

***A* *N* *C* *E* *S* *T* *O* *R* *S*:**

The Deane-Freeman Collections from the Bloods

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*The old ways are passing away, and the children of my children
will be like white people. None of them will know how it used to be
in their father's days unless they read the things which we have told you,
and which you are all the time writing down in your books
(Ginnell 1907: vii).*



1. These women, who would almost certainly be Bloods, are ready to join a parade at the Lethbridge Fair. Their horses display cruppers, breast bands and saddlebags. The tail of the front woman's horse is tied up as if for war, with a braided hair lock tucked into the bridle; a "crow belt," or feather bustle, hangs from the saddle. Photograph by A. Rafton-Canning, c.1910. Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Neg. No. C24277.

Peigan elder Double Runner's statement to scholar George Bird Grinnell can be read as an invitation to document the Buffalo Days. Plains Indians who had experienced the nomadic days were getting old, and contemporary Indians were under great pressure to cast off their traditions. Thus, at the turn of the twentieth century there was a concerted effort to gather Plains Indian artifacts and information in a relatively short period of time. During the course of developing the *Ancestors* exhibition, which opens on May 4 and runs through the end of the year, I could appreciate Grinnell's responsibility to make an authentic record as told by the elders. The exhibition is about one community during a brief moment in its history, that of the Bloods (*Kainai*), a division of the Blackfoot, in the year 1900. More critical, the 250 artifacts featured in the show originally belonged to some ninety named individuals. Many of these former owners were Blackfoot leaders who could "speak" through photographs, the memories of people still living and written records. Having the names of the former owners of the artifacts also affected the way the past is presented in the exhibition. Instead of presenting a typological view of objects, as in most traditional ethnographic exhibitions, the focus shifted toward the individual owners of the artifacts and their place in society. Artifacts in the show were first grouped by original owners, along with their photographs and biographical information. These clusters were then organized according to the owner's clan membership. Finally the sixteen represented clans were positioned in the exhibition hall according to their proscribed locations in the circular sun dance encampment of the Bloods.¹ Thus, the way in which the Bloods annually brought their various social units into an integrated whole provided the basis for the layout of the exhibition. The exhibition is being held alongside the Blood Reserve at the Sir Alexander Galt Museum in Lethbridge, Alberta. Since the Bloods will form a large segment of the viewing audience and will recognize many of their ancestors in the exhibition, there was a particular concern for accuracy, a concern heightened by irregularities in the documentation of the two Deane-Freeman collections upon which the exhibition is based. Given these circumstances it was necessary to trace the histories of the artifacts with great care.

The process began in 1984 when an old artifact list with the heading "Explanations and Legends of the Indian Curios according to the numbers attached to each curio" surfaced in a filing cabinet in the Ethnology Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. It contained extraordinarily detailed information about some 177 artifacts from the Bloods in the Royal Ontario Museum. The list gave Blackfoot words for the objects, often accompanied by ethnographic explanations or anecdotal information. For example:

No. 11 Eagle Feather Shield, = Au-eton, from "Green Glass" a Blood Indian. He was the only Blood who offered to go to S. Africa. He wished to go as a scout [in the Boer War] and only

asked \$15.00 a day. He is a 'Meat Chopper'. (This Eagle shield is in one of the Parfleche bags.) It had qualities of a protective nature and aided the owner in quickness of motion.

Most significantly, the list identified the former owners of nearly all of the artifacts, some sixty-seven individuals in total.

Added to the heading of the list were the words "Victoria [University], Odium Coll'n," signifying that the items were among those at the Royal Ontario Museum on long-term loan from Victoria University, an entity within the University of Toronto. At their meeting on November 16, 1901, student members of the Union Literary Society of Victoria University formed a relics committee to purchase the collection from Edward Odium, a journalist for the *Vancouver World*, whose ethnographic interests were well known. In 1887 Odium made an important field collection of ethnographic material from the Ainu of Japan. He attempted to form an anthropology department at Victoria University in 1890. More significant to our story, he wrote briefly about his two-day stopover in March 1899 at Fort MacLeod, in the north-west corner of the Blood Reserve. It is well known that Plains Indians were extremely hesitant to give out their personal names. Thus, in order to have known the names of so many people, the original collector of this material must have had close ties to the Blood community. There is no indication, however, that Odium made extended stays in the vicinity of this community.

The trail of the field collector of these artifacts remained cold until 1991, when Jonathan King of the British Museum, London kindly provided me with pages copied from his museum's catalogue. The descriptions of items 1903-26 through 1903-127 were so similar to those on the Victoria University list as to leave no doubt that both collections were made by the same person. The British Museum's records indicate that its Blood material was collected by Frederick and Maude Deane-Freeman. Hugh A. Dempsey, leading scholar on the Bloods, identified Frederick Deane-Freeman as the issuer of rations on the Blood Reserve from December 1884 until July 2, 1901. He and his wife Maude were thus in a position to make both collections, which, in combination, contain some 268 artifacts and the names of ninety-one of their previous owners. In order to determine why the Deane-Freemans took such pains to document their collection and whether their documentation is accurate, it is useful to examine the practices established by earlier collectors of Blood artifacts.

EARLY COLLECTORS OF BLOOD ARTIFACTS

Nicholas Garry, deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822 to 1835, appears to have been the first European on record to collect from the Bloods. Among his five cases of curiosities from Canada was a painted war exploit buffalo robe — which does not appear to have survived — presented by a famous Blood chief, Bull's Back Fat (Garry 1900). In 1844, while on a



2. Cruppers, Blood, c.1900. Top: Beads, skin, wool. 24" long, 5½" wide (61 cm long, 14 cm wide). Although at this time cruppers were used almost exclusively to decorate women's horses, the documentation suggests that this example may belong with the saddle collected from Crop Eared Wolf, a head chief of the Bloods (Fig. 7). Middle: Glass beads, wool. 29¾" long, 7¼" wide (76 cm long, 19 cm wide). This is thought to be a crupper facing from either Blackfoot Old Woman, a head chief, or Many Dust, head of the Hairy Shirts clan. Bottom: Cloth, beads, skin. 23" long, 9" wide (59 cm long, 23 cm wide). This example represents the most popular Blackfoot crupper style. It belonged to Wolf Bull, head of the Buffalo Followers clan. Courtesy of the Sir Alexander Galt Museum/Victoria University/Royal Ontario Museum. Cat. Nos. (top to bottom) HD 5581, HK 972, HD 5580.



