Historical study of the cultural, social, and religious backgrounds of the education of the Blood Indians, Blood Indian Reservation, Alberta

Lynn Melbourne Beazer

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AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF
THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS
OF THE EDUCATION OF THE BLOOD INDIANS,
BLOOD INDIAN RESERVATION, ALBERTA

by

LYNN MELBOURNE BEAZER

E. Ed. Montana State University, 1960

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1962

Approved by:

[Signatures]

Chairman, Board of Examiners

Dean, Graduate School

AUG 2 1962
Date
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The closing of the period of transition from aboriginal culture to modern civilization of the Blood Indians of Alberta, Canada is slowly nearing an end. During two and one-half centuries since the first white man records contact with the Blood Indians through the Blackfoot Confederacy, there has been a continuous, diminishing, cultural differentiation between the two groups. This gap has been reduced by the school and other community educational programs and influences. Some students have "returned to the blanket" and a few elderly Indians still cling to the old tribal customs and traditions, so the process has not been fully accomplished. Still the integration of Indian and white students toward an equal basis of education and opportunities has shown considerable progress.

A. PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Many factors down through the transition years have influenced the education of the Indian and have affected his integration into the dominant white society. With this thought in mind, the purpose of this study was two-fold: first, to discuss the historical, traditional and educational life of the Blood Indian from his earliest known existence on the plains to his present status on the Blood Indian Reserve in Alberta, Canada, and secondly to provide a short history of the Blood
Indians, more particularly for those persons concerned with the welfare of this minority group. A few questions pertaining to the problem might be the following: What difficulties or obstacles confront the Blood Indian in the transition from the existence living of an aboriginal to present life in a civilized culture? Do tribal customs, fetishes, and values influence the attitudes, responses, and thinking of the young Blood student in the public schools of Cardston, Alberta? How did the various white contacts, including schools, assist in this transition?

For many years racial integration has presented a problem in the Dominion of Canada, especially in the field of education. For some time numerous Blood Indian children have enrolled in every division of the public schools in Cardston, Alberta, from the first grade to the twelfth with the greatest influx coming in the last five or six years, that is during 1956 to 1962 inclusive. As a result there have been many problems created throughout the entire public schools. Since educators are in the forefront of this process it is necessary that teachers obtain a thorough background of all possible factors which may influence the Blood student's behavioral responses - responses which are often at wide variance to those of the white children.

This need for a short, concise, but meaningful history would serve to acquaint especially those persons who, in their work, are thrown into close contact with the Blood Indians, this being the second purpose of this work. Among the public servants that might be included are governmental workers, nurses, doctors, welfare workers, missionaries, public and reserve school teachers. Knowing how important it is to "get off
with a good start", a quick orientation to the character and problems of the Blood Indians would be a distinct advantage in personal dealings.

To portray the full importance of the material collected for this study it was necessary to depend for the most part on historical information. Unfortunately, historical evidence, in recent years, has been treated somewhat lightly, yet the importance of depending upon historical sources for checking and correcting direct observation, is becoming increasingly apparent. In the analysis of the acculturation process, history has been an important key to an understanding of past changes in social structure, but the history has to be complete and also free from disorientation (say toward politics), or the study of processes can become compounded.  

B. DELIMITATIONS, LIMITATIONS, DEFINITION OF TERMS

Delimitations

This study was restricted to a consideration of the overall factors in the education of the Indian people pertaining to the Blood Indian Reserve of Cardston, Alberta. School records and information were delimited to the three schools accommodating over 95% of the Blood Indian students, these being the Roman Catholic St. Mary's Blood Indian Reserve School, the Anglican St. Paul's Blood Indian Reserve School and the Cardston Elementary, Junior and Senior High Schools.

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Interviews with Blood Indians and teachers were delimited to some of the men and women willing to supply information and to some of the teachers who were teaching or who had taught Indian pupils in any of the three schools referred to above.

Limitations

This study was conducted over a three-year period from 1959-1962, at which time the writer taught in the Cardston High School at Cardston, Alberta during the school months and attended the Montana State University at Missoula, Montana during the summer quarters.

Elderly Blood Indian interviews were limited due to the difficulty in conversing with Indians who were willing but hampered by the language barrier. Those with whom the writer had previously established rapport and who had reputations for "possessing information of the past" were chosen.

Many of the early councillors and officials of Blood Indian Affairs both in the education department and in the administration of Blood Indian financial affairs have long since been transferred or moved away, which limited information from these sources. The only public schools considered in this study were those located in Cardston, Alberta.

Definitions of Terms

Since the following will be used quite frequently in this study they are included for the purpose of clarity.
Acculturation. The changing and diffusion of the Blood Indian aboriginal culture into the dominant culture of the non-Indian society— the position of being between two cultures.

Assiniboines. A Plains Indian tribe, which came to the borders of Alberta from the east in the early pre-horse days.

Atsina. An Indian tribe known as the Big Bellies or Gros Ventre who were on friendly terms with the Blackfoot and became incorporated with the Blackfoot about the year 1824. They were originally allied with the Arapahoes from whom they separated about the year 1814.

Blackfeet Indians. Spelling used by American Indian Bureau and Tribal Council in Montana synonymous with the Blackfoot Indians.

Blackfoot Indians. A confederation of three groups, an offshoot of the Algonquin race. The three tribes are the North Blackfoot, the Bloods, and the Piegans.

Bloods. Same as Blood Indians.

Blood Indians. A subdivision of the Blackfoot Indians now mostly residing on the Blood Indian Reservation.

Blood Indian Reserve. That plot of land west of the 4th meridian, comprising 541 square miles, situated in the southwest corner of Alberta. Its natural boundaries are the St. Mary's River on the east, Belly River on the west and north, Old Man River on the east and north, with the south boundary being a line running through the north boundary of Cardston from the St. Mary's River to the Belly River.

Breed. An indefinite term referring to a person who is part white and part Indian, also used synonymously with half-breed.
Crees. A Plains Indian Tribe, another branch of the Algonquin family who came into Alberta from the east.

Elementary School. That part of the public school system from grades one to six inclusive.

Gros Ventre. Synonymous with Atsina.

Junior High School. That part of the public school system from grades seven to nine inclusive.

Kainai. Synonymous with Blood.

Kokokit Ki Aekakimat. A statement used by Blood Indian officials which when translated means "gain wisdom and persevere".

Kootenai. Synonymous with Kutenai.

Kutenai. A mountain tribe of Indians located to the south and west of the Blackfoot in the Rocky Mountain Range.

Pecunnies. Synonymous with the Piegans. (Pronounced Pay-gan)

Piegans. One of the three tribes comprising the Blackfoot Confederacy.

Pikuni. Synonymous with Piegan and interpreted to mean "Robes from Afar".

Sarcee. Athabascan speaking Plains Indians who came down from the north and were befriended by the Blackfoot.

Sarsi. Synonymous with the Sarcee.

Senior High School. That part of the public school system from grades ten to twelve inclusive.

Siksika. Synonymous with Blackfoot.

Stoney. Usually applied to the Assiniboine in Canada.
C. LITERATURE HEARING ON THE SUBJECT

Although many volumes have been written on the subject of the Blackfoot Indians, very little pertaining directly to the Blood tribal division proper has been recorded, and that which has leaves much to be desired, so far as those interested in education are concerned.

D. PROCEDURES

Collection of Data

For many years the writer, in the role of an active observer, has lived as a neighbor to the Blood Indians and for the last five years has been placed in contact with both Indian students and their parents in the town of Cardston, Alberta. Academic research provided a great deal of the historical-cultural background of the Blood Indians aided by personal interviews of the elderly more-informed Indians. Other subjective data pertaining to the between-culture situation and present day status was obtained from old and young Blood Indians through conversation and observation.

Cardston district pioneers, school authorities in Cardston, as well as those in charge of the Blood Reserve Schools, teachers of all three schools and executives of Indian affairs provided further information through interviews.

Treatment of Data

Dictated by the nature of the study the majority of the data
has been presented in narrative form and tables of statistics have been purposely omitted.

School record data and that obtained from questions and by interviews which pertained to the academic education of the Blood Indians was used in presenting that section concerning school training and school facilities. This was written in descriptive form and covered the period of time from about the turn of the century to the present. Other data provided information for the geographic chapter, for the health section, and for the section supplying information on the gradual acculturation processes still in the process of change on the Blood Reserve today.
CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

"Into the rose gold westland, its yellow prairies roll,
World of the bison's freedom, home of the Indian's soul.
Roll out, O sea! in sunlight bathed,
Your plains wind-tossed, and grass enswathed.

Farther than vision ranges, farther than eagles fly,
Stretches the land of beauty, arches the perfect sky,
Hemmed through the purple mists afar
By peaks that gleam like star on star." E. Pauline Johnson*

On September 22, 1877, the entire Blackfoot Confederacy except the Southern Piegans who lived in the United States of America, plus the Stoney (Assiniboine) Indians and the Sarcees, assembled at Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow River, with Crowfoot negotiating for the Blackfoot. Treaty Number Seven was concluded between them and the Canadian Government, whereby an area of thirty-five thousand square miles was forever surrendered to the Great White Mother, Queen Victoria. A subsequent, and separate treaty, was made with the Blood Indians, one of the three tribes comprising the Blackfoot Confederacy, setting aside a tract of land known as the Blood Indian Reserve, in the southwest corner of Alberta. Its natural boundaries are the St. Mary's River on the east and the Belly River on the west, while adjacent to the northeast end, is the thriving city of Lethbridge.

*A famous Canadian poetess of Indian Ancestry.
To the northwest rises the historic town of Fort MacLeod, and at the southwest, some fourteen miles from the International Boundary, Cardston, a stronghold of Mormonism. The largest Indian reservation in the Dominion of Canada, it comprises five hundred and forty-one square miles, or three hundred and fifty-four thousand acres of splendid farming and grazing land.

Alberta

Alberta, the main home of the whole Blackfoot Confederacy, prior to 1882 was considered part of the Northwest Territories. In that year a southern portion was sliced off and was named Alberta in honor of H.R.H. Princess Louise Caroline Alberta, daughter of Queen Victoria and wife of the Marquis of Lorne, ninth Duke of Argyle, who at that time was Governor-General of Canada. The boundaries given to Alberta in 1905 were the 49th parallel - the United States frontier - to the south, the 60th parallel to the north, the 4th meridian to the east and British Columbia to the west, the latter being a natural geographic boundary, the watershed of the Rocky Mountains.

Geographically, Alberta is divided between the wooded mountain slope from the hills and drainage basins of the three river systems below. A small southern portion is drained by the Milk River, a tributary of the Missouri River. Of the rest of the province the lower half is mainly prairie land. The more thickly settled portion is drained by the waters and branches of the South and North Saskatchewan Rivers and their tributaries.
Geologically, the greater part of Alberta belongs to the interior continental plain showing in the southwest a general elevation of about 3,500 feet and in the northeast at the Great Slave River only 600 feet. The mountainside strip of the eastern slope of the Rockies is a part of the Cordilleran belt; the summits bordering Alberta reach an average range in altitude between 8,000 to 9,000 feet with some peaks over 10,000 feet. According to the World Book Encyclopedia,\(^1\) Alberta, known as fifty Switzerland in one, has more than seventy peaks of the Canadian Rockies that thrust higher than 10,000 feet. A few of the chief peaks are: Columbia (12,294 feet), Brazeau (12,250 feet), the Twins (12,085 and 11,675 feet). The most famous landmark of them all as far as the Blood Indians are concerned, is Chief Mountain, which is found outside of Alberta some four miles deep in the United States territory.

Chief Mountain

In the southern Rockies this same Chief Mountain, a huge mass of drab grey rocks 10,004 feet above sea level, is monarch of all it surveys. It has been named and renamed through a long course of history by trappers, explorers and adventurers. This austere peak stands far out to the east of the main chain, appearing to rise from the plains very abruptly. In addition to harboring the secrets of a lost

gold mine, there is woven around this Chief Mountain, more wealth of Blackfoot Indian legend and mysticism than is associated with any other mountain in what was formerly their exclusive hunting grounds.

Another significant advantage of this Rocky Mountain Range acting as a western boundary for the Blackfoot Confederacy lies largely in the field of protection. West of this natural watershed in the province of British Columbia are found other tribes of Indians, three of which are the Pend d'Oreille (a French name referring to the large shell earrings worn by the tribe); the Kalispel, which are closely related to the Pend d'Oreille; and the Upper Kootenai Indians. They claimed the area east of the mountain range and north of the Sun River as their buffalo hunting grounds.

The bands closest to the Plains, known as the Upper Pend d'Oreille sometimes joined forces with the Flathead Indians in fighting the Blackfoot and in hunting buffalo. Although the occasional raid or buffalo hunt indicated some communication, the Rocky Mountains provided a natural boundary between the Indians of British Columbia and those of Alberta.

Coal and Oil

In this mountain belt of Alberta, more than 5,000 feet is con-

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2 S.H. Middleton, Blackfoot Confederacy (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1937), p. 106. "Canon" Middleton was honored by the Bloods and given the name of "Ninaistoko" which means Chief Mountain.

fined to the extreme southwestern margin along the Rocky Mountain up-

lifit. Here are found many complicated formations, mainly of Cambrian 

Age, while on the eastern edge the much younger Cretaceous formations 

are all involved in the folding that has produced valuable coal seams. 

Throughout the south of Alberta the formations are fairly level-bedded, 

and they are almost all of Cretaceous age. Coal seams are found at 

three levels in these Cretaceous rocks. Just below the lowest coal 

seam a layer of porous rocks at Turner Valley contains petroleum a-

bout 3,000 feet below the surface. Since this field of petroleum has 

been discovered many oil fields are in production, some of the latest 

are located on the borders of the Blood Indian Reserve.

Blood Reserve Views

Travelling across the broad expanses of the Blood Indian Re-

serve one is struck with the presence of short, tough bunch grass 

which affords excellent pasture except along the rivers and streams. 

There, thickets of chokecherry, buffaloberry and Saskatoon bushes a-

bound, with many willow trees adding variety.

On facing the south, one sees the Rocky Mountains sweeping up-

ward like a great wall from the floor of the plains, which, on a clear 

day, are visible from a distance of sixty or seventy miles. Dense 

strands of timber cover the slopes. Only successive ridges of hogs-

back hills, so named because of their rounded shape, lie between the 

valleys and the mountains. On a closer inspection one can see occa-

sional buttes and bluffs situated along the rivers.
Sir Frederick Stupart, director of the Meteorological Service of Canada (1894-1929) said that "it is doubtful whether any other territory on the face of the globe has a climate as variable in the winter as that of Alberta." The normal winter is fairly cold. The winter isotherm lines run from the Rockies to the United States border in a southeasterly direction; e.g., the January mean temperature of 0° passes a little north of Edmonton and crosses lower Saskatchewan to North Dakota. The summer isotherms are complicated and diverge greatly from east to west to form loops. Most of the province shows July isotherms of 60° to 65°. A change of wind from a northeast blow to a southwestern Chinook at times changes the temperature from 20° below to 40° above in a few hours.

This continental climate, warm in summer and cold in winter sees the thermometer, during the former season, frequently register 90° during the daytime, but the nights are always cool. The distribution of heat varies little as regards latitude. The mean summer temperature at Cardston ⁴ (latitude 49°10') is 59°.

Because of the northern latitude the summer days are long, twilight lasting until after 10 p.m. and the dawn breaking about 3 a.m. The frost-free period averages about 126 days. Records of actual sunshine show an annual amount of approximately 2,000 hours; hence the

⁴Cardston is a small town situated some 14 miles north of the international boundary line on the southern border of the Blood Indian Reserve.
title "Sunny Alberta". In winter the weather is cold, but as the atmosphere, owing to the latitude, is dry, low temperatures are easily supported. In southern Alberta the winters are much modified by the warm, aforementioned, chinook winds which, crossing the mountains from the Pacific, bring in their train periods of extremely mild and pleasant weather. Alberta is a region of light rainfall. The subjoined table indicates the average precipitation in the various months:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Precipitation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1.03</td>
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Though the foregoing figures yield only 23.71 inches for the year, it will be noted that of this total, 13.87 or 58% comes during the growing season and crops are thus almost always amply supplied with necessary moisture when it is most needed. In the southern part of the province snow falls during the winter but soon disappears. As long as history has been recorded in southern Alberta, mention has been made of winds. Whether it be the closeness to the mountains or not, the Blood Indian Reserve is subject to high winds particularly in the spring and fall.

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5 The World Book Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 268. See also Survey of Cardston, prepared by the Industrial Branch, Department of Economic Affairs, Government of the Province of Alberta, 1959, p. 1, which gives the average precipitation at Cardston to be 20.01".
Soil

The soil of southern Alberta consists, generally speaking, of a nearly clay subsoil overlaid with a black or chocolate-colored mould. The latter, the product of ages of decayed vegetable matter, varies from six inches to several feet in depth. This combination results in a soil capable of storing moisture and at the same time of extraordinary fertility.

Rivers

As before mentioned, three rivers border the Blood Indian Reserve. The Belly River, originating from Lakes Helen and Elizabeth across the International boundary in the United States Rockies, enters the Blood Indian Reserve on the western side due west of the town of Cardston and angles serpentinely in a north-northeasterly direction to form the western boundary of the reserve. It is joined by the Old Man River coming from the northeast and together they run in a more southerly direction some nine or ten miles to the point of junction of the St. Mary's River, this junction being the approximate location of the famous Fort Whoop-Up\(^6\) operated by the American whisky traders. The St. Mary's River originates in the United States also, from the St. Mary's Lake, and passes east of Cardston to constitute the eastern boundary of the Blood Indian Reserve. By heading a few degrees

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\(^6\) This colorfully-named fort is briefly described in footnote number 13 of this chapter and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
east of north and angling in a rough arc due east, the St. Mary's River forms a crude horseshoe southeastern boundary, then opposite the town of Magrath, which lies to the east of this point, the river winds north-northeast to add its waters to those of the Belly and Old Man Rivers at the old site of Fort Whoop-Up mentioned previously.

Those interested in education are aware of the effect of environment upon daily life and activities of those who fall under the influence of that environment. The Blood Indians, roaming with the Blackfoot Confederacy, finally located themselves in the shelter of the foothills of the Rocky Mountain uplift. Here their summer movements and activities were influenced by the warm, dry chinook belt climate; the local game animals directed the Indians' hunting excursions; the associated ceremonies and physical preparations and local topography governed their skillful stalking procedures. In the season of winter the coldness, the chinooks, the snowfall, the winter game all united to provide learning situations for both adults and children of the Blackfoot Confederacy in the struggle for survival and in the preservation of their culture.

St. Mary's Irrigation Project.

A project of some interest to both the white population and the Blood Indian residents of the Cardston - Magrath area was the development of the St. Mary's Irrigation Project. This project was authorized by Order-in-Council P. C. 17/2622 of May 25, 1944, with one of the major construction projects consisting of diverting water from the Belly River through a canal across the Blood Indian Reserve
into the St. Mary's River. Not only would the cost have to be considered, but there was the problem of receiving permission from the Blood Indians and negotiating with them for the right-of-way which would involve between 1500 and 1600 acres of the Blood Indian Reserve land. Another delay which resulted in much time loss involved an agreement with the United States regarding the division of waters of the Waterton and Belly Rivers. A study of a map of North America along the international boundary line between Canada and the United States of America will indicate the headwaters of the above rivers to be in the United States with the natural flow being north and eastward into Canada. 7

In 1956 tenders were advertised for the construction of the Belly River diversion. Also a meeting of the Band Council held on the Reserve on February 18th of the same year with the Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, was conducted, at which time a temporary agreement pertaining to the canal right-of-way mentioned previously was drawn up. This became official on April 12, 1956. 8

7 Indian Affairs, Appendix "LI" p.c. 1956-661 - Privy Council - Canada, 1944, p. 1009.

8 Ibid., p. 1010. (John H. Blackmore, of Cardston, Alberta, former Member of Parliament, who in 1944 was made a chief in the Blood Indian Tribe, rendered invaluable service in the whole of the St. Mary Dam Project.)

Mr. L.C. Halmrast, Minister of Agriculture, Government of Alberta, also provided some of the above information.
Cardston

Adjacent to the Blood Indian Reserve are various towns and villages of considerable size. Cardston, the Temple City of Canada, situated on the border immediately south of the reservation is the shopping and recreational center of the Blood Indian Reservation. Cardston, named after Charles Ora Card, was founded in the days of the diminishing buffalo herds and it is claimed that the last buffalo killed by the Blood Indians in this area met its death within the present townsite. At present the white population is approximately 2,800 and when the present Blood Indian population of some 3,000 is added thereto, plus shoppers from surrounding communities, Cardston caters to over 6,000 people. Thus will be found in the town every kind of mercantile establishment, four churches, good health facilities, and adequate and well-staffed schools most of which are patronized by the Indians from the Blood Indian Reserve.

Lethbridge

Located on the east bank of the Old Man River at the junction of the Lethbridge-Crow's Nest line and the Lethbridge-Cardston-Coutts line of the Canadian Pacific Railways is the city of Lethbridge, about eight miles from the Blood Indian Reservation. This city owes its existence to coal and in 1882 was known as Coalbanks; the post office, [given by two informants from the Blood Reserve.]

however, was called Coalhurst, and by the Blackfoot it was known as "Ashsoysem" or "Steep Bank". Lethbridge claims an added interest.

Late in the fall of 1870 the last great Indian battle was fought on the present site of Lethbridge. The Blackfoot tribes had been decimated with the smallpox epidemic of the previous year and the Crees decided to act. Berry records the following information about the battle:

The story of this last great battle is well preserved, for among the Peigan who took part in it was Jerry Potts, a halfbreed who was to become the most famous of the North West Mounted Police Scouts. Some tales record that Potts was director of activities for the victorious tribes, but this is very improbable in view of the well-established hierarchy of the chieftainship of the Confederacy. Through the coulees and across the river the battle raged, the Blackfoot, although victorious, losing about forty killed and having about fifty wounded. The exact loss of the Cree was not ascertainable, many of them being drowned in crossing the river, but conservative estimates place the number at over two hundred killed. The following year the Cree sent gifts of tobacco to the Blackfoot and a formal treaty of peace was made on the Red Deer River.  

In 1885 the name Coalbanks was changed to Lethbridge, after William Lethbridge, the first president of the North-West Coal and Navigation Company Limited.

Today with a population of 33,706, Lethbridge is situated some eight miles upstream on the Old Man River, approximately 10 miles

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north of the site of Fort Whoop-Up. It is supplied with ample re-
creational facilities and opportunities for work. The Blood Indians
take advantage of both.

Macleod

The town of Macleod situated at the north end and a short
distance west of the Blood Indian Reserve is linked with such color-
ful names as Commissioner James Farquharson Macleod of the North West
Mounted Police; Jerry Potts, the uncanny breed Piegan scout and guide
of the scarlet coats; Chief Crowfoot, the great leader of the Black-
foot Indian Confederacy; and Chief Red Crow of the Blood Indian Band
of the Blackfoot.

By mid-October, 1874, the building of Fort Macleod, the first
outpost of constituted authority in the farthest West, was begun on
an island in the Old Man River, near the present location of the town
of Macleod. In 1876, because of the general unrest along the border
country, Fort Macleod became the headquarters of the North West

13 Fort Whoop-Up, the earliest, most elaborate and most notor-
ious of the whiskey forts, said to have cost $25,000, was built in
1867 by J.J. Healy and A.B. Hamilton. The former, a full-blood
Indian of the Blood Indian Tribe who was raised by John Healy, a
white man, died on the reserve in 1936. The Fort was first named
Fort Hamilton, and it was during the wild orgies of the Indians
about its walls in 1871 that it was burned to the ground. Later it
was rebuilt. A trader once reported on the fort by saying "They're
still whooping 'em up." Hence its name. It was originally founded
by the North West Mounted Police. (See Survey of Lethbridge, by the
Industrial Development Branch, Department of Economic Affairs,
Government of the Province of Alberta, 1958.)
Mounted Police, receiving its name from Colonel James F. Macleod, newly appointed commissioner of the North West Mounted Police, known as Stamix Otokan by the Blackfoot.

Fort Macleod, at the junction of highways No. 2 between Edmonton and Cardston, and highway No. 3 between Crowsnest and Medicine Hat, is a town of about 2,600 inhabitants located on the banks of the Old Man River, on the high bench land so that years of flood cause, at the most, a temporary inconvenience. Not only Blood but Indians of other tribes as well take advantage of employment in Macleod and enjoy the recreational opportunities found there.

Particularly part of Macleod's early days, and in general a sample of life, the last half of the 19th century is revealed in some twenty-five hotel regulations drawn up by an early hotel proprietor, Harry Taylor of Macleod. Better known by his Indian cognomen, Old Kamoose (Squaw Thief), he gained notoriety by becoming the first man arrested by the police after they came to Alberta. Under his sign, MACLEOD HOTEL, was the sketch of a man's hand in black with a revolver pointing at it. Underneath was written "No Jawbone" - said to be Kamoose's version of the old western slogan "In God we trust, all others pay cash." Kamoose with, or without, humorous intent, drew up a set of "Hotel Regulations" for his establishment in Macleod which are well worth preserving, carrying the full flavor of life in the early west:

Hotel Regulations, adopted unanimously by the proprietor
September 1, 1882, A. D.

