



A descriptive analysis of Blackfeet Indian beadwork
by Elizabeth Mae McCoy

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE in Home Economics
Montana State University
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Abstract:

Assuming that the Indian beadwork is distinguishable on a tribal basis, it may express social and cultural patterns and reveal tribal history. The subjects for this study are the Blackfeet Indians. They were selected because of their outstanding ability in the art of dress and use of ornamentation. Beginning as the Algonkin and Sioux nations, the Blackfeet nation today consists of the Bloods, the Piegons, and the Blackfeet. They reside on a reservation in northwestern Montana and adjacent Canada.

Interviews with native Blackfeet revealed that among their tribe the most popular use of beads was for decoration and that geometric forms dominated. Blackfeet beadwork can be identified by observing the way line, color, and bead application methods work in geometric designs. Evaluation of the beads, the base materials, the designs, and the method of application can establish a general classification for beaded specimen. Although accuracy is limited, it appears that Blackfeet beadwork reached its peak in the mid 1800's.

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A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF BLACKFEET INDIAN BEADWORK

by

ELIZABETH MAE McCOY

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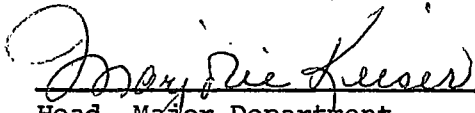
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
VITA	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
ABSTRACT	viii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
Importance of Study	1
Purpose of Study	3
CHAPTER II BLACKFEET INDIANS	4
Location	4
Tribal Division	6
Life Style	9
Religion and Mythology	13
CHAPTER III BEADWORK OF THE BLACKFEET	16
Introduction	16
Design and Art Forms of the Blackfeet	17
Uses of Blackfeet Beadwork	24
Method of Applying Beads	35
CHAPTER IV IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION	38
Identification	38
Design	43
Line	45
Application	45
Color	46
Classification	48
Changes	50

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER V SUMMARY	53
Conclusions	54
Recommendations for Further Study	56
APPENDIX	57
A. Interview Schedule	58
B. Definition of Terms	60
BIBLIOGRAPHY	61

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Map of the Plains Indian Geographical Area	5
2. Map of Blackfeet Indian Area and Reservation	7
3. Algonkin-Wahashan Stock: The Algonkin Family	6
4. The Hoka-Siouan Stock: The Siouan Family	8
5. Saddle Bag: Blackfeet	18
6. Saddle: Blackfeet	18
7. Saddle Blanket: Blackfeet	21
8. Cradle: Blackfeet	21
9. Legging: Blackfeet	22
10. Womens Pipe Bag: Blackfeet	23
11. Bridle: Blackfeet	23
12. Annie Calf Looking	25
13. Cape: Blackfeet	26
14. Man's Shirt: Blackfeet	27
15. Man's Shirt: Blackfeet	27
16. Paul Old Chief	28
17. Legging: Blackfeet	29
18. Moccasin: Blackfeet	30
19. Headdress: Blackfeet	31
20. Necklaces: Blackfeet	32

Figure	Page
21. Knife and Sheath: Blackfeet	33
22. Gun Case: Blackfeet	34
23. Cross-warp Weaving	35
24. Single-weft Weaving	35
25. Double-weft Weaving	35
26. Box Loom Stitch	36
27. Spot-Stitch	36
28. Lazy-Stitch	37
29. Applique Stitch	37
30. Animal Symbols	39
31. Elemental Forces: Symbols	40
32. Symbolic Stories	41
33. Symbolic Representations: Blackfeet	42
34. Blackfeet Basic Designs	44
35. Man's Suit Showing Basic Designs: Blackfeet	44
36. Curved Lines: Blackfeet	45
37. Floral Design: Blackfeet	45
38. Women's Leggings and Moccasins: Blackfeet	46
39. Pipe Bag: Blackfeet	47
40. Suggested Method of Classification	51

ABSTRACT

Assuming that the Indian beadwork is distinguishable on a tribal basis, it may express social and cultural patterns and reveal tribal history. The subjects for this study are the Blackfeet Indians. They were selected because of their outstanding ability in the art of dress and use of ornamentation. Beginning as the Algonkin and Sioux nations, the Blackfeet nation today consists of the Bloods, the Piegiens, and the Blackfeet. They reside on a reservation in northwestern Montana and adjacent Canada.

Interviews with native Blackfeet revealed that among their tribe the most popular use of beads was for decoration and that geometric forms dominated. Blackfeet beadwork can be identified by observing the way line, color, and bead application methods work in geometric designs. Evaluation of the beads, the base materials, the designs, and the method of application can establish a general classification for beaded specimen. Although accuracy is limited, it appears that Blackfeet beadwork reached its peak in the mid 1800's.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Among the Plains Indians there is little recorded history. Writing as a way of communication was nonexistent in their culture. As the old traditions of story-telling and picture writing fade away, so does the culture of the tribes. Much valuable information is therefore lost to coming generations.

Many scholars have suggested that arts and crafts may be a means of helping to establish historical accounts. As Coster says, "Their art was a means of communicating their emotions, and in it they expressed the characteristics of their race." (Coster, 1916: 301) This suggested that some tribes gave these conventionalized designs a symbolic value. (Wissler, 1941: 134) It also suggests that the arts and crafts of the Plains Indians may be used as an historical account of the tribes.

Art expression may be one of two types. It may be of a religious, or purely decorative connotation. In the former, which was a more serious art, there was a tendency toward the realistic. In the latter, highly geometric forms were constructed. These characteristics are discernable in the craft work of the Plains Indians. The religious art, for example, appeared in paintings on the Blackfeet tipi and the figures on the ghost dance shirts of the Dakota. On the other hand,

horse trappings, clothing items other than ceremonial costumes, and moccasins often supported the geometric decorative art expression.

(Wissler, 1941: 137)

Beadwork, being a popular craft of the Plains Indians, was no exception as a communicative art expression. It was used to communicate their beliefs and to decorate their clothing. For the most part, beadwork may be found on clothing, horse trappings, ceremonial props, and moccasins to mention just a few.

Many tribes were classified as Plains Indians. In general, they were Cheyenne, Sioux, Gros Ventre, Crow, Blackfeet, and Assiniboin. Of those inhabiting the upper reaches of the Missouri, two were outstanding. As described by George Catlin:

The several tribes of Indians inhabiting the regions of the Upper Missouri . . . are undoubtedly the finest looking, best equipped, and most beautifully costumed of any on the Continent. . . . As far as my travels have yet led me into the Indian country, I have more than realized my former predictions that those Indians who could be found most entirely in a state of nature, with the least knowledge of civilized society, would be found to be the most cleanly in their persons, elegant in their dress and manners, and enjoying life to the greatest perfection. Of such tribes; perhaps the Crows and the Blackfeet stand first; and no one would be able to appreciate the richness and elegance (and even taste too), without seeing them in their own country. (Roehm, 1966: 62)

The reservations of both the Crow and the Blackfeet are within the boundaries of Montana. Both tribes used ornamentation widely in their clothing and clothing accessories. The study of this ornamentation in either tribe could be a valuable resource in recording their

culture. Because of their outstanding ability in the art of dress and use of ornamentation, the Blackfeet tribe was chosen for this study.

If beadwork is to be used as a clue to history, changes need to be recorded, and an attempt made to interpret it in terms of social and cultural patterns. Several museum curators have indicated this study will be valuable as a means of authenticating Blackfeet Indian beaded specimen.

This study was therefore undertaken to find information needed for further recognition and understanding of Blackfeet Indian beadwork designs. Its objectives were to:

1. Identify characteristics of beadwork designs that are attributable to the Blackfeet tribe
2. Interpret the symbolism
3. Reveal the changes of the bead craft

Four basic assumptions have been made:

1. Blackfeet Indian beadwork is distinguishable from other Indian beadwork.
2. Blackfeet Indian beadwork reveals social and cultural patterns.
3. The designs of Blackfeet Indian beadwork have changed over the years.
4. A primary reason for these changes was due to outside influences.

Chapter II

BLACKFEET INDIANS

Location

The North American Indians may be classified by language, culture, and physical characteristics. It is, however, more usual to consider them as political or social groups, or tribes. It is under such group names that the objects in museum collections are arranged. The cultures of many tribes are quite similar. Resemblances are nearly always found among neighbors and not among widely scattered tribes. It is convenient, therefore, to group them in geographical or cultural areas. (Wissler, 1941: 17)

The Plains Indians acquired their name from the geographical area they inhabited, the Great Plains.

