner.

A quite different type of *knife,* which Strong described as an "old type," is made from a single piece of antler sharpened along one side for approximately half its length. The handle area has simple incised designs. At the end of the handle

is a thong of tanned caribou skin attached to the center of a circular piece of wood (fig. 51D). Strong (1928c, vol. 1) believed this type of knife to have been used traditionally by women for cutting up meat.

The collection contains two *knife sheaths* that may have been intended for a knife of the type just described or an end-bladed knife with a metal blade. One of these sheaths is made of two pieces of tanned caribou skin backed and edged with dark green printed cotton cloth. The sewing is with thread. On the front are beaded geometric designs, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, in red, blue, translucent green, and white beads. There is a carrying strap of tanned caribou skin (fig. 51C). The second sheath is also made of two pieces of tanned caribou skin and a strap of the same material, all sewn with thread. On the front is a design consisting of diamonds in red beads and a border of red and black beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn; a cross in black beads is sewn on the back piece above the sheath opening (fig. 51B).

Household Equipment

The Strong collection contains a number of items associated with heating and cooking. A set of four model *stove posts* are simply pointed pieces of birchwood notched at one end (fig. 51P). For the Mistassini, Rogers (1967, p. 22) noted that small sheet metal stoves, either obtained from the trading companies or made by the men, have been used in recent times. The corners of these stoves were placed on wooden pegs driven into the ground.

For use with an open fire, there is a pair of *fire tongs* made of birchwood which shows no indication of use. Each piece is flat on the inner surface and the two pieces are tied together at the end with babiche (fig. 51G).

There are also two *spits* made of birchwood for cooking meat and bannock. They are pointed at both ends, the thicker end for insertion in the ground or snow and the thin end for hanging meat. Both specimens are approximately the same length. One shows signs of use, but the other is obviously new and is notched at the thick end for lifting a kettle off the fire (fig. 42B). Rogers (1967, p. 39) noted that similar spits were used by the Mistassini.

The collection contains two carefully made *pothooks*, flat pieces of birchwood curved at each end in opposite directions. Strong (1928e) indicated that the larger curve went over a tent pole or rafter, while the smaller was for the pot. Neither of these specimens, however, shows any indication of use or seems long enough to have been used in this manner; they may be models. The shorter hook is illustrated (fig. 54I). The other is approximately 53 cm long, not including the curves. Pothooks of antler and wood are described for the Ungava region by Turner (1894, p. 302) but not illustrated. He noted that they were suspended by a loop or thong.

A model *child's hammock* is simply a rectangular piece of tanned caribou skin cut to form a net with loops of the same material at either end (fig. 55C). Rogers (1967, p. 65, fig. 9) described a more elaborate Mistassini hammock and noted that it was used for a child under two years of age.

A *knife and fork* of birchwood are modeled after European styles, although somewhat larger, and do not appear to have been used (fig. 54F,H). The collection also contains four *spoons*, two of wood and two of antler. The antler specimens are crudely made with very shallow round bowls and straight handles (fig. 54J). The wooden spoons have straight handles and somewhat resemble the European style (fig. 54C,K).

There are six wooden *ladles* of varying sizes, all of which have shovel-shaped, ovoid bowls and sharply upturned handles. According to Turner (1894, p. 302, figs. 119–122), who described and illustrated similar ladles, they were used to lift pieces of meat from a pot. Rogers (1967, p. 33, fig. 3, plate IIIA) also described and illustrated such ladles, noting that they were used for ladling grease from boiling foods and sometimes as scoops for flour when making bannock. For the Montagnais of the Lake St. John region, Speck noted (VanStone, 1982, p. 9) that spoons and small ladles were used by hunters at a grease feast, at which a bear was eaten and the guests brought their own utensils. Like Speck, Rogers believed that ladles had a greater ceremonial than utilitarian significance, being used at feasts for drinking a little grease. Of the six specimens in the Strong collection, three are old and show signs of use. A variety of sizes are illustrated (fig. 54A–B,D–E). One specimen is cracked and has been repaired with string (fig. 54B).

Four artifacts of birchwood are described in the catalog as *dishes or plates*, three of which are rectangular in shape. One of these has a flat bottom with rounded corners and is described by Strong (1928e) as having been "made and used on a hunting trip" (fig. 55B). The second has squared ends and a rounded bottom with faint traces of red and blue lines around the sides just below the rim (fig.

56I). The third rectangular dish or plate, probably a model, is shallow with a rounded bottom (fig. 55E). The last specimen, also probably a model, is round. Circling the lip is a line in indelible pencil (fig. 55D).

An oval *bowl* of birchwood consists of two pieces. The rim is made of a strip of wood softened by steam and then bent until the beveled ends overlap and are stitched with babiche. The bottom is slightly concave and fits inside the rim, even with the lower edge. It is held in place with 13 wooden pegs (fig. 55A). A similar vessel but with a wider rim, identified as a bucket, is described and illustrated by Turner (1894, pp. 300–301, fig. 115).

The collection also contains a wooden *cup* carved in imitation of a European form (fig. 56G) and a small *goblet*. The sides of this vessel are painted with alternate lines of red and blue pigment, between which are alternate dots in the same colors (fig. 56F). Rogers (1967, p. 35, fig. 5) described Mistassini cups made from birch burls, which were carried by hunters. A small wooden cup without a handle was collected by Speck among the Lake St. John Montagnais (VanStone, 1982, p. 9, fig. 5e).

A pair of *scissors* has been carved from antler, the two halves held together with a pin of the same material (fig. 54G). According to Strong (1928e), this specimen was made simply to show the carver's skill and was not actually intended for use. Nevertheless, he noted that, when collected, it could cut paper.

A rectangular strip of birch bark has been folded at the ends and stitched with black thread to form a crude *container* (fig. 56H). Lips (1947, p. 52, fig. 18a) described temporary bark containers, used by the Lake St. John Montagnais, which were folded at the ends and held in shape with wooden pins. A small container like the one in the Strong collection may have been made for temporary use while collecting berries.

Three caribou skin *bags* are described here, not because they are clearly items of household equipment but because they do not readily fit into any other category, their use not specified by Strong. Two of these bags are long, narrow, and made of rectangular strips of skin stitched together with coarse thread. One specimen has a separate bottom piece; the side pieces have been cut to form a fringe at the lower edge. Both specimens have strips of cotton drilling around the top, through which has been strung a drawstring of caribou skin (fig. 56D). The third bag, also long and narrow, is made from the skin of the head of a caribou embryo. The stitching is of coarse, black thread. There is a broad neck of canvas but no drawstring (fig. 56C).

Similarly, there are three small *pouches*, the use of which is uncertain. All appear to be of the roll-up style. The first is made of small pieces of black wool felt, partly sewn over with pieces of red printed cotton cloth. There is a simple design in blue seed beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, on the front, and a tie of tanned caribou skin at the upper end (fig. 56E). The second pouch is made from two pieces of embryo caribou skin lined on the inside with a piece of pink-and-white printed cotton cloth. The edges of this pouch are lined with black and red seed beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, with a loop of blue beads at the upper end (fig. 56B). The third specimen, identified in the catalog as a child's pouch and thus possibly a toy, is crudely made from three pieces of tanned caribou skin edged with red wool felt. On the front is a crude treelike design in red cotton thread. There is a tie of tanned caribou skin at the upper end (fig. 56A). Small pouches like these three might have held needles, thread, and other sewing equipment.

The collection contains six birchwood *snow shovels* which were used primarily to clear away the snow before erecting a ridgepole lodge (fig. 6). Four specimens are between 125 cm and 140 cm in length with blades 25–36 cm long and 12–18 cm wide. The blades are shallow, slightly upturned, and flat across the ends; the handles are square or rectangular. One is painted with orange pigment at the proximal end of the handle, on the flattened area at the base of the handle, and at the end of the blade (fig. 57A). Another has a crack in the blade which has been repaired with babiche, the only one that shows signs of having been used (fig. 57B).

The remaining two snow shovels are somewhat shorter, both being approximately 90 cm long. The one showing signs of considerable use has a square handle and incised crosses across the center of the blade (fig. 57C). The other has a similar arrangement of crosses filled with blue pigment at the end of a rectangular handle, and is painted with pigment of the same color at the base of the handle.

Turner (1894, p. 318, fig. 143) illustrated a snow shovel virtually identical to the artifact shown in fig. 57C, and Rogers (1967, p. 49, fig. 17) described similar shovels used by the Mistassini Indians. He noted that, in addition to being used around a camp, they served to remove broken ice from the

openings made when setting gill nets. Small shovels like the last two described were carried by men on hunting and trapping trips to remove the snow when traps were set and for use in temporary camps.

Clothing

The collection contains five hooded outer garments of untanned caribou skin with the hair outside, which Strong referred to as *shirts*. The patterns of these garments vary considerably, the front and back consisting of a single piece but the arms constructed of a number of irregularly shaped skin fragments. The cuffs and bottoms are irregularly cut and not edged. The hoods also consist of varying numbers of small pieces of skin sewn together and then sewn to the body of the garment. These hood pieces invariably include sections of skin from the animal's head, including ears and the area at the base of the antlers. Around the opening of each hood is sewn a narrow strip of skin with the hair inside. All these shirts are sewn in an overcast stitch with thread or light string and show signs of considerable wear. The illustrated specimen, which is small and may have been worn by a young boy, is the only one with a sinew drawstring around the hood opening; according to the catalog, it is made from summer caribou skin (fig. 58A). One shirt is identified in the catalog as a man's and another as a woman's, but all specimens exhibit the same design.

Turner (1894, p. 281) stated emphatically that the dress of the Naskapi was quite distinct for each sex, but he did not refer to or illustrate the type of utilitarian garment described here. During Waugh's travels in the interior of northeastern Labrador in 1921, he noted that the Eskimo parka made of duffel was frequently worn by the Naskapi (Waugh, 1925, p. 131). Similar garments are shown in a few of Strong's photographs (figs. 6, 32). Individuals wearing caribou skin shirts, probably in some cases the actual garments in the collection, are also shown in a number of photographs (figs. 3, 22, 59).

Much more frequently associated with the Naskapi are men's *coats* of finely tanned and bleached caribou skin with painted decoration; there are four of these in the Strong collection. All are summer coats, tanned with the hair removed, sewn with sinew in overcast stitching, and decorated with pressed and painted designs in red, blue, yellow, and red-brown pigment. All four coats show scars made in the caribou skin by warble fly larvae.

The pattern for the first of these coats consists of a back that is essentially one piece and a single piece on each side in front, with the seams at the shoulders. A triangular two-piece gore has been inserted in the center of the back piece and there are small insets in the back to fill and even out the lower edge of the garment. Each sleeve is constructed of two basic pieces with seams over and under the arms, although there are added pieces at the right and left cuffs and in the area of the right armpit. There are separate pieces at the neck on each side and a separate two-piece collar (fig. 60).

The decoration on this coat consists of a red-brown border around the bottom and along both edges of the front opening. Above the bottom band is a broad area of decoration consisting of straight lines, half scallops, triangles, lozenges, and single crossbar tracks. On and around the side seams as well as on and above the gore are designs which include straight and zigzag lines, triangles, uneven rectangles, and half scallops. Up both sides of the front are single crossbar tracks, straight lines, and half scallops. Narrow bands of similar motifs occur in two locations on each sleeve. There are rough, fairly wide red-brown lines on the upper sleeve and shoulder seams (figs. 61–62). With the exception of those on the upper sleeves and shoulders, all seams appear to have been sewn before painting.

The pattern of the second coat includes a one-piece back, with small attached pieces on either side at the bottom, and a triangular gore. Side pieces in front are essentially one piece but have triangular insets on either side near the neck; short, narrow strips along both sides of the opening run across the shoulders. The sleeves are each two pieces, both having two extension pieces at the cuff; the left has a small triangular inset. The wide collar is two separate pieces (fig. 63).

The painted designs on this shirt are more complex than those on the previously described specimen though the basic arrangement is the same, except for the addition of bands on the collar and near the shoulder seams. The red-brown border extends up both sides of the front opening. The wide area of decoration above the bottom band consists of straight lines, double crossbar tracks, broad concave lines with whale tails at intervals, and a modified double curve and leaf motif with triangles and diamonds. At the very top of this area is a band of half scallops and whale tails. In the vicinity of the side seams and on the gore are straight lines, rows of double half scallops, and a

motif of half scallops and whale tails. There are straight lines and single crossbar tracks on either side of the front opening. Each sleeve has three bands consisting of straight lines, single-track crossbars, and lozenge bands. Similar combinations of motifs occur on the collar and near the shoulder seams. There are red-brown lines along the upper sleeve and shoulder seams (figs. 64–65). All seams were apparently sewn before the garment was decorated.

The back of the third coat is a single piece of skin that includes narrow strips extending to the shoulder and sleeve seams on each side in front. There is the usual triangular gore in the center of the back and, at the shoulders, a narrow rectangular strip that extends across the back. In front, each side is a separate piece extending to the seams at the shoulders. The narrow collar is two separate pieces with the seam at the back of the neck. Each sleeve is constructed of three pieces (fig. 66).

The painted designs on this coat are comparatively simple, but again the basic arrangement of motifs is similar to that on the previously described garments. A blue border extends up the front opening on both sides, which have been sewn together. The area above the lower edge consists of straight lines, wavy lines, triangles, diamonds, and a repeated motif which includes four whale tails. Near the side seam and on the gore are simple triangular motifs divided into three sections by short, parallel lines. On either side of the front opening are straight and wavy lines. Each sleeve has two bands consisting of parallel straight lines, and there is a similar band on the collar. There are narrow red-brown lines on portions of the upper sleeve and shoulder seams (figs. 67–68). All seams except those on the right sleeve were sewn before the garment was painted.

The fourth coat is not, strictly speaking, part of the Strong collection. It was obtained by Kenneth Rawson, a member of the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition, but not acquired by the museum until 1944. It is included here because it is obviously contemporaneous with the coats collected by Strong.

The pattern of this garment consists of a one-piece back that extends over the shoulders. There is a triangular gore in the center and small separate pieces on either side at the bottom edge. In front, each side is two separate pieces of approximately equal size. Each sleeve consists of three pieces, and the separate collar is two pieces with the seam in the center.

Decoration on this coat consists of a red-brown border around the bottom edge and up both sides of the front opening, which has been sewn closed. The decorated area above the bottom band includes straight lines, single crossbar tracks, double curves with leaf motifs, diamonds, triangles, dots, and scallops. In the vicinity of the side seams and on the gore are lozenge bands and triangles. On both sides of the front opening are straight lines and single crossbar tracks. A similar combination of motifs occurs on the two bands on each sleeve. Across each shoulder is a band consisting of straight lines and a scallop-whale tail motif. There is a red brown band around the edge of the collar, above which are straight lines, wavy lines, and scallops (figs. 69–70). All seams were sewn before the decorative designs were applied.

Strong made no mention of these coats in his field notes and diaries, nor are they shown in any of his photographs. All appear to be new, but it is unlikely that they were made at the request of the ethnographer or other members of the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition. In a letter to Laufer, Strong mentioned that "Capt. MacMillan has secured two of the rare and beautiful painted coats for which they [the Naskapi] were formerly noted" (DA/EF, Strong to Laufer, October 21, 1927). It is not clear whether these coats are in the collection.

Painted coats dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries and exhibiting complex designs and skillful painting are found in a number of European, Canadian, and American museums (see for example Benndorf & Speyer, 1969, p. 52, pl. 4, figs. 16–19). In 1838 McLean (1932, pp. 262–263) commented that "the leather dresses, both of men and women, are generally painted, and often display more taste than one would be disposed to give them credit for."

Summer coats with more elaborate decoration than those in the Strong collection are described and illustrated by Turner (1894, pp. 282–283, figs. 87–88) for the Ungava region. Turner (1894, pp. 287–288, figs. 95–96, 98) also collected painted winter coats which have hoods and the hair inside. In their construction they somewhat resemble the unpainted caribou skin shirts previously described.

The coats in the Strong collection are not painted as skillfully as these early garments. Instead they closely resemble three coats in the Royal Ontario Museum (Webber, 1968, p. 25; Dorothy Burnham, pers. comm.), one in the Denver Art Museum (Douglas, 1939, pp. 38–42), and one in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania

(Mason, 1931, pp. 98–99, pl. XIII) collected by Frank G. Speck. Speck began his fieldwork in 1908 among the Lake St. John Montagnais, later extending his work to more northern groups; his research continued until 1932. The Denver coat was collected in 1926 and the Philadelphia coat in 1930. It is probable that the garments in the Royal Ontario Museum were obtained at about the same time. In any event, it appears reasonable to assign a date of about 1930 to these garments, which of course makes them contemporary with the coats in the Strong collection.

It seems clear that the Strong and Speck garments represent the terminal era of a painted coat tradition, examples of which date to at least as early as the mid-18th century. Unlike the designs on the early coats, however, those on the specimens in the Strong collection are crudely and carelessly applied, although this may not be as obvious in the photographs as it is upon careful examination of the garments themselves. On the other hand, the coats are skillfully sewn and the layout of patterns and the motifs used is completely within the old tradition.

Turner (1894, pp. 283–284) noted that, below the caribou skin coat, Naskapi men wore trousers with short legs that covered only the upper part of the thigh. The Strong collection contains a single pair of summer *trousers* made of soft tanned caribou skin showing the scars made by warble fly larvae and sewn with sinew. Each leg consists essentially of a single piece with the seam running down the back, through the crotch, and down the inside of the leg. The legs are extended slightly with the addition of short triangular pieces. This pair of trousers was held in place by means of a narrow strip of caribou skin, sewn inside a fold, that tied in the front (fig. 71A). Turner (1894, p. 285) noted that trousers like these were never decorated with painted designs because they were usually completely covered.

The collection contains seven pairs of *leggings*, five made of soft tanned and bleached caribou skin, apparently for summer wear; one of tanned caribou skin with hair inside for winter wear; and a single pair of white canvas. All are sewn with either sinew or thread. According to Turner (1894, p. 291), women's leggings were longer than men's, extended higher and, at the bottom, covered the tops of the moccasins. None of the specimens in the collection is identified with reference to the sex for which it was made.

Four pairs of summer leggings are approximately the size of the illustrated specimens. There is no consistent pattern, although they are generally made from a single piece, with smaller sections where it is necessary to fill out the shape. They were held in place with caribou skin ties fastened to the upper part of the trousers. All are decorated with designs in red and blue pigment, confined to a band running down all or part of the main seam and another around the leggings approximately in the center. Design motifs on the illustrated specimens include straight lines, lozenges, scallops, and whale tails (fig. 72A–B).

A shorter pair of leggings is made from a single piece of tanned caribou skin, but has an edging of soft, bleached skin at the top. There are ties at the top and loops and ties at the bottom, suggesting that each legging was tied under a foot or to a moccasin. The decorative pattern in blue and red pigment includes scallops, half scallops, straight lines, and whale tails (fig. 73A). This pair may have been made for a child.

Another pair of leggings is made from white canvas and edged with printed cotton cloth. A single band of appliqued cotton cloth decoration in white, red, and black encircles the garment (fig. 72C). Strong noted in the catalog that this is the "type of leggings worn today," but the style does not appear in any of his photographs.

The only pair of leggings for winter wear is made of a single piece of tanned caribou skin with the hair on the inside and a long loop tie at the upper end. Decoration in red and blue pigment follows the usual pattern. The specimen is in poor condition, the skin being filled with warble fly holes and the decoration partly worn away.

In addition to the leggings just described, the collection contains three pairs of *moccasin-leggings*. The leggings section is made of a single piece of soft tanned and bleached caribou skin with the seam running down the side of the leg and a drawstring sewn into a fold at the top. The bottom of the moccasin section is a single piece with a T-shaped heel seam. There is no toe seam, the bottom being gathered where it joins the tongue, which is a U-shaped separate piece. On two specimens a strip of skin has been sewn into the seam between the leggings and the moccasin. On one pair this strip is decorated with a band of scallop motifs (fig. 73C), while on the other the strip is serrated (fig. 73B). All three pairs of moccasin-leggings have painted designs on the leggings, including half scallops, scallops, whale tails, lozenges, straight lines, and single track crossbars in red, blue, and brown-yellow pigment. The horizontal bands on one pair are decorated with a

modified double curve motif (fig. 73B); the tongues of two specimens are also decorated (fig. 73C).

Neither leggings nor moccasin-leggings are shown in Strong's photographs. In 1921 Waugh (1921–1922) observed short leggings tied below the knee and worn with moccasins. He further noted (1925, p. 131) that long leggings "of conventional Algonkian type" supported by a loop at the belt had been worn "as lately as 15 or 20 years ago."

Strong frequently mentioned in his diaries that the women were busy making *moccasins,* which he acquired and in fact were probably made specifically to sell or trade to him. Thus it is not surprising to find that the collection contains 13 pairs, plus three unfinished pairs. All are made of tanned caribou skin and sewn with thread. With one exception (fig. 74B), they are not identified as having been made for men or women. Twelve pairs have a bottom consisting of a single piece with a T-shaped heel seam. There is no toe seam, the bottom being gathered where it joins a separate tongue or instep piece. This is Hatt's series X (Hatt, 1916, pp. 171–175), the so-called "puckered" style, described for the Mistassini by Rogers (1967, pp. 54–55) and for the Mistassini and the Lake St. John band of Montagnais by Lips (1947, pp. 46–49) and VanStone (1982, p. 16). The tongue is a U-shaped inset, and the tops of eight pairs consist of narrow, doubled strips of caribou skin through which a long strip of skin is inserted to serve as a tie (figs. 74B; 75A–B; 76A–B; 77B; 78C). On one of these pairs, a strip of red cotton cloth has been sewn between the top and the bottom as decoration (fig. 75A); on another pair, the top is decorated with a strip of red cotton tape (fig. 74B). The top of one pair is a narrow strip of mink fur sewn onto a doubled piece of cotton cloth, through which the tie is strung (fig. 78A). On another pair the top is a broad, rectangular strip of canvas lined on the inside with printed cotton cloth and edged with the same material. A long strip of caribou skin is 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 (fig. 77A). A single, well-worn pair has no tops, but they appear to have been removed.

One pair of moccasins has bottoms consisting of a single piece with a T-shaped heel seam and a T-shaped toe seam. This is Hatt's series VIII (Hatt, 1916, pp. 167–171), the so-called "Algonquian type" which is described for the Naskapi of the Ungava region by Turner (1894, pp. 284–285, fig. 92). According to Strong's field notes (1928c, vol. 1), the Naskapi name for this style of moccasin means "puckered rabbit's nose." The vertical part of the toe seam is the nose, and the area below the horizontal seam is the animal's mouth. This pair has a separate instep piece and a top consisting of a narrow, doubled strip of soft tanned caribou skin through which the tie is strung. A strip of black wool felt edged with red cotton cloth and decorated with rows of beads is sewn between the bottom and the top (fig. 74A).

The three pairs of unfinished moccasins lack a toe seam and are not sewn at the back. The separate instep pieces are undecorated (fig. 77C). One complete pair of moccasins also has an undecorated instep piece (fig. 77B), but the insteps of 11 pairs are decorated with a variety of stylized floral designs of which the illustrated specimens are typical. On nine pairs the instep piece is made of cotton cloth, sometimes backed with canvas, to which pony beads in a variety of colors are spot-stitched and thread-sewn. Two pairs have more open beaded designs sewn on instep pieces of tanned caribou skin. On one of these, the beaded ornamentation extends around the upper edge of the bottom (fig. 78C). A single pair is decorated with an embroidered strip in pink and blue thread which runs around the instep seam (fig. 77B).

In addition to the complete and unfinished moccasins, the collection contains three pairs of beaded *instep pieces.* They are made of black cotton cloth and are edged with the same material in lighter colors. Two have fully beaded floral designs (fig. 78D) while the third has a swastika in translucent blue beads and a border of translucent blue and red beads (fig. 78B). This is one of the few decorative motifs in the collection that is neither geometric nor floral.

At the time of Waugh's travels, moccasins were still worn, though the Eskimo waterproof sealskin boot (figs. 3, 6) was much preferred (Waugh, 1925, p. 131). A few of Strong's photographs show individuals wearing moccasins (fig. 22).

The single pair of *mittens* is made of tanned and bleached caribou skin lined with duffel. Each mitten is cut from a single piece with the seam running along one side, across the top, and half way down the other side, with the front of the thumb a separate piece; the sewing is with sinew. Around the wrist is a band of ornamentation in black, red, yellow, green, and translucent tan pony beads. The lower edge is trimmed with printed cotton cloth

(fig. 79A). A caribou skin loop has been sewn at one side of the opening, suggesting that the mittens were worn suspended from a cord around the neck. Turner (1894, pp. 285–286, fig. 93) described and illustrated a similar pair of mittens.

A pair of badly worn caribou skin *gloves* was worn to protect the hands when using a bow and arrow. The gloves do not have a consistent pattern, but are made from patches of skin of varying sizes. The sewing is with thread and the opening is edged with printed wool cloth. One side of the cuff is slit for a short distance and closed with a glass button.

The collection contains a *cap* made of black wool cloth edged with badly faded red cotton cloth and decorated with glass buttons (fig. 79B). This garment is described in the catalog as the "modern type" and is worn by Strong's informant Unkweyo in the photograph which shows him weaving snowshoes (fig. 38). Turner (1894, p. 286) noted that some Ungava men wore caribou skin hats in wet weather, but most preferred to go without a head covering. Waugh (1925, p. 131) mentioned "decorated skull caps" worn by men.

Children's clothing in the Strong collection includes seven *infant's traveling costumes* made of caribou skin with the hair on the inside and sewn with heavy, black thread. All show considerable signs of wear. The backs and legs of these garments consist of a single piece of hide; each side of the front is another piece. The sleeves are single pieces folded and sewn without fingers or thumbs. The moccasins consist of a bottom and an instep piece sewn to the leg. There is a caribou skin tie around the ankle, inserted at intervals through holes in the bottom piece. A skin belt around the waist is sewn to the garment in the center of the back. A broad, rectangular piece of canvas is sewn down the center of the front. There is a tie of caribou skin at the neck inserted through holes in the garment.

Four of these traveling costumes have hoods which are separate pieces sewn to the garment. On two of these the hood is made of the skin from a caribou's head, including ears and the area of skin around the base of the antlers (fig. 58B). Three specimens lack attached hoods, but the back piece extends well above the front of the garment and there is a tie that would hold this collar closely around the infant's neck and ears (fig. 71B). Small children must have been almost completely immobilized in these suits, which were worn when making extended sled trips in winter (figs. 4, 80).

The collection also contains five upper garments identified by Strong as *children's shirts,* which are comparable to the adult winter garments previously described. All are made of caribou skin with the hair outside and sewn with thread. Like all the winter clothing, they show considerable signs of wear. Although the pattern of construction is somewhat different for each specimen, generally the front and back are a single piece sewn down the front, each sleeve being a separate piece. All have hoods which are separate pieces of skin from the heads of caribou, including ears and the area of skin at the base of the antlers. The bottom edges of all these specimens are very ragged (figs. 81C, 82).

A somewhat better made shirt for a small child is decorated at the back with a piece of fringed caribou skin sewn into the seam at the neck and an ornament of white, blue, orange, red, pink, and green pony beads, sinew-sewn and attached to the back of the hood between the ears of the caribou. The holes left by removal of the antlers are covered with black cotton cloth; each of these is fringed with a row of pink, yellow, green, and white pony beads (fig. 81A).

Quite different from the previously described garments is a small *child's jacket* made of young or embryo caribou skin sewn with thread and lined and edged with printed cotton cloth. The back is a separate piece as is each side in front. There are triangular insets at the shoulders. The sleeves are separate pieces and there is also a separate collar piece. A small pocket edged with printed cotton cloth and decorated with red yarn is sewn on each side in front (fig. 81B).

The collection contains three sets of model clothing, all of which are crudely made from pieces of an old caribou skin tent cover and are described by Strong in the catalog as representing an "old style." The first is a badly deteriorated pair of *child's leggings and breech clout* sewn with twine, the second a pair of one-piece *leggings* sewn with thread (fig. 55F), and the third a pair of men's *trousers* sewn with string. It is constructed like the full-sized pair previously described (fig. 55G).

In addition to the clothing described in this section, the collection contains a strip of *caribou sinew* used in sewing and an irregular piece of soft, brown *tanned caribou skin.*

Personal Adornment

As represented in the Strong collection, personal adornment among the Davis Inlet and Barren

Ground Naskapi apparently was confined primarily to objects worn on the hair and ears.

There are two types of *headbands.* The four type 1 specimens are rectangular beaded bands consisting of 12 warp bands of caribou skin and weft bands of thread on which the beads are strung. There is a pair of beads between each warp band. Each weft thread is strung over the warp bands; at the ends, the threads are tied to the outside warp bands. On three specimens beads are strung along the outside warp bands.

The designs on these four bands are familiar, since they occur on previously described specimens in the collection. Two have modified versions of the whale tail design while the other two exhibit the so-called partridge motif. The colors represented are primarily reds and blues, but there are also translucent green and pink beads. All specimens are illustrated (fig. 83A–D). Turner (1894, p. 286, fig. 94) described and illustrated beaded headbands and noted that they were worn by men. According to Waugh (1925, p. 131), they were worn by both sexes.

The single type 2 headband is quite different, consisting of a rectangular piece of tanned caribou skin on which whale tails, triangles, and lozenges in crayon have been depicted (fig. 84B).

Hair wrappers occur in pairs, there being two types. The six type 1 wrappers are narrow, rectangular beaded bands constructed like the type 1 headbands but with three warp bands. The designs are geometric, consisting for the most part of rectangles in alternating colors. The principal colors are orange, blue, white, yellow, and translucent green (fig. 84C–D).

The two pairs of type 2 wrappers have four warp bands. Loops of beads fastened to the lower warp band extend along one side. The whale tail design occurs on both pairs. On one, the band consists of blue and orange beads with loops primarily of beads that are red and green (fig. 84A). On the second, the band design is in blue, red, and translucent green beads and the loops are of red, white, and blue beads (fig. 83E). Speck (1935, p. 229, pl. XVIII, lower) illustrated almost identical specimens from the Barren Ground band but maintained that they were worn as garters by men for luck in hunting.

In addition to these beaded hair wrappers, the collection contains a pair of *boards for wrapping hair.* They are rectangular pieces of wood, slightly concave at each end, wrapped with tanned caribou skin and tied with babiche (fig. 85C). Turner (1894, p. 320, fig. 147) illustrated a similar pair of boards. The collection also contains a pair of *model boards for wrapping hair,* wrapped in cotton cloth and tied with thread.

Also associated with hair are a small, rectangular antler *comb* (fig. 85F) and a *comb cleaner* made from the tail of a porcupine, with a short caribou skin strap at one end (fig. 85G). Turner (1894, p. 320, fig. 146) illustrated an almost identical comb of wood and noted that this type was made in imitation of commercial combs obtained from the traders. Such combs were usually kept in birchbark containers to which were attached comb cleaners like the one just described.

According to Turner (1894, p. 320) and Waugh (1925, p. 131), after a woman's hair had been combed, it was gathered on each side of the head and wrapped around the boards. Then strands of beads, presumably like the previously described hair wrappers, were rolled around the boards to hold the hair in place (fig. 86).

The collection also contains two pairs of "*hair ornaments,*" so described in the catalog; their exact use is not easy to determine. Both are nearly square and woven in the same manner as the type 1 headbands, with beaded strands hanging from the bottom. At right angles to these strands and attached to the back of the square beaded area are three parallel strips of tanned caribou skin, presumably for attachment to the hair or boards. The designs on these ornaments are geometric and the predominant colors are red, white, blue, and green (fig. 87H). On one pair the beaded squares are sewn to small pieces of wool cloth (fig. 87B). Speck (1935, pl. XII, upper) illustrated somewhat similar objects from the Barren Ground band but referred to them as neck charms worn for general luck in hunting.

Beaded *ear ornaments* were also worn by women, the most common form being diamond shaped (type 1). The collection contains one pair and seven single ornaments. All are thread-sewn and involve an over-under weaving technique in which the beads were strung individually; there are no warp and weft threads (see Orchard, 1975, p. 134, fig. 114, p. 136). All of these ornaments are constructed of a variety of opaque and translucent colored beads and have beaded strands hanging from them. Typical specimens are illustrated (fig. 87E,G,I). Speck (1935, p. 229, pl. XVIII, upper) identified similar ornaments with long skin loops at the upper ends as neck charms worn by hunters from the Barren Ground band.

The ear ornaments belonging to type 2 are rectangular and woven like the headbands, the warp bands consisting of a single piece of caribou skin cut into four strips. Separate beaded strands are attached to the bottom. The two specimens have geometric designs in predominant colors of red, white, blue, and orange (fig. 87F).

The single pair of type 3 ear ornaments is quite different. It consists of the forefeet of a snowshoe hare, with a loop of babiche tied to the bone at the upper end (fig. 85I).

Armbands were worn over clothing, presumably by both men and women. The collection contains six pairs and six single specimens. The weaving technique for all of them is similar to that described previously for the type 1 headbands. The warp bands, which number from six to 12, are of caribou skin; the weft bands are of thread. On two and one-half pairs, the warp bands are strips cut from a single piece of skin (figs. 85E, 87A). Two pairs have milk glass buttons sewn at one end to fit through loops of thread-wrapped skin at the other (fig. 85B). All the single armbands have loops of beads attached to the lower edge (fig. 87C–D). Geometric designs in a wide variety of colors predominate on these armbands, with the whale tail motif also present.

Turner does not mention armbands, nor does Strong have anything to say about them in his diaries and field notes. With the exception of one pair (fig. 85E), the length of the bands seems to preclude the possibility that they were worn one on each arm. The pair with buttons in particular (fig. 85B) is clearly intended to form a single band. The method of attachment of a number of these bands is unclear.

The collection contains a single *belt* constructed in the previously described manner, with 12 warp bands of caribou skin and beaded weft bands of thread. Along each edge, beads are thread-sewn in lazy stitch to the outside warp bands, which are braided at the ends. The whale tail design is in red, green, translucent green, white, pink, and blue beads (fig. 85A).

As might be expected, items of personal adornment are more consistently decorated than any other major category of artifacts in the Strong collection. It is unfortunate that Strong makes no mention in his notes of their use, nor are they shown in any of his photographs. Neither he nor Turner has anything to say about method of construction, but it is clear that some kind of loom, perhaps a bow or frame loom similar to those used by northern Athapaskans and other woodland Indians, was used in their manufacture.

Charms and Religious Objects

Placation of the spirits of game animals was an important element in Naskapi religion, particularly with reference to caribou. As noted in the Introduction, Strong's informants told him in 1928 that the caribou herds had decreased rapidly in the previous 10 to 15 years; this was attributed to overkill, which offended the animals, and to the neglect of religious rites. At the time of Strong's fieldwork, the Indians were very careful to observe correctly the varied rites pertaining to caribou in hopes of appeasing the spirits of the animals (Strong, 1930a, p. 2).

As previously noted, the most significant ritual associated with the placation of the caribou spirit was the *makusa.n* (Mokoshan in Strong's notes). This ritual, along with other communal meals placating other animal spirits, was regarded by the Naskapi as confirming the special relationship existing between themselves and the spirits of animals. The Indians should not kill more animals than they needed for food and would be required to share according to the rules of the society. Failure to follow these rules would result in the animal spirits holding back the animals (Henrikson, 1981, p. 670).

On the basis of their use in the *makusa.n* ritual, three *model bone crushers* are described here as religious objects, even though they were also used in connection with more mundane household activities. An illustration in Cabot (1920, photo opp. p. 172), for example, shows a woman pounding pemmican with a pestle. According to Turner (1894, p. 302, fig. 118), stone pestles were formerly used by the Naskapi in preparing food, but had been largely replaced by cast iron implements obtained from the traders. Of the three models in the Strong collection, two are of wood, one of which is probably close to full size (fig. 88B); the other is of antler (fig. 85D). All are narrow at the top with a caplike grip and flare at the bottom.

The only other object in the collection associated with placating caribou spirits is a *caribou antler*. Strong's catalog notes indicate that antlers were always placed in trees so that dogs would not defile them and thus anger the animal spirits.

Next to the caribou, the black bear, which was plentiful in the timbered river valleys, was perhaps the most important food animal to the Naskapi.

Strong (1930a, p. 5) noted that the Indians performed many ceremonies to appease the bear spirit; at the site of nearly every old Naskapi summer camp, bears' skulls could be found set on posts or in trees. The collection contains two *black bear skulls* and mandibles that were apparently taken from posts or trees; they are undecorated. Elevating the skulls of slain bears was common throughout the Montagnais-Naskapi area, as the animals were believed to derive spiritual satisfaction from the procedure (Speck, 1935, pp. 102–103, pl. 7; VanStone, 1982, p. 20, fig. 26). Speck believed that the practice could be viewed as a form of tree burial in which bears, like people, were recognized as being immortal. In the summer of 1982, Steven Loring (pers. comm.) observed that in every instance where black bear skulls were found as offerings in trees at old summer camps in the Davis Inlet area, the skulls had been smashed open to extract the brains. This is also true of the elevated skulls from the Lake St. John area illustrated by Speck (1935, pl. 7) and VanStone (1982, fig. 26D) but not those in the Strong collection.

Also associated with respect for a bear's spirit was the removal of the animal's tongue sinew, which was taken from the carcass by the successful hunter. This procedure not only placated the animal's spirit but also was a way among the Montagnais to announce the killing of the animal to the hunter's family without mentioning it by name (VanStone, 1982, pl. 20). The collection contains a beaded *amulet* which consists of an elliptical fragment of bear tongue sinew wrapped in red, white, green, and blue seed beads, lazy-stitched and thread-sewn. Strands of beads hang from the amulet in four places (fig. 85H). A similar amulet in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, from the Davis Inlet region, is illustrated in volume 6 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Helm, ed., 1981, fig. 5, p. 725).