1. Guests will be provided with breakfast and dinner, but must
   rustle their own lunch.
2. Spiked boots and spurs must be removed at night before re-
   tiring. Dogs are not allowed in the bunks, but may sleep underneath.
3. Candles, hot water, and other luxuries charged extra, also
towels and soap. Towels changed weekly.
4. Insect powder for sale at the bar.
5. Crap, Chuck-Luck, Stud Horse Poker, and Black Jack games
   are run by the management.
6. Indians and Niggers charged double rates. Special rates to
   Gospel Grinders and the Gambling Parflesh.
7. Every known fluid (water excepted) for sale at the bar.
8. A deposit must be made before towels, soap or candles can
   be carried to rooms. When boarders are leaving, a rebate will be
   made on all candles or parts of candles not burned or eaten.
9. Two or more persons must sleep on one bed when requested to
   do so by the management.
10. No more than one dog allowed to be kept in each single
    room.
11. Baths furnished free down at the river, but bathers must
    furnish their own soap and towels.
12. No kicking regarding the quality or quantity of meals will
    be allowed; those who do not like the provender will get out or be
    put out. Assaults on the cook are strictly prohibited.
13. Quarrelsome or boisterous persons, also those who shoot off,
    without provocation, guns or other explosive weapons on the premises,
    and all boarders who get killed will not be allowed to remain in the
    house. When guests find themselves or their baggage thrown over the
    fence, they may consider that they have received notice to quit.
14. Jewelry and other valuables will not be locked in the safe.
    This hotel has no such ornament as a safe. The proprietor will not
    be accountable for anything.
15. In case of FIRE, the guests are requested to escape without
    any unnecessary delay.
16. The bar in the annex will be open day and night. All drinks,
    50¢ each; night drinks, $1.00 each. No mixed drinks will be served
    except in case of a death in the family. Only regularly registered
    guests will be allowed the special privilege of sleeping on the Bar
    Room floor.
17. Guests without baggage must sleep in the vacant lot and
    board elsewhere until their baggage arrives.
18. Guests are forbidden to strike matches or spit on the ceil-
    ing or to sleep in bed with their boots on.
19. No cheques cashed for anybody. Payment must be made in
    Cash, Gold Dust, or Blue Chips.
20. Saddle horses can be hired at any hour of the day or night
    or next day or night if necessary.
21. Meals served in rooms will not be guaranteed in any way. Our waiters are hungry and not above temptation.

22. To attract attention of waiters or bell boys, shoot a hole through the door panel. Two shots for ice water, three for a deck of cards and so on.

23. All guests are requested to arise at 6 a.m. This is imperative as the sheets are needed for tablecloths.

24. No tips must be given to any waiters or servants. Leave them with the proprietor, and he will distribute them if it is considered necessary.

25. Everything cash in advance. Following tariff subject to change: Board $25.00 per month; Board and Lodging, $50.00 per month with wooden bench to sleep on; Board and Lodging, $60.00 per month with bed to sleep on.¹⁵

Magrath

The "Garden City of Alberta", the picturesque town of Magrath, so named in honor of Charles A. Magrath, who gave a section of land to the people for a townsite, had its beginning in the year 1899. It sprang up in the midst of a trackless prairie, but in a pleasant and beautiful spot in the Pot Hole Valley, on Pot Hole Creek, some 25 miles from Cardston on Highway No. 5 which leads to Lethbridge. The Blood Reserve is just west of Magrath across the St. Mary's River.

Indirectly, Magrath owes its beginning to coal, for the discovery of coal on the commercial scale, "The Galt Coal Mines" at Lethbridge was the parent of irrigation, and irrigation was the parent of Magrath. The water was brought in from the St. Mary's River, the genesis of irrigation on a large scale in Western Canada, and required a canal from the river at the village of Kimball to the

¹⁵Berry, op. cit., pp. 30-31.
railroad station of Sterling, the latter being not far from Magrath.

The Blood Indians, who live in, and work in the "Garden City" have influenced Magrath as Magrath has influenced them. Names such as Nick King, a Blood Chief and World War 1 soldier, was a rancher and farmer until 1921, at which time he opened a coal mine on the St. Mary's River north of Magrath and operated it with the help of his son until 1956. He always participated in the ceremonial dances in Alberta. Larry Plume, a successful farmer in the early days, was very soft-spoken and polite. Other Blood Indians of Magrath were Lawrence No-Runner and his wife, well educated; Nelson Rabbit and family, well educated; Harry Big Throat, Tom Three Persons and Harry Calihan, not to mention those who have found employment in the "Garden City of Alberta" or who take advantage of the many recreational facilities offered to both Indians and whites alike.¹⁶

Population Figures

In order to determine the number of Blood Indians that this study has been concerned with from pre-reserve days to the present, some approximations have of necessity been used prior to the figures given for the years 1939-1962 inclusive. From Anthony Henday, who visited the Bloods somewhere near Calgary in the year 1754 is provided perhaps the earliest approximation population figures of the

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¹⁶*Official Jubilee Book*, prepared and published by the citizens of Magrath, Alberta, 1949. (Additional information was also received from Mrs. Maizie Toomer, a citizen of Magrath.)
Blood Indians proper. Henday reports 322 tents and, assuming a conservative average of seven persons per tent, the Blood population in that year was approximately 2250. The population remained at this level until the devastating effects of the dreaded smallpox in the years 1781-1782. Thompson ascertained at that time that nearly three-fifths of the Blackfoot Confederacy had died under the disease. This would place the population figure below the thousand for the Blood. There was a gradual increase in population until the reserve days when another falling off occurred.

Recent population figures obtained from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Canada, indicate an upward trend in Blood Population:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Blood Band Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>1,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>3,200 (approx.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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19 These figures were provided by F.D. Collins, Administrative Assistant to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Edmonton, Alberta, in the year 1962.
CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"My Forest Brave, my Red-skin love, farewell; We may not meet to-morrow; who can tell What mighty ills befall our little band, Or what you'll suffer from the white man's hand? Here is your knife! I thought 'twas sheathed for aye. No roaming bison calls for it to-day; No hide of prairie cattle will it maime; The plains are bare, it seeks a nobler game..E. Pauline Johnson

As an introduction to the historical background of the Indians of the Blood Indian Reserve, it may be an opportune time to explain the Blackfoot tribal divisions and provide as fully as possible the origins of the various tribal names. There are three political divisions of the Blackfoot Indians. These were definite and well-defined when the tribes were first studied, and their origins have long had a place in mythology. The genesis of these divisions must forever remain obscure.

Origin, Legends, and Early History of the Blackfoot Tribes

There are several legends depicting the origin of the descriptive tribal names of the Blackfoot Confederacy. One legend, of speculative origin indicates the family as a common source of tribal separation and carries with it a theme of self-preservation. This oft-told tale which is still repeated in the homes of the Blood Indians, runs, according to ancient mythology, like this: In the good old buffalo days there lived a chief with three sons, each a

-27-
leader of a tribal clan. Calling them to him he told the elder to take his band and proceed westward; the second to go south; and the younger to go east, none of them to return until they had secured enough game to keep the tribe from starving. Assembling their followers, they went their ways as directed. During their far-flung wanderings, each of them discovered a particular hunting ground which best suited his fancy, killed buffalo, antelope, and other game; fought their enemies the Crees, the Crows, and the Kutenais, and returned to the encampment with their ponies laden with dried meat, buffalo tongues and skins.

The Chief noticed that the soles of the moccasins of the band who had accompanied his eldest son were blackened from the charred embers of prairie fires. He forthwith dubbed the band the Blackfoot. The second son, who had travelled to the south land, proudly displayed amongst his trophies a number of Crow scalps, and the evidences of battle with the chiefs of tribes encountered in the bloody wounds borne by himself and his braves. The old chief gazed at them thoughtfully. "Hereafter," he said, "You and your band will bear the name you have earned. Henceforth you will be known as the 'Blood of Many Chiefs' and Kainai will be your name."

The youngest son, who had returned with little meat but with many beautifully tanned and painted buffalo robes obtained from the tribes to the east, was also given a name to commemorate his journey - "Pikuni," meaning "Robes from Afar." Thus, according to the folklore of the ancients of the Blood Indians, did the three major tribes of the great Blackfoot Confederacy come by the names they bear to
this day.\textsuperscript{1}

Middleton gives added information concerning the name Blood or Kainai:

The origin of their name is obscure. While their Indian name is Kainai, it has no connection with the word Blood, which, being interpreted, is Aipuni. The linguistic name had a much wider significance, and is simply a corruption of the words adai-yim (many) and nin-na (chief). Hence, by taking conjointly the first and last syllables of the two words, there had developed, through the course of the years, the name Kainai, meaning probably, not Blood, but Many Chiefs, since from ancient legends, we learn that when the Bloods were visiting other tribes, it was the custom for each to pronounce himself a chief, hence they became known far and wide as the tribe of "Many Chiefs".\textsuperscript{2}

Another interesting version is to be found in "Place Names of Alberta". The author states:

The derivation of the name (Blood) is in doubt, though several plausible explanations have been recorded. Maximilian of Weid states that before the Blackfeet divided into separate bands: the Siksika, or Blackfeet; the Kainai, or Bloods, and the Piegans, were encamped in the vicinity of five or six tipis of Kutenais. The Blackfeet and the Kainai desired to kill the Kutenais. Though the Piegans opposed it some of the Kainai killed the Kutenais, took their scalps, stained their faces and hands with blood and then returned. Disputes arose in consequence of this cruel action; the Indians separated from each other, the murderers receiving the name of "Bloods". Since this story has neither fact nor reality to support it, the logical evolution of the Kainai is the one already given.\textsuperscript{3}

Gerald L. Berry records another legend concerning the origin of the three original tribes of the Blackfoot:

\textsuperscript{1}Middleton, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 39-40.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., pp. 39-40.
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 39.
Long years ago when our forefathers crossed the Mountains of the Setting Sun and settled along the sources of the Missouri and the South Saskatchewan, it came to pass that a chief had three sons: Kenna, or the Blood; Peaginon, or the Wealth; and a third, who was nameless. The first two were great hunters; they brought to their father's lodge rich store of moose and elk meats, and the buffalo fell before their unerring arrows; but the third, or nameless one, ever returned empty handed from the chase, until his brothers mocked him for his want of skill. One day the old chief said to his unsuccessful hunter: 'My son you cannot kill the moose, your arrows shun the buffalo, the elk is too fleet for your footsteps, and your brothers mock you because you bring no meat into the lodge; but see, I will make you a great hunter', and the old chief took from the lodge a piece of burned stick and wetting it, he rubbed the feet of his son with blackened charcoal, and he named him "Sat-Sea-Qua", the Blackfoot, and evermore Sat-Sea-Qua was a mighty hunter and his arrows flew straight to the buffalo, and his feet moved swift on the chase.

Thus it was that from these three sons are supposed to be descended the three tribes of the Blackfoot (Sat-Sea-Qua or Siksika), Blood (Kenna or Kainai), and Piegan (Peaginon).

The origin of the Blackfoot, is one of the baffling problems in the history of the Northern Plains Indians. Those tribes in the country about, such as the Sarci, the Gros Ventre, and the Plains Cree, left the surrounding areas to move out in the plains, the area close to the Rocky Mountain uplift being occupied by the Kutenai and Salish Indians and perhaps other tribes now found in the province of British Columbia. The previous location of the Blackfoot is not so definite. At the turn of the century Clark Wissler records:

The Blackfoot.....presumably came out of the wooded lake area to the east into the open country of the west, as did

\[4\] Ibid., pp. 39-40.
their kindred the Arapaho and Cheyenne, where they gradually adopted the culture of the Sioux tribes.5

Two years later in 1908 he stated that it seemed certain that the Blackfoot migrated from the region of the Great Lakes, which he believed to be the center of dispersion of the Algonkian speaking people of the Plains. Again in 1910 after a critical examination of many of the available historical sources he concluded that

...no satisfactory evidence has come to hand that the Blackfoot ever occupied other definite territory than their historic habitat, the Western Plains.6

In December, 1937, Red Tail Feathers provided the following:

I have read a lot of stories of my people, written by so-called squaw men, who are supposed to know them. As well as having some truths, these also contain a lot of bunk. I am an Indian and the following is what I have gathered from the very oldest of my tribe. It may not be very fancy english, but it is all Indian to the bone....The Blackfeet are original natives of America; there is nothing among their many legends that say they came from Europe by way of the Bering Straights.7

Some years later (1933), Hyde enlarges upon the earlier theory of Wissler and lends support to it:


6 Ibid., p. 199.


8 This was written by Red Tail Feathers, a member of the Blood Band of Indians of Alberta in December 1937 for the Cardston Historical Society of Cardston, Alberta.
...Early in the 17th century of the Red River country and lands lying immediately west of Lake Winnipeg were held by Algonkin and Siouan tribes, most of whom were partly sedentary, dwelling in earth lodges, making pottery, planting corn and other crops. Among these people we may include the three Blackfoot tribes....

Oscar Lewis commenting upon this statement records:

Hyde's reconstruction is based upon a purely speculative identification of the Blackfoot with descriptions of a people in this area given by the early Jesuit missionaries. 10

Coming from Wissler, Hyde, Donaldson, Schultz and others is a basic assumption that the Blackfoot were the westernmost outpost of the Algonkian-speaking peoples, and it follows quite easily that they came from the east. Although this conclusion may still be true, others such as Michelson and Kroeber have also shown that the Blackfoot language is most differentiated from the typical Algonkian forms. To quote Kroeber:

The methods of inflexion and the forms of pronomial affixes resemble those of the Ojibwa, Cree, and more eastern dialects; but etymologically it seems to differ considerably more from all other Algonkian forms than these vary from each other. 11

This information strongly indicates a long separation from the eastern groups and is confirmed by historical data which shows

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that the Blackfoot were the earliest Algonkian-speaking people to inhabit the northern Plains in the historic period.

By cultural material the Blackfoot is affiliated with both east and west. Distinctly western traits are discernable in items such as the hand game, horn utensils, moccasin types, the quilted leather armor, and the sinew-backed bow. The latter two were first obtained from the northern Shoshone about 1730, when the Shoshone were still east of the mountains, and it is recorded up until 1810 the Blackfoot were still trading pemmican for sinew-backed bows with the tribes west of the mountains. Neither the Blackfoot nor the Gros Ventre seem to have used the large hoop and double darts of the Dakota, Omaha and Arapaho. Generally, the Blackfoot appear to fall into an ill-defined group inhabiting the area about the headwaters of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers.

However, the case of the moccasin suggests the presence of eastern as well as western elements. The structural pattern common to the Thompson, Nez Perce, Sarsi, Northern Shoshone, and Western Cree, was substituted for an eastern type, while the old eastern style of decoration (U-pattern) was retained. This above infor-

13 Henry and Thompson, op. cit., pp. 713-714.
14 Wissler, op. cit., p. 62.
Information indicates that the Blackfoot were influenced from both the east and the west, but it reveals very little concerning their movements and location.

It remains for historical material to provide more definite conclusions. The following data is obtained from a survey of the source material. The first white man to reach the Saskatchewan River from the Hudson Bay, and to view the Canadian Plains was Henry Kelsey. He records in his journal (1691-1692) that at that time the Assiniboine and some Cree were on the plains between the South Saskatchewan and Carrot and Red Deer Rivers to the east. Under the date of September 6, 1691 he writes of a tribe to the west of the Assiniboine who "....knew not ye use of Canoes and were resolved to go to war...." Mandelbaum and Bell suggest that these were the Blackfoot, while Morton identifies them as the Gros Ventre. Nevertheless, since the traditions of the Cree, Assiniboine, and the Blackfoot all agree that the Blackfoot were the most westerly group, it seems certain that the Blackfoot were on the Plains west of the South Saskatchewan by 1690 and most

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17. David G. Mandelbaum, Changes in an Aboriginal Culture Following a Change in Environment as Exemplified by the Plains Cree (In press).


probably a good deal earlier.

By turning to David Thompson's "Narrative", we receive more definite information wherein is related a story of an old Piegan chief, Saukamapee, that the Piegan, the frontier tribe of the Blackfoot nation, were on the Plains of the Eagle Hills, near the North Saskatchewan River, in the year 1730, a distance of over 400 miles east of the Rockies. Thus they would be located on the fringe of a mixed prairie-woodland region, especially in the case of the Blood and Blackfoot who were probably north and east of the Piegan. Lewis comments upon this early location of Piegan as highly interesting in that it would indicate that they moved into their present location in the historic period. This is in keeping with the writings of Kroeber and Wissler, who state that the western Plains were but little utilized in the pre-horse period. However, it is possible, according to Lewis, that the Piegan ranged this 400 miles to the mountains on inter-tribal visits. At this time, the western limits of the Blackfoot nation were not clearly defined, making it difficult to reconstruct an accurate picture of tribal locations in this area in the pre-white period. A survey of the literature does provide, in a general way, their locations. From the pen of David Thompson (1787), when he was situated near the site of Calgary, in the heart of Piegan country comes this information:

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20Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 329.
All these Plains, which are now the hunting ground of the above Indians (Blackfoot), were formerly in full possession of the Kootenaies, northward; then next the Salteesh and their allies, and the most southern, the Snake Indians.21

To the east and north were the Cree and Assiniboine, while the Gros Ventre were south of the main Saskatchewan and east of the South Saskatchewan. (See Map B in Appendix)

It was about the year 1730 that the Blackfoot were introduced to the horse by the Shoshone, and at this time also received firearms and iron from the Cree and Assiniboine. With the gun, iron-tipped arrows, and the horse the Blackfoot pushed west and southwest with the Piegans as the pilot tribe. Thompson records the following:

In questioning them of their origin and from whence they formerly came, they appear to have no tradition beyond the time of their great grandfathers, that they can depend on, and in their idle time, sometimes this is the subject of their conversation. They have no tradition that they ever made use of canoes, yet their old men always point out the North East as the place they came from, and their progress has always been to the southwest. Since the Traders came to the Saskatchewan River, this has been their course and progress for the distance of four hundred miles from the Eagle Hills to the Mountains near the Missouri but this rapid advance may be mostly attributed to their being armed with guns and iron weapons.22

As the Blackfoot left the area on the North Saskatchewan near the Eagle Hills and migrated Southwestward to the South

21 Ibid. p. 328. This agrees with Wissler's information from "Ethnographic Problems of the Missouri-Saskatchewan Area", op. cit., p. 17.
22 Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 348.
Saskatchewan, they drove the Snake, the Shoshone, and the Kutenai west of the mountains. As usual, the Piegan as the frontier tribe led in this movement. The Bow River became their possession with the area south along the foothills. The Bloods possessed the present Red Deer River, while the Blackfoot proper or Siksika claimed the upper waters of the Battle River, south of Edmonton. About this time the Sarsi joined the Blackfoot and were at the North Saskatchewan. The Cree and the Assiniboine then pushed westward driving the Gros Ventre to the area near the Eagle Hills previously occupied by the Blackfoot. The Cree also settled north of the North Saskatchewan River.

This didn't fully end the movement of the Blackfoot for according to Thompson, about 1750-1770 or perhaps earlier, the Piegan travelled south from the Bow River, down the Missouri, even as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The probable reasons for this southern movement were to find better buffalo country and to obtain horses from the Flathead. Thus the Blackfoot domain reached along the eastern foot of the Rockies north of the Yellowstone and their war expeditions extended west of the Divide, well into the

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23 Morton, op. cit., p. 348.
24 Morton, Ibid., states the Sarsi to be Beaver Indians from the Great Slave Lake Area who were banished due to tribal disobedience.
25 Ibid., p. 19.
Flathead, Nez Perce, and even Kalispel country.

Before the year 1750, the Crow were not heard of on the Plains, but according to Flathead tradition, the Crow began advancing about this time from the east, driving out the Shoshone from the Yellowstone River country. These movements caused changes in tribal relationships. In order to drive out the Snake, the Blackfoot obtained the aid of the Cree and the Assiniboine. The Cree were friendly until about the year 1800 when they were forced to leave the woodland due to exhaustion of food and furs and enter the Plains thus encroaching upon Blackfoot territory. There followed scenes of bloody warfare upon the once peaceful prairies that was to last until the reserve period.

It appears quite conclusive that the western movement of the Algic or Algonkian tribes was spearheaded by the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes and the Blackfoot in the distant past, the former tribes forking southwestward towards the Black Hills of South Dakota, while the Blackfoot moved into the region between the North Saskatchewan and the Peace. Sir Alexander Mackenzie speaks of the Blackfoot "travelling northwestward". 27

A better insight into the character of the Blood as well as the Siksika and Piegan can be derived from a comparison of the three Blackfoot tribes, not so much from the cultural distinctions

26 Teit, op. cit., p. 318.
27 Ibid., p. 38.
as from the differences in location of the three tribes and from their relations with other tribes and in their reactions to the whites.

This unintentional educational training provided by the physical environment, the other tribal contacts and the latest powerful influence, the mercenary traders with their company trading posts and bartering items, provided a degrading wedge in the proud tribal culture leading ultimately to subservience and confinement on reserve lands provided for all three divisions of the Blackfoot Confederacy.

As often appears to happen when groups of three associate, two become more closely associated. This was so with the northernmost Blackfoot tribes, the Blood and the Siksika which were more closely united to each other than to the Piegan. This was indicated in the histories of the pre-white times which always speak of the Piegan being the frontier tribe as the confederacy moved westward, while the Blood and Siksika brought up the rear.

When it came to war against their common enemies, the Assiniboine and the Shoshone, the three Blackfoot tribes were usually united, but each had particular enemies against whom they concentrated their efforts. The Piegan, occupying the area along the Rocky Mountains and foothills, defended these frontiers from the Shoshone, Kutenai, Salish, Flathead, and Nez Perce, but more particularly the first three. The Blood fought the Crow and, together with the Siksika, the Cree. There are accounts of clashes of interest among the three tribes and of separate treaties and
An example of the latter occurred in the early part of the nineteenth century after the arming of the hostile western tribes. The Kutenai had become an enemy to be feared and the Piegan wished to make peace with them but the two northernmost tribes, the Blood and the Siksika, being protected by the Piegan territory between them and the Kutenai, did not agree. The Kutenai, on the other hand, refused to make an agreement with the Piegan; there would be no guarantee against transgression because the Piegan could not speak for the entire Blackfoot Confederacy.

Although Middleton states "....of all the Blackfoot divisions, the Bloods were considered the most versatile warriors, and the proudest", Lewis gives the Piegan the credit of being the most powerful, warlike and numerous. They were held in awe by the others and, according to Thompson, were the leading group. He suggested that it would have been more appropriate to speak of the "Piegan Confederacy" than of the "Blackfoot Confederacy". Henry provides this information about the Piegan:

29 Bradley, Ibid., p. 283.
30 Middleton, op. cit., p. 39.
31 Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 327.
imagine themselves to be a superior race, brave and more virtuous than their own countrymen whom they always seem to despise for their vicious treacherous conduct. They are proud and haughty and studiously avoid the company of their allies further than is necessary for their own safety in guarding against their common enemies. They have always had the reputation of being more brave and virtuous than any of their neighbors; indeed, they are obliged to do so, surrounded as they are by enemies with whom they are constantly at war.

This description reflects the esteem which the traders had for the Piegan which they were prone to favor and to treat preferentially thus encouraging discord and jealousy among the three tribes.

The Canadian trading companies tried to separate the Piegan from the Blood and Siksika, fearing that the latter would have an adverse influence upon the Piegan. Throughout the writings of the journals the Piegan is the tribe most mentioned, again indicating their more intimate relations with the traders. The Blood and Siksika are often described as being insolent, independent, inclined to mischief and murder, and difficult to trade with.

McKenzie, the American trader, records:

The Piegan band of the Blackfoot is warmly attached to our interests. They are the beaver hunters of our nation. The other bands (tribes) traded robes and provisions principally.

The fur trade provides another difference among the three

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32 Henry and Thompson, op. cit., p. 722.
33 ibid., p. 530.
tribes. The American trading posts were in the heart of Piegan country. The result of this was the growth of a half-breed population among the Piegan which has increased up to the present day. The Canadian posts were almost without exception north of Blackfoot country and the half-breed settlement at Edmonton for example consisted mainly of Crees. As a result the Blackfoot and Blood were less subject to the infiltration of white values and were independent right up to the last.

Middleton records the following concerning the Bloods:

War seems to be the Bloods sole delight; their discourse always turns upon that subject; one war-party no sooner arrives than another sets off. They take great delight in relating their adventures in war, and are so vivid in rehearsing every detail of the fray that they seem to be fighting the battle over again.

In smoking there is more ceremony among the Bloods than I have observed in any other tribe. The first whiff of the pipe is blown to the earth, while the stem is pointed up; the second whiff is blown up, and the stem pointed down, or sometimes to the rising sun; the mid-day sun and the setting sun also receive their share of attention.

Every movement of the Bloods is a parade. Their tents are large and clean. The devices used in painting them are taken from beasts and birds; the buffalo and the bear are frequently delineated. They are great warriors.35

Hudson Bay Company

The first white man to meet the Blackfoot (Blood tribe) was Anthony Hendry. His journal gives an account of this first meeting (1754). The peace pipe was smoked and Hendry delivered his message

35 Middleton, op. cit., p. 47.
explaining that he had been sent by the great Leader to invite them to bring their beaver and wolf skins to Fort York on Hudson Bay to trade. In return they would get powder, shot guns, cloth, etc. In the council held the following day the chief gave their reply:

...it was far off, and they could not live without buffalo flesh; and that they could not leave their horses etc.: and many other obstacles, though all might be got over if they were acquainted with a canoe, and could eat fish, which they never do. The chief further said they never wanted for food, as they followed the Buffalo and killed them with bows and arrows; and he was informed the natives that frequented the settlements were often times starved on the journey.36

It was some time later (1760-61) that the next recorded direct contact was made with the Blackfoot. The Hudson Bay Company sent Henry Pressick into the country of the Blood and Blackfoot.37 It was unfortunate that we know nothing of Pressick's experiences with the Blackfoot. When the Hudson's Bay Company had their fur trade monopoly threatened by independent French and English traders from Montreal who carried their trade goods to the very doors of the Indians, the Company sent Matthew Cocking west in 1772. Cocking visited the Indians the following year, but


37 Ibid., p. 252.
despite his persuasions the Blackfoot gave him the same reply that Henday received twenty-one years earlier; they would not make the long journey to Fort York on Hudson Bay to trade their furs.

In order to maintain their monopoly and to some extent meet competition of the traders from Montreal, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to establish trading posts in the heart of the Blackfoot country. The first two established on the North Saskatchewan, one called Cumberland House in 1774, another in 1776 called Hudson's House were outside Blackfoot territory and there is no record of trade with the Blackfoot.38

Northwest Company

A rival company, formed in 1784, called the Northwest Company stimulated the building of trading posts; Branch House was built in 1785 on the South Saskatchewan at Gardipuys Crossing on the border of the woods and Plains; Fort Augustus in 1794, was built on the South Saskatchewan with the objective of drawing the Blood and Piegan southward. Finally both companies surrounded the Blackfoot country by a ring of posts.

