

Frederick Johnson’s “River Desert Algonquin” Materials at the University of Pennsylvania Museum: A Collection History

Marilyn Norcini

The Frederick Johnson collection at the University of Pennsylvania Museum (UPM) is an anthropologically significant assemblage of 90 objects that represents the everyday life of the “River Desert” Algonquin band on the Maniwaki reserve in Quebec, Canada, during the early 20th century.¹ The community is situated at the confluence of three rivers—the Gatineau, Desert and Eagle (figure 1; see also Speck 1927). During August and September of 1929, Johnson was conducting fieldwork at Maniwaki under the supervision of Frank Speck at the University of Pennsylvania. His collection was purchased by the Museum’s Board of Managers in December for the price of \$260. According to the museum’s registration records, the Johnson collection has never been exhibited or extensively studied. It was primarily used in museum outreach programs and loaned to local schools since the 1930s. Claudia Medoff, the former keeper of the American Collection at the UPM, wrote the only detailed summary of Johnson’s collection before this article (Medoff 1991: 106–109).

The “River Desert” collection consists of 90 well-documented items and includes an impressive range of materials—bone awls, needles, leather nets for catching otter and beaver, a birch bark moose call, snowshoes, snow brooms, bows and blunt-ended arrows, war clubs, wooden spoons, pouches, puzzle bags, potato dies for applying colorful stamps to baskets, birch bark patterns and containers, and ash splint baskets.² Personal items are represented by moccasins, pipes, cradleboards, a porcupine tail comb, and carved walking sticks. Johnson also included a category called “charms” that includes a bear’s tooth and mole skin for good luck, a rare “thunder stone,” and a segment of

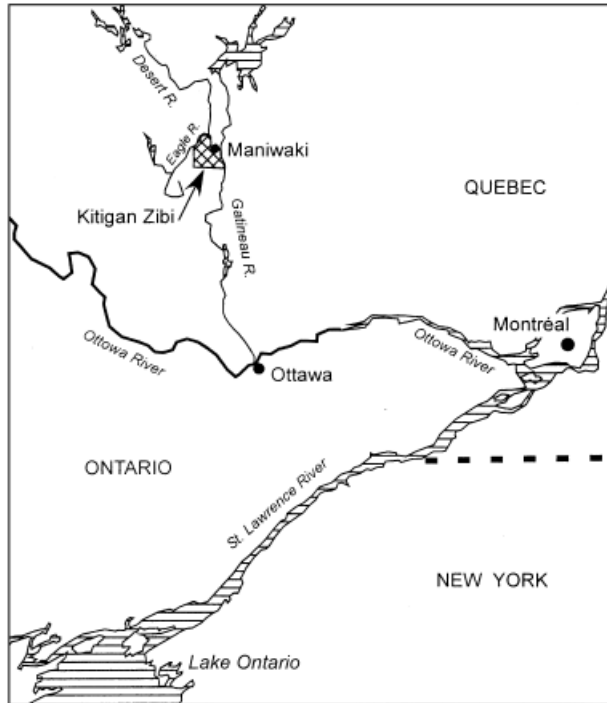
vine that referred to a story about the Algonquin trickster.

Overall, there is a fibrous and tactile nature to these vernacular objects from the northern woods. What they may lack in color and elaborate design, they make up for in a feeling of everyday life expressed through the common, utilitarian objects. In fact, it is their ordinary and workaday nature that makes this collection so exceptional.

This report is the first phase of research on the Maniwaki materials at the UPM—a history of the Frederick Johnson collection. It is a case study in the history of Algonquin research at the University of Pennsylvania during the early 20th century—a time synonymous with Frank Speck and extensive northeastern Indian field studies undertaken by himself and his university students. The era was characterized by constant short field trips to Aboriginal communities in Canada, the development of diverse field collections, and the active acquisitions of these objects by private and university museums.

The second phase of research will be community outreach—sharing what I have learned about this relatively unknown “River Desert band” collection with the community of origin, the contemporary Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg community in Quebec, Canada.³ It is my hope that their Cultural Centre and the UPM will discuss opportunities for collaborative research and educational programming in the near future.

The Johnson collection history is important because it contextualizes a small assemblage of Algonquin cultural materials within its broader academic, economic, and institutional frameworks. It illustrates how salvage ethnology motivated and mobilized academic field studies in Canada by



1. Since the mid-19th century, the River Desert band has lived on the Maniwaki reserve in the province of Quebec, Canada, approximately 100 miles north of the capital city of Ottawa. The band is known today as the Kitigan Zibi Anishinabe. Illustration by Philip G. Chase. Courtesy: University of Pennsylvania Museum.

creating an urgency to collect traditional native technologies and native language terms and texts. It exemplifies a pragmatic practice of ethnologists of this period to reimburse their field research expenses through the assemblage and sale of well-documented object collections to museums. It also reveals an international connection between anthropological research in Canada and cultural institutions in the United States during the early 20th century. And lastly, the Johnson collection illustrates the value of preserving ethnological museum collections for scholarly and community analyses.

Ethnology of the River Desert Band

Frederick Johnson's ethnographic work with the River Desert band at Maniwaki was a direct result of his close personal and professional relationship with Frank G. Speck.⁴

Frederick Johnson (1904–1994) and his family from Everett, Massachusetts, became friends with

the Speck family when they were on summer vacation in Gloucester, Massachusetts, in the 1910s. Fred would canoe and Speck would show him how to improve his technique. These outdoor skills served Johnson well in his later ventures into the rugged north woods and rivers of Canada (MacNeish 1996). The families also grew closer when Fred's father, a building contractor, constructed an addition to Speck's cottage with the help of his son and Harold Tantaquidgeon, a Mohegan Indian (whose sister Gladys later became a student of Speck's at Penn) (Voight 1965; email from Roy Blankenship to the author, February 2, 2006).

Johnson credited Speck with the start of his fieldwork in ethnology:

My first field ethnological field trip was in company with Dr. Frank G. Speck in 1917 but this hardly counts except that it gave direction to the rest of my life. Actual work in Anthropology began in 1925 when I commenced visiting Indian reservations in eastern Canada, pretty much under the direction of Dr. Speck. [Johnson Vertical File n.d.]

In September 1924, Johnson transferred from Tufts College in Massachusetts after his freshman year to train under Speck at the University of Pennsylvania (figure 2). From 1925 to 1927, Johnson took five classes in ethnology and archaeology from Frank Speck and A. Irving Hallowell (Johnson Student Records n.d.). He attended Speck's classes on primitive religions, anthropology of the Negro, and American archaeology and ethnology. Johnson was becoming a trained ethnologist.

Johnson conducted anthropological fieldwork among the River Desert Band from August to early September 1929. Speck himself had extensive contact with the band beginning in the 1920s. Johnson's bond with Speck was so strong that even after Johnson left Penn in 1927 and graduated from Tufts College in spring 1928, he was in the field in Maniwaki under Speck's general supervision.

Speck was a frequent visitor to the River Desert community at Maniwaki. From his publications and photographic archives, it seems that he conducted fieldwork there at least six times: in 1927, 1928, 1929, 1937, and 1943. His fieldwork before Johnson's (1929a, b, c, d) field collection is of particular interest. On August 23, 1928, Speck produced a "List of Algonquin Specimens" from the River



2. Frederick Johnson attended the University of Pennsylvania from 1924 to 1926 to study anthropology under Frank G. Speck. It is probable that this image was taken in Philadelphia. Photographer unknown. Johnson family album. Digital image provided by Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. Courtesy: Mrs. Mertina Rudié.

Desert band for George Heye. The list served dual purposes as a catalogue and an invoice of expenses. The cost of the field trip was \$39.50, including transportation between Canada and his summer cottage in Gloucester, Massachusetts (Speck 1928). Later, during Christmas vacation in 1928, he conducted linguistic field research on the Algonquian language in Maniwaki and resumed his work in April 1929 (Speck Alumni Records Collection n.d.). Consequently, his relationship with the band was well established by the late 1920s.

At the time, the River Desert community consisted of 400 people (Speck 1927). The community members resided on the Maniwaki reserve, 100 miles north of Ottawa in southwestern Quebec, since 1854 (Speck 1947). Bounded by three rivers, (Desert, Gatineau, and Eagle) the reserve includes

several freshwater lakes and streams. The local economy was based on farming, hunting, wage work, and the sale of crafts. Agriculture provided a new and profitable income on the reserve, alongside traditional hunting and fishing. Crops produced during this period included oats, potatoes, peas, and corn. With their extensive knowledge of regional natural resources, the men engaged in seasonal employment as hunters, guides, river-drivers, and woodsmen, and the women tanned deer and moose hides, and made moccasins, birch bark containers, and stamped split ash baskets (Martin 1896).

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate founded the mission town in the mid-19th century. It was named *Maniwaki*, an Algonquian word for “Mary’s Land.” The residents of Maniwaki were predominantly Roman Catholics of aboriginal and French heritage. The band moved from their consolidated reserve, Lake of the Two Mountains at Oka near Montreal to Maniwaki after a controversy with the Iroquois over the introduction of Methodism (Speck 1923).⁵ When Speck and Johnson visited the community in the 1920s, the River Desert Band was predominately Catholic and had lived at the Maniwaki reserve for 75 years.

Names for this northern Algonquin band have changed over time. During the 19th century, the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs officially termed this community as the “Algonquins of River Desert” on the “Maniwaki Reserve” (Martin 1896). Consequently, 20th century anthropologists used the Canadian government’s classification in their academic research, publications, and museum collections (Speck 1927, 1929, 1941).⁶

There are several recorded names in the Algonquian language for the band. Community members in 1927 called themselves *Tega’zi bi win in iwag* meaning “farm river people” (Speck 1927:240). The following year Speck’s student, Daniel S. Davidson, reported a cognate for the same term, *Kitigantcibi iriniwak* (Davidson 1928:18). From the 1980s to today, the community is officially known as *Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg*, meaning people of the “garden (*kitigan*) river (*zibi*)” (see Note 1).

During approximately five weeks of fieldwork in 1929, Johnson assembled a discrete and well-documented ethnographic collection from the Maniwaki community. Within the time constraints of his fieldwork, Johnson collected representative objects

of cultural life on the reserve. Field collecting was seasonal and limited his access to objects that were available during his summer visit. Johnson (1929b) explained the seasonal nature of ethnographic field collecting to the director of the university museum, Horace F. Jayne:

This collection represents as nearly as possible the material culture of the Algonquin Nation of which the people at Maniwaki are the largest existing group. As is to be expected there are a number of things lacking, especially objects which are used only during the winter. Such things are made and used only at this season and so are not procurable in the summer, they are not as a rule held over the summer being either worn out or lost.⁷

It is apparent that his goal as an ethnographer was to assemble a complete and representative collection of Algonquin material culture. Although Johnson hoped to return to Maniwaki and publish an ethnography that would enhance the scientific value of UPM's collection, his plan was never realized.

Background

To understand Johnson's training and early career as an ethnologist, we must understand something of the work of his mentor Speck in light of his career as a Boasian anthropologist who trained a generation of students at Penn, his life-long interest in the Native peoples of Eastern North America (particularly Algonquin groups), and his relationship with the collector of Native American art and artifacts George Heye. Then, we need to look at how Speck influenced Johnson's ethnological research and field collections.