3. Double saddlebag and facings, Blood, c.1900. Saddlebag: Skin, beads, wool. 51¾" long, 16¾" wide (132 cm long, 43 cm wide). The complete saddlebag is from I'm Going to the Bear, head of the All Tall Peoples clan. Saddlebag facings (three sets): Beads, wool, cloth. Top to bottom: 16½" long, 10½" wide (42 cm long, 27 cm wide); 16½" long, 13¼" wide (42.5 cm long, 34 cm wide), 16½" long, 13¼" wide (42.5 cm long, 34 cm wide). Originally, there were apparently four sets, acquired from Heavy Head, Heavy Shield, Old Moon and Eagle Shoe. Courtesy of the Sir Alexander Galt Museum/Victoria University/Royal Ontario Museum. Cat. Nos. HD 5547 (saddlebag), and HD 5572, HD 5573, HD 5574 (facings, top to bottom).

gentleman's adventure, Comte Armand Fouche d'Ortrante collected the earliest extant Blood object, a war shirt; he received it in exchange for *une peu d'eau de vie* (a small quantity of liquor), probably at the "Blackfoot Fort [MacKenzie or Chardon] near the Rocky Mountains."² John Harriott was in charge of the short-lived Peigan Post, a Hudson's Bay post that operated in Blackfoot territory from 1832 to 1834. On June 2, 1848, on the North Saskatchewan River between Forts Pitt and Carlton, an elderly Blood chief stopped a brigade of twenty-five boats to talk with its leader, John Harriott (MacLaren 1989:20, 58, 74). The artist Paul Kane was traveling with the brigade and noted that after their talk the two old friends undressed and exchanged clothes.

The chief's leather shirt and leggings were quite new and highly ornamented, yet were not exactly like what Mr. Harriott would like to wear, so he gave them to me to add to my stock of Indian costumes (Kane 1996:300).

The Blood chief Red Crow related a similar encounter, which probably occurred in the 1860s, to the trader R. N. Wilson:

Away up on the Saskatchewan we saw a fleet of thirty boats going down the river. The white men landed on our side, and we sat in a big circle and received many presents. There were three principal chiefs in our party, who took the goods and distributed to all. The white men told us that the gifts were to encourage us to trade with them. Blankets, tobacco, and goods of all kinds were given to us. In return some of the men took off their fancy dress, and presented them to the chief of the boat people (Middleton 1953:156).

Before the arrival of Europeans, diplomatic and trade relations between Plains tribes were sometimes initiated with elaborate ceremonies involving a complex of elements including mock warfare, parades, calumet smoking, kinship adoption, dancing, feasting, speech making and gift exchange. Later, some of these elements became standard procedure in initiating fur-trading transactions between Europeans and First Nations people. After the demise of the fur trade the Indians continued to perform similar ceremonies for significant events like the visit of a head of state.

Lord Lorne became the first governor general of Canada to visit the Bloods when he went west in 1881 with his wife Princess Louise Alberta, the namesake of the province of Alberta and daughter of Queen Victoria.³ On the Blood Reserve he met the aged war chief Medicine Calf, who "expressed his loyalty to the Government by taking off his handsome deerskin shirt and presenting it to the Governor-General" (MacLean 1889:153). Lorne made a significant collection of artifacts from a number of native groups on this trip.

Lord Minto, another governor general, visited the Bloods several times between 1885 and 1904. It was probably on his 1900 trip that Chief Strangle Wolf presented Lady Minto with his shirt.⁴ Minto noted on this visit, "I am told that in all probability I am the last G.G. who will witness a Blackfoot demonstration in its native form — the influence of civilization is rapidly doing away

with old customs” (Stevens and Saywell 1981:Vol.1, 409). He wrote to the prime minister of Canada, Sir Wilfred Laurier, in January 1903 to complain of mounting restrictions placed on traditional Indian practices, particularly dancing:

It has seemed to me that there is a want, in many cases, of human sympathy between the white administration & the Indian, & that possibly, tho' it is a dangerous subject to touch upon, somewhat narrow religious sentiments have not conduced to a sympathetic understanding of the Indian races. I feel that a very great deal might be done to conduce to their happiness by a sympathetic recognition of the necessity for adding some harmless sources of enjoyment to the dull routine of Indian life on a reserve (Stevens and Saywell 1983: Vol. 2, 246).

Several months later Minto accompanied the duke of Cornwall and Prime Minister Laurier to Calgary, where they were greeted by two thousand representatives of the Alberta Plains Indian tribes. By that time sham battles and other Indian performances had achieved widespread popularity. The audience varied from “a lot of the wicked citizens of Macleod [who] strung themselves as one toward the Blood Reserve”⁵ to observe the Blood sun dance, to those who came to see Indian parades, dancing and tipi villages at various agricultural fairs, Wild West shows and world’s fairs. Their interest served to counterbalance the measures taken by the government and church to eradicate Indian customs. At the same time, another audience, in part stimulated by people like Minto and Lorne, took a scholarly interest in Indian culture. Lorne was so impressed by the West and its human history that by 1882, a year after his journey, he formed the Royal Society of Canada, an institute significantly dedicated to the study of indigenous peoples. In June 1888 another scholarly organization, the Canadian Institute, distributed over a thousand copies of the *Sociological Circular*, with instructions on how to collect Indian artifacts and ethnographic information to Indian agencies, church missions and mounted police posts. Among the likely recruits were two longtime residents of the Blood Reserve, Reverend John MacLean and Robert Nathaniel Wilson.

