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## Anthropology

NEW SERIES, NO. 17

### The Isaac Cowie Collection of Plains Cree Material Culture from Central Alberta

James W. VanStone

September 30, 1991

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PUBLISHED BY FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY



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# The Isaac Cowie Collection of Plains Cree Material Culture from Central Alberta

James W. VanStone

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## Abstract

The collections of the Field Museum of Natural History contain 110 ethnographic objects collected among the Plains Cree of central Alberta in 1892 for the World's Columbian Exposition by Isaac Cowie, a retired Hudson's Bay Company trader living in Edmonton. The artifacts in this collection are described and illustrated. For comparative purposes, information is included from previous studies of the Plains Cree, notably those of Mandelbaum (1940, 1979).

## I. Introduction

### The Plains Cree

The Algonkian-speaking Cree Indians are a widespread population extending from Hudson Bay to the Rocky Mountains. Archaeological research indicates that there were ancestral 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). Most of the Plains Cree probably descended from the early western Woods Cree who had penetrated the regions north of the North Saskatchewan River centuries before the coming of the fur trade. The spread of the horse on the northern prairies must have provided a strong incentive to develop a more exclusive dependence on the buffalo herds. Linguistic evidence provided by regional dialects confirms ancestral ties between the Plains Cree and the western Woods Cree (T. J. Brassler, letter to author, October 4, 1990).

The environment of the Plains Cree was the broad band of aspen parkland along the northern edge of the Plains, a transitional area that provided resources of both the forests and the grasslands. They were, however, a Plains tribe in their economic dependence on the buffalo, which were hunted by chute and pound in autumn and early winter when the animals entered the boreal forest, and with horses during the spring and summer when the herds moved southward.

The historic westward movement of the Cree began when they obtained firearms from the Hudson's Bay Company after 1670. With their allies, the Assiniboine, the Cree moved rapidly in a northwesterly direction along the prairie and parkland river systems, assuming the role of middlemen in the fur trade between the posts on Hudson Bay and the western tribes. By 1765, Cree occupied the northern fringes of the parkland in eastern Alberta (Ray, 1974, p. 23, fig. 9; Milloy, 1988, pp. xiv–xv).

Cree expansion to the northwest began to decline in the late 18th century and had virtually stopped by 1784, the year a smallpox epidemic weakened them as a military power. Abandoning the northern limits of their territory, which they had taken from the Chipewyan, they moved southward into the grasslands and parklands south of the North Saskatchewan River. This movement increased during the 1820s with a decrease of game in the forests and the attraction of large numbers of buffalo in the parklands seasonally. By 1821, the Cree occupied the parklands from east-central Alberta across southern and central Saskatchewan to southwestern Manitoba. During this period, many Cree lived at the edge of the forests, from where they could venture out into the Plains in pursuit of buffalo, but some established themselves as full-time residents of the open prairies (Ray, 1974, pp. 98, 178, fig. 33; Mandelbaum, 1979, pp. 7, 40–41, fig. 1).

In the early 19th century, therefore, the Cree not

only penetrated the Plains region but underwent an important social transformation that resulted in the evolution of a Plains Cree culture. The Indians who had previously been trappers and traders moving by canoe along the rivers of the boreal forests became horse-owning inhabitants of the parklands and prairies (Milloy, 1988, p. xv). Some Indians living in east-central Alberta spent part of the year in the woodlands north of the North Saskatchewan River and had a mixed woodlands-plains culture (Dempsey, 1986, p. 49).

The Plains Cree were less affected than other Plains tribes by the smallpox epidemic of 1837–1838 and, with increased migration into the parkland–grassland region, they became one of the most numerous Indian groups living in the prairie provinces. In 1863, Palliser estimated that there were 11,500 Plains Cree living north of the United States border. Later epidemics reduced the number to about 7,000 by 1871 (Ray, 1974, p. 191).

By 1870, the buffalo were becoming scarce and the Plains Cree attempted to extend their territory westward to reach the herds. This effort resulted in a crushing defeat by the Blackfoot, and in 1871 a number of Indian leaders asked the chief factor at Edmonton for a treaty with the government. Between 1871 and 1876, Indian claims throughout the parkland–grasslands region were eliminated by Treaties 1 through 7. The first of these to affect the Plains Cree was Treaty No. 4, signed by Qu'Appelle in 1874, which included much of southern Saskatchewan. Treaty No. 6, signed at Forts Carleton and Pitt in 1876, included central Alberta and west-central Saskatchewan (Ray, 1974, pp. 191, 228; Dempsey, 1986, pp. 53–54; Milloy, 1988, p. xvi).

The terms of all the western treaties were similar. The Indians gave up the rights to their land in return for reservations, treaty payments, and assistance in education, farming, and health. However, not all Indian bands received reservations when the treaties were signed. As late as 1944, the Sunchild band of Plains Cree signed Treaty No. 7 and received a reservation of 12,800 acres on both sides of the Baptiste River, a tributary of the upper North Saskatchewan River north of Rocky Mountain House (Stelfox, 1958, p. 26).

In 1892, Isaac Cowie of Edmonton, Alberta, a recently retired Hudson's Bay Company factor, made the collection of Plains Cree ethnographic material for the World's Columbian Exposition described in this study. The first anthropologist to undertake fieldwork among the Plains Cree was Stephen C. Simms, who collected in southern Saskatchewan for the Field Museum of Natural His-

tory in 1903 (VanStone, 1983). 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 reference sources for the culture of the Plains Cree.

### **Isaac Cowie, Collector for the World's Columbian Exposition**

In 1891, Frederic Ward Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, was appointed Chief of the Department of Ethnology and Archaeology for the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago the following year. With his assistant, Franz Boas, his task was to assemble a large anthropological collection for the Exposition and, for this purpose, field parties to various parts of the world were directed to collect ethnographic objects and other materials representing many different cultures. Putnam and Boas also contacted individuals living in relevant areas to make collections for the Exposition; one such individual was Isaac Cowie, at that time a resident of Edmonton, Alberta. Very little is known about the collecting arrangements made between Cowie, Boas, and Putnam. In a book describing his experiences as a Hudson's Bay Company trader in southern Saskatchewan between 1867 and 1874, Cowie (1913, p. 295) noted that "in 1892 I was employed by the celebrated anthropologist, Dr. Franz Boas, to make an ethnological collection from and take measurements of the Indians of the North Saskatchewan [River]." Apparently he was also directed to collect "folk-lore and legends," but whether or not he was given specific collecting instructions, as were some other collectors for the Exposition (VanStone, 1972, p. 36), cannot now be determined.

Isaac Cowie was born in 1848 at Lerwick in the Shetland Islands and was educated at grammar schools in Lerwick and Aberdeen before attending Edinburgh University as a medical student for 2 years. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1867 and was stationed at Fort Qu'Appelle from 1867 to 1874. Between 1874 and 1891, he served the Company at various posts in the old Northwest Territories and retired in September 1891 with the rank of Junior Chief Trader. Cowie then went into business for himself, first in Edmonton and later in Winnipeg, where he died

m 1917 (Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1945, p. 135; B. A. Johnstone, letter to T. J. Brassler, September 25, 1973; B. A. Johnstone, letter to D. R. Miller, March 6, 1981).

## II. The Collection

In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, the Cowie collection of Plains Cree ethnographic artifacts (Accession 46) is assigned 100 numbers representing 118 objects. Paired objects such as moccasins, leggings, and snowshoes have one number and are counted as single artifacts. At the time this study was begun, 17 artifacts represented by 14 catalog numbers could not be located in storage or on exhibit (see Appendix). Three of these had been sold, two exchanged, and the others apparently lost.

Virtually no documentation accompanies the collection, which is described in the catalog as having been acquired from the "Cree, People of Edmonton, Saskatchewan Valley, NWT." A memo in the accession file indicates that Cowie paid \$539.92 for the artifacts. The collection was shipped from Edmonton to "F. W. Putnam, Chief of the Department of Ethnology, World's Columbian Exposition, Peabody Museum, Harvard University" on July 7, 1892. Another memo indicates that the collection was exhibited at the Exposition and then transferred to the newly established Field Columbian Museum (later Field Museum of Natural History) in October 1893. According to Barbara A. Johnstone, Cowie's granddaughter, currently living in Selkirk, Manitoba, the "World's Columbian Commission" presented a "Certificate of Award" and a bronze medal to Cowie for the collection, which was described as "a valuable contribution to knowledge of the Cree Indians" (B. A. Johnstone, letter to T. J. Brassler, September 25, 1973).

In his book, Cowie (1913, p. 295) mentioned that he did some collecting at "Bear's Hills, near Wetaskiwin," although he did not say whether it was anthropological measurements, artifacts, or folklore that he was collecting. The Bear Hills are located southeast of Edmonton along the Battle River, a tributary of the North Saskatchewan River (fig. 1), where the Samson and Ermine Skin bands of Cree had reservations in 1888 (Dominion of Canada, 1888). It seems likely that Cowie's ethnographic collection was made in that area.

Artifacts in the Cowie collection are described

within the following nine use categories: shelter, subsistence, transportation, household equipment, clothing, personal adornment, ceremonial and medicinal equipment, warfare, and games (see Appendix for catalog numbers). The brief descriptions of the artifacts that follow should be read while examining the accompanying photographs. For comparisons I have relied heavily on Mandelbaum (1979), although other ethnographic accounts are, of course, cited when relevant.

### Shelter

Like other Plains Indians, the Plains Cree lived in skin-covered tipis. Cadzow (1926) and Mandelbaum (1979, p. 88) described the manner in which a tipi was set up on a three-pole foundation, and the latter noted that 12–20 buffalo hides were required for a cover. An old woman skilled in cutting covers measured the hides and cut them to the proper shape. Skinner (1914b, p. 84) noted that although women made them, tipis were always the property of men. Mandelbaum (1979, p. 88), on the other hand, believed that women were the owners because they both made and set up the dwellings. It seems likely that a woman's claim to ownership referred exclusively to the cover. Ten or 12 people lived in a single tipi, which had a fireplace in the center (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 89).

The Cowie collection contains a single *tipi cover* of buffalo hide that shows signs of considerable wear. It is likely that most tipi covers were of canvas at the time the collection was made, so this cover presumably had not been in use for some time. When received by the Field Columbian Museum in 1893, the cover was accompanied by 13 poles, 20 pins, and 20 pegs, all of which are now missing from the collection. The pins were used to fasten the cover to the poles and the pegs to hold the lower edge to the ground, although the cover, which may have been trimmed, has no holes for that purpose. The tipi was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition and, surrounded by other items from the Cowie collection, in the museum's original building on the site of the Exposition (figs. 2, 3).

This tipi cover has a radius of approximately 6.60 m, which is somewhat larger than the Blackfoot canvas and skin covers described by Wissler (1910, p. 103). It consists of a number of irregularly shaped pieces of buffalo hide sewn with sinew (fig. 4) and has been patched in two places with commercially tanned cowhide. Because of the irregular shape of the individual pieces, it is difficult

to estimate the number of hides required for its manufacture. The symmetrical pieces at the top, which have projecting "ears," are fringed along the upper edges and reinforced along the inner edges with strips of tanned hide painted red and passed at intervals through slits in the cover. At the tips of the ears are reinforced sheaths into which the poles controlling the flaps were fitted.

According to Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 224–225), the paintings on a tipi cover usually represented the owner's spirit helpers and those of the man who had named him. Because the cover was owned by the woman of the household, her approval of the design was required before it was painted. The painting was done by men, and when the work was finished, offerings were made to consecrate the newly painted cover.

The painted designs on the tipi cover in the Cowie collection are extremely faded and difficult to follow. The most prominent decorative element is a broad band that extends around the cover near its center. This band is made up of three narrower bands of red, black, and yellow pigment. Extending from the upper edge of this broad band is a row of black triangles with dots of the same color. Below the band and detached from it are triangles in red, black, and yellow pigments, among which are interspersed red and black dots. Near the bottom at one side are wheel designs in black and yellow pigment, and on either side of the V-shaped opening at the top are spurred circles in black. Along the upper edge in places is line-dot ornamentation in black pigment, and in the approximate center of the cover is a pair of triangles, also black (fig. 5).

A multicolored band that circles around the cover just above the entrance seems to have been a popular feature of Plains Cree tipi decoration. In sacred tipi paintings there often are thunderbird figures above this band, suggesting a rainbow symbolism. A large thunderbird figure is frequently painted at center back where, on this cover, there is a pair of triangles (T. J. Brassler, letter to author, November 7, 1990).

It has been suggested that this tipi cover may have been made specifically for Cowie, with the usual sacred designs replaced by forms that are almost exclusively geometric (T. J. Brassler, letter to author, November 7, 1990). Although there are other items in the collection, especially clothing, that were clearly made for the collector, this cover is described as "somewhat worn and defaced" in the "Certificate of Award" presented to Cowie at the time his collection was exhibited at the World's

Columbian Exposition (B. A. Johnstone, letter to T. J. Brassler, September 25, 1973). Therefore, its worn condition is not the result of its years of museum storage. In any event, the designs on this tipi cover are more exclusively geometric than those on Plains Cree covers illustrated by Cadzow (1926, pp. 23–27, figs. 3–13) and Mandelbaum (1979, p. 226, fig. 26).

Both Plains Cree and Blackfoot tipis were provided with a pair of *back walls* made of buffalo hide or cowhide. These are large rectangular pieces that served as a screen in front of the tipi cover to keep out the wind and any water that might drip down the poles. In winter, hay was stuffed between this screen and the tipi cover (Wissler, 1910, p. 106, figs. 65, 66; Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 89). The Cowie collection contains a pair of back walls of softened hide. The first is approximately 2.65 m wide and 1.05 m high and consists of a pair of rectangular pieces of unequal size stitched together with sinew. The second, approximately 2.70 m wide and 0.95 m high, consists of three pieces. Wissler (1910, p. 106) noted that Blackfoot back walls were often highly decorated, and this pair is decorated with a variety of geometric designs, circles, dots, crescents, arrows, and spurred lines in yellow, green, red, brown, and black pigments. The ornamentation had been applied in repeated vertical patterns the width of each back wall (figs. 6, 7).

## Subsistence

The Cowie collection contains a single full-sized self *bow* 150 cm long and approximately 2 cm thick at the grip. The back of the stave is flat, the front slightly convex, and the sides flat. The grip is somewhat thinner than the limbs, which taper toward the ends. There is a single V-shaped notch near the end of each horn for attachment of the bowstring, which consists of a single strand of tanned hide twisted into a cord (fig. 8b).

According to Skinner (1914b, p. 83) and Mandelbaum (1979, p. 94), the best bows were made of chokeberry wood, and paired notches were cut in the horns. The stave was backed with lengths of stiff sinew embedded in a glue made from green buffalo hide boiled to make it viscid. Traditionally, the bowstring was made of moistened buffalo sinew divided into three strands and then twisted into a cord by rolling it on the thigh with the palm. Before being used, the sinew was dried, stretched, and straightened (Skinner, 1914b, p. 83).

Accompanying the bow is a *bow cover* made from a single piece of tanned hide sewn up one side to fit snugly over the bow. It is open at both ends, which are rounded and have the edges cut to form a fringe. A fringed strip of tanned hide is sewn into the seam with sinew and in the center is a loop for the carrying strap. This cover is decorated along its entire length with narrow bands of brown pigment at approximately 5-cm intervals (fig. 8c).

*Arrows* in the collection are of three types, all of which have some characteristics in common. The wood shafts, all between 75 and 80 cm long, are circular in cross section, with the proximal ends slightly flattened on opposite sides; the notches are cut parallel to the flattened surfaces. All the arrows are fletched with trimmed crow or hawk feathers split in half. The barbs have been removed from each end of the vane, exposing about 3 cm of the shaft or spine at the distal end and 1 cm at the proximal end. Each arrow shaft is feathered with three vanes placed approximately 5 mm from the proximal end. Each vane is parallel to the long axis of the shaft and is not spiraled. The spines at the ends of the exposed vanes are lashed to the arrow shaft with sinew.

In one set of four arrows, the arrows lack points; the shafts at the distal end are sharpened to a point and the tips are fire-hardened (fig. 9b). In the second set the four arrows have long, barbless bone points flattened at the proximal end. The points are inserted into the split distal ends of the shafts and lashed with sinew (fig. 9a). Both sets of arrows were presumably for large or small game animals. The four arrows of the third set widen at the distal ends of the shafts to form blunt heads; the tips are worked to a point. The bark is still in place around the widest part of the heads, indicating that the shafts were worked from a length of wood approximately 2 cm in diameter (fig. 9c). The presence of pointed tips on these blunt arrows suggests that they were almost certainly used for small game rather than for birds.

Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 94–95) noted that arrows were usually made of serviceberry shoots. Arrowheads were made of bone and antler from elk and deer. The Mediterranean arrow release (arrow held between index and middle fingers, string pulled by the same fingers) was used, and the bow was held in a vertical position; when shooting from horseback it was held horizontally.

A *quiver* is made from a single piece of tanned deer hide sewn up one side, with a separate strip of skin sewn in the seam. There is a small skin

inset along one side of the seam. Short, split strips of skin are also sewn in the seam at approximately 9-cm intervals to form a fringe. The flat bottom is a separate piece with a strip of skin sewn in the seam that has notches cut along the upper edge. A broad strip of skin serves as a carrying strap and is knotted through holes in the quiver. Decoration consists of a band of beaver fur near the upper edge sewn along one side to the quiver with sinew. There are bands of brown pigment below the upper edge and approximately 5 cm below the strip of beaver fur. Two rows of brown dots occur between these bands of pigment. Short, curved bands of brown pigment extend out from the main seam at regular intervals along one side (fig. 8a).

