

Further References by Chapter for *Imagining Head-Smashed-In*

Chapter 1: The Buffalo Jump

For more on communal buffalo hunting, see Frison 1987, 2004; Verbicky-Todd 1984. On the communal hunting of a variety of animals, see Forbis 1978.

On the archaeology of other buffalo jumps, pounds, and kill sites see: Adams 1977; Agenbroad 1976, 1978; Arthur 1962; Bement 1999; Brumley 1971, 1975, 1976; Clark and Wilson 1981; Forbis 1962; Frison 1970 (*The Glenrock Buffalo Jump*), 1970 ("The Kobold Site"), 1973, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1996, Frison and Todd 1987; Kehoe 1967, 1973; Landals 1990; Marshall 1988; Marshall and Brink 1986; Medicine Crow 1978; Reher and Frison 1980; Schaeffer 1978; Speth 1983; Stanford 1978; Todd 1987 ("Taphonomy of the Horner II Bone Bed"), 1987 ("Analysis of Kill-Butchery Bonebeds"), Wheat 1972.

For technical papers on the archaeology of Head-Smashed-In see: Brink, Wright, Dawe, and Glaum 1985, 1986; Brink and Dawe 1989, 2003; Brink and Rollans 1990; Hughes 1986; Kooyman, Newman, and Ceri 1992; Marshall 1988; Newman, Ceri, and Kooyman 1996; Reeves 1978, 1985; Rollans 1987.

For more on the cliff and kill site at Head-Smashed-In, see Reeves 1978; Catto, Bobrowsky, and Waters 1983; Bobrowsky, Brink, and Bichler 2001.

For what makes some sites best suited for a buffalo kill, see Frison 1970 (*The Glenrock Buffalo Jump*), 1970 ("The Kobold Site"), 1973, 1987, 1991, 2004.

For a physical description of the Great Plains, see Kay 1998.

Chapter 2: The Buffalo

For the evolution, classification, and varieties of bison, see especially McDonald 1981; also Geist 1993; Guthrie 1970, 1980, 1990; Reynolds, Gates, and Glaholt 2003; Rhodes 1897; Skinner and Kaisen 1947; van Zyll de Jong 1986, 1993; Wilson 1978, 1980.

For a detailed description of bison from the historic literature, see Palliser 1969:108-09.

For the numbers of bison in North America at the time of European contact, see especially Isenberg 2000; also Dary 1974; Lott 2002; McHugh 1972; Shaw 1995. For varieties of buffalo hunting by Plains Indians, see Frison 1991, 2004; Verbicky-Todd 1984.

For the importance of fat in all life, see Pond 2004.

For the role of fats in large game animals, see Byers and Schelling 1988; Emery 1969; Ferrell 1988; Leat and Cox 1980; Pond 1978; Young 1976.

Chapter 3: A Year in the Life

For general bison natural history, ecology, behaviour, and biology, see especially Reynolds, Gates, and Glaholt 2003; also Banfield 1974; Barsness 1985; Danz 1997; Dary 1974; Garretson 1927; Geist 1996; Graham 1923; Grinnell 1904; Haines 1970; Lott 2002; Matthews 1992; McHugh 1958, 1972; Olson 2005; Roe 1972.

For more technical literature on bison, see Berger and Peacock 1988; Fuller 1966; Guthrie 1970, 1980, 1990; Halloran 1957, 1961; Kreutzer 1992; Lott 1974, 2002; Nelson 1965; Peden 1976; Reynolds, Gates and Glaholt 2003; Reynolds, Hansen, and Peden 1978; Rutberg 1984; Shaw and Carter 1989; Soper 1941.

For calving patterns of bison and other large herbivores, see Fuller 1966; Haugen 1974; McHugh 1958; Millar 1977; Shaw and Carter 1989; Soper 1941; Thorne, Dean, and Hepworth 1976.

For general female bison reproduction and calf rearing, see Banfield 1974; Lott 2002; McHugh 1958; Nelson 1965; Price and White 1985; Reynolds, Gates, and Glaholt 2003.