Although the hunting of caribou and bears was surrounded with more ritual than that of other animals, there were ritual responsibilities toward them as well. The collection contains a *silver fox skull and mandible* which, like the bear skulls, was hung in a tree to placate the spirit of the dead animal.

The stuffed *head of a male harlequin duck* is decorated with short strings of beads, some of which are missing (fig. 88D). Preservation of the head of the first bird killed in spring was believed to insure the birds' return the following year. A very similar head, but of a Canada goose, is illustrated in volume 6 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Helm, ed., 1981, fig. 6, p. 725). It is from Rupert House and is in the Royal Ontario Museum.

Closely resembling a tumpline, a *ceremonial game carrying strap* was an important item in the religious equipment of hunters and was related to the placation of game animals. Such straps and their significance among the Mistassini and the Montagnais are discussed by Rogers (1967, p. 114), VanStone (1982, p. 19, fig. 32K), and, in considerable detail, by Speck (1935, pp. 20–31, 212) and Speck & Heye (1921). Strong (1929, p. 286) noted their presence among the Naskapi but believed them to be of less importance than in the south. The single specimen in the collection, unlike those obtained from the Mistassini and Montagnais, is undecorated, being simply a three-strand, braided strap of caribou skin. According to the catalog, it was owned by Tuma, one of Strong's informants from the Whale River region.

It seems likely that divination was just as important to the Naskapi as it was to their southern Montagnais neighbors, yet the collection contains only a set of three *caribou bones* said to have been used for this purpose. One of these, an atlas vertebra, was believed by Strong's informants to resemble a caribou's face.

Musical Instruments

The Strong collection contains four single-headed *drums*, three of which are approximately 60 cm in diameter. The frame consists of a strip of birchwood approximately 10 cm wide, the ends of which are joined by a lap-splice and lashed with babiche. There are two hoops, one about 2 cm square in cross section and the other somewhat larger. The ends of the hoops are also joined by a lap-splice and sewn with babiche. The head is made of soft, tanned caribou skin and, although Strong (1928c, vol. 1) noted that the whole skin of a young animal was used, the heads of these drums are made of irregularly shaped pieces of caribou skin sewn together with sinew (fig. 89).

To assemble the drum, the skin, after having been soaked in water and wrung out thoroughly (Strong, 1928c, vol. 1), was stretched over the narrower of the two hoops and slipped over the drum frame. The wider hoop was then placed over the frame and pushed down until the head was tight. Holes in this outer loop and in the lower edge of the frame received babiche lashing which bound

both hoops to the frame and held the skin tight on the lower hoop. The outer hoop projected over the head, affording it some protection. A length of sinew was strung across the diameter of the drum on each side of the head and tied between the hoops. To this sinew were fastened pieces of spruce grouse or ptarmigan feather quills, which served as snares. Traces of red pigment occur along the lower edge of the frame and the upper edge of the outer hoop on all three specimens. Drumsticks associated with the three large drums in the Strong collection are simply lengths of birchwood which widen to a knob at the distal end (fig. 89).

The fourth drum in the collection is considerably smaller, being only 42 cm in diameter, but the method of construction is the same. This may be the instrument which Strong referred to in his diary (Strong, 1928b, vol. 3) as having been made by Tuma. It is described as the type used by men while singing hunting songs and by boys as playthings. After its construction, it was given to the ethnographer.

Naskapi drums have been described in considerable detail by Turner (1889; 1894, pp. 324–325); the description in Strong's field notes (1928c, vol. 1) does not add a great deal of new information. He did mention, however, that a newly constructed drum frame was hung over the stove and whirled to keep it constantly turning so that it would dry evenly.

Drums were never used outside a tent and thus were prepared so that they could be suspended (Turner, 1889, p. 433) from tent poles; a length of babiche was attached to the outside of the wider hoop for that purpose (fig. 89). The drummer steadied the instrument by grasping a caribou skin strap fastened to the frame on the opposite side, as shown in fig. 90, photographed outside to take advantage of the light. Strong (1928c, vol. 1) noted that while the drum was being used, it was carefully adjusted; the snares were tightened on one side and loosened on the other, and water was also occasionally sprinkled on the head. He believed that the Indians were very sensitive to an instrument's tone. When not in use a drum was always wrapped up and, if it was not to be used for long periods, the head was removed.

Joe Rich told Strong (1928b, vol. 3) that at one time the Indians had used a drum with two heads, similar to the instrument constructed by the Montagnais (Speck, 1935, pp. 169–170, pl. IX, lower; VanStone, 1982, pp. 20–21, fig. 34) and Mistassini (Rogers, 1967, p. 122) but larger. Turner (1894, p. 325, fig. 152) illustrated a similar drum from the Whale River region. Apparently the small, two-headed instruments used in the south were suspended in the same manner as the larger single-headed type used by the Naskapi (Speck, 1935, p. 171).

According to Turner (1889, p. 434; 1894, p. 325), drums were beaten at all ceremonies and on a variety of other occasions to express sorrow and joy. Shamans attempted to cure illness by singing and drumming in the patient's tent. Drums were a part of every celebration, such as when game was plentiful, and were used to mourn the dead. As Turner succinctly states (1889, p. 434), "scarcely a purpose, engendered for personal gratification, but it may be furthered by recourse to the drum."

In addition to the sticks with the drums just described, the collection contains three *drumsticks*, one of wood and two of antler. The wooden stick resembles those previously described, but the antler specimens are quite distinct. Both have knobs at the distal end, the knob on one stick having been broken and repaired with a copper rivet. The proximal end of the specimen is wrapped with tanned caribou skin tied with sinew (fig. 91A). The second stick is cracked and has been repaired with sinew (fig. 91B). Both of these drumsticks are elaborately carved at the distal ends. One has a series of incised lines filled with red pigment and penciled, incised dots (fig. 91A). The other also has incised lines and dots, as well as deep incisions at the end and along the sides, some of which suggest crude whale tail designs (fig. 91B). Turner did not mention drumsticks like these, but Speck (1935, p. 171), presumably referring to the Montagnais and Mistassini, stated that carved antler drumsticks were "treasured as conjurors' heirlooms."

It is clear that among the Naskapi the drum was more than just a musical instrument. It was, according to Speck (1935, pp. 169–171), closely associated with magic and the securing of game animals, and was constructed in response to directions received in a dream. As such, drums could just as appropriately have been discussed in the section on charms and religious objects.

The collection contains four *rattles* which are alike in construction. The frame consists of a circular hoop of birchwood over which have been stretched pieces of caribou skin parchment tightly sewn with sinew. The handle is formed by a curved extension of the hoop; shotgun pellets were placed inside. The rims of two specimens are decorated

with red pigment. One of these has a purple band around the edge on both sides. The rim of a third rattle is decorated with blue pigment. All three have red dots in the center on both sides (fig. 88A,C).

Turner (1894, p. 326, fig. 153) described rattles as toys for children, indicating that they were suspended in front of infants by a cord tied to the tent poles. The example he illustrated has no handle but does have a painted rim and a large dot of unspecified color in the center. Speck (1935, pp. 172–173, 175, pl. 10) stated that rattles, like drums, had considerable religious significance.

A simple *whistle* is a rectangular piece of birchwood. A small block of wood is wedged in the center to hold a strip of inner birch bark which serves as a vibrator (fig. 88E).

Smoking Complex

Turner (1894, p. 302) noted that the Naskapi of the Ungava Bay area were "inordinately fond of tobacco for smoking, chewing, and snuff." Forty-four years later, many of Strong's photographs show the Indians smoking pipes. Turner discussed smoking in the same section in which the brewing of homemade alcoholic beverages is described, and it is clear that neither he nor Strong perceived the ceremonial significance, stressed by Speck (1935, p. 219, pl. XVII), of smoking at feasts held to honor the spirits of slain game animals.

The Strong collection contains five *pipes,* three of which would appear to approximate the traditional form. One of these has a deep bowl of fine-grained red sandstone, carefully carved, and a wooden stem. Extending from a small hole in the rectangular base of the bowl to a point beyond the center of the stem is a strip of tanned caribou skin wound with thread-sewn yellow, white, red, pink, and green seed beads. Loops of beads are suspended from this strip (fig. 88L). Pipes with beaded strips are illustrated by Speck (1935, pl. XVII); a specimen collected by Turner (1894, p. 304, fig. 123) and now in the National Museum of Natural History is illustrated in vol. 6 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Helm, ed., 1981, p. 185, fig. 11). Speck (1935, p. 219) stressed that the presence of a beaded strip of caribou skin attached to the stem and bowl of a pipe was evidence of its use in ceremonies devoted to the taking of game animals.

A second pipe has a deep bowl of "soapstone" and a wooden stem. The bowl is attached to the stem with a strip of tanned caribou skin. Accompanying this pipe is a tobacco bag made from a single piece of tanned caribou skin, folded and sewn along one side, and a fragment of soapstone, apparently to be used in the making of another pipe (fig. 88I). Almost identical in shape is a wooden pipe with a stem of the same material, the two connected with a strip of tanned caribou skin. The bowl of this specimen and most of the stem is painted with red pigment (fig. 88J). None of these pipes appears to have been used.

Turner (1894, pl. XXXVIII) illustrated two pipes with stone bowls that closely resemble those in the Strong collection. He noted that they were valued as much for the color of the stone as for the amount of effort expended in their manufacture (Turner, 1894, p. 303). Strong (1928b, vol. 2) briefly described the making of a stone pipe bowl by his chief informant, Joe Rich. The stone fragment was first cut roughly into shape with a hacksaw (provided by Strong) and then lashed between two rectangular pieces of wood. By use of a small hand drill heated over the stove, the bowl of the pipe was bored out.

In addition to traditional pipes, the collection contains two specimens that resemble the European form. One of these is made of wood (fig. 88G) and shows signs of use. The other, described by Strong as a "model pipe," is made of antler and has also been used (fig. 88K). The collection also contains a *pipe stem* made of antler.

Ashes in a pipe bowl were removed with a *pipe cleaner.* There are seven cleaners in the Strong collection, five of which are made of antler, tapered to a point at one end with a suspension hole at the other. There are a series of decorative notches just below the suspension hole (fig. 88H). These cleaners, which in the south also served as fasteners for tobacco pouches (VanStone, 1982, p. 13, fig. 9E,G,I–J), are similar to specimens illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 304, fig. 124) and Speck (1935, pl. XI, upper).

Two pipe cleaners have been made from antler slivers, carefully shaped for most of their length, with a thickened knob at the proximal end (fig. 88F).

Tobacco was not always readily available to the Naskapi; when it was scarce, birch fungus or burls from spruce trees were dried and ground up as an additive. The collection contains a single example of both types of tobacco additives.

Games and Toys

The Strong collection contains six examples of the widely distributed *cup and pin game,* three

having cups made from a varying number of caribou phalanges cut to form cones which fit into one another. There is a hole through the point of each phalange. The point of the last one fits into the proximal end of a phalange which retains an articular surface. The cups are strung on a strip of caribou skin, to one end of which is fastened the tip of a caribou tail; a bone pin is tied to the other end (fig. 92A). Two of these games consist of four phalanges, while one has six.

The object of the game is to catch various parts of the phalanges on the end of the bone pin, with points being assigned to each part. The game was played either by individual players or by teams. The procedures are described in some detail for the Mistassini by Rogers (1967, p. 119) and for the Montagnais-Naskapi by Speck (1935, pp. 194–195). Strong (1928b, vol. 3) noted an occasion when it was played by teams of men for most of one afternoon, four persons on a side. If a player missed with one hand, he tried with the other; if he missed again, he lost his turn. The side whose players ran up the highest score was considered the winner. At Davis Inlet in the 1960s, Indian children still played the cup and pin game (Henrikson, 1973, p. 26).

A cup and pin game similar to those described here is illustrated by Turner (1894, pp. 323–324, fig. 150), who stated that gambling was not part of the game. Speck (1935, p. 195) believed that the game originally symbolized the spearing of game animals, especially caribou, but in modern times had lost most if not all of this significance.

A variant of the cup and pin game consists of a bundle of spruce twigs wrapped with 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. 92C). This form of the game was also played by the Mistassini (Rogers, 1967, p. 118) and the Montagnais. Among the latter, in addition to being a form of amusement, it was associated with increasing luck in hunting (Speck, 1935, pp. 198–199; Tanner, 1979, p. 129).

Still another variant of the game is represented by two specimens, skulls of a mink and a rabbit to which wooden pins are attached with sinew. The object here is to catch the skull through one of its openings on the point of the pin (fig. 92B). Both Speck (1935, pp. 193–194) and Strong identified this form of the cup and pin game as having been borrowed from the Labrador Eskimos.

Quite a different kind of activity would appear to be represented by a "*fox and rabbit game,*" which consists of a rectangular board divided into squares, each marked in pencil with a cross. Accompanying the board are 22 short wooden pegs and a single long one (fig. 92E). Unfortunately Strong does not tell us how the game was played, other than to describe it as "Indian checkers" and to note that the short pegs represent rabbits and the long one a fox (Strong, 1928b, vol. 2).

A number of toys which at the time of Strong's fieldwork were operated primarily for the amusement of children and adults once belonged to a category referred to by Speck (1935, p. 196) as "minor magical playing devices." One of these was the caribou astragalus *buzzer,* of which there are four in the collection. This toy is made of a single astragalus attached to a line of caribou skin or sinew, at each end of which are small sticks which serve as grips when the astragalus is spun (fig. 92F). On a fifth specimen a caribou vertebra replaces an astragalus (fig. 92D). Originally a magical device, this implement was operated to make the wind rise (Speck, 1935, p. 196; VanStone, 1982, p. 20, fig. 32F).

Presumably related to the buzzer is a toy which Strong called a *whirligig*; there are three in the collection. On two specimens a propellor-shaped piece of birchwood fits over the narrowed end of a longer wooden handle. At each end of the underside of the blade is a narrow line of red pigment (fig. 92J). The blade of the third specimen has crudely penciled lines on the underside and is attached to the handle with a nail. Henrikson (1973, p. 26) mentioned the whirligig as a favorite toy of Davis Inlet children in the 1960s.

The collection contains four *bull-roarers,* flat oval pieces of birchwood notched on all sides, to the ends of which are attached lengths of caribou skin, sinew, or twine. Two specimens have been crudely decorated with purple and red crayon (fig. 92G). Strong (1928c, vol. 1) noted that the instrument was a child's toy and had no other function. It was sometimes tied to a stick.

There are two types of *tops* in the Strong collection, the first of which may be aboriginal. This type, of which there are four, consists of a flat, circular piece of birchwood with a peg in the center; it fits into a hole in a wooden handle and has a strap of babiche or twine wrapped around the peg. The top is held in an upright position by the handle which can be removed or lowered once the strap is pulled and the top is spinning (fig. 92K–L).

The second style of top is definitely European-derived and was spun with the aid of a babiche strap (fig. 92H). This style of top, and perhaps

those belonging to the first type as well, were, among the Montagnais at least, sometimes used in divination games. Spectators expressed wishes and the individual toward whom the top pointed when it stopped spinning would receive his or her wish (Speck, 1930, p. 433).

A *sling* of tanned caribou skin consists of two thongs approximately 60 cm in length at either end of an oval piece of tanned skin. Rogers (1967, p. 70) described the use of the sling by the Mistassini Indians for taking small game animals and birds, but Strong's informants (Strong, 1928c, vol. 1) insisted that it had no use other than as a plaything for men and boys.

The collection contains six *dolls,* all of which show considerable signs of age and use; they clearly were not made for the collector. Since each is distinctive, they will be described individually.

The first is a female doll of wood with penciled features, wearing a coat of tanned caribou skin, cloth pants, and a hood of unidentified skin with the hair on. The coat is stitched down the front with thread, has a V-shaped inset in the back, and is decorated with faint lines of red and green pigment (fig. 92I).

The second doll, of indeterminate sex, is made of caribou skin stuffed with grass and sewn with thread. It is wearing a hood of caribou skin, with the hair on, tied around the neck with babiche. There is a crude belt of tanned caribou skin tied around the waist. Perhaps this doll wore a coat at one time (fig. 93C).

A doll representing a hunter is dressed in caribou skin stitched with black thread. He wears a cartridge pouch of tanned skin, crudely decorated on the flap with black crayon, and a wood powder horn with a sling of tanned skin. A carved gun of birchwood accompanies this doll (fig. 93A).

Another male doll, made of caribou skin stuffed with grass, is dressed in a short caribou skin coat cut to a fringe around the bottom. The hood is a separate piece, covering the shoulders and cut to a fringe in back. The moccasins are separate pieces, crimped realistically (fig. 94E).

A crude female doll made of cotton cloth stuffed with grass wears a badly deteriorated caribou skin parka with attached hood. A long skirt of green cotton cloth projects below the coat (fig. 93D).

The last doll is described in the catalog as a "child doll." It is made of printed cotton cloth stuffed with grass and wears a hooded jacket of tanned caribou skin, cut to a fringe around the face to keep away mosquitos (fig. 93B).

Turner (1894, p. 326, pl. XLIII) illustrated a fully dressed female doll of wood which appears to be considerably more elaborate than any of those in the Strong collection. He found that dolls and other toys made for children were difficult to obtain. Jenness (1958, pp. 271–273) noted that Naskapi girls enjoyed making and dressing dolls, a pastime he believed to be rare among Indian children and probably the result of contact with neighboring Eskimos.

Two pairs of *model moccasins* and a pair of *model mittens* are described here because they may have been used to dress dolls, although they could just as well have been included in the section on clothing. One pair of moccasins belongs to Hatt's series X (Hatt, 1916, pp. 171–175), thus resembling most of the full-sized specimens previously described. There are narrow cloth tops and instep pieces crudely decorated with green pigment (fig. 94D). The second pair, undecorated, has T-shaped heel and toe seams and thus belongs to Hatt's series VIII (Hatt, 1916, pp. 167–171), a style also represented among the full-sized moccasins (fig. 94H). The mittens, also of tanned caribou skin, have separate front and back pieces and separate two-piece thumbs. The cuffs are edged with cloth, and there is a suspension cord of tanned skin (fig. 94G). Both the moccasins and the mittens are sewn with dark thread.

The collection contains a number of cutouts made from the inner bark of the birch tree. These include six *strips of human figures,* both male and female (fig. 94A), two large *female figures* (fig. 95C), an *imitation headband* (fig. 94F), and four *strips of zigzag patterns.* The human figures are described in the catalog as dolls. There is also a toy *pouch* sewn with black thread (fig. 94I), two toy *canoes* folded and sewn with white thread (fig. 95G), and a cutout *silhouette of a canoe* (fig. 95B).

Toys made of wood include a *gun* (fig. 95O) made by a six-year-old boy, as well as one made of antler (fig. 95N). There is also a toy *bone crusher* (fig. 95E) and a narrow stick of birchwood which tapers to a point at one end and is identified in the catalog without further explanation as a *pellet gun* (fig. 95M). Perhaps it is half of a two-part plunger. A stylized toy *canoe,* simply a flat piece of wood pointed at both ends (fig. 94B), was said to have been made by a child and found at an old camp site. Perhaps the most intriguing of these toys is a model of a *horse and wagon* carved by a 12-year-old boy who had never seen either (fig. 95A). Four crudely carved *human figures,* two fe-

male and two of undetermined sex, are probably dolls (figs. 94C, 95D). On two, penciled features have been sketched.

During the first few days of his residence in the Naskapi winter camp, when his supply of trade goods was relatively intact, Strong obtained a large number of carved wooden animals. It is clear from his diaries (1928b, vol. 2) that after he had expressed a mild interest in obtaining such items, many of the men and boys began to carve them out of birchwood, using crooked knives. Strong (1928a) noted and the collection confirms that some were well carved and others were quite crude. He also made the somewhat disconcerting observation that on occasion he also was busy carving, and it is thus possible that one or more of the carved animals to be described here were made by the ethnographer himself.

The most abundant of these carvings represent *toy caribou.* Strong (1928a) believed that the most interesting of these were 12 animals made out of flat strips of birchwood. For each animal, a narrow strip of wood was broken with the pieces still attached, so that they could be bent without coming apart to form the legs, head, neck, and raised tail (fig. 95I). Five caribou are carved from blocks of birchwood. The illustrated examples are typical and show the variation in size (figs. 95K; 96B). Quite different from all these caribou carvings but also described as a toy is a much larger figure covered with strips of caribou skin sewn with black thread. The feet and antlers are missing, but there are holes for these appendages (fig. 96A).

Other toy animal carvings of birchwood include a crudely carved *bear* (fig. 96G), *mink* (fig. 95R), *skunk* (fig. 96F), two *martens* (fig. 95Q), three *otters* (fig. 95J), and a *mouse* (fig. 95P). A rather well carved *pike* has inset wooden eyes, a carved mouth and gills, and scales indicated by penciled lines (fig. 96C).

There are three carvings of toy birds which include a very small *shore bird* (fig. 95L), a rather oddly shaped *owl* (fig. 95H), and a *goose.* The neck and head of the latter is a separate piece, wedge-shaped at the lower end and inserted into a rectangular slot in the body (fig. 95S). Strong (1928e) noted that larger versions of this carving, made from rotting wood, were used as decoys.

Although Strong (1928b, vol. 2) believed that all the carvings he collected were primarily toys, his informants told him that these representations also had some magical significance with reference to good luck in hunting. To bring such luck, it was necessary for the carvings to be acquired by purchase, even for a very nominal amount. Turner (1894, p. 326, figs. 154–155) reported that boys at Fort Chimo amused themselves by shooting at images of caribou. These images, however, were cut from flat pieces of wood and set up in the snow. Henrikson (1973, p. 26) described a similar pastime for children and adults at Davis Inlet in the 1960s.

Decorative Arts

A sizeable number of objects in the Strong collection are either decorated with beadwork designs or colored with pigments applied directly to the specimen. It may be useful to summarize what has been said previously concerning these decorations before proceeding to a consideration of objects associated specifically with the application of painted designs.

With few exceptions, all the beaded decoration occurs either on pouches, knife sheaths, and especially moccasin insteps, or on armbands, headbands, and hair and ear ornaments. Designs on the first grouping of specimens, especially on the moccasins, consist primarily of stylized flowers and trees, although there are some geometric representations. On objects in the second grouping, geometric designs are more common, as are motifs which Strong (1928e) referred to as the whale tail and partridge.

Colored crayons, pencils, and indelible pencil, as well as pigments, have been used to decorate snowshoes and numerous artifacts of wood, including bows, snow shovels, canoe paddles, and ice picks. Red and blue are the most common colors, but orange and purple are also used occasionally. Lines, dots, and parallel bands are most frequently represented, but the whale tail and partridge motifs occur on two canoe paddles (fig. 49B–C) and the latter motif on a blunt arrow (fig. 24B).

Painted designs occur on the four men's coats, six pairs of leggings, and a single pair of moccasin-leggings. Geometric representations are the most common, but the whale tail motif also occurs along with the double curve and leaf motifs. Blue and red pigments have been used almost exclusively.

Speck (1935, pp. 190–191) has noted for the Montagnais that the symbolic pictorial representation of a plant or animal was equivalent to the actual plant or animal. Those portrayed were believed to come under the control of the individual human spirit. Dreams played a major role in sug-

gesting the relationship between specific animals or plants and an individual. The spirit was strengthened by having its dream promptings obeyed, thereby assuring success in subsistence activities.

Strong's informants, on the other hand, denied any design symbolism or any relationship of the decorative motifs on their clothing and other objects to dream experiences. Rather, such designs as occur on moccasins, clothing borders, headbands, and cartridge cases were purely decorative. Strong (1928c) noted that design symbolism was not denied categorically but, nevertheless, in detail and with certainty. While believing it possible that people no longer remembered the meaning and significance of such symbols, he also was aware that in general his informants were evasive concerning most matters relating to religion. For example, he was certain that although the red and blue designs on men's snowshoes served primarily as identification marks, they also had magical significance. Informants confirmed that the markings brought good luck in traveling and hunting, but the ethnographer could obtain no interpretation for the meaning of particular designs (Strong, 1928a).

Of objects in the collection relating to the decorative arts, virtually all are associated with the manufacture and application of various pigments. Turner (1894, pp. 297–298) described the colors, notably indigo and vermilion, that were obtained from the traders at Fort Chimo, as well as pigments manufactured from locally available materials, especially hematite. The latter was kneaded with the fingers until exceedingly fine and then mixed with water and a small amount of oil or tallow. At the time of Strong's fieldwork, commercial paints were commonly used although native dyes were still made from iron compounds found in the interior. These were mixed with grease to make red paint, while blue dyes were made by boiling spruce and other roots. In decorating their own equipment, the Indians preferred native dyes, but, in making items for trade, commercial pigments were used unless the prospective purchaser objected (Strong, 1928a).

The collection contains two *paint mortars,* one of which is a rectangular block of birchwood with rounded ends, into which two bowl-shaped cavities and one rectangular cavity have been cut. The bottom of one round cavity has been painted with red pigment and the other with blue. The rectangular cavity was probably for the water-oil vehicle (fig. 96E). The second mortar is simply a small oval bowl of birchwood (fig. 95F). Similar mortars are described and illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 297, figs. 111–112).

For drawing painted lines on clothing and probably also for mixing pigments in a mortar, a *paint stick* was used. There are 10 of these in the collection, seven of birchwood and three of antler. Six of the wood sticks have narrow, rounded handles widened and flattened at the distal end (fig. 96I). The seventh is spatulate-shaped at both ends, on one of which is written "red" and on the other "blue" (fig. 96H). The antler paint sticks resemble their six wooden counterparts but are much smaller (fig. 96J).

Parallel lines of paint were applied with *stencils* of which there are six in the collection, five of birchwood and one of antler. The handles of these stencils are either square or notched and widen to an open, rectangular shape at the distal end. Four are capable of producing two parallel lines, while the other two can produce three such lines. Two wood specimens are decorated with blue pigment (fig. 96M–N) while a third has incised crosses on the handle (fig. 96K); the antler stencil is the smallest (fig. 96L).

Similar stencils are illustrated by Turner (1894, pp. 296–297, figs. 108–110), who noted that the prepared paint was taken from the mortar and placed in the palm of the hand. The stencil was drawn through the thin layer of paint spread over the palm and then applied to the garment being decorated. A stencil in the Royal Ontario Museum is illustrated by Webber (1968, pp. 24–25), who stated that the painted lines on clothing represent tracks—of game, of a toboggan loaded with meat, or of a path leading to caribou—and were a magic assurance of success in hunting.

Not related to the painting of garments but nevertheless examples of decorative arts are two very fragile pieces of *inner birch bark cut in irregular designs* and four pieces of *bark decorated with designs made with the teeth* (fig. 96D). The collection also contains a small *roll of birch bark on which drawings have been penciled.* It is tied with a strip of sinew but is too brittle to be unrolled.

Drawings

Among the first things collected by Strong during his stay in the Naskapi winter camp were drawings made by men and women of all ages with drawing materials furnished by the ethnographer. On February 24, 1928, Strong wrote in his diary that the Indians were "drinking beer and drawing

pictures all day—acting as general librarian handing out pencils and paper all the time, and filing drawings" (Strong, 1928b, vol. 3).

It seems likely that Strong began collecting drawings during the early period of his stay with the Naskapi. These were among the easiest things to obtain before he had established rapport with his informants and was able to acquire items of material culture or make the kind of inquiries about Indian life that are not easily broached on limited acquaintance. Nevertheless, it is clear that he expected to learn something about Indian ways by encouraging the people to depict their life and activities from their own viewpoint. Even though he furnished the crayons, pencils, and paper that were used by the budding artists, he was careful to be certain that the drawings were made on the initiative of each individual and without any outside influence being brought to bear. It seems likely that he expected eventually to initiate some form of personality study based on the drawings he collected.

Among Strong's notes and diaries in the National Anthropological Archives is a box containing approximately 350 drawings, some made on both sides of the paper, some on box tops and the labels from cans (Strong, 1928d). The subjects include hunting and fishing scenes, caribou, canoes, people, winter camps, and artifacts. These drawings range in form from very crude to extremely well drawn and are in a variety of colors as well as pencil. Some appear to have been made by children, but for the most part it is not possible to separate the children's drawings from those made by adults, either with reference to drawing skill or subject matter.

In the archives of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History (Box A-31), are nine well-executed drawings with crayons and pencil on heavy brown paper. They clearly represent some of the most skillful and interesting work of this kind that Strong was able to collect. All the drawings are signed in Strong's handwriting with the name of the artist; six are dated. Since their subject matter is varied and detailed, each drawing will be discussed individually.

Two of the Field Museum drawings are by Joe Rich. The first is signed "Shushebish" and is undated. It is in four panels drawn with yellow, brown, and pink crayons; a pencil has been used to outline some figures. The upper panel represents a scene on the barrens showing pink "bake apples," a kind of Labrador berry. The rocks and trees are brown and yellow. Under this panel Strong has written a caption that includes a transcription of the Naskapi name for the berries. In the second panel, distorted rocks and trees on the barrens are shown in brown. In his caption Strong noted the weathered rock in the center and the fact that the scrub trees depicted are not more than four feet high. The third panel shows two men building a canoe. The colors are yellow and brown, with the ribs of the canoe outlined in pencil. In the lower panel, also in yellow and brown, women are fishing through the ice for Kokomish, the giant lake trout, who is drawn in pencil as are the fishing lines and lures. In the caption, Strong pointed out the shelters of woven spruce boughs behind two of the women and in front of the third (fig. 97).

The second drawing, also undated, is signed "Joe Rich" and is also in four panels, without captions. The predominant colors are brown and green. In the upper panel a boy is shown swimming, using swimming paddles similar to those described and illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 320, fig. 148) for the Whale River region and by Speck (1937b) for the Montagnais of Lake St. John. There are no swimming paddles in the Strong collection, but the ethnographer obtained at least one other drawing showing their use (Rogers & Leacock, 1981, fig. 3). In the second panel, men building a meat cache are attacked by an evil spirit, shown at the far right. Men returning to camp from a caribou hunt are shown in the third panel. The tent covers appear to be decorated, a characteristic not noted in the sources, and are colored red and yellow. The tent poles and people around the dwellings are drawn in pencil. In the fourth panel, hunters are looking for caribou; a man at the far left is using a telescope (fig. 98).

Three drawings are by Tuma, an adult male. The first, dated February 21, 1928, shows Indians hunting caribou from canoes. Predominant colors are green and brown, with the lower canoe outlined in red. The hunter in the upper canoe is using a caribou spear drawn in pencil, similar to those in the collection (fig. 99).

The second drawing, dated February 12, 1928, is of a mythical bird said to have been seen in a dream. The body of the bird is green, outlined in blue and red. There are parallel penciled lines on the wings (fig. 100).

In the third drawing, also dated February 12, 1928, there are two mythical dream birds. The bird at the top is blue, outlined in red, while the lower bird has a red, blue, brown, and yellow body and parallel red lines on the wings (fig. 101).

There are two drawings by Witcamagin, an adult

male, both of which are dated February 26, 1928. The first shows two men dressed in painted caribou skin coats. The figures are drawn in pencil and the coats decorated in orange. The figure on the left is also wearing orange leggings (fig. 102).

The second drawing by Witcamagin shows a woman wearing a decorated caribou skin dress with separate sleeves, a type of garment not represented in the collection but reported for the Mistassini Indians (Speck, 1930, fig. 123, p. 453, fig. 124, p. 454; VanStone, 1982, p. 14, fig. 23). Again the figure is drawn in pencil. The dress is brown with decoration in red; the separate sleeves are black. The decorated border on the lower edge of the garment includes penciled whale tails (fig. 103).

There is a single undated drawing by Akat, the wife of Joe Rich, in which a design for a painted coat is depicted. The colors are red and blue with a few design elements outlined in brown (fig. 104).

The final drawing is by Appoman, probably an adult female, and is dated February 26, 1928. It shows two bull caribou, colored green, fighting during the rutting season (fig. 105).

An undated drawing by Joe Rich in the National Anthropological Archives is illustrated here because of the variety of activities depicted and the fact that it is drawn on Rawson-MacMillan Field Museum Expedition letterhead. The colors used include green, red, blue, orange, and yellow. Among the subjects depicted are men hunting caribou from canoes, a man carrying a canoe, a hunter shooting a spruce grouse with a bow and arrow, a fish rising to a lure, and a woman carrying an iron pot (fig. 106).

In addition to the uncataloged drawings in the archives of the Department of Anthropology, the ethnographic collection contains a piece of inner birch bark on which a man, woman, and canoe are depicted in red crayon, and a fragment of tanned caribou skin with penciled figures of a man and woman.

III. Conclusion

Arctic and Subarctic Caribou Hunters: A Comparison

Attention previously has been drawn to the extremely specialized Naskapi adaptations to what was largely a single resource economy based on caribou hunting, with a secondary emphasis on fishing. It is instructive to compare Naskapi caribou hunting and fishing technology with that of other primarily caribou-hunting peoples in the American arctic and subarctic. Groups chosen for this comparison are the Chipewyan (Birket-Smith, 1930, pp. 19–23, 26–28), Chandalar Kutchin (McKennan, 1965, pp. 28–36), Upper Tanana (McKennan, 1959, pp. 47–48, 51–55, 62–64), Caribou Eskimo (Birket-Smith, 1929, pt. 1, pp. 102–112, 117–125), and Nunamiut (Stoney, 1900, pp. 93–94; Spencer, 1949, pp. 29–31; Rausch, 1951; Ingstad, 1954, pp. 60–68; Larsen, 1958; Clark, 1974, pp. 168–169; Hall, 1984).

Table 1 summarizes the presence or absence of caribou hunting and fishing culture elements among these groups. The importance of caribou hunting to a particular people may be indicated by the extent to which fishing technology is limited. The simplest fishing technologies occur among the Naskapi and Upper Tanana, but in the case of the latter it is the absent elements rather than the numbers present that is significant. McKennan (1959, pp. 62–63) noted that the Upper Tanana did practically all their fishing in July; winter fishing with either gill net or hook and line was unknown. This absence of winter fishing indicates that the Upper Tanana more nearly had a single resource economy than any of the groups being compared. The Naskapi also had a very limited fishing technology, but it was sufficiently varied to permit fishing throughout the year. In general, Table 1 reveals an extremely heterogeneous fishing inventory and indicates the great variability in exploitative techniques for fishing among a primarily caribou-hunting people.

Although the Naskapi and Upper Tanana were more dependent on caribou than any of the other groups, they appear to have had the simplest caribou hunting technology. The Naskapi, as has been noted, relied heavily on summer migrations, during which large numbers of animals swimming across lakes were killed from canoes with spears. The Upper Tanana, although lacking these drives, emphasized the use of converging fences with babiche snares during early spring and early winter migrations, as well as the tracking with snowshoes of individual animals in winter (McKennan, 1959, pp. 47–48, 51–53). However, the caribou-hunting cultural elements lacking among these two groups but present among the others are, in fact, primarily elaborations on basic hunting methods. It is the presence of a limited fishing technology that is significant.

TABLE 1. Culture elements associated with the caribou hunting and fishing of arctic and subarctic peoples.

Culture element	Naskapi	Chipewyan	Chandalar Kutchin	Upper Tanana	Caribou Eskimo	Nunamiut
Caribou hunting						
Simple self bow	X	X	X	X	O	X
Sinew-backed bow	O	O	O	O	X	X
Arrow (2–4 split feathers)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Quiver	O	O	O	O	X	O
Converging fence or cairns with snares	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pitfall	O	O	O	O	X	X
Decoy	O	X	X	O	X	X
Caribou dagger	O	X	O	O	X	O
Spear	X	X	O	O	X	X
Fishing						
Weir	O	X	X	X	X	X
Fish trap	O	O	X	X	X	X
Pole snare	O	O	X	O	O	O
Fish "needle"	O	O	O	O	X	O
Fish spear	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dip net	O	X	X	X	O	O
Fish club	O	X	O	O	O	O
Gill net	X	X	O	O	O	X
Hook and line	X	X	X	O	X	X
Gorge	O	O	?	O	X	O

Of the arctic and subarctic peoples whose hunting and fishing technologies are compared with those of the Naskapi, it is the Chipewyan whose material culture inventory has been most completely documented (Birket-Smith, 1929, pt. 2, pp. 295–380; 1930). A number of interesting observations can be made through a comparison of the material culture of these two peoples. The following comments refer to a list of Naskapi material culture elements (Appendix 1) and a similar list for the Chipewyan (Appendix 2).

With reference to shelter, hunting and trapping equipment, and fishing gear, the inventories are quite similar. It seems likely that the conical skin-covered tent was the aboriginal dwelling for both groups, although Birket-Smith (1930, p. 46) suggested that the form may have been borrowed from the Cree. The ridgepole lodge was adopted by the Naskapi as a result of contact with Europeans. Snow goggles are an item that both groups borrowed from the Eskimos.

For both the Naskapi and Chipewyan, the toboggan was the primary means of winter transportation. The dog harness and harness parts listed for the Chipewyan were associated with the carriole, a toboggan with sides of dehaired caribou skin introduced by the French (Birket-Smith, 1930, pp. 38–40, fig. 15). The harness parts in the Strong collection were presumably associated with the heavy, flat-bedded sled which the Naskapi borrowed from Eskimos shortly after the turn of the century. The so-called canoe sled of the Naskapi, however, may be of considerable antiquity and has been suggested as the prototype for built-up sleds used in the western North American subarctic and Siberia (Rogers, 1963).

Tools used by the Naskapi and Chipewyan are virtually identical, except for the presence of the semilunar knife among the former, another trait almost certainly borrowed from Eskimos.

The inventory of Naskapi household equipment is characterized by a number of elements directly traceable to European contact. These include the European-style spoon, knife, and fork, as well as cups and a pair of scissors. The model stove posts indicate the use of a metal stove. These artifact categories are absent from the Chipewyan inventory. It is interesting that Hind (a mid-19th century source cited in Birket-Smith, 1929, pt. 2, p. 351) described a bow drill as being used by the Naskapi for making fire, presumably another trait borrowed from Eskimos.

