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THE SIMMS COLLECTION OF PLAINS CREE MATERIAL CULTURE FROM SOUTHEASTERN SASKATCHEWAN

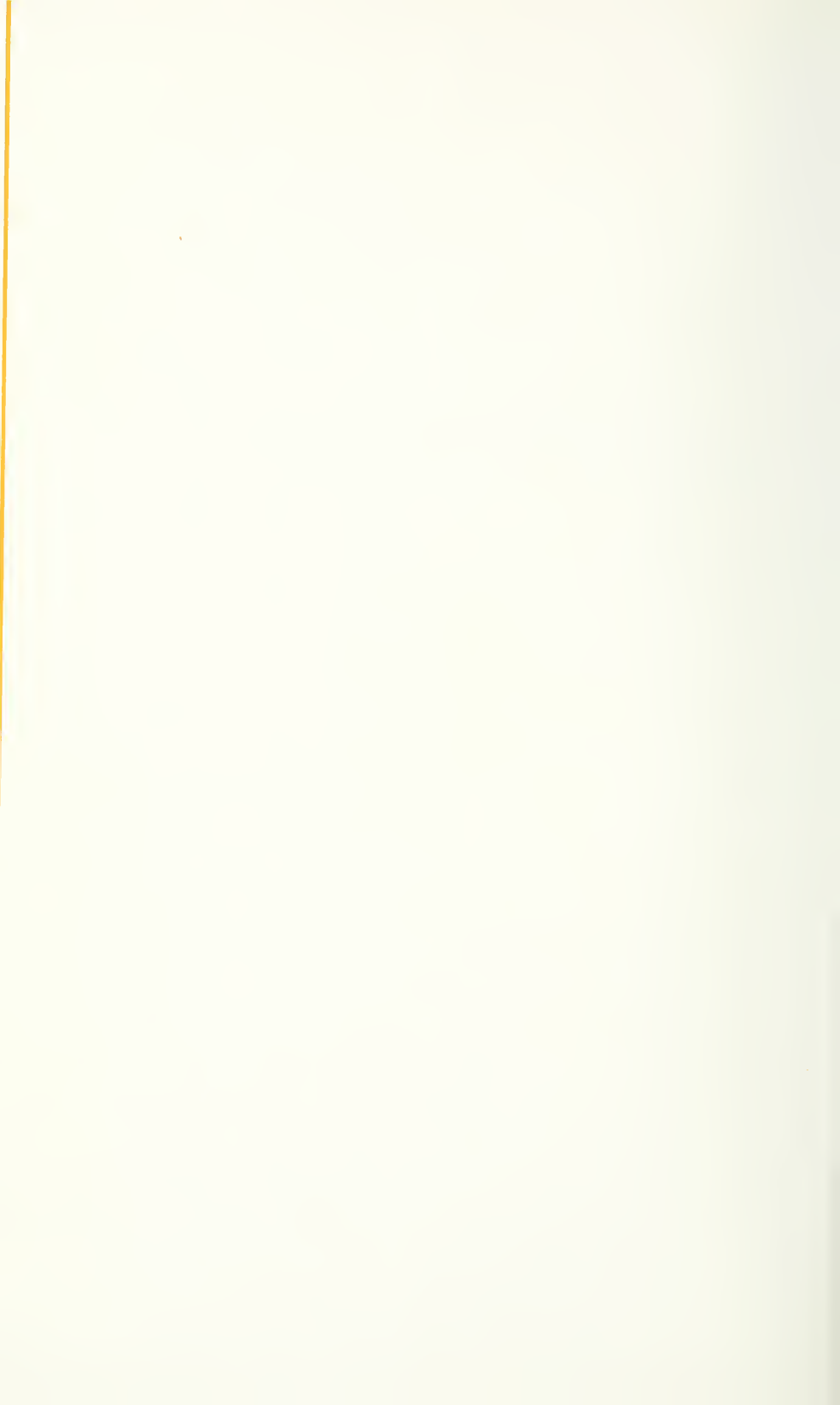
JAMES W. VANSTONE

March 30, 1983

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I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

The Plains Cree live on the northern edge of the Great Plains, a region which, according to earlier interpretations, they were believed to have inhabited only since the beginning of the 19th century (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 165). This view was rooted in the belief that the western Cree in general represented a late 18th and early 19th century migration resulting from the depletion of game and fur-bearing animals in the region east of Lake Winnipeg. Recent archaeological surveys and excavations, however, indicate that there were Cree in northwestern Manitoba by A.D. 900 and in northern Saskatchewan and southern Manitoba by A.D. 1500 (Wright, 1971, p. 3; Smith, 1981, pp. 257-258). The Assiniboine, allies of the Cree, were on the Saskatchewan Plains by A.D. 1000, and it is probable that some Cree bands were also utilizing the parklands by that time, at least on a seasonal basis (T. J. Brassler, personal communication).

By the mid-19th century, the tribal lands of the Plains Cree extended from the Manitoba border across Saskatchewan and into Alberta as far as the vicinity of Edmonton. In Saskatchewan, their territory reached south virtually to the United States border. The favorite habitats within this vast area were the major river valleys, specifically those of the Qu'Appelle, the lower North Saskatchewan, the lower South Saskatchewan, and the lower Battle rivers (Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 165, 183-184, fig. 1).

Although as archaeological evidence suggests, Cree bands may have been utilizing the Plains region in proto-historic times, the flowering of their Plains culture belongs to a period of approximately 100 years prior to the disappearance of the buffalo in the early 1880s. Stephen C. Simms, whose collection of ethnographic material made in southern Saskatchewan in the late summer of 1903 is described in this study, was the first anthropologist to undertake fieldwork among the Plains Cree. Other early fieldworkers included Pliny Earl Goddard (1919) for the American Museum of Natural History in 1911, and Alanson Skinner (1914a,b; 1919) for the same institution in 1913. By far the most significant contribution, however, was made by David G. Mandelbaum in 1934. His monographs (1940, 1979) are the major source for the culture of the Plains Cree. A number of American and Canadian museums have sizeable collections of Plains Cree ethnographic material, but the Simms collection in Field Museum's Department of Anthropology, although not large, is the first to be published in full.

STEPHEN C. SIMMS AS COLLECTOR

Simms joined the staff of Field Columbian Museum (later to be called Field Museum of Natural History) in 1894, during the institution's first year, as Assistant Curator of Industrial Arts. In 1898, he was appointed Assistant Curator of Ethnology and was a staff member of the Department of Anthropology for 14 years. The N. W. Harris Public School Extension, forerunner of the museum's Department of Education, was established in 1912 and Simms was appointed Curator of the new department. In 1928, he was selected by the Board of Trustees to be Director of the museum, a position which he held at the time of his death on January 28, 1937 (Anonymous, 1937, p. 2).

At the time of Simms' appointment to the Department of Anthropology, George A. Dorsey was the curator in charge, having joined the museum staff in 1896. He was to hold that position for 20 years and exerted a major influence on the development of the department and its collections. During his first 10 years at the museum, Dorsey concentrated on building the North American Indian collections. He accomplished this through a series of expeditions and collecting trips which he undertook himself or entrusted to various assistant curators, of which Simms was the first (Rabineau, 1981, p. 32). In those days, the curator of a scientific department at Field Columbian Museum had complete charge of all departmental activities. Assistant curators did not simply decide on their own when and where to do fieldwork; they were "dispatched" by the curator.

Simms appears to have made his first field trip for the museum to the Iroquois on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario during the fall of 1900 (Field Columbian Museum, 1900, p. 443). In early January 1901, he was sent to Arizona for three months to collect primarily among Athapaskan-speaking peoples who were not previously represented in the department's collections (Field Columbian Museum, 1901, p. 18). With this field trip begins a correspondence between Simms and Dorsey which clearly demonstrates the views held by the latter with reference to the collecting of ethnographic specimens and the assistant curator's struggles to live up to the expectations of his superior.

Simms apparently experienced some difficulties and frustrations during his fieldwork in Arizona. Although expressing determination, he ruefully noted in letters to Dorsey that his collecting was inhibited by the fact that many families were away from their settlements hunting and that prices were being driven up by commercial curio buyers (Field Museum, Department of Anthropology, correspondence files [DA/CF], Simms to Dorsey, January 15, 26, 1901). Writing from Phoenix, he noted that "a peculiar feature of my house to house canvas [*sic*] [among White River Apaches] developed the fact that of my two days [work?] so far I came across but two men in two different families and a few things I wanted I could not get because the husband, son or brother was not in and 'he might not like if I sell.'" [DA/CF, Simms to Dorsey, January 26, 1901]

In answering these letters, Dorsey, writing to Simms who by then was in San Francisco, expressed disappointment that his colleague did not get to some of the Indian villages in Arizona where he had planned to visit.

You must remember that in this work there are difficulties and vexations; and delays and disappointments. . . . Remember that you are after stuff and to get that clean it up and do your whole duty to yourself and to the Museum. You are absolutely compelled to get to the out of the way places; to suffer inconveniences and on occasion suffer hardship. When you go into an indian's house and you do not find the old man

at home and there is something you want, you can do one of three things; go hunt up the old man and keep hunting until you find him; give the old woman such price for it as she may ask for it running the risk that the old man will be offended or steal it. I have tried all three and have no choice to recommend.

Do not leave anything behind that is to follow or rest content with the statement of some missionary or agent that they will get this for you . . . but follow it up, get it and bring it back with you by freight.

Please remember this also that I shall expect you on your arrival here to be able to distinguish without the slightest doubt the difference between a Pima and Ute and Walapai and Maricopa and Apache basket and that is in their unfinished condition and want you to buy a [P]apago basket from the Papago Indian and to know that she is actually a [Papago] Indian and she is making the old time Papago basket, etc. I would rather have one good unfinished or brand new basket from any one of the tribes down there that is absolutely identified than any quantity of such baskets as you shipped in by express which were not thoroughly well identified and as you must already know we have a good big bunch of unidentified basketry from the Southwest. All this of course is not in the nature of a reproof or anything of the sort but to stimulate you on even to a greater effort and more abundant success. You can easily imagine that I am for very many reasons deeply concerned in the final results of this, your first collecting trip of any series [*sic*] magnitude. Overcome difficulties and make yourself thoroughly master of the situation on this occasion and the west if [*sic*] yours from this time on for a good many years. [DA/CF, Dorsey to Simms, January 31, 1901]

On his return trip, Simms passed once more through Arizona and was the recipient of more collecting advice from Dorsey (DA/CF, Dorsey to Simms, February 2, 1901). He was advised to "clean up" reservations and told that "when you cannot get stuff, get information." A "clean sweep" was important on this trip because Dorsey did not believe that the region was worth a second trip when there were so many areas poorly represented in the museum's collections.

Two weeks later Dorsey again gave Simms the benefit of more of his views concerning the role of the field collector.

The fact that it costs you thirty days to make a trip to find six Indians among which you cannot possibly spend more than \$10.00 does not by any means mean that you should not make the trip. On the contrary we often find [it] a most advantageous expenditure [of time and money]. What you pay for the specimen is not what it is worth when it is laid down here in the Museum. The extensions of the idea of our knowledge concerning the artifact or instrument or game may be worth more than money paid, although to make this extension you may have to expend \$30 or \$40 in personal travelling expenses and perhaps not more than \$5 for purchase. [DA/CF, Dorsey to Simms, February 15, 1901]

Although over the years Dorsey expressed similar views on ethnographic collecting to a number of colleagues and field workers (see Rabineau, 1981, p. 34), it would be difficult to imagine a more comprehensive statement of his philosophy, both with reference to collecting methodology and the documentation of collections, than is included in these letters. Although Dorsey seems at times critical and perhaps somewhat overbearing in this correspondence, he and Simms appear to have remained on friendly, if not intimate, terms throughout the 14 years that the latter was a curator in the Department of Anthropology.

In late 1901 and in the summer of 1902, Simms made two collecting visits to the Crow and Cheyenne reservations in Montana (Field Columbian Museum, 1902, p. 98). On the second of these trips he made a fine collection of Crow shields, documented with histories, symbolic interpretations, and owners' names. This was one of the most noteworthy additions to the museum's Plains Indian collections. Simms always regarded this field trip to Montana as his most successful effort as a collector.

Dorsey, on one of his own expeditions to the southwest in the spring of 1903, left instructions that Simms was to make a trip to the Cree reservations of Saskatchewan during the summer of that year. He apparently left no specific instructions, however, and the assistant curator, perhaps recalling past admonitions, began to worry.

I find that there are several Cree reservations in Saskatchewan—so please be good enough to indicate (if you can, of course) how many and which ones you intended me to visit. I should like to know this so that I may look up any existing references upon the same. I really fear that my results will not be up to your expectations, or to my work among the Crows—for the number of half breed Crees is astonishing; however, I certainly shall do my utmost to make good my efforts. [DA/CF, Simms to Dorsey, May 5, 1903]

Dorsey did not share Simms' concern about the number of half breeds and believed that there would be much material to collect in the Cree country.

As I remember the situation, certain reservations, from what I could gather from the Canadian reports seemed especially promising. Such was the Assanboin [*sic*], south of Indian Head, the reservation north of Broadway [Broadview], two reservations near the Touchwood Hills and several reservations at the Sashatchewan [*sic*] river, around Battle Ford and Ft. Pit[t]. There are also some lakes still north of this country, Winterhen [Waterhen Lake, Manitoba?], Meadow, Pelican and Turtle, where may be found a number of Chippewayans [*sic*], who have never been on the reservation, who presumably are fit subjects for you.

I am also under the impression that there are a number of small Sioux reservations, or at any rate Sioux camps, near the Cypress Hills. These reservations should, in my opinion, be exceedingly fertile, but of course it is all a gamble and the only way we can find out what is up there is for a good man like yourself to make the trip. [DA/CF, Dorsey to Simms, May 11, 1903]

It is clear from this letter that originally Dorsey expected Simms to cover a good part of southern and central Saskatchewan and to collect ethnographic materials from several tribes. Indian Head, for example, is east of Regina, Turtle Lake is north of Battleford, Pelican Lake is just west of Flin Flon, Manitoba and the Cypress Hills are in the southwest corner of Saskatchewan. It is also apparent that Dorsey gave considerable thought and study to areas where he wished to have materials collected in advance of sending collectors into the field. It could not have been easy, at the beginning of this century, to find detailed and accurate information on the Indians of the Canadian prairies.

Simms had hoped to leave for Saskatchewan around June 1, 1903, by which time Charles L. Owen, another assistant curator, was expected back from a field trip to the southwest. Owen, however, was delayed. Simms finally departed on or about August 3, an unfortunate delay as it turned out (Field Columbian Museum, 1903, p. 178; DA/CF, Simms to Dorsey, May 5, 1903, Dorsey to Simms, August 3, 1903). Dorsey had confirmed that Simms would not be able to leave as he had hoped because of Owen's delay.

I realize that should you not get started before some time in July, it would hurry you to make the grand trip I have just been talking about [see above], but in this case you would necessarily be governed by circumstances, penetrating as far north as time and money would permit. Should we find after a trail [*sic*] of some of the Cree reservations that they were extremely profitable, I think it would be an easy matter to secure an appropriation for a return trip next year. [DA/CF, Dorsey to Simms, May 11, 1903]

On August 20, Simms wrote to Dorsey from the Qu'Appelle Indian Agency in Assiniboia.¹

¹In 1870, the newly formed Dominion of Canada acquired Rupert's Land, a vast area drained by rivers flowing into Hudson Bay, from the Hudson's Bay Company and estab-

This country must have been visited by a cyclone or a disastrous fire or by both—and confined their efforts to Indian material. Have visited reserve after reserve, tipi after tipi but can't boast of anything to be chesty about.

The Indians thru this section are devoting their time to farming and they expect to unload about 100,000 bushels of wheat. After I leave here I take the train at a station not far from a small settlement of Assiniboines, and tho they were not considered to be on my itinerary I had thought it advisable to go there—there is a much larger band farther east, hard to get at, but can't spend the time or money unless authorized to do so.

I leave for Touchwood Hills and farther north in a day or two. [DA CF, Simms to Dorsey, August 20, 1903]

Unfortunately, Simms troubles were just beginning. On September 12, writing from Broadview, Assiniboia, he informed Dorsey that he had

just returned from Crooked Lake Res. thru a howling blizzard, foot of snow, telegraph wires down, trains [delayed?] and I'm in the dumps.