When the Northwest Company decided to expand further westward by making overtures to the Kutenai, who were enemies of the Blackfoot, the Piegan, the frontier tribe, would have to bear the brunt of the Kutenai now strengthened with firearms. They sensed

38Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 318.
this danger at once. There are a number of reports which explain the attempts of the Kutenai to reach Fort George on the upper Saskatchewan, being prevented by the Piegan and of the Kutenai trying to steal through Blackfoot territory, using horses in their attempts to bribe but being refused.

When Thompson finally managed to pass through the Blackfoot country to the headwaters of the Columbia River (the Piegans had been drawn to the Missouri to avenge the death of the two Piegans killed by Captain Lewis of the United States) and set up a trading post called Kutenai House in Kutenai territory, the enraged Piegan silently prepared for war to immediately crush the whites and natives to the west of the mountains before they became too well armed. A war party of 300 men made ready to destroy the Kutenai post. The chief remarked, "They (Kutenai) have always been our slaves and now they will pretend to equal us - we must destroy them before they become too powerful for us." Thompson bought them off with large gifts of tobacco and pipes sent to the leader of the war party.

One result of the fur trade extending into the Rockies became evident in a shift of the balance of power among the Indian

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39 Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 375.


41 Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 381.
tribes. The Piegan's apprehensions were well founded. The Blackfoot, prior to the trading posts extending so far west, were victorious in all warring activities with the Kalispel, Flathead, Spokane, and Kutenai Indians. Now, the latter four, having obtained many firearms, became formidable enemies. The Piegan suffered their first defeat in the summer of 1810 at the hands of the Kutenai and Flathead, who were as well armed as they. As a result of this defeat, the Piegan were more hostile to the whites. The Blackfoot were also annoyed at the whites, believing that the latter were showing partiality to the Crees and their fears had a good basis for the Crees were the beaver hunters, specializing in catching this animal while the Plains Indians relied on trading the comparatively worthless wolves and foxes.

A greater tension developed as trading at the posts continued. In 1810 Alexander Henry reports:

> The natives have become so troublesome that we find it is necessary to keep them at a distance while at our establishment and not allow them to come in numbers inside our principal fort.\(^4^2\)

McGillivray wrote that cannon in the bastion of the forts were kept ready for action, and men were stationed with loaded muskets in the sentinels gallery that surrounded the palisade when the Blackfoot

\(^{42}\) Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 583.

\(^{43}\) The *Journal of Duncan McGillivray*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

\(^{44}\) Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 545.
came to trade.\textsuperscript{45} That which had an aggravating effect upon the distrust between the whites and Blackfoot is directly connected with Hudson's Bay Company changing its policy of keeping liquor from the Indians. Liquor now was traded so freely as to become the most important single item in the trade. Although it provided the Blackfoot with the greatest incentive to trap, it also proved itself dangerous. The Blackfoot were a numerous people, conscious of their power and especially violent when drunk. To partially combat this undesirable effect the traders diluted the Blackfoot wine twice as much as the wine supplied to the Cree and Assiniboine. One part high wine to seven or eight parts water became known as Blackfoot rum.\textsuperscript{46}

Fur rivalry between the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company came to an end when the two companies amalgamated under the name of the latter in the year 1821. The immediate result was the stabilization of the fur trade and the reduction of the sale of liquor to the Blackfoot to a minimum.

The year 1830 saw a rapid decline in the supply of furs, especially the beaver pelts in the Blackfoot country north of the forty-ninth parallel and the peak of the Canadian fur trade was over.

\textit{Mention has already been made of the Piegan war party who

\textsuperscript{45}\textit{The Journal of Duncan McGillivray, op. cit., p. 46.}

\textsuperscript{46}\textit{Henry and Thompson, op. cit., p. 544.}
travelled to the Missouri River to avenge the deaths of two of
their tribe who were unfortunately killed by Captain Lewis of the
Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1806. Members of this expedition
were the first Americans to cross Blackfoot country. In the next
four years it was unfortunate that friction developed between the
Blackfoot and the white fur traders when Coulter, a member of the
expedition party was found in a Crow camp by a Blackfoot war
party. In the skirmish, Coulter aided the Crow against the at­
tack and killed a number of Blackfoot. This was proof to the
Blackfoot that the whites were allies of their enemies. The next
encounter with a party of whites resulted in an attack. At a
fort built at the mouth of the Big Horn River in 1810 another
raid ensued, this time thirty whites were killed. It was record­
ed by Chittendon that in 1810–1811 trappers were attacked by the
Blood and Blackfoot "who hung about constantly in the neigh­
hood attacking every party". Thus there ensued a continual
warfare between the Indians and the armed trappers. The Black­
foot began arriving at the Canadian forts with large quantities
of beaver. The Canadian traders were aware of the looting raids
which provided the Blackfoot with so many pelts, for at this time,
the Blackfoot still did little beaver trapping of their own.

The Blackfoot maintained a special hatred for the white
trappers as observed by Catlin in 1830:

The Blackfoot are, perhaps, the most powerful tribe on the continent and being sensible of their strength have stubbornly resisted the Traders in their country who have been gradually forming an acquaintance and trying to set up a profitable system of trade. The country abounds with beaver and buffalo and others. The American Fur Company has established itself and white trappers are rapidly destroying the beaver. The Blackfoot have repeatedly informed the traders of the company that if this persists they will kill the trappers. The company lost 15-20 men. The Blackfoot therefore have been less traded with and less seen by whites and less understood.48

Attempts at a mutual understanding between the Blackfoot and the American Fur Company continued. Mackenzie, the American trader, met with a group of Piegan Indians (1831) acting as delegates of their people. A treaty was signed promising them a fort of their own the following year to be called Fort Piegan, for the trade was almost exclusively with the Piegan. Shortly thereafter a party of Bloods burned the fort "who apparently were not aware of the intentions (of the builders)". In the following year, Fort Mackenzie was built and it operated until 1844, the longest-lived of the forts.49

The foregoing discussion of the relations between the American Fur Company and the Blackfoot Confederacy involving trading posts, beaver furs and buffalo hides on the one hand, and guns,
blankets, and rum on the other, although not directly Canadian in origin, wielded a far-reaching influence in Alberta. It emphasized the fur economy transfer from the diminishing beaver pelts to buffalo hides which eventually led to the extinction of the buffalo and the loss of much of the traditional importance and material value of this animal in the lives of the Indians. Education in other pursuits became now a necessity for survival.

As before mentioned, the decline of the fur trade began about this time (1830) which resulted in the American Fur Company launching an extensive trade in buffalo hides. The most immediate effect was the improvement in their relations with the Blackfoot; the most disastrous was the ultimate destruction of the great buffalo herds of the prairies of which more will be said later.

Another point of both interest and importance to the increase of friendliness between whites and the Blackfoot was the influence of Alexander Culbertson, agent for the American Fur Company. He married a Blood Indian Princess, Natarvista Iksana, and by doing so, won the complete confidence of the Indians. 50

Smallpox

Another factor, not discussed before, that influenced the lives of the Blackfoot was the deadly smallpox. This disease was another gift from the white man besides the horse, the gun and the

50 Bradley, op. cit., p. 233.
rum. One of the first recordings of smallpox along the Saskatchewan was in the year 1735 with little information as to the effects. Smallpox hit again in 1781. In the fall of 1781 before the smallpox broke out, the Indians had deliberately set fire to the prairie grass along the south side of the Saskatchewan River from a point just south of Prince Albert to Battleford. The purpose of this was to keep the buffalo far out on the plains that winter, and thus make provisions scarce for the traders with whom they were on unfriendly terms. It was unfortunate that their plan backfired, for it starved the Indians as well. Then the dread disease struck. The white men did not catch it and those at Hudson's House, some twenty-five miles west of Prince Albert, for example, were able to administer what little they could for the stricken Indians. The terribleness of the epidemic is vividly conveyed in what Mitchell Oman told David Thompson:

The following year, as usual, we went to York Factory with the furs, and returned with goods for the winter trade; we proceeded about 150 miles up the river to the Eagle Hills, where we saw the first camp and some of the people sitting on the beach to cool themselves, when we came to them, to our surprise they had marks of the smallpox, were weak and just recovering, and I could not help saying, "Thank heaven we shall now get relief (from hostile Indians)". For none of us had the least idea of the desolation this dreadful disease had done, until we went up the bank to camp and looked into the tents, in many of which they were all dead, and the stench was horrid; those that remained had pitched their tents about 200 yards from them and were too weak to move away entirely, which they soon intended to do; they were in such a state of despair and despondence that they could hardly converse with us, a few of them had gained strength to hunt which kept them alive. From what we could learn, three-fifths had died under the disease; our provisions were nearly out and we had expected to find ten times
more than we wanted, instead of which they had not enough for themselves; They informed us that as far as they knew all the Indians were in the same dreadful state, as themselves, and that we had nothing to expect from them.

We proceeded up the River (the Saskatchewan) with heavy hearts, the Bisons were crossing the river in herds, which gave us plenty of provisions for the voyage to our wintering ground.

When we arrived at the House instead of a crowd of Indians to welcome us, all was solitary silence, our hearts failed us. There was no Indian to hunt for us; before the Indians fell sick, a quantity of dried provisions had been collected for the next summer's voyage...upon which we had to subsist, until at length, two Indians with their families came and hunted for us. These informed us that the Indians of the forest had beaver robes in their tents some of which were spread over the dead bodies, which we might take and replace them by a new blanket and that by going to the tents we would render a service to those that were living by furnishing them with tobacco, ammunition, and a few other necessaries, and thus the former part of the winter was employed. The bodies lately dead, and not destroyed by the wolves and dogs, for both devoured them, we laid logs over them to prevent animals.\(^51\)

The year 1837 saw another epidemic of smallpox develop. The disease had broken out on the company's steamer when it was about to deliver a load of goods at Fort Benton. There were some 500 lodges of Piegan and Blood Indians camped there awaiting the arrival of the boat. Major Culbertson warned the Indians but they threatened to take the boat by force. Unable to restrain them despite the warning of the consequences, the boat was allowed to land its supplies.\(^52\) Culbertson became concerned when no Indian

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\(^{51}\) Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 380.

\(^{52}\) The American Fur Company officials permitted a Blackfoot Indian to board the steamer, come in contact with the disease and then go to his people, thus spreading smallpox among the Blackfoot. (See Chittendon, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 626).
came to trade for the next two months and went out to locate them. He met a ghastly scene of death; thousands had perished. The disease had spread to Canada and over two-thirds (6,000) of the Blood and Blackfoot had died.  

It was unfortunate that Culbertson should be called away from Fort Mackenzie in 1842 with the latter placed in the hands of Chardon and Harvey. These two led an attack against a band of Bloods. These two men had planned to massacre the Indians in revenge for the death of a colored servant. They invited the unsuspecting Blackfoot to trade and fired into them as they arrived, killing and scalping thirty Indians.  

Retaliation was inevitable. The fort was burned and all trading ceased until 1844 when Culbertson was sent back to patch matters up. Major Culbertson finally succeeded in pacifying the Indians and fur trading between them and the American Fur Company continued well into the 1870s with only a few minor hostilities.

Fort Whoop-Up

A fort, previously mentioned, which influenced the Blackfoot, if only for a relatively short, yet interesting time, perhaps as much as any establishment in the early days of the west.

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53 Bradley, op. cit., p. 225.
54 Chittendon, op. cit., pp. 373, 694-695.
was Fort Whoop-Up on the Belly River. The man who exercised the most influence over the proceedings of the fort was a six-foot-two Irishman from Dublin called Johnny Jerome Healy.\textsuperscript{56} Healy was crowned undisputed overlord of the whisky forts dotted along what became known as Whoop-Up Trail. His dominion began at Fort Benton, a collection of log stores, cut-throat saloons and wicked hurdy-gurdy houses on the north bank of the Missouri River.\textsuperscript{57} The trail snaked more than two hundred miles north, past the eroded badlands of Yeast Powder Flat, crossing Milk River at the Canadian border, near Whisky Gap, and winding around the wind-scarred buttes into Healy's Fort Whoop-Up at the junction of the St. Mary's and Belly Rivers.

According to Sharp, during its heyday, between 1869 and 1875, Healy's Whoop-Up Trail was notorious as the gaudiest stretch of lawless frontier in the west. \textsuperscript{58} Healy himself became a legendary figure, because he and his colleagues were responsible for the birth of the North West Mounted Police.

In partnership with Colonel E.M. Baker's nephew,\textsuperscript{59} Alfred B. Hamilton, Healy in 1869 built the first whisky fort on the Belly

\textsuperscript{56} There are several Blood Indian families who bear the name of Healy living on the Blood Indian Reserve at Cardston who have children enrolled in the Cardston schools.

\textsuperscript{57} Paul F. Sharp, \textit{Whoop-Up Country} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), pp. 5-6, 159-160.

\textsuperscript{58} Berry, \emph{op. cit.}, pp. 55 ff.

\textsuperscript{59} Colonel Baker was in charge of the Marias Massacre.
River - even log huts linked in a circle by a crude picket fence. The fort was named Fort Hamilton, later christened Fort Whoop-Up. With Healy as bartender some unusual and exhilarating brews were concocted. One recipe called for a quart of whisky, a pound of rank chewing tobacco, a handful of red peppers, a bottle of Jamaica ginger, and a quart of molasses. When sprinkled with water "ad libitum" and brought to the boiling point, the mixture deserved its label as the "Whoop-Up Wallop." Another consisted of a keg of whisky, a portion of Perry's Famous Painkiller, Hostetter's Bitters, Castile Soap and blackstrap chewing tobacco. He laced the potion with a splash of red ink, served the draught hot, and then hastily got out of the way when his redskin patrons literally ran riot. Still another consisted of alcohol, Florida water, pain-killer, tobacco and as a final addition, bluestone (a hydrated copper sulfate – \( \text{CuSO}_4 \cdot 5\text{H}_2\text{O} \)). It was in the same year that the satisfied, but inflamed Blackfoot went on a bender and burned the fort to the ground. Fort Whoop-Up was then rebuilt some six miles from the present city of Lethbridge.

One of Healy's henchmen, who helped sneak in whisky supplies from Fort Benton to Fort Whoop-Up, was Blood Chief Joe Healy. He was a full-blooded Indian, adopted as a boy by Johnny Jerome Healy when the little fellow's blood parents were massacred by white men.

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60 Sharp, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
on the Sun River near Fort Benton. 61

Mainly due to the able half-breed Piegan Jerry Potts, and the North West Mounted Police, Assistant Commissioner Macleod was led to the location of Fort Whoop-Up and found it empty with but one man and his three Blood Indian wives left; Healy and others had been warned. Macleod offered to buy the fort for $10,000 but Don Quixote Akers said Healy would not sell for less than $25,000. That is why Macleod decided to build a fort of his own. This decision resulted in the building of Fort Macleod on the Old Man River. Healy's reign was practically over, and his passing a few years later, saw the end of the Whoop-Up Trail of forts.

In keeping with their colorful names 62 these American posts north of the "Medicine line" were responsible for one of the darkest chapters in Blackfoot Indian history. At a time when these Indians were disturbed by the steadily growing influx of white settlers upon their Montana hunting grounds and by the United States Government's refusal to honor treaties made with

61 Blood Chief Joe Healy was the nickname given to the adopted Indian boy.

62 Some other colorful names are the following: Whisky Gap, the fort between two hills at the International Boundary which was on the route most used by the whisky traders as they entered Canada; Fort Slide-Out, operated by Mose Solomon, was located further down the Belly River from Fort Whoop-Up and was so-named when a Dutchman at that post suggested that the traders had better "slide out" after the Blood Indians killed one of their men while he was hauling supplies; Fort Stand Off, located at the confluence of the Waterton and Belly Rivers and received its name when Joe Kipp "stood off" U.S. Marshal Hard who was pursuing him and other whisky traders.
them, when another smallpox epidemic was carrying away large numbers of their sturdy, young people, and when they were thoroughly shaken by the massacre on the Marias it took but little more to demoralize the Blackfoot completely. That little was the ready supply of "White men's water" with which to drown their sorrows.

The Beginning of a New Era

The newly formed Dominion of Canada caused the cessation of the Hudson's Bay Territory in 1870, which in turn saw the rapid decline of the great era of the fur trade in the most of Northern and Western Canada. This meant the already diminishing supplies of ermine and beaver were being replaced by the cheaper and coarse buffalo hides. Yankee fur traders, their wagons loaded with whisky, had swarmed northward to uncut the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company. Settlers were slowly penetrating Western Ontario and Manitoba with the plough, which resulted in driving the mink, beaver, and the silver fox to more distant refuge. The farsighted men of the Hudson's Bay Company were replacing kegs of rum, twist tobacco, powder, and bullets with perfume, cigars, and utensils. These were bartered from a different kind of post fast replacing

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63 At daybreak on January 22, 1870, Col. E.M. Baker, with four cavalry companies, ordered an attack on an Indian Village of some 37 lodges in the Marias, resulting in 173 Indians killed, 140 women and children captured. This camp turned out to be the friendly group of Heavy Runner instead of the enemy camp.
the old. These were land offices. These Hudson's Bay men envisioned a Canada that would be patterned after their home lands: wealthy cities, railways, stores, churches, schools, foundries, and tiny farms and hamlets stretching across the country.

Despite gaining the rights to sell property of the Great West, there were the proud, pugnacious Indian peoples roaming the plains who had to be accounted for if land selling was to proceed fruitfully. On the plains the buffalo made their seasonal migration, followed by hundreds of Indian tipis. The lives of the Indians were fitted about the buffalo, they ate its flesh, were sheltered by its hide, made tools from its bones, traded its fur for guns and ammunition, and derived spiritual satisfaction from its power.

If the wilderness was to become a civilization, and the inhabitants to become educated in civilized ways, two immediate steps were required:

(a) To bring about "order". The whites in their businesses, were not protected simply by signed documents in Ottawa. One of the greatest possessions of these Indians was a horse, and raids and marauding became the ruthless practice of the braves. Nor were the Indians the only threat, for in that open country, seeking refuge from the law, were desperadoes. No place was safe from attacks and robbery.

In 1874 at Fort Macleod, near the southern border, a handful of men, the North West Mounted Police established headquarters
and set out to establish law and order in the whole of the North-west Territories. They, knowingly or unknowingly, chose a strategic location for their key task: stopping the Yankee whisky trade. An Indian would give practically every horse and fur that he owned for the liquor. The problem however, lay deeper than that. Once a group were depleted of their horses, they immediately went on a horse raid against whites or Indians to replenish their supply. Therefore the mounties struck at this direct fomenter of disorder. They closed Fort Hamilton and Fort Whoop-Up and tried by fair dealing and peaceful methods to bring order to the west.

(b) The land must be in the name of the white man. The Canadian government formally distinguished Indian land from land designated for white settlement. From east to west this worked well except where there were mixed bloods whose claims had no legal support. Hence arose the first Riel Rebellion. The early seventies saw treaties negotiated in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. Alberta was next. In 1877 the whites were ready to enter Alberta. This now concerned the Blackfoot.

Considering the strength of the Blackfoot tribes and the number of their grievances in nearly 200 years of white contact, the absence of any organized resistance or war against the whites is truly remarkable. The literature is replete with statements about threatened uprisings which never occurred. Throughout, conflict with the whites was limited to actions of individuals or a
few bands.

On at least three occasions the Blackfoot refused to join anti-white movements. The first was when Sitting Bull fled to Canada after the Custer battle and appealed to the Blackfoot (1877) to join the Sioux in their war against the whites. Later, in 1885, the Blackfoot refused to associate themselves with the rebellion led by Riel, the Cree half-breed. The third was the failure of the Blackfoot to participate in the Ghost Dance movement of the nineties, with its revolutionary anti-white ideology, which was eagerly taken up by neighboring tribes.

Lucien M. Hanks, Jr. describes the settling of the Indian tribes on the plains about this same time (1877). He says that the northern plains were peopled by numerous tribes from the Red River of Minnesota and Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains. West was the Blackfoot confederation from the foothills of the Rockies eastward to the Cypress Hills, from the Saskatchewan River to the Missouri. North were the Plains Cree; east were the Assiniboine (Stoney), while to the south lived the Crow. Even though their

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66 The Ghost Dance was taken up by the Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, Northern Cheyenne, Arikara, Gros Ventre (Minataree), Shoshone and Northern Arapaho. (See James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and The Sioux Outbreak of 1890, pp. 816-817).
boundaries were not standardized by white men's methods, each tribe was conscious of trespassing and would kill a stranger at sight. This was understandable; no one ventured outside his own territory except to steal horses or to go to war.

As previously mentioned, the confederation called the Blackfoot was composed of three main tribes:

(a) Siksika, or Blackfoot proper
(b) Blood
(c) North and South Piegan

These people basically spoke the Algonquin language and lived for many years in harmony. Two other weaker groups associated from time to time with the confederation. One was the Sarsi (Sarsee), an Athabascan-speaking people who in the past had come down from the north and were allowed to settle in the region. The other was known as the Gros Ventre (Big Belly) or Atsina who were on friendly terms with the Blackfoot, and were permitted to move freely within the Blackfoot territory.

This composite group of people, about ten thousand in number, moved to and fro through the high rolling plains with considerable harmony, occupying at some time during the year almost every part of their land. 67

The question may rightfully be asked why the Blackfoot

signed a treaty which dispossessed them of their land and was to alter their lives so profoundly, when there was little, if any, observable necessity for change.

Chief Crowfoot and Treaty No. Seven

Four factors may be considered:

1. The character of Chief Crowfoot.
2. His deep appreciation of the strength of the white men and his tendency to accede to white demands.
3. The conception of the treaty on the part of the Indians.
4. The pressures at the moment of signing.

Crowfoot was an extraordinary sagacious man, possessing great foresight. He was the chief of the Moccasin band of the Blackfoot. He was a fiery warrior, small but wiry, with an outstanding bravery record of galloping through gunfire to strike the tent of the chief head of the Crow; of hand-to-hand combat, wrestling a gun from a Flathead; of building up a large herd of horses from raids; all this by the age of twenty. His injured knee now kept him at camp and so, with a good record as a war chief, he settled down and acquired a good reputation for being generous, thus becoming the chief and provider for his own band.

The first instance of what might well be classed as direct intentional educational training of the Blackfoot Indians concerned Father Albert Lacombe, a great man, who with fearlessness and kind-
ness sowed the seeds of Christian behavior in the intelligent Chief Crowfoot. Father Lacombe came into the life of the Blackfoot and with Crowfoot in 1865. It seems coincidental that the Cree attacked during his first visit. Crowfoot and Father Lacombe fought side by side. After the battle was over the priest dutifully aided the wounded and baptized the dying. In later years he comforted the smallpox victims and buried the dead. For his goodness and actions he was given the name of "Kind-hearted Person" by the Blackfoot. Dealing in speculation it may be concluded that Father Lacombe tried to teach the brotherhood of man, that we should live side by side and each aid the other. Also, had not Father Lacombe some supernatural power to withstand bullets and disease and demonstrated this power? This, plus kindness and generosity, were undoubtably understood by Crowfoot.

At any rate Crowfoot began to practice some Christian principles. He ordered all horses seized in raids from the Cree by members of the Moccasin band to be returned. He lost a son and adopted a Cree girl. His prestige grew, aided by the death of two Blackfoot chiefs, Big Three Suns and Many Swans, during and after the smallpox epidemic of 1870. Even though he held a war record inferior to the record of Eagle Ribs, and being the junior of Old Sun, he began to dominate Blackfoot affairs. He now made a peace treaty with the Cree and ordered all horses even outside his own band to be returned.

Crowfoot was influenced by the North West Mounted Police,
their bravery in the face of fire and their methods of fair, peaceful dealing. It is assumed by Hanks that Crowfoot foresaw the whites sweeping into the Blackfoot territory along with the railroad which had been explained to him was coming, and foresaw the extinction of the already declining buffalo. It might also have been implied to Crowfoot that the Indians were powerless to prevent these changes; that the Mounties were but a taste of what was soon to come. Should it ever come to open warfare, the Indian would have little chance of survival.

Under all these influences, Crowfoot tended to favor whites in all his dealings and, better than any Blackfoot man, could appreciate the strength and calculate the white man's objective. Besides greater numbers, they had the repeating rifles as compared with the Indian's powder and musket ball. Also, the white men through their actions and choosing him as the Blackfoot spokesman, helped raise him to the status of head-chief, the whites not fully understanding the many chiefs over many bands in the confederation. Although the Blackfoot people allowed him to speak for them in the negotiations they did not consider him absolute in making decisions for the whole confederacy.

The final day arrived in September 1877. The entire Blackfoot Confederacy, except the Southern Piegans in the United States, plus the Stoney Indians from the mountains, assembled at Blackfoot.

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68 Ibid., p. 9.
Crossing on the Bow River with Crowfoot as negotiator for the Blackfoot. Father Scollen, personally visited each of the chiefs of the assembled tribes, and arranged for this meeting. Tipis extended for miles along the flat on one side and the traders with their tempting offers were on the other side of the river flat.

Governor Laird probably used too flowery a language, emphasizing the wishes of the "Good Queen Mother" for peace among her children and dwelt on the benefits of nations and the yearly annuity, and as a result, the significance of the terms of the treaty was probably never very clear to the Indians. Each tribe was to have a certain territory of its own, though the Indians would be free to hunt buffalo on the lands they ceded as long as they obeyed Her Majesty's laws. All terms were carefully read to the chiefs, and their questions sagaciously answered, that is, as carefully and as clearly as could be done through an interpreter. Yet it is doubtful whether M. L'Hersux, the interpreter, could meaningfully translate the concepts of Governor Laird to the chiefs or of the chiefs to Governor Laird. In the first place, disposal of land was completely foreign to the Blackfoot. Though horses and tipis could be sold, land was not property in the same sense. Moreover, Governor Laird was greeted by the chiefs with flowery

69 A.O. MacRae, History of the Province of Alberta (Calgary: The Western Canada History Company, 1912), p. 345.

70 Ibid., p. 346.
speeches of welcome which, as printed in Eastern newspapers, do not sound like the terse forthrightness of most Blackfoot speeches. The known doubts that were in the minds of many, as told sixty years later by their sons and grandsons fully bespeak a lack of understanding of what "ceding" meant.