The collection contains a set of *spring pole snares* that were set in runways to capture hares (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 69). Willow stakes supporting a crossbar were set on either side of the runway. At one side, a sapling, trimmed of its branches, was bent and a noose was attached to its end. The noose was secured to the crossbar and held open with small twigs. The hare, on becoming entangled in the noose, released the knot securing the noose to the crossbar. The bent pole was then released, lifting the animal into the air (Cooper, 1938, pp. 35–37, fig. 11). The snares in the collection are attached to a single willow stake that is forked at one end to receive the crossbar. The bark has been peeled from the stake at both ends, and the noose is two-strand commercial twine (fig. 10b).

A *knife sheath* of tanned hide consists of a single piece doubled over and sewn together, with a fringe of hide sewn in the seam. The top has been folded over to form a cuff, which is notched along its lower edge. Two narrow pieces of hide, notched along the edges and cut to a V-shape at the lower end, extend from the distal end of the sheath. The cuff is ornamented with paired rows of brown dots, and similar dots of brown pigment extend around the edges of the sheath on one side. The extending strips are also ornamented with brown dots, some of which have been pierced to form round holes (fig. 10c).

In his description of weir fishing by the Plains Cree along rivers and streams, Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 71–72) noted that a “trough-like basket,” rather than a trap, was placed at the weir opening. Fish were pushed into this basket by a man with a netted scoop. The collection, however, contains a model basket *fish trap* made of willow twigs; the trap is flat at the distal end and has a funnel-shaped entrance that prevents the fish from escaping once they have entered the trap. The willow twigs are

notched at either end and lashed to circular supports with strips of babiche (unsmoked hide). At the top, three willow twigs are so lashed that they form a door that can be lifted for removal of the fish (fig. 11). Somewhat similar traps, but without the funnel-shaped opening, were used at weirs by the neighboring Blackfoot (Wissler, 1910, p. 40).

## Transportation

Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 99–100) noted that the Plains Cree used *snowshoes* extensively, giving them a distinct advantage during winter warfare with the Blackfoot, who did not have them. The frames are said to have been made of willow or chokeberry wood. There are three styles of snowshoes in the Cowie collection, each represented by a single pair. All have netting made from unsmoked deerskin babiche laced in a hexagonal weave (Davidson, 1937, pp. 33–34).

One pair, identified in the catalog as “man’s traveling snowshoes,” is constructed in the Athapaskan style, with a pointed, upturned toe (Davidson, 1937, pp. 66–78) and the frame consisting of two pieces joined at the toe and heel with babiche. There are five straight crossbars mortised into the frame. Two—to which the netting is attached—are oval in cross section. The other three, at the toe and heel, are round in cross section and serve primarily as spreaders. The netting between the crossbars is closely spaced toward the center of the shoes and more widely spaced at the toe and heel. The harnesses are made of loops of untanned deerskin and the frames have been stained with brown pigment (fig. 12b).

The second pair of snowshoes, also used by a man, has a one-piece frame with a rounded toe and pointed heel (Davidson, 1937, pp. 24–25). There are three crossbars mortised into the frame, the one at the heel being round in cross section and serving as a spreader. The netting is closely spaced except at the heel, and the harnesses are made of loops of untanned deerskin. The frames of these snowshoes have been stained with brown pigment (fig. 10a).

A pair of woman’s traveling snowshoes is an example of the square-toed style (Davidson, 1937, pp. 90–93). The frame is a single piece flattened at the toe and with the two ends riveted together with metal rivets at the heel; there are two oval crossbars mortised into the frame. This pair is wider than the other two, and the webbing is finer and more closely woven. The harnesses consist of

a single loop of untanned deerskin threaded at either end into the webbing (fig. 12a).

Although the Plains Cree apparently first acquired horses in the early 18th century, they possessed relatively few of them even as late as the middle of the 19th century. Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 61–62) noted that the Cree were always poor in horses compared to the Blackfoot and Assiniboine.

The so-called “pad saddle,” consisting simply of hide bags stuffed with buffalo or deer hair and placed so that a pad fell over each side of the horse, was the type used by men among the Plains Cree and their neighbors (Wissler, 1916, p. 14; Ewers, 1955, pp. 82–85; Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 65). The typical *woman’s saddle* is more complex, and the Cowie collection contains a single example. This saddle is constructed of four pieces of wood: two curved pieces for the pommel and cantle, which are the same length, and two rectangular side boards with rounded ends to which the pommel and cantle are attached. These four sections were covered with wet hide and sewn with rawhide cord. As the hide dried and shrank it formed a tight fit over the saddle parts. Extending from pommel and cantle are fringes of tanned hide. Under the saddle structure are two soft skin pads stuffed with grass or hair that run parallel beneath the sideboards. Fastened to the outside of the sideboards on either side are the hide rigging straps. The straps on the right side are looped around a metal girth ring covered with hide; those on the left side are looped around the cinch ring. The cinch is a band of hide 5 cm wide that passed under the horse’s belly and was fastened to the cinch ring (fig. 13).

The presence of the cinch ring on the left side suggests that, unlike the Blackfoot (Ewers, 1955, p. 89), the Plains Cree always saddled their horses from this side. Construction of a Blackfoot woman’s saddle, known as a “wood saddle,” was described in detail by Ewers (1955, pp. 85–89). A characteristic feature of both the Blackfoot and Cree saddles was the spike in front of the pommel. Ewers’s (1955, p. 89) informants were uncertain about its use, but one woman claimed that it served as a hook on which to hang a whip.

The collection contains two *parfleches*, described in the catalog as “provision saddle bags.” These folded envelopes of tough, waterproof rawhide were used primarily for holding pemmican and were commonly transported in matched pairs, one on each side of the saddle. The two examples in the Cowie collection have angling flaps, three pairs of lace holes, and side loops for attachment

to the saddle. Parfleches were painted only on the flaps, and the decoration was identical on matched pairs. Although these two are approximately the same size, the decoration on each is different. On one the designs are in blue and brown pigments (fig. 14b), whereas the more elaborate designs on the other are in red, blue, and yellow pigments (fig. 14a). The construction and decoration of Blackfoot parfleches were described in detail by Wissler (1910, pp. 79–82). According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 91) and Lowie (1954, p. 67), the Plains Cree did not make parfleches but sometimes acquired them in trade from other groups.

The travois, comprising an A-shaped drag, a loading platform, and a hitch for attachment to the horse or dog, was familiar to all Plains tribes. It was still in use among the Blackfoot at the time of Wissler's fieldwork during the first decade of the 20th century (Wissler, 1910, p. 88). At one time, the Cowie collection may have contained a complete horse travois, but at present this form of transportation is represented only by a *loading platform* composed of two transverse primary struts spaced 43 cm apart. The lower primary strut is 34 cm longer than the upper strut to accommodate the greater width of the travois poles at this point. These struts are slightly notched at the ends for attachment to the poles. There are nine secondary struts of serviceberry wood placed at irregular intervals at right angles to the primary struts and lashed underneath them with rawhide line. Evenly spaced bands of bark have been left in place on each secondary strut for decorative purposes (fig. 15). In describing the Blackfoot horse travois, Ewers (1955, p. 105) noted that when the loading platform was in place, the front end was less than 2 feet from the horse's tail. A 93-cm length of braided *willow rope* in the collection may have been used for fastening a load to the platform of a travois.

Also associated with the horse travois is a large coil of rawhide line approximately 1 cm wide described in the catalog as "*set lines for horse travois.*" This line may have been used to wrap the shafts as far down as the lower edge of the loading platform, the ends being used for tying the load on the platform. According to Ewers's (1955, p. 103) and Wissler's (1910, p. 90) descriptions of the Blackfoot horse travois, these lines carried the weight of the pull in transport and also kept the shafts from splitting.

Thirteen deer hooves attached to a fringed strip of tanned hide knotted in a loop at the proximal end are described in the catalog as "*rattles* used

to protect colts from wolves" (fig. 10d). According to Ewers (1955, p. 51), the Blackfoot protected their colts from wolves and other predators by tying dried deer hooves around their necks.

Among the Plains Cree, much of the draft work was performed by dogs. Mandelbaum (1979, p. 66) noted that dogs carried meat after a hunt, hauled firewood, and transported household equipment when a band was moving. According to Skinner (1914b, p. 85), dogs were preferred to horses because they could follow a trail, even during a blizzard, and only had to be fed once a day.

The Cowie collection contains a single *dog travois*, which is similar in construction to the horse travois except that it has a netted loading platform formed by bending a stick to an oval form and weaving across with rawhide thongs. The warp is stretched lengthwise on the hoop and the weft is woven over and under it. The ends of the oval are lashed to the poles with a thong that is wrapped spirally around one pole upward to the crotch, where it is crossed over and brought down to the other pole and lashed to the corresponding end of the loading platform. The crotch is wrapped with a piece of deerskin; the hair on the skin forms a pad that rested on the shoulders of the dog. The harness consists of thongs that passed around the neck of the dog and under its belly. A short trace is fastened to the upper end of the loading platform (fig. 16). The Plains Cree, like the Blackfoot, almost certainly used the dog travois before they acquired horses (Wissler, 1910, p. 88; Ewers, 1955, p. 102).

The most common form of transportation in winter was the *toboggan*, which, according to one of Mandelbaum's informants, was obtained from Hudson's Bay Company traders who visited Plains Cree settlements in winter to purchase pemmican and buffalo skin robes (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 67). The Cowie collection contains two examples of this means of conveyance; they are approximately the same size.

The bed of the first toboggan is made from two pieces of wood held together by four transverse wooden bars. The first bar is placed near the front of the upturned portion and the others at approximately 75-cm intervals along the bed. The crossbars are lashed to the bed with rawhide and, at the upturned end, the two boards of the bed and a crack in one of them are similarly lashed. On the underside, the lashing is countersunk to prevent wear. Rawhide lashing runs from either side of the upturned end to the first crossbar and also to the bed on the inner side of the curve for extra

support. There is a rectangular reinforcement piece across the upturned end at the edge. Retaining poles run down each side of the toboggan, resting on the crossbars but lashed to the edges of the bed in four places. On each side of the lower portion of the curved front end is a loop of rawhide to which dog harness traces were attached (figs. 17, 18).

Accompanying this toboggan is a skin *wrapper*, into which the load was packed, and a pair of *harnesses*. The wrapper consists of several pieces of hide stitched together with thread. It is closed at one end and open along the side. The edges are reinforced by being folded over a length of braided willow root and sewn with rawhide. At intervals along the edges are holes for fastening with braided willow root, a length of which is attached at one end. This wrapper was held in place on the toboggan by a length of rawhide line that crisscrossed from one retaining pole to the other along the length of the toboggan (fig. 17).

Dogs were harnessed to the toboggan one behind another. Each harness consists of a collar with a wood frame wrapped with soft hide and stuffed with grass or hair; the ends of the frame extend from the top of the collar. Extending from either side of the collar are long traces that are attached through loops to the collar of the dog behind. The attachment is with a wood toggle that fits through a slit in each trace. The harness consists of a broad band of hide extending from the upper edge of the collar and crossed at right angles with two similar bands attached to each trace that fit over the dog's back. A narrower band, fastened to one trace, tied to the other under the dog's belly (fig. 19).

Construction of the second toboggan is similar to the first except that the bed consists of three boards and there are no retaining poles along the sides. The upturned portion of the front is sheathed with hide that was applied wet, and when dry formed a tight fit. A load was held in place with rawhide cords fastened to the crossbars.

Accompanying this toboggan are six harnesses constructed essentially the same as the ones previously described, except that four have collars formed around metal bars and the harnesses and traces are made of commercially tanned straps with metal buckles. The other two are made of traditional materials.

## Household Equipment

The collection contains four triangular *backrests*, a form widely distributed throughout the

Plains. Although among the neighboring Blackfoot these were used at the heads of couches in the tipi (Wissler, 1910, pp. 54–55, 105), according to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 71), among the Plains Cree they were used only by men of prestige and were usually found in the sweatlodge, which was frequented by warriors, rather than among household furnishings. On two specimens, both in very poor condition, string is laced around each stick at the ends and also serves to bind cloth edging on both sides. Both of these backrests have cloth loops at the top, and one has a much deteriorated cloth flap at the head that may have been ornamented with beads.

The other two backrests are in excellent condition and are constructed in a similar manner, except that rawhide lashing was used rather than string, and there is a single line of lacing in the center. Both are edged with soft deerskin and decorated at the top with a border of beaver fur and raccoon tails. A loop of soft deerskin at the top for hanging bifurcates into two broad, fringed strips that hang down and are fastened to the front of the backrest. These strips are decorated with porcupine quills. The flattened quills are held in place by two rows of stitches, the sinew thread being spot-stitched between each fold of the quills (Orchard, 1971, pp. 19–20, fig. 8). The quills on one backrest are dyed red, white, and yellow, and on the other they are red, white, and green; the fringes are quill-wrapped (fig. 20).

Backrests were suspended by the loop from a three- or four-pole *backrest stand*. The collection contains one example of the latter consisting of four poles 140 cm long and 2 cm in diameter, pointed at one end and flat across the top at the other. These poles are joined by a deerskin thong that extends through holes 9 cm from the top.

The Cowie collection contains a single *hare skin blanket* that measures 142 by 152 cm. Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 93–94) described the weaving technique employed in making hare skin blankets:

The hide [of a hare] was . . . cut in one continuous strip, three to four inches wide, and hung to dry for two days. It soon curled so that the fur was outermost on all sides. Four poles were lashed together to make a rectangular frame. A strip of hide was laced to the top of the frame and a line of perforations punched along its length. Similar strips were attached to the two vertical sides of the frame. The initial strand of fur was passed in and out of the top holes and then through one hole on the side strip where it was looped back on itself [fig. 21]. . . . When one strand ran out, another was knotted to it.

The type of netting used was the "single loop," a technique widespread throughout the eastern sub-



arctic (Davidson, 1935, pp. 120, 123). A strip of canvas rather than hide was used as a selvage in the hare skin blanket in the Cowie collection. According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 94), hare skin blankets were used as bed coverings, but clothing was never made of this material.

Over the campfire a *tripod* was erected, from which cooking utensils were hung (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 93). The collection contains one such tripod, the poles of which are approximately 170 cm long, pointed at the bottom, grooved at the top, and tied together loosely with a strip of rawhide. Attached to this strip is a section of heavy chain 58 cm long, from which a pothook would be hung. The poles are smoke-blackened at the upper end.

A forked willow stick twisted to form a loop at the proximal end is identified in the catalog as a "*hanging pothook*." It presumably was hung from a tripod like the one just described (fig. 22d).

Also associated with fire making is a *fire poker*, a willow stick with the bark removed from the lower two-thirds. This implement is worked to a point at the distal end and shows no signs of use (fig. 22e).

The collection contains three *spoons* of mountain sheep horn with shovel-shaped, ovoid bowls and sharply upturned handles (fig. 22a–c). Spoons made from buffalo horn were described by Mandelbaum (1979, p. 93). According to Skinner (1914b, p. 69), guests brought their own spoons to feasts. A similar spoon of wood was collected by Simms from the Plains Cree on the Day Star Reserve in southeastern Saskatchewan (VanStone, 1983, p. 16, fig. 21d). At the time of Wissler's fieldwork among the Blackfoot, spoons of buffalo horn had, for the most part, passed out of use (Wissler, 1910, pp. 28–29).

A heavy *stone club* has a handle of willow, the distal end of which has been thinned, bent around a large sandstone cobble, and lashed with rawhide (fig. 22f). Skinner (1914b, p. 79) noted that heavy stone clubs were used for crushing bones.

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 were sewn up. The skin was softened by being worked between the hands (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 92). The Cowie collection contains a single calfskin bag identified in the catalog as a "*provision bag*" that resembles the berry bags described by Mandelbaum. The skin for this bag was apparently not prepared in the manner described by Mandelbaum, as several slits are sewn

with string. The neck opening is lined with green, white, red, and blue beads, and the anus is covered with a piece of red wool cloth and lined with green and white beads. Red and white beads ornament the sewing of the feet (fig. 23d). Similar bags were collected by Simms on the Day Star Reserve (VanStone, 1983, pp. 16–17, fig. 24a).

The wing of a young sandhill crane is identified in the catalog as a *fan*. It is wrapped near the proximal end with a strip of cloth (fig. 23a).

Thread for sewing was made of sinew. There are no descriptions of thread-making for the Plains Cree, but among the neighboring Blackfoot, broad bands of sinew from the leg and neck of a buffalo (later a steer) were dried and stored. When thread was required, shreds were pulled off, softened in water, and twisted by rolling between the palms (Wissler, 1910, pp. 53–54). The collection contains a small *bundle of sinew and bone bodkin*. The latter, flat and unperforated at one end, is worked to a point at the other (fig. 23c).

## Clothing

**MEN'S CLOTHING**—Traditionally, Plains Cree men wore a breechclout of soft skin, and leggings that reached from the ankle to the groin. Shirts were worn on ceremonial occasions, but ordinarily the only covering for the upper part of the body was the buffalo robe, which was worn in all seasons of the year. At the time of Mandelbaum's fieldwork, tailored shirts and jackets were made of deerskin or moose skin (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 81).

The Cowie collection contains two tailored *shirts*. The first is described in the catalog as a hunting shirt and is made of tanned deerskin or antelope skin heavily fringed. The back of this shirt is a single piece, and there are two rectangular strips at the shoulders, the upper edges of which are serrated and folded over to form the collar. The inside of each of these shoulder pieces is reinforced with a single piece of cotton cloth. A single piece of skin on each side is sewn to the back to form the front of the garment. These pieces are folded over at the edges and cut to form fringes. Each sleeve is a separate piece cut to a fringe at the seam. The cuffs are also separate pieces with serrated edges folded over and sewn. Fringed strips are sewn into the shoulder seams and also into the seam across the back. Sewing throughout is with commercial thread (figs. 24, 25).