Frank G. Speck (1881–1950) was a student of Franz Boas at Columbia University. He received his B.A. in 1904 and his M.A. in 1905 (Hallowell 1951). In 1907, Speck came to the UPM in Philadelphia on a Harrison fellowship where he wrote and published his dissertation on the Yuchi in Oklahoma. Although his graduate training and fieldwork were under the direction of Boas, as a condition of the fellowship Speck was required to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania, which he did in 1908 (Blankenship 1991; Speck 2004[1909]). Afterwards, he was employed in the UPM under Director George Byron Gordon. He also had the rank of Instructor in Anthropology. After a

schism with Gordon at the Museum over research in 1911, Speck began a life-long teaching career in Penn's Department of Anthropology (Blankenship 1991).

Speck modeled his academic role at Penn on that of his teacher at Columbia. From Boas, Speck learned that the role of a teacher was to mentor and nurture a close working relationship with students and native people. Fieldwork was directed toward culture historical problems, such as the question of "hunting territorialism" for which Speck is widely known. (This research foci investigated the interrelationships between land tenure, economy, and social organization among the American Indian peoples of the Northeast (Witthoft 1950:41).) Like Boas, Speck was suspicious of *a priori* anthropological theories (Hallowell 1951), preferring inductive reasoning to normative models. His field methodologies included collecting myths, folktales, and other narratives in the native language, documentary photography, and the collecting of ethnographic artifacts. Speck was also "insistent that his students publish" (Winegrad 1993:114). However, unlike Boas and several of his classmates, Speck's proficiency with anthropological linguistics was not a strength. In her biography of Edward Sapir (a close friend of Speck), Regna Darnell commented (citing two of his most prominent students) on Speck's language abilities: "Speck, in spite of Boas's training, was not a linguist (Witthoft 1950:40), although his career-long concern with the Algonquian hunting groups of the northeastern woodlands was 'facilitated' by his 'linguistic gifts' (Hallowell 1951:74)" (Darnell 1990:30). Anthony Wallace, one of Speck's many Penn students described Speck's personality in the classroom and the field as follows:

Frank was never comfortable in the hushed, carpeted world of academic greatness to which his classic researches into the history and culture of the Indians of the eastern woodlands had raised him. He was happier in the field than in the library; he knew better how to talk with Indians than with a dean. He was a successful teacher . . . by becoming a friend to those who studied under him . . . And to this legion of friends . . . he would impart long vistas of understanding. [1950:51]

Another student, MacEdward Leach (later a Penn professor of English and Folklore), described

his experience taking classes from Speck in the 1920s.

His classes, too, were informal, with much give and take, argument and question. Accused of overdramatizing his material, he freely admitted it, saying, "Most of these boys need stimulating; from there the ones that matter to anthropology will go on by themselves." Frank Speck was scornful of regulations, credits, grades, set courses—all the bureaucracy of a big, highly organized university. He belonged on one end of the log and the student on the other. [Leach 1958:3]

Speck's ethnology reflected his moral philosophy. He believed that the lives of Indian people exemplified a better and simpler life, closer to nature, good health, and basic human values. This emotional aspect of Speck's anthropology inspired a legacy of students at the University of Pennsylvania, including Frederick Johnson, Daniel S. Davidson, Gladys Tantaquidgeon, John Witthoft, Samuel Pennypacker, Jane Willets Ettawageshik, Anthony Wallace, Claude Schaeffer, Loren Eiseley, and Edmund Carpenter, among others.

Being raised as a young boy with a Mohegan family in Connecticut, Speck was an "Algonquianist before 1930" (Fenton 1991:15). He had a lifelong interest in Algonquin history, language, and culture, and went into the field at every opportunity, frequently with his students at Penn. These collaborative trips with students expanded Speck's own data collection and simultaneously provided instruction for his students in ethnological fieldwork and photography. Ethnohistorian William Fenton, whom Speck mentored, described Speck as Boas' "most persistent field worker" (Fenton in Blankenship 1991:9). He inspired a similar professional commitment toward field studies from his students, who like his Algonquian consultants also became his personal friends—especially New England students who shared a love of nature, the outdoor life, and northeastern Indians.

Penn anthropology students provided Speck with a far-reaching network of fieldworkers who extended the scope of Algonquian research in Canada and the United States during the 1920s through the 1940s. Speck's student researchers included the following: Daniel S. Davidson with the Tete de Boule in Quebec (Davidson 1928); Johnson with the northern Algonquin at Golden

Lake in Ontario and Lac Barriere in Quebec (Johnson 1928, 1930, 1943); Loren Eiseley with the Montagnais-Naskapi in Labrador (Speck and Eiseley 1942); Tantaquidgeon with the several Delaware communities and the Mohegan in Connecticut (Tantaquidgeon 1942, 1950); and Hallowell among various Ojibwa groups (Hallowell 1934, 1942; Spiro 1976).

Frequently, the ethnological data and field collections from students supplied useful comparative information for Speck's core concerns—Algonquin hunting territories and the origins of decorative elements in northeastern woodland art (such as the double curve motif and block stamp designs on baskets) (Speck 1929, 1937, 1941, 1947).

As Medoff observed about Speck, "collecting ethnological specimens formed an integral part of his research . . . [and] also enabled him to receive the financial backing necessary for the continuation of his field work" (Medoff 1991:104). For example, Speck returned to the Maniwaki reserve in January 1929 to attend a council meeting and verify his map of family hunting territories (Speck 1929:98) and the same year, he collected "exhibit quality" materials for George Heye (elaborately decorated birch bark containers).⁸ For Speck and his students, ethnological research and field collections worked in tandem.

In contrast to Heye's criterion of museum quality Indian art, Johnson collected humble items of everyday life at Maniwaki. The Johnson collection, although modest, was consistent with Speck's interest in collecting "traditional technology of the native populations" before it was totally replaced by western objects (Medoff 1991:105) and with Speck's (indeed many period ethnologists) practice of collecting and selling artifacts to fund their field research expenses.

Although there is no specific documentation to affirm or contest this, it is probable that Speck and Johnson visited Maniwaki together before Johnson's (1929a, b, c, d) field stay. There were several opportunities for this, as Speck visited there frequently. And it was a common anthropological practice for a mentor to introduce a student to the community and his contacts. In addition, it was typical for Speck to travel and/or partner with his graduate students in field research projects (e.g., Speck and Claude E. Schaeffer: 1942, 1945, 1950 with Catawba, Eastern Cherokee, and Powhatan,

respectively). Speck also made ethnographic field collections with his students (e.g., Speck and John Witthoft's Eastern Cherokee collections from North Carolina, circa 1930s, UPM accession #46-6).

Almost 20 years after Johnson's Maniwaki field study, Speck returned to the River Desert community with another Penn student. Horace P. Beck (who later trained under MacEdward Leach in folklore at Penn) and Speck traveled to Maniwaki in the spring of 1942 and collected folk tales from several sources, including Speck's long-time consultant Mrs. Buckshot (figure 3; Beck 1947).

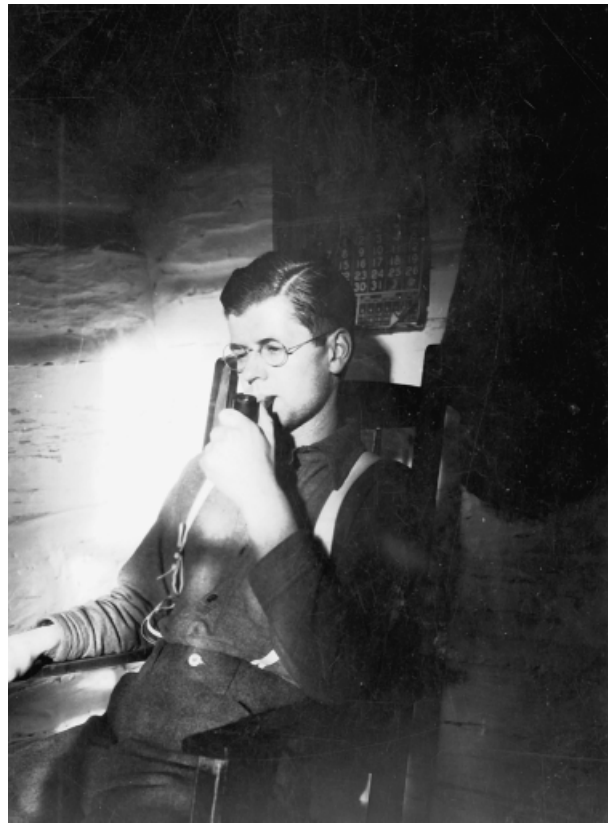
Overall, Johnson benefited from Speck's Algonquin field contacts particularly the Buckshot family at Maniwaki. Johnson began his study with indi-



3. In January 1927, Mrs. Michele Buckshot dressed in traditional clothing at Maniwaki, Quebec, for Frank Speck. Mrs. Buckshot was listed on the 1928 agency roles as part Iroquois and her clothing reflected Iroquois influences on Algonquin dress. At Johnson's request, she made potato dies to illustrate how vegetable stamps were used by the River Desert Band for decorating ash splint baskets. Photograph by Frank G. Speck. Courtesy: National Museum of the American Indian Archives, Smithsonian Institution (PO8454).

viduals whom Speck had previously known and developed his own relationships with them and others (figure 4). When he traveled to the Canadian wilderness to study the Algonquin Indians at Maniwaki, he was well prepared.

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) collection database records that Speck was the sole collector of Maniwaki ethnographic collections for Heye (accession nos. 153024–196150 with sequential gaps). However, Johnson did collect other Algonquin, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Mi'kmaq materials for Heye (see Table 1 for a summary of his Canadian fieldwork; McMullen 2004:62). The NMAI anthropologist Ann McMullen observed that "Frederick Johnson's Algonquin collections complemented those made by Speck" (McMullen 2004:62). Their student–teacher relationship was



4. Frederick Johnson was photographed at Maniwaki during his 1929 field studies. It is probable that the image was taken inside the Buckshot cabin. Photographer unknown. Johnson family album. Digital image provided by Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. Courtesy: Mrs. Martina Rudié.

Community	Year	Province
Naskapi at Seven Islands	1925	Quebec
Montagnais at Lac St. Jean	1926	Quebec
Algonquin at Golden Lake	1927–28	Ontario
Ojibwa and Potawatomi at Parry Island	1928–29	Ontario
Algonquin at Barriere Lake	1928–29	Quebec
River Desert Band at Maniwaki*	1928–29	Quebec
Montagnais and Mistassini at Point Bleu	1930	Quebec
Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia	1930	Nova Scotia
Mi'kmaq in Newfoundland	1931	Newfoundland

*National Museum of the American Indian holds photographs but not objects

Table 1. Johnson's Canadian Field Work Sponsored by George Heye

harmonious and characteristic of the Americanist tradition in field collecting—that is, assembling objects that showed the persistence of earlier, traditional forms (McMullen 2004:61).

Through their collection of Algonquin material culture and oral traditions, Speck and his students emphasized the “aboriginality” of cultural practices, including birch bark designs (cf. Speck 1914 on the double-curve motif) and family hunting areas (Speck and Eiseley 1942). Cultural continuity was evident in both Speck and Johnson collections. By acquiring everyday hunting and fishing objects, they were able to represent the past and present histories and identities of members of a northern Algonquian community who lived on the Maniwaki Reserve in the 1920s. Speck and his students also acknowledged the effects of culture contact with other regional aboriginal cultures, such as the influences of the Iroquois and northern Ojibwa on Algonquin costume and material culture, and of the

Mohawk and Tetes de Boule who joined the Maniwaki community and contributed to their material culture (Davidson 1928).