The area stretches from central Alberta all the way south to the Mexican border. It is bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, and on the east by the Missouri River. It includes parts of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. . . . This was the home of the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, (Dakota), Cheyenne, and Comanche Indians, among other. (Driver, 1961: 16)

(Fig. 1)

In the northwest corner of this outlined land area, next to the Rocky Mountains in Montana and in adjacent parts of Alberta, Canada, were the Blackfeet tribes: the South Piegan, North Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfeet. (Wissler, 1966: 102)



Fig. 1. Plains Indian Area

With the immigrations of civilization to the western United States, the territory of the Blackfeet Indian tribe continued to be diminished. The ultimate move was the establishment of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. This tract of land was located in northwestern Montana surrounding Browning. (Fig. 2)

Tribal Division

The origin of the Blackfeet tribe has been traced to two tribal families, the Sioux and the Algonkin. Noted in the family trees of each of these major tribes is the Blackfeet name. (Fig. 3 & Fig. 4)

A. Algonkin-Wahashan Stock: Plains Country

1. Cree
2. Blackfoot
3. Gros Ventre or Atsina
4. Blood
5. Piegan
6. Araphaho
7. Cheyenne

Fig. 3 (Wissler, 1966: 68)

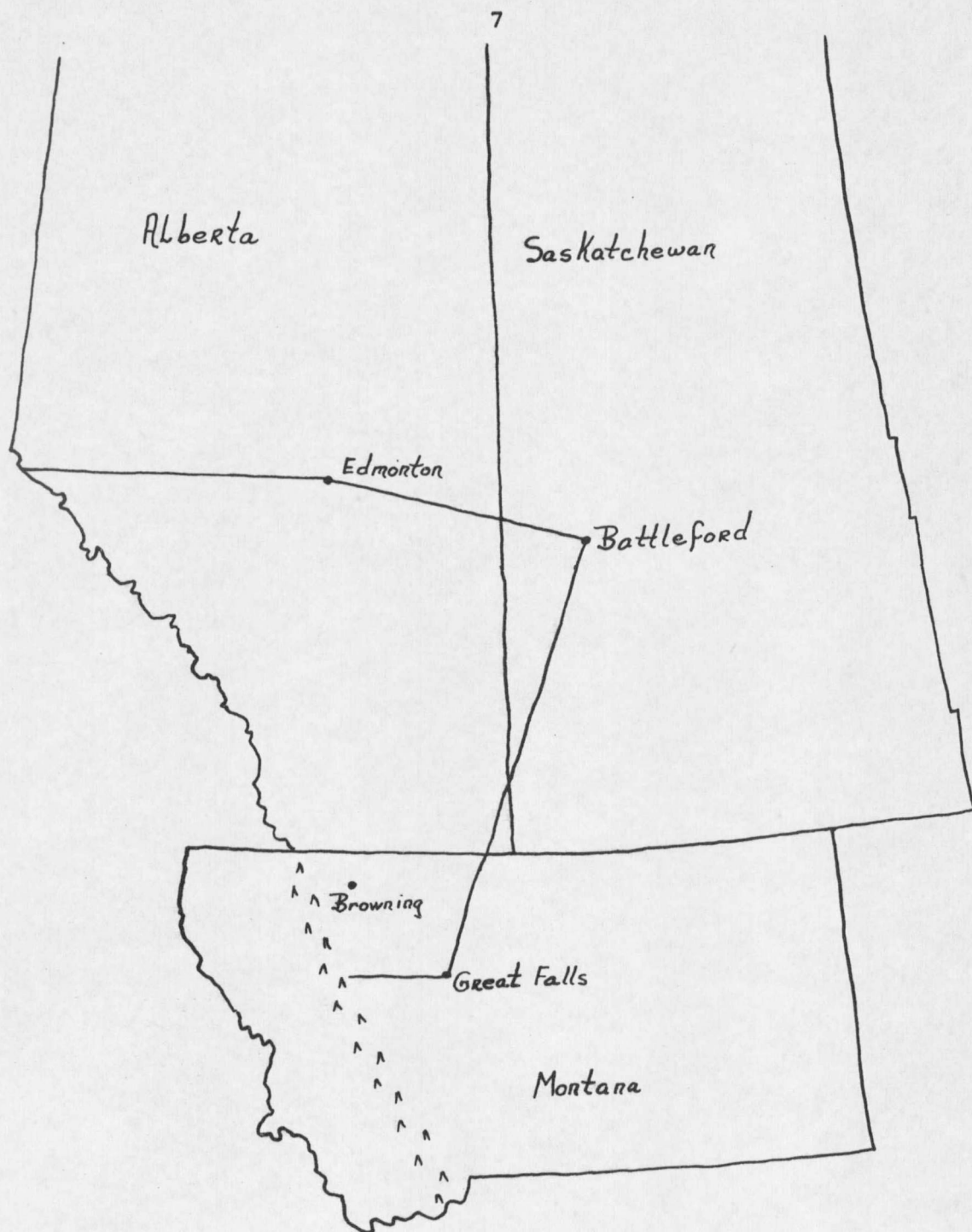


Fig. 2. Blackfeet Area and Reservation
(National Geographic Society, 1970: 56)

B. The Hokan-Siouan Stock: The Siouan Family

1. Dakota Tribes
 - a. Eastern Dakota
 - b. Santee Dakota
 - c. Teton Dakota
 - (1) Blackfeet Sioux
 - (2) Brule (Spotted Tail)
 - (3) Hunkpapa (Sitting Bull)
 - (4) Miniconjou
 - (5) Ogalala (Red Cloud, Crazy Horse)
 - (6) Sans Arc
 - (7) Two Kettle
 - d. Yankton Dakota (Waneta)

Fig. 4 (Wissler, 1966: 174)

There is reason to believe that the Algonkin once held all the territory north of the 38th parallel westward to the Rocky Mountains, and that the Sioux forced their way up the Missouri Valley, from the south, splitting the western Algonkin. (Wissler, 1966: 173-174)

This theory, among others, attempted to explain the origin of the Blackfeet.

The study of Indian Languages, . . . can be extremely valuable in the knowledge it provides of the backgrounds and prehistoric origin, movements, and cultural developments of individual tribes and bands. (Josephy, Jr., 1969: 14)

.
 Language characteristics, for instance, provide clues to early links between different people, help indicate the approximate time and place in which people were once located, point to centers of dispersion, and illuminate migrations, divisions, contacts, past associations, and content of prehistoric cultures. And language borrowings from other tongues--or the lack of them--can often clarify relationships between stronger and advanced cultures. (Josephy, Jr., 1969: 15)

It has been noted that the Blackfeet language was Algonkin in nature, which may have indicated that the Siouan Blackfeet were engulfed by the already established Algonkin Blackfeet.

According to the Siouan family tree, the Blackfeet were a part of the seven sub-tribes of the Teton-Dakota division. (Fig. 4) As these Indians worked their way up the Missouri Valley to the Algonkin Blackfeet territory, the two groups may have melted together to form what is known today as simply the Blackfeet Indian Tribe. After the emergence of these two groups of people under a common name, the tribe again divided into four sub-tribes: the South Piegan, North Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfeet.

Including these four tribes, at the time the Blackfeet were at the height of their power, about 1830, it was estimated that the total population was between 10,000 and 18,000 people. Unfortunately, with civilization came disease unknown to the Indians. In 1836 the first epidemic of smallpox took its toll among the Blackfeet. Again in 1845 and 1857 smallpox struck the tribe, leaving the population about one-third its former number. (Wissler, 1966: 106)

Life Style

Although the Plains tribes never constituted more than one-fifth of the United States Indian population, they have captured a large share of the world's interest.