My trip here was put off too late. They are all farming and have [taken?] their tipis with them. Houses boarded up. I have done the country but my results are not as I desired. There was one place I was unable to reach—Nut Lake. Roads were impassable and no camping place or outfit.

I fervently believe that I have not had a week of good weather all told.

I have done more sleeping on floors, in lofts, in [lousy?] blankets, than on any previous trip—tho I am feeling well and would feel a _____ sight better if I could pick up a few . . . specimens. [DA CF, Simms to Dorsey, September 12, 1903]

The same problems continued to plague Simms, as he noted in his next letter to Dorsey written from Indian Head, Assiniboia on September 21.

This, as I have said before, is a bad time to come here. Most of the Indians are farmers and they have been working in the fields and living in tents. There are hardly any accommodations for one to stay a week, on any of the reserves here.

I feel confident that with the knowledge I possess, I do better the next time by omitting places, and getting here before the harvesting of hay and grain starts.

I have done pretty thoroughly about 12 reserves, and with poor results. Have seen no very good specimens. Plenty of Hudson's Bay things etc. but not much of the things to make your heart glad. Until a few days ago, have had rain snow and hail and travelling in this country has been wretched.

Was greatly disappointed in not being able to get to Nut Lake country—from the little I have seen they are the best, and had the country been at all passable should have made it.

Remember this. The time to get to these places is 'Treaty time' early June. [DA CF, Simms to Dorsey, September 21, 1903]

Although Simms may have visited 12 reserves, as he says, he appears not to have traveled much beyond those reserves clustered in the southeast corner of Saskatchewan. Nut Lake, which seemed like such a panacea to the weary ethnographer as he struggled with the snow and bad weather in the south, is east of Saskatoon in country occupied by the Plains Ojibwa. Simms was doubtless correct in assuming that "Treaty time" would be the ideal time for collecting, at least in terms of finding the maximum number of Indians congregated in one place. Once each year the Indians of each reserve gathered to receive the cash payments due them under the terms of their treaty with the Canadian government.

lished the Northwest Territories. These included the former Rupert's Land as well as regions lying to the north, west, and south. In 1882, the government divided part of the Territories into districts, two of which, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, made up most of what is today the province of Saskatchewan. Assiniboia included all of Saskatchewan south of the city of Saskatoon and a small section of southeastern Alberta. Both Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces of Canada in 1905, two years after Simms' fieldwork.

Simms left the Plains Cree country shortly after writing the letter just quoted. Dorsey had suggested in a telegram (referred to in DA/CF, Simms to Dorsey, September 23, 1903) that Simms collect in northern Minnesota on his way home, and although there is no related correspondence, he apparently spent about a month on the Leech Lake Ojibwa reservation near Bemidji, collecting 119 ethnographic specimens which, with the Plains Cree material, were received by the museum as accession 851.

Although Simms later carried out field work in the Philippines, which included recovering the body and field notes of William Jones, murdered by the Ilongot of Luzon Island in 1909 (Anonymous, 1937, p. 2), his trip to Saskatchewan was his last North American field trip. In June 1907, Simms received an invitation from the "Inspector of Indian Agencies of Northwest Canada," apparently someone he had met during his field work, to accompany him on an official trip to the Kinistino, Nut Lake, and Fishing Lake areas of central Saskatchewan. In a memo requesting permission to make this trip, he reminded Dorsey that Touchwood Hills was the point farthest north that he had been able to reach on his previous trip and that Kinistino, which is east of Prince Albert, is 150 miles north of Touchwood (DA/CF, memo from Simms to Dorsey, June 15, 1907). Dorsey, however, refused permission for the trip on the grounds of lack of funds (DA/CF, memo from Dorsey to Simms, June 24, 1907).

II

THE COLLECTION

INTRODUCTION

In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, the Simms collection of Plains Cree ethnographic specimens (accession 851) is assigned 83 numbers representing 86 specimens. Paired objects such as moccasins, leggings, and bracelets have one number and are counted as single specimens. At the time this study was begun, all but five specimens were located in storage or on exhibition (see Appendix). One of these had been sold and the other four apparently lost.

The present condition of the Simms Plains Cree collection is good, there being very few damaged specimens. A few cloth and skin objects have been damaged by insects. Many specimens show considerable signs of use, indicating that they were either part of the cultural inventory at the time the collection was made or represent family heirlooms retained as souvenirs of the past.

Documentation accompanying the Simms collection consists of a single field notebook containing a simple listing of each artifact collected and the amount paid to the owner. Simms spent \$286.75 among the Plains Cree, an amount which includes the price paid for the artifacts now missing from the collection; there is no price given for one specimen (Field Museum, Simms' notes, Department of Anthropology archives, Box A-3). Simms appears to have cataloged his collection himself and proveniences, together with some very brief information concerning materials and use, are found in the book catalog and on the catalog cards. When such information is included in the following pages without other documentation, it should be understood to have been derived from the catalog.

All the Plains Cree specimens in accession 851 were collected on closely grouped reserves in what is now southeastern Saskatchewan in August and September 1903. The Day Star (no. 87) and Poorman (no. 88) reserves are in the Touchwood Agency, while the Piapot (no. 75), Star Blanket (no. 83) and Muscowpetung (no. 80) reserves are in the File Hills Qu'Appelle Agency. Muscowpetung, officially a Plains Ojibwa reserve, is actually a mixture of Cree and Ojibwa. (T. J. Brassier, personal communication). A significant number of specimens are listed as having been collected on the "File Hills Reserve," an old designation for a bloc of four adjoining reserves named Little Black Bear (no. 84), Okanese (no. 82), Peepeekisis (no. 81) and Star Blanket (no. 83), which is designated separately by Simms (T. J. Brassier, personal communication; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970).

Objects in the Simms collection are described within the following eight use categories: men's clothing, women's clothing, children's clothing, personal adornment, household furnishings, tools, utensils, and containers, smoking utensils, and musical instruments. (See Appendix for catalog numbers and proveniences.) The brief descriptions of artifact types which follow should be read while examining the accompanying photographs. For comparison, I have relied almost entirely on Mandelbaum (1940), although other ethnographic accounts are, of course, cited when relevant.

MEN'S CLOTHING

The Simms collection contains four pairs of *leggings*, all of which reached from the ankles to the groin and were attached to a belt by means of a loop near the hip. All have basically the same pattern, consisting of a single piece of hide folded over and sewn at the edges. Although each pair narrows toward the ankles to provide a close fit, the seams on the outer side of the leg are not sewn on a bias to create flaps at the ankles, as described by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 207). In spite of a similarity of pattern, there are individual variations, and the decorative elements on each pair of leggings are distinctive.

One pair, consisting primarily of a large piece of native tanned animal hide, has a narrow, triangular strip of the same material sewn with commercial twine across the upper edge of each legging; this provides an even surface to this area of the garment. The seams on the outer side of the leg are sewn with single-strand sinew and one edge has been cut to form a fringe; a separate fringe piece has been sewn to the bottom edge with commercial twine. Decoration on this pair of leggings, which shows only faintly in the photograph, consists of three parallel lines of green pigment at the outer side of the leg near the ankle on both sides. Three similar lines occur at the fold just below the upper edge of the garment, but on one side only. Daubs of yellow pigment are faintly visible along the leg seam and elsewhere on these leggings which, according to the catalog entry, belonged to the chief of the Poorman Reserve (fig. 1a).

A second pair of leggings made of commercially tanned animal hide is sewn with commercial twine and has a separate fringe sewn into the leg seam and around the bottom edge. Each legging has a separate rectangular piece of hide sewn to the upper end. The loops for attachment to the belt are made of cloth. Decoration on both sides consists of bands of white beads in spot and lazy stitch, thread-sewn, into which are woven disks, crosses, and various geometric designs

in pink, yellow, red, brown, green, and two shades of blue pony beads, and translucent green and pink seed beads (fig. 1b).

The third pair, made of native tanned animal hide, has cloth loops and a separate fringe piece sewn into the leg seam with commercial twine. Decoration consists of a single beaded band, worked on a separate piece of canvas, that runs down one side of each legging and is sewn to the garment with single-strand sinew. The background is white pony beads in spot stitch, sinew-sewn, into which are woven geometric designs in dark blue, translucent blue, pink, translucent green, and translucent red beads of approximately the same size. A narrow strip of red wool felt is sewn at the lower end of each beaded band (fig. 2b).

The fourth pair of leggings, also made of native tanned animal hide, is fringed for about three-quarters of its length along both edges. The edges are sewn together with commercial twine in two rows of stitches; the bottom edge is also fringed. Pierced skin decoration occurs on both sides and there are patches of yellow pigment in the decorated areas and along the leg seam. A single brass sleigh bell is sewn in two locations along the leg fringe, with clusters of badly deteriorated feathers. The feathers were fastened by bending their quills through a small loop of hide and lashing them with sinew. Also fastened to the fringe near the bells and feathers are single strips of cloth around which have been wrapped narrow strips of fur, possibly ermine (fig. 2a).

According to Mandelbaum (1940, p. 207), *shirts* were worn by men only on ceremonial occasions, and the Simms collection contains one such garment made of native tanned animal hide. It is identified in the catalog as being "Saulteaux" (Plains Ojibwa) and to have come from Nut Lake in east central Saskatchewan. The pattern of this shirt consists essentially of two pieces, the seams running down both sides, across the shoulders, and along the arms. However, an extra rectangular strip is sewn to the end of one arm. Both pieces are cut to form a fringe that runs down both sides, along the bottom edge, and on the underside of each arm. The seams along the fringed areas are loosely sewn in running stitch with narrow strips of hide and elsewhere more tightly with similar strips. The seams are open directly under the arms. The neck opening is cut to a V-shape in front, and four triangular pieces have been sewn on as a collar, with a narrow strip of hide serving as a tie in front.

The most distinctive decorative feature on this shirt is a large beaded yoke which extends over the shoulders and well down the front and back. Beaded bands extend down both arms to the fringe which forms the cuffs. These beaded bands and the yoke are worked on separate pieces of canvas edged with gray cotton cloth sewn to the garment with single-strand sinew. The background of the yoke consists of white pony beads in spot stitch, thread-sewn, into which on the front are woven triangles of varying sizes in dark blue, light blue, green, translucent green, yellow, white, red, and translucent red beads (fig. 3). On the back are a large disc, two crosses, and other geometric designs in the same colors (fig. 4). Around the yoke at the neck in front are three parallel rows of translucent green beads and a row of red; in the rear are three parallel rows of translucent green beads and two rows of alternating white and blue beads. The two bands along the arms have stepped geometric designs in green, yellow, and translucent red beads as well as diamond shaped designs in pink, translucent red, and blue beads. Along one side of both bands is a strip of notched red wool felt sewn with thread to the canvas binding. At intervals along this strip, and also attached to the

backing, are tufts of black yarn and narrow strips of badly deteriorated ermine fur. Many of these ermine strips also have tufts of black yarn attached to their distal ends.

Although Mandelbaum (1940, p. 207) notes that both men and women wore buffalo robes at all seasons of the year, the only robe in the collection is made of woven muskrat skins. This badly deteriorated garment, which measures 105 by 174 cm, is woven of twisted strips of muskrat skin 4 to 6 mm wide on a three-pole frame by a coil netting technique in which the strip of skin was conveyed by a wooden or bone needle. A strip of wool blanket has been attached along all four sides. There are cloth ties in one corner and at the center of one of the short sides. According to E. T. Denig, a fur trader on the upper Missouri River from 1833 until 1856, woven hare skin blankets and robes were made by the Plains Cree (Denig, 1961, pp. 121, 129) and the method of manufacture is described by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 214). He states, however, that clothing was not made of this material.

The collection contains eight pairs of men's *moccasins*. Five pairs consist of one piece of native tanned animal hide with a T-shaped heel seam and a side seam that runs from a point near the middle of the heel seam along the outer side of the foot and around the toe. All five pairs have separate top pieces. This pattern conforms to Hatt's series XII (Hatt, 1916, pp. 179-183) and was considered by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 208) to be the "traditionally older type." Since four pairs have distinctive spot-stitched beaded decoration and all have certain other individual characteristics, they will be described separately.

The top piece on one pair consists of a narrow, rectangular strip of hide to which is attached a tie of the same material; the instep section is fringed. A short fringed piece is sewn at the back where the heel seam joins the top piece. Decoration consists of a rectangular band of green and white pony beads forming geometric patterns down the center of the instep and a narrower band running around the front of the foot at the level of the seam. This band includes blue and orange as well as green and white beads; the decorative elements are triangles (fig. 5b).

Two pairs of moccasins are quite similar, both having rather wide canvas top pieces and long wraparound ties (hide on one pair and cloth on the other). On each pair a rectangular piece of wool felt has been sewn into the seam that joins the top piece to the lower part of the moccasin; this piece is black on one pair and red on the other. Primary beaded decoration on both pairs consists of a key hole design in pony beads on the instep. On one pair the colors are blue and white with a border consisting of a single row of pink beads (fig. 6a); on the other the beads are white and translucent green (fig. 5a). Down the heel seam of each pair is a narrow beaded strip consisting of parallel rows utilizing the same colors.

A single pair resembles those just described, with a wide canvas top piece, wraparound cloth ties, and a strip of black wool felt sewn into the seam joining the top piece to the lower part of the moccasin. Beaded decoration consists of a rectangular strip of white, green, blue, and translucent red pony beads in geometric designs down the center of the instep (fig. 6b). This pair, from the Muscowpetung Reserve, is identified in Simms' notes as "Saulteaux" (Plains Ojibwa).

The fifth pair has a wide muslin top piece and long ties of hide inserted at intervals through slits in the lower part of the moccasin. There is no decoration (fig. 7a).

One pair of moccasins of native tanned animal hide has a flat sole and an upper piece with a vertical heel seam. The opening for the foot is cut as two parallel lines

and a fringed tongue is sewn to the front of this slit. This pattern conforms to Hatt's series XV (Hatt, 1916, pp. 187-189). A narrow, rectangular top piece of hide with short ties has been added and to this a four strand fringe has been sewn at the back just above the heel seam. The lower part of the moccasin is completely covered with geometric designs in pony beads. The background consists of spot-stitched white beads; the primary designs are in dark and light blue beads. Across the instep is a stepped design in green and translucent red beads. At the heel is a rectangular strip of translucent red beads (fig. 8b).

Two pairs of moccasins made of native tanned animal hide have a flat sole, an upper section with a vertical heel seam, and a T-shaped opening for the foot at the front of which an instep flap is sewn. This is Hatt's series XIV (Hatt, 1916, pp. 185-187). Each pair is quite distinctive. On one pair a cloth top piece has been sewn with a strip of red wool felt in the seam and wraparound ties of hide inserted at intervals through slits below the top piece. A fringed strip of hide has been sewn in the heel seam. The entire lower part is covered with spot-stitched pony beads. The background is blue with a geometric design in yellow and pink beads. A narrow band of pink beads surrounds the moccasins at the level of the sole seam (fig. 8a).

The second pair of Hatt's series XIV moccasins has a fringe sewn into the heel and instep flap seams. Around the foot opening is an edging of red wool felt and there is a hide tie inserted through holes on either side of the foot opening at the front. The entire surface is covered with spot-stitched beaded decoration; the background is light blue. The geometric designs are in red, white, translucent green, light brown and dark blue beads (fig. 7b). This pair of moccasins is from the Muscowpetung Reserve and thus may be Plains Ojibwa.

Mandelbaum (1940, p. 208) notes that men's winter hats consisted of a ring of buffalo hide with the hair out and pulled to a peak by means of sinew threaded through the upper edge. The Simms collection contains a badly deteriorated "headdress" made from a rectangular strip of red fox skin 23.5 cm wide, the ends of which are tied together with sinew to form a circle open at the top and bottom. There were grouse feathers attached at the top, most of which have disappeared. A carved, circular piece of wood 15 cm long and approximately 1 cm wide wrapped with red- and yellow-dyed porcupine quills was apparently attached at the front, although it is now loose. According to Simms' catalog information, this was an imitation of a sun dance whistle (see fig. 13a). It seems likely that the hat was a ceremonial headdress of which, according to Mandelbaum (1940, p. 208), there were a great many styles.