For more on fat cycles, pregnancy, lactation, reproduction, and the rut in female bison and other game animals, see Anderson, Bowden, and Medin 1990; Bear 1971; Byers and Schelling 1988; Ferrell 1988; Green 1990; Hudson and Christopherson 1985; Lott and Galland 1987; Moen 1973; Oftedal 1985; Rutberg 1984; Schingoethe, Byers, and Schelling 1988; Thomas 1982; Tyler 1987; Young 1976.

For the general behaviour, reproduction, and the rut in large animals, see Komers 1992; Lott 1974; Melton, Larter, Gates, and Virgl 1989; Nelson 1965; Patterson, Price, and Berg 1985; Peters 1983; Reynolds, Gates and Glaholt 2003; Reynolds, Hansen, and Peden 1978; Schmidt-Nielsen 1984.

For more on fat cycles, reproduction, and the rut in male bison and other game animals, see Anderson, Medin, and Bowden 1972; Anderson, Bowden, and Medin 1990; Dauphiné 1976; Gates and Hudson 1981; Geist 1996; Johns, Smith, and Chesser 1984; Komers 1992; Maher and Byers 1987; Peters 1983; Young 1976.

For summaries of bioenergetic principles in large herbivores, see especially Berg and Butterfield 1976; Price and White 1985; also Briskey 1969; Fortin, Reid, Maiga, Sim, and Wellington 1980, 1981; Franzmann 1985; Hafez 1969; Hudson and White 1985; Link, Bray, Cassens, and Kauffman 1970; Pianka 1976; Van

Soest 1994; Widdowson 1981; Wilber and Gorski 1955; Wolff 1998; Zobrisky 1969.

For more on the seasonal round of bison and bison hunters, see Bamforth 1988; Driver 1990; Hanson 1984; McHugh 1958; Moodie and Ray 1976; Morgan 1980; Olson 2005; Peck 2004; Shaw and Carter 1990; Vickers and Peck 2004.

Chapter 4: The Killing Field

For more on the vegetation at Head-Smashed-In, see Bailey 1984.

For how drive lanes work to direct various animals to their deaths, see Benedict 1996, 2005; Brink and Rollans 1990; Brink, Wright-Fedyniak, and Wetzel 2003; Rollans 1987; Brink 2005.

For specific studies of the drive lanes at Head-Smashed-In, see Brink and Rollans 1990; Reeves 1985; Rollans 1987.

For the analysis of projectile points from the Plains, see Duke 1991; Peck and Hudecek-Cuffe 2003; Pyszczyk 2003; Taylor 2006.

For historic and ethnographic accounts of the operation of buffalo pounds, see Audubon 1960, Vol.2:144-46; Dempsey 1977:49, 178, 266, 291; Ewers 1968:166-67; Fidler 1991; Gregg 1966, Vol.2:217; Grinnell 1923, Vol.1: 264-66, 1962:228-32; Harmon 1911:285-87; Henry 1969:299-301; Hind 1971, Vol.1:355-57; Kane 1996:80-82; Lowie 1909:11; Mandelbaum 1979:52-55; McDougall 1898:143-44; Spry 1968:197-98.

For historic and ethnographic accounts of buffalo jumps, see Fidler 1991; Grinnell 1962:230-32; James 1905, Vol .2:281-82; Lewis 1966, Vol.1:235; Lowie 1922 (*The Material Culture of the Crow Indians*):211, 1922 (*Religion of the Crow*):357; McDougall 1898:218; Schoolcraft 1966:279-80.

Chapter 5: Rounding Up

For ceremonies leading up to a buffalo hunt, see Grinnell 1962:229; James, 1905, Vol. 1:297-98; Mandelbaum 1979:177; Spry 1968:198; Dempsey 1977:178, 296; Southesk 1969:104.

For ceremonies involving bison skulls, see Bradbury 1904:141; Densmore 1918:444; Farnham 1906, Vol.1:268-69; Grinnell 1923, Vol.1:268; James 1905, Vol.2:253; Lowie 1922 (*Religion of the Crow*):355, 357; Mandelbaum 1979:54; Maximilian 1906, Vol.1:318, 383; Vol.2:333-34, 375.