Funding for most of Johnson's Canadian field studies came from Speck's association with collector George Heye. The registrar's records and photographic archives at NMAI [the successor of George Heye's Museum of the American Indian (MAI) in New York City], provided additional information on the extent of Johnson's ethnographic investigations. Although the museum's documents prove that Johnson did not collect River Desert objects for Heye, they do detail the scope of Johnson's field collections in Canadian aboriginal communities from 1925 to 1931 (Table 1).

With this additional information on the combined field trips for Heye and Penn, Johnson's failing grades at the University of Pennsylvania can be better understood. Speck's student did not have a strong academic record at Penn. Frequent absences from school to conduct his northern Algonquian field research were partially responsible for his low grades. Johnson later described his hectic schedule of ethnological fieldwork: “The trips were made during the summers and eventually to my sorrow during vacations at Christmas and Easter. Late returns from such trips complicated and finally terminated relations with the University of Pennsylvania” (Johnson Vertical File n.d.). For example, from September 13, 1924 to February 16, 1927, when Johnson was enrolled at Penn (figure 5), he took several short research trips to Nanticoke, Naskapi, Montagnais, and other native communities in the United States and Canada. These trips were taken not only during the long summer vacations, but also during winter and spring recesses. Eventually, his grade average became so low that Johnson was placed on probation. He was finally “dropped from the College” on February 16, 1927 (Johnson Student Records n.d.). Johnson returned to Tufts College where he “was partly chastened” and graduated with a bachelor's degree in sociology in 1929 (Johnson Vertical File n.d.).

Throughout his turbulent years at college, Johnson held a steady commitment to ethnology during his early years in the field. He later recalled:

I was first interested in the ethnology of the Montagnais-Naskapi concentrating my work



5. After his summer fieldwork in Maniwaki, Johnson traveled north to another Algonquin community at Lac Barriere where this photograph was taken. He is shown carrying a large backpack with birch bark containers and using a carrying strap on his head. He collected objects at Lac Barriere in September 1929 with funding from George Heye. Photographer unknown. Digital image provided by Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. Courtesy: Mrs. Mertina Rudié.

at Seven Islands during the summer and at Pointe Bleu during the winter. Both places are in the Province of Quebec. About 1928 I moved west to the Algonquin of the Ottawa River Valley working at Golden Lake, Maniwaki and at the reserve at Bark Lake. One summer, probably 1929, was spent with the Ojibwa at Parry Island on Parry Sound, Lake Huron. Various short articles and reports came from this work. They are quite naïve and it is better to let them lie obscurely in dusty volumes. [Johnson Vertical File n.d.]

Although he was modest about his publications, Johnson was an early 20th century field ethno-

logist who contributed anthropological data and collections on several Canadian First Nation communities.

University Museum Acquisition of the Johnson Collection

Johnson became engaged in ethnographic field research with the River Desert community shortly after graduating from Tufts (see Appendix B for a chronology of Johnson's ethnographic work). He was in Maniwaki from August to early September 1929, during which time he assembled ethnographic data and objects. When he returned in October, Johnson wrote a letter to Dr. Horace Jayne, Director of UPM, and included an impressive list of 90 objects from his River Desert fieldwork (Johnson 1929b).

Johnson offered to sell his collection to the UPM during the Great Depression. The timing of this purchase was remarkable as it occurred during severe economic cutbacks at the institution. The museum was experiencing a budget deficit and reduced the staff by half (Winegrad 1993). The stock market was negatively impacting museum operations, city and university subsidies had temporarily stopped, and the construction costs of a new addition had to be paid. Overall, it was not an opportune time to spend money on new acquisitions. However, with the visionary leadership of the new director, Horace H. Furness Jayne, and the philanthropy of the Board Chairman Eldridge Johnson plus the Harrison Fund for archaeological expeditions, the Museum expanded its permanent anthropological collections during the Depression (Winegrad 1993).

The Board voted to purchase the well-documented "collection of ethnological specimens of the Algonkian Indians" for its expanding American section collections. Using the endowment money from the Macauley Fund, the Board of Managers approved the acquisition in 1929. On November 5, Johnson made arrangements to ship the items to the museum by mail and American Express (Johnson 1929c). The UPM received and paid for Johnson's collection on December 20, 1929. The purchase price for the 90 items from the Maniwaki reserve was \$260 (Board of Managers Minutes 1929). The purchase was officially announced in the *University Museum Bulletin* in February 1930,

along with a photograph of a birch bark cradle (29-10-90) (UPM 1930).

Speck facilitated the collection transfer of the River Desert collection between Johnson and the UPM (Johnson 1929b). The following year, Speck's own Algonquin field collections from the Montagnais and Naskapi communities in Canada were purchased by the UPM (Administrative Records n.d.; Speck 1935:24). The board paid a remarkable sum of \$1100 for the Speck's Naskapi ethnographic materials (Board of Managers Minutes 1930).

The timing of the acquisition was also notable in another way. The Johnson collection was acquired at the same time that the University Museum began to professionalize its collection management practices. In 1929, the registrar's office initiated a tripartite numbering system (year, sequential number of the accession for that year, and item number). Consequently, the new collection was catalogued as the tenth accession of 1929 and numbered "29-10." Geraldine Bruckner, the founding registrar of the University Museum, copied the detailed description of ethnological specimens from the Johnson catalog onto typed index cards and included the native language terms for objects (conversation between Chrisso Boulis and the author, January 28, 2005).

Boasian ethnologists valued objects for their primary relationship to academic research. In the early development of academic and museum anthropology, field collections provided data for distributional studies of native technologies (e.g., Algonquin birch bark baskets) or as "type specimens" for proposed cultural sequences (e.g., early examples of the double curve motif that supported a theory of the indigenous origin of the art). Fenton described the relationship between early 20th century anthropologists and their ethnological collections as a natural aspect of fieldwork. "Making an ethnographic collection for a museum was, in the days before grants became available, the accepted way of financing a field trip . . . Sometimes they represented investment of his [Speck's] personal funds, to be recovered when the entire lot went to a museum" (Fenton 1991:20).

In addition to the intrinsic value of ethnological objects in research and publication, the sale of field collections to private or university museums was a common practice. It permitted the scholar to recover some of the costs of unfunded field research.

For example, most of Speck's Algonquin fieldwork between 1924 and 1932 was "partially financed by the sale of items collected in the field" to several museums, frequently to George Heye at the Museum of the American Indian (Speck Photograph Collection Abstract n.d.). It was a professional practice that he passed on to his university students, such as Johnson's sale of northern Algonquin objects to the UPM. Using private money from museum and university benefactors was a common practice for anthropologists working in this era (McMullen 2004). Speck was critical of UPM Director Gordon for several reasons, including "the withdrawal of promised support for fieldwork" (Winegrad 1993:114).

Johnson's Catalog of the River Desert Collection

One of the best ways to understand Johnson's approach to ethnographic fieldwork is to study his collection catalog, entitled "Collection of Ethnological Specimens Obtained from the River Desert Algonquin" and written on October 29, 1929. It is the basis of the museum's catalog cards for the Johnson collection. The catalog description is quoted in its entirety in Appendix A.

The purpose of the extensive quotation is to illustrate in detail how an early 20th century Algonquin field collection was created and organized—categories of objects [birch bark articles, ash splint baskets (figure 6), articles made of deer



6. An unidentified River Desert Algonquin woman was photographed by Johnson as she was weaving an ash splint basket at Maniwaki in 1929. Photograph by Frederick Johnson. Courtesy: National Museum of the American Indian Archives, Smithsonian Institution (N15050).

and moose hide, cloth articles, tools, weapons, charms], measurements, provenience of the makers or source, emphasis on older types of objects, commissioned pieces and models, personal observations of the objects in use, native language terms, and native uses and meanings.

The Recording of Native Language Terms

The practice of collecting native terms and native language texts were hallmarks of Americanist anthropology during the 20th century. Boas at Columbia University taught a method of cultural description focused on consultation with elders about native perspectives of the past including their language, narratives, and material culture. Boas's student, Speck continued that anthropological practice in his teaching, research, and field collecting on American Indian cultures at Penn from 1907 to his death in 1950. And finally, Johnson, as Speck's student, followed the well-established path of the American historical tradition in his own methods for assembling ethnographic field collections.

Johnson referred to writing field notes on native texts at Maniwaki in his letter to Jayne (Johnson 1929b). However, Johnson's notes have never been found.⁹ The only extant evidence of his methods in this domain is his practice of referencing tales and recording native language terms in his catalog of objects. Johnson followed a standard practice of his mentor Speck, who collected stories about a trickster (*Wiskedjak*) from the Timiskaming band in 1913 (Speck 1915c:10–15). In the tale of "Rockweed and Red Willow from the Scabs," Speck recorded stories of the trickster's anger and self-mutilation when he was deceived by Indians. It tells of the trickster's wanderings across the landscape and describes the physical evidence of his suffering, such as the yellow spots (derived from pus from his leg sores) on the red willow bark (which is mixed with tobacco for smoking) and rock weed (which is boiled for soup when there is no other food to eat) (Speck 1915a, b, c:10–15).

During his Maniwaki fieldwork, Johnson transcribed a version of a folk tale to explain the cultural significance of a segment of vine that he collected and cataloged. He classified this vine along with 12 other specimens as "charms." His description described "one piece of trunk of vine . . . said to be the intestines of *Wiskedjak*." Algonquin

bands told and retold stories of the reckless adventures of this trickster-transformer who was known to them as *Wiskedjak* or *Nenebuc* (Speck 1915c). The northern Woodlands was an environment littered with natural transmutations caused by the trickster's exploits, such as the vine intestines (figure 11).

In the anthropological literature on Algonquin people at the time (Speck 1915c), *Wiskedjak* was identified as a northern bird, known alternatively as a Canada Jay, Meat Bird, or Whiskey Jack.¹⁰ The trickster was a bold adventurer and opportunistic hunter. Because of his insatiable appetite, he constantly pestered hunters, fishermen, and other birds for food. Whiskey Jack was part of an animated universe of talking animals, fish, trees, rocks, and water, who answered him when he asked them questions.

Johnson dutifully recorded the local Algonquian words for objects in his collection, underlining 42 native terms. To better understand these indigenous terms for objects in Johnson's collection, I sought the advice of Ives Goddard, the Senior Linguist in the Department of Anthropology, at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History.

My initial question to Goddard concerned language families. How do contemporary linguists classify the language of the River Desert band? The answer was that the Maniwaki Algonquin language was a "Nipissing dialect of Eastern Ojibwe," which replaced "Old Algonquin" as the mission language at Oka by the 19th century. Linguists today regard Ojibwe as "a complex of several emergent languages within the Algonquian family" (email to the author March 22, 2006).

The following list (Table 2) correlates accessioned objects in the UPM collection with transcriptions of Johnson's native language terms based upon the *Algonquin Lexicon* of Ernest McGregor (1987, 1994). These transcriptions were provided through the courtesy of Dr. Goddard.