Birch bark may not have been available to the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Naskapi in sufficient quantity to allow for the manufacture of folded baskets like those of the Montagnais and the

Mackenzie Basin and Alaskan Athapaskans. A folded bark basket is illustrated by Turner (1894, p. 301, fig. 116) for the Ungava region, but the form is absent from the Strong collection. Birket-Smith listed folded bark containers as a Chipewyan culture element but knew of no examples for the region of his fieldwork around Churchill, where birch trees are not plentiful (Birket-Smith, 1948, p. 48).

Clearly identifiable bags made of caribou leg skins do not occur in the Strong collection, but those described by Turner (1894, pp. 301–302) would seem to resemble Chipewyan examples illustrated by Birket-Smith (1930, p. 49, fig. 21).

In the area of clothing, there is one especially interesting culture element shared by both groups: utilitarian caribou skin garments with the hair outside and sewn-on hoods (Birket-Smith, 1930, pp. 50–53, figs. 22–25). This form of winter shirt or coat is only peripherally related to the aboriginal garments of both peoples and probably reflects contact with neighboring Eskimos.

The inventory of elements associated with personal adornment is more extensive for the Naskapi. It is probable that for the Chipewyan, as for other northern Athapaskans, the decoration of clothing was the major form of artistic expression. Since, except for moccasins with beaded or embroidered insteps and undecorated mittens (Birket-Smith, 1930, pp. 54–56, figs. 27–29), items of traditional clothing are absent from the Chipewyan inventory, there is little to suggest the extent or significance of decorative arts among these people. For the Naskapi, on the other hand, items of personal adornment as well as moccasins were clearly the focus of beaded ornamentation and pigments in several colors, applied to tanned skin garments in a manner not reported for any northern Athapaskan group.

The absence among the Chipewyan of elements associated with the placation of game animals is noteworthy. In general, Athapaskans appear to have attached less significance to the relationship between ritual and the successful pursuit of game than did Algonquian speakers.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Chipewyan list of culture elements contains few artifacts which suggest European contact or even contact with neighboring native peoples. The Naskapi list, on the other hand, contains a fair number of both. This is true despite the fact that Strong obviously attempted to restrict his collecting to items of traditional or modified-traditional material culture. When borrowed items are eliminated, however, it is clear that both groups had an almost identical adaptation to their subarctic environment.

Strong as a Collector

It will be recalled that from the beginning of the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition, Strong was concerned with having sufficient artifact purchase funds and an adequate supply of trade goods to enable him to acquire a representative ethnographic collection. In September 1927, he was informed by Laufer that $1,000 was available for the purchase of specimens, but it is not clear why this aspect of the museum's financial arrangements with Commander MacMillan was not made known to him before the expedition departed for Labrador. As early as the end of July, Strong seems to have been aware that the expedition's supplies included some trade goods, but he was certain that it would also be necessary to pay cash for specimens. Nowhere in his notes, diaries, or correspondence, however, does he indicate that cash was used to purchase additional trade goods, nor does he even mention a cash transaction with the Indians, aside from the $1 per week which he paid to Joe Rich for room and board.

In his field notes and diaries, Strong occasionally records that a particular individual brought him an artifact, but on the whole these documents contain little information about any aspect of his work and even less about collecting methods. On January 17, 1928, the day he left for the interior with members of the Davis Inlet band, Strong noted that he "gave out cigars, pipes, tobacco etc. . . . gave candy to the children." His entries the following day suggest that the Indians responded readily to the possibility of exchanging new and used items of material culture for trade goods.

> Much to do here. Women all weaving snowshoes—Edward whittling ax handle etc. Gave out some knives. *And again*: Was busy all morning getting in variegated specimens—mostly animal carvings etc. Some good, mostly improvised. Got rid of most of my trade goods—getting in exchange snowshoes and various utensils. Clothes, candles, candy, etc. in greatest demand—supply much depleted. All boys whittling and I receive crude toys constantly—expect blow up when all gifts are gone.

It is clear that almost from the beginning of Strong's stay in the interior virtually all the Indians

were busy working for him—the men made wood artifacts; the women wove snowshoes and sewed moccasins; the children drew pictures, carved wood figures, cut out bark dolls, and made designs with their teeth on folded pieces of inner birch bark (Strong, 1928b, vol. 2). Even as late as February 27 the ethnographer was still giving out crackerjack, tobacco, and gum (Strong, 1928b, vol. 3) and, on April 1, just four days before leaving for the coast, he was busy bargaining for moccasins. He never mentions that his supply of trade goods was exhausted nor, as previously mentioned, does he refer to a cash payment.

It is clear from the field notes, diaries, and the collection that the response of the Naskapi to Strong's desire to obtain examples of native material culture did not necessarily involve rummaging in caches and other storage areas or parting reluctantly with material items in current use. A large proportion of the collection, perhaps a majority of the artifacts, show no signs of use and were obviously made for the ethnographer. There are also many models. Strong's diaries contain occasional references to the manufacture of specimens for the collector. For example: on February 18, "Tuma making cross bow but didn't finish it"; on March 1, "Joe made me a good left-handed crooked knife today"; on March 8, "Edward brought me a nice deer spear"; and on March 17, "Tuma carving another wooden spoon" (Strong, 1928b, vol. 3).

The major value of the American Indian ethnographic collections made for museums in the late 19th or early 20th centuries was that, more often than not, they represented the material culture of peoples at a time when their ways of life were relatively untouched by outside influences. In more recent times collectors in the field, in their desire to obtain examples of authentic native technology, have occasionally been able to persuade owners of heirlooms to part with them, but more often it was necessary that the desired objects be made specifically for the collector. Ideally the collector hopes that these items can be made by craftsmen who are familiar with the traditional culture and will be able to recall the old techniques of manufacture, even if more modern tools are used. Unless the collector's field procedures are carefully and fully documented, however, the question always arises as to whether in fact an object no longer in use by the people in question was actually made by a reliable informant.

Among most native Americans, particularly those whose territories were heavily settled by Europeans, the traditional material culture disappeared relatively early. In more remote areas, however, traditional or modified-traditional technologies persisted almost into the period of modern ethnographic fieldwork. Thus, among the Eskimos of western Alaska, it was still possible at the end of the 19th century to make collections that illustrate virtually all aspects of traditional native life, including interesting modifications made in response to the introduction of new materials not found in the native environment (Murdoch, 1892; Nelson, 1899; VanStone, 1976, 1980).

The Naskapi, like the Eskimos, retained much of their traditional material culture until relatively recently, in spite of having experienced direct contact with Europeans for more than 300 years. Referring to the Mistassini of southern Quebec, Rogers (1967, p. 124) has suggested that 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 partially related to traditional methods of utilization. The Naskapi, never more than marginally involved in the fur trade, continued to exploit their environment in ways that were more or less traditional up until the 1960s or later (Henrikson, 1981). At best, however, this retention of traditional methods of land utilization can only be a partial explanation for the persistence of traditional manufactures.

Some northern forest dwellers, notably the Athapaskan Indians of interior Alaska and the Mackenzie drainage of Canada, lost most of their traditional material culture early in the contact period. Epidemics resulting in serious social and economic disruption may have been a significant factor in the western subarctic.

Strong believed that the native peoples he encountered—even though closely tied to the trading post at Davis Inlet, which provided them with a variety of imported goods and materials—were living in the "old Indian style" (RO/EF, Strong to Davies, Feb. 3, 1928), despite an initial observation that they were "culturally poverty stricken" (DA/EF, Strong to Field, Aug. 30, 1927). Nowhere in his field notes and diaries does he mention asking his informants specifically to make old things, yet the collection clearly contains many objects that were not only made for the collector but also represent forms no longer used by the Indians. At the same time, Strong's informants apparently also made objects which were replicas of those in current use, preferring, it would seem, to trade these

rather than to draw from the inventory of artifacts previously manufactured for their own use. In any event, virtually all the specimens in the collection that appear to be newly made and show no signs of use are forms described by Turner (1894) or other early ethnographers. It would appear, therefore, that Strong's informants were familiar with traditional or modified-traditional material culture and capable of making accurate copies of objects no longer part of the material culture inventory.

Strong's research in northeastern Labrador constituted his first ethnographic fieldwork. His correspondence with Frank G. Speck suggests that he attempted to read as much as possible of the available literature on the people and environment of the region. In addition, he had doubtless seen the memo from Laufer to the museum's director (DA/CF, Laufer to Davies, Dec. 23, 1926), quoted in the Introduction, in which the former outlined the kind of information which he expected the ethnographer to obtain in the field. In any event, Strong appears to have been determined to make as complete a collection as possible. The extent to which he was successful can be appreciated by a comparison of his assemblage, obtained for the most part during his three months in the interior, with the one made by Turner during a two-year residence in the Fort Chimo area 45 years earlier. From the artifact descriptions in Turner's monograph (1894), it is possible to compile a list of 51 cultural elements, compared to the 91 into which the Strong collection can be grouped.

Six of those on the Turner list do not occur in the Strong collection. These include the medicine lodge and sweat house; the beaver net and beluga harpoon, the latter borrowed from neighboring Eskimos; long-handled spoon for applying grease to a canoe; and tumpline. Absence of the latter, a widely distributed carrying device for canoes and heavy loads, is probably fortuitous. On the whole, therefore, the collection that Strong obtained is well balanced, with few obvious gaps.

Strong's failure to publish a major monograph on his fieldwork in Labrador was probably due, at least in part, to his departure from the staff of Field Museum shortly after the conclusion of the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition and his subsequent involvement in Plains archaeology. Since he viewed his Naskapi fieldwork as much more than ethnographic collecting, he may have felt that there were serious gaps in his data that made him reluctant to publish more than the three short papers (1929, 1930a,b) which appeared within two years of his return from Labrador. In his field notes and diaries he makes few references to problems of communication with his informants, who presumably spoke very little, if any, English. Although he may have succeeded in learning a little of the native language himself, it is certain that he was not sufficiently fluent to carry out detailed questioning. The collection he made for Field Museum was his major accomplishment. He did, however, leave an incomplete manuscript (Strong, 1928a) which is being prepared for publication by a former student, Dr. Eleanor Leacock. It is significant, perhaps, that this manuscript, a narrative account of his field experiences, stresses the information he obtained on native technology.

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Appendix 1

Naskapi Material Culture Elements

This list consists for the most part of items or groups of related items in the Strong collection. Also included are aspects of material culture discussed by Strong in his notes and diaries, elements identified by Turner (1894), and a few items from the distribution charts of North American Indian cultural elements compiled by Birket-Smith (1929, pt. 2, pp. 295–380). In the following list, the grouping is into the same use categories utilized in describing the Strong collection.

Shelter
medicine lodge
conical tent
ridgepole lodge
sweat house

Hunting and Trapping
simple self bow
arrow with two to three split feathers
Mediterranean arrow release
hunting fences and game drives
crossbow
caribou spear
hunting of swimming caribou
snare
deadfall
beluga harpoon
beaver net
cartridge case
hook for carrying game
snow goggles
nasal "bleeder"

Fishing
fish spear
gill net
hook and line
ice scoop
ice chisel

Transportation
snowshoe complex
toboggan
canoe sled
harness parts
canoe
single-bladed paddle
canoe bailer
spoon for applying grease to canoe
tumpline
steaming of wood

Tools
crooked knife
whetstone
awl
ax
fleshing tool
two-handed scraper
semilunar knife
end-bladed knife

Household Equipment
stove posts
fire tongs
spit
pothook
knife and fork
ladle
spoon
plate or dish
bowl
cup
scissors
bark container
skin bag and pouch
snow shovel
fire drill
hammock

Clothing
coat or "shirt" with sewn-on hood
trousers
leggings
moccasin-leggings
moccasins
mittens (separate thumb)
gloves
one-piece cap
infant's traveling costume

Personal Adornment
headband
hair wrappers
boards for wrapping hair
comb, case, and cleaner
hair ornament
ear ornament
armband
belt
tattooing

Charms and Religious Objects
bone crusher (pestle)
amulet
ceremonial carrying strap
animal skulls and bones

Musical Instruments
tambourine drum
rattle
whistle

Smoking Complex
pipe and cleaner
tobacco bag

Games and Toys
sling
cup and pin game
"fox and rabbit" game (checkers)
bull-roarer
buzzer
whirligig
top
pellet gun
bark and wood cutouts
doll
carved wood animal and human figures
carved wood toys (gun, canoe, etc.)

Decorative Arts
native dyes
paint mortar
paint stick
stencil

Appendix 2

Chipewyan Material Culture Elements

This list is derived from distribution charts of North American Indian cultural elements compiled by Birket-Smith (1929, pt. 2, pp. 295–380), to which have been added elements identified by the same author during a brief period of fieldwork among the Chipewyan at Churchill, Manitoba, in the summer of 1923 (Birket-Smith, 1930). The following elements are grouped into the same use categories utilized in the description of the Strong collection.

Shelter

dome-shaped hut (medicine lodge)
conical tent

Hunting and Trapping

simple self bow
arrow with three split feathers
secondary arrow release
Mediterranean arrow release
hunting fences and game drives
caribou decoy
lance
hunting of swimming caribou
caribou dagger
snares
club to kill bear
deadfall
net for beaver
snow goggles

Fishing

weir
fish spear
gill net
dip net
hook and line
ice scoop
ice pick

Transportation

snowshoe complex
toboggan (wood and skin)
dog harness and harness parts
skin boat (temporary)
canoe
single- and double-bladed paddle
tumpline
carrying cradle
steaming of wood

Tools

wedge
crooked knife
awl
fleshing tool
two-handed scraper

Household Equipment

wood bowl
spoon
fire-making stones
folded bark vessels
skin bag

Clothing

coat with sewn-on hood
one-piece cap
mittens (separate thumb)
moccasins

Personal Adornment

tattooing
comb

Musical Instruments

tambourine drum
rattle
whistle

Games and Toys

sling
handball
ring and pin game
hand game
bull-roarer
buzzer
top

Appendix 3

The William Duncan Strong Collection (Accession 1778)

The following is a list of the Strong Naskapi artifacts described and illustrated in this study. It is virtually a complete list of the collection as it appears in the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, since only 14 artifacts were not located. Artifact identifications and band affiliations given here are invariably those provided by the collector.

Shelter

176919	model tent (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 23H)
176682	section of caribou skin used for tent covering (Davis Inlet band)
176683	roll of birch bark used for house covering (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 23E)

Hunting and Trapping

176837	bow (Barren Ground band)
176838	bow (Barren Ground band)
176839	bow (Davis Inlet band)
176840	bow (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 21B)
177306	bow
177307	bow
177308	bow
177309	bow (fig. 21A)
177310	child's bow
177313a	child's bow (fig. 23D)
177313b	child's bow
177316	child's bow
176563	arrow for large game (Barren Ground band)
176847a	arrow for large game (Barren Ground band)
176847b	arrow for large game (Barren Ground band) (fig. 23A)
176847c	arrow for large game (Barren Ground band)
176848a–b	arrow for large game (2) (Barren Ground band)
176849a–b	arrow for large game (2) (Barren Ground band)
176855	arrow for large game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 23C)
176564	arrow for large game (Barren Ground band)
176856	arrow for large game (Davis Inlet band)
176857	arrow for large game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 23B)
176653	bone arrow point (Barren Ground band) (fig. 23G)
176654a–b	bone arrow point (2) (Barren Ground band)
176562	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band)
176841a	blunt arrow (Barren Ground band) (fig. 24E)
176841b–c	blunt arrow (2) (Barren Ground band)
176842a–b	blunt arrow (2) (Barren Ground band)
176843a	blunt arrow (Barren Ground band) (fig. 24B)
176843b	blunt arrow (Barren Ground band)
176844	blunt arrow (Barren Ground band)
176845	blunt arrow (Barren Ground band)
176846	blunt arrow (Barren Ground band) (fig. 24C)
176850	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band)
176851	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 24A)
176852	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band)
176853	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band)
176854a	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 24D)
176854b	blunt arrow (Davis Inlet band)
177314	blunt arrow
176858	blunt arrow point (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 23F)
176535a–e	crossbow and 3 arrows (bolts) (Davis Inlet band)
176862a–f	crossbow and 4 arrows (bolts) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 25)
176863a–e	crossbow and 3 arrows (bolts) (Davis Inlet band)
177318a–e	crossbow and 3 arrows (bolts)
176557	caribou spear (Barren Ground band)
176835a	caribou spear (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 21C)
176835b	caribou spear (Davis Inlet band)
177311	caribou spear
176655	caribou spear point (Barren Ground band) (fig. 24F)
176836	model caribou spear (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 24G)
176647	snare for Canada jays (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 26A)
176646	slip noose used as hare snare (Davis Inlet band)
176684	model marten deadfall (Davis Inlet band)
176685	model marten deadfall (Davis Inlet band)
176686	model marten deadfall (Barren Ground band)
176528	cartridge pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 27D)
176529	cartridge pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 27A)
176729	cartridge pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 27B)
176764	boy's cartridge pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 27C)
176661	hook for carrying game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 26B)

176656 hook for carrying game(?) (Barren Ground band)
176512 snow goggles (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 26C)
176869 snow goggles (Barren Ground band) (fig. 26F)
176870 snow goggles (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 26D)
176871 snow goggles (Davis Inlet band)
176872 snow goggles (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 26E)
177323 snow goggles
176788 nasal "bleeder" (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29E)

Fishing

176537 fish hook (Barren Ground band)
176648 fish hook (Davis Inlet band)
176649a fish hook (Barren Ground band) (fig. 29G)
176649b fish hook (Barren Ground band)
176650 fish hook (Barren Ground band)
177326 fish hook
177328 fish hook (fig. 29D)
177327 fish hook (fig. 29C)
176536 fish hook (Barren Ground band)
176651 fish hook (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29B)
176673 fish hook (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29F)
176864a–b model trout net (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 30)
176867 net float (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29I)
176868 net float (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29J)
176865 netting needle (Davis Inlet band)
176866 netting needle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29H)
176859 fish spear (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 31B)
176822 ice chisel (Barren Ground band) (fig. 31A)
176823 ice chisel (Barren Ground band)
176824 ice scoop (Barren Ground band) (fig. 31C)
176825 ice scoop (Barren Ground band)
176826 ice scoop (Barren Ground band)
176827 ice scoop blade (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29K)

Transportation

176586a–b snowshoes (Barren Ground band) (fig. 33C)
176587a snowshoe (Barren Ground band)
176584a–b snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 33A)
176585a–b snowshoes (Barren Ground band)
176547a–b snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 34B)
176583a–b snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 34A)
176592a–b child's snowshoes (Davis Inlet band)
176589a–b child's snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 35A)
176588a–b child's snowshoes (Davis Inlet band)
177325a–b child's snowshoes (fig. 35B)
176590a–b child's snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 33B)
176593a–b model snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36E)
176595 model snowshoe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36B)
176596 model snowshoe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36J)
176772a–b model snowshoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36K)
176598 bleached caribou skin (Barren Ground band)
176599a–b 2 pieces of bleached caribou skin (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36A)
176597 piece of snowshoe webbing (Davis Inlet band)
177315 snowshoe frame spreader (fig. 36O)
176606a–b snowshoe clamps (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
176607a–b snowshoe clamps (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
176608a–b snowshoe clamps (type 1) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36D)
176609a–b 2 pr. snowshoe clamps (type 2) (Davis Inlet band)
176610a–b snowshoe clamps (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
176603a–b snowshoe clamps (type 2) (Davis Inlet band)
176604a–b snowshoe clamps (type 2) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36C)
176605a–b snowshoe clamps (type 2) (Davis Inlet band)
177331a–d 2 pr. snowshoe clamps (types 1 & 2)
176611 snowshoe wedge (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36I)
176612 snowshoe wedge (Davis Inlet band)
176613 snowshoe "block" (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36N)
176538 snowshoe awl (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36P)
176601 snowshoe awl (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36H)
176614 snowshoe needle (Davis Inlet band)
176615 snowshoe needle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36L)
176539 snowshoe needle (Davis Inlet band)
176540 snowshoe needle (Barren Ground band)
176574 snowshoe needle (Barren Ground band) (fig. 36G)
176602 snowshoe needle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36M)
176503 bag for snowshoe-making implements (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 29A)
176687 bag for snowshoe-making implements (Davis Inlet band)
176579 toboggan (Barren Ground band) (fig. 41)
176580 toboggan (Barren Ground band)
177321 model toboggan (fig. 42A)
176578 model toboggan (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 43B)
176582 sled (Davis Inlet band)
176581 model sled (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 43A)
176652 braided babiche line (Davis Inlet band)
176657 trace buckle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 36F)

176658	trace buckle (Davis Inlet band)
176659	trace buckle (Davis Inlet band)
176660	trace buckle (Davis Inlet band)
177329a–b	2 trace buckles
176812a–e	model canoe, 2 paddles, fish spear, caribou spear (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 47)
176818a–c	model canoe, 2 paddles (Barren Ground band) (fig. 48)
176819a–f	model canoe, 2 figures, 2 paddles, caribou spear (Barren Ground band) (fig. 43C)
176820a–b	model canoe and caribou, caribou spear (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50A)
176813	canoe paddle (Barren Ground band)
176814	canoe paddle (Davis Inlet band)
176815	canoe paddle (Barren Ground band) (fig. 49B)
176816	canoe paddle (Barren Ground band) (fig. 49C)
177303	canoe paddle (fig. 49D)
177304	canoe paddle
177305	canoe paddle (fig. 49A)
176817	canoe bailer (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50D)

Tools

176555	crooked knife (Davis Inlet band)
176666	crooked knife (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50I)
176667	crooked knife (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50K)
176668	crooked knife (Barren Ground band)
176669	crooked knife (Davis Inlet band)
176670	crooked knife (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50G)
177319	crooked knife
177320a–b	crooked knife
176671	whetstone (Davis Inlet band)
176787	whetstone (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50B)
176544	awl (Davis Inlet band)
176545	awl (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50L)
176546	awl (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50M)
176600	awl (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50J)
176575	awl (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50H)
176861	model ax (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50N)
176860	ax handle (Davis Inlet band)
177317	ax handle
176877	fleshing tool (type 1) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 50F)
176878	fleshing tool (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50C)
176542	fleshing tool (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
177322	fleshing tool (type 1)
176879	fleshing tool (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 50E)
176880	fleshing tool (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 51E)
176881	fleshing tool (type 1) (model?) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 52K)
176576	fleshing tool (type 2) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51H)
176543	fleshing tool (type 2) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 51L)
176876	fleshing tool (type 2) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51J)
176577	fleshing tool (type 2) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51I)
176541	scraper (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51A)
176873	scraper (Davis Inlet band)
176874	scraper (Davis Inlet band)
176875	scraper (Barren Ground band)
176663	scraper (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51F)
176551	semilunar knife (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51M)
176664	semilunar knife (Davis Inlet band)
176665	semilunar knife (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51O)
176552	semilunar knife (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51N)
176556	knife (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51D)
176730	knife sheath (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51C)
176731	knife sheath (Barren Ground band) (fig. 51B)

Household Equipment

176778a–d	model stove posts (4) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51P)
176882	fire tongs (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 51G)
176833	spit (Davis Inlet band)
176834	spit (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 42B)
176883	pothook (Davis Inlet band)
176884	pothook (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54I)
176645	model child's hammock (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55C)
176895a–b	knife and fork (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54F,H)
176558	spoon (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54J)
176898	spoon (Davis Inlet band)
176896	spoon (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54K)
176897	spoon (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54C)
176553	ladle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54B)
176899	ladle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54A)
176900	ladle (Davis Inlet band)
176901	ladle (Barren Ground band) (fig. 54E)
176902	ladle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54D)
177324	ladle
176888	plate or dish (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55B)
176889	plate or dish (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56I)
176891	plate or dish (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55E)
176892	plate or dish (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55D)
176890	bowl (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55A)
176893	cup (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56G)
176894	goblet (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56F)
176662	scissors (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 54G)
176769	bark container (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56H)
176688	bag (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56D)
176689	bag (Davis Inlet band)
176690	bag (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56C)
176765	pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56E)
176766	pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56B)
176767	pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 56A)
176829	snow shovel (Barren Ground band) (fig. 57A)

176830 snow shovel (Barren Ground band)
176831 snow shovel (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 57B)
177312 snow shovel
176828 snow shovel (Barren Ground band)
176832 snow shovel (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 57C)

Clothing

176702 woman's shirt (Davis Inlet band)
176703 man's shirt (Davis Inlet band)
176704 shirt (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 58A)
177296 shirt (Davis Inlet band)
177297 shirt (Davis Inlet band)
176945 coat (Davis Inlet band) (figs. 60–62)
176946 coat (Davis Inlet band) (figs. 63–65)
176522 coat (Barren Ground band) (figs. 66–68)
179986 coat (acc. 2334) (figs. 69–70)
176725 trousers (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 71A)
176716a–b leggings (Barren Ground band)
176717a–b leggings (Barren Ground band) (fig. 72A)
176943–1–2 leggings (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 72B)
176944–1–2 leggings (Davis Inlet band)
176718a–b leggings (Barren Ground band) (fig. 73A)
176719a–b leggings (Barren Ground band) (fig. 72C)
176715a–b leggings (Barren Ground band)
176527a–b moccasin-leggings (Barren Ground band) (fig. 73C)
176720a–b moccasin-leggings (Barren Ground band) (fig. 73B)
176721a–b moccasin-leggings (Barren Ground band)
176515a–b man's moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 74B)
176516a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 78A)
176691a–b moccasins (Barren Ground band)
176692a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 78C)
176693a–b moccasins (Barren Ground band) (fig. 76B)
176694a–b moccasins (Barren Ground band) (fig. 76A)
176695a–b moccasins (Barren Ground band)
176696a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 75B)
176697a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 75A)
176698a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 77A)
176699a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 74A)
176700a–b moccasins (Davis Inlet band)
177302a–b moccasins (fig. 77B)
176701a–b unfinished moccasins (Davis Inlet band)
177300a–b unfinished moccasins (Davis Inlet band)
177301a–b unfinished moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 77C)
176514a–b instep pieces (Barren Ground band) (fig. 78D)
176742 instep pieces (Barren Ground band) (fig. 78B)
176743 instep pieces (Barren Ground band)
176726a–b mittens (Barren Ground band) (fig. 79A)
176941a–b gloves (Davis Inlet band)
176728 hat (Barren Ground band) (fig. 79B)
176710 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 58B)
176711 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band)
176712 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 71B)
176713 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band)
176942 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band)
177298 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band)
177299 infant's traveling costume (Davis Inlet band)
176705 child's shirt (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 81C)
176706 child's shirt (Davis Inlet band)
176707 child's shirt (Davis Inlet band)
176708 child's shirt (Davis Inlet band)
176513 child's shirt (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 81A)
176709 child's jacket (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 81B)
176722 model of child's trousers and breech clout (Davis Inlet band)
176723 model leggings (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55F)
176724 model man's trousers (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 55G)
176672 caribou sinew (Barren Ground band)
176727 piece of tanned caribou skin (Barren Ground band)

Personal Adornment

176523 headband (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 83B)
176524 headband (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 83C)
176572 headband (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 83D)
176757 headband (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 83A)
176526 headband (type 2) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 84B)
176520a–b hair wrappers (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176573a–b hair wrappers (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 84D)
176760a–b hair wrappers (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176761a–b hair wrappers (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176762a–b hair wrappers (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
176763a–b hair wrappers (type 1) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 84C)
176759a–b hair wrappers (type 2) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 84A)

176525, 176758 — hair wrappers (type 2) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 83E)
176508 — boards for wrapping hair (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 85C)
176771a–b — model boards for wrapping hair (Davis Inlet band)
176506 — comb (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 85F)
176507 — comb cleaner (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 85G)
176745a–b — "hair ornaments" (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87H)
176746a–b — "hair ornaments" (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87B)
176509a–b — ear ornaments (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176747 — ear ornament (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87E)
176748 — ear ornament (type 1) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87I)
176749 — ear ornament (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176750 — ear ornament (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176751 — ear ornament (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
176752 — ear ornament (type 1) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 87G)
176753 — ear ornament (type 1) (Barren Ground band)
176754 — ear ornament (type 2) (Barren Ground band)
176755 — ear ornament (type 2) (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87F)
176510a–b — ear ornaments (type 3) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 85I)
176519 — armbands (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87A)
176517, 176736 — armbands (Barren Ground band)
176732a–b — armbands (Barren Ground band) (fig. 85E)
176734a–b — armbands (Barren Ground band) (fig. 85B)
176735a–b — armbands (Davis Inlet band)
176733a–b — armbands (Barren Ground band)
176518 — armband (Barren Ground band)
176737 — armband (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87C)
176738 — armband (Barren Ground band)
176739 — armband (Barren Ground band)
176740 — armband (Barren Ground band) (fig. 87D)
176741 — armband (Barren Ground band)
176511 — belt (Barren Ground band) (fig. 85A)

Charms and Religious Objects

176885 — model bone crusher (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88B)
176886 — model bone crusher (Davis Inlet band)
176887 — model bone crusher (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 85D)
176679 — caribou antler (Davis Inlet band)
176677 — skull of black bear (Davis Inlet band)
176678 — skull of black bear (Davis Inlet band)
176560 — amulet (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 85H)
176676 — skull and mandible of silver fox (Davis Inlet band)
176559 — head of male harlequin duck (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88D)
176643 — ceremonial game carrying strap (Davis Inlet band)
176642 — 3 caribou bones (Davis Inlet band)

Musical Instruments

176565 — drum (Davis Inlet band)
176808a–b — drum and stick (Barren Ground band)
176809a–b — drum and stick (Barren Ground band) (fig. 89)
176810a–b — drum and stick (Davis Inlet band)
176811 — drumstick (Barren Ground band)
176566 — drumstick (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 91A)
176567 — drumstick (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 91B)
176570 — rattle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88A)
176571 — rattle (Davis Inlet band)
176806 — rattle (Barren Ground band) (fig. 88C)
176807 — rattle (Davis Inlet band)
176805 — whistle (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88E)

Smoking Complex

176548 — pipe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88L)
176790a–c — pipe, tobacco bag, and soapstone fragment (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88I)
176793 — pipe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88J)
176794 — pipe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88G)
176795 — pipe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88K)
176792 — pipe stem (Davis Inlet band)
176549 — pipe cleaner (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88H)
176561 — pipe cleaner (Davis Inlet band)
176789a–c — 3 pipe cleaners (Davis Inlet band)
176550a–b — 2 pipe cleaners (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 88F)
176796 — birch fungus (Davis Inlet band)
176797 — spruce burl (Davis Inlet band)

Games and Toys

176568 — cup and pin game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92A)
176637 — cup and pin game (Davis Inlet band)
176638 — cup and pin game (Barren Ground band)
176640 — cup and pin game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92C)
176639 — cup and pin game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92B)
176675 — cup and pin game (Davis Inlet band)
176641a–b — fox and rabbit game (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92E)
176633 — buzzer (Davis Inlet band)
176634 — buzzer (Barren Ground band)
176635 — buzzer (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92F)
176636 — buzzer (Davis Inlet band)
176569 — buzzer (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92D)
176803a–b — whirligig (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92J)
176804a–b — whirligig (Davis Inlet band)
176802 — whirligig (Davis Inlet band)
176798 — bull-roarer (Davis Inlet band)

176799 bull-roarer (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92G)
176800 bull-roarer (Davis Inlet band)
176801 bull-roarer (Davis Inlet band)
176626a–b top (type 1) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92K)
176627a–b top (type 1) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92L)
176628 top (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
177330a–c top (type 1) (Davis Inlet band)
176629 top (type 2) (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92H)
176630 top (type 2) (Davis Inlet band)
176644 sling (Davis Inlet band)
176504 doll (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 92I)
176505 doll (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 93C)
176616a–c doll (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 93A)
176617 doll (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94E)
176618 doll (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 93D)
176619 doll (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 93B)
176784a–b model moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94H)
176785a–b model moccasins (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94D)
176786a–b model mittens (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94G)
176521b strip of human figures (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94A)
176775b–d strips of human figures (Davis Inlet band)
176777a–b strips of human figures (Davis Inlet band)
176775a female figure (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94C)
176521c female figure (Davis Inlet band)
176521a imitation headband (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94F)
176776a–d 4 strips of zigzag patterns (Davis Inlet band)
176770 toy pouch (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94I)
176768a–b 2 toy canoes (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95G)
176774 cutout silhouette of a canoe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95B)
176938 toy gun (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95O)
176939 toy gun (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95N)
176922 toy bone crusher (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95E)
176779 "pellet gun" (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95M)
176821 toy canoe (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94B)
176920a–b model of a horse and wagon (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95A)
176620 human figure (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 94C)
176622 human figure (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95D)
176623 human figure (Davis Inlet band)
176625 human figure (Davis Inlet band)
176534a–v 22 toy caribou (Barren Ground band) (fig. 95I)
176924 toy caribou (Davis Inlet band)
176917 toy caribou (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96B)
176925 toy caribou (Davis Inlet band)
176926 toy caribou (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95K)
176927 toy caribou (Davis Inlet band)
176624 toy caribou (Barren Ground band) (fig. 96A)
176923 toy bear (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96G)
176933 toy mink (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95R)
176935 toy skunk (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96F)
176928 toy marten (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95Q)
176929 toy marten (Davis Inlet band)
176930 toy otter (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95J)
176931 toy otter (Davis Inlet band)
176932 toy otter (Davis Inlet band)
176936 toy mouse (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95P)
176921 toy pike (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96C)
176937 toy shore bird (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95L)
176934 toy owl (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95H)
176918a–b toy goose (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95S)

Decorative Arts

176903 paint mortar (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96E)
176906 paint mortar (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 95F)
176907 paint stick (Davis Inlet band)
176908 paint stick (Davis Inlet band)
176909 paint stick (Davis Inlet band)
176914 paint stick (Barren Ground band)
176915 paint stick (Barren Ground band)
176916 paint stick (Barren Ground band) (fig. 96I)
176910 double-ended paint stick (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96H)
176530 paint stick (Barren Ground band)
176531 paint stick (Barren Ground band)
176911 paint stick (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96J)
176532 stencil (Barren Ground band) (fig. 96K)
176904 stencil (Davis Inlet band)
176905 stencil (Davis Inlet band)
176912 stencil (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96N)
176913 stencil (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96M)
176533 stencil (Barren Ground band) (fig. 96L)
176782a–b bark cut in irregular designs (Davis Inlet band)
176783a–d bark decorated with designs made with the teeth (Davis Inlet band) (fig. 96D)
176773 roll of birch bark with penciled drawings (Davis Inlet band)

Drawings

176781 piece of bark with 3 figures (Davis Inlet band)
176780 piece of skin with penciled figures (Davis Inlet band)

FIG. 2. Davis Inlet band and Barren Ground band Indians at Davis Inlet, July 1928 (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, photo no. 79-10498).

FIG. 3. Joe Rich (Shushebish), Strong's chief informant (neg. no. 61680).

FIG. 4. Family of Davis Inlet band Naskapi with whom Strong lived, January–March 1928. Joe Rich, Napiou (baby in sled), Akat, and Penashaway (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, photo no. 79-2123).

FIG. 5. Wigwam-shaped tent covered with caribou skins (?) in a winter camp of the Barren Ground band (neg. no. 61437).

FIG. 6. Loose surface snow being scraped off with wooden shovels prior to the construction of a ridgepole lodge (neg. no. 61703).

FIG. 7. Joe Rich stripping boughs from spruce poles to be used in the construction of the lodge (neg. no. 61556).

FIG. 8. Women bringing spruce boughs to form the floor of a newly constructed lodge (neg. no. 61461).

FIG. 9. Spruce boughs accumulated for the floor of the lodge (neg. no. 61460).

FIG. 10. Joe Rich and members of his family having tea before beginning construction of their lodge (neg. no. 61502).

FIG. 11. Spruce boughs being laid to form a soft floor for the lodge (neg. no. 61443).

FIG. 12. Akat laying a spruce bough floor (neg. no. 61456).

FIG. 13. Wall poles and spruce bough floor in place (neg. no. 61660).

FIG. 14. Ridge poles and additional roof poles being lashed in place with strips of caribou skin (neg. no. 61563).