For sacred parts of the buffalo carcass and offerings, see Catlin 1851, Vol.1:127-28; Fletcher and La Flesche 1972:332; James 1905, Vol.2:63; Mandelbaum 1979:55, 58, 205; Glover 1962:259.

For more on wolves and bison, see Carbyn 1992, 2003; Carbyn and Trottier 1987; Carbyn, Oosenbrug, and Anions 1993; Lott 2002.

For more on grizzly bears killing bison, see James 1905, Vol.3:46-47; Lewis 1966, Vol.2:362; Palliser 1969:281; Southesk 1969:112.

For more on fire used by Aboriginal people in North America, see Lewis and Schweger 1973; Lewis 1982.

For fire used by Aboriginal people to drive bison, see Dodge 1959 (*Our Wild Indians*):288; Spry 1968:254-55; Perrot 1969:121-22.

For bison having strong aversion to smoke and fire, see Kane 1996:80.

Chapter 6: The Great Kill

For more on the theories of bison running as a pack and the stampede coming at the end of the drive, see Frison 1973, 1991, 2004.

For more on the numbers of buffalo killed at pounds and jumps, see Catlin 1851, Vol.1:199-201; Fidler 1991:58; Harmon 1911:70, 285-87; Henry 1969:301; Hind 1971, Vol.1: 357; Maximilian 1906, Vol.1:390.

For full eyewitness descriptions of killing bison at pounds, see Harmon 1911:285-87; Hind 1971, Vol.1:359; Spry 1968:197-98.

For arguments about the assembly line butchering of bison, see Frison 1970 (*The Glenrock Buffalo Jump*), 1970 ("The Kobold Site"), 1973, 1991; Wheat 1972.

For more on a logical butchering sequence, see Frison 1970 (*The Glenrock Buffalo Jump*), 1970 ("The Kobold Site"); Wheat 1972.

Chapter 7: Cooking up the Spoils

For more on archaeological records of bison butchering and processing, see Brink 1997, 2001; Brink, Wright, Dawe, and Glaum 1985, 1986; Brink and Dawe 1989, 2003; Dyck and Morlan 1995; Frison 1983; House and Smith 1975; Jackson 1998; Leechman 1951; Reeves 1990; Vehik 1977; Walker 1992; White 1952, 1953 ("Observation"), 1953 ("A Method of Calculating"), 1954, 1955; Wissler 1910; Witkind 1977; Wright 1992.

For more historic records of bison butchering, see Audubon 1960, Vol.2:141-42; Densmore 1918:443-44; Fletcher and La Flesche 1972:271-74; Harmon 1911:287-88; James 1905, Vol.1:301-02; McDermott 1940:192-93.

For foods consumed immediately after kills and as snacks, see Coues 1897, Vol.1:397; Dodge 1959 (*Our Wild Indians*):276; Ewers 1968:167; Flannery 1953:58; Grinnell 1962:205; Maximilian 1906, Vol.2:346; Wilson 1924:252.

For foods preserved by drying, see Grinnell 1962:205-06; Harmon 1911:282; James 1905, Vol.1:301-02; McDougall 1898:221; McDermott 1940:196.

For the preservation properties of wood smoke, see Holley and Patel 2005; Niedziels, MacRae, Ogden, and Nesvadba 1998; Sunen 1998.

For the desire for and various use of bone marrow, see Dodge 1959 (*Our Wild Indians*):273-74; Farnham 1906, Vol.1:202; James 1905, Vol.1:301; Marcy 1859:237; Wilson 1924:268.

For the desire for and various use of bone grease, see Brackenridge 1904:137; Harmon 1911:282; James, 1905 Vol.1:301; Mandelbaum 1979:58; Turney-High 1941:37; Wilson 1924:301-02.

For my study of bone grease in bison and on scavenger selection of bones, see Blumenschine and Madrigal 1993; Brink 1997; Marean and Spencer 1991; Marean, Spencer, Blumenschine, and Capaldo 1992.

For methods of Plains Aboriginal cooking, see Gregg 1966, Vol.2:26; Kidd 1986:105; Mandelbaum 1979:58-59; Wissler 1910:22-25.

For my experiments with cooking and boiling at Head-Smashed-In, see Brink, Wright, Dawe, and Glaum 1986; Brink and Dawe 2003.