MacLean, a Methodist, was the first missionary to work among the Bloods. On July 22, 1880 he arrived at Fort Macleod to find only a small portion of the Blood tribe settling into reserve life. The rest had coalesced with tribes from all parts of the northern Plains, “forgetting old animosities in the face of a common disaster” to hunt the last of the buffalo herds that had drawn into a tight circle in the Judith Basin in central Montana (Dempsey 1994:8). When they returned several months later, MacLean found himself surrounded by people who would be important sources of information for his study of Blood culture. By at least 1885 he had begun to formalize his education through correspondence with leading scholars like Horatio Hale, James Pilling, Garrick Mallory, Otis T. Mason and Franz Boas, and by joining



4. Travois ornaments, Blood, c.1900. Skin, beads, wool, cloth, cotton, tin. 13" to 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ " long, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " to 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide (33 cm to 40.5 cm long, 18.5 cm to 25 cm wide). The Bloods sometimes called these “nos-trils” in Blackfoot, perhaps in reference to their shape. The Deane-Freemans collected six such ornaments from Striped Dog, Tallow, Old Man Who Lives in a Dirt House (Mandan Man), Black Horse and Running Wolf. Courtesy of the Sir Alexander Galt Museum/Victoria University/Royal Ontario Museum. Cat. Nos. (clockwise from top left) HD 5570, HD 5565, HD 5575, HD 5568.



5. Pad saddle, collected from Strangle Wolf, head of the Many Tumors clan of the Bloods, c.1900. Buckskin, beads, antelope or moose hair padding. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ " long, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide (48 cm long, 60 cm wide). Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Acc. No.1903-74.

such organizations as the Canadian Institute, the American Association and British Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1888 he began sending artifacts of excellent quality to the Canadian Institute Museum and the Provincial Museum of Ontario, later transferring their collections to the Royal Ontario Museum. His collecting was hindered by a lack of funds, however, as noted on April 17, 1888: "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."⁶

While MacLean gained an impressive knowledge of Blackfoot culture, his employers considered him ineffective as a missionary, and in July 1889 he was transferred to the fledgling community of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan. After the move MacLean continued his scholarly work and published extensively on the Blackfoot. In 1891 he was appointed Special Observer for the Canadian North-West, in charge of collecting artifacts and data from Indians of southern Alberta for the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Based on advice from Franz Boas, who was in charge of the Sub-Department of Physical Anthropology of the Chicago Exposition, coupled with lengthy instructions on how to collect "the industrial history" of the Bloods provided by Otis T. Mason in 1887, MacLean formulated a set of fifteen instructions for collectors, which he presumably mailed to his contacts around the reserves of southern Alberta. In October 1891 MacLean traveled to Lethbridge and the Blood Reserve to pick up objects from various collectors, before sending them to Chicago. The Field Columbian Museum (later the Field Museum of Natural History) acquired forty-two Blood objects originally collected by MacLean for the world's fair.⁷

Known to the Bloods as Long Faced Crow, R. N. Wilson began to study the Bloods in 1881 when, as a North-West Mounted Policeman, he was detailed to the Blood Reserve detachment at Stand-Off. He left the force and in 1886 began a trading post in Stand-Off. He served as Indian Agent on the North Peigan Reserve from 1898 to 1903, and on the Blood Reserve from 1904 to 1911. He then returned to his trading post, where he remained until his death in 1944. Both Wilson and his wife Lila Hillier, the daughter of a Blood missionary, were fluent in the Blackfoot language. He was a frequent observer/participant at Blood ceremonies and made careful notes of the proceedings. Like his friend Grinnell, he recorded important information provided by Blackfoot elders on the history and traditions of their tribe. Wilson also made an important photographic record, and belonged to a number of scholarly organizations. But despite having gained a deep understanding of Blood culture, he published only a small fraction of his data.⁸

Like MacLean, Wilson sold objects to the Provincial Museum of Ontario⁹ and the Field Museum. Encouraged by Field Museum curator George Dorsey, Wilson sent six shipments to the Field between 1897 and 1905.

Most interesting is the medicine pipe bundle with carrying saddle deposited in 1897. Wilson noted that this complex set of items was missing the two pipe stems,¹⁰ two rattles and an owl skin. He noted that Blood ceremonialist Running Wolf could replace these items: "If I undertake to get this work done I will avoid all beads, ribbons etc. and have the articles made entirely of wood, leather, porcupine quills and feathers so that they will be of more primitive workmanship than the pipes now in the camp nearly all of which are decorated with ribbons and beads" (R. N. Wilson 1897). The record suggests that Wilson collected artifacts of excellent quality and in considerable numbers, many of which remain unlocated.¹¹

Dorsey was hired by the Field Museum in 1896, and concentrated in his first ten years on filling the gaps in the collections acquired from the World's Columbian Exposition. On his first field trip he traveled for four months, collecting artifacts in Indian communities from Arizona to Alaska. In order to build on the collection made by MacLean, Dorsey stopped at the Blood Reserve, apparently staying at R. N. Wilson's home. Dorsey remained from May 20 to 25, during which time he collected some 136 objects, "the most comprehensive [collection] acquired on the expedition" (VanStone 1992:3; see also *Macleod Gazette*, May 28, 1897). For the most part, the accompanying documentation is limited to object names, prices and, in a few instances, the name of the original owner. Dorsey provided additional cultural information only for a pair of blanket ties; he noted that the clasps belonged to a woman, a fact elucidated by the grossly inappropriate statement that "women tie the blanket to work — men don't work."

HISTORY OF THE DEANE-FREEMAN COLLECTIONS

The records of the Field Museum contain a letter from Maude Deane-Freeman, dated March 15, 1901, concerning the sale of an *iniskim*, or buffalo calling stone. She notes, "I have been collecting for the Pan American Exposition & have come across a great many old things among them games that the Indians used to play long ago & if you require any thing in that line I would like to furnish it." In fact, a letter dated June 19, 1901 documents the arrival of her material, ninety-one Blood objects, at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. On July 2, 1901 Deane-Freeman explained that the "Government for no reason at all dismissed my husband with a months notice for 'political partisanship,'" and that she and her family were moving to Vancouver on that day. Consequently, on November 25, 1901, when the ninety-one objects were returned from the Pan American Exposition, they were sent to Vancouver.

A letter from Dr. Robert Bell to Lord Minto indicates that at some point Minto talked with Maude Deane-Freeman and made a verbal commitment to buy her collection for the British Museum, London.¹² Bell was the Acting Head of Geological Surveys of Canada, which in 1877 was the first Canadian institution given an official man-



6. This is the same woman as shown on the front horse in Figure 1. Her travois is carefully arranged for maximum decorative effect, with the painted designs of the parfleche displayed at the sides and the backrest ornaments hanging over the back. The horse probably carries a medicine bundle, the wooden feast bowl barely visible at the side. Photograph by A. Rafton-Canning, Lethbridge Fair, c.1910. Courtesy of the United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Toronto. Neg No. 93/049P/960.

date to collect ethnographic artifacts. He was the intermediary between Frederick Deane-Freeman and Lord Minto. Maude Deane-Freeman passed away while giving birth to her seventh child on July 15, 1902. About four months later Frederick arranged for the Bank of Montreal to transfer the collection, along with additional items that Maude had withheld earlier, to a bank in Ottawa to the attention of Bell. In essence, this was the collection that had been exhibited at the Pan American Exposition.¹³ Minto arranged for its sale to the British Museum through Sir Edward Thompson, and it was accessioned on March 24, 1903.