The Blackfoot seem to have grasped at least four aspects of the treaty. They knew that signing meant giving up warfare against the Crees and other Canadian Indians. That was acceptable if reciprocated. If they understood that they were to "give up" the land, they also thought that they would be permitted to continue hunting on it indefinitely. This was all they had ever used the land for. They knew that for this concession the whites would give each chief a large silver medal, a Winchester rifle, a blue uniform, and a sum of money; that each member of the tribe would receive a somewhat smaller sum of money and, for some reason, at a later date, cattle and farming tools. They knew that this money would come each year to them, and that as soon as they received it, the blankets, tea, guns, and powder of the traders would be available to them.

Certainly the tribe did not know that "surrender and yield up to the Government of Canada, to her Majesty the Queen and successors all their rights, titles, and privileges," would mean giving all these buffalo lands to white settlers and settling in

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71 Ibid., p. 345.
perpetuity on a certain designated spot. It was beyond their remote dream that they should give up the Indian life and become farmers and herders like the whites. They expected rather that life would continue in much the same way with the added benefits of sums of money coming to them every year. During the summer they would continue to range with the buffalo over vast areas, and in winter they could return to this friendly spot for money to buy goods from the traders. The offer of cattle and farm implements did not have much reality, for of what possible use could these be to the Blackfoot? 72

There appeared to be some chiefs more sagacious than their followers. Many Stars, claiming prophetic power, had for years and even during the signing of the treaty been shouting: "Have your good time now! Times are changing! Buffalo will soon leave. They will be shown to you only by the white men; you will not meet them. There will be no hearth stones to mark where you have camped. People will live on the river bottom. You will make a living from earth, sell grass, sell rocks, sell trees to get things to eat. The only buckskin will be your moccasins." At a Calgary trading post a few years before signing the treaty a half-breed employee had said: "...the Mounties have come. All you Indians, all the chiefs haven't tried to resist those Mounties and send them back east. They are going to give you a piece of blue-backed paper.

72Hanks, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
That is a dollar, and means there won't be any more buffalo. It will be the end of all the game you eat. They (the buffalo) may be chased south, east, or west."

Crowfoot, who had much more influence than other chiefs, was successful in keeping down hostile movements against the whites. He prophesied the extinction of the buffalo and the ensuing dependence of the Indians upon the whites, and looked upon resistance as foolhardy and hopeless. In 1876, he told Denny, a member of the Mounted Police:

"We all see that the day is coming when the buffalo will all be killed, and we shall have nothing more to live on and then you will come into our camp and see the poor Blackfoot starving. I know the heart of the white soldier will be sorry for us, and that they will tell the Great Mother who will not let her children die."

Whether Crowfoot tied these sayings in with Father Lacombe's stories or not, he negotiated as though he was influenced, and the final decision fell on his shoulders, given him this time by most of the chiefs of the Blackfoot confederacy. Some like Eagle Calf were in favor of signing; others like Running Rabbit, Eagle Ribs, and Calf Robe, refused to influence Crowfoot.

Crowfoot was under terrific pressure. He sensed signing meant subjugation to the whites and an end to wars that had made the Blackfoot respected on the plains. Yet he may have recalled Father Lacombe's stories that changes in living were inevitable.

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73 Stanley, op. cit., p. 221.
The Blood chief, Button, had asked for more money, and had been made the laughing stock by Governor Laird. The Stonies were all willing. Crowfoot went into his tipi alone. At last he consented to sign, and as he made his mark on the document—true to white man's methods—cannon roared from the top of the hill; bagpipes played; the Union Jack was hoisted; and later the people with their crisp blue-backs flocked eagerly to fill the coffers of the traders.

Crowfoot's acceptance speech was published by the newspapers of the East, but one part was omitted, perhaps because it was meaningless to the publishers. Standing to speak, Crowfoot is said to have plucked from his eagle-wing fan a downy feather and given it to Governor Laird. Then he said, "Keep us like this feather forever, keep us like a pampered child (minipuka)."

How prophetic were these words! In these words Crowfoot spoke his feelings. He had grown to expect kind treatment by the whites, but he also had foresight enough to know that without the warpath and the raids, the young men would become as soft and malleable before these whites as the downy wing feathers of an eagle.

As this was the time of buffalo hunting, the entire Blackfoot immediately moved off in search of buffalo and went south to raid and fight the tribes to the south where they wouldn't break

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74 In July 1883 a separate treaty was made with the Blood Indians in order to separate them from the more peaceful Blackfoot and make the latter easier to manage.

75 Berry, op. cit., p. 88.
the newly signed treaty. For the first year their life changed very little and when they gathered at Fort Macleod and at Blackfoot Crossing, the Indians were disconcerted at receiving a smaller payment than before. This was the time that the Indians were to have cattle distributed to them, but they didn't want the "stinking beasts" so Colonel Macleod was relieved of having to explain his failure to carry out that part of the treaty.

More police arrived. Buffalo herds continued to decline and the summer of 1879 found tragic bands straggling into Blackfoot Crossing and Fort Macleod. All winter scouts had ridden forth in all four directions, but only a few lone buffalo were found and these scarcely provided for the children. Deer too seemed to have moved away, and people greedily ate skunks, badgers, porcupines, and gophers. As hunger gnawed in their bellies, old people died and younger people tore up grass to eat. Sickness descended upon them and raids by the Crow and Dakota further reduced their numbers and their horses. Many chiefs turned north and west in their plight, imploring aid from the whites.

At Fort Macleod the Bloods and Blackfoot, driven by hunger began to shoot and eat the local cattle. As a consequence the Blackfoot were sent north to their reserve so that the Bloods could be more easily managed. Inspector C.E. Denny, at Calgary, re-

76 For a description of the years 1855-1877, see C.E. Denny, Riders of the Plains (Calgary: the Calgary Herald, Ltd., 1905).
ceived companies of gaunt men who demanded food; afraid to refuse he found that giving them food drew great numbers more. In haste he sent to Fort Macleod for help. Now instead of issuing the cattle at the time of starvation, the inspector refused. A frantic call was sent to the farming station at Pincher Creek to find a man who would start the Indians to garden and care for cattle. Rations could be provided only temporarily but it would be impossible to carry them for any length of time. Fortunately, buffalo were reported in the east, and finally with a few provisions and equipment purchased by their treaty money, they set out for the last time to hunt the buffalo. Only the young and able went along for they knew it would be a long, hard trip. South and east they went, into the United States; buffalo were sighted. To the south they pushed, following the buffalo further than they had ever gone before, camping even on the banks of the Yellowstone River.\textsuperscript{78} They were attacked by enemy tribes but down here they were free to retaliate. The last coups were counted. The old life was being lived. They stayed for the summer, not returning for the treaty money. The Sun Dance was held in the south; they played, bet, ate, and ran races.

The spring of 1881 saw the last of the buffalo fade away. With a few horses and hides for trading, the Blackfoot were again desperate. The chiefs held council but the thought of famine was

\textsuperscript{78}Hanks, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.
uppermost in their minds. They returned; tipi covers and back rests and a few buffalo hides piled high on the travois; steps slow, direction certain, they left the plains, reached the bluffs and descended to the thicketed flats of the Bow River. This was the last move of the Blackfoot bands. These lands were to be their final stamping grounds where they were to face the future with great despair, loss of pride and almost devoid of prestige.

The bands had been away for approximately two years and changes had taken place during this time. A new type of practical education, emerging out of necessity, was being introduced. Plans to make farmers and herders out of the Indian fighters, raiders and hunters had already begun. A farming instructor had moved in with a herd of cattle. Fifty acres of turnips and potatoes had been planted. Food rations had to be given out until the gardens had grown to maturity. Costly though this was, it was done for a purpose. An Indian with a full belly was not as dangerous as a hungry Indian; and there was expectancy and hope that as the gardens increased and cattle were provided according to the treaty, the issuing of beef, flour, and tobacco could be eliminated.

Needless to say the whole nature of the Indian, conditioned and trained in the Indian way of life, revolted against the introduction of a new technology, which would call for a respectable and proud Indian, to grovel in the dirt he was accustomed to ride over on a swift buffalo horse or to care for the despised "stinking cattle". On the east side of the reserve where Crowfoot
was living, gardening was at best an unrewarding venture, but on the west side only four Indians out of all the bands could be induced to co-operate. Others hunted deer and did some trapping.

The first real incentive for gardening arose from the effect upon the unco-operative chiefs when they saw North Piegan Indians of other bands ride up to the store at Gleichen, toss down a sack of potatoes, and leave with a blanket, a new axe, or some beads. These Piegans were acquiring a certain amount of wealth which provided them with gifts to present when they went visiting their poor Blackfoot relations, and being unable to reciprocate was most galling to a proud Blackfoot. Also each chief knew that to hold his members in his band he must provide for their needs. One by one the chiefs changed their minds. In a small, but significant way gardening was proving beneficial but not in the manner hoped for by Governor Laird. Indian habits were peculiarly tenacious; the Blackfoot did not live from their gardens; they lived on rations and sold the crops.

An almost identical resistance took place when the officials of Blackfoot affairs attempted to teach the Indians to care for the despised cattle. Only as the cow began to bring wealth to those few who were willing to risk tribal ridicule in accepting the hated cattle did the resistance of the chiefs weaken, one by one. Only the hard-working chiefs such as Big Snake and Eagle Ribs spurned the beasts that carried the brand of the Indian Department. This brand showed that they were not their own cattle
and implied reciprocity. Every Blackfoot knows that in receiving a gift comes an obligation in the future of returning a gift.

So in ways not apprehended beforehand, the Blackfoot Indians were receiving another chapter in the white man's education, their teachers this time being the farming instructors and the ranching supervisors; their learning tools being the hoe and the garden; the corral and the cattle.
CHAPTER IV

THE BLOOD INDIAN OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY

"The tent poles lift and loom in thin relief,
The upward floating smoke ascends between,
And near the open doorway, gaunt and lean,
And shadow-like, there stands an Indian Chief.

With eyes that lost their lustre long ago,
With visage fixed and stern as fate's decree,
He looks towards the empty west, to see
The never-coming herd of buffalo." E. Pauline Johnson

Much of the historical data pertaining to the Blood Indian
of necessity included the other two main groups within the Blackfoot
confederacy, the Blackfoot proper, called the Siksika, and
the North Piegan. No absolute identity can be assumed for the
Blood, the Blackfoot proper and Piegan systems in pre-reserve days,
for no satisfactory material from any one of the tribes has been
recorded. But it is evident from the data at hand that the simi-
larities were great and the differences superficial.

Educational research is today revealing the dominant in-
fluence of unintentional education derived from the social inter-
changes of everyday living inside an ethnic group as well as that
derived from outside societies. The educational influence from the
social life of the Blood Indian in the pre and post horse days as
well as in the pre and subsequent reserve days, which will include
social influences and activities of both the parents and the school
children up to the present year 1962, will be considered in this
chapter.
Pre-Horse Days

The everyday life of the Blood Indian in the pre-horse period must remain lost so far as recorded history is concerned. Found within the stories handed down from father to son among the Blood Indians are simple references without detail, referring to the dog days before the Blackfoot tribes were introduced to the horse.¹

Post-Horse Days

The early life of the Blood Indian is found written in the journals and records of the early explorers. The great majority of the pre-reserve social and cultural information has come from Clark Wissler.²

In searching for the earliest report on the Blood Indians proper, that which comes from the pen of Henday dates back to the year 1754. Anthony Henday, who visited the Blood somewhere within fifty miles northeast of Calgary, gives the following vivid account of one of these camps, numbering 322 tents:

¹Interviews were held with a score or more informants, male and female, old and young. Lengthy and extended personal histories were obtained from those in all phases of Indian reserve existence. Their lives stretched over the better part of the reserve period, and their different backgrounds strikingly illuminated problems of status and mobility.

I took a view of the camp. Their tents were pitched close to one another in two regular lines, which formed a broad street open at both ends. The horses are turned out to grass, their legs being fettered; and when wanted are fastened to lines cut of buffalo skin, that stretches along and is fastened to stakes drove in the ground. They have hair halters, Buffalo skin pads and stirrups of the same. The horses are fine tractable animals. The natives are good horsemen, and kill buffalo on them. These natives are drest much the same as the others, but were clean and sprightly. They think nothing of my tobacco and I set as little value on theirs, which is dried horse dung. They appear to be under proper discipline and obedient to their Leader, who orders a party of horsemen evening and morning to reconoitre and proper parties to bring in provisions....Saw many fine girls who were captives; and a great many dried scalps on poles on and before the leaders tent. They follow the buffalo from place to place; and that they should not be surprised by the enemy, encamp in open plains. Their fowel is turf and horse-dung dried; painted with red paint, like unto English Ochre; but they do not mark nor paint their bodies.\(^3\)

Courtship and Marriage

It seems proper to begin the discussion of this subject with the premating activities of courtship in the early days of the Blackfoot. As practically everywhere, the male usually played the role of aggressor. He would lie in wait outside the tipi at night or along the paths to the water and wood-gathering places to force his attentions on the girls. Another manner of approach was by creeping under the tipi covering into the sleeping place of girls. Naturally the girl might offer the first invitation. The most conventional way was for her to make moccasins secretly for

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youth of her choice, this being regarded as the first proper step. Curiously enough, when married the young bride was expected to make a pair of moccasins for each of her husband's male relatives. Then they would say, "Well, my female relative (nims) is all right, she makes moccasins for us." As the wife usually went to live with her husband's people, this proved to be something of a formal demonstration of her worth to his family.

To all appearances, at least, virginity was held in very great esteem and great precautionary methods were taken to guard the girls of the family. They were closely watched by their mothers and married off as soon as possible after puberty. The Blackfoot regarded a pregnant single girl an extreme family disgrace. She would be scolded privately, none of the family speaking of the matter in public if it could be avoided, they bearing their shame silently. No special demands were made of the co-partner in her shame, the girl alone being the one held responsible. Marriage might result, but the initiative was usually left to the man, since he was not regarded as having erred or fallen into disfavor. The male lover enjoyed unusual liberties. His efforts at debauchery were not only tolerated but encouraged by his family and should he lead a married woman astray was heralded as a person of promise.

It may be well to note here that the courtship discussed in the preceding paragraphs had no necessary relation to marriage, and might continue secretly after one or both were married. Pro-
posals frequently came from the parents of either the girl or the man and often without the knowledge of one or both of the contracted parties, usually negotiations were carried on between the fathers of the couple, or between the father and his prospective son-in-law. If this proved successful, the exchange of presents followed immediately. Well-to-do families prepared the bride with an outfit of horses, clothing, etc., and paraded over toward the band of the bridegroom to be met in turn by a similar procession and outfit. The chief object here being a parade of wealth, that all the people might see the social excellence of the two families, for, as just stated, the bridegroom must pay in the end, a price over and above the mere exchange of gifts. Horses were the usual return gifts.

The formal marriage ceremony was simple, the couple taking their proper places in the tipi and assuming at once their domestic responsibilities. The husband was expected to hunt and accumulate horses, the wife to prepare the food, make the clothing, etc. He had no great responsibility to her in his associations with other women, but she, on the other hand, must strictly respect her compact. As the hour of marriage approached, the girl's relatives gave her a forceful talk on her obligations and the shame of adultery. If the wife became ill, or behaved ill, or if her

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4 Even today there is no marriage ceremony for many of the marriages except that of agreement and property exchange. Their marriages are recognized by the laws of the country.
husband became tired of her, he sent her home without any ceremony, which did not give occasion to any dispute.

Wives and Family Relations

There were no restrictions as to the number of women taken to wife, but no woman could have more than one husband. Because of unfavorable economic conditions, most men had only one wife and very few indeed ventured to support more except a man of importance who was expected to have two or more wives, suggesting wealth and resourcefulness. The first wife was the real, or head wife (she who sits beside him) and it was she who usually accompanied her husband on his journeys. In the transfer of medicines, she took the woman's part and afterwards cared for the bundle. Again, there is the belief that the marriage obligations demanded more of her; the other wives, especially if young, were generally assumed to have lovers among the young men even though such was formally forbidden.

The sisters of a wife were spoken of as "distant-wives" and once in a while were potential wives if the man proved to be a good husband. There was, however, a curious social custom still in force by which a man and his distant-wives were expected, on meeting, to engage in bold and obscene jests concerning sexual matters. Thus there was not only the same freedom here as between man and wife, but the conventional necessity for license. This was prohibited among other relatives. Thus, it appears that with respect to this taboo, the distant-wives were placed in an exaggerated
sense in the category of real wives. Other familiarities of a man with his distant-wives were strictly improper.

Among the Blackfoot, a man should not speak to his mother-in-law, or even look at her. The taboo was equally binding upon her. Warnings were given by others to avoid such meetings. Should the son-in-law enter, he was obliged to make her a present to mitigate her shame; should the mother-in-law offend, she must provide a small return. The counterpart of this taboo does not prevail, since a man need not avoid his daughter-in-law, his association with her being governed by the conventions applying to his own daughters.

Divorce

The chief grounds for divorce from the man's point of view, were laziness and adultery. For these or any other causes he might turn his wife out of doors. The woman then returned to her relatives where she was cared for and protected until another marriage could be arranged. The husband usually demanded a return of the property he gave for her at marriage. From the woman's point of view, adultery did not justify divorce, but neglect and cruelty might result in abandonment. She fled to her relatives where she was safe from attack. The husband's family then opened negotiations with her relatives and an attempt at adjustment was made.

5This mother-in-law taboo is disregarded by the majority of the Indians today. (1962).
The woman's family usually agreed to another trial, but might finally decide to find her another husband. Then her husband demanded a settlement and was entitled to equivalent return for what he gave at marriage.

Naming of the Blackfoot

Each individual had a name, which was single i.e. there was neither family nor band name. The right to name a child rested with his father, who, unless very distinguished would call in a man of great renown who would provide the name and be given gifts for the part he played.

The name chosen might have various origins. As a rule it would be the name of some person long dead, if possible one of great distinction. As always, there was the feeling that unless the name was of great worth, the fates would be adverse to the person named.

Women seldom changed their names, but men always did. When a youth embarked on his first war party, his companions gave him a new name, usually with an element of ridicule which, when he returned home and had to reveal his name, usually caused excitement and teasing. Later when the youth performed some worthy deed, he would be given a new and more dignified name. This would be his name as a man, though subject to change at any time. Names were sometimes formally changed at a Sun Dance by the chief-weather dancer.

The naming of children of the Blood Indians today has little
to link it with the traditional customs of the tribe. All of the children recorded in the school registers give Christian names equivalent to those of the white man.

**Education, Unintentional**

There was no formal educational program provided for the children in the pre-reserve days, yet their native education, no different than ours inherently, made use of the old education standby, motivation, and also the learning process: reward and punishment. Nurtured by these learning devices the children learned to perform adult tasks by observation and imitation of their elders, especially from their relatives and parents. A certain amount of politeness and good manners were stressed and ridicule was one of the strongest informal means of social control. Formal control concerned mainly the age-graded men's societies. They comprised the policemen, the judges and also executed the decisions that were decided upon.⁶

Children also learned at the firesides as tales of their religion, legends, traditions, and exploits pertaining to the hunt and war were recounted. Here they received their history, taboos, and the complex social and moral customs of their tribe. One Blood Indian student in the Junior High School at Cardston said,

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⁶See also the information given under the heading of Men's Societies and their Significance in Chapter V.
"When the elders talk to us in the evenings about our past you just can't help but believe them."

Social Activities

The women dressed the skins, made their own clothes and most of those used by men, while men often made their own ornaments and sometimes their leggings and coats. The women made most of their own utensils; the tipi, the travois, the riding-gear, prepared and cooked the food, gathered the vegetables and berries, and carried the wood and water. As the greater part of the baggage, when travelling, was their property, she bore the burden of its transportation. It was a disgrace both to himself and his women, for a man to carry wood or water, to put up a tipi, to use a travois, to cook food when at home and above all to own food or provisions. An informant states that this applied especially to married men; that in some cases a young single man was called upon to get water after dark, or at any time when it was very cold a woman might call upon a young man to get wood. In a tipi, a man seldom rose to get a drink of water but called on the women to hand it to him. While the men usually did the butchering, the meat on arriving at the tipi became the property of the women. A young man might cook but in seclusion. There is quite a tale told of a fellow surprised by his girl friend while cooking meat. He threw the hot meat into the bed and lay down upon it. The girl embraced him and fondled him while the meat burned deeply into his body, but he did not wince.
On approaching the tipi of a stranger, it was proper for a man to pause some distance away and call out to know if the head of the family was home. If he was absent and there was no adult male to act instead, the visitor, upon such information, remained outside, but might of course, carry on a conversation with the women on the outside. When one was acquainted, or where the head of the family was known to be within, he entered without ceremony and took his place to the right of the door. Should the entire side be unoccupied he moved up to a place opposite the host; should it be occupied he took the first vacant place, unless that place was reserved for a medicine man, he being privileged to sit next to the chief. If anyone occupied his place the penalty would be disease, hence, this constituted another taboo. The fire marked the dividing point of the house; therefore, to pass between a guest and the fire was very impolite. When a man of importance sat smoking, one did not pass between him and the fire, he might, however, take the pipe in his hands and pass between it and the smoker. As soon as the male guest entered, the host began to cut tobacco and fill the pipe, which when lighted was passed to the guest, back to the host, etc., until it had burned out. Women as guests usually took places to the left by the wife.

It was breach of etiquette to ask a leading question as to one's personal medicine or experiences. Hinting carefully was all right: it was the blunt asking for information that proved offensive.

A good host would set food before a guest. A visitor, if
from a distance would receive presents from his host and relatives. Until about the year 1940 a Blackfoot visiting one of the other divisions of his people would return with horses or other property. This was, however, a kind of an exchange since his relatives were expected to do likewise when visited by those befriending him.

Games and Sports

In their leisure hours the Blood Indians, both young and old, turn to recreational pursuits closely paralleling those of their white neighbors. It is interesting to note that the Blood children had a great many games similar to those of white children e.g. tag, hide-and-seek, jumping the rope, stilt-walking, slings, tops, dolls, hobby-horses, coasting, ball-games, shooting contests, racing and follow-the-leader.

The hobby-horse seems to have been peculiar to girls. They would decorate a correctly shaped stick and ride it. Another method of play transportation was a sort of a sleigh made of rawhide to slide down steep hills with. Small boys often played owning, stealing and tending horses. Tops was a favorite game for boys, usually played in soft snow or upon hard snow or upon smooth ice. The tops were whipped into a spin. The boys spoke of it as "knocking it". Another boy's game was to fasten mud balls to the end of a stick, then to throw them off. There were a number of arrow games, e.g. an arrow was shot into a bank; others would try to hit the arrow; the owner of the closest arrow collected all of the others. A wheel game was played with a netted hoop and darts were thrown
at a mesh over the hoop. As the wheel was rolled, darts were thrown at it. Boys often amused themselves by placing embers from the fire on stone and striking them with another stone. When skillfully done, this gave off a report like a gun.

Shinny was played by men, women and youths; sides were chosen where, with rough curved sticks and much bodily contact, they tried to knock a ball over the others goal. Wrestling was common among boys and the young warriors, at which they became quite proficient. Kicking each other until one gave up was a rough boys' game. Another game known as bear play proved very popular while swimming; boys would unite, seize a boy and toss him into the deepest water, then scamper away. The victim pursued until a boy was caught, when at once, the others joined in tossing him into the water. A children's game known as skunk, was a kind of round in which all stood in a line each with hands on the shoulders of his neighbor. The leader carried a stick of wood, burning at the end, from which he beat sparks with another stick. The row of children sang and danced without breaking the line. The leader endeavored to come near the rear of the line so that sparks would fly upon the players, they in turn sought to avoid him without breaking away. This was a rough game, but very popular.

Gambling

Playing for stakes was always a favorite and the following games were rarely played except in gambling:

The hand game - This usually called for as many as twenty-
five men on a side, band against band or even camp against camp. The outfit consisted of four hiding sticks, or two pairs, twelve counters and a number of drumsticks for beating time on lodge poles set up in front of the players. The pair of sticks called 'long' had a string around them. They were about seven centimeters in length and as thick as an ordinary pencil. The counters were about thirty-eight centimeters long, sharpened at an end. Each side took a pair of hiding sticks which a selected man hid with another to do the guessing. The counter sticks were pushed into the ground upright in front of players. Each hiding man, or leader, faced the guesser of the opposite side and the play began. The leaders placed their hands behind them and then showed their hands when the guess was made. The side guessing correctly took one counter and also their opponents' pair of hiding sticks. This opened the game. There were now two leaders for the playing side. They confronted the guessers of their opponents. The player's side now sang and drummed upon the tipi poles provided for that purpose, apparently to divert the attention of the guessers. For every failure of a guesser, the playing side took a counting stick. Should one of the leaders be guessed correctly, he gave his hiding stick to his companion who played the four. If the guess was wrong, he took a counter and restored one pair of hiding sticks and gave to his companion to play as before. If the guess was correct, the playing side lost the hiding sticks to their opponents. Thus the play continued until one side had the twelve counting sticks. The songs had a definite rhythmic air into which jibes
and taunts were usually improvised. The game was very boisterous
and, in a way, social, but was never played except for stakes of
horses, robes, guns, etc. Sometimes whole bands and societies
were reduced to absolute poverty and nakedness.

The wheel gambling - This consisted of a small wheel with
diameter of seven centimeters having six or seven spokes numbered
in multiples of five. Two players only played it with one arrow
each. The winner each time rolled the wheel towards a board a-
 bout six meters away. As it fell the two placed their arrows under
it so that it fell on the arrows. The count was according to the
position of the spokes upon the arrows. Knives, blankets, etc.
were used in betting.

The four-stick game, or travois gambling - This was played
by women. The sticks were named six, two and snakes. They were
cast upon a blanket on the ground. Since the opposite sides of the
sticks were blank there were eight faces. Various combinations
gave different scores. As a rule, there were but two participat-
ing in the game at one time.