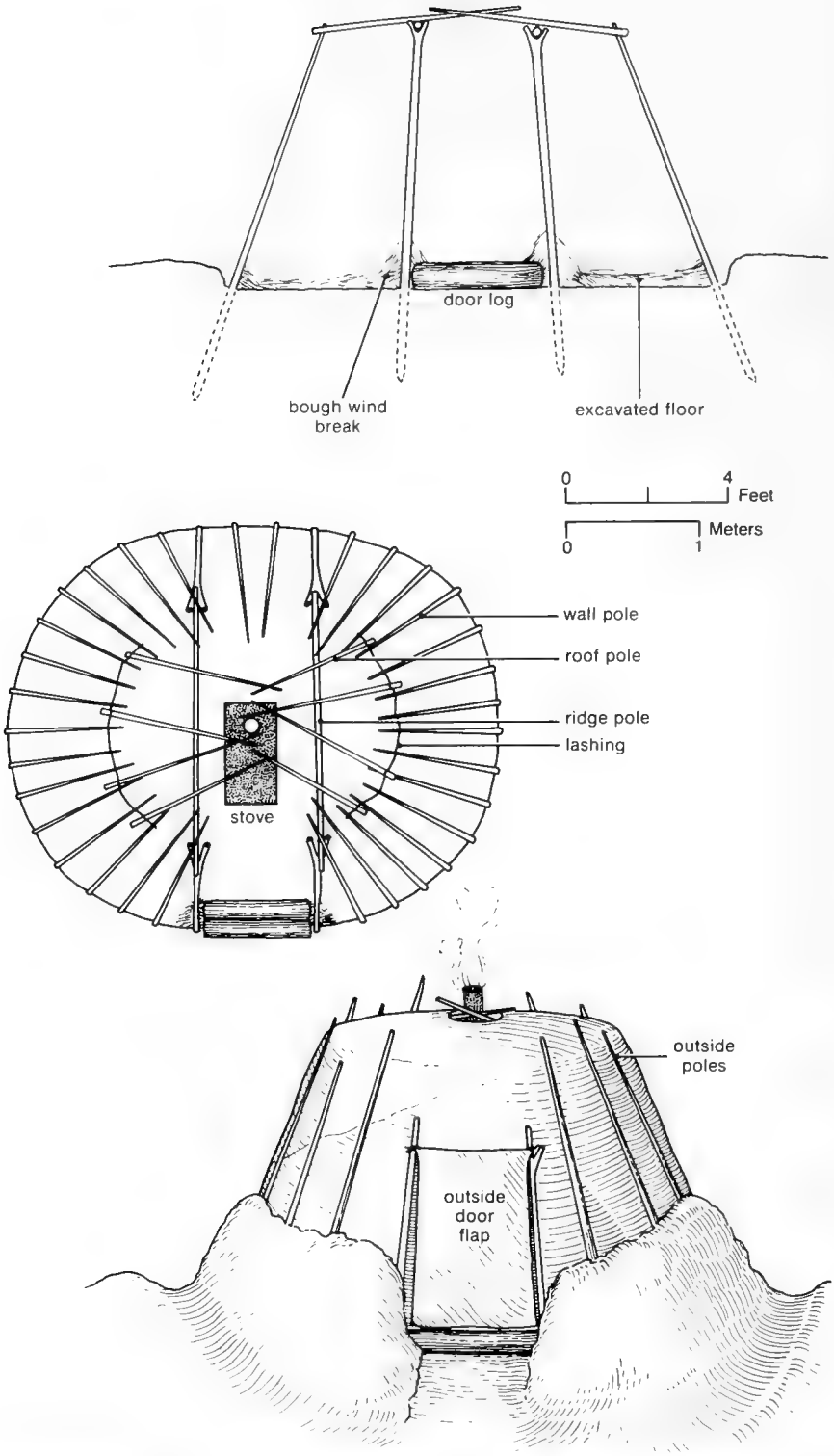


FIG. 15. Ridgepole lodge constructed by the Davis Inlet band. Based on Strong's sketches and photographs (Helm, ed., 1981, p. 140).

FIG. 16. Fitting a canvas cover over the lower portion of the frame (neg. no. 61560).

FIG. 17. Fitting a canvas cover over the upper portion of the frame (neg. no. 61432).

FIG. 18. Completing the covering of the lodge frame (neg. no. 69598).

FIG. 19. A completed ridgepole lodge of the Davis Inlet band (neg. no. 61537).

FIG. 20. A canvas wall tent used by members of the Davis Inlet band in winter camp (neg. no. 61462).

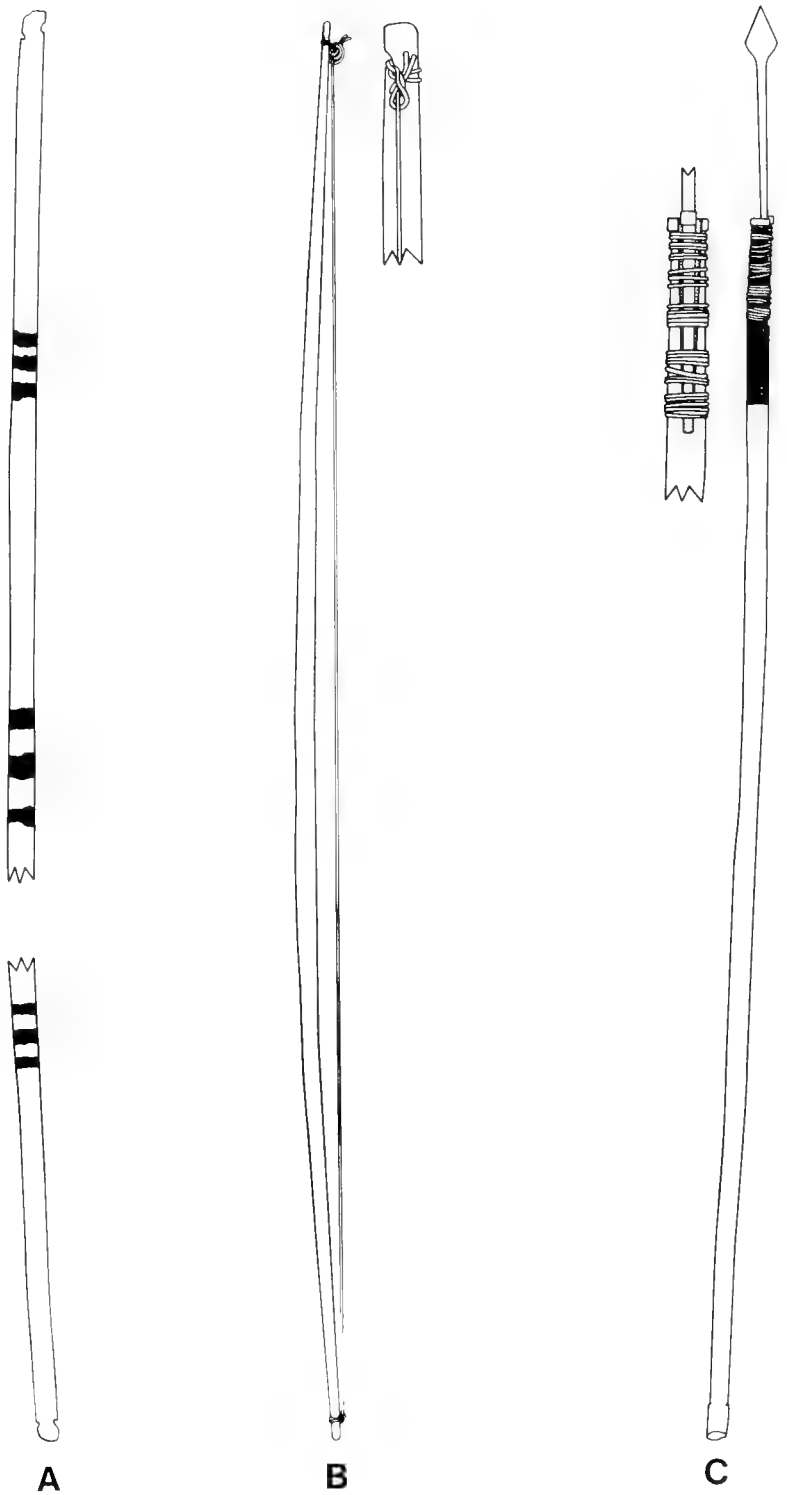


FIG. 21. **A**, bow, 177 cm long (177309); **B**, bow, 151 cm long, detail actual size (176840); **C**, caribou spear, 152.5 cm long, detail actual size (176835a).

FIG. 22. Joe Rich demonstrating the method of using a bow and arrow (neg. no. 62084).

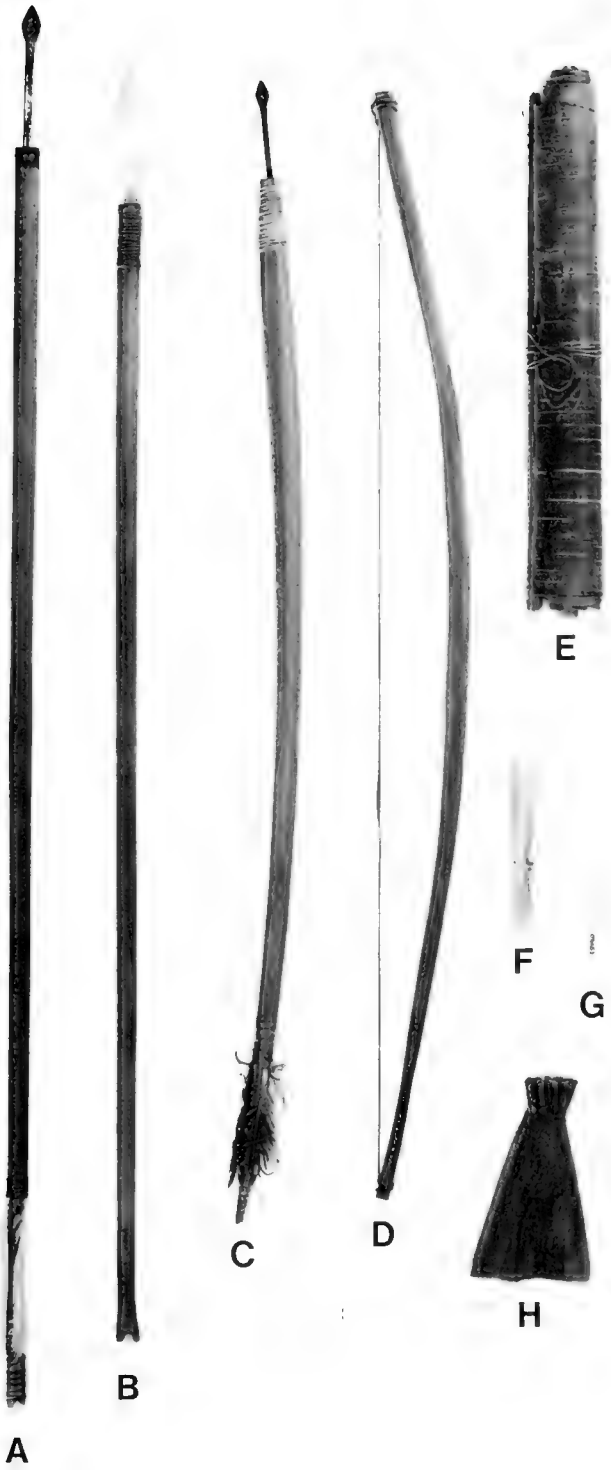


FIG. 23. **A**, arrow for large game (176847b); **B**, arrow for large game (176857); **C**, arrow for large game (176855); **D**, child's bow (177313a); **E**, roll of birch bark used for house covering (176683); **F**, blunt arrow point (176858); **G**, bone arrow point (176653); **H**, model tent (176919).

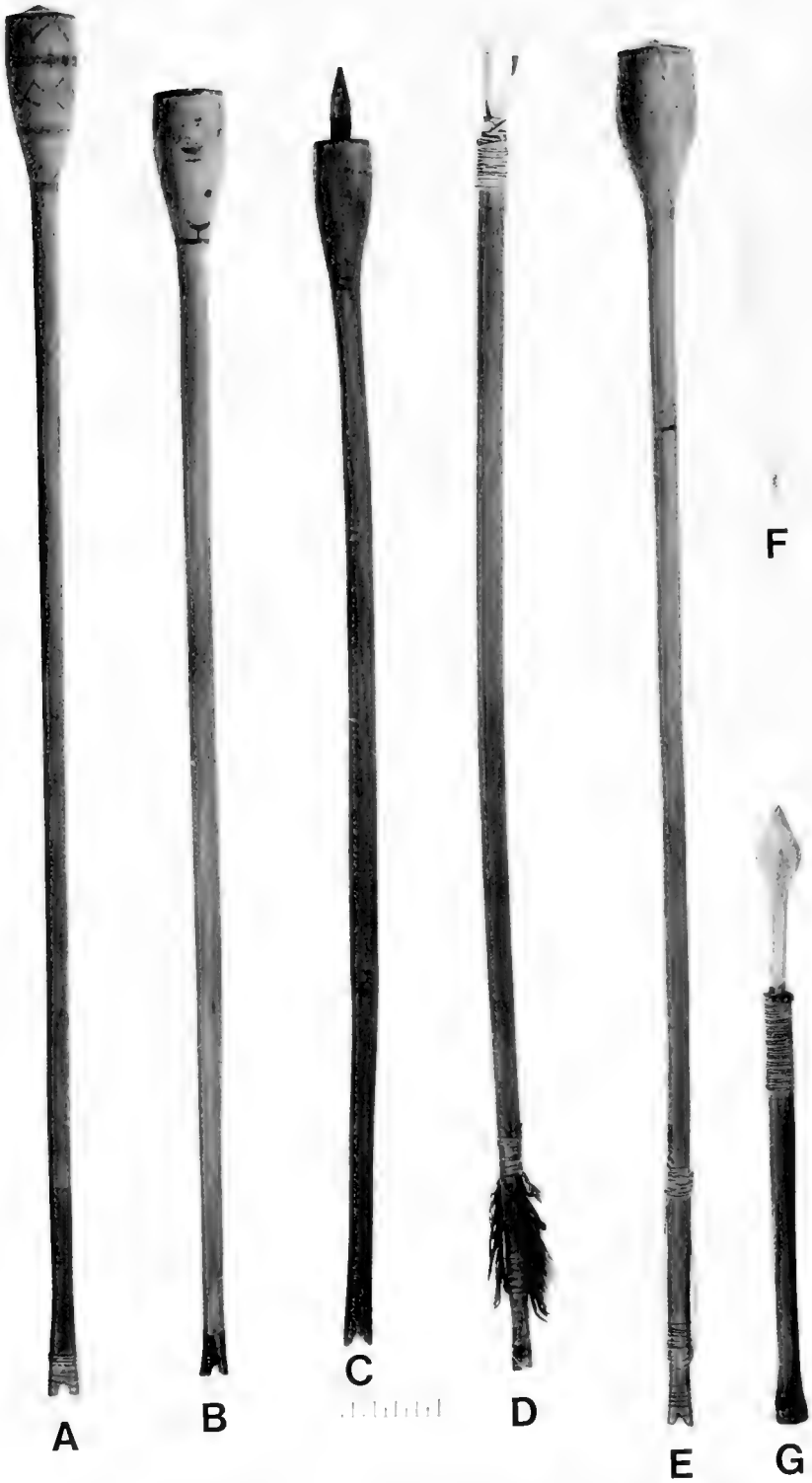


FIG. 24. **A**, blunt arrow (176851); **B**, blunt arrow (176843a); **C**, blunt arrow (176846); **D**, blunt arrow (176854a); **E**, blunt arrow (176841a); **F**, caribou spear point (176655); **G**, model caribou spear (176836).

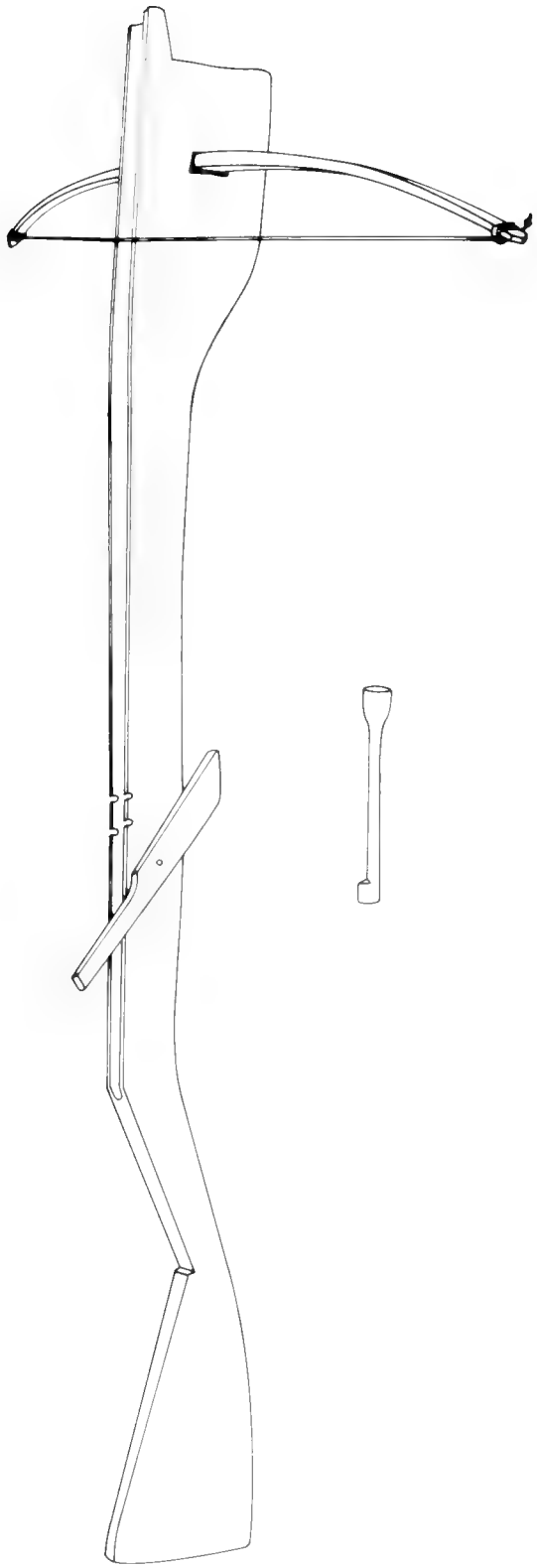


FIG. 25. Crossbow and arrow (bolt), stock 96.5 cm long (176862a–f).

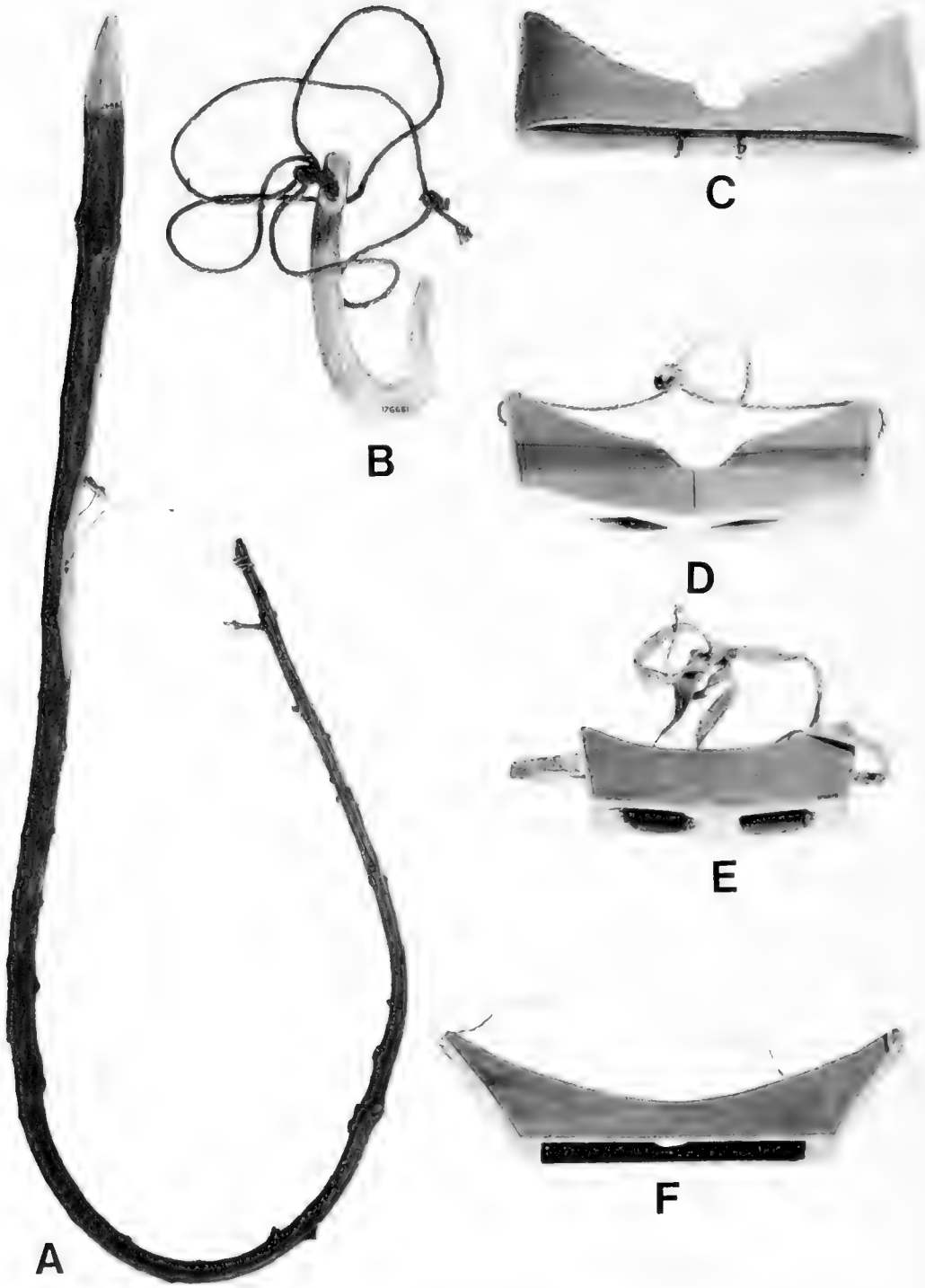


FIG. 26. **A**, snare for Canada jays (176647); **B**, hook for carrying game (176661); **C**, snow goggles (176512); **D**, snow goggles (176870); **E**, snow goggles (176872); **F**, snow goggles (176869).

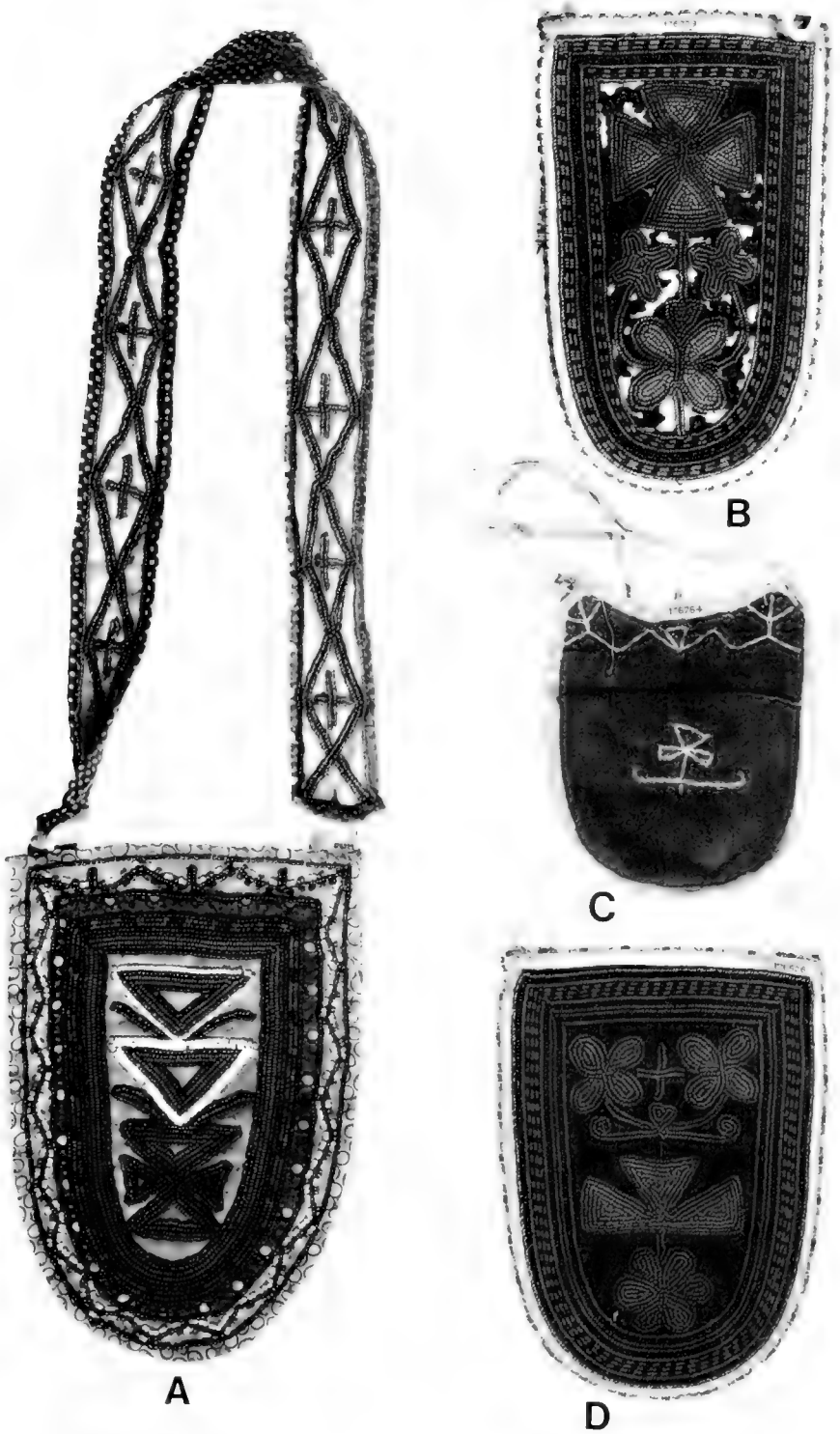


FIG. 27. **A**, cartridge pouch (176529); **B**, cartridge pouch (176729); **C**, boy's cartridge pouch (176764); **D**, cartridge pouch (176528).

FIG. 28. Pukwey wearing wooden snow goggles (neg. no. 61411).

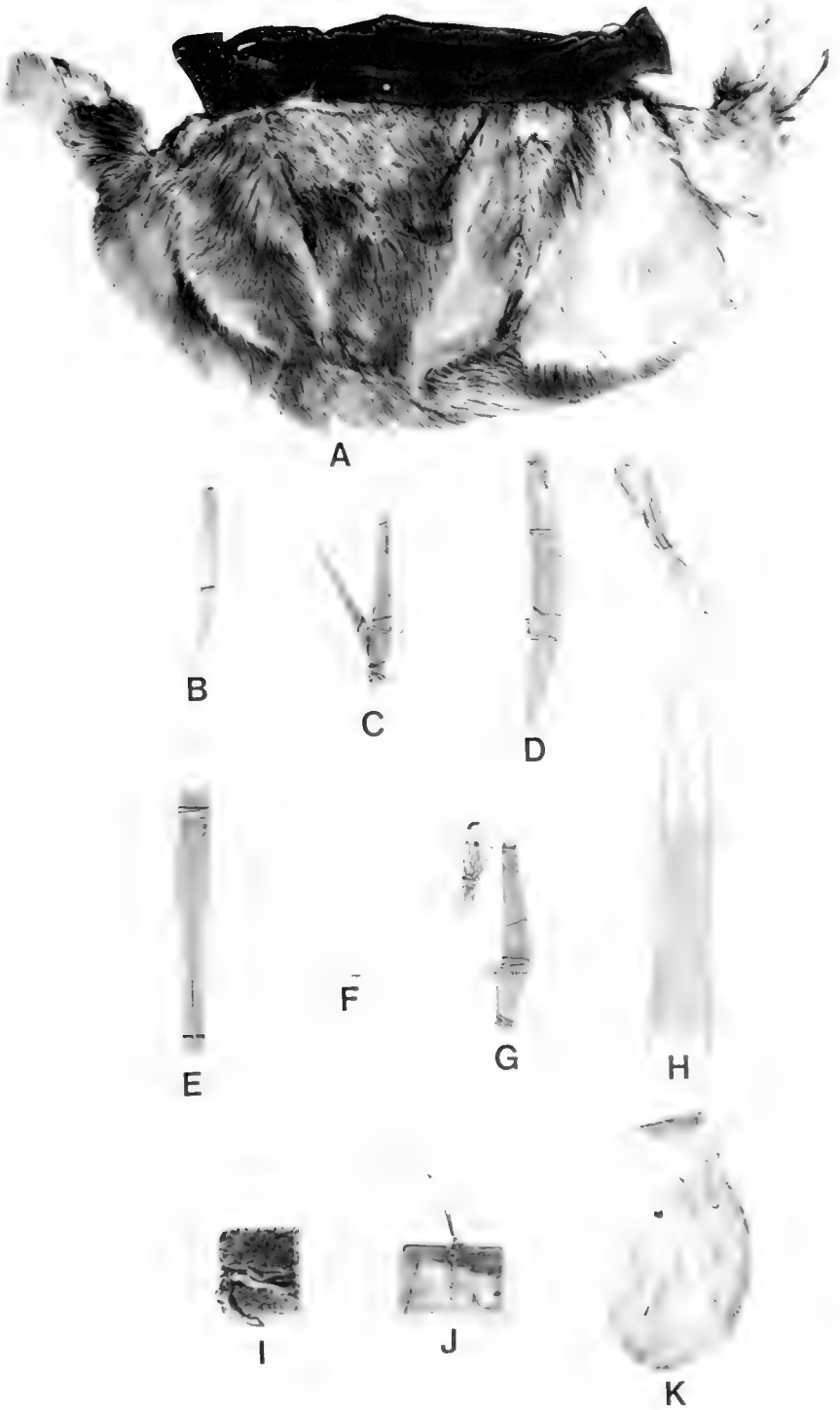


FIG. 29. **A**, bag for snowshoe-making implements (176503); **B**, fish hook (176651); **C**, fish hook (177327); **D**, fish hook (177328); **E**, nasal "bleeder" (176788); **F**, fish hook (176673); **G**, fish hook (176649a); **H**, netting needle (176866); **I**, net float (176867); **J**, net float (176868); **K**, ice scoop blade (176827).

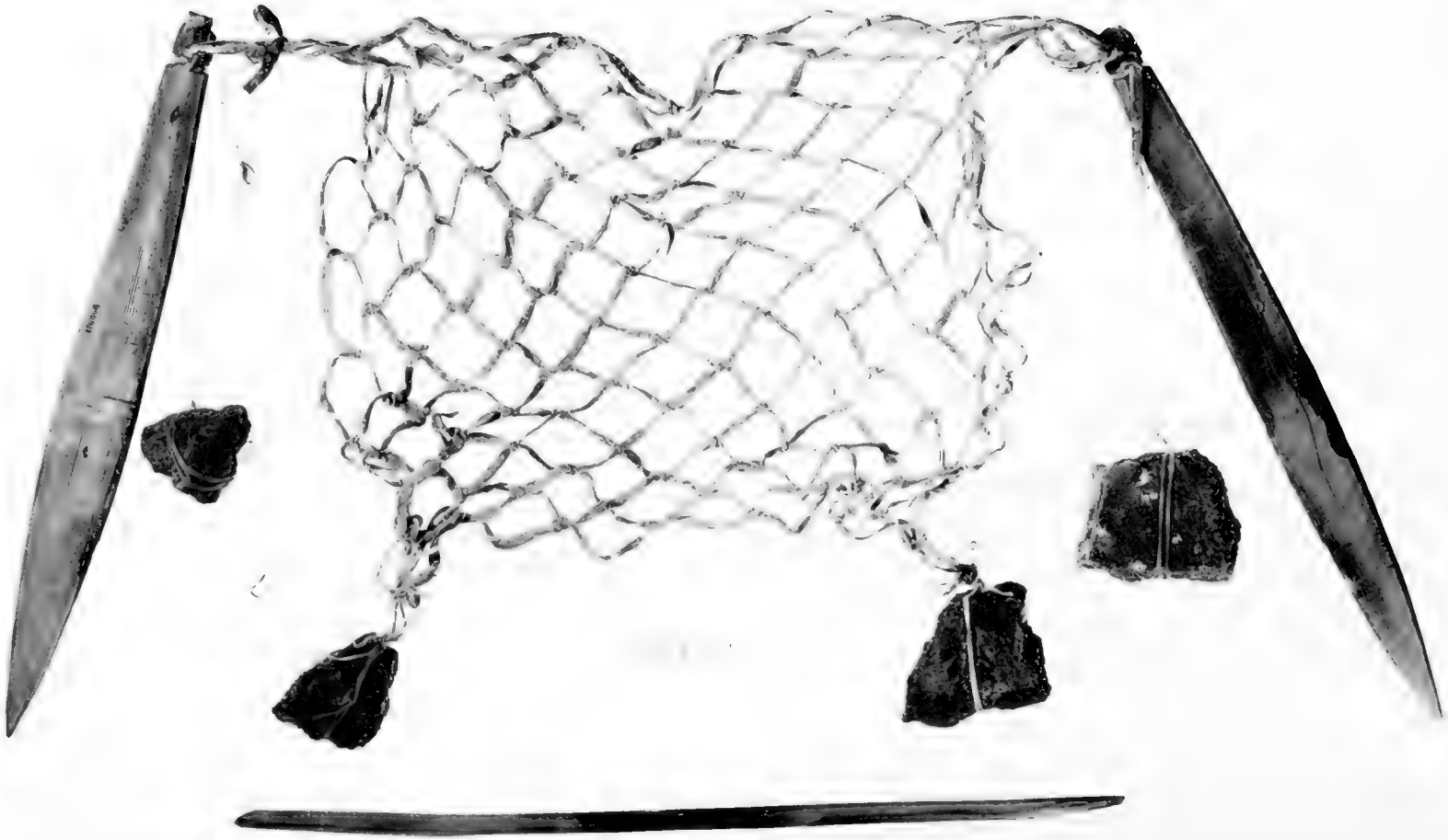


FIG. 30. Model trout net (176864a–b).

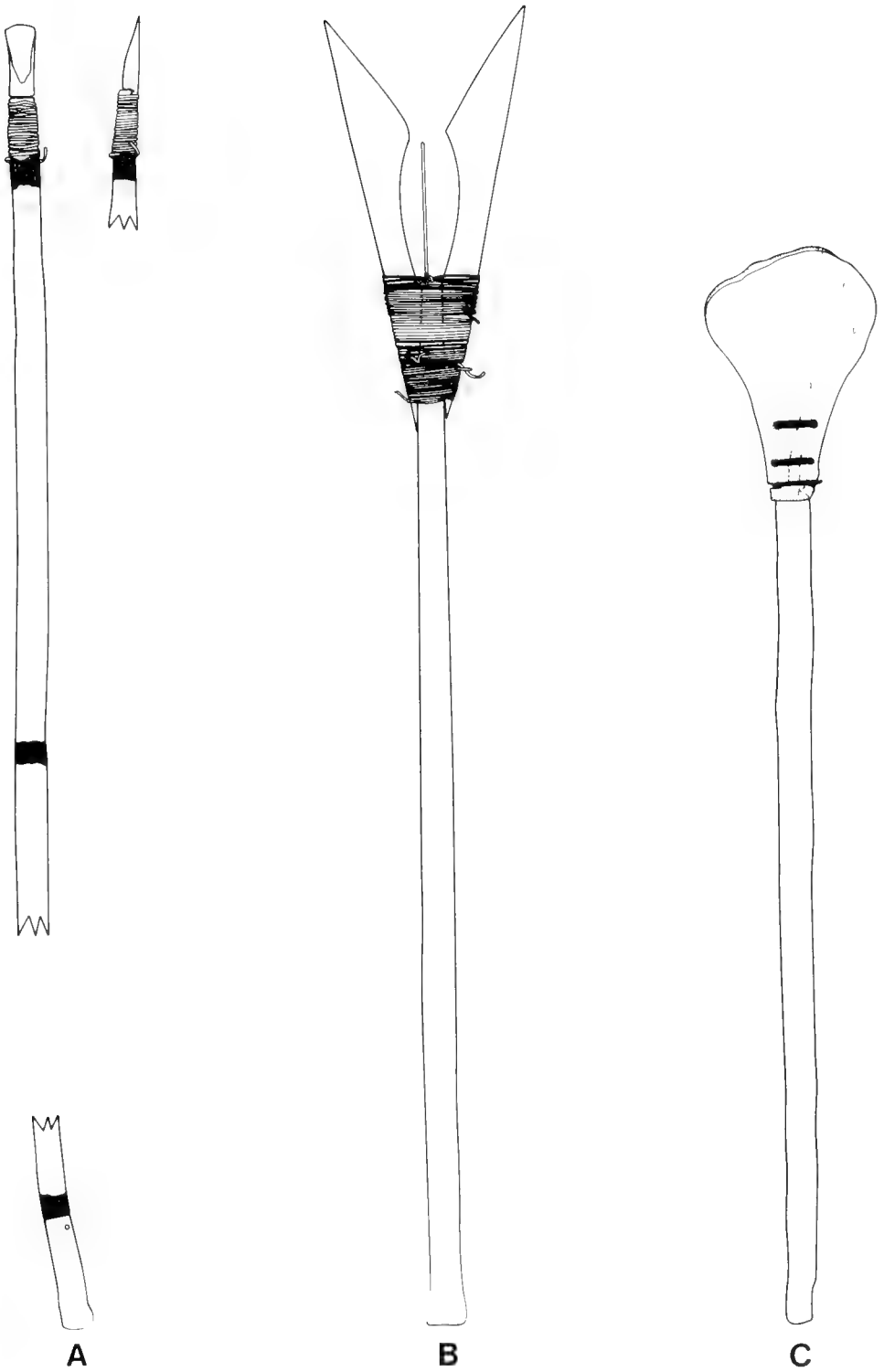


FIG. 31. **A**, ice chisel, 166 cm long (176822); **B**, fish spear, 150 cm long (176859); **C**, ice scoop, 120.5 cm long (176824).

FIG. 32. Fishing through the ice for trout (neg. no. 61578).