Since no correspondence between Odlum and the Deane-Freemans has yet surfaced, the events leading to the sale of their collection to Victoria University remain obscure. As noted earlier it was acquired in November 1901. Since Odlum was a prominent resident of Vancouver and a newspaper columnist of repute, it seems likely that Maude Deane-Freeman interested him in the collection after moving from the Blood Reserve in July 1901.

More puzzling than the physical transfer of the Deane-Freeman artifacts is the incremental addition of

ethnographic data to successive object lists. The earliest list of the British Museum collection is found among Robert Bell's archival papers and was handwritten by Frederick Deane-Freeman. It contains only object names and prices for each item. Deane-Freeman had instructed the bank to forward this list, along with two typewritten copies, to Bell. He added: "I also send you a book in which legends connected with some of the articles are written out. Do you think it would be advisable to have them typewritten also: or shall we let the book go down as it is?"¹⁴ The book he referred to is the first scholarly book on the Blackfoot, Grinnell's *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (1907).¹⁵ Apparently the bank thought it best to type Grinnell's passages and append them to the collection list without citations, as if they were primary data collected by Maude Deane-Freeman. The names of the former owners of the artifacts were added to the next list, which was submitted to Bell on April 15, 1903 and forwarded to the British Museum. The Blackfoot words for artifacts must have been added separately at some point.

The first list regarding the Victoria University collection, which most likely accompanied the arrival of the



7. Pad saddle, collected from Crop Eared Wolf, a head chief of the Bloods, c.1900. Hide, glass beads. 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ " long, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide (51.5 cm long, 29 cm wide). Pad saddle stirrups, made of soft cottonwood and generally encased in buffalo bull's scrotum, were attached slightly toward the front of the saddle. Courtesy of the Sir Alexander Galt Museum/Victoria University/Royal Ontario Museum. Cat. No. HD 5544.



8. Horse bridal charm or decoration, collected from the Bloods, c.1900. Golden eagle feathers, porcupine quills, wood, weasel skin, horsehair, paint. 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ " long, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide (39 cm long, 26.5 cm wide). This was attached to the bridle by the thong located at the center of the decorated stick. A single feather seems to be missing, perhaps along with the medicine pouches. Courtesy of the Sir Alexander Galt Museum/Victoria University/Royal Ontario Museum. Cat. No. HD 5599.

collection in November 1901, is in Frederick Deane-Freeman's characteristically neat handwriting. It basically contains object names and a few prices. The other extant list — containing legends, additional information, Blackfoot words and names of native owners — is written in Odlum's hand and arrived sometime before 1903, when it was cited in the student journal of Victoria University (Burwash 1903).

Correspondingly, it is interesting to note the incremental rise in prices of objects. For example, the price of the "Bear Dance" regalia is \$20.00 on the list of objects Maude sent to the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. On the British Museum list from 1903, the price rose to \$100.00, with the additional information that "the dance is obsolete and the articles not to be duplicated." In fact, the regalia is either that of a Bear Shirt officer of the Pigeon Society or a Bear Brave of the Braves Society, and both societies would remain active for a number of years. Similarly, the price for the "large beaded blanket belt" rose from \$35.00 to \$50.00 with the added information that "As the Indians have given up wearing blankets, these belts are difficult to secure." Blanket strips continued to be used for many years, however, to decorate horses or draped over a man's arm as a stole. When Maude Deane-Freeman first approached Lord Minto, the collection was valued at \$600.00. Frederick raised the price to \$827.00, partly because he apparently added some items that Maude had not wanted to dispose of earlier, and partly because of unexpected costs in transporting the collection to Buffalo. Bell performed an evaluation of the same collection independent of Freeman's price list and arrived at a price of \$996.00. Bell passed along both assessments to Minto:

A number of the articles are accompanied by histories or legends written down by Mrs. Dean-Freeman concerning the nations in whose possession she found the specimens. These add to their value. I enclose a copy of the legends.

The collection seems to be worth the price placed on it by Mr. Dean-Freeman. You are probably aware from being among the western Indians at different times that they no longer make many of the things represented in this collection and such as they do manufacture at the present time are only imitations made to sell to travelers.

There is increasing interest in the history of our Native races, and I have no doubt that in the course of time when such a collection as this can no longer be obtained it will become exceedingly valuable.¹⁶

Maude Deane-Freeman made a similar statement when she wrote to Dr. Benedict on March 16, 1901:

In a very few years these things will be unprocurable on the Reserve for the Indians very seldom wear any beadwork now except at their dances. And as the Indian Department is doing all it can to stop these dances I expect they will soon be a thing of the past. Any "medicine" or "holy" thing can only be made by certain men on the reserve & as these men die their belongings are buried with them.¹⁷

An undated document, which appears to be a form of advertisement for the material that went to the British Museum, further illuminates the question of value:

It is an interesting fact, and valuable from an ethnological point of view, that Mrs. [Deane-] Freeman possesses the name of each Indian from whom she received contributions to her collection. She is also in possession of many of the legends surrounding the relics now belonging to her...within a few years [the collection] will be priceless, for the onward march of civilization is all too rapidly destroying both the customs peculiar to the aborigine and the man himself.¹⁸

For several reasons it is likely Maude collected the artifacts during a relatively brief period toward the end of her family's fifteen year stay on the Blood Reserve. Frederick's role as a collector would probably have been minimal. In his last nine years he worked under Agent James Wilson. Wilson believed in applying assimilationist policy to its fullest. While waging his particularly energetic "war" against the traditional elements of the Blood community in the 1890s he would not likely have allowed one of his staff to conduct in-depth ethnographic research. Some of the data presented in the artifact lists suggest that the Deane-Freemans' knowledge of Indian traditions was quite limited. Maude Deane-Freeman likely followed the lead of Rev. MacLean, R. N. Wilson and George Dorsey when she approached the Field Museum and the Pan American Exposition about this material. As she indicates, the Bloods were eager to sell artifacts but her ability to purchase them was limited:

