

LANDSCAPE, HISTORY, AND OPPOSITION AMONG THE KAINAI

KURT A. LANNO
Bachelor of Arts, Western University, 2014

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Of the University of Lethbridge
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Anthropology
University of Lethbridge
LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA, CANADA

© Kurt A. Lanno, 2016

LANDSCAPE, HISTORY, AND OPPOSITION AMONG THE KAINAI

KURT LANNO

Date of Defence: December 8th, 2015

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------|
| Patrick Wilson Supervisor | Associate Professor | Ph.D |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------|

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|------|
| Linda Many Guns Committee Member | Assistant Professor | Ph.D |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|------|

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Don Gill Committee Member | Associate Professor | MFA |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-----|

| | | |
|---|---------------------|------|
| Jodi Asselin Chair, Thesis Examination Committee | Assistant Professor | Ph.D |
|---|---------------------|------|

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis in part to Marvin Calf Robe, as well as the Kainai community the latter of whom I hope will find some of it helpful, if only in a small way. Marvin was a man of many facets and many talents, he passed away this past April. Marvin, for all of his questionable habits, was an incredibly intelligent and knowledgeable man about Blackfoot culture, history, ceremony, and life. He held a bundle, a degree in anthropology, and was instrumental in the return of the piercing Sun Dance to the Kainai. Marvin was also a superlative chicken dancer and in his younger days his innovative style sparked wider changes within that dance. Marvin also played a pivotal role in the life of my dear friend, host, and teacher Morris Crow Spreading Wings, by teaching him to drive, hunt, and generally be an adult during Old Morris's illness and final days. Marvin taught me a great deal during my research and taught the person who was perhaps most vital in the success of my research the things he needed to fill that role and many others. Thus I dedicate this thesis to the memory of Marvin Calf Robe.

Abstract

In this thesis I explore the connections between Kainai concepts of landscape, history, and cultures of opposition and resilience in the face of the state. The information I present is the data I collected during my fieldwork on the Blood Reserve in southern Alberta. I explore how Kainai persons view their landscape through the lens of traditional land use, and how that land use brings them into contact with their history. I then examine how Kainai persons think of their own history, especially as it is related to accessible historical landmarks and opposition the state. I also explore how land use and history inform cultural resilience and opposition to the colonial state. Finally, I argue that the manner in which the Kainai view landscape and history are intertwined with the nature of their opposition to the state and that they inform cultural resilience in the face of colonization.

Acknowledgements

I will begin by saying that while this thesis is authored by me, the information contained within does not belong to me. Instead, the knowledge contained within these pages belongs to those Apaitsitapi people who shared it with me and gave me permission to compile and arrange it in the form of an academic thesis. My work would not have been possible without the contributions of these individuals and the completion of my research would have been impossible without the support and hospitality of the many friends Apaitsitapi, German, and Cree who hosted me, transported me, and introduced me to members of the Kainai community. My work would also not have been possible without the patience, moral support, and willingness to have lengthy conversations in which I pitched my many ideas on the part of a number of faculty members at the University of Lethbridge. That being said, I will go about acknowledging the contributions, help, and support of the many individuals who provided it on a person by person basis in this section. I will begin with a dedication to a man who was both helpful in my research and instrumental in my understanding of various aspects of Blackfoot culture, but who has since passed, before moving on to the long list of individual acknowledgements that are due.

Acknowledgements

Due to the length of this list and the variety of contributors I will list them alphabetically, giving a short acknowledgement to the contributions that each person made to my research and work. I will close this section with an acknowledgement of the person who played perhaps the most pivotal role in making my research and all future work possible.

Patrick and Alva Black Plume

When I arrived at Circle Camp I was to stay in the Lethbridge Police tipi, which was a part of Pat and Alva's camp. I was put to work chopping wood and fetching tea and loved every moment of it. Pat and Alva took me as family and made sure that I was fed and taken care of. I profoundly appreciate their hospitality and kindness and wish them the best as my stay at Circle Camp could not have been nearly as productive, comfortable, or enjoyable without their caring hospitality.

Lori and Stephanie Brave Rock

Lori and Stephanie accompanied me into the mountains to pick berries during my research and provided me with some interesting insights and much appreciated humour during our trip.

Carolla Calf Robe

While Carolla, who holds immense knowledge of plants, did not directly participate in my research, her need for various plants and my accompanying those who gathered some of them for her proved to be a vital part of my research, as well the resulting discussions of plant use and Blackfoot plant knowledge contributed substantially to my understanding of both the relationships between Kainai people and the land as well as the nature of indigenous knowledge, its vitality, its contemporary salience, and its dissemination.

Rachel Crow Spreading Wings

Rachel took me on several trips in search of berries and mint. Over the course of those trips the experiences that I had picking and the explanations that she provided concerning

plants and the protocols of picking became fundamental to my understanding of relationships between Kainai persons and the land. Rachel also contributed a much needed female perspective to my research.

Glen Eaglechild

Glen is one of the people that I have known the longest on the Blood Reserve. His personal history of having avoided residential school meant that he has been able to provide me with valuable insights into various points of Kainai history and culture. I would also like to thank Glen for taking me on short trips around the reserve, specifically the area around the Belly Buttes and for helping me learn the rudiments of riding.

Dr Steve Ferzacca

I would like to thank Dr. Ferzacca for our many academic conversations that have helped with my writing, as well as his proof reading of some of my work. I would also like to thank Dr. Ferzacca for allowing me to decant to him when dealing with the many trials and tribulations I encountered during the latter part of my writing.

Professor Don Gill

I would like to thank Professor Gill for his work and support as one of my committee members and for helping to proof read my writing during this process.

Martin Heavy Head Jr.

I would like to thank Martin, or Marty as I know him, for our many philosophical conversations and his constructive criticisms that have helped me in my understandings of Kainai culture and history.

Quinton Heavy Head

I would like to thank Quinton Heavy Head for his participation in teaching me a great deal about Kainai history as well as for sharing his knowledge of the local landscape on our trip picking. He showed me a great many beautiful places and shared with me a great deal of historical knowledge both of the greater chronicle of Kainai history and also about specific locations in the landscape.

Rose Heavy Head

I would like to thank Rose Heavy Head for taking me out picking and also for sharing with me her knowledge of different plants and the locations that they are picked. I would also like to thank Rose for providing me with the opportunity to help in the construction of tipi pegs and pins.

Raymond Many Bears

I would like to thank Raymond both for the hospitality he showed me at Circle Camp, but also for his important contributions to my understanding of Kainai history, historical discourse, and knowledge transmission.

Linda Many Guns

I would like to thank Dr. Many Guns for providing me with the opportunity to work as a teaching assistant in the Native American Studies department which expanded my teaching experience as well as my understanding of aboriginal education at a university level. I would also like to thank Dr. Many Guns for our many conversations during which

she contributed a very helpful perspective to my writing and understanding the implications, both professional and personal, of doing work in an indigenous community.

Glen Oka

I would like to thank Glen Oka for his contributions of historical knowledge to my work, as well and for our many conversations this fall during which I enjoyed his reminiscing of times gone by.

Frank Russel

I would like to thank Frank Russel for his contribution by sharing knowledge surrounding surface mining and the relationships with rocks and plants, as well as the rationale behind offerings made during surface mining and picking with me.

Flora Schmid

I would like to thank Flora Schmid for helping me to network with people who hold knowledge that is fundamental to this thesis. I would further like to thank Flora for educating me in Kainai customs and etiquette as this education was exceedingly important in keeping me from inadvertently breaking protocol or putting my foot in my mouth during my research.

Les Vonkeman

I would like to thank Les Vonkeman for helping me get around the reserve during my research and giving me a place to stay in the Lethbridge Police tipi at Circle Camp. I would also like to thank him for the cool headed advice he gave me during my research and since then.

Dr. Patrick Wilson

I would like to thank Dr. Patrick Wilson for supervising my thesis and in that capacity instructing me in the arts of writing a thesis and a proposal. I would also like to thank Dr. Wilson for his patience during the many times I got distracted or was out of touch during my fieldwork and writing.

Sun Dance Community

I would like to thank the greater Sun Dance Community, both at Morris's piercing Sun Dance and Circle Camp, for their hospitality and understanding without which my work would not have been possible.

Morris Crow Spreading Wings

Finally, I would like to thank Morris Crow Spreading Wings. Morris has been indispensable to my work, for without his hospitality and friendship I would not have had a place to stay during my research, nor would I have been able to effectively network on the Blood Reserve. I would also like to thank Morris for sharing some of his knowledge with me and for being a steadfast friend. Morris has been my longest standing friend in Alberta and I want to thank him again for his support and time, the opportunities that he has provided me with have fundamentally shaped my research and my life. Thank you *tuka*.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------------|
| Dedication | iii |
| Abstract | iv |
| Acknowledgements | v |
| Table of Contents | xii |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Kainai History and Ethnography..... | 3 |
| Landscape in Anthropology..... | 8 |
| History and the Historical Landscape..... | 14 |
| Resistance in Anthropology..... | 19 |
| Methods..... | 24 |
| Chapter I: Kainai Landscapes | 29 |
| Landscape – Perspectives and Perceptions..... | 30 |
| Picking and Plant Use..... | 36 |
| Surface Mining..... | 44 |
| Hunting..... | 47 |
| Landmarks..... | 50 |
| Conclusion..... | 52 |
| Chapter II: Kainai Historical Perspectives and Landscapes | 54 |
| Conversations on History and Landscape..... | 56 |
| Kainai History and Historical Consciousness..... | 60 |
| An Historical Landscape..... | 65 |
| History as a Framing Device..... | 73 |
| Conclusion..... | 76 |
| Chapter III: Kainai Cultures of Opposition and Resilience | 78 |
| Concepts of Resistance in Anthropology..... | 81 |
| Overt Opposition..... | 89 |
| Opposition of Historical Knowledge..... | 94 |
| Being Niitsitapi, an Act of Cultural Resilience..... | 101 |
| Conclusion..... | 104 |
| Conclusion | 107 |
| References | 118 |
| Appendix | 121 |

Introduction

It was a warm, sunny day in late May when I returned to the north end of the Blood Reserve to go for a hike. Today was the day I would finally get to see Box Canyon, a significant landmark near Calf Shirt's grave that had eluded me during my research. We took our time getting there, stopping in the large river bottom near Thunder Chief, where Quinton had told me people had frequently camped, not overly far from Sees From Afar's tipi ring. We roamed through the trees, noticing the many offerings bound to their trunks before driving up the hill and heading to Morris's.

As we drove down the hill I could see the arbor, now denuded of its covering of boughs, last year's tree still standing tall in the centre. The patches of weeds we had burnt the month before were now covered in fresh blue-green grass, almost turquoise. To the southwest I could see the thickets of chokecherry and Saskatoon bushes where we had cut boughs for pipe wracks, the Thunder Bird nest, tipi pegs, and tipi pins. It was that same thicket that late last summer I had stalked through with Marvin in search of deer, the hills to the west were home to the cairns that covered the Cree graves which we had encountered on that same hunt. Seeing those places where I had picked, participated in ceremony, and interacted with the history that lives in the land gave me the sense that I had come home, the sense that I had engaged these unfamiliar practices and histories, and in so doing the knowledge accompanying them had become familiar and comfortable. This encapsulates the crux of this thesis, namely the exploration of contemporary interactions between land use, history, and the cultural resilience and opposition that they inform within parts of the Kainai community.