Their fierce resistance to the white invaders, their famed horsemanship, and their colorful costumes are so familiar that many people think of all Indians as dashing raiders on horseback, dressed in fringed buckskin and flowing war bonnets. (Mattson, 1951: 60)

It was not until the horse appeared, about 1730, that the best known aspects of their culture developed. (Mattson, 1951: 60)

The nonagricultural nature of the Plains Indians was at its prime by the end of the eighteenth century. The horse had facilitated the pursuit of the buffalo and the maintenance of a buffalo-based economy which the plains seemed to dictate. (Joseph, Jr., 1969: 110) The buffalo meant not only food, but also clothing, homes, weapons, ceremonial props, and many other items for the Plains tribes. Without the buffalo the life of the American Plains Indian would have been quite different. As it was, however, the plains were bountifully stocked so life was quite comfortable. (Roehm, 1966: 60-62)

The Plains Indians moved their campsites often as they followed the massive herds of buffalo from range to range. If game was scarce, it often became necessary for bands to split into small units and hunt different areas to obtain enough food. When these bands, or in some cases tribes, came together, the members of each assembled their tipis in a circle or semicircle. It was at this time that social visits, games, gambling, and foot and horse races occurred, as did councils and ceremonies. (Joseph, Jr., 1969: 120) Usually when the tribes assembled

it meant there was plenty to eat for all the members. (Spargur, 1971: Interview)

The Plains Indians, as a whole, fought courageously with the white man to keep their land and freedom. Even though the Blackfeet had a reputation for being warlike and ferocious, the nation did not openly engage in war with the white man. Instead, they fought their hated neighboring Indian bands who invaded Blackfeet country for buffalo and horses. The Blackfeet were serving as scouts and allies, while other tribes of the Plains area were fighting with the white man. Nevertheless, because of these activities the Blackfeet gained the reputation for being the most hostile of all Plains Indians. Most of the neighboring tribes and whites became fearful of the powerful Blackfeet. One authority cites an exception to this.

It is an interesting fact that . . . the first white trader, in fact the first white man, who is known to have visited them . . . has left it on record that he spent the winter with them and was treated with the utmost friendliness. (Belden, 1884: 327)

Spargur suggests that Indian traditions express a peaceful life in those days, at least until the white man appeared. There was little cause for war. Conflicts, when they arose, were generally caused by extending or protecting hunting grounds, or from the theft of a woman by other tribes. (Spargur, 1971: Interview)

The social organization of the Blackfeet Indians was not a complex institution. It was, in fact, a loose confederacy having no

overall chief. Each tribe, the Piegan (North and South), the Blackfeet, and the Bloods, divided into bands headed by a civil chief and a war chief. (Werner, 1971: 3-4) These bands or subdivisions are sometimes referred to as gentes and take their name from some peculiarity or habit. They have no special duties, "medicine", or "totem".

(Grinnell, 1971: 208) Within this confederacy existed Blackfeet societies.

Blackfeet did not join the Blackfeet societies for pleasure, but to fulfill vows, generally made because of sickness, or for some remarkable escape from danger. The leading societies ruled the camp, and helped the chiefs to administer public discipline. They protected the tribe's sources of food, and secured equal opportunities for all. They strictly enforced the rule that private advantages must be surrendered to the public good. Under the exercise of such police regulations and the enjoyment by all of equal rights and a joint ownership of game and lands, no individual could claim or annoy special privileges. The societies compelled everyone to submit to their rule, but they never annoyed or interfered with people who obeyed their commands. (McLaughlin, 1970: 34)

The families of the Blackfeet were very closely knit. Within this unit, definite roles were laid out for the members. Generally the men were the warriors and the hunters. Most of their time was spent resting and hunting as often their hunting parties would be gone for days or weeks. (Spargur, 1971: Interview) In contrast, the women of the tribe were the workers of the families. Among their duties, they prepared all the food, tanned all the hides, erected and took down the tipi, carried the water, dug plants, and brought in the meat. Even

though the woman was the worker, she was very highly regarded as indicated in a statement recorded by O'Hara: "mat-ah-kwi-tam-sp-i-ni-po-ki-ni-mi-o-sin". "Not found (is) happiness without woman." (O'Hara, 1934: 46) Today, the women's position is very similar to the white society although they are not as forward. (Werner, 1971: Interview)

They are a proud and intelligent people. The principal downfall the past 100 years was due to the unwise use of liquor, their failure to work together, and the greed of the white man. Gradually they are bettering themselves. Particularly in the last two decades, they have made remarkable progress in self government, ranching, oil and gas development, new housing, industry, and educational facilities. (Werner, 1971: 8)

Religion and Mythology

The religion of Indians was a complex institution. Gods were not shared by any two tribes although each individual had his own helpful power, or Great Medicine. (O'Hara, 1934: 53)

All religious ceremonies and practices or medicines of the Plains Indians originated in dreams or visions. (Wissler, 1941: 113)

". . . dreams were interpreted as communications with the unseen."

(Wissler, 1966: 25)

Supernatural visions, an important element in the life of the Plains Indians, were sought by both men and women through dreams and private quests. Usually, when they were in their late teens, youths would be sent by themselves to lonely places to seek a vision. After fasting and sometimes self-torture, the youth would dream that he was visited by a supernatural being who would become his personal guardian. The spirit would teach him certain magic songs and prayers, instruct him in a personal ritual and in ways of behavior, and tell him what objects to bring together to form his own

personal charm that would protect him and help him through life. Thereafter, whenever he required it, the Indian would continue to seek guidance from his special guardian, carrying the sacred objects wrapped in a skin, which white men called a "medicine bundle". Men who had strong visions often became shamans, and were believed to possess magical powers, including the important ability to heal sick persons. But special training was frequently required to conduct the various tribal rituals and carry out spiritual duties. (Joseph, Jr., 1969: 120)

As were all Indians, the Blackfeet were prejudiced and superstitious. Nothing was undertaken without first consulting their guardian spirit. (O'Hara, 1934: 27)

Now, when a Blackfoot . . . went out to fast and pray for a revelation, he called upon all the recognized mythical creatures, the heavenly bodies, and all in the earth and in the water, which is consistent with the conceptions of a (n) . . . localized power or element manifest everywhere. . . . If this divine element spoke through a hawk, for example, the applicant would then look upon that bird as the localization or medium for it; and for him . . . was manifest or resided therein. . . . Quite likely, he would keep in a bundle the skin or feathers of a hawk that the divine presence might ever be at hand. (Wissler, 1941: 112)

The practice of sacrificial offerings was common among the Plains Indians. (Wissler, 1966: 125) Beaded items, calico yardage, and decorated clothing were often given to the gods in the ceremony of offerings followed by the Sun Dance. (O'Hara, 1934: 57)

One of the most important rituals of the Plains tribes was the Sun Dance, whose participants had made vows to enter the ceremony in return for supernatural assistance. Held annually in the summer, the religious event was observed in various forms. Generally, however, it included a dance conducted in an enclosed area around a painted pole that had been fashioned from a sacred tree, felled with a special ceremony. The participants, carry out their vows in return for spiritual help, danced extremely simple steps and went

without food and water--sometimes for days--until, in many cases, they dropped in a trance and had a vision.
(Josephy, Jr., 1969: 120)

Tribal myths often consisted of tales about the activities of some mythical hero with supernatural attributes. He had the power to create or transform the world, to right great wrongs. This human form often appeared as a trickster who played trivial and vulgar pranks.
(Wissler, 1941: 107) The Blackfeet gods were the Sun and Napi, a supernatural being. Napi was a trickster who was a combination of strength and weakness, wisdom and kindness, and who did good for those who did right. To achieve his favor, offerings of the usual type were made. If, however, a prayer was for life, the sacrifice of a finger would favorably influence the god. (O'Hara, 1934: 53)

Myths were nearly universal in the Plains. Usually they took the form of having the submerged earth restored by a sort of human being who sent down a diving bird or animal to obtain a little mud or sand. (Wissler, 1941: 106) "Migration legends and those accounting for the origins and forms of tribal beliefs and institutions make up a large portion of the mythology for the respective tribes and must be carefully considered in formulating a concept of the religion and philosophy of each." (Wissler, 1941: 109)

Chapter III

BEADWORK OF THE BLACKFEET

Introduction

Paint and quill embroidery were the traditional arts of the Plains Indians. Designs could be easily rendered in paint on flat surfaces. It seems logical, therefore, that the art forms used in beaded figures were first developed in the techniques of painting.