I have taken a great deal of trouble & pains with it & I only wish I had more money to put into it, so as to make it more complete but I did the best I could...The Indians have got into the way of bringing me curios...I am very fond of the work but unfortunately have not enough means to carry it out.¹⁹

Despite these limitations, the Blackfoot terms on the artifact lists proved to be intelligible to present-day Bloods. Furthermore, variations in terminology for similar items suggest that the translations were provided by local Indians. With regard to the names of original owners, Blood Agent Pocklington wrote to the Indian Commissioner on May 22, 1889, "It is not easy for an Indian Affairs person to know all the males by sight, because rations were generally picked up by women." As the issuer of rations, Frederick Deane-Freeman may not have recognized all the men by sight, but he knew their names, which were written on the ration tickets that the women had to produce at each issue. As James Wilson noted, "Mr. Freeman is an educated honest gentleman (even the Indians recognize this)."²⁰ It seems probable that Frederick Deane-Freeman diligently recorded the names of the former owners of artifacts, just as he "accurately and neatly" recorded each issue at the ration house.²¹ We hope that in the course of time, as further details surface, some of the still perplexing aspects of the history of the Deane-Freeman collections will be resolved.

THE ARTIFACTS

A large part of the Deane-Freeman collections is composed of regalia used interchangeably in horse mounted parades and dances sponsored by both native and non-



9. Dance shield (front and back), collected from Peacemaker, a Siksika Blackfoot, c.1900. Buckskin and beads. 35¼" diameter (90 cm diameter). Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Acc. No. 1903-93.

native communities. In many respects, these activities represent adjustments made to very old ceremonies in response to changing circumstances, in the same way as rituals marking intertribal diplomacy were adjusted to negotiate trade with Europeans, treaties with the United States and the British Crown, and to welcome visiting heads of state. Parades at the turn of the twentieth century were patterned after traveling camps in the nomadic days — celebrating the first move after a long winter, traveling to the sun dance or making a grand entry to a fort or neighboring camp.

The Deane-Freeman collections contain a significant number of objects used to decorate women's horses and travois in parades, including backrest decorations, double saddlebags, cruppers and one breast band. The practice of decorating women's horses perhaps stems from the custom of selecting special horses and women for the conveyance of medicine bundles, which were so important in Blackfoot culture. For the most part, turn-of-the-century Blackfoot horse decorations feature floral or curvilinear beadwork executed on red or less often black woolen cloth. Almost certainly these motifs represent a fusion of Blackfoot decorative conventions with floral elements observed in European home furnishings and clothing, which were fairly common in the West by 1880 (Grafe 1999:281). For practical purposes, cruppers and breast bands served to stabilize the saddle and improve the performance of the horse; however the main function of the items considered here was decorative. Their manner of placement on the horse is illustrated in Figure 1. The decorated cruppers (rump covers) and breast bands depicted in Mexican codices dating to the mid-1500s are perhaps the prototype of their Plains Indian counterparts. The pictorial record preserved in European paintings executed between 1825 and 1875 illustrates many horses decorated with cruppers and breast bands. These suggest that women's horses were marginally more often equipped with cruppers and breast bands than men's. However, by the end of the nineteenth century such horse trappings were almost exclusively used by women.

There are five pairs of cruppers, one pair of crupper facings and one breast band in the Deane-Freeman collections. Figure 2 shows examples of three Blackfoot crupper types. Clark Wissler described the upper type, observing that the same rectangular arrangement of decorated fields is found in cruppers of the Cheyenne, Shoshone and Gros Ventre (Wissler 1910:94). Ewers considered this to be the older of the two main types of Blackfoot cruppers (1945:Figs. 62, 63). The middle item is apparently a crupper facing and is decorated in a manner variously termed "cross," "striped" or "line" beading. It was a popular design used by Bloods and other tribes to embellish a wide variety of objects. The third crupper is likely the most typical Blackfoot type. The arrangement of decorative elements is repeated in most extant examples: there is a curved section containing a central

rosette framed by a running geometric pattern with fringe along the curve. The adjacent triangular section usually has a floral element at its base.

The beaded designs on backrest decorations, double saddlebag facings and breast bands are comparable to those on cruppers. Similarly, the beaded elements of these items are often underscored by motifs worked in alternating black and red cloth. Nevitt's drawings of 1875 would appear to be the first to delineate cruppers and saddlebags of the style described here (1974:66). The Deane-Freeman collections contain three double saddlebags and three pairs of saddlebag facings (Fig. 3). The trader Larpenteur noted around 1860 "My load to Fort Union was very encumbering; my old saddlebags, made of a yard of brown muslin, sewn at both ends, with a slit in the middle, containing two red flannel shirts, pretty well worn, and one checked shirt, and one old white 3-point blanket" (1899:67–68). Although made of hide, Plains Indian saddlebags are of similar construction, but they were made more for decoration than for carrying large quantities of goods. In practice, they were thrown over the woman's saddle and held in place between the pommel and cantle. John Ewers noted that the size of the saddle determined the width of the bag (1955:118); and the length was such that the fringes reached below the horse's belly, as shown on the horse to the left in Figure 1.

A woman's horse on parade was typically decorated with a matching ensemble composed of a crupper, breast band and double saddlebags, but it would not be complete without a travois decorated with backrest ornaments hanging from the back (Fig. 6). There are six such ornaments in the Victoria University collection (Fig. 4). The fact that they are described on the list as "travois ornaments" would suggest that the Deane-Freemans saw these objects on travois in Indian parades, rather than at the apex of backrests in tipis, where they served their principal function.