Algonquian Research and George Heye

From the result of Johnson's field collection with the River Desert Algonquin, it is possible to relate his findings with contemporary research problems in anthropology and Algonquian studies. Fenton's article on Speck addresses this topic (Fenton 1991). Like Boas, Speck and his network of Penn student

Object/accession no.	Goddard/McGregor transcriptions of Johnson's terms
Birch bark basket (29-10-1)	(a) McGregor has kibòpinàgàns "birchbark basket"; J.A. Cuoq (<i>Lexique de la langue algonquine</i> , 1886) has akokipinagan "pail, bucket". I do not understand the variation (b) omagakì-midàs "frog leggings"; other sources have omakakì "frog"
Castor box (29-10-4)	wìjinàwaj "(beaver)-castor box"
Puzzle bag (29-10-14)	kashkibidàgan "drawstring bag"
Shot pouch (29-10-16)	pìndasinàn "shot pouch"
Moccasins (29-10-17)	makizin "moccasin", pl. makizinan
Birch bark container (29-10-20)	wìgwemod "birchbark basket"
Mole skin charm (29-10-22)	nanapàdjìnikesìwayàn "mole skin" (McGregor says this animal is "fieldmouse"; the name means, "the one with its hands on backwards")
Basket (29-10-33)	wàbigon "flower", wàbigonan "flowers"
Bag, pouch (29-10-35)	nawaponiwaj "lunch bag"
Wooden spoon (29-10-38)	mitig-emikwàn "wooden spoon"
Broom (29-10-39)	mitig-chìshemigwàn "wooden broom" (extra g+schwa not explained)
Porcupine tail comb cleaner (29-10-40)	kàg ozow "a porcupine's tail"
Mallet (20-10-41)	pagamàgan "mallet, hammer, club"
Bow (20-10-43)	mitigwàb "bow"

Table 2. (Continued).

Object/accession no.	Goddard/McGregor transcriptions of Johnson's terms
Arrow (20-10-46)	pikwak "blunt arrow"
Toboggan, model (29-10-53)	odàbàn "toboggan, sled, car, vehicle"
Snow shoes (29-10-55)	mitig-àgimag "wooden snowshoes"
Snow shoes (20-10-56)	àgimag "snowshoes"
Cradle board (29-10-59)	tikinàgan "cradleboard"
Mink mould (29-10-63)	shàngweshì "mink," shìbatànàk "pelt-stretching frame"
Skin stretching post (29-0-64)	McGregor has: chìshàkwahiganàtig "hide-scraping post"; Johnson's word unexplained
Walking stick (29-10-65)	sakawon "walking stick, cane"
Drum (29-10-67)	tewehigan "drum"
Rattle (29-10-69)	shìshìgwan "rattle"
Canoe (73-10-73)	Not clearly written. The second part is chìmàn "canoe"; the first part may have something to do with nàbikwàn "sailboat, ship". I do not understand the "sk" or the following letter
Vine (29-10-75)	Wisakedjàk, the trickster (intestines of)
Match box (29-10-77)	Ishkodewaj
"potato dies" (29-10-79)	padaki-wàbigon "potato-flower" (dye-stamp)
Sling (29-10-80)	"sling" (i.e. slingshot): not identified. The handwritten letter is intended for schwa (upside-down "e"), properly the phonetic symbol for a mid central vowel, but used by Johnson for short <i>i</i> , short <i>a</i> , or long <i>a</i>

Table 2. (Continued).

Object/accession no.	Goddard/McGregor transcriptions of Johnson's terms
Net needles (29-10-83)	asab-shàbonigan "net needle"
Snowshoe needle (29-10-86)	namang "snowshoe needle"
Birch bark container (29-10-88)	piskitenàgan "folder birchbark container"
Cradle board (29-10-90)	wìgwàs-tikinàgan "birchbark cradleboard"
Thunder stone charm (29-10-92)	onimikìwasin "thunder stone"; onimikìwag "thunder beings"

"These words are in Maniwaki "Algonquin," technically the Nipissing dialect of Eastern Ojibwa. Most can be found in the dictionaries of Ernest McGregor, a native-speaking linguist, issued in two volumes with the same title *Algonquin Lexicon* (Algonquin-English, 1987; English-Algonquin, 1994). In some cases, the particular compound is not attested. One or two words are uncertain. In the orthography used, the vowels *à*, *e*, *ì*, and *ò* are long, the other vowels short (there is no short "e"); *j* as in French or Portuguese."

Table 2 Commentary by Ives Goddard on the Maniwaki Words in Frederick Johnson's List of Objects collected in 1929 (Appendix A)

researchers were pursuing data on an archaic culture in Canada. The northeast in anthropology circles was considered at the time to be "one of the world's marginal cultural zones, an archaic one" (Speck 1926:272). A comprehensive survey of Canadian Algonquin communities was needed because: "the northeastern Algonkian represent a people who very long ago achieved their adjustment to the requirements of a far northern existence and kept to it no matter where they had to migrate" (Speck 1926:273). To Speck and his students, the goal of salvage ethnology in Canada was to seek out the vestiges of Aboriginal culture, including such issues as family hunting territories,

indigenous technologies for fishing and animal hunting, forms of traditional costume, and native language narratives.

To understand Johnson's Algonquin collection from the River Desert band, we need to expand our institutional horizons beyond Philadelphia. The history of research and collection of River Desert materials involved several museums, particularly George Heye's Museum of the American Indian in New York City (now the NMAI). Other materials from Maniwaki collected by Speck became part of the collections of the Denver Art Museum, the National Museum of Canada (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization), and the National Museum of Denmark (Speck 1941). However, only the UPM and NMAI collections are considered within of the scope of this paper.

McMullen described the dynamics of building of northeastern Woodland collections through the professional arrangements established between Heye and Speck. She noted:

Speck and his students almost single-handedly collected and recorded much of what was available from the Northeast region . . . Heye was a major buyer of Speck's field collections, funded Speck's field trips, and he often got first choice of what Speck collected in the field. One of their earliest transactions involved the hundreds of objects Speck collected during fieldwork among the Montagnais in Quebec. [McMullen 2004:60-61]

Heye and Speck had a co-dependent relationship based upon the exchange of cultural objects. However, the meanings and values were different for each man—for Speck, selling ethnological specimens was a means to fund his fieldwork with native cultures, and for Heye, it meant the possession of the finest artifacts for his private collection.

Heye and the UPM began a relationship in 1907 when Heye provided financial support for then Assistant Curator Gordon's Alaskan expeditions (Kidwell 1999:238). In 1908, Gordon accepted Heye's offer to "deposit" his collection at the museum, and in return, Heye was invited to join the Board of Managers and help "with the management and reorganization of the museum" (Gordon 1908). Heye gladly accepted and expressed his hope that "in some ways my collection will be of value both to your institution and to science generally" (Heye 1908).

Although there was a written agreement for the Alaskan venture (Kidwell 1999:238), apparently neither party produced a document for the deposit of Heye's collections at the University of Pennsylvania. In January 1909, the secretary of the Department of Anthropology at the museum wrote to Heye and acknowledged his "collection of American Archaeology and Ethnology in the Free Museum of Science and Art, as a loan" (Pepper 1909). By 1910, Gordon had become the Director, Speck's Penobscot field research in Maine and museum objects were paid for by Heye (Gordon 1910), and the museum exhibited Heye's private collection in its public galleries (Kidwell 1999:238).

However, by 1916, there were dramatic changes in the relationship. Heye established his own foundation and museum in New York City and withdrew his collection from the UPM, much to the dismay of the university. The museum and the board of managers assumed that the "president-chairman of the Committee on the American Section" (Kidwell 1999:238,244) would eventually donate his collection to the UPM. Interestingly, Speck and Gordon had a parting of ways in 1913 over Speck's Penobscot manuscript. However, when Speck moved to the new academic Department of Anthropology, Speck continued a cordial financial relationship with Heye—one that supported his field research through collecting.

Although Speck and Johnson made collections from the same community at approximately the same time, the two assemblages are distinctly different in some ways. The Johnson collection at the UPM consists of primarily utilitarian objects that represent everyday hunting and fishing technologies—objects made by the community for their everyday use.

In contrast to his student, Speck was an experienced collector of Algonquin material culture who was able to acquire items that would appeal to a private collector's taste such as finely crafted decorative birch bark baskets and rare divining objects used by shamans. For Speck as an ethnologist, his interpretation of aboriginal decorative designs emphasized the influence of woodlands ecology on indigenous art (Speck 1914, 1937, 1947). For Speck as a collector, he assembled a significant collection of "exhibit quality" River Desert materials for Heye's museum. Johnson never attained this level of connoisseurship in his ethnological collecting.

The border location of the River Desert Band affected the type of items available. Johnson reported in 1929 that the Algonquian people near Maniwaki lived on "the southern limit of the birch bark industry" (Johnson 1929a, b, c, d:1). Their ash splint baskets "in the simpler weaves" were decorated with colored stamps from potato dies (29.10.79 a,b) but basketry was a relatively recent innovation from the south (Johnson 1929a, b, c, d:3). Their band was also culturally diverse as evidenced by member Pete Du Bé from Weymont, Quebec, who lived with the Maniwaki community for 25 years. He made three graduated burl spoons in the Johnson collection in a distinct cultural design, presumably reflecting his own Tete de Boule traditions (29.10.38 a,b,c) (see figures 7, 9, 10).

To my knowledge, the largest ethnographic collection of River Desert materials is at the NMAI. Speck assembled this substantial collection for Heye during the late 1920s and late 1930s. From a survey of the accession records, Speck collected almost 400 objects for the Museum of the American Indian as listed in Table 3.

Speck's most intensive field collecting at Maniwaki was in 1929, the same year that Johnson made his collection. That year, Speck collected 220

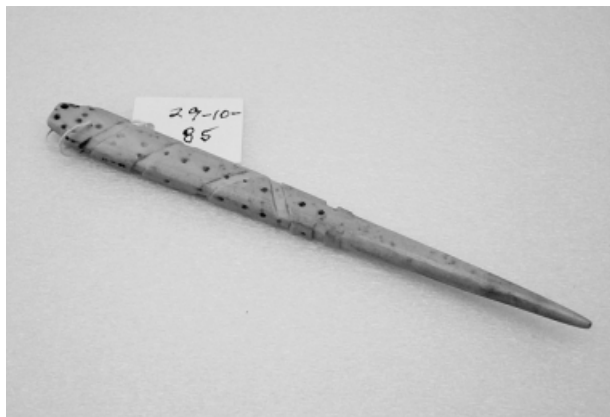


7. In 1929 at Maniwaki, Johnson photographed Pete Du Bé (a.k.a. Dubé), a Tete de Boule man who lived with the River Desert band for 25 years. Johnson collected an incised bone awl (29-10-85) and three spoons (29-10-38a-c) made by Pete Du Bé (see figures 9 and 10). A Speck student who conducted fieldwork with the Tete de Boule listed a family called Djubé that could be related to Pete Du Bé (Davidson 1928:39). Courtesy: National Museum of the American Indian Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



8. Mason jar of potato dies (in alcohol) made by Mrs. Michele Buckshot in 1929 (29.10.79a). These “potato flowers” were commissioned by Frederick Johnson to illustrate the variety of stamp designs used by the maker in decorating ash splint baskets. Photograph by author. Courtesy: University of Pennsylvania Museum.

objects that were sold to Heye, and Johnson collected 90 objects that were purchased by the UPM. Speck assembled a wide range of specimens from birch bark objects to feathered and beaded headdresses. Clothing such as hide robes, silver brooches, leggings, belts, and hide breech cloth were items not represented in his student’s collection. Speck’s interest in divination by Algonquin



9. Decorated bone awl made by Pete Du Bé in 1929 (29.10.85). Photograph by author. Courtesy: University of Pennsylvania Museum.



10. Three graduated wood burl spoons carved by Pete Du Bé in 1929 (29.10.38 a–c). Photograph by author. Courtesy: University of Pennsylvania Museum.

hunters was evident in his natural history collection of scapula from sheep and hare, along with an otter foot, and a beaver’s tibia and pelvis.