The information presented in this thesis comes from the observations I made and interviews that I was given the privilege of conducting during my time on the Blood Reserve during the summer and autumn of 2014. This thesis is centred around three interrelated research questions. How do Kainai persons engaged in traditional land use view the land and landscape? How do Kainai persons view their history, especially in relation to landscape? And how do culturally informed perspectives on land and history contribute to cultures of resilience and opposition on the Blood Reserve?

My exploration of the first question establishes the types of traditional (historically contiguous) land use practices most present in the Kainai community, and through exploring the methods and protocols present in this type of land use, delineates a culturally informed perspective of land, landscape, and the relationships between Kainai persons and their land. From the discussion on how Kainai persons view and engage the landscape I delve into the second question, an exploration of how Kainai persons view their history, especially how they ‘read’ it in the landscape. This establishes a vignette of how some Kainai persons view and interpret their history, as well as how Kainai history and historical perspectives relate back to views on landscape. My exploration of the final question teases together how Kainai views on landscape and history inform opposition to colonial state structures as well as how they feed into cultural resilience in the face of said structures.

In the following four sections of this introduction I will provide a brief historical and ethnographic background of the Kainai and literature concerning them, as well as an overview of the three bodies of theory relevant to each of my three research questions, each of which will be explored in greater detail in the following chapters.

Section I: Kainai History and Ethnography

The Kainai are one of the four *Siksikaitstapi* (Blackfoot speaking peoples) of the Blackfoot Confederacy. They are traditionally located in the centre of Blackfoot Country, an area which spans from the North Saskatchewan River south to the Yellowstone River and from the east slope of the Rocky Mountains east to Cypress and Sweet Grass Hills (Bastien 2004: 9), with their primary hunting grounds stretching from the Belly and Highwood Rivers south to what is now northern Montana, and the Porcupine Hills in the west to the Cypress Hills in the east (Dempsy 1980: 1). Their neighbours to the north are the Siksika, the Athabaskan Tsuu T'ina to the northwest, the Piikani to the west, and Amskapi Piikani to the south. All of these peoples traditionally relied upon hunting buffalo and gathering wild plants for a living, and this required an intimate relationship with the land they inhabited.

Today the Kainai control a small fraction of their traditional territory as a result of Treaty 7, their primary land base being the Blood Indian Reserve No.148, with a smaller piece (No.148A) colloquially known as Timber Limit located in the mountains near Waterton Park. The Blood Reserve is the largest Indian reserve in Canada stretching south from the confluence of the Belly and St. Mary's Rivers, which constitute its eastern and western boundaries, to an arbitrary east-west line fourteen miles north of the American Border (Holman and Bellegarde 2007: 214).

Prior to examining the scholarship concerning Blackfoot history and ethnography, I will draw upon Siksika scholar Betty Bastien's work to contextualize this material. In *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing: the worldview of the Siksikaitstapi* (2004) Bastien makes several points that speak to the importance of both creation narratives and landscape in

the historical perspective of all *Niitsitapi*, which makes them fully applicable to the context of Kainai history. According to Bastien, the identity of the *Siksikaitstapi* (Blackfoot speaking peoples including the Kainai) is woven from “their origins and sacred knowledge and science” (Bastien 2004: 8), which alludes to the importance of the Kainai historical perspective in any examination of their contemporary society. Bastien makes the link between landscape and history as well stating that “legends of *Napi* address the origins and existence of the *Siksikaitstapoyi* culture as well as the geographical features of their territory. This can easily be seen in many of *Napi*’s adventures that are associated with specific locations in Alberta,” (Bastien 2004: 9). Furthermore Bastien argues that “One indication of this long-standing occupancy [by the *Siksikaitstapi*] is that sacred places and creation stories... mark the boundaries of *Siksikaitstapi* territory.” (Bastien 2004: 10). These points all speak to the interrelated nature of Blackfoot history and landscape, as well as the importance of the stories in positioning both history and geography, points that will inform my exploration of the body of scholarship related to Blackfoot history and culture.

Blackfoot history can be broken down into roughly four major epochs beginning with the creation of the world by Natosi (Creator), and his creation of the first beings (Bullchild 1985: 6). Following this initial epoch is the period in which Natosi’s helper *Napi* shaped the world and early society, leaving many marks on the land and animals still visible today, the large rock at Okotoks (Bullchild 1985: 171) and contemporary appearance of the bobcat (Bullchild 1985: 212) being two examples. After *Napi*’s departure *Katoyis* (Blood Clot) appeared and through the course of his deeds eliminated

many evil-doers and further shaped society and the land (Bullchild 1985: 240). The final epoch begins with the departure of Katoyis and leads us to the present day.

The earliest written records of the Blackfoot were primarily those of fur traders and missionaries, and, while they must be read critically, they provide valuable insights into Blackfoot culture after the introduction of the horse, which was perhaps one of the biggest culturally formative events prior to the near extermination of the buffalo. One of the first real attempts at delineating the first encounters and adoption of the horse is presented by David Thompson, a fur trader and cartographer who spent a great deal of time with the Piikani during the late 18th century. Thompson describes an interview with an elderly Piikani man who discussed first encountering horses many years before (early 1700s) during warfare with the Shoshone (Thompson 1916: 330). Thompson also discusses the impacts of smallpox as well as material culture of the people with whom he lived in great detail, as well as their political struggles with neighbouring nations such as the Cree, Stoney, Shoshone, and Salish.

The adoption of the horse by the Kainai and other peoples in the region marked a period of easier access to buffalo which were previously hunted in pounds, a method that required much more precision and more ideal circumstances. The greater mobility and capacity to carry material goods, not to mention easier hunting sparked a major change in material, social, and martial culture for the Kainai and other Plains peoples. Shortly before the adoption of the horse, the Kainai found themselves in an alliance with the Plains Cree against their southern enemy the Shoshone. In his discussion on Cree migration onto the Plains Milloy (1988) provides the most detailed account that I could find of the complex network of military and trade alliances that developed out of the

nearly simultaneous adoption of horses and firearms across the northern plains. The Cree were more closely tied to the Hudson's Bay Company and as a result had easier access to firearms (Milloy 1988: 7). The Kainai and other members of the Blackfoot Confederacy had better access to horses through raiding and trading with their southern neighbours, primarily the Atsina (Milloy 1988: 34). Thus the Blackfoot Confederacy became engaged in a military alliance and a profitable trade in horses for firearms. However, the adoption of the horse as a new military/hunting technology and subsequent status symbol meant that one of the primary objectives in warfare became the capture of horses from neighbouring (usually hostile) peoples. By 1787 the first conflict had arisen between the Kainai and Cree over horse theft (Milloy 1988: 31) and by 1806 the alliance between the Cree and Kainai had crumbled, ushering in an era of military rivalry that dominated the region (Milloy 1988: 35).

Though the adoption of horses and firearms had many benefits, they precipitated an increase in the interactions between the Blackfoot and Europeans. While fur traders had been in and out of Blackfoot Country for some time, the number of traders, missionaries, and settlers began to increase.

By the latter part of the 19th century there were major changes in Blackfoot Country. The increased interactions with Europeans resulted in a number of smallpox epidemics such as the 1845 epidemic recorded by Father Pierre De Smet who arrived in Piikani territory a year after the fact (Chittenden and Richardson 1905: 524). The epidemics as well as American whisky traders in the region, the decline of the buffalo, and the arrival of the Northwest Mounted Police lead to major social changes up to the largest change, the signing of Treaty 7 and confinement to reserves. To summarize the process briefly,

Red Crow signed Treaty 7 for the Kainai in 1877, which allotted them lands on the Bow River as part of a joint reserve with their Siksika relations (Dempsey 1980: 101).

However, by 1878 Red Crow had relinquished the Kainai claim to lands on the Bow in favor of their more traditional lands around the Belly Buttes (Dempsey 1980: 106). Red Crow settled near the Belly Buttes in 1880 and the Reserve was officially acknowledged by parliament though it remained un-surveyed until 1882 (Dempsey 1980: 106).

Perhaps the most prolific and sympathetic modern historian to write on this period among the Kainai is Hugh Dempsey, who has written extensively on Red Crow and the whisky trade. Dempsey's work provides valuable insights through synthesizing primary sources, which provides an additional point of reference when untangling primary sources and oral histories. For instance, Dempsey's work *The Amazing Death of Calf Shirt and Other Blackfoot Stories: Three Hundred Years of Blackfoot History* synthesizes 'hard' historical data with the cultural context necessary to glean a Blackfoot perspective on historical events. In his description of 'mean' Calf Shirt and his death at the hands of whisky traders he includes the vision had by Calf Shirt after the sacrifice of his youngest wife, which informed many of Calf Shirt's later aggressive actions (Dempsey 1994: 48).

In the post-reserve period there was a compact body of ethnographic work done with the Blackfoot, primarily by Clark Wissler. Wissler published multiple papers such as *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians* (1910), *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians* (1918), *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians* (1912), and *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians* (1908). While Wissler appears to have been thorough in examining a number of different aspects of Blackfoot culture, his body of work is very much one of salvage ethnography that attempts to record and catalogue how Blackfoot people lived

prior to their confinement to reserves, hardly mentioning their contemporary circumstances. The cataloguing nature of Wissler's work is most evident in *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians* in which the stories that he attempts to record read as disjointed and awkward, giving the feeling that his records of them lack much of the meaning and context present in the stories. This critique also holds true when examining George Bird Grinnell's work, and is especially evident when their works are compared to the more recent work of Percy Bullchild. More recent scholarship by Ewers (1958), draws heavily on these older ethnographic works and other historical accounts, while all still giving a rough sketch of Blackfoot culture during the buffalo days. However, in his final chapters of *The Blackfeet: raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (1958) Ewers does include an account of the reserve era unlike his predecessors.

Section II: Landscape in Anthropology

In the first chapter of this thesis I examine landscape as an academic concept within anthropology in order to establish a baseline for exploring how the Kainai perceive their land. By establishing how landscape is viewed in the context of anthropology I can then examine specific practices that I observed among the Kainai which reveal how the Kainai perceive their land.

Landscape has its etymological and academic conceptual origins with painters during the Renaissance of 16th and 17th century Europe (Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995: 2). Due to its initial use as an artistic representation of land, landscape was primarily seen as a static setting of human action through its adoption by geography in the late 19th century,

up until the 'cultural turn' within geography during the 1980s (Cosgrove 1984: 1). Coinciding with this change in its geographical usage, landscape became an interdisciplinary concept that transcended its origins in the fine arts and geography, spilling into anthropology and other social science and humanities disciplines. British geographer Denis Cosgrove was one of the primary scholars responsible for the cultural turn in geography, and proposed exploring landscape from a Marxist humanist perspective. Cosgrove's primary contribution to landscape studies was to conceptualize landscape as a social construct. In *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (1984) Cosgrove explores this concept in detail. He argues that landscape is socially constructed and that this construction is informed by culture, history, and performance thus making landscape "an ideologically-charged and very complex cultural product," (Cosgrove 1984: 11). By stressing the constructed aspect of landscape Cosgrove attempts to break down what was previously seen as a purely representational concept, the alternative that Cosgrove suggests is that landscape is "not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world," (Cosgrove 1984: 13). Cosgrove continues to delineate our socially constructed landscape as a concept that varies between cultures as "landscape represents an historically specific way of experiencing the world developed by, and meaningful to, certain social groups," (Cosgrove 1984: 15) ultimately making landscape "a dimension of existence, collectively produced, lived, and maintained," (Cosgrove 1984: 19).