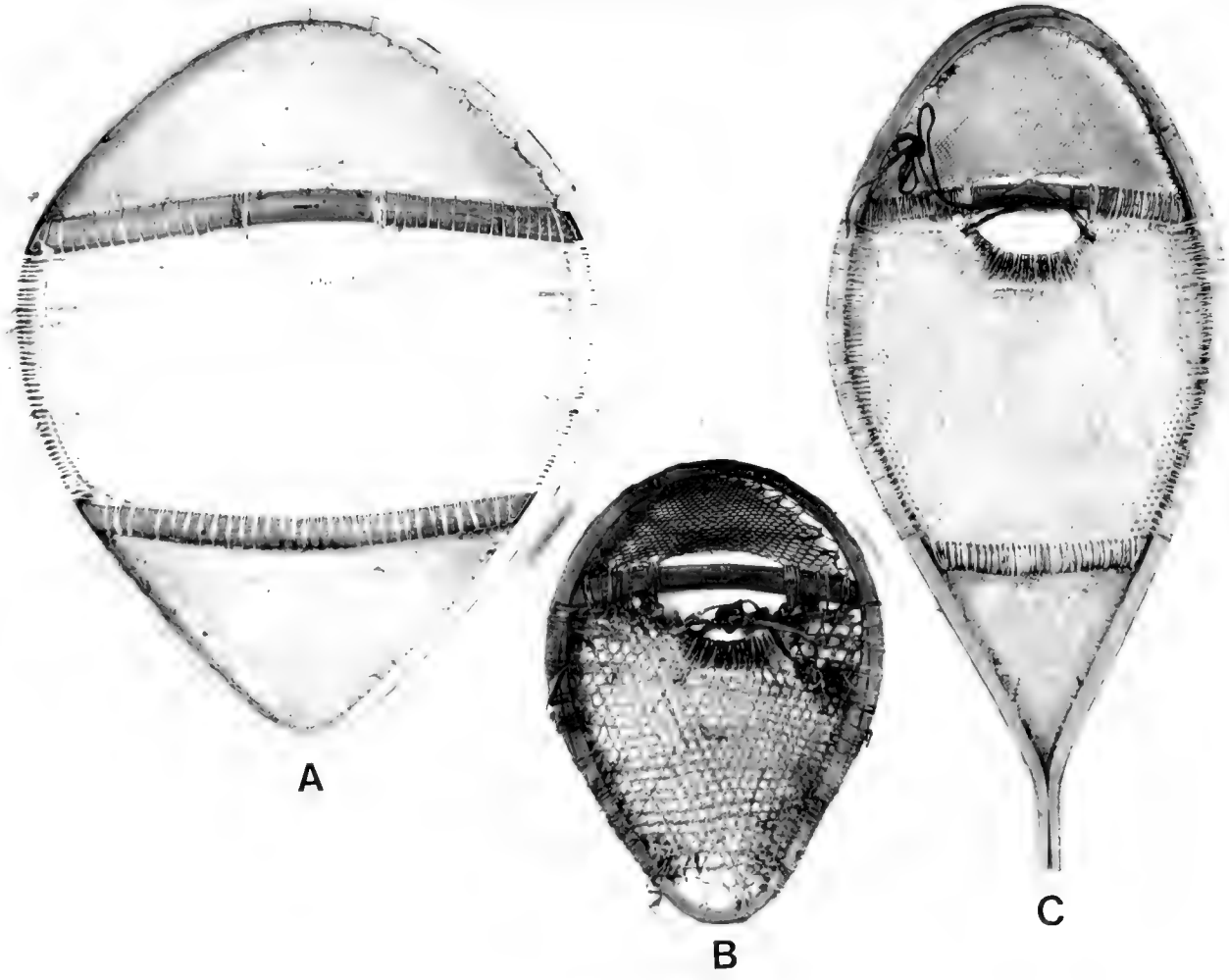


FIG. 33. **A**, snowshoes (176584a–b); **B**, child's snowshoes (176590a–b); **C**, snowshoes (176586a–b).

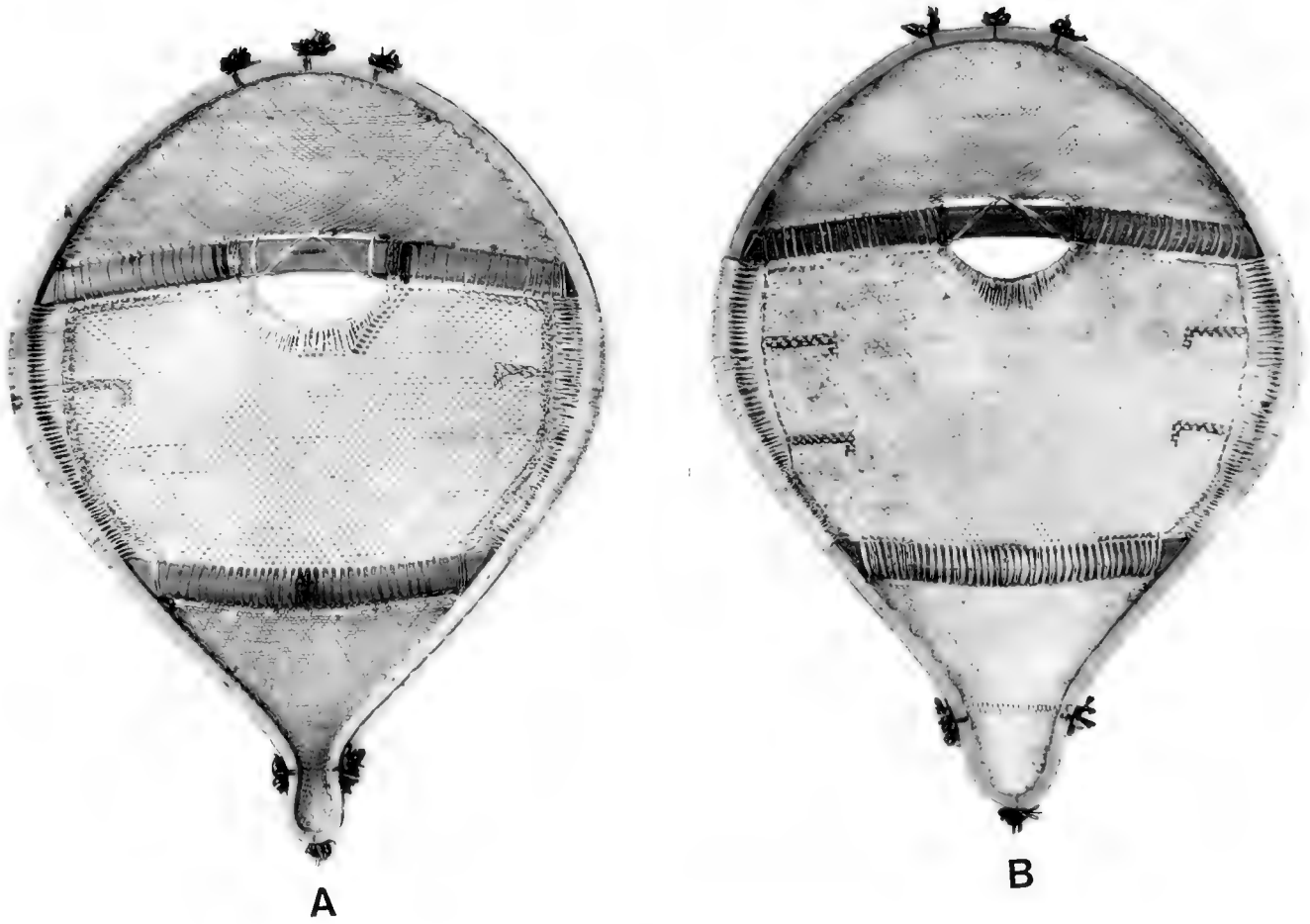


FIG. 34. **A**, snowshoes (176583a–b); **B**, snowshoes (176547a–b).

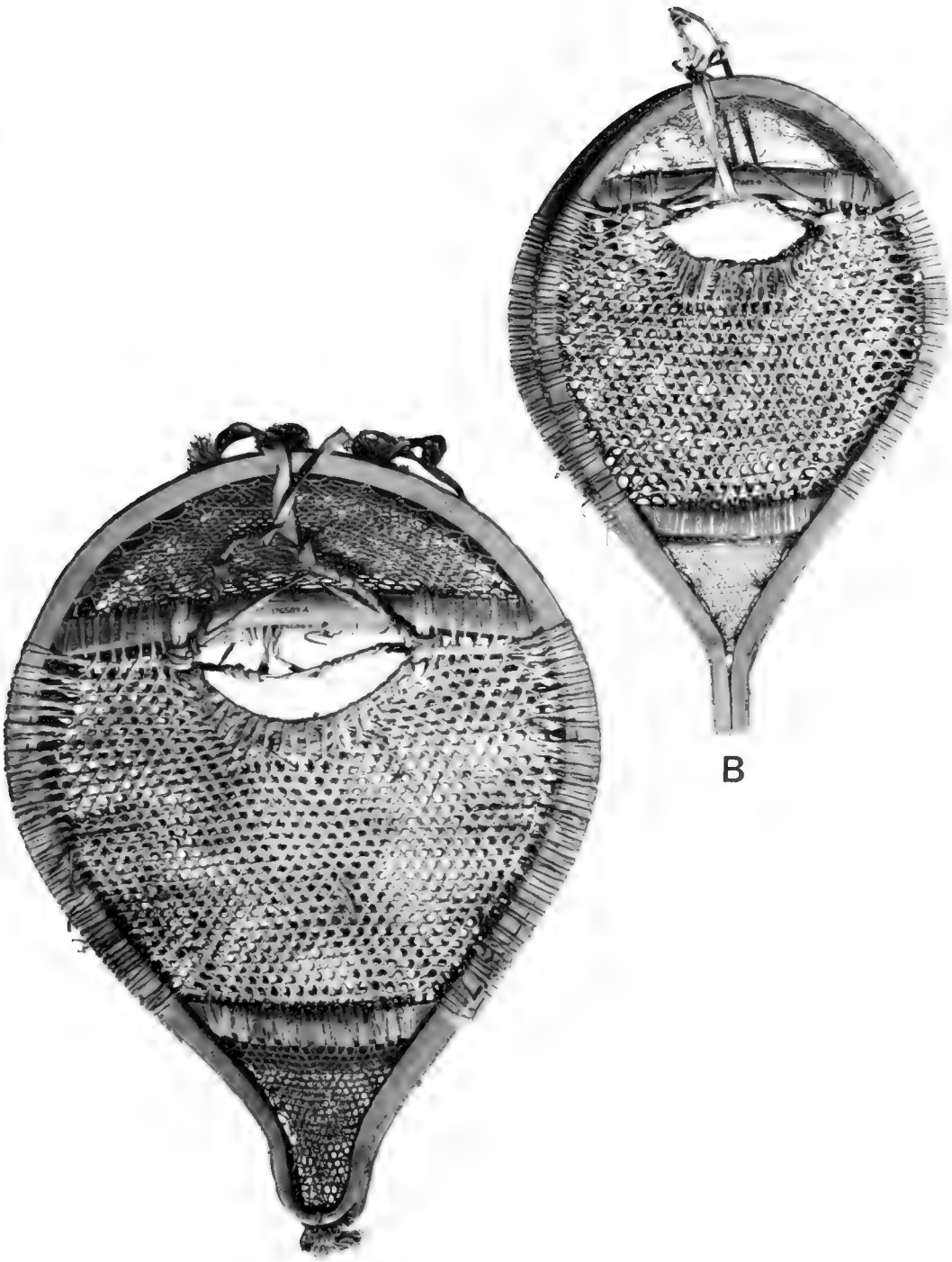


FIG. 35. **A**, child's snowshoes (176589a–b); **B**, child's snowshoes (177325a–b).

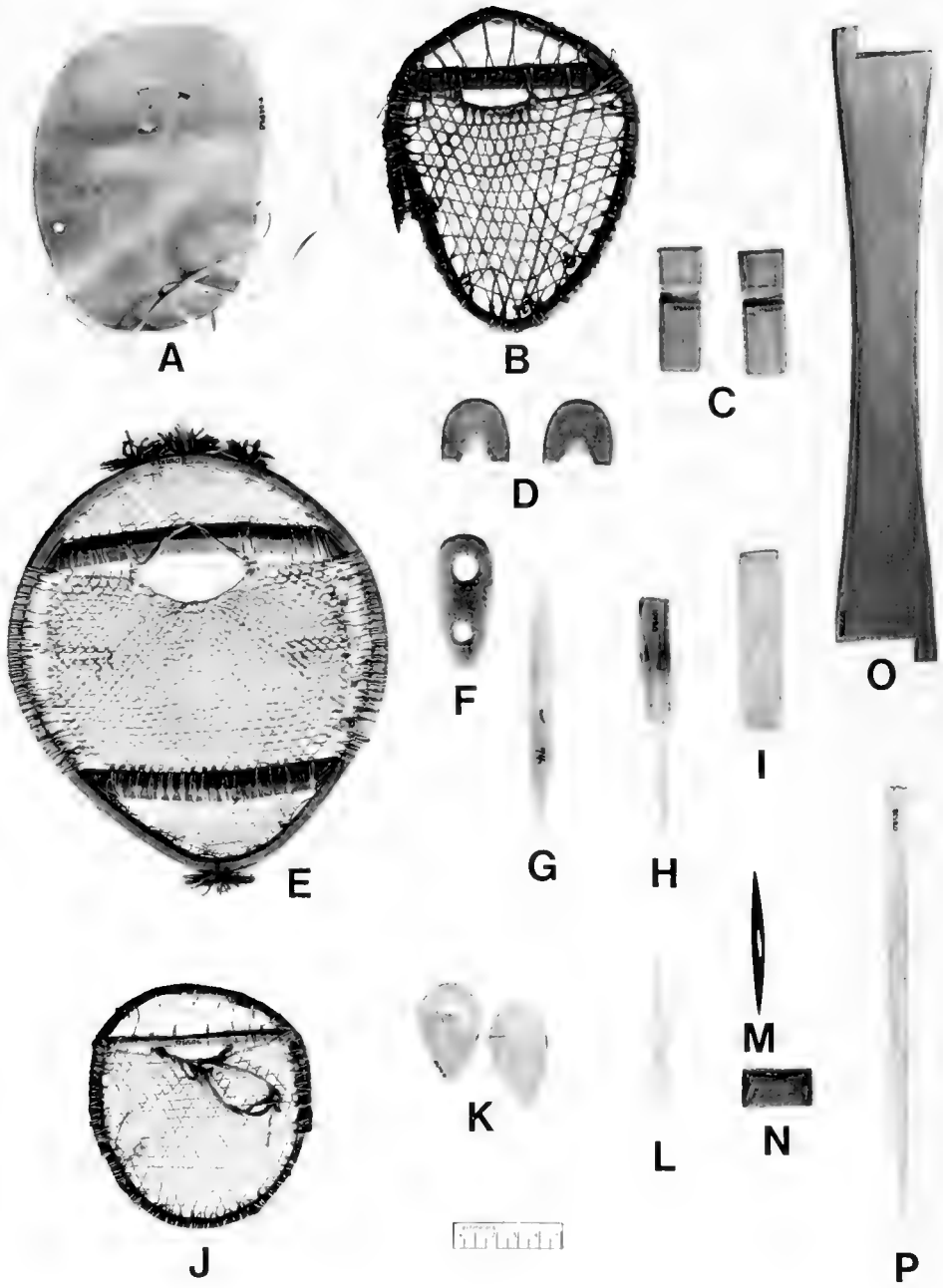


FIG. 36. **A**, bleached caribou skin (176599a); **B**, model snowshoe (176595); **C**, snowshoe clamps (type 2) (176604a–b); **D**, snowshoe clamps (type 1) (176608a–b); **E**, model snowshoes (176593a–b); **F**, trace buckle (176657); **G**, snowshoe needle (176574); **H**, snowshoe awl (176601); **I**, snowshoe wedge (176611); **J**, model snowshoe (176596); **K**, model snowshoes (176772a–b); **L**, snowshoe needle (176615); **M**, snowshoe needle (176602); **N**, snowshoe "block" (176613); **O**, snowshoe frame spreader (177315); **P**, snowshoe awl (176538).

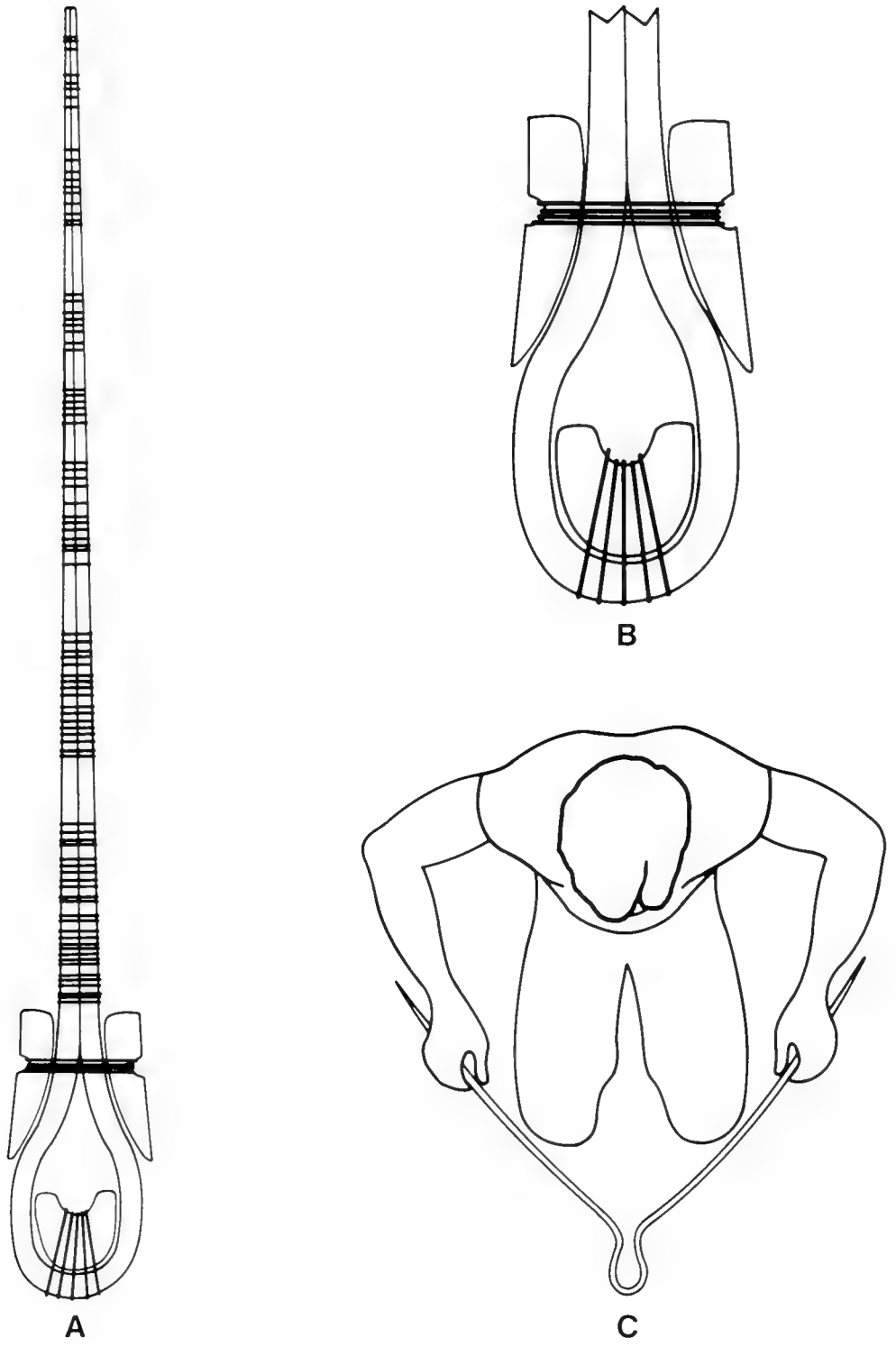


FIG. 37. Making frames for beavertail snowshoes (based on drawings in Strong, 1928c, vol. 1, not to scale).

FIG. 38. Unkweyo weaving a snowshoe (neg. no. 62082).

FIG. 39. A scraped, tanned caribou skin pegged out to freeze (neg. no. 61466).

FIG. 40. Cutting a frozen caribou skin to make babiche (neg. no. 61446).

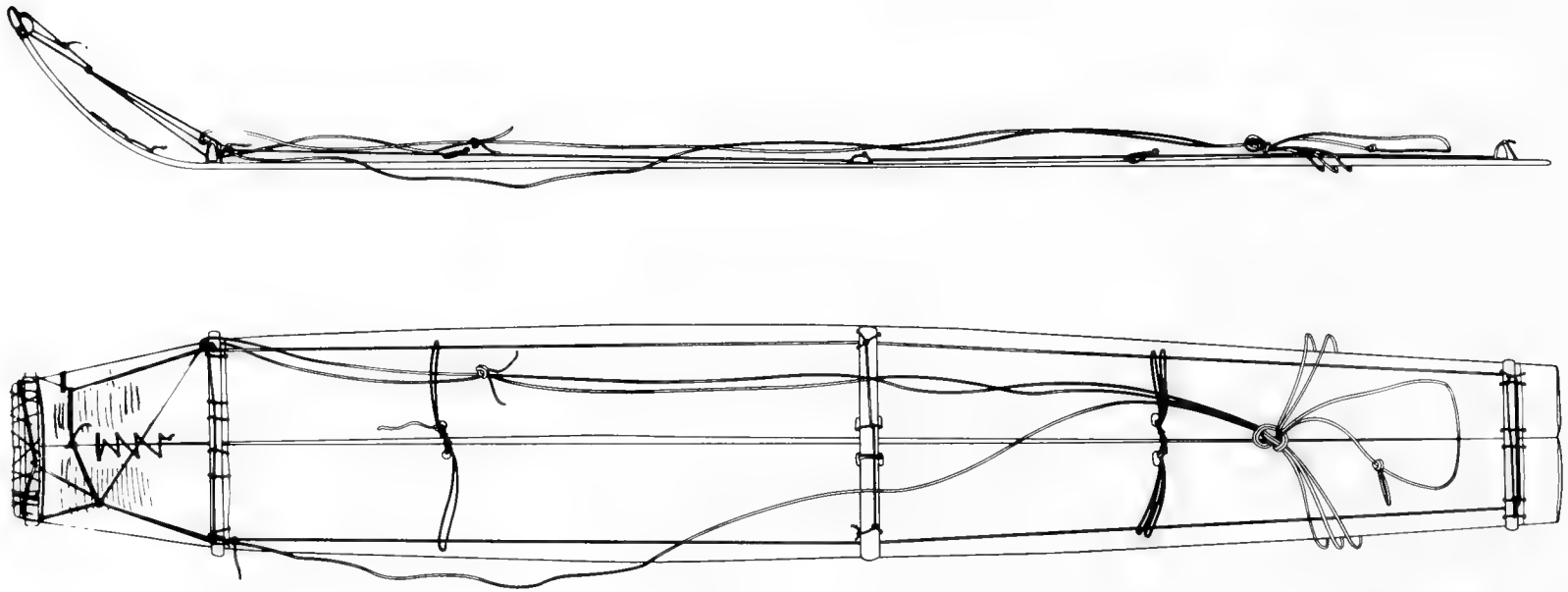


FIG. 41. Toboggan, 193.5 cm long (176579).

FIG. 42. **A**, model toboggan (177321); **B**, spit (176834).

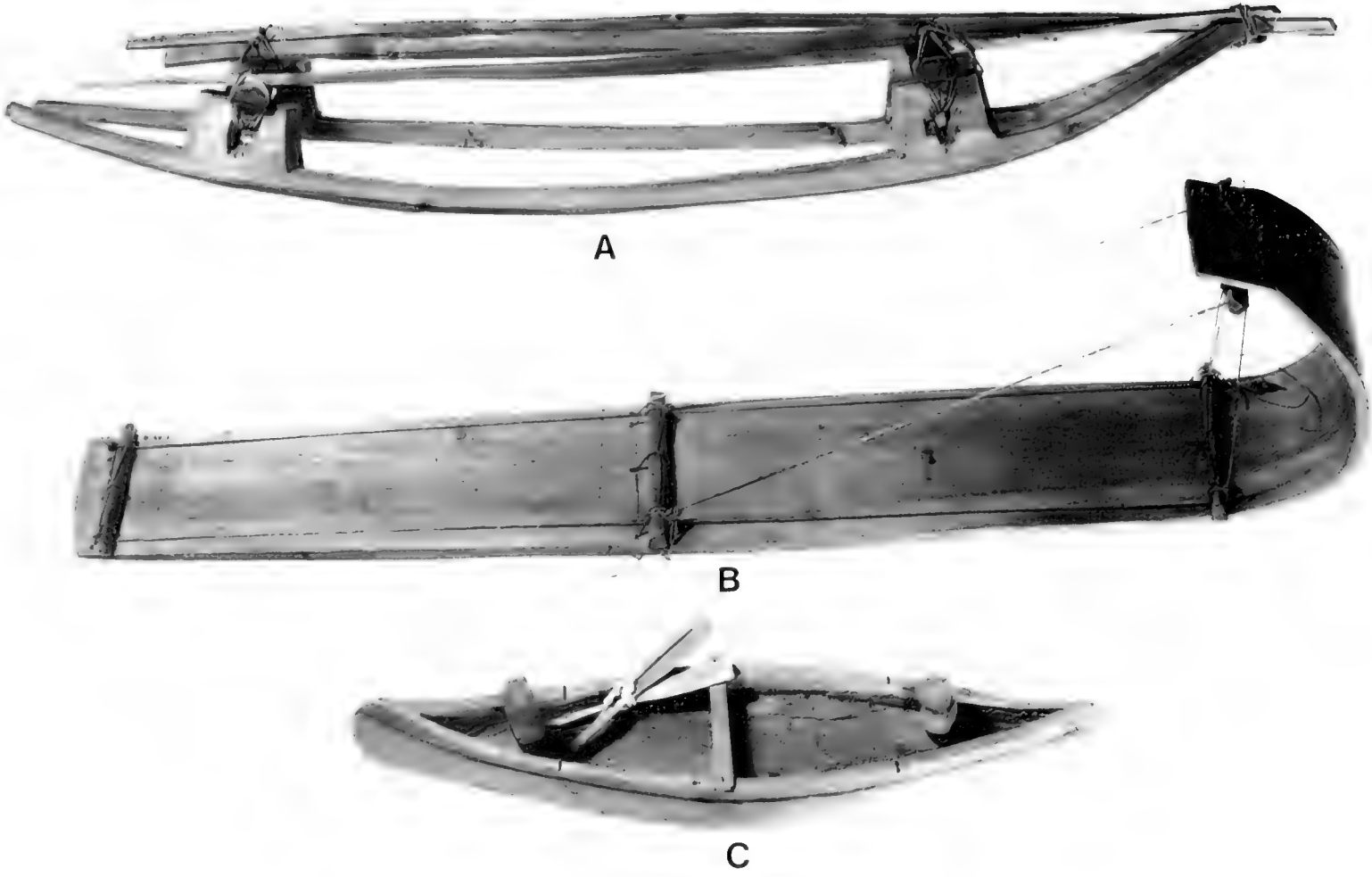


FIG. 43. **A**, model sled (176581); **B**, model toboggan (176578); **C**, model canoe (176819a–f).

FIG. 44. Hand drawn sled for hauling firewood and camp equipment (neg. no. 61695).

FIG. 45. Dogs being harnessed to flat-bedded, Eskimo-style sled (neg. no. 61450).

FIG. 46. Family traveling on flat-bedded, Eskimo-style sled (neg. no. 61504).

FIG. 47. Model canoe (176812a–e).

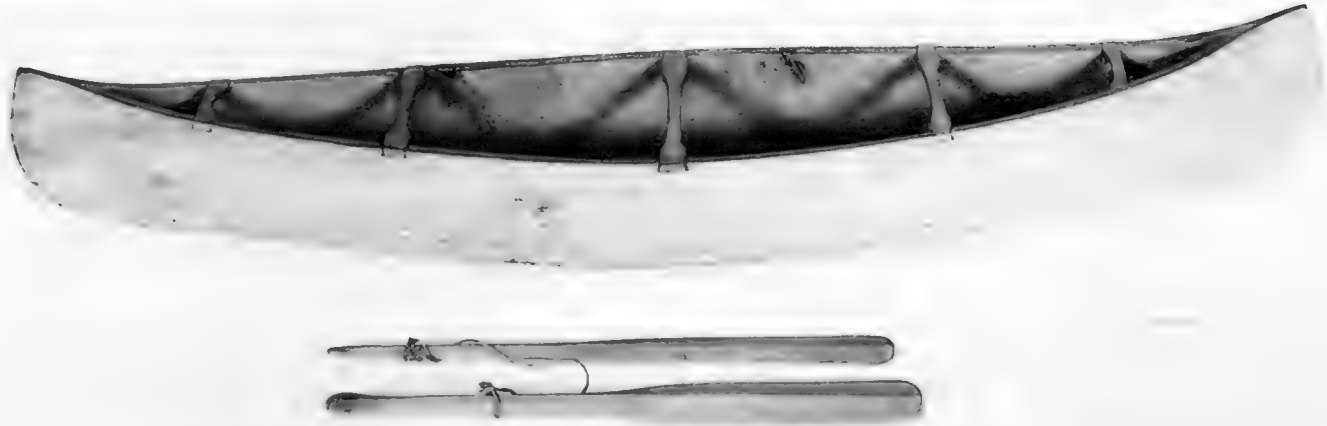


FIG. 48. Model canoe (176818a–c).

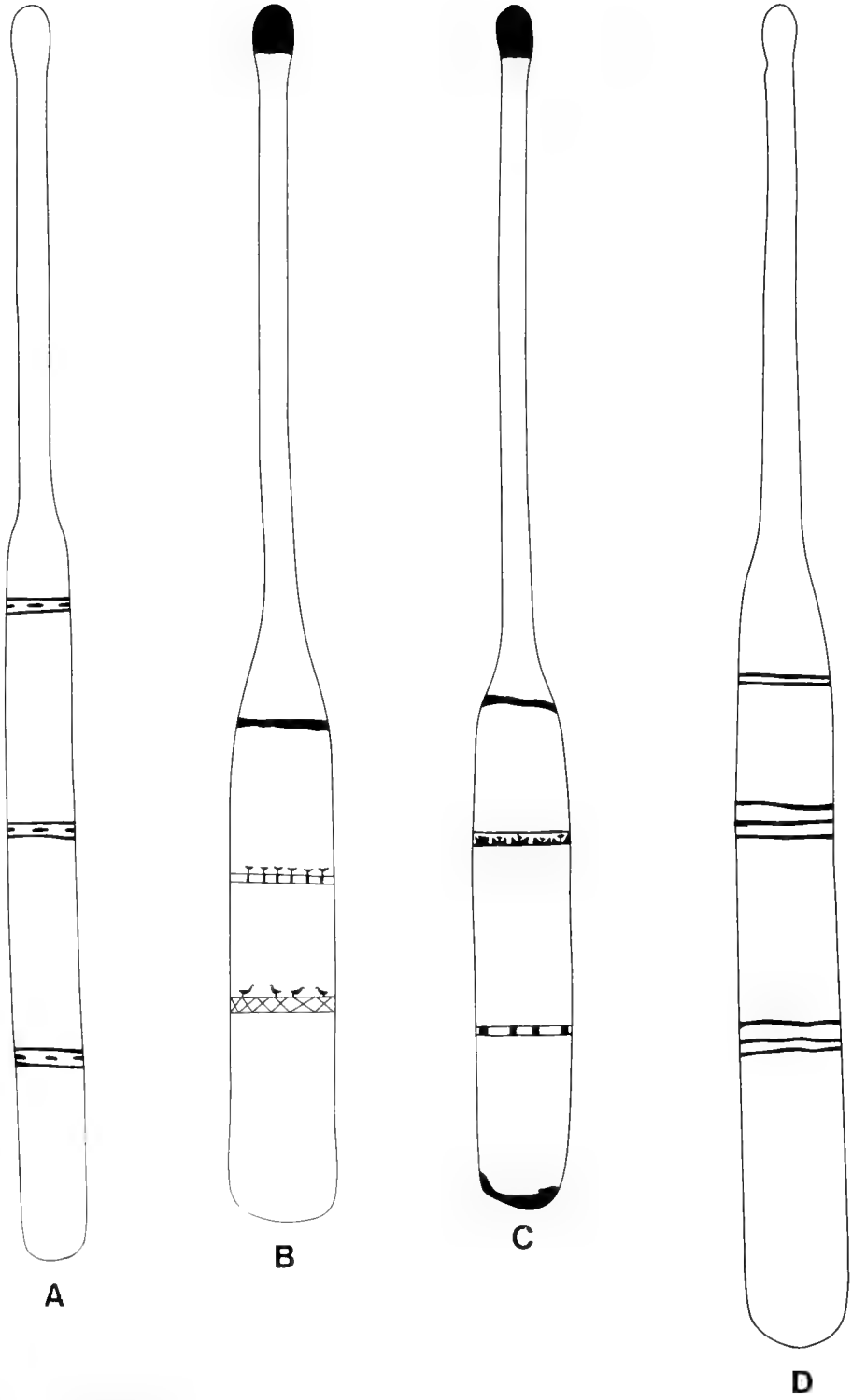


FIG. 49. **A**, canoe paddle, 141 cm long (177305); **B**, canoe paddle, 136 cm long (176815); **C**, canoe paddle, 135 cm long (176816); **D**, canoe paddle, 150.5 cm long (177303).

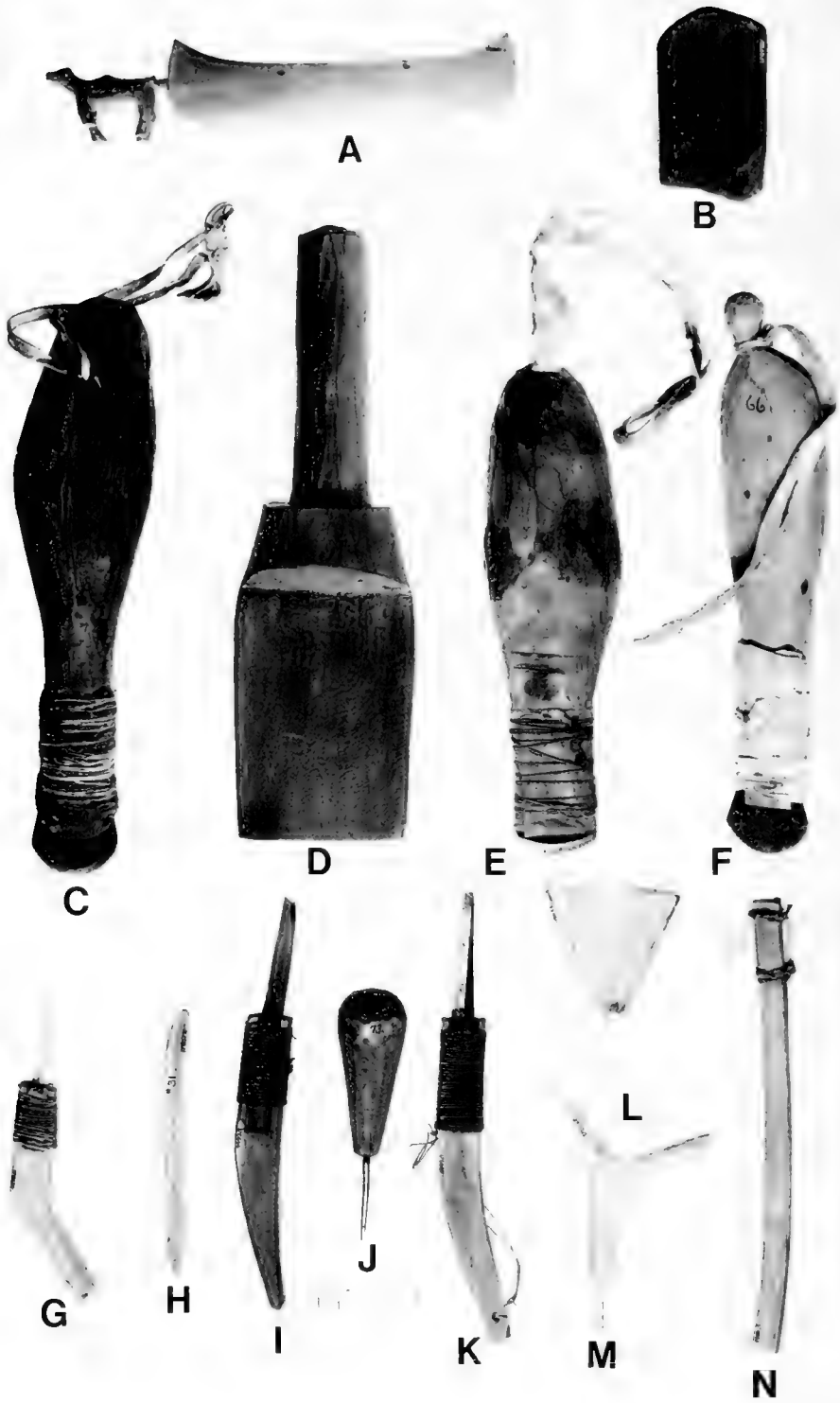


FIG. 50. **A**, model canoe and caribou (176820a–b); **B**, whetstone (176787); **C**, fleshing tool (type 1) (176878); **D**, canoe bailer (176817); **E**, fleshing tool (type 1) (176879); **F**, fleshing tool (type 1) (176877); **G**, crooked knife (176670); **H**, awl (176575); **I**, crooked knife (176666); **J**, awl (176600); **K**, crooked knife (176667); **L**, awl (176545); **M**, awl (176546); **N**, model ax (176861).