(Ewers, 1939: 45) It was not until the white man arrived that applied designs became a favorite decoration. He brought with him and made available beads and ribbons which became popular adornment items for decorating personal belongings. (Whiteford, 1970: 87) The bead eventually almost displaced the original art of porcupine quill embroidery. (Wissler, 1941: 133)

In general, realistic, decorative, and other art forms seem to have been developed on the northeastern border of the United States, while the geometric art form was most commonly used in the southwestern area. The Blackfeet family tree shows relationships from both, the Algonkin of the northeast and the Sioux from the southwest. (Fig. 3 & Fig. 4) It seems, therefore, that there are two influences from opposite directions which reinforce the common suggestion that the geometric art of the Plains area was introduced from the southwestern part of the continent. (Wissler, 1971: 137-138)

Beadwork, for the Blackfeet Indians, served to record historical events and render personal belongings more attractive. Early forms were realistic, but through the years these became conventionalized and were regarded only as decoration. Although beadwork was somewhat less important to the Blackfeet than other Indian tribes of the northern Plains, it shows historical content. (Whiteford, 1970: 6)

The American Indian does not produce much handmade clothing and equipment today due to the scarcity of raw materials and the general adoption of white man's clothing. There are, however, festive occasions, whether staged for the benefit of Indians or whites, that still require the traditional items. In some instances these handmade materials are used as gifts from the maker to other members of the tribe. "These are usually excellent in design and workmanship and reveal a vitality and strength that promise to survive no matter how much the new life of these people may modify the style of their future work." (Mattson, 1951: 64)

Design and Art Forms of the Blackfeet

Among the Plains Indian tribes there was a great diversity of form and expression in art. In each tribe the designs were influenced by religious and social customs. Plains Indian art, however, had some common ground. The designs were surface decoration characterized by



Fig. 5 Saddle Bag

Beaded by the Blackfeet in the late 19th century. Shows the lazy stitch on deerskin



Fig. 6 Saddle

Beaded by the Blackfeet in early 1900's

Saddle Blanket beaded by Blackfeet in the mid 19th century. Shows lazy stitch on deerskin.

Fig. 5 & 6
US Department of the Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indian
Browning, Montana

boldness of design and skill in space filling, with a relation between form, media, and material. (Appleton, 1971: 2)

Whether the design was purely decorative or had some religious connotation depended on the purpose of the structure. The purpose of the design also determined whether men or women constructed the figure. "Neither sex worked in the style of the other." (Mattson, 1951: 62)

The realistic decoration of objects used in rituals and religious ceremonials was the work of men. Handled similarly were war deeds, hunting scenes, and historical record. (Appleton, 1971: 20) The women were restricted to using abstract designs. They consisted of geometrical units such as squares, triangles, and diamonds. (Appleton, 1971: 20) It was in the area of the abstract that the beadwork found its greatest success. The geometric forms were an effort to make things "pretty". (Appleton, 1971: 1)

The traditional designs consisted of angular abstractions. They appear quite complex but can be resolved into basic geometric forms such as triangles, rectangles, lozenges, straight lines, and dots. (Wissler, 1941: 134) They are constructed in various combinations to make up the desired decorative form. (Spier, 1925: 96)

The principles that lie at the foundation of all design are illustrated in Indian works. "Repetition, symmetry, rhythm, straight and curved line arrangements, light and dark space relations, color values, are carefully related and produce patterns of simple beauty and

artistic merit." (Coster, 1916: 301) The designs . . . are symmetrical and the lines are smooth and of uniform width. . . . Carelessness is largely a matter of irregularity in line and shape, . . ." (Spier, 1925: 97) For example, on a parfleche there might be a slight difference between the flaps, in the number of bars or triangles used to fill an area, and of failures to transpose colors to render the flaps symmetrical about a longitudinal median. "The feeling for symmetry is so strong . . . that the asymmetry of the whole design are . . . symmetrical about either the longitudinal or the transverse axis of the design." (Spier, 1925: 97)

When Blackfeet decorative figures are reduced to the basic geometric forms, two major shapes dominate, the square and the rectangle. These generally are found massed together to make up a larger triangle. (Hunt, 1954: 58) The native Blackfeet refer to this shape as the arrowpoint or the mountain design. (McKnight, Spargur, Higgins, 1971: Interviews) Fig. 8

The type of lines used makes each tribe distinctive. Some are straight and carefully drawn while others are careless. When the latter occurs, it is largely a matter of irregularity of smoothness or uniformity. Some lines are curved. This is not necessarily carelessness since these curves are symmetrically placed. According to many authorities, the Blackfeet commonly use the curved line in their designs. (Spier, 1925: 97) The native Blackfeet, however, indicate

Fig. 7 Saddle Blanket

Blackfeet
Mid 19th century



Fig. 8 Cradle

Blackfeet
Early 1900's



Fig. 7 & 8
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts
Board
Museum of the Plains
Indians
Browning, Montana

that straight lines and corners are the most popular usage of line.

(Higgins, 1971: Interview) The width of a line should also be considered. Lines are described as narrow or broad. The Blackfeet tended to use both types or medium lines. (Spier, 1925: 97)

While primary colors red, yellow, and blue were used most often, other dominant colors can be found in various tribal works. Even in the three sub-tribes of the Blackfeet nation, one color will dominate in one group more than in the other two. The Blackfeet basic colors were strong bold hues of red, yellow, blue, green, black, and white. The Bloods, part of the Blackfeet nation, used yellow as a more dominant color. (Higgins, 1971: Interview) The larger figure in the Blackfeet design is usually of one color while the smaller units around it are of many colors. White generally served as the background color, although other hues such as light blue or green have been used in the Blackfeet designs. (Hunt, 1954: 58) Fig. 9, 10, 11.



Fig. 9 Legging

Blackfeet
Late 19th century

Fig. 9
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts
Board
Museum of the Plains
Indians

Fig. 10 Womens' Pipe Bag

Blackfeet
Late 19th century



Fig. 11 Bridle

Blackfeet
Early 1900's



Fig. 10 & 11
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indians
Browning, Montana

Uses of Blackfeet Beadwork

The Blackfeet Indians used beadwork decoration as a method for emphasizing pride in design and workmanship of personal belongings. With the beads they developed a complex art form that added "beauty" and adornment to clothing, tools, riding equipment, household items, and ceremonial props. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 22) In general, beadwork may be found on almost any item of personal belonging on which beauty could be enhanced, or has some religious significance or power.

The clothing of both sexes was colorfully adorned with beadwork. (Joseph, Jr., 1969: 119) Generally, the decorations on mens and womens clothing were similar and adhered to a common tribal style. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 26) Items of clothing on which beadwork may be found are dresses, shirts, vests, leggings, moccasins, breechcloths, and robes. Accessories such as necklaces and hair ornaments also make use of the bead.

Old-time Blackfoot dresses were commonly decorated with a band of beadwork across the front that curved downwards toward the center. Another beaded band often covered the shoulders, and small beaded symbols were applied on other parts of the dresses. A downward-pointed triangle was generally beaded on the lower front of the dress--presumably as some traditional symbol of womanhood. A narrow beaded band usually edged the bottom of the dress, while thongs and fringes often hung in profusion. Blackfoot women preferred larger-than-seed beads for their dresses. They used both pony beads and glass tube beads on the capes. Time saved made up for the beauty lost. Large beads were also strung on the long thongs, while thimbles and drilled coins were attached to their ends, and Deer hooves and cowrie shells were tied into the fringes. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 27) Fig. 12



Fig. 12 Annie Calf Looking

Glacier Studio
Mr. & Mrs. D. J. Schmidt
Browning, Montana

"Cloth dresses were decorated in a variety of ways, in addition to, or instead of beadwork." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 27) "Many times the beaded or quilled yokes from worn out dresses were repaired and worn over plain cloth dresses." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 29) Fig. 13



Fig. 13 Cape

Blackfeet
Early 1900's

Fig. 13
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts
Board
Museum of the Plains
Indian
Browning, Montana

Beadwork was most commonly found on mens shirts in stripes that were worn down the arms and over the shoulders. "Blackfeet shirts often had a large beaded medallion in front of the chest, as well as fringes of white-with-black-tip Ermine skins." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 37)

Figures 14 & 15



Fig. 14 Man's Shirt

Blackfeet
Late 19th century
Ermine Tails

Fig. 15 Man's Shirt

Blackfeet
Mid 19th century
Wool Fabric
Medallion

Fig. 14 & 15
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts
Board
Museum of the Plains
Indian
Browning, Montana



Some of the finest beadwork may be found on the vest. At times this item of dress was fully beaded in various designs most common to the tribe. "In the final years of their popularity some fully-beaded vests displayed such un-ethnic designs as crossed flags and hatted cowboys on rearing horses." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 41) Fig. 16



Fig. 16

Paul Old Chief
1948

Fig. 16
Glacier Studio
Mr. & Mrs. D. J. Schmidt
Browning, Montana

The leggings were decorated with strips of beadwork in front and parallel with the seams or with a panel of beadwork that covered the bottom of the legging. "Beaded strips were done on separate material and then sewn to the main part of the legging, just ahead of the seam." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 43) In the Northern Plains area, the most popular style of decoration was the beaded panel. Contrasting with the moccasins, the designs were worked within narrow, rectangular bands of thin wool or velvet and sewn to the bottom of the legging. "Sometimes the beadwork was solid, other times it merely highlighted a background of colored cloth, . . . (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 31) Fig. 17