The reason that I have spent so much time on Cosgrove is twofold; firstly, Cosgrove's re-conceptualization of landscape from an artistic object to part of our socially constructed reality gives the potential for a more nuanced view on landscape and

its use in the social sciences; secondly, more contemporary landscape scholars have taken issue with Cosgrove's conceptualization of landscape, so it is both Cosgrove's reconceptualization of landscape as a social construct and the subsequent critique of this concept that I will utilize in the formation of landscape as a concept within my own work. One of the most concise anthropological critiques of Cosgrove and his colleague Daniels concept of landscape as "a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolizing surroundings," (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988:1) has been made by Tim Ingold who writes "I reject the division between inner and outer worlds... upon which such distinction rests," (Ingold 2000: 191). Ingold proposes the alternate view that landscape is neither a figment of the social imagination nor an alien entity in human life but, "[A]s the familiar domain of our dwelling, it is *with* us, not *against* us, but is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us just as we are a part of it." (Ingold 2000: 191). In *The Anthropology of Landscape* (1995) Hirsch and O'Hanlon draw upon Ingold's critique of Cosgrove and Daniels, articulating that what Cosgrove and Daniels missed in their conceptualization of landscape is the quotidian interaction with the landscape, stating that Cosgrove and Daniels were half correct but failed to acknowledge the other pole of landscape in the human experience. Thus, within the concept of landscape there is an internal tension between landscape as it is lived and represented.

Within anthropology the concept of landscape was first utilized in Malinowski's work as a 'framing device' within which to portray the cultures being researched (Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995: 1). However, since Malinowski, anthropologists have taken a much more nuanced stance on the concept of landscape. The stance in many ways mirrors Ingold's rejection of landscape as a purely representational and static social imaginary

and subsequent adoption of landscape as a dually representational and experiential entity. John Bradley, in his fieldwork with Australian Aboriginies emphasizes the need for landscape “to be seen as an integral part of social processes not just ethnographic description,” (Bradley 2011: 46). Within this framework landscape is not presented as a static object or inanimate setting for human activity, but a dynamic entity that vacillates between the position of subject and object that both acts on and is acted upon by humans. Anthropologist Peter Gow discusses this dynamic relationship between humans and landscape in his work in the Amazon stating that “relationships with land are formed both by moving through it and learning/hearing about it,” (Gow 1995: 47). Thus landscape as a concept utilized in anthropology focuses on the interplay of both the culturally specific representational aspect and the quotidian experiential aspect.

In spite of identification of both the social and experiential and thus dynamic nature of landscape, the concept of landscape as I have explored it thus far remains problematic due to its proposed ‘internal tension’ and its origins as a distinctly Western concept. Bradley describes the ‘western gaze’ as “a historically defined way of viewing the world that creates a separation between nature (the object) and culture (the people),” (Bradley 2011: 47). In her work on *Siksikaitstapi* epistemology, Betty Bastien also points out that “The non-separation of nature and humans is one of the demarcations between Eurocentred and Indigenous philosophy,” (Bastien 2004: 80).

In his comparison of Pintupi (Western Australia) and Koyukon (Alaska) perceptions of landscape Ingold identifies two primary common themes from these geographically widely disparate peoples. Firstly, Ingold argues that existence, action, and movement within these cultures take place *in* or *with* the land not *on* or *against* it.

Secondly, meaning is often drawn *from* or discovered *in* the landscape, not imposed *upon* it (Ingold 2000: 54). Ingold proceeds to critique the anthropological interpretation of such a relationship as a human imposition of culturally informed concepts of landscape upon what is essentially a vacuum of space devoid of meaning prior to such imposition. Ingold also draws the human-nature binary into his description, stating “[T]he ontological foundation [in Western thought] for this interpretive strategy is an initial separation between human persons, as meaning-makers, and the physical environment as raw material for construction;” (Ingold 2000: 55).

Bradley takes a slightly different tack. Rather than directly compare the perceptions of landscape as he encountered during his fieldwork with the Yanyuwa of Australia, he instead identifies the specific Western academic precepts that prove problematic in understanding Indigenous concepts of landscape. Bradley points to two areas of disconnect, first is the Western precept of objective inquiry, which Bradley argues is given authority by its self-separation from historical particularity (Bradley 2011: 48). Second is the (I would argue Linnaean) linguistic objectivism of Western academic and scientific inquiry which categorizes “object and subject, language and speech, place and people... as separate and autonomous entities,” (Bradley 2011: 49). This second point is a problem on both linguistic and epistemological levels as Western concepts of landscape and the relevant vocabulary fall short in their ability to articulate such nuanced and dissimilar concepts in academia.

Both Ingold and Bradley offer potential solutions to the problem of landscape as an object in need of representation. Ingold’s solution is to reject the pursuit of the pre-supposed “schemata for mentally *constructing* the environment,” and instead focus on

“acquiring the skills for direct perceptual *engagement* with its constituents, human and non-human, animate and inanimate,” (Ingold 2000: 55). Alternatively, Bradley proposes that because of the potential philosophically conflicted stance of Indigenous and non-Indigenous concepts of landscape, at odds with the necessity of granting equal validity to Indigenous and Western epistemologies, landscape must be engaged in the subjective, metaphysical, and mythic realms. According to Bradley a theme shared by many Indigenous cosmologies is the creation and shaping of the world by mythic beings and forces which includes the creation of humans and impartment of meaning to all entities within creation. From this standpoint Bradley argues that the anthropologist wishing to engage with and understand Indigenous concepts of cosmology and landscape must understand and adopt (as much as possible) the view that “Humans share the essence [omnipresent in all beings], although, as within the multitude of all living things, they differ in form; thus the Western binary of culture and nature is unified and exists as a corporate whole,” (Bradley 2011: 49). What both Ingold and Bradley are suggesting is that the only way to overcome the internal tension between the representation-experience and nature-culture binaries present in Western concepts of landscape is to disassemble them through direct engagement with the landscape being studied and adoption of multilayered Indigenous concepts. By taking these two steps it is possible to then reconstruct a hybrid concept of landscape which replaces the binary relationships previously present with reciprocal and interconnected ones.

Ultimately the view of landscape that Bradley and Ingold propose is one that both acknowledges the animate nature of landscape as well as its agency while still maintaining the idea that interactions with the animate landscape and the resulting

understandings are culturally informed. In my own inquiry I utilize these concepts to highlight the animate nature of the land and its agency as viewed from a Kainai lens. I also use them to emphasize the mythic and historical content of the landscape to set the stage for my exploration of Kainai histories.

Section III: History and the Historical Landscape

In the second chapter of this thesis I draw upon the work of a number of anthropologists, as well as that of historical theorist Hayden White, to explore how Kainai persons view their history. This is done with an eye toward teasing together how history informs and is informed by conceptualizations of landscape and practices of opposition and cultural resilience.

In her examination of Nasa views of history, Joanne Rappaport spends a great deal of time examining the differences in how the Nasa and other Indigenous peoples relate to, experience, and view history. The first point of difference between Western and non-Western histories according to Rappaport is that contemporary Western historical thought uses a linear model for representing historical events (Rappaport 1998: 12). Rappaport proceeds to unpack the manner in which non-Western histories approach temporal representations of history. Many non-Western historiographies do not consistently isolate earlier events from contemporary issues (Rappaport 1998: 10) and in fact often utilize history to explain present events, even modifying the narrative to suit the needs of representing the present (Rappaport 1998: 66). The integration of past and present in non-Western historical narratives is frequently accomplished by evoking “mythical or cyclical images of history” in order to demonstrate continuity between past, present, and future (Rappaport 1998: 18). This synthesis of symbolic and mythic themes

within non-Western histories serves the purpose of creating a cultural continuity between past and present which defines a group's historical consciousness (Rappaport 1998: 208).

One final concept that Rappaport addresses is the dynamic relationship between Western and non-Western historical praxis. Rappaport states that "historicity is not lodged in a static text but is an ongoing process of interpretation," (Rappaport 1998: 11). This implies that histories are constantly being re-worked to fit a contemporary context. To further emphasize this point, Rappaport examines the manner in which non-Western historical practices are influenced by, and adopt some Western historical practices as a result of encounters with the colonial state, and deploy the resulting hybrid historical practices as a means of resistance. One of the most common adoptions is the practice of adopting text as a means of communicating history, which places textualized non-Western histories within the privileged purview of the written word (Rappaport 1998:65). The nature of relations to the colonial state is a major theme that informs Indigenous representations of history, as Rappaport states "The nature of the State is central to the analysis of native historical interpretation... The mode of narration and even the language chosen by the historian are intimately linked to the character of the State which he confronts," (Rappaport 1998: 24). This informing of non-Western historical representations brings them into the purview of resistance, as Rappaport puts it "History is an arm for the communal definition and resistance which arise as an adaptation to state expansion." (Rappaport 1998: 24). Thus non-Western historical practices synthesize the Western and non-Western historical frameworks as a means of defining local history and identity within the oppositional politics directed toward the state as a result of the specificity of their encounter with it.

Anthropological perspectives on history are not the only theoretical concepts of history that inform my research. Hayden White, a historical theorist, launched a critique of the discipline of history in his 1978 book *The Tropics of Discourse*, which was precipitated by his previous work *Metahistory* in 1973. In *Metahistory* White argued that history was either written as a chronicle or a story. History as a story had the familiar layout of a beginning, climax, and end, whereas a chronicle was a record of history that began when the chronicler began recording, but did not contain a definite climax or resolution. White argued that “both [chronicle and story] represent processes of selection and arrangement of data from the *unprocessed historical record* in the interest of rendering that record more comprehensible to an *audience* of a particular kind.”(White 1973: 5) which laid the groundwork for his critique of historiography as an objective enterprise by proposing it to be a truly subjective undertaking. This critique was fully articulated in *Tropics of Discourse* (1978), in which White recommended a more discursive method of historical inquiry stating “it [discourse] is always as much *about* the nature of interpretation itself as it is *about* the subject matter,”(White 1978: 4). Essentially, White was arguing that in our reading and interpretation of history we need to question the representation of the historical data as much as we question the data itself.

The most helpful breakdown that White presents for the reading of historical texts is the method of emplotment, as described in *Tropics of Discourse*. There, he breaks an historical analysis down in to a series of chronological events that he labels *a, b, c, d*. He goes on to elaborate that while one historian might give event ‘*a*’ privileged position, making his chronology look like this *A, b, c, d* another historian might privilege ‘*b*’ making her chronology look like this *a, B, c, d* (White 1978: 92). The true value of this

method of analysis is both its simplicity and its flexibility, as it allows for the a critical reading of the narrative presented in light of the narrator's personal, academic, and especially, cultural subjectivity.