Although recreation has been one important facet in the
lives of these Indians and much unintentional education has been
derived therefrom, no attempt has been made to provide a complete
treatise on this part, or any other part, of the social customs of
the Blood Indians. Anthropologists have provided considerable in-
formation upon the social life of the Blackfoot Indians and for
more detailed information on this subject the reader is referred
to Wissler and Ewers. Added to this more general view of the social customs of this people and their educational significance, is the following taken largely from the reserve period itself.

The Reserve Period Activities

Children of the rich were set apart from children of the poor. At birth, the son of a rich man was placed upon an otter or a weasel skin. The poor man's child had to be content with a buckskin bag. An example of a rich man's son was Pointed Plume who was initiated to a number of ceremonial objects and positions for which large and handsome payments were made. Some of these were forelock of the Long Time Pipe, weasel-tail suit and a partner in the Horn Society when he was only fourteen years old. He was rarely permitted to leave home and was never entrusted to any white school. An example of a poor man's son was Ned Sloane, born of an Indian mother and a white father. His mother died and his father deserted him leaving Ned Sloane to be raised by his grandmother till seven years of age at which time he was enrolled in

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9 The following provides a blending of reserve social life and occupational trends as they add to the education of the Blood Indian.
the Dunbow Industrial School, more than a hundred miles from the reserve. During his eleven years there, he had only four visitors.

The rich Indians tried to cement their positions by marrying their daughters to sons of other rich men. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years, Minipoka or "favorites". To enhance the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. The boys labored little, the girls grew up without learning to cook and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

Membership in the societies secured for the newcomer, loyalty and affection from fellow-members with ties stronger than those between close relatives. These societies persisted even after the buffalo had disappeared and real hunting was over, remaining a strong force in keeping the Bloods a cohesive organization. Nevertheless within their membership social differences were clearly recognized. The leadership fell to the rich men's sons mainly because they could buy the more expensive bundles.

Children, at a young age were well aware of age differences and wealth differences. Within the age differences, the children of the rich formed an inner clique which set them off as a snobbish elite; not unexpectedly they chose their taka or special friend from their own social stratum. Pointed Plume provided this information:

I had a number of boy playmates. They were minipoka like me. Buffalo Horn was my special comrade...He was
the only boy in the family. It was much easier to play with another minipoka, for when we were teased by the gang, I and Buffalo Horn could stick together. Also my family felt that Buffalo Horn was a fit companion for me. He came from a wealthy family and was a favorite son.

Often the "favorites" or minipokas would take advantage of the poor children and the latter would try to get even. Ned Sloane said:

When I was six, there was a favorite child who lived in our band and who wore a weasel skin charm which hung down his back. One day, one of the older boys grabbed the weasel skin and twisted it so the cord almost choked the minipoka. He finally freed himself and went crying to his father. The gang broke up quickly. They were afraid when the father of the boy screamed at them the worst curse known to the Blood, "May you have an early death!"

The historical data indicates that the first seventeen years on the reservation saw the greatest change in Blood society since the introduction of the horse. A people once nomadic, dependent upon the buffalo, raiders of both white and Indian neighbors, the chief prize being the horse that alone brought prestige and the possibility of social advance were now confined to a definite acreage, asked to work at degrading, unrewarding and unfamiliar occupations and to climax all this were forbidden the one major activity that ensured them a place in their society - horse-stealing. It was coincidental that in order to make such a radical change, the buffalo disappeared from the once blackened plains. Life was made possible by rations provided by a foreign but friendly government.

Changes took place in all walks of life. One important
factor, however, persisted. The horse, as a symbol of wealth, remained, and only those who had horses prior to 1877 were able to demonstrate this wealth. This increased the desirability of marrying a daughter to the son of a rich man in a further attempt to strengthen their position. Thus social stratifications became more marked in the early reserve years.\textsuperscript{10}

The first ten years of the nineteen hundreds saw a great increase in herds and also in cash income both from cattle and horses, the latter market appearing from a most unexpected direction, pony freighting through the Klondike. The total income for the tribe (Bloods) had risen from approximately $15,000 to $29,000.\textsuperscript{11} Of this amount, one-half was derived from farm products including hay. Little of this amount, however, was derived from the 51\frac{1}{2} acres, which was the total amount of land under cultivation at that time. This erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds; almost the only occupations beside looking after the cattle and horses were hay making and freighting coal.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1906, the Blood had more than 7,500 cattle and a cash

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., Pt. 2, p. 228.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., Pt. 1, p. 132.
\end{flushright}
income of approximately $40,000 annually.\textsuperscript{13} The following cold winter reduced the cattle figure to 5,500. The agent in 1902 wrote, "These Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to make money at any work that may turn up."\textsuperscript{14}

The bulk of the wealth still rested in the hands of the horse-owners who in the first seventeen years on the reserve succeeded in freezing the only valuable form of property that remained to the Blood after the treaty of 1877. The wealth was finally spread by the loan system, the final distribution of cattle, the need for fodder and the need for additional help and the industries developing that paid money wages. All this in turn with increased opportunities for making a living, caused social differences to become less conspicuous. However, the large horse and cattle owners remained dominant, spending more lavishly, with the less rich imitating them as best they could. The pre-reserve values to a certain extent remained as a framework for the new herding economy.

About the year 1910, something new was introduced which was to spread the income the greatest and place Blood prosperity at its peak. Land was thrown open for farming. Previously the soil and climate of the Blood Reserve had been proven to be well adapted

\textsuperscript{13}{Ibid., p. 162.}

\textsuperscript{14}{Ibid., p. 133. This enthusiasm for work may have been evident at the turn of the century - it, however, comes far from applying some sixty years later. (Opinion of author and others.)
to the cultivation of Red Fife, an early maturing wheat.

The younger men, "the working element" as the report calls them, rushed eagerly to make applications for the forty acres of land.\(^{15}\) Anyone willing to work could get forty acres of land, plowed and ready to plant. These younger men saw their first big chance to make good since the buffalo days. Previous wealth was no prerequisite to this new farming program and from the applications received, 320 acres were broken for fifteen Indians. Out of the proceeds of the crop each Indian paid back to the trust fund all advances that had been made him including cost of breaking land, seed, fencing, and granaries.

The year's growing season was favorable. Excellent returns were had. Chief Running Antelope bought out one farm while the crop was growing, harvested eighty acres and netted $1,309.42. Emile Bull Shields came next with $1,203.59. Tallow fell into third place with $1,200.81.\(^{16}\) This was the beginning, and by the end of the decade, many of the old established cattle herders found themselves taking second place to many a young farmer. For the first time in the history of the Blood, a money economy flourished exuberantly and with success in this competitive society.

The following table illustrates the amazing increase in revenue during the years 1910-1920. Note that the first World

\(^{15}\)Ibid., p. 206.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., pp. 169, 174.
War's four years are included here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1919</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm products,</td>
<td>$29,645</td>
<td>$24,000</td>
<td>$99,575</td>
<td>$110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including hay)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>11,549</td>
<td>14,348</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>59,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages</td>
<td>13,432</td>
<td>17,751</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2,124</td>
<td>5,001</td>
<td>39,171</td>
<td>34,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total income</td>
<td>$56,751</td>
<td>$61,100</td>
<td>$233,746</td>
<td>$254,332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Blood Reserve felt rather keenly the post-war depression but perhaps more than this, the catastrophe of the harsh winters of 1919 and 1920. Many, if not most, of the herders found that at one stroke their accumulated capital was depleted or wiped out altogether and as it took years to build up a cattle herd, most of the old breeders sold the few cattle that survived. Pointed Plume, because he had turned to farming along with his cattle herd, now bought up the cows of his more unfortunate kinsmen, adding to his two lone cows that were left as the nest egg of his once large herd.

The popularity of cattle herding was gone forever. The year 1930 saw only 1,300 head of cattle on the reserve, less than one-fifth the number the Blood had accumulated in their herding peak. Since 1922 the income from beef products has remained stable. Wheat, now the mainstay of Blood economy, did some fluctuating after the war years and then took fifty percent drop in acreage in the drought years of the thirties with an income drop from $100,000 to $24,000 during the years 1930 to 1932 and lower still in the following five years. Thus, the whole economy of the Blood Indian paralleled that of the white man during the depression until about
the year 1939.  

An example of the change in the fabric of their tribal life during these trying years is the gradual concentration of the land in the hands of the few. In 1939, Jim Belly Fat farmed 600 acres—income $9,000; Pointed Plume and his son George farmed 300 acres—income, $3,000; another son, Harry, farmed 100 acres—income $960. 

At the present time (1962) easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must turn again to wages, as the sons of rich farmers have done for some time now, or wheedle an idle farm from one not so industrious.

Another changing trend is that pertaining to marriage. Some thirty years ago marriage still followed the traditional pattern. Cattlemen with considerable wealth continued to select mates from their own equals. Poor married the poor; half-breeds married each other, or orphaned members of the tribe.

As would perhaps be expected, a poor ambitious young man may marry a wealthier but considerably older woman, and a father of a

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17 Ibid., p. 175. (Ester S. Goldfrank, who spent a number of years living with the Blood Indians provided the majority of information of the above nature.)

18 He had already "borrowed" 50 acres more to work the following year.

19 Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women and white traders, e.g., Creighton, Davis, etc.
poor but beautiful daughter may somehow arrange for her to marry a wealthy husband, or a rich cattleman may accept a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But the social strata were distinct. The "newly rich" rarely were able to crash the horse owners, the "old society".

Another trend is very apparent today. The "newly rich" have married the children of the cattlemen who went into farming about 1910. Today these families maintain good houses, wear good clothes, have cash incomes, and drive good automobiles. The undesirable Indian is the impoverished owner of horses. His children are the ones who are marrying the poor and the orphaned.

As previously mentioned in Chapter II, there are four white settlements bordering the Blood Reserve, namely Macleod, Lethbridge, Magrath and Cardston. It is mainly in these towns that the Blood Indians further their basic unintentional pursuits. Following the transfer of the Blood Indian Hospital and Governmental Agency facilities to Cardston, this town has remained the chief centre for the Blood Indians to find work and to indulge in off-the-reserve recreation.

Much of the labor needed in the Cardston community is supplied by the Blood Indians both in the town proper and also on the surrounding ranches and farms. Recreation for the Blood Indians in the town ranges from roaming the streets and collecting in the cafes to frequenting the pool halls, bowling alley, and local cinemas. One other activity which may be classed as recreation, re-
quiring both time and money on the part of the Blood Indian, involves the American town of Babb some ten miles from the international boundary into the State of Montana. According to the Alberta provincial laws, the Blood Indians cannot purchase any alcoholic beverages in the province of Alberta and as a direct result, many carloads of Blood Indians motor to the small town of Babb for this specific purpose. History records (see Chapter III) that the Blood Indians reacted more violently to the alcohol of the traders than any other associate tribe. The resulting anti-social and reckless actions occurring in this area from this pastime are of grave concern to the community of Cardston, and provide an adverse effect upon the educational advancement of the Blood Indians.

It has been claimed by informants long having dealt with the Indians that the greatest curse among the Bloods is the drinking of alcoholic beverages. "Partying" at home, bootlegging, rendezvous across the border to the available taverns has become a weekly occurrence. Many of these habitual drinkers work only to spend their wages and also their treaty money on liquor at pay day, forgetting their parental responsibilities.

Referring to the Blood Reserve itself, occupational activities have been dealt with previously in this chapter along with some recreational trends. Other amusements participated in by

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20 For the Blood Indians who take part in this type of "recreation", this refers to Babb, Montana.
Blood Indian children in recent years, especially since the influx of Blood Indian students into the Cardston public schools, are football, softball, basketball, hockey, marbles; in fact, almost all the games played by the white children are being enjoyed by the Indian students.

Fired with enthusiasm, coupled with their athletic ability and endurance, the Blood boys are proving to be good basketball players and hockey players. They have long thrilled spectators with their rodeo exhibitions in calf-roping, horse-back riding, chuck wagon racing and steer decorating. In the field of boxing, especially in the last few years, the Blood boxers have been carrying off the winning titles and prizes.

Another activity of interest in the development and education of the Blood Indians boys involves a 140 mile trail ride around the Blood Reserve. The Lethbridge Herald, Lethbridge, Alberta, Wednesday, August 30, 1961 records:

A group of 30 boys and their horses came to a halt on the open plain, northwest of Brocket and crowded around their leader awaiting further instructions.

Rufus Goodstriker, sports and recreation director of the Blood Indian Reserve explained to the troop where they were to camp for the night and which route they were to take.

For the second consecutive year Mr. Goodstriker was leader of the trail ride at which boys from the Blood Reserve as well as from Montana and Missouri, participated. He is assisted by two guides, Walter Giesler and Cpl. Lew Merrick of the Princess Patricia Light Infantry Regiment.

The troop pitched camp Tuesday night near the river north east of Brocket, following a day spent in the saddle.

Members of the Blood Band Council helped to organize and
arrange the trip and the entertainments. For example the article continues:

Tuesday night, an old Indian, a friend of Mr. Goodstriker, related stories of the past. On previous nights the group spent the evening around the camp fire singing. On one occasion a group of musicians entertained the campers.

While on the trail, Mr. Goodstriker has one other idea in his mind. He hopes to find amongst the boys some who will make good leaders for the reserve, who someday will be able to take over positions such as his.

"We are very short of good leaders", Mr. Goodstriker said.

The trail ride, about 140 miles in length, is sponsored by the Blood Band Council. So far they have had three minor accidents involving the same boy who was thrown from his horse three times. The falls were not serious.21

The Indian girls have also accepted most of the amusements of the white children such as dolls and imitation housekeeping, skipping ropes and hopscotch. The older girls seem to enjoy roaming the streets and spending time in the cafes and cinemas.

The old tribal social customs are being influenced, altered, and interwoven slowly and insidiously by the ways of the white man, in some families more and in other less so that on the reserve can be found families attempting to live as completely as possible the old order of Blood life in the tipi with the open fire and the horse while other families emulate the white man even to modern electrically supplied homes with a new car at the door.

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21 This year (1962) invitations have gone out to the white boys in the vicinity of the Blood Reserve to join with the Indian boys for the trail ride up Old Chief Mountain this summer.
"Surely the great Hereafter cannot be more than this, 
Surely we'll see that country after Time's farewell kiss. 
Who would his lovely faith condole? 
Who envies not the Red-skin's soul, 

Sailing into the cloud land, sailing into the sun, 
Into the crimson portals ajar when life is done? 
O! dear dead race, my spirit too 
Would fain sail westward unto you." E. Pauline Johnson

Birth

Among most primitive peoples the birth of a baby is sur­rounded by superstitions both before and after parturition and from these superstitions have developed various procedures and interesting taboos. The birth of a Blood Indian baby over a cen­tury ago seems quite an appropriate starting point to begin a dis­cussion of the subject.

As the period of pregnancy drew to a close the women dis­carded their bracelets and most of their jewelry and ornaments. They displayed an appearance of carelessness and dressed in old clothes. Should a person look fixedly at one, she would say, "Don't! My child will look at you; you are ugly," or some such remark. As the hour approached, the women would retire to an isolated tipi where they were attended by other women, men not being admitted. A medicine woman might be called who usually ad-
ministered decoctions for internal use, supposed to facilitate delivery. For bearing down, the patient held to a pole of the tipi, an attendant grasping her around the waist. After delivery she was laced up with a piece of skin or rawhide for support. She was then required to walk or creep about the tipi for awhile instead of resting quietly, in the belief that recovery would be hastened that way. The afterbirth was thrown away and not placed in a tree as among the Dakota Indians.

Men were not to approach the birthplace for some time as their medicine and war powers would be weakened thereby. The father might enter but at some risk. It was bad luck for the men to step upon the clothing of the newly born or to touch those of the mother; lameness and other disorders of the feet and limbs would surely follow.

Birth-marks were regarded as evidence of rebirth. Boys so marked were believed to be returned warriors bearing honorable scars. Twins were neither regarded with suspicion nor especially favored. Information from the data that has been recorded indicated the Blackfoot Indian Confederacy to be against infanticide even in the face of great deformities. The still-born, it was believed, would be born again.

A gradual elimination of the taboos and customs pertaining to pregnancy, menstruation and birth has taken place during the reserve period years. Today, if they arrive in time, women are delivered of their babies in the Blood Indian Hospital at Cardston under modern sanitary conditions and current medical procedures.
Growing Up

It seemed that large families were the usual rule although they were not seen very often by observers. The children generally ran about quite naked and swam in the rivers like ducks. The boys went naked till they were thirteen or fourteen years old, but the girls had a leather apron on at an early age. The young children, at least, received considerable attention and some discipline. They were sometimes punished by a dash of cold water or forced plunge in the cool rivers. In former times, some old men were charged with responsibility for each boy’s morning bath in the stream, regardless of temperature, hence children were admonished that these men would get them.¹ Striking a child was not regarded as proper.² The favorite bogey was the coyote, or the wolf. Women would say, "Now there is a coyote around; he will get you."

From the first, children were taught to respect all the taboos of the medicine bundles owned by the family and those of

¹Later, the parents threatened the child by using the white people as "bogey-men". One informant, the recent postmaster in Cardston, Dahl Caldwell, witnessed an unruly Indian child suddenly become obedient and hide behind his mother as they came abreast of him. He finally persuaded the mother to repeat what she had said to her son to obtain such instantaneous results. She said, "If you do not behave I will give you to that ugly white man coming up the street."

²The Blood Indian rule is "Beat a child and make him hate you." Many women still pick-a-back their young ones.
their relatives and guests. Girls were taught to be kind and helpful, to be always willing to lend a hand, to be virtuous, and later to respect their marriage vows. Special stress was laid upon virtue, as a "fast" girl became a disgrace to all her relatives. All children were expected to retire early and rise early. They were taught to take joking gracefully and without show of anger. All "tongue-lashing" was to be taken quietly, without retort. They were obliged to respect the words and acts of aged and not talk back to elderly people. Should a child be struck by his equal, to retaliate in kind was proper. All requests for service or errands made by elders, were to be rendered at once and in silence. The ideal was for the child to start to perform the service before it was asked; or if asked, before the last word of the speaker was uttered. Talkativeness was almost a crime in the presence of elders.

Boys were taught to care for the horses and to herd them by day; girls to carry wood and water and to assist with other children and household duties. Before marriage, girls were to be proficient in the dressing of skins, the making of garments, and the preparation of food. About the time of puberty, a boy was expected to go to war. Although parents used persuasion to keep him home or forbade him to go, he left secretly. This showed the

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3 The teachers interviewed in the various schools remarked on the difficulty in obtaining oral responses and spontaneous expressions from the Blood Indian students which may have some relation to the above.
virtue of both parents and sons. Puberty ceremonies, aside from
the change of the boy's name, noted previously have not been found.

There was no special taboo upon a menstruating woman requiring
her to live apart but she was not supposed to come near the
sick. The belief was that in such a case something would strike
the patient "like a bullet and make him worse". Further, at this
time women were supposed to keep away from places where medicines
were at work. The restrictions also applied to immediate associations with men and to women lax in virtue.

Death

When one was taken ill the family sent for a medicine man,
promising him a horse. If the family was of some importance, they
might call in a number of such men, to each of whom a horse was
promised. They were fed food and given presents and their enthusiasm was stimulated by gifts of additional horses. Thus a long
acute illness would deprive the family of its accumulated property.
Should the patient die, the medicine man and others previously summoned would leave at once, often taking with them all the loose property of the family. After death, the body was wrapped in a
blanket and buried within a few hours. Tree burial was common but
later was abandoned for the accepted coffins which they would bury
in a very shallow manner, never returning to the site. Persons
usually made requests of their families that certain personal belongings were to be buried with them e.g., the tail and mane of a
favorite horse.
At death or its announcement, there was great wailing among the women, who gashed their legs and often their arms. Their hair was cut short, a practice often followed by the men. Such hair would be thrown away and not handled or used for any practical purpose. Women might wear a single bead over one ankle for a time. In former times, a man would take to the war-path and go along indifferently, neither seeking enemies nor avoiding them if encountered. At present, they often go on a long visit to some distant relative. During the mourning period — an indefinite time — the man might dress in the meanest possible clothes, neglect his hair and person, and live in a small dilapidated tipi.

At the death of a man his property was raided by his relatives. The eldest son received the greater portion. In any event, nothing went to the widow. She might, however, retain her own property, which was personal, to the extent of that brought with her at marriage. She might claim, though not always with success, the offspring of her own horses. Thus it seemed that the widow returned to her band with only her personal property that she had at marriage.

At the death of a wife, her property that was personal was regarded as due her relatives, and might go to her daughters, if grown, otherwise they would go back to her band. Theoretically, at least, the woman owned the tipi, the travois, the horse she rode, her domestic implements and clothing.

Property was usually bequeathed by a verbal will which often initiated quarreling. Formerly, disputes concerning property were
taken to the head men for adjustment; now the settlements of estates
go to the authorized Indian court.

Men's Societies and Their Significance

Organized within the Blood tribe are found a number of men's
societies ranging from the lowest to the highest which were involved
in other functions besides social activities. The bands existing at
the beginning of the depression period in the early thirties were
(1) Fisheaters, (2) Pacer-Fisheaters — a split off, (3) Black-Elks,
(4) Lone-Fighters, (5) Followers-of-the-Buffalo, (6) Many-Children,
(7) Many-Tumors, (8) Hairy-Shirts. The bands tended to settle in
separate locales, although there was a certain mixing took place.
A member of the Lone-Fighters said, "The bands are all mixed up now,"
yet in the summer of 1939 at the Sun Dance, the bands took their
places in the camp circle in a recognized order: west to east, Fish-
eaters, Pacer-Fisheaters, Hairy-Shirts; south to east, Followers-of-
the-Buffalo, Many-Children; east to north, Lone-Fighters; north,
Many-Tumors; north to east, Black-Elks.

As before mentioned, the main agents of tribal discipline
were these age-graded men's societies. They were the policemen,

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4For a comparative list made shortly after 1910 see Wissler,
"Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot
Indians", Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural

5Ester S. Goldfrank, Changing Configurations in the Social
Organization of a Blackfoot Tribe During the Reserve Period, "The
judges, and executive bodies of the Blood. They performed their duties on the march; in camp; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-member if he so requested. Thus quite a degree of solidarity was developed in the tribe. 6

There was one sacred tie in Blood society - the tie between a man and his taka, 7 his special friend, referred to previously. This choice of a bosom companion was made in childhood and was upheld throughout life. Age and social position were two factors which affected the choice. In the days of the hunt and war the taka shared in all the trials. Women's favors before marriage were also shared and any responsibilities of son to mother or sister were shared as well by the taka. This term taka is also used within the men's societies for those members who have joined at the same time. Wissler says, "This companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme." 8

In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males, which in that year


7 A bosom companion and special friend for life. Not practised now as faithfully as it used to be.

was practically the entire adult population, provided the following; that at some time, 205 had been members of the Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seizers, 25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the Seizers. When the time came that money economy became divorced from horse economy, a large sector of the population voluntarily cut itself off from the ceremonial purchase of the various medicine bundles of which more will be said later.

Ideally each group is supposed to sell out after four years, but the present owners have had to hold their bundles for more than seven years. The younger men of the Bloods are becoming more and more reluctant to provide even the nominal amount of five dollars and a couple of blankets for the questionable advantage of a traditional privilege.

One men's society of the Blood has proven exceedingly popular. This Horn society has risen to popularity from a number of factors; (a) increased membership due to merging with the Bulls; (b) only in this society do the men allow their wives to join with them; (c) each prospective buyer has a partner (one willing to back him if difficulties arise); (d) Horn members are the most feared group among the Blood (i.e. they have the power to sorcerize, so much power that they can wish anyone ill or dead and the

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9These data were provided by Goldfrank, op. cit., who stated that they were not claimed to be an accurate picture.
eed will be realized, especially those who buy the "painted
oot");\textsuperscript{10} (e) although the cause of much trouble in the culture,
ultery is sanctioned in the Horns\textsuperscript{11} (however, individual sorcery
ower can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial
ntercourse with the buyer's wife); (f) because jealousy is so
ifficult for the Blood to control, its achievement by members of
e Horn brings great social approval; (g) the Horns has become
e oldest ranking society, (the Pigeons is the youngest). Those
o have been through this society once can go no further, but
ny can, and do, rejoin it. Wissler quotes a Piegan's statement
de just prior to 1910:

Bad-Old-Man bought into the mosquitoes while he was
quite young, but after his marriage. This was before
the Pigeons were started. For his membership he paid
a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold
out and joined the Braves at a cost of some blankets
and clothing. After three years he sold his member-
ship in the Braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs
and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a
horse. After four years he sold out and purchased
into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The
ext summer he joined the horns as he was then living
with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a gun, a
saddle, and many blankets.\textsuperscript{12}

Goldfrank says that ordinary memberships in the Horn today
ring no less. Many bring considerable more. The society's trans-

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 413. Wissler calls this Prairie Turnip.

\textsuperscript{11} The Cardston Historical Society has found that adultery
not sanctioned while E.S. Goldfrank provided the above infor-
ation.

\textsuperscript{12} Wissler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 426 ff.
fer ceremony was the most spectacular event at the Sun Dance.\textsuperscript{13}

\section*{Other Societies}

There were and are at the present time a number of Dance Societies still operating on the Blood Reserve. The purpose of these societies is to provide a social life for the members and, although changes have been made since, in 1939 the nominal fee given at the time of the dance was a certain proportion of prepared food.