Much more clearly a ceremonial headdress is a feather bonnet of long crow feathers, each one of which is topped with a piece of ermine fur tied in place with string. In the center, at the top of the bonnet, a bunch of down feathers dyed red are tied to the tip of one of the crow feathers. The skull piece is made from heavy quilted wool sewn to fit the head. The proximal end of each crow feather quill has been cut in half and folded back inside the hollow quill to form a loop. The feathers were then sewn to the skull piece with string in a running stitch. Around the bottom of the skull piece, not visible in the photograph, a strip of red wool felt is sewn with a strip of hide cut in fringes, each one of which is wrapped with porcupine quills dyed red, white, and blue. There is a cloth chin strap (fig. 9). Mandelbaum (1940, pp. 208-209) describes somewhat similar headdresses of eagle feathers which were apparently in use at the time of his field work.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING

Mandelbaum (1940, p. 208) describes traditional women's leggings as oblong pieces of hide covering the lower leg and gartered below the knee. At the time of his field work, similar leggings, heavily beaded, were worn as part of the ceremonial costume, except that they were wrapped around the calf of the leg and held in place by a series of short ties on either side. This style of leggings is represented in the Simms collection by four pairs.

The first pair is constructed of a single, rectangular piece of canvas around which has been sewn a border consisting of five pieces of native tanned animal hide serrated at the top and fringed at the bottom. Folded strips of red wool felt are sewn on the inner side of each vertical edge. Short thongs are inserted through slits on each side of the vertical edge to serve as ties. The canvas piece is completely beaded with blue and white pony beads in alternating rows spot-stitched and thread-sewn (fig. 10c).

A somewhat smaller pair consists of a piece of heavy commercially tanned animal hide edged with native tanned hide; a separate wide piece of the same material is sewn around the top. The ends of this separate piece are sewn together so that the leggings would have to be slipped on over the feet. Thongs serving as ties are inserted through slits in the open vertical edge. This specimen is decorated with pony beads in spot stitch, sinew-sewn. The background is white and there are geometric designs in green, dark blue, light blue, red, and pink beads (fig. 10d).

The third pair of leggings is constructed of a single piece of native tanned animal hide to which has been sewn a large piece of canvas. The hide extends above the canvas and, except for this extension, the leggings are edged with red wool felt; the ties are narrow strips of hide. The separate piece of canvas is beaded with red, translucent green, and white pony beads in alternating rows spot-stitched and thread-sewn (fig. 10a).

The last pair is made from a piece of canvas edged on two sides with red wool felt. The upper, unbeaded section is covered and edged with light brown wool felt. There are ties made of thin strips of hide inserted through slits on each side. Decoration consists of white, dark blue, and light blue pony beads in alternating rows spot-stitched and thread-sewn (fig. 10b). The use of canvas and commercially tanned hides as a substitute for native tanned skins on this and other specimens suggests that the latter were becoming scarce.

The two pairs of *moccasins*, both made of native tanned animal hide, resemble those previously described and would not be identified as having been worn by women were it not for such a designation in the catalog. The pattern of one pair appears to be a variation of Hatt's series XI (Hatt, 1916, pp. 178–179). The bottoms and uppers are asymmetrical but the tongue is not a separate piece. There is a T-shaped heel seam. This pair has wide canvas top pieces and long, wraparound ties of hide inserted through slits in the lower part of the moccasins. A strip of dark blue wool felt is sewn in the seam where the canvas top pieces join the hide. Decoration consists of a key hole design on the instep in white, green and blue pony beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn (fig. 11a).

The pattern of the second pair of moccasins consists of a flat sole, an upper piece with vertical heel seam, and a triangular tongue, thus conforming to Hatt's series XV (Hatt, 1916, pp. 187–189). The sole consists of two pieces sewn together with

commercial twine; both of these have been patched. Above the uppers are wide strips of canvas with wraparound ties of hide. A narrow strip of red wool felt is sewn between the upper and the canvas. Decoration on this specimen consists of a narrow band of red, white and blue pony beads in geometric designs running around the moccasins just above the seam that joins the sole to the upper. A broad, rectangular band of yellow, blue, and green pony beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, runs down the instep (fig. 11b).

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

The only items of children's clothing in the Simms collection are four pairs of *moccasins*, two of which have patterns conforming to Hatt's series XIV (Hatt, 1916, pp. 185-187). On one of these the uppers are completely beaded with geometric designs in blue and white pony beads on a background of pink beads. There is a wraparound top piece of hide and ties of the same material (fig. 12c). The second pair has beaded soles showing geometric designs in green, red, and light blue beads on a background of white beads. There is a single row of dark blue beads around the sole seam. The upper is completely beaded and has geometric designs in green, white, and black beads on a background of yellow beads. There is no wraparound top piece, but there are hide ties on either side of the foot opening and a fringe of hide is sewn into the heel seam (fig. 12b). On both specimens the beads are spot-stitched and thread-sewn. According to Pohrt (1977, pp. 35-36), moccasins with beaded soles originated with the western Sioux and spread or were traded to neighboring groups. However, T. J. Brassler (personal communication) believes that spot-stitching indicates non-Sioux origin and that the style, popular from the early 1880s until about 1910, was made for and used by "favored" children among all central and northern Plains tribes.

A third pair of moccasins is made of one piece of native tanned animal hide and conforms to Hatt's series XII (Hatt, 1916, pp. 179-183). The instep section of the upper is decorated with pony beads spot-stitched and thread-sewn. There is a geometric design in yellow, red, white, and blue beads on a background of light green beads. There is a cloth wraparound top piece and a strip of green wool felt is sewn into the seam. Ties of red cloth are inserted through slits in the hide just below the seam (fig. 12d).

The fourth pair of child's moccasins consists of two pieces and conforms to Hatt's series XV (Hatt, 1916, pp. 187-191). The entire upper is decorated with pony beads spot-stitched and sinew-sewn. Decoration consists of a band of pale blue beads around the sole seam in which are sewn geometric designs in black and yellow beads. The instep has geometric designs in dark blue, green, and pink beads on a background of white beads. There is a hide wraparound top piece into the seam of which has been sewn a strip of red wool felt. Hide ties are fastened to each side of the top piece at the front (fig. 12a)

PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Three pairs of objects are identified in the catalog as "*Hair ornaments*" and were presumably worn attached to the ends of braids. All are essentially the same, consisting basically of strands of beaded cloth, usually thread-wound, to which

various attachments have been added. The first pair consists of pieces of thread-wound cloth around which continuous thread-sewn strips of white and green seed beads are wound. Single brass beads separate the two colors; one end is wrapped with a strip of red wool felt and a short strip of cloth extends from the other (fig. 14a). A second pair is similar in construction except that the seed beads are blue, white, and brown. Thin strips of hide are fastened at each end and in the center a longer strip of hide has been sewn so as to hold the two halves of each ornament together (fig. 13e). The third and most elaborate pair of hair ornaments is wound with thread-sewn brown, white, and translucent red seed beads. At intervals brass beads are interspersed. Tufts of blue yarn are attached at the ends, and in the center an ermine skin has been attached with a piece of hide. Toward the lower end, the two strands of each ornament are bound with a thin strip of tanned hide. (fig. 13d).

A pair of poorly preserved *ear pendants* is made of cloth-wrapped metal rings around which have been wound thread-sewn blue and white seed beads. Narrow strips of hide, cut in three strands and wrapped with red-dyed porcupine quills, are fastened to each pendant (fig. 13c).

There are four *necklaces* in the collection, the most elaborate of which consists of bear claws strung on a strip of hide. A doubled strip of red wool felt edged with a row of green seed beads and a narrow strip of hare skin has been sewn around the proximal ends of the claws with thread. Near their tips, the claws are joined together by a row of brass beads strung on a narrow strip of hide (fig. 15a). In Simms' notes, this necklace is identified as "Saulteaux" and is said to have come from Nut Lake, Saskatchewan. Mandelbaum (1940, p. 209) refers to bear claw necklaces as having been worn in the past.

Two necklaces have as their main component long bone beads which taper at either end. The simpler of these is strung on twine and the bone beads are separated by eight large black glass beads (fig. 16b). The second necklace of this type consists of three long strands strung on hide and tied together at the proximal end. The tapered bone beads are separated by six large, faceted glass beads, four of which are light blue and two brown. The brown beads apparently are white ones that have been painted; much of the paint has worn off. White-lined red glass beads are used on either side of the bone beads at the distal end of the necklace. At this end of each strand there are also short, separate strands of bone and glass beads strung on strips of hide that project for some distance beyond the beaded area. At the proximal end of the necklace, on all strands, are large, light blue glass beads (fig. 16a). The fourth specimen is described as a "neck ornament" and is simply a strip of cloth around which are wound blue and translucent yellow beads strung on thread. There is no clasp or other means of fastening at the ends (fig. 14b).

The two *breast ornaments* in the collection were, like the necklaces, suspended from the neck. One consists of 16 separate parallel strands of tapered bone beads separated by large blue, red, and black glass beads as well as by four rows of brass beads near the center. These ornaments are strung on strips of cloth knotted at the proximal end. There are large white glass beads at the proximal end. The various strands are held in a vertically parallel position by thick strips of commercially tanned hide (fig. 17a). The second breast ornament consists of 21 separate horizontally parallel rows of large blue and white glass beads strung on strips of cloth. The rows are separated by three thick vertical strips of commercially tanned hide, one

in the center and on each side. On either side of the center strip there are two brass beads on each row. At the distal end of the ornament a brass wheel from a clock has been attached with a short strip of cloth (fig. 17b).

A single pair of *bracelets* is made from rectangular strips of thin corrugated brass (fig. 13b).

HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS

Among the few specimens in the Simms collection that can, even peripherally, be associated with the interior of a Plains Cree dwelling is a *cradle hood* made from a single piece of native tanned animal hide. Mandelbaum (1940, p. 214) maintains that although cradleboards were used at the time of his field work, his oldest informants believed that these items had always been purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company and thus may not have been items of traditional material culture. These trade cradleboards were rectangular with a forward projecting wooden frame at the head over which a cradle hood was fitted. The single piece of hide out of which the collection's hood is constructed is roughly rectangular in shape, folded back on each side, and cut and sewn with a T-shaped seam at the top to accommodate the infant's head. The outer edges of the folds are serrated and at the point of the folds a narrow strip of hide has been fastened at intervals providing small loops to which ties could be affixed; there is one such tie about half way along the length of the specimen.

The primary decorative elements on this cradle hood are rectangular beaded strips, sewn on separate pieces of hide, running along the folded sections on each side. They consist of pony beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, in geometric designs identical on each side. The background is white with designs in dark blue, translucent red, pink, and yellow beads. These separate beaded strips are sewn to the hood with twine. Along the front edge of each strip brass beads are attached at intervals with twine. At the upper end of each strip are attached six tassels of large, light blue beads with four brass beads in the center of each tassel. These beads are strung on pieces of cloth knotted at the distal ends (fig. 14c).

The collection contains two triangular *back rests* of peeled willow sticks which, according to Mandelbaum (1940, pp. 212, 225), were used only by men of prestige and were usually found in the sweatlodge, frequented by warriors, rather than among household furnishings. On both specimens a length of twine is drawn through perforations at each end of every stick and heavy twine, wrapped around each stick, binds them together in the center. One back rest is edged with a strip of red wool felt, sewn on with twine, which also covers the entire upper end. This covered area is bordered on one side by a band of alternating green and white pony beads, thread-sewn. At the lower end a fringe of native tanned animal hide is attached. Narrow strips of red wool felt have been laced through the sticks for a short distance just below the fringe (fig. 18).

The second back rest is similar but more elaborately decorated. The edging is made from a black and red wool blanket and sections of heavily beaded hide have been attached with twine on one side at the top, down both edges, and in the center. The pony beads are spot-stitched and thread-sewn in geometric and floral designs. The background is white and the designs are in light blue, dark blue, black, yellow, translucent red, and green beads. A fringe of hide has been attached with twine to the lower edge of the beaded panel at the top (fig. 19).

Back rests like these were suspended from a tripod or from a four-pole base (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 213). There is a plain suspension strap of hide on the first specimen. On the second back rest diamond-shaped pieces of beaded hide ornamented with blue, white, black and translucent red pony beads are attached to a similar strap.

A beaded *panel* is described by Simms as having been hung as decoration from a back rest. It consists of a rectangular piece of native tanned buffalo hide covered with a spot-stitched, sinew-sewn design in white and dark blue pony beads. There is a dark blue band around the edges. Heads of two cattle or buffalo, also in dark blue, are in the center. At the upper end, four short pieces of hide, beaded in white and blue, are attached and to their ends a peeled willow stick is fastened with sinew and strips of ermine skin. At the lower end a separate fringe of hide has been attached along with four tufts of horse hair. These are fastened with strips of ermine skin. This pendant was apparently suspended by a loop of sinew tied to the willow stick (fig. 20).

The collection contains two roughly rectangular pieces of *painted buffalo hide* that have clearly been fashioned from old parfleches. The smaller hide is approximately 128 by 70 cm and has badly faded designs in red and blue pigment on one side. The larger hide, approximately 174 by 125 cm, is covered on one side with less faded designs, consisting primarily of triangles, in black, red, and green pigments. These pieces of hide may have been used as covers or in a dwelling as flooring or as places to set household items. According to Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213) and Lowie (1954, p. 67), the Plains Cree did not make parfleches but sometimes acquired them in trade from other groups.

TOOLS, UTENSILS, AND CONTAINERS

Among the small number of tools in the Simms collection is an *iron striker*, obtained by the Indians from the Hudson's Bay Company, and a piece of quartzite for striking a light. Mandelbaum (1940, pp. 213–214) mentions that during the last century, every man carried such fire making equipment (fig. 21c).

A *maul* or pounder is an egg-shaped, fine-grained stone with a medial groove and a willow stick handle bent around this groove and lashed with rawhide. Simms noted that such mauls were used for crushing berries, while Mandelbaum (1940, p. 214) states that women used them for splitting bones (fig. 21b).

The collection contains two *hide scrapers*, one of which is a straight, chisel-like tool made from a length of gun barrel, the distal end of which has been pounded flat and serrated. Approximately three-quarters of its length is wrapped in hide and there is a wrist strap of the same material (fig. 21f). According to Skinner (1914b, p. 82) and Mandelbaum (1940, pp. 193–194) this implement, formerly made from the leg bone of a moose or buffalo, was used to scrape fat and tissue from the hide of a freshly skinned animal. While the hide was being scraped it was either pegged on the ground or lashed to a vertical frame.

The next step in the tanning process involved removing the hair and thinning the hide so as to make it even. For this process the skin was spread on the ground and an adze-like fleshing tool was used (Skinner, 1914b, p. 83; Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 194). The second scraper is of this type and has a metal blade hafted to a long handle of elk antler. The blade is secured by rawhide lashing around a rectangular strip of tanned hide (fig. 21a).

A rawhide belt with pouch, awl, and awl case attached is one of the few objects in the Simms collection that appears not to have been used and thus may have been made specifically for the collector. The awl has a crude wooden handle and a blade made from the proximal end of a small file. Its case, made from a single piece of native tanned hide, is wrapped with green and white beads with a brass bead and hide fringe at the distal end. The small, two piece rectangular pouch has a long, triangular flap made from a separate piece of hide ornamented with white, green and blue beads. A fringe is sewn in the seam at the top of the flap and there are tassels at the pointed ends (fig. 22c).

The only utensils in the collection are a wooden *spoon* and a *ladle* of the same material. The former is more crudely made and the bowl is virtually at right angles to the handle (fig. 21d). The ladle appears to be in imitation of the Euro-American form (fig. 21e). Spoons made from buffalo horn are described by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213). Guests brought their own spoons to feasts (Skinner, 1914b, p. 69).

There are two *bags for storing pemmican*, so described by Simms. The largest bag is made from a single piece of untanned buffalo hide sewn along adjoining sides with sinew. Most of the hair has fallen off. A rectangular strip of soft, native tanned animal hide has been sewn with sinew around the top and at its outer edges are holes for a drawstring (fig. 23). The second bag consists of two panels made of strips of untanned deer hide sewn with sinew into a separate piece of soft tanned hide. There is another piece at the neck and a drawstring of the same material. A narrow strip of red wool felt has been sewn into all seams (fig. 22a). Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213) notes that rawhide bags were utilized for storing food and the form he describes is, in the main, constructed like the first of these two bags in the Simms collection.

Three narrow, rectangular containers are described as *paint bags* and all are made of a single piece of native tanned animal hide sewn with sinew along one side. All three have beaded decoration, are cut to form semi-circular loops at the top, and are fringed at the distal end. The first bag has a narrow band of spot-stitched and sinew-sewn beads just above the fringe on which geometric designs are depicted in three shades of blue, white, yellow, translucent red, and translucent yellow. The designs are the same on both sides but the combination of colors is different. The loops at the top are edged with dark blue beads (fig. 24d).