How did River Desert Band field collections reflect anthropological research in this era? The answer appears to be based in Speck’s northern Algonquin studies. Although the relationship between field collecting and research is partially speculative, some general observations may be made by applying Speck’s methods and publications. For example, although hunting equipment was well represented in the UPM Collection, Johnson did not conduct interviews with families, hunters, and band councils that were the typical sources of information on “family hunting territories” (Speck 1915a, b). So we can probably conclude that the original intent for Johnson’s study of the River Desert band was not to further investigate this topic for Speck.

1927	126 objects
1928	36 objects
1929	220 objects
1937	10 objects
Total	392 objects

Table 3: Speck’s Collections of River Desert Objects for the Museum of the American Indian (MAI, now NMAI)



11. Fragment of vine from Maniwaki believed to be part of the intestines of Algonquin trickster (Whiskey Jack) that fell out of his body after he had severely burned himself (29.10.75). Photograph by author. Courtesy: University of Pennsylvania Museum.

There appears to be a relationship between River Desert collections and Speck's interest in American Indian art, specifically a comprehensive survey of Algonquin decorated birch bark (Speck 1914, 1937). Two of his articles on Algonquin decorative arts cite Johnson's baskets from the River Desert band (Speck 1941, 1947). The 1941 article "Art Processes in Birchbark of the River Desert Algonquin, a Circumboreal Trait," published in Bulletin 128 of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology, could be considered a sequel to his study "Montagnais Art in Birchbark, a Circumpolar Trait" (Speck 1937). It analyzed museum collections of birch bark baskets from five Algonquin bands, including the River Desert. Johnson's collections from the Golden Lake band (NMAI) and the River Desert Band (UPM) were part of the studied artifacts. Although neither the Têtes de Boule nor the Algonquins at Lac Barriere in Quebec decorated their containers, Speck did consider his two students' field collections in his research (Davidson 1928; Johnson 1930). Overall, Speck saw a correlation between Algonquin decorated birch bark items, craft technology, and native arts. Speck created a logical anthropological argument for ecology as the basis for indigenous design by writing articles on specimens collected from distinct cultural communities, such as the Montagnais (Speck 1937).

Speck's 1947 article on "Eastern Algonkian Block-Stamp Decoration" included a section on the geographical range of these split ash baskets. A basketmaker from the Maniwaki community was cited for the use of potato stamps at Golden Lake and Maniwaki. Johnson performed fieldwork in both communities and was referenced by Speck. Speck was interested in distribution and decorative variation across northeastern cultures.

Unfortunately, Johnson did not publish on his River Desert research. He did publish his work at Golden Lake, Parry Island, and Lake Barriere in the MAI's *Indian Notes* (Johnson 1928, 1929a, 1930). Johnson's ethnographic field notes have never been found for the River Desert band or for other communities in the region, such as the Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq and the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology 2001:99).

A Note on Johnson's Photographs of the River Desert Band

The final topic of Johnson's ethnographic photography returns this research project full circle for it reminds me how my research project began. A few years ago, in the Abbe Museum shop in Bar Harbor, Maine, I saw a book of Johnson's photographs from the 1930s of Mi'kmaq (Micmac) communities taken in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.¹¹ This book was a catalog of a traveling exhibit by a confederation of Mainland Mi'kmaw communities and the Robert S. Peabody Museum, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. The images and community interviews were so compelling that I bought the book, which became the source of my initial curiosity about Johnson. When I returned to the UPM, I discovered the River Desert collection and have been involved in researching its history and meanings ever since.

One characteristic of Speck's field methods was the importance of establishing a personal relationship with leading elders of the community—members who knew the old ways and who participated as research consultants. These close field relationships and friendships are reflected in the documentary portrait photography by Speck and his students. The images suggested a way of life from the 19th century. For example, in 1927, Speck photographed Mr. Michele Buckshot and his wife on the Maniwaki reserve wearing traditional

clothing (which later became part of the Heye collection). That same year, Speck corresponded with Michele Buckshot asking about acquiring buckskin and beadwork (Speck Papers n.d.).

Mrs. Buckshot (*Meshkosikwe* or Beaver Meadow Woman, figure 3) was a herbalist, conjurer, and made a living by making “curiosities for trade” such as “puzzle pouches” taught to her by her grandmother at Golden Lake where she was born (Beck 1947:260). She carved turnips to illustrate the process of stamping splint baskets, which were later purchased by Heye (Speck 1947). Johnson collected potato stamps, used to decorate baskets, from Mrs. Buckshot in 1929 (purchased by the UPM). In his catalog of specimens, Johnson acknowledged that he commissioned Buckshot as the sole maker of this rare craft to make the “potato dies” (figure 8).

A friendly relationship with Mrs. Buckshot continued for years. In 1943, Speck and folklore student Horace Beck lived at her cabin during their visit to Maniwaki to collect traditional narratives. She told them about man-eating Windigos, the tale of “Wisekedjak and the Moose” and aboriginal herbal remedies (Beck 1947:261, 263–64).

Both Speck and Johnson photographed the River Desert Band at Maniwaki. The Smithsonian's NMAI holds collections of Maniwaki photographs by both anthropologists. However, copies of these images are widely dispersed in several collections, including the American Philosophical Society, the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, the UPM, and the National Museum of Denmark.

Overall, Johnson took 24 photographs at Maniwaki (NMAI N14814, N15035–15057). His photographs document various community members on the reserve in the summer of 1929, including Mr. and Mrs. Pete Du Bé, John and Nancy Bracoupe, Andre and John Cayer, and Carlie Comanda. Other images are of unidentified women and children, log houses, and various craft technologies (such as weaving baskets, stretching hides for tanning, and stretching bark for sheathing canoes). Photography was an important aspect of Johnson's Canadian ethnography. His extensive photographic archives at NMAI consist approximately of 500 images.

Conclusion

This history of the Johnson collection from Maniwaki presents an interpretation of the various

contexts that shaped Johnson's fieldwork with the River Desert Band in 1929. In that era, as now, ideological and financial factors influenced who undertook ethnographic collecting, as well as conditioned what they collected, where they collected, when they collected, and why they collected. Among the numerous relevant factors, the season of the year (summer or winter) determined what material was available. The element of external funding for ethnological fieldwork from private and university museums was critical for underwriting research costs for work in American and Canadian native communities. The River Desert collections from Maniwaki could not have been created without the sponsorship (either in advance of fieldwork or through reimbursement of expenses) of the MAI and the UPM. Museum ethnographic collections reveal the historical co-dependency between anthropologists and institutions and the centrality of objects as a commodity in the scholarly exchange.

The Johnson collection also demonstrates the widespread practice of salvage ethnology in the late 1920s. Americanist research methods diffused from Boas at Columbia University to his students in other departments of anthropology, specifically in this instance to Speck at the University of Pennsylvania, and then to his students—including Frederick Johnson. University anthropologists in the early 20th century were trained to record the oldest aspects of cultures that were perceived to be at risk, such as native language texts and traditional technologies made and used by community elders. The Johnson and Speck collections of the River Desert Band document and reflect the cultural conditions of the Algonquin community who lived on a reserve in Quebec, Canada, in the early 20th century, ancestors of today's Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg community.

In conclusion, well-documented ethnographic field collections, such as the Johnson collection, were a hallmark of early 20th century American ethnology. These historical collections preserve sources of cultural knowledge and traditions for members of native communities, scholars, and the general public.

Acknowledgments

For their assistance in the pursuit of the research reported here, I wish to acknowledge the efforts of Harold Meyer,

Philip G. Chase, Robert Preucel, Bill Wierzbowski, Marie Pasteger, Xiuqin Zhou, Chrisso Boulis, Ruth Powers, Alex Pezzati, and Francine Sarin (all of the UPM), Nancy Miller and Mark Lloyd (at the University of Pennsylvania Archives), Malinda Blustain, Victoria Cranmer, and Eugene Winter (at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, Phillips Academy), Kyna Hamill (of Tufts University), Patricia Kervick (of Harvard's Peabody Museum), Ann McMullen, Patricia Nietfeld, Lou Stancari, and Kristine McGee (at the NMAI), and Valerie-Ann Lutz (of the American Philosophical Society). Thanks go as well to Johnson's sister Mertina Rudić and to Frank G. Speck's grandson Roy Blankenship. For help on linguistic matters, appreciation is also extended to Greg Urban and Asif Agha (at Penn) and especially to Ives Goddard (NMNH).

Notes

1. In the 1980s, the band changed its name to the Algonquian phrase, *Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg*, meaning people of the "garden (kitigan) river (zibi)." *Kitigan Zibi* is pronounced "Key-te-gan See-bee." (Algonquin Nation, www.algonquinnation.ca; accessed May 23, 2008). Today, *Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg* is one of nine Algonquin communities in the province of Quebec, Canada. In 2006, their population was 2,635, with approximately 1,500 persons living on the reserve. Through their Education Council, they manage their own school system and a Cultural Centre. They speak their native Algonquin language and English, and in earlier days, some also spoke French. The *Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg* represents one of 41 First Nations communities living in the Canadian province of Quebec today (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, www.ainc-inac.gc.ca; accessed May 23, 2008).
2. Johnson collected three deerskin puzzle bags (one beaded). The puzzle was how to open the drawstring bag since the opening was disguised. To access the contents of the bag, a person would pull the strands through the flap.
3. I made a preliminary contact with their Cultural Centre coordinator in October 2006. She was aware of Speck's work, but not of Johnson and his collection at the UPM. It is notable that their website (www.kza.qc.ca; accessed May 23, 2008) includes an "historic photo gallery" with images taken by Speck and Johnson (from the Photographic Archives of the NMAI). The coordinator will consult with their Education Council and elders on how to proceed. I hope that an active research partnership will develop between the university and the First Nation community in the near future to explore the cultural meanings of Johnson's ethnographic field collection.
4. Johnson's early career in anthropology focused on the ethnology of indigenous cultures in Canada and the United States. During the 1920s and 1930s, Johnson conducted extensive fieldwork among northern Algonquian and Ojibwe communities in Canada. These projects were generally funded by Heye's Museum of the American Indian, although he sold his River Desert collection to the UPM in 1929. He was an avid fieldworker, photographer, and collector. Johnson published a number of small articles from 1938 to 1943 on his north-eastern studies with various Aboriginal communities in Maine, and Canada (Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland). As a graduate student at Harvard, Johnson conducted various ethnological and linguistic studies in Mesoamerica. He had an undergraduate degree in sociology (1929) and an honorary doctorate (1966) from Tufts University. For a comprehensive bibliography of Johnson's publications, refer to his obituary (MacNeish 1996).
5. According to Speck, Algonquins referred to Oka as *Odanang* (Speck 1947).
6. The term "River Desert" may have described what to the early French colonists appeared as an uninhabited or underutilized riverine area ("desert" signifying a deserted and uninhabited area).
7. This statement is confusing because Johnson's collection does include objects used during the winter months, such as a pair of basswood snowshoes (29-10-54), a small sled (201-10-58), and other items.
8. Recent scholarship is reexamining Speck's study of hunting territories within the context of contemporary land claims (Feit 1991). Speck's concept of the aboriginal origins of Algonquian hunting territories appears to have been based on "a prior social policy position that already was being asserted by Indians themselves, as well as by non-Native activists, including Speck" (Feit 1991:122). These observations reposition Speck's ethnographic field work with the Timagami Ojibwa (Speck 1915c) and the River Desert Algonquin council (Speck 1929) within the political history of colonial relations. His theory of hunting territories had direct relevance to the struggle of aboriginal communities to claim tribal rights over their traditional lands. In its moment, it also was an engagement in the larger Boasian critique of evolutionary social theory, which held that hunting and gathering peoples would have lacked institutions of private property.
9. There is speculation that Johnson's ethnological field notes were destroyed in a 1981 fire at his home in Andover, Massachusetts (personal communications from the R. S. Peabody staff and his sister, Martina Johnson Rudie; Confederation of Mainland Mi'kmaq and Robert S. Peabody Museum 2001:99).
10. The etymology of Wiskedjak as a Canadian jay bird was contested in Brown and Brightman's book on George Nelson (Brown and Brightman 1988:125–126). The authors cited a study by Goddard and concluded that Wiskedjak is an untranslatable ancient Proto-Algonquian name. I thank a reviewer for bringing this reference to my attention.
11. A 1930 photograph of Johnson on snowshoes standing behind a motion picture camera at Point Bleu, Quebec, suggests that he was competent in both film and still photography (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq and the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology 2001:117). The author is unaware if any of his motion picture films exist today.