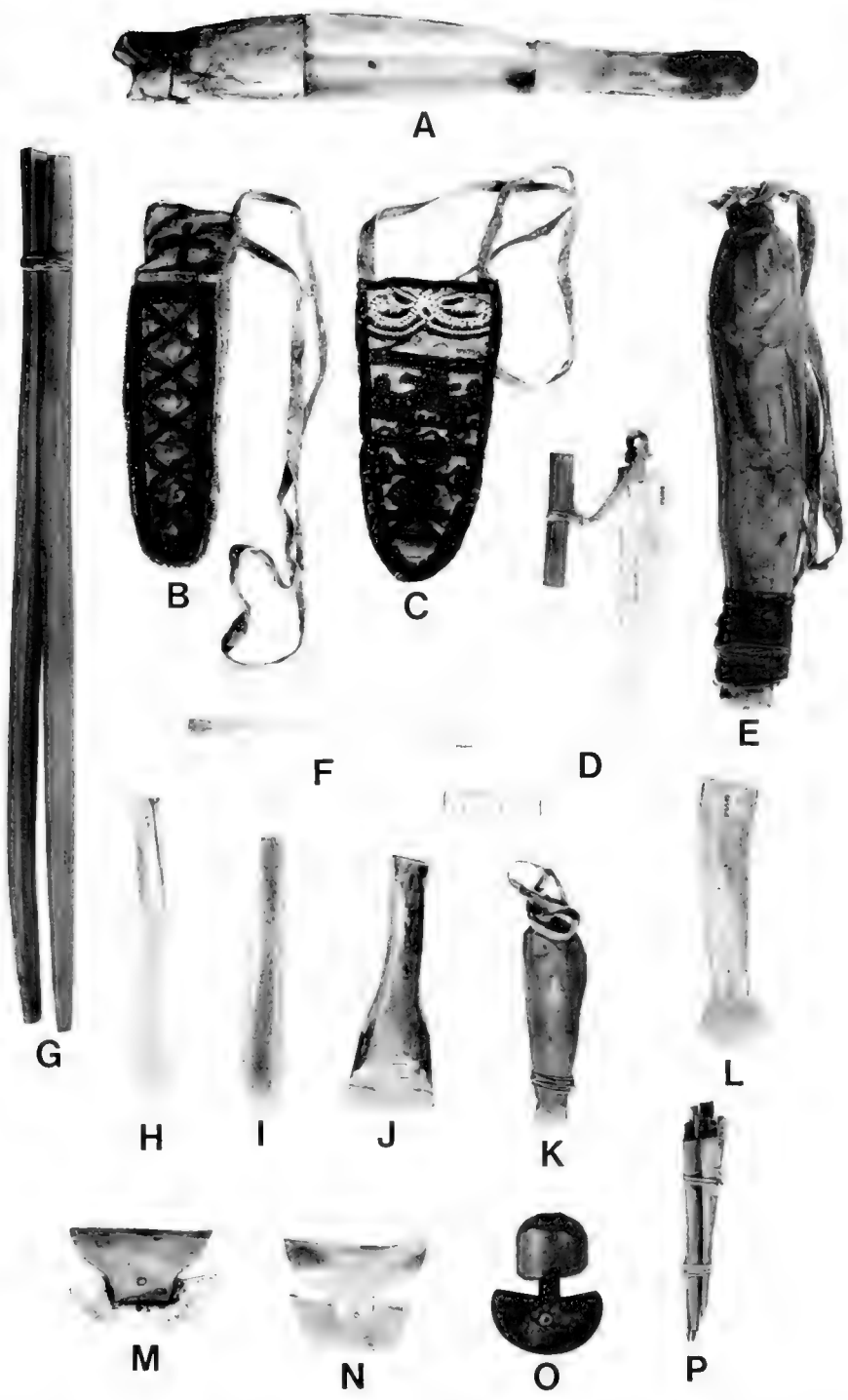


FIG. 51. **A**, scraper (176541); **B**, knife sheath (176731); **C**, knife sheath (176730); **D**, knife (176556); **E**, fleshing tool (type 1) (176880); **F**, scraper (176663); **G**, fire tongs (176882); **H**, fleshing tool (type 2) (176576); **I**, fleshing tool (type 2) (176577); **J**, fleshing tool (type 2) (176876); **K**, fleshing tool (type 1) (model?) (176881); **L**, fleshing tool (type 2) (176543); **M**, semilunar knife (176551); **N**, semilunar knife (176552); **O**, semilunar knife (176665); **P**, model stove posts (176778a–d).

FIG. 52. Peenamee fleshing a caribou hide (neg. no. 61465).

FIG. 53. Woman dehairing a caribou skin with a two-handed scraper (neg. no. 61531).

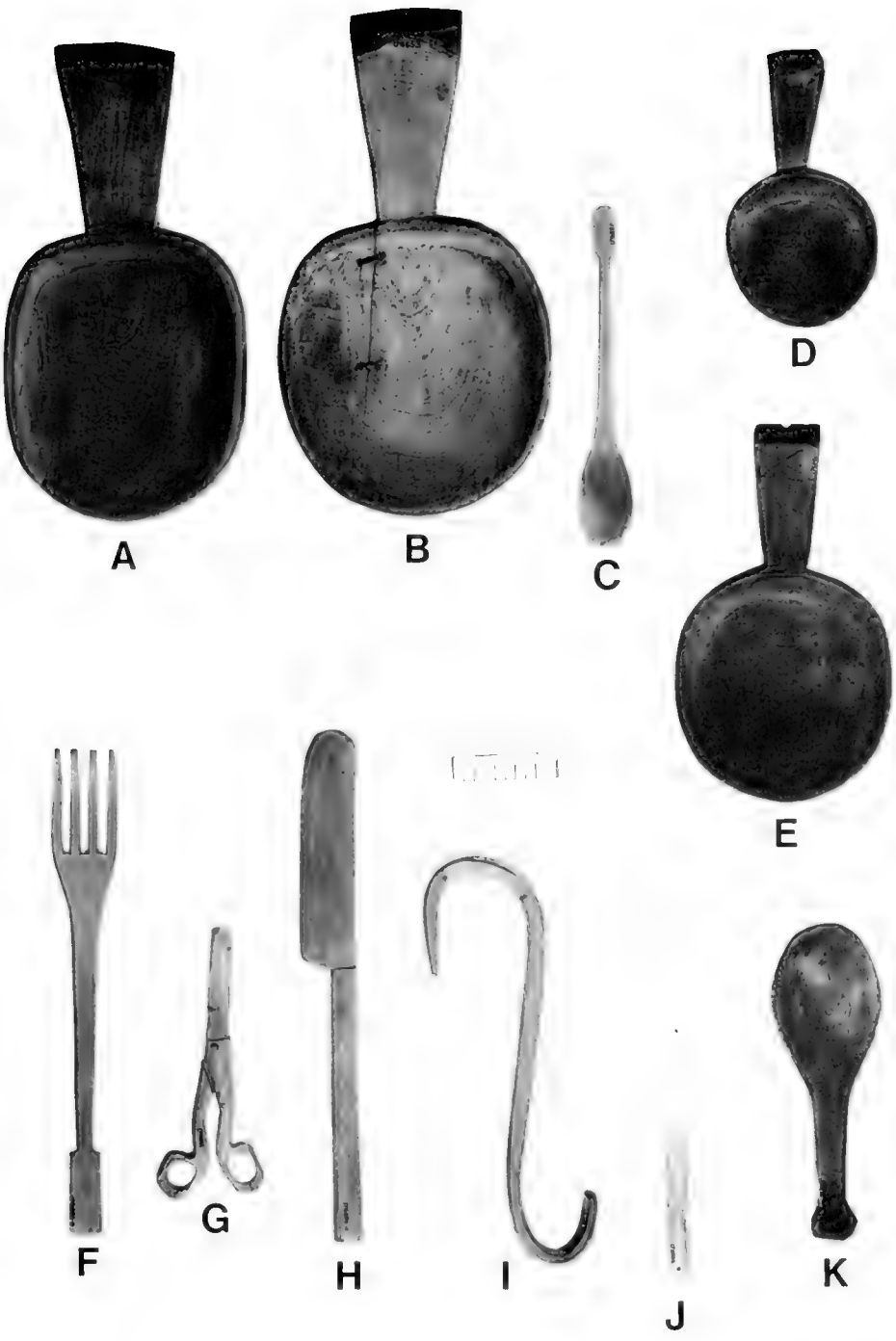


FIG. 54. **A**, ladle (176899); **B**, ladle (176553); **C**, spoon (176897); **D**, ladle (176902); **E**, ladle (176901); **F**, fork (176895b); **G**, scissors (176662); **H**, knife (176895a); **I**, pothook (176884); **J**, spoon (176558); **K**, spoon (176896).

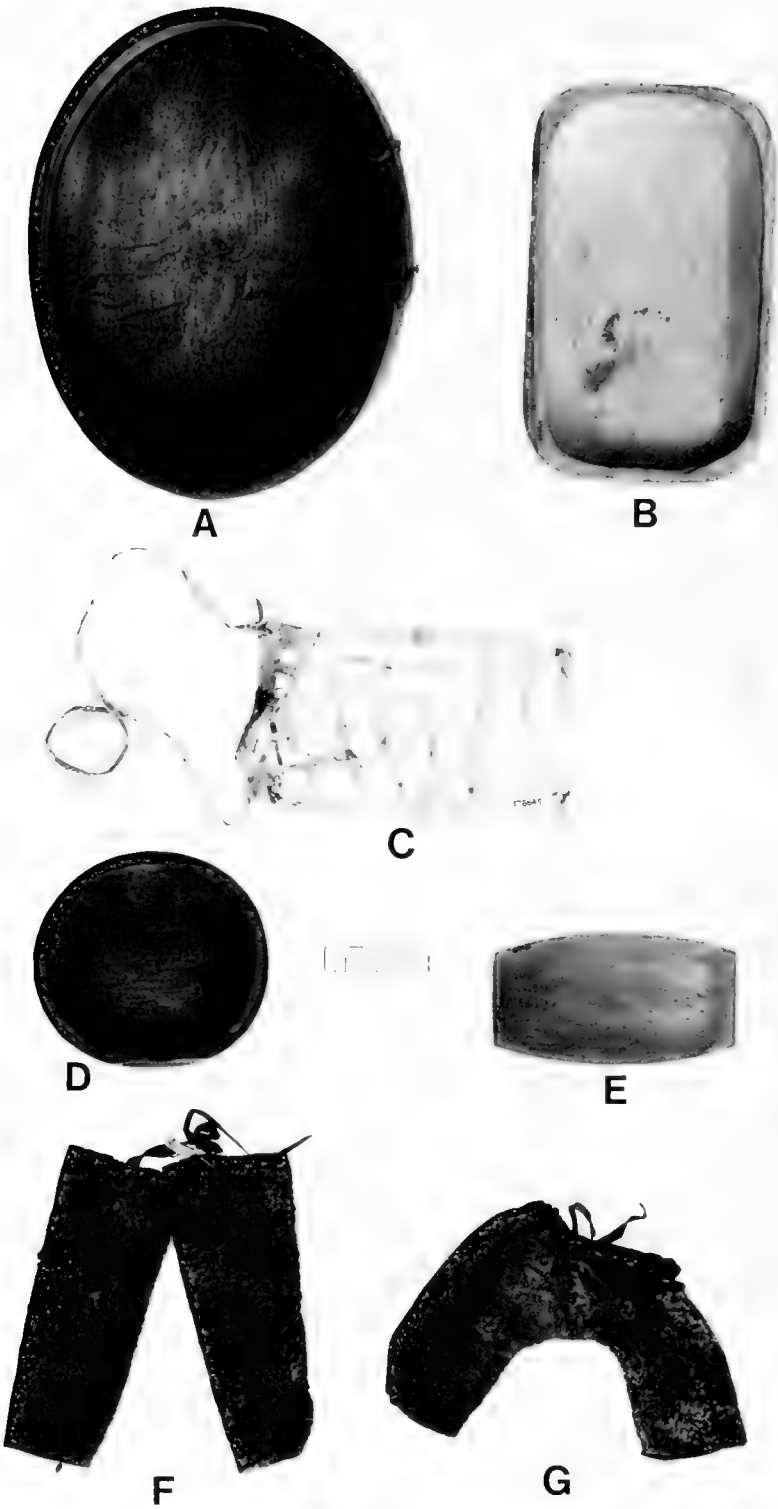


FIG. 55. **A**, bowl (176890); **B**, plate or dish (176888); **C**, model child's hammock (176645); **D**, plate or dish (176892); **E**, plate or dish (176891); **F**, model leggings (176723); **G**, model man's trousers (176724).

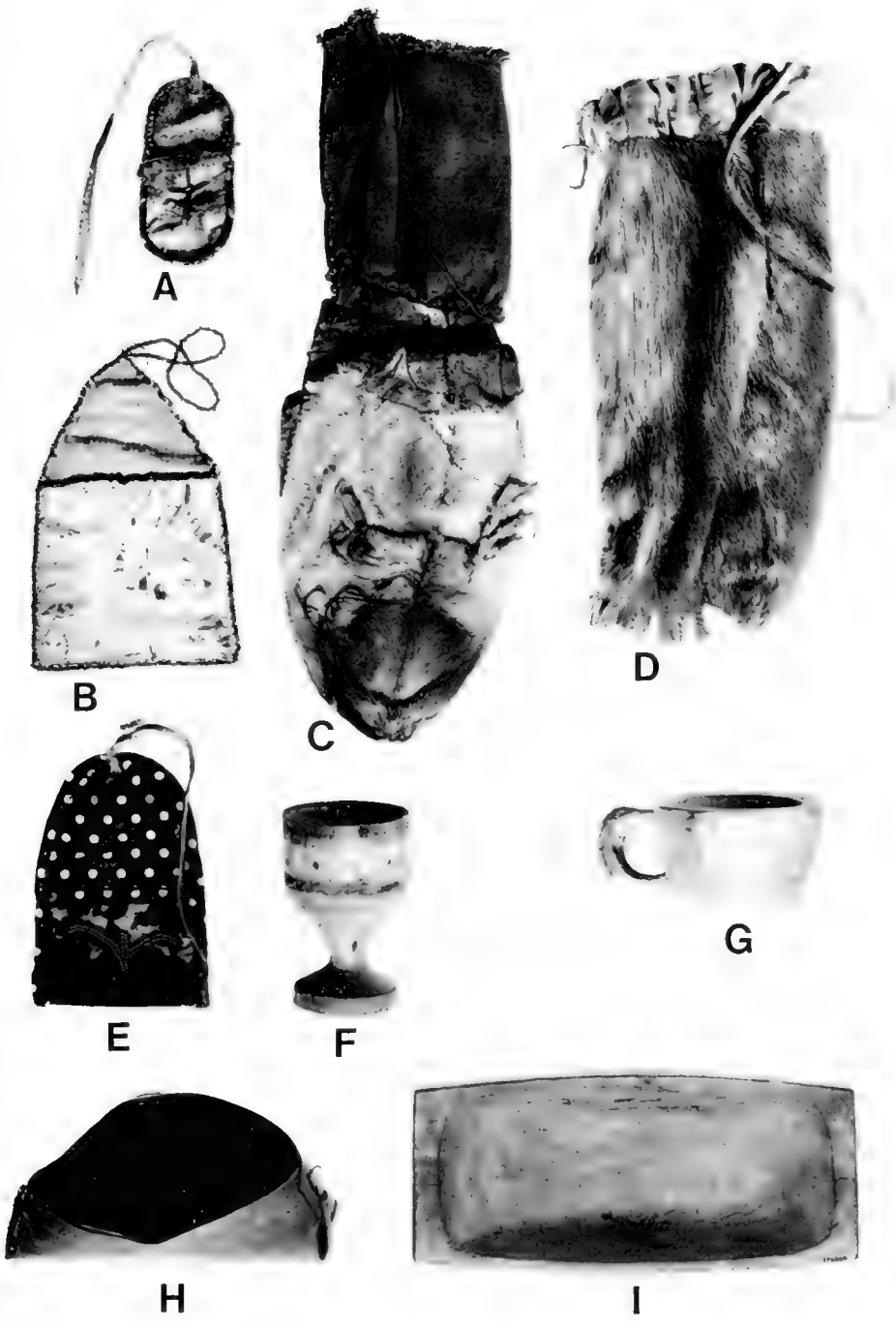


FIG. 56. **A**, pouch (176767); **B**, pouch (176766); **C**, bag (176690); **D**, bag (176688); **E**, pouch (176765); **F**, goblet (176894); **G**, cup (176893); **H**, bark container (176769); **I**, plate or dish (176889).

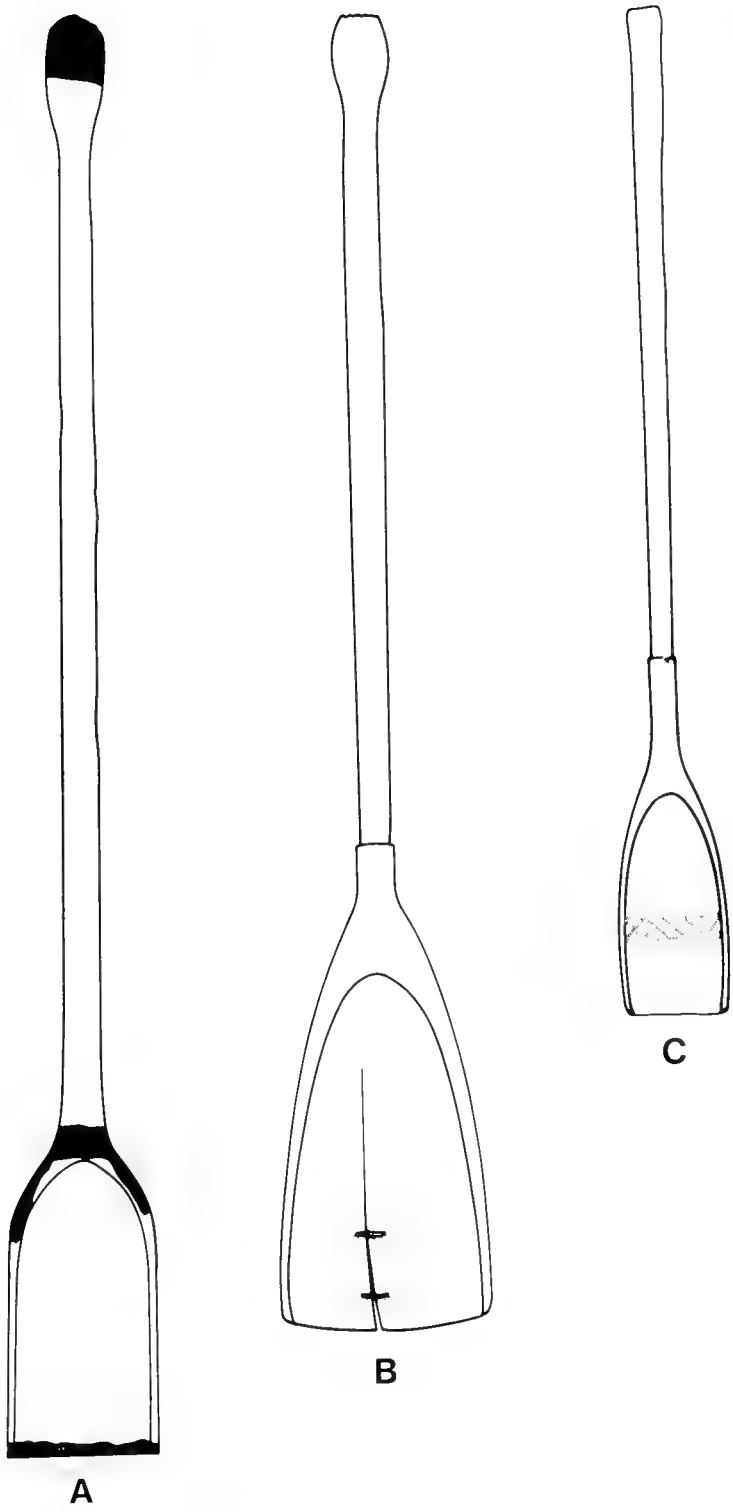


FIG. 57. **A**, snow shovel, 123.5 cm long (176829); **B**, snow shovel, 113.5 cm long (176831); **C**, snow shovel, 88.5 cm long (176832).

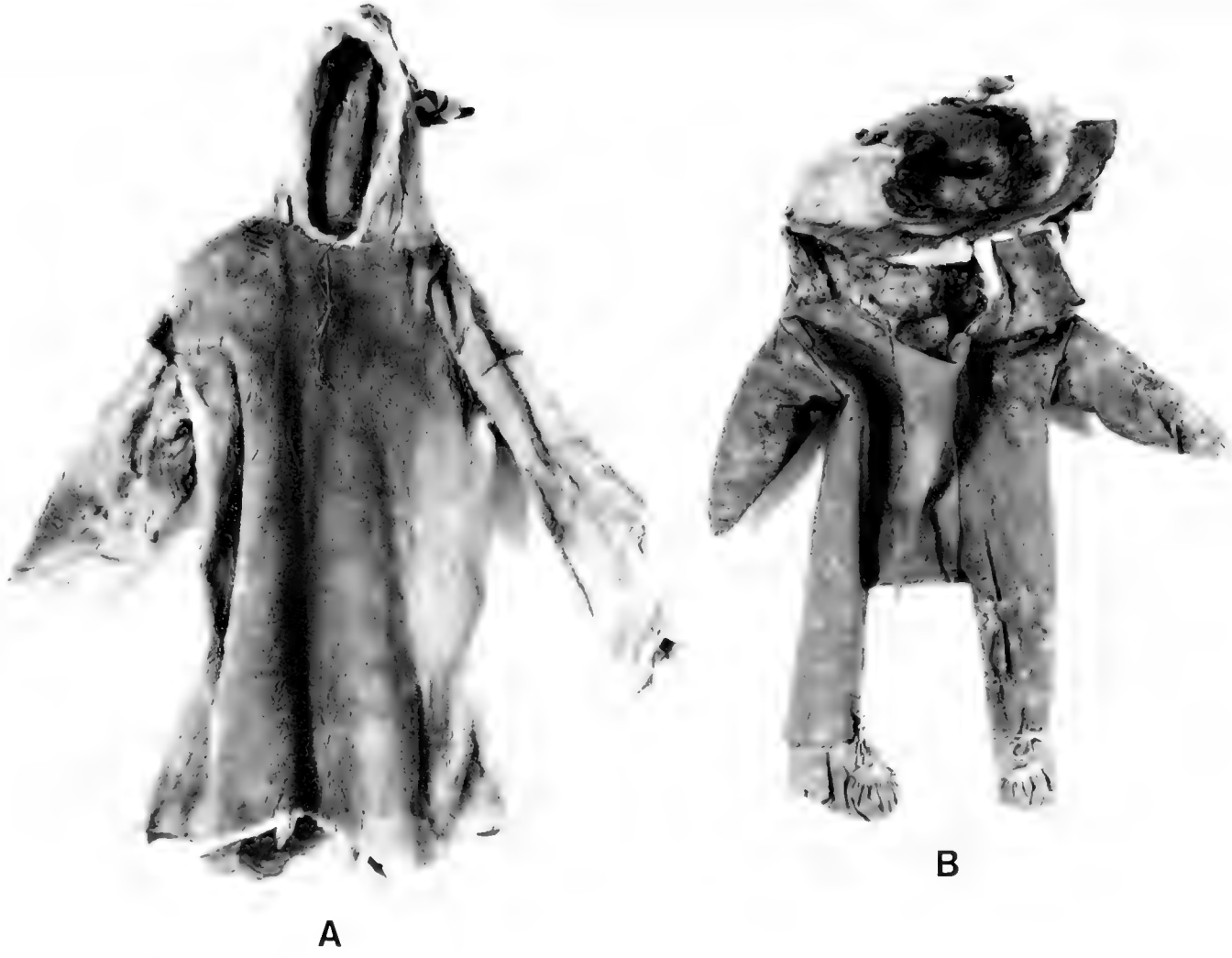


FIG. 58. **A**, shirt (176704); **B**, infant's traveling costume (176710).

FIG. 59. Joe Rich butchering caribou (neg. no. 62078).

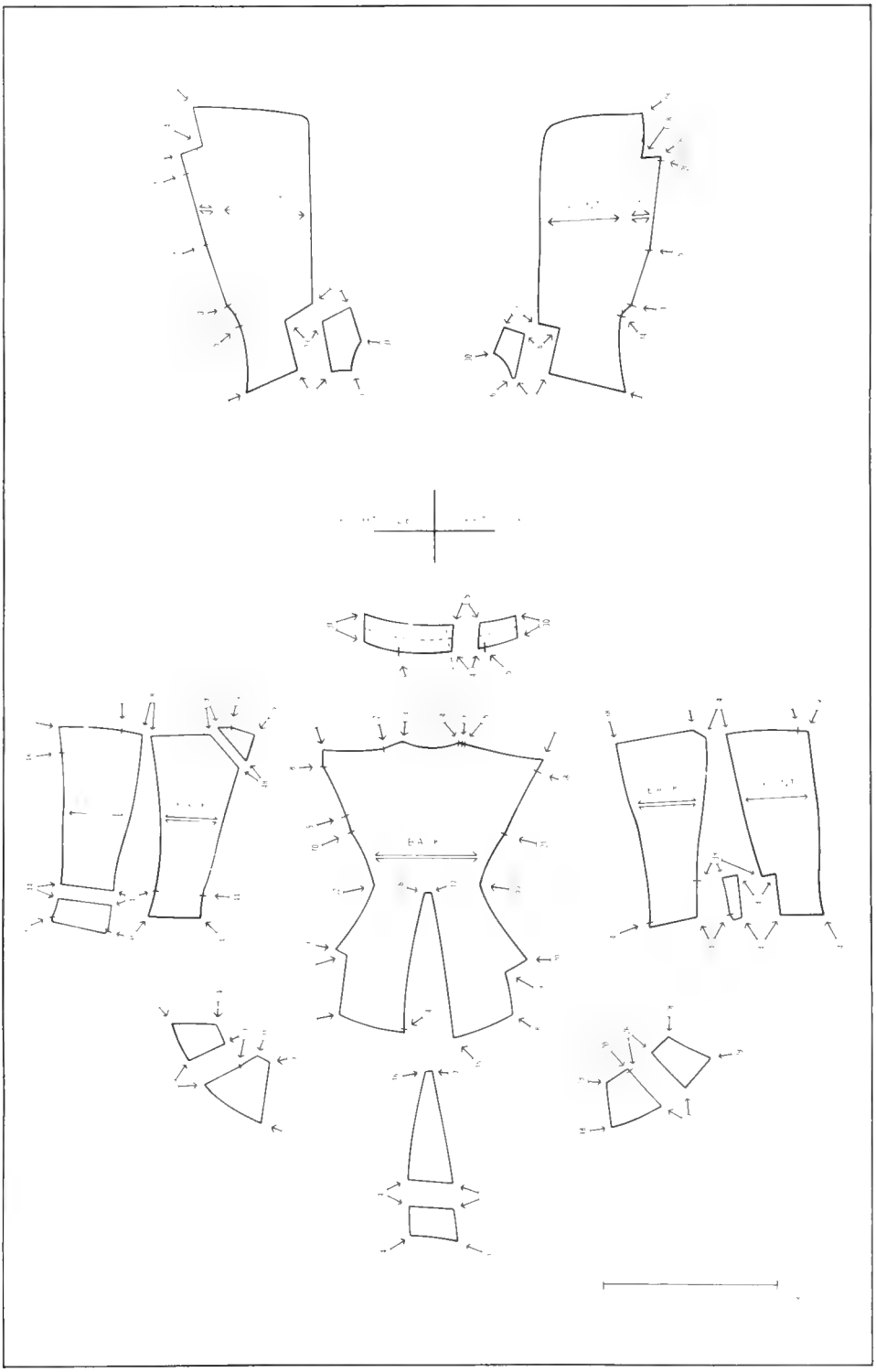


FIG. 60. Coat (176945). The numbers in circles on this and subsequent pattern drawings indicate points of contact.

FIG. 61. Coat, back (176945).

FIG. 62. Coat, front (176945).

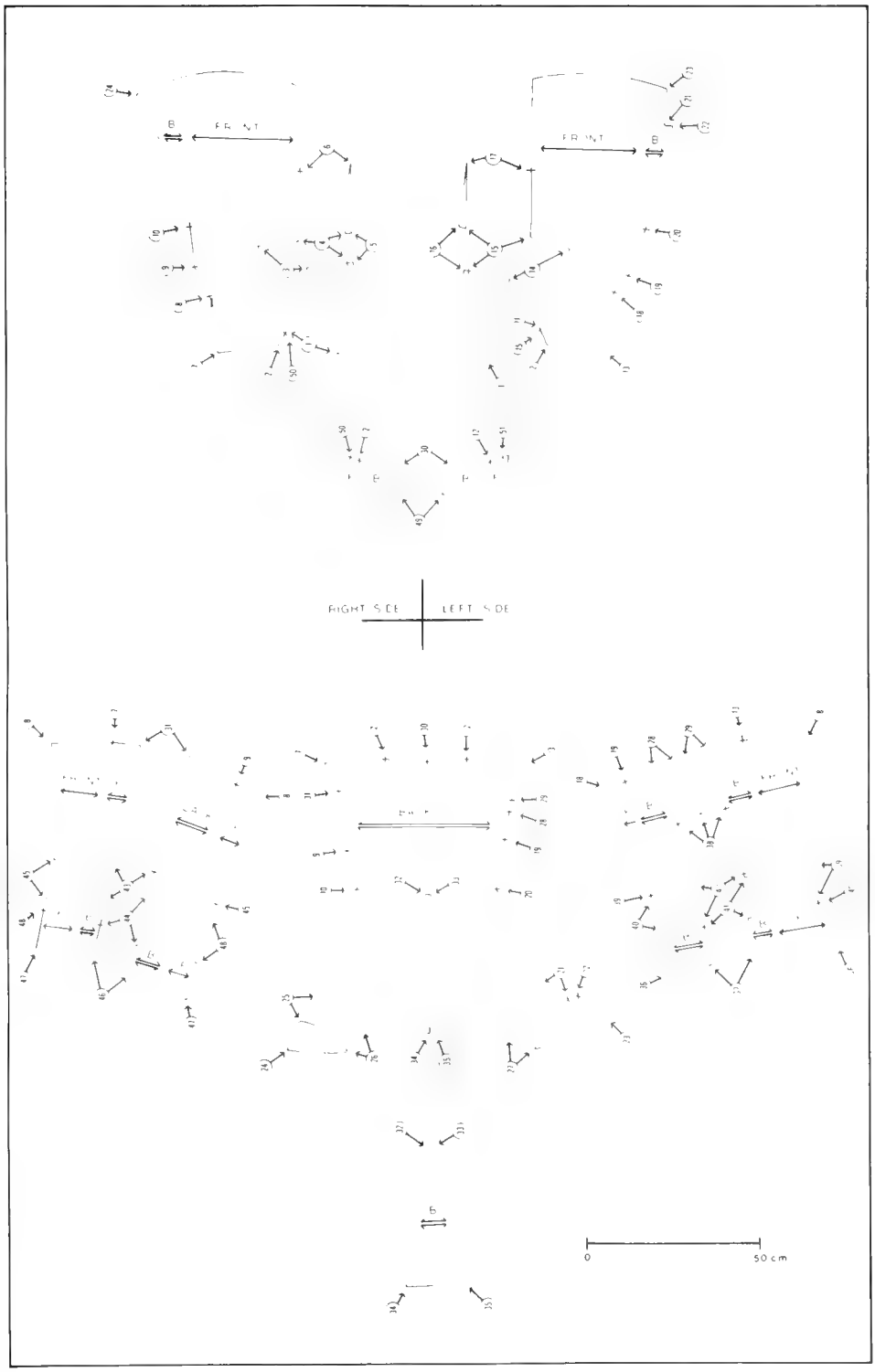


FIG. 63. Coat (176946).

FIG. 64. Coat, back (176946).

FIG. 65. Coat, front (176946).

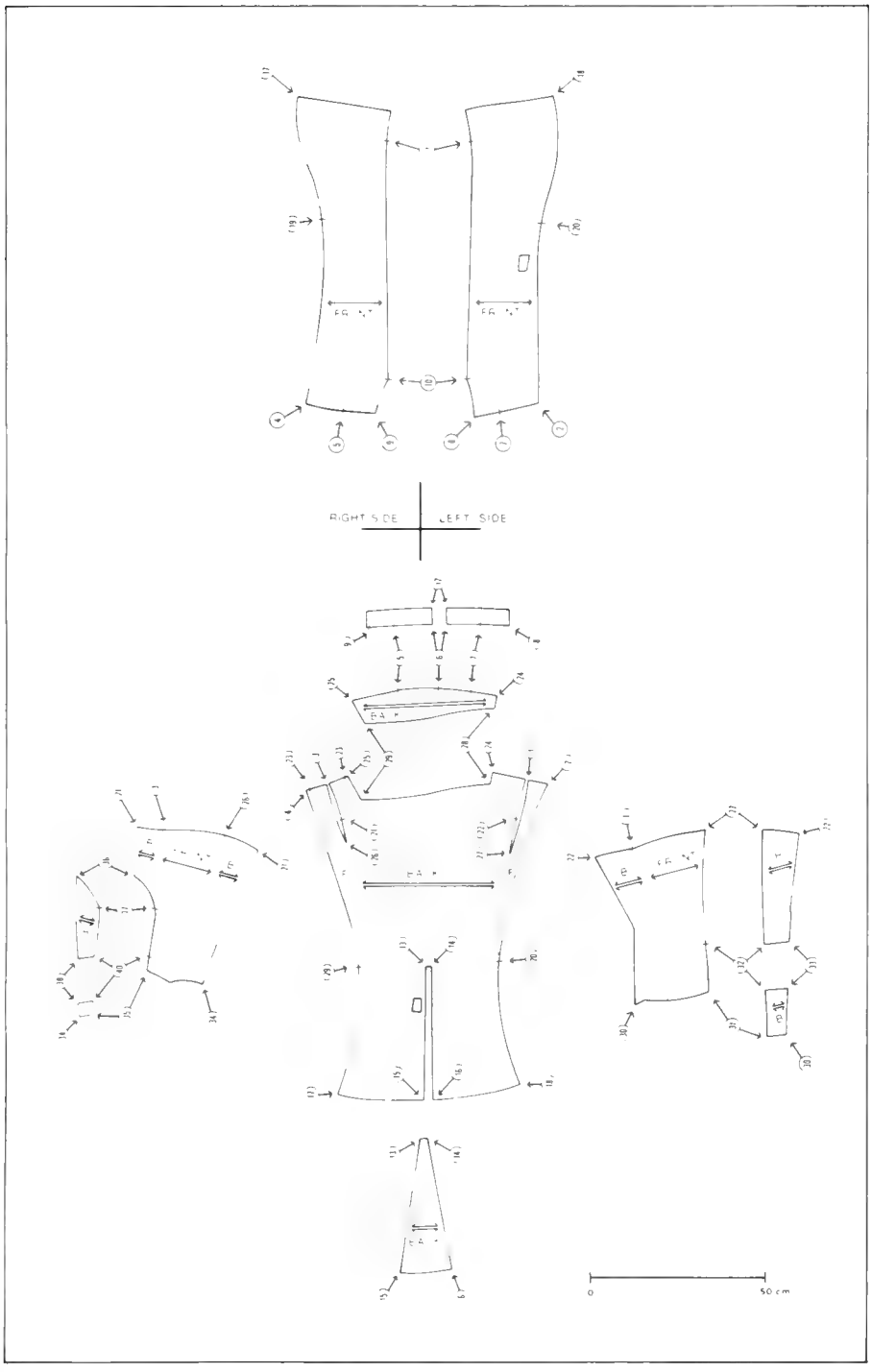


FIG. 66. Coat (176522).

FIG. 67. Coat, back (176522).

FIG. 68. Coat, front (176522).

FIG. 69. Coat, back (179986).

FIG. 70. Coat, front (179986).

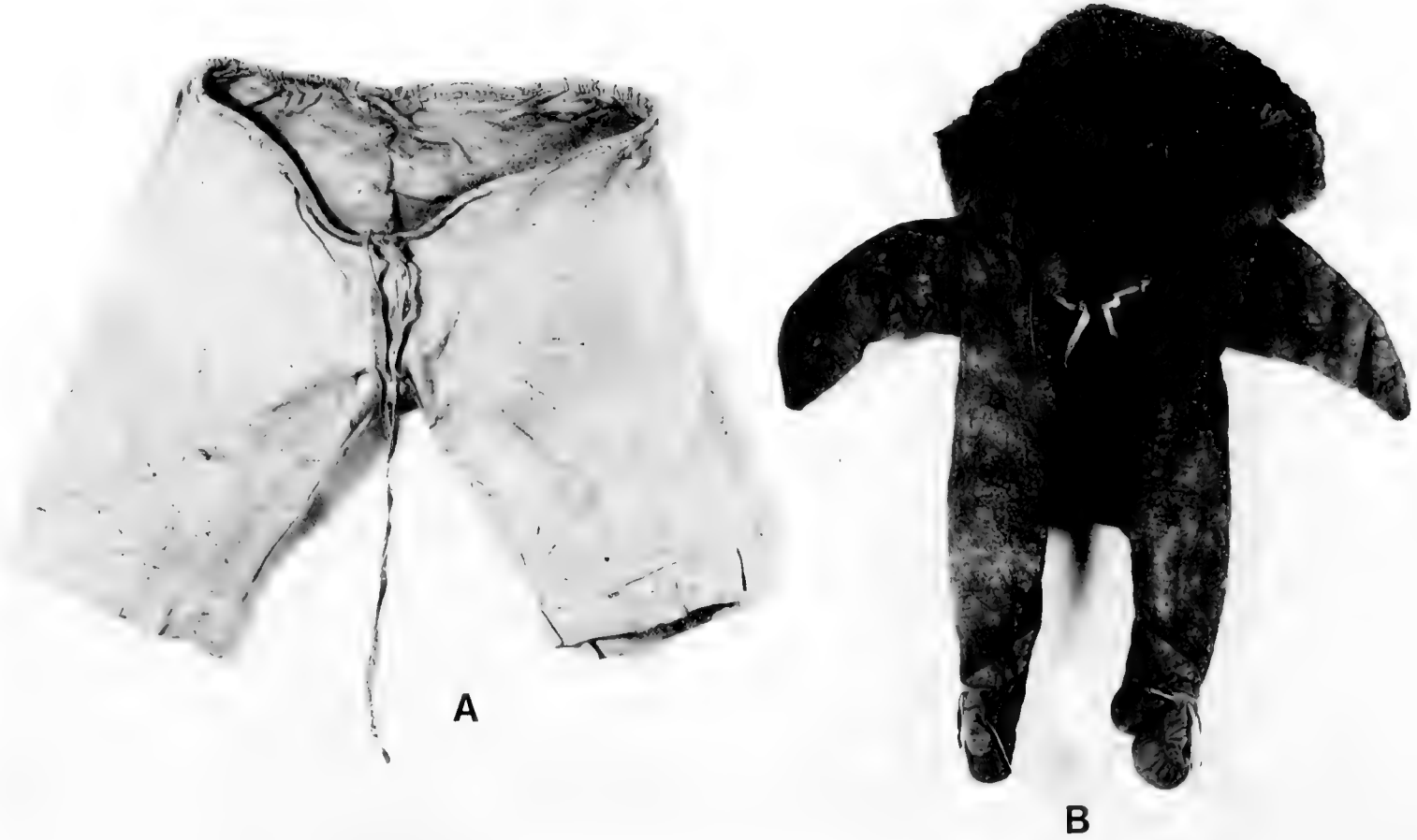


FIG. 71. **A**, trousers (176725); **B**, infant's traveling costume (176712).