In contrast to women on parade, men on parade strove to project the image of successful warriors (Fig. 14). Pad saddles apparently made riding more comfortable for both horse and rider, especially over long distances (Ewers 1955:83). There is ample evidence that pad saddles were used on buffalo hunts by the Blackfoot, métis and Ojibwa. Stirrups were used or omitted depending on personal preference. On the other hand, it appears that the Blackfoot raced horses bareback.²² The accounts of Blackfoot war parties in the early days indicate that they almost always went to the enemy on foot. However, Ewers noted that in the 1870s the Blackfoot horse raiders were mounted to evade the white authorities who were trying to curb intertribal warfare (1955:185). When warriors did fight on horseback, they routinely removed their pad saddles just before engaging the enemy to give themselves more maneuverability, particularly in dropping down to use the horse as a shield.²³ In this context, it is noteworthy that the Ameri-

can Museum of Natural History, New York preserves a pad saddle from White Calf, the last living Blood war chief, which is documented as a “war saddle.”²⁴ The Deane-Freeman collections contain two pad saddles, formerly owned by Strangle Wolf, a clan leader (Fig. 5), and Crop Eared Wolf, a head chief (Fig. 7).

Beginning in the 1700s the pad saddle, “used primarily by active young men,” had a wide distribution among people of the Plains (Ewers 1955:81–85).²⁵ From the eastern Plains to the Plateau pad saddles dating from about 1840 to 1870 are fairly uniformly decorated, featuring a rosette or floral motif and an embellished tab at each corner. It is thought that Cree and Ojibwa métis were influential in the popularity of this style. Norbert Welsh, a trader near Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan, noted that in the period from 1860 to 1875, métis buffalo hunters and traders thought “quite well of [themselves]” and paid attention to class distinctions (1994:23). For example, Joseph McKay, an important trader around 1860, was “a regular cavalier of the plains” with a rich outfit for his horse, including beaded saddle and cloth, fancy bridle with lariat and whip, et cetera (Welsh 1994:23). So too, pad saddles in the last quarter of the century were likely status symbols among the Plains Indians, and in this regard the Cree and Ojibwa may well have been at the center of stylistic development. During this time the decorated fields on saddles of the northern Plains grew larger and more heavily laden with beads. One decorative type, prominent among the Cree and Ojibwa examples, features fully beaded conical shaped fields at each corner from which depend large beaded tabs.²⁶ The designs were usually floral, but geometric designs were also used. Strangle Wolf’s saddle would fall into this category (Fig. 5). Another type, which featured rectangular decorative fields at the corners, is exemplified by Crop Eared Wolf’s saddle (Fig. 7) and was also popular among the Cree.

By 1902 a third of the Bloods had cattle; they would have preferred the stock saddle for its sturdiness and high pommel, which made it better equipped to work cattle. Photographs of mounted Bloods in ceremonial regalia dating to the early twentieth century show only stock saddles. The decorated pad saddle may well have been a prestige item that fell out of use around the close of the nineteenth century. There is, however, a somewhat contrived photograph taken between 1935 and 1940 showing a woman and man holding a pad saddle, decorated at the corners with rosettes and floral motifs, accented by a hide fringe. In context with the caption, “Blood hand made saddle,” the photograph appears to portray a Blood woman offering her handiwork to a prospective buyer.²⁷

Another article of horse regalia, described on the collection list as “a cheap ornament to be attached to Horse Bridle,” is one of the rarest items in the collections (Fig. 8). In the Buffalo Days the horse medicine cult was powerful among the Blackfoot. Its members owned

horse medicine bundles and were equipped with knowledge to assist in matters regarding horse performance and capture. Bridle charms were acquired by both members and nonmembers of the cult. The owner would attach the charm to his horse’s bridle when he went to war or rode in the Riding Big Horse dance. It was believed to “make the horse lively, to keep it from falling, and to keep enemy bullets from hitting it” (Ewers 1955:277–278). These items varied somewhat, since they were constructed on the basis of the owners’ dreams. According to Wissler the power of such a charm rested partly in little packages of medicine that were attached to it. The feathers were considered secondary to the pouches. Wissler collected a horse bridle charm from the Bloods in 1903; all but three of the seven medicine packets were retained by its former owner (Wissler 1912: 107–108). The Deane-Freeman bridle charm is devoid of any such packets, so it is difficult to know whether it was actually a charm or a decoration.



10. Plaited Hair, a Blood grass dancer, c.1890. His grandson Adam Delaney recalled that the pole in this photograph, supplied with a hook, would be planted in the earth to hold the feather disk when there was a lull in the dancing. The bustle appears to be made of feathers from a large raptor. His “blanket pants” give the appearance of chaps; however, leggings with side flaps are thought to predate the arrival of cowboys on the Plains. Courtesy of Adam Delaney.

Wissler's Blackfoot informant David Duvall was told by Bad Old Man the "cross fringe stick" made to be tied to the "jaw strap of a horse bridle was just like sleigh bells, horse bonnets, or cougar skin saddle blankets — just decoration." (Duvall notes 1910–1912, AMNH Anthropology Archives). The fact that horses decorated with cross fringe sticks proliferate in rock art in Blackfoot country and are found in at least two Blackfoot hide paintings suggests that these articles have a strong and long-term association with that culture.

The choreography of the dances associated with medicine bundles, men's societies (all comrades societies) and the woman's Motoki society tended toward the imitation of birds and animals, while the mimicking of warlike activities played an insignificant role. Society rituals were generally private but their dances were often performed for the entertainment of the Blood public. When the grass dance was formally introduced, probably in the 1880s, the Bloods treated ownership of its regalia and membership in its various offices in much the same way as they viewed ownership of medicine bundles and membership in societies. However, the grass dance and its associated regalia soon became more inclusive and less sacred. Similarly, at first the grass dance revolved around military themes; however, by the close of the century the military elements became less pronounced, the grass dance moved more into the social realm, and dancing became a very popular pastime in all seasons on the Blood Reserve.



11. Feather disk, collected from Wolf Robe, a member of the Many Tumors clan of the Bloods, c.1900. Ruffed grouse, golden eagle, northern harrier and wild turkey feathers. 22" diameter (56 cm diameter). Apparently the Bloods conceived of this as a dance shield; however, it may have been worn as a bustle. Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Acc. No. 1903-98.

Probably due to its secularization and the consequential devaluation of its regalia, the Deane-Freemans were able to gather a large quantity of grass dance items. By and large these items do not have deep roots in Blood material culture, but made their appearance with the advent of the grass dance. Included among the grass dance regalia in the Deane-Freeman collections are a ceremonial whip, dog feast fork, roaches, arm bands, tomahawks, decorative clubs, panel belts, looped necklaces, hair extensions, quillwork garters, otter sashes, feather bustles and shields.