References Cited

- Administrative Records (UPM)
N.d. Administrative Records, Curatorial, American Section. Box 32, Folder 24. [Collectors and Collections]. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- Beck, Horace P.
1947 Algonquin Folklore from Maniwaki. *Journal of American Folklore* 60(237): 259–264.
- Blankenship, Roy, ed.
1991 *The Life and Times of Frank G. Speck, 1881–1950*. University of Pennsylvania Publications in Anthropology, 4. Philadelphia: Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- Board of Managers Minutes (UPM)
1929 Board of Managers Minutes, 1927–1934. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
1930 Board of Managers Minutes, 1927–1934, Minutes for February 21, 1930 Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- Brown, Jennifer S. H. and Robert Brightman
1988 'The Orders of the Dreamed': George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq and the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology
2001 Mikwite'lmanej Mikmaqi'k: Let Us Remember the old Mi'kmaq. Halifax, NS: Nimbus
- Darnell, Regna
1990 Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Davidson, Daniel Sutherland
1928 Notes on Tete de Boule Ethnology. *American Anthropologist* 30(1): 18–46.
- Feit, Harvey A.
1991 The Construction of Algonquian Hunting Territories. In *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*. George W. Stocking Jr., ed. Pp. 109–134. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Fenton, William N.
1991 Frank G. Speck's Anthropology (1881–1950). In *The Life and Times of Frank G. Speck, 1881–1950*. Roy Blankenship, ed. Pp. 9–37. University of Pennsylvania Publications in Anthropology, 4. Philadelphia: Department of Anthropology.
- Gordon, George B.
1908 Letter from George B. Gordon. Suitland, MD: National Museum of the American Indian.
1910 Letter from George B. Gordon to George Heye, March 22, 1910, OC144. National Museum of the American Indian Paper Archive. Suitland, MD: National Museum of the American Indian.
- Hallowell, A. Irving
1934 Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Saulteaux Religion. *American Anthropologist* 36(3): 389–404.
1942 *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 1951 Obituary of Frank Gouldsmith Speck, 1881–1950. *American Anthropologist* 53(1): 67–87.
- Heye, George Gustav
1908 Letter from George Heye to George B. Gordon. October 21, 1908. OC244, National Museum of the American Indian Paper Archive, National Museum of the American Indian, Suitland, MD.
- Johnson, Frederick
1928 The Algonquin at Golden Lake, Ontario. *Indian Notes* 5(2): 173–178.
1929a Notes on the Ojibwa and Potawatomi of the Parry Island Reservation, Ontario. *Indian Notes* 6(3): 193–216.
1929b Letter dated October 29, 1929 from Frederick Johnson to Horace F. Jayne. Philadelphia, PA: Administrative Records, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
1929c Letter dated November 5, 1929 from Frederick Johnson to Horace F. Jayne. Philadelphia, PA: Director's Office Records, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
1929d Collection of Ethnological Specimens Obtained from the River Desert Algonquin, August–September 1929. Administrative Records, American Section, Collectors and Collections, Box 32, Folder 23. Frank G. Speck Lists of Collections. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Philadelphia, PA.
1930 An Algonkian Band at Lac Barriere, Province of Quebec. *Indian Notes* 7(1): 27–39.
1943 Notes on Micmac Shamanism. *Primitive Man* 16(3/4): 53–80.
- Johnson Student Records.
N.d. Frederick Johnson Student Records. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Archives.
- Johnson, Vertical File
N.d. Frederick Johnson Vertical File, Biographical Details. Medford, MA: Tufts University Digital Collections and Archives.
- Kidwell, Clara Sue
1999 Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye. In *Collecting Native America: 1870–1960*. Krech Shepard III and Barbara A. Hail, eds. Pp. 232–257. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Leach, MacEdward
1958 Dingoes, Skinks, and Frank Speck. *University of Pennsylvania Almanac* 4(8): 3.
- MacNeish, Richard S.
1996 Obituary of Frederick Johnson. *American Antiquity* 61(2): 269–273.
- Martin, James
1896 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, Indian Agent James Martin. Ottawa: Canada Department of Indian Affairs Report.
- McGregor, Ernest
1987 *Algonquin Lexicon (Algonquin-English)*. Maniwaki, QC: River Desert Education Authority.

- 1994 Algonquin Lexicon (English-Algonquin). Maniwaki, QC: River Desert Education Authority.
- McMullen, Ann
2004 Wonders of the East: Woodlands Art and Artifacts at the National Museum of the American Indian. *American Indian Art Magazine* 29(4): 56–63.
- Medoff, Claudia
1991 The Frank Speck Collections and the Documentation of the Material He Collected. *In* The Life and Times of Frank G. Speck, 1881–1950. Roy Blankenship, ed. Pp. 102–127. University of Pennsylvania Publications in Anthropology, 4. Philadelphia: Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- Pepper, B. Franklin
1909 Letter from B. Franklin Pepper to George Heye, January 12, 1909, OC244, National Museum of the American Indian Paper Archive, National Museum of the American Indian, Suitland, MD
- Speck Alumni Records
N.d. Speck Alumni Records Collection: folder 2. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Archives.
- Speck, Frank G.
1914 The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art. Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey Memoir 42. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.
1915a The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization. *American Anthropologist* 17(2): 289–305.
1915b Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley. *In* Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey, Memoir 70, Anthropological Series 8:1–30. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.
1915c Myths and Folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa. *In* Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey, Memoir 71. Anthropological Series 9:1–87. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.
1923 Algonkian Influence upon Iroquois Social Organization. *American Anthropologist* 25(2): 219–227.
1926 Culture Problems in Northeastern North America. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 65(4): 272–311.
1927 River Desert Indians of Quebec. *Indian Notes* 4(3): 240–252.
1928 “List of Algonquin Specimens” [from the River Desert band for George Heye.] National Museum of the American Indian Archives: OC120. National Museum of the American Indian, Suitland, MD.
1929 Boundaries and Hunting Groups of the River Desert Algonquin. *Indian Notes* 6(2): 97–120.
1935 Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
1937 Montagnais Art in Birchbark, A Circumpolar Trait. *Indian Notes* 11(2): 45–157.
1941 Art Processes in Birchbark of the River Desert Algonquin, a Circumboreal Trait. *In* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 12. Anthropological Papers 17. Pp. 229–272. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- 1947 Eastern Algonkian Block-Stamp Decoration: A New World Original or an Acculturated Art. *Archaeological Society of New Jersey, Research Series, 1*. Trenton: MacCrellish and Quigley.
- 2004 [1909] Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians. Reprint edition Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. (Originally published by the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.)
- Speck, Frank G. and Loren C. Eiseley
1942 Montagnais-Naskapi Bands and Family Hunting Districts of the Central and Southeastern Labrador Peninsula. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 85(2): 215–242.
- Speck, Frank G. and Claude E. Schaeffer
1942 Catawba Kinship and Social Organization with a Resume of Tutelo Kinship Terms. *American Anthropologist* 44(4)(part 1): 555–575.
1945 The Mutual-aid and Volunteer Company of the Eastern Cherokee. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 35(6): 168–179.
1950 The Deer and the Rabbit Hunting Drive in Virginia and the Southeast. *Southern Indian Studies* 2(1): 3–20.
- Speck Papers (APS)
N.d. Frank G. Speck Papers, Ms. Collection 126, Miscellaneous Notes #2516. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society.
- Speck Photograph Collection Abstract,
N.d. Speck Photograph Collection Abstract. National Museum of the American Indian Photographic Archives, Suitland, MD.
- Spiro, Melford E.
1976 Alfred Irving Hallowell, 1892–1974. *American Anthropologist* 78(3): 608–611.
- Tantaquidgeon, Gladys
1942 A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission.
1950 Delaware Indian Art Designs. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 20(1/2): 24–30.
- University of Pennsylvania Museum (UPM)
1930 A Collection of Algonkin Ethnology. *University Museum Bulletin* 1(2): 14.
- Voight, Virginia Frances
1965 Mohegan Chief: The Story of Harold Tantaquidgeon. New York: Funk and Wagnalls.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C.
1950 In Memoriam: Frank G. Speck. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 19(3/4): 51–53.
- Winegrad, Dilys Pegler
1993 Through Time, Across Continents: A Hundred Years of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University Museum. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Witthoft, John
1950 Obituary, Frank Gouldsmith Speck, 1881–1950. *Southern Indian Studies* 2(1): 2, 39–44.

Appendix A: Collection of Ethnological Specimens Obtained from the River Desert Algonquin, Province of Quebec, by Frederick Johnson, under the direction of F. G. Speck, during August and September, 1929

Note: The original document prepared by Frederick Johnson to describe the collection and reproduced below is in the Administrative Records, American Section, Collectors and Collections [Box 32, Folder 23, Frank G. Speck, Lists of Collections] in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives. Johnson's original 1929 list was later annotated with accession numbers by former registrar, Geraldine Bruckner. In the reproduction below, museum accession numbers are marked in bold to facilitate future access by researchers. The grammar and spellings are unchanged from the original document.

Birch Bark Articles

Containers of birch bark are made by the River Desert Algonquin in several forms and for all purposes. The industry has progressed to a point where a greater proportion of the articles produced may be said to be well made. In the deeper specimens, boxes, pails, etc., the grain of the bark runs perpendicular to the bottom in front and back, which method of treatment is similar to that used by tribes to the north and east. Some groups of the Ojibwa and other western bands make their deep receptacles with the grain running horizontally.

The greater proportion of the articles are sewn with spruce root, basswood being used for this purpose only when the former material is not obtainable. Nearly all the birch bark work of this band is decorated with positively etched designs in which floral motifs are the most common. Realistic designs are confined mostly to the representation of animals with occasional human figures, guns and simple scenes. A characteristic design is made by a series of scallops beneath the rim of the receptacles, this design has a limited distribution.

The designs are built up from a series of patterns, cut out of birch bark, which may be called the elements of the designs, because of this method, the surface to be decorated determines, to some extent, the character of the design.

The Algonquin, except in the eastern portion of their territory seem to constitute the southern limit of the birch bark industry. To the north, the Lac Barriere people and Grand Lake Victoria Indians use birch bark for every conceivable purpose, how-

ever, the technique employed by these people seems, from our present knowledge at least, to present a few differences which would separate it from that employed by the Algonquin. One of these characteristics, which at present seems evident, is the lack of decoration among the northern groups in contrast to the rather profuse decoration used by the Algonquin. To the east and north east are the Montagnais and Tete de Boule whose work in bark though comparable in some of its aspects, has other characteristics which are not found in the Algonquin industry. Since the distribution of the birch bark industry has not been fully studied it is not advisable at present to offer any conclusions concerning it.