The second bag has a broader band of beadwork in the same location and the beads are sewn with thread on a separate piece of cloth. The geometric designs, identical on both sides, are in white, yellow, green, light blue, dark blue, red, and translucent red beads. In addition, the seam is beaded with dark blue beads above the decorative band and there is a cross in light blue beads on the inside of each loop at the top (fig. 24e). The location of the decoration on the third specimen is the same as on the first. Geometric designs are identical on both sides but in light blue, dark blue, and yellow beads on one side and dark blue, green, red and translucent yellow on the other (fig. 24c). Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213) mentions that medicine was also carried in this style of bag. Paints were derived from clays found in cutbanks (Skinner, 1914b, p. 81).

A common method of storing berries and, after European contact, tea, was in the whole skin of an unborn buffalo calf. The carcass of the animal was removed through the mouth opening of the hide and the various apertures sewn up. The skin was softened by being worked between the hands (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 213). The Simms collection contains three such *berry bags*, all in poor condition.

Two bags have neck openings widened by the insertion of a V-shaped piece of canvas or tanned hide. One bag has a tassel of tanned hide fastened to the end of each foot, while the second has a row of light blue beads sewn in the same locations. The third bag, slightly smaller than the other two, has been widened at the neck by the removal of a V-shaped section of the foetal skin (fig. 24a).

Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213) states that the Plains Cree used a large assortment of soft bags or pouches for a variety of purposes, and there are five such *pouches* in the Simms collection, four of which are beaded. The single unbeaded pouch is similar to one of the larger pemmican bags previously described in that it is constructed of two panels of untanned deer hide sewn with thread into a separate piece of tanned hide. There is a separate rectangular neck piece of tanned hide and a drawstring of the same material (fig. 22b).

Each of the four beaded pouches is distinctive and will be described separately. All are similarly constructed, however, consisting of two semicircular pieces of native tanned animal hide sewn together with thread or twine. On the first bag the front piece is larger, forming the flap, and is fringed at the bottom. At the ends of the fringe are metal tassels. The front piece is completely covered with spot-stitched, thread-sewn beads with a border of red cloth. White beads form the background and there is a geometric design in pink, dark blue, and green beads. A broken suspension strap of red yarn has a tassel on each side at the point where it is attached to the pouch (fig. 25b).

On the second bag the fringed back piece is largest and forms the flap. There is a metal tassel on each strand of the fringe. Both sides are completely beaded with stepped geometric designs and triangles in a wide variety of both translucent and solid colors. There is a suspension strap of braided red yarn (fig. 25c).

The third pouch is made of heavy denim cloth, the front piece being larger to form the flap. A fringe of tanned animal hide with metal tassels has been sewn into the seam. The beaded design on the front, a combination of spot stitching and lazy stitching, thread-sewn, consists of a border and geometric designs in white, red, pink, light and dark blue, and yellow beads. There is no suspension strap (fig. 24b).

For the fourth pouch, a larger piece of hide has been used for the back to form the flap which is fastened with a black bakelite button. The fringe sewn into the seam is a separate piece with metal tassels at the ends. The beaded designs on the front of this pouch, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, are unique in that floral rather than geometric patterns are represented. The background is white and the other colors are red, pink, dark green, black, light blue, yellow and translucent yellow. The strap on this specimen is a broad, rectangular, heavily beaded piece of canvas. The beads on the strap, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, are primarily white with square designs at intervals in white, blue, yellow, translucent red, and translucent green beads (fig. 25a).

Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213) draws a distinction between the rawhide pemmican bags and utility bags that were used for clothes, ornaments, and sometimes food. The latter, he notes, were characterized by a strip of soft tanned hide sewn around the opening which was closed with a drawstring. Two rawhide drawstring bags have previously been described as pemmican bags because they are so identified by Simms. In addition to these, the collection contains four *bags* which closely resemble Mandelbaum's category of utility bags.

The smallest of these is made of two pieces of untanned buffalo calf hide sewn with sinew. At the top is the soft piece of tanned hide and the drawstring (fig. 15b). Of approximately the same size is a specimen with two panels made of untanned hide from the head of a buffalo calf. The sides and rim are constructed from several rectangular pieces of tanned hide. The drawstring and loop handle are of tanned hide and the sewing throughout is with sinew (fig. 26b).

The third bag has two panels made of strips of untanned hide from deer legs. They are set into a narrow rectangular strip of tanned hide which forms the bottom and sides. Along the upper edge a separate piece of tanned hide cut in half circles has been sewn with sinew. On some of the half circles there is a simple design in yellow beads. There is a single tassel of hide on each side, but no drawstring (fig. 27).

The fourth bag is made from strips of untanned skin from the legs of deer, dewclaws attached, sewn together with sinew. The bottom is a piece of native tanned hide, while around the top a narrow strip of untanned hide, fringed on both sides, has been sewn. There are hide ties in the center but no drawstring (fig. 26a). Mandelbaum (1940, p. 213) specifically mentions deer leg bags with the dewclaws attached.

A *shot horn* made from a buffalo horn is closed at the proximal end with a wooden peg and at the distal end a piece of wood is set in even with the edge of the horn; it is held in place with brass tacks. Attached to the horn with narrow strips of hide is a pouch, presumably for percussion caps, and a broad suspension strap. The pouch, made of native tanned hide, has no flap, but a piece of beaded burlap edged with ermine skin has been sewn on one side just below the opening. The beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, are white, yellow, and dark blue and arranged in simple geometric patterns. The lower part of the pouch is daubed with red pigment. The suspension strap, edged with faded green cotton cloth, consists of two rectangular pieces of heavily beaded burlap, spot-stitched and thread-sewn, with geometric designs in white, pink, yellow, and translucent green (fig. 28a).

A rectangular pouch is identified as a *mirror case*. The actual case consists of two panels of equal size except that the back panel, of native tanned animal hide, has a lengthy fringe. The front panel consists of two pieces of heavily beaded burlap with a geometric design in white, blue, and translucent brown beads, spot-stitched and thread-sewn. Down each side of the case are sewn long rectangular strips of wolf skin. They extend above the opening of the case and are tied together to form a carrying strap. They also extend below the case, and there is a pair of pheasant feathers attached at the end on each side with a narrow strip of hare skin. A considerable amount of red pigment is found on the backs of these strips of wolf skin as well as on the back of the case and on the fringe (fig. 28b). According to Mandelbaum (1940, p. 297), when a war party was near home, they signaled their approach by flashing mirrors in the sun.

A *quirt* of braided tanned hide with a carefully made wooden handle painted with red pigment is described here for convenience because it does not fit into any of the other categories into which the Simms collection has been divided. The braided section is attached to a sinew-wrapped piece of hide which fits into narrow grooves on either side of the distal end of the handle and is held in place with a wooden peg. Tassels of hide are attached near the distal end of the handle

and at intervals along it. A wrist strap of braided hide is strung through a hole at the proximal end (fig. 29d).

SMOKING UTENSILS

Although most Plains Cree *pipes* were made of a soft, black stone obtained along the banks of the Battle River, a Saskatchewan River tributary (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 216), the single specimen in the Simms collection is made of red catlinite. This pipe is flat-bottomed and rounded except for being squared at the point where it joins the stem. A short, pointed section of the bottom extends beyond the bowl. The stem is made from a single piece of wood, slightly convex on the two surfaces, and flat along the sides. A circular projection extends on both sides near the proximal end and the stem constricts to form a small, circular mouthpiece. This pipestem is quite different from the type described by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 216), which was made of two pieces of split root lashed together. There is no ornamentation on either the pipe or the stem (fig. 29a). This pipe was obtained in trade with Indians from Minnesota to the south and east.

Accompanying the pipe is a *pipe tamp* or cleaner which is simply a sharply pointed stick wrapped with porcupine quills dyed yellow, red, and purple (fig. 29b). The method by which the quills were tied, involving a piece of twine running along the stick under the quills and thread crossing over the ends of the quills on each side of the twine, is described in detail and illustrated by Orchard (1971, p. 51, fig. 30).

A *tobacco bag* is made from a whole fawn skin and rather resembles the bags for storing berries and tea described earlier. The mouth of the bag has been widened by the insertion of a V-shaped piece of hide and a fringe of hide has been attached to the end of each foot. The upper ends of these fringes are wrapped with pieces of red wool felt and strands of light blue beads. At the lower end of each strand of the fringes are metal tassels and pieces of red yarn. In the region of the tail is a floral design in yellow, pink, and translucent brown beads sewn over a piece of red wool felt. Two fringes similar to those on the feet extend from the beaded design. A strip of red wool felt and a band of yellow, light blue, and dark blue beads are sewn around the mouth (fig. 29c). The tobacco pouches briefly described by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 216) have approximately the same dimensions as this specimen, but are not made from a whole animal skin and are more heavily beaded.

Two *braided strands of sweet grass* for smoking, each approximately 50 cm long and tapering to a point at one end, are fastened together with a narrow strip of tanned hide.

Pipe smoking played an extremely important role in Plains Cree life. The use of the pipe "inaugurated all ritualistic behavior" (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 288), but there were many secular usages for pipes as well. Skinner (1914a, pp. 537-540) notes that a pipe was an important element in negotiations with an enemy and in prayers relating to the passing of the old days and the vanishing of the buffalo. Shamans and old people smoked to invoke their spirit helpers and a pipe was an integral part of offerings connected with funerals, vision quests, and curing the sick (Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 191, 243, 249, 252-254). As Mandelbaum (1940, p. 288) succinctly states, "The concept underlying pipe offerings to supernaturals

was that the spirit powers thus smoked in company with men. Having done this, they were bound to listen to their requests and, if at all possible, to accede to them."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Mandelbaum (1940, p. 216) states that when songs were sung there was always some method of beating the rhythm. If there were no musical instruments available, hand clapping was considered a satisfactory means of marking time. The most common form of *drum*, he notes, was the single-headed tambourine variety and the Simms collection contains three instruments of this type. Two of these are virtually identical in size and method of construction. The frame is made from a rectangular strip of wood approximately 8 cm wide which has been steamed and bent to form a hoop; the overlapping ends are lashed together with strips of hide. The drum head is made of scraped animal hide which is stretched over the frame and held taut by four twisted rawhide thongs fastened to perforations in the drum head and extending across the open side of the instrument. In the center where these thongs meet they are lashed together with another thong to form a hand hold. At intervals of 8 cm around the center of the frame are lashing holes through which narrow strips of hide pass on both the inside and outside of the frame. The strip on the inside passes over the outside strip where it goes through the lashing holes. Since the outside strip extends over the drum head, it serves to help hold it in place. On each of these drums a piece of string, on which are strung four copper tubes and the same number of brass beads, is fastened across the diameter of the instrument on the inside to provide a rattle-like noise when the drum is struck.

The decoration on each drum is different, although the colors are the same. On one specimen the drum head is painted yellow and there is a wide blue line across the center to indicate the earth, above which is a blue tree design (fig. 30). The head of the second drum, which, according to Simms, was "used in thunder storm," is also painted with yellow pigment except for half of the face which is painted blue; the yellow half is the earth and the blue is the sky (fig. 31). This specimen also has four brass tacks with wide heads pressed through the head and into the edge of the frame on the inner side; at one time there were probably several more such tacks.

The two drumsticks are simply straight pieces of wood wrapped throughout their length with tanned animal hide lashed with string. About three-quarters of the length of each stick has been painted with yellow pigment.

The third drum of this type is smaller and narrower, but the method of construction is essentially the same except that the head is lashed to the frame by means of a thong which is looped through holes at approximately 5-cm intervals along the inner edge. A pair of thongs at right angles to one another is stretched across the open face and wrapped in the center where they cross to form a hand hold. The sides and half the face of the drum head are painted with yellow pigment; the other half is covered with a series of parallel pink lines (fig. 32).

According to Mandelbaum (1940, p. 216), drum heads were heated before use in order to tighten the hide and create a better tone. He also notes that a man's spirit helper might inspire him to have a vision which would be depicted on the face of his drum. An instrument so decorated would be carefully preserved and

played only on sacred occasions (Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 216–217). Simms notes that one of the previously described drums (fig. 30) was “used in case of illness,” but Mandelbaum (1940, p. 254) indicates that such instruments were rarely used for this purpose.

A large, flat, double-headed drum, usually suspended from four stakes driven in the ground, was used in the Plains Cree version of the Grass Dance (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 217). The collection contains one such drum. Two pieces of scraped animal hide are stretched over both sides of a frame approximately 12 cm wide and lashed with a thong which passes alternately through holes at the edge of each piece. In four places on the side, there are thong loops and ties for the supports. The side of this drum is painted with yellow pigment and there is a blue line around the edge of one face, in the center of which is a crude painting in blue, yellow, and brown pigments representing the sun; the other face is unpainted (fig. 33).

The four wood supports are identical, consisting of lengths of wood, painted with blue pigment, pointed at the distal end and curved at the top where four bunches of horse hair are tied and fastened with strips of hide. The two middle bunches are of dark hair and the outer bunches of light hair. The bunch at the extreme end of the stick is wrapped at the top with a strip of ermine skin. A narrow strip of fox skin is fastened around the end of the stick at this point. There is a notch about midway along each stick (fig. 33). At the time of Mandelbaum’s fieldwork, double-headed drums with supports were used in a variety of sacred ceremonies (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 217).

A broken *whistle* is made from an eagle leg bone. One end is wrapped with a narrow strip of felt cloth. A bunch of short eagle feathers is attached with string at the other end. The bone itself is wrapped with flattened porcupine quills dyed yellow, white, red, and purple (fig. 13a). The method by which the quills are attached, similar to that on a previously described pipe tump, is illustrated by Orchard (1971, p. 51, fig. 30). Whistles like this one were used by dancers in the Sun Dance lodge. At the request of a shaman, hunters seeking buffalo blew on an eagle bone whistle before setting out to look for a herd of the animals (Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 191, 217, 269).

III ORNAMENTATION

Like other plains tribes, the traditional artistic achievement of the Plains Cree was largely realized through the use of flattened porcupine quillwork designs on all items of clothing. By the 1850s, however, quillwork was beginning to be replaced by the use of glass trade beads, although the earlier technique had not been completely replaced at the time of Mandelbaum’s fieldwork in 1934 (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 219; Brasser, 1976, p. 47). It is significant that the few examples of quillwork in the Simms collection are restricted to wrapped wooden objects that could, perhaps, be more efficiently decorated with flattened quills than with beads.

Although there are widespread features that characterized Plains Indian beadwork, it is possible to distinguish regional substyles. The northern plains evolved a distinct substyle which Lowie (1954, pp. 140, 143) noted as having been typical of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Plains Cree, and Flathead. It is characterized by bold

geometric designs, the beads being applied in a spot or overlay stitch primarily in straight lines. Common design elements included stepped triangles and squares, diamonds, crosses, and oblique wide bands with stepped sides. Usually not more than four or five colors were used (Feder, 1971, p. 66). Backgrounds tended to be fully beaded, often in white or blue. Lowie (1954, pp. 140, 143) believed this style of decoration to be simpler than that of any other plains substyle and thus more closely related to the designs characteristic of quillwork.

Geometric designs like those just described are present on virtually all the decorated specimens in the Simms collection. There are, however, three specimens which are ornamented with floral motifs, a style of decoration which was apparently derived from the Metis to the east (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 219; Brasser, 1976, p. 47). Although this floral style made its appearance toward the end of the 19th century and quickly became widely distributed across the northern plains, it did not replace the use of geometric designs, both styles being used at the time of Mandelbaum's fieldwork (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 219).

The floral designs on two specimens in the Simms collection seem to be rudimentary and quite stylized. A tobacco bag of fawn skin (fig. 29c) has a simple four-petal flower design at the distal end, although it does not show well in the photograph. Two stylized flowers occur along with geometric patterns as part of the decoration on a back rest (fig. 19). A more realistic floral pattern, both in terms of design and use of naturalistic colors, occurs on a pouch (fig. 25a). It has the bilaterally symmetrical leaf and flower designs with curving stems that are characteristic of the best Metis-derived floral patterns (Brasser, 1976, p. 47).