The importance of war shields among the Blackfoot is underscored by the frequent occurrence of personal names like Bull Shield, Eagle Shield, Iron Shield, Little Shield and Heavy Shield. Kroeber learned from the Gros Ventre that "it was considered something of a distinction to carry a shield in battle, a man with a shield being more shot at than others, because shields were always desirous for capture" (1908:203). Around 1905 Kroeber observed a Gros Ventre who made a cloth shield and spear in replication of his former war weapons so that he could imitate his exploits in dances. The set of Deane-Freeman items in the British Museum collection documented as "medicine spear, *sapupistsis anwatan*, and medicine shield, *anwatan*, used at dances, from "Peace-maker," a Blackfoot [Siksika]," must be comparable to the item Kroeber described (Fig. 9). The front side shows that Peacemaker stepped up to an enemy, apparently in the face of gunfire, and struck him with an ax and spear. The reverse shows a man boldly grabbing a buffalo by the horn. Accordingly, Peacemaker would have mimicked these achievements in dance. Despite the likelihood of the shield's being painted after 1880, the style is much the same as Blackfoot hide paintings dating to before 1850.

There are two feather disks in the Deane-Freeman collections: the "Eagle Feather Shield, *Au-eton*, from 'Green Glass' [which] had qualities of a protective nature and aided the owner in quickness of motion" and the "feather shield, *anatan*, used in dances from Wolf Robe" (Fig. 11). These articles may be physically and conceptually similar to true shields. However, in the context of the grass dance they are usually described as bustles. When grass dance regalia was formally transferred to the Bloods, the most coveted item was the "crow belt." This feather bustle was worn on the waist, at the back. Crow belts were worn in battle by members of the eastern Plains tribes at least as early as 1840, but the Blackfoot had no counterpart to this.⁵¹ It has been suggested that feather disks were simplified versions of the crow belt (Howard 1964:53) and that bustles "explode[d] in number" during the early reservation period (Fry 2001:77). The photographic record illustrates that feather disks were popular among Flathead, Sioux, Blackfoot and probably other tribes. They were generally worn at the back of the neck, somewhat above the position where a true shield might be carried. However, one photograph of



12. Otter fur articles, collected from the Bloods, c.1900. Left: Otterskin and eagle talons. 36" long, 9" wide (92 cm long, 23 cm wide). This item was collected from Mike Oka. Photographs of Oka show that he wore it like a breastplate. Right: Buckskin, mirrors, golden eagle, great horned owl and probably American crow feathers. 45½" long, 23½" wide (116 cm long, 60 cm wide). This otter sash belonged to Running Wolf, an important ceremonial leader and head of the Many Children clan. A note accompanying the collection incorrectly states that this item was used in the All Crazy Dogs society. Like Oka's breastplate, it was most likely worn in the grass dance. Both items are missing some of their decorative mirrors. Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Acc. Nos. (left) 1903-52, (right) 1903-94.



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a group of Blackfoot, taken in a dance hall on the South Peigan Reserve around 1900, shows four men with roaches holding feather disks (Farr 1984:152). Since a disk would not likely be worn behind the neck in tandem with a roach, in some cases they were either carried in the dance or worn at the back of the waist, like a true bustle. In this regard, Edith Curzon's description of a "common dance" on the Northern Blackfoot Reserve in 1902 is instructive:

Most of the performers were fantastically dressed and all were painted. One had nothing on above his waist except paint; some had strings of sleigh bells around their waists and legs and turkey feather ornaments were quite popular. One man, wore trousers of blue-figured blanket, and fastened to his belt both front and back a huge disk set around with feathers, which necessitated his sitting on a wagon seat instead of the ground in order to preserve them unbroken. Several of them wore a cockatoo sort of affair on their heads which they get from the Crows, a tribe across the border (Boyle 1904:56).



13. Breastplate from Goodstriker, a Blood, collected c.1900. Beaver skin, hawk feathers, horse teeth, mica, small beaded encasement, warts or galls from the goldenrod (*solidago*) plant. 22¼" long, 6½" wide (57 cm long, 17 cm wide). Several bandoliers of strung goldenrod galls were collected by Goddard at the turn of the century from the Sarcees, and there are several photographs that show Bloods and Sarcees wearing them. Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Acc. No. 1903-51.

A photograph of Plaited Hair, a Blood, in his grass dance regalia shows his feather disk mounted on a stick (Fig. 10). According to his grandson Adam Delaney, such a stick was planted in the ground as a means of safe-keeping the bustle during a break in the dancing (Delaney 2001).

While the Blackfoot appear not to have worn feather bustles before they began grass dancing, their hide paintings dating to the 1850s show that they often went to war with spirit helpers in the form of decorated animal skins suspended from the shoulder area (Brownstone 1993:19, Fig.10; Catlin 1876:37, Pls. 14, 18–19). In 1800, David Thompson observed a Piegan civil chief who customarily wore two fine otter skins covered with iridescent shells (Hopwood 1971:205). In 1833 Karl Bodmer portrayed Low Horn, a Blackfoot warrior, wearing an otter skin garment covered with iridescent shells and other shiny materials, and Maximilian noted that he also owned a shirt "strewn all over with mirror fragments" (Goetzman 1984:260). These examples find certain parallel in the otter sashes and breastplates decorated with mirrors which became popular among Blackfoot grass dancers toward the close of the nineteenth century. The British Museum's Deane-Freeman collection has two otterskin items decorated with mirrors, one decorated with a fringe of eagle claws, which was worn like a breastplate, and the other, decorated with a feather fringe, worn as a bandolier (Fig. 12). A breastplate in the British Museum collection is also similar; but instead of mirrors or shiny metal or iridescent shells set onto otter fur, it is decorated with lozenge shaped sheets of mica on a foundation of beaver fur (Fig. 13). Also attached are horse teeth, a small beaded encasement and three goldenrod (*solidago*) warts or galls. More typically, goldenrod warts were strung into a bandolier with bunched feathers as war medicine. A bandolier of this type in the Deane-Freeman collection is accompanied by the information that the warts were chewed and applied to a wound. While these various fur items share a number of commonalities, they are also highly idiosyncratic and individualistic.