The second shirt, described in the catalog as a "*medicine shirt*," has a much simpler pattern. The

front and back consist of separate pieces of tanned deerskin or antelope skin, and each sleeve is also a separate piece sewn along the underside with sinew. The neck opening is cut to a narrow V-shape in front and there is a pair of deerskin ties at the throat. All surfaces of this shirt are covered with rows of oval- and diamond-shaped perforations so that the garment has a netted appearance. The rows of perforations above the armpits are at right angles to those below (fig. 26).

Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 82–83, fig. 9) noted that buffalo skin robes were worn by both men and women. Men sometimes painted pictographic representations of their exploits in battle on their robes; supernatural characters were never depicted. A robe illustrated by Mandelbaum is a complete buffalo skin. When such a robe was worn, the head section was grasped with the right hand and brought around to the left side while the tail section was thrown over the left shoulder to cover the left arm. The right arm and shoulder were left free, and the left hand held the garment in position. If both hands were required for work, the robe was knotted around the waist. Brassler (1976, p. 187) reproduced a watercolor by Paul Kane showing a Cree from Fort Carleton on the Saskatchewan River wearing a buffalo skin robe. He is wearing it over both shoulders and holding it in front with both hands.

The Cowie collection contains a man's *buffalo skin robe*, the head and legs of which have been removed and the skin cut so that it is widest at the bottom and narrower toward the top. There is painted ornamentation in brown, yellow, and dark red pigments that includes geometric designs, spurred circles, intersecting straight lines, a stylized tree, and three stylized horses (fig. 27).

According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 83), traditional *moccasins* were made of buffalo skin with the hair inside. They were stuffed with dried grass for insulation. The Cowie collection contains two pairs of moccasins. The first pair is made from a single piece of soft deerskin 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. There is a separate top piece notched at the front with a crenellated lower edge and long, wrap-around ties. A short crenellated strip is sewn in the heel seam. This pattern conforms to Hatt's series XII (Hatt, 1916, pp. 179–183) and was considered by Mandelbaum (1979, p. 83) to be the "traditionally older type." Decoration on the instep consists of a keyhole design in orange- and white-dyed porcupine quills.

The flattened quills are held in place by two rows of stitches, the sinew thread being spot-stitched between each fold of the quills (Orchard, 1971, pp. 19–20, fig. 8). Sewing overall is with sinew (fig. 28a).

The pattern of the second pair of moccasins consists of a flat sole, possibly made from an old parfleche, and an upper piece with a vertical heel seam. The opening for the foot is cut in two parallel lines, and a fringed tongue is sewn to the front of this opening. This pattern conforms to Hatt's series XV (Hatt, 1916, pp. 187–189). A separate border of fox skin edged with red wool stroud has been added. Decoration consists of broad bands of white pony beads framing triangular designs in blue beads that run down the center of the instep and around the front at the level of the seam. These moccasins are sewn with thread (fig. 23b).

A pair of man's summer deerskin *mittens* is made of a single piece of skin sewn up one side and across the top. There is a separate thumb piece and a separate, wide cuff notched around the upper edge. A deerskin fringe is sewn in the seam, and the back of the cuff is decorated with dots of brown pigment (fig. 29b).

Mandelbaum (1979, p. 84) described men's *winter hats* as consisting of a ring of buffalo hide with the hair on the outside and sinew thread along the upper edge so that it could be pulled tight to form a peak. Another style consisted simply of a fur fillet about 15 cm wide that was made of dog or coyote skin. This style of winter hat is represented in the Cowie collection by a somewhat wider specimen made of two rectangular pieces of wolf skin with the fur on the outside (fig. 28b).

Also presumably worn by men is an *armband* of raccoon skin with a fringe of ermine skin (fig. 30a) and a pair of *garters*—strips of badger skin with ties of tanned deerskin (fig. 30b).

**WOMEN'S CLOTHING**—The Cowie collection contains a woman's *dress* of deerskin that consists of front and back pieces fringed at the bottom and sewn up the sides, with fringes sewn in the seams. Thongs are sewn at the top for fastening the dress over the shoulders. Separate fringed yokes are attached front and back at the shoulders. Detached, capelike sleeves, made of a single piece of skin, extend over the shoulders to the neck. A narrow belt of deerskin is fastened around the waist, and sewing throughout is with sinew. The lower portion of the skirt is encircled by a broad band of brown pigment, and strands of skin are fastened at intervals level with this band. Above and below the band are parallel lines and blotches of brown

pigment; the yokes are similarly ornamented. The sleeves have four encircling lines of brown pigment at the cuffs and a row of blotches around the edges (fig. 31a,c). This garment was illustrated by Wissler (1915, p. 74).

The pattern of this dress, with variations, was widely distributed on the Plains, and the use of separate sleeves also extended throughout the Eastern Woodlands (Wissler, 1915, pp. 65, 81); for the Plains Cree it was described by Mandelbaum (1979, p. 83). An interesting dress attributed to the Plains Cree of the period around 1840 was described and illustrated by Brassler (1976, pp. 55, 119). It differs from the dress in the Cowie collection in having been made from a single piece of skin seamed up one side and with a downturned yoke.

Accompanying this dress is a pair of *leggings*. According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 83), Cree women's leggings were simply pieces of skin covering the lower leg and gartered below the knee. This pair is constructed of a single piece of deer-skin fringed at top and bottom and seamed up the middle of one side; long fringes are sewn into the seam at intervals. There are skin ties near the top for gartering the leggings. A separate fringe is attached near the center, above which is a broad band of brown pigment; a similar band encircles the garment at the ankles. Between these bands are blotches of brown pigment (fig. 31b).

The collection contains two *hoods*, one of which accompanies the previously described dress and leggings. It consists of a single piece of soft deerskin seamed up one side and around the top. Attached to the border is a rectangular strip of skin, notched on the outer edge and with perforations at regular intervals through which a skin drawstring is threaded (fig. 32a). The second hood is of dark tanned deerskin and is also made from a single piece of skin folded over and sewn in the area of the face; a separate fringed piece is sewn into the fold. The lower part of the hood is notched at the edges, and a separate gusset is sewn in at the back to give additional width where the hood would fall over the shoulders. There is a pair of skin ties ornamented with notched edges and oval perforations (fig. 32b).

A woman's *buffalo robe* is similar in cut to the previously described man's robe but is somewhat smaller and lighter. The painted ornamentation in yellow, brown, black, orange, and purple pigments includes geometric designs, spurred and notched circles, intersecting lines, and a pair of human hands (fig. 33).

A pair of woman's *winter mittens* is made of tanned fox skin with the hair on the inside. Each mitten is a separate piece sewn up one side and around the top. The front of the thumb is also a separate piece. There is a broad cuff of raccoon fur with a fringe of deerskin sewn in the seam. A pair of ornamental fringes is sewn in the main seam at its upper end. The two mittens are joined by a strip of tanned deerskin that was worn around the neck (fig. 29a).

**CHILDREN'S CLOTHING**—The only items of children's clothing in the Cowie collection are two *hoods*, one for an infant boy and the other for an infant girl. The boy's hood is made of six irregular pieces of soft deerskin, one of which extends across the back to protect the neck. The hood is edged with strips of hare skin, and another strip of the same material covers the sinew-sewn seam that attaches the protective piece at the back. The other seams are ornamented with orange- and white-dyed, quill-wrapped sinew and covered with strips of ermine skin. A pair of ermine tails is sewn at the back near the top. Deerskin ties are attached on either side at the front (fig. 30c).

The girl's hood is sinew-sewn from three pieces of soft deerskin: two side panels and a rectangular piece extending over the top of the head. The seams are ornamented with white-, blue-, and orange-dyed, quill-wrapped sinew. A separate strip of skin, notched along both edges, is sewn around the lower edge. At the front, the skin is folded over, notched, and sewn; the seam is ornamented with red-dyed, quill-wrapped sinew. A separate crenellated strip has also been sewn around the hood at the front. In the center of each skin panel is a circular design of white- and orange-dyed, quill-wrapped sinew, in the center of which strips of ermine skin and blue-dyed tufts of horse hair have been attached. Hanging down across the front of the hood are lengths of willowberry kernels serving as a fringe to keep flies away from the infant's face. Fringed deerskin ties are attached on either side at the front (fig. 30d).

## Personal Adornment

The Cowie collection contains two *necklaces*. The first, in very poor condition, is described in the catalog as a "woman's necklace" and consists of parallel pairs of willowberry kernels strung on sinew and separated at intervals by carved balls of willow fungus approximately 2 cm in diameter.

At the top are strands of soft deerskin for fastening the necklace around the throat. The second necklace is made of strands of grass woven to form an openwork tube. At the top are ties of soft deerskin (fig. 34d).

A *breast ornament*, so identified in the catalog, consists of 14 parallel beaded strands suspended at either end through narrow strips of commercially tanned hide, with the longer strands at the bottom. Each strand consists of twisted pieces of cotton cloth wrapped with thread and strung with white beads. The cloth strands extend through the hide strips to form fringes on either side ornamented with large brass beads (fig. 34a).

According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 85), men plucked their facial hair between the thumb and index finger. The collection contains a *steel coil* that is described in the catalog as having been used for that purpose (fig. 34c).

Both Skinner (1914b, pp. 76–77) and Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 86–87) described tattooing as being common for both men and women. Men were marked on the arms, chest, and neck, whereas women's tattoos were restricted to parallel lines extending from the lower lip to the chin. According to Fine-day, Mandelbaum's informant, a man would receive the power to tattoo in a dream and then encourage young men to agree to the operation (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 87). Skinner (1914b, pp. 76–77) noted that men were tattooed because they had dreamed that they should be or because of encouragement from their wives, who wanted their husbands to demonstrate bravery by undergoing the operation. The tattoo design was outlined on the body with charcoal paste; the paste entered the punctures made by an instrument consisting of four needles tied together (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 87). The collection contains two small chert flakes wrapped in a piece of deerskin that are described in the catalog as "*scarifying flints*" and presumably were used for the tattooing process (fig. 34b).

## Ceremonial and Medicinal Equipment

Shamanism among the Plains Cree was practiced by many people who had been granted supernatural powers, the most important of which was the ability to cure illness. This was accomplished primarily by sucking out the cause of the illness or by means of sympathetic magic, but shamans also administered herbal medications to their patients. The knowledge and use of plant medicines was usually purchased or inherited rather

than acquired through vision experiences. Mandelbaum's informants told him that most medicines were obtained from the Plains Ojibwa. Novices in the Midewiwin Society, a ceremonial complex that the Plains Cree also acquired from the Ojibwa, were taught the use of medicines (Mandelbaum, 1979, pp. 162–165, 214).

Perhaps because of his early medical training, Cowie was interested in traditional medicines, and his collection originally contained 15 examples. Never cataloged, in 1934 they were sent to the ethnobotanical laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan (Beardsley, 1941, pp. 483–496). Among them were Labrador tea for burns and scalds, common thistle to stop the bleeding of wounds and suppress menstrual pains, cow parsnip for toothaches and to heal sores and ulcers, fungus to induce vomiting and heal frostbite, large-toothed aspen to prevent conception, gum plant or tarweed to cure venereal diseases, and unidentified plants to relieve headaches and delirium. According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 165), medicinal ingredients were wrapped in packets and stored in the whole skin of a small animal.

The collection contains three *medicine bags*, only one of which is a whole animal skin. It is a marten skin with ermine tails attached to the hind legs and tail for decoration. The head has apparently been removed and a soft deerskin sleeve, fringed at the bottom and cut to form perforated and notched flaps at the upper end, fitted over the head area. A deerskin tie is threaded through this sleeve near the opening, and there are two parallel rows of brown dots just above the fringe (fig. 35b).

The second bag is made of two rectangular pieces of soft deerskin with separate fringes of the same material sewn into all three seams and along both sides of the opening. A separate deerskin collar has slits at intervals for a tie. There is a deerskin suspension strap, and sewing throughout is with sinew. One side of this bag is ornamented with a pattern of brown and dark red dots (fig. 35a).

The third bag is described in the catalog as a "war medicine pouch." It is made of two semi-circular panels of commercially tanned skin with strips of hare skin sewn in the seam to form a fringe. There is a strip of the same material sewn across the back of the opening. The front panel is ornamented with designs in white-, orange-, and blue-dyed porcupine quills. The quills along the border are held in place by two rows of stitches, the sinew thread being caught into the surfaces of the hide between each fold of the flattened quills

(Orchard, 1971, p. 19). The remaining decoration involves the simple wrapping of individual spot-stitched sinew thread. This pouch has a thong suspension strap and a pair of ties, both wrapped at intervals with white-, orange-, and blue-dyed quills (fig. 35c).

Mandelbaum (1979, p. 169) noted that blood-letting was frequently practiced as part of the healing process. The collection contains two *lancets*, each consisting of a small chert chip set into the split end of a short stick and tightly bound with sinew (fig. 36c). There is also a small *horn cup* that is described in the catalog as having been “used in bleeding.” It has a knob at the narrow end and a short skin suspension strap (fig. 36e). For pain in the upper part of the body an arm vein was opened, and for pain in the abdomen an incision was made in a vein over the ankle.

Pipe smoking played an extremely important role in Plains Cree life. According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 227), the use of the pipe “inaugurated all ritualistic behavior”; there were many secular usages for pipes as well. Skinner (1914a, pp. 537–540) noted 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, 1979, pp. 54, 143, 154, 159, 162). As Mandelbaum (1979, p. 228) succinctly stated, “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.”

According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 96), *pipes* were made of a soft, black stone obtained along the banks of the Battle River, a Saskatchewan River tributary. The single pipe in the Cowie collection appears to be made of such stone and has an elbow shape, a form Mandelbaum believed to be associated with women. The stem is made from a single piece of circular wood recessed slightly at the proximal end for a mouthpiece, which is now missing. This stem is quite different from the type described by Mandelbaum (1979, p. 96), which was made of two pieces of split root lashed together. Paget (1909, p. 47) noted that stems were made of red willow. The stem of this pipe is wrapped with red-, white-, and blue-dyed porcupine quills tied in the manner described and illustrated by Orchard (1971, p. 51, fig. 30) (fig. 36f).

In addition to the pipe just described, the collection contains two *pipestems* from which the bowls and mouthpieces are missing. The first, 25 cm long, is made from a single piece of wood wrapped with purple- and white-dyed quills knotted around a strand of sinew that runs the length of the stem. The second pipestem is much longer and is wrapped with white-, blue-, and red- or orange-dyed quills. The manner of securing the quills is similar to that on the complete pipe. In the center of this stem are fastened strips of hare and fox skin (fig. 37a). According to Mandelbaum (1979, p. 96), pipes used in ceremonies were six to eight inches (5–20 cm) long; those for ordinary use were smaller. The second stem described above, 92 cm long, is considerably longer than the 64-cm stem on a Blackfoot man’s pipe described and illustrated by Wissler (1910, p. 82, fig. 48).

Mandelbaum (1979, p. 97) noted that bearberry leaves were dried and mixed with trade tobacco for smoking and that the inner bark of red willow was also used. Paget (1909, p. 47) also mentioned the use of red willow bark, which could be smoked alone or mixed with tobacco. At one time the collection contained bags of blackberry leaves and red willow bark.

The collection contains two “*feather head ornaments*” that are not further identified in the catalog. However, they somewhat resemble the feathers hung from wood crooks described by Mandelbaum (1979, p. 203) as used in the Sun Dance, and by Cadzow (1927, pp. 274–275, fig. 118) as part of the paraphernalia associated with the Smoking Tipi ceremony. These ornaments consist of a single eagle feather decorated in three places with attached, dyed feather down. Approximately 6 cm of the spine has been exposed at the proximal end and has been wrapped with red-, white-, and blue-dyed porcupine quills tied in the manner described and illustrated by Orchard (1971, p. 51, fig. 30). A short length of soft deerskin is attached to the proximal end of the feather, possibly for attachment to the wood crook, if this interpretation of the use of these ornaments is correct (fig. 36a).

## Warfare

As was true for all Plains tribes during the historic period, warfare was a major preoccupation of the Plains Cree, and individual success in battle was the primary means of obtaining prestige. War exploits were the chief concern of young men, and raids brought not only prestige but the means of

obtaining wealth in horses that was necessary to achieve high status. The great enemies of the Plains Cree were the tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy, who inflicted heavy losses on the tribe on many occasions. War parties were also frequently sent against other tribes to the south and southwest, notably the Sarsi and Crow (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 239).

The Cowie collection contains a “*war shirt*,” so identified in the catalog, the front and back of which consist of single pieces of tanned deerskin or antelope skin fringed around the lower edge. The neck opening is cut to a V-shape in front and there are skin ties at the throat. The lower part of the garment is slit up the sides for a distance of 30 cm; separate fringed pieces are sewn into the side seams. Each sleeve consists of two separate pieces and is fringed at the cuffs with a narrow strip of skin sewn into each seam. Strips of commercially tanned cowhide, cut to long fringes on each side, are sewn across the shoulders. Shorter fringed pieces of the same material are sewn around the neck opening. Sewing throughout is with sinew.

This garment has painted designs on the front and back in brown pigment. They consist of short parallel lines and ovals with wavy lines extending from them. The separate shoulder pieces are similarly painted with straight lines and circles. Separate fringed pieces are sewn at intervals into the sleeve seams and, to some of these, scalps are attached with orange- and white-dyed porcupine quills. Scalps are also attached to either side of the neck opening in front and in several places on the fringe across the back of the garment (figs. 38, 39). Mandelbaum (1979, p. 246) noted that several scalps could be taken from a single corpse because only a narrow strip was cut by each scalper.