IV

CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this study has been to place on record a reasonably well-documented collection of Plains Cree material culture acquired by Field Museum at a relatively early date. It is a collection assembled by a man who, although not a professionally trained anthropologist, nevertheless had considerable previous collecting experience and worked under the direction of an acknowledged authority on American Indian cultures. Factors relevant to whether this collection can be considered as representative of Plains Cree material culture at the turn of the century will be discussed in this concluding section.

In the introduction, data from selected letters exchanged by Simms and Dorsey were quoted in the hope of providing a picture, incomplete at best, of museum collecting rationale and methodology in the early years of this century, as well as illuminating the particular historical circumstances relevant to obtaining the Plains Cree collection that is the subject of this study. It is clear to begin with that Simms was unable to spend as much time in the field as he had originally hoped, a circumstance that brought him to the Canadian prairies at a less than ideal time. It was his first trip to southern Saskatchewan and he had made no advance contacts in the region with individuals who might have made it possible for him to accomplish more in his limited time.

In addition to these obstacles to his work, logistic problems associated with the weather and travel as well as the fact that he had inadvertently chosen a time of the year when the Indians were away from their permanent residences almost certainly prevented him from working as carefully and thoroughly as he would

have desired. In fact, it is apparent from his correspondence with Dorsey that he did not consider his trip to be proceeding satisfactorily, particularly when compared with his previous collecting trips, and was not satisfied with the results.

In part for these reasons, the Simms collection fails to convey a comprehensive picture of Plains Cree material culture. Totally absent from the collection are artifacts associated with subsistence activities and there are very few tools of any kind. Most other categories of material objects are, at best, thinly represented. If Simms worked from a previously prepared list of desired objects, there is no indication of it in his notes or in his correspondence with Dorsey. The fact that he entered each object in a small notebook together with the price paid suggests that he simply obtained whatever was available and offered to him. One can almost see him entering an Indian house and asking the startled inhabitants if they had any "old things" to sell. As noted earlier, most of the specimens show indications of use, sometimes hard use, and it is clear that virtually nothing was made specifically for the collector.

In sending Simms to Saskatchewan, Dorsey was obviously following his own plan to have as many areas of North America as possible represented in Field Museum collections. He was thus only peripherally concerned about whether a collection from any one area was "complete" or perhaps even representative. This point of view, however, did not lessen his insistence on careful documentation. Nevertheless, it is clear that Simms and other assistant curators in the Department of Anthropology during Dorsey's tenure as Chief Curator were essentially collecting for exhibition. Many of the specimens obtained during summer collecting trips were installed in exhibition cases within a few months of their arrival at the museum.

It is highly probable that most of the specimens described in this study were not in actual use at the time the collection was made but were kept as heirlooms by the Indian families who were doubtless induced to part with them for much needed cash. This does not lessen their importance, of course, and it is fortunate that Simms was on the scene at an early enough date to obtain items from the recent past that might soon have disappeared or been dispersed. The collector also apparently made a conscious effort to avoid what he referred to as "Hudson's Bay things" (DA/CF, Simms to Dorsey, September 21, 1903), thus hoping to obtain only traditional artifacts.

In any event, it cannot be said that the Simms collection is in any way representative of Plains Cree material culture at the turn of the century. Rather it would appear to represent, in a limited way, a period perhaps 20 or 30 years earlier when the disappearance of the buffalo brought an end to those specialized prairie hunting adaptations which had been so recently acquired. Such suppositions, however, can only be determined with relative certainty when the Simms collection is compared with other museum collections of Plains Cree material culture.

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APPENDIX

The Simms Plains Cree Collection (Accession 851)

Following is a list of the Simms Plains Cree specimens described in this study. It is a virtually complete list of the collection as it appears in the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, since only five specimens were not located. When museum catalog numbers are preceded by an asterisk (*), the specimens are *not* illustrated here. The reserve where each specimen was collected is also listed. Identifications given here are, with a few exceptions, those provided by the collector.

Men's Clothing

84294,1-2	leggings	Poor Man Reserve
84324,1-2	leggings	Day Star Reserve
84284,1-2	leggings	Poor Man Reserve
84291,1-2	leggings	Day Star Reserve
84290	shirt	Day Star Reserve
*84292	robe	Poor Man Reserve
84326,1-2	moccasins	Day Star Reserve
84265,1-2	moccasins	Piapot Reserve
84277,1-2	moccasins	File Hills Reserve
84266,1-2	moccasins	Muscowpetung Reserve
84302,1-2	moccasins	Day Star Reserve
84318,1-2	moccasins	Day Star Reserve
84264,1-2	moccasins	Piapot Reserve
84267,1-2	moccasins	Muscowpetung Reserve
*84335	headdress	Day Star Reserve
84293	medicine dance hat	Poor Man Reserve

Women's Clothing

84309,1-2	leggings	Day Star Reserve
84303,1-2	leggings	Day Star Reserve
84263,1-2	leggings	Star Blanket Reserve
84262,1-2	leggings	Star Blanket Reserve
84268,1-2	moccasins	File Hills Reserve
84269,1-2	moccasins	File Hills Reserve

Children's Clothing

84278,1-2	moccasins	File Hills Reserve
84327,1-2	moccasins	Day Star Reserve
84271,1-2	moccasins	File Hills Reserve
84296,1-2	moccasins	Day Star Reserve

Personal Adornment

84286,1-2	hair ornaments	Day Star Reserve
84305,1-2	hair ornaments	Day Star Reserve

84330,1-2	hair ornaments	Day Star Reserve
84340,1-2	ear pendants	Day Star Reserve
84298	necklace	Day Star Reserve
84339	necklace	Day Star Reserve
84338	necklace	Day Star Reserve
84308	neck ornament	Day Star Reserve
84336	breast ornament	Day Star Reserve
84337	breast ornament	Day Star Reserve
84288	bracelets	Day Star Reserve

Household Furnishings

84261	cradle hood	Star Blanket Reserve
84275	back rest	Star Blanket Reserve
84276	back rest	File Hills Reserve
84297	panel for head of bed	Day Star Reserve
*84279	painted buffalo hide	File Hills Reserve
*84280	painted buffalo hide	File Hills Reserve

Tools, Utensils, and Containers

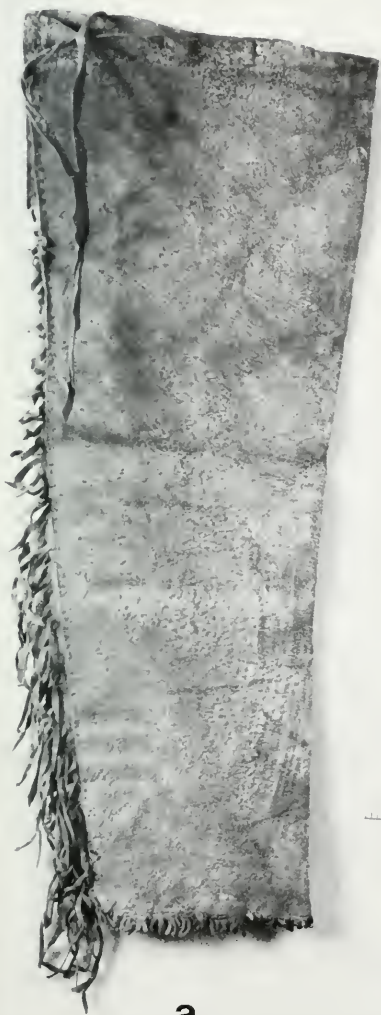
84310,1-2	strike-a-light	Day Star Reserve
84321	maul	Day Star Reserve
84333	hide scraper	Day Star Reserve
84272	hide scraper	File Hills Reserve
84311	belt with pouch, awl, and awl case	Day Star Reserve
84332	spoon	Day Star Reserve
84331	ladle	Day Star Reserve
84281	bag for storing pemmican	File Hills Reserve
84313	bag for storing pemmican	Day Star Reserve
84289	paint bag	Day Star Reserve
84317	paint bag	Day Star Reserve
84462	paint bag	File Hills Reserve
*84319	berry bag	Day Star Reserve
*84320	berry bag	Day Star Reserve
84323	berry bag	Day Star Reserve
84304	pouch	Day Star Reserve
84307	pouch	Day Star Reserve
84285	pouch	Day Star Reserve
84328	pouch	Day Star Reserve
84306	pouch	Day Star Reserve
84312	bag	Day Star Reserve
84316	bag	Day Star Reserve
84314	bag	Day Star Reserve
84315	bag	Day Star Reserve
84287	shot horn	Day Star Reserve
84300	mirror case	Poor Man Reserve
84329	quilt	Day Star Reserve

Smoking Utensils

84273,1-2	pipe and pipe cleaner	File Hills Reserve
84461	tobacco bag	File Hills Reserve
*84274	braided sweet grass	File Hills Reserve

Musical Instruments

84282,1-2	drum and drumstick	Day Star Reserve
84283,1-2	drum and drumstick	Day Star Reserve
84325	drum	Day Star Reserve
84341,1-4	drum and supports	Day Star Reserve
84301	whistle	Day Star Reserve



a



b

FIG. 1. a, Legging (84294); b, legging (84324).

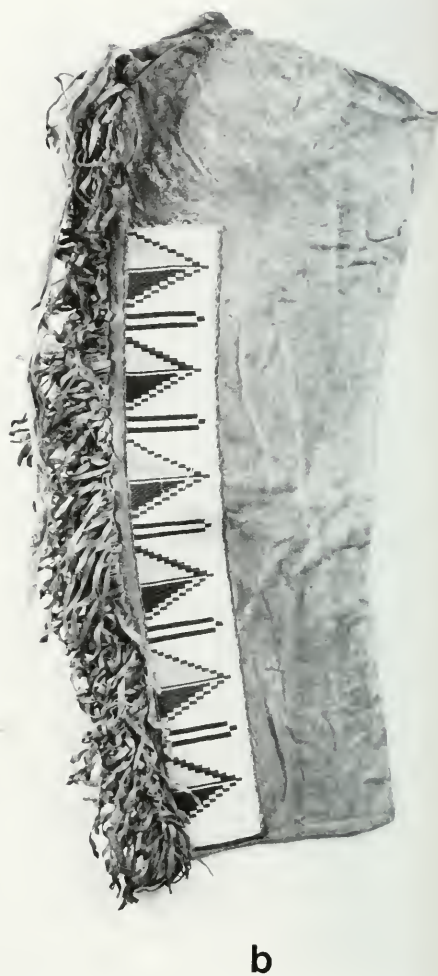
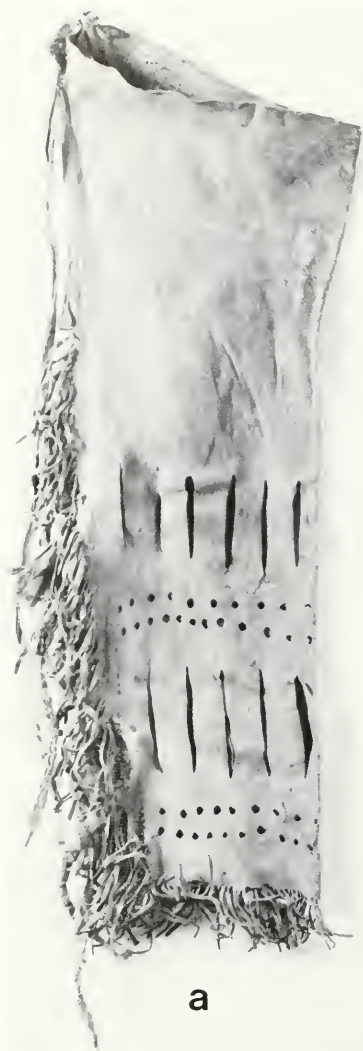


FIG. 2. a, Legging (84291); b, legging (84284).



FIG. 3. Shirt, front (84290).



FIG. 4. Shirt, back (84290).



a



b

FIG. 5. a, Moccasins (84277); b, moccasins (84326).



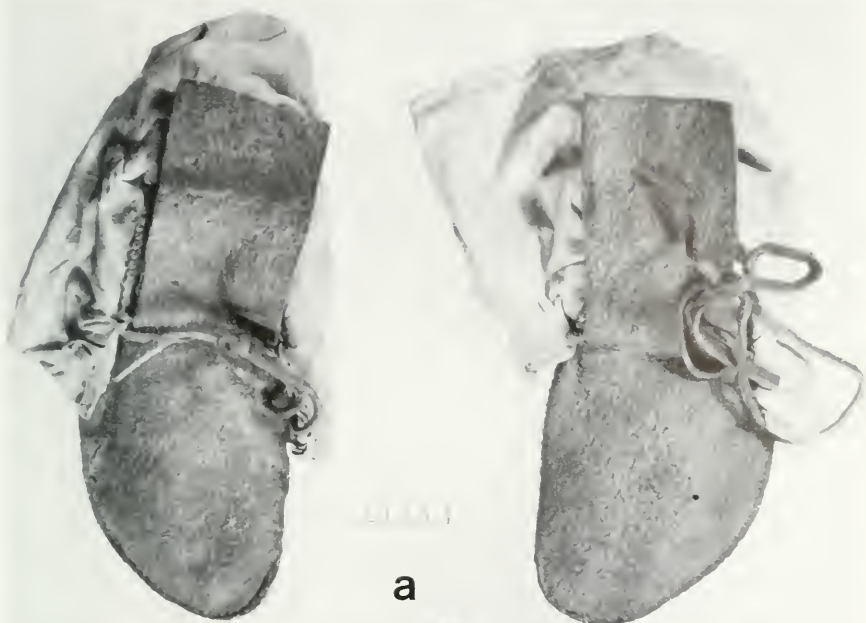
a

84265



b

FIG. 6. **a**, Moccasins (84265); **b**, moccasins (84266).



a

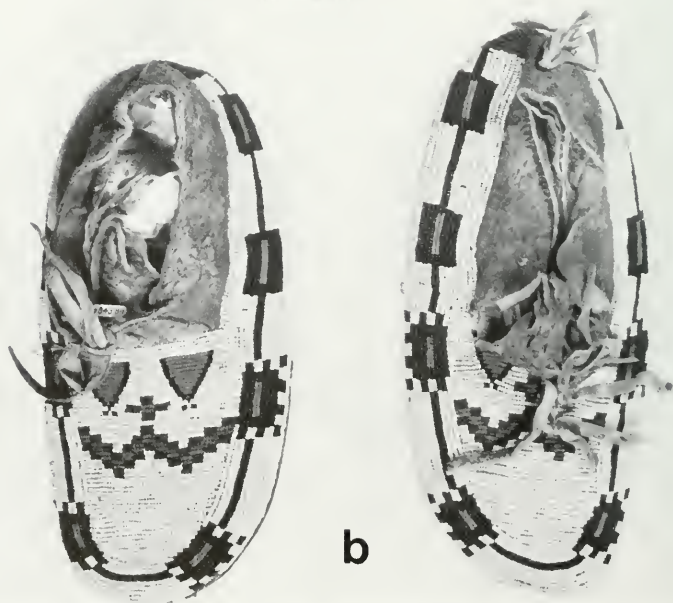


b

FIG. 7. a, Moccasins (84302); b, moccasin (84267).



a



b

FIG. 8. a, Moccasins (84264); b, moccasins (84318).



FIG. 9. Medicine dance hat (84293).