These few examples demonstrate the potential for typological studies of the Deane-Freeman collections in the Royal Ontario and British Museums. Until recently, I hesitated to develop these collections into an exhibition, at least partially because there was no one to spark a connection between the artifacts and the individuals named as their former owners. The opportunity to advance came in the person of Louis Soop, who visited Toronto in 1998 and asked to view artifacts from his reserve. After he saw the Deane-Freeman material we agreed to consider an exhibition. On his return, Louis Soop did more than consider. He attracted enthusiastic support from his own Blood people, in particular, the board of directors of Red Crow Community College, and the Sir Alexander Galt Museum and its former director Wilma Wood. He also introduced Jonathan King and me

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14. Indians on parade. Most, if not all, of these men would be Bloods. Photograph by A. Rafton-Canning, probably at the Lethbridge Fair, c.1910. Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Neg. No. PA29764.

to the Blood community. We all welcome you to celebrate this community, to walk into the great circle encampment of the Bloods and join the ancestors.

Footnotes

- ¹ Goldfrank made a record of the positions of eight of the clans at the encampment of 1939 (1945:39). Hugh Dempsey kindly shared three "maps" of the circle encampment that he gathered from Blood elders in the 1950s.
- ² The shirt is part of the D'Otrante collection held in the Folkens National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden (Cat. No. 1854.2.1).
- ³ The Governor General was at the head of Canada as the resident representative of the British Crown.
- ⁴ This information is given in entry No. 8 of the Victoria University list of artifacts. Strangle Wolf also presented a shirt to Edmund Morris, the artist and son of Lieutenant Governor Morris in 1907; it is preserved in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Cat. No. HK 466; Morris 1985:34).
- ⁵ *MacLeod Gazette*, August 2, 1887.
- ⁶ United Church Archives/Victoria University Archives, Toronto, Ontario, John MacLean Papers, Box 17, File 25, journal entry April 17, 1888. Occasionally he was able to help by buying for private collectors. For example, MacLean (August 27, 1889) notes that Miss Clara Craig of Brampton bought \$11.00 worth of Indian goods: two fire bags for \$4.50, woman's leggings for \$1.50, two paint bags for \$.50, a bodkin holder for \$.50 and a battle ax for \$4.00 (United Church Archives/Victoria University Archives, Toronto, Ontario, John MacLean Papers, Box 13, File 64).
- ⁷ VanStone (1992) described and illustrated this material.
- ⁸ Phillip Godsell produced an edited transcript of Wilson's notes in 1959, which was partly published by Hungry Wolf (1977). Canon Samuel Middleton published Red Crow's war history (1953). It is difficult to know what proportion of his material still survives. Hugh A. Dempsey (2001) was told by a Catholic priest that after Wilson died the executor of his estate made a pile of his papers in the back of the house, so as to burn them. This priest happened to be walking by and saved three manuscripts on Blackfoot marriage, the Blackfoot sun dance and Scarface.
- ⁹ Weasel fringed shirt and leggings (Cat. No. 13097a & b) and moccasins (Cat. No. 13098) deposited in the Provincial Museum of Ontario, 1896.

- ¹⁰ Wilson n.d. distinguished between these pipes stems, one being the "main" stem and the other "small" (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Centennial Museum, Regina, Saskatchewan, Cat. No. 73.154.1G).
- ¹¹ Wilson sold a shirt, leggings and a pair of moccasins to the Peabody Museum, Cambridge. These were accessioned in 1897. The Canadian Museum of Civilization acquired two very old Blackfoot shields from Wilson (V-B-38a-c and V-B-39). Morris illustrated one in his diary with explanations of the symbolism provided by Wilson (Morris 1985:34).
- ¹² Bell to Minto, December 31, 1903. It is difficult to know how this conversation occurred. Minto, who had been to the Blood reserve several times, visited the Pan American Exposition on July 3, 1901. Perhaps this is when he became interested in the collection.
- ¹³ A comparison of the Victoria University and Buffalo Exposition artifacts lists confirms that, for the most part, the Pan American material went to the British Museum, London. At the same time it is evident that certain items from Buffalo cannot be accounted for in the British Museum, and visa versa.
- ¹⁴ National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Bell Fonds MG 29, Vol. 55, File 9, Deane-Freeman to Sweeny, November 23, 1902.
- ¹⁵ For his part, Grinnell received much of his data from James Willard Schultz (Schultz 1988:xv).
- ¹⁶ Pan American Exposition Correspondence, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society Library, Buffalo, New York. Bell to Minto, December 31, 1902.
- ¹⁷ Pan American Exposition Correspondence, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society Library, Buffalo, New York. Deane-Freeman to Benedict, March 16, 1901.
- ¹⁸ This document is presently in the possession of the Deane-Freeman family.
- ¹⁹ Pan American Exposition Correspondence, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society Library, Buffalo, New York. Deane-Freeman to Benedict, March 16, 1901.
- ²⁰ Letter from James Wilson recommending a raise, James Wilson to Deane-Freeman, April 6, 1899. In the possession of the Deane-Freeman family.
- ²¹ Letter of recommendation from James Wilson on Frederick's departure from his job, June 29, 1901. In the possession of the Deane-Freeman family.
- ²² In one of his more accurate paintings, Paul Kane illustrated a Blood horse race (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Cat. No. 912.1.51) in which the racers ride bareback while mounted bystanders sit on pad saddles.
- ²³ This was reported among the Sioux (Densmore 1915:415, 442), the Hidatsa (G. Wilson 1913:450) and the Blackfoot (Lancaster 1966:129-130).
- ²⁴ American Museum of Natural History, Cat. No. 50.1/1230. An additional Blood pad saddle, apparently collected in the 1870s, is held by the Glenbow Museum (AF3527).

²⁵ By 1703 the Spanish had begun trading *cojinillos*, literally “little pillows” or saddle pads, and *anqueras*, or rump covers, to the Indians of New Mexico (Ahlborn 1980:12). It is likely that Plains Indian pad saddles were modeled after these.

²⁶ The kidney shaped pad saddle, which came into prominence around 1880, also appears to be a predominantly Cree convention. The older examples are floral, but in the early twentieth century geometrically decorated kidney shaped saddles gained ascendancy and continued to be laden with more and more beads until around 1925, when production seems to have ended.

²⁷ National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, PA40762. Another recently made Blackfoot pad saddle is illustrated in Scriver (1990:121)

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