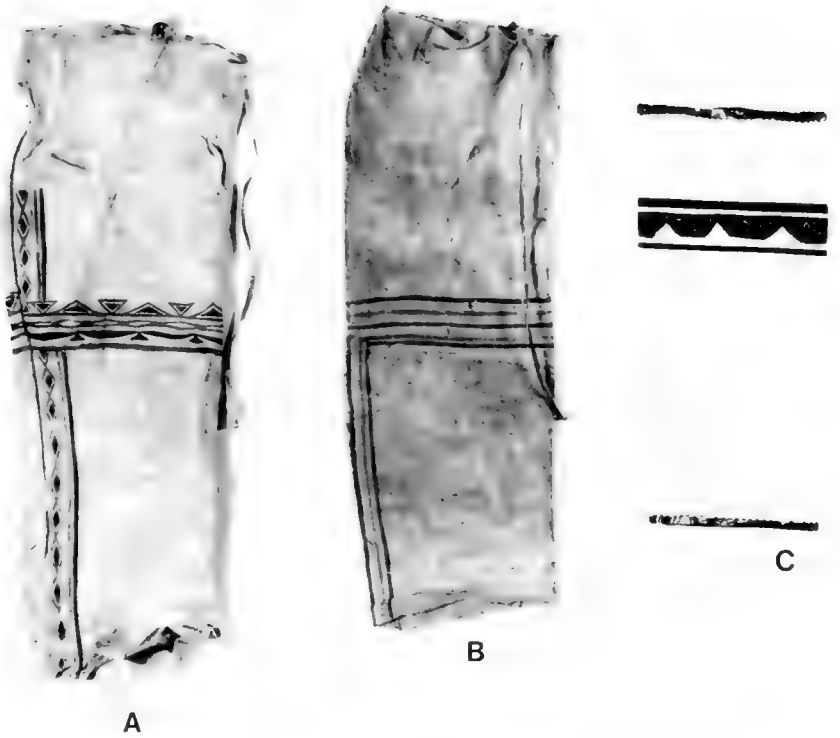


FIG. 72. **A**, leggings (176717a–b); **B**, leggings (176943 1–2); **C**, leggings (176719 a–b).

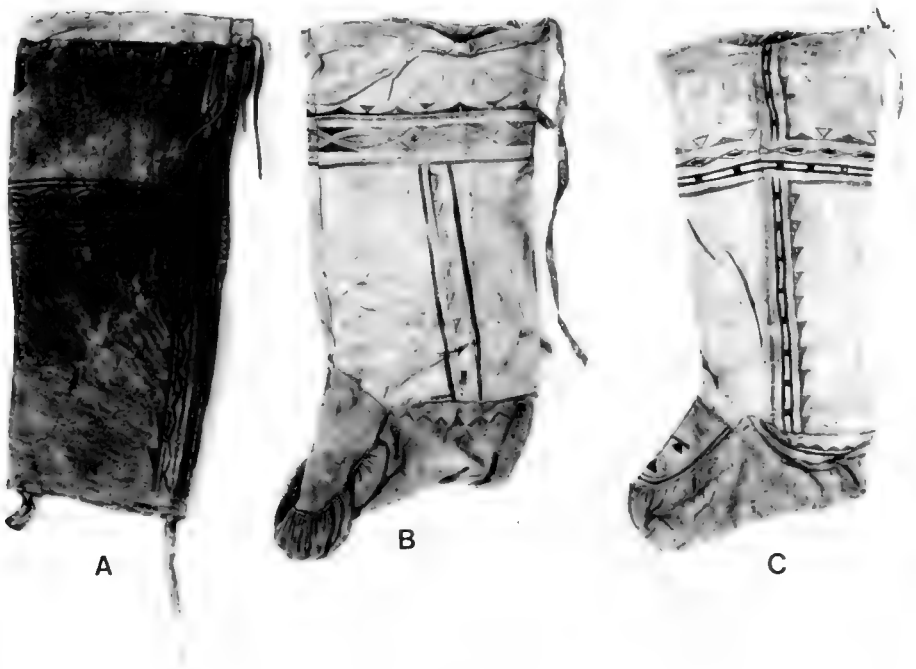
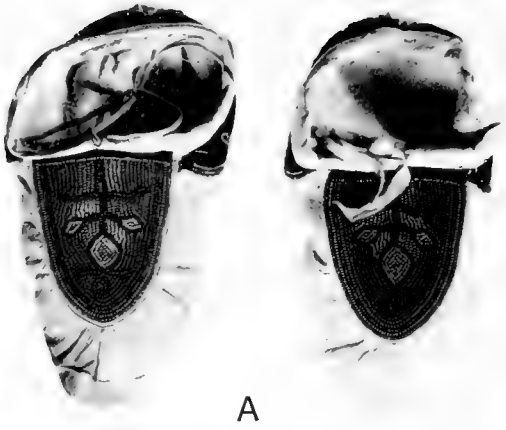


FIG. 73. **A**, leggings (176718a–b); **B**, moccasin-leggings (176720a–b); **C**, moccasin-leggings (176527a–b).



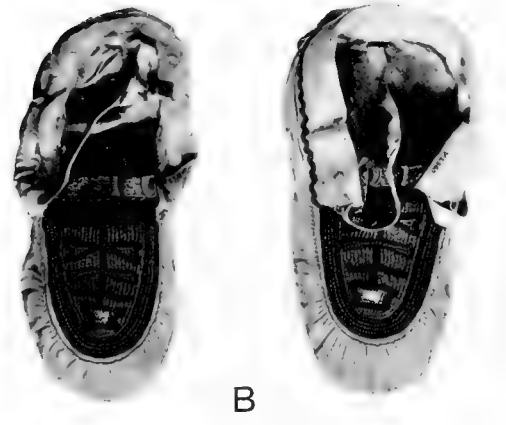
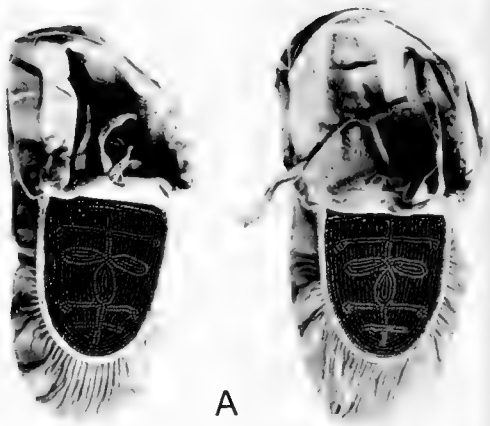


FIG. 74. **A**, moccasins (176699a–b); **B**, man's moccasins (176515a–b).



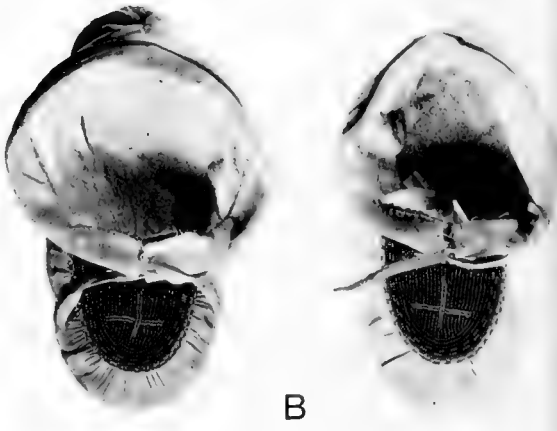


FIG. 75. **A**, moccasins (176697a–b); **B**, moccasins (176696a–b).

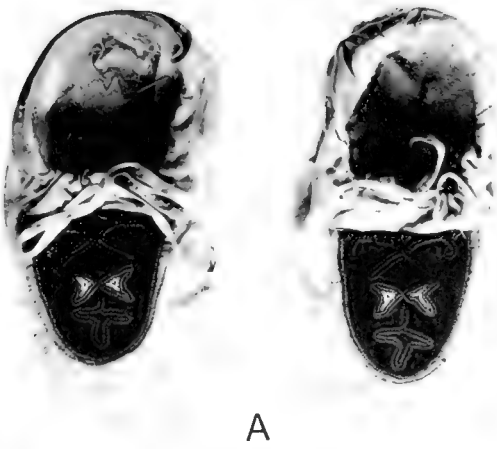


FIG. 76. **A**, moccasins (176694a–b); **B**, moccasins (176693a–b).

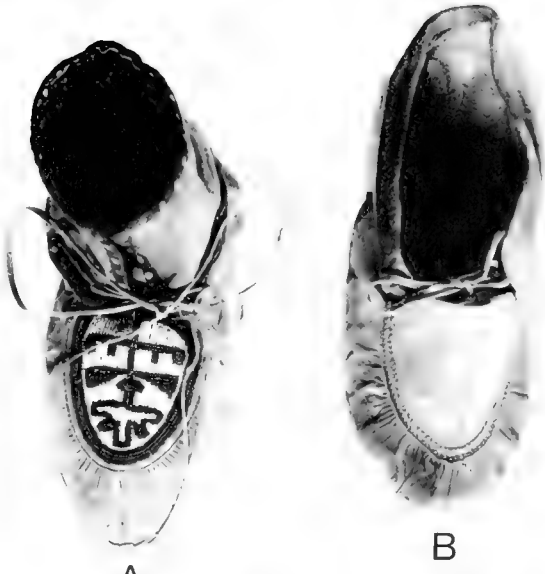


FIG. 77. **A**, moccasins (176698a–b); **B**, moccasins (177302a–b); **C**, unfinished moccasins (177301a–b).

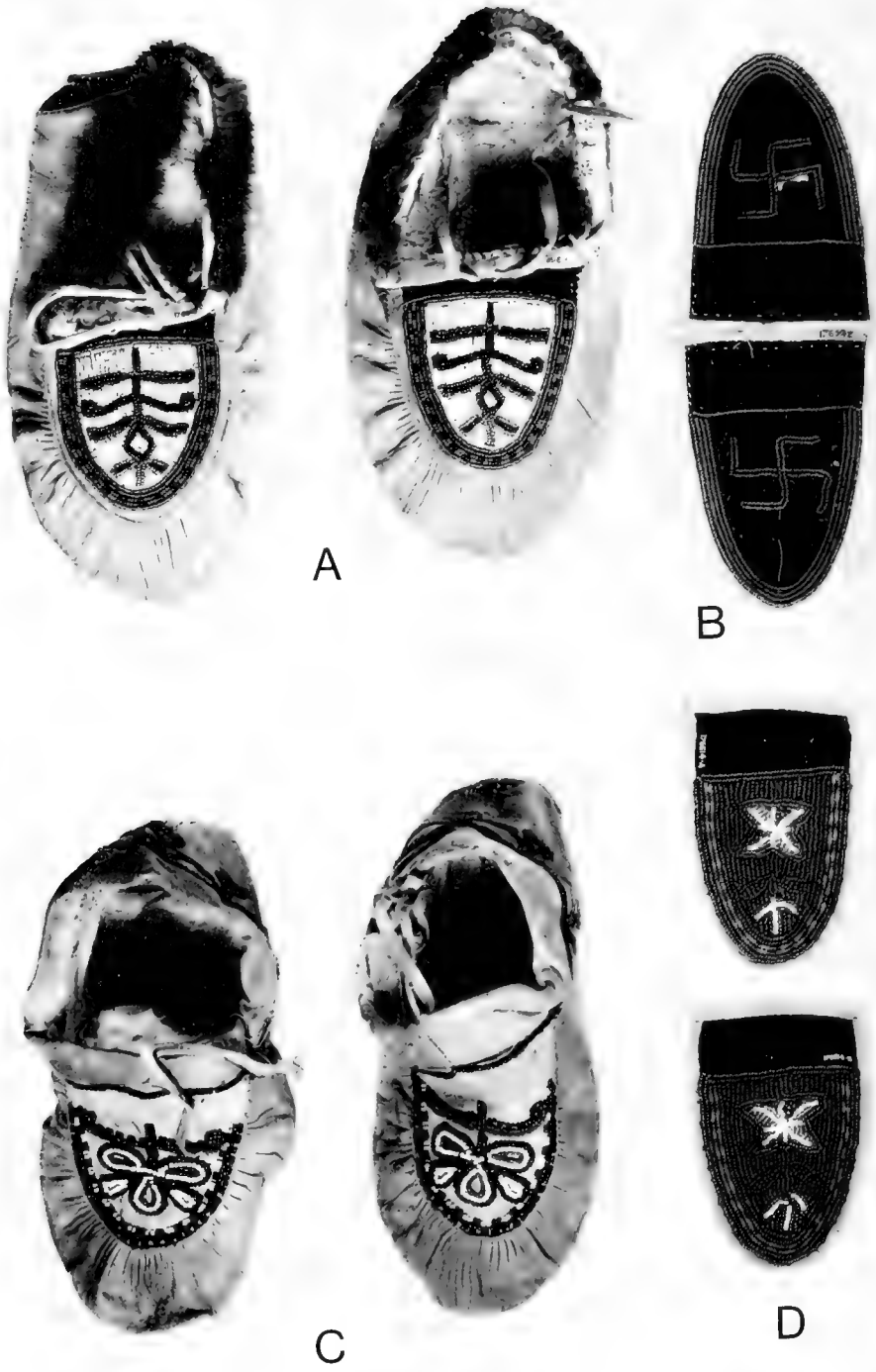


FIG. 78. **A**, moccasins (176516a–b); **B**, instep pieces (176742); **C**, moccasins (176692a–b); **D**, instep pieces (176514a–b).

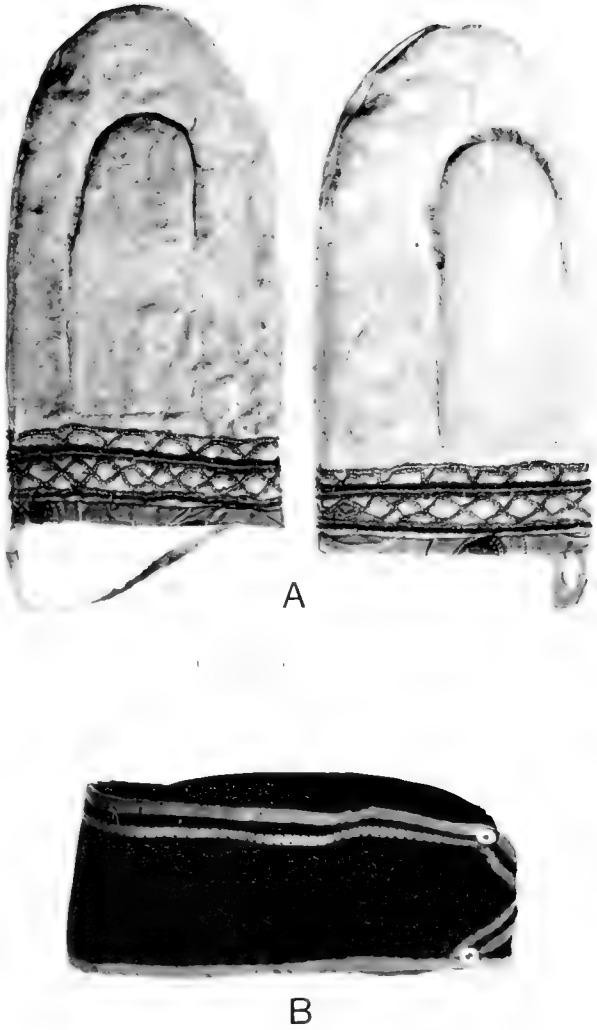


FIG. 79. **A**, mittens (176726a–b); **B**, hat (176728).

FIG. 80. Monik lashed on a loaded sled in preparation for travel (neg. no. 61694).

FIG. 81. **A**, child's shirt (176513); **B**, child's jacket (176709); **C**, child's shirt (176705).

FIG. 82. Penashaway wearing a caribou skin shirt (neg. no. 61592).

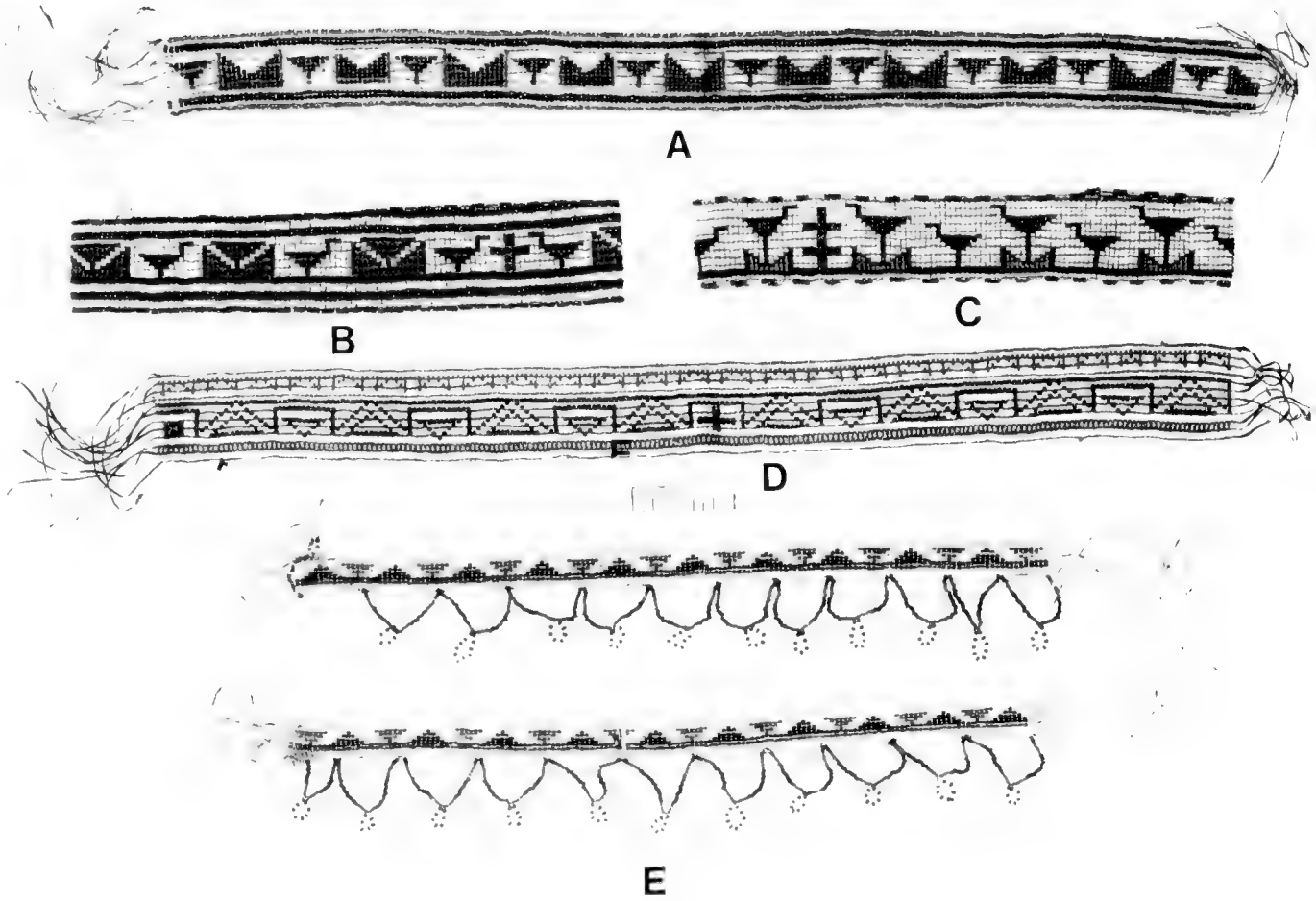


FIG. 83. **A**, headband (type 1) (176757); **B**, headband (type 1) (176523); **C**, headband (type 1) (176524); **D**, headband (type 1) (176572); **E**, hair wrappers (type 2) (176525, 176758).

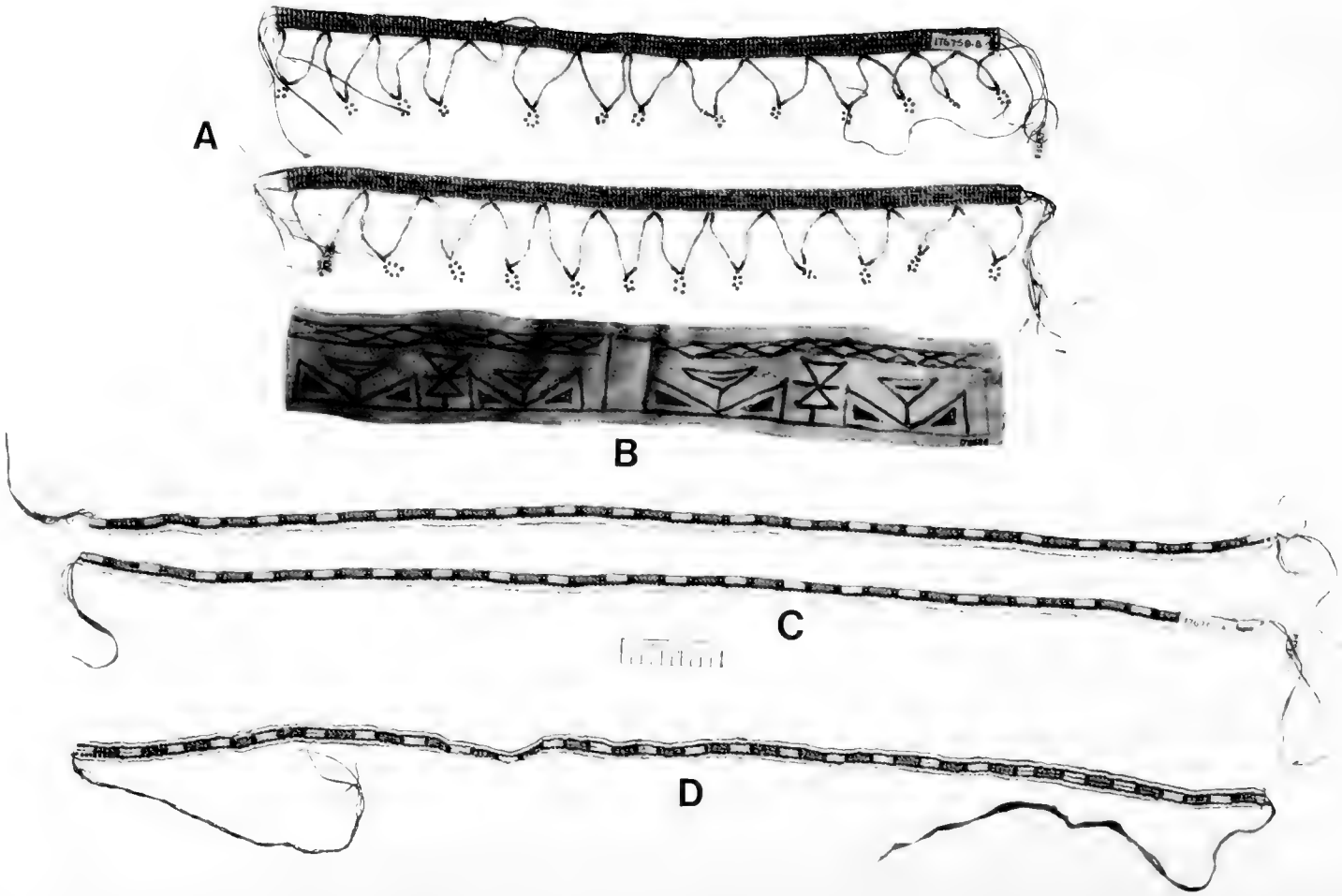


FIG. 84. **A**, hair wrappers (type 2) (176759a–b); **B**, headband (type 2) (176526); **C**, hair wrappers (type 1) (176763a–b); **D**, hair wrappers (type 1) (176573a–b).

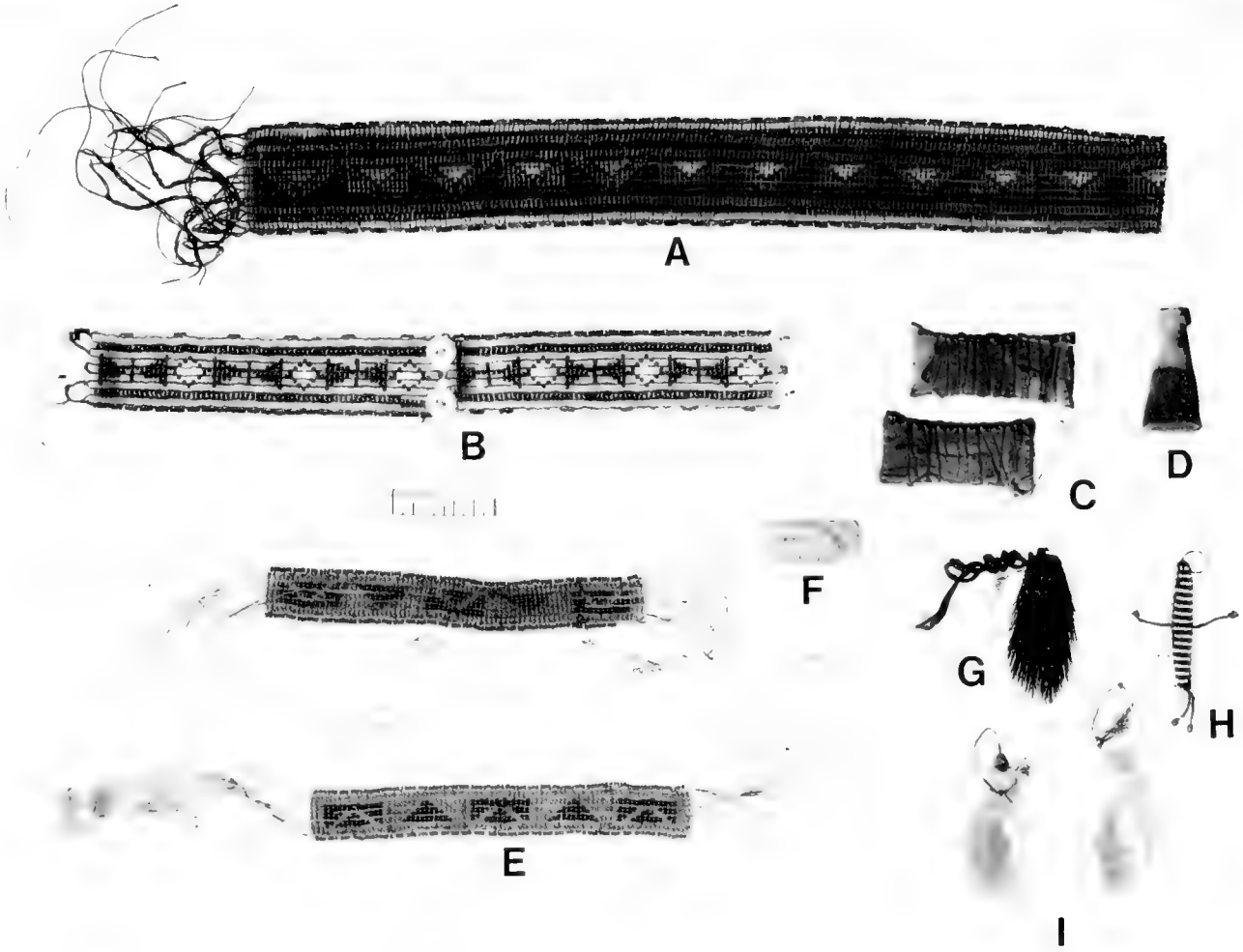


FIG. 85. **A**, belt (176511); **B**, armbands (176734a–b); **C**, boards for wrapping hair (176508); **D**, model bone crusher (176887); **E**, armbands (176732a–b); **F**, comb (176506); **G**, comb cleaner (176507); **H**, amulet (176560); **I**, ear ornaments (type 3) (176510a–b).

FIG. 86. Young woman wearing hair wrappers (neg. no. 61593).

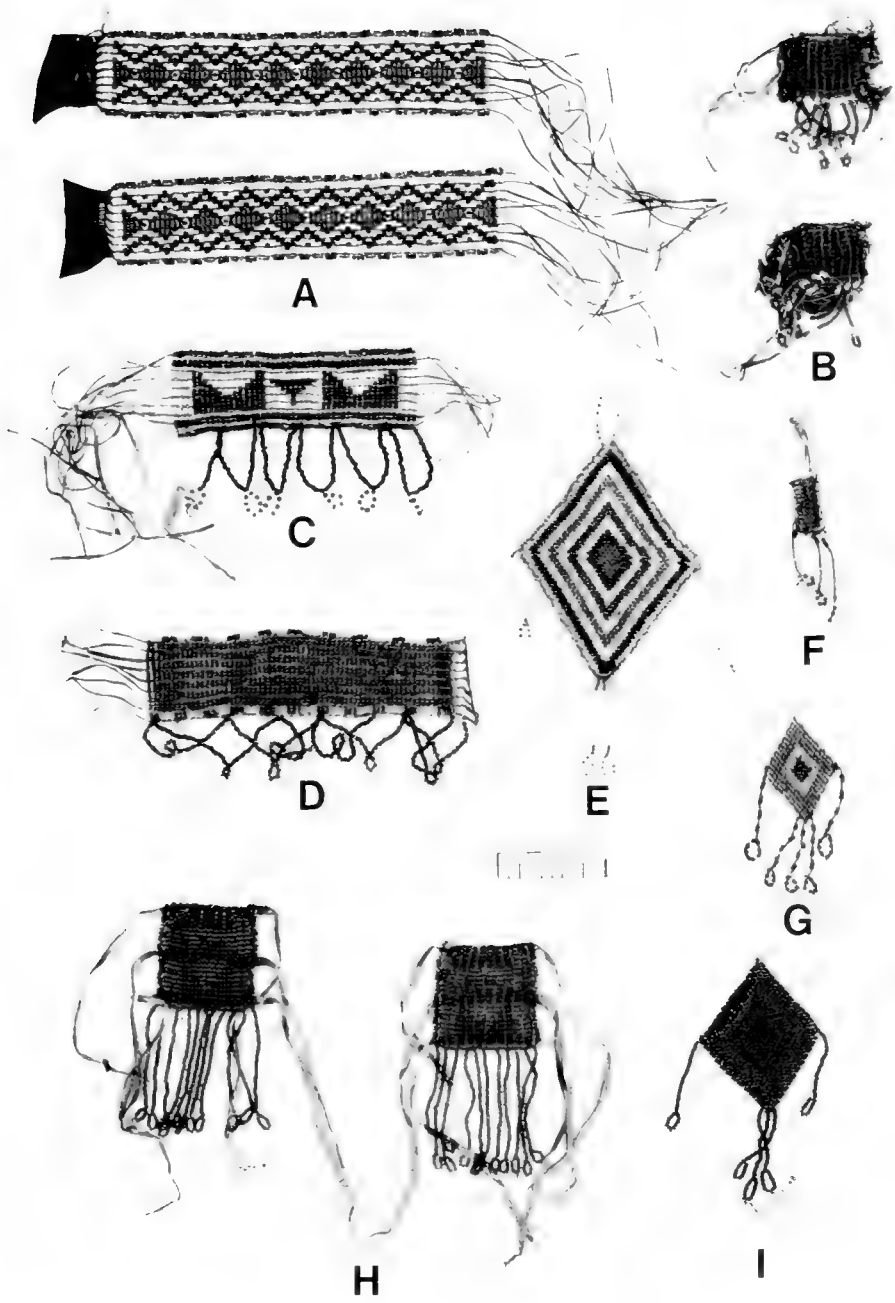


FIG. 87. **A**, armbands (176519); **B**, "hair ornaments" (176746a–b); **C**, armband (176737); **D**, armband (176740); **E**, ear ornament (type 1) (176747); **F**, ear ornament (type 2) (176755); **G**, ear ornament (type 1) (176752); **H**, "hair ornaments" (176745a–b); **I**, ear ornament (type 1) (176748).

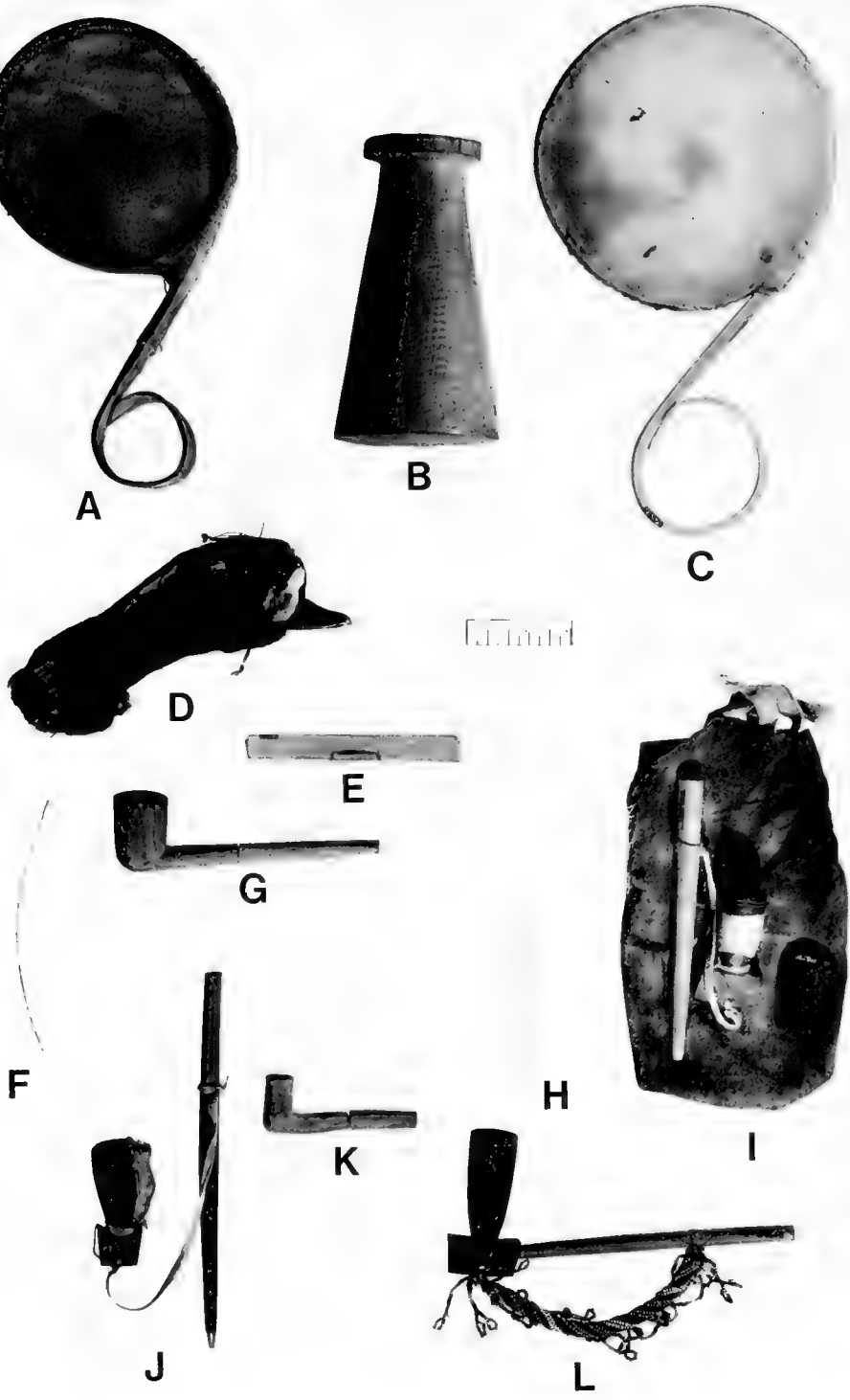


FIG. 88. **A**, rattle (176570); **B**, model bone crusher (176885); **C**, rattle (176806); **D**, head of male harlequin duck (176559); **E**, whistle (176805); **F**, pipe cleaner (176550a); **G**, pipe (176794); **H**, pipe cleaner (176549); **I**, pipe, tobacco bag, and soapstone fragment (176790a–c); **J**, pipe (176793); **K**, pipe (176795); **L**, pipe (176548).