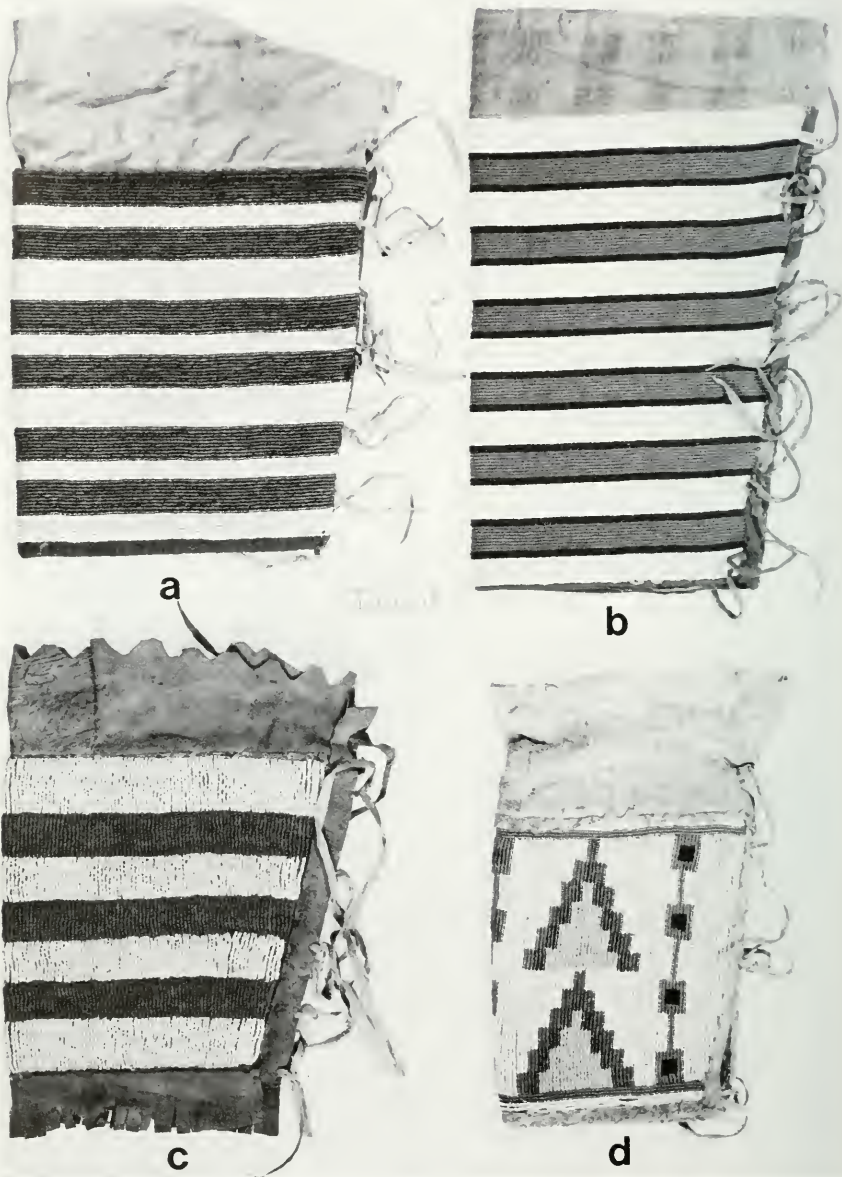


FIG. 10. a, Legging (84263); b, legging (84262); c, legging (84309); d, legging (84303).

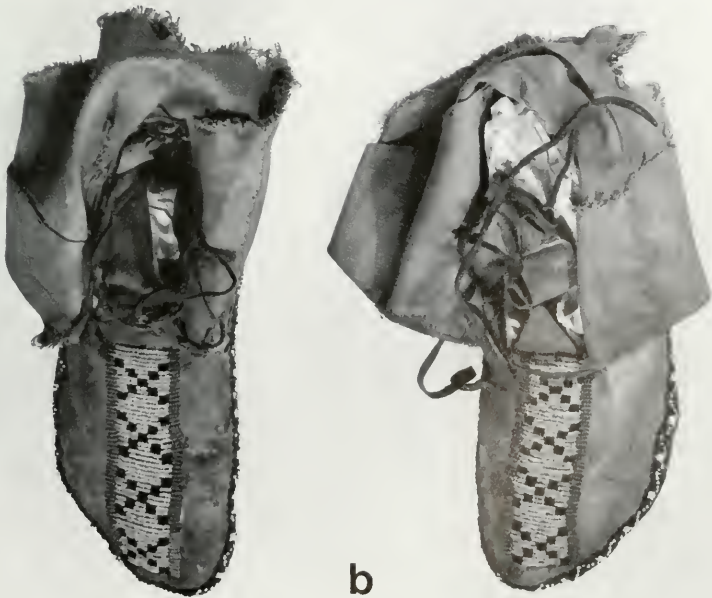


FIG. 11. a, Moccasins (84268); b, moccasins (84269).

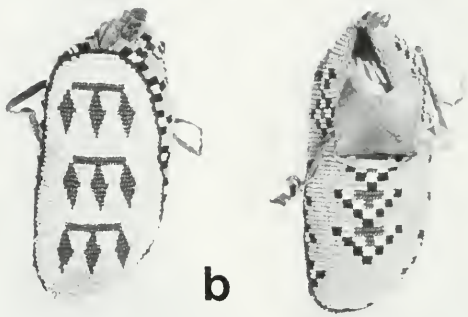
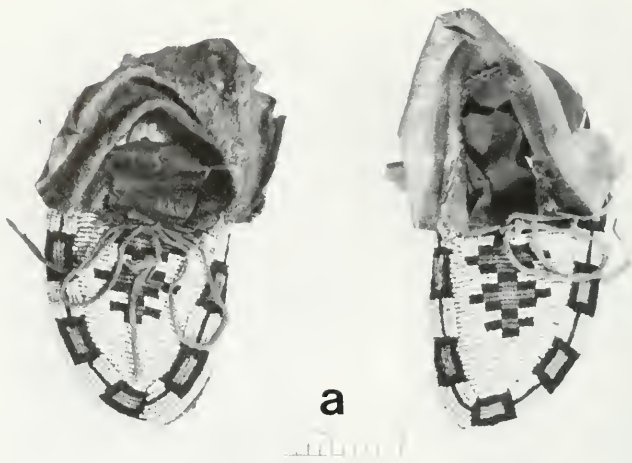


FIG. 12. a, Moccasins (84296); b, moccasins (84327); c, moccasins (84278); d, moccasins (84271).

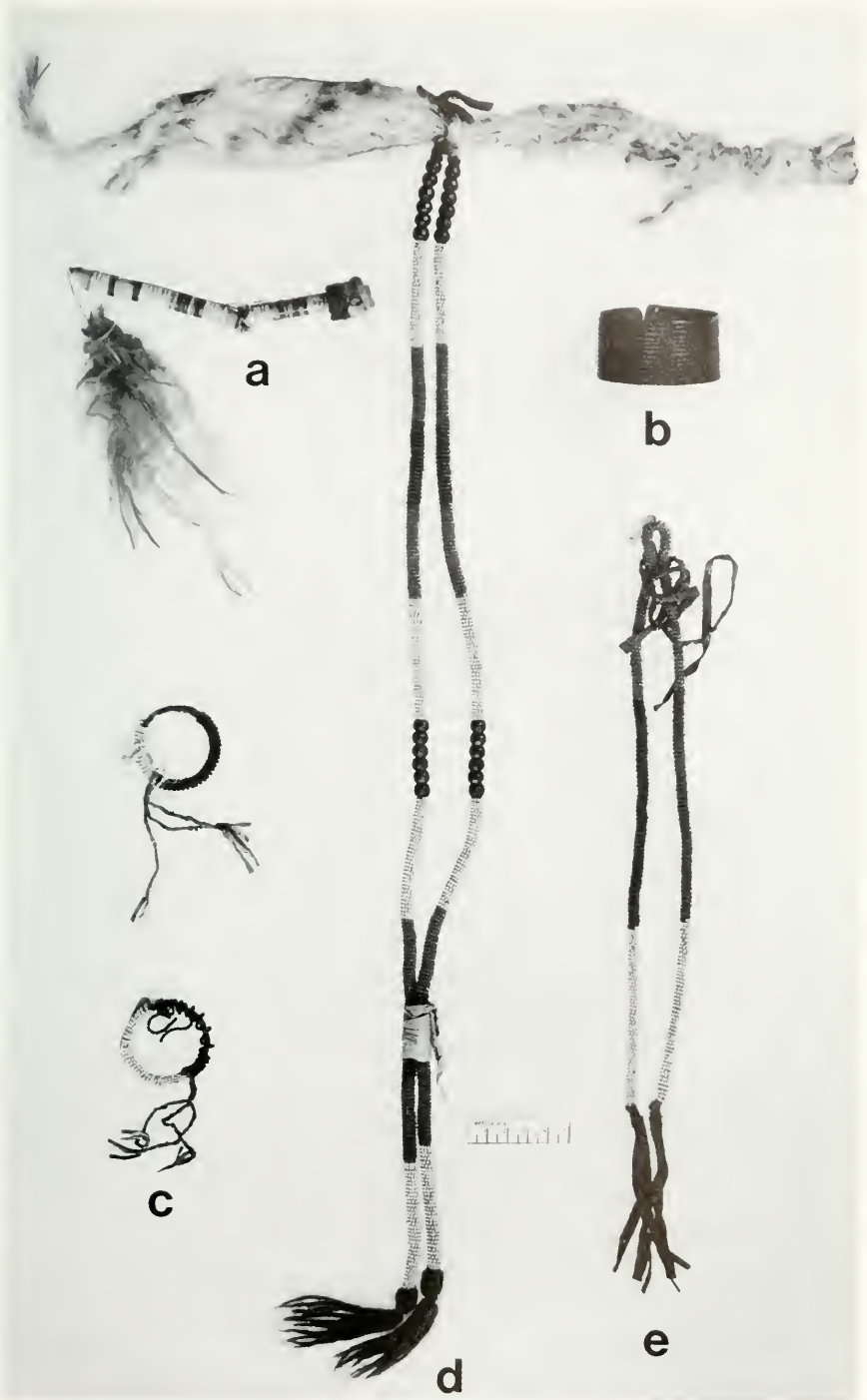


FIG. 13. a, Whistle (84301); b, bracelet (84288); c, ear pendants (84390); d, hair ornament (84330); e, hair ornament (84305).

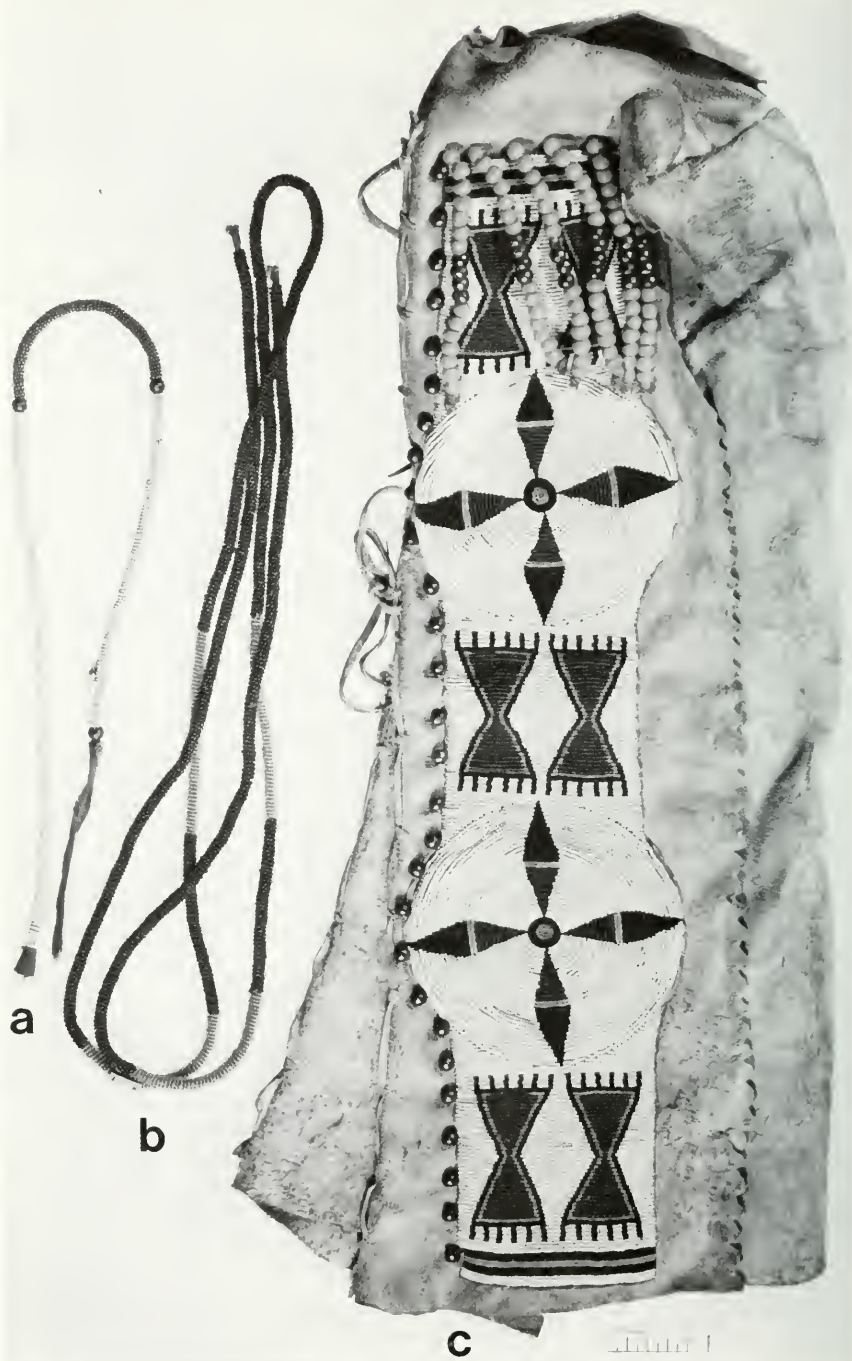
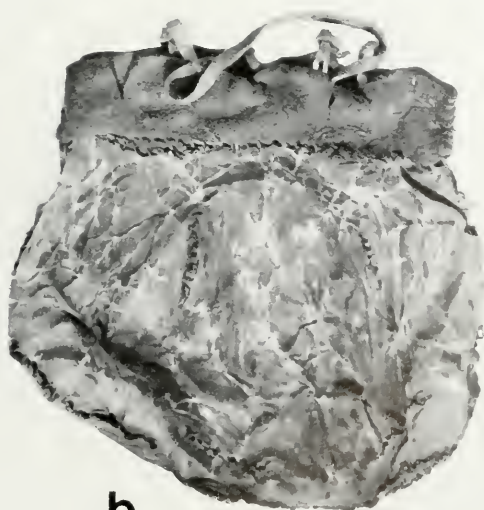


FIG. 14. a, Hair ornament (84286); b, necklace (84308); c, cradle hood (84261).



a



b

FIG. 15. a, Necklace (84298); b, bag (84312).

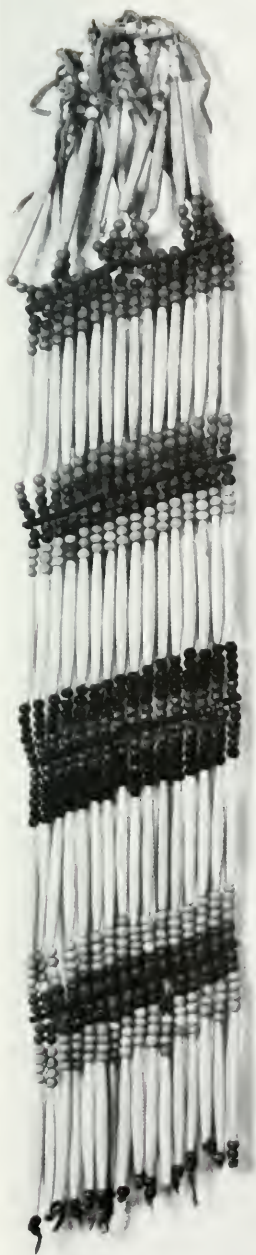


a



b

FIG. 16. **a**, Necklace (84338); **b**, necklace (84339).



a



b

FIG. 17. **a**, Breast ornament (84336); **b**, breast ornament (84337).