Accompanying this shirt is a pair of “*war leggings*” made of soft deerskin or antelope skin that reached from the ankles to the groin; they were attached to a belt by a pair of ties at a place over the hip. The pattern consists of a single piece of skin folded over so that the seam is on the outer side of the leg. A separate strip of skin is sewn in the seam, and at intervals scalps are attached to fringe elements with orange- and white-dyed porcupine quills. A separate fringed piece is attached at the ankles. The wide opening at the top is achieved by the addition of a gusset. The surface of these leggings is ornamented with designs in brown pigment similar to those on the shirt. Sewing throughout is with sinew (fig. 40).

A fur fillet hat, described in the catalog as a “*war*

*cap*,” is made from a rectangular strip of badger skin with the hair on the outside and the seam at the front. Hanging from it in the back are three strips of wolf skin. Along the seam are sewn ermine tails, and a whole ermine skin hangs from one side toward the front (fig. 41b).

The collection contains a *war club* consisting of a heavy wood handle with six pointed wood pegs set into one side at the distal end. There is a wrist loop of braided deerskin and a deerskin fringe attached at both ends (fig. 41a). Mandelbaum (1979, p. 95) described a war club with knife blades or nails set into it. Lowie (1954, p. 108) noted that among the Plains Cree it was worthier for a man to kill an enemy with a club than with a gun.

## Games

Games were popular among all Plains Cree and were played at all seasons of the year, especially during large encampments (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 127).

The collection contains two *racket or lacrosse sticks*, both of which have long wood handles. One consists of a single piece curved and lashed at the distal end to form a hoop netted with strips of soft deerskin; the handle is grooved just below the hoop (fig. 37c). On the second stick the hoop is a separate piece, lap-spliced and lashed to the handle with sinew; the netting is of deerskin and sinew (fig. 37b).

Mandelbaum (1979) made no reference to a racket game and, according to Skinner (1914b, p. 80), the Cree played a variety of shinny, a hockey-like game, which he believed “seems to have taken the place of lacrosse.” According to Culin (1907, p. 562), the game of ball with rackets was largely confined to the Algonquian and Iroquoian tribes of the East Coast and Great Lakes regions, but he did describe what appears to be a racket game among the Assiniboine (Culin, 1907, p. 610), from whom the Plains Cree may have borrowed it.

The double ball game was played widely by women throughout the Plains, and the Cowie collection contains a pair of deerskin bags filled with sand connected by a strip of hide that served as a *double ball*. At the end of each bag are tassels of deerskin notched around the edges (fig. 36b). Culin (1907, p. 653, fig. 858) illustrated this double ball as well as a curved stick 90.5 cm long that formerly accompanied it but is now missing from the collection.

Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 134–135, fig. 14) re-

ferred to the double ball game as the “testicle game,” doubtless a reference to the shape of the double ball, and described it as follows:

Four to eight women played on a side. The players were equipped with sticks two to three feet long, and curved at the end. Two tips on opposite sides of the camp circle were selected as goals. The game started in the center of the field when one of the players threw the ball in the air. The ball could not be touched with the hands or feet nor could it be carried on the stick. It was advanced by being passed from one player to another. The players tried to knock the ball off their opponents’ sticks. When the ball had been passed beyond the goal, the scoring side won.

The collections of the Field Museum contain another double ball collected on the Muskowpetung Reserve in southeastern Saskatchewan by J. A. Mitchell in 1901. Mitchell’s description of the game, no longer in the museum’s accession records but quoted by Culin (1907, p. 652), included information that the goals were approximately 1 mile apart and that the game was always played for stakes of some kind. This double ball was also illustrated by Culin (1907, p. 652, fig. 855).

A set of implements for the *stick game* consists of a bundle of 16 peeled willow twigs and 1 twig that is marked with bands of red and black pigment. These twigs are contained in an oblong bag of badger skin with a fringe of deerskin at the opening and a drawstring of the same material (fig. 36g).

Mandelbaum (1979, pp. 132–133) described a stick game played by men and women with 21 sticks, which was played as follows:

The bundle of sticks was rolled between the palms of one player and then divided into two bundles, one held in each hand. The two were crossed and presented before the opponent who chose one of the bundles. The object was to choose the bundle with an even number of sticks.

Skinner (1914b, p. 81) described a different method of playing the stick game that involved two players on each side, the object being to guess which one held the odd-numbered bundle. The side that guessed correctly was considered the winner. Another stick game in the Field Museum’s collections, obtained by Mitchell on the Muskowpetung Reserve, consists of 25 willow twigs and was played by a number of men and women divided into two parties. When the guesser chose the odd bundle, play passed to the opponents (Culin, 1907, p. 230).

It will be noted that none of these stick games

makes use of a single stick with distinguishing marks like the one in the Cowie collection. Culin (1907, pp. 227–266) described a number of stick games among California Athapaskans and other West Coast tribes in which the players attempted to select the bundle containing one or more marked sticks.

Mandelbaum (1979, p. 97) stated 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. Singing and drumming accompanied the playing of stick games and other types of games.

The collection contains a single-headed, tambourine *drum* identified in the catalog as a “gambling drum.” The frame is made from a rectangular strip of wood 7.5 cm wide that has been steamed and bent to form a hoop; the overlapping ends are notched to fit together without lashing. The drum head is made of scraped animal hide stretched over the frame and held taut by a rawhide thong that is looped through holes at approximately 3-cm intervals along the inner edge. A pair of rawhide thongs extends at right angles across the open side of the instrument to form a hand hold. The drum head is crudely decorated with circles and dots in orange, brown, and yellow pigment (fig. 41c). There is no stick to accompany this drum.

Both Skinner (1914b, p. 81) and Mandelbaum (1979, p. 134) noted that boys played with tops of wood, stone, or horn, which were kept in motion on ice by whipping with a quirt or whip. The Cowie collection contains a *top* made from a single piece of wood; a small nail has been driven into the distal end (fig. 36d). The whip that originally accompanied this top is now missing from the collection but was illustrated by Culin (1907, p. 734, fig. 963). The handle, 22½ inches (57 cm) long, appears to have been a willow stick peeled toward the distal end; the lash may have been a strip of braided deerskin.

### III. Conclusions

Most collections of Plains Cree material culture in American and Canadian museums have not been published in full, and thus are not well known even to ethnographers with a special interest in Plains cultures. Therefore, it has seemed worthwhile to place on record a collection that, although poorly documented, was acquired by the Field

Museum under controlled circumstances at a relatively early date. Even though precise and detailed documentation for the Cowie collection is lacking, minimal archival and published information, together with evidence provided by the artifacts themselves, encourages examination of the collection from several perspectives: its provenience, the collection itself as an artifact, and the extent to which it can be viewed as representative of Plains Cree material culture in the late 19th century.

As noted in the Introduction, there is nothing in the Field Museum's accession records to indicate how Boas contacted Cowie to arrange the collecting of Plains Cree artifacts for the World's Columbian Exposition. Arrangements for collecting by formally organized field parties, such as the North Greenland Expedition led by Lieutenant Robert E. Peary, were preceded by negotiations resulting in memoranda of agreement that spelled out in detail the objects Putnam and Boas wished to acquire for display at the Exposition (VanStone, 1972, p. 32). Boas may have contacted Cowie through the Hudson's Bay Company. In any event, most of the collections acquired from individuals for the Exposition and later transferred to the newly established Field Columbian Museum are no better documented than Cowie's collection.

As previously noted, there is reason to believe, based on the writings of Cowie himself, that his collection was made southeast of Edmonton along the Battle River, where there were Cree reservations in the late 19th century (Cowie, 1913, p. 295). Although by 1970 these reservations, in the northwestern corner of Plains Cree territory, were occupied by Plains Cree, they may at an earlier date have been inhabited by western Woods Cree or people who spent part of their time in the forests and part on the prairies hunting buffalo. At the time Cowie made his collection, all the regional Cree had not yet settled on reserves even though such reserves may have been assigned to them.

Although the Cowie collection is small, there is little in it to suggest that the people among whom it was made had anything but a fully developed Plains culture. Snowshoes and dog traction, represented in the collection, are traits that the Plains Cree shared with their western Woods Cree neighbors, but both continued to be important elements of Cree culture on the prairies. Snowshoes were equally useful on the deep snow of the parklands, and dog traction was necessary to a people who were poor in horses compared to their Blackfoot and Assiniboine neighbors. It seems clear, there-

fore, that however involved the people of the Battle River region may have been in an edge-of-the-forest way of life at an earlier period, by the time that Cowie made his collection they were full-time residents of the open prairies.

Because nothing is known concerning Boas's instruction to Cowie, it is possible only to surmise how the latter approached his collecting assignment. It seems likely, however, that the collector was instructed to obtain as complete a collection as possible of traditional material culture, avoiding items in current use that reflected contact with Euro-Canadians. This might account for the fact that many items in the collection appear to have been made for the collector and show no signs of use. At the time the collection was made, the Plains Cree were obviously no longer using archery equipment and did not go to war, nor were they dressed in traditional clothing. It is these items that appear to have been made at the request of Cowie, as were at least some household objects associated with residence in a tipi. On the other hand, the tipi itself and items associated with dog traction show considerable signs of use.

At the time Isaac Cowie made his collection he had been intimately associated with Plains Indians for almost 25 years, first in southeastern Saskatchewan and later at posts to the north and west. Although his book (Cowie, 1913), dealing primarily with his first assignment at Fort Qu'Appelle, reveals him to have had more than his share of the racial prejudices and stereotypical attitudes of his time, there is no doubt that he was knowledgeable concerning at least the outwardly visible aspects of Plains Cree culture and would have known how and from whom to obtain the type of collection that Boas and Putnam wanted. He clearly would have been in a position to commission the manufacture of items no longer part of the material culture inventory and, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, he seems to have been as interested in obtaining items made by women as those made by men. Cowie would appear, therefore, to have been someone who took his collecting responsibilities seriously. Although he was presumably reimbursed for the money he spent on the collection, there is no indication that he received any payment in excess of that amount. That he was proud of the "Certificate of Merit" and medal awarded to him at the World's Columbian Exposition is suggested by the fact that they have been retained by his family up to the present time (B. A. Johnstone, letter to T. J. Brassler, September 25, 1973).

It may be instructive to compare the Cowie col-



lection with the only other published collection of Plains Cree material culture, that made by Stephen C. Simms in southeastern Saskatchewan for the Field Museum in 1903 (VanStone, 1983). The two collections are approximately the same size, the Cowie assemblage having just 20 more objects. The Cowie collection, however, is more varied and, as previously noted, contains numerous artifacts apparently made at the collector's request. On the other hand, there is nothing in Simms's correspondence with George Dorsey, curator in charge of the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum, under whose direction Simms made his collection, to suggest that Simms commissioned newly made ethnographic material, nor is there any indication that Dorsey would have wished him to do so. The Simms collection, in which most categories of material objects are only thinly represented, lacks objects associated with subsistence; there are few tools of any kind in either collection. Archery equipment in the Cowie collection was made from memory, and the Indians may have been unwilling to part with the few traditional tools still in use at the time both collections were made.

Perhaps the most notable difference between the two collections is the virtual absence of beadwork from Cowie's assemblage. Like other Plains tribes, and also the western Woods Cree, traditional artistic achievement of the Plains Cree was largely realized through the use of flattened quillwork designs on all items of clothing. By the 1850s, however, quillwork was being 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 (Brasser, 1976, p. 47; Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 101).

It is significant that examples of quillwork in both the Simms and Cowie collections are restricted, with few exceptions, to wrapped objects that could be more efficiently decorated with flattened quills than with beads. All items of clothing and most items of personal adornment in the Simms collection are decorated with beadwork, the former in the distinct northern Plains style characterized by bold geometric designs (Lowie, 1954, pp. 140, 143). Clothing in the Cowie collection, with the exception of two pairs of moc-casins, one ornamented with beads and the other with quills, has abstract painted designs in brown pigment. Similarly decorated are a pouch, quiver, bow cover, and knife sheath, all objects that might be expected to be beaded. The absence of beadwork from most objects in the Cowie collection

may be explained by their northern provenience, peripheral to the beadwork traditions of more southern and western Plains peoples. It should be noted, however, that all the objects having painted designs in brown pigment are those that are believed to have been made for the collector.

It is highly probable that most of the artifacts in both the Simms and Cowie collections were not in actual use at the time the collections were made, but had been retained by the Indians as heirlooms. Simms, having no interest in what he called "Hudson's Bay things" (VanStone, 1983, p. 23), had neither the time nor the inclination to commission the manufacture of items long absent from the material culture inventory. Cowie, perhaps at the suggestion of Boas, attempted to achieve completeness in his collection by having clothing and subsistence items made to his order. In both cases, the collections are probably not representative of Plains Cree material culture near and shortly after the turn of the century. Rather, they appear to represent a period perhaps 20 or 30 years earlier, when the disappearance of the buffalo brought to an end those specialized prairie hunting adaptations that had been so recently acquired.

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# Appendix

## The Cowie Plains Cree Collection (Accession 46)

Following is a list of the Cowie Plains Cree artifacts described and illustrated in this study. It is not a complete list of the collection as it appears in the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, because artifacts represented by 14 catalog numbers could not be located. Artifact identifications are, with a few exceptions, those provided by the collector.

<b>SHELTER</b>		15025	calfskin provision bag (fig. 23d)
14995	painted tipi cover (figs. 4, 5)	15032	crane wing fan (fig. 23a)
15104	back wall designs (fig. 6)	15071	bone bodkin and sinew (fig. 23c)
15105	back wall designs (fig. 7)		
		<b>CLOTHING</b>	
<b>SUBSISTENCE</b>		<i>Men's Clothing</i>	
14996	bow and buckskin cover (fig. 8b,c)	15074	hunting shirt (figs. 24, 25)
15001	arrows for large or small game (fig. 9b)	15006	"medicine shirt" (fig. 26)
14999	arrows for large or small game (fig. 9a)	15038	painted buffalo robe (fig. 27)
15000	arrows with blunt tips for small game (fig. 9c)	15020	moccasins (fig. 28a)
14998	buckskin quiver (fig. 8a)	15030	moccasins (fig. 23b)
15076	spring pole hare snares (fig. 10b)	15004	summer mittens (fig. 29b)
15013	buckskin knife sheath (fig. 10c)	15019	winter hat (fig. 28b)
14983	model fish trap (fig. 11)	15015	fur arm band (fig. 30a)
		15075	fur garters (fig. 30b)
		<i>Women's Clothing</i>	
<b>TRANSPORTATION</b>		15005	dress (fig. 31c)
15058	man's traveling snowshoes (fig. 12b)	15002	sleeves (fig. 31a)
15089	man's snowshoes (fig. 10a)	14997	leggings (fig. 31b)
14982	woman's traveling snowshoes (fig. 12a)	15003	hood (fig. 32a)
14981	woman's pack saddle (fig. 13)	15010	hood (fig. 32b)
15090	parfleche (fig. 14a)	15052	painted buffalo robe (fig. 33)
15097	parfleche (fig. 14b)	15012	winter mittens (fig. 29a)
14984	horse travois loading platform (fig. 15)		
15062	braided willow rope		
14985	set lines for horse travois		
15028	deer hoof rattles (fig. 10d)		
14993	dog travois (fig. 16)		
15109	toboggan (figs. 17, 18)		
15103	toboggan wrapper (fig. 17)		
15108a,b	dog harnesses (fig. 19)		
15107	toboggan		
15106a-f	dog harnesses		
		<i>Children's Clothing</i>	
<b>HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT</b>		15014	infant boy's hood (fig. 30c)
14986	backrest	15007	infant girl's hood (fig. 30d)
14987	backrest		
15084	backrest		
15085	backrest (fig. 20)		
14988	four-pole backrest stand		
15082	hare skin blanket weave (fig. 21)		
14990	tripod stand for campfire		
15077	pothook (fig. 22d)		
15072	fire poker (fig. 22e)		
15026	spoon of mountain sheep horn (fig. 22b)		
15033	spoon of mountain sheep horn (fig. 22c)		
15057	spoon of mountain sheep horn (fig. 22a)		
15027	stone club (fig. 22f)		
		<b>PERSONAL ADORNMENT</b>	
		15068	woman's necklace
		15064	grass necklace (fig. 34d)
		15065	breast ornament (fig. 34a)
		15073	coiled hair tweezers (fig. 34c)
		15066	"scarifying flints" (for tattooing?) (fig. 34b)
		<b>CEREMONIAL AND MEDICINAL EQUIPMENT</b>	
		15016	medicine bag (fig. 35b)
		15011	medicine bag (fig. 35a)
		15034	"war medicine pouch" (fig. 35c)
		15069	lancet (2) (fig. 36c)
		15067	horn cup used in bleeding (fig. 36e)

15080 pipe (fig. 36f)  
15081 pipestem  
15079 pipestem (fig. 37a)  
15035 "feather head ornament" (?) (fig. 36a)  
15036 "feather head ornament" (?)