Since the 1970s there have been a number of anthropologists who have examined the relationship between history and landscape. I will draw upon the work of several anthropologists who have conducted ethnographic work in North and South America. Neil Whitehead and Domingo Medina have both highlighted the importance of landscape to Indigenous histories in the Amazon. Whitehead simply states that landscape is a highly significant category to the sense and construction of history (Whitehead 2003: xiii). Medina takes this a step further, elucidating how it is significant stating that "landscape is central to the reconstruction of ethnic space as it embeds cosmology, myths, and history of the people," (Medina 2003: 14).

Both Joanne Rappaport (1998) and Fernando Santos-Granero (1998) have written extensively on the relationship between landscape and history (historical landscapes) in non-literary and non-Western historical traditions. Both have proposed that there is a process of imbuing the landscape with history, thus history informs the view of landscape and landscape the view of history. Rappaport in her work with the Nasa of Colombia writes that "Memory has built upon memory, connecting events of the distant past, more recent past, and present in the topography," (Rappaport 1998: 8). The implications of the presence of history in the landscape are twofold, firstly it changes the manner in which history is organized "geography does more than carry important historical referents: it also organizes the manner in which these facts are conceptualized, remembered, and organized into a temporal framework," (Rappaport 1998: 11). This use of geography as

an organizational structure of history implies that the multiple layers of historical meaning potentially present at a given site leads to a non-linear temporal frame within which forges relationships between multiple historical events encoded and layered upon a specific site (Rappaport 1998: 163). To describe this general practice of engaging with the historical landscape, Rappaport utilizes the term “sacred geography” which she defines as “the medium through which history is experienced in everyday life,” which “fosters moral continuity with the past rather than detailed knowledge of it,” (Rappaport 1998: 161). In her discussion on sacred geography Rappaport emphasizes the importance of quotidian practice as a means of experiencing, connecting to, and creating historical consciousness.

Santos-Granero is primarily concerned with the technique used to encode history onto the landscape. Santos-Granero notes that many non-literary historical traditions utilize both narrative and performative practice such as “myths, traditions, reminisces, rituals, and body practices,” (Santos-Granero 1998: 128) to preserve their histories. During his fieldwork with the Yanésa in the Amazon, Santos-Granero found that these practices were deployed to inscribe or ‘write’ history onto the landscape. In order to describe this praxis Santos-Granero coined the term “topographic writing” which deploys individual historical landmarks (topographs) in a larger historical narrative to remember history (Santos-Granero 1998: 128).

In my own analysis of Kainai histories and their relation to Kainai landscapes, I draw upon the ideas ‘topographic writing’ and ‘sacred geography’ put forth by Santos-Granero and Rappaport. Bringing these concepts from the South American to the Kainai context provides a salient mechanism for exploring how history is informed and

experienced through land and myth as well as ‘historical fact’. I also draw on White’s concept of history as subjective to examine the subjective history of the Kainai and how this history informs opposition to the histories and practices of the colonial state.

Section IV: Resistance in Anthropology

In the third and final chapter of this thesis I draw upon the work of several scholars to examine resistance among the Kainai. The work of these scholars, primarily concerning resistance in peasant cultures, provides the background for me to identify what types of practices constitute resistance and how they relate to perceptions of landscape and history.

Studies in resistance emerged within anthropology during the 1980s amidst the rise of post-colonialism as a theoretical framework. Much of the early ethnographic work addressing resistance was conducted amongst peasantries, and many of the resulting texts contain a significant number of commonalities. I will draw upon the work of Jean Comaroff in South Africa (1985), James C. Scott in Malaysia (1989), and Gavin Smith in Peru (1989) as representative of these earlier ethnographies of resistance, and review their discussion on quotidian resistance, both in how it is carried out and how it is informed. All three of these scholars’ work share a common theme, namely their focus on resistance within the context of peasant societies. In *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1989) Forrest D. Colburn identifies two commonalities shared by all peasants, 1) they work in agriculture 2) they occupy a subordinate position in the economic and political hierarchy (Colburn 1989: ix).

The necessity of deploying quotidian forms of resistance to avoid, as Colburn puts it “suicidal outright collective defiance,” (Colburn 1989: ix), is the basic practice of resistance examined by all three authors Comaroff, Scott, and Smith. They all discuss the need to deploy such forms of resistance in situations where the subjugated population lacks the martial and economic resources and population to take overt aggressive action against the more powerful entity subjugating them (e.g. landowners, corporations, the state). Due to the individual or small-group dynamic of quotidian resistance, it is distinct from other forms of resistance in its lack of apparent organizational structure, but it is this fluidity that makes it so effective. Colburn lays out three specific potential consequences of engaging in quotidian resistance; i) personal gain (material) increasing the welfare of the individual; ii) erosion of unpopular or harmful practices (e.g. taxes or military service) through evasion; iii) creating the basis for more overt revolutions (rarely) (Colburn 1989: x). The manner in which these consequences are achieved can vary, but there are a number of elements common to many forms of quotidian resistance, some of these elements as well as a number of specific practices that illustrate quotidian resistance have been put forth by Scott in his paper “Everyday Forms of Resistance” (1989). One of the characteristics present in nearly all quotidian resistance is the deployment of existing “coordinated networks of practice and understanding” (Scott 1989: 23) or local social networks, members of whom are often both sympathetic and complicit in practices of resistance. Smith (1989) also posits that association with others is a necessity in engaging with a political struggle. The nature of these social groups tends to be “opaque from external surveillance” (Scott 1989: 23) which aligns with what Comaroff (1985)

theorizes, that in order for quotidian resistance to occur, there must be a space (both social and physical) free from surveillance.

The nature, or specific actions undertaken as quotidian resistance vary, but are influenced by the economic practices of the person taking them, as Smith states “the daily task of piecing together a living influences the form a people’s political struggle takes, just as much as does the specificity of their historical experience,” (Smith 1989: 13). In the case of peasants, many of the practices that constitute quotidian resistance are informed by their relationship and knowledge of the rural environment where they live and work. As Comaroff theorizes, the quotidian resistance and social action constitute a “communicative process in which pragmatic and semantic dimensions are fused,” (Comaroff 1985: 5). The practices that constitute quotidian resistance can run the gamut from “foot-dragging and feigned ignorance to vandalism and violence,” (Colburn 1989: ix). Another characteristic that Scott attributes to quotidian resistance is the use of both literal and conceptual disguises (Scott 1989: 25). The literal use of disguise, such as masks, is utilized in the more violent and risky practices, often seeking to mask the individual identity of those engaged, while still revealing their class and political identity (Scott 1989: 25). More conceptual disguises include subversive gossip, with its untraceable sources, and sarcastic performances of acquiescence (Scott 1989: 22). Finally, quotidian resistance can also be deployed within the structure of religion, especially revival religions, making ritual a form and site of quotidian resistance (Comaroff 1985: 196).

In spite of its attempt to subvert extant power relations, quotidian resistance is forced to engage these relations in a non-resistant and non-subversive manner. According

to Scott, such everyday forms of resistance simply maintain a “certain accommodation with existing power relations,” (Scott 1989: 22). In contrast to Scott’s more prosaic view, Comaroff theorizes that quotidian resistance takes a more transformative than oppositional form, deploying “existing cultural structures... to develop novel modes of practice; practice that expresses resistance to the self-image bred by subordination,” (Comaroff 1985: 12). This is an integral concept in Comaroff’s work, where the processes of colonization and capitalism figure prominently. Rather than viewing the relationships that result from experiencing colonization or capitalism as wholly one-sided or wholly opposition. This more nuanced view that “incorporation into colonial society was not a one-sided domination,” (Comaroff 1985: 12) was one that Comaroff also applied to the enactment of capitalist economies in peripheral areas. To Comaroff “Capitalism does not necessarily replace existing Indigenous structures, but has been determined by the local structures it sought to engulf,” (Comaroff 1985: 2) thus resistance to dominant power structures is influenced and informed by those structures, but also influences them. This reciprocal relationship is important, as the historically specific experience of those structures as well as various pieces of them are often taken up as a means to conceptualize, justify, and actualize resistance.

These early anthropological writings on resistance form the basis for the critique presented by Ortner in her 1995 paper “Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal.” In this critique Ortner points out that resistance is often presented in ethnography as a binary relationship between the subjugated and subjugator, which is a prosaic description that denies many of the nuances within cultures of resistance (Ortner 2006: 44). According to Ortner, the crux of previous treatments of resistance in

ethnography is the ‘refusal’ of ethnographers to acknowledge the internal tensions within cultures of resistance (Ortner 2006: 48). This is problematic because those in a position of subjugation and resistance have “their own [internal] politics” thus there are power relations within such groups that influence both their lived experience and their resistance. This can occasionally lead to collaboration with the seemingly oppressive power structures by sub-groups of the oppressed in order to resolve political grievances within their own political system, as in Vietnam where peasants allied with the national government to combat the privilege of the traditional elites (Ortner 2006: 45). Ortner is particularly critical of Scott’s 1985 work in Malaysia on two counts. Firstly is his lack of acknowledging the role that religion plays in resistance and quotidian life (Ortner 2006: 51) is problematic as it fails to acknowledge a major factor that influences and informs both identity and resistance in daily life. In her critique, Ortner draws upon Spivak’s concept of the subaltern as a means to describe the people at the bottom of the power structure who many anthropologists examine with regards to resistance. It is here that Ortner pinpoints the primary issue with ethnographies of resistance stating “Overall, the lack of an adequate sense of prior and ongoing politics *among* subalterns must inevitably contribute to an inadequate analysis of resistance itself.” (Ortner 2006: 48). Thus, the primary problem with early ethnographies of resistance is their lack of acknowledgement of the internal politics and resulting internal political tensions amongst marginalized peoples.

Within the context of the Kainai I utilize Scott’s work on the state and how it seeks to achieve legibility of the population to address the state created space of the Blood Reserve. I then draw upon the work of both Scott and Colburn to establish the

nature of resistant practices and that of Comaroff to examine how resistance and cultural practices intersect with capitalist modes of exchange.

Section V: Research Methods

The research that I conducted to gain access to the information arranged in this thesis took place primarily on the Blood Indian Reserve in southern Alberta, Canada. I spent just over two consecutive months living on the Blood Reserve (June 28th – August 30th, 2014) during which time I conducted the bulk of my research. Due to the locality of my fieldwork I had the opportunity to make friends and acquaintances in the community through attending sweats associated with a piercing Sun Dance run by Morris Crow Spreading Wings as early as October 2013, several months prior to beginning my research. After returning to Lethbridge at the end of August I continued to make fieldtrips to the Blood Reserve into October 2014.

During the summer I was taken in by Morris, and spent the majority of my time living with him on the north end of the reserve in a tent, though I also spent just over two weeks living near the base of the Belly Buttes farther south. Morris was my initial contact to the Kainai community and when I first arrived on the reserve I took on the role of helper at the piercing Sun Dance held on his land. My position as a helper entailed a good deal of physical labour associated with preparing for and conducting the ceremony, and also brought me into contact with a number of community members whom I would later interview and spend a great deal of time with. After the piercing Sun Dance I spent my time with the people who I had met through that ceremony, as well as many visitors who came down to see Morris or any of the various other people who stayed there.