Fig. 17 Legging

Blackfeet
Late 19th century

Fig. 17
US Department of the Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indians
Browning, Montana

Beadwork found a great deal of expression on the moccasin. The Blackfeet deerskin moccasins were often decorated on the toe with a three-pronged beaded figure. Each of the prongs represented one of the three tribes of the nation. (O'Hara, 1934: 45) Although moccasins were often partially beaded, it was not unusual to find them fully beaded. (McKnight, 1971: Interview) Fig. 18



Fig. 18 Moccasin

Blackfeet

Fig. 18
US Department of the Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indians
Browning, Montana

Beadwork decoration on breechcloths and robes of the Blackfeet is limited. The same is true of hair ornaments even though some beaded thongs and headbands may be seen. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 60) Fig. 19

Fig. 19 Headdress

Blackfeet
Late 19th century



Fig. 19
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts
Board
Museum of the Plains
Indian
Browning, Montana

In the Northern Plains area, loop necklaces were more popular than breastplates.

. . . the Blackfoot . . . wrapped tiny seed beads round and round on the buckskin loops with thread. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 49) Glass tube beads were similarly strung up and worn as chokers among many tribes. Everyday chokers were commonly made up of one or two strands of necklace beads. The Blackfoot People often strung Elk teeth or cowrie shells between the beads. Strips of beadwork were sometimes worn as chokers. Some later-day dance outfits were complete with a choker that was patterned after the common high-collar and tie, but was made of buckskin and fully beaded. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 52-53) Fig. 20



Fig. 20 Necklaces

Blackfeet

Fig. 20
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts
Board
Museum of the Plains
Indian
Browning, Montana

In general, Indian women have made a greater effort to maintain a more traditional appearance than the men. "It is easier to be one's self at home than among spiritless critics." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 27)

Examples of other items on which beadwork may be found can be seen in Figures 5 to 22. They include riding equipment (Figures 5, 6, 7, and 11), cradles (Fig. 8), pipe bags (Fig. 10), and knife and gun scabbard (Figures 21 and 22).



Fig. 21 Knife & Sheath

Blackfeet
Mid 19th century

Fig. 21
US Department of the Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indians
Browning, Montana



Fig. 22 Gun Case

Blackfeet
Early 1900's

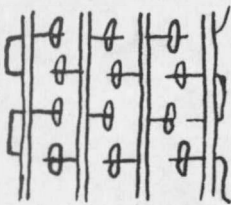
Fig. 22
US Department of the Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indian
Browning, Montana

Method of Applying Beads

Four methods for applying beads to the dressed animal skin were most commonly used. They included the loom stitch, spot-stitch, lazy-stitch, and applique stitch. (Whiteford, 1970: 90) For each of these techniques sinew, made from the tendons of large animals, served as the thread. (Rooks, 1958: 7)

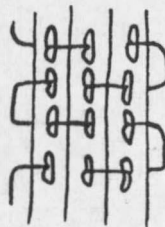
The earliest method of bead application was done on a loom.

Woven beadwork is done with warp strands stretched as with a belt loom or on a frame of bow. Cross-warp weaving (Fig. 23), with a wood heddle . . . separates the warps for insertion of the beaded weft. Other woven beadwork is done with a fine needle. In single-weft weaving (Fig. 24), a thread with beads on it is plaited through the warps. For common double-weft weaving (Fig. 25), one weft strand is passed through the beads above the warps, the other below them. Woven beadwork tends to angular designs. (Whiteford, 1970: 90)



Cross-warp weaving

Fig. 23



Single-weft weaving

Fig. 24



Double-weft weaving

Fig. 25

Another and probably more modern method of woven beadwork was done on a box frame loom. The warp threads are stretched across the loom and around screws at each end. Beads are strung on the weft thread

and spaced evenly across the top of the warp threads. The beads are pressed down so the weft thread can be passed through the center of the bead below the warp. When the beaded strip is completed, it is sewn to a leather backing. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 22) Fig. 26

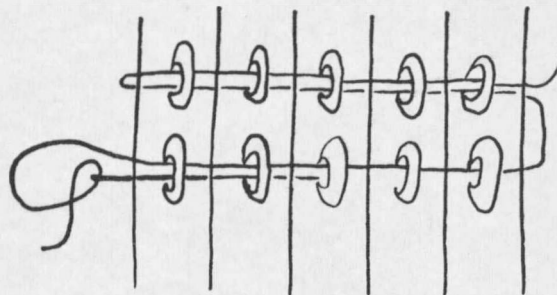


Fig. 26

Box Loom Stitch

Spot-stitch sewing is done by laying threaded beads in a design and sewing them in place. (Fig. 27) It was used by the Blackfeet for geometric beadwork designs until 1870 when floral motifs became the vogue. (Whiteford, 1970: 92)

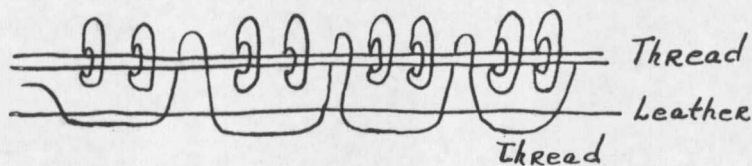


Fig. 27

Spot-Stitch

"Lazy stitch beadwork is generally applied directly to the item to be decorated. . . . From two to more than ten beads are strung at a time and sewn down in parallel rows. The needle does not go entirely

through the material, but catches only the outer edge of it." (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 23) Fig. 28

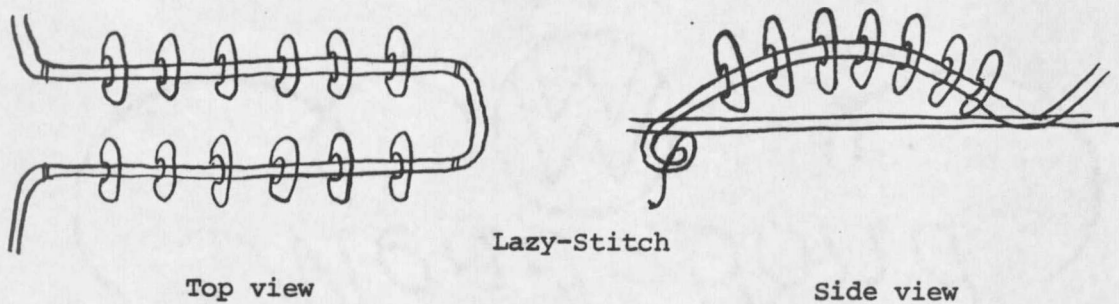


Fig. 28

The applique stitch is done with two threads. Every second or third bead is sewn down. This method produces the most perfect beadwork on leather. It is ideal for floral and pictorial designs. It was very popular among the People of the Rocky Mountains country, . . . (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 23)

A number of beads are strung on a thread and laid in place. The second thread is then sewn across the first one, a stitch being taken at every second or third bead. Between stitches the second thread passes under the beads just below the surface, with leather. When beading on cloth the material must be backed for support, and the thread must be pulled all the way through. Beads may be sewn down in straight lines or in curves, as fits the design. Completed applique beadwork presents such a smooth, tight appearance that no threads are visible. (Hungry Wolf, 1971: 23) Fig. 29

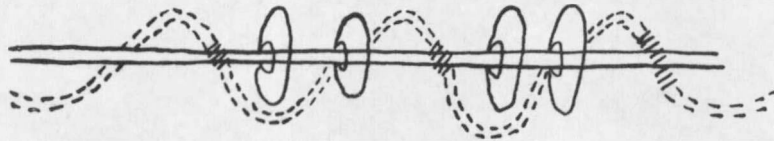


Fig. 29

Applique Stitch

Chapter IV

IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION

Identification

The arts and crafts in the Indian culture were a means of communicating emotion and expressing cultural characteristics. To understand these expressions, some attempt must be made to interpret the symbolism and identify the tribe from which it came. With this information, the arts and crafts become useful historical accounts.

Among the Blackfeet, beadwork was a craft that tended to use geometric designs. This suggests that beads were used for decoration and the realistic usage was limited. It is difficult, then, to record a dictionary of realistic beaded symbols and their meanings for the Blackfeet Indian tribe. Because of the importance, however, an attempt has been made to show and interpret some symbols found in this craft.

