# Plains Ledger Art: The Demonstration of a Way of Life Through the Nineteenth-Century Pictorial Account of an Unknown Assiniboine Artist

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ABSTRACT. This article defines and describes some ledger-style drawings created by an unknown Assiniboine artist in the late 1800s. Thought to be from Carry The Kettle Reserve No. 76, they were collected around 1897 by Dr. O.C. Edwards, Indian Department physician in the Regina, Fort Qu'Appelle, Indian Head area of southern Saskatchewan. This collection represents one of the largest known collections of drawings of this type in Canada and one of the very few collections of Assiniboine drawings in North America. With their origins in northern Plains picture-writing traditions, these important aesthetic and ethnohistoric documents retain many of the conventions of picture writing with the addition of new pictorial and conceptual drawing devices such as the depiction of domestic scenes virtually unknown in precursor art forms.

SOMMAIRE. Cet article définit et décrit des dessins griffonnés dans des registres, créations d'un artiste assiniboine inconnu de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. On pense que ces dessins viennent de la Réserve Carry the Kettle n° 76 et ils ont été recueillis par le Dr. O.C. Edwards, médecin du Ministère des Affaires Indiennes qui desservait la région de Régina, Fort Qu'Appelle et Indian Head dans le sud de la Saskatchewan. Cette collection est l'une des plus importantes de ce genre au Canada et l'une des rares collections de dessins assiniboines en Amérique du nord. Ce sont d'importants documents esthétiques et ethnohistoriques qui ont leurs racines dans la tradition d'écriture pictographique des Plaines du nord. On y retrouve un grand nombre de conventions propres à l'écriture pictographique auxquelles viennent s'ajouter de nouvelles approches picturales et conceptuelles comme la représentation de scènes domestiques quasiment inexistantes dans l'art précurseur.

#### Introduction

There are forty-four ledger-type drawings in the Gardiner Collection, acquired by the Glenbow Museum in 1985 from E.S. Gardiner, grandson of Dr. O.C. Edwards. This collection also contains aboriginal, western, domestic and military artifacts, photos, family letters, and letters associated with Dr. Edwards's role as Indian Department physician.

Dr. Edwards's jurisdiction as Indian Department physician between 1882 and 1901 included the Indian Head area of Assiniboia, North-West Territories (now part of southern Saskatchewan) and the reserve of Carry the Kettle near Sintaluta, then referred to as the Assiniboine Reserve. He travelled by bicycle or horse from Regina to attend to the health needs of the aboriginal people on the reserves under his jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> In 1902 Dr. Edwards left the area to become the medical doctor for the Blood and Peigan reserves. He lived and worked in the Fort Macleod and Stand Off areas until his death in 1915.<sup>3</sup>

The drawings in the collection are attributed by Glenbow staff to an unknown Assiniboine artist. There are two references to the artist in the letters in the collection. One of the letters to Dr. Edwards from W.L. Grant, Indian agent at Indian Head, on 9 January 1897, makes reference to the artist who produced the drawings:

The Indian artist has given me a few of his sketches to send to you — he wishes me to inform you that his eyes are now very bad — he states that he will send you some more later on.  $^4$ 

Another letter makes reference to the Assiniboine artist in a letter written in July 1898 by Dr. Edwards to his wife in which he describes a ceremonial dance at Pasqua:

There came a most unique sight — a distinct ritual ... I presume it must be semi-religious — the feast that the Indians seem to value most — the dog feast and corresponding exactly to that which the Assiniboine artist has depicted even to that fellow with the half ( the lower half) black face and the men with the feather attachments.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible the drawings could be the work of two different artists, or even a collaboration of two artists. It is more likely, however, that the forty-four drawings are the work of one artist over a period of time. These possibilities are based on differences in drawing style and technique in at least four of the drawings. For example, differences exist in the scale used to depict the figures, in the precision used in rendering figures and animals, and in the methods of application of color media. For example, in one of the drawings (not shown), the figures fill approximately 90 percent of the picture surface, and the depiction of facial features and ornaments appear less specific than in other drawings. Colour, in this same drawing, is applied in a linear and expressionistic way.6 The differences in drawing style could reasonably be attributed to changes naturally occurring over time in an artist's work, and increased exposure to the organization of the art elements shape, line and colour, found in European graphic art. References in the two letters to "the Indian artist" and his failing eyesight, and to "the Assiniboine artist," lead me to believe there was only one artist.7

No documentation of the drawings and their meanings has been found within the Gardiner Collection letters, and so, with one exception, analysis has been left to the researcher. One drawing was interpreted by several members of the Carry The Kettle Band and members of the tribal council in conversations at the Touchwood-File Hills Qu'Appelle Tribal Council office at Fort Qu'Appelle on 6 May 1991. The members of the band and tribal council included younger members and elders.