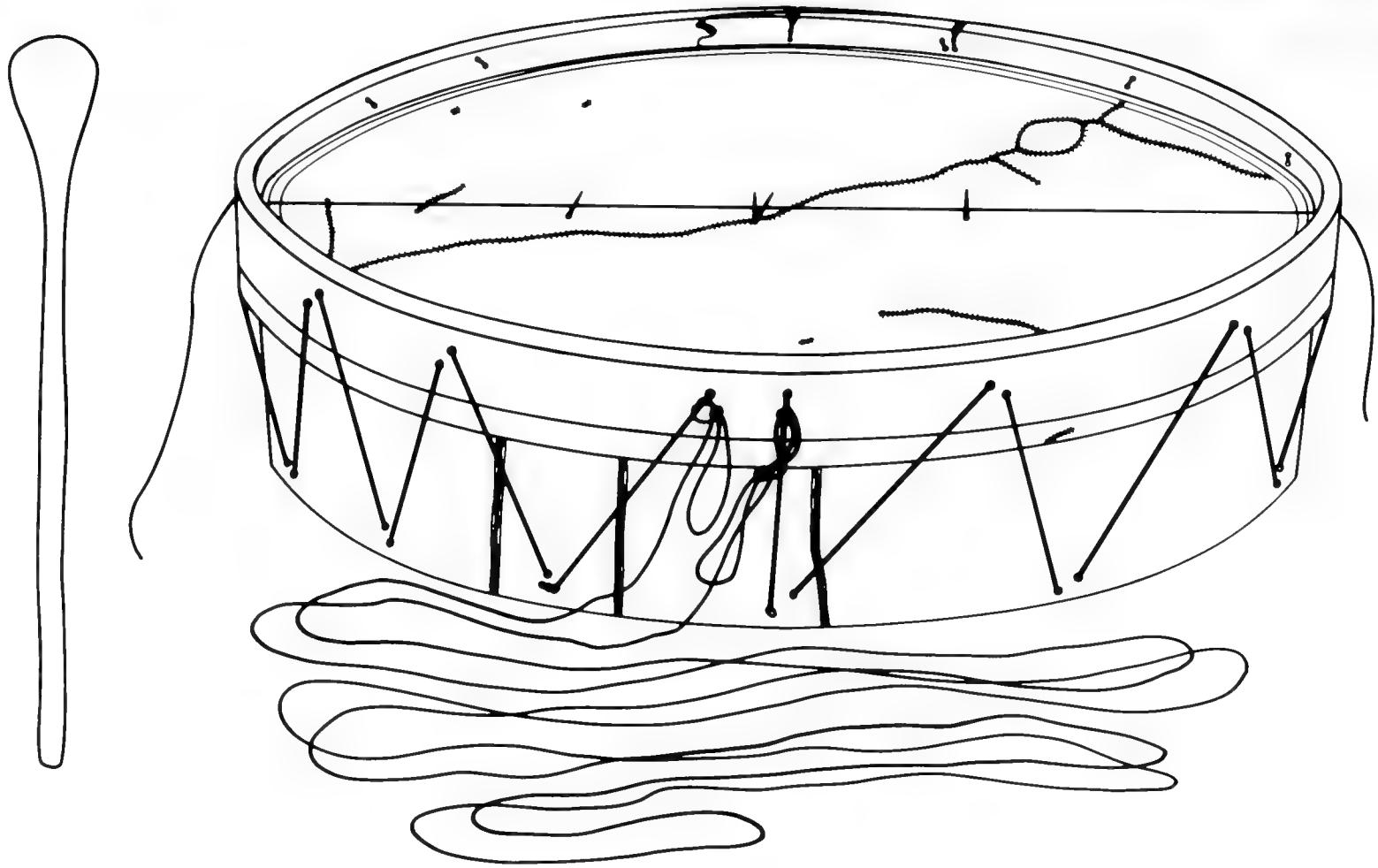


FIG. 89. Drum (61 cm in diameter) and stick (176809a–b).

FIG. 90. Edward Rich demonstrating use of the single-headed drum as Strong and Shinabest watch (neg. no. 61538).

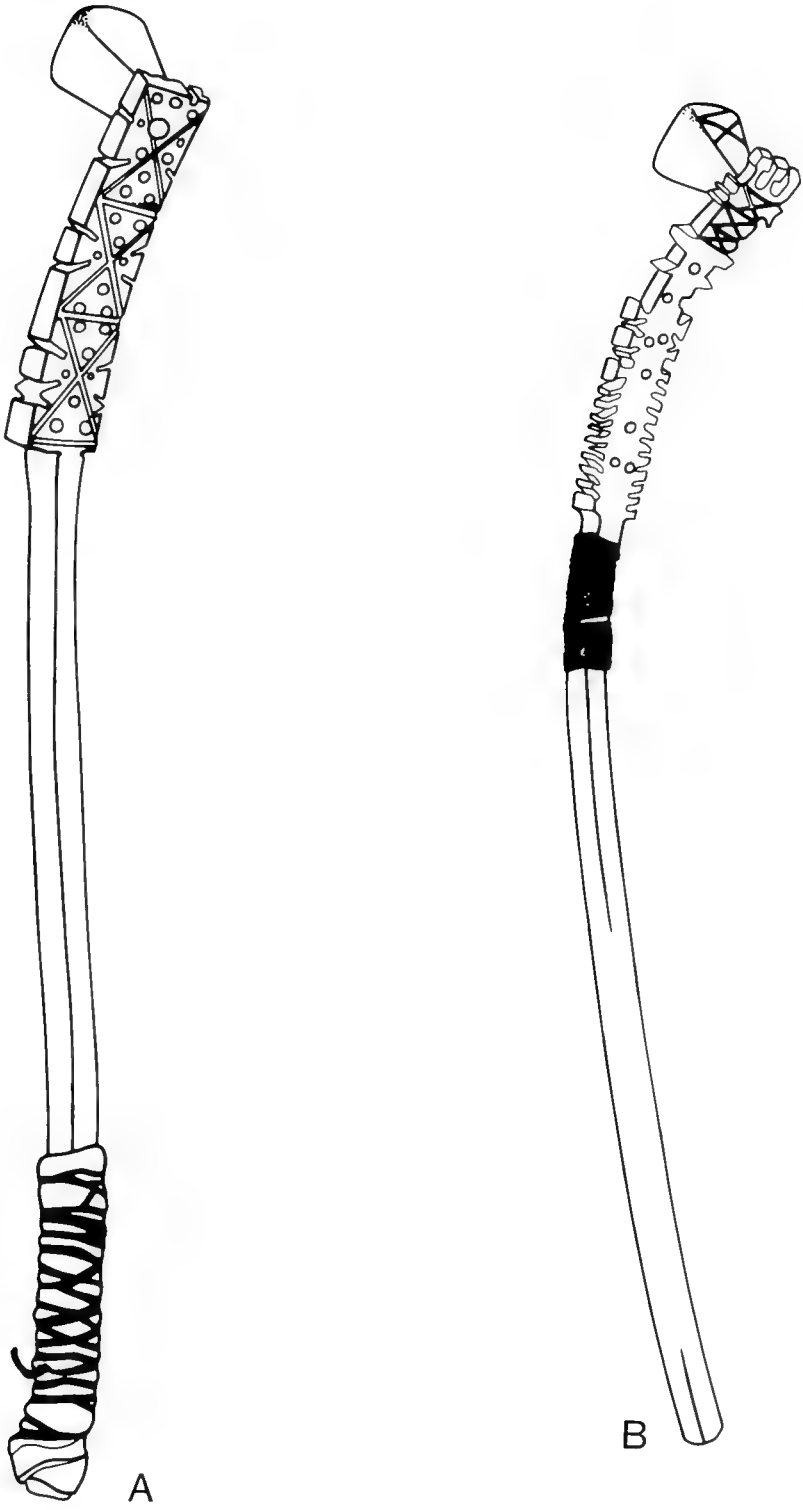


FIG. 91. **A**, drumstick, approx. 29 cm long (176566); **B**, drumstick, approx. 27 cm long (176567).

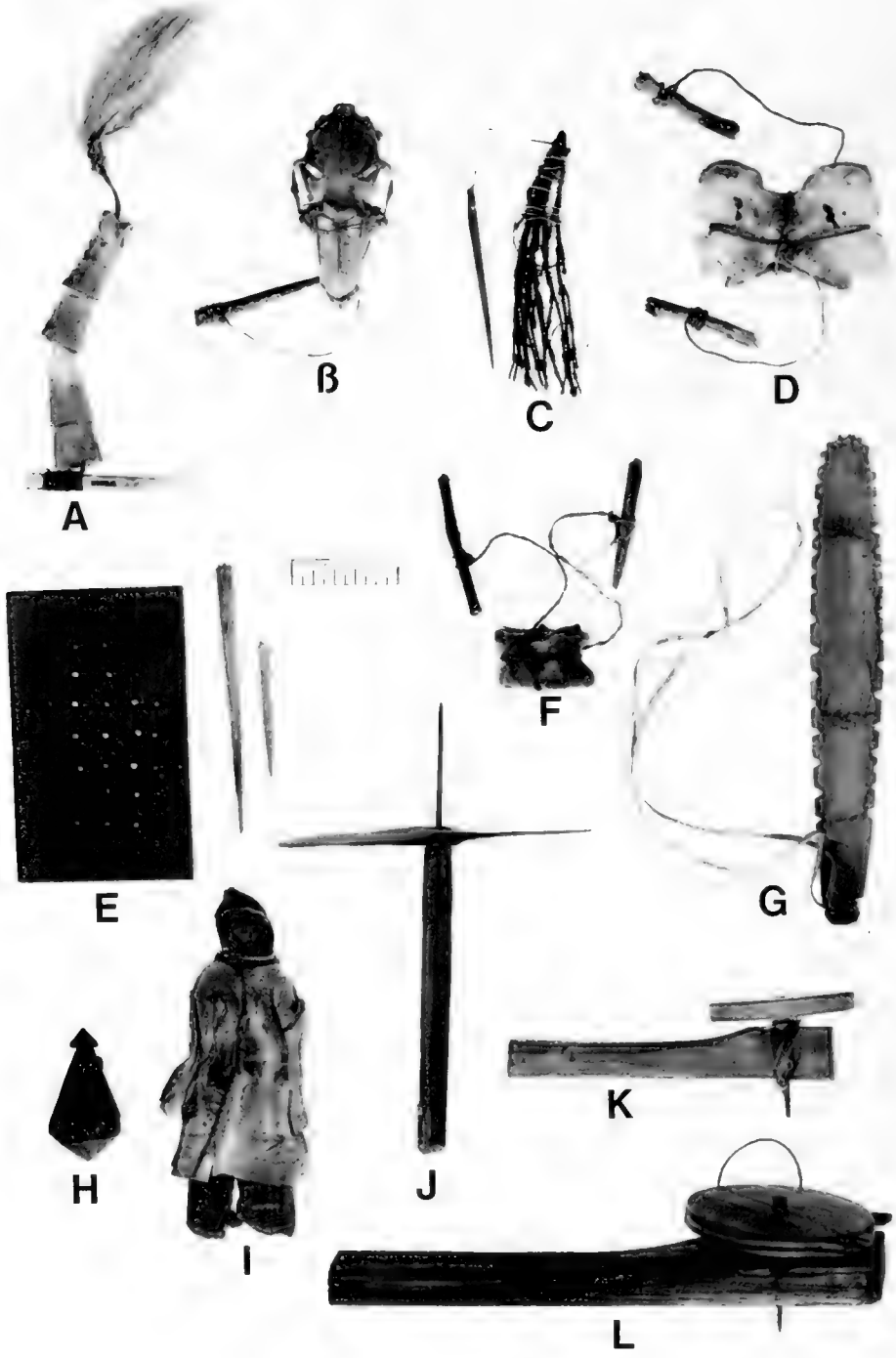


FIG. 92. **A**, cup and pin game (176568); **B**, cup and pin game (176639); **C**, cup and pin game (176640); **D**, buzzer (176569); **E**, fox and rabbit game (176641a–b); **F**, buzzer (176635); **G**, bull-roarer (176799); **H**, top (type 2) (176629); **I**, doll (176504); **J**, whirligig (176803a–b); **K**, top (type 1) (176626a–b); **L**, top (type 1) (176627a–b).

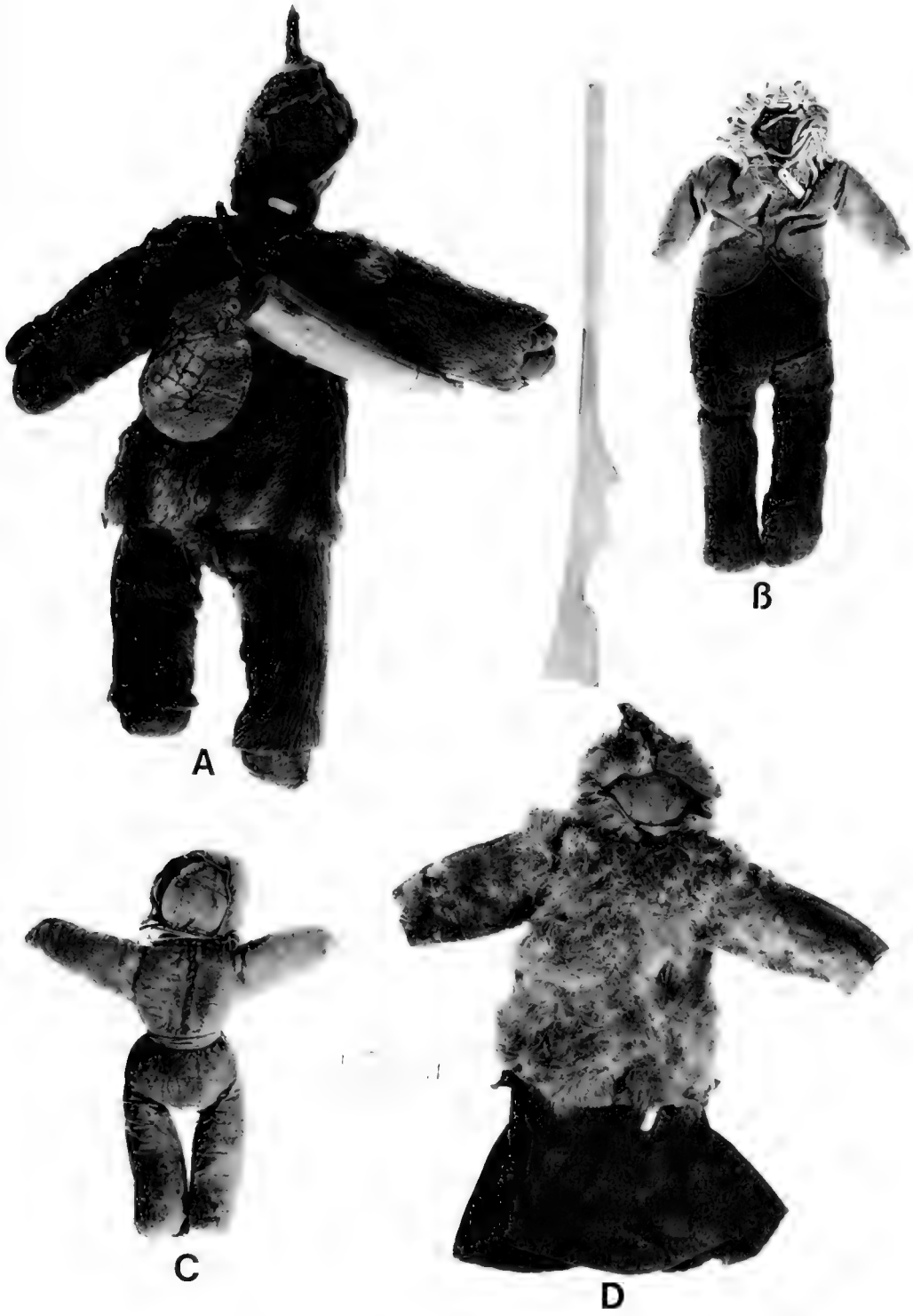


FIG. 93. **A**, doll (176616a–c); **B**, doll (176619); **C**, doll (176505); **D**, doll (176618).

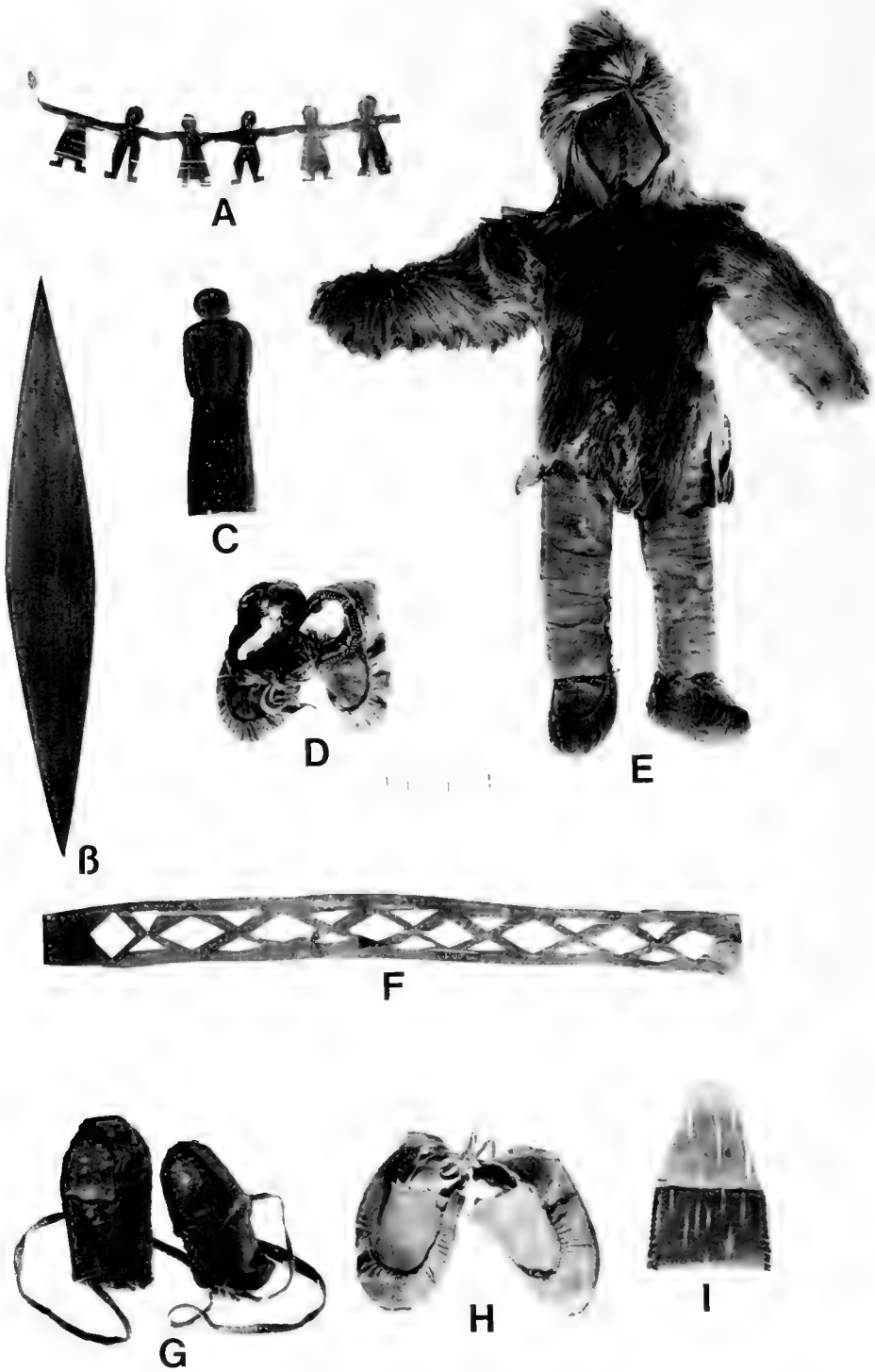


FIG. 94. **A**, strip of human figures (176521b); **B**, toy canoe (176821); **C**, female figure (176775a); **D**, model moccasins (176785a–b); **E**, doll (176617); **F**, imitiation headband (176521a); **G**, model mittens (176786a–b); **H**, model moccasins (176784a–b); **I**, toy pouch (176770).

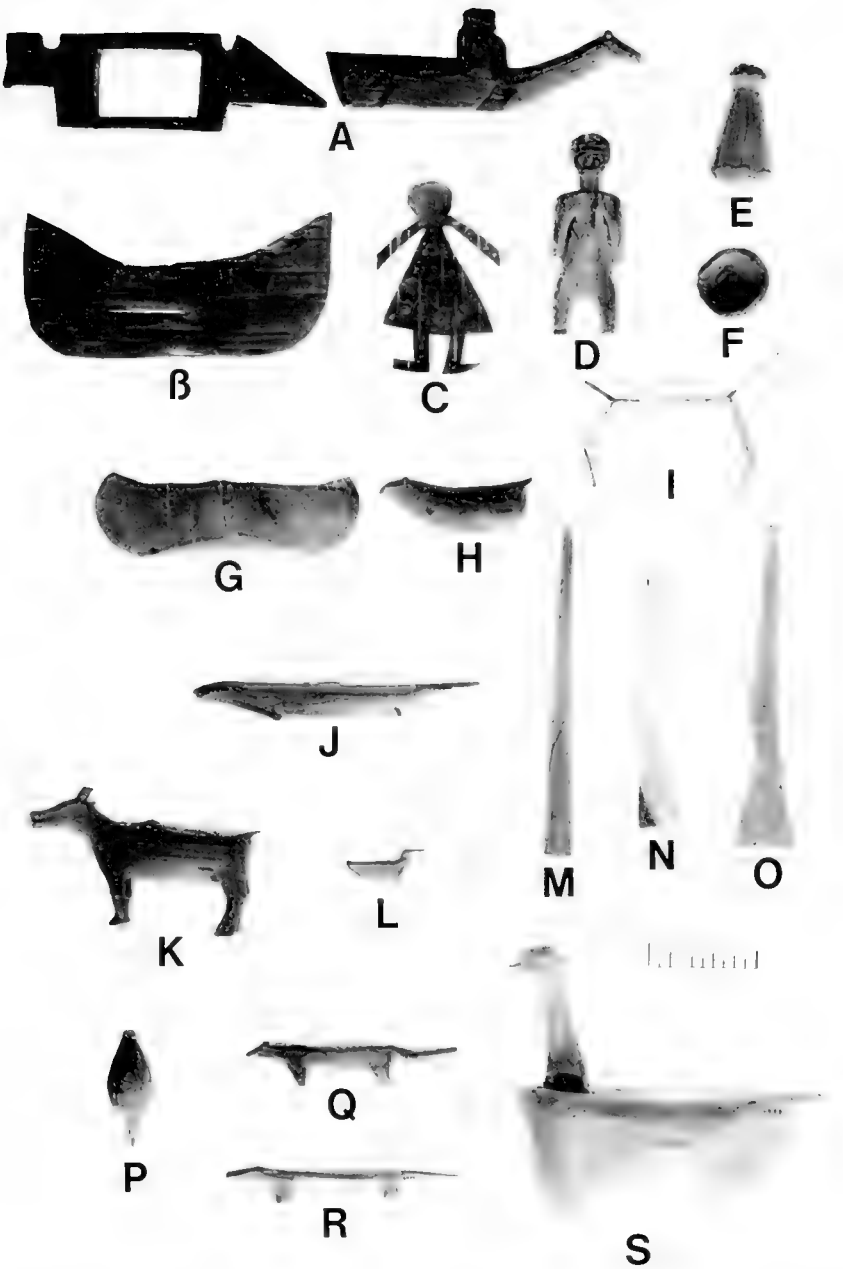


FIG. 95. **A**, model of a horse and wagon (176920a–b); **B**, cutout silhouette of a canoe (176774); **C**, human figure (176620); **D**, human figure (176622); **E**, toy bone crusher (176922); **F**, paint mortar (176906); **G**, toy canoe (176768a); **H**, toy owl (176934); **I**, toy caribou (176534a); **J**, toy otter (176930); **K**, toy caribou (176926); **L**, toy shore bird (176937); **M**, "pellet gun" (176779); **N**, toy gun (176939); **O**, toy gun (176938); **P**, toy mouse (176936); **Q**, toy marten (176928); **R**, toy mink (176933); **S**, toy goose (176918a–b).

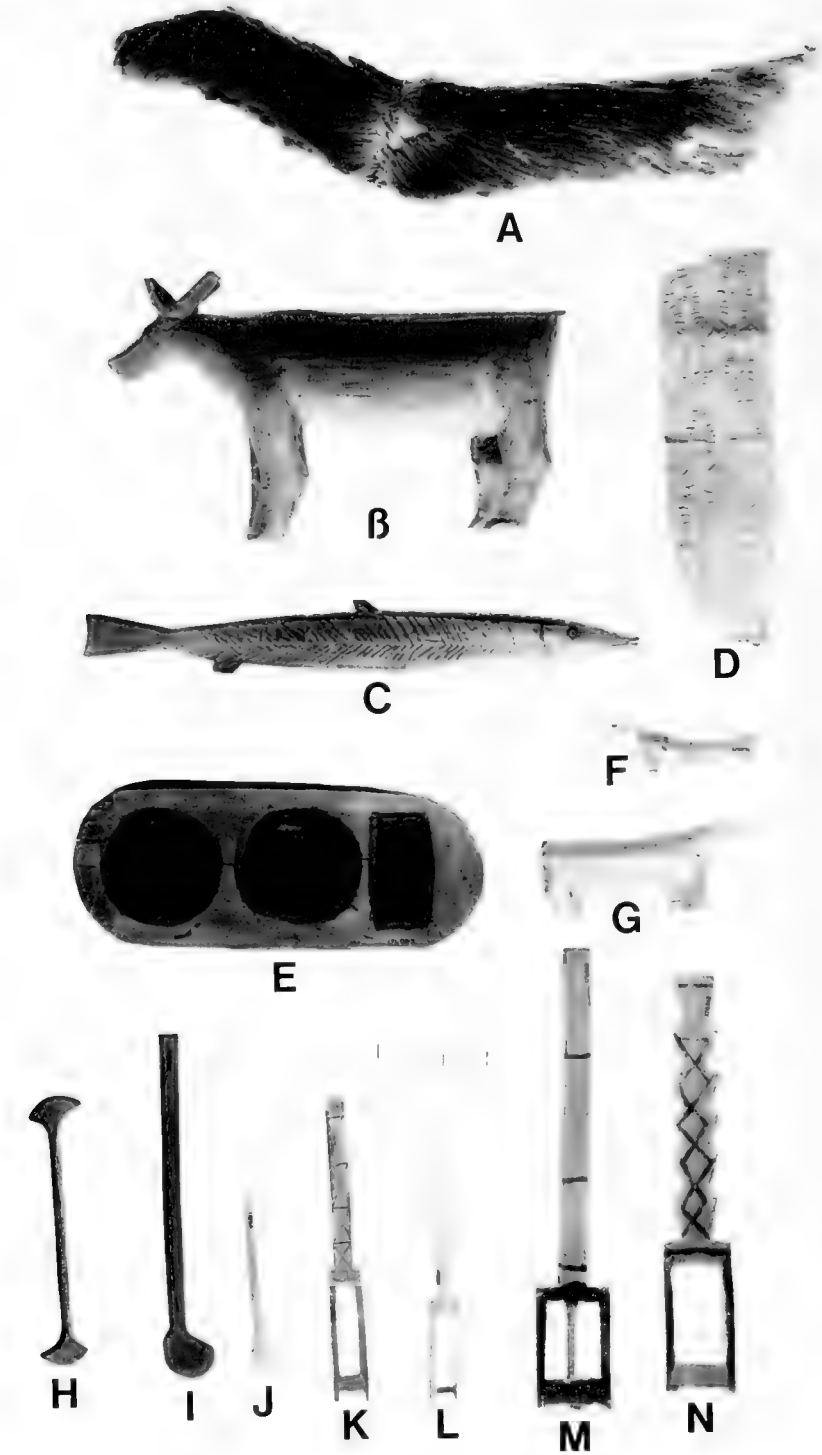


FIG. 96. **A**, toy caribou (176624); **B**, toy caribou (176917); **C**, toy pike (176921); **D**, bark decorated with designs made with the teeth (176783a); **E**, paint mortar (176903); **F**, toy skunk (176935); **G**, toy bear (176923); **H**, double-ended paint stick (176910); **I**, paint stick (176916); **J**, paint stick (176911); **K**, stencil (176532); **L**, stencil (176533); **M**, stencil (176913); **N**, stencil (176912).

FIG. 97. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-6).

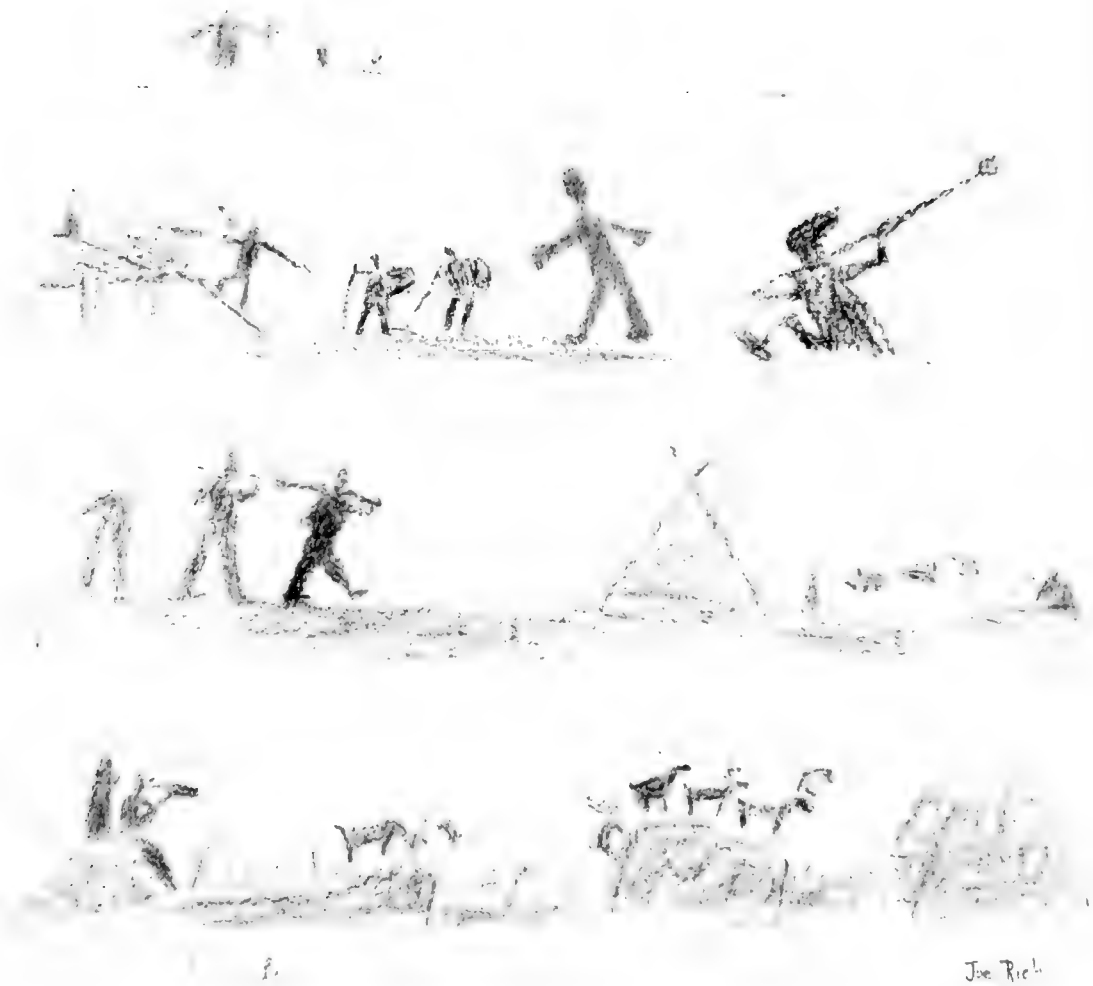


FIG. 98. Drawing (neg. no. 108259).

FIG. 99. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-4).

FIG. 100. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-1).

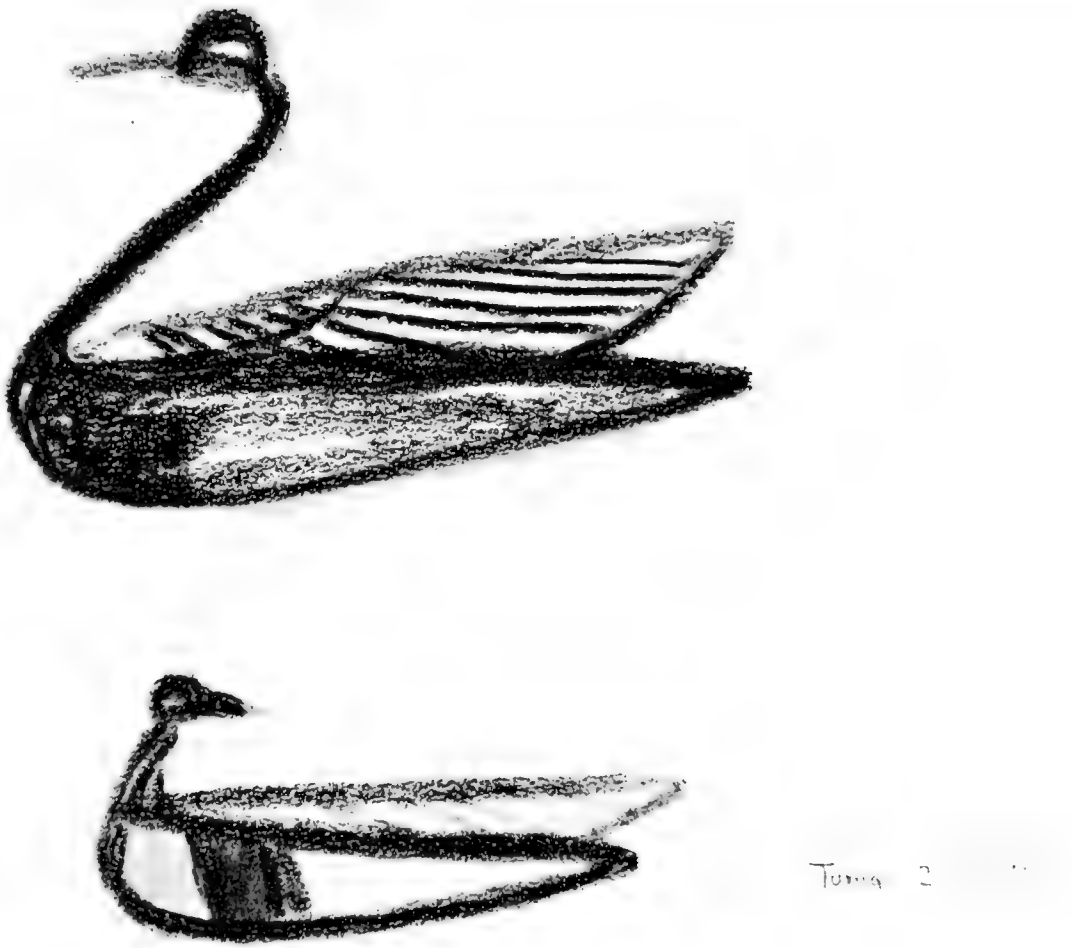


FIG. 101. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-2).

FIG. 102. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-5).

FIG. 103. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-3).

FIG. 104. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-8).

FIG. 105. Drawing (neg. no. 108259-7).

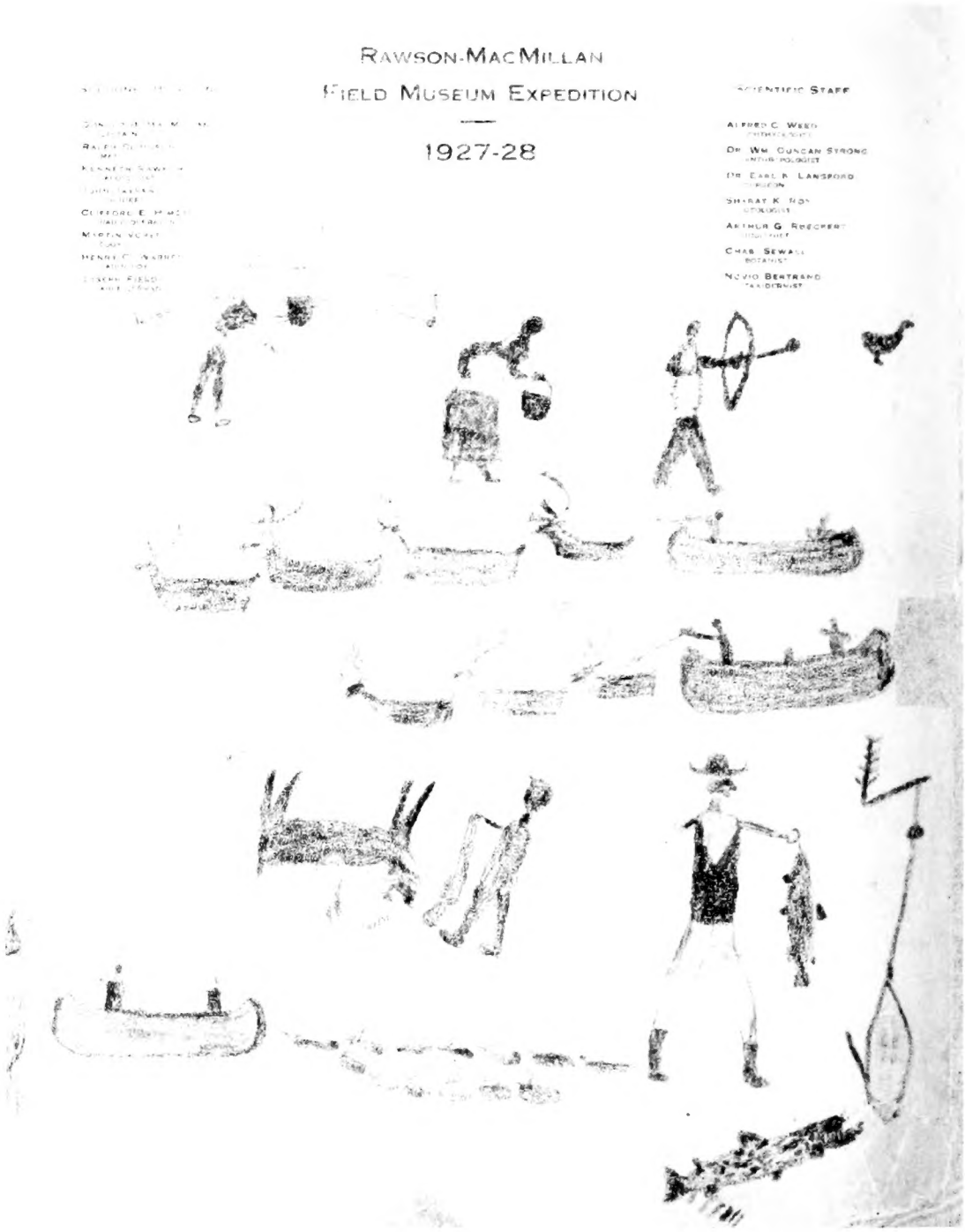


FIG. 106. Drawing (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, photo no. 80-20134).

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