In August I temporarily relocated to Circle Camp near the Belly Buttes, the largest summer ceremony on the Blood Reserve where the various societies (the Horns, Holy Women's Society, Brave Dogs, and Pigeons) congregate annually. At Circle Camp I was kindly allowed to stay in the Lethbridge Police tipi and became a helper for Pat and Alva Black Plume who graciously took me in. At Circle Camp I connected with another sphere of Kainai people involved in the ceremonies there, which broadened the number of people who participated in my research.

Throughout my research it was very apparent that the people I stayed with were very much in a position of power over my activities. I was completely reliant upon people in the community for food and transportation, never mind the information that I was seeking access to. I worked hard to 'earn my keep' so to speak, assisting with and participating in all aspects of daily life around me; cooking, watching children, working on the camp, or helping in ceremony. This not only provided me with a direct engagement with daily life on the Blood Reserve as experience by those who took me in, but also allowed me to make connections with a variety of people.

The primary research method that I relied upon, also the distinguishing method of anthropology, was participant observation. Pioneered by Bronislaw Malinowski this method provides an "emphasis on everyday interactions and observations rather than on using directed inquiries into specific behaviors," (Dewalt and Dewalt 1998: 260). This type of inquiry allowed me to see how the information that I had come to find worked on a quotidian level within the community as peoples' actions often revealed far more than their answers to direct questions. Due to the research topics of my thesis, especially as they relate to history and land, I not only had to form personal relationships with people

within the community, but also with the land and historical landmarks on the Blood Reserve.

The process of forming a personal relationship with the land was twofold. Firstly, because I lived in either a tent or tipi during my stay the weather very directly affected my day to day activities, and I spent the bulk of my time out of doors. Secondly, due to the focus of my research on peoples' perception of the land through the lens of traditional land use activities, I made a point of accompanying people as they engaged in such activities as often as possible. As a direct participant in picking, surface mining, and hunting I was obligated to observe the same protocols as those whom I accompanied (i.e. leaving an offering and a prayer prior to picking) which began to foster a similar relationship between myself and the land as the people whom I accompanied. During my time on the Blood Reserve I went on eight longer trips for the purposes of picking, while the Sun Dance preparations and quotidian plant use resulted in a great increase in my participation with picking. I went surface mining intently only four times, but again it came up in daily life as I lived next to the river. I went hunting a total of three times, but we never killed any game on any of those trips.

Accompanying people during their land use activities, while part of participant observation holds a unique place within my research. Prior to my field work I had decided that moving about the land with people would likely dredge up important points of conversation, something that I learned from driving about with my grandfather. By moving about the land, either driving or on foot, I was able to encounter landmarks while accompanied by people who knew them and could explain their personal and/or cultural significance. This provided me with insight into both specific landmarks and places as

well as what makes a place a significant landmark. Participant observation of land use also informed my interviews as it brought up places, concepts, and practices that I had been unaware of, and which I could seek clarification on during my interviews.

The second research method that I utilized was semi-structured interviewing. This method presented me with a unique challenge in that not only did I have to build relationships with the people I interviewed and learn to ask questions in a way that would elucidate an informative answer, but I also had to engage in the same cultural protocols as any Kainai person asking to be taught would. This emphasis on protocol meant that for every person that I approached for an interview I had to provide a gift of sorts. If I knew that the person smoked I would give them cigarettes, otherwise I would provide sweet grass or another type of smudge that I knew that person to use. During interviews it was important for me to refrain, as much as possible, from speaking, often letting the conversation come to a close prior to asking another question. As my research progressed, and my knowledge of the land and history increased, I became more adept at asking questions that would elucidate the type of responses that I needed. Interviewing was perhaps the most important method with regards to the historical section of my work as holding an historically focused conversation engaged me most directly with the methods and language used by Kainai historians. However, it also provided me with an opportunity to clarify my observations on land use and resistance.

Ultimately, my research was based upon the connections that I made in the social spheres of the piercing Sun Dance and Circle Camp. The people associated with either ceremony are often more engaged in traditional land use or the keeping of history than the average person, and thus made an ideal group of people for me to direct my inquiry

toward. The knowledge that I gleaned during my research does not belong to me, instead it belongs to those who shared it with me and have given me permission to arrange it in the form of this thesis. As the following chapters unfold I will draw upon the information, stories, and experiences shared with me to contextualize Kainai views of landscape, it's relation to Kainai historical thought, and the manner in which both of these perspectives inform a culture of resilience and even opposition in the face of the colonial state and culture of Canada in the geographical and social context of the Blood Reserve.

Chapter I: Kainai Landscapes

We crept through the short, damp grass to the edge of the hill which jutted out between two coulees. The whitetail, that we had seen from the small rise covered in mounds of white earth raised by gophers, had fled into one of these two coulees. We sat down on a pile of stones, rolling cigarettes as we glassed the area with binoculars and rifle scope searching for our quarry. In the fading light I could still see the Oldman River, the house, the Sun Dance arbor, the spot near the dump where the women picked sage back in July and the chokecherry thicket where we had cut pipe racks and saplings for the Thunderbird nest. This was the same land that Marvin, a bundle holder and piercing Sun Dancer had taught my host Morris how to hunt as a teenager. Marvin's voice snapped me out of my contemplation "This is probably a Cree grave we're sitting on."

I had not paid much attention to the pile of stones upon which we sat, but now that I looked with fresh, better informed eyes I realized that the unassuming jumble of rocks was indeed an old cairn. According to Marvin, this cairn had been here for nearly a century and a half, as the last great battle between the Iron Confederacy of the Cree, Assiniboine, and Saulteaux, and the Blackfoot Confederacy had begun near where we were sitting, resulting in a running battle that had terminated in the Oldman River, where Indian Battle Park is now. This pile of rocks, their historical significance, and the casual manner that we came across them, encapsulates in large part what I had come to the Blood Reserve to study, the interplay between landscape, history, and land use. The nuances of this interplay is the subject of this and the following chapter. In this chapter I will address the manner in which the landscape is viewed and engaged as animate by Kainai people when conducting traditional land use practices. I will argue that traditional

modes of land use constitute a reciprocal and fundamentally social relationship between human and non-human beings that are part of all creation. In discussing land use as a site in which this relationship is most explicitly revealed I hope to delineate a general concept of how the people with whom I spent much of the summer view the landscape. I will also briefly touch upon how land use brings people into contact with various culturally, historically, and spiritually significant landmarks, thus reaffirming relationships with the land and their history, which will ultimately lead me to a more in depth exploration of how history is read in the landscape in the following chapter.

Before delving into my ethnographic data I will draw upon the work of several scholars in order to construct a theoretical framework within which to examine Kainai concepts of landscape and the reciprocal social interactions that serve to maintain that relationship. I will begin by briefly exploring the problematic concept of landscape in anthropology in order to set the stage for the theoretical perspectives that attempt to solve this problem, which I will use to structure my discussion on Kainai concepts of landscape. Throughout this discussion I will endeavor to illustrate how the personal and collective relationships with the landscape constitute a reciprocal social relationship which incorporates practices both sacred and profane.

Section I: Landscape - Perspectives and Perceptions

Since the 1980s there has been a movement in geography and anthropology to bridge the gap present in the nature/culture divide that has long been entrenched in Western views on land and landscape. Examining the work of both anthropologists and indigenous scholars I will explore the shortcomings of the nature/culture distinction in the

context of North American indigenous thought and elucidate a more appropriate theoretical stance from which to view Kainai perceptions of landscape.

In *The Perception of the Environment* (2000) anthropologist Tim Ingold draws upon ethnographic work amongst hunter-gatherer cultures in order to demonstrate that the common claim that nature is a cultural construct is one that is incoherent, especially to peoples who engage in hunting and gathering (Ingold 2000: 40). Ingold argues that a dominant view within anthropology is an inversion of hunter-gatherer perspectives in which “meanings that the people claim to discover *in* the landscape are attributed to the minds of the people themselves, and are said to be mapped *onto* the landscape,” (Ingold 2000: 54). This critiques the Western view of landscape as space upon which humans impute meaning, which requires a conceptual separation of humans and nature. Unfortunately for academics wishing to understand other cultural perspectives of landscape, this view is often at odds with that of indigenous cultures. Ingold brings up Cosgrove and Daniels idea of the culturally constructed landscape in order to reject the idea of landscape as “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolizing surroundings,” (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988: 1). Ingold’s counter-argument is to “reject the division between inner and outer worlds,” (Ingold 2000: 191) and instead argue that “the familiar domain of our dwelling is *with* us, not *against* us, but is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it,” (Ingold 2000: 191). Finally, Ingold proposes that “acquiring the skills for direct perceptual *engagement* with its constituents, human and non-human, animate and inanimate,” (Ingold 2000: 55) is the most appropriate way to engage with the landscape.

Siksika scholar Betty Bastien also addresses the issue of Western concepts of landscape, and their incommensurability with those found in Blackfoot philosophy. In Bastien's words "the non-separation of nature and humans is one of the demarcations between Eurocentred and indigenous philosophy," (Bastien 2004: 80). Like Ingold, Bastien refutes the nature-culture binary as incoherent within an indigenous (in this case Blackfoot) context. In her discussion of Blackfoot worldview Bastien describes the concept of an interconnected relationship with its basis in renewal, stating that "We understand the meaning of life as renewal... These complex relationships of mutual renewal consist of the interconnecting life force in every rock, animal, plant, bird, and human being," (Bastien 2004: 37). This aligns Ingold's proposition that we as humans are with and not against our environment. However, Bastien takes it further by bringing the matter of creation to bear as a formative element of how people perceive their environment stating "The stories and legends of *Napi* address the origins and existence of *Siksikaitsipoyi* culture as well as the geographical features of their territory. This can easily be seen in many of *Napi's* adventures that are associated with their cultural significance," (Bastien 2004: 9). This concept of a shared past and shared creation with the landscape illustrates one mechanism by which people and cultures find meaning and identity within the landscape without imposing meaning upon it as the stories and their meaning pre-date much human activity.

Bastien not only discusses how meaning is found within the landscape through stories of creation, but how landscape and all of its inhabitants are seen as interconnected, and often form the basis of Blackfoot knowledge which is based upon "thousands of years of observation and participatory relationship with the natural world," (Bastien

2004: 39). She also argues that the interconnectedness and validity of the consciousness of all creation is fundamental to Blackfoot worldview. In fact “The fundamental premise of *Niitsitapi* ways of knowing is that all forms of creation possess consciousness,” (Bastien 2004: 80). Because the Blackfoot and other humans are a part of creation, it is impossible to separate other parts of creation from society as Bastien posits “The land, animals, and spirits are not separate but an integral part of the *Siksikaitisitapi* world. They, too, are the source of science and knowledge. This same relationship exists with the elements, earth, wind, water, and rock – all are within the consciousness of the universe,” (Bastien 2004: 82).

Bastien lays the framework for examining Blackfoot knowledge and perceptions of landscape as inseparable from Blackfoot society, and in fact interconnected to Blackfoot society in the manner that meaning and knowledge are found within the landscape and its denizens. This is a view that I will adopt within the context of examining Kainai concepts of landscape by examining points at which the landscape and Kainai society overlap in a reciprocal social relationship.