Insights into the past of members of the Carry The Kettle Band at the time the drawings were created can be gained through the analysis and interpretation of the pictures. For example, they enhance access to the historical record through the visual description of participation in a dance and ritual described in Edwards's letter.8 The drawings show us, however minimally, images of architectural and geographical facts, and are a record of tribal and band material culture through the depiction of painted figures on tipis, clothing, body and hair decoration. Possible insights can be gained into the intent of the artist, by analyzing the subject matter of each drawing. For example, one of the letters implies the drawings were almost certainly made for Dr. Edwards. His "commissioning" of the drawings, and collection of various artifacts such as beadwork, showed his interest in indigenous artworks. 10 A question remains about the influence of his patronage upon the motives and choices made by an artist who had experienced "the deprivations and transformations of a major foreign takeover such as that which occurred on the North American continent," or, the amount of control

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able to be employed by the artist over the kind and content of artwork he was able to produce. 11

The subject matter of the drawings in the collection include images of buffalo grazing and being stampeded, killed, and butchered. For instance, one drawing shows a hunter skinning a buffalo starting from the back because the animal, lying dead on its stomach and legs, is probably too heavy to roll over. There are drawings of warriors dressed and painted for battle riding at full gallop. Other drawings show ceremonies such as the Grass Dance and dog feast, perhaps those described in Dr. Edwards's letter to his wife. Still others illustrate domestic and historical happenings in the area.

Along with the technical innovations of ledger art in general, came a shift in subject matter. While retaining some traditional subject matter, new topics were portrayed. This article will describe and interpret several drawings from the collection which represent characteristic types of descriptive subject matter of ledger art; visual descriptions of the hunt, of the heraldry of the warrior with his warrior and horse accoutrements, of various types of ceremony, and of some aspects of domestic life; the latter represents one of the greatest shifts from traditional subject matter.<sup>12</sup>

## **Ledger Drawings**

Drawings on paper by Plains aboriginal artists of the prereserve or early reserve period of the nineteenth century have come to be known generically as ledger art because many of these drawings were done on Indian agent ledger or lined accountants' paper, using coloured inks and graphite or pencil. The drawings in the Gardiner Collection are on lined and unlined paper ( 20.2 x 33.2 cm.), using pencil crayon, crayon, graphite, ink, and coloured inks. <sup>13</sup>

Some of the picture-writing conventions employed in making petroglyphs, pictographs, and paintings on hide and on winter counts were retained in ledger art. For example, many of the compositional and symbolic drawing devices persisted. One of the most common was the use of a scattered compositional structure. Figures were shown all over the picture surface performing activities with little or no use of perspective. Often no reference was made to geographical features such as the horizon line, mountains, or trees. Repeating the same figure performing different acts in the same picture space, along with the drawing of hoof and foot prints were stylistic and symbolic devices used to imply the passage of time, to indicate that the action had already occurred.<sup>14</sup>

Gradually new conceptual and pictorial expressions appeared in the ledger drawings. New technologies such as paper and commercial colour media, the arrival of white settlers, missionaries, police and military personnel, the gradual appearance among them of European art, books, newspapers and journals, and the encouragement of white patrons like Dr. Edwards, helped to change aboriginal methods and concepts of art making.

Human and animal proportions became more naturalistic. Riders began to be portrayed astride their horses rather than showing the rider with no legs or with both legs on one side of the horse. Domestic scenes began to be shown. Examples of these modifications exist throughout the Gardiner Collection drawings. One drawing of a domestic scene (Figure 5), illustrates a painting of an emblem of a water monster on a tipi and an emblem on a blanket. More of these can be seen in the drawings illustrated, described and interpreted below.

## **Description and Interpretation of the Drawings**

The drawings in the Gardiner Collection are important historic documents showing people, places and things from a unique Assiniboine perspective. They are also examples of the continuation of picture-writing traditions and the modifications which occurred following contact with Europeans. Perceptually, they are also distinctive aesthetic objects. The artist has combined the design elements of value, line, colour, shape, texture, and space to produce compositions which possess a unity and meaning. Although technical proficiency varies somewhat throughout the collection in the application of colour media, in most of the drawings draughtsmanship excels in the depictions of horse and buffalo anatomy and proportion. The technical skill and knowledge in depictions of animals and the successful use of the sensuous elements combine to make the drawings both art and artifact.