In order to understand more clearly the meanings of Indian design, a thorough study should be made of the legends and stories of a tribe. Blackfeet legends disclose a belief that magic powers resided in inanimate objects as well as men and animals. For example, some shields bore designs with magical power, and it was this rather than the shield itself that provided the protection. These designs were often half-animal, half-man figures and were received in visions.

(Appleton, 2: 1971) Another legend holds that if the Blackfeet wished

to protect their children from snakebite, they embroidered a zig-zag snake pattern on the child's moccasin as a protective, magic measure. (Appleton, 1: 1971)

Animals have a place in the legends of the Blackfeet tribe. Various representations symbolize these animals, differing because of the ability of the artist, the item on which it appears, and the individual who is doing the interpreting. The beaver, bison, horse, and dog were particularly important and were often represented in the art expression. The beaver was believed to have some supernatural attributes. This was shown by the possession of a "Beaver Bundle" or medicine bundle which supposedly signified special powers due to its ownership. Because the buffalo was the source of all things material and spiritual, he played a very important part in the life of the Indian. The horse made possible greater migration, more success in hunting, greater achievements in wars, and more variation in recreation. Prior to the common use of the horse, the dog served in all those capacities. These four animals are very often represented in Blackfeet art. Fig. 30

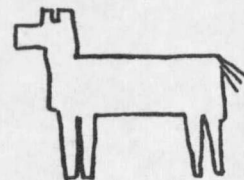
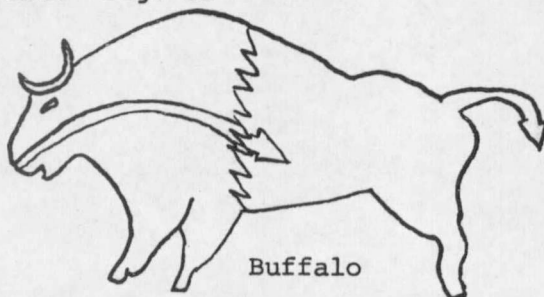
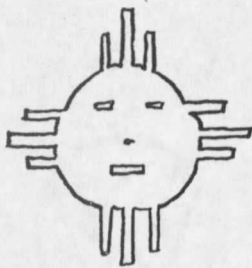
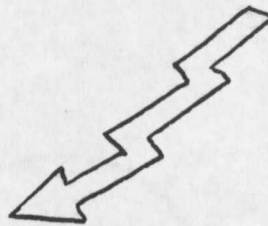


Fig. 30 (Hunt, 1971: 68)

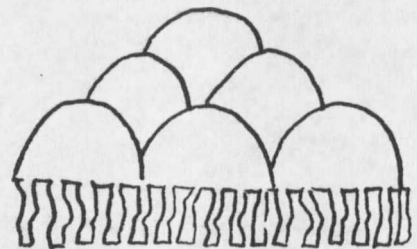
To the Indian all things have life. The elemental Forces of stability and strength are qualities that stood for superiority of type and are in their art expressions. (Fig. 31) Each figure was derived from some natural form making its appeal a divine creation. (Coster, 1916: 301) The meaning of these expressions, however, depends on their use. (McKnight, 1971: Interview) For example, in a design that portrays a buffalo hunt, a stripe would represent the bow. The same stripe, however, found on a parfleche would signify a river or a path depending on the fancy of the maker. (Appleton, 1971: 21)



Sun



Lightning



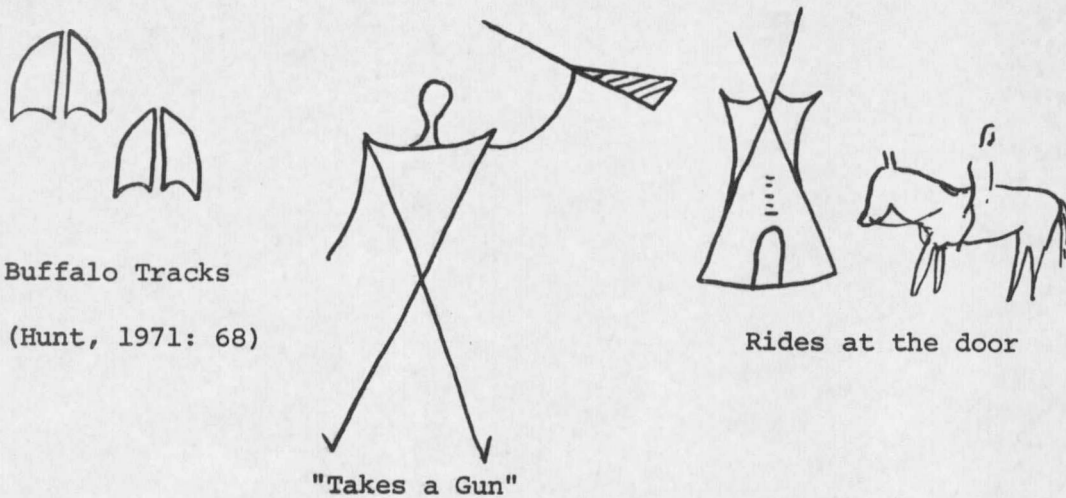
Rain Clouds

Fig. 31. Elemental Forces

(Hunt, 1971: 68)

Although there is some diversity in opinion, Mrs. Ursula Higgins suggests that there usually is a story behind everything that is beaded. Each figure has a meaning and each design means something specific to the person that made it. (Higgins, 1971: Interview) It is the

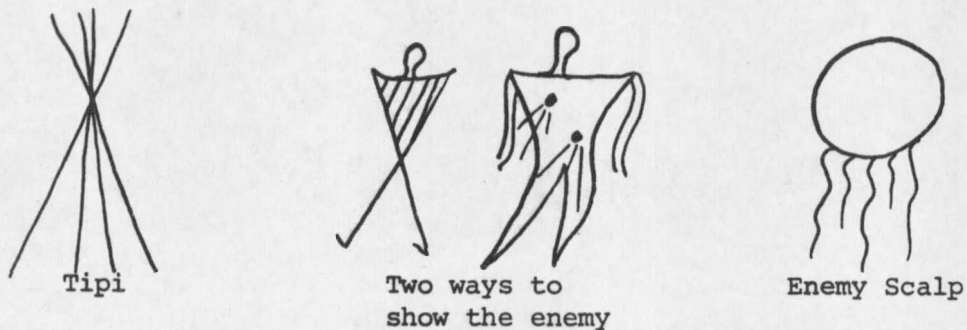
combination of symbolic representations that tell the story in a design. Fig. 32



(Higgins, 1971: Interview)

Fig. 32

Because symbolism in an Indian design is a person thing, it is almost impossible to place common meanings to it. The majority of designs, however, are interpreted the same way among people of the same tribe. (Higgins, 1971: Interview) The following figures are symbolic representations found in Blackfoot beadwork. Fig. 33