While Ingold provides a structure for breaking out of the Western human-nature divide inherent to the idea of a socially constructed landscape, his work does not leave the anthropologist with an idea of how to engage the mythic past, so important to hunter-gatherer views of landscape, in an academically viable manner. In order to bring this type of engagement to the fore I will draw upon the work of John Bradley with Aboriginal Australians. Bradley’s argument hinges on the idea that we (as anthropologists) must “be prepared to challenge the very essence of the Western academic tradition: the objective premise,” (Bradley 2011: 48). This premise is rooted in a view that ““Our” [Western]

knowledge exists independently of social and historical definitions and processes, and its very authority is derived from separation,” (Bradley 2011: 48). This proves problematic as a stance in which separation and objectivity help to constitute authority is incommensurable with a view that stresses interconnectivity. Bradley argues that we must attempt to move beyond this in our treatment of indigenous landscapes and engage landscape, humans, and the ‘mythic’ as an interconnected whole. Bradley proposes that we must “go beyond specifying geological form and ecological processes and examine the subjective and emotional interactions with the concrete and (in our “scientific” observer terms) the “imagined phenomena,”” (Bradley 2011: 49) in order to achieve such interconnected perspectives. It is by engaging the mythic realm that we can understand that “Humans share the essence, although, as with the multitude of other living things, they differ in form; thus the Western binary of culture and nature is unified and exists as a corporate whole,” (Bradley 2011: 49). Essentially, we must engage the ‘subjective’ and mythic components of indigenous landscapes if we as anthropologists want to glean a clear understanding of how indigenous people view landscape.

Ojibwe scholar James Dumont makes an argument similar to that of Bradley in that he proposes that due to the fundamental differences in worldview between indigenous peoples in North America and Western academia, scholars must make a conscious effort to engage the ‘supernatural’ and a holistic way of seeing in order to understand indigenous histories and experiences. In his article, he describes indigenous vision as a ‘primary vision’ which “is a comprehensive, total viewing of the world and is essential for a harmony and balance amongst all of creation,” (Dumont 1976: 11). In order to make his argument Dumont draws upon examples of Ojibwa men having

spiritual or supernatural experiences. Dumont's argument is that in order to glean a comprehensive understanding of indigenous history we must validate the truth of experiences with the spiritual realm, as they are to those who experience them (Dumont 1976: 14). This can be applied to how we examine indigenous understandings of landscape as well, as discussed by Bradley, because it is through engaging both the concrete and the mythic realms present in the landscape and ourselves that we can begin to see clearly the interconnectedness of society and landscape.

In my discussion of what constitutes a Kainai perspective on landscape I will draw upon the interconnecting themes presented by all four scholars. First, I will propose an alternative to the idea of landscape as a cultural construct, rather examining it as a culturally informed experience with our animate surroundings by exploring the direct perceptual engagement with the land, put forth by Ingold, as it is present in land use. In describing a number of land use practices that I witnessed and participated in I will illustrate the manner in which the landscape and its denizens are engaged as conscious beings with which land users have a fundamentally social relationship. In order to do this I will draw upon Bastien, Bradley, and Dumont's discussion of landscape as the holistic body of creation, and in which knowledge and meaning are found by those with the appropriate cultural knowledge, not simply imposed.

Prior to exploring specific land use praxes in detail I will address some of the protocol that are present in many land use praxes and which can be seen as a point of social interaction with an animate landscape. The primary protocol followed in the vast majority of the land use that I witnessed or participated in was that of giving an offering. These offerings (usually tobacco, but sometimes meat) are laid down with a prayer. The

offerings themselves are presented to the whole of creation, often while keeping in mind that which the giver plans to harvest and the need for doing so. Others will present offerings not to ensure success, but to ask for safety from the Creator while engaging in work with the landscape. These offerings are very similar to the social protocol of gifting when asking for help or information, a protocol that I was frequently engaged in during my time on the Blood Reserve. The similarity between gifting and offerings is important because it demonstrates that the relationship between Kainai persons and land is of a social nature similar to the social relations between Kainai persons. The act of giving an offering also implies that there is a conscious entity capable of accepting it and providing aid or approval. This giving of offerings is perhaps the clearest example of an action that engages the landscape as a conscious, animate, entity on a social basis. The giving an acceptance of offerings also demonstrates a reciprocal relationship in which the offerings constitute an exchange in return for something whether that be success or safety, or both. Finally, the protocol of presenting offerings when taking something for personal use or asking for safety is a direct means of engaging and invoking the sacred and spiritual entities which are also a part of creation, and recognizes the power in the land.

Section II: Picking and Plant Use

We left Bull Horn Coulee late the night before and got up early in the morning. We had driven past the western border of Blackfoot country during the night and camped outside Fernie. In the light we could see thousands of Saskatoons, some the size of small grapes, weighing heavily on the branches of the small trees. We drove up the dirt track until we were near the top of the small mountain and that is where we stopped. I gave Rachel a cigarette and took one out myself, snapping off the filter and tearing the paper

so that I was left with a large pinch of tobacco. We stood silently near the roadside, mumbling a thanks to the Creator, asking for safety from bears and men, success in our quest for Saskatoons and huckleberries. We ended our prayers and gave our tobacco to the earth before heading up the slope, buckets in hand. As we picked the women sang, and I thought about the prayers and offerings that we had given. It seemed to me that the pause, the thought, and the prayer had connected us to the place in a way that we would not have been had we not taken the time. That moment of prayer had served not only to give thanks, but to also bring ourselves to a different state of awareness of the plants we were seeking and the potential risks that we might encounter.

When we left late that day, laden with berries, we all called our spirits after us, something that I had done after Sun Dance, but that many people do when leaving an area where they have been encamped, that seemed to break the temporary connection that we had made with our offerings and prayers. After dropping off her friends back on the southern part of the Blood Reserve Rachel and I headed north along Highway 2. “Give me a smoke,” she said and I handed her one. As we drove past the cemetery south of Standoff she greeted her father and let the tobacco fly out the open window.

This was the longest and furthest that I had gone to go picking during my time on the Blood Reserve and also the time that I felt most clearly the connection between myself, our group, the land, and the sacred through the giving of an offering and a prayer. That being said, picking – a term I apply for the purpose of this paper to the gathering of plants whether they are plucked by hand or must be cut – was by far the most prevalent land use practice that I encountered and was told about during my research. For this reason I use it to open my discussion on specific land use praxes. The motives for

gathering plants are more varied in my experience than the surface mining of rocks or hunting of animals, as plants have a wide variety of uses. I witnessed or was told of the gathering of thirty-odd species of plants for ceremonies, medicines, food, and other everyday uses in structures or as tools. In the picking of plants for ceremonial, medicinal, food, or commercial uses, an offering and a prayer was always offered before a plant was picked or a tree cut. However, for more profane use such as driving away mosquitoes, we would simply pick a clump of lady sage (*Artemisia frigida*) and use it as a whisk, burn it for smoke, or rub it into our skin without an offering.

Before describing more specific examples I will discuss some of the important aspects surrounding both the knowledge and protocol related to picking, and also some of the ways in which it shapes pickers' relationships to land and landscape. Picking has an accompanying body of knowledge different from other land use activities, in part due to the more varied types of plants and their equally different uses. The most basic forms of knowledge related to picking, and thus the most available to the common person are how to identify plants, when and where to find them. The identification can be very simple with some plants such as cushion cactus (*Mamillaria vivipara*) and chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*). However, some such as sweetgrass (*Hierochloe odorata*) are hard to distinguish from other similar plants. Finally, while I do not have a concrete example, many plants are known to have twins, the set containing one that is helpful or benign and the other poisonous.

Knowing when to find certain plants is also a major factor to consider by anyone who picks. This body of knowledge is not relegated to simply knowing what time of year to look for a specific plant, but also how variations in weather (primarily rainfall or lack

thereof) throughout Blackfoot Country impact those plants. The when also engages the annual cycle of Blackfoot movement, which often switched between mountain, foothill, and prairie environments throughout the year in order to most efficiently gather resources (including plants). This aspect of picking also makes it the most temporally restrained type of land use during the year as summer and early autumn are the only time of year that most plants are available. This has an impact upon the annual cycle within the lives of all of those I met who engaged in picking, and lead to summer being the time of their heaviest land use.

The third part of this most basic plant knowledge is where to find them, and it is twofold. First, one must be familiar with the habitat of the specific plant, such as sweetgrass growing in damp (but not wet) low-lying areas or prairie turnip (*Pediomelum esculentum*) preferring dry and well filtered prairie soil. Second, individuals who engage with picking often revisit the same areas where they know a particular plant to grow. This is important both with regards to knowledge transmission as these places are often shown by an older or more experienced person, but consistent engagement with such places and surrounding landmarks shapes the subjective experience and how they engage with that particular place in the landscape. In my experience and those related to me, the landmarks used to locate plants are quite varied and included large geographic features such as the Belly Buttes; very visible landmarks such as Red Crow College (before its' demise); and smaller landmarks such as graves or tipi rings. Occasionally, picking brings people close to sacred and historical sites, in which case it presents an opportunity to engage with them. The most explicit example in my experience came during an afternoon of picking

that brought us near the (some say erroneously named) Many Spotted Horses tipi ring¹, a place that people often give prayers and leave offerings, which we did. While these landmarks are significant in pinpointing picking locations and by personal engagement, the sites at which people pick also take on significance and become landmarks themselves, used to identify the place that other events have taken place or locate other places. Similarly to the manner in which time of year engages the meta-geography of Blackfoot Country, so does the locating of specific plants. Certain plants, such as a type of camas root, rat root, and the lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), can only be found in the Rocky Mountains, the eastern slopes of which lie in Blackfoot territory and are still visited by people in search of these mountain plants.

The most complex and exclusive body of knowledge surrounding picking is the medicinal properties and subsequent methods of preparation of various plants. I did not experience or witness firsthand any medicinal plant usage. However, on one occasion while helping others pick for an elder who was no longer able to do so, we came upon a plant which illustrates the versatility and continued relevance of Blackfoot botanical knowledge. The plant in question is called red water, and has according to Rose, long been known to cleanse the blood. However, in recent times it has been used by the Kainai to help regulate blood sugar in diabetics. This illustrates continued growth, flexibility, and validity of indigenous knowledge pertaining to the land, and exercised through traditional land use practices. What the above story also demonstrates is the transmission of knowledge from elders to younger generations. Many elders who are unable to pick what they need for themselves, will send younger people to the correct locations to pick

¹ One person I spoke with related to me what his father told him, namely that the tipi ring there pre-dates the presence of spotted horses in the region and should instead be attributed to Sees From Afar.

for them. This relationship is still very significant with regards to knowledge about plants, how to use them, and how to pick them.