29-10-1 1 box with cover, *akikobinága*, 4 1/2" × 3 1/2" × 3 1/2" deep. Decorated with etched design termed *omákðki midás* "frog's leggings" and a motive occurring three times the term for which is not known. Note scallop design beneath rim. Sewn with spruce root.

29-10-2 1 box with cover, 7 1/2" × 6" × 6" deep. Etched designs on front, back, and ends; note scallop design beneath rim. Sewn with basswood fibre.

29-10-8 1 box with cover, 2 1/2" × 2" × 1 3/4" deep. Floral design etched on cover; design on side represents woman.

29-10-76 1 wall box, 3 3/4" × 1 1/2" × 1 1/2" deep – flap 3 1/2" long. Sewn with string, undecorated.

29-10-3 1 wall box, 4 1/2" × 2 1/2" × 2" deep – flap 6" long. Decorated with maple leaf design.

29-10-88 1 sap bucket, *pðskité· nagðn*. L = 12 1/2" × W = 7 1/2", used for catching sap from spouts driven into maple trees, these are also used in times of emergency to cook with or to hold any liquid. I have witnessed the boiling of water over a fire in one of these containers.

29-10-4 1 "castoreum" or scent box, *wicina·wðc* of birch bark with wooden cover and buckskin thong, oval, deep, 3" × 1 1/2" × 2 3/4" deep. Undecorated. This box contains a castor which is smeared over the beaver traps to attract the game. ("castoreum" is very valuable). This box is carried at the hunter's belt, being attached by means of the toggle.

29-10-5 1 toggle scent box of birch bark with wooden cover and buckskin thong, oval and deep. 2 1/2" × 1 1/2" × 2 1/2" deep. Etched designs represent a beaver cutting down a tree, a gun to shoot the beaver, also two otters.

29-10-6 1 birch-bark scent box made by folding one piece of bark; decorated with beaver and leaf designs.

29-10-7 1 birch-bark box for carrying binoculars. 4 1/8"×1 5/8"×4" deep. Oval shape, deep, with wooden base and buckskin carrying thong.

29-10-20 1 birch-bark dish, *wigwémōt*, "birch-bark container", 8 1/2" diam.×3 1/2" deep, floral design etched inside. Shallow and circular.

29-10-9 1 oval birch-bark tray, 12"×9 1/2"×4" deep. Floral designs and "hearts" etched on the outside of the specimen.

29-10-77 1 tubular birch-bark match box, *skudē·wuc*, with wood bottom and separate wooden lid. H = 3 7/8"×1"D.

29-10-90 1 birch-bark cradle board, 21 5/8"×3 3/4" to 12 1/2". Decorated with etched floral designs and interesting application of scalloped design around edge, on the back note variation of scallop design. Cradle boards of this type are made for newborn babies and are used sometimes until the child is one month old or more. This specimen is very important in that to my knowledge it is the only one which has been collected from the Algonquin. It is called *wigwás tikinágōn*; *wigwás* "birch bark" and *tikinágōn* "cradle board".

29-10-78 1 birch bark moose call; L 23"×greatest diameter 2 3/4".

29-10-21 15 patterns cut out of birch-bark, mounted on two pieces of cardboard. These are used in making the designs on the boxes, etc. The pattern is laid on the bark and then marked out, then the bark is scraped away from the mark leaving the design. Two additional patterns not mounted—moose and doe.

Ash Splint Baskets

Ash splint baskets are made by these people in simpler weaves. Although the industry has not reached the peak of perfection found among Iroquois and some of the southeastern Algonquian peoples yet baskets are by no means rare among the River Desert people. Some of the specimens are decorated with colored splints or with "curly-cues" but, with the exception of the "open-weave" basket, there is no attempt at decoration by means of complicated weaves. Practically the only weave used by this band is the under-one, over-one type. In this area this band is on the northern margin of the technique, for no splint baskets are made by their

northern neighbors the Lac Barriere people who are a branch of the Grand Lake Victoria band. The Tete de Boule and Montagnais also do not make ash splint baskets. In the opinion of many people at River Desert, the basketry industry is of comparatively recent origin, its adoption by these people being probably due to influences from the Iroquois or at least some southern sources.

Splint baskets are known by the general term *awōdjo^w·nágōn* "(something) carried on the back", there seems to be no specific terms for the different types of baskets.

29-10-26 1 rectangular basket of twilled ash splints, 14 1/2"×19"×9 1/2" deep. Undecorated.

29-10-27 1 round basket of twilled ash splints, 18" diam.×15" deep. Undecorated.

29-10-28 1 rectangular basket of twilled ash splints with handles on end, 10"×8 1/2"×4 1/2" deep.

29-10-29 1 square shallow basket of twilled ash splints, 9"×9"×3" deep. Red and blue splints have been horizontally woven into the walls of the basket.

29-10-30 1 round basket of twilled ash splints with cover, 5 1/2"×3" deep. Decorated with blue and green splints woven horizontally into the wall of the basket; by a blue splint "looped" around the rim of the basket; by red and blue splints woven into the cover; and by "curly-cues" on the wall and cover.

29-10-31 1 wall basket of twilled ash splints, 8 1/2"×4 1/2"×3 1/2" "deep – flap 4" long. Decorated with yellow splint woven horizontally into the wall of the "box" of the basket and by looping forward the warp splints of the flap.

29-10-32 1 "open work" basket of twilled ash splints, made to hang on wall, 8" diam×12" deep. The distribution of this type of basket is of interest, similar baskets being found among the Mohegan of Connecticut and among other tribes where they are used principally for washing.

29-10-33 1 wall basket of twilled ash splints, 12"×4 1/2"×4" deep – flap 8 1/2" long. This basket has been decorated by stamping designs called *wap̄gwūn* "flowers" in red and blue on the splints. The use of splints having different widths may also be noted, perhaps this is a conscious attempt at decoration.

29-10-10 1 round basket of twilled ash splints, decorated with the stamped designs in red and blue

in the same manner mentioned above. $9'' \times 9'' \times 5 \frac{1}{2}''$ deep.

29-10-11 1 round basket of twilled ash splints decorated with the stamped designs in red and blue in the same manner mentioned above. $10 \frac{1}{2}'' \times 10 \frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$ deep.

29-10-34 1 round basket of twilled ash splints, decorated with the stamped designs in red and blue in the same manner mentioned above. $8 \frac{1}{2}''$ diam.

20-10-79 A number of potato dies used in stamping the baskets, a) dies in alcohol in jar are included in the collection. Obviously these are not made until it is desired to use them because they soon shrivel if they are exposed to the air for any length of time. The accompanying collection was made at my request and represents approximately the range of variation employed by the woman. This woman, Mrs. Michelle Buckshot, is the only one, as far as I could determine who does this type of work.

The distribution of this type of decoration is interesting. In early New England the practice was known and has come down to us through a number of old baskets preserved in local museums. It would be well also to note that the Delaware make dies out of wood which they use in the same manner. There are probably other tribes who are acquainted with this technique, but since I have not had the opportunity to look up the trait I can offer no more information. I can refer to Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon who is beginning a study of this type of art. The two ash strips included show the different stamps.

The dies are termed *pòdúkiwapgwún* "potato-flowers"

29-10-12 and **29-10-13** Two figures made of ash splint (b from above) to represent a dog (29-10-12) and a deer (29-10-13).

Articles made of Deer and Moose Hide

29-10-14 1 small puzzle bag (*kacgibitáǵǵn*), beaded deer skin

29-10-15 a & b 2 puzzle bags, undecorated, deer skin

29-10-16 1 shot pouch made of moose ears (*píndǵsǵnan*), cloth lined.

29-10-35 1 fawn-skin bag or shoulder pouch. (*opwǵniwuc?*). H = $8 \frac{1}{4}''$, W = $8 \frac{1}{4}''$.

Used to carry lunch.

29-10-80 1 buckskin sling *pimasiná · bǵn*. These are used by the children and occasionally by the hunters only for amusement, no attempt is made to kill animals, etc with them. One informant said that they used to be used in the "Indian Wars", I offer this bit of information for what ever it may be worth. If the specimen represents an old trait in the material culture it is of considerable interest, the nearest people, to my knowledge who use it are the Eskimo.

29-10-26 1 hat made of the neck or "bell" of the moose.

29-10-17 a & b 1 pair buckskin winter moccasins, "deer-nosed type" *mukísǵn*. This type is said to be a new style which is now in vogue, it suggests Ojibwa style. L = $10''$. Undecorated.

29-10-18 a & b 1 pair "deer-nosed" buckskin moccasins decorated with floral design and line of embroidery around the vamp. L = $7 \frac{3}{8}''$.

Cloth Articles

29-10-19 1 cloth wall pocket. This specimen is made in the form having a wide distribution. Among the Montagnais they are made of cloth and decorated with beaded designs, they also may be made of skin or of scraps of fur. The Naskapi decorate similar specimens made of caribou skin with painted designs. The type is known also by the southern Algonquians. H = $10 \frac{1}{4}''$.

29-10-37 1 cloth bag filled with tinder. This is part of the outfit for making fire which used to be carried. Our present information indicates that fire was made with pyrites in aboriginal times, with the coming of the whites, flint and steel was substituted. At present this is seldom used, matches having become more popular. H = $7'' \times W = 6''$

Tools, Weapons, etc.

29-10-81 1 wooden net needle with open ends for making nets of babiche. L = $9 \frac{1}{4}'' \times W = 1 \frac{7}{8}''$

29-10-82 1 wooden net block for making babiche nets. L = $3 \frac{5}{8}'' \times W = 2 \frac{5}{8}''$

29-10-83 a-b-c-d 4 wooden net needles (*asáp'cábonigǵn*), with central spine and closed end for making twine nets.

$$aL = 9 \frac{1}{2}'' \times W = 11 \frac{1}{2}''$$

$$b \& cL = 7 \frac{15}{16}'' \times W = 12 \frac{1}{16}''$$

$$dL = 6 \frac{3}{4}'' \times 11 \frac{5}{16}''$$

29-10-84 1 wooden net block for twine nets. L = $3 \frac{3}{8}''$, W = $1 \frac{1}{4}''$.

29-10-38 a-b-c 3 large, old, wooden spoons (*mitigémkwōn*) *mitig*, “wood”; *emkwōn*, “spoon”. These spoons were made by Pete Dubé who was born at Weymont and claims to be a Tete de Boule. He has lived with the River Desert Band for about 25 years.

a L = 7 7/8" × greatest W = 4 1/8"
 b L = 8" × greatest W = 3 1/2"
 c L = 5 1/2" × greatest W = 2 3/4"

29-10-85 1 bone awl, made by Pete Dubé (see above). 7 1/2" long, carved with spiral bands and pits.

29-10-86 1 bone snowshoe needle, *nōmōk*

29-10-87 a-b 2 wooden snowshoe needles.

29-10-39 a-b 2 brooms made of splints of ironwood, (*mi · tigtci · cōgōmgwōn*).

Used to sweep snow away from log hunting shanties.

a L = 47 1/2"
 b L = 55"

29-10-40 1 porcupine-tail comb cleaner, *kāgwōzo*, wooden handle. 11 3/4" long.