Another is called the \textit{Matoki}, or Women's Society which rather follows the pattern of the men's societies where ceremonial exchanges is one of the procedures, and like the men, the women are experiencing a reluctance to purchase; for example, the leader's pole at one time cost "twelve horses and an appropriate amount of other property" which has not changed hands for forty years, although "like the Horns and other societies the members sell or transfer to others usually.....at the same time."\textsuperscript{14}

\section*{Pipes and Bundles and Their Significance}

In commenting upon the important pipes and bundles and the

\begin{itemize}
  \item Goldfrank, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 43. (The Blood Indians are extremely reluctant to provide any information concerning the Horn Society.
  \item The above information on other societies was provided by an informant from the Blood Reserve and is offered here, not as a complete, accurate record, but to reflect broad social trends.
\end{itemize}
purchasing of these, it may prove enlightening to enlarge upon the seeming importance of the purchase. Buying a bundle is a protection, a responsibility, a means of enhancing prestige, and a speculation, and therefore the turnover in these important pipes and bundles is not great and prices fluctuate considerably. A man is loathe to relinquish his bundle for less than he paid for it. It was quite a number of years before the last buyer to pay one hundred horses for the Long Time Pipe, was ready to let it go for fifty. Also in 1929 the woman who bought the natoas bundle paid ten horses, one heifer, one saddle and a set of harness. Ten years later she still owned the bundle. All bundle owners are members of societies, however five of them did not join the Horns. This is unusual and later influences such as the Church pressure, or loss of horses, or white influences may have been the cause. This trend of changing values is evident in the actions of the sons of bundle owners and society members do not always follow in their father's footsteps. In the buying of ceremonial privileges the purchaser does not act hastily but weighs the gain against the cost. When the young and ambitious farmer Harvey Fleet Foot was extremely ill he dreamed about vowing a pipe, which to him meant that only then would he and his family be protected from further harm. (His young son also had been ill.) In order to determine which pipe would be the one to choose Foot sought advice from an

15An informant, idem.
old medicine man and Horn priest, his father's brother, and from his father-in-law, a substantial cattle and horse owner and farmer. They backed Harvey if he would follow the voices of the spirit. They deliberated and decided that he should vow the Long Time Pipe. The medicine man said, "As long as you can pay for it, you might as well vow the strongest pipe." With the aid of his rich father-in-law, Harvey Fleet Foot became owner of the Long Time Pipe for twenty horses and other goods.

Introduction to Religion

In the pre-reserve days the Plains tribes of the northwest were constantly engaged in war with one another. The greater part of the energies and thoughts of the warriors was directed towards preparing themselves by purification, by prayer, by penance, by fastings and by meditation. The search for military prowess resulted in all sorts of religious experiences from "revelations" or visions to dedications to be performed at some future time; e.g. the skewer torture performance during the Sun Dance. The cultural pattern of the Blackfoot Indian was militaristic, thus the lives of those too old or too young to engage actively in the war-raids played a somewhat passive part in all the battle preparations both prior to the actual combat and afterwards in the post-war sessions where the braves recounted their deeds of bravery

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16 To be described later under the Sun Dance.
with great displays of emotion and dramatics.

It seemed among the Blackfoot, the capture of a weapon was the coup or deed, rather than the formal striking of an enemy although deeds were not so prominent a feature as that of heraldry. By this term is meant those conventions by which deeds were recorded and accredited, with their social privileges and responsibilities. Anyone with such recognized deeds was likely to be called upon to name parts in ritualistic ceremonies. In all cases of this kind the warrior came forward and in a loud voice stated what deed or deeds he had performed and immediately rendered the required service. Thus his deeds were vocally heralded. Other heralding was done in picture writing especially on tipis where deeds of bravery were graphically represented. Good examples of this are still to be seen. An unusual tipi was collected in 1903, bearing several hundred figures, representing sixty-six distinct deeds most of which were performed by seven Piegan then living.

The sun was called upon in the most solemn oaths. Thus when women got into a dispute one might take the other by the chin and say, "Now, we talk to the sun. If what I say is not true, may I never live to put my foot into another snow." etc. A man might appeal to the earth, but more likely it was the sun, as, "The sun hears me," etc. Men usually made oaths over pipes. Thus, when a man told an improbable story he might be asked if he would smoke upon its truth.

There was another method - something like an ordeal. The
point of a knife was held in the ashes at the fire and extended
with the charge, "If you say what is true, touch the point of this
knife with your finger." The belief was that one would certainly
be killed by a knife or other sharp instrument if swearing falsely.

In contrast to the magnificent Chief Mountain hitherto
spoken of as a structure about which is surrounded much Blackfoot
legend and mystic importance, are the Belly Buttes, on the Blood
Reserve in Alberta, Canada. Two famous structures of nature's art,
they have reared themselves into prominence physically and symbol­
ically. In the latter category they have provided an ideal isolation
point for the fervent brave to call upon spiritual help and
guidance. Joe Beebe reports the following:

On the west slope of one of these buttes, the Bloods
have for years and years held their ceremonial rites to
their all-powerful god, the Sun, the so-called Sun Dance.
On this famous west slope of the buttes can be seen to­
day the remains of Bougher lodges at close distances
apart, which were sacrifice offerings by the Blood Indians
to their All Powerful; the Sun.18

A thrilling sight, even to those born into that life; color­
ful almost beyond description to the white settlers was the great
movement of the Blood tribe to the scene of the Sun Dance on the
dawn of the eighth sun of the Berries Ripe Moon July. Shrouded in

17 These two Buttes stand out among all the other Buttes and
elevations along the rivers bordering the Blood Indian Reserve.
Being found along the Belly River near Standoff they are called the
Belly Buttes.

18 Report by Red Tail Feathers or Joe Beebe of the Blood
Tribe of Indians in Cardston, Alberta, Canada.
mystery, based on mythology, this event draws even the Crees from the North and the Blackfoot from Montana to the high peaked eminence of prairie land called the Belly Buttes overlooking the Belly River.

An interesting item pertaining to the Belly Buttes referred to previously as the site for many years for the Sun Dance in the Reserve days, is found in the Blood Indian belief that, after death, the spirit pursues an aimless, endless, and totally uninteresting career in a ghost-land which they locate at the Sand Hills - Spotsa-Kuitapo - in the Belly Buttes on their present reservation.

The main religious ceremonies of the Bloods, handed down through countless generations, most of which is incorporated in the Sun Dance, appear to have their origins in mythology, particularly in the legend of Scarface. Because of the lasting effects of these ceremonies which, even today, influence to an immeasurable degree the lives of the Blood Indians, the following is presented to provide the reader a background of information which may help to clarify many of the religious beliefs and especially the Sun Dance performances.

Origin of the Sun Dance

Dr. S. H. Middleton records the following in his book "Blackfoot Confederacy":

"Ages ago a young girl, a virgin, lay on the ground at sun-
set looking up at the heavens above. She became entranced by the beauty of the star Venus and said in her heart: "I am going to marry that star. It belongs to Natose (sun). I will be a Sun-Person!" Being the daughter of a chief she was much sought after by the younger braves. Many asked for her hand in marriage but she always refused. Her parents tried to persuade her to accept the offer of the most eligible suitor but to no avail. Chiefs sent their sons with proposals of marriage but all met with a negative response. At last her father demanded a reason for her refusal of the many offers to which she answered that a sacred covenant had been made and that she had pledged and given herself into the Sun's keeping. The chief, being a wise man and knowing the power of the Above Person, acquiesced to his daughter's request and nothing more was said about a possible marriage.

During this period there was an outcast living amongst his people, an orphan who was very poor. He was marked with a scar on his face and for that reason was named by the tribe as Scarface, or Uk-ski. Owing to his abject poverty he became the butt for every witticism, and was often taunted by the fact that if he had enough courage he might ask the Sun Girl to marry him. Scarface determined to make an end of the constant ridicule. One day he met the chief's daughter down by the river and, without hesitation, offered his proposal of marriage. The Sun Girl replied: "Many chiefs have wanted to marry me but I have said no to them all. I belong to the Sun, but I will marry you if you will agree to carry
out one request. You must travel to the Sun's lodge and there seek his permission, and also demand that he remove the scar from your face as that will be his token and sign.

After hearing the Sun Girl's ultimatum Scarface's heart fell to the ground. He was sad and distressed. He wandered away out on the prairie, far from the camp, to fast and dream — hoping such a vigil would remove the scar from his face since he was very anxious to marry the girl whom the sun had adopted.

Despite his vigil and sacrifice nothing happened. The scar still remained as a facial disfigurement. He returned and approached an old medicine woman who had been kind to him in the past and asked her to make for him four pairs of moccasins and give him some pemmican as he was going on a long journey. He then climbed a hill and looked over the camp. He turned and gazed at the sun, wondering if he would ever return home again. In fear and trembling he offered a prayer to the sun to whose shrine he commenced an historic pilgrimage.

Scarface travelled east for many moons, crossing rivers, prairies and mountains. His food became scarce and he resorted to the berries found by the wayside. He met a wolf and asked him to point out the trail to the sun's lodge. The wolf replied that it was a long way and no one had ever been able to wend the trail, but he advised that he see the bear, who knew all trails. To the bear he went, and met with the same reply. Again he was directed elsewhere, this time to the badger who told him to go and ask the kit-fox who guided him to a great water which had to be crossed be-
fore getting to the sun's lodge. Early next morning he went to the edge of the big water and was dismayed when he saw the wide expanse of rolling waves. Once again, metaphorically, his heart fell to the ground and he cried aloud with fear as he could not see the other side. His moccasins were in tatters; his food was gone, and he was almost at the point of physical exhaustion. Surely, he thought, this is the end of my quest. My dream of the Sun Girl has led me to my doom!

As a final gesture and symbolic rite he offered a prayer to the sun, seeking guidance. Immediately two swans came swimming up to him and asked why he was sorrowful. "I have come to die," said Scarface. "Far away in my country is a very pretty girl whom I want to marry but she belongs to the sun. I need from him a token and sign signifying her release. I have travelled through many moons and all my food and clothing are gone. I cannot return as I do not know the trail so here I must die."

The swans replied that they would take him across the big water where he would find the sun's lodge. This assurance gave Scarface renewed courage whereupon he straddled the swans' backs and they swam away together. It was a perilous journey as there were a number of creatures and Under Water people living in the deep which he had not seen before. But the swans took him safely to the other side. There he saw a trail and his feathery benefactors told him to follow it. He had not gone far when he saw scattered all over the road bows and arrows, war instruments and many fine samples of exquisite bead-work. He saw them all but
was afraid to touch. In thought he was entering his dream world of long ago. Just around a curve of the moon he suddenly met a very handsome young man clothed in strange skins and wearing moccasins sewn with feathers. The brightly-clad stranger asked where he was going and requested his name.

Scarface told him the reason of his search and adventures, after which the reply came: "My name is Morning Star. The Sun is my father and the Moon is my mother. My father is not here now but I will take you to our lodge."

On arriving there Morning Star's mother gave him a hearty welcome and asked the reason for leaving his people. Scarface then told the Moon his story. Deeply interested, she replied: "Wait here while I make incense." He heard her singing while she made incense with sweet grass. He then entered the lodge. Shortly afterwards they heard someone approaching and shouting: "Our home is defiled. It smells like people!" Morning Star, recognizing his father's voice, went out and said to the Sun: "It is only my friend Scarface that you smell." "Then make incense. Make incense and I will enter," cried the Sun. After incense had been made as before he entered. Morning Star and his mother explained that Scarface had just arrived. The Sun remarked: "It does not matter. Let him remain. He will be a companion for our son!"

Looking around the lodge Scarface saw numerous white buffalo robes, otter skins, ermine, eagle tail-feathers and all such articles of nature the Indians long to possess were piled on all
sides of the lodge. War garments and many Indians treasures were there in great quantity.

Turning to Scarface the Sun said: "Take off your clothing, your garments smell of people. Throw them outside. Why did you come here?"

Scarface replied that he had made the journey to keep covenant with a woman, and related in detail his experience with the chief's daughter.

"It is well," said the Sun. "Go outside and build four sweat lodges. Place them in a row from east to west. Paint the northern half of each lodge black and the southern half red. Place a square hole in the centre of each to receive the stones. Morning Star, go and help your friend to build the sweat lodges as I have instructed."

Morning Star of the Sun's sphere and Scarface from the earth built the sweat lodges as outlined.

The Moon then heated the stones. The Sun, Scarface and Morning Star entered the eastern lodge by going in at the south side. The Sun sat in the middle, facing the centre of the sweat lodge, with Scarface on his right and Morning Star to the left. The Moon handed in a coal of fire which the Sun placed at the west side of the square hole. Another burning ember was put at the east side and incense was made on them both at the same time. The Moon then took a small hot stone from the fire outside and, carrying it on a pronged stick, placed it carefully at the south-east corner of the square hole in the sweat lodge. She deposited
a second similar stone at the south-west corner after passing it over the first time. A third and fourth were placed according to ancient ritual. A large stone, hot like all the others, was laid in the centre of the hole and incense (sweet grass) was dropped on all four.

The Moon handed to her husband, the Sun, his pipe and all three in the sweat lodge smoked while the incense was burning. All the hot stones were now tumbled into the shallow hole and, after the Moon had handed in a bowl of water, the hides covering the sweat lodge were all drawn together so that it became quite dark inside. Singing his songs, the Sun poured a little water on the stones, causing a dense steam to arise. From the outside his wife lifted a portion of the cover at the east end. He then told her to close it again. When he had made more steam he asked her to open a space in the west. Again all was made dark; more water was applied to the stones and the same performance was repeated at each end of the sweat lodge, making four times that light had been admitted. The Sun completed his songs, after which they all went outside. The Sun peered into the face of Scarface and found that the scar had lost much of its strength and colour.

Entering the second sweat lodge they repeated the ceremony. Upon coming out the scar was found to have been nearly removed. When the third sweat bath was entered the scar could hardly be seen. After they had finished with the fourth the Sun made Scarface and Morning Star change places. When the hides were removed from the sweat lodge by his wife he said: "Which is your son?"
She pointed to Scarface saying: "This is our son!"

The boy's face was completely healed so that he closely resembled Morning Star. Scarface was greatly pleased when the Sun remarked: "You will remain here until next summer. There are many things I want to tell you."

Next morning the two young men went hunting. Morning Star was sometimes very unruly and disobeyed the Moon so she told Scarface to prevent him from going near the big water. On this occasion Morning Star was persistent and went out into the water and was only saved from drowning when Scarface swam to his rescue.

Carrying his companion back to the lodge Scarface told the Moon what had happened. Greatly annoyed at her son's disobedience she told the Sun of the water adventure and of how Scarface had rescued their son from drowning. The Sun replied that he would not forget the bravery of Scarface, and would reward him with mystic rites and symbols.

The outgoings and the incomings of both Sun and Moon were set by regular periods during which Scarface received definite religious instruction from the Sun.

In the fulfilment of time Scarface felt he must needs return to his own people. A yearning for the lisp of his native tongue became strong and expressive. The Sun, with his sagacious wisdom, saw and understood the signs and emotions of the stranger. As a final gesture the Sun said to him: "No foolish (immoral) woman may covenant the Okon. I will not pay any attention to her prayers. I will only hear the prayers of wise (virtuous) women. Remember
the things I like best: buffalo robes, beaver hair, war clothing, eagle tail-feathers, the engraved patterns of north, south, east, and west - the triangle of my lodge. Tell your people that when their prayers are accompanied by these things they will be granted. Remember, also, my favourite food is the tongue of the buffalo.

Eventually he took Scarface to the edge of the sky and told him to look down and see the world from which he had come. Looking down intently the Sun said to Scarface: "Everything you see is mine; the mountains, trees, prairies, forests and animals - all belong to me. I am the only chief. I can never die. The winter makes me old and weak but I grow young again every summer. And, now, I am going to give you the sign by which my people are known. If any person is sick, or in danger, promise me to build a lodge if the person recovers. The lodge is to be built like the world, round with arched sticks; one half to be painted red, for me, and the other half to be painted black for the Moon." He then gave Scarface two crow feathers (as the sign by which the Sun-girl would recognize his allegiance to the Sun) to be worn by the husband of the woman who took the vow for the making of the Sun Dance, or Okon.

Scarface was now ready to return home and, after the Sun, Moon and Morning Star had given him many presents, the Sun showed him the short way to the earth by following the Milky Way through the Heavens. He followed this "Wolf Trail" - Mokhoy I Okhsokoyi as the Indians call it - and soon arrived back at his camp. Sitting on one of the surrounding buttes he watched his people moving a-
round their teepees. At last he was observed by the Indians. A chief sent a messenger, requesting his presence. He made his way to the chief's teepee and there was recognized as the derelict and outcast Uk-ski of long ago - now a different person.

The Sun-girl was told Scarface had returned clad in fine skins and feathered raiment. They met and embraced with mutual happiness. She noticed that the scar had disappeared from his face and that he was very attractive, that all his clothing was of strange make. He showed her the two crow feathers and told, in detail, of his visit to the Sun's lodge and of the mysteries into which he had been initiated.

All the Indians proclaimed with loud accord that he should be their chief. Next day he married the Sun-girl. They lived to a ripe old age, and were never sick whilst their children became outstanding examples of piety and goodness. After giving to his tribesmen the mysteries taught him by the Sun both he and his wife passed away to the Sand Hills where their spirits reposed in safekeeping for they had gone to the place ordered by the Sun.

This concludes the Scarface legend upon which all the mysteries and observances associated with the Sun Dance have been founded.¹⁹

Sun Dance Information

Most Plains tribes had the Sun Dance, in fact, it was per-

¹⁹Middleton, op. cit., pp. 76-81.
formed by all the typical tribes except the Commanche. It has not been held for years by some tribes, viz. Dakota, Gros Ventre, Sutaio, Arikara, Hidatsa, Crow and Kiowa. From a discussion of the distribution of traits — regalia, behavior, ideas of organization, and explanatory myths, it is proven that the ceremony among all the tribes has grown chiefly by intertribal borrowing. It was found further that the center of development has been in the central plains among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Aglala, and that the original nucleus of Sun Dance rites probably received its first specific character at the hands of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, or of this couple and the village tribes.

No Plains ceremony is more popularly known than the Sun Dance, and with justice, since it outranks all other ceremonies that combine the spectacular with the sacred. In fact it is everywhere considered so important for their welfare that the entire tribe is involved in its undertaking. Among some tribes, as the Cheyenne, Oglala, and Kiowa, the attendance of every able-bodied adult of the tribe is compulsory. 20

Incidently, "Sun Dance" is a mis-nomer, since the dance is by no means connected solely with the sun. On the contrary, it probably is concerned with it to no greater degree than is Plains religion as a whole. Its popular name is presumably derived from the Dakota

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20 Only recently, 1950-1962, have the younger generation of Bloods attending the schools begun to discredit the importance of the Sun Dance to their well-being.
"wiwanyag Wacipi", "sun-gazing dance" which is applied particularly to the torture dance.

The Sun Dance is found throughout the Plains area, except among the southern and southeastern marginal tribes, some of the Plains Indians being Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot, Sarsi, Kutenai, Crow Ventre, Assiniboine, and the Plains-Cree. Like other widely distributed ceremonies, the Sun Dance has a varied content. Furthermore, many of its rites are repeated in other complex ceremonial acts of the same tribe, as in the Blackfoot and Arapaho women's dance, the Eastern Dakota round dance, and one of the Hidatsa Above-woman ceremonies. Finally, many of the rites such as sweatbathing, smoking the pipe, etc., are quite common among all these Plains tribes and even beyond the limits of the area. These considerations suggest that the Sun Dance is a synthetic product.

Generalized Sun Dance

It might be in order to sketch a generalized Sun Dance at this point. The performance of the ceremony coincided very nearly with the summer buffalo hunt, on which occasion the entire tribe came together from their separate winter quarters and camped in a great circle. The Sun Dance week was also the occasion for a host of minor ceremonies, many of which were considered necessary accompaniments of the dance, for example, this was the time par excellence for the opening and transfer of medicine bundles, for performing social dances and for offering sacrifices to the Sun etc. The tribe as a whole was involved in the undertaking, both by reason of its seriousness and
the participation of great numbers of people.

The Sun Dance was usually initiated by some man or woman in fulfillment of a vow made at a time of distress, when supernatural aid was invoked and received. It was, however, not so much a thanksgiving as a new occasion for supplicating supernatural power. On the formation of the camp circle, a tipi was pitched near its center in which the secret preliminary rites took place. Here the pledger and his associates were instructed in its esoteric significance by the priests conducting the ceremony, regalia were prepared, and painting and songs were rehearsed. At the same time more public preliminary activities were going forward. Some tribes prepared buffalo tongues for use during the dance, while special hunters were sent out to obtain a buffalo bull hide. Other parties were engaged in gathering timbers and brush for the dance structure, which they erected at the center of the camp circle. The spectacular performance began when the great mass of people set out to fetch the center pole for the lodge dance: they scouted for a tree, counted coup on it, and felled it as if it were an enemy. The pledger and priests now left the secret tipi for the dance lodge. A bundle of brush, the buffalo bull hide, cloth and other offerings, were tied in the forks of the center pole; the pole was raised and the structure soon completed.

Before the serious dancing commenced, warriors danced in the lodge and an altar was built there. The pledger and his associates, who denied themselves food and drink throughout this period, now began to dance in supplication for supernatural power, steadily gazed at the sun or at the offerings on the center pole. This lasted
intermittently for several days and nights. Their sacrifice culminated in the so-called torture feature: skewers were thrust through the flesh of the breast or back; by these they were tethered to the center pole, they then danced and tore against these bonds until the flesh gave way.

The Blood Sun Dance

The following describes the great Sun Dance as was practised by the Blackfoot Confederacy in pre-reserve days and is performed by the Blood on their reserve at Cardston, Alberta. The procedure is given in the present tense and variations practised today are indicated as they are known to apply.

There is an indefinite period after the woman has vowed to purchase a Sun Dance bundle which is known as the preparation period. Her husband assists her in performing the prescribed rites and making the necessary arrangements. At the approach of summer, the invitation tobacco is sent to all bands and the camp circle is formed. The program used to be eight days in length. Now it has been shortened to half or less.

The first day they move camp to a previously selected site.

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A virtuous woman, faithful to her husband as before mentioned. The last woman who could make a vow to hold a Sun Dance and who could officiate in the dance joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon) about the year 1934 and thereafter refused to further officiate. Her name was Mrs. Crow-Spreads-Her-Wings. (Recorded by the Cardston Historical Society.) An informant states it would be probably impossible to find a virtuous woman today who could otherwise qualify to officiate.
The medicine woman begins to fast in the morning. Now the ceremony of the cutting of the buffalo tongues\textsuperscript{22} begins which consists of the father and some male assistants praying and singing over the tongues. A society brings in willows and a hundred-willow sweat house is built. On the second day they move camp to another site still nearer that proposed for the Sun Dance. A few green cottonwood boughs are kept about the medicine woman's tipi as a sign of its sanctity. A sweat-house is again made. "Praying and singing over the tongues" continues during the day and evening, and continues throughout the third day.

The fourth day, the camp moves to the site of the Sun Dance. In the afternoon the fourth and last hundred-willow sweat house is built and used. The singing continues during the evening in the medicine woman's tipi. The fifth day is an active day. The dancing lodge is built from poles and cottonwood boughs. The center or sun pole is selected and brought in with very important ceremonies pertaining thereto. A wind-break is erected in the west. In the forenoon the ceremony connected with the opening of the natoas bundle\textsuperscript{23} begins in the medicine woman's tipi. Thongs for the pole of the windbreak are cut. Food is given to the poor people. The cutting of tongues and vows are made. The sun pole is now raised followed by

\textsuperscript{22}In reserve days cow tongues were used.

\textsuperscript{23}That sacred bundle containing feathers, arrow point and a headdress with such accessories as an old robe, elk dress, elk teeth, wristlet, etc.
the rafters in quick succession. The medicine woman then returns to her tipi and the father and his male companions go into the sweat house.

On the morning of the sixth day, a booth is erected in the dancing lodge for medicine men, or weather dancers. These dance to the sun at various times. People come up to be painted and prayed for and they smoke the medicine pipe. The digging dance occurs in the afternoon when the fireplace is made and the fire kindled. During the seventh day, people still come to be painted and prayed for. Later in the day the dancing of the societies begins. On the eighth and final day the dancing may still continue or the camp is broken and the bands go their several ways.

To understand the whole ceremony of the Sun Dance one must understand the functions and antecedents pertaining to it:

The Sun Dance cannot occur unless some woman qualifies for the office. She usually qualifies by a vow to the sun for assistance or in thankfulness over good fortune. She must be virtuous and make her vow in public. Afterwards she faces the sun and a medicine man talks to the sun for her. Other women make vows to publicly announce their virginity or faithfulness to their marriage vows. This is spoken of as "going forward to the tongues." Later in the ceremony they challenge any man to claim otherwise and often name men who have made indecent advances toward them. This vow in the literal sense is to purchase a natoas bundle or if already owning one, to perform its ritual.

After the vow has been taken the medicine woman calls upon her
relatives for approximately a hundred buffalo tongues. (Cattle tongues are now used and the number is infinitely less.) These tongues are brought to the lodge where the men are seated on the north and the women on the south. All the women who have made vows are called upon to slice the tongues. Their husbands must be present. The medicine woman is handed a tongue painted red on one side and black on the other. She takes it and says, "Sun, I have been true to my husband ever since I have been with him and all my life. Help me, for what I say is true. I will skin this tongue without cutting a hole in it, or cutting my fingers." The others do the same. After all have confessed, they skin the tongues. If one cuts her finger or makes a hole in the skin, she is ordered from the tipi as a liar. The skins are boiled by two women. Everything used is painted half-black and half-red. All of the time there is singing. Then as each woman gets some water she recounts aloud the times that she has been accosted indecently by men and names the men concerned. The tongues are hung up for two days then taken to the various homes.

As previously mentioned, the medicine woman is the central figure. On the fifth day, an elaborate ritual is demonstrated in her tipi, culminating in the procession to the dancing lodge. To this ritual belongs a medicinal bundle with accessories, known as the natoas, though the name is primarily that of the headdress which the bundle contains. This bundle is transferred in a ritualistic manner to the medicine woman by the ceremony for this purpose and thus becomes hers to care for and guard until used again at another Sun Dance ceremony. Besides the bundle, there must be a robe of elkskin,
a dress of the same material, and wristlets of strong elk teeth. A new travois must be provided for moving the medicine woman's outfit. Sometimes she herself rides on it. This travois is made by the past-medicine woman, her attendant in the ceremonies. The natoas ritual in the Sun Dance has for its basis the Elk-woman and the Woman-who-married-a-star, both mythically important people who with others have influenced the Blackfoot Indians for centuries.