Outside of the offering of prayers and tobacco there is another major protocol engaged while picking which might be termed ‘conservation,’ but Bastien’s term of ‘renewal’ better describes it. This protocol is a number of steps taken to simultaneously ensure continued growth and renewal of plants, while optimizing that growth through selective harvesting. Conceptually this addresses the pragmatic idea of ensuring future harvest and also the sacred aspect of respecting those plants for their conscious place in creation by not degrading them or inhibiting their ability to regenerate. I encountered several of these practices while picking wild mint (*Mentha arvensis*) with Rachel one afternoon. After locating the mint we bypassed the first several plants that we encountered in order to ensure that there would be some left when we were finished. Although it would not have been possible to have picked all the mint along that muddy canal in one afternoon, we would not have done so as it would have run counter to the idea of allowing the mint to regenerate. While picking I set down my bundle of mint sprigs to cut another, and Rachel kindly informed me that it was poor etiquette to do so, as placing picked plants back on the ground implied that I did not want them, and had picked them for no reason. This also serves the pragmatic aspect of ensuring that the plants you pick do not get lost amongst those that remain unpicked, which nearly happened. The physical act of picking is also important as every time that I went I observed a conscious effort to break or cut cleanly the plant rather than pulling it up by the roots (except in the case of prairie turnips) so that the plants could re-grow from the roots and remaining stalk. While these actions described above are carried out on a small

scale, I was told of instances in which locations for picking are varied year to year in order to allow them undisturbed regeneration before revisiting them. An example of this is Morris's selection of place to cut cottonwood boughs for the piercing Sun Dance. Each year he alternates between taking mature trees for their boughs and cutting lower yearling growth. In this way he alternately opens up space for new saplings to grow by removing mature trees or creates space for growing trees to continue growing. This demonstrates a reciprocal relationship in which by taking steps to meet the needs of the trees the trees continue to meet the needs of the piercing Sun Dance.

The role of plants in ceremonies is very significant, and I have been given permission by Morris Crow Spreading Wings to describe the use of different plants in his piercing Sun Dance, which was where I first became involved in picking.

Plants are vital to the piercing Sun Dance in that they are required to construct the various physical structures within which the ceremony is carried out. The first time that I went out in search of plants was to make pipe racks. We drove along the base of the coulees in to the more remote end of the property where there was a stand of chokecherry and Saskatoon trees. On the way we saw a group of women and girls on the hillside picking male sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) which would fill many roles in the ceremony to come. Once we arrived we made our offerings of tobacco and prayed to find the resources that we needed, in this case straight and forked saplings about an inch in diameter for the construction of pipe racks that would be placed in the arbor and near the altars outside the sweat lodges. We were successful and spent the rest of the evening peeling those branches next to the fire.

The following morning Morris asked me for a hand in constructing the Seven Feather Offering, which is one of the most distinctly Blackfoot elements of the ceremony, transferred to his father from elders of Lakota nation. Instead of going to the grove of chokecherries and Saskatoons we headed east to the river where the slender willows that we were searching for grew. During the course of the piercing Sun Dance I witnessed or participated in the use of a wide variety of plants, all necessary in the performance of the ceremony. We used leafy boughs from cottonwoods to cover the arbor, a cottonwood tree for the centre pole, willow saplings for sweat lodge frames, withes for prayer sticks and the Seven Feather Offering, chokecherries for pipe racks, sweetgrass and sweet pine for smudges, and male sage for smudges, carpeting for the sweat lodges, pipe tamps, the dancer's crowns, and a tea to help relieve the fasting dancers.

The reason that I have spent so much time describing the use of picked plants in this ceremony is to illustrate the dependence of those engaged in the ceremony on the resources provided by the land. All of these resources were collected after offerings and prayers, the centre pole being cut and carried as part of the ceremony itself. However, it is not only the land, a conscious entity, that gives by providing resources. By giving offerings and praying for all of creation as a part of the Sun Dance we gave back, as part of an annual cycle of renewal.

In my discussion of picking by Kainai people in and around the Blood Reserve I have hoped to demonstrate that the act of picking not only engages a specific body of knowledge and protocol, but also demonstrates a social relationship with the conscious landscape. The knowledge utilized in picking, while often disseminated by elders, is based in the direct "participatory relationship" which Bastien describes as the foundation

of Blackfoot knowledge. This also aligns with Ingold's concept that engaging with landscape as a way of seeing it rather than constructing it is a valid way of understanding. The practices of picking also speak to the co-existence of pragmatic and sacred understandings and practices that far from being separate from each other are mutually informative and inseparable while engaging in the search for plants on the land.

Section III: Surface Mining

As we sat in the tipi, sipping mint tea Frank and I began to talk. We had been introduced earlier in the day and he had agreed to share some of his knowledge about rocks. It is impossible to separate Frank's story from his widely known success as a surface miner for ammolite and *iniskim*. Frank has been surface mining ammolite and *iniskim* for 25 years. It all started when he was studying carpentry and grew seriously ill. He left school and around that time one of his elders had a dream about him finding *iniskim*. He began to pursue ammonite fossils and within a relatively short period of time he returned to the doctor and found that his condition had reversed and he had been healed. Since then he has made his living and supported his family almost entirely by finding and selling ammolite. However, he has maintained a specific relationship with the rocks that he seeks and the land he seeks them in. He has only ever sought enough ammolite to support his family, never to gain large amounts of wealth. This is a very specific personal relationship between Frank and the rocks, so long as he only seeks enough to support his family he will maintain his success, but if he were to move beyond that it is likely that his success would decline.

In the physical manner that he goes about surface mining Frank is mindful of the rocks, their consciousness, and that of the land. He exclusively mines rocks that are

visible at least in part, on the surface, and refuses to engage in ‘trenching’ or digging up large areas of promising land on the probability of finding the gems he seeks. In his offerings and prayers he only asks for protection in the time that he spends on the land which encompasses most of the year, never for success.

Surface mining is the land use practice that I heard tell of and witnessed the most after picking plants, and is quite prevalent on the Blood Reserve. The most sought after rocks are ammonite fossils, and these fossils illustrate quite elegantly the paradox between ceremonial and commercial land use. Ammonite fossils have two parts that are frequently sought after, the colourful and iridescent gemstone ammolite which holds commercial value but traditionally held none to the Blackfoot, while *iniskim* or buffalo stones have no commercial value but have centuries of ceremonial significance. Though I was told in passing that others support themselves through surface mining, Frank is the only person that I met who makes his living exclusively by surface mining ammolite; a number of other people I spoke with told me that they will occasionally surface mine ammolite to supplement their income. In spite of ammolite holding exclusively commercial value, the act of giving offerings and prayers, which some do to find the rocks, still engages the sacred even if the practice of surface mining ammolite is fundamentally commercial. This speaks to the inseparability of seemingly pragmatic land use and the spiritual, social engagement with an animate and conscious landscape.

While the use of *iniskim* as effective ceremonial objects requires a transfer which engages a specific body of ceremonial knowledge, the act of surface mining, whether for ammolite or *iniskim*, is based in a more observational knowledge which requires close contact with the land. Like picking, surface mining requires a body of knowledge as to

where to find the rocks one is looking for, although unlike picking surface mining can be carried out throughout the year. With one exception, nearly every reference that I encountered surrounding the location of ammonite fossils was linked to water, specifically the Oldman and St. Mary's Rivers as they are almost entirely absent in the Belly River. However, these rivers are quite long so those who go out seeking ammonite fossils focus their search on stretches of river bank that are comprised of eroding black shale, which is the type of soil that normally contains these rocks.

While ammonite fossils are, in my experience, the most frequently sought-after rocks, both for the commercial value of ammonite and the cultural value of *iniskim*, there are other rocks and artifacts that are sometimes sought out or found incidentally. Within this category the rocks for heating sweat lodges were what I observed as the most frequently coveted rocks. As in picking plants for ceremony, every time I went with others in search of these rocks, we gave an offering of tobacco and a prayer of the same type as we would if picking. Sweat lodges require a specific type of rock, the black igneous rocks with white spots. These rocks are used due to their ability to retain high levels of heat without exploding when doused with water. In the case of these rocks rivers and canals are also important landmarks as this is generally where they are found. Unlike ammonite however, they are chiefly found in the Belly River and its tributaries on the west side of the Blood Reserve.

There are a number of miscellaneous objects that people find in the eroded banks of the rivers surrounding the Blood Reserve and in the sides of the Belly Buttes. It is not uncommon to encounter the remains of buffalo along the base of old jumps or along river banks where butchering was traditionally done. Occasionally whole skulls are found and

I was told of at least one instance in which the skull was taken and used as part of an altar for the piercing Sun Dance. These sites are also places to find human artifacts such as arrowheads and stone axe heads, which may be kept for their personal and historical meaning. This type of ‘surface mining’ is interesting in that it directly engages the location and material remnants of Blackfoot history in the area, and as in the case of the buffalo skull these old artifacts can take on a new life and new meaning through present day use.

Like picking, surface mining requires a specific geographic knowledge of where to go looking (the specific spots are often kept private to prevent over-use), and are often found in relation to significant historical and cultural landmarks. Like my encounter with the Many Spotted Horses tipi ring while picking, Frank related to me that he has encountered old buffalo jumps or butchering sites along the Oldman and St. Mary’s Rivers as well as tipi rings and medicine wheels in the hills along the St. Mary’s.

The reason that I have spent so much time on Frank’s story, other than his incredible success and knowledge of surface mining, is because I find that his beliefs surrounding rocks and the constant engagement with both the spiritual and the pragmatic elements of the landscape which illustrates again a sustained and reciprocal social relationship with a conscious landscape.

Section IV: Hunting

Having already described a hunt on the Blood Reserve in my introduction to this chapter, I will move directly on to illustrate the manner in which hunting as a land use practice engages the animate landscape and geographic knowledge, as well as how the relationship between the hunter and quarry further illustrate the social engagement with

the conscious landscape as well as other beings that inhabit it. While the Kainai and other *Siksikaitsitapi* traditionally hunted buffalo more than any other game, today Mule Deer and White-tailed Deer are by far the most commonly sought game. Other species that people mentioned hunting for food include elk, pronghorn, porcupine, ring-necked pheasant, sharp-tailed grouse, and waterfowl. Eagles and various hawks were also mentioned as being hunted illegally for use in ceremonial and pow wow regalia respectively. In this section I will focus on the pursuit of animals for food to further illustrate Kainai concepts of landscape as understood through experience and engagement with the land and its non-human inhabitants, while I will discuss the issues surrounding the hunting of eagles and hawks in the final chapter of this thesis.

The motives for hunting are mostly to acquire food or materials. Morris and one of his friends related to me that they had both, in separate instances, hunted deer as a means of survival when they were either out of money or had many mouths to feed. Additionally, many people enjoy wild meats as a healthy supplement to their diet. Different animal parts are also used in craft and ceremony. Morris has (unsuccessfully) been seeking a fawn for its spotted coat to make a pipe bag for example. Rachel, his sister, uses his hunting as a source for the deer hides that she tans to use in crafts, so the deer end up being used both for sustenance and material production.

Similar to picking, hunting contains a necessary body of knowledge pertaining to when and where to find the quarry one is pursuing. The when is often as much a personal preference as it is pragmatic. My host, Morris, prefers to hunt in the spring and early summer as the weather is more pleasant and it is the only time to acquire the spotted skins of fawns or fetuses, the latter also considered a delicacy historically. Other men that

I spoke with in passing stated that they prefer autumn as it prevents the killing of pregnant animals and the cooler weather means that meat does not spoil as quickly.

The where of hunting is much more specific both in terms of the terrain and also where certain animals might be found. River bottoms and flats for example are the general terrain to find deer in. However, mule deer tend to prefer more open habitat such as hillsides while white-tailed deer prefer the dense brush of the river bottom. Hunting deer usually involves a great deal of walking and looking, which is most effective from a high vantage point, on top of the coulees sloping to the river for example, which brings hunters into contact with areas that while historically preferred as burial sites such as the one described at the beginning of this chapter, do not often figure into contemporary land use. The nature of seeking a mobile quarry also forces hunters to cover much more ground in general than one would picking or surface mining, so the act of hunting typically requires more general topographic knowledge of larger areas in order to take advantage of vantage points, game trails, feeding and bedding areas. Similar to picking, hunting occasionally engages the wider geographic space of Blackfoot Country. Just as people must journey to the Rocky Mountains if they need certain plants or tipi poles, people who hunt elk must also leave the reserve, though they still remain in Blackfoot Country.