The five complete drawings illustrated below represent four of the seven interpretive themes in this collection. The four themes are "The Hunt," "The Heraldry of the Warrior," "Celebration and Dance," and "Domestic Life." Other themes in this collection (not shown) are "Historic Events," "Battle," and "The Buffalo." As no titles, descriptions, or interpretation of the drawings were imposed by the artist(s), Dr. Edwards, Dr. Edwards's grandson, E. Gardiner, or the Glenbow, interpretation is speculative and based on historic and aesthetic analysis.

## The Hunt: Figure 1

This depiction of the buffalo hunt shows several of the conventions of picture-writing tradition. The composition is "scattered" and the figures, horses and buffalo, appear to float around in the picture space because there is little or no reference to earth or sky except for a trail of blood from three of the buffalo. Despite the lack of a figure/ground relationship, we see four hunters in the midst of the buffalo. The main thrust of the action of horses and riders is from right to left in the picture, a traditional painting convention, except for one hunter on foot running towards the fallen buffalo with his bow under one arm and his quiver slung over his shoulder. In two of the depictions of the riders, the profile of the back of the horse can be seen through the bodies of the riders. This transparent effect, which occurs throughout the drawing, was common to ledger drawings and was likely an indication that the horse was drawn first and the rider then "placed" on the



Figure 1. Collection of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary #985.221.168.

horse's back. One buffalo has been shot with five arrows, and another has collapsed onto the ground. Three of the buffalo are bleeding from wounds, and two appear about to be run down by the riders.

The artist has used colour arbitrarily throughout this composition. Using ink washes, one of the riders is on a red horse, one a blue horse and the third a yellow and white horse. The riders wear red, yellow and blue shirts and all of the buffalo are "filled in" using graphite or pencil. Colour has been applied within the contour or outlines with no attempt to model or give a sense of violence to the figures. This gives the drawing more of the appearance of a pencil sketch with added colour, rather than a painting.

This drawing depicts the frenzy of activity that occurred during the chase and killing of the buffalo. Here the artist shows each man running down his "chosen" buffalo and administering the final blows to the animals. Unlike the other riders who are shown in profile, the rider on the right appears to be looking and smilling at the viewer of the picture. Although no proof exists, this figure could be the artist. He is singled out because of the relative dominance of the figure on the right of the picture and by the smile on his face.

## The Warrior: Figure 2

This drawing shows two riders, each wearing trailing eagle's tail-feather headdresses, skin shirts and leggings, and a scarlet and yellow flowing trailer or coat. Both are carrying long crooked lances or coup sticks wrapped with otter skins. The lance or stick of the first rider has five eagle feathers attached, and the rider on the left has three eagle feathers. The horses



Figure 2. Collection of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary #985.221.139.

appear to be prancing as if on display, have blue saddle blankets, and their tails are bound up for battle.<sup>17</sup> The lower quarter of each man's face is painted in red or vermilion.

Traditionally, prestige and power for the Assiniboine warrior was founded on the performance of courageous deeds through the activities of the hunt, warring, and horse-raiding. The return of the raiding or warring party to home camp would be an occasion for celebration, lamentation, or a combination of both. Celebrations could go on for many days and nights. Figure 2 seems to depict the parading of war gear by the two warriors preceding or following an event such as a raid, war party, or council meeting.

In this picture the Assiniboine artist has depicted the warrior taking part in a celebration. The eagle's tail-feather headdress was the badge of a chief and great warrior, and the cloak of vermilion and yellow cloth expensive and sought after. <sup>19</sup> It appears that instead of carrying a lethal weapon or spear, they are carrying a ceremonial lance or coup stick with eagle feather attachments. Each eagle feather represents an act of bravery such as counting coup or the slaying of an enemy in battle. The practice of displaying eagle feathers during ceremonial occasions was common amongst Plains tribes and seems to have been used by the Assiniboine and their related groups. <sup>20</sup> In a similar way, part of the preparation for battle and for celebration was to decorate the horse. As commonly depicted in other ledger-drawing collections, the horses' tails have been bound up, as they would be for battle, to represent the special nature of the occasion.



Figure 3. Collection of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary #985.221.146.