The ceremonial transfer of the Sun Dance bundle really begins with the first day. Neither she nor her husband are supposed to eat or drink while the sun is visible, and then but sparingly. On the evening before, they are put to bed by the father and the mother. The mother places the daughter on the south side of the fire and the father places the son on the north side. They must remain in that position till morning, whence they are greeted by the mother and father who lead them out for the morning toilet and for a light breakfast. All this is done before sunrise after which they sit all day doing nothing. No one makes any noise, although visitors may noiselessly enter. On moving to the next camp site the men lead father and son on horse; next come mother and daughter, the medicine woman. At the fourth camp and on the fourth day, the natoas bundle is opened, or its formal ritual demonstrated.

The procession to the Dancing lodge is headed by the father, followed by the son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing the tongues. The medicine woman wears the natoas on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe. Other attendants act as flankers to clear away spectators.
The procession moves slowly. When they circle the dancing lodge, the medicine woman remains at the north side till evening when the dancing lodge is fully raised, at which time she returns to her tipi and breaks her fast with berry soup. The father and son go to the sweat house after which their responsibilities end. The medicine woman now has the bundle in her charge. She remains in her tipi resting and receiving friends.

The hundred-willow sweat house is constructed on the third day. This is said to have originated with Scarface. About the middle of the day a society is sent out for the willows; they go mounted and drink no water while on duty. An old society is called to build the sweat house; they must not drink water till it is finished by sunset. The willows are stuck in the ground in an oval and their tops bent over and interlocked at the top. There is an east opening and a west opening. The willows are then painted, one side red, the other black. A hole is dug in the center for heated stones. A buffalo skull is painted with red spots on one side and black spots on the other. Sagegrass is thrust into the nose and eye sockets.

Now the procession travels from the tipi of the medicine woman with the father and another man leading the husband, the mother and the medicine woman who carries the natoas bundle. They all become seated and prayers and the usual sweat house procedure now follow while stones and water are passed in by an attendant. The covers are then drawn down and the vapor bath taken. After the ceremony the procession returns to the medicine woman's tipi.

On the fourth day nine forked tree trunks about nine feet in
height are set in a circle. Stringers are placed along their tops. In the center is the sun pole (another larger forked tree trunk). Green Cottonwood boughs are placed all over it. Note - the sun pole although made ready is not raised till the evening.

The ceremony of cutting the thongs is taken from mythology when a woman came down from the sky held up securely by thongs which were cut to release her as she reached the earth, so thongs are tied from the sun pole to the sides and four young men are "caught" and made to tell of some brave deed that they had done such as a coup and then cut the thongs. They must tell four brave deeds before making the cut.

While the hide is being cut, all the women who made vows to take some of the tongues come forward to the parfleche placed near the medicine men and women. Each woman takes one of the tongues and stands with the person for whom her vow was made and makes a confession to the sun in a loud voice, so all may hear. Then she prays to the sun for the beneficiary. After all the women have taken the tongues, some of the men tie the cloth offerings to the ends of the poles and a bunch of birch is tied between the forks of the center pole. The preceding ceremony comes to a close as the sun gets very low.

About the time for the sun to set, a procession of pole raisers starts from each of four quarters of the camp circle. Tipi poles

24Parfleche means literally, for flesh, and is a hide or skin bag used in carrying food.
are tied near the small ends in pairs, each pair carried by two men. The four parties advance in unison by four stages and at each pause, sing a special song. In the last move they rush upon the sun pole and raise it in place. The father and son go and stand on the center pole while the wives stand to the west. The men make wing movements with their arms toward the east. The medicine woman may make hooking motions at the pole, to symbolize the mythical Elk-woman. Finally after much singing and blowing of whistles (usually four times) the father and son jump off the pole as it is raised and tied in place. Now the natoas, robe and moccasins are taken off the daughter who then goes to her tipi to be washed. The father and son go into the sweat house to wash the paint off and be purified. Then they go to the medicine woman's tipi. The father and his wife assemble the natoas bundle and place it in the badger skin. This ends the ceremony.

Early on the fifth day a booth is erected inside the dancing lodge opposite the entrance. This is about six feet square. Before the middle of the day, one or more men form a procession, usually leaving the medicine woman's tipi, and head toward this booth dancing. They are accompanied by singers and drummers. They usually pause four times and blow whistles while dancing. There are two transverse lines, the dancers in front, their accompanying procession

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25One informant stated that the Sun Dance ceremony had changed in so many ways that even the once all important sun pole, or center pole is not used any more.
behind. They are painted according to their medicine bundles and wear breechcloth and mocassins and sometimes a robe. They claim power over the weather. They must not eat or drink during the day. During part of this ceremony, the recipient faces the sun. Many things are presented to the sun e.g. the pipe, old clothes (still practised among the Blood), and ritualistic objects. All this is to promote well-being. This weather dancing rite can be purchased by anyone and the owner, though reluctant, cannot refuse to sell.

The first ceremony is the cutting-out dance (to cut a hole in the robe.) This is done on the fifth day with a line of men dancing and shaking rattles and beating time on a hide hanging in front of them. They mark out the place to build the weather booth. They then must count coup as they throw stick after stick on the fire. If a hanging foxtail is scorched by the flames from someone's stick, he is applauded as a great warrior. Berry soup is then provided for all.

Succeeding days are allotted to the men's societies according to their rank beginning at the lowest. Each society goes through its rites with much dancing, singing, counting coups and beating upon rawhides with rattles. The medicine woman and her husband are the only spectators. As a rule each society closes its ceremonies by offering parts of its regalia to the sun, a custom still observed by the Blood. There is feasting and pipe-smoking to end the ceremonies with the exception of the torture ceremony.

According to one informant, vows are made to purchase this torture ceremony when ill or in great danger. If the promise brings results, the vow is fulfilled at the next dance. The supplicant calls
upon one having purchased the rite. They enter the booth of the weather dancers, a blanket is held up to shut out the gaze of the others. The transferrer then paints the purchaser. He cuts a hole through the skin of the right shoulder, over the scapula, and a hole over each breast. A small sharpened stick is thrust through each. A shield is hung on the back. Long cords are fastened to those on the breast, the ends of which are secured high up to the center pole. The purchaser goes up the pole, embraces it, cries for awhile. Then he backs off, and when dancing, throws his weight on the ropes. The transferrer jerks the shield or drum (in earlier days a buffalo head) from his back and assists him in tearing it loose, also the breast ropes. At once, the purchaser goes out into the hills and sleeps in different places to receive power. The camp now splits up into parties for the fall hunt and moves away. Middleton records the last man on the reserve to bear the scars of lacerated breasts was his old friend of many years standing, Heavy Head, who passed away to the Sand Hills in 1951.

It is said that all who took this ceremony died in a few

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26 The torture ceremony used to be a practice but since the prohibition of this by the Canadian and United States governments it has tended to be omitted. It is said with some evidence that a few Blackfoot warriors once visited the Arapaho at the time of their Sun Dance where they were put through the cutting ceremony. This, according to the Blackfoot mode of thought, means that the medicinal rites (and rights) were transferred to them. When they returned they induced others to take the cutting, to whom of course, the rites were transferred.

27 Middleton, op. cit., p. 90.
years, because it was equivalent to giving one's self to the sun. Hence the sun took them for his own. Other informants say they blew whistles while they danced and after the tearing was completed, some of the lacerated flesh was offered to the sun. This latter procedure could be performed at any time of the year, not necessarily at the Sun Dance. Sometimes fingers were lopped off and offered to the sun. These offerings were collected and tied up in one corner of a cloth which was mounted upon a stick wrapped with wild sage, the whole being fastened in a tree or set up on the top of a high hill as the sun's offering. This sacrifice was always spoken of as feeding the sun with flesh from one's own body and was considered one of the greatest that man could make.

Of all the songs used in the Sun Dance, two occupied a special place in the ceremony. They were sung by men as they rode into the camp with the willows for the hundred-willow sweat house. They were sung again when the procession of pole raisers moved up to raise the sun pole. There are actually 413 songs used in the Sun Dance, many are taken from other bundle rituals such as the beaver bundle ritual.28

An interesting article was presented in the Lethbridge Herald

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The camp circle was usually formed expressly for the Sun Dance. This came about after the winter of being scattered and after the woman made a vow. The husband sent a man to look up the camps and invite them to join his band. He carried tobacco and presents, some to each head man, with the invitation. As the head men received the invitations, they ordered their bands to move, forming the circle at the medicine woman's camp. Once formed the circle was not broken until after the Sun Dance, a period estimated at from two to four months. After the Sun Dance, they split up into parties for the fall hunt and finally went into winter quarters.
July 11, of this year, 1962, which indicates that the final festival
of the Blood Sun Dance will be held this summer. On page 13 it reads:

Preparations have already begun for what might be the
last authentic Sun Dance by members of the Blood Indian
band.

The dance festival, as in the past, will take place
at Belly Buttes near Stand Off on or around August 1.

More than 100 Indians are expected to make the trek
to the traditional site for the religious rites. The
dance itself is sponsored by Rides-At-The-Door, an old
brave of the tribe who is now well on in his 80s.

Rides-At-The-Door is one of the few oldtimers of the
tribe who still knows the ancient ritual of the Sun Dance.

The younger members of the tribe have not displayed
the enthusiasm of their forefathers and only a few of the
older braves including Rides-At-The Door, know the authen­
tic rites.

The tribe will honor two men who have worked closely
with Indians on the Blood Reserve in the past and invest
them as Indian princes. The two men include Dr. J.A.
Mulloy of Calgary and Father La France. Father La France
worked on the reserve for nearly 13 years but was trans­
ferred to Edmonton three months ago.

The annual ceremony of the Blackfoot tribe was to
thank the Sun God for everything he had provided for them.
By their old beliefs the Sun was the ruler of the uni­
verse. The original Sun Dance will not, however, be per­
formed at the festival. In this dance the young braves
pierced their skin with wooden sticks and danced around
the pole until the sticks broke the skin.

Braves in the brilliant red, blue, orange and black
costumes of the chicken dancers with bells on their ankles
bobbing as their feet keep time with the rapid rhythm of
the pounding drums will be one of the most popular per­
formers. Other dances will probably include the Friend­ship, Grass and the Owl Dances.29

29 The Lethbridge Herald, Lethbridge daily newspaper,
CHAPTER VI

FORMAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH PROGRAM

"Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on this good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty."

Thomas Jefferson

In the days before the coming of the white man the American native inhabitants had their own system of education. This training encompassed the whole of their ethnology — their labors and responsibilities, such as hunting, war raids, horse raids, handicrafts, household work — their etiquette, social obligations, language and tribal customs and lore. Not only was the youth under the constant tutorship of his relatives especially his parents and grandparents, but also of the whole tribe. Thus through unconscious absorption and constant inculcation the child progressed toward adulthood being subjected to incentives of flattery and disparagement, and motivated by pride or shame he became an accomplished man.

When the whites encroached upon them, a whole new era of secular education, intentional and unintentional, began. The pupils were the Indians, both young and old; the instructors purposely or through example, were the white population who came in contact with the Indians. The unintentional instruction had a profound effect, even though it could not be measured.

To inaugurate a program of intentional instruction would in-
volve the tremendous task of changing the deeply imbedded manners, customs, and motives; to introduce a new language, both oral and written; to persuade the Indian to adopt the social organization of the white man and to introduce to the Indian new arts and industries. It became the lot of the early missionaries to initiate this monumental task, which they resolutely set forth to do, overcoming obstacle after obstacle and weathering one disappointment after another in order to establish secular education among the Blood Indians on the Reserve lands.

The First Missionaries

Although the first missionaries to enter Alberta were Reverend Robert T. Rundle about 1840 and Father Pierre de Smet 1845, it was left to Reverend S. Trivett (Anglican), and Reverend John McDougall (Methodist), Father Albert Lacombe (Roman Catholic) and Bishop Pinkham (Anglican) to attempt the disheartening task of providing formal education to the Blackfoot.

The First Schools

The original St. Paul's school was built in 1880 by the pioneer Anglican missionary Reverend S. Trivett. It was situated on an island bound on the east by the Belly River and on the west by a

1Taken from The Lethbridge Herald, Lethbridge, Alberta, a daily newspaper, dated Thursday, December 11, 1947, in an article entitled, "Indian's Historical Background".
small creek which provided an ideal swimming hole for the students. Mainly due to the largeness of this island, the Indians named the location of the school "Omoksine" - Big Island- and even the old Blood Indians of today look back in reverence to the spot, not with memories of school life, but because in earlier days it had been the scene of the ancient Sun Dance festivals of the tribe.2 Immediately north of the Belly Buttes, which were located near the school, stood the Governmental Agency. By the early 1890's a Methodist Mission school was established and was administered under the direction of the Reverend John McDougall.

The site for the Roman Catholic school was somewhat removed from the Anglican, Methodist, and Agency grouping, being some fifteen miles to the south on the banks of the Belly River at Stand Off. Erected in 1893, it stood directly opposite the Governmental hospital. The intrepid pioneer Father Lacombe was placed in charge of this school.

It is interesting to note a reason for the distribution of the reserves among the various denominations. During the early 1890's the three men prominent in the Indian Missions all unwittingly met in the Macleod Hotel (Old Kamoose Hotel) at Fort Macleod while awaiting a stage: Father Lacombe of the Catholic faith; Reverend John McDougall of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Pinkham, the Right Reverend

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2The famous Belly Buttes connected with the Sun Dance, were just across from the school; the remains of this original school can still be seen on the island today.
of Calgary, Anglican. Each discoursed on his recent itinerary, Mc-
Dougall expressing dissatisfaction with the results and condition of
his Blood Reserve Mission and school. After listening patiently to
his colleague's criticism, Bishop Pinkham remarked:

Judging from your own statement, you are by no means satisfied with the results of your mission station amongst the Bloods. The trouble is - your headquarters are too close to ours. Vacate your present location and I will buy you out, lock, stock, and barrel, for a thousand dollars.

"I accept your offer", the Reverend John ejaculated, grasping the hand warmly. It was then that these three pioneer missionaries made a solemn pact that the Methodists would discontinue their activities on the Southern reserves and confine their ministrations to the reserves in the Calgary-Edmonton area, leaving the southern reserves entirely in the hands of the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics.¹ No change was made in this pact until the Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) placed missionaries on the Blood Reserve at Cardston in 1949.

Anglican Schools - Macleod Era

Reverend Trivett came from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, to oversee the building of the original St. Paul's school, the remains of which can still be seen today. With the assistance of Reverend Swenson the school doors were opened in the fall of 1882 to Blood

¹S.H. Middleton, op. cit., p. 57. See also Cardston Historical History, Cardston, Alberta. (unpublished)
Indian boys only. This was the first Day School on the Blood Indian Reservation with enrolment varying from two to five reluctant pupils. A number of years later an Anglican residential school was introduced for both boys and girls in connection with a farm to help provide physical activity and an outdoor atmosphere so necessary for the restless young Bloods so steeped in nomadic culture. According to Reverend DeWolf this half-day inside and half-day outside developed into somewhat of a success for awhile, assisting in developing skills pertaining to fencing, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting the produce of the land. The farm proved beneficial in another way, that of assisting in defraying expenses in such an undertaking.

It is recorded that the early missionaries believed that teaching the Indians to work was secondary only to teaching them religion. They made heroic efforts to train them in such tasks as carpentry, fencing, land cultivation, planting and harvesting of crops and other "civilized" pursuits. Buffalo hunting, horse raids, and war expeditions were discouraged. They even went so far as to attempt the abolition of the gambling games and the changing of their social marriage customs.

The government had begun helping the Anglican Church in the year 1893 by providing a small per capita grant. This procedure came

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1 Reverend DeWolf is the present principal of the St. Paul's Anglican Blood Indian Reserve School.

5 This original grant, although small, was gratefully accepted. The exact amount provided for each pupil was not stipulated on the records.
from an Order in Council passed in 1892, which outlined the arrangements to be made between residential schools (including industrial and boarding schools) and the Government. The buildings were to be the joint responsibility of the Government and the Management, the Government to furnish materials for repairs, the Management to perform the labor. Books and appliances for educational purposes were supplied by the Government. Maintenance, salaries and expenses were paid by the Management out of the per capita grant. Rates of the per capita grant were fixed for each school. Parents of pupils were not charged for their children's attendance at such schools. The Management agreed to conform to the rules of the Indian Department as laid down from time to time and to maintain a certain standard of instruction in the schools, also to maintain a certain standard in dietary and domestic comfort. Inspectors and Officers of the Indian Department might inspect and report on the residential schools at any time. This Order in Council governed the manner of financing Indian residential schools until 1957, the amount per capita grant varying with local circumstances and economic conditions.6

During the 1890's the day school was closed in favor of the residential school. This was general policy for the government in all Indian schools at this time. Due to the nomadic habits of the Blood Indians it was difficult to get regular attendance at the day

6Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, "Indians of the Prairie Provinces", Indian Affairs Branch (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1959).
school. The desire of the Indians for education seemed to be in proportion to their contacts with non-Indians, and in the nomadic Bloods little desire and little need was seen.

The early decade of schoolroom life and activities was one of experimental transition. Many of the actions of the agents appeared to be dictatorial procedures to a proud race that had never known any law but their own, nor any type of submission. The "providers" acted as wisely as they knew how when they "tore" the children away from their parents in order to send them to the schools to learn the ways of the white men, to take up a culture wholly foreign and repulsive to them. Their buckskin suits and dresses were discarded. The garb of the white man was forced upon them. Discarded also were the Indian bead work and Indian art. Their whole ingrained culture was considered barbarous, not worthy of being retained by those who had worked long years toward its development. As a result it was almost impossible to keep the restless nomadic young Bloods in the classroom, not to mention the attempts at teaching a new language, a new religion, and a new code of ethics. Truantism, a problem even in the winter months, knew no bounds when the first signs of spring appeared. Eventually plans were better formulated and objectives were sought and groped for until a systematic education according to grades was rigorously pursued. Along with the academic studies church doctrine was taught which became the accepted order for develop-

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7Many of the parents claimed this was done. Actually they had to obtain permission from the parent, parents or guardians.
By 1909 the trend of thinking regarding education was that the conditions which led to the desirability of residential schools over day schools had changed greatly. This trend also reached the Blood Indian Reserve school authorities and an Anglican Day school was again inaugurated to be an addition to the residential school. Changes were made in the manner of managing this day school. The teachers employed were chosen for their superior training and skill and tact to make school life more interesting and agreeable to Indian children. An attempt was also made to enlist the intelligent sympathies of the parents. Furthermore, a mid-day meal was provided and, where distances were far and weather often harsh, conveyance between home and school was supplied. Salaries of teachers were raised and rewards were offered the pupils for regular attendance and progress. Even footwear and clothing were provided to needy pupils and regular classroom exercises were enlivened by various games and introductory calisthenics.

Not only from the churches on the Blood Reserve but from other reserves in Canada came requests for larger grants for residential schools. In 1911 a formal agreement was made between the Department and the Management of residential schools. The per capita rate varied with local conditions.

By the end of the First World War the school authorities at St. Paul's began attempting to strictly follow the course of studies prescribed for the provincial public and separate schools so that the Indian pupils could be prepared for entrance examinations.
A Governmental policy in 1923 was expanded to care for all the capital expense at Indian residential schools. This proved a great boon to the churches, releasing more of their finances for better instruction, food and clothing. A number of provisions for the benefit of the Blood Indians followed. Grants were offered to graduates of Indian schools showing academic promise, who wished to attend high schools, universities, business colleges, and trade schools. Middleton reports that prior to the War of 1914-1918 the Church and State were aware of the necessity of providing the facilities so much needed for the education of the increasing student enrolment. The buildings and equipment of that day were totally inadequate to meet the requirements. It fell to the Indian Department of Canada to give serious attention to this matter.\(^3\)

Paralleling this progress in formal education has been the advancement in another sphere of education for the Bloods, that of agriculture. Three good-sized farms may be mentioned. Farm Three, at Stand Off, and Farm Four on upper Bull Horn Coulee had grown into thousand-acre projects; while at the southern end of the reserve adjacent to Cardston, the Greater Production scheme had developed into a prosperous community. Also much of the aversion to the white man's cow had left and the original herd of three thousand Indian cattle was annually growing larger.

About this time and in the following years when new buildings

\(^3\) Middleton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 59.
were to be built increased emphasis was placed on manual training and vocational instruction on the Blood Indian Reserve. St. Paul's new school built in 1924 provided facilities for this extra training. The site for the new school was chosen in an entirely different locality because of procedures taking place in government circles.

A New Site for the Blood Indian Headquarters

A series of events during the years of the First World War culminated in a number of important changes in the years 1924-1927 inclusive. What with war restrictions and the call for economy, the end of the days of tribal ascendancy and tribal collectiveness, both political and departmental demands for more efficient educational methods and a modern system of hospitalization, all eyes were turned away from the dry northern area of the reserve to the well-watered southern portion. Thus the Indian Department finally decided to leave the old camping grounds of the Macleod area and move the entire administration of the Blood Indian Reserve to the vicinity of Cardston.

Repercussions were felt from the decision. The Macleod merchants especially had carefully succored the Indians during their trying days of poverty and transition and now were eager to gather in the harvest of seed sown, through many years of unproductive effort. The townspeople, backed by the merchants, strongly favored adhering to the old historic camping ground. Ottawa, the capital city of Canada received petition after petition; delegate after delegate; all pressing the claims of the town of Macleod. But resolute-
ly, the Department stood firm. Petitions, delegations, and deputations were followed by much discussion, heartaches, and the implications of politics and the Department in its wisdom, or otherwise, issued an official proclamation that the Blood Indians were to trek southward and there develop their future. The Government edict became absolute.

The span of four years from 1924 to 1927 inclusive saw several new buildings erected at a cost of approximately one million dollars. The new St. Paul's school was built in 1924; the Agency buildings in 1925; the Roman Catholic school in 1926; and the new departmental hospital in 1927-1928. Thus in four short years the Blood Indians had been moved to the extreme southern confines of the reservation and all buildings were now, figuratively speaking, within a stone's throw of the town of Cardston, the new stamping grounds of the still proud and haughty Kainai red man.⁹

Anglican Schools – Cardston Era

Thus, for over fifty years the procedure of one-half a day in school and one-half a day working on the farm was followed with only a small per capita grant from the government. In 1950 this grant was increased considerably and after the year 1950 to the present time the students were obliged to attend school the full day. Another

⁹Ibid., p. 60. A new and distinctly modern Roman Catholic Church was completed on the Blood Indian Reserve in the year 1960 some two hundred yards from the northern border of the town of Cardston.
financial provision to the Anglican church school came in 1956 when
the government started to pay the teachers' salaries. The burden
was being lifted from the shoulders of the Anglican school authori-
ites at last and it took another three years before the government
provided the full amount for the education of the Blood Indian
students attending St. Paul's Anglican School and for those who
leave to attend school in the adjoining town of Cardston.

Although the financial burden has been removed from the Angli-
can leaders, other problems have taken their place due to the inte-
gration program between St. Paul's School and the Cardston Schools.
This agreement called for the better students to enroll in the Card-
ston schools and left all those not selected to remain at the St.
Paul's school which now, according to Reverend DeWolf, is a "home"
for the "over-age" for their grades, the retarded, the disciplinary
and otherwise problem children. The Reverend said, "Our most pres-
sing problem now is trying to obtain the proper teachers who have the
necessary training and the ability to diagnose and provide the pro-
per care for a school full of deficient children ranging in ages
from four years to twenty-two." 10

The latest addition to the Anglican School buildings, now
under construction, consists of a $91,504.90 combined gymnasium and
auditorium. This one storey building, with a semi-basement, will
be 49 feet wide by 114 feet long, with a small wing, 24 feet square,

10 See footnote 4.
located near the south side of the existing residential school. A stage will be located at one end of the gymnasium as well as shower and dressing rooms for boys and girls. The wing will contain an equipment room and a lobby entrance to the gymnasium proper. There will be 5,950 square feet of space in the building with an additional 850 square feet in the semi-basement.

Roman Catholic Schools

Approximately eleven years after the Anglican Church opened the doors of its first Day School on the Blood Indian Reserve, the Roman Catholic Church erected and opened their first Day School some fifteen miles south of the Anglican site. This building was also on the Belly River at the old fort called Stand Off.

As was mentioned previously, Father Albert Lacombe assumed leadership with the help of Brother Morkin and later Sister St. Germain and Sister Trudel. The few students who attended were continually "escaping" and being brought back to the classroom. This truantism was a real problem in these beginning years and contrary to usual findings, the Catholic personnel found this problem existed in the winter months as much as in the summer months. After five disheartening years the first Residential School was opened October 13, 1898 with three reluctant pupils enrolling. By the end of the year there were a total of eleven names on the school record.

Much credit is due the Roman Catholic personnel who have heroically bathed, clothed, fed and tutored their charges, often with insufficient funds at their disposal, with little or no encouragement
from the parents, in fact according to Sister Houle\textsuperscript{11} who has taught for twenty-five years at the St. Mary's Roman Catholic School, the Blood students' parents still feel that they are bestowing favors upon the teachers by allowing their children to attend the schools.

For years the per capita grant with which to build buildings, to feed and to clothe the Blood pupils was set at seventy-two dollars per year. In 1916 this was raised to eighty-two dollars. The government had set the Roman Catholic School day to consist of two hours in the forenoon and two hours in the afternoon. Even this proved to be a long time to keep the restless children occupied. The nuns provided a midday meal as an enticement to the day students not to miss school. The morning attendance improved but the afternoon classes were small; they had come for the noon handout and had then left for the open spaces.

A project was begun in the year 1920 consisting of a school farm of some 30 acres to raise funds and to interest and educate the boys in the techniques of farming. This proved only fairly successful both financially and educationally, nevertheless it served its purpose while being operated. As before mentioned, the government began investigating with plans to build the much-needed new Roman Catholic St. Mary's School designed to accommodate 150 residential pupils. Begun in 1924 it was completed by 1926. About two years

\textsuperscript{11} A Roman Catholic nun acting as a schoolteacher for the last twenty-five years on the Blood Indian Reserve in the St. Mary's Indian School, presently teaching Grade X.
later a school at Dunbow, Alberta, some number of miles north of the Blood Reserve was closed. For some thirty years the Dunbow School had claimed an average of three to four Blood Indian students from the St. Mary's School who wished to obtain higher training.