29-10-41 1 mallet for driving canoe ribs, *pugamāgōn*. Wood—L = 8" × H = 4 3/4", D = 3".

29-10-42 1 Powder horn. L = 7 1/2", Horn with wooden bottom and separate wooden plug. Rawhide strap.

29-10-43 a-b 2 wooden bows, *mitigwab*, narrow tipped type.

a L = 51" buckskin string
 b L = 39" cotton string

29-10-44 1 wooden bow, wide tipped type. L = 51", rawhide string.

29-10-45 1 wooden bow, wide tipped type with curved ends, said to be the type used in war. L = 52", strung with fiber string.

29-10-46 a-b 2 one-piece wooden arrows with large blunt heads, *pikūuk*. L = 25 1/2".

29-10-47 a-b 2 small, one piece, wooden arrows with blunt heads and notches on sides of large ends. L = 14 1/2". The large blunt arrows are used for small game.

29-10-48 a-b-c-d 4 wooden arrows, butts to show the traditional method of feathering.

a L = 21 3/4"

b L = 21"

c L = 20 5/8"

d) L = 13"

29-10-49 a-b 2 wooden war clubs, ball-headed type, *pugamāgōn*.

a L = 19 3/8".
 b L = 17 3/4"

29-10-50 a-b (a) 1 wooden signal arrow, L = 31", (b) 1 wooden slinging stick, L = 34 1/2", which is decorated with foxes and moose drawn in pencil. Tradition has it that arrows of this type were used to send messages from camp to camp.

29-10-51 1 beaver net of babiche. These are used even today for catching beaver. The net is set by attaching it to a spring pole, arranging it so the bag part of the net is spread open under water. When the beaver enters the net he releases the spring pole and is suspended in the air, tangled in the net.

29-10-52 1 otter net of babiche. These are spread across a creek frequented by otters. The net is weighted with stones at the bottom and held upright by the attached floats, it is fastened to two stout posts driven into opposite banks of the creek. The otter becomes entangled in the net and is drowned.

29-10-53 1 model toboggan of wood, *tabán*. L = 27", W = 5 5/8", H = 6".

29-10-54 a-b-c-d 2 pair basswood snowshoes. Frame made of bent twig, netting of twilled basswood fiber. These are very interesting and perhaps important specimens. At the present time they are made and used in time of emergency, such as being caught some distance from camp when the crust on the snow has suddenly melted. Such a pair of snowshoes are easily made, the only tool required being a knife. It is easy to see how it would be possible for an aborigine having only stone and bone tools, to make such snowshoes, which by the way, are quite serviceable. With this in mind one can suggest that this type might be the prototype of the netted babiche snowshoes. It is difficult to understand how a person having only stone and bone tools could cut the babiche to say nothing of the wooden part of an ordinary netted snowshoe.

1 pair a L = 20 1/4"

b L = 19"

1 pair c L = 22 3/4"

d L = 24"

29-10-55 a-b 1 pair wooden snowshoes, *mitígagðmð'k*. These are models of actual specimens which have been made by members of this band. L = 15 1/2".

29-10-56 1 pair small netted snowshoes, *agðmð'k*. Decorated with blue, green and red wool. L = 18 1/2". Small specimens of best type: wooden frame, sinew netting.

29-10-57 1 wooden canoe paddle, *abuí*. L = 60". Used.

29-10-58 1 small sled, model, all wood. Similar in form to larger ones used by the hunters. L = 35 1/2" W = 9 1/2", H = 7 5/8".

29-10-59 1 large wooden cradle board, *tikinágðn*. L = 28" × W = 6 1/2-10".

29-10-60 1 wooden cradle board for doll. L = 12 5/8" × W = 2 1/2"-5 1/2".

29-10-61 1 wooden doll. L = 7 1/2". Arms and legs tied on.

29-10-62 1 woven basswood bag. H = 11" without fringe × W = 8". Made of twined twill.

29-10-63 a-c 1 mold for mink skin, *tcibatá · nðk* (mink *cangwé · ci*). Made of 3 long tapered pieces of flared wood. a + b L = 31 1/2"; c L = 31 3/4".

29-10-64 1 sharpened post for stretching skins during process of tanning. *tcí · cíg'sisðgðn*. L = 39".

29-10-65 1 wooden walking stick, *sðká•wðn*. Decorated with carved designs, raised and cameo, with bear's head on the front of handle; Left side, (top to bottom) moose, bear, fox, otter; right side, beaver, rabbit, fish; front, maple leaf, eagle, fish; rear, maple leaf. L = 35 3/4".

25-10-66 1 wooden walking stick, left side decorated with carved designs of moose, bear and fox in cameo. Right side with beaver, bear and otter. L = 34 1/2".

29-10-67 1 drum. This drum shows the proportions and general type of construction of a drum which is very old and which is not obtainable at present. It is in fact a working model. Termed *tewé · gðn*. European type, double-headed, cylindrical, with snares. H = 14" × D = 8 3/4".

29-10-68 a-b 2 drum sticks, made from one piece of wood. L = 12 3/4".

29-10-69 1 rattle, *cici'•gwðn*. The drum and the rattle are used in connection with social dances which are held occasionally by the River Desert People. Wooden handle and cylinder end made of wide splint but in circle with wooden top and bottom; filled with small rattling objects. D = 3 1/2" × H = 2 1/2"; Stick = 7 7/8".

29-10-70 1 pipe with carved beaver. L = 6". Modern type with wooden bowl and stem, cherry wood mouthpiece. Beaver carved in full round.

29-10-71 a-b-c 3 pipes. These are made when the hunter loses or breaks his pipe while he is in the "bush". (a) L 5 1/2", (b and c) L = 4 5/8". Corncob shape; of wild cherry.

29-10-72 1 small smoking pipe made of birch bark-*opwagðn*; made when hunter loses his, etc. Made of spiral piece of bark L = 2 1/2" × H = 1 1/2".

Charms, etc.

29-10-22 1 small mole-skin, *nipwðd-jinðké-si-wean*. When this is carried in one's pocket it is said to bring "good luck". Used as a charm.

29-10-23 1 duck's bill. Used as a charm. The function of this article is not wholly clear to me.

29-10-24 1 bear's tooth. A "good luck" charm. Also given to teething children.

29-10-92 1 "Thunder-stone" *unim'kíwðsðn*. These stones are not at all common and are very hard to obtain. Tradition has it these stones are what the thunder people (*Unim'kíwuk*) throw. They are what cause the damage which the white people attribute to the lightning. When such a stone is found it is considered quite lucky for it is believed that they will never be struck by "thunder". The stones are passed on from generation to generation, this particular one is said to belong to the great grandmother of a man now living. Probably natural and unworked. 3" × 2 1/4" × 1 1/2".

29-10-93 1 stone celt found in the vicinity of Maniwaki, Province of Quebec. It was being used as a whetstone by its former owner, who knew that it was a specimen of ancient stone working. Rudely shaped and broken. 3 5/8" × 1 7/8".

29-10-89 1 large rectangular, deep birch bark box with cover sewn on, 9" × 12" × 8" deep. Decorated with circle on cover and with maple leaf on one side.

29-10-91 1 birch bark box 13" diam × 9" deep, undecorated. Large, deep, old. Rectangular base, circular orifice.

29-10-73 1 model birch bark canoe. This specimen is very interesting for it is supposed to represent the large trading canoes termed *nabiskátciman*, used by the Hudson's Bay company. The ordinary type of canoe made by this band has the ends coming to a sharp point a few inches above the level of the gunwales. L = 34".

29-10-74 1 ring and pin game, wooden. Pin 7" long; 12 wooden rings graduated from 5/8" to 1 3/8" diam. Attached with buckskin.

29-10-25 1 bone from gill of pike. The Algonquin believe that this bone resembles a loon's head and neck in profile. When the neck is bulged out as though full of fish it means that the fisherman, who caught the pike from which the bone was taken, will have good luck the next time he goes fishing.

29-10-75 1 piece of trunk of vine. This vine (identity not known) is said to be the intestines of *Wis'kédjak*, who is the trickster in Algonquin mythology. The myth, of which there are many episodes, explains the twisted vines by relating how, after *Wis'kédjak* had burnt his anus in order to punish it for not guarding his ducks, the trickster wandered around in the woods searching for relief from his pain. He had burnt himself so badly that his intestines fell out, they being turned into these vines. (The myth is recorded in text but still is in my possession in manuscript form. This I intend to publish sometime in the future, as soon as more information is obtained.) L = 13 1/2".

Appendix B: Chronology of Johnson's Ethnographic Work (1917-1936)

The following chronology was compiled by the author and Harold Meyer.

1917	Speck and Johnson families met during summers in Gloucester, MA; Johnson took his first ethnological field trip with Frank Speck to study among the Montagnais-Naskapi in northern Quebec, Canada
1923	Attended Tufts College, Medford, MA
1924	Transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA

Appendix B. (Continued).

1925-1927	Began ethnological fieldwork under the direction of Frank Speck on reserves in eastern Canada, including among the Montagnais-Naskapi in Quebec, at Seven Islands, and at Pointe Bleu
1925-26	Took classes in ethnology and archaeology from Frank Speck and A.I. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania
1927	(February) Left University of Pennsylvania and returned to Tufts College
1927	(Spring) Conducted fieldwork with an Algonquin community south of Ottawa River at Golden Lake, funded by Museum of the American Indian
1928	(Summer to September) Conducted ethnographic fieldwork with Algonquian Indians of the Ottawa Valley in Ontario and Quebec provinces in Canada—River Desert community at Maniwaki (summer) and Lake Barriere (one week in September) under Speck's general supervision, funded by Museum of the American Indian
1929	Received B.S. degree in Sociology from Tufts College; (summer) conducted ethnographic fieldwork with the Ojibwa on Parry Island in Lake Huron under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian
1929-1936	Attended Harvard University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
1930	(Summer) Conducted ethnographic fieldwork with Micmac communities in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island
1930-1933	Hemingway Fellow at Harvard University; hired as assistant in Anthropology Department
1931	(Summer) Took a class with Dr. Roland Dix; conducted ethnographic fieldwork with Micmacs on Conne River, Newfoundland, for the

Appendix B. (Continued).

	Museum of the American Indian; published a paper on Micmac shamanism
1932	(two seasons) Sent by Harvard to western Panama for comparative ethnographic research
1933	Worked at Harvard and wrote reports on the Panama expedition while conducting curatorial work at the Peabody Museum; worked in the Yucatan with Frank H. H. Roberts and participated in Carnegie Foundation project on the ancient Maya
1934– 1936	Part-time instructor in Anthropology, Harvard University
1936	Hired as curator (of Archaeology) at the Robert S. Peabody Museum, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA

Marilyn Norcini is a Senior Research Scientist in the American Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology. She is the author of numerous works including, most recently, Edward P. Dozier and The Paradox of the American Indian Anthropologist (University of Arizona Press, 2007).

Abstract

This paper is a collection history of a relatively unknown assemblage of Algonquin ethnographic materials from the "River Desert" community in Maniwaki, Quebec, Canada—a people now known as the Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg. The objects were collected by Frederick Johnson, a student of Frank Speck at the University of Pennsylvania, in 1929. My objective is to analyze the Johnson collection within the historical context of Algonquin research during the early 20th century—a time of intensive ethnological field work with Canadian aboriginal communities, of accumulation and sale of objects to finance fieldwork, and of ambitious acquisitions by museums. [Keywords: Algonquin, Canada, ethnology, Frank G. Speck, museum collections]