Hunting engages the animate, conscious landscape in a unique way. Like picking and surface mining offerings and prayers are an important protocol to observe, though people differ in when they make them, either before the hunt or after its successful conclusion. The prayers and offerings are of a similar nature to those given in other land use practices, though one keeps in mind the animal that they seek when giving an

offering prior to hunting while those prayers or offerings made afterward are more to give thanks. Where hunting truly differs is as a sight for the engagement in experiences with animals that can take on a very social, personal, and meaningful aspect. Morris related to me that he was taught that if a hunter shot an animal four times and it did not die, then they had a special relation to that animal. He himself shot a certain kind of bird four times and it did not fall, as a result he now has a unique relationship with that bird and engages in specific practices as a result. Another story which truly demonstrates the very social engagement with animals was told to me by an elder, Glen O. At the time of this occurrence he was much younger and living on the Siksika Reserve. He was out hunting deer with some friends, who were driving the deer through the prairie while he lay in wait by a tree. After a short time a deer came bounding straight up to him, failing to notice him, and uncharacteristically it tripped and fell right next to his tree. He could have easily shot the deer, but after looking it in the eye it told him to have compassion, he was so moved that he did not take the shot and that day he quit actively hunting.

This illustrates how hunting, the pursuit of animals, our most recognizable relations in creation, can lead to quite remarkable experiences of communication with conscious non-human beings who share our world. It is this aspect of hunting that re-enforces the idea of interconnectivity proposed by Bastien in which “The land, animals, and spirits are not separate but an integral part of the *Siksikaitsitapi* world,” (Bastien 2004: 82). Thus the pursuit of other mobile beings within the animate landscape which also encompasses plants, rocks, people, and spirits becomes an activity in which people are directly engaged with the conscious environment.

Section V: Landmarks

The raising of horses is different from the other land use practices I have discussed so far in that rather than engaging a certain entity in the landscape it requires sustained interaction with the landscape as a whole. The horse rancher that I became closest with was an elder named Glen E. Glen has spent his entire life around horses, learning about raising them from his father. He has spent most of his life on the Blood Reserve, and his experiences of living there and making a living raising horses has brought him into contact with many culturally, geographically, and historically significant landmarks. From the area that he farms one can see two major landmarks that have stories, the Belly Buttes and Boot Hill, which when viewed from the north look like the shape of a belly and foot of a resting person. During his lifetime Glen has encountered other historically and culturally significant landmarks such as buffalo jumps and medicine wheels, and witnessed places change such as the building, use, and abandonment of a community hall south of Lavern, experiences only gleaned through a long-term relationship with that place. Glen's knowledge of the various landmarks he encounters has been built up and informed by the stories of his elders and decades of experience, as he finds layers of meaning and history in the same place through his experience of living on the land and interacting with it on a daily basis.

Glen's story illustrates the manner in which knowledge, history, and meaning can be read and found in the land through quotidian interaction, in this case the daily care of his horses. This idea of engaging historical and cultural meaning in the landscape is the subject of the following chapter, but it is often through the land use practices that I have described in this chapter that this engagement occurs. Many of the landmarks encountered during land use hold historical, spiritual, or personal meaning, many times

these are inseparable. These landmarks then help contextualize the places and people around them, bringing land use into a context of the sacred and positioning actions in relation to history. Essentially, by encountering historical and sacred landmarks while engaged in land use, history begins to inform a person's personal relationship to the land.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have teased out the manner in which landscape, rather than being culturally constructed, is a culturally informed animate entity with which people who engage it through traditional modes of land use have a fundamentally social relationship. The examples that I have provided illustrate this in context of the theoretical perspectives provided by Bastien, Bradley, Dumont, and Ingold. As Ingold argues, meaning is found *within* the landscape rather than imposed upon it, and this meaning is discovered through direct engagement with the land, in this case through traditional land use (Ingold 2000). Similarly the knowledge gained through land use supports Bastien's ideas that Blackfoot knowledge is formed through long-term engagement with and observation of the natural world, within which Blackfoot society exists in concert rather than separation (Bastien 2004). The manner in which land use practices are carried out and the surrounding protocol also speak to the concept of renewal as fundamental to Blackfoot epistemology (Bastien 2004: 37). Finally, the engagement of the sacred through prayer and offering brings what might otherwise be pragmatic quotidian activities into the realm of the spiritual and sacred, thus illustrating that such realms both inform each other and exist in concert rather than separation. This assertion speaks to both Dumont and Bradley's

arguments that indigenous landscapes and knowledge must be engaged both in the concrete and spiritual or mythic realms if they are to be understood.

In my discussion of land use and the social relationship with the animate landscape I have illustrated the various ways that people engage in this relationship and what kind of activities bring people out onto the land where meaning is found through experience of this relationship. My brief discussion of landmarks in the final sub-section sets the stage for the following chapter in which I will examine in greater detail the cultural, historical, and spiritual meaning of various landmarks which within the context of the land form an historical 'text' with layers of personal and collective meaning that can be 'read' by people interacting with them. Ultimately interaction with the land on a social basis brings people into contact with their history and the historical record and meaning found within the land is re-engaged and added to through the personal and collective experience of land use.

Chapter II: Kainai Historical Perspectives and Landscapes

The noontime sun beat down on us as we rumbled across the flat in Rose's truck, toward the spot we would check for prairie turnip. I was curious and excited as I had never explored this particular flat in spite of having driven past at least a dozen times. "You see those bushes, the ones with the white leaves?" asked Rose, gesturing to the clump of wolf willows surrounding a cottonwood in a low spot in the land.

"Yes."

"We call those one's Napi's toilet paper. You know why?" she asked.

"I think so..." I said tentatively, guessing they might be a plant I had read about.

"It's because when you burn them they smell like feces," She laughed.

I had guessed correctly, but it was nice to actually see a plant that I had previously read about. We continued our bumpy ride across the deceptively uneven prairie toward the turnips. When we arrived we scouted out the area, and sure enough found a number of prairie turnips. We bypassed the first few, laid down our offerings and commenced our digging. I was sweating profusely in the sun, the brim of my kangaroo hat growing damp with perspiration as I attempted to force the spade into the hard, sun baked earth. We finally finished our digging with a good haul of the nutty tasting roots, and were lounging about the truck drinking water, smoking, and laughing. "We'll wait here for Quinton, then go visit the tipi ring." Said Rose.

"Where is it?" I asked

She gestured toward the river, "Over that way. This whole area used to be a campground a long time ago."

We were still sitting around the truck when another truck rolled up. Quinton, Rose's brother was in it and after introducing myself to him we made our way further into the flat, toward the river.

We stopped at the small enclosure, not much larger than an average kitchen. This was a tipi ring that I had been told of, shrouded in chain-link to keep stray livestock out. We opened the unlocked gate and I entered with Rose, Flora, and Sunflower. The tipi ring was much smaller in diameter than most contemporary tipis that I had seen, and I could see old offerings interspersed amongst the stones. We were quiet, reverent and respectful as we gathered around the stone circle. Before entering, the others had explained to me that one can leave offerings and prayers here for prosperity. I awkwardly dug into my pocket for what little money I had, all of it coins, and bowed my head, mumbling a clumsy prayer. After our prayer and contemplation I left my money on one of the stones and quietly exited the enclosure.

Over the course of that hot and sunny afternoon we drove around a good portion of the area and as I got acquainted with Quinton he pointed out many historical landmarks, such as old whisky forts, grave sites, and traditional places for buffalo jumps. This was the first time I had been out on the land with anyone who held such a high degree of historical knowledge, informed by years of experience with the area, and although he had not visited many of the places we stopped in years, he was familiar with some of the intimate historical and natural details of the area. This was also the first time that I had visited an historical landmark and witnessed the type of contemporary interactions that inform peoples' relationships to both these landmarks and their own history. This experience also throws into some relief the processes of both reading history

in the landscape and interacting directly with that history on the Blood Reserve which I will be exploring in this chapter.

Section I: Conversations on History and Landscape

Before addressing the ethnographic data that I accrued during my time on the Blood Reserve I will draw upon the work of several scholars in order to position myself academically within the current discourse concerning Indigenous histories and how they are intimately tied to place and landscape. Many of the scholars that I will draw upon are anthropologists, who have done extensive research on Indigenous historical landscapes in South America. I will also draw upon the work of Betty Bastien, a Siksika scholar who writes on Blackfoot epistemologies, but includes discussion of land and history as an informative part of that epistemological framework.

Much of the anthropological work done on the interconnectedness of history and landscape within Indigenous societies in South America focus on the manner in which history is encoded into the landscapes that these societies dwell in. This type of encoding has been addressed by several scholars, though most explicitly by Fernando Santos-Granero in his paper “Writing history into the landscape: space, myth, and ritual in contemporary Amazonia.” In this paper Santos-Granero describes the act of encoding history into the landscape as “topographic writing” (Santos-Granero 1998: 128). Joanne Rappaport also discusses this process in her work with the Nasa in the Colombian Andes, stating that the Nasa “encoded their history of struggle in their sacred geography, so the past meets present in the very terrain on which they live, farm, and walk,” (Rappaport 1998: 8). In the introduction to his compilation of papers *History and Historicities in Amazonia* (2003) Neil Whitehead states that landscape is significant in the ‘construction’

of histories (Whitehead 2003: xiii). Thus these scholars all address the importance of landscape in the interpretation and recording of Indigenous, non-literary histories.

. Santos-Granero describes ‘topographic writing’ as an historical text in which various landmarks which he calls ‘topograms’ constitute a text that can be interpreted by those with the appropriate cultural, geographic, and historical knowledge. This process of non-literate historical recording utilizes landscape to evoke memory, serving as a mnemonic device, that in turn has history written upon it (Santos-Granero 1998: 139). The topograms to which Santos-Granero refers are significant man-made or natural landmarks that “acquired their present configuration as a result of the past transformative activities of human or superhuman beings,” (Santos-Granero 1998: 140). Santos-Granero also proposes that natural topograms are typically brought out of the realm of the natural by being attributed to the supernatural or mythic past, while man-made landmarks are tied to classically historical events. This dynamic between those parts of memory labelled as mythic or historic is addressed by both Santos-Granero and Vidal. In his chapter in Whitehead’s compilation, Vidal proposes that the mythic and the historic overlap in sacred landmarks (Vidal 2003: 51). Santos-Granero discusses the manner in which mythic significance is important to designate a place as a topograph, and that while personal memory and oral histories overlap on certain landmarks, it is the mythic and sacred that maintain that topograph’s cultural significance over time (Santos-Granero 1998: 141).

Santos-Granero, Rappaport, and Vidal all stress the import or geography to the organization of memory. Vidal writes that cartography has a prominent role in organizing the past and present (Vidal 2003: 57). Rappaport in turn states that “geography does more

than carry important historical referents: it also organizes the manner in which