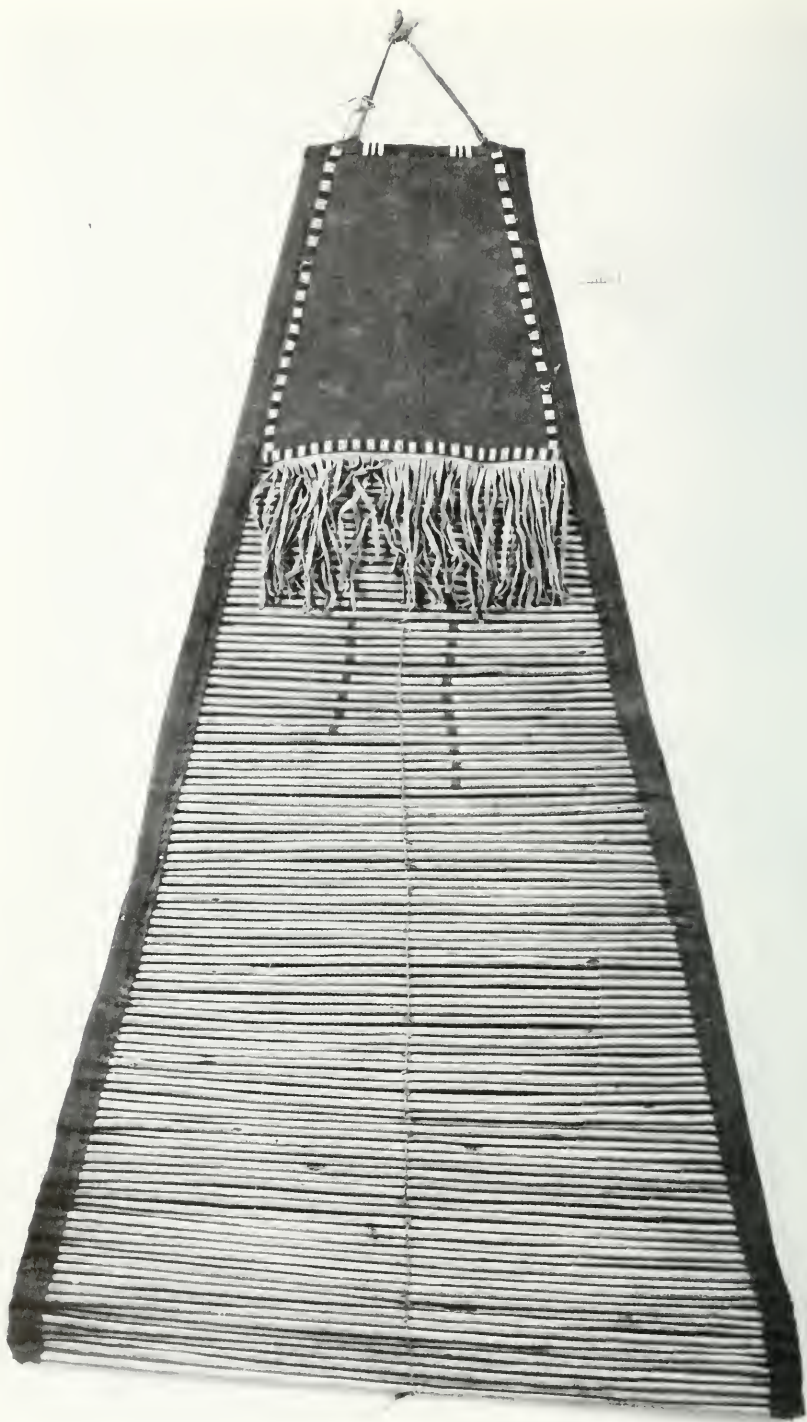


FIG. 18. Back rest (84275).

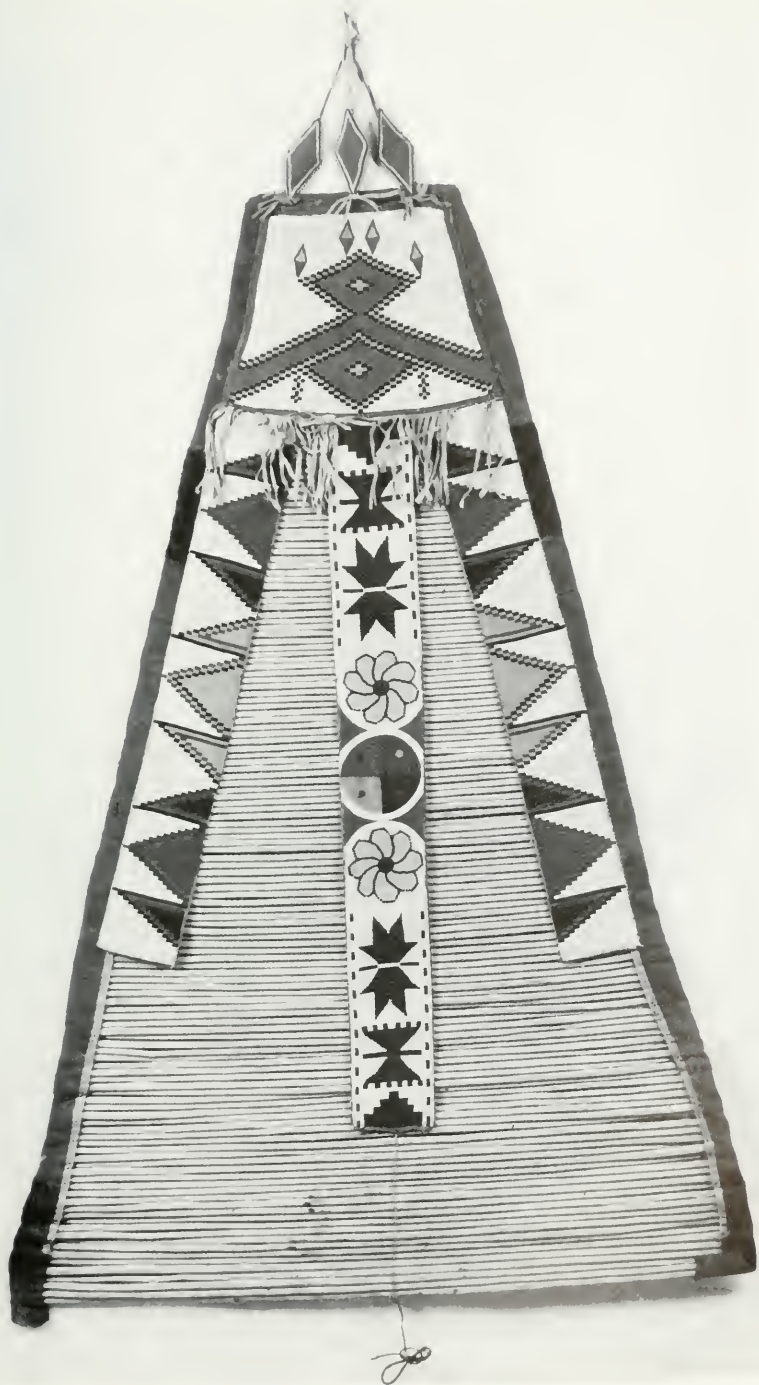


FIG. 19. Back rest (84276).

11000

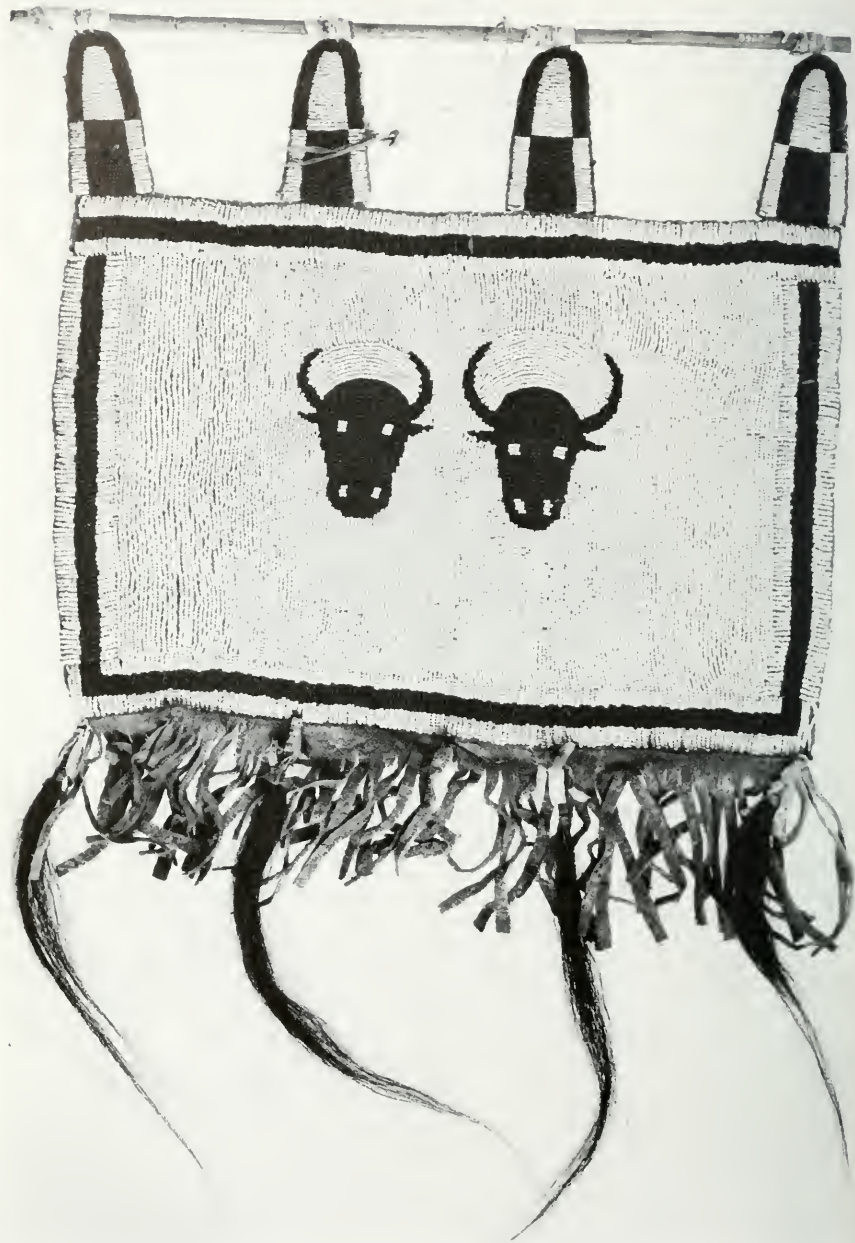


FIG. 20. Panel (84297).

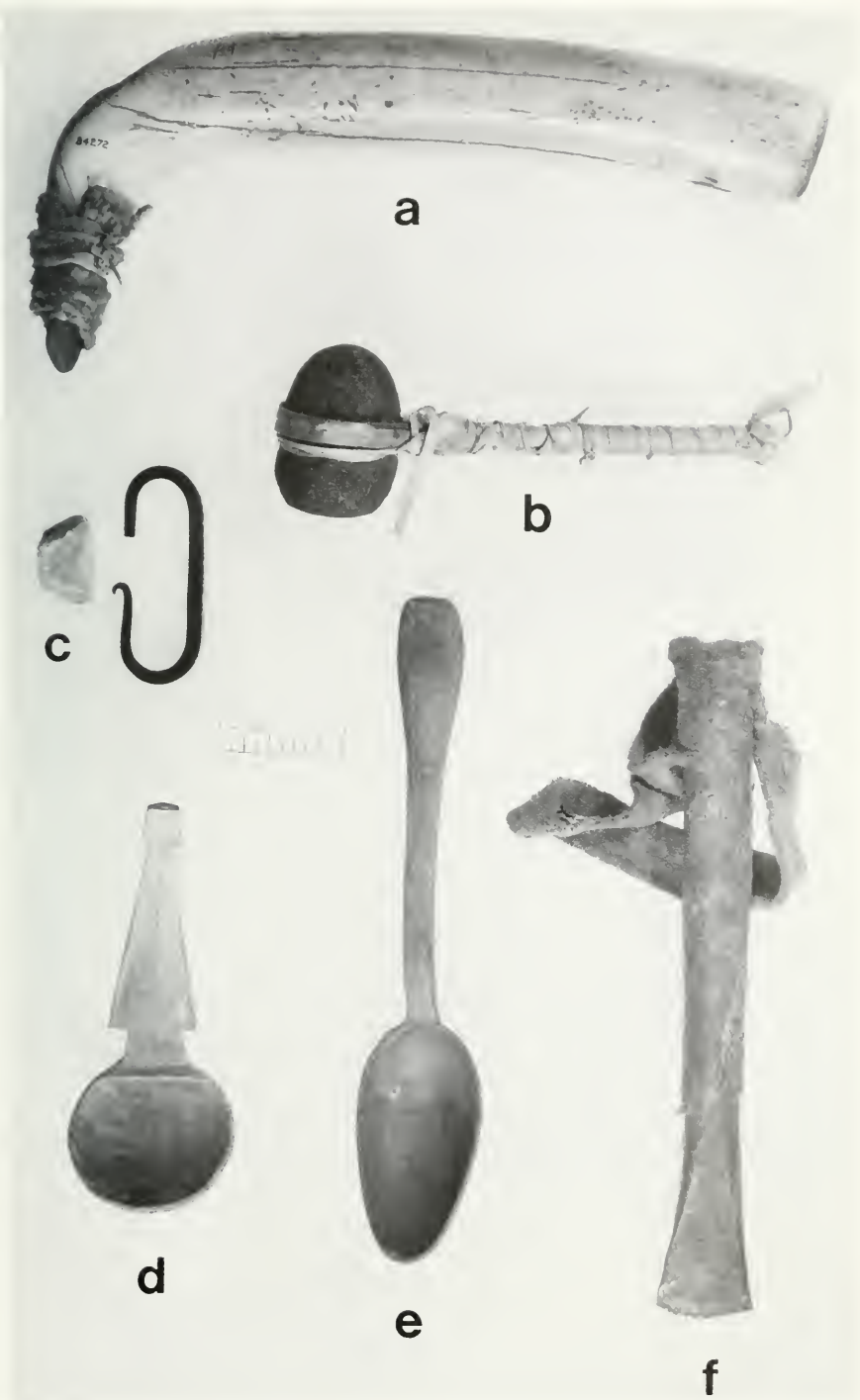


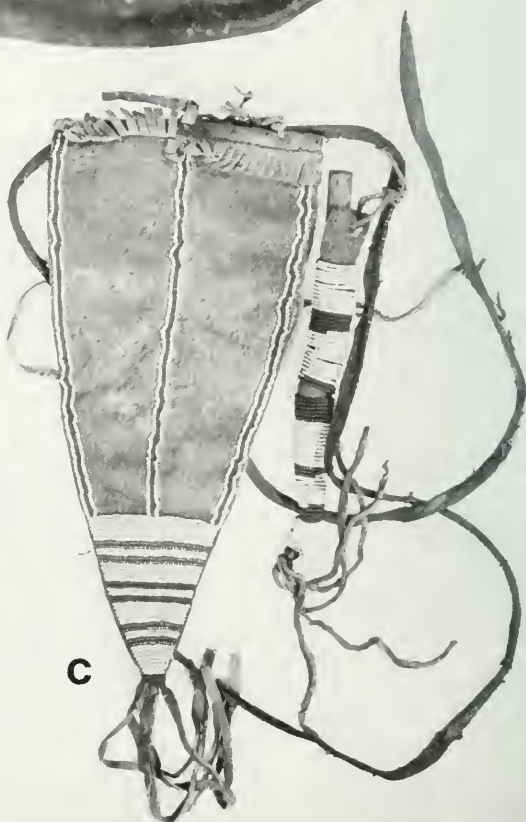
FIG. 21. a, Hide scraper (84272); b, maul (84321); c, strike-a-light (84310); d, spoon (84332); e, ladle (84331); f, hide scraper (84333).



a



b



c

FIG. 22. a, Bag for storing pemmican (84313); b, pouch (84304); c, belt with pouch, awl, and awl case (84311).



FIG. 23. Bag for storing pemmican (84281).

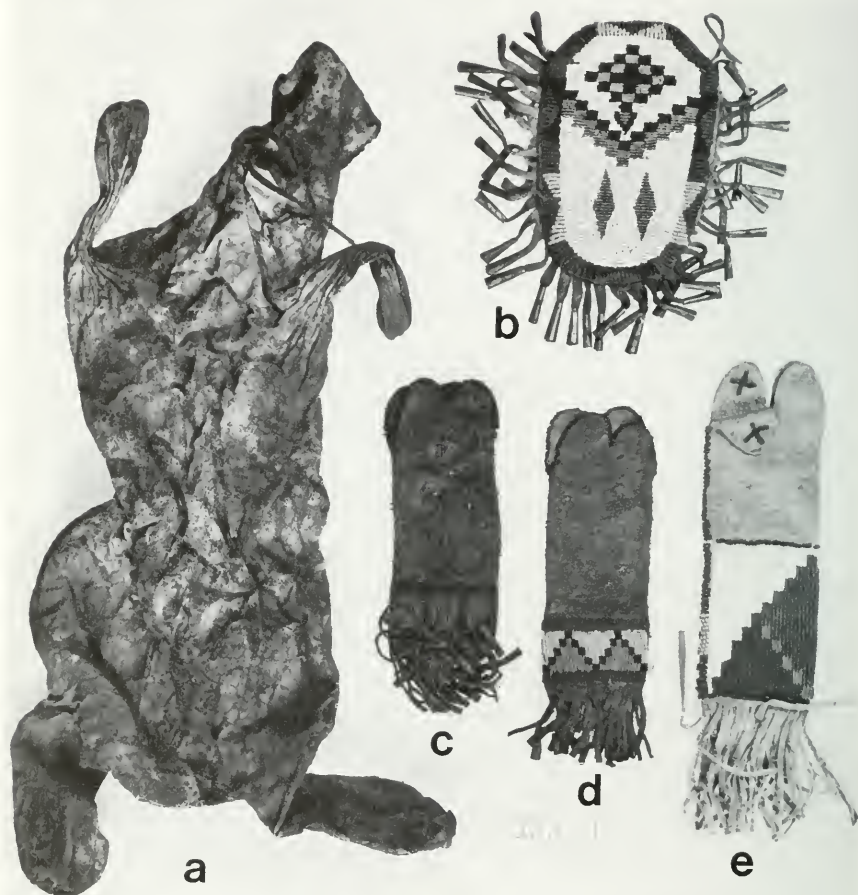


FIG. 24. a, Berry bag (84323); b, pouch (84328); c, paint bag (84462); d, paint bag (84289); e, paint bag (84317).