For experiments using buffalo chips as fuel, see Brink, Wright, Dawe, and Glaum 1986; Wright 1992.

For historic records of buffalo chips, their abundance and use, see Gregg 1966, Vol.2:26; James 1905, Vol.2:240; Maximilian 1906, Vol.2:196; Spry 1968:110; McDermott 1940:188; Turnbull 1914:167.

For the excavation of boiling stones from Head-Smashed-In, see Brink, Wright, Dawe, and Glaum 1985, 1986; Brink and Dawe 1989, 2003.

For historic records of Plains people cooking with stones, see Densmore 1918:399-400; Mandelbaum 1979:59.

For descriptions of roasting pits at Head-Smashed-In, see Brink, Wright, Dawe, and Glaum 1986; Brink and Dawe 2003.

For historic records of Plains people roasting bison food, see Grinnell 1923, Vol.1:255-56; James 1905, Vol.1:279-80; Mandelbaum 1979:59.

For the use of bison brains in tanning, see Harmon 1911:287; James 1905, Vol.1:312.

For skulls rare at other bison kill sites, see Frison 1970 (*The Glenrock Buffalo Jump*), 1970 ("The Kobold Site"), 1973, 1991.

Chapter 8: Going Home

For buffalo hides: methods of tanning, uses, seasonal differences, see Ewers 1958:14-15; Flannery 1953:54; Fletcher and La Flesche 1972:272; Harmon 1911:287-88; Hearne 1971:251; James 1905, Vol.1:312-13; Morgan 1959:99, 123; Southesk 1969:307.

For the making, ingredients, taste, nutrition, and longevity of pemmican, see Densmore 1918:444; Harmon 1911:22-23; Flannery 1953:58-59; Glover 1962:312-13; Grinnell 1962:206-07; McDougall 1898:222-23; Morgan 1959:123; Schoolcraft 1851, Vol.4:107.

For tannic acids as a preservative, see Fukuda, Yamaguchi, and Higuchi 2002; Molan, Attwood, Min, and McNabb 2001; Zhao, Chung, Milow, Wang, and Stevens 1997.

Chapter 9: The End of the Buffalo Hunt

For the near extermination of the bison, see especially Isenberg 2000; also Dary 1974; Foster 1992; Gard 1959; Hornaday 1887; McHugh 1972; Morgan 1998; Robinson 1995; Sandoz 1954.

For a review of the changes the horse brought to Plains cultures, see Landals 2004; Wilson 1924; Wissler 1914.

For accounts of the prairies littered with buffalo bones, see Audubon 1960, Vol.2:107; Maximilian 1906, Vol.2:50; Southesk 1969:254-55; McDermott 1940:188; Turnbull 1914:167.

Chapter 10: The Future of the Past

For papers on the archaeology of Head-Smashed-In, and for archaeological studies of other buffalo kill sites, see references given above under Chapter 1.

For more general Plains archaeology and buffalo hunting, see Arthur 1975; Brink 2004; Bryan 2005; Davis and Wilson 1978; Dyck and Morlan 1995; Ewers 1949; Frison 1991; Hanson 1998; Peck 2004; Reeves 1983 (*Culture Change in the Northern Plains*), 1990; Robertson 2004; Verbicky-Todd 1984; Vickers 1986; Walker 1992; Wood 1998.

For more on the Plains Indians, see especially DeMallie 2001; also Berry and Brink 2004; Binnema 2001; Bradley 1966; Brink 1986 (*Dog Days in Southern Alberta*); Denig 1930; Densmore 1918; Ewers 1955, 1958, 1968; Flannery 1953; Fletcher and La Flesche 1972; Grinnell 1904, 1923, 1962; Hanna 1986; Hyde 1959; Kidd 1986; Kroeber 1983; Lowie 1909, 1922 (*The Material Culture of the Crow Indians*), 1922 (*Religion of the Crow*), 1924, 1956, 1963; Mandelbaum 1979; McClintock 1968; Mountain Horse 1979; Schultz 1974; Teit 1930; Turney-High 1941; Wallis 1947; Wilson 1924; Wissler 1910, 1911, 1914, 1974.