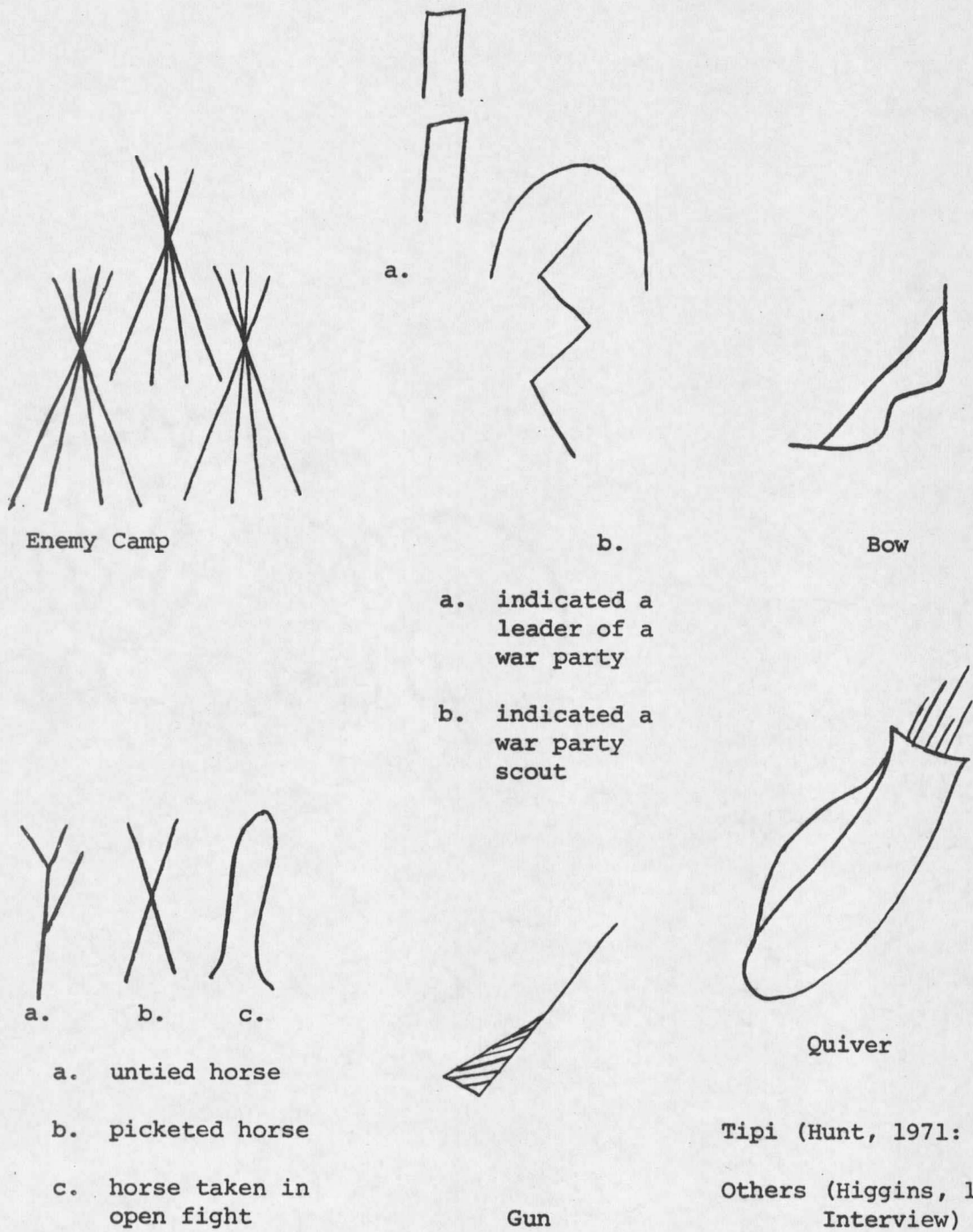


Fig. 33

According to some native Blackfeet, there is generally no specific meaning in beadwork as there is in the technique of painting. At times a solid beaded item may have no meaning at all. (McKnight, 1971: Interview) This refers to the geometric forms that are so popular among the Blackfeet. There is no opportunity for interpretation since there is no meaning. The geometric forms are only for decoration.

Since Blackfeet beadwork tends toward decorative style, it seems logical to suggest methods of identification in geometric terms rather than through the use of realistic symbols. For the most part, even if the beaded item holds some symbolic meaning it will have a geometric border making it distinguishable as Blackfeet. To identify Blackfeet beadwork in geometric terms, consideration must be given to the design, line, color, and the method of application.

Design

Usually Blackfeet beadwork has an extensive use of small squares or oblongs massed together to form a larger unit of design. This larger figure is in the form of a triangle, square, diamond, terrace, or cross. (Hunt, 1971: 58) (Fig. 34) According to the native Blackfeet, the most popular of these designs is the terraced triangle and the diamond, which they prefer to call the mountain or arrow point design. (McKnight, Higgins, Spargur, 1971: Interviews) (Fig. 35) Parallel stripes are

also one of the principle design elements. These stripes are generally placed in a horizontal position on the item being decorated. (Ewers, 1939: 44)

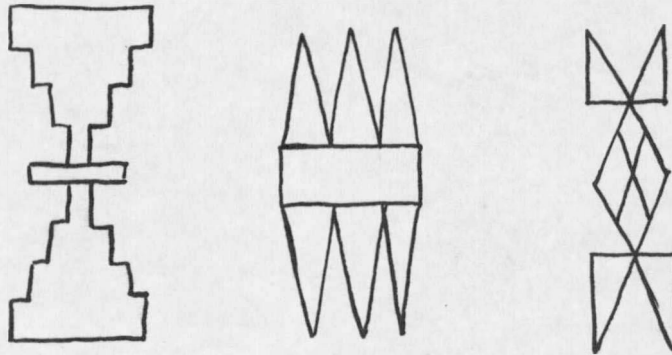


Fig. 34. Blackfeet Basic Geometric Designs

(Hunt, 1971: 69)



Fig. 35

Use of basic designs
on man's suit

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Line

Another characteristic style of the Blackfeet Indian beadwork can be observed on the moccasin. Basically, the Blackfeet designs are said to be geometric in shape having straight lines and sharp corners. On the moccasins, however, U-shaped figures are found. (Wissler, 1941: 133) Such curved lines, then, may be considered a distinguishing characteristic of Blackfeet beadwork. (Spier, 1925: 97) Fig. 36

Application

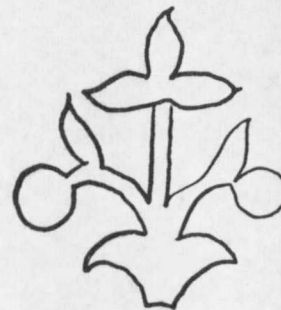
The Blackfeet used spot-stitch sewing for geometric beadwork patterns. (Whiteford, 1970: 92) As the motif of beadwork changed to the floral influences, so did the technique for application. In later years, then, the applique stitch became popular among the Blackfeet and appeared in designs as shown in Figure 37.



Curved Lines

Fig. 36

(Hunt, 1971: 69)



Floral Designs

Fig. 37

Color

The primary colors, red, yellow, and blue, are characteristic of all Plains artists. The Blackfeet incorporated with these three primary colors, green, black, and white. (Higgins, 1971: Interview) When color is used as an identifying characteristic, it is more significant to observe the manner in which it is used in the design than to note only the hue. In Blackfeet beadwork, for example, it is common to find the large figure of one color while the smaller units around it are of many colors. White is most often seen as background. (Hunt, 1971: 58) Figures 38 & 39



Fig. 38. Women's Leggings
and Moccasins

Blackfeet
Early 1900's

Fig. 38
US Department of the
Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indian
Browning, Montana



Fig. 39 Pipe Bag

Blackfeet
Mid 19th century

Fig. 39
US Department of the Interior
Indian Arts & Crafts Board
Museum of the Plains Indian
Browning, Montana

The procedure of identifying Blackfeet beadwork can only be done through careful observation. Consider first the overall design elements. Then work toward the more specific areas of line, application, and color.

Various combinations of these four factors may be used to identify beadwork. Because of the design borrowing practices, it is impossible in every case to identify beaded items of one specific tribe. When this occurs, the region from which the item came can be determined by the suggested method. The Blackfeet designs are similar to those in the Northwestern Plains region. (Lyford, 1940: 8)

Classification

To some extent, the Blackfeet Indian beadwork reveals social and cultural patterns. Since little written material is available, it is important to consider beadwork as a source of Blackfeet history. To be used as such a source, some method of classification needs to be established for the purpose of observing changes over the years.

In order to classify beadwork by date, consideration needs to be given to the size, color, and type of trade beads, the design structure, the base material, and the methods of application. Each of these factors have some characteristics that have been dated. Even so, accuracy is a difficult task, but approximate age can be established.

The trading practices that the Blackfeet held with the white man are important when considering classification. Although some beads were made from shells and seeds prior to the coming of the white man, the glass bead embroidery did not begin on the Plains until about 1800. It was with the first pack train traders that the "pony" bead made its way to the Plains. The pony bead is about one-eighth inch in diameter and often quite irregular in shape. (Hunt, 1971: 58)

The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition record considerable use of trade beads, but it was not until the first steamboat reached Fort Benton, Montana in 1859 that the Blackfeet had an abundance of glass beads with which to decorate. (O'Hara, 1934: 74-75) By this time the glass trade bead had been refined to a smaller size and was called the "seed" bead. Between the period of 1870 and 1890, the bead embroidery reached its peak due to the availability of large quantities of beads. Today, glass has been displaced by plastic in the manufacture of beads.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the Blackfeet did little beadwork before the mid-1800's. It is unusual to find the pony bead used in Blackfeet beaded items because of the small designs. (Hunt, 1971: 58) The seed bead must have been more widely used by the Blackfeet and it did not make its appearance on the Plains until the 1850's.

Bead color is also useful in classification. Each size of bead had colors that were specific to its era. The pony bead occurred most

commonly in blue, white, and black. In contrast, the seed bead appeared in a variety of colors including red, orange, yellow, light and dark blue, green, lavender, and black. (Hunt, 1971: 58) The Blackfeet were known to use a variety of colors in beaded designs.

Backing materials can give clues for classification. Early beadwork was backed with buckskin because it was available. In the mid 19th century, the Hudson Bay Company began trading blankets to the Blackfeet. Then beadwork was applied to the wool fabric. Canvas became very popular for backing in the early 1900's and was followed by a variety of fabrics in later years. Today, many materials are used including buckskin, canvas, and cotton felt.

A general classification of beadwork can be done by careful evaluation of materials, design, and construction. Figure 40 suggests a method of establishing the age of a specimen. All six of the categories need to be considered as each may be a distinguishing factor. Fig. 40.

The process of elimination reveals a general period of time in which a specimen could have been made. Classification, like identification, is difficult and cannot be exact.

Changes

Blackfeet beadwork has always been influenced by other tribes. Until the horse, their early travels were limited to the Plains area.

Fig. 40. Suggested Method of Classification

Date	Type of Bead Bead	Material Used	Color	Method of Application	Design Structures	Base Material
1800	Pony	Glass Seeds Shells	Blue White Black	Loom Stitch	Realistic Simple Geometric	Hand tanned Buckskin
1850	Seed	Glass	Red Yellow Blue Green Orange Black White Lavender	Spot-Stitch Lazy-Stitch limited Applique 1870	Realistic Geometric	Leather Buckskin Wool
1900	Seed	Glass	Variety	Applique	Geometric	Buckskin Canvas Wool
1950	Seed	Glass Plastic	Any Variety	Applique	Geometric	Canvas Felt Wool Cotton Buckskin

The designs, therefore, were limited to some extent by the Blackfeet themselves and by Plains tribe influences. Travel is more prevalent today. According to Mrs. Ursula Higgins, a native Blackfeet, there is so much integration of Indian people due to mobility that new designs are always being learned. The designs are being passed from tribe to tribe and mixed together. Only the Bloods in the Blackfeet nation are holding on to the old customs and Indian ways. (Higgins, 1971: Interview)

It is difficult, therefore, for the Blackfeet designs to continue. Bead craft classes, both in and out of school, are being held for interested individuals. (Higgins, 1971: Interview) Beadwork is popular and is done not only by the Indians but by non-Indian people as well. The designs have deviated even more from the original geometric or realistic patterns. Mrs. Lucy McKnight, another native Blackfeet, had this to say about the conditions of the bead embroidery craft. "Grandmothers and mothers taught the girls to bead as they grew up. You can't even get a hide tanned any more. Even the old peoples' gettin' modern." (McKnight, 1971: Interview)

Chapter V

SUMMARY

Beadwork of the Blackfeet Indian tribe is a craft that can be used as a source for the tribe's history. In order to be such a resource, information must be gathered on identification, interpretation, and changes that have evolved in the craft of beading. This is assuming that beadwork is distinguishable on a tribal basis, that it expresses social and cultural patterns, and that beaded designs have changed due to outside influences.

The Blackfeet tribe was born as the Algonkin and Sioux tribes migrated into the northwest and melted together. Today the Blackfeet nation is made up of three sub-tribes, the Bloods, the Blackfeet, and the Piegiens. They reside on a reservation in northwestern Montana and adjacent Canada. This area of the United States and Canada required the Blackfeet to be concerned with survival, acquiring food, raising families, and enjoying each other in leisure time. The Blackfeet religion and mythology reveal some of the beliefs that influenced their life style.

The beadwork craft was used a great deal for decoration and to some extent for religious purposes. Beaded items appeared on clothing, tools, riding equipment, household items, and ceremonial props. Generally the women's work was geometric and that of the men's was realistic. The art forms in beadwork applied the principles that exist in all

design. The Blackfeet designs are symmetrical using the square and the rectangle in combination to make an arrow point or mountain design. The Blackfeet beads were most often applied to dressed animal skins with the spot-stitch until 1870 when the applique stitch became a more effective method.

Identification and classification of beadwork is difficult because of design borrowing practices and limitations in accurately dated materials. Both the realistic and the geometric beaded designs use symbols but it is nearly impossible to interpret them for any historical meaning. The interpretation of symbolism is a personal thing limiting the possibilities for establishing common meanings. The geometric forms can be used for identification. Through careful observation of design, line, color, and application techniques it is possible to determine from which tribe or at least from which region an item came. Classification of beadwork can be done very broadly. The general age of a specimen can be established by evaluating the type, color, and material of beads, as well as the base materials, the designs, and the method of application.

Conclusions

This study was undertaken to find information which will enable people to further recognize and understand Indian beadwork designs. Its objectives were to identify characteristics of beadwork designs that are

attributable to the Blackfeet tribe, to interpret the symbolism, and to reveal the changes in the bead craft.

The information compiled in this study shows that Blackfeet beadwork can be identified. The designs specific to the tribe are the terraced triangle and the diamond, although squares and crosses are used to a lesser degree. These figures are made of small squares or rectangles which are massed together to form the larger unit. The color of the large unit is usually solid while the smaller shapes edging it are of many hues. White is most popular for background. The Blackfeet use primary colors extensively, although various other hues appear in the design element. Lines are both curved and straight depending on the structure. The Blackfeet use the applique stitch exclusively for bead application.

Native Blackfeet interviewed for this study reveal that there generally is no specific meaning to beadwork designs. Since Blackfeet beadwork is largely geometric, it is used mostly for decoration. Symbolism, if it exists, is a personal thing offering little opportunity for interpretation.

Some changes in Blackfeet beadwork were identified and recorded in this study. They are, however, difficult to classify in terms of date because of the limitations in accurately dated references. It also seems that Blackfeet beadwork is relatively modern. Therefore, it is limited in its historical significance.

Recommendations for Further Study

Consideration should be further pursued in using the arts and crafts of Indian people as historical records. A study comparing the beadwork of different tribes would be valuable to gain expertise in the art of identification. It seems that one characteristic can mean the difference in determining which group of people made an item. By observing the common characteristics, it may be possible to find a differentiating factor.

A complete study of the arts and crafts of a particular tribe could reveal the modernization of the Indians. Starting with painting, considering quillwork, and progressing to beadwork seems to be a logical order. This should be done with careful regard to the mythology, religion, legends, and stories of the tribe under consideration.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

I. Background

- A. Name
- B. Address
- C. Age
- D. Percent of Indian Blood

II. Personal Comments about Beadwork

- A. Why do the Blackfeet bead things?
- B. Do you do any beadwork?
- C. Where did you learn to make beaded things?
- D. How is it done?
- E. Where do you use the beadwork most often?
- F. When is it done?

III. Beadwork Designs

- A. How do you decide on the design to use?
- B. Are there any meanings behind the beadwork?
- C. Do they mean something specific to the wearer?
- D. Where did these designs originate?
- E. Are there any _____ you like to use more than others?
 - 1. Colors
 - 2. Shapes
 - 3. Patterns
 - 4. Dominant Figures
 - 5. Lines
- F. Have the designs changed?
- G. Do you ever teach anyone to do beadwork?

Appendix A continued

IV. Beadwork Today

- A. How do you feel about the beadwork that is being sold today?
- B. Do you sell your beadwork?

APPENDIX B

Definition of Terms

1. Band--consists of several families - a mobile workable group for hunting and moving.
(Werner, 1971: 4)
2. Beads--beads were made of innumerable materials; shells, wood, teeth, claws, seeds, clay, bird beaks, bone, minerals. Glass beads were brought by the settlers and formed a big item of trade.
(Stroutenburgh, Jr., 1960: 29)
3. Breechcloth--strip of buckskin which passed between the legs and under the belt in front and back - in earlier times it is possible only a small apron hung down in front.
(Driver, 1961: 139)
4. Dress--made from two deer or elk hides sewn together, tail ends up. A yoke was formed by the tails and part of the skin of the hind legs that folded down.
(Driver, 1961: 140)
5. Gens--a body of consanguineal kindred in the male line.
(Grinnell, 1962: 208)
6. Leggings, men--crotchless pants that tie to the belt.
(Hungry Wolf, 1971: 42)
7. Leggings, women--leg covering that reaches from the ankles to the knees.
(Hungry Wolf, 1971: 31)
8. Parfleche--a rawhide bag or suitcase.

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