
THE BLACKFOOT

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U. S. Department of the Interior
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
FIELD DIVISION OF EDUCATION

Berkeley, California
1934

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Third Edition.

FOREWORD

This paper, The Blackfoot, is one of many prepared by a special research group employed under the Civil Works Program of 1933-34 by the Field Division of Education, National Park Service, Berkeley, California. Its purpose is to satisfy specialized needs existing in the National Park Service and it must not, therefore, be judged or regarded as a complete statement of the subject with which it deals.

The objective of this paper is the compilation of such pertinent information as will be helpful in the preparation of ethnographic museum exhibits at Glacier National Park, and more specifically to outline the story to be interpreted by such exhibits and to aid museum preparators and Park Naturalists. Consequently it stresses those aspects of Blackfoot culture which are most adaptable to simple and effective museum display and treats but lightly those phases which cannot be objectively presented in the Museum. For this reason the reader seeking a complete picture of the Blackfoot may be disappointed. Nevertheless, such interest has been manifested in the group of research papers of which this is a part, that it seems worthwhile to make some of them available in this mimeographed form. Certainly this paper should be of value as an introduction to the Blackfoot, particularly in view of its intensive bibliography.

In line with the original purpose for which the paper was prepared, the reader will find a number of specific suggestions for museum displays. As some copies will go to persons interested in the subject of museum presentation, these display suggestions have been retained.

The format of the paper has been slightly modified from customary scholarly standards in order to save time and expense in mimeographing. Foot notes have been virtually eliminated and citations and comments are included in parentheses in the body of the text.

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CONTENTS

The Plains Culture	1
Blackfoot History	2
The Origin of the Blackfoot	2
Tribal Grouping	3
Population	3
History of White Contacts	4
Effect of White Contacts	5
Blackfoot Culture	6
Habitat	6
Political and Social Groups	7
Material Culture	9
The Horse	9
Food and sussistence	10
Animal Foods	10
Vegetable foods	11
Food preparation	12
Pemmican	13
Further ethnobotany	13
Tipis	15
Construction	15
Decoration	15
Articles of Hide	17
Preparation of Hides	17
Articles of Rawhide	18
Articles of Tanned Hide	18
Other articles and utensils	19
Dress: shirts, moccasins, leggings, bodily decoration, etc.	20
Cradles	22
Musical instruments.	23
Transportation	23
Travis	23
Riding Gear	24
Water Transportation	24
Packing	24
Hunting and War paraphernalia	25
Bows, arrows and quiver	25
Lance	25
Shield	26
Clubs	26

CONTENTS (Continued)

Games	26
Toys	26
Hoop and Pole	27
Shinny	27
Hand Game	27
Dice Game	27
Smoking and Tobacco	28
Ornamentation	29
Geometric decoration	29
Pictographic decoration	29
Chronological Reckoning	30
Social Customs and Religion	30
Life Cycle	30
Birth and Childhood	30
Marriage	31
Names	31
Property	32
Division of Labor	32
Death and Mourning.	32
Warfare	32
Men's societies	34
Religious societies and cults	35
Religion	36
Fetiches and medicine bundles	37
The Sun Dance	40
Curing	41
Appendix	42
Suggested exhibits	42
Bibliography	

THE BLACKFOOT

1

THE PLAINS CULTURE

From Texas to Saskatchewan and the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, there stretches a vast sea of prairie, which is, except for climatic variations produced by latitude, remarkably homogeneous geographically, and which supported, in aboriginal days, enormous herds of buffalo. The buffalo overshadowed all other species economically and reacted upon the native population of the area to produce a very specialized culture, the Plains culture. Map 1 shows the relation of this culture area to the habitat of the bison. Although the range of the latter extends beyond the plains, it will be seen that the Plains culture area falls within the geographical limits of the great plains, that is, within the region of the greatest bison herds. Even those tribes on the Mississippi River, on the Missouri River, and in the Southern part of the area which had adopted a certain amount of horticulture were largely organized along the lines of the bison culture. All these tribes were known as the Plains Indians.

In many respects, however, the tribes of the northern part of this area have the most typical Plains culture, for horticulture had not penetrated this far north. The Blackfoot are highly characteristic of the tribes of the upper Missouri-Saskatchewan basin-- the Assiniboin, Gros ventre, Plains Cree-- whose mode of living and whose arts and industries revolve around buffalo hunting. This great dependence upon a single species of animals, then, is the central fact of Blackfoot culture and should be borne in mind in picturing their relationship to other American Natives.

To say that the Blackfoot, like their other neighbors in the plains, were primarily bison hunters, is not to say that they have not many culture traits in common with Indians of other regions. Their language, for example, belongs to the Algonkian family, which is spoken throughout southern Canada from the Pacific to the Atlantic and in the upper Mississippi valley. Their flint chipping, fire making, bow and arrow, pipes and tobacco, much of their clothing, and other material and social traits are shared by

(1) It is customary in Anthropological usage not to employ the plural in speaking of a people; thus, Blackfoot, not Blackfeet, is correct.

most Indian tribes. This simply means that the Blackfoot possessed a simple, but basically American Indian culture before they became specialized for life in the Great Plains.

Those more or less striking and spectacular traits, however, which one sees among the Blackfoot are characteristic of the Plains-- tipis, travois, parfleches and innumerable other objects of Buffalo skin, feather bonnets, and a host of lesser material items and a long list of social traits. Despite the fact that all American Indians are generally represented in the motion pictures and elsewhere associated with those things, the fact is that they are not ordinarily found outside the Plains. For this reason, when typical Plains specimens are exhibited in a museum, they could advantageously be accompanied by small maps showing their limited distribution.

Blackfoot History

Origin of the Blackfoot.

It is entirely futile at the present time to speculate as to the origin of the Blackfoot. Physically, he is most like Plains tribes though tending somewhat to resemble the marginal peoples. He is tall (171.5 cm.--5'7½" -- Wissler, 1920:143), round headed (cephalic index, 80), and has high cheek bones, a prominent nose and a certain strength and nobleness of countenance which is conspicuous among plains Indians. (Schultz and Donaldson give excellent illustrations of Blackfoot faces in pictures opposite pp.166, 218, 250. Wissler, 1920, p.142, also illustrates the type.

If his physical type connects the Blackfoot with the Plains, his language connects him with the north and east, as he speaks a branch of the Algonkian stock. Schultz and Donaldson, (p.1) take this to imply that he has migrated from the east, erroneously stating that Algonkian-speaking peoples occur no farther west. As a matter of fact, the language has a continuous distribution to the Pacific Coast.

Culturally, the Blackfoot's closest kin are to the south, although he possesses many traits linking him with the Platteau area to the west and some linking him with the north.

Linguistic, cultural and physical comparisons, however, prove little as to origin of these people, for any one or all of these may have come to them by diffusion and so imply nothing whatever as to tribal movements.

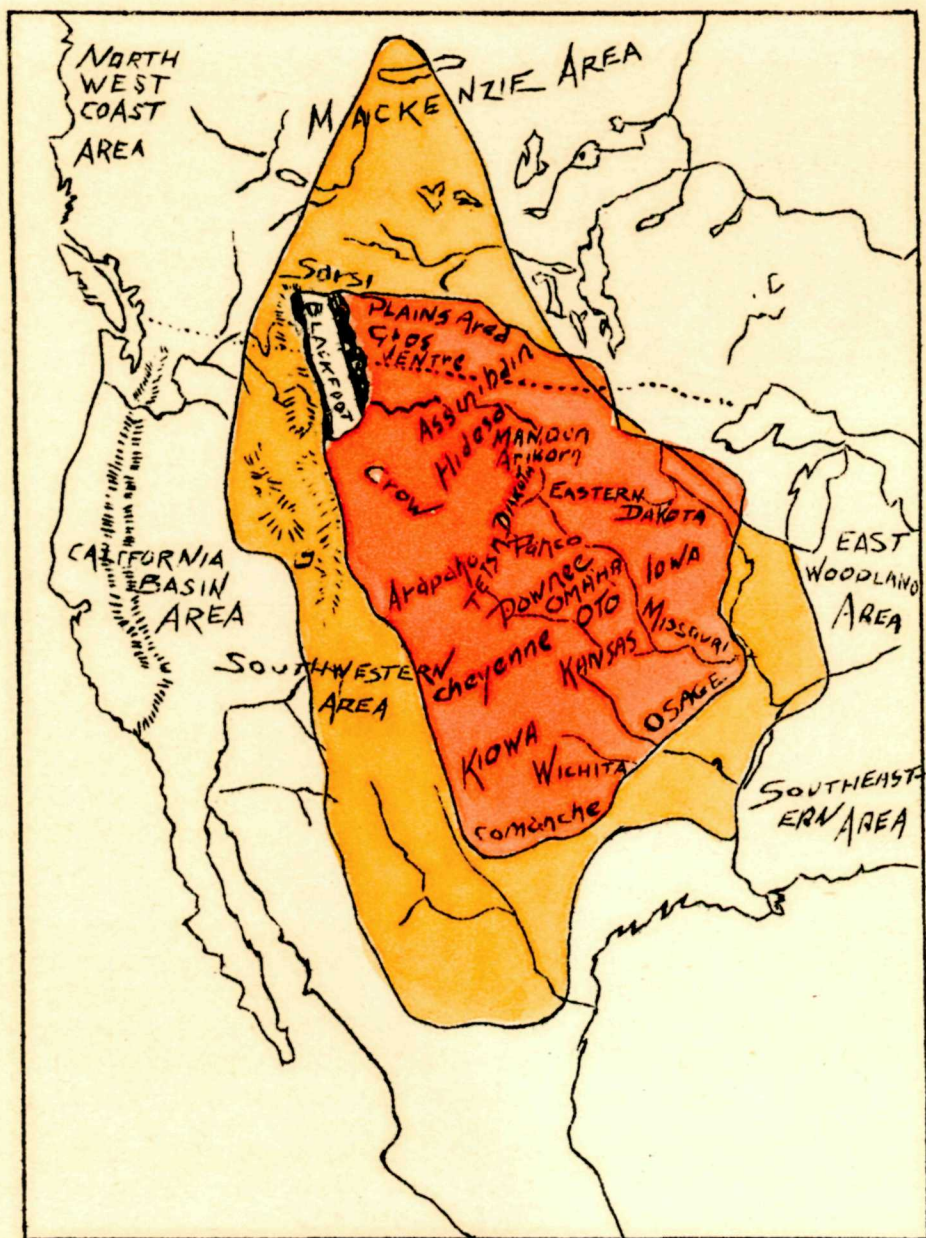


Fig 1

THE BLACKFOOT IN RELATION TO THE PLAINS CULTURE (RED) AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BUFFALO (ORANGE)

Wissler's careful investigation of all available evidence (1910) shows that there is no reason to assume that the Blackfoot has not been in his present habitat for many hundreds of years. Indeed, the thoroughness with which the Blackfoot has absorbed the Plains culture shows that he has been in the area a very long time.

Tribal Grouping.

Although the Blackfoot are fairly homogeneous linguistically and culturally, they are divided into three politically independent groups, the location of which about 1800 is shown on Map 2. (See Teit, 1930, for their western neighbors.) The northernmost division is simply called the Blackfoot, siksikauwa or sometimes siksika. (Blackfoot people. In much literature, the Blackfoot in general are listed as Siksika.) Most authorities accept the Northern Branch of the Saskatchewan as their northern boundary. South of them, between Battle River and Bow River were the Blood, kainawa, from kai (dried blood or probably any effluvium.) The third division lay along the mountains and extended south to Glacier Park and was called the Piegon (probably meaning small or poorly dressed robes.) (Wissler, 1911:7; 1910) (Teit, 1930:148, gives the designations of these groups in sign language.)

Authorities differ as to the southern boundary of the Piegon, many, for example Grinnell (1912) and McClintock (1910) believing them to have extended well toward the Yellowstone River. Wissler (1910), after carefully examining the early evidence, places the Marias River as their southern limit in 1800. They are indicated on Map 2.

Population.

Jenness (p.324), quoting Mackenzie, estimates the number of Blackfoot warriors in 1801 to have been about 9,000. Whether this is supposed to represent the total population is not clear. McClintock, (1910:5) believes that the population formerly numbered about 30,000 to 40,000. Mooney, (1928:13), in his survey of the aboriginal population of North America, places the Blackfoot figure for 1780 at 15,000. It is probable that the conservative estimate is more nearly correct.

It is certain that repeated ravages of smallpox in the next century greatly reduced the Blackfoot tribes. In 1858, Barbeau (p.198) estimates the total population to have been about 7,300,

while Jenness, using Hind's data, places the figure at 7,600. By the beginning of the present century, factors incident to the coming of the white man had further reduced it by half. Mooney (1928:13) estimates the population to have been 4,560 in 1907. Of these, about 2,195 were on the Reservation in Montana (Handbook of the American Indian, Part 2, p.571). Jenness in 1930 (p. 324) estimated that there were about 2,200 on the Montana reservation and slightly more in Alberta, while Barbeau in 1933 (p.198) calculated a total of about 4,600.

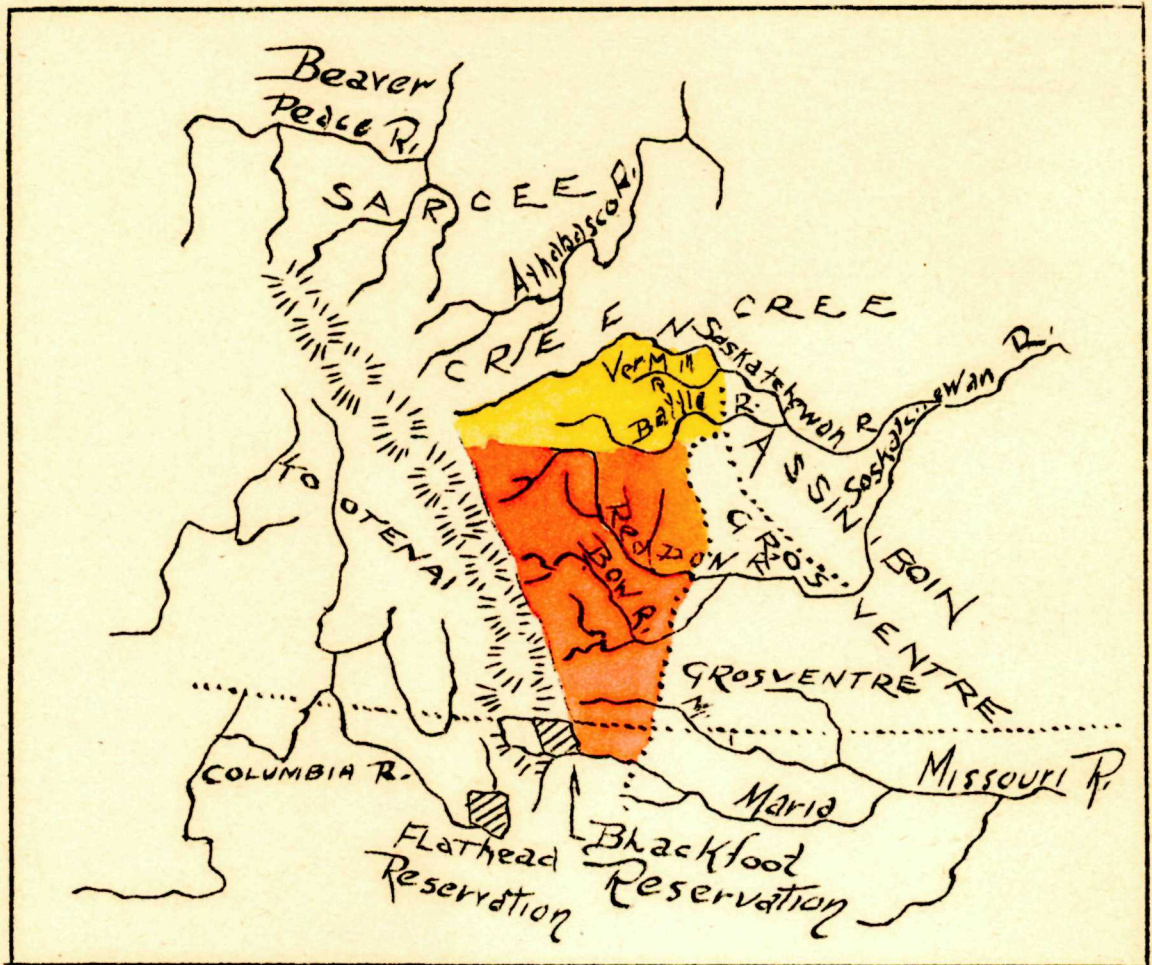
Thus, judging from even the most conservative estimates, the present population does not exceed a quarter of its size in aboriginal days. Nevertheless, it appears that the Blackfoot have been holding their own for the past quarter of a century.

History of White Contacts.

The identity of the first white man to visit the Blackfoot is uncertain. Schultz and Donaldson (1930:2) suggest that the Spaniards reached Blackfoot territory, or possibly that wandering war parties of Blackfoot contacted them in the Southwest. Although Blackfoot expeditions were rather extensive, it is unlikely that they roamed that far.

The same authors suggest that Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendri, who built a trading post at the forks of the Saskatchewan in 1739 may have visited them, or that a party of ten French Canadians, who, at the instance of Chevalier de Niverville, ascended one of the branches of the Saskatchewan river in 1751 to establish trading posts, contacted them. Whether credit goes to these men or not, it is certain that fur traders were the first visitors of importance. Fortunately many of them have left journals which constitute important source material on the Blackfoot.

In 1754, Anthony Hendry of the Hudson's Bay Company visited the Blackfoot and wrote about them in his Journal (1754-1755). In 1772, Matthew Cocking also journeyed to them to induce them to trade and left a Journal (1772-1773). Soon after Cocking's visit, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company established posts on both branches of the Saskatchewan River. Edward Umfreville of the latter Company describes the Blackfoot (1790). The various tribes which had already been at war with one another were, however, jealous of the sale of arms to their enemies, so that for some time maintaining a post was an uncertain and dangerous business. In 1807, for example, a Northwest Company's post



- BLACKFOOT
- BLOOD
- PIEGAN

Fig. 2

RANGE OF THE BLACKFOOT
TRIBES

at Kootenay Plains was abandoned. The traders continued to implant themselves, however. Alexander Henry, Jr., who visited the Blackfoot country in this connection, has left the most complete if somewhat prejudiced account of the Natives in his Journals.

Toward the middle of the last century explorers of some intellectual attainments and scientific interest visited the Blackfoot. Of these, one of the most important was Maximilian, Prince of Wied Neuwied, who travelled in 1832-4, the artist, George B. Catlin, who travelled 1832-1839 and left records and illustrations (1848, V.I); and Paul Kane, another artist, who travelled in 1845-46 left several pictures and an account (1859).

The end of the last century brought a number of serious students of primitive life to the Blackfoot. The most important of these were George Bird Grinnell and Rev. John MacLean, both of whom have left many important writings.

With the beginning of the present century, the Blackfoot received many more sympathetic investigators. Walter McClintock, visiting them first in 1896, has contributed several valuable works. C.C. Uhlenbeck has paid special attention to their language. J.W. Schultz has much of interest but is sadly lacking in anthropological perspective. The most important investigations, however, have been those of Clark Wissler, the results of which have been published by the American Museum of Natural History. As Wissler is a trained scientist and one of America's leading anthropologists, his works should be taken as the final authority on the Blackfoot for he analyzes and interprets their culture with an objectivity that one rarely, if ever, finds in men not trained in the special field. (See bibliography).

Effect of White Contacts.

The earliest results of the coming of the white man was to introduce horses to the Blackfoot. These probably spread to them before they were first visited by white men and quickly became an indispensable part of native life.

After the advent of fur traders the usual ill-effects of race impacts began, being manifest in unrest and war, but most seriously in a series of smallpox epidemics. The first is said to have occurred in 1781-2 and to have reduced their population by half. (Schultz; Mooney, 1928:12). Others followed in 1837-8 (Mooney, 1928:13), and 1857-8. Measles came in 1864 and smallpox

again in 1869 (Grinnell, 1912:287-8.), and 1870-1 (Mooney, 1928:13).

Whiskey sold them in great quantities between 1860 and 1875 brought its usual ills. (Grinnell, 1912:288.)

Meanwhile, the introduction of fire arms and wanton slaughter of the bison, largely by the white man, had been seriously reducing the herds. The fatal blow to the Blackfoot came in 1883 with the extinction of the last great herd, for with the bison went their livelihood and the heart and soul of their culture. This marks the end of the old order. The year 1884 was one of great famine which supplemented the earlier epidemics in seriously reducing the Blackfoot population. (Schultz and Donaldson: Grinnell, 1912: 289-292).

Beginning with the Treaty of Ft. Laramie, 1851, the Blackfoot territory was steadily restricted. By a series of complex treaties, executive acts, and acts of Congress, they relinquished more and more land, until by 1878 they had given up their former territory and finally come to inhabit their present reservations, of which there are three in Alberta and one in Montana, adjoining Glacier National Park. (Royce, 1899:812, 864, 874, 876, 880, 902, 924.)

BLACKFOOT CULTURE

Habitat

"The Blackfoot country probably contained more game and in greater variety than any other part of the continent. Their was a land whose physical characteristics presented sharp contrasts. There were far-stretching grassy prairies, affording rich pasturage for the buffalo and the antelope; rough breaks and bad lands for the climbing mountain sheep; wooded buttes, loved by the mule deer; timbered river bottoms, where the white-tailed deer and the elk could browse and hide; narrow, swampy valleys for the moose, and snow-patched, glittering pinnacles of rock, over which the sure-footed white goat took his deliberate way. The climate varied from arid to humid; the game of the prairie, the timber, and the rocks, found places suited to their habits. Fur-bearing animals abounded. Noisy hordes of wild fowl passed north and south in their migrations, and many stopped here to breed." (Grinnell, 1912:226.)

It would be desirable that the Museum interpret the Blackfoot's relation to their environment, especially to Glacier National Park, ecologically. In order to do this, one should have information on

the exact habitat of particular bands, the territory normally covered by them in the course of a year, the location of food areas, such as the sites of buffalo drives, camas plots, etc., the location of trails and many other features. This information is not available at present. Weeks of study of the literature would be necessary to assemble the few data available which would still be insufficient. It is doubtful, in fact, whether such information could be had even from the Indians. The manner, therefore, in which the environment contributed to the shaping of Blackfoot culture must be shown in a more general way in other connections.

Political and Social Groups

The real economic and social unit of the Blackfoot is the band. These are groups centering around men and their male descendants and others who desire especially to join them. The band winters together, hunts together, and is entirely autonomous except for such special occasions as the Sun Dance or communal hunts where higher authority was instituted.

To a slight degree, the band regulated marriage in that it was preferable though not necessarily exogamous and patrilocal. This feature has been taken by most writers to indicate the presence of gentes (sibs) among the Blackfoot. These writers, however, fail to understand the essential features of a gens system. The idea of descent from a common ancestor, kinship, and exogamy are lacking among the Blackfoot, making it entirely incorrect to speak of their groups as gentes. Band names were, like the names of major groups, descriptive terms. A partial list as compiled by Grinnell and presented by Wissler, follows:

Piegán Bands.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Solid-topknots. | 13. Many-medicines |
| 2. They-don't-sing | 14. Small-robbs |
| 3. Warm-people | 15. Red-round-robbs |
| 4. Black-people | 16. Buffalo-dung |
| 5. Black-patched moccasins | 17. Small-brittle-fat |
| 6. Black-d-rs | 18. Undried-meat-in-par |
| 7. Fat roasters | 19. Long-fighters (flicche |
| 8. Skunks | 20. No-parflicche |
| 9. Sharp-whiskers | 21. Seldom-lonesome |
| 10. Long-eaters | 22. Early-finished-eating |
| 11. White Breasts. | 23. Short-necks. |

Blood bands.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Fish-eaters | 5. Many-children |
| 2. Black-elks | 6. Many-lodge-poles |
| 3. Lone-fighters | 7. Short-bows. |
| 4. Hair-shirts. | |

North Blackfoot Bands.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Many-medicines | 4. Biters |
| 2. Black-elks | 5. Skunks |
| 3. Idiars. | 6. Bad-guns. |

This band organization was not entirely fixed, but tended to be so. The bands kept pretty well separate in winter, but in summer generally assembled under popular leaders for the Sun Dance, fur trading, and hunting. (Wissler, 1911:18-22.)

When bands assembled, they formed a camp circle with the opening always east. It is doubtful, however, whether they were assigned any special place, except by order of the Leader. The camp circle seems to have been used only for the Sun Dance and beaver ceremony. (Wissler, 1911:22), and is somewhat less well developed than in other parts of the Plains.

The political organization of most American Indian tribes has been hopelessly misunderstood by white men, virtually every individual Indian being dubbed a chief. The Blackfoot system was as follows: Each band had one or more head men, whose position came from personal qualifications. Giving of social functions and helping the poor were most important; war fame also counted. One man was recognized as natural leader. Important men, on conference, controlled affairs of the band, kept peace within the band and endeavored to settle disputes between bands. The term chief is thus rather meaningless, for leadership was a variable and generally transient thing. (Wissler, 1911:22-24)

Each of the three main divisions of the Blackfoot had a fairly definite head chief, however, who attained his position simply by a growing unanimity on the part of the head men of the bands as to who should hold the position. Among the Piegan it was said that the Fat-roasters band had managed to hold onto this office. The head chief governed always by calling the head men of the bands into an informal council. The real duties of the head chief came when the bands had assembled in summer for hunting, and especially for the Sun Dance. He gave orders for making and

breaking camp, and through the men's organized societies which acted as police, prevented individuals from hunting and otherwise endangering the success of a tribal hunt. (Wissler, 1911:25-26). In short, the chief served only upon those very few occasions when leadership was necessary.

Material Culture

The general features of most Blackfoot specimens correspond with those of neighboring tribes in the Saskatchewan-Missouri area, occasionally showing certain affiliations in some types of artifacts with tribes of adjoining areas. Any specimen, therefore, that may occur in a collection of Blackfoot material which is available for exhibition may be of Blackfoot manufacture or might have been collected among the Blackfoot but originated in some other tribe and thus actually be more characteristic of that tribe's industry. Consequently, if a label should call attention to an artifact thought to be peculiar to the Blackfoot, it should first be ascertained that this is actually the case by reference to tribal differences enumerated by Wissler, 1910. It manifestly would require too much detail to particularize such differences here, although certain general characteristics of Blackfoot objects are noted.

Should artifacts be reproduced in miniature groups, most of the important measurements and other features not listed below may be found in Wissler, 1910, and other references given.

The Horse.

A conspicuous and indispensable feature of Blackfoot life in recent times is the horse. It is Wissler's contention, however, that the main outlines of the Blackfoot culture pattern are already established before the introduction of the horse which he believes to have occurred at least by 1745 (1915:36-7). He regards the horse as merely serving to intensify the existing modes of life, making buffalo hunting simpler, nomadism easier, war a more sporting affair.

A museum should make clear, however, that the horse is not a native Indian animal, for it is generally believed by the public that Indians have always had it. Also, if any considerable part of a museum exhibit should chance to be devoted to the horse, it should be made clear that the general horse-complex-- saddles, bridles, etc., -- were taken over directly from the white man and used to this day with few modifications.

Food and Subsistence.

Animal foods. Although the Rocky Mountains afforded deer, elk, moose and mountain sheep, while the plains supported herds of antelope, it must always be kept in mind that the Blackfoot was essentially a plainsman, utilizing the bison more than anything else. This is not to say that he did not supplement his diet with vegetable foods. He was, however, somewhat scornful of them. A map of North America showing the major food areas of the Indians would be useful in this connection. The type is suggested by the accompanying map. (Fig.9).

In procuring bison, four methods were employed, at least one of which should be illustrated by a picture or life set in the museum.

(1) Driving over cliffs. This was undoubtedly of greatest importance before the horse was introduced and facilitated the "surround" (3, below). In this method, two wings, usually of small heaps of stone supplemented by men, extended out for as much as two miles from the edge of a cliff. (There are remains of such wings two miles below Medicine River- Wissler, 1910-33-38). The bison were enticed into, then stampeded through the wings and plunged over the cliff. If the fall did not kill them, they were impounded in a small corral, preventing escape and dispatched with clubs or arrows.

(2) Impounding. This was also used before the horse. A corral enclosed by a fence of sticks, stones and brush, 6' high, had wings like the last. Men enticed or drove them in by firing the grass and dispatched them with arrows.

(3) Surround. After the advent of the horse, the most expedient method was to ride round and round the herd, shooting them down with the bow. Even after the introduction of fire arms, the bow was most useful. (Good illustrations of this will be found in Catlin, I, pls. 107-108.)

(4) Individual stalking of game was occasionally practised, but on the whole, this method was prohibited in favor of communal hunting.

The hunting of bulls was carried on mainly in the spring; of cows in the fall. (Wissler, 1910-33-41, 50-52, describes methods of hunting. Fig. 8, p.35, gives the diagram of a pound with the wings extending out V-shaped from a cliff. Schultz and Donaldson, pp.29-42, and Grinnell 1912:228-235, also give good descriptions of bison

hunting.

Bison hunting involved a good deal of ceremony, such as the bison-calling ceremony performed by the Beaver Bundle owners. (Wissler, 1912-a:204-209.)

Antelope were secured by a pound, somewhat like that used for buffalo, being driven between the arms of a V and around a corner, where they jumped over a fence into a pit. (Wissler, 1910-38, 51-2; Grinnell, 1912-236.)

Other methods of procuring game were of less importance. Deer were not only shot with the bow but were ensnared in nooses hung on their trails. Birds and weasels were not used for food, but were of importance in making ceremonial regalia. These were caught with small nooses. (Wissler, 1910-31-39.) Eagles were caught by enticing them with bait laid on the cover of a pit, a man concealed below caught them by the legs. (Grinnell, 1912: 236-40.)

The dog was never eaten as food and was virtually never eaten ceremonially. Fish were of relatively small importance, though there was no taboo on them. They were taken by means of simple weirs and traps. A sort of basketry trap used is, incidentally, the Blackfoot's only attempt at basketry. (Wissler, 1910-39-40, describes this and figure 10, shows a basket.)

Vegetable Foods. The Blackfoot had no cultivated food plants. It is suggested that labels in botanical exhibits indicate the wild foods used. These are:

Service Berries (Amelanchier alnifolia
or A. oblongifolia)

Wild Cherries (Prunus demissa)

Bull Berries (Shepherdia argentea
or Elaeagnus argentea)

Camas Root (Camaesia esculenta)

Prairie turnip (Psoralea esculenta)

Wild Rose buds (Rosa Cinnamomea)

Disporum trachycarum berries

Cow parsnip (Heracleum lanatum)

Wild Potato (Claytonia lanceolata)

Smart weed (Polygonum bistortoides) root

Wild onion (Albium recurvatum)

Carolina milk vetch (Astragalus carolinianum)
root

Bitter Root (Lewisa-rediviva)

Wild mint (Mentha canadensis) in pemmican and
for drinks

Wild turnip (Lithospermum linearifolium)

Evening primrose (Mesonium divaricatum) root

Most of these are tubers, excepting the berries and mint. The tubers were dug with the universal digging stick. The most important, however, was the service berry. (See McClintock, 1910:529-30 and Wissler, 1910:20-22)

Methods of gathering vegetable foods varied with the species. Berries were gathered in rawhide bags or skins or beaten onto blankets or robes (such bags will undoubtedly be found in any Blackfoot collection), then emptied into storage bags, after which they were sun-dried, then stored in parfleches. Roots, such as the prairie turnip, were peeled and hung to dry or eaten raw. Most vegetables, however, were dried and stored. (Wissler, 1910-21-22, describes this.)

The most important vegetable foods were the camas, prairie turnips, cherries and wild plums. Unlike the peoples to the west, the Blackfoot and other Plains tribes, made little use of seeds, showing a preference for berries. (Wissler, 1910:42-3).

Food Preparation. Two methods of cooking were common. Roasting was accomplished directly over the fire or in a pit filled with hot stones, then lined with stones and brush and finally a fire built over it. (Wissler, 1910:25-26).

Boiling has been done in metal containers in recent times. Evidence that pottery was formerly known is conflicting. Occasional reference to stone bowls for cooking (e.g. Grinnell, 1912:202) may be merely to a semi-mythological tale of stone mortars which were common among tribes to the west and possibly used to a slight extent by the Blackfoot. There is, however, a possibility that unfired clay vessels were used which became fired during cooking (cooking, quoted by Schultz and Donaldson p.9). The occurrence of comparable vessels among adjoining tribes to the east supports this possibility. Such vessels, however, must have been rare and would, in all probability, not occur in any Blackfoot collection, so that pottery need not be considered in a Blackfoot exhibit.

The museum should, however, bring out the fact that buffalo skin was used in boiling, as this is of considerable interest and demonstrates the great dependence of these people upon the buffalo. It is not definitely established, though very likely, that this was at one time the general method. Since metal containers have been introduced, the method has been used mainly by war parties who happened to lack pots and pans. A skin was suspended from four (or more) stakes, and hot rocks lifted from the fire with sticks and placed in it. (For details of this method, see Wissler, 1910: 26-7 and Uhlenbeck, 1912-a: 25-6. For illustrations, see photos, Wissler, 1910-Plate 1.)

Pemmican- This is a famous food and was very characteristic of the Blackfoot. Choice cuts, preferably of buffalo but also of deer or elk, were dried, heated until oily and pounded with a stone hammer. Fat skimmed with a horn dipper from boiling marrow and a paste made by grinding cherries, seeds and all, were added and mixed in a trough of buffalo hide and stirred with a wooden spade. This was stored in a parfleche or special bags and eaten without further cooking. A pound of pemmican is said to be the equivalent of five pounds of meat. (Wissler, 1910-21-4; Grinnell, 1912:205-207). While pulverized meat is common in the north and west, the addition of berries is characteristic of the Plains. (Wissler, 1910:44).

Meat was also dried in flakes and later roasted. A choice morsel was back fat of the bison, *depuyer-depouille*(fr.) Wissler, 1910:23-4, pl.2; fig.2, for meat drying racks, see McClintock, 1910, photo on p. 237).

Further Ethnobotany

The following further utilization of plants is from McClintock, (1910, pp. 524, 531) where additional detail as to the manner of using these plants can be found.

Medicines

Balsam Fir, Abies lasiocarpa-Poultices for fevers and colds also
Sweet Grass, Savastana odorata-hair tonic and incense. (perfumes)
Bear grass, Yucca glauca-hair tonic, breaks and sprains.
Squaw root, Carum Gairdneri-sore throat and inflammations.
Tufted primrose, Pachylobus caespitosus-sores and inflammations.

Alum root, Heuchera parvifolia-sores and swellings.
 Willow leaved dock, Rumex salicifolius-swellings.
 Crow root, Lacinaria punctata-swellings, stomach ache
 Parsnip, Leptotaenia multifida-tonic for weakness.
 Double bladder pod, Physaria didymocarpa-sore throat and cramps.
 Rattle weed, Aragallus lagopus-sore throat.
 Windflower, Anemone globosa-headache.
 American White Hellebore, Veratrum Speciosum-Headache.
 Red bane berry, Actaea arguta- coughs and colds.
 White bane berry, Actaea obovata- coughs and colds.
 Indian horehound, Monarda - babies' colds.
 Sweet sage, Artemisia frigida-fever, heartburn.
 Oregon grape, Berberis aquifolium-stomach trouble and hemorrhages.
 Northern valerian, Valeriana septentrionalis-stomach ache.
 Paper Leaf alder, Alnus tenuifolia-scrofula.
 Horse mint, Monarda - sore eye wash.
 Say's rose, Rosa Sayi- Children's diarrhoea.
 Long plumed avens, Stevensia ciliata- eye wash.
 Wild potato, Solanum triflorum- diarrhoea.
 Silver weed, Argentina anserina- diarrhoea.
 Dog bane, Apocynum cannabinum-laxitive and hair tonic.
 Pore fungus, Polyporus- purgative.
 Sharp leaved beard tongue, Pentstemon acuminatus- cramps and stomach
 ache.
 Juniper, Juniper scopulorum- stop vomiting.
 Grind plant, Grindelia squarrosa- liver trouble.
 Gutierrezia, Gutierrezia diversifolia-innate steam while medicine man doctor's.
Evernia vulpina, lichen-headache
 Yellow cancer root, Thalesia fasciculata-medicine men chew and blow
 Scouring rush, Equisetum hiemale- horse medicine.
 Western sweet cicely, Washingtonia divaricata - for colds: also
 mare foaling medicine.

Perfumes

Meadow rue, Thalictrum occidentale- berries.
 Balsam fir, Abies lasiocarpa- leaves in bag and hair oil.
 Dog fennel, Matricaria matricarioides- blossoms.
 Sweet grass, Sevastana odorata - in clothing, bags, hair wash and
 incense.
 Also, cottonwood punk, balsam poplar leaves, and ringbone from
 horse's leg.

TIPÍ

The center of interest in any Blackfoot miniature group would be the tipi. In some way, it should be made clear that the tipi is simply a variety of a conical house built of poles which occurs from the Plains to the Arctic. Variations of such houses could be shown on a small distribution map. The Plains tribes so designed it as to make it suitable for migratory life and covered it with the most available material, buffalo hide. Today it is covered with canvas.

In a village group the tipis could be arranged in the form of a circle with the opening to the east. The Blackfoot, however, did not have a fixed position for the various social groupings as did many other Plains tribes, (Wissler, 1911:22-5) and there is some doubt that the camp circle was always used.

The details of the construction of tipis are too numerous to give here but are described by Wissler, (1910:90-108) where such data are given as could be used to reconstruct one. If a camp circle were represented in miniature, it would be highly instructive to have one or two tipis in process of construction. In this way, the four pole foundation, the arrangement of the other poles, the pattern of the cover and interior features could be exhibited. (Wissler, 1910, pls. 6 and 8, shows stages in erecting a tipi, and fig. 64 and plate 7, interior features. Also, McClintock, P.202).

In addition to the tipi, there were summer shelters of a few poles and cloth and wind breaks. (Wissler, 1910:108.)

Tipi decoration. A certain part of the tipi decoration was more or less standardized and may be seen on almost any Blackfoot tipi, which it serves to identify. There is a blackened area at the top with white discs representing the Pleiades (Lost children and Ursa major (Seven Brothers). The bottom has a similar border with one or two rows of star signs (Fallen stars, star dust, or "Puff Balls" of the prairie), and a row of upward projecting triangles which represent hills or mountains. On the rear of the top of the tipi is a maltese cross. (For a discussion of this maltese cross design see Grinnell, 1890). These designs have no ritualistic significance.

In addition to the standard designs, a great variety of special designs and symbols may be found in the decorative field between the upper and lower borders. These are ritualistic rather than

purely ornamental. They are generally an integral part of the ceremonialism connected with particular medicine bundles possessed by the owners of the tipis. They are, therefore, private property and may be used only by those owning such bundles. (See reference to medicine bundles under "Religion") The bundles and privilege of decorating the tipi were generally acquired by purchase. There are three kinds of such decorated tipis, known as (1) the painted tipis, (2) the flag-painted tipis, so called because they usually have some paraphernalia suspended from a tipi pole, (3) the buffalo painted tipi. In addition, there are a few special forms. Some tipis also bear pictographic representations of their owners war exploits, thus incorporating a certain amount of tribal pictographic symbolism and the owner's medicine bundle symbolism. Such cannot be interpreted, however, without reference to the owner's explanation.

In any museum interpretation of tipi decoration it is therefore important that the full explanation of the symbols be known. This could not, of course, all be presented in labels, but a brief statement of the significance of any such decoration would serve to give the museum visitor a glimpse of the exceedingly misunderstood Blackfoot religion.

(Should any tipis be reproduced, designs and explanations of the same will be found in: Wissler, 1912-b: 220-241, text and figures 29-31; McClintock, 1910: 217-220, text and illustrations of an otter tipi, Grinnell, 1901, text and illustrations: Grinnell, 1899; McClintock, 1923: 200, text and illustration for Thunder tipi. Of these, Wissler is best.)

For the colors used in tipi decoration and for a number of excellent illustrations of tipis, see McClintock (1910: 207-224). He gives the colors as: red, a burned yellow clay from the Marias river; black, charcoal; green, dried scum from a large lake; yellow, from Yellowstone river, also buffalo gall. (Grinnell 1901 and 1899) also describes the colors of designs.

If a camp circle should be represented, only a portion of the tipis should bear medicine bundle decorations or war pictographs. McClintock reports that of 350 tipis at a Sun Dance encampment, only 10% had special decorations. (1910: 217-220.)

ARTICLES OF HIDE

Exhibits should in some manner forcibly illustrate the fact that since hide, especially from the bison, was relatively easy to get, the Blackfoot, like their neighbors in the Plains, used hide where other tribes used pottery or basketry.

Preparation of Hides. The great importance of hide could be illustrated first of all with miniature figures in a camp group preparing a bison skin. A newly flayed hide would be seen staked out on the ground. A woman would be working on the underside, which is turned up, fleshing it with a fleshing tool, made of a handle of bone with a serrate, chisel-like end. (Wissler, 1910-66, fig. 34, pl. 1; McClintock, 1910, illus. on p. 230). Or a woman would be seen scraping the dried hide to even thickness with an adze, made of a handle with a curved end to which is affixed an iron (Formerly probably stone) blade. (Wissler, 1910, pl III shows this stage). The adze is very characteristic of the bison hunting tribes. (Wissler, 1910:65-66, 67-68, fig. 33.)

The hair is removed with a stone scraper or by beating with a stone. The hide is now ready to be made into articles of rawhide.

Bags of rawhide of various shapes and sizes are also very characteristic of the Blackfoot and their bison-hunting neighbors. the most famous is the parfleche, the plains Indian suit-case. This is made of one piece, folded so as to enclose food, usually pemican, and is well adapted to nomadic life. the peculiarities of cut and painted design serve somewhat to distinguish the tribes. (For this, see Wissler, 1910:79-82, figs 46-47, which give good illustrations of the cuts.)

Other articles of rawhide are bags made of one piece, folded and bound along the edge, usually with blue cloth, having a flap over the opening and provided with long thongs. Some open on the long side, some on the short. Most are painted; when painted, the design is geometric. These are generally used by women to carry dressing tools, sewing implements, etc., and would normally accompany any group showing women engaged in industrial pursuits. They were sometimes used also in gathering berries, and occasionally used for ceremonial objects. (Wissler, 1910:76-77. Wissler, 1910:40-41 illustrates variations in this type.)

The long, cylindrical bag of rawhide was used largely by men

to preserve ceremonial objects, and would be seen in the back of the tipi where such objects are kept. These are 50 to 58 cm. long of one piece except for top and bottom, are provided with a very long fringe, and are painted. (Wissler, 1910:78. This is illustrated in Wissler 1910: fig. 43.)

Articles of tanned hide were prepared by rubbing into the skin a compound of brains, fat, and sometimes liver, with a stone, then saturating with warm water and rolling up for several days. (See Wissler, 1910: pl. 3, and McClintock, 1910, illus. on p. 231 for this stage.) This method is nearly universal among American Indians. The subsequent graining by rubbing with a sharp-edged stone is also common. (See Wissler, pl. 5.) The softening of the hide by drawing it through a loop of twisted cord, is however, more characteristic of the bison hunters and should be illustrated in preference to the other method. (Wissler, 1910: 63-65, 70 pl. 5 shows this.) THIS treatment was accorded skins whether the fur was or was not to be left on. Deer skins received the same treatment except that the hair was removed with a beaming tool made of sharp rib. Buckskins were also stretched on a frame and smoked over a fire of rotten wood or sage, imparting a tannish color, a treatment common among the tribes of the north. (Wissler, 1910:63-5)

Tanned hide and fur was used for a great variety of containers which one would normally see about a Blackfoot camp.

The more characteristic of these are:

Pipe bags, 70 to 100cm. long, with fringed bottoms, and the tops usually possessing four ear-like flaps, and a band of quill decoration around the bottom. (Wissler, 1910:71-72. One of these is illustrated in Wissler, fig. 35.) The contents of a pipe bag are: tobacco, pipe bowl, pipe stem, stokers and lighting implements.

Tobacco pouch: a seamless whole skin of a young mammal or bird. (Wissler, 1910:72)

Paint bags: resemble pipe bags are smaller. (Wissler, 1910:73)

Small toilet Bags: carried by young men. (Wissler, 1910:75)

Strike-a-light bag: (Wissler, 1910:75)

Knife cases. (Wissler, 1910:76)

One might also find a collection a bag made of the foot of an antelope with the dew claws still attached and a double-bag made of undecorated buffalo hide, used by women for carrying. The latter is unique among the Blackfoot. (Wissler, 1910:74)

OTHER ARTICLES AND UTENSILS.

The Blackfoot entirely lacked what could properly be called basketry. It is extremely probable that they also lacked pottery.

By the fire or inside the tipi one would see bowls made of aspen or poplar knots, or possibly made of two pieces of buffalo horn sewed together, each provided with a thong. These are rare not but might occur in old collections. (Wissler, 1910:28). Spoons with long handles and large ladles, usually lacking handles among the Blackfoot, would be made of wood, or buffalo or ram horn, or possibly of bone. (Wissler, 1910:28-29. These are illustrated by Wissler, 1910: figs. 3 and 4.) These, as well as bowls, are fairly common throughout North America. Drinking cups were sometimes made of ornamented bison horn. (Wissler: 1910:30). Water bags were made of paunch or bladder and water buckets of a paunch sewed with wooden hoops. The construction of these is explained by Wissler, (1910:30). These are common on the plains.

Iron knives, of course are post-Caucasian. The native knife was chipped flint, but the shape is uncertain. For some purposes however, a sharpened rib with a hide-wrapped handle seems to have been used. (Wissler, 1910:31). Wissler has illustrated one of these. (1910:fig.6.)

One of the most characteristic implements in any domestic group would be the stone hammer. This was a round stone, encircled by a groove, around which was wrapped the wooden handle. The whole, excepting the pounding face, including the handle, was covered with rawhide and a thong attached to the end of the handle. These are described in detail by Wissler and illustrated. (Wissler, 1910:21-22 31; fig. 1.) They were used for pounding pemmican, driving stakes breaking bones for the marrow, etc.

There were but few other distinctive or characteristic types of implements. Drilling, as for pipes, was probably accomplished in aboriginal days by rotating an arrow between the hands, of iron wood,

by burning the hole out. (Wissler, 1910:84).

Fire was probably made by the simple drill friction method in aboriginal times, the bow and pump drills being unknown. (Grinnell, 1912:141, gives a myth reference to this.) With the advent of the white man, the strike-a-light or flint-and-steel came into use. Cocking, however, as quoted by Schultz and Donaldson, p. 10, says they used flint and ore for steel. Fungus was used as tiner. Formerly fire was carried in a bison horn when traveling. (Wissler, 1910:32, Grinnell, 1912:200-201.) Getting firewood, probably something of a problem before the introduction of the steel axe, was done by women who threw rope or hooked a rope between the ends of two long poles over dead limbs of trees. (Wissler, 1910:32-33). Buffalo chips were also used as fuel.

DRESS

Any portrayal of Blackfoot men in a complete state of undress would probably not be entirely wrong. The usual men's dress, however, was as follows. The shirt was made of two deer or antelope skins, cut and sewed together, and ornamented with quills, weasel fur, (see under "fetishes"), tassels and paint in a manner characteristic of the Blackfoot. A detailed description of several shirts that could be used for models or reproductions is given by Wissler (1910:118-122; also fig. 71-2). It might be pointed out that the more or less tailored shirt is not a general characteristic of the American Indian, but a trait of northern origin, not being found in aboriginal America south of the Plains.

Men's leggings were the equivalent of separate pant legs, each hung from the belt. (See Wissler, 1910:122-3, for description of this, also fig. 73.)

Buffalo robes, decorated inside with pictographs of war exploits and having a transverse band of quills, were worn summer and winter. (Wissler, 1910:123-4.)

Sewing was accomplished in native times by means of a bone awl, which was kept in a decorated leather case. (Wissler, 1910:53, 74-75, fig. 38 shows such a case.) Four types of stitch were employed according to what was to be sewed. These are given diagrammatically and explained by Wissler, (1910:53-4, fig. 11).

There is some doubt as to whether the breech clout, of some

soft skin, was aboriginal among the Blackfoot. It is certain, however, that it was worn in more recent time. (Wissler, 1910: 118-23.)

Moccasins were of two types. The older seems to have been made of one piece and consequently was soft soled. This type is related to northern and eastern forms. The other, more typically Plains, is hard soled, having a separate sole of rawhide (parfleches and bags were frequently cut up for this purpose.) Wissler has described these in detail (1910:128-30) and given illustrations and diagrams that are sufficient for models or diagnoses (figs. 78-80.) The soft-soled, one piece type has been used for winter wear; the hard soled for summer. The material is buffalo hide (with hair inside for winter) or elkskin. (Ibid.) There is no distinguishable difference between men's and women's moccasins. The designs do not serve well to distinguish the Blackfoot from other Plains Tribes. (Wissler, 1927.)

Head dress was variable. It included: caps made of animal or bird skins; a hood of cowhide with horns affixed and covered with weasel skin and human hair joined with gum and hanging behind. Feather head-dresses were of less importance to the Blackfoot than other Plains Tribes, the eagle feather being secondary to the weasel skin. Most head-dresses were fetishes and therefore could not be worn by everyone. (See under "Religion." Wissler, 1910:124, Grinnell, 1912:196.) Various methods of brushing, braiding and lengthening the hair are described by Wissler, (1910:131.) The man's forehead lock hanging to the nose seems to have been characteristic, (Catlin I, pl. 11, gives a good illustration of this.) and artificially lengthened hair was cherished. Good illustrations of hair dressing may be seen in Schultz and Donaldson, (1930: plates opposite pp. 40, 124, 166, 250.) Combs were not used but brushes of porcupine tails and horse hair are figured by Wissler, 1910:131-32.) A variety of hair and neck ornaments, ranging from mere decorations to amulets were used. (Wissler 1910:132.)

Bodily scarification and mutilation was seldom, if ever, practised. Tattooing was rare and only occasionally were earrings used. (Wissler, 1910:132-33.) Body paints included a great variety, of which red was the most important. These, as listed by Wissler, 1910:133) are:

- Yellow earth
- Buffalo yellow (buffalo gall stones)
- Red earth (burned yellow earth)
- Red earth (as found)

Rock paint (a yellowish red)
Many-times-baked-paint (yellow earth made red
by exposure to the sun)
Red many-times-baked (a similar red, as found)
A peculiar, ghastly red-purple
Blue (a dark blue mud)
White earth (as found)
Black (charcoal)

These were kept in paint pouches with tallow, clam shells for mixing, and pointed sticks made of wedge shape buffalo leg or toe bones for applying. Knife shaped bones with rounded points were used for tracing designs on articles. These bones were heated in a fire before tracing. (Wissler, 1910:134-35.)

A fully dressed man, then, would have shirt, leggings, moccasins, his hair dressed in various ways and a cap of various sorts. His face might or might not be tattooed, but would certainly have some paint. He would also wear a buffalo skin robe, with his right shoulder and arm exposed. If it were a ceremonial occasion, he would be decked with further paint, possibly feathers, more weasel skin ornaments, and various charms and insignia. It is incorrect to suppose that weasel skin ornaments were limited to chiefs.

Women wore long dresses of elk, deer or antelope skin which fell to between ankles and knees. The cut and manner of sewing and ornamenting these is also described by Wissler with diagrams and illustrations (1910:125-27, figs. 75-76. Also Catlin, I, pl. 17). The dress would probably be gathered at the waist with a broad leather belt, decorated formerly with brass buttons (Wissler, 1910:127-28.) Men also wore belts, though less often than women. Women's moccasins were like men's but their leggins reached from the top of the moccasin only to the knee. (Wissler, 1910:127, fig. 77.) Women were far less careful about their hair than men. (See illustration in Catlin pl. 13.) Girls and matrons wore it in two braids. Old women let it hang loose, sometimes confined by a band about the forehead. (Wissler 1910:130.) Paint was frequently daubed on the hair, and when parted, the part painted vermillion. Like the men, they also added trinkets to it.

CRADLES

A number of cradles would be seen around any Blackfoot village. They would also be seen upon women's backs when traveling. These were made of large, more or less oval, pieces of board, covered with tanned hide.

The infant lay in a fur-lined pocket braced with stiff rawhide. For one of these, see Wissler (1910:87-88, fig.55) who gives a somewhat inadequate description of cradles. Lone lance, (p.186) has an excellent photo of a Blood cradle.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Drums were of two kinds. Those used for the Sun Dance are made in recent years of a wash tub (formerly), probably of a section of tree trunk) with a skin stretched across each end. This is widely distributed in America. The other is a tambourine, made by stretching skin over one side of a borad hoop of wood and fastening it with crossed cords on the opposite side. Wissler (1910:84-85) describes this, and (fig.52) illustrates a tambourine and stick.

Rattles varied according to the social-ceremonial group which used them, being in large measure a part of ceremonial regalia. One kind was formed by filling wet rawhide with sand, then drying, removing the sand and affixing a wooden handle, making a bulbous form. The ring-shaped rawhide rattle was used by some men's societies. (Wissler, 1910:85-86, and fig. 53.) Other societies tied buffalo or deer hoofs to a stock (Wissler, 1912:b:186.)

The flageolet was less common than among other plains tribes. One specimen described by Wissler has four holes (1910: 86). This was not used for courting as elsewhere in the Plains. (Wissler, 1911: 9.) The single-holed whistle was also used, as in the Sun Dance. (Wissler, 1910:fig.54.)

TRANSPORTATION

This is an important subject in any Blackfoot exhibit, because the Blackfoot were an essentially migratory people.

The characteristic mode of transportation of the Northern Plains tribes including the Blackfoot was by means of the travois. There is little doubt, though definite evidence is lacking, that before they came into possession of the horse, this was done by means of dogs as it was later among some other tribes.

The basic idea is two poles lashed together at one end and placed over the back of the animal. The opposite ends, diverging.

like a V, drag on the ground, while midway are crossed pieces or a frame for carrying the load. Detailed differences between the dog and horse travois are illustrated by Wissler so that reconstructions could be made (1910:88-92, fig. 55). It is probable that before the horse, even children could be transported on the dog travois. The horse facilitated this type of transportation in that the travois could be larger. Since fifteen feet was the maximum pole length for dogs, the horse permitted transportation of longer poles, hence use of larger tipis. (See photo of horse travois, Wissler, 1910:pl. 8; also, McClintock, 1912:192-6, 229; also, Schultz, 1916:p.42.)

Riding gear included two kinds of saddles. One was simply a pad of buffalo hide with the hair left on. The other was a frame covered with rawhide. These differed slightly for men and for women. Wissler (1910:92-4) gives rather unsatisfactory descriptions of these and one illustration (fig. 57). Wissler (1915-b) contains a better description and an illustration (fig. 6). Cruppers were also used, one being illustrated by Wissler (1910:fig. 58).

Saddle blankets were simply pieces of buffalo robe. The bridles were formerly of buffalo hide rope, used as a thong or braided, or were of hair, human hair sometimes being used. (Wissler, 1910:95). These were looped around the Horse's jaw in a variety of ways. (Wissler (1910:96-7) describes details of this. Quirts with handles of wood or elk horn were also used. Wissler, 1910:96. For a typical quirt, see Wissler, 1915-b fig. 231. Wissler, 1915, Fig. 15, gives a good illustration of a crupper.)

Snowshoes were not in general use except among the northernmost bands, while sleds were unknown. The only approach to sleds were stiff hides or buffalo "boss ribs", which children used in coasting or which were used to drag cripples about camps. (Wissler, 1910:97.)

For water transportation, the Blackfoot had no canoes, nor did they use the bull boat so common among other tribes. (Wissler, 1910:87; Grinnell, 1912:203; Hendry, as quoted by Schultz, 1930). Instead, when crossing deep water, they dished their tipi covers into large rafts, supported by sticks, placed children, aged people and goods upon them, and the younger people swam, towing them by tethers. War parties made crude rafts of brush or logs which they towed while swimming. (Wissler, 1910:87.)

Back packing has gone out of use since the horse has replaced

travel on foot. Women bringing in fire wood carried it on the back with a line, the tumpline being uncommon. (Wissler, 1910:87.)

Caches were of considerable importance to so nomadic a people. These were rock-lined holes for objects and bags and parfleches, with food tied to trees, or stored in safe places near trails. (Wissler, 1910:97-98.)

HUNTING AND WAR PARAPHENALIA

While a case devoted especially to implements of hunting and war would not particularly contribute the central theme of a well laid Black exhibit, there might be circumstances under which it would be expedient to have such a case. Some sort of miniature group or model would, of course, be preferable. In any event, the following paraphenalia would be included:

Bow, arrows and quiver. The bow, if of Blackfoot manufacture, would probably be of ash, sinew-backed, painted, about 105cm. long, equipped with a string of sinew, wrapped with rawhide at the grip, and having something of a double-curve. Modern bows are generally self bows of willow, choke-cherry or hazel. A compound bow, probably of western (Plauteu) origin, might occur in a Blackfoot collection. Further details and illustrations may be found in Wissler (1910:155-162, fig. 101) and Catlin (I, plate 18). The arrow would be a single shaft, without a foreshaft, of service berry or willow, 55 to 58 cm. long, equipped with three hawk feathers, a band of paint under the notch and a point of bone, stone or iron. (Wissler, 157-8 and Catlin, I, plate 18.) The quiver would be combined with a long bow-case, and would be of otter or cougar hide, ornamented with bead work and provided with straps and pendants of fur. (For details, See Wissler, 1910:157-8. fig. 101; also Catlin I, 32).

Implements in the manufacture of bows and arrows would include grooved arrow polishers; a hole in a piece of "boss" rib for straightening and perhaps a spoke shave constructed of a piece of stone set in the middle of a stock of wood; an unhafted flake of stone for scraping; and a hole in a bone with projecting spurs for longitudinally grooving the shaft. (Wissler, 1910: 83-84).

A man shown shooting the bow would use the tertiary reliese.

Other weapons are: the lance, which however, has been used only ceremonially in recent times, so that any specimens in collections are likely to be ceremonial, i.e., carried by members of war

societies. The combined bow-lance, i.e., a bow with a lance head on one end was not used by the Blackfoot. (Wissler, 1910:162.)

Shields were of buffalo hide, (Grinnell, 1912:227 says neck skin) about 49 cm. in diameter, dished about 8 cm., painted and decorated with feathers on the dished side, and provided with buckskin covers. (Wissler, 1910:162-63.) The symbolism in these decorations cannot be given; each specimen has its own interpretation and it is important not to attempt to interpret such designs according to preconceived notions. The protective value of shields lay in their symbolism, representing supernatural guardian spirits. (See Wissler 1912-b:117-125 and figs. 13 to 18, for a series of shields with the explanation of the symbolism.)

Armor was not used, but buckskin shirts of two or more thicknesses may have been used against stone and bone points. (Wissler, 1910:163.)

Clubs were; simple cudgels, the pointed club, ax-shaped clubs (like that figured by Maximilian, 179), and the ball club, which consisted of a stone sewed up in skin, the skin passing up over the handle. (See illus. Wissler, 1910:164) The blackfoot used no double-pointed stone clubs. (Wissler, 1910:163-64.)

GAMES

A large variety of games was employed, some being for adults: others being for children's toys.

Children's games and Toys. Boys played stealing horses, using bison foot bones for horses. They also used the bull roarer. Tops were made of sections of birch 11 to 16 cm. long and 8 to 12 cm. in diameter, variously decorated by removing strips of bark and otherwise. These are thrown over soft snow with four lash buckskin whips on wooden handles. (Wissler, 1911:54, fig. 8 illustrates tops, also Culin 1907:734.) An egg-shape, water-worn pebble was spun on ice with a whip having many lashes of bark. (Wissler, 1911:54-55, fig. 9-10 illustrate top and lash.) Boys shot arrows, sometimes specially made, at grass targets consisting of a small bundle of grass. Bows, arrows and target are described and illustrated in Wissler (1911:55, fig. 11). Boys also competed in casting "arrows" plain sticks about 80 cm. long, for distance. They also cast darts, made of a stick 90 cm. long, sharpened at one end, quartered at the other, at the first dart cast. (Wissler, 1911:56, fig. 12 for dart.)

A hoop-and-pole game was played by young and old people. The hoop was rolled on the ground, generally over a special crouse, and the arrows cast at it. The hoop was about 41 cm. in diameter, and the darts were simply pointed sticks about 80 cm., long. This is described and a hoop shown, Wissler, (1911:57, fig. 13.) Grinnell (1912:183) describes the hoop as a five spoked wheel four inches in diameter, and the pole as an arrow. (Culin (1907:443-4) describes one as an eight spoked wheel, three inches in diameter, buckskin covered, with wire-covered and beaded spokes, and illustrates it (fig. 577, p. 444.) He describes another as having six spokes and another as having five. Arrows were thrown at it, as this game is very common in western America, a distribution map could well accompany an exhibition of it.

Shinny was played by all, the implements being a stick about 90 cm long with a slight curve at the end and a ball, about the size of a baseball, stuffed with hair and covered with skin. It was played on a long course, the ball being thrown over opposite goal lines. (See Wissler, 1911-58 for description and fig. 14 for illustration of stock.)

Other games included wrestling, kicking, swimming, etc.

Gambling games. These were games played by adults for stakes.

The hand game is probably the most widely spread and popular of American Indian games in the western half of North America, and it is certain that some of its paraphernalia will find its way into my collection. Like all other tribes, the Blackfoot used four sticks of bone or wood, each about the diameter of a pencil and 7 cm. long two of which were wrapped about their centers. The Players usually men, formed two sides, usually one society against another, each receiving six counters, plain sticks about 38 cm. long, stuck in the ground. The hand game sticks were held in the hands of two members of one side while the other guessed the whereabouts of them. They won the stocks for correct guesses, lost counters for incorrect guesses. Meanwhile, there was singing and drumming. Large amounts of property were bet. Women used three counters. (Wissler, 1911:59 60; Grinnell, 1912:184; and Culin, 1907:269, 276, 305, 317.) The latter say men used ten counters.

The four stick game, or dice, generally played by a couple of women, required four bones about 18 cm., long, more or less flat, all having one side blank, two having one design on the other side called "twos", the other two having wavy lines called "snakes".

These were cast upon the ground or on a blanket and counted according to the sides which turned up. Twelve counters were played for. (Wissler, 1911:60-61, describes the play and fig. 15 shows a set of bones with their markings. Culin 1907:56-58; figs. 27-28-30, shows playing bones; fig. 29 shows counting sticks.)

Other games common among many western tribes are denied the Blackfoot by Wissler (1911:61-62). These are plum stone or button dice, moccasin game, hoop game, 102 stick game, cup-and-ball, snow snake, ice-gliders, and winged bones.

Smoking and Tobacco

The Blackfoot pipe was generally of a dark, greenish stone found in Blackfoot territory. The stem, up to 65 cm. long, was of ash or other hardwood, selected in the round and burned out with hot wire, then wrapped and variously decorated. The head formed an elbow with the stem in contrast to the tubular pipe of the western states. Some pipe bowls were inlaid with lead. (Wissler, 1910:82-83, figs. 48-50 give illustrations of typical pipes.)

Tobacco growing was entirely ritualistic, being carried on in connection with the Beaver Bundle ceremonies (See below) Wissler, 1912-b:200-204, describes this in detail.) The species used is Nicotiana quadrivalvis, which is common in the northwest. Kinnekinick or larb (arctostaphylos uva ursi) and big larb (chimaphila umbellata) leaves were also used for smoking. (McClintock, 1910:528.)

Smoking was used for a variety of purposes. Socially, a host lit his pipe and passed it from time to time to his visitor. It was also used to seal an oath or contract. Only in this respect can it be said to relate to the matter of making peace. (See Wissler 1912-b:168; also Grinnell, 1912:187-88). Otherwise, the calumet ceremony was unknown to the Blackfoot, so that the idea tenaciously held by the white man that these people "smoked the pipe of peace" must be discarded. The use of medicine pipe in rituals is an entirely different matter, falling strictly into the category of religion, and is consequently treated below.

Passing the pipe, done primarily in the tipi, in connection with rituals, follows the sun, that is, is clockwise. (Wissler, 1912 b:248; also, Grinnell, 1912:183:187-88.

ORNAMENTATION

Many specimens in any collection are certain to have decorations of one kind or another. In general, two styles of decoration are recognized: (1) geometric designs or occasionally floral designs painted on bags., parfleches and the like, or embroidered with quills or beads, on bags, clothing, etc. In general, these were applied by women to articles which they manufactured. (2) Pictographic decoration applied to buffalo robes, tipi exteriors and tipi back-walls. These are intimately connected with the system of war honors and represent realistically and semi-realistically, the valorous deeds of the owners of these objects.

(1) The paints employed on various articles include some of those listed under body paints, although the list of these is not clear. For dyeing quills, Wissler, quoting Maximillian, lists: yellow, from lemon colored moss growing on firs in the Rocky Mountains: (McClintock 1910:527, gives this as a lichen, *Evernia vulpina*); red, from some root: later, quills of the porcupine and feather shafts were boiled with brightly colored cloth bought from the white man. The garish brilliance of modern quill work is generally due to aniline dyes. (Wissler, 1910:55-62.) There were many techniques by which quills were applied. These are too detailed to present here, but are clearly explained with diagrams, by Wissler, (1910:55-62, figs. 14-31). Wooden and bone pencils for applying paint were explained under "body paint".

(2) Pictographic decoration. This can be worked into a museum exhibit in several ways. First, it provides an admirable means of explaining a thing lying otherwise outside the realm of material culture. The custom of war honors, connected with attitude toward war as a game prevalent among Plains tribes, can be explained elsewhere. Here it may be pointed out that any individual set of pictographs has its own explanations. (Wissler, 1911:36-44, explains a series illustrated by him, figs. 1-7. See also, Schultz and Donaldson, pp. 244-249 and illustration. Schultz, 1916:110, gives an excellent photo of an Indian painting one of these.) Second, these pictographs correspond closely with what was undoubtedly the first stage in the development of writing, containing not only pictograms but many conventional symbols and occasional ideograms.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECKONING

Time of the day was noted by the sun; of the night by the position of "Seven Stars", Ursa Major. The year was reckoned on a basis of two halves, within which moons were counted, some claiming (probably according to the ceremonial number seven) a total of fourteen moons. Some claimed twenty-six days, others thirty days to a moon. Winter began about October. The names of successive moons were largely a matter of individual preference. The medicine men showing the most interest in such matters. One man, for instance, gave the following:

Winter Moons

1. Beginning winter moon
2. Wind Moon
3. Cold Moon
4. Two-big Sunday moon
(Xmas holiday-our-calendar)
5. Changeable Moon
6. Uncertain Moon
7. Geese Moon

Summer Moons

- Beginning summer moon
- Frog Moon
- Thunder Moon
- Big-Sunday Moon
(4th of July-our calendar)
- Berry Moon
- Clokecherry moon

Other people used other names. Some used sticks to keep track of time. (Wissler, 1911:44-46) This system is slightly less advanced than that of the Southwestern Tribes who used a true solstitial system, and much less advanced than the Middle American Peoples who used solar, lunar, and other counts, knowing the exact length of the year.

The passage of years was generally remembered by an outstanding event, although the event remembered was a matter of individual interest. (Wissler, 1911:45-50.)

SOCIALCUSTOMS AND RELIGION

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Childhood.

Birth customs are of no great interest. The mother is attended by medicine women and must not be approached by men for fear of bad luck.

Children are taught the conventions of Blackfoot behavior girls have domestic virtues drilled into them, boys were taught braveness, self-control, helpfulness. There were no puberty ceremonies of importance. (Wissler, 1911:20-30).

Marriage:

The conspicuous feature of a Blackfoot marriage is the exchange of presents between the families of the prospective spouses. As the amount given by the boy's family generally exceeds that received, the marriage is something of a bride purchase. Other features of marriage point to the same thing.

Marriage was usually, though not necessarily, outside the band, but there were no clans or gentes regulating it.

Before and after marriage the girl is required to be strictly chaste, and the penalties for adultery are said to have been very severe in olden times. The boy, however, could and was expected to have as many affairs as possible both before and after marriage. Polygamy was a usual means of displaying wealth and acquiring social importance though few men were able to support as many as five wives. Always, however, a head wife reigned above the others and had privileges denied them. Often, though not necessarily, extra wives were sisters of the first. Even before marrying his wife's sisters, a man could take unusual liberties in making obscene jokes with them. With the mother-in-law, however, he observed a strict avoidance in accordance with the wide-spread mother-in-law taboo.

Divorce was uncommon except for extreme laziness, cruelty or adultery, in which case it was accomplished simply by the woman returning to her family, which returned the bride-price or gifts to the husband. (Wissler, 1911:8-14.)

Names.

A child is named soon after birth, a man of some importance being called upon to give him the name of a famous person, long since dead. Occasionally, he takes his name for an exploit of his father if the latter is a distinguished man. Other names may be added later, as when a man goes on his first war party, or at a Sun Dance. (Wissler, 1911:16-18.)

Property.

Each person owned his personal belongings. The tipi, travois, the horse she rode, and domestic implements were owned by the woman. At death, a man's property was divided among his relatives, his oldest son taking most. When women returned to their families they took only what they brought into the marriage. (Wissler, 1911: 26-27).

Division of Labor.

Work falling to women included preparing skins, their own clothes and most of the men's, tipis, travois, riding gear: cooking; gathering vegetables; most of the transportation in moving; carrying wood and water and putting up the tipi. Women painted parfleche and bag-designs.

Men's work included hunting and butchering; making their own ornaments, sometimes leggings and coats: painting tipi and robe designs. (Wissler, 1911:27-28).

Death and mourning.

Formerly, the tipi in which a person died was abandoned or used as a burial tipi. The deceased, dressed in his best, was usually placed in the tipi on a hilltop or on a scaffold in trees, accompanied, perhaps, by his favorite horse which was killed. (See Jeenness, p.164, for an excellent photo of a Blackfoot scaffold burial.) Persons incurably ill sometimes deliberately killed as many other persons as possible, then took their own lives.

In mourning, relatives cut their hair short, and affected carelessness and indifference of person and dress, until the mourning was terminated with a sweat bath. (Wissler, 1911:30-32).

WARFARE

The advent of the white man created situations in which the Blackfoot believed that war was necessary for his own preservation. Prior to this, however, while war may occasionally have been necessary, it was looked upon as a game, a means of winning social distinction, rather than as a means of gaining territory, wealth or any other object. This predisposition to war for its own sake, of course carried over into Blackfoot affairs after tribal maladjustments and competition for food and territory followed the incursions of the white men. Moreover, the introduction of the horse served to

intensify war activities, in that it provided both a means of carrying on with greater vigor and an objective-the stealing of horses.

The immediate northern neighbors of the Blackfoot, The sarcee, were treated as relatives. They sometimes fought the Kootanai and Gros Ventre, but at other times were on friendly terms with them. The Flathead, Salish, Cour D'Arlene, Nez Perce, Northern Shoshoni, Snake, Crow, Hidatsa, Assiniboine and Cree bore the brunt of their military operations. Occasionally there were periods of intermittent truce. (Wissler, 1910:7; Teit, 1930:125-8, 361-5.)

War parties were led by individuals who possessed supernatural spirits secured visions, which promised them success. Thus some men were greater leaders than others. Unless the expedition was with the avowed purpose of revenge, the motive was to gain war honors, that is, to count coup, which to the Blackfoot, meant capture of the enemy's property and deeds of bravery.

Some things gave greater honor than others. Capture of horses, guns, shields, lances, bows, quivers, shot-pouches, powder horns, daggers, war-bonnets, and all medicine objects, conferred honor. The following order of rank of exploits was given Wissler (1911:40) by a Piegan who was recognized as an authority on heraldry: stealing a gun, lance, bow, taking an enemy's life, cutting a horse loose from a tipi, leading a war party, acting as a scout, capturing shields, war-bonnets, a medicine pipe, and driving off loose horses. There was, no doubt, some individual variation in the counting of these, but it is seen that the motive was to expose one's self to danger, not to kill an enemy or take a scalp. (Wissler, 1911:36-44.) Scalps were taken, but were not of great importance and were thrown away after the woman's or scalp dance. (Wissler, 1910:155; 1913:358-9).

Successful warriors were expected to boast, of their great deeds and this was done in several ways. Pictographs, incorporating a number or more or less conventional symbols for certain exploits, were recorded on their tipis and buffalo robes according to a system of heraldry. Most of these symbols are figured in Wissler (1911:36-44) where they are explained. Again, a man was expected to recite his deeds in any important public or ceremonial function. Such tales might be related by the fireside. (See Wissler, 1911: 32-36, for several such narratives.) Consequently, the literature on Blackfoot is full of such narratives, for these were of prime importance to social standing in the tribe. (See, for example, McIntock, 1910: Grinnell, 1912:3-92, 242-255: Schultz and Donaldson.

pp. 166-249 and photographs).

MEN'S SOCIETIES

Any collection of Blackfoot material is likely to include articles of attire that one who is uninformed may mistake for ordinary costuming. In reality, many of these may be regalia of the members of the various men's societies. It is important therefore, that such things should not be exhibited as ordinary costuming until a definite knowledge of them is obtained. On the other hand, exhibition of society regalia is, except for illustrations of society dances, the only means of representing this important aspect of Blackfoot social life in a museum.

Each of the three major divisions of the Blackfoot was divided into a series of military societies. Young men entered the lowest, the Pigeons, together, and as a body, advanced successively through the higher societies. Each advance in rank was accomplished by the members of the society purchasing the next higher society with its regalia, etc., from the owners, who, upon selling out, themselves advanced, etc. Thus, the transfer of membership is basically like the transfer of medicine bundles. The society functions were primarily ceremonial, each having its own dances, songs, regalia, ceremonies, and even modes of behavior and taboos, but they might, at times, be called upon to perform civil duties, such as guarding camp, policing the buffalo hunt, etc.

The most outstanding feature of these societies have been listed by Wissler, as 1. progressive membership; 2. annual ceremonies a reorganization each year at the forming of the camp circle; 3. transfer of membership at the end of a four year period; 4. absence of moral and practical qualifications for admission and of all provisions for expelling undesirable members. (1913:425.)

The following list of these societies among the three Blackfoot groups as given by Wissler (1913:369) is:

<u>Piegan</u>	<u>Blood</u>	<u>North Blackfoot</u>
Piegeons		
Mosquitos	Mosquitos	Mosquitos
_____	_____	Bees
_____	_____	Prairie-Chickens
_____	_____	Crows
Braves	All-brave-dogs	All -brave-dogs.

<u>Piegan</u>	<u>Blood</u>	<u>North Blackfoot (Cont'd)</u>
All-brave-dogs	Braves	Bad-horns
Front-tails	Black-soldiers	Black-Soldiers
Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers	Braves
Dogs	Dogs	Raven-bearers
Kit-foxes	Horns	Dogs
Catchers	Catchers	Horns
Bulls	Bulls	Catchers
		Bulls
		Kit-foxes

(Lists and names given by other authors by no means exactly correspond with these)

In addition to these, there existed among the Blood and Northern Blackfoot, a woman's society called Matoki. (Wissler, 1913: 430-435.)

The paraphernalia, rituals, etc. of the above societies are described and figured by Wissler (1913:365-435.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND CULTS

In addition to the men's societies, there are several ceremonial organizations which include both sexes, the members of which have purchased membership somewhat after the manner of purchasing medicine bundles. Each had its distinctive regalia and functions. These were:

The Crow-Water Society, which is supposed to enable its members to become wealthy and to cure the sick. (McClintock, 1923:p200, shows a photo of the ceremony)

The Black-tailed Deer Dance, which is supposed to function to make the capture of deer easy.

Dance for the Spirits of the Dead, which is supposed to make a dance to which the spirits of the dead are invited.

The All-smoking Ceremony.

The Stick Game Dance, a recently imported dance, in which a stick game set has become a medicine bundle. (Wissler, 1913:436-450.)

In addition to these, there are several other loosely organized dance associations. These are:

The Hair Parters or Grass Dance, which is more or less a purely social function.

The Horse Dance, which might be called a War dance in that its chief function was to arouse courage and enthusiasm for war.

The Scalp Dance, which is something of a victory dance, participated in by anyone after a successful war party.

The Kissing Dance and the Tea Dance, which are almost purely social.

The Night Singers.

The Begging Dance:

(Wissler, 1913:451-460.)

RELIGION

Indian religion, more than anything else, has been consistently misinterpreted to the public. The statement frequently encountered in literature designed for popular consumption that the Blackfoot are sun-worshippers is entirely misleading and should be avoided. That the sun was a supernatural power, even the most important power, is quite a different matter.

The essence of Blackfoot religion is a system of individual relations to supernatural powers, established through visions and involving ceremonies, songs, and fetishes, ranging from small charms to complex bundles. The Sun Dance was the only ceremony approaching community ritual. In objective representation of religion in a museum, therefore, we have to interpret religion either through appropriate labels on the objective evidence of the individual religion, that is, the fetishes and medicine bundles, or through complex groups representing ceremonies of which the Sun Dance is best known and in many respects more characteristic.

Fetishes and Medicine Bundles.

It is impossible to give a key by which all fetishes and bundles may be interpreted, because their characteristic feature is individuality. To make an accurate statement concerning any particular object that might occur in a collection, the explanation of its owner is essential. The probability is exceedingly small that any white man who collected such objects would know even remotely their true significance, because in the first place, he probably did not inquire, in the second place, if he did inquire, the Indian probably did not tell him. The most that can be given, therefore, is a general explanation of the significance of objects of these types, unless a bundle collected is a well known type described in the literature.

The fetishes, whether simple, individual amulets or complex bundles, comprise a vast variety of trinkets, skins., etc., etc. These are always given the Blackfoot in a vision or a dream, which may be sought by fasting or may come at some time. (There is evidence that Chief Mountain was used as a place for seeking a vision. Schultz. 1916:233-35.) At the same time he receives instructions as to how to make and use these things, what rites to perform, what to sing, how to behave, and what taboos to follow.

These always come from a spirit with which he comes to be in rapport and which guides and assists, him. (See Wissler: 1912:b:7190 for a collection of accounts of these visions.) The spirit may be the sun, thunder bird, moon, morning star, eagle, buffalo, beaver, or a large variety of other animals, birds and even objects. Although the general power pervading nature and acting through these spirits is called natoji, sun power, this does not mean that in revering some special spirit, the Blackfoot is worshipping the sun.

Instead of receiving these things through his own vision, a man may purchase a vision and all that pertains thereto from another, whereupon the latter relinquishes all claim to it. In either event, however, the man's relation to his spirit, fetishes and so forth, is the same. The ceremony involved, frequently quite long, is supposed to recount the original vision in which the fetish and blessing were given. These are generally held in the tipi of the owner. Important ritualistic elements usually involved are: smoking; singing in which the songs are generally grouped into sevens, although ritual is ordinarily done in fours; following the ceremonial number four; opening of the

bundle, if there be one; recounting the story of its origin in a vision: the very characteristic burning of sweet grass (*Sevastana odorata*) and occasionally of sweet pine (*Abies lasiocarpa*), narrow leaved puccoon (*Lithospermum linearifolium*) and wild parsnip (*Leptotaenia multifida*) on the cleared space or "altar" in the rear of the tipi (see Wissler, 1912-b: fig. 35 on P. 256 for several painted altars) much praying; gifts; and the use of the sweat-house, a skin-covered structure of twelve or fourteen bent-over willows, which was heated with hot rocks even which water was poured to form steam. (See McClintock, 1910: photo on p 285 and 287 for a sweat-house frame.)

The outstanding features of the Blackfoot medicine bundle concept then, are: the bundle; the ritualistic behavior accompanying it; the associated body painting, tipi painting and dress; the acquisition of these through a vision or purchase from a previous owner; the social prestige gained by owing or having owned a great many bundles. The Blackfoot, unlike many other Plains tribes, lack the association of bundles with social groups such as clans or political divisions of the tribe.

The following are some of the major classes of fetishes.

- (1) War fetishes--usually individual objects, designs, etc.
- (2) Horse fetishes--these are charms, generally hung on the bridle and involving other charms, songs, and ceremonies. They are for fleetness and sure-footedness of the owner's horse; sometimes they serve magically to injure another's horse.
- (3) Weasel shirts, that is, shirts trimmed with weasel tails, having value particularly in war.
- (4) Similar shirts trimmed with hair-locks.
- (5) Head dresses. These were generally of two kinds, a horn bonnet and a feather bonnet. (See illustrations in Wissler, 1912-b: figs. 11 and 12, and in McClintock 1910: on pp. 272-275.) As the privilege of wearing these was also ceremonial, it follows that they were limited to those who had received or purchased the appropriate vision. These were used mainly in war.

- (6) Shields. These have names and have probably been transferred many times. They involved ritual. The protective value of the shield is felt to lie in its supernatural qualities rather than impenetrability. Some of these are old and famous and have been transferred many times.
(See Wissler, 1912-b: 117-125.)
- (7) Otter bundle. There are two of these, which are famous, and powerful, and confer great blessings. They involve long, complex ceremonies and taboos.
- (8) Bear Knife
- (9) Medicine lance. One such bundle. This confers especially war power. As with the other bundles the medicine lance is simply the principal of many articles.
- (10) Medicine Pipe. More than seventeen of these among the Blackfoot. These confer great power and social distinction upon the owner. (Wissler, 1912-b: fig.22, shows a medicine pipe.) Wissler (1912-b:136-165) describes the contents of a bundle and gives details of the ceremony which would be of use should the Museum come into the possession of a true medicine pipe bundle. There were also other kinds of pipes with their accompanying ceremonies. These should not be confused with ordinary smoking.
- (11) Beaver bundles. These are the most complex and important of all, including innumerable animal species and other objects, variously wrapped. The ceremony and connected ritual were also involved, including the usual singing, use of the sweat-house, etc., but also adding the tobacco planting ceremony, (See Schultz and Donaldson, 122-158), calling the buffalo, the sun dance bundle, and others. (Wissler, 1912-b:168-209; Schultz and Donaldson: 95-121). Illustrations (Photos) of this are provided by McClintock (1910:79-112).
- (12) The Nataos or Sun Dance Bundle. This is also complicated and is one of the few bundles primarily associated with women. There are several of these. (Wissler, 1912-b;209-220) See below under "Sun Dance"

Other bundles are special types in which part of the symbolism is represented on the exterior of the tipi. (Wissler, 1912-b:220-241 See pages 15 and 16.

This discussion of bundles is from Wissler (1912-b:65-282)

The Sun Dance.

Despite the manifold spectacular features and the widespread popular interest in the Sun Dance, it is so surcharged with subjective elements and so inextricable intertwined with basic elements of Blackfoot religion in general, that it is well-nigh impossible to represent it objectively without serving to perpetuate popular misconceptions about it. An amply labeled group representing in miniature a Sun Dance lodge with some of its more interesting features, such as the weather dancers booth, society dancers, the musicians, the sweat lodge, and the camp circle is the most that could be done. And, since this would but give one phase of an ever-changing series of rituals, a true picture of it could only be given by supplying a museum visitor with a small guide pamphlet which explains briefly but authoritatively this most interesting ceremony.

Although the Sun Dance comes nearest to being a communal ceremony of any Blackfoot rite, it is in reality a composite of particularized ceremonies, conducted specifically for individual goods and incidentally for community benefits.

The occasion for the Sun Dance is a vow, taken by a woman of general virtue and particularly of sex virtue that if she or someone in danger is spared, she will give the Sun Dance. That is to say, she will purchase a natoas bundle, she and her husband taking the lead in long rites including the Sun Dance. Should no one happen to have taken this vow, some eligible woman is practically forced to purchase one of the several natoas bundles in order that the Sun Dance may be given annually. She is called the "medicine woman".

Accordingly, the proposed purchase, i.e., transfer of the bundle is announced and her husband arranges to call the bands together. They come and form a camp circle. During four days preceeding the dance proper, the camp is moved daily, the medicine women and other virtuous women meanwhile having a ceremony of eating buffalo tongue. The others have taken vows to do this. Meanwhile, also, sweat lodges have been erected, (McClintock, 1910:285-287 for illustrations) and the leading men bathe. The whole affair involves much ceremony fasting, expense and other strain for the medicine woman and her

husband, but is also a great honor.

The Sun Dance lodge (McClintock, 1910:314 for illustration, is also erected with ceremony, renowned warriors counting coup on the center pole; others cut special thongs to bind the poles, a rite which is purchased from those who held it the previous year. There are also special dancers, known as weather dancers, who are in reality sun priests, calling upon the sun for general blessings. These may transfer their rites to others. Again, certain dancers cut holes in buffalo hides, which is a transferable privilege. Certain societies also indulge in their own special dances. With all this, there is feasting, distribution of presents, revitation of war honors, and much singing. Since the natoas bundle transfer is the nucleus of the ceremony, it has much in common with the beaver bundle ceremonies to which the natoas bundle is intimately related.

A spectacular feature is that in which certain warriors thrust skewers through their flesh to which ropes are attached, dancing until the skin pulls loose. This, too, is a privilege that may be transferred and is generally taken upon a vow, when in trouble. It is closely related to a more general practise of cutting out small bits of flesh or hacking off finger joints as offerings to the sun when on the war path or at other times when special blessings are sought.

Should a Sun Dance group be constructed, details of the essential features, including measurements, will be found in Wissler, "The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians" (Wissler, 1918) Illustrations will be found in Schultz (1907, p. 392. See also, Wissler, 1918; Schultz and Donaldson, 1930:82-94 for the Bloods; McClintock, 1910:179-183, 192-206, 284-324.)

Curing.

Although curing was in some measure accomplished by administering herbs, a list of some of which will found above, the Blackfoot, like all primitive tribes, in the last analysis, attributed disease to supernatural causes. In the event of serious illness, therefore, the doctor was called upon to perform. The doctor received his power like all other "medicine Men" -- that is, owners, of super-natural powers-- in a vision. A super-natural spirit gave him its aid and instructed him as to what diseases he should cure and what procedure he should follow in doing so.

APPENDIX

SOME SUGGESTED EXHIBITS FOR BLACKFOOT CULTURE

Exhibit A. The place of the Blackfoot among American Indians.

Since the buffalo is the principle food of the Blackfoot and also shapes their entire culture, it is suggested that a small map, comparable to the accompanying sketch (Fig.9), bring out the fact that the Indians in different parts of America utilized different native foods. In addition to this map, a second, showing the relation of the Plains culture area to the distribution of the buffalo (fig.1) could be used. Neither of these need to be large.

Exhibit B. The utilization of the buffalo

The fact that practically all the important traits of material culture of the Blackfoot employed the buffalo in some way could be brought out on charts, like the accompanying. The size and degree of completeness of these would depend upon the available space and materials. If both charts could be used, it is suggested that one center around a complete drawing of a buffalo, showing the utilization of all its parts except the hide. Where possible, small specimens would accompany the labels. The second would show the uses of the hide, either specimens or drawings being included. In both, it would be desirable to have each kind of specimen cross-referenced to the case (if there were other cases) which contained such objects. (Figs. 10 and 11.)

Exhibit C. The method of capturing the buffalo.

A suggested type of sketch showing the driving of a herd over a cliff, accompanies this. (fig. 8.) If this type is used at some other museum, one could show horsemen surrounding a herd.

Exhibit D. A Blackfoot camp.

A small set, showing the place of objects of material culture in a Blackfoot camp would be far more instructive than having such objects arrayed in rows in a case. If a camp were made, it should show a tipi partly cut away so as to reveal its interior. There should also be a tipi in process construction, showing four-pole foundation, and one which is complete bearing characteristic

designs. The remainder of the tipis in the camp could be painted on the background.

The camp would be in the form of a circle, if it were during the Sun Dance. In this case, a Sun Dance lodge with associated special tipis should be indicated. (See McClintock, 1923, p.20, for a general view of a camp circle; p. 261, shows, another view, also McClintock, 1910, photo p. 456. Dengler, p.39, gives also a full page illustration of a Piegan camp, taken from Maximilian. McClintock, 1923; p. 70 shows a sun shelter.

If the camp were not during the Sun Dance, there is some doubt as to whether the camp circle would be formed. It is probable that if it were a small encampment of a relatively few bands, they would be placed not in a circle, but in rows, bordering a kind of central avenue. Schultz and Donaldson (p.5) quote Hendry, who visited a Blackfoot camp in 1754, stating that their lodges were "in two regular lines, which formed a broad street, open at both ends." Whether a circle or this arrangement were represented, however, would affect the background rather than the representatives of daily life in the foreground.

The tipi that is partly cut away could be reconstructed like that shown in McClintock (1910, p.20, or 1923, p. 92). Such interior arrangement is also described by Wissler (1910, pp.105-8) and Grinnell (1912; 198-99). Each object should be provided with a short label, and, if specimens as such were exhibited in cases elsewhere, there should be cross-references to these cases that the visitor might turn to see the actual objects.

The interior of the tipi would expose the ground plan arrangement and interior objects shown in the accompanying sketches. (figs.3 and 4.) These would be: beds, backrests, fireplace or fireplaces, altar, goods and ceremonial objects stored. It would also show the backwalls of the tipi. For explanation of the construction of the backrest, see Wissler (1910, figs. 12,13 and plate 7 and explanation on pp. 53-54.)

Outside the tipi, various things could be included, depending upon the size of the group. It is important not to overcrowd it. The following are suggestions, descriptions and references for which will be found in the accompanying text:

- A staked buffalo hide.
- A woman scraping a buffalo hide.

A Woman putting up a tipi.
A cradle board.
A Horse travois.
A man in society regalia and his horse
with characteristic trappings.
Men playing the hoop and pole game.
A rack with drying meat.
A tripod back of a tipi with an important
medicine bundle.
Children playing with typical toys.
In the distance, a man driving horses.

Somewhere in the background of a winter camp could be shown the winter supply of wood. (See McClintock, 1910: p.371 for illustration of this.)

Exhibit E. The Sun Dance.

A group showing the camp circle in the background and the Sun Dance Lodge in the foreground with the accessories in some detail is one of the few ways Blackfoot religion could be represented in a museum. This would show the special lodge of the medicine woman near the Sun Dance Lodge, the sweat house, and the shelter for the principle performers in the ceremonies. In the Sun Dance lodge would be seen the center pole, the "weather shamans" booth, and possibly a number of dancers.

Exhibit F. A medicine bundle could be exhibited in a small case, having labels explaining briefly its significance. If it could be accompanied by some sort of illustration of the ceremony of opening it, this would enhance its significance. Necessary references for this are given in the accompanying text.

Exhibit G. Blackfoot habitat.

A map, like that in the accompanying text, (fig.2) should show the location of the three major divisions of the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes.

Exhibit H. Blackfoot place names in Glacier Park.

Unfortunately there is a little material as to the Blackfoot utilization of Glacier Park. Place names, however, are given in Schultz, (1916:6-9, 11-20, 21-23, 23-42, 107-108, 146,153,154,226-232

233-235). Schultz (1926-a and 1926-b) gives place names in Glacier Park in both Blackfoot and Kootenai. These could be shown on a map of the Park.

Exhibit I. Miscellaneous Objects.

More cases of objects are to be avoided. If, however, it seems necessary to use some of these it is suggested that each case develop some central theme. For example, a case might devoted to religion and include objects having supernatural value. These would range from small amulets through shields, clothing, etc., to medicine bundles and would be accompanied by labels explaining the particular significance of each and the dream theory or purchase theory back of each. Another case might be devoted to Blackfoot art and contain two series of articles (these, of course, would depend upon what is available), one illustrating geometric woman's art, the other illustrating pictographic men's art. In any case, where space and arrangement permitted, a small map, say four inches square, could accompany certain types of specimens and show the distribution of that culture trait in America. Samples of what could be done in this way follow. (figs. 5, 6 and 7.) This would serve to give a perspective on the Blackfoot.

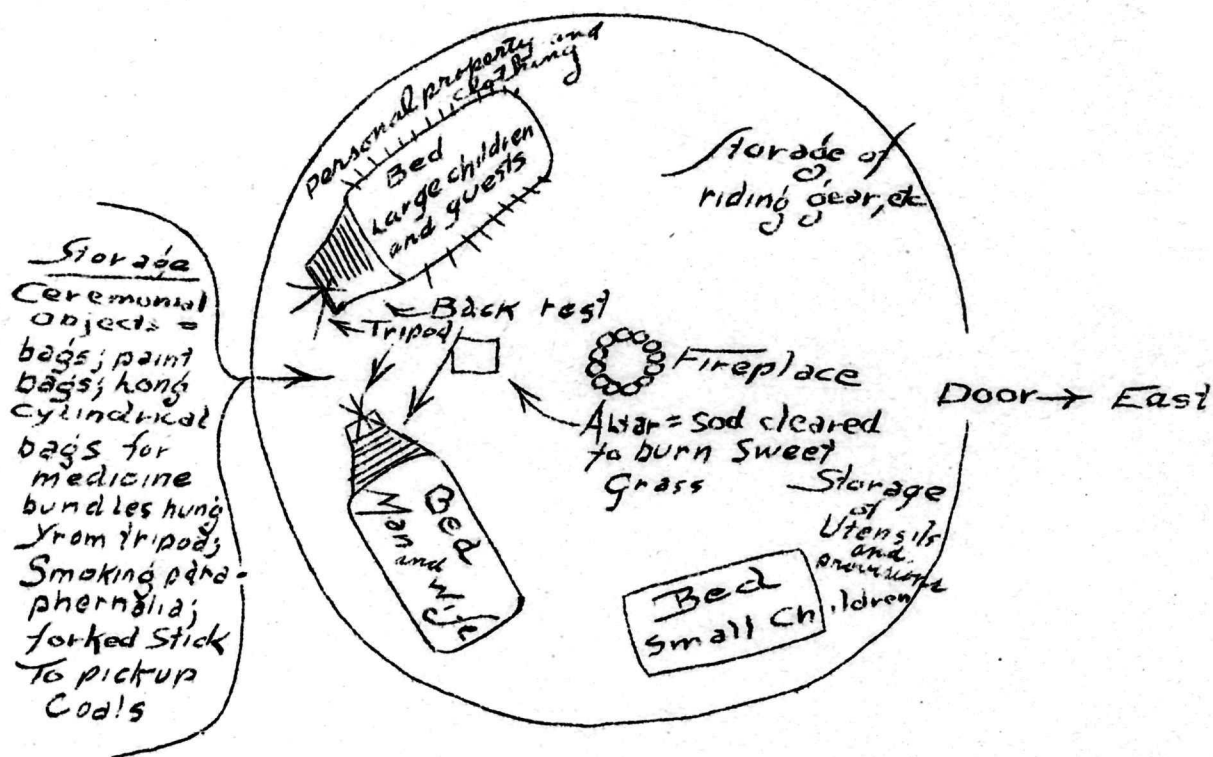
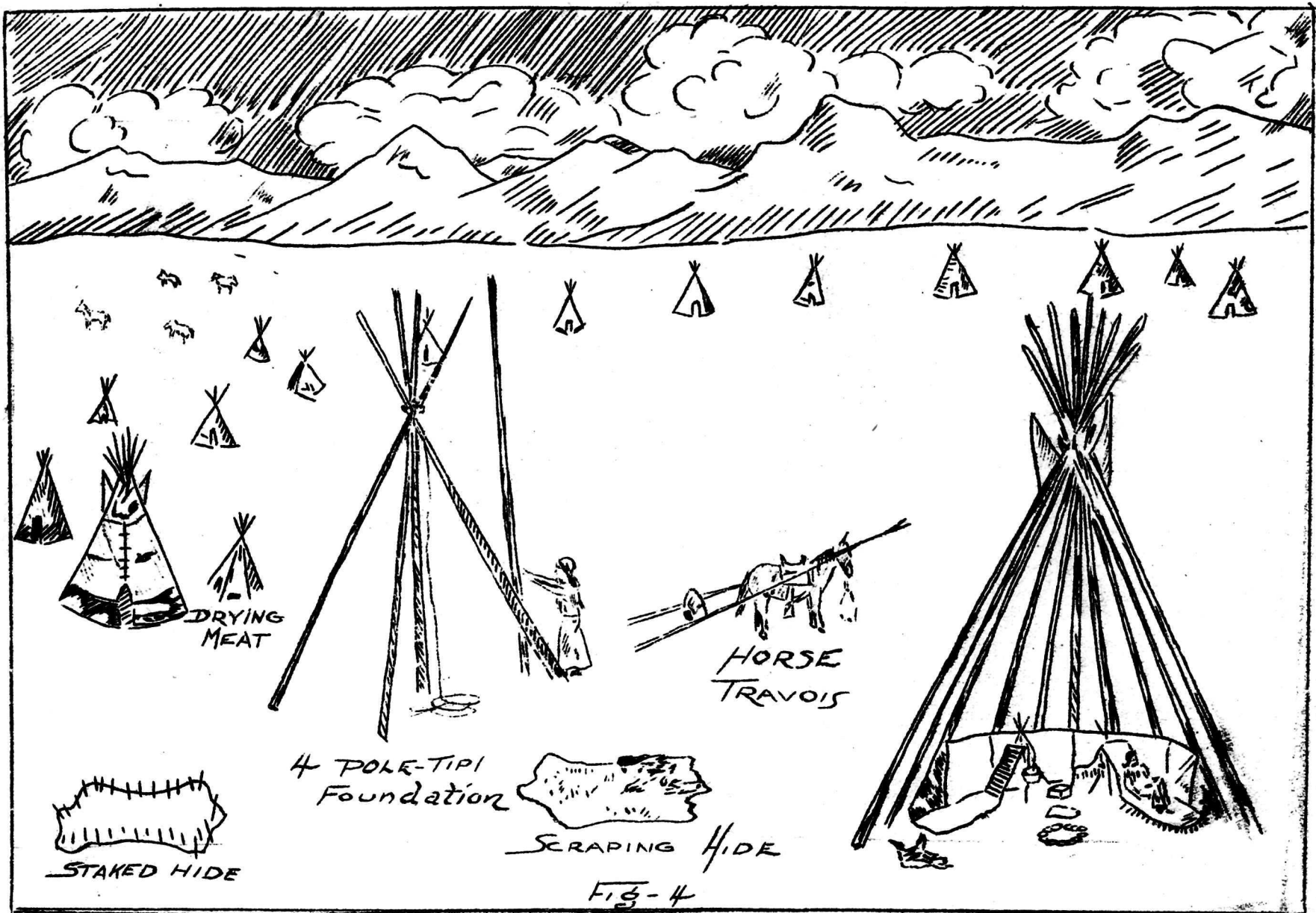


Fig 3

THE INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF A TIPI.



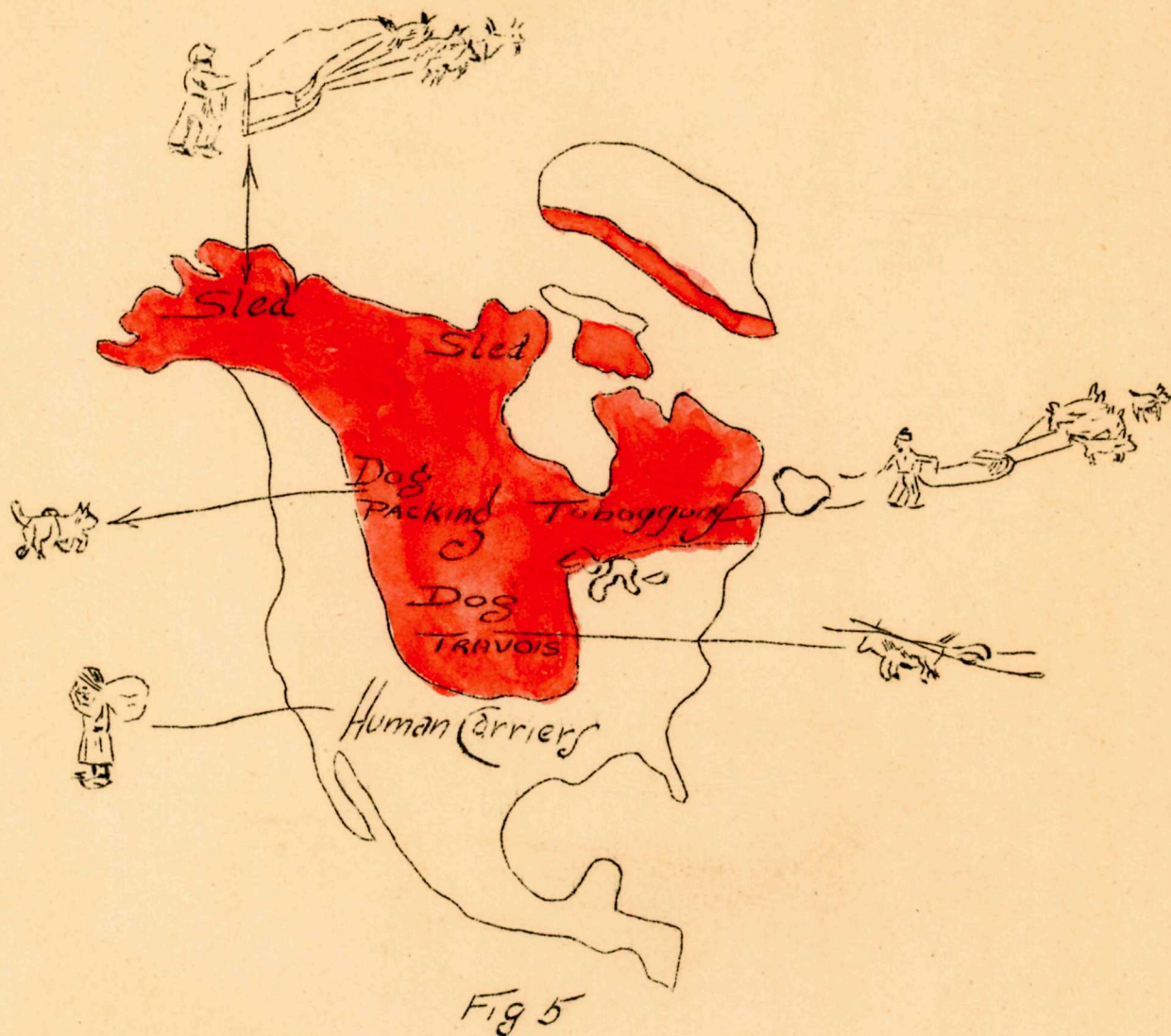
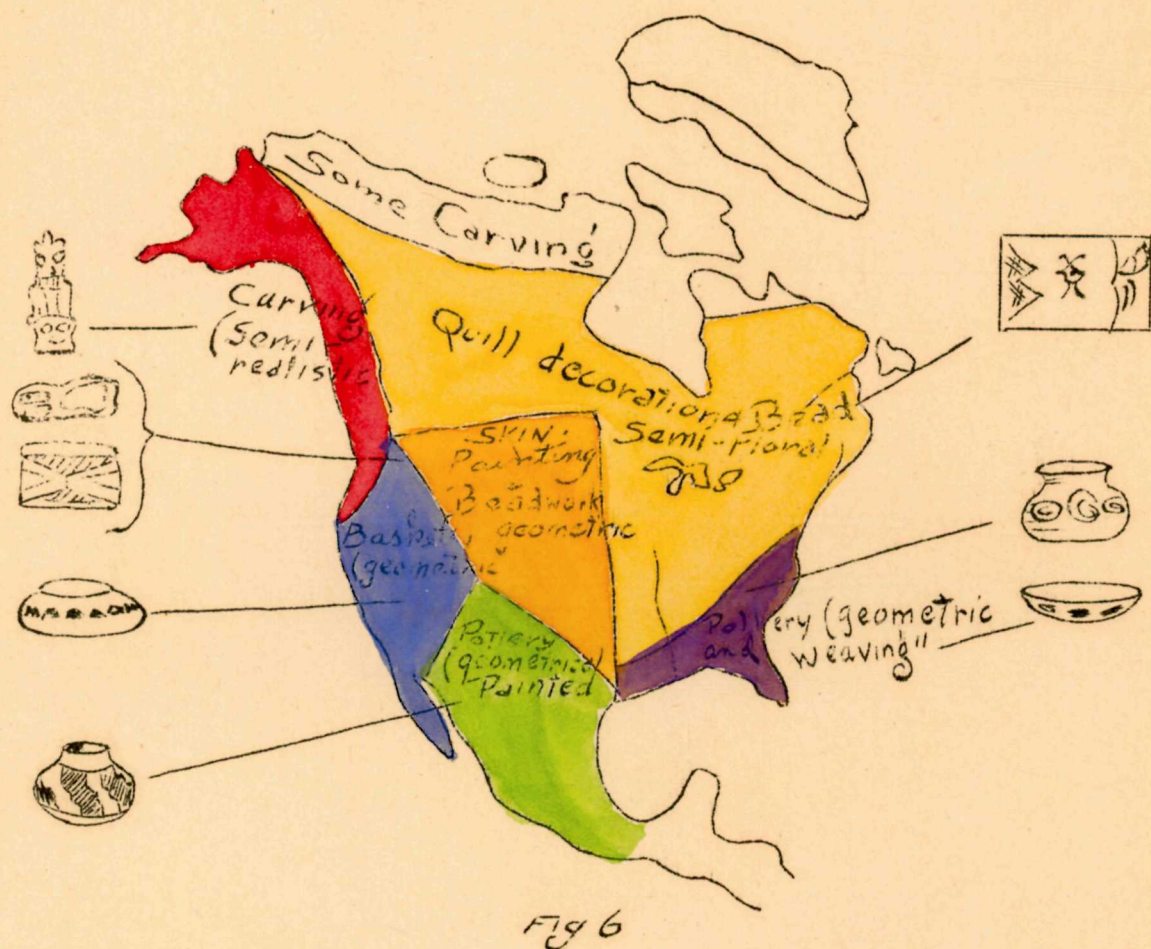


Fig 5

TYPES OF DOG TRANSPORTATION
USED BY
THE AMERICAN INDIAN

The Travois, formerly employing the dog, is but a variety of devices using the dog found in the northern part of North America. South of this area, only human carriers were known.

(After Wissler, 1922. fig. 7, and pp. 28-41)



THE PRINCIPLE AREAS OF AMERICAN INDIAN ART.

(More or less after Wissler, 1922, p. 81.)

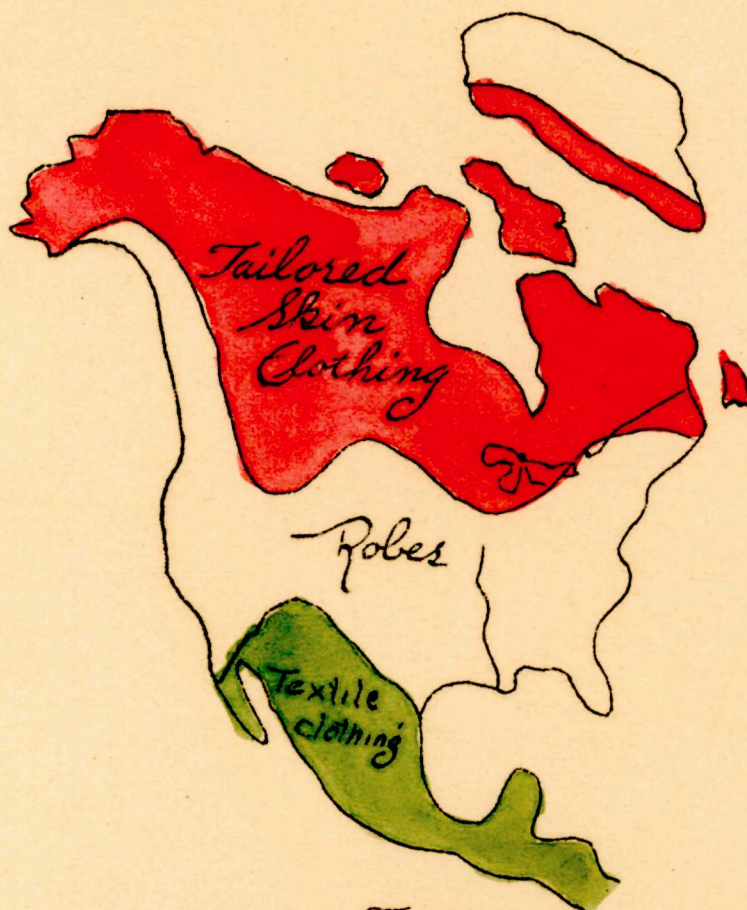


Fig 7

THE DISTRIBUTION OF TAILORED CLOTHING
IN NATIVE AMERICA.
(After Wissler, 1922, p. 61.)

Moccasins were more widely distributed
than tailored clothing.

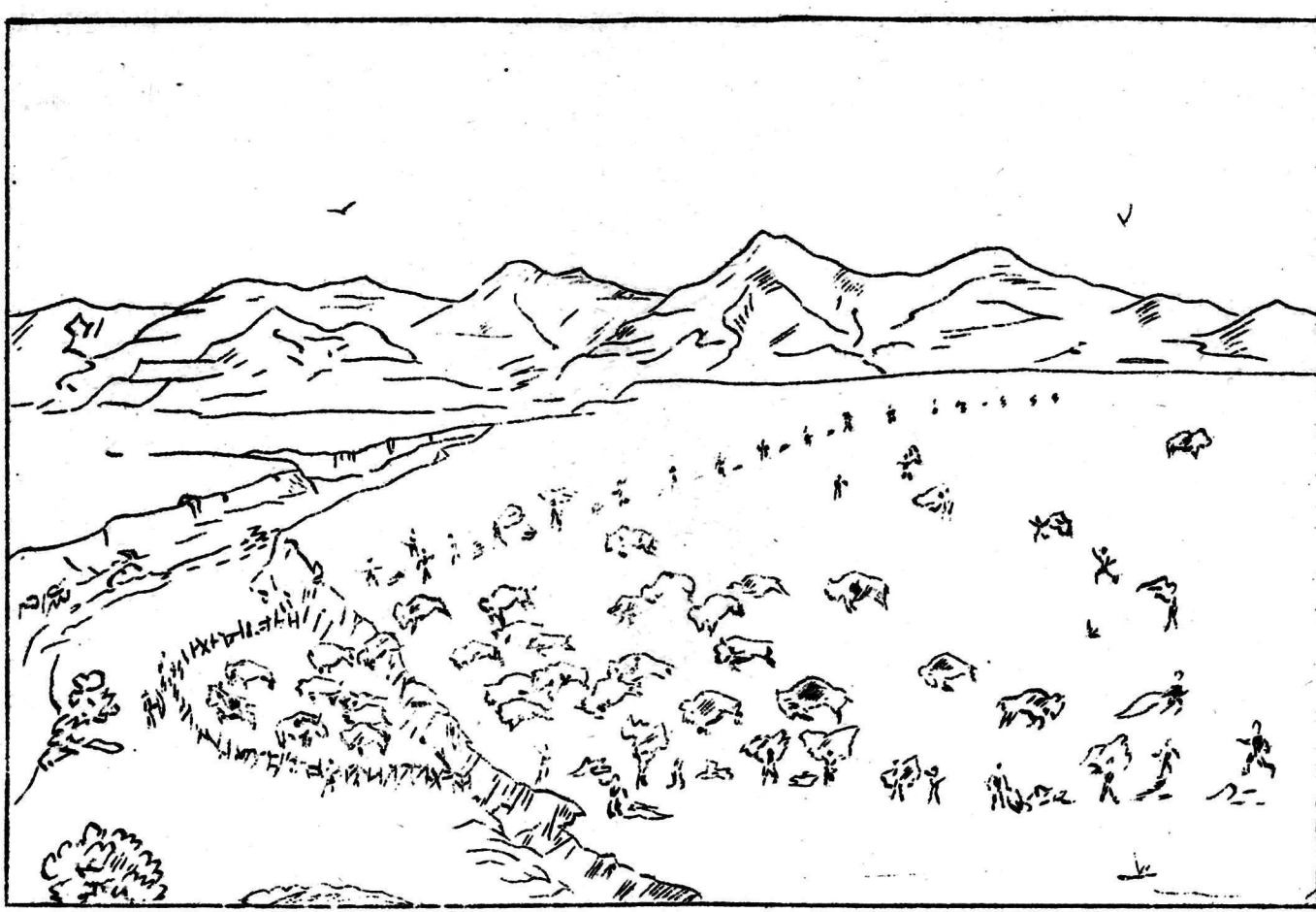


Fig 8

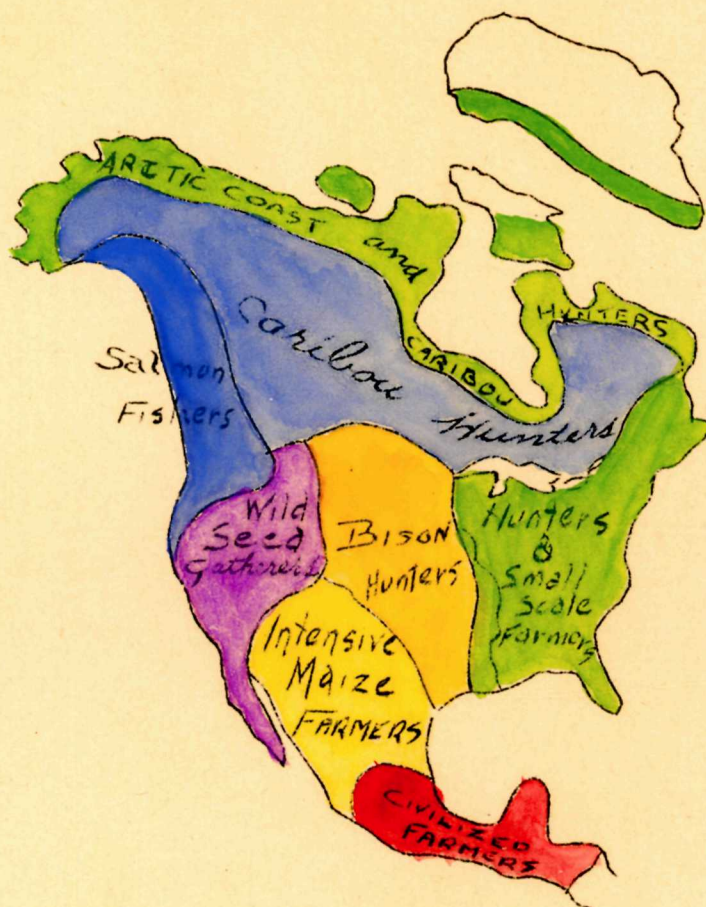
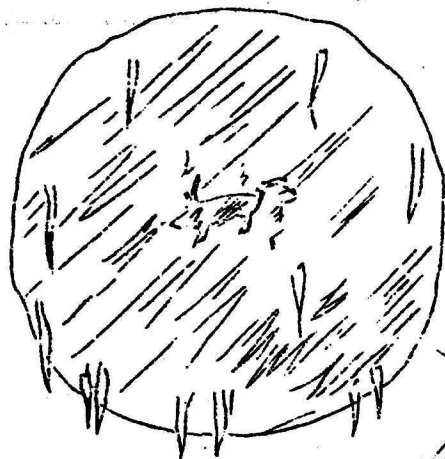


Fig 9

AMERICAN INDIAN AREAS OF FOOD UTILIZATION

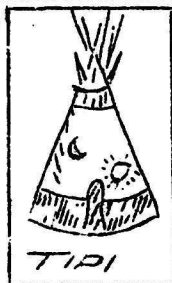
The Indians in different areas tended to specialize in using certain foods. To a large extent, their culture was adapted to this fact.



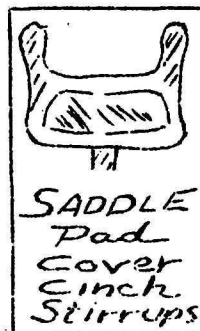
SHIELD



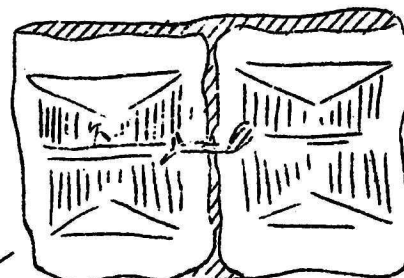
FOOD
Boiling



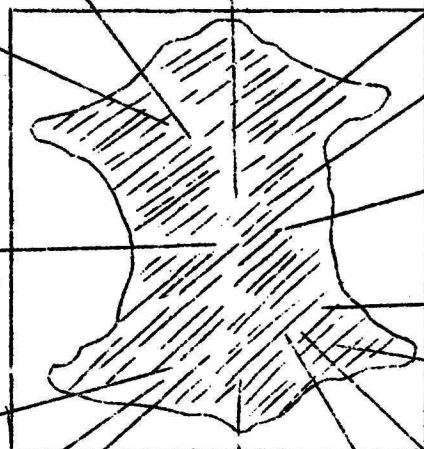
TIPi



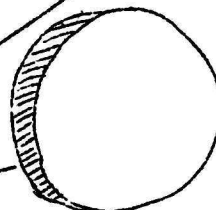
SADDLE
Pad
Cover
Cinch
Stirrups



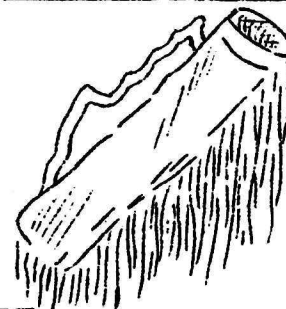
PARFLECHE



BISON HIDE WAS
INDISPENSABLE
TO THE BLACKFOOT



HAND
DRUM



MEDICINE
BUNDLE



WOMAN'S BAG



CRADLE
COVER

OTHER BAGS
Berry bag
Food bag
Pemmican bag
Pemmican trough
Double Bag
Paint bag
Pipe bag



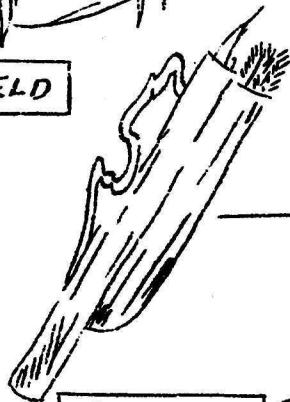
THONG FOR
ADZE



KNIFE
SHEATH



HAMMER
COVER



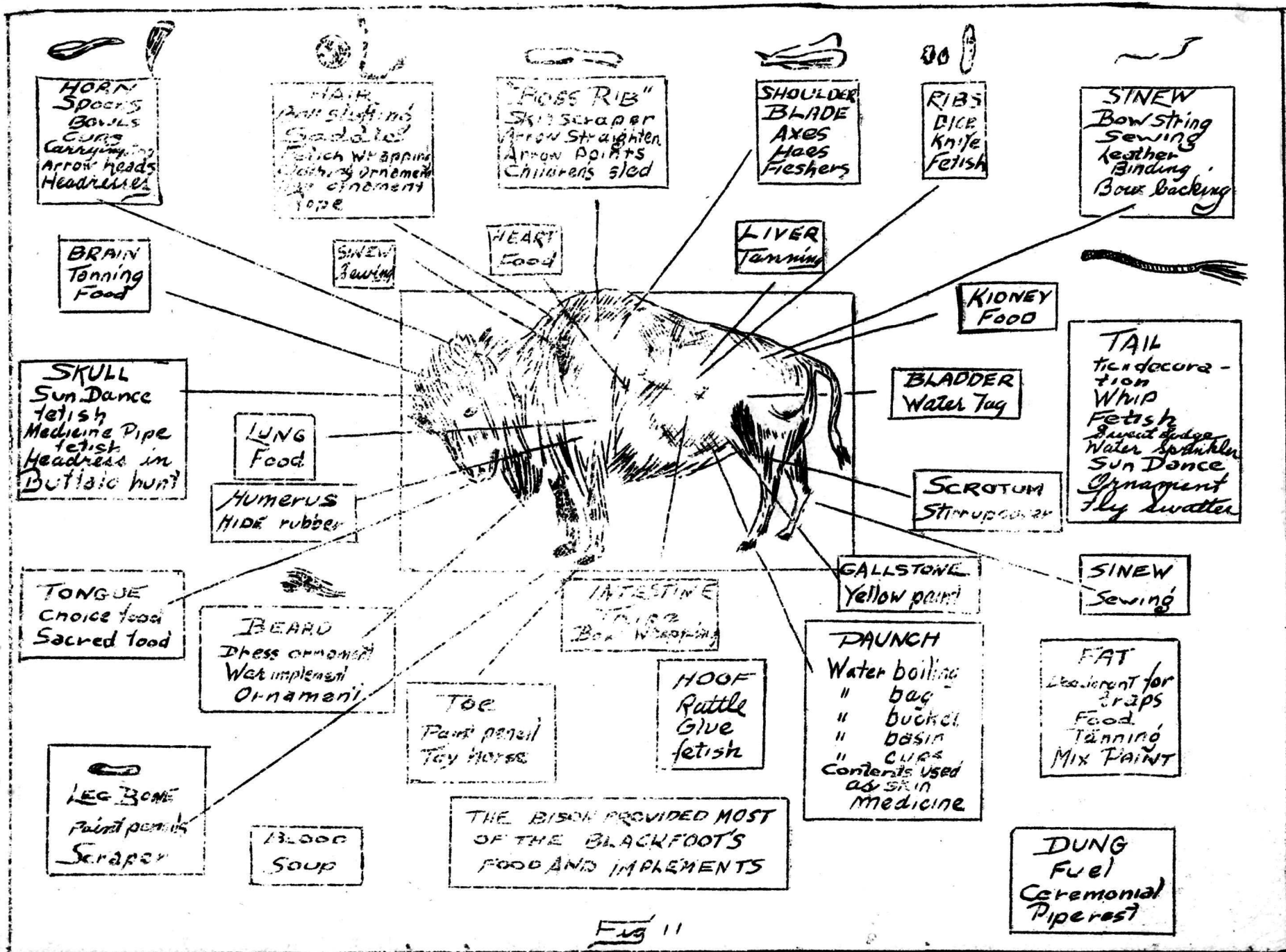
BOWCASE
and
QUIVER

CLOTHING



MOCCASIN
also
Legging
Shirt
Woman's
dress
MITTENS
Robe

MISCELLANEOUS
Gun cover
Dog muzzle
Medicine
bundle cover
Bow handle
Wrapping
Backrest cover
Bedding
Headress
Whip
Ropes



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