## Ceremony: Figures 3 and 4

The compositional symmetry of Figure 3 — two central warrior figures facing to the right and left and two outside figures wearing dance bells facing to the right and left of the picture — indicates they are part of a dance activity. The two warriors wear feather belts and carry guns, while the two dancers carry sticks or whips and are depicted in a typical dancing stance with hips and knees bent.<sup>21</sup> Each one has face paint and a roach headdress with a feather plume. The two dancers appear to wear only breachclouts with rear red trailers. The dance bells are attached to their legs from one knee to the other. All four participants have weasel tail armbands. The dancer on the left has six angular horseshoe designs or inverted "U"s painted on his leg. indicating his participation in six horse raids.<sup>22</sup> The warriors wear a sash of bells looped from their shoulder to their waist and elaborate leggings decorated with geometric style representations. There are no geographical features in the drawing, making the four figures appear to float around in the picture space. The figures are coloured yellow, blue, and red, using coloured pencil and graphite; all four faces are shown in profile.

Assiniboine ceremonies, both religious and secular, included military dances such as the Victory Dance or Scalp Dance, <sup>23</sup> the highly religious Sun Dance, and society dances such as the Brown-Crane Dance, the Buffalo Dance and the Duck Dance. <sup>24</sup>

The drawings showing dance celebrations in the Gardiner Collection mainly depict the Grass Dance. A feast of dog meat, drumming and singing, and gift giving formed part of this ritual for the Assiniboine.<sup>25</sup> The Grass



Figure 4. Collection of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary #985.221.148.

Dance could be the same as that described by Edwards in the letter to his wife. He writes of witnessing a ceremonial dance at Pasqua:

I was present from 3 to 5.30 pm at one of the most interesting and exclusive dances I ever witnessed — so quiet had the Indians being [sic] in arranging it that no one connected with the Department knew it was coming off and yet there were about 120 from File Hills ( N.E. of the Fort 18 miles ) all the Sioux with Standing Buffalo and all The Crees from 3 Reserves under Mr. Lash and I saw the Sioux women dancing this time and they danced in a curved line making 1/2 a circle and side by side and the men completed the circle dancing in the same way — Sometimes the women sang in addition to the drum beating. It was most interesting and all new to me — then various gifts were given from tin cups up past decorative bands and blankets to horses — 5 of the latter were given away — then following the giving of gifts and dances of thanks in which usually 6 women and 2 men took part there came a most unique sight — a distinct ritual.... the dog feast and corresponding exactly to that which the Assinboine artist has depicted.  $^{26}$ 

In Figure 4, the figures are coloured in yellow, red, blue and graphite. There are no geographical features to create a figure/ground relationship. However the seven figures seated across the lower front and the right side of the picture are much smaller in scale than the two large central figures. All of the figures are clearly delineated, being shown in profile or from the back, and they seem to be differentiated from one another by their clothing and decoration. The two central figures overlap and a transparent effect can be seen because one figure was drawn over top of the other. There is a pail of dog meat in the upper left part of the drawing.

Figure 4 appears to be a continuation of the celebration shown in Figure



Figure 5. Collection of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary #985.221.142.

3. It shows two main warrior dancers "charging the kettle" containing the dog meat. They wear feather belts and dance towards the kettle with outstretched arms. This could be a gesture of bravery meant to show "how he used to dodge the missiles of the enemy" when taking part in a raid or battle.<sup>27</sup> Around the periphery are other warriors smoking and passing the pipe.

The dancers, like those in Figure 3, are dressed in elaborate leggings and shirts, wear eagle feathers, and have their faces and bodies painted with designations such as the inverted "U's" showing the number of horse raids participated in.

## Domestic Life: Figure 5

Compositionally this drawing is in three parts, each showing a man and women together. There are no geographical features, but a dog, a model tipi, and a large decorated tipi give some sense of the relationship of figure to ground. The three different scenes are carefully rendered in red, yellow, blue and graphite colors.

The interpretation of this drawing resulted from a consultative meeting with members of the Carry The Kettle Band and members of the Touchwood-File Hills Qu'Appelle Tribal Council in May 1991 when their views were solicited and expressed about several of the drawings.<sup>28</sup>