**WARFARE**

15008 "war shirt" (figs. 38, 39)  
15009 "war leggings" (fig. 40)

15024 "war cap" (fig. 41b)  
15023 war club (fig. 41a)

**GAMES**

15021 racket stick (fig. 37b)  
15022 racket stick (fig. 37c)  
15060 double ball game (fig. 36b)  
15029 stick game (fig. 36g)  
15051 "gambling drum" (fig. 41c)  
15070 whipping top (fig. 36d)

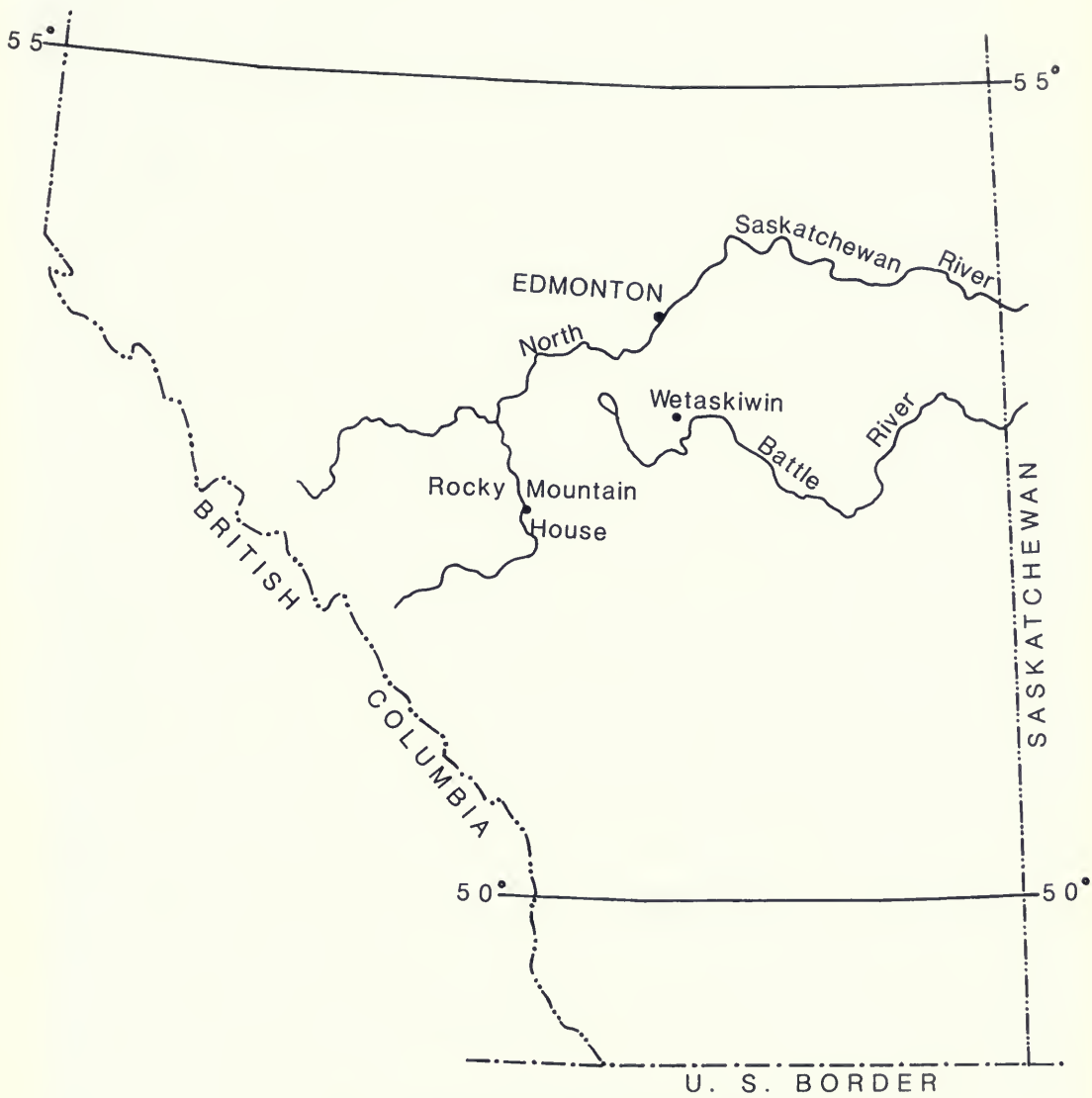


FIG. 1. Map of central and southern Alberta.



FIG. 2. Plains Cree tipi (14995) on exhibit at the Field Columbian Museum about 1894. Associated artifacts from the Cowie collection include model fish trap (14983), woman's saddle (14981), dog travois (14993), and loading platform (14984). (Neg. no. 8151.)



FIG. 3. Plains Cree tipi (14995) on exhibit at the Field Columbian Museum about 1894. (Neg. no. 1197.)

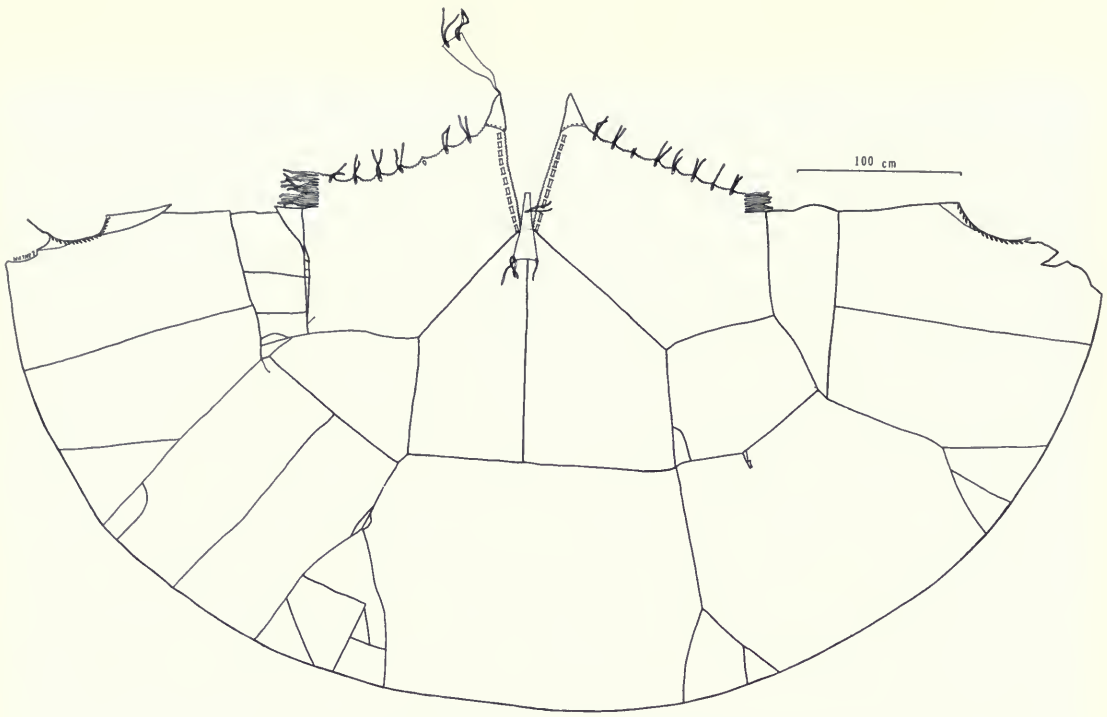


FIG. 4. Tipi cover (14995) showing pattern of construction.

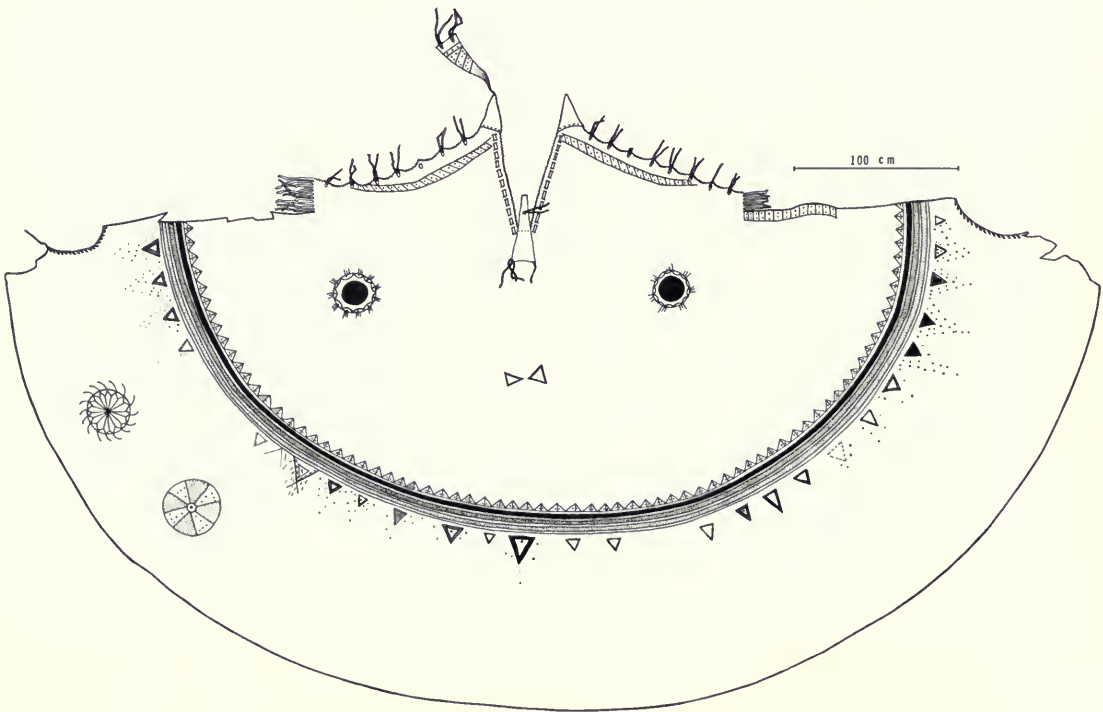


FIG. 5. Tipi cover (14995) showing painted designs.



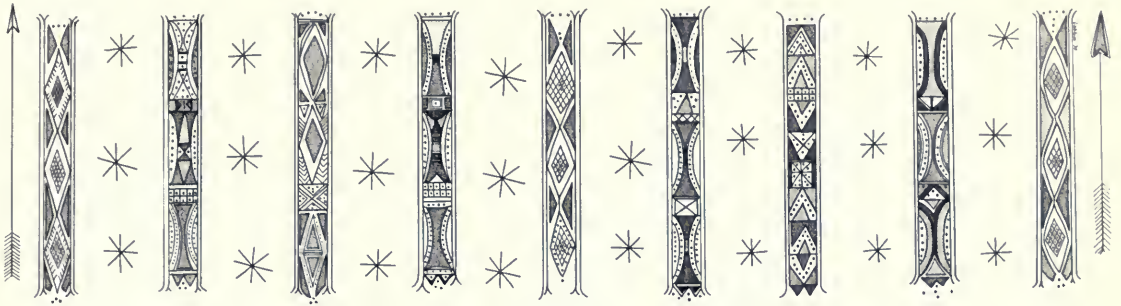


FIG. 6. Back wall (15104).

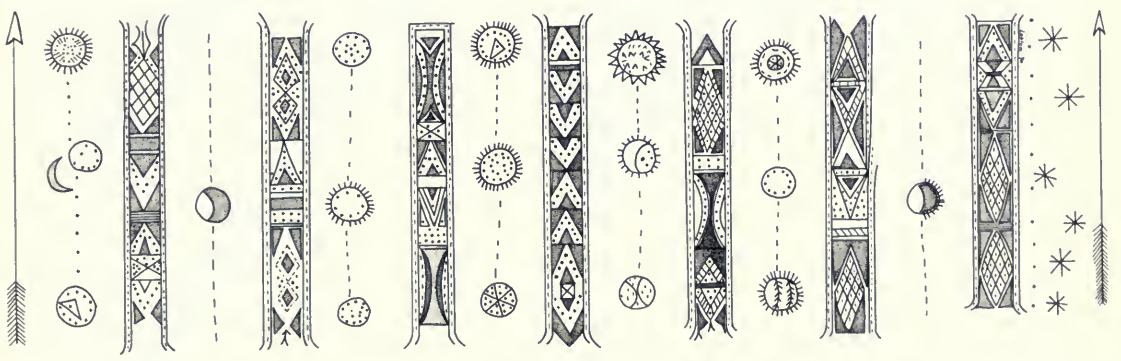


FIG. 7. Back wall (15105).

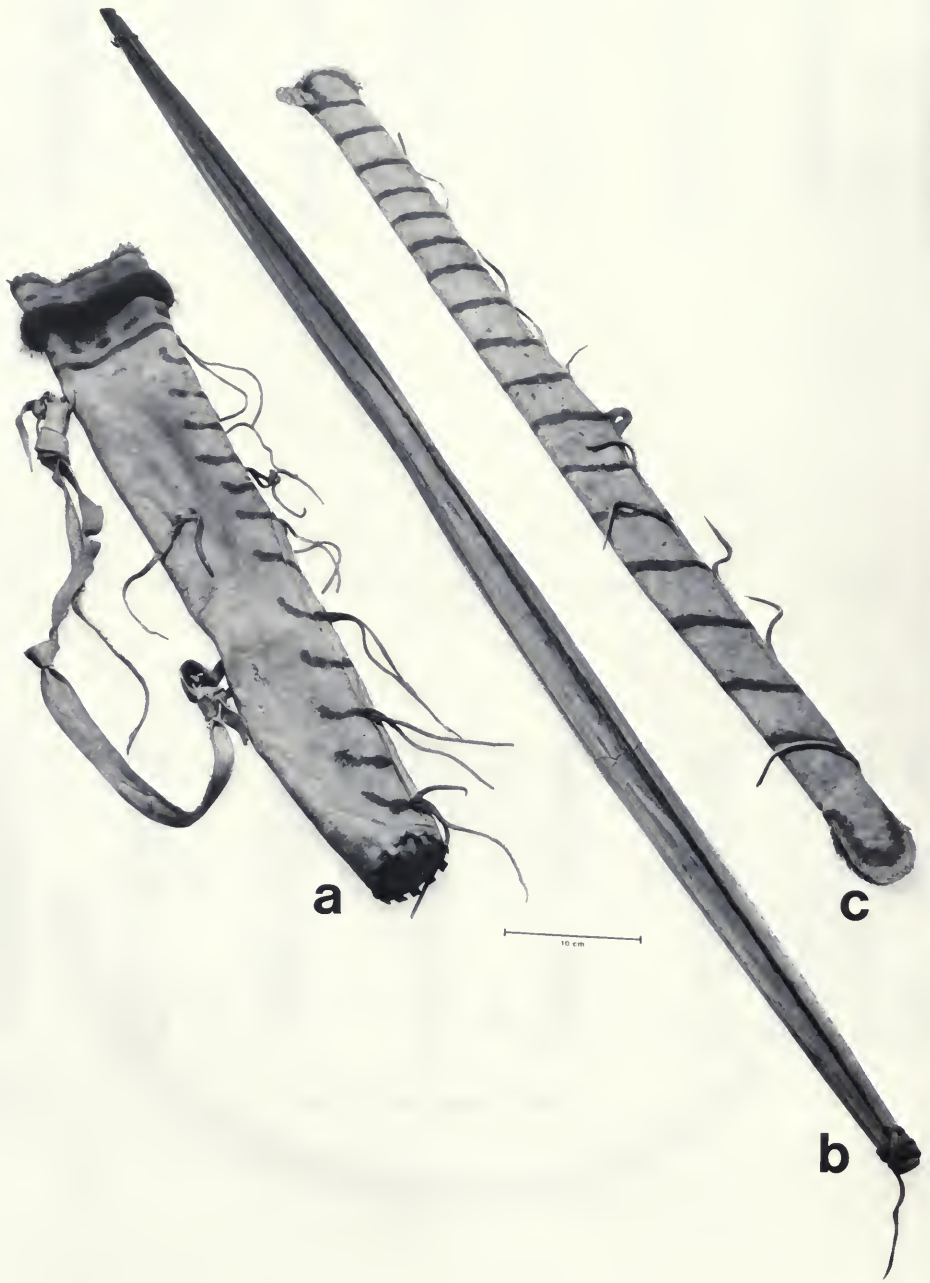


FIG. 8. a, quiver (14998); b, bow (14996); c, bow cover (14996). (Neg. no. 111571.)

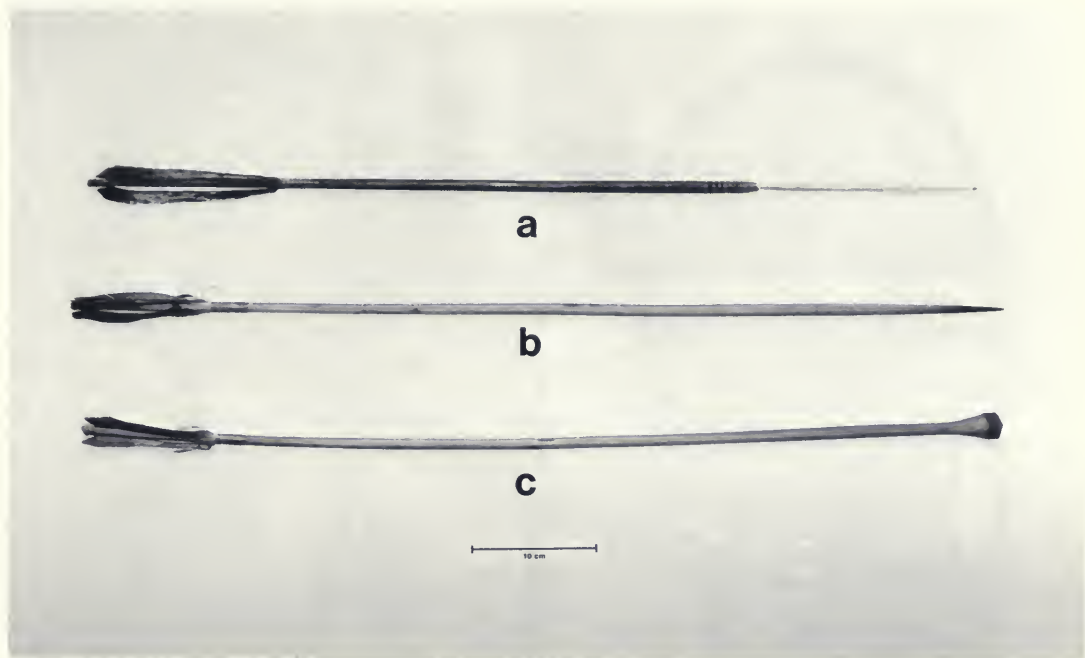


FIG. 9. a, arrow for large or small game (14999); b, arrow for large or small game (15001); c, arrow for small game (15000). (Neg. no. 111575.)