Up to this time the policy of the government was to provide the Blood Indians with Grade VIII training but to discourage higher education feeling that their personalities were not developed sufficiently to warrant it. Also as mentioned before, because of their restive natures, and the difficulty in keeping them occupied, the pupils spent two hours in the forenoon and two hours in the afternoon in the schoolroom. This also was decreed by the government. After 1926, with government persuasion, the St. Mary's School attempted to follow the ordinary school day of 9:00-12:00 and 1:00-3:30 with two recesses. In the depression years Grades IX and X were introduced and it is interesting to note that a Mrs. Harry Mills now living on the Blood Reserve was the first Grade X student. She enrolled as Miss Eva Goodstriker in the fall of the year 1934.

The depression years influenced the introduction of many activities not previously allowed in the schoolroom, mainly work with the hands and according to Sister Houle, "We did a lot of other work in school in the years 1938 and 1939." After the war years the school increased in efficiency and in enrolment at St. Mary's until it was necessary to provide a more modern school. The new building was completed and opened early in the spring of 1960 containing eighteen classrooms, two shoprooms, one home economics room, one typing room, one laboratory, one library, and two gymnasiums. The staff
consists this year (1962) of twenty-three teachers and a pupil enrolment in September 1961 of 513 which had been reduced by dropouts to 500 in April of this year. This enrolment is divided into 340 for the elementary school grades; 117 for the Junior High School, 60 being in Grade VII, 35 in Grade VIII and 22 in Grade IX; 43 for the Senior High School, 11 being in Grade X, 9 in Grade XI and 23 in Grade XII. To assist in the education of these Blood Indian students, this modern school provides some seven television sets, radios, record players, motion picture equipment and a piano.

**General Education Considerations**

Thus, through experience, through better financial governmental assistance, through more highly trained teachers using modern methods and equipment and housed in better buildings, much progress in educating the Blood Indians has been accomplished and the basic beginning for integration has been laid. Coupled with this daytime education, mention should be made of the adult opportunities to improve themselves. During the last year some thirty-five adults attended evening classes at the Blood Roman Catholic Indian Residential School studying domestic science, electricity and farm mechanics. Information has come from the Y.W.C.A. of Lethbridge of a coming Blood Indian Friendship Club. The organization envisions a social centre in which Indian boys and girls could meet and where assistance could be given to them in overcoming problems of integration. It is indicated that the center might be expanded to include white young people too.
Despite all these educational advantages the number of drop-outs, though decreasing, is shocking. In the year ending June 1958, 3,615 Indian pupils were enrolled in Grade I in day schools in Canada; but there were only 527 in Grade VIII. This is approximately one in seven left. The Blood Indians shared this same ratio during the year 1958. In the residential schools 1,491 were enrolled in Grade I and only 236 in Grade VIII. The same ratio holds again. These dropouts are going back to the reserve to get married, help at home, work in seasonal farming or just to remain idle. They will never integrate into Canadian society; probably they do not want to. They will continue to perpetuate the seasonal subsistence type of life of their parents. This is their choice.

It is the policy of the Indian Affairs Branch to give the Indian as much schooling as he can absorb - or wants. "Some Indians think we are forcing them off the reserves," one senior official reports. "We must, if integration means anything, but only if they want to leave voluntarily. Our big job is to educate the youngsters. If they want to return to the reserves, that's up to them. But if they want to earn a living in our society, they're reasonably well-equipped. Before they started to high schools, and especially to white schools, they had no choice. They vegetated on reserves because they weren't fitted to compete off them." Senator James

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13Ibid., pp. 18-19.
Gladstone\textsuperscript{14} says, "When an Indian is sent to an Indian School and mixes only with people of his own race, he does not get the training necessary for him to compete in the world around him. It is my belief that no schools – particularly for high school pupils, should be built on the reserves."

Reverend DeWolf, principal of the St. Paul's Anglican School for the Blood Indians claims that it is folly to try to hurry the training of the Indian too quickly – that higher education and higher training for integration will increase generation after generation, not from year to year. "We are trying to keep integration slow enough to be beneficial," he said, "you cannot hurry an Indian. Time means nothing to him." This latter statement agrees with Klineberg who writes, "Workers with Indians are unanimous in testifying that time limit tests cannot be used successfully. Native Indian life puts no premium whatever upon time; in fact, no one has ever succeeded in hurrying an Indian. Indian adolescents make scores closely approximating those of white children of the same age, if they are allowed to complete a test at their own rate.\textsuperscript{15} Another interesting report, that 80\% of the Blood Indian population are under 30 years of age and that 40\% are under the age of 10, was given by Dr.

\textsuperscript{14}A successful Blood rancher, Many Guns (Akay-Na-Muka), Senator Gladstone is a member of Parliament in the Canadian Government at the present time, the first Indian to hold a senate post in Canada.

Roy R. Spackman. This population explosion will influence the manner in which integration will be accomplished. New generations, time and education will be the main partners in the process.

There were no objections when the spacious well-designed recreational hall for the whole Blood Band was constructed deep into the southern part of the reserve. It was designed and constructed as a perfect octagon, each side measuring thirty-nine feet with the main entrance facing west at one of the octagonal points. The floor proper measures 80' X 40' and is marked off for such sports as basketball, volleyball and badminton. The remaining space is well taken up with spectator space and seating accommodations, laboratories, showers, dressing rooms, kitchen facilities, coat racks and on the second floor is found equipment for movie pictures and more spectator space. Senator Gladstone was honored when the hall was named after him. It is here that the Blood Indians, both young and old, receive community education in the form of socials, sports, dances, moving pictures and lectures, many of which are attended by non-Indians from the neighboring communities.\footnote{Mr. K.R. Brown is superintendent of Blood Indian Affairs at Cardston, Alberta. Mr. Brown was appointed to this new position some five years ago and immediately saw the need of an adequate recreational hall to provide for the needs of this sports-minded people. He became the key man in the planning of the Gladstone Hall.}

\footnote{Dr. Roy R. Spackman is one of the staff of five doctors comprising the Cardston Medical Clinic. Dr. Spackman received these percentage figures from Mr. G.S. Lofthouse, superintendent of the Blood Indian Hospital, Cardston, Alberta.}

\footnote{16}{17}
Some Problems of Expansion and Integration

Confronted by the Indian students who were enrolling in the Cardston public schools the school board and superintendent inherited two immediate problems: expansion and integration. At this same time the centralization of schools was already in full progress. Thus the problem of expansion was taken in stride by the school officials and various elementary schools were opened in available buildings in Cardston while a new elementary school was in the process of being erected. This school building, completed November 19, 1958, is known as the Edward J. Wood School,\(^\text{18}\) costing some $208,000, consisting of five classrooms, a stage twenty-six feet by sixty-four feet, and a most magnificent gymnasium and recreational floor with dimensions of ninety feet by ninety-six feet where some six basketball hoops are erected and dozens of recreational activities are promoted.

The problem of integration referred to previously was not so confidently accepted. No one could say just how well the Indians would be received and so the attitude "wait and see" was adopted by most people with the result that there have been few really unhappy results. Minor behavioral problems do exist and cause quite some concern to teachers and school officials.

In all the public schools from elementary to the senior high school, the Indian students receive the same instruction and atten-

\(^{18}\)In commemoration of Edward J. Wood, a highly respected and influential pioneer of Cardston. This building has been in use for the last three years (1959-1962)
tion as the whites. All courses on the curriculum are the same for both whites and Indians and no "watering down" is made for the benefit of the Indian pupils. The same high standards of achievement are expected from all students, both whites and Indians. The training in all these schools is designed to bring the Indians closer to civilized life, with a view to ultimate citizenship by enabling them to assimilate the speech, industrial life, family organization, social manners and customs, civil government, knowledge, modes of thinking and ethical standards of the whites.¹⁹

Royal Commission on Education of the Indians

Taken from the Report of the Royal Commission of Education in Alberta in 1959 is the following on Indian Education:

"...The gap between the Indian child's life and the curriculum is very great. Teachers of Indian children need more than missionary zeal to render adequate service. All in all the Commission agrees with the brief of the Indian Association of Alberta: "There has not been broad nor deep enough concern on the part of either the federal or Alberta Provincial governments of the welfare of the Indian child.....The times call for a program of vision, understanding and vigor."....The Commission therefore recommends (261-267) that the province accept more responsibility for the education of Indian children, that the policy of integration be studied and where deemed best, non-Indian children be given special education so that they may appreciate the problems of Indian children. All the recommendations of the report should apply to Indian children, and the social studies courses should give a fair treatment to the place of the Indian in

¹⁹Federal franchise was given to the Blood Indians for the first time this year (1962) as the Dominion of Canada went to the polls June 18th. Regardless of assurances to the contrary, the majority failed to vote, fearing further loss of privileges."
Canadian history. Adult education should be extended to Indians, and no Indian children should be denied education for lack of finances.  

In all activities at school, classroom and extra-curricular, non-Indian and Indian students compete on a basis as near equal as is humanly possible to devise. They engage in the school room activities together, taking the same tests and examinations, play in the band, sing in the chorus, recite, make oral and written reports, take part in plays and programs, and engage in physical training and in the sports program.

The cost of books, supplies and accommodation for the Blood Reserve Indian students is determined by the direct cost of any one student in the past year and paid for by the Department of Indian Affairs, Edmonton, Alberta. Enrolment in the Cardston High School is increasing every year and more confidence and initiative are evident in these students than ever before. The 1961-1962 school records including Grade I to Grade XII show 137 Blood students enrolled, 97 being in the Elementary Schools and 40 in the Junior and Senior High Schools. Blood Indian students graduating from Grade XII in June, 1962 number fifteen, two from the Cardston High School and thirteen from the St. Mary's Blood Indian Reserve School. Most of the thirteen from the latter school have taken two years to receive their Grade XII education.

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21 From files of the Cardston School Division, Cardston, Alberta.
Scholarships

It is interesting to note that a variety of scholarships are available for Indian students at the University level or in the area of Vocational training. Students from the Blood Reserve who show considerable aptitude are encouraged to take advantage of these scholarships to go on to higher learning or into specialized training.

An interesting article appeared in the Cardston News dated July 19, 1962 under the heading, They Lead the Way, which pertains to two Indians from the Blood Indian Reserve who have set out to prove that they can do as well in the business world as their white counterparts. It reads in part:

Gerald Tail Feathers, well known southern Alberta painter, opened a service station and a bulk plant late last December a few miles south of Stand Off on the Blood Reserve. A few weeks later Ernie Black Rabbit began the operation of Ernie's Butcher Shop in Cardston, constituting Cardston's first Indian Businessman.

The Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration assisted Mr. Tail Feathers with a ten-year loan. Mr. Black Rabbit received similar assistance. The article continues:

Both ventures are proving successful and both men feel that an education and initiative are the two most important factors in their success. Unfortunately, they state, too many Indians rely on handouts. Asked in what trades Indians could make a good start both said Indians could find employment as electricians,

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mechanics and welders. These trades will be in demand as more homes on the reserve become electrified and mechanized.

With specialized training in various other occupations Middleton reports that Blood graduates have scattered across the continent in such cities as Toronto, New York, Minneapolis, Calgary, Edmonton, Victoria, Bermuda, Sault St. Marie and even as far away as New Zealand.23

Gerald Tail Feathers and Ernie Black Rabbit are living up to a Blood Indian phrase which has become famous in many seats of learning on this continent - Ninai-Stoko, Mokokit ki Aekakimat - "Go ye into the ranges - seek - find and strive."24

The Blood Indian Health Program

Ever concerned with the promotion of health for all students and aware of the statement found at many seats of learning that "Health is the First of All Liberties", the teachers and school officials are alert to the physical, medical, and sanitary conditions affecting the lives of their pupils. The Cardston public schools have available the services of the Cardston staff of doctors and nurses. Periodic procedures are made of each Indian student which include the inoculations and vaccinations, chest X-rays, and general health examinations, all this information being kept in cumula-

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23 Middleton, op. cit., p. 65.
24 Ibid., p. 112.
tive health records for each child. This accounts for excellent clinical history readily available to those who may request it.\(^25\)

In connection with the school health facilities for the Blood students could be included the Blood Indian hospital built during the years 1927-1928 and situated on the north border of the town of Cardston at the junction of the Cardston-Waterton and Cardston-Lethbridge highways. Prior to this the Government Blood Indian Hospital was located at Stand Off, directly opposite the original site of the Roman Catholic School. Until the year 1952 the hospital was maintained entirely by the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, and was under the administration of the Order of Grey Nuns, who were superceded thereafter by a superintendent and staff appointed by the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa. The Blood Indian population has now increased to more than 3,000 which take advantage of the hospital facilities available. This hospital has a bed capacity of twenty-four for adults, fifteen cribs and six bassinets for children and is kept in operation by a staff of forty-four people besides the five Cardston Clinic doctors.

According to Mr. G. S. Lofthouse\(^26\), the health of the Blood

\(^25\) An interesting observation made by Gerald L. Berry concerning the types of blood found among the Indians states that while all other American Indians are predominantly of blood group O, the Blackfoot and Blood show a predominance of blood group A. See Berry, op. cit., p. 12.

\(^26\) Mr. G.S. Lofthouse is the present superintendent of the Blood Indian Hospital and keeps accurate statistics on the Indians entering the hospital.
Indians has increased considerably during the last few years. Where trachoma and tuberculosis used to take their toll these have practically disappeared. Although sanitary conditions in the majority of homes contribute to considerable illness and loss of school days, the Blood Indians of Alberta, compared with the rest of the Canadian Indians, are a healthy tribe. It is interesting to note that although five members of the tribe are in the sanitarium with tuberculosis, no new cases have developed in the last two years. Only six or seven appendectomies have been performed so far this year and recently there has been a wave of respiratory infections ranging from pneumonia to the common cold. In fact the conditions which cause the loss of most days at school consist of much dental work, some dermatitis cases, considerable "eye strain" troubles with consequent eye examinations and tests for glasses and the two comrades, the common cold and the sore throat.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

A. GENERAL SUMMARY

It was the purpose of this study to discuss the historical, traditional and educational life of the Blood Indians in order to appreciate its influence on their present-day education and integration, and to provide, especially for those concerned with their welfare, a short history of the Blood Indians of Alberta, Canada.

Geographical Setting

Proclaimed as the most progressive of the Canadian Plains tribes, the Blood Indians reside in Southern Alberta some fifteen miles north of the International Boundary on the fertile bunchgrass area bordering the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. This proved to be a wise location for the whole Blackfoot Confederacy to make its home. The cold spells during the winter were cut short by the unique chinook winds; the rolling foothills provided good hunting for game in the winter months; the prairie lands to the east housed the buffalo during the summer; and the rivers of the area proved to be ex-

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2 See Map A in appendix.

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cellent camping grounds at any time of the year.

**Historical Background**

The Blood, or Kainai Indians comprise one main division of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the other two main divisions being the Blackfoot Proper, or Siksika, and the Piegan, or Pecunnie. In order to understand the educational progress made by these Indians as well as to appreciate their behavioral characteristics one needs to know something about their environment in which they lived. Although linked to the Algonquins of the east by philology, customs and history, the Blackfoot Confederacy's concrete history is revealed by the journals of the traders, trappers, adventurers, North West Mounted Police and governmental employees who associated with the Indians in those early days.

The division of the Blood from the other two main groups in the Blackfoot Confederacy was well-defined and well-organized with chiefs over the various bands. This organization existed as far back as written history records it. During this time the confederacy travelled up the North Saskatchewan River from the Eagle Hills of Saskatchewan to the foothills of the Rockies in Southern Alberta.\(^3\) Here a series of inevitable events occurred such as (a) the possession of the horse and fire arms, (b) the demoralizing effect of the Fort Whoop-Up Trail with its American whisky traders, (c) the

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\(^3\)See Map B in appendix.
ravages of the smallpox plagues, despite the heroic efforts of the missionaries, (d) the disappearance of the vast herds of buffalo and associated economy they afforded, and (e) the "transitional" early reserve days of hardship, fear and hunger. As if these drastic changes were not sufficient, there took place a transfer of wealth economy from the horse to cattle and thence to farming. Couple these with the pressures used to force their children to wear the white man's clothes and to attend the white man's schools. All these have carried the Indian from the stone age almost at once into the iron age in a series of rapid transitions.

The Blood Indian of Yesterday and Today

History reveals little of the pro-horse period which was terminated by the introduction of the horse by the Shoshone Indians to the Blackfoot about the year 1730. Shortly thereafter the earliest report on life in a Blood Indian camp was provided by Anthony Henday and since that time historians have provided valuable information on the social interchanges of everyday living from courtship through family life with the many activities, regulations, and taboos pertaining to this ethnic group. The transitional reserve days added their changes in most of the social customs and even included the wealth transfer from the treasured horse to the despised cow to the degraded farming operation with the inevitable social upheaval felt throughout throughout.

the whole tribe as the Blood Indian intermingles with the white man in business, schools, churches, and recreation.

Life Cycle Including Institutions and Religion

The deeply ingrained religious training influenced the whole life of the Blood Indian. Ceremonies, rituals and other religious customs were infiltrated throughout the Blood social, societal, band, and governmental organizations. History records in the pre-reserve days that the Plains tribes were constantly at war with one another and that a planned attack which was initiated by considerable preparation involved religious elements as purification, penance, fasting, visions and oaths, the latter to be fulfilled at some future date which was often associated with the famous Sun Dance. The Sun Dance procedures, songs, dances, bundle transfers and ideology had a beginning in mythology augmented by the borrowing of elements from other tribal contacts to result in the Blood Indian Sun Dance.

Formal Education and Health Program

Through unconscious absorption and continuous inculcation the young Blood child progressed toward adulthood receiving, as he gained experiences through rewards and punishments, his basic training. This unintentional education, though immeasurable, had a profound effect. The intentional education, which was to follow was to be the final large chapter in the whole educational process of the Indian. The first missionaries faced the monumental task of attempting to change deeply imbedded customs and tribal training, to introduce a new lan-
guage, take the Indian out of his cultural environment and put him into the social organization of the white man.

The original schools were built before the turn of the twentieth century. From the humble beginning of less than half a dozen students, with language, religious and truant problems, the missionaries and later trained school teachers, taught and fed and clothed their reluctant students in humble accommodations and with inadequate facilities. The government finally came to the assistance of the struggling schools. New locations, new buildings, and new governmental school regulations saw the end of the half-day for school - half-day for farm work method changed to the modern school day with governmental paid teachers. The Roman Catholic school provides training through grade XII while the Anglican School cares for a portion of their students through elementary school with the remainder being transferred to the Cardston public schools where they are enrolled in every grade from the first to the twelfth. Here these Blood Indian students receive the same instruction and attention as the white children.

An excellent health program for the Indian children is afforded through the Cardston Clinic staff of doctors who extend their services to the Blood Indians in the Blood tribe's own hospital erected for their needs some years previous. Compared with the rest of the Canadian Indians, the Bloods of Alberta are a very healthy tribe. Nevertheless absenteeism from sickness of one kind or another is sufficiently large to affect their academic advancement.
B. SPECIFIC RESULTS

The Indians on the Blood Indian Reserve at Cardston have been reluctant (with the exception of a few) to adopt the white man's culture. Because of the slowness of most Blood Indians to wholly absorb the white "superior" culture the Indian has been looked upon as a race low in intelligence and inferior in every way to their white neighbors.

Having been forced into an unnatural existence on a reservation to take up a foreign, and to them a repulsive, culture it was an easy thing for them to fall prey to tuberculosis and trachoma in the early reserve days and later to other weakening diseases, especially those of the respiratory tract. The effect of this, referred to later, influenced the education of their children.

The early schools were so absorbed in the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic that they failed to see the child as an individual with his own potentialities. Children coming from homes where English is seldom or never spoken, whose parents fail to see the advantage of an education and where ten to fifteen live in one, two or three rooms, have been forced to take the same kind and amount of work as children who seldom or never hear anything but English, whose parents give them every encouragement for attending school, and where they are provided with proper food, clothing and shelter.

It is interesting to note the full-bloods are far removed from customs and habits of the white race. Generally, as the white blood
increases, the greater is its influence on the individual and the greater is the desire for higher standards of living and an education that will aid in satisfying his desires. From the records of achievements taken from the files of the Cardston Public Schools it was noted with few exceptions that as children are found to have greater degrees of Indian blood, the more difficult it becomes to orient them to the school. Unless children are aided in this orientation they soon develop a dislike for school, a dislike that could persist throughout a lifetime. Feelings of insecurity, discouragement, and a failure to succeed lead the children to search for avenues of escape. The answer is absence from school. Each time that they return to the classroom they experience the feeling of being more maladjusted. This, repeated in various grades and at various times, coupled by the lack of understanding in their homes and by the school officials and teachers, follows them until they are able to find excuses for quitting school.5

This unfortunate trend is being combatted by the progressive movement which has contributed a great deal toward bringing about a change in the curricula offered by the various schools. Today there is a definite effort toward adapting education to the individual differences of the child. Included now in the plans of the educators are social-mindedness and group consciousness which are aims set up to be achieved. Experience is being used as part of the foundation

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5 In the Cardston Public Schools, the grades with the greatest Blood Indian dropouts were those of IX and X.
of learning and is a characteristic of the Cardston and Reserve Schools. Much interest is being elicited by the development of vocational efficiency in most students through definite guidance programs. There is considerable emphasis placed upon the necessity of sound physical and mental health for the well-rounded development of each child by all those connected with the maintenance and operation of the schools.

It is unfortunate that the parents of maladjusted children are most always those with little or no schooling who show practically no appreciation for the educational facilities available to their children. Often pressure has to be brought to bear in order for their children to enter the schools. Often after they are enrolled, they are permitted to stay out on the slightest pretense. This only leads to scholastic retardation and a disinterest for school that the most competent teachers have difficulty in overcoming. The children, eager for the first opportunity to quit school, seize it, and so ends their formal academic training.

As previously mentioned, in some instances the physical condition of the Blood Indian children provides quite a contributing factor in the grade placement of the different degrees of Indian blood. As the Indian blood increases, the lower the standard of living becomes, such as unbalanced meals, meager clothing, poorly ventilated homes. This leads to a greater incidence of minor diseases and some major diseases as pneumonia and staphylococcal and streptococcal infections. These in turn cause absenteeism from school from weeks to many months. Upon returning to school, if they do, they find them-
selves maladjusted, disinterested and with a stronger yearning than before to escape. Partly due to sickness-absenteeism, it is not uncommon to see throughout the Cardston Elementary and Junior High Schools Blood Indian students towering above the white children in their grades due to their chronological ages being two to three years higher.

In the last few years the acculturation process, though still slow, has shown greater impetus than ever before especially among the younger generation. Inter-marriage, never at any time exceeding the very few, has indications of becoming more prevalent. The Blood Indians were, by many writers, classed as the most war-like, revengeful and bloodthirsty of the Plain Indians, and while it is considered difficult to eradicate fully this powerful characteristic, the findings over the years by no means ideal, are encouraging.

The results of eighty years of effort are immeasurable. Customs once bound to the buffalo hunt and to the horse and war raids have, for the most part, undergone a profound transformation. Each year the "weaning" becomes more complete with such fostering agents as the motor car, the electrical conveniences, the treaty funds, the white man's recreations, the tractor and wheat fields, the cattle and the hay crops, and the public school education benefits and perhaps climaxed by the tutoring white man as the Indian rubs shoulders with him at work, at the stores, at the churches, in business and in recreation.

Many Blood Indians now take their place beside the whites in
industrial pursuits as well as in the higher walks of life. The best evidence that the Blood Indian is educable is the small but impressive list of those who have succeeded.

"MOKORIT KI AŞKAKIMAT"
C. A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

It is a truism to say that one measure of man's culture is the efficiency of his integration with his environment. Some of the more progressive Blood Indians are not satisfied in "Returning to the Blanket" or in maintaining the "status quo." They are beginning to realize that improved use of resources means an improved economy and that a higher standard of living means higher educational training with the ultimate attainment of the "good things of life"; the realization of justifiable pride and self-respect.

In response to many requests from the Blood Reserve a survey of the Reserve's potential resources was planned by the government officials and specialists. An article appearing in the Lethbridge Herald, March 23, 1962 enlarges upon this resource study. Found on page 7 it reads:

With their 349,000 acres, of which 96,500 are improved, residents of the Blood Indian Reserve at Cardston are enquiring how best they can make use of their resources. These include not only agricultural resources, but timber, minerals, gas, oil and water as well.

Representation was made to the Federal Indian Affairs Branch, and studies last summer were initiated. Coordinating the project is S. H. Lok, economic development officer with the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa.

Several federal and Alberta government agencies have been called on to assist. Among them are specialists in soils, crops, rangelands, irrigation, mineral resources, sociology and economics, including a number of experts from the Lethbridge Research Station.

Economics representative is Knud Elgaard of the federal agricultural economics division in Edmonton. His responsibility is to compare the farmland as it is today with its possibilities based on findings of the pasture, soil and irrigation specialists.

There are 230 resident farmers operating 43,000 cul-
tivated acres, he advises, while cropland leased to outsiders comprises some 43,500 acres.

Of the 86,500 improved acres, 45 per cent was in summerfallow last year, 43 per cent in wheat, 7 per cent in other grains, 3 per cent in oilseeds and 2 per cent in forage. Much of the unimproved land is used for grazing.

Use of irrigation will receive considerable attention. An irrigation canal now crossing the reserve carries with it certain privileges for use on the reserve. Irrigation potentialities based on findings of the soil scientists and irrigationists will receive careful study.

There will be two phases to study. The first will include an inventory of all resources available on the reserve, as well as opportunities for off-the-reserve employment. The second phase will involve economic interpretation of these resources.
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APPENDIX
Blood Indian Reserve No. 148
Alberta
Showing Projected Subdivision
West of the 4th Meridian

Largest Indian Reservation in the Dominion of Canada
541 Square Miles
Map A
Approximate distribution of the plains tribes in 1725 A.D.