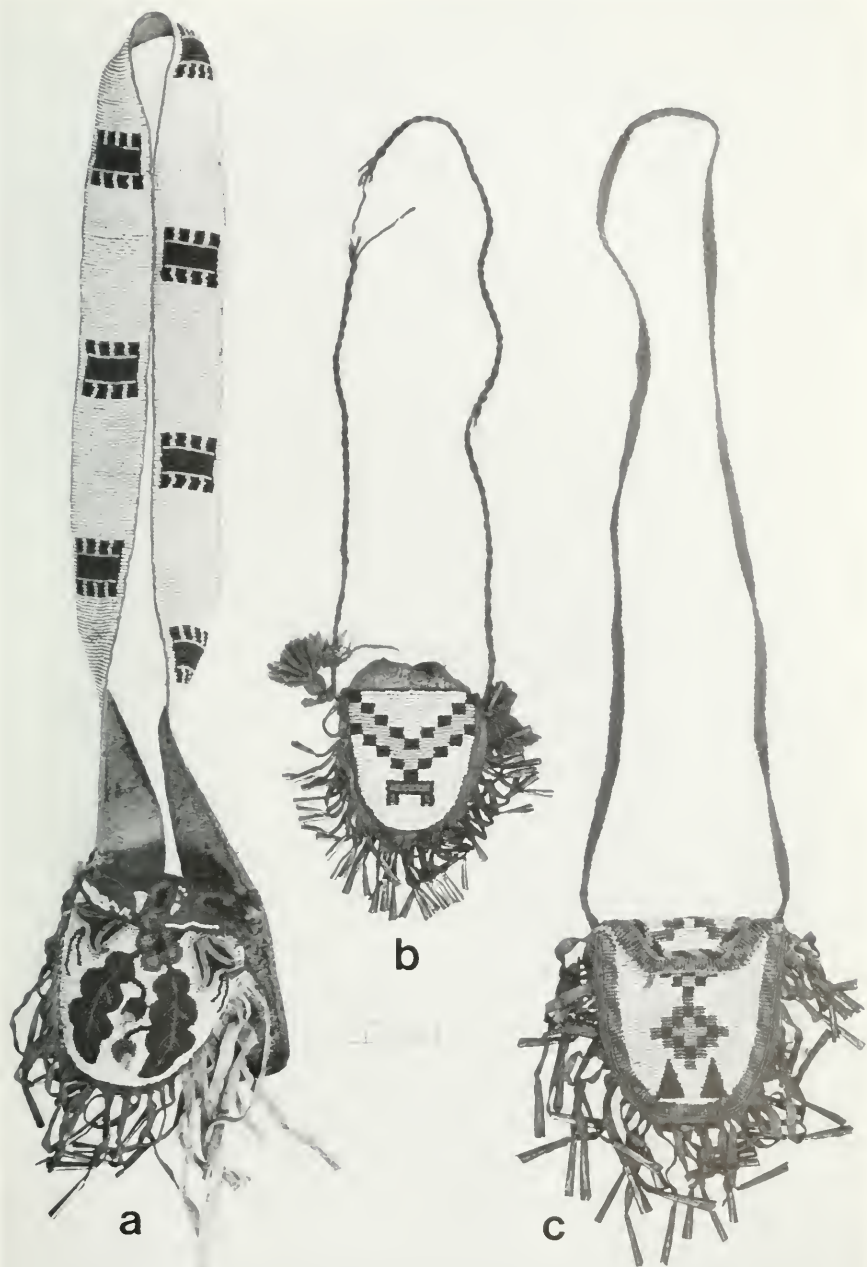


FIG. 25. a, Pouch (84306); b, pouch (84285); c, pouch (84307).



a



b

FIG. 26. a, Bag (84315); b, bag (84316).



FIG. 27. Bag (84314).

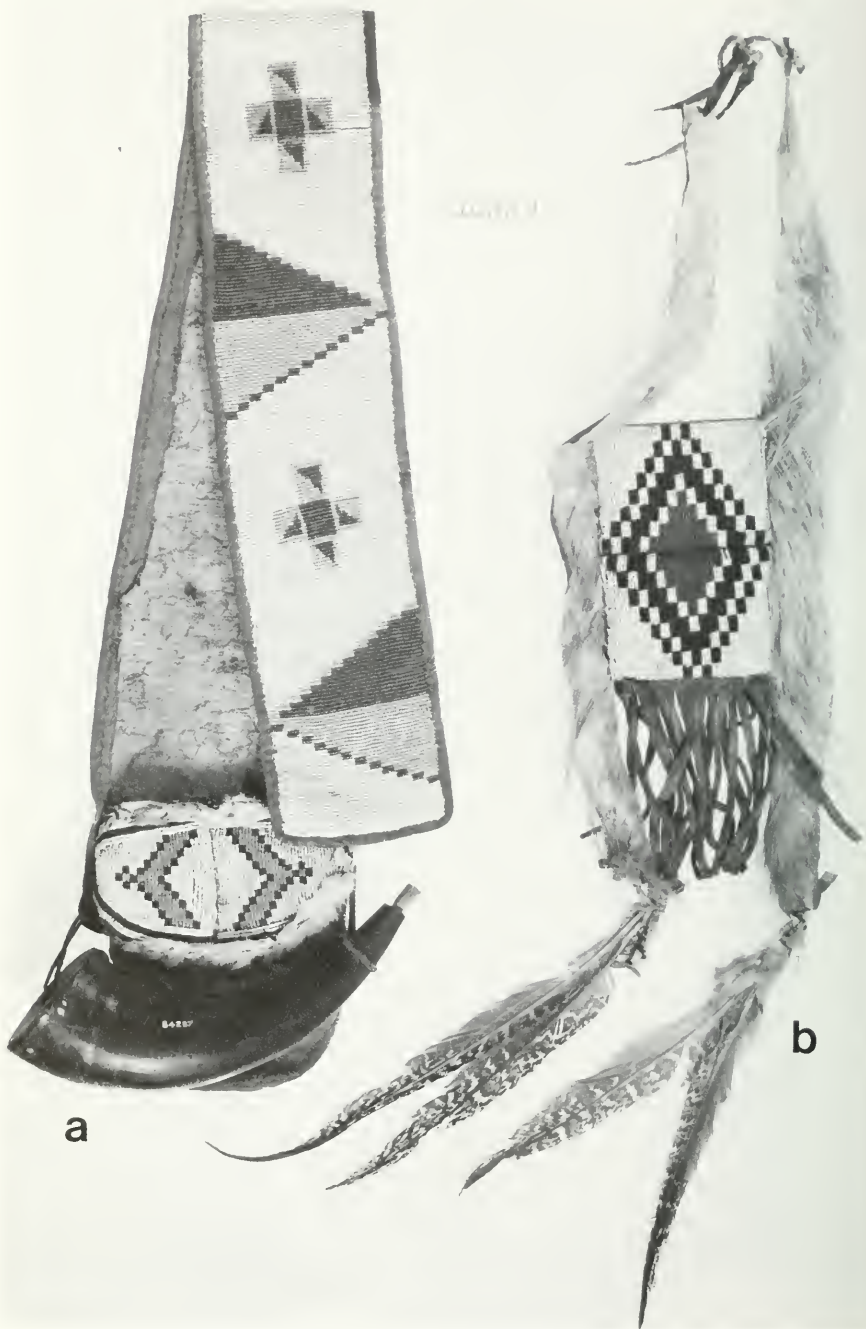


FIG. 28. a, Shot horn (84287); b, mirror case (84300).

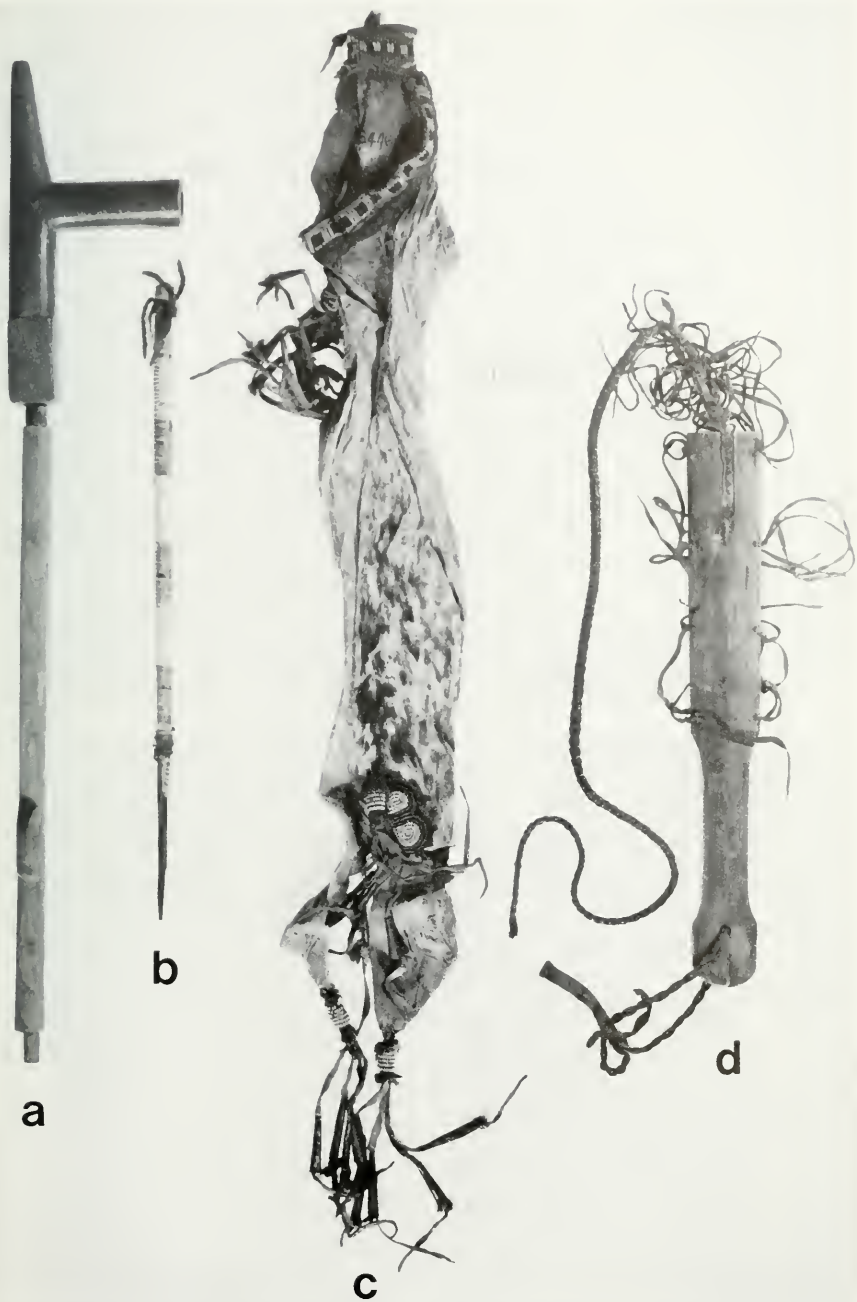


FIG. 29. a, Pipe (84273-1); b, pipe tamp (84273-2); c, tobacco bag (84461); d, quirt (84329).

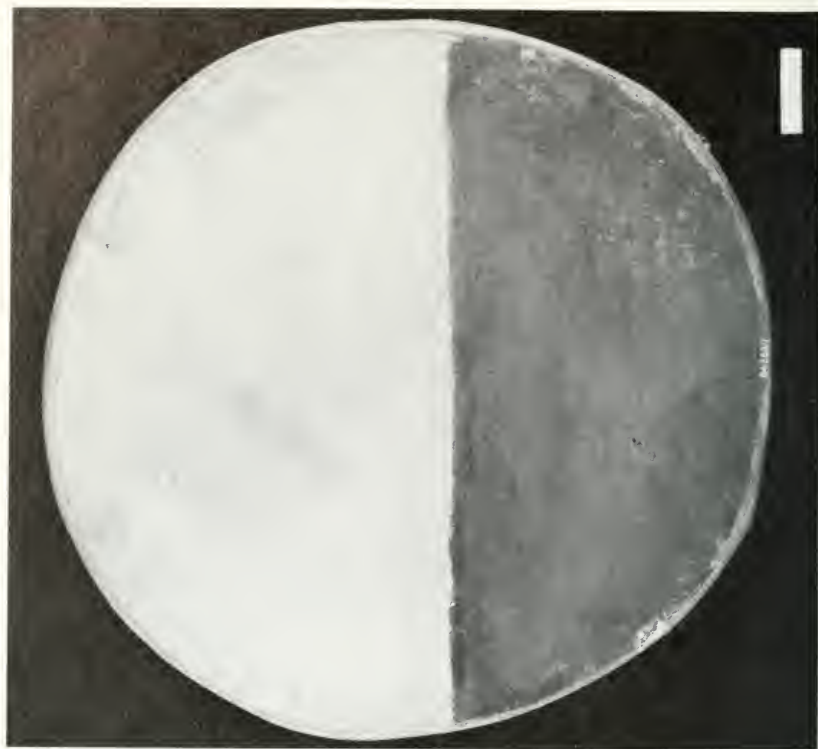


FIG. 31. Drum (84283).

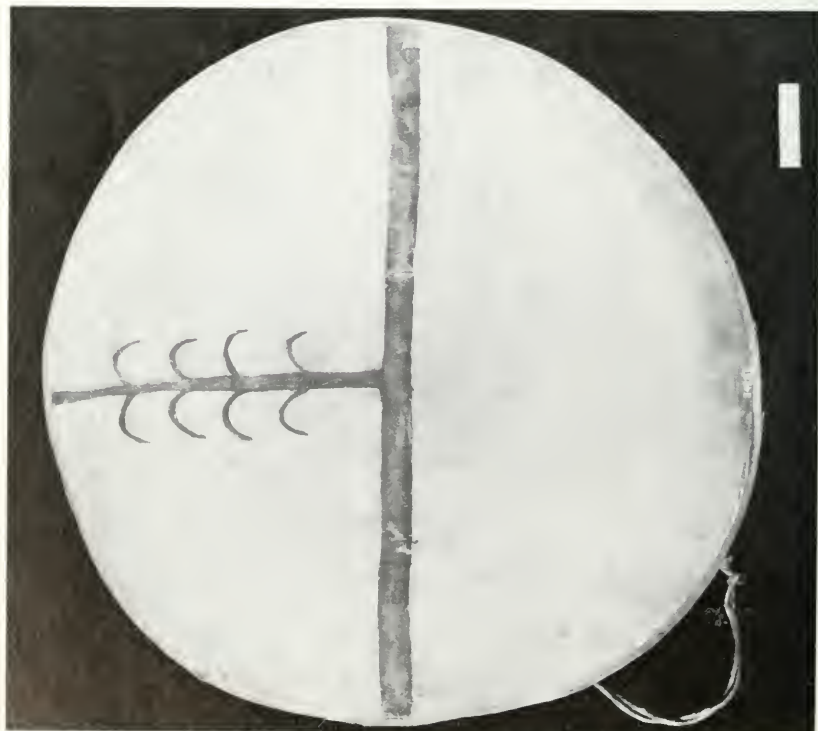


FIG. 30. Drum (84282).



FIG. 32 (left). Drum (84325).



FIG. 33 (right). Drum and support (84341).





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