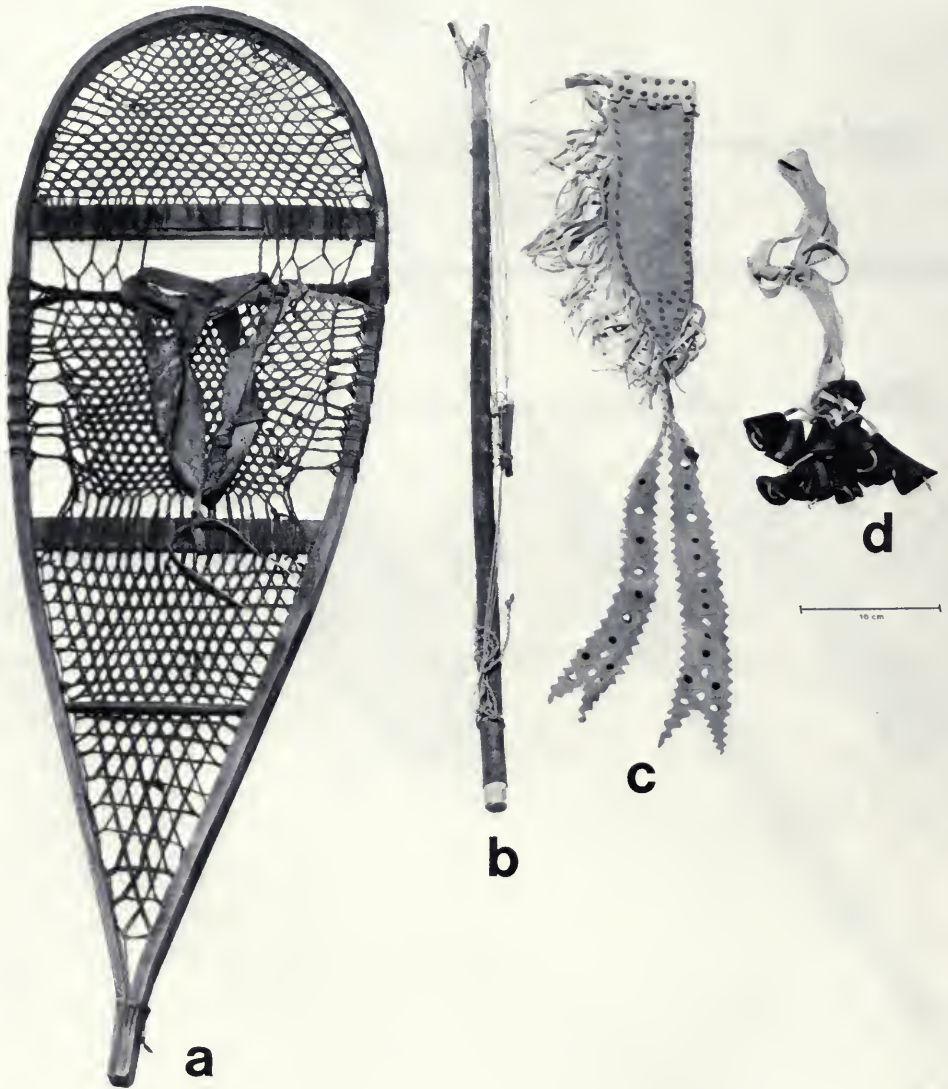


FIG. 10. a, man's snowshoes (15089); b, spring pole snares (15076); c, knife sheath (15013); d, hoof rattles (15028). (Neg. no. 111572.)

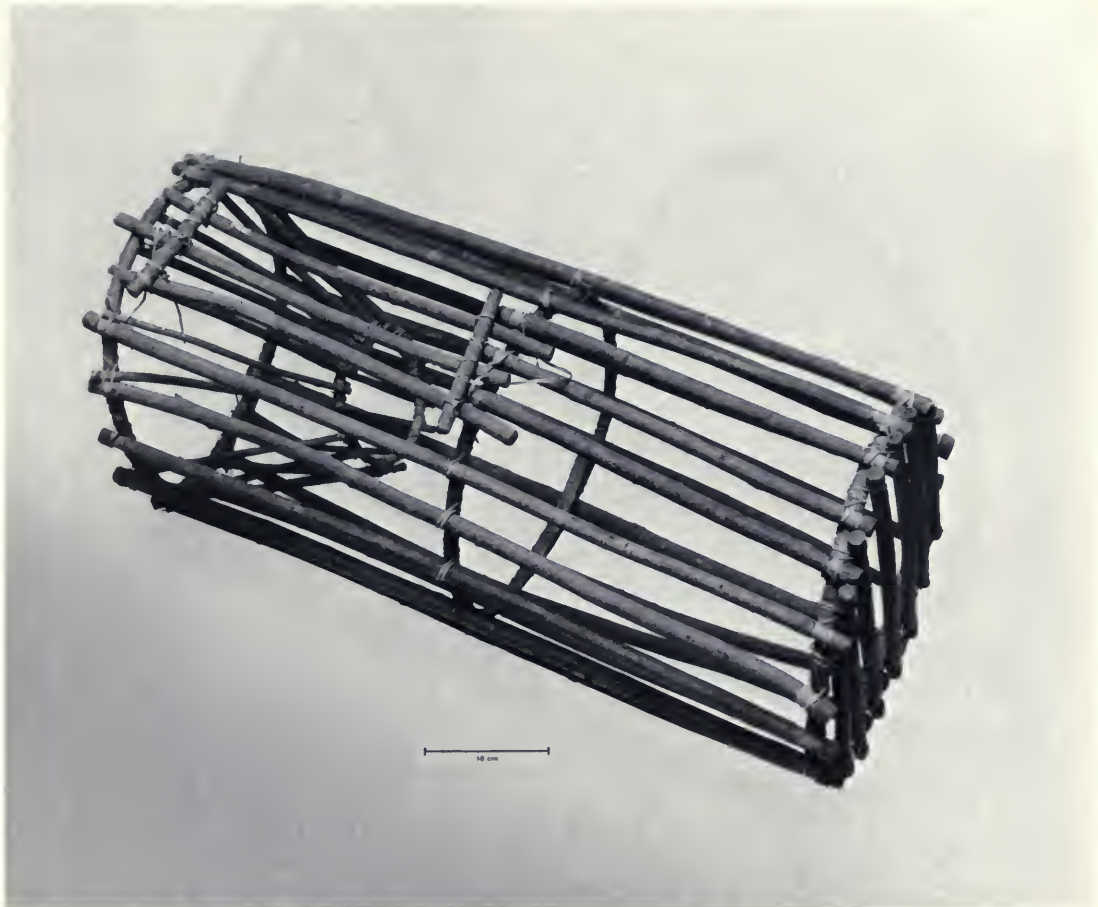


FIG. 11. Model fish trap (14983). (Neg.'no. 111574.)

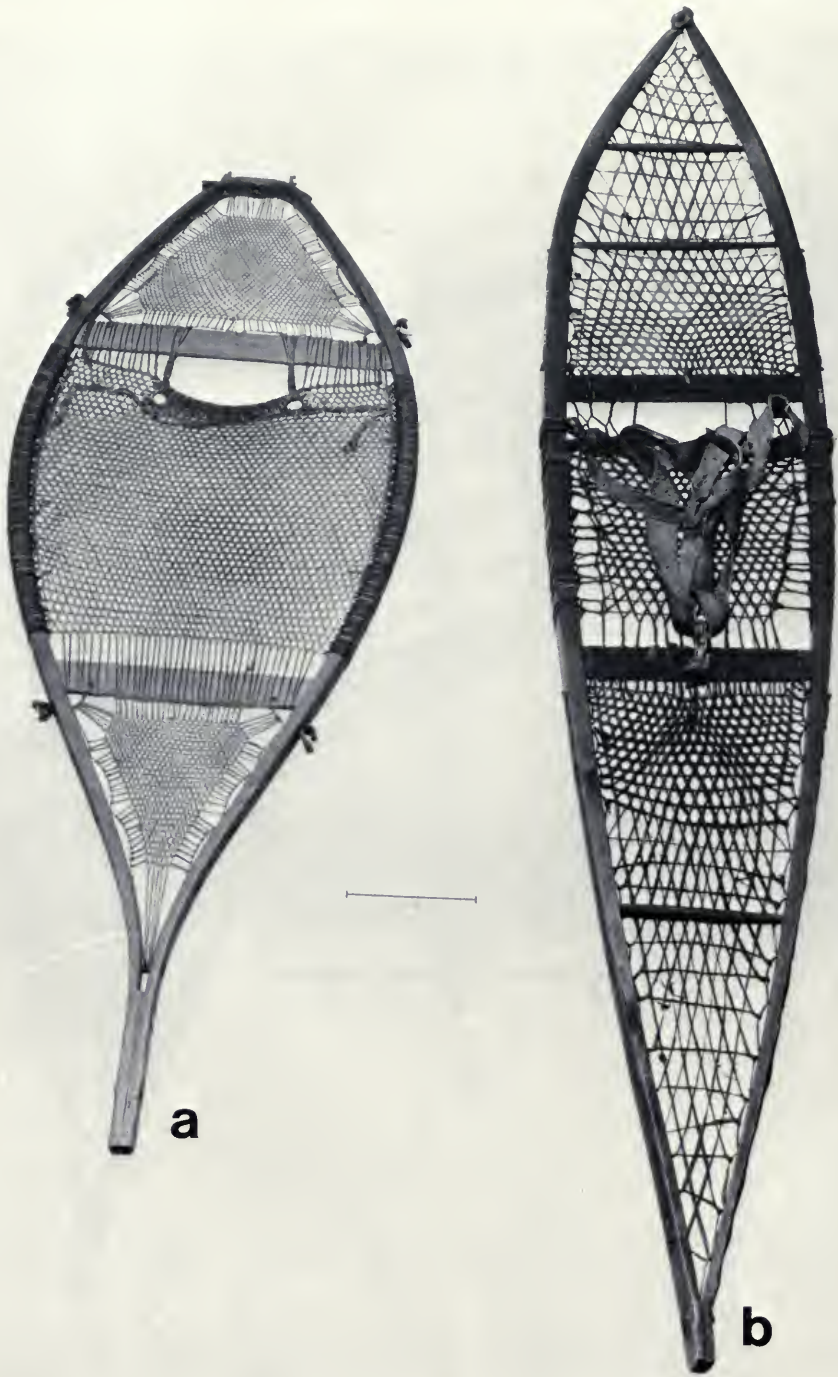


FIG. 12. a, woman's traveling snowshoes (14982); b, man's traveling snowshoes (15058). (Neg. no. 111573.)



FIG. 13. Woman's saddle (14981). (Neg. no. 111566.)

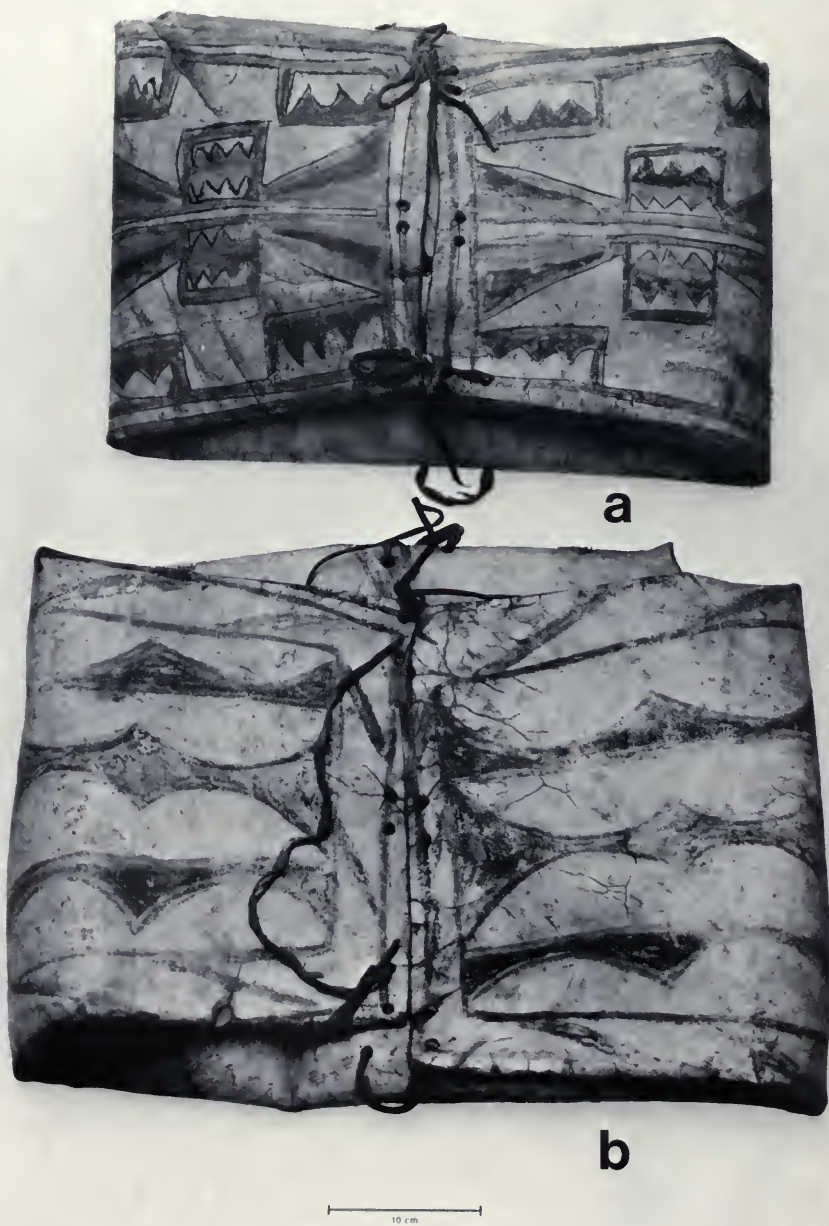


FIG. 14. a, parfleche (15090); b, parfleche (15097). (Neg. no. 111570.)





FIG. 15. Loading platform (14984). (Neg. no. 111567.)



FIG. 16. Dog travois (14993). (Neg. no. 111551.)



FIG. 17. Toboggan (15109) with wrapper (15103) and two dog harnesses (15108a,b). (Neg. no. 111546.)

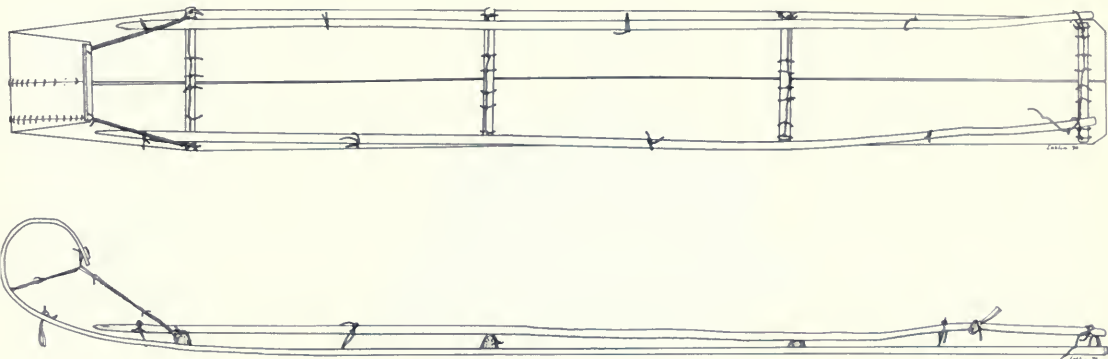


FIG. 18. Toboggan (15109) showing top and side views.

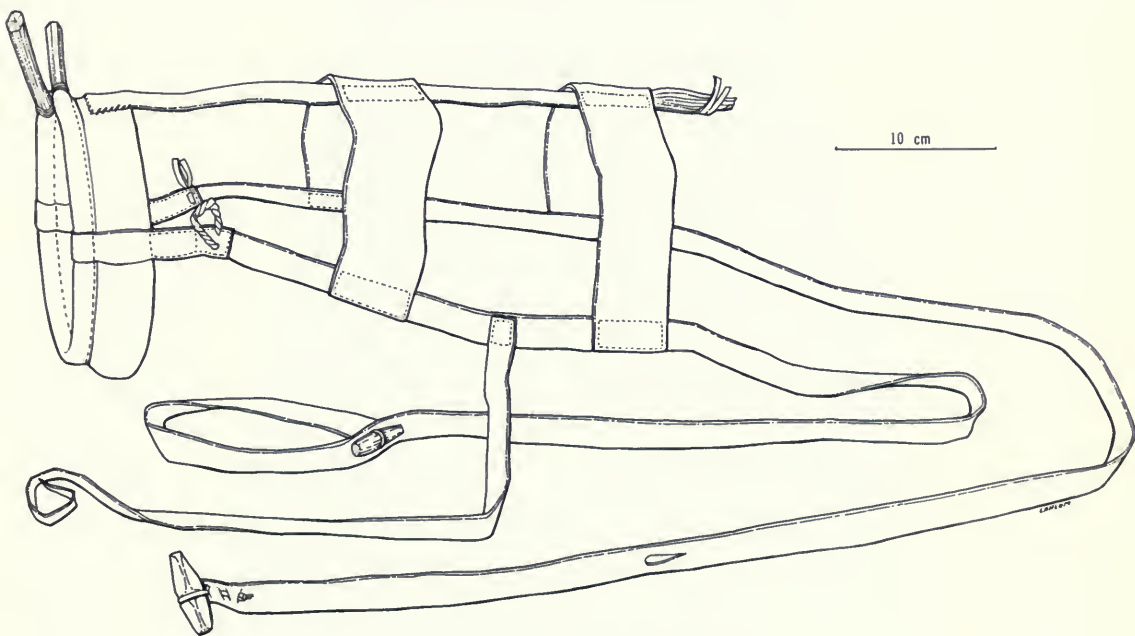


FIG. 19. Dog harness (15108a).



FIG. 20. Backrest (15085). (Neg. no. 111550.)



FIG. 21. Detail of hare skin blanket weaving. a, upper bar of wood frame; b, perforated strip of hide or canvas through which initial hare skin strand is threaded; c, first strand of robe (from Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 94, fig. 11).

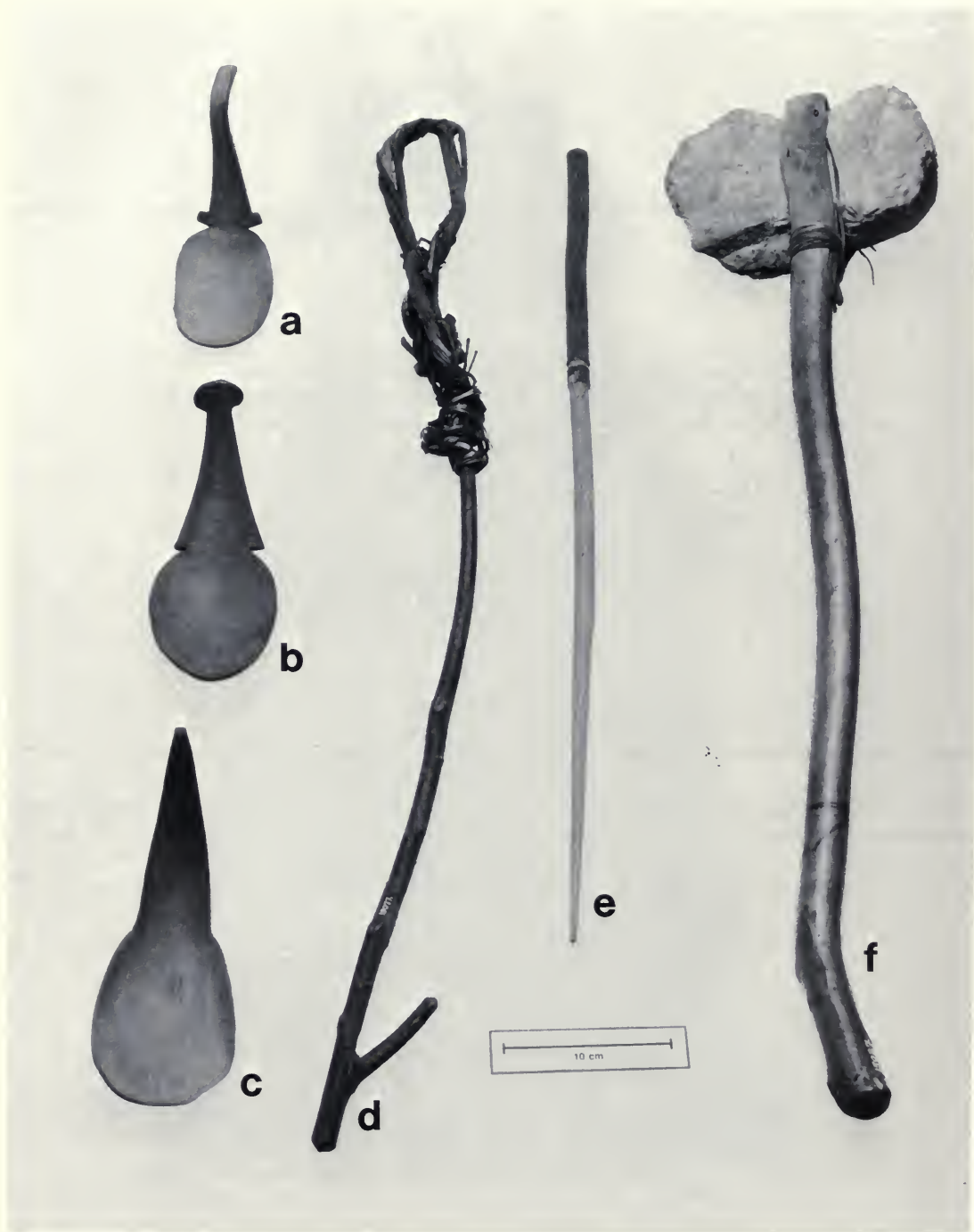


FIG. 22. a, spoon (15057); b, spoon (15026); c, spoon (15033); d, "hanging pothook" (15077); e, fire poker (15072); f, stone club (15027). (Neg. no. 111560.)



FIG. 23. a, fan (15032); b, man's moccasins (15030); c, bundle of sinew and bone bodkin (15071); d, provision bag (15025). (Neg. no. 111561.)



FIG. 24. Man's shirt, front (15074). (Neg. no. 111554.)





FIG. 25. Man's shirt, back (15074). (Neg. no. 111553.)



FIG. 26. Man's "medicine shirt" (15006). (Neg. no. 111552.)

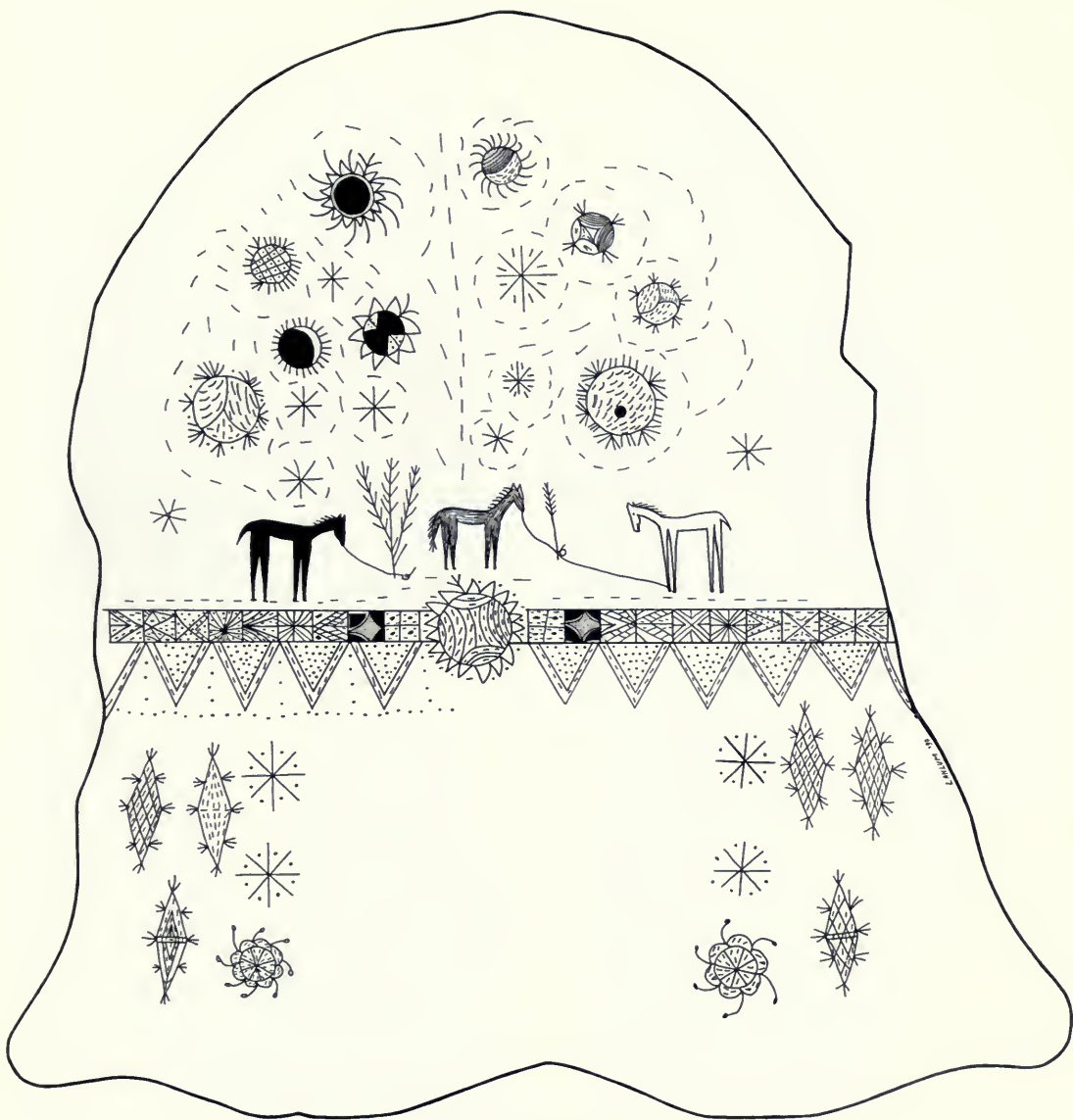


FIG. 27. Man's buffalo skin robe (15038).



FIG. 28. a, moccasins (15020); b, winter hat (15019). (Neg. no. 111568.)

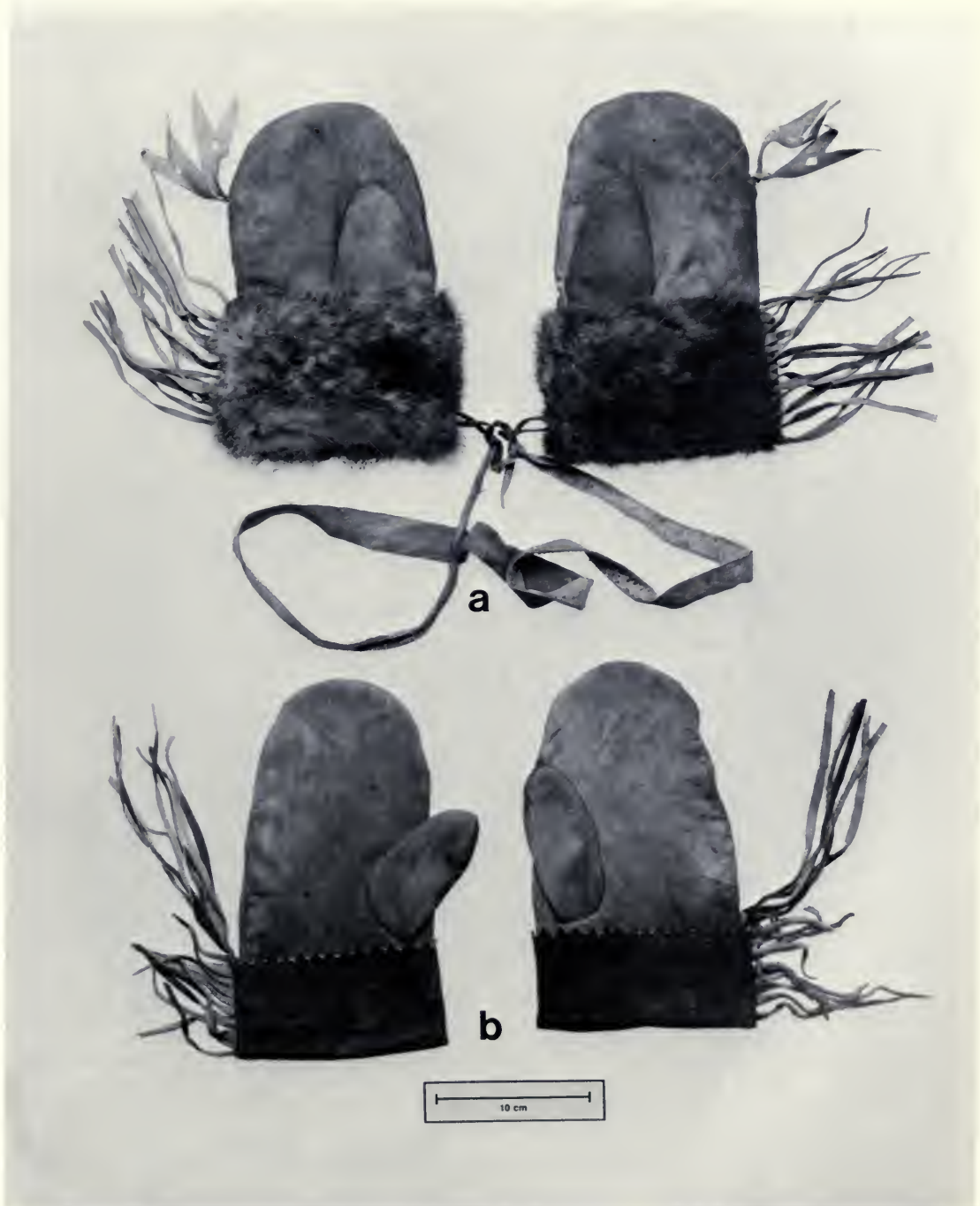


FIG. 29. a, woman's winter mittens (15012); b, man's summer mittens (15004). (Neg. no. 111562.)

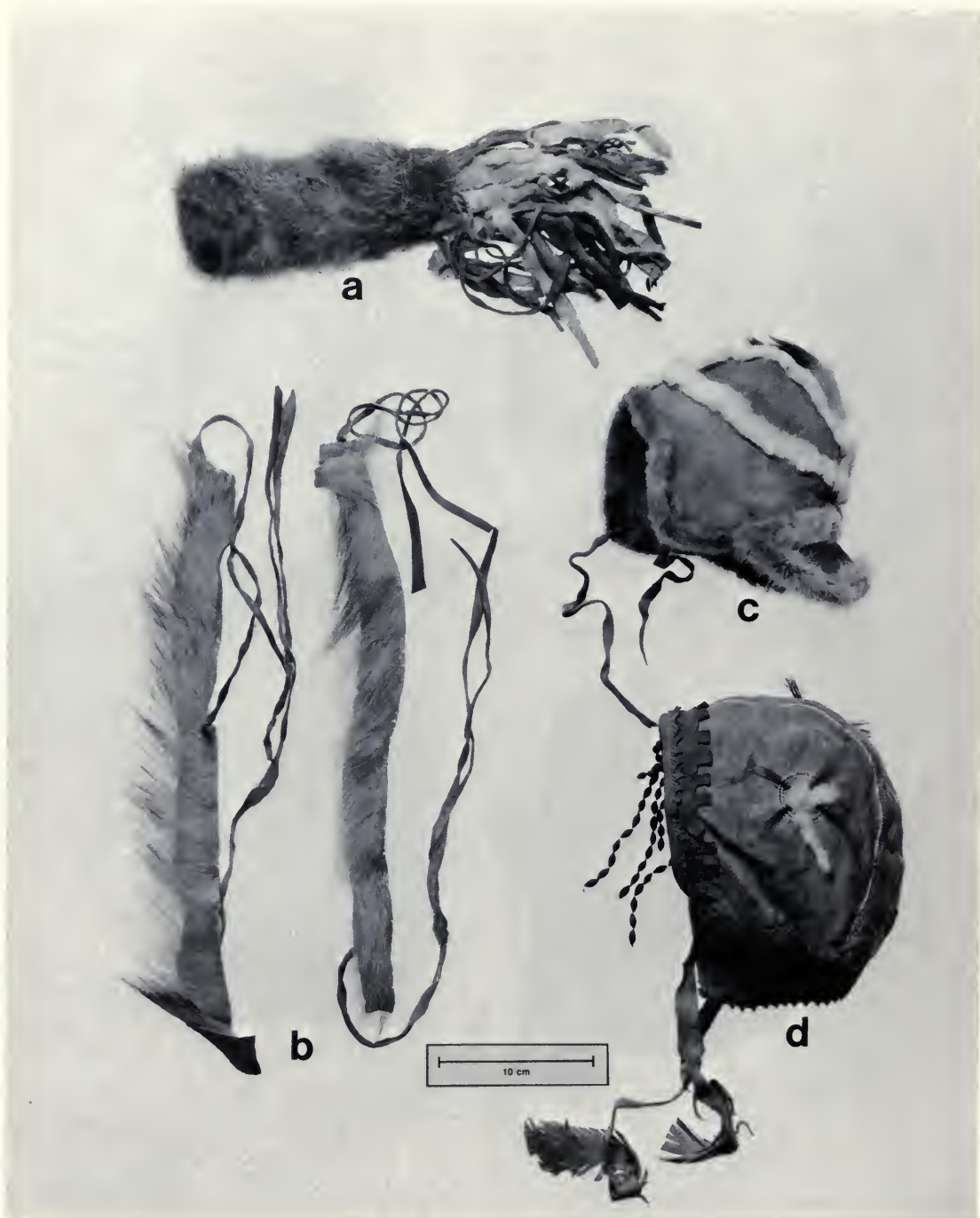


FIG. 30. a, armband (15015); b, garters (15075); c, child's hood (15014); d, child's hood (15007). (Neg. no. 111565.)

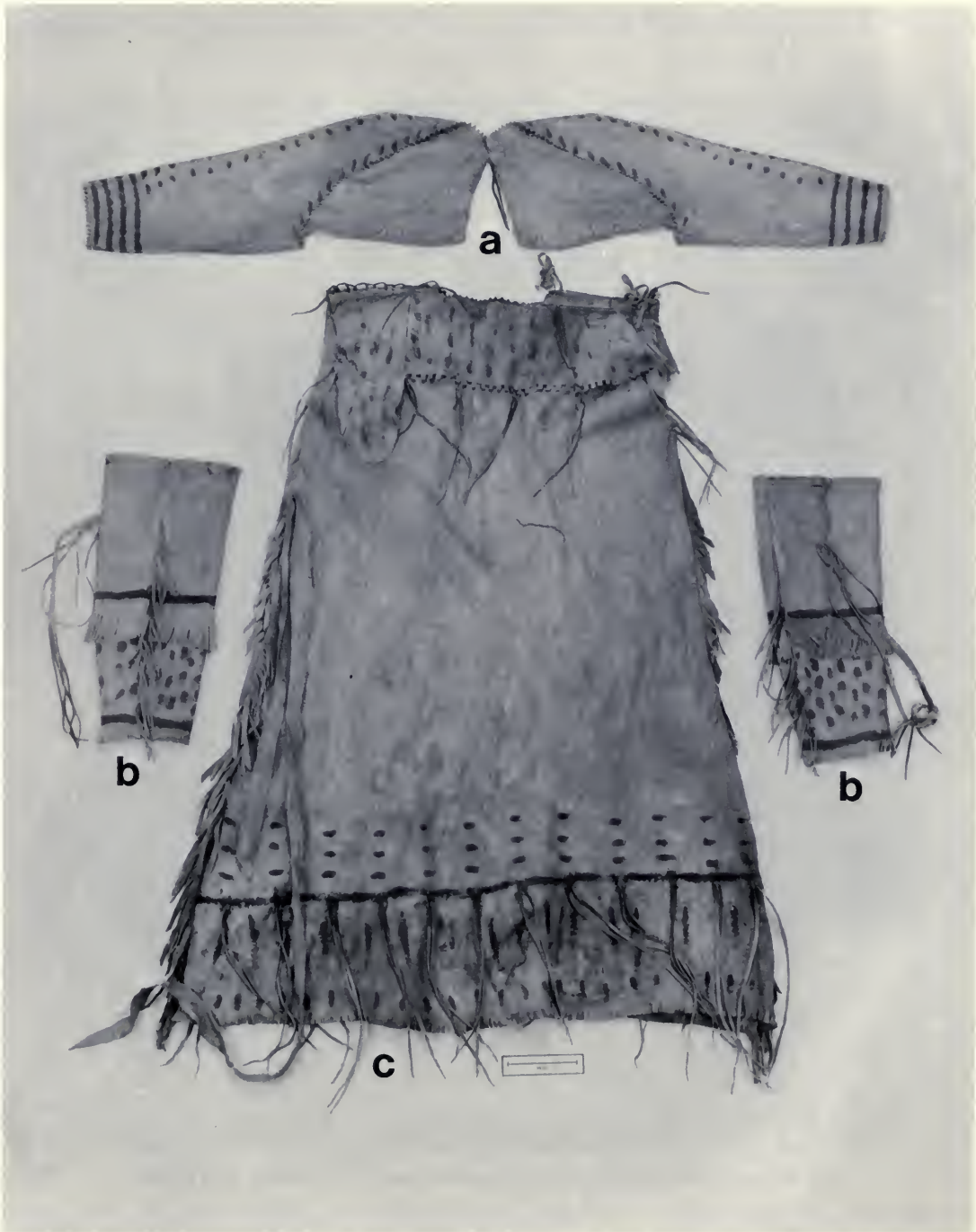


FIG. 31. a, woman's sleeves (15002); b, woman's leggings (14997); c, woman's dress (15005). (Neg. no. 111549.)

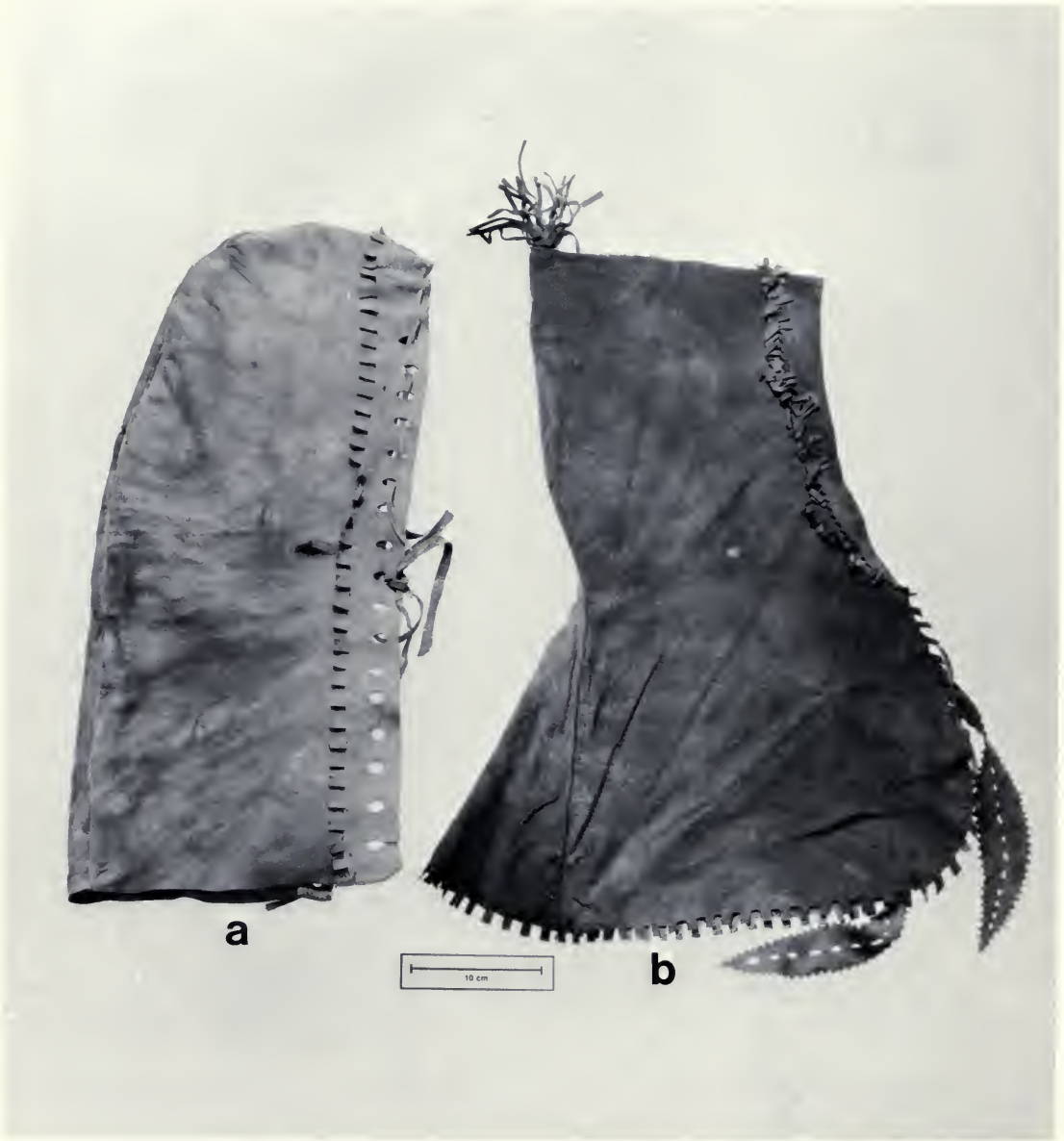


FIG. 32. a, woman's hood (15003); b, woman's hood (15010). (Neg. no. 111563.)



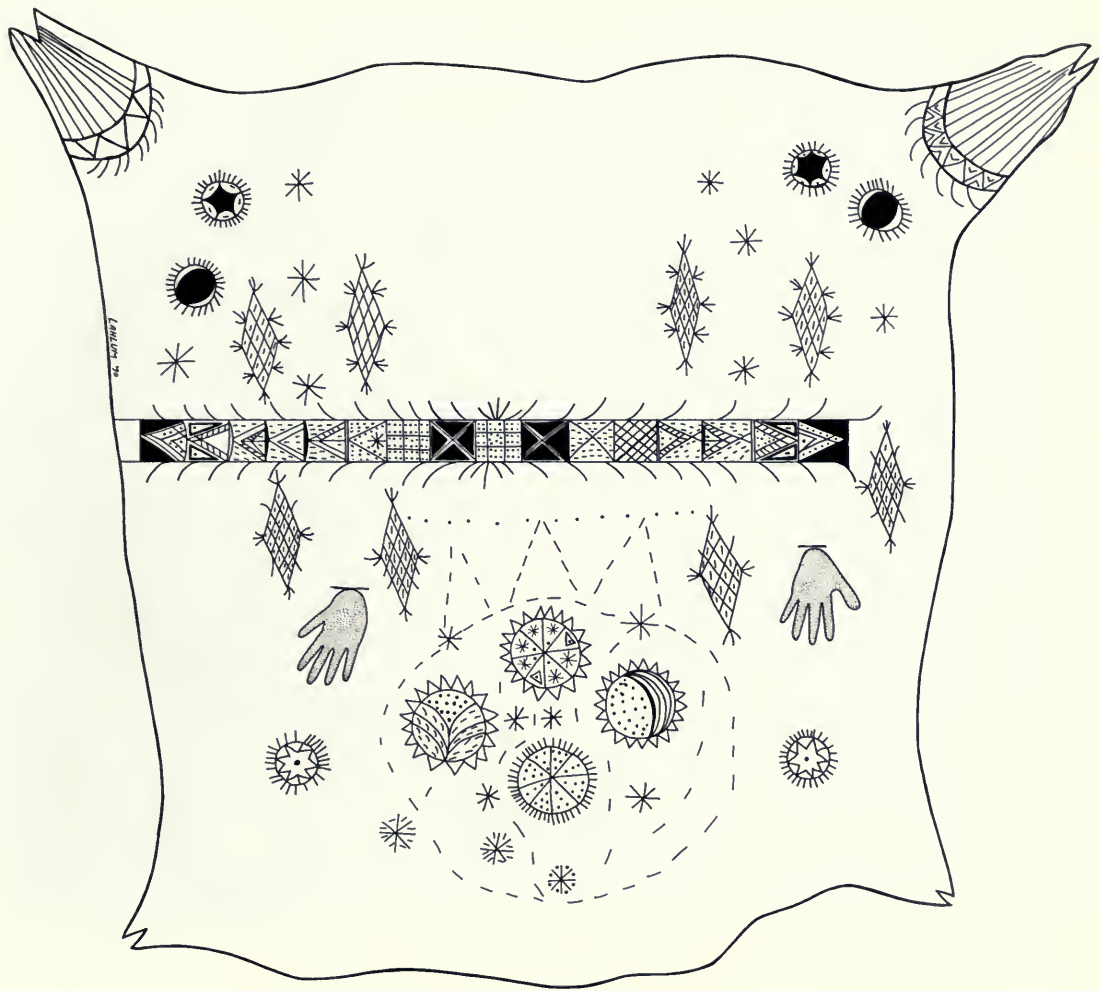


FIG. 33. Woman's buffalo skin robe (15052).

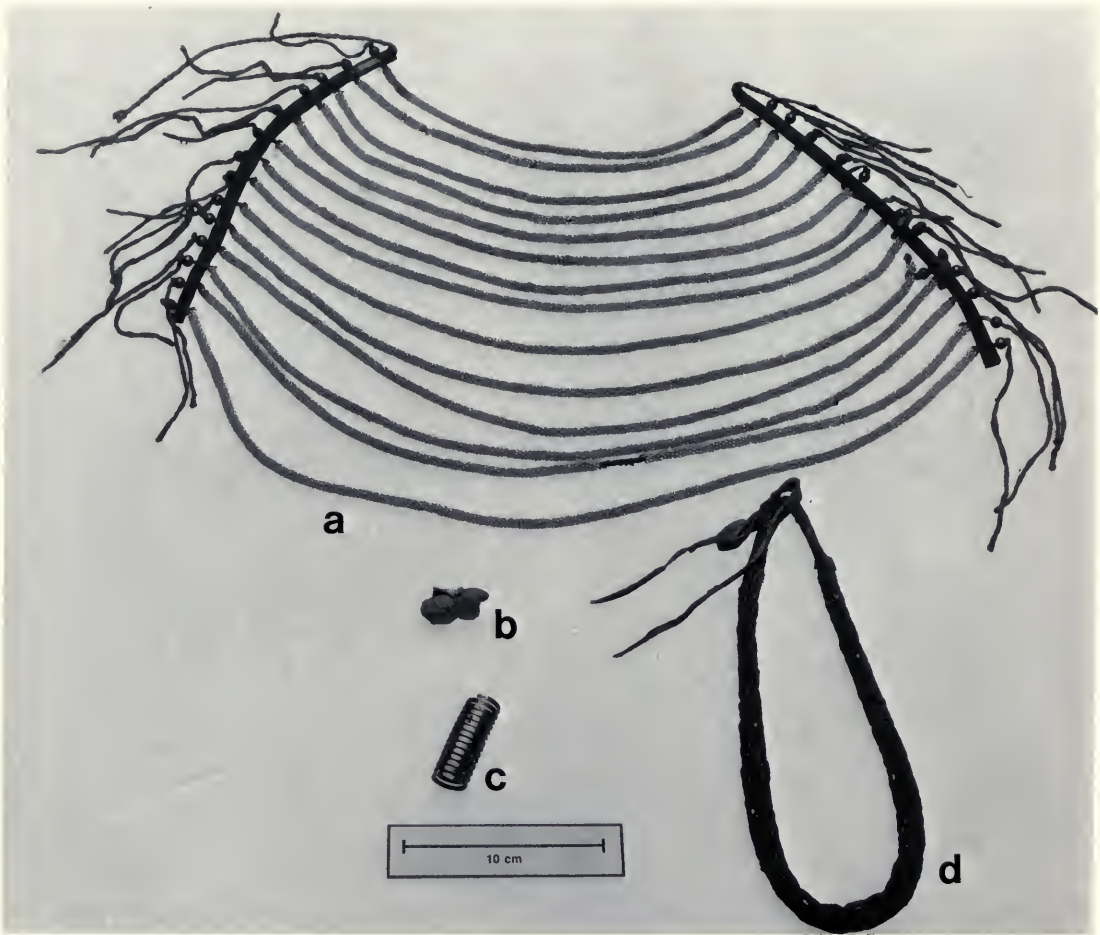


FIG. 34. **a**, breast ornament (15065); **b**, "scarifying flints" (15066); **c**, steel coil (15073); **d**, necklace (15064). (Neg. no. 111564.)



FIG. 35. a, medicine bag (15011); b, medicine bag (15016); c, medicine bag (15034). (Neg. no. 111556.)

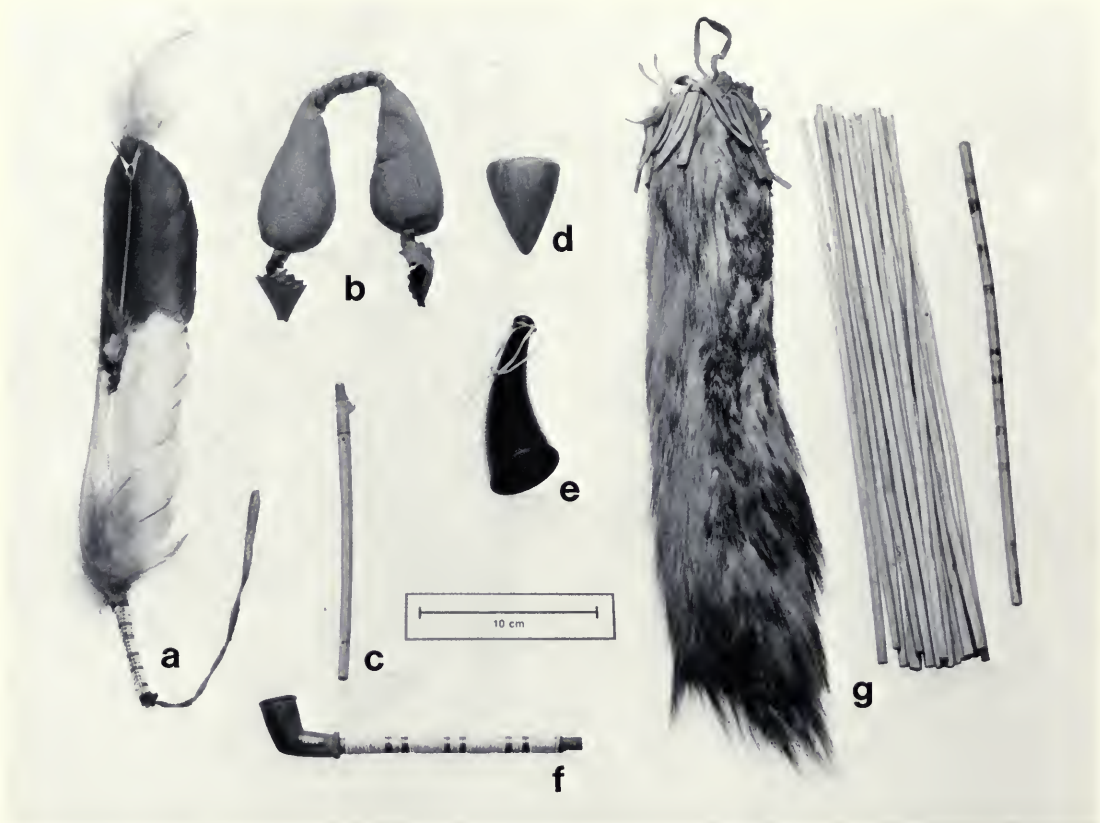


FIG. 36. a, "feather head ornament" (15035); b, double ball (15066); c, lancet (15069); d, top (15070); e, horn cup (15067); f, pipe (15080); g, stick game (15029). (Neg. no. 111559.)



FIG. 37. a, pipestem (15079); b, racket or lacrosse stick (15021); c, racket or lacrosse stick (15022). (Neg. no. 111555.)



FIG. 38. "War shirt," front (15008). (Neg. no. 111547.)



FIG. 39. "War shirt," back (15008). (Neg. no. 111548.)



FIG. 40. "War leggings" (15009). (Neg. no. 111558.)



FIG. 41. a, war club (15023); b, "war cap" (15024); c, drum (15051). (Neg. no. 111557.)



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