Upon viewing a slide of this drawing, it was explained by the band members that there are probably three distinct scenes in this picture. On the left, a couple are standing face to face wrapped in a blanket. The small,

troublesome dog is being kicked away by the man. The couple are wrapped in what could be a "four-point" Hudson's Bay blanket painted with a large red circle. The woman wears long earrings and the man has a roach and braid hairstyle and wears a bone choker. In the centre, a couple wrapped in a blue blanket sit on the ground and the man has his arm around the shoulder of the woman. They both have braids and both are wearing chokers. They sit beside a yellow-coloured model of a war tipi or lodge decorated with quilled tipi decorations. There is an otter skin on top of a pole sticking out of the tipi. To the right is a large decorated tipi, with a man and woman kissing in the entrance way and a small child looking out of the door below them. The tipi is decorated with stars and stripes encircling the top section, probably representing the sky, with long thunderclaws stretching down from it.<sup>29</sup> Coiled around the bottom of the tipi is a horned water monster probably representing certain spiritual powers.<sup>30</sup>

Although references to courtship exist in the depictions of the first two couples, the use of a blanket in this way during courtship cannot be found in the ethnologies of Denig or Lowie. However, it was a Sioux custom for a man to enfold a woman in his robe and, with their heads covered from view, converse in private. This very formal way of courting was sometimes necessary in the busy atmosphere of the camp. The couple in the centre, shown with the model or wedding tipi covered with objects representing the man's war honours, could be part of the marriage ceremony. The final scene could represent the family life of the artist himself.

#### Conclusion

The Gardiner Collection drawings are significant because they are one of the few known collections of ledger-type Assiniboine drawings from the south Saskatchewan area of Canada. They are post-contact drawings and could show past occurrences in the artist's life along with some from his own time.

Besides the obvious importance of the drawings as examples of picture-writing conventions carried on in a new art form, they also serve as a record of a lifestyle which has disappeared from the southern Canadian Plains. In the ninety-five years since the drawings were collected by Dr. Edwards, the changes brought about to the people of the Canadian Assiniboine Nation have been incalculable, and for this reason the drawings are of extreme importance to them. They provide another way of looking back at ceremonies now lost or little used, at social traditions like courtship, and of home life now changed. They can serve as examples of an earlier picture-writing tradition and of decorative and symbolic arts exemplified through clothing and other human- and horse-culture items.

To aboriginal and nonaboriginal viewers the drawings provide access to a heritage and past of both an historic and aesthetic nature. Historically they provide a viewpoint little experienced today, of an aboriginal perspective of ritual and of the buffalo hunt so central to existence. Aesthetically, with remnants of traditional picture-writing stylistic traditions intact, the drawings exemplify the kind of universal appeal found in works of art that combine technical competence with a sincere expression of emotion and thought.

As aesthetic and ethnohistoric documents the drawings are meaningful for the aboriginal viewer within the context of current tribal history, not only as a record of past events, but through a sense of a renewed voice or cultural ownership and identity. For the nonaboriginal viewer the drawings are a reminder of the deep artistic and traditional past of their neighbours and as an awareness and understanding that art and the enjoyment of art cross many boundaries.

#### NOTES

- Glenbow Museum Archives (Calgary, Alberta), Gardiner Collection, M7283 (hereafter "Gardiner Collection").
- Gardiner Collection. In a letter to his wife from Regina, Monday, 14 October 1897, Dr. Edwards writes of visiting the Assiniboine Reserve after driving out from Indian Head.
- 3. Macleod Spectator, Fort Macleod, Alberta, 8 April 1915.
- Gardiner Collection. Letter from W.L. Grant, Indian agent at Indian Head, Assiniboia, 9 January 1897, to Dr. Edwards.
- 5. Gardiner Collection. Letter from Dr. Edwards to his wife, July 1898.
- 6. Gardiner Collection. This drawing shows four women and one man who appear to be taking part in a dance. They wear standing up headdresses and two have dance bells. In this drawing the figures are loosely coloured in red and blue crayon, unlike most of the other carefully coloured drawings.
- 7. Research on the identity of the artist, conducted by the author since 1989, has led to the identity of descendants of the artist at Carry The Kettle Reserve near Sintaluta.
- 8. Gardiner Collection. Letter from Dr. Edwards to his wife, July 1898.
- 9. Howard D. Rodee, "The Stylistic Development of Plains Indian Painting and its Relationship to Ledger Drawings," *Plains Anthropologist* 10, no. 30 (November 1965): 218-32; Joyce Marie Szabo, "Ledger Art in Transition: Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Drawing and Painting on the Plains, With an Analysis Of the Work of Howling Wolf" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1983), 88-89. Rodee links ledger drawing (in particular the southern Plains artists from the Southern Cheyenne) to hide painting traditions being carried on by artists living on reservations or in prison such as the continued absence of landscape features, the arbitrary colouring of horses, and the lack of modelling of figures within the composition. Themes continue to be about hunting and battle, but current happenings such as treaty signing, ceremony, and domestic scenes of courting and trading begin to be seen. Szabo points out the continued dominance of male imagery in the reservation drawings of artists from the southern Plains, but with a reduced percentage of horse capture or battle-oriented scenes and with new combinations of domestic and courting scenes appearing.
- Gardiner Collection. Dr. Edwards's interest in aboriginal artifacts can be seen in drawings done by him on 8 August 1882 at Fort Qu'Appelle. They were of various beaded moccasin designs observed by him from the Cree, Saulteax and Blackfeet.
- 11. Cecelia F. Klein, "Editors Statement: Depictions of the Dispossessed," Art Journal (Summer 1990): 106-09. In 1985 Klein organized a symposium in Los Angeles about questions of how and why pictures represent the deprivations and transformations of those who experience a major foreign takeover such as that which occurred on the North American continent (p. 106). Reactions to this by artists are shown to range from an idealization and glorification of the past (when the works are to be sold to European patrons) to a true chronicle of the dispossession that resulted (pp. 107-09).
- 12. Rodee, "Stylistic Development of Plains Indian Painting," 225.
- 13. The Art Department, Glenbow Museum, personal communication.
- 14. Rodee, "Stylistic Development of Plains Indian Painting," 225.

- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Other collections of ledger art include the drawings of Howling Wolf, located in the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and the Shieles Ledger Art Collection at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. One common ledger-art theme not found in the Gardiner Collection is aboriginal and European interaction.
- 17. John C. Ewers, Helen M. Mangelsdorf, William S. Wierzbowski, Images of a Vanished Life: Plains Indian Drawings from the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1985), 22-50. In this catalogue of illustrations of ledger art, the artist Thomas Smith (born 1863), stated to be part Gros Ventre and part white, depicted a battle scene showing an Arikara warrior on horseback and two Sioux warriors fighting on foot. The warrior carries a lance and the tail of his horse is bound up for battle. Other similar depictions of horses thus attired in this catalogue include Kiowa and Sioux warriors.
- 18. E.T. Denig, Indian Tribes Of The Upper Missouri (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Forty-Sixth Annual Report, 1930), 544-56. Denig describes in great detail traditional Assiniboine beliefs and practices associated with war. He states that war was made for only two reasons, to steal horses from enemies or to take scalps. He writes of the severe restrictions on conduct, rules of behaviour, the charms and fetishes taken along, and the celebration and glory accorded warriors returned from a successful raid.
- 19. Ibid., 589. Denig gives the value of a "war-eagle feather cap, largest kind: price, 2 horses, 10 robes each," and a "scarlet blanket, value, 4 robes."
- 20. Robert H. Lowie, The Assiniboine (Anthropological Papers of The American Museum Of Natural History, Vol. IV, Part 1, 1901), 67. Although Lowie spent most of his time with the Stoney Assiniboine of Morley, Alberta, he also visited the Assiniboine of Montana, closely related geographically and through kinship to the Assiniboine bands in Canada at Carry The Kettle under the Assiniboine agency and the Pheasant Rump and the Ocean Man bands at Moose Mountain agency; see, for example, Frederick W. Hodge, ed., Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 102-05. Lowie noticed similarities in traditional practices between the so called southern Assiniboine and the northern Stoney despite an historical separation of the two groups noted as early as 1640 in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, vol. 18 (Cleveland: Burrows, 1896-1901), 230.
- 21. Ewers, Mangelsdor and Wierzbowski, Images of a Vanished Life, 26. In this catalogue the artist Oscar Brown depicts the Grass Dance and its paraphernalia, including the feather bustle and pointed sticks shown in Figure 3. A dancer is drawn in the same dancing stance shown in Figure 3.
- 22. Lowie, The Assiniboine, 67.
- 23. Ibid., 30-33.
- 24. Ibid., 56-75.
- 25. Ibid., 66-70.
- 26. Gardiner Collection. Letter from Dr. O.C. Edwards to Mrs. H. Edwards, July 1898.
- 27. Lowie, The Assiniboine, 68.
- 28. Consultation on the description and interpretation of the other drawings is ongoing.
- Denig, "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," 500. Denig describes the importance of thunder in Assiniboine mythology. Thunder is said to be the flapping of the wings of the large medicine bird.
- Ibid., Plate 74. In his report Denig includes a picture of an Assiniboine lodge with a large water-type snake circling the lower part of the lodge.
- Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life and Customs Of A Warrior Society (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 114-15.