

# Reverend John Maclean and the Bloods

Life got pretty rough for the Bloods during the 1870s. When the United States government clamped down on whiskey traders in Montana, they moved north into Blood territory in present-day southern Alberta, establishing a number of trading forts: Robber's Roost (Fort Kipp), Slide Out, Stand Off, Freeze Out and Fort Whoop Up (Fig. 3). After its acquisition from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Canadian government in 1869, this land — renamed the North-West Territories — had no law enforcement. The incursion of Americans onto Canadian soil, and the havoc produced among the Indians by the whiskey trade, accelerated the formation of the North-West Mounted Police. On October 13, 1874 some 150 Mounties arrived on an island in the Old Man's River, adjacent to Blood lands, where they built their headquarters, Fort Macleod.

Six years later, on June 17, 1880, the recently ordained Methodist minister Reverend John Maclean (b.1851, d.1928) and his new wife Sarah Annie Barker Maclean began their journey from Toronto, Ontario to Fort Macleod to establish the first permanent Christian mission among the Bloods. Following the fastest and most comfortable route of the day, they took a Great Lakes steamer to Duluth, Minnesota and caught the Northern Pacific train to Bismarck, North Dakota, where they boarded a steamboat to Fort Benton, Montana. They completed their journey over the prairie by horse-drawn wagon, arriving at Fort Macleod on July 22.

The Macleans entered the town's single street, which was flanked by log buildings with mud roofs and floors. It included the mounted police fort, two trading posts, a butcher shop, a blacksmith's shop, Fred Pace's

## Arni Brownstone



1. Side-seam moccasins collected by Maclean in 1892. Beads, wool trade cloth, painted hide. The design on the vamp is said to represent a buffalo pound with a man waving in the buffalo. Courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago. Cat. No. 16219.

2. Pipe bag collected by Maclean in 1892. Hide, beads. When the bag was worn at the waist, the long flap would probably have fallen in front of the belt. Courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago. Cat. No. 16221.



gambling saloon, a Methodist church, which doubled as a school, and a primitive eating house and billiard saloon popularly called the Kamoose Hotel. When it was time for the Indians to receive their daily rations, “the street was lined on both sides with Indians [Bloods, Peigan, Sarcee] in their many-colored blankets and leggings. As they sat on the ground smoking their long pipes, they gazed at us, and passed remarks in a language that seemed a medley of confusion, but which we have since learned to understand and admire” (Maclean 1887a:9). Intermingled were “the scarlet tunics of the mounted police, the long hair and buckskin suits of the bullwhackers, the gay attire of the half-breed women” (Maclean n.d.a). Maclean was also taken by the Western slang of the frontiersmen, “as each of the men was an artist of swearing, vying with one another as a genius in words” (Maclean n.d.a).

Some 800 Bloods had their tipis pitched outside town, along the Old Man’s River. About three miles upstream was a camp of Peigans and not far away, at Pincher Creek, were two small bands of Nez Perce and Umatilla Indians. These Indians were in transition. Three years earlier, in 1877, the Indians of southern Alberta had signed Treaty Seven, ceding their territory to the Canadian government. When the Macleans arrived, the Bloods were still awaiting a reserve. In the winter of 1878–1879 the buffalo, numbering in the hundreds of thousands only five years earlier, had been decimated, and the remainder driven out of Canada (Steele 1915:75–76; Denny 1905:62, 162). The last herds drew into a tight circle in the Judith Basin in central Montana, and tribes from all parts of the Northern Plains, on both sides of the border, converged there for their final buffalo hunt. During this time Blackfoot, Sarcee, Cree, Assiniboine, Crow, Gros Ventre, Shoshoni, Cheyenne and Sioux temporarily forgot “old animosities in the face of a common disaster” (Dempsey 1994:8). Among the Blackfoot in Montana were more than 2,000 Bloods. Those who greeted the Macleans at Fort

Macleod were mostly elderly, infirm or close followers of Red Crow, the head chief of the Bloods. It was quite a contrast for the Macleans to see hundreds of Indians waiting in line for government beef rations when, days earlier, they had seen from their steamboat “nothing but horns and tawny hides [of tens of thousands of buffalo] glistening in the sun” along the banks of the Missouri River (Nix 1954:46; Sutherland 1882).

In September 1880 Red Crow met with Edgar Dewdney, the Indian commissioner and lieutenant-governor for the North-West Territories, and established a reserve along the Belly River (Dempsey 1980:108). A woman more than eighty years of age explained to Maclean the significance of the Bloods’ chosen land. “This is our home,” she said, “my father & the great men told me when I was a child that this was the place where they loved to dwell, our children were born here & have cried always to get back. — This has been my home, and the home of my ancestors and here I am going to die” (Maclean 1883–1884:103–104).

By October 1880, John McDougall, the farm instructor on the reserve, directed the Indians to build houses for themselves around Red Crow’s camp near Belly Buttes. McDougall laid the foundation of one log, and the Indians raised the rest. “In this manner fourteen houses were in the course of creation & 49 Indians were busy at work...The women were busy hewing the [cottonwood] timber” (Maclean 1880–1888, Vol. 8:Oct. 16, 1880). A ration house to distribute food was also built. Women came twice a week, each presenting her government-issued parchment ration ticket bearing a number, name of family head and number of dependents. One ration of meat and flour for each member of the family was distributed. Indians were engaged to skin cattle

and help with butchering. In exchange for cleaning the paunches, women were given entrails, which were considered a luxury. In the middle of May 1881, after the last buffalo herds were killed, more than 2,000 Bloods returned from Montana. “[A] strange reunion took place. Leaning on their hoes, the one-time warriors looked from their tiny fields to see a slow, ragged line of people coming towards them...They were hungry, tired, and sick” (Dempsey 1980:112, 1994:12). They pitched their tattered tipis and started a new life.

Maclean described the Blackfoot confederacy as composed of “three distinct tribes, having no common council or bond of unity, except the ties of common parentage, language, customs, traditions and interests” (1892a:250). Like the other Blackfoot tribes, the Bloods were divided into smaller bands, or clans. The band system was fluid; bands frequently formed, divided and united. In the nomadic days bands camped together or apart, depending on the location of game and the occurrence of major events like the Sun Dance. When the Bloods settled on the reserve they kept their bands intact, distributing themselves in groups over some thirty miles, roughly following the Belly River, which formed the western boundary of the reserve. The relative position of bands on the reserve was much the same as it had been when they had camped in river valleys in winter during the nomadic days (Dempsey 1982). The bands were similarly situated around the Sun Dance circle camp. If the circle were bent back from its west opening to form a straight line, the order of bands from north to south would closely follow the locations of bands on the reserve.

## Soul-Grub for the Bloods

Maclean, adopting the frontier vernacular in his semiautobiographical novels, portrayed himself as a “sky-pilot” or “gospel-grinder,” providing “soul-grub” for his followers. By at least August 1880, he had begun his career as a preacher, giving sermons in the church at Fort Macleod to a mixed congregation of about thirty Indians, Métis and whites. On September 3, 1880, he received permission from Red Crow and four other chiefs to instruct their Blood children in reading and writing and to teach them about Christianity. When Chief Medicine Calf (Button Chief) returned with his followers from Montana, he asked Maclean to attend to his people in the lower camp area of the reserve.

Medicine Calf would be Maclean’s most influential ally in the first years. Then in his mid-seventies, he had been the leading Blood war chief in the late nomadic days (Maclean 1889a:151–155). As a chief, he had signed a treaty with the United States government in 1855. He was also the first signer of Treaty Seven to speak at Blackfoot Crossing, Alberta in 1877, and the least compliant of all the chiefs (Nix 1981:10). Three years later, he was a strong advocate for European-style education, encouraging his people to learn about Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Trivett (b.1852, d.1931), an Anglican missionary, arrived three or four months after Maclean.<sup>2</sup> He almost immediately moved onto the reserve, to work among Red Crow’s people and the upper camp bands. Maclean preferred to live in Fort Macleod and travel on horseback to work in the lower camp until February 1882, when he moved some fourteen miles south, across the Belly River from Medicine Calf’s band. The



3. *Blood at Whoop Up*, 1881. Photograph by George Mercer Dawson. Maclean owned a different photograph of Whoop Up taken several years earlier, bearing the photographer’s title, “Ah-kine-nas-que, ‘Whoop Up’: the Fort is where many Bloods were killed, North-west Territories.” Maclean inscribed on the back, “I was there in 1881 and several times after, staying at night with Dave Ackers when he had charge of the fort.” Courtesy of the Geological Survey of Canada/Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Neg. No. PA-051156.



4. Pipestem collected by Maclean between 1880 and 1888. Wood, paint, brass tacks, beadwork, weasel skin. 34" long (86.4 cm). Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Cat. No. 5539.

two missionaries eventually competed for control over the bands in the upper and lower camps, a rivalry that did not escape the notice of the Bloods.

There were some twenty-one Blood bands in the 1880s. Maclean counted among "his" Indians those in the following bands: Black Elks, led by Blackfoot Old Woman, Eagle Head and Stolen Person; All Tall People, led by Eagle Shoe and Going to the Bear; Scabby Bulls, led by Bull Shield; Bad People or Enemies, led by Eagle Rib; People with Sore Feet or Syphilitic Feet People, apparently a branch of the Many Tumours band, led by Strangle Wolf; and Many Tumours, known to Maclean as the Sore Rectum People, led by Medicine Calf, succeeded by Calf Shirt (Maclean 1886, n.d.b). These comprised some 800 individuals. On Sundays, Maclean traveled from one band to another, giving sermons in the tipis of band leaders. Everyone, including Maclean, sat on the floor around a central fire. Maclean preached, prayed and sang in Blackfoot while the Indians smoked. His congregations seemed to average about eighteen people, but he recorded as many as sixty. On a typical Sunday he might travel to the tipis of Calf Shirt, Strangle Wolf, Eagle Head, Eagle Shoe and Going to the Bear, leaders of bands living between two and five miles from each other. To protect himself while traveling his circuit, Maclean had a plain buckskin suit (Fig. 5) made for himself in 1880 in Morley, Alberta, probably by a Stoney (Assiniboine) Indian.<sup>3</sup> Maclean described himself like this: "A strange-looking personage was this sky-pilot dressed in his buckskin suit, with his saddle-bags. In one bag his books, and in the other tea, sugar, bacon and biscuits. Fastened to the horn of the saddle was a small axe, frying-pan, rifle, lariat and picket-pin" (1896a:249).

Maclean began learning Blackfoot as soon as he arrived in Fort Macleod, primarily from his schoolchildren and three Blood interpreters. Joe Healy, or Flying Chief, was adopted as a child by the trader Johnny Healy, and became the first Blood to receive a formal education (Dempsey 1994:80–92). Maclean described him as "fair in English but fails to keep his appointments" (Maclean 1883–1884:94). Jerry Potts, also orphaned, was the son of a Scottish trader and a Blood mother (McKee and Fryer 1982). David Mills was the son of a black laborer for the American Fur Company and a Blood mother (Dempsey 1994:93–103).

Missionaries were generally given a budget for language lessons. Maclean received 150 dollars a year,

allowing him to spend almost every other evening with one of his translators. By 1883 Maclean had a fair working knowledge of the Blackfoot language. On September 2 of the same year he was given his Blackfoot name, Three Suns. Maclean explained that words with the prefix *natos* (sun) signify medicine. For example, *natoapsinaksin* translates to the divine book, the sun book or the bible. *Natoyetcistickio* signifies the holy day, Sunday, the Sabbath. A missionary would be termed *natoapekwân*, the same word for "medicine man" or "praying man."<sup>4</sup> By 1886 Maclean appears to have become fluent in Blackfoot. He believed that language was the key to his success and that if he learned to speak their language beautifully, the Blackfoot would open their hearts to his message of the gospel. He realized that for Christian hymns to make an impression on the Bloods, both words and music would need to be recast in a form akin to Blackfoot prayers, particularly in the repetition of fewer words (Maclean 1896a:343).

Before moving to the reserve, Maclean and his wife Annie taught in a little log building in Fort Macleod, the first school in southern Alberta. Among their students were Sarcee, Peigan, Blackfoot and Bloods, several Métis boys and girls, and one white boy. As few students spoke English, the Métis children who were conversant in English, Cree and Blackfoot acted as interpreters. Early on, Maclean learned that the Blackfoot students would not give out their own names, so he asked their companions to do so. During attendance, he heard his students laughing as some names were called out. Later he found out that most of the children had two names, one honoring the child and the other mocking him or her (Maclean 1896a:362, 234). In February 1883 Maclean built a school in Medicine Calf's camp. School attendance was rarely more than 25 students out of a total enrollment of about 100.

Low school attendance was not the only negative statistic to come to the attention of Maclean's employer, the Methodist Committee. After nine years among the Bloods, Maclean had not made a single convert. He summed up the situation as follows: "We wish to make them white men, and they desire...to become better Indians. They believe that native culture is best suited for themselves, and...care not to give it up for an untried system. There is a danger of educating them away from their real life" (1896a:543). The committee members eventually lost patience with Maclean, complaining that the Indians continued their "polygamy & idolatrous prac-



5. In this photograph, dated 1892, Maclean (middle, standing) wears his buckskin outfit. His two assistants (right and front) are dressed in Blood regalia. The man on the left is Reverend William Cullum. Most of the Blood artifacts in this photograph are now in the Field Museum, Chicago. Courtesy of the United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Toronto, Ontario. Neg. No. 76.001P/3889.

tices” just as they had before his arrival, and in 1889 they transferred him to the non-Indian farming community of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan (Nix 1977:206–208).<sup>5</sup>

### Gospel-Grinding Ethnologist

Although he was judged an ineffective missionary, Maclean made important contributions to the field of ethnology and our understanding of Blood culture. His description of a death lodge, recorded September 12, 1880, not long after his arrival at Fort MacLeod, reveals that he had more than a passing interest in Blood traditions:

It was an excellent skin lodge. I tried to get into it but the opening was fastened with small pieces of wood & a buffalo robe sewed on with small sticks. I saw that the body was laid out on boards and wrapped in buffalo robes. I could see quite well through holes in the lodge. A soldier’s coat was thrown over the body. Beside it was a tin cup and basin. All around hung his blankets, whip, arrow case and the other articles. There stood at one side of the lodge a trunk...Only the rich do this (Maclean 1880–1888, Vol. 18:11).

By 1885 Maclean had developed a “scientific” interest in Indian culture and was systematically surveying the ethnographic literature. We can see from his daily journal

that he and Annie split their time between missionary and ethnographic work:

As it was ration day, there were Indians present every hour, and we had to talk to them on matters affecting their interests. We have sometimes thought that it was a needless waste of time, and then we have looked upon it as a necessary part of our missionary work. Some came to rest themselves, others came for advice, and again others came for temporal benefits, which means tea, bread and such useful things as will nourish the sick. One man came with a beautifully ornamented pipestem to sell and I bought it at a high price to send to the Smithsonian Institution together with samples of Blood Indian moccasins, bow and arrows, and a cradle outfit — As we sat jotting down in our note books new words and expressions for our Dictionary of the Blackfoot language, we made inquiries concerning several traditions of our Indians, which we had heard repeated in the lodges, and were anxious to verify by constant repetition (Maclean 1880–1888).<sup>6</sup>

In April he began a lengthy correspondence with the philologist Horatio Hale, who noted that the “most useful contributions which the sciences of ethnology and linguistics have yet received have come from able and devoted missionaries,” and selected Maclean and the Roman Catholic missionary Father Lacombe to provide data for his report on the Blackfoot for the British Scientific Association, London (Hale 1885).<sup>7</sup> Soon after, Maclean began exchanging letters with staff members of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., including Garrick Mallery, James C. Pilling, W. J. Hoffman, J. Owen Dorsey and Otis Tufton Mason, all of whom were eager to receive information relating to their areas of specialization. Mason, in particular, gave Maclean detailed instructions for collecting objects and documenting how they were made and used, stating that no one had yet recorded the “industrial history of the aborigines” in southern Alberta (Maclean n.d.c:File 11).

During that time, Maclean also received letters from the president of the Canadian Institute, Toronto, W. H. Vander Smisen, encouraging him to collect Indian artifacts and ethnographic information. Around early April 1889 Maclean sent some twenty-eight Blood artifacts to the Canadian Institute. These, along with two additional items, were transferred to the Provincial Museum of Ontario, Toronto, then to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in 1933.<sup>8</sup> In a May 7, 1889 letter, Maclean asked Annie “to secure the assistance of staff members of the Canadian Institute to number the Indian articles and send him a list of object names and their numbers in order to prepare a descriptive catalogue of them for the Institute.” Apparently no documentation was made, as none of the objects today have contextual information. The only item with additional information received passing mention in *Canadian Savage Folk*: “One of my friends gave me a scalp, when it was no longer customary to hang them on the lodges, and this scalp may still be seen in the museum of the Canadian Institute, Toronto” (Maclean 1896a:563). Similarly, only a single journal entry, dated April 17, 1888, indicates how Maclean

acquired his artifacts. “A woman came to sell a coup stick — Did not buy it — Wish I had some way of selling these things for the Indians to help them. Asked a dress for babe — we gave her one” (Maclean 1880–1888).<sup>9</sup>

In 1889 anthropologist Franz Boas asked Maclean to collect myths and legends for publication in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (Maclean 1893). The following tale of Nape (Old Man, sometimes spelled Napi or Napiio) transcribed January 24, 1887 may have been too risqué for publication:

Long years ago Nape lived at the foot of the Mountains, & made his home with the animals of Crow’s Nest Pass. He was at peace with all the animal creation — Walking one day with a Musk Rat as his servant, he saw a female beaver across the coulee from where he was standing. Desirous of copulation, he said to the rat that he was very anxious to perform the act if he could only get to the spot, but his legs were too short & he could not go. The Musk Rat said that if he would allow him to carry his organ of generation, he would enable him to gratify his desires. Taking his organ of generation he proceeded around the coulee and his sexual passion becoming intensified, Nape performed the act too soon & spilt his seed upon the ground. From this sprang up a spring which flowed down the coulee, becoming a large river, now called The Old Man’s River, after Nape = The Old Man, which has been fruitful of blessing to the sons of men (Maclean 1887b).

Maclean occasionally recorded more prosaic accounts, like the news told to a group of Bloods by Old Man Who Lives in a Dirt House after his visit with the South Piegiens in 1888: “The South Piegiens are like white men. They wear white men’s clothes, have their hair cut short, possess fire wagons, and look strong for they get good food. But they have two bad things—whisky and very bad tobacco. Our tobacco is good and we don’t have any whisky. The South Piegiens are good workers and they will soon be rich” (Maclean 1880–1888).

In 1889, when he was in charge of the Subdepartment of Physical Anthropology at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Boas asked Maclean for skulls from the Bloods for the collection. Since he was no longer on the reserve, Maclean wrote to Sidney Swinford, the reserve clerk, and James Wilson, the farm instructor on the reserve, asking them to procure, in the interest of science, three male and three female Blood Indian skulls. In 1891 Maclean received further requests from Boas, who was then assisting Frederic Ward Putman, curator at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, and who was also in charge of the ethnology and archaeology component of the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. On June 15 Boas wrote to Maclean regarding the exposition, asking him to take a complex set of physical measurements of some forty per cent of the entire Blackfoot population, a rather large undertaking, particularly as Maclean was by then living in Moose Jaw, some 500 miles from Fort Macleod.<sup>10</sup>

Boas also asked Maclean to collect Blackfoot artifacts for the exposition, again with high expectations: “I am particularly desirous of having a complete teepee with everything belonging to it and the implements, etc.



6. Mirror case with beaded wool neck strap collected by Maclean between 1880 and 1888. Inside is a mirror with an embossed tin frame. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Cat. No. 5509.

belonging to their religious ceremonies, especially the Sun Dance” (Maclean n.d.c:Files 9, 10). Maclean was given the official title, “Observer for the Canadian North-West,” for his role in collecting for the exposition. He drew up a detailed series of collecting instructions, not unlike those sent by Mason, which he presumably sent to potential collectors. His ambitions fell short, and he managed to collect only forty-two Blood objects during a short visit to the reserve. Maclean found the Indians “unsettled because of treaty payment” but did not want to return empty handed (Maclean 1892–1900). His receipts, dated October 21 and 23, 1891, show that he bought material from C. H. Clarke, S. Swinford and Thos. B. Watson, all employees of the Blood Reserve, and Reverend Charles McKillop, from the nearby town of Lethbridge.<sup>11</sup> These account for thirty of the forty-two objects collected by Maclean for the exposition and later transferred to the Field Museum in Chicago (see VanStone 1992). Again, despite good intentions, little contextual data accompanied the collection.

Not long after his quick trip to the Blood Reserve, Maclean began a five-month lecture tour of England and



7. Bags for holding face paint, one with an inner bag containing vermilion, collected by Maclean between 1880 and 1888. Hide, beads. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Cat. Nos. 5512 and 5516.

Scotland to raise funds for a new church in Moose Jaw. He arrived in England on December 1, 1891. As noted on a poster advertising his tour, Maclean offered a choice of three lectures: “Out West” was described as a missionary lecture with greater emphasis on the frontier element of southern Alberta than on Native people, “Wigwams and Lodges” was also a missionary lecture, but focused more on Native culture and “The Blackfoot Confederacy” was termed a scientific lecture. Maclean delivered his missionary lectures, but not his scientific lecture, in his buckskin suit. All three lectures ended with songs in Cree and Blackfoot and a viewing of Indian items. Maclean sent Annie photographs of himself and two assistants wearing Indian regalia along with a note indicating his own reluctance to dress up (Fig. 5). Annie reassured him: “The buckskin suit looks quite natural — you made fine Indians out of those two individuals. The only thing about the dress you should have had the handkerchief folded on the bias & had the corner come over the woman’s forehead.” (A. Maclean 1892). A number of people had advised Maclean to lecture in his buckskin suit to attract a larger audience. As one Scottish friend explained, “Our popular audience nowadays is somewhat frivolous in taste, and

requires as much amusement as instruction. The pill of knowledge must be well sugared to go down” (Maclean 1892b). After giving more than thirty lectures, Maclean sailed for Canada on April 21, 1892 and forwarded the display items from his lectures to the World’s Columbian Exposition.

### Sky-Pilot’s Industrial Histories

Boas specifically asked Maclean to acquire a deer-hide dress for the exposition. Among the Blackfoot, the hide dress underwent remarkably slow structural and stylistic change for most of the nineteenth century. Maclean wrote back, saying that there were only one or two “medicine woman” dresses on the reserve, and these would cost from fifteen to twenty dollars. No doubt referring to the split colored triangular and rectangular cloth patches typically found on the lower part of the dress, Maclean noted, “one [medicine woman], hoary with age, was the owner of a medicine dress, of well tanned antelope skin, upon which were wrought fantastic symbols of her profession.”<sup>12</sup> Maclean did manage to buy a dress, now in the Field Museum (Cat. No. 51561), for ten dollars from Thos. B. Watson, the cook on the Blood Reserve.

Traditionally, the yoke of a dress was formed by folding over the hindmost sections of the two skins, leaving the furry tails some six inches below the wearer's neck, back and front. Of the two Blood dresses collected by Frederick and Maude Deane-Freeman (the former was the issuer of rations on the Blood Reserve) in the 1890s, one has no tail (British Museum, Cat. No. 1903.31), while the other has folded-down tails (Royal Ontario Museum, Cat. No. HD5586). The two Blood dresses in the Field Museum collected by Dorsey (Cat. Nos. 51561 and 51563) and one by Maclean (Cat. No. 16223) in the same decade apparently have sewn-on tails (VanStone 1992). These dresses, all decorated with typical designs wrought in pony beads, were among the last of their type made.<sup>13</sup> At the time of collection, cloth dresses were quickly supplanting hide dresses as the standard for ceremonial wear (A. Hungry Wolf 1999:31; B. Hungry Wolf 1980:231). Maclean noted that between seventy and eighty hides a month were taken from cattle slaughtered for rations, and of these the Indians used some thirty-five (1892a:259). The Bloods used cowhides to make some objects, including parfleches and moccasins, but probably not dresses. Ceremonial clothing and regalia apparently continued to be made in substantial quantities during the 1880s. Maclean noted in January 1888 that one of the chief occupations of women was the manufacture of beadwork panels that were sewn onto blankets and other garments "which can be detached at any time without any injury." His statement that "some of these ornaments are prized so highly that a horse has been paid for one of them" (1888:File 26) suggests a lively market for such items within the Blood community.

Only a month after arriving at Fort Macleod, Maclean commented on the dress of Blood women: "[T]he richer or more careful ones dress almost like English ladies only anything gaudy must be put on to attract attention" (1880–1883). Of apparently ordinary women, he noted, "The Blackfoot women are fond of jewelry. An old blanket thrown over them & from five to eight rings on each finger of both hands, or a piece of brass wire turned round the finger a dozen times to represent rings. While from the ears hung huge earrings and around the neck a very long strand of beads constitute nearly all the dress of the women" (1880–1883). Beneath the blanket, "The woman...wore a plain gown of factory cotton, without any tuck or opening in the back or front, but with a wide overflowing sleeve, through which [she suckled her] babies, while the top and bottom of the garment were surrounded by a bit of red cloth as a piece of decoration, and a leather belt from ten to twelve inches wide studded with brass tacks encircled the waist" (Maclean 1924a).

Missionaries distributed bales of clothing from the East, accelerating the trend toward European clothing. Maclean was somewhat reluctant to follow this charitable practice, but felt compelled to keep up with his Anglican competitor, who was giving out liberal amounts



8. Mirror case collected by Maclean in 1892. Commercially tanned hide with wooden backing for a mirror inside (missing its glass and decorative brass tacks). The neck strap is made partly of beaver skin with pendants of brass beads, thimbles and wool tassels. The beaded bovine head may be either that of a cow or a buffalo. Courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago. Cat. No. 16222.

of clothing. In September 1888, Maclean accused Trivett of giving clothing to Bloods, who retained crosses and medallions passed out by the Catholic missionary, only after they gave up their "popish relics" (Maclean 1888: File 25). In the winter of that year Maclean handed out about 600 pounds of old and new clothing. The following summer he appealed for more clothing donations, noting that men were inclined to use all types of European apparel, whereas women were "desirous chiefly of knitted goods as stockings, scarfs or caps." Women, it seems, still preferred to make their own dresses. At the same time, men were discarding blankets and leggings, but were not prepared to make a complete switch to European-style clothes. For example, when a man received a hat he would "cut the crown into shreds, which hung over the sides as ornaments, allowing the air to reach his head to keep it cool" (Maclean 1896a:305).

In the same vein, Blood women gathering at the window of a white woman's home to watch her sew would laugh in disbelief. "It seemed strange to them that the garment should be cut into so many small pieces and then sewed together again" (Maclean 1896a:304). Women had a long history of making

clothes from animal hides where cutting and trimming was kept to a minimum, and such economy continued after the changeover to cloth dressmaking. Annie organized a weekly sewing school for girls and women in the summer of 1884, which kept up at least until 1886. The stated purpose of the school was to teach Indians to adopt garments worn by “rational Christian womanhood...to help those in need of clothing...[and to] obtain instruction in temporal & spiritual things from a white lady” (Maclean 1884). It was an informal school held among bands, with about seven students meeting inside or outside the home. Its influence on women’s sewing is uncertain, nor is it known whether the school taught women to use sewing machines.

“The moccasin is the last thing an Indian gives up...and the first thing adopted by the white man,” wrote Captain William P. Clark (1982:257). As recently as 1968 Pauline Dempsey estimated that 100 or more Indians still wore moccasins daily on the Blood Reserve (Ewers 1976:102). Mounted policemen apparently wore moccasins when out for lengthy periods in winter, as they “were absolutely necessary in cold weather” (Denny 1905:87). Maclean suggested that the moccasin partly explains the Indians’ powers of endurance and swiftness (1927). Their footwear, he noted, “allow[ed] full play to the elastic bend of the foot, so that the muscles are well developed, leaving them soft, plump and chubby as a child’s” (Maclean 1927).

Apart from practical considerations, moccasins functioned as a distinctive metaphor in Indian culture. As part of the marriage exchange ritual, the Blood bride-to-be would present members of the groom’s family with beaded moccasins worked by her own hand, after which she immediately took charge of the lodge, which had been prepared for the newlyweds by the groom’s parents (Mountain Horse 1989:76; see also B. Hungry Wolf 1980:88; McClintock 1910:186; Wissler 1911:8; Zaharia and Fox 1995:36; Goldfrank 1945:16). Since war parties traditionally fought on foot, each party took along between eight and fifteen pairs of moccasins (Hanks and Hanks 1938–1941; Wilson 1958:123; Skinner 1914:493).

Maclean noted that one young warrior sang to his lover, “Look at me, my love, I am just starting, only cry a little, I am almost gone, make me moccasins” (n.d.d). “Making their moccasins” was an expression signifying the preparation for war, while “sleeping without moccasins” signified a time of peace (DeVoto 1963:61, 70). Because the hide at the top of a tipi was made more waterproof due to heavy smoking from the fire inside, it was prized for making moccasins. The expression “Now we have new moccasins” indicated that an enemy village had been taken, and the tipis could be cut up to make moccasins (Lancaster 1966:282; see also McClintock 1910:233).

Maclean believed that in earlier times Indians could identify each other’s tribal origins by the form of their

moccasins (1896a:106, 115, 267; Clark 1982:257). As an example, he cited the story of the Blood warrior who crept into a Sioux chief’s tipi. He ate food from the communal pot while the inhabitants slept, then ran off with the chief’s horse while giving the war cry. He left a moccasin to let the Sioux know that a Blood had performed this brave act (Maclean 1896a:115). The one-piece, side-seam moccasin was known by the Bloods as the “real moccasin” (B. Hungry Wolf 1980:220). David Sager wrote that nineteenth-century, Northern Plains moccasins were of side-seam construction with a long integral tongue and T-shaped heel seam bearing two tabs (1994:287). Blood elders interviewed in 2002 thought that the occurrence of two heel “spurs” indicated Blood manufacture. Clark noted in the 1880s that Blackfoot moccasins had long tongues and frequently anklets of colored cloth (1982:258). The Blood moccasins illustrated here have these attributes (Fig. 1). Prince Maximilian of Wied noted that “The moccasins of the Blackfeet often have each foot of a different primary color, for example, if one is yellow, the other is white... this is not farther downstream along the Missouri, for here the colors and designs on both sides of the shoe are the same” (n.d.:266, 767). The odd-colored pair of moccasins collected by Maclean is among the few documented examples that lend credence to Maximilian’s statement (Fig. 1).

Explorer Peter Fidler observed in 1792 that when the Blackfoot went on war excursions in the south, far beyond the Missouri River, where the cactus is plentiful and large, “they [made] shoes of the raw hide of buffalo, where the prickles are not strong enough to penetrate thro” (1991:81). John C. Ewers thought that hard cowhide-soled moccasins had become the most popular type of Blackfoot footgear by 1883 (1958:300). The hard-soled moccasins that Maclean sent to the Canadian Institute in 1889 may also have been made of cowhide (Fig. 10). Maclean noted about hard-soled moccasins, “Women in making moccasins use sinew with buckskin [and a] three edged needle — They bring the needle and sinew through the middle edge of the par-flesh and through the whole of the buckskin sewing very closely the stitches” (Maclean n.d.e:File 25). In January 1888 Maclean watched a woman shaving both sides of a cowhide to be used in making parfleche bags and moccasin soles. The shavings, without the hair, were carefully stored in a bag to be used in a soup (Maclean 1880–1888:118–119).

A year earlier Maclean noted with regard to the designs on moccasins that “In one of the lodges a young girl was very expert in cutting very fine patterns of ornaments in paper to be used for bead ornaments on moccasins” (1887c). Maclean collected two pairs of moccasins with the keyhole pattern. Beverly Hungry Wolf stated that the Bloods sometimes termed this popular pattern on moccasins as simply a “round design” (1980:226). It is often said to depict the round corral and



9. Pipe bowl carved before 1900, made from stone quarried on the Blood Reserve, along the St. Mary's River. 8" long (20 cm). The accompanying documentation states that it was "carved by Indian Jim at Fort Macleod, Alberta." The dog, with its prominent collar, looks like it may have been copied from the famous Gramophone Company trademark image of "His master's voice." However, that image was not disseminated around the world until January 1900, and since the pipe bowl entered the museum in that year, any similarity is likely coincidental. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Cat. No. 22035.

drive lanes of the buffalo pound. A label seen by the author in the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles elaborated further, suggesting that the type of figure found in the circular part of the moccasins at the Field Museum represents "a hunter waving his arms to turn the buffalo" into the pound or over a jump (Fig. 1). Clark Wissler, the head of the Anthropology Department at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, studied beadwork patterns for symbolism. Writing to Boas, Wissler noted that

among the South Piegan...I have searched the whole camp through for symbolic designs in ordinary beadwork and painting and have not found a single satisfactory case. The leading men & women of the tribe have declared upon their honor that no such things exist or ever did, to their knowledge. The educated 'breeds' give me the same statements. So I have given that up (1901).

Maclean observed that mirrors were used by men for their toilette, as well as for sending heliographic messages, and were kept in a case hung from the neck (Figs. 6, 8, 11). He cited an incident when he was "aroused from [his] writing desk by the flash from a looking glass carried by an Indian two miles distant" as an example of the use of the mirror in sending signals (Maclean 1890–1892). In 1879, the mounted policeman Cecil Denny observed Bloods using mirrors to aid in illegally killing cattle for food (1905:126). They posted sentinels on the hills far apart, and when

approaching policemen were seen, they would flash signals from one sentinel to another until the men killing the cattle received the warning. Maclean also described how men used mirrors in their toilette:

A small cup or vessel for holding water, a pair of metal tweezers, and a hand looking glass comprised the utensils for the important duty of keeping the hair in prime condition, retaining its color, fine texture and glossy appearance. Filling his mouth with water, he held the palms of his hands together, squirted it into his hands as they formed an oval shape, and after dashing the water on his head he drew his finger down the locks and with a quick flip of the fingers of both hands made the hair crack like a whip, thus separating the strands. After repeating this simple operation several times till he was satisfied, he braided it in half a dozen plaits, tied it with colored string or ribbon and added ornaments of brass wire, beads and various trinkets. Having finished his head, he washed his face, brought out the looking glass, made careful examination for traces of hairs on the cheeks and chin, and when they were discovered, employed the tweezers to extract them. The skin was stretched between the fingers of both hands in quest of the faintest indications of whiskers or moustache, and when such were found, were instantly drawn out (1924b:6–7).

Three young men once came to Maclean's house specifically to measure the length of his wife's hair. After asking her to let down her hair and measuring it by hand breadths, they were surprised at its length. Young men were especially proud of their hair. If a Blood had served

time in jail, one of the first questions asked by his friends was, "Has his hair been cut?" Maclean thought that because women had less leisure time, and due to neglect, their hair tended to be "short and scrawny" (Maclean n.d.f:6-7). However, women were beginning to take a greater interest in their hair, and they began coming to the Mission House asking for advice from Annie. Split ends were usually the problem. She would first trim the women's hair, then give them instructions on hair care, including the use of combs and brushes, which they did not own. The younger girls and women colored the part in their hair and their faces to enhance their beauty. (Maclean n.d.f:6-7).

In the late nineteenth century it was still common for both Blood men and women to paint their faces. Many did it daily, as well as in communal ceremonies, as a form of prayer. When mixed with grease or tallow, face paint was said to protect against both frostbite and sunburn. Fidler noted in 1793 that Blackfoot women would rub red ochre paint "over their shoes, stockings, coats & robes to prevent them when wet from afterwards becoming hard, which it effectually prevents when put on in a sufficient quantity" (1991: 80). Specialized bags for holding paint were apparently

in common use in Maclean's time, as he acquired five for the Canadian Institute (Fig. 7).

Maclean noted that men who were smoking socially always passed the pipe to one another in the same direction (1901). Each man took at least a half a dozen hearty puffs, then one long inhalation and sent a long stream of smoke through his nostrils as he passed the pipestem to his neighbor. Whether alone or in a group men smoked long-stemmed pipes. Women also smoked for pleasure, either alone or in the company of other women, always with a short-stemmed pipe resembling the working, or traveling pipe of men.<sup>14</sup> Maclean noted that the Bloods stopped work or travel to smoke, "whereas the white man smokes while he toils." If a Blood sensed nearby ghosts who wished to smoke, he or she left a pipe filled with tobacco outside the home (Maclean 1896a:216, 277).

Decorated stems were considered sacred, to be treated and stored under ritually prescribed conditions (Maclean 1896a:267). In February 1898, the Blood Reserve clerk, William Black, spent a long evening at Bull Shield's home observing part of the ceremonial transfer of the sacred Sarcee Pipe to Hind Chief. He described the event in a letter to his wife, later sent to



10. Hard-soled moccasins collected by Maclean between 1880 and 1888. Hide, cotton ankle wraps, woolen collars. The Bloods sometimes termed the pattern found on the vamp of these moccasins a "round" design. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Cat. No. 5528.

Maclean for preservation. The Sarcee Pipe is more accurately described as a pipe bundle in which the stem is the central component. Hind Chief paid eight horses for the Sarcee Pipe in fulfillment of a vow he had made when seriously ill the previous fall. Thunder Chief, who conducted the ceremony, told Black that there were some sixteen pipe bundles among the Bloods. Maclean identified a particular Blood “tribal” pipe that was seemingly of a still higher order. It had a large stone head with figures of animals carved “before and behind.” It was looked after by a woman who, when traveling, carried it on a horse “upon which nothing else was allowed to be borne” (1892a:257).

In one of his autobiographical novels, Maclean describes how, on his death bed, Medicine Calf presented him with one of his pipes, as a farewell gesture of friendship, while Medicine Calf’s “favorite pipe” would remain with him in his death lodge (1907:234). Perhaps this is how Maclean acquired one of the two pipestems that he donated to the Canadian Institute (Fig. 4). The Bloods preferred to make their stems from ash, a tree not found in Blackfoot territory. Apparently they sometimes obtained straight-grained ash in Crow and Sioux territory (Ewers 1963:56–57). On a trip to Regina, Alberta in 1886 Maclean was able to acquire enough wood from the Cree for his friend Black Horse to make four pipestems. It is said that the Blackfoot acquired ash for their bows in the Sand Hills of Saskatchewan, east of their territory, near the Cree (Grinnell 1907:199–200).

Maclean wrote that “While every adult male is more or less a pipe maker, there are generally a few persons who, by their skill at molding and carving, became known as experts, and these are employed by their fellows to make pipes for them” (1896a:274). He mentioned several of the outstanding pipe bowl carvers. Joe Healy (Potaina) made beautiful bowls, with “aboriginal and modern designs” of snakes, dogs and birds from the soft greenish grey stone from Lethbridge, Alberta, which he sold for prices varying from two to five dollars (Maclean n.d.e:File 26). Maclean mentions that his old friend Petoqpekis (Eagle Rib) made bowls from stone quarried in the same location (1924c:248).<sup>15</sup> He used a small blade made from an iron barrel hoop and an awl to carve beautiful, artistic pipe bowls, some featuring the image of a serpent. Some of his bowls were made for sale outside the Indian community. A bowl that came to the old Provincial Museum of Ontario in 1900 (Fig. 9), said to be “carved by Indian Jim at Fort Macleod, Alberta,” falls into a genre similar to the examples noted above. It is of the same local stone and bears images of a dog and a snake.

Bags for holding smoking equipment were both practical and decorative. In their latter role Maclean noted, “Between [the belt] and the blanket the inevitable tobacco bag finds a place” (Maclean n.d.e:File 26). Pipe bags with long flaps were a Blackfoot specialty (Fig. 2). Their form seems to have developed out of an earlier tra-

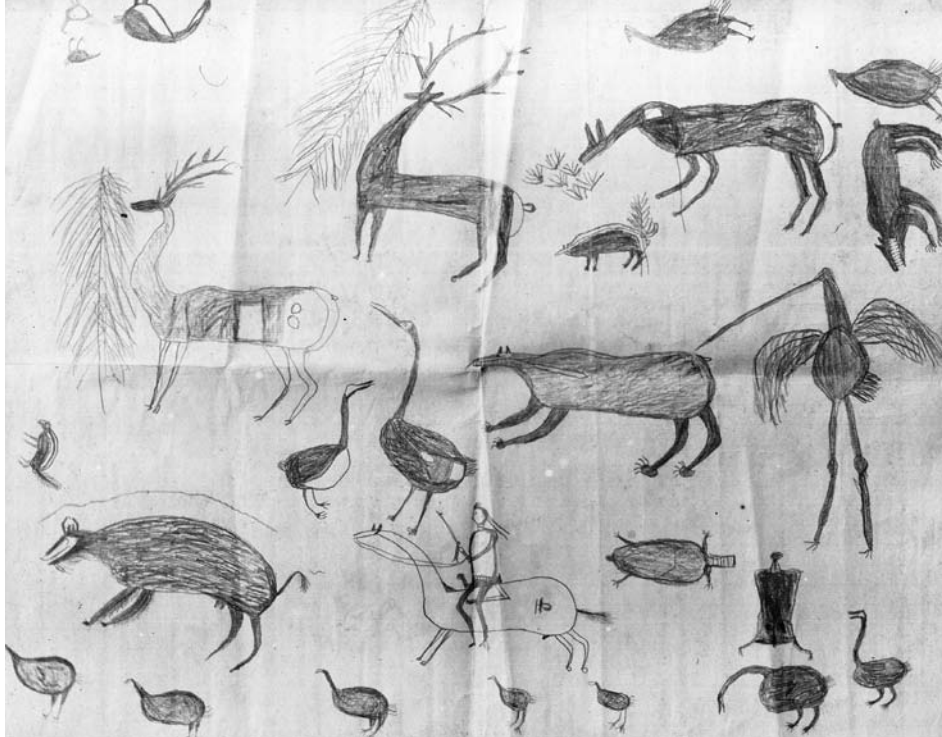


11. Two young Blackfoot men at the Shingwauk Indian Residential School near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, more than 1,500 miles from their home on the Blood Reserve, c.1885. Mirror and telescope cases hang from the neck of the standing boy. Vera Wilson, apparently the school principal’s wife, wrote on the back of the photograph, “two Blackfoot Indians as they arrived at my Shingwauk Home, the one standing died.” Courtesy of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Historical Collections Unit, Regina, Saskatchewan. Cat. No. 2-72-68-XIV.

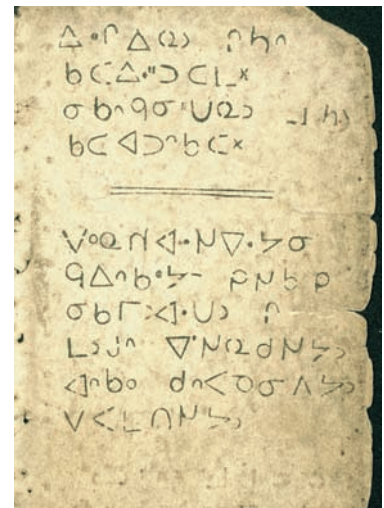
dition of belt pouches with long flaps, as noted among the Crow in 1852 by artist Rudolf Kurz (Wildschut and Ewers 1985:35). When not simply for show, pipe bags held tobacco, lighting equipment (steel, flint and touchwood), a stoker/tamper, a bowl and a stem that protruded from the mouth of the bag (Christensen 2000:597). The widely used Cree word *kinikinik* refers to a smoking mixture combining tobacco with red willow bark and/or bearberry leaves. Maclean observed a young man making *kinikinik* in Calf Shirt’s home:

The boy took the outer bark of the willow, then he scraped the inner bark, placing some in a frying pan over the fire to dry, and leaving some hanging on the willow stick, which he stuck in the ground by the fire to dry. After it dries it is placed in a bag to be mixed with the tobacco when about to be used, and it is thus mixed in about equal proportions (Maclean n.d.g).

Maclean had an interest in pictography, sign language and other forms of telegraphy, including the arrangement of fires, curling smoke, arrangements of stones, different modes of riding on horseback, motions of blankets and the use of mirrors. He learned about sign language from



12. Drawing on paper of a compendium of animals found in southern Alberta, with a lone horseback rider, collected by Maclean, c.1885. This digitally enhanced photograph is all that remains; the drawing has disappeared. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



13. Cree syllabic hymn book, printed by James Evans in 1841. Moose-hide cover, twenty hand-sewn pages. 5" x 3½" (12.7 cm x 8.9 cm). Courtesy of the Victoria University Library, Toronto, Ontario.

a Blood named Kootenay, after treating him for three shot balls lodged in his leg, which the latter had received while fighting the Sioux in 1881. The two became friends, and when Kootenay became deaf as a result of his wounds, Maclean learned to communicate with him through sign language (1883–1884:36). In January 1884 Maclean met with a Blood chief, from whom he learned and described the Blood signs for some fifteen tribes, as well as that for the white man. The latter, made by drawing “the right hand across the forehead with the palm downward and thumb toward the face,” evokes the image of a brimmed hat (1880–1888, Vol. 18:67).

Before Bull Shield became blind, Maclean noted that the old chief “could draw Indian pictures very nicely” (Maclean n.d.h) and collected two buffalo-hunting scenes from him (Fig. 14). Maclean also sent photographs of two drawings on paper and a hide painting to the Canadian Institute to illustrate his article “Picture-Writing of the Blackfeet” (1894a). The originals of the drawings have not been located, but the photographs are preserved in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. They are now much faded, so the drawing illustrated here has been digitally enhanced (Fig. 12). Perhaps Maclean was thinking of such works when he noted, “I have had Indians in the house draw good pictures for me — There were some men who were very good at drawing” (Maclean n.d.h). Both drawings contain images of local wildlife. These naturalistic animals are in contrast to the more conventionalized figures typically found in Blackfoot war exploit paintings.

The hide painting illustrated in Maclean’s article was made at the request of Cuthbert Peek of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, London, which was investigating the northwestern tribes of

Canada. On February 2, 1892, while Maclean was on his lecture tour in England, Peek made a contribution to the church in Moose Jaw and expressed a desire to obtain “specimens of picture writing with translation” (Maclean n.d.c:File 14) for his “collection of native literature of the world” (Maclean 1924c). Maclean had Wilson, the farm instructor, commission a Blood named Many Shots to paint his war history on a cowhide and hired David Mills, one of Maclean’s old interpreters, to translate Many Shots’s verbal account of his war stories into English (Brownstone 2005).

### Maclean’s Legacy

Maclean’s most important contribution to our understanding of the Bloods is not so much the artifacts he collected as it is his written observations. Maclean probably began to write during his first year among the Bloods and continued almost until his death in 1928. He wrote under a number of names, including Robin Rustler, Samson Sing, Old Gustavus and John Maclean, which before 1896 he spelled McLean. His writing primarily falls into four categories: religion and philosophy, biography, historical fiction and ethnography, the latter three containing much of interest regarding the Indians of Canada. Maclean’s biographical publications are dedicated to the work of pioneer Indian Methodists, including James Evans (1890a), John McDougall (1926), Robert Rundle (1918) and Henry Steinhauer (n.d.i). Maclean’s historical fiction is largely built around his experiences on the frontier, almost always interweaving Indian and pioneer life, the former containing accurate ethnographic data and Blood characters identified with actual names. The old timers, traders, miners and cowboys who populate his works are also based on real people, but are given fic-

tional names. Titles like *Out West on a Bronco* (n.d.j), *Sid of the Foothills* (1890b), *The Warden of the Plains and Other Stories of Life in the Canadian North-West* (1896b) and *Alan Rayne: A Tale of Old Fort Whoop Up* (n.d.k) reflect Maclean's interest in local vernacular.

Today, Maclean is best known for ethnographic publications, notably his two books *Canadian Savage Folk: The Native Tribes of Canada* (1896a) and *The Indians: Their Manners and Customs* (1889a) and his eight scholarly articles on various facets of Blackfoot life (1883, 1889b, 1892a, 1893, 1894a, 1894b, 1896c, 1901). His articles in popular journals and newspapers and his unpublished writings have yet to be thoroughly itemized and considered.

Maclean's greatest interest was probably the study of language. Nearly all Indian missionaries created vocabularies and rudimentary grammars for their own use; however, Maclean took this practice a step further. He began by studying James Evans's system of Cree syllabics in July 1880 before his arrival at Fort Macleod. Evans invented a set of syllabics representing sounds that enabled the Cree to read and write in their own language. In June 1841 Evans devised his own type, press and ink and printed 100 copies of a sixteen-page booklet of hymns and scriptural texts, the earliest printing in western Canada (Fig. 13). Maclean experimented with his own Blackfoot syllabary, then developed an orthography using letters in the alphabet to render spoken Blackfoot into writing. Finally, he followed the advice of J. Owen Dorsey, a curator at the Smithsonian and long-time missionary among the Dakota, and adopted the system developed by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

With his understanding of the language, Maclean gained a much deeper appreciation of Blackfoot culture, particularly in religious ideas and mythology. To illustrate this, Maclean gave the example of *tsûgkomitûpi*. In one context, this word refers to persons or things in the earth. However, its meaning can change when used in prayer with other words. For example, *tsûgkomitûpi kimokit* is translated as "earth person take pity on me." In this context, the person was actually a spirit or deity (1883–1884:102). Maclean was intrigued that in the Blackfoot language many inanimate objects, especially implements, were treated as animate objects. This concept must have reminded him of his early experience at the death lodge, where he first encountered the Blackfoot notion that both humans and objects had souls. "As men on earth when they are living must live on material things, so spirits who are not flesh and blood must live on spiritual food. The spirits take the spirit of the bows and arrows and shoot with them, they eat the spirit of the buffalo meat, and they smoke the spirit of tobacco" (Maclean 1907:29, 234, 237). As a devout and spiritual Christian, Maclean must have been extremely attracted to this concept.

Although Maclean worked very hard on a Blackfoot dictionary and grammar, it was incomplete in 1889



14. Fragment of a drawing of a buffalo hunt by Bull Shield, collected by Maclean, c.1885. Pencil on paper. Courtesy of the United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Toronto, Ontario. John Maclean Fonds, 3270, 86.279C, Box 43, File 4.

when his superiors gave him the news of his transfer. Maclean successfully petitioned the Methodist Committee to facilitate the completion of his manuscript, and, for this purpose, he was given 200 dollars to live on for three extra months among the Bloods. He never found a publisher for the completed work, and only a section of the grammar was published (Maclean 1896c). As he noted four years before his death, "my [Blackfoot] dictionary was in manuscript, stowed away in an old box where it has lain for years, and I am afraid that it will never be published, as I have not the money to spare, and being so long in the box, it will be musty and damp, and fall to pieces, and so the work will be lost" (Maclean n.d.l). Fortunately his manuscript is intact, preserved in the archives of the United Church of Canada, and still waiting to be published.

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> In 1881 Medicine Calf presented his clothing to Lord Lorne, the governor general of Canada. Maclean interpreted this as a sign of loyalty to the government and noted, "As to promises made — old Button Chief took off his fancy worked buckskin shirt in my presence and gave it to the Gov. General [Lorne], who promised him something in return. The old chief waited patiently for the day when the great mother's son would send him his present, but it never came" (Maclean 1884–1887). There is a strong likelihood that the shirt (Cat. No. Am1887,1208.1) and leggings (Cat. No. Am1887,1208.2-3) in Lord Lorne's collection in the British Museum, London are those of Medicine Calf.

<sup>2</sup> This is according to Maclean. Carter, however, stated that Trivett arrived in Fort Macleod in June 1880 (1974:27).

<sup>3</sup> Maclean wrote to David Boyle, director of the Provincial Museum of Ontario, on January 31, 1903: "The buckskin suit which I sent you was made for me twenty three years ago at Morley, Alberta, and cost me 18.00. During all the years I was in Alberta I wore it." The suit, which was accessioned, would have been transferred to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto in 1933. However, the location of the suit is unknown. In 1880, the Stoney, unlike the Blackfoot, still had access to game and could provide good quality, traditionally dressed hides.

<sup>4</sup> In contrast, Schultz (1923:11) noted that the Blackfoot word for medicine man was *ninam-p'skak* or coal chief, from *nina* (man, or chief) and *amp'skak'* (coal, the red, meaning live coal of fire).

<sup>5</sup> The few Indians living in the Moose Jaw area were Lakotas, remnants of those who had sought refuge after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. In 1891 they numbered around 100 persons.

<sup>6</sup> It is not known whether Maclean actually sent these items to the Smithsonian, as there is apparently no record of their existence at that institution.

<sup>7</sup> The report contained only a small portion of the information provided. Hale's home apparently burned down, destroying his papers, including correspondence with Maclean. Maclean did make holograph copies of his letters to Hale, preserved in the Library and Archives Canada (formerly the Public Archives of Canada), Ontario, but they have degraded to the point that they are nearly illegible.

*Maclean and the Bloods continued on page 106*

- <sup>8</sup> The following items collected by Maclean are in the Royal Ontario Museum: a beaded mirror case, a painted drum, five beaded paint bags, a quiver and arrows, a pair of beaded robe clasps, a beaded cartridge pouch, beaded woman's leggings, beaded moccasins, beaded child's moccasins, a beaded club, a hammer with beaded handle, a beaded pipestem, a pipestem wound with brass wire, a horse whip, a scalp, a beaded navel amulet, a whip, a pipe tamper, a painted rawhide (buffalo) cylindrical medicine case and a drawing on rawhide. The following items on the original list were not found: "beadwork on skin, personal ornaments haliois shell and iron wire, rattlesnake skin, hunting knife, personal ornaments, 22 elk teeth, beaded leather belt, fire steel, beaded pouch with cap or lid, three scalp locks, Maclean's buckskin outfit."
- <sup>9</sup> In Canada at the turn of the twentieth century, a coup stick was generally understood to signify a club. For example, in a letter to his brother, Lord Lorne noted, "I obtained an interesting 'coup' stick or *coup de grace* club from a Sioux the other day. It killed two Americans whose scalps adorn the handle which is made of buffalo thongs wound round each other and hardened. The stone is made of a beautiful red color and hardened. They say you can't hit a man hard with these things without seeing the blood gush from his mouth" (MacNutt 1955).
- <sup>10</sup> In a letter dated April 27, 1897, George M. Dawson invited Maclean to become a member of the committee organizing the Ethnological Survey of Canada. In part, this would have involved gathering measurements of different physical types using techniques much like those used by Boas several years earlier (Dawson 1897).
- <sup>11</sup> Maclean notes that Wm. Black and John Hollies of Fort Macleod and Frederick Champness of Lethbridge had substantial collections, but their prices were too high (1891).
- <sup>12</sup> Some of these dresses were apparently made for secular use. The Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana has a dress on display with the black-and-red split-cloth triangles made around 1915 by a South Piegan woman for Lilian Griffin. She was the wife of the passenger agent of the Great Northern Railroad, who also acted as the liaison between the Blackfoot and Glacier Park tourists.
- <sup>13</sup> Perhaps in response to requests from conservative South Piegan women, Wissler sent pony beads and cowrie shells from New York to be used in decorating women's dresses on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana (Wissler 1908; Duvall 1908).
- <sup>14</sup> From his observations beginning in the 1940s, Ewers noted that women smoked little and children not at all (1963:56, 57).
- <sup>15</sup> Ewers interviewed Small-Back-Sides, who made his pipe bowls from the stone from the same area, "about 10 miles above Lethbridge, near the Black Horse Mine" (1963:51).

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