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## Anthropology

NEW SERIES, NO. 27

### Material Culture of the Chilcotin Athapaskans of West Central British Columbia: Collections in the Field Museum of Natural History

James W. VanStone

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**James W. VanStone**

*Curator, North American Archaeology and Ethnology  
Department of Anthropology  
Field Museum of Natural History  
Chicago, Illinois 60605-2496*

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# Material Culture of the Chilcotin Athapaskans of West Central British Columbia: Collections in the Field Museum of Natural History

James W. VanStone

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## Abstract

The collections of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, contain five small accessions of Chilcotin Indian ethnographic materials from west central British Columbia totaling 79 pieces. The artifacts in these accessions, treated as a unit, are described and illustrated. For comparative purposes, information is included from the few previous studies of Chilcotin material culture.

## I. Introduction

### The Chilcotin

The Chilcotin Indians of west central British Columbia, speakers of an Athapaskan language, occupy a large plateau and several river valleys west of the Fraser River. In the early 20th century, their main settlements were along the Chilcotin River and the upper reaches of the Homathko, Kliniklini, and Dean rivers, which lie between the Chilcotin watershed and the coast range (fig. 1). The Chilcotin River flows into the Fraser River about 200 miles above its mouth (Lane, 1953, p. 1, 1981, p. 402).

In a standard source, the Subarctic volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Helm, ed., 1981), the Chilcotin are included in the Subarctic Cordilleran area, a vast region that includes "the northern half of interior British Columbia, the western edge of northern Alberta, and of the District of Mackenzie of the Northwest Territories, all of Yukon Territory, and much of north-eastern interior Alaska" (McClellan & Denniston, 1981, p. 372). In the 19th century all the native groups of the Subarctic Cordillera from the Kutchin on the north to the Carrier and Chilcotin on the south spoke Athapaskan languages except the

Inland Tlingit and Tagish, former Athapaskan speakers who adopted Tlingit during that period.

Because the Chilcotin live at the extreme southwest fringe of the subarctic and have been strongly influenced by their Salish-speaking neighbors, they are sometimes classified as a Plateau people. However, in addition to linguistic affiliation, they share with other groups of the Cordillera a subsistence pattern that "combines big and small game hunting with fishing and some gathering into an annual round of high mobility" (McClellan & Denniston, 1981, p. 373). Like most of the tribes in the Subarctic Cordillera, the Chilcotin live exclusively in the Pacific drainage.

According to Father Adrien G. Morice (nd, pp. 38–39), the population of the Chilcotin in the early 1860s was about 1,500, just prior to a series of smallpox epidemics introduced from the coast. By the 1880s, when Morice lived among them, this number was reduced to about 450 (Morice, 1895, p. 16). James Teit (1909, p. 761) estimated a population of 550 in 1900, and this figure appears to have remained constant into the early 1950s when Robert Lane (1953, pp. 39–40) gave the same number.

Like other Athapaskans, the Chilcotin clung tenaciously to their language but derived much of their social and material life from neighboring

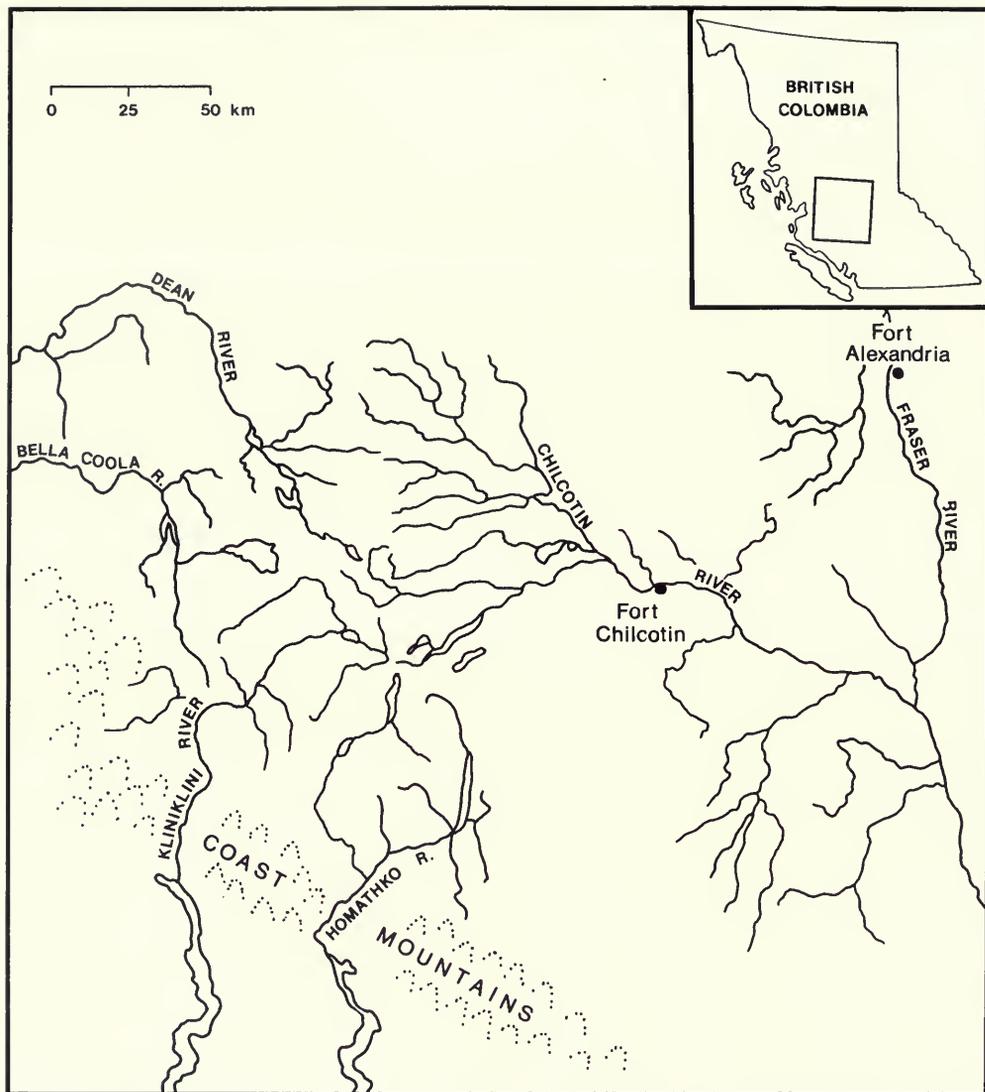


FIG. 1. Map of west central British Columbia.

peoples. Because of their position on the northern boundary of the northern part of the Plateau, the Chilcotin shared culture elements with Salish-speaking peoples who occupied the interior valleys east of the coast range. Although cut off from the coast by extensive mountains, the Chilcotin were able to communicate with the central northwest coast by means of valleys through the mountains and thus incorporate northwest coast elements into their culture as well. The contacts between the Chilcotin and their neighbors were by no means uniform in kind and intensity. This led to minor cultural and dialect differences among the various Chilcotin bands (Lane, 1953, pp. 4-6, 1981, pp.

407-408). As Lane has pointed out, the fact that the Chilcotin were surrounded by groups who were part of several different culture areas made them "very much of a border group" (Lane, 1953, pp. 3-4).

According to Teit (1909, p. 783), the Chilcotin traded chiefly with the Bella Coola, their major coastal trading partners, and the Shushwap. From the former they obtained dried salmon, olachen oil, dentalium and abalone shells, copper, goat wool blankets, cedar bark, cedar wood boxes, and dishes. In exchange they provided the Bella Coola with cakes of serviceberries and soapberries, snowshoes, dressed caribou and deer skins, goat skins,

and furs. As Lane (1953, p. 6) has pointed out, northwest coast influences which came to the Chilcotin from the Bella Coola came from people who were somewhat atypical of the central northwest coast because they had a riverine rather than a coastal culture.

From the Shushwap, who live to the east and south, the Chilcotin obtained dried salmon, salmon oil, red paint, deer and elk skins, and bark thread. In later times tobacco and horses were part of this trade. In return the Chilcotin provided the Shushwap with dentalium shells from the coast, goat wool blankets, woven hare and lynx skin blankets, dressed caribou skins, and raw marmot skins (Teit, 1909, p. 783).

Lane (1953, p. 260) believed that the Chilcotin were very selective in the materials they received from their interior and coastal neighbors. Primarily they were interested in obtaining items that could be maintained in a nomadic context. In spite of these extensive contacts with non-Athapaskan peoples, Lane believed that the strongest ties of Chilcotin culture were with other Athapaskans to the north and northwest, notably the Carrier, Sekani, Slave, and Kaska. Overlying this Athapaskan culture is a Plateau aspect derived primarily from the Shushwap and coastal features from the Bella Coola (Lane, 1953, pp. 262, 270–271).

Lane has noted that Chilcotin material culture was not elaborate. He described the basic equipment required by a family as follows:

for fishing—dip net, gill net, gorges, gaffs, bone and horn trident fish spears and harpoon points; for hunting—bow, arrows, quiver, stone-pointed spear, bone trigger pieces for marmot traps; for gathering—digging stick, bark stripper, sap scraper; for food preparation—bone knife, bark and woven baskets and trays, horn spoons, grinding slab, wooden pestle; for fire making—fire drill, hearth, tinder, and carrying case; tools—horn chisel, straight adze, stone scraper, drill point, stone knife, bone awls and needles; weapons—stone-headed club; transportation—pack straps, skin sacks, snowshoes; for personal use—bone tweezers and simple carved wooden combs; household furnishings—grass and reed mats, woven wool and fur blankets, snow shovel; miscellaneous—single-headed skin drum, flute, lahal (bone game) bones and beaver-tooth dice, black and red paint, buckskin-covered frame cradle. (Lane, 1981, pp. 402–403)

Lane (1953, p. 51) believed that this list of Chilcotin culture elements constituted the basic equipment that a family would carry while traveling and required for everyday living.

To take advantage of all the subsistence opportunities provided by their habitat, it was necessary for the Chilcotin to be highly mobile. In winter

people moved into camps that were near lakes where ice fishing was the main occupation after most hunting stopped in early December. In mid-winter fishing came to an end because of the thickness of the ice, and people had to live on stored food and supplementary small game. Important small game animals were marmots, muskrats, hares, and porcupines. By early March most people had left camp to travel in search of game. The larger animals hunted were elk, deer, caribou, and black bears. In the 20th century elk were replaced by moose. In April weirs and basketry traps were constructed and fishing began in streams where lake fish spawned. Trout, whitefish, suckers, and salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) were the most important species. During the spring muskrats were trapped and plant foods were an important dietary supplement.

May and June witnessed an increase in hunting while fishing continued. The Chilcotin experienced both early and late salmon runs so they could hunt in the mountains during July. Mountain goats and sheep were hunted during this period. Men trapped marmots, and women gathered roots for food and for the manufacture of coiled baskets.

From mid- to late July, when the sockeye salmon run took place, people moved back to the Chilcotin River valley, gathering berries as they traveled. By the time the salmon arrived, most people were gathered at fishing sites along the river and its tributaries. The Chilcotin could not always depend on regular salmon runs in the upper Fraser River. As a result, they sometimes had to trade with Shushwap and Bella Coola for winter supplies of salmon.

In September, at the conclusion of the salmon runs, families dispersed in different directions. Some moved to the southern mountains to trap marmots, some to the north to hunt caribou, and others to the lakes to fish. By November most families had gathered at the lakes as another winter approached (Lane, 1981, pp. 405–406; McClellan & Denniston, 1981, pp. 375–376).

## European Contact

The Chilcotin experienced their first direct contact with Europeans about 1815, and in 1821 Fort Alexandria, a trading post, was established in Carrier territory on the Fraser River; in the same year Fort Chilcotin was built on the middle Chilcotin River. The Cariboo gold rush began in 1857, and by the following year prospectors were in Chilcotin

territory. The Great Cariboo Wagon Road linked to the head of navigation of the Fraser River was completed in 1865 and provided an easier route to the Chilcotin country than the steep trails from Bella Coola. By this time, as previously noted, the Chilcotin had been hard hit by smallpox and influenza.

The 1870s and 1880s were periods of radical change for the Chilcotin. Missionaries had visited the Indians in the 1840s, and by the 1880s most were at least nominal Christians. The Roman Catholic priests who worked among the Chilcotin were largely responsible for the development of villages, which later became the focus of government-mandated reserves.

Around 1880 ranches began to be established in the Chilcotin River valley, a development that had considerable impact on the Indians. Trapping had never been of great importance to the Chilcotin. They took fur-bearing animals occasionally, but only a few individuals had trap lines for commercial purposes. From the beginning of World War II, the Indians, using their reserves as home bases, roamed through their territory in wagons, living in tents and hunting and fishing much as they had in the past. Some occasionally worked as cowboys, and many families had small herds of cattle. The small amount of cash that was needed could be obtained through the sale of cattle and furs and through wages as ranch hands (Lane, 1981, pp. 411–412; McClellan, 1981b, p. 394).

Although the Chilcotin were able to retain their mobile life and at least modified traditional subsistence patterns well into the 20th century, most of their traditional material culture likely disappeared relatively early in the contact period. Livingston Farrand, who visited the Chilcotin country in 1898 not long before the collections described in this study were obtained, believed that the Indians' own "customs and ideas" had virtually disappeared except among a few families that spent most of their time in the mountains (Farrand, 1899, p. 645).

### Previous Research

The ethnographic literature on the Chilcotin is not extensive. Father Adrien G. Morice, an Oblate missionary, lived among the Chilcotin from 1882 to 1885 and the neighboring Carrier from 1885 to 1906. Much of his research was published long after he left the field. Of particular importance for this study are his writings (Morice, 1895, nd) that

relate to subsistence and material culture, although not always specifically to the Chilcotin.

As a result of Franz Boas's interest in the relationship between coastal tribes and those of the Cordillera, he, James Teit, and Livingston Farrand, a psychologist, visited the westernmost Chilcotin villages in 1898. Boas was interested in determining the direction of diffusion of cultural elements, especially folklore. He reported briefly on the physical anthropology of the Chilcotin and Carrier (Boas, 1899, tables 8–11), while Farrand (1899, 1900, 1910) published on culture and folklore. Teit returned to the Chilcotin for two weeks in the summer of 1900 while doing research among the neighboring Shushwap to make a collection of baskets and obtain explanations of basketry designs. His report (Teit, 1909), although devoted primarily to baskets, is the best published account of traditional Chilcotin culture in general (McClellan, 1981a, p. 39).

More recently, Vern F. Ray visited the Chilcotin briefly in 1937 and added information on their culture to his Plateau culture element distribution study (Ray, 1942). From 1948 to 1951 Robert B. Lane conducted fieldwork among the Chilcotin, which formed the basis of his doctoral dissertation (Lane, 1953) and a more recent survey article (Lane, 1981). Lane was particularly interested in Chilcotin relations with their neighbors.

## II. The Collection

The items of Chilcotin material culture described in this study are derived from five collections received by the Field Museum of Natural History between 1904 and 1920.

The earliest is an assemblage of 12 coiled baskets and two examples of basket-making materials, one of which is missing, received by the museum on August 4, 1904, as part of a large collection of northwest coast material (accession 871, nos. 87909–87922). These baskets, for which the museum paid \$54, were collected in 1903–1904 by C. F. Newcombe, a major supplier of northwest coast material culture to the museum in the early years of the 20th century.

A larger and more comprehensive Chilcotin collection was received by the museum on March 26, 1907 (accession 1008, nos. 18005–18040). It was collected the previous year by E. B. Carew-Gibson and obtained for the museum at a cost of \$45 through the efforts of C. F. Newcombe. Unfortu-

nately, it has not been possible to further identify Mr. Carew-Gibson or to determine what he was doing in the country of the Chilcotin. George Dorsey, the Field Museum's curator of anthropology at the time, received a list of the artifacts from Newcombe. In recommending purchase, sight unseen, to the museum's director in a memo dated October 31, 1906, Dorsey noted that "this collection is far from ideal, but it is probably all that ever will be offered to us, as the Chilcotin . . . have long ceased to be hunters and trappers and have abandoned their former life." In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, the Carew-Gibson Chilcotin collection is assigned 36 numbers representing 51 objects. At the time this study was begun, three objects, represented by two catalog numbers, could not be located in storage or on exhibition.

On September 19, 1908, the museum received two Chilcotin baskets as a gift from Cyrus H. McCormick (accession 1055, nos. 17488-17489). He purchased them from a dealer in Victoria, British Columbia, for \$12 each.

A single pair of moccasins was received on September 26, 1910, as a gift from Homer E. Sargent (accession 1112, no. 111894). According to the accession records, they were collected by James A. Teit, probably during the summer of 1900 when he was studying and collecting baskets among the Chilcotin.

The final collection described in this study consists of 13 baskets, also received as a gift from Homer E. Sargent (accession 1347, nos. 102930-102931, 103046-103056). They were received by the museum on November 23, 1920, and, according to the accession records, were purchased by Sargent from dealers in Seattle and Vancouver. It is believed likely that most, if not all, of them date from the late 19th or early 20th century.

In the following pages the objects in the five collections are described as a unit. Although exact proveniences and other precise collection data are lacking, this procedure has seemed reasonable since all the objects appear to have been collected at about the same time. A few of them, especially the stone tools, were obviously made and used at a much earlier date. An appendix contains a listing of the objects described with identifying catalog numbers.

## Subsistence

The collection contains two *arrows*, described in the catalog as "new," perhaps indicating they

were made for the collector. Both have shafts made of serviceberry (*Amelanchier*) wood, circular in cross section with the proximal ends slightly flared on opposite sides; the notches are cut parallel to the flared surfaces. The arrows are fletched with feathers split in half. The barbs have been removed from each end of the vane, exposing parts of the shaft or spine. Each arrow shaft is feathered with two vanes attached parallel to the long axis of the shaft and not spiraled. On one arrow, fletched with northern raven (*Corvus corax*) or northwestern crow (*Corvus caurinus*) feathers, the spines at the ends of the exposed vanes are lashed to the shaft with sinew (fig. 2f). On the other, fletched with hawk owl (*Survia ulula*) feathers, the spines are lashed only at the distal ends (fig. 2e). One arrow has a corner-notched point of chipped black basalt. The tang is inserted into the split distal end of the shaft and lashed with sinew (fig. 2f). The other arrow has a detachable barbed bone point flattened at the proximal end for insertion into a slit in the arrow shaft. A sinew line is attached to the point and the shaft (fig. 2e). Arrows with detachable antler tips are described by Teit (1909, p. 782) as being used for rabbits. Arrows with stone points are described and illustrated by Morice (1895, pp. 53-56, figs. 23-26).

A *model of a beaver harpoon* was probably also made for the collector. It consists of a socketpiece of split halves of wood lashed together with twine and with a raised lip at each end. A barbed antler point with a broad, wedge-shaped tang is inserted into the distal end of the socketpiece. A strip of tanned caribou or moose hide is tied to the point just above the tang. The other end of this strip would presumably have been held by the hunter. On a complete harpoon a long wood shaft would have extended from the proximal end of the socketpiece (fig. 2b). Morice (1895, pp. 67-68, figs. 47-48) described similar harpoons that were used when a hunter encountered a beaver free of any trap or net. He noted that at the time of his work among the Indians of interior British Columbia harpoon points were made from steel files or pieces of iron rather than antler.

A "*bone implement*" is described in the catalog as "probably used with beaver nets." It is flat and rectangular with a deep notch at each end. Three holes have been drilled through the implement, a small one in the center and a larger one on either side (fig. 2c). This may be a "*mas*" described by Morice (1895, p. 67, fig. 46) as a "bone device indispensable to the efficiency of the beaver net." His description of its function, however, is not

clear. It was apparently secured to the end of the net that was not under the ice and was useful in retrieving the net once a beaver was caught.

The collection contains a salmon *fish spear* minus the shaft. It is made of wood and has a long split tang for attachment to the shaft. It is also split at the distal end for insertion of the bone center prong. There are two slightly curved side prongs of wood with bone barbs. All lashing is with twine and sinew (fig. 2a). Morice (1895, p. 71, fig. 56) described and illustrated a similar fish spear used by the Carrier, but he noted that it was quite different from the type used by the Chilcotin, who preferred an implement consisting of a pair of darts, that, upon striking the fish, detached from the shaft (Morice, 1895, fig. 57). Morice (1895, p. 72) also described Chilcotin and Carrier harpoons that were hafted to shafts sometimes as much as 12 or 15 feet long so that the weapons could be used from the tops of rocks or steep riverbanks.

According to Teit (1909, p. 763), the most common lithic materials used by the Chilcotin for knives, spear points, projectile points, and adzes were basalt and obsidian. The collection contains 13 *projectile and spear points* of chipped black basalt, many if not most of which were probably recovered from abandoned settlements or campsites. The archaeology of north central interior British Columbia is not well known, and because the chipped implements described here lack any supporting provenience information, very little can be said about them except that none can be specifically identified with the historic Chilcotin.

There are nine leaf-shaped points (fig. 2g-i), the largest of which were probably used with spears. According to Helmer (1977), leaf-shaped points are diagnostic of an early prehistoric period (3000 B.C.–A.D. 1). One of these points (fig. 2g) is described in the catalog as having been used as a fish knife. A late prehistoric period (A.D. 1300–1700) in the Chilcotin area is characterized by many varieties of side- and corner-notched projectile points, and there are four of these in the collection (fig. 2j-l). Helmer (1977) noted that in the historic period (A.D. 1700–1860) there were many varieties of small side- and corner-notched projectile points, possibly similar to those illustrated by Morice (1895, figs. 23–25). The point on the complete arrow previously described (fig. 2f) would also appear to fit into that category. The collection also contains a large *biface* (fig. 2d) that is described in the catalog as a fish knife.

Some of these basalt implements, like the two described as fish knives, may have been used by

the Indians in ways not intended by their prehistoric or early historic manufacturers. The projectile and spear points described by Morice (1895, pp. 53–55, 61–62, figs. 23–25, 37–39) probably also represent surface finds or possibly family heirlooms.

## Tools

A broken *axe or adze blade* of serpentine is rectangular in cross section and carefully ground on all surfaces; the working edge is V-shaped (fig. 3j). Morice (1895, pp. 52–53, fig. 22) illustrated a similar blade of the same material. He believed it to have been imported from the coast because it was “far too skillfully finished” to have been of Athapaskan manufacture.

The collection contains four *skin scrapers*, two of basalt and two of jasper. All have broad tangs and widen at the distal ends (fig. 3i, m–n); the tang of one of these is wrapped with a strip of hare skin attached with rawhide (fig. 3n). This type of scraper is illustrated by Morice (1895, p. 51, fig. 20). Like the previously described projectile points, these scrapers were probably not in use at the time the collection was made.

A water-worn metamorphic pebble is described in the catalog as a “*polishing stone*” and a smaller one of the same material as a “*whetstone*.” Neither pebble, however, shows signs of use.

Two cut sections of antler have been worked to a V-shaped edge at one end for use as *wedges* (fig. 3d). Neither appear to have been used and may have been made for the collector. According to Morice (1895, pp. 47–48), the neighboring Carrier made wedges of antler, hard wood, or stone.

A basalt flake has been retouched along one edge and is described in the catalog as an “*arrow scraper*” (fig. 3g). Presumably it was used to shape and smooth arrow shafts.

A length of antler, approximately square in cross section and worked to a curved point at one end, was used as a *bark peeler* (fig. 3a). Similar peelers are described and illustrated for the Shushwap by Teit (1909, pp. 315–316, fig. 235a–b).

According to Morice (1895, p. 76) and Teit (1909, p. 781), the cambium layer of the black pine was considered a delicacy by the Chilcotin and their neighbors. It was removed with an antler *sap scraper*, of which there is a single example in the collection. This scraper has a single concave working edge. The handle is notched along the sides and ornamented on the outer surface with a series of drilled circle dots arranged along a series

of incised lines (fig. 3f). A sap scraper similar to this one is illustrated by Morice (1895, p. 77, fig. 64). Double-ended sap scrapers are illustrated by Teit (1909, p. 780, fig. 275).

A large *awl* is made from a caribou metacarpal split and sharpened to a point at one end (fig. 3b). Similar awls are illustrated by Morice (1895, p. 69, figs. 51–52), who noted that they were used in canoe-making and sewing bark vessels but had largely been replaced by metal awls.

A slightly curved bone *needle* is oval in cross section and has a rectangular line hole at one end (fig. 3e). Its size suggests use in the manufacture of nets.

The collection contains a pair of *two-stick fire drills*. This widely distributed type of fire-making apparatus consists of a slender wood rod, willow in this case, which serves as the drill; it is narrower and rounded at the distal end. The somewhat shorter hearth consists of a roughly worked willow branch with a depression at one end to receive the drill and a narrow fire slot. Fire is made by rotating the drill in the depression on the hearth (Hough, 1928, p. 56). It is not clear whether fire has been made with either set (fig. 4c). This simple two-stick apparatus was also in use by the northwest coast neighbors of the Chilcotin (Hough, 1928, pp. 9–12).

One of these fire drills is part of a complete *fire-making set*, which includes a bag of ground squirrel skin with a buckskin fringe and carrying strap. It originally contained dry grass and a bundle of cedar wood shavings for use as tinder. This bag is larger and more elaborate than one used for the same purpose illustrated by Morice (1895, p. 148, fig. 137). Attached to the carrying strap of the squirrel skin bag is a small buckskin pouch containing a scraper of chipped black basalt used to make finer tinder from the wood shavings (fig. 4b).

## Miscellaneous

The collection contains two *combs*, the first of which consists of five strips of spruce wood pointed at one end and lashed together in the center with a piece of tanned deerskin and sinew. There is sinew lashing at the proximal end, and the teeth at the distal end are reinforced with sinew wrapping (fig. 31). This comb somewhat resembles an implement of the Carrier that, according to Morice (1895, p. 117, fig. 107), was not a toilet article but was used during ritual observances.

The second comb is cut from a single piece of spruce wood, and the teeth are reinforced with

sinew wrapping at the point where they join the handle. It has a more pronounced handle than the comb illustrated by Teit (1909, p. 778, fig. 274). Attached to this comb with strands of twisted sinew is a bone *head scratcher*. It widens at the proximal end, which is decorated with incised lines (fig. 3k). Morice (1895, p. 82, fig. 71) described a double-pronged “comb” that “served merely to scratch one’s head with, as immediate contact between the fingers and the head was then reputed productive of fatal diseases.”

A single horn *spoon* has a shovel-shaped, ovoid bowl and a sharply upturned handle (fig. 3c). Both Morice (1895, pp. 75–76, figs. 62–63) and Teit (1909, p. 777, fig. 273) noted that wood and horn spoons were made by the Chilcotin, the horn being that of the mountain sheep.

A *pipe bowl* of steatite appears to be broken at the proximal end (fig. 3h). Morice (1895, p. 38, fig. 2) described and illustrated a Chilcotin pipe of the same material with a wood stem connected to the base of the bowl with a double strand of black beads. He further noted that the stems of such pipes were usually lengthened by the insertion of a perforated brass cartridge case between the bowl and the stem.

According to Lane (1981, p. 410), games were played, always accompanied by gambling, whenever people gathered together for feasts. The collection contains a single beaver tooth, which is identified in the catalog as a *die*. It is undecorated. Morice (1895, pp. 78–79) described a variation of the widely distributed hand game that was played with bone pieces by the Chilcotin and their neighbors. Teit (1909, p. 785) noted that among the games played at the time of his fieldwork was a “beaver tooth dice game.” Lane (1981, p. 403) also mentioned such a game.

A highly polished rod 169 cm in length that thickens at the proximal end was used in the *snow snake game* (fig. 5). The purpose of this game was to hurl the stick along snow or ice in a competition to determine whose goes the farthest. The high polish on the rod was necessary to achieve the greatest distance as the device slid along the snow or ice. Morice (1895, p. 112, fig. 99; see also Culin, 1907, p. 409, fig. 529) described this game as it was played by the Carrier.

A *bag* is made from a single rectangular piece of tough, waterproof rawhide and laced up the sides with strips of tanned deerskin. There are faint remains of painted designs on this bag and narrow strips of muskrat fur are strung on deerskin lines fastened to the lacings. The upper edge of the bag

is folded over and there is a rawhide tie. The shoulder strap is two pieces of tanned deerskin (fig. 4a).

The collection contains a single pair of *moccasins* of soft caribou or deerskin. The bottom has a T-shaped heel seam and a T-shaped toe seam; there is a separate tongue notched across the top. The upper piece is notched around the edges, and long wraparound ties are attached in front on either side of the tongue. This pattern conforms to Hatt's series VIII, a style that is common among Athapaskan groups (Hatt, 1916, pp. 167–168). The front half of the tongue piece, which forms the instep, is decorated with embroidered floral designs in red, purple, and green thread (fig. 6a). Moccasins with a T-shaped toe seam and a separate tongue piece are described for the Chilcotin by Teit (1909, p. 777). According to Morice (nd, p. 94), when the Chilcotin acquired horses they sometimes inserted pieces of hard wood into the heel of their moccasins to serve as spurs.

A *cap* of dressed deerskin consists of seven triangular pieces sewn together with the apexes at the top. A narrow strip of skin is sewn into each seam, and separate strips are sewn together to form a border around the lower edge of the cap. Sewing throughout is with black thread. The head of a hawk owl has been sewn on the front of this cap, and on either side of this head a hawk owl's foot is sewn into a seam. Three hawk feathers with short deerskin strips are sewn at the top of the hat. A deerskin strap attached on either side ties under the chin (fig. 6b). Farrand (1899, p. 647) described war headdresses “worn of the skins of birds and the heads of animals, so arranged that the beak or mouth came forward over the forehead.” Chilcotin shamans are said to have worn distinctive marks—feathers, wings, or claws—of their animal or bird protectors and helpers (Farrand, 1899, p. 646).

**BIRCH BARK BASKETS**—According to Teit (1909, p. 764), birch bark vessels of superior workmanship were still being made by the Chilcotin at the time of his fieldwork in 1900. The collection contains four *birch bark baskets*, each of which is made from a single piece of bark sewn so that the outer surface of the bark faces in. In constructing three of the vessels, wedge-shaped cuts were made on each side of the piece of bark preparatory to folding, creating triangular flaps in the center (fig. 7). These were folded in first to form the bottom of the vessel; then the sides are folded around on the outside of the flaps and stitched with spruce root.

The two largest baskets were used for collecting

berries (Morice, 1895, pp. 120–122). On one of these the wood rod that forms the rim is ornamented in four places with black-dyed horsehair, which replaces the spruce root lashing in these areas. The rim is further ornamented with cherry bark beading. This basket has a carrying strap of soft deerskin (fig. 8). The second berry basket has a pair of deerskin loops attached to the rim on one side, presumably for a carrying strap. The rod that forms the rim is wrapped with split spruce root (fig. 9). The third basket is much smaller, only 11 cm high, and some of the spruce root lashing around the rim is dyed red; it shows no indications of use. According to Morice (1895, pp. 123–124) small baskets like this one could be made waterproof with spruce gum and used as drinking cups.

The fourth basket in the collection is actually a tray. It is made from a single piece of virtually square bark. Square sections are cut from the four corners (fig. 10), and the seams, rather than tapering from the corners toward the center as is characteristic of the previously described baskets, are confined to the corners. The rim is reinforced with a rod around the inside. In four places the wrapping is with black- and red-dyed horsehair. Just below the rim on the outside is a row of inverted triangular designs produced by scraping into the dark coating of the inner bark (fig. 11). According to Morice (1895, p. 123), these shallow vessels were intended to hold liquids—water, grease, or berry juice—for short periods of time.

**COILED BASKETS**—Of the Athapaskan groups living in southern British Columbia, the Chilcotin were the only people to manufacture coiled baskets (Haeblerlin et al., 1928, p. 133). The Chilcotin made only one shape of basket, the typical burden form, rounded in outline and constructed of oval coils. Although primarily a carrying device, the baskets were water-tight and well adapted to most purposes including the boiling of food (Haeblerlin et al., 1928, p. 135). Imbrication was the primary means of decorating the basket surfaces, although beading was also sometimes applied.

There are 30 baskets in the four collections that comprise this study and, although each is distinctive, they have certain characteristics in common, the most important of which will be summarized here.

**Material**—The coiling foundation of all the baskets is bunched and consists of a mass of stems or twigs. The sewing stitch is cedar or spruce root, and the imbrications are usually reed grass (*Phragmites phragmites*) and cherry bark (*Prunus emar-*

*ginata*). The collection contains a stick of cherry wood, presumably collected as an example of the material used.

An important feature of most Chilcotin baskets is a rod or support stick that circles the basket below the rim. In addition to providing general support, it serves as a handle to which to fasten the carrying strap and by which to lift the basket when loaded. The bark is usually removed from the support sticks, making it difficult to identify the wood. According to Teit (1909, p. 765), willow was commonly used. On one basket in the collection, the support stick is obviously of cherry wood.

For attaching the support stick to the basket, twine has been used on 15 containers, spruce root on four, soft tanned deerskin on four, and sinew on one. Six baskets have no support sticks. Five of these are probably unfinished since the two coils over which the stick would fit are undecorated. On one basket apparently no support stick was intended, as there are no unimbricated coils. It is the smallest basket in the collection. The support stick of one basket is clearly missing, as the twine lashing remains. Attached to the support sticks on some baskets are loops of soft tanned deerskin (9) or twine (2), usually occurring in pairs or threes on either side, to which the carrying straps were presumably attached.

**Structure**—The baskets in the collection vary considerably in size but are much alike in shape. Twenty-one have rectangular starts in which the foundation element is repeatedly bent and sewn back and forth on itself to produce a rectangle after which the coiling proceeds in the normal manner. This type of start results in a basket that is somewhat rectangular in cross section but with rounded corners. Nine baskets have oval starts, which results in a container with more flaring sides. Measured in the center, the baskets described in this study range in height from 15.6 to 36 cm.

In close coiling the direction of the work is indicated by the slant of the stitch. If the sewing is from left to right, the stitch slant is \. The work direction on all the baskets is from left to right. Most of the sewing stitches are bifurcated to receive a stitch from the coil immediately above. The bifurcations on all the baskets are on the outside, or working surface, only and are accomplished with such regularity as to form a significant decorative feature.

The rim is the final circuit on a coiled basket, and those described in this study are all characterized by a self rim, one that is sewn with the

same type of stitch as the wall of the basket. The final coils of four baskets are wrapped with goose quills, and for one container a metal rod forms the foundation for the final coil.

Teit (1909, p. 765) noted for the baskets he collected that "the last coil is always finished off near one side of the rounded corners, after having been carried along the short side." This is also true of the baskets described in this study. Students of Chilcotin baskets have also noted that the rims are usually higher on the ends than on the long sides where they dip gradually toward the center (Haeberlin et al., 1928, pp. 344–346; Teit, 1909, p. 765), a characteristic of some birch bark containers. Of the 30 baskets described here, 15 have the saddle-shaped rim and the rims of 15 are straight.

**Decoration**—Chilcotin baskets have been described as having three or four decorative fields, parallel bands that run all around the basket above and below the support stick (Teit, 1909, p. 765; Haeberlin et al., 1928, p. 230). In the assemblage described here, 23 baskets have four fields, four have three, and three have two.

As noted previously, imbrication is the most common decorative technique applied to the surfaces of Chilcotin baskets. Imbricated surfaces are those in which superstructural elements are manipulated during the stitching process so that the stitching as well as the foundation is completely covered. The surfaces of all the baskets in the collection are imbricated to a greater or lesser degree. Beading, a technique where strips of material are added to the surface along coils and secured at intervals to form a pattern, is present on five baskets in the collection, usually along the bottom coils or those at the base of the basket.

An almost universal characteristic of the decoration on baskets in the collection is its absence from coils under the support stick. On 27 baskets two coils under the support stick are not imbricated and on two containers only a single coil is without decoration. On one basket that was apparently not intended to have a support stick, the imbrications extend uninterrupted to the rim.

Haeberlin et al. (1928, pp. 344–346) have noted that Chilcotin baskets are decorated with designs that are well adapted to the shape of the basket and that some designs are executed only in outline while others are in solid black, always against a light background. To appreciate the great variety of basket decoration within the general structural framework previously described, each basket in

the museum's collection will be described individually. Named designs are derived from an illustration in Teit (1909, p. 766, fig. 259).

**17488**—One of three baskets in the collection with two decorative fields. Working surface completely imbricated. The lower field is ornamented with a design that Teit (1909, p. 766, fig. 259s) identifies as "lakes and streams." The upper field contains imbrications in the form of animals and humans. According to Haeberlin et al. (1928, p. 348), realistic designs were of recent origin (fig. 12, left).

**17489**—Working surface completely imbricated, in some areas, especially toward the top, rather crudely; four decorative fields. Designs (from the bottom upward), bottom row, playing cards (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259j); second row, mountains or snakes (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259p); third row, ducks(?) (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259m); fourth row, unidentified (fig. 12, right).

**18030**—Three decorative fields. Bottom and third rows, beaver tails and ribs of mammals (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259v, t); second row, not imbricated. The rim of this basket has been crudely repaired in places with spruce root (fig. 13, left).

**18031**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, nets (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259c); second row, not imbricated except for lines crossing it and connecting the fields above and below; third row, identical to bottom row; fourth row, ribs of mammals. A small portion of the rim is missing and the support stick is broken (fig. 13, right).

**18032**—Working surface completely imbricated; three decorative fields. Bottom row, nets; second row, snake or snake fence (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259a'); third row, arrowheads (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259g) (fig. 14, left).

**18033**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, unidentified designs illustrated by Haeberlin et al. (1928, p. 348, fig. 106, no. 15); second row, not imbricated except for rows of beaver tails; third row, ducks(?); fourth row, mink(?) (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259bb) (fig. 14, right).

**87909**—Working surface completely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, sacks(?) (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259q); second row, ribs of mammals; third row, snake fence; fourth row, ribs of mammals. A tear at the rim of this basket has been repaired with soft tanned deer skin. The basket is badly worn, the imbrications being torn or missing in some places (fig. 15, left).

**87912**—Working surface completely imbricated; probably four decorative fields. Bottom row, arrowheads; second row, beaver tails(?); third row,

arrowheads and playing cards; fourth row, ribs of mammals (fig. 15, right).

**87913**—Working surface completely imbricated, two decorative fields. Bottom row, includes the entire basket below the support stick, arrowheads with snake (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259a) at each corner; second row, snake(?) (fig. 16, left).

**87914**—Working surface entirely imbricated except for five beaded coils at the base; six bottom coils are also beaded; four decorative fields. Bottom row, arrowheads (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259g''') separated from next field by narrow band of snake fence; second row, arrowheads in a different arrangement than is shown in Teit. Different-colored bark has been used to indicate the pairs of arrowheads, their bases joined together. This field is also separated from the one above by a narrow band of snake fence; third row, arrowheads; fourth row, snake fence (fig. 16, right).

**87915**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, sacks(?); second row, not imbricated except for lines crossing it and connecting the fields above and below; third row, sacks(?); fourth row, unidentified (fig. 19, left).

**87916**—Working surface entirely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, arrowheads; second row, nets and ribs of mammals; third row, arrowheads; fourth row, snake fence(?) (fig. 17, left).

**87917**—Four decorative fields. Bottom and third rows, unidentified design illustrated by Haeberlin et al. (1928, p. 348, fig. 106, no. 15); second row, not imbricated but there are beaded fish ribs designs (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259d); fourth row, beaver tails. A tear in the bottom of this basket has been repaired with spruce root (fig. 17, right).

**87918**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, arrowheads (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 258''); second row, not imbricated but with beaded fish ribs designs and imbricated vertical lines crossing it connecting the fields above and below. This field is defined on the lower and upper edges and through the center by rows by beavers (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259h); third row, arrowheads; fourth row, ribs of mammals (fig. 18, left).

**87919**—Four decorative fields. Bottom and third rows, a design illustrated by Teit (1909, p. 766, figs. 259r, 265) but not identified; second row, not imbricated except for fish ribs and nets designs in light-colored grass. This row is defined by a line of beavers at top and bottom and through the center; fourth row, a design shown on a basket described and illustrated by Teit (1909, p. 771, fig. 265) and identified by some of his informants as

lakes and streams but by others as identical to the bottom row on this basket and the one illustrated by Teit (fig. 18, right).

**87920**—Working surface entirely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, imbricated but no designs; top three rows, arrowheads (fig. 19, right). This is the smallest basket in the collection and one that probably was not intended to have a support stick.

**87921**—Four decorative fields. Bottom and third rows, snake fence; second row, not imbricated; fourth row, ribs of mammals or fish ribs (fig. 19, middle). A small tear at the rim has been repaired with thread.

**102930**—Three decorative fields. Bottom and third rows, nets; second row, not imbricated except for ribs of mammals design in light-colored grass in two sections (fig. 20, left). Three coils on the bottom are beaded. Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61a).

**102931**—Working surface completely imbricated; two decorative fields. Bottom row, snake fence; second row (above support stick), has an unidentified design somewhat similar to those on baskets illustrated by Teit (1909, pp. 771–773, figs. 265–267) (fig. 20, right). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pls. 60e, 61d).

**103046**—Working surface completely imbricated except for two coils at the base; three decorative fields. Bottom row, sacks(?); second row, ribs or fish (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259u) alternating with human and animal figures; third row, arrowheads (fig. 21, left). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61g), who considered it an indication that “a new departure in basketry ornamentation is in progress.”

**103047**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, unidentified floral or plant designs(?); second row, not imbricated except for ribs of mammals in two sections; third row, nets; fourth row, ribs of mammals (fig. 21, right). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61k).

**103048**—Four decorative fields. The designs, unique in this collection, consist of solid dark horizontal lines, each covering two coils on the bottom and third rows, and against an unimbricated background on the second row. The fourth row has two solid dark lines, each covering a single coil (fig. 22, left). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61c).

**103049**—Working surface completely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, snake fence; second row, mountains or snakes; third row, an arrowhead design alternating with lakes and

streams; fourth row, snake or snake fence (fig. 22, right). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61i).

**103050**—Working surface completely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, beaver tails and nets; second row, animals, probably caribou; third row, unidentified floral or plant designs(?) similar to the bottom row of 103047; fourth row, playing cards (fig. 23, left). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pls. 60a, 61j).

**103051**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, playing cards surmounted by beaver designs; second row, not fully imbricated, divided horizontally with beaver designs and snake or snake fence in light-colored grass; third row, unidentified; fourth row, variant of beavers(?) (fig. 23, right). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61e).

**103052**—Working surface completely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, sacks(?); second row, lakes and streams with arrowheads at the top and bottom; third row, sacks(?); fourth row, unidentified (fig. 24, left). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61b).

**103053**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, playing cards; second row, not imbricated but with beading on two parallel coils; third row, playing cards; fourth row, somewhat smaller playing cards (fig. 24, right). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 61f).

**103054**—Working surface completely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, nets; second row, mountains or snakes; third row, nets; fourth row, snake or snake fence (fig. 25, left). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pls. 58g, 61h).

**103055**—Working surface completely imbricated; four decorative fields. Bottom row, animal (goat?); second row, mink; third row, animals (goats?); fourth row, beaver tails (fig. 25, middle). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 62b).

**103056**—Four decorative fields. Bottom row, ribs and backbones (Teit, 1909, p. 766, fig. 259f); second row, not imbricated except for box design in cherry bark each containing a cross in light-colored grass; third row, arrowheads; fourth row, arrowheads (fig. 25, right). Illustrated in Haeberlin et al. (1928, pl. 62f).

### III. Conclusion

The five small collections of Chilcotin ethnographic material combined, described, and illustrated in this study obviously represent a far from complete inventory of the manufactures of these

people, especially since more than half the assemblage consists of coiled baskets. It is a fact, however, that the material culture of these Athapaskan speakers is not well known and, with the exception of coiled baskets, no collections of Chilcotin manufactures have been published. It is for this reason that it has seemed worthwhile to place these small collections on record.

Perhaps the defining characteristic of Chilcotin lifeways was their mobility. Like other occupants of the Subarctic Cordillera, these Indians were required to move seasonally in order to fulfill their subsistence needs. If Lane (1953, p. 51, 1981, pp. 402–403) is to be believed, the aboriginal Chilcotin material culture inventory was limited to not much more than 40 elements, less than half of which are represented in the collections described in this study. Although the Chilcotin were strongly influenced by their coastal and interior neighbors, as noted earlier, they apparently were highly selective in the elements borrowed, accepting only those that were compatible with their nomadic way of life.

With the exception of coiled baskets, the manufacturing techniques of which may have been borrowed from the neighboring Shushwap (Haeberlin et al., 1928, p. 134), none of the objects in these collections are obvious borrowings from non-Athapaskans. Apart from the baskets, the collections as a unit resemble what one might expect to find among other Cordilleran Athapaskans.

With the exception of the single pair of mocasins, the Carew-Gibson collection contains all the non-basketry artifacts described in this study. It will be recalled that when the museum was considering its purchase, George Dorsey pointed out that a more representative collection probably never could be made because the traditional lifeways of the Chilcotin were rapidly disappearing. This is undoubtedly what he was told by C. F. Newcombe, who, at the time, was an active collector in coastal areas adjacent to the Chilcotin; Livingston Farrand (1899, p. 645) made the same observation following his fieldwork in 1898. It is likely that most of the items in the Carew-Gibson assemblage were not in use at the time the collection was made but were items retained as family heirlooms. A number of items, however, were clearly made at the request of the collector. These include the two arrows, described in the catalog as “new,” the model beaver harpoon, both antler wedges, both combs, and at least one of the birch bark baskets. Most of the coiled baskets in the other accessions were purchased from dealers. The

majority show indications of use, but a few appear to be in mint condition and were doubtless made specifically for sale.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the collections described in this study present a distorted view of Chilcotin material culture. The skills required to manufacture coiled and imbricated baskets as well as tight-fitting birch bark vessels are considerable, and yet comparable skills of equal complexity are not evident in other manufactures. Northern Athapaskan were skilled craftspersons, and it seems likely that these collections do not do justice to the technology of the historic Chilcotin. However, since this assemblage cannot be compared with other published collections, this conclusion cannot be verified.

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## Appendix

### The Chilcotin Collection (Accessions 871, 1008, 1055, 1347)

Following is a list of the Chilcotin artifacts described and illustrated in this study. It is not a complete list of the collections as they appear in the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, because the following artifacts could not be located: an example of basketry grass (accession 871, no. 87910), a bone fish hook (accession 1008, no. 18006), and two projectile points (accession 1008, no. 18036,4-5). Artifact identifications are those of the collectors.

SUBSISTENCE		18023	hat (fig. 6b)
		18027	birch bark basket (fig. 8)
18009,1-2	arrows (2) (figs. 2e-f)	18026	birch bark basket (fig. 9)
18008	model of beaver spear (fig. 2b)	87922	birch bark basket
18039	"bone implement" (fig. 2c)	18028	birch bark tray (fig. 11)
18007	fish spear (fig. 2a)		
18034	leaf-shaped basalt spear point (fig. 2g)		
18036,1-3, 8-10, 13	leaf-shaped basalt projectile points (7) (figs. 2h-i)	<i>Coiled Baskets</i>	
18038	leaf-shaped basalt spear point	87911	stick of cherry wood
18037	basalt biface (fig. 2d)	17488	coiled basket (fig. 12, left)
18036,6-7, 11-12	stemmed projectile points (4) (fig. 2j-l)	17489	coiled basket (fig. 12, right)
		18030	coiled basket (fig. 13, left)
		18031	coiled basket (fig. 13, right)
		18032	coiled basket (fig. 14, left)
		18033	coiled basket (fig. 14, right)
		87909	coiled basket (fig. 15, left)
		87912	coiled basket (fig. 15, right)
		87913	coiled basket (fig. 16, left)
		87914	coiled basket (fig. 16, right)
		87915	coiled basket (fig. 19, left)
		87916	coiled basket (fig. 17, left)
		87917	coiled basket (fig. 17, right)
		87918	coiled basket (fig. 18, left)
		87919	coiled basket (fig. 18, right)
		87920	coiled basket (fig. 19, right)
		87921	coiled basket (fig. 19, middle)
		102930	coiled basket (fig. 20, left)
		102931	coiled basket (fig. 20, right)
		103046	coiled basket (fig. 21, left)
		103047	coiled basket (fig. 21, right)
		103048	coiled basket (fig. 22, left)
		103049	coiled basket (fig. 22, right)
		103050	coiled basket (fig. 23, left)
		103051	coiled basket (fig. 23, right)
		103052	coiled basket (fig. 24, left)
		103053	coiled basket (fig. 24, right)
		103054	coiled basket (fig. 25, left)
		103055	coiled basket (fig. 25, middle)
		103056	coiled basket (fig. 25, right)
TOOLS			
18017	axe or adze blade (fig. 3j)		
18014,1-4	scraper blades (fig. 3i, m-n)		
18015	"polishing stone"		
18016	"whetstone"		
18009,1-2	wedges (fig. 3d)		
18018	"arrow scraper" (fig. 3g)		
18024	bark peeler (fig. 3a)		
18025	sap scraper (fig. 3f)		
18010	awl (fig. 3b)		
18005	needle (fig. 3e)		
18013	two-stick fire drill		
18012	fire-making set (fig. 4b-c)		
MISCELLANEOUS			
18040	comb (fig. 31)		
18011	comb and head scratcher (fig. 3k)		
18035	spoon (fig. 3c)		
18020	pipe bowl (fig. 3h)		
18029	beaver tooth die		
18022	snow snake rod (fig. 5)		
18021	bag (fig. 4a)		
111894	moccasins (fig. 6a)		



FIG. 2. a, fish spear (18007); b, model of beaver spear (18008); c, "bone implement" (18039); d, basalt biface (18037); e, arrow (18009,1); f, arrow (18009,2); g, leaf-shaped basalt spear point (18034); h, leaf-shaped basalt projectile point (18036,1); i, leaf-shaped basalt projectile point (18036,8); j, stemmed projectile point (18036,6); k, stemmed projectile point (18036,11); l, stemmed projectile point (18036,7).

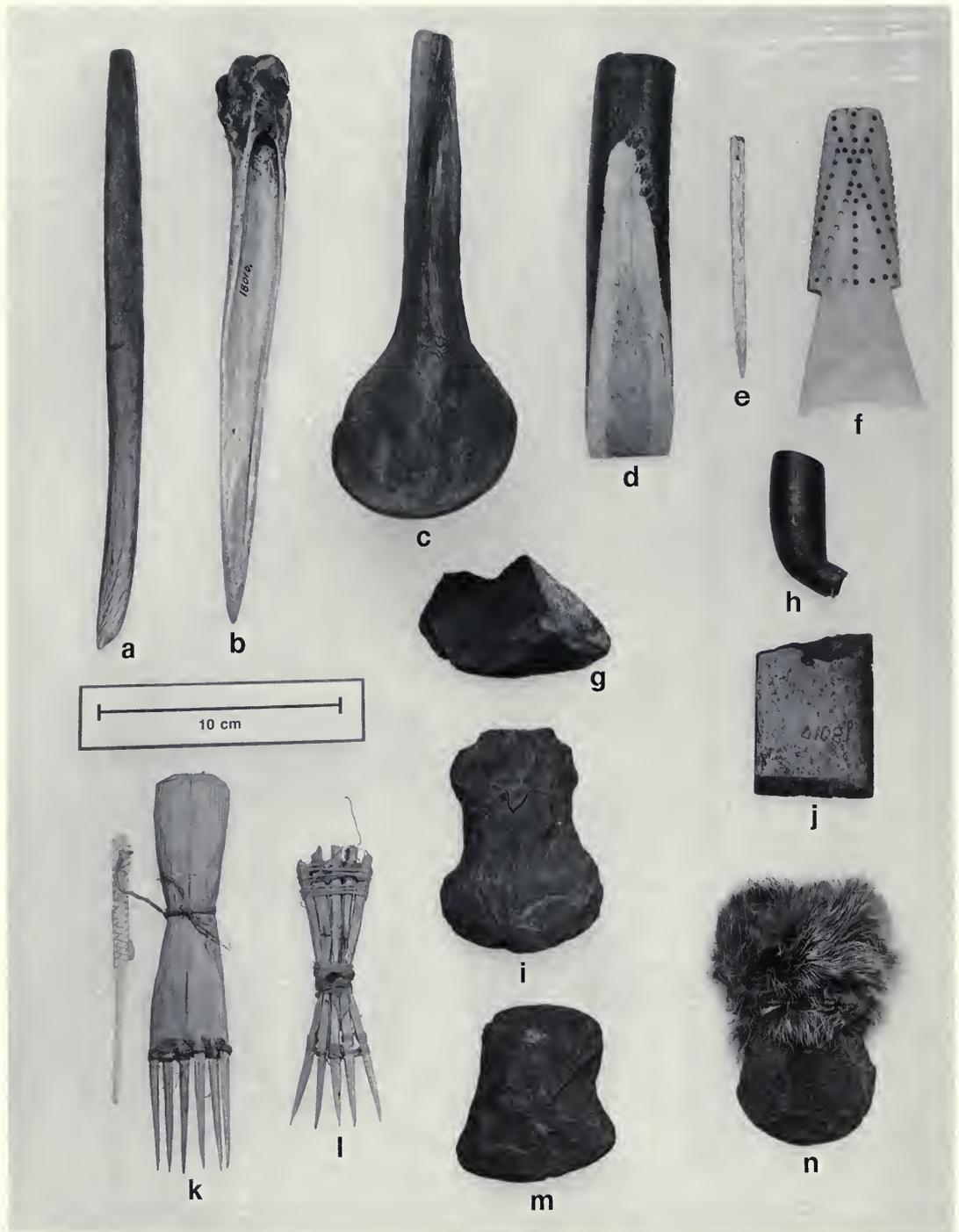


FIG. 3. a, bark peeler (18024); b, awl (18010); c, spoon (18035); d, wedge (18009,1); e, needle (18005); f, sap scraper (18025); g, "arrow scraper" (18018); h, pipe bowl (18020); i, scraper blade (18014,1); j, axe or adze blade (18017); k, comb and head scratcher (18011); l, comb (18040); m, scraper blade (18014,4); n, scraper blade (18014,2).



FIG. 4. a, bag (18021); b-c, fire-making set (18012).

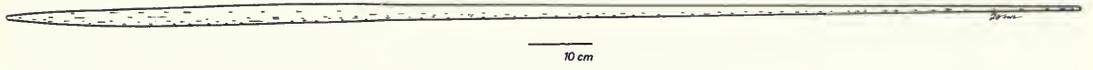


FIG. 5. Snow snake rod (18022).

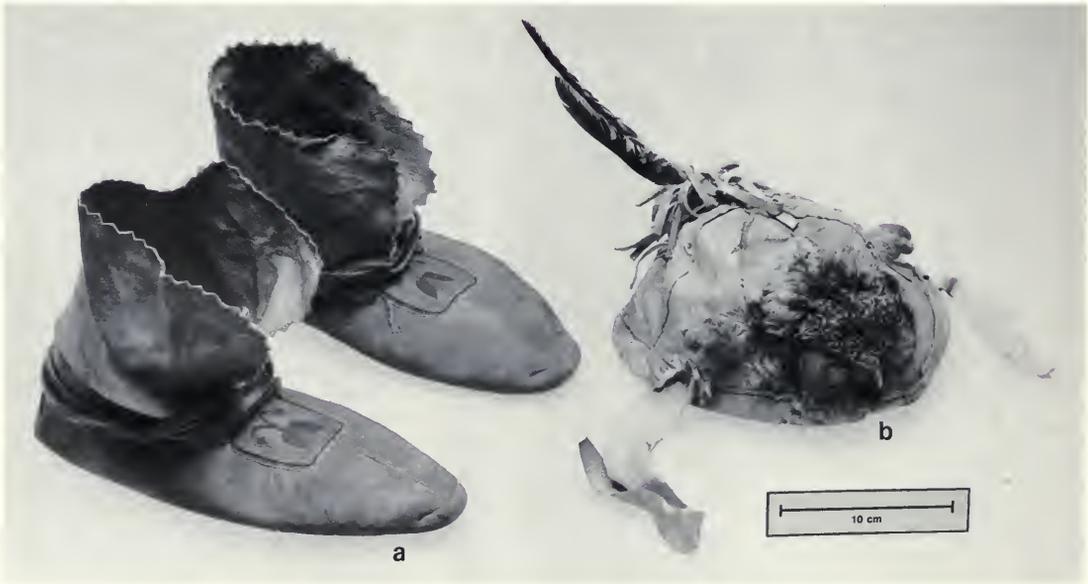


FIG. 6. a, moccasins (111894); b, hat (18023).

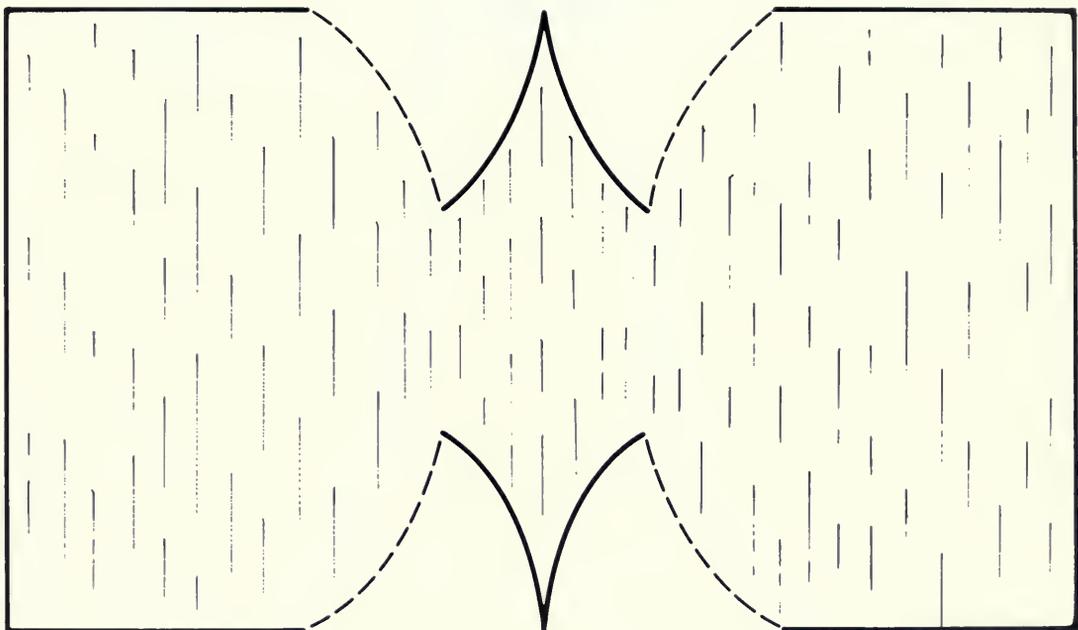


FIG. 7. Birch bark basket pattern.

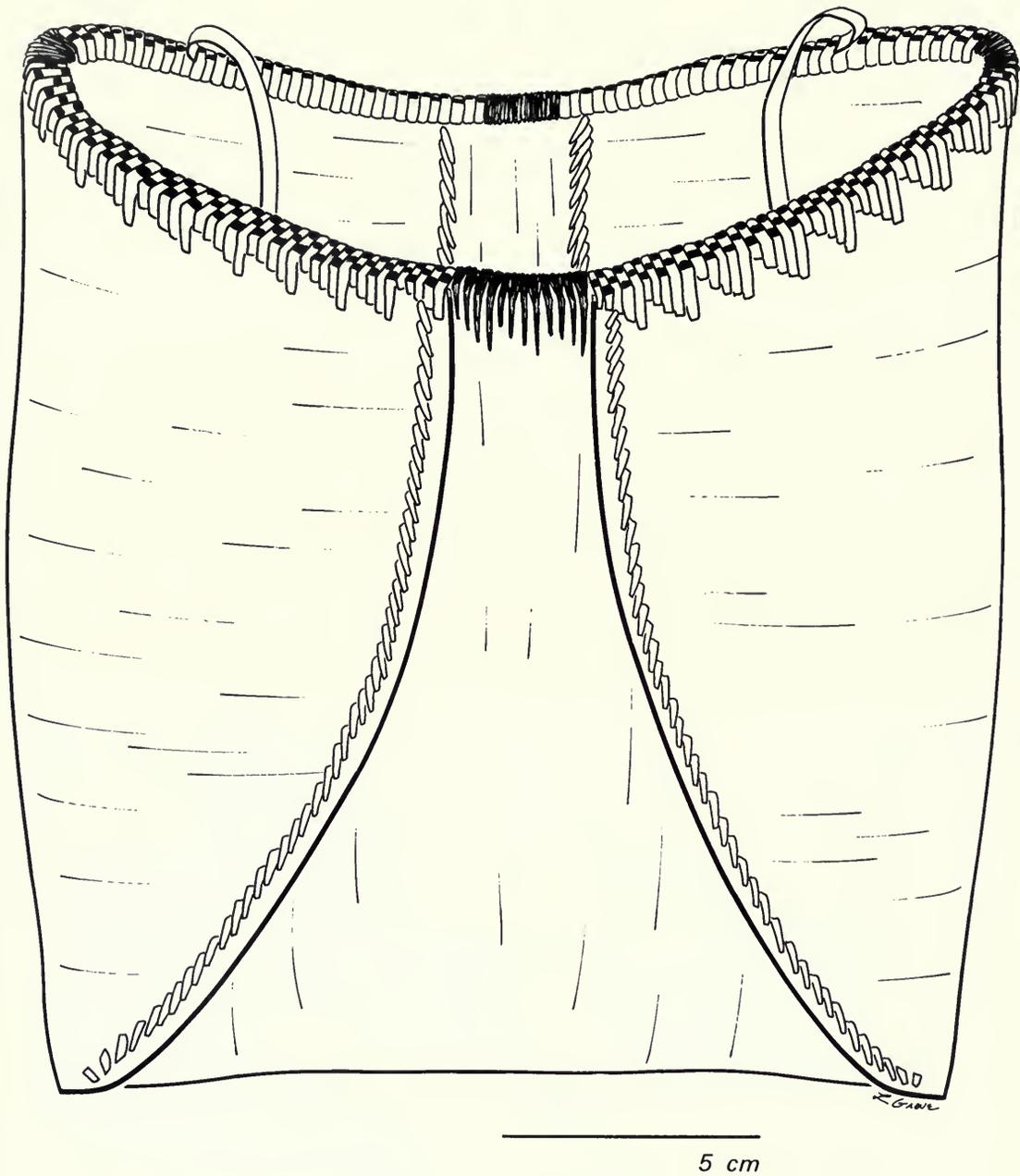


FIG. 8. Birch bark basket (18027).

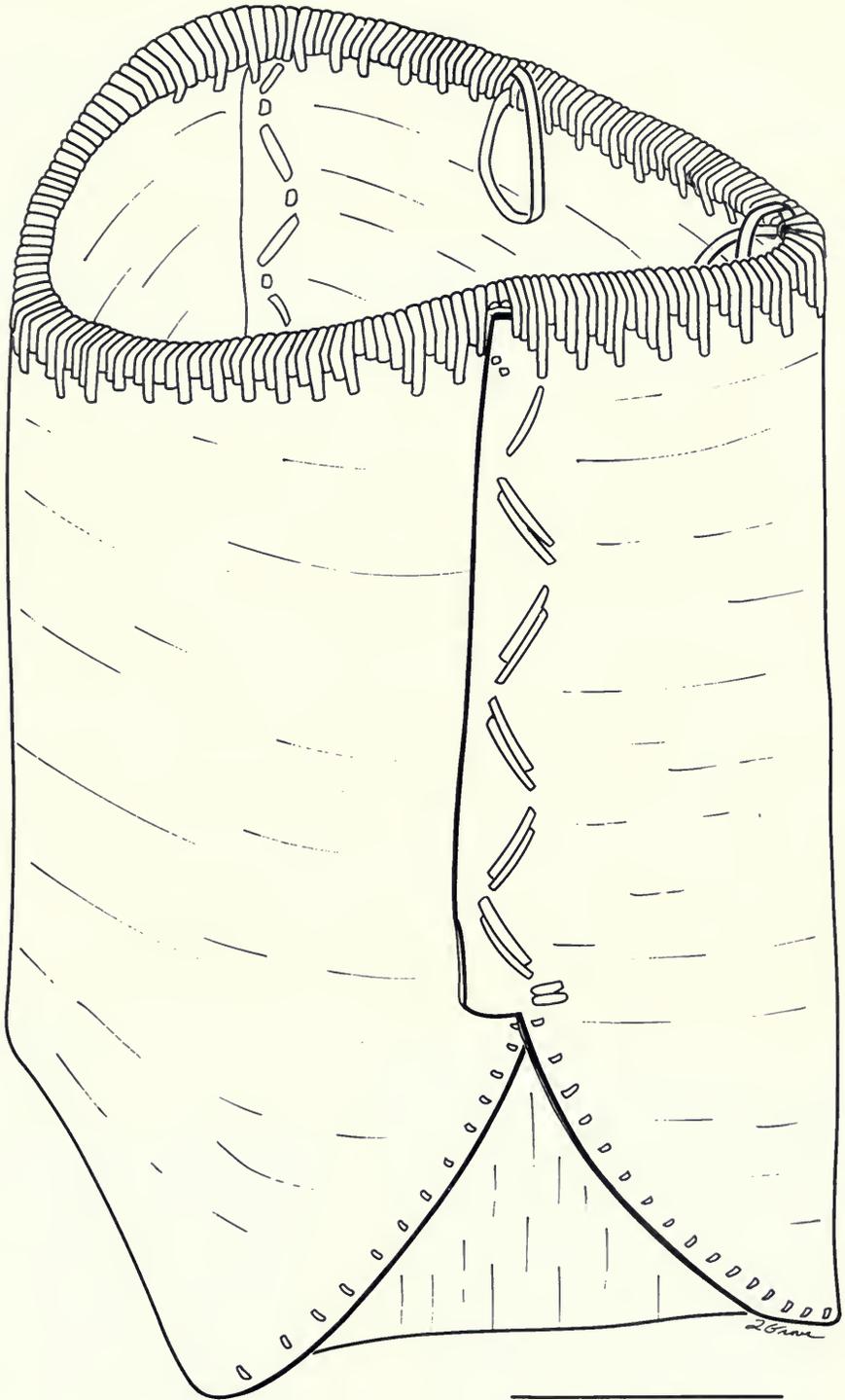


FIG. 9. Birch bark basket (18026).

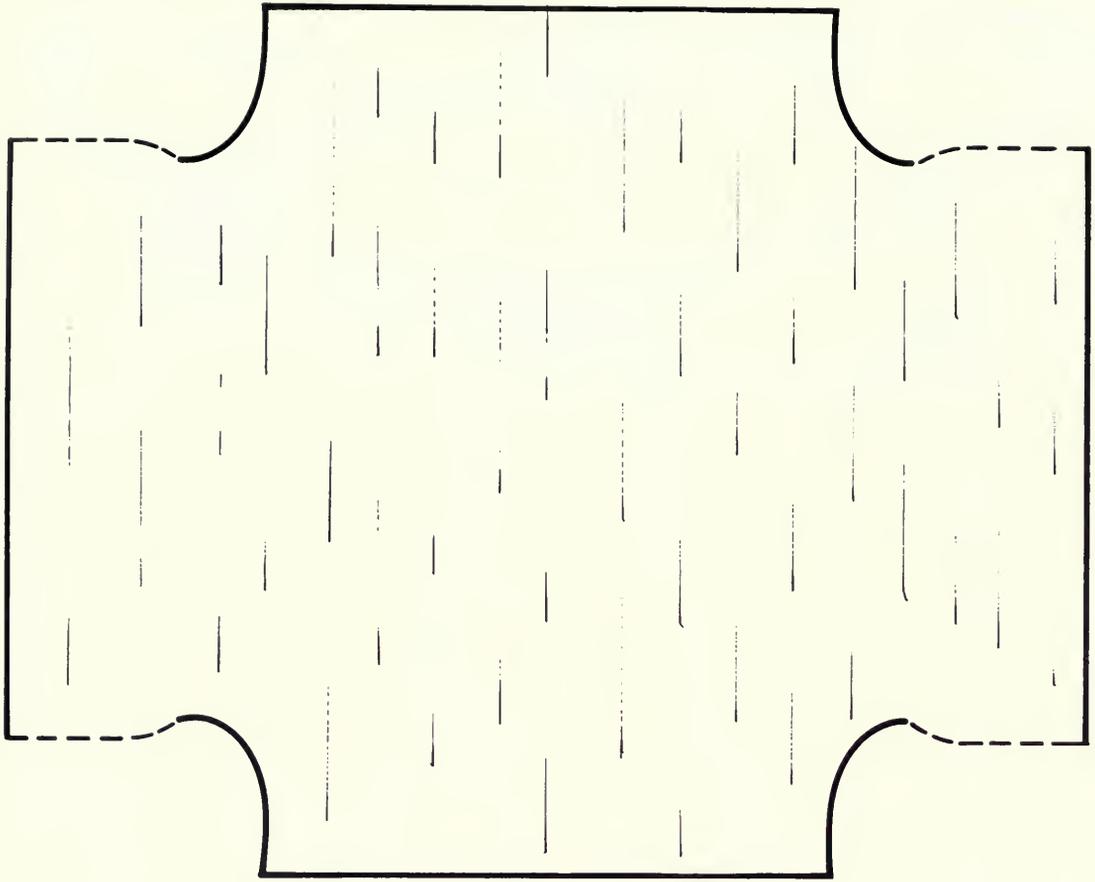
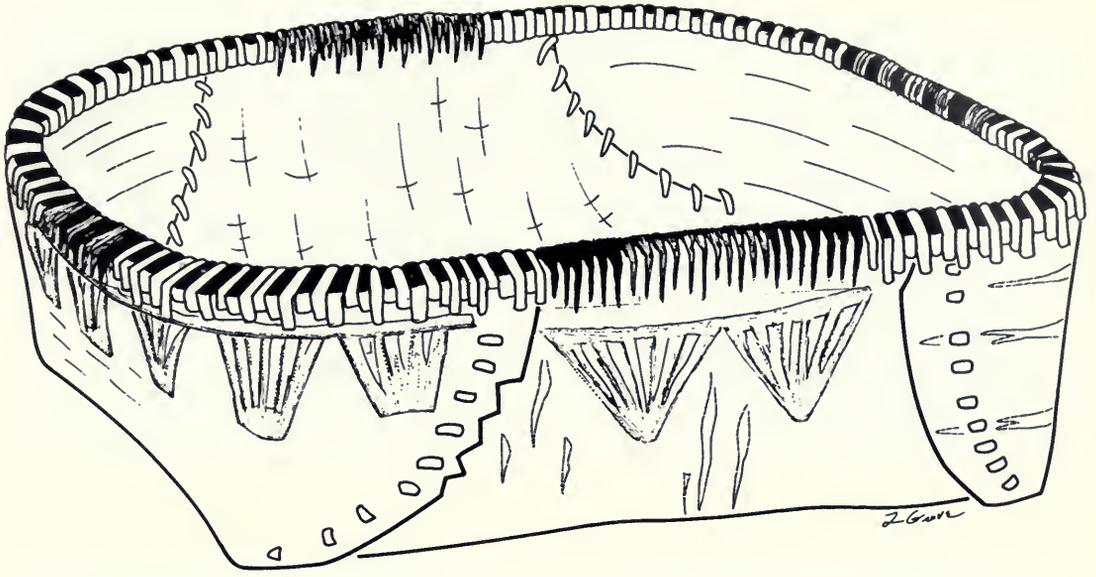


FIG. 10. Birch bark tray pattern.



5 cm

FIG. 11. Birch bark tray (18028).



FIG. 12. Coiled baskets (left, 17488; right, 17489).



FIG. 13. Coiled baskets (left, 18030; right, 18031).



FIG. 14. Coiled baskets (left, 18032; right, 18033).



FIG. 15. Coiled baskets (left, 87909; right, 87912).



FIG. 16. Coiled baskets (left, 87913; right, 87914).



FIG. 17. Coiled baskets (left, 87916; right, 87917).



FIG. 18. Coiled baskets (left, 87918; right, 87919).



FIG. 19. Coiled baskets (left, 87915; middle, 87921; right, 87920).



FIG. 20. Coiled baskets (left, 102930; right, 102931).



FIG. 21. Coiled baskets (left, 103046; right, 103047).



FIG. 22. Coiled baskets (left, 103048; right, 103049).



FIG. 23. Coiled baskets (left, 103050; right, 103051).



FIG. 24. Coiled baskets (left, 103052; right, 103053).



FIG. 25. Coiled baskets (left, 103054; middle, 103055; right, 103056).





Field Museum of Natural History  
Roosevelt Road at Lake Shore Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60605-2496  
Telephone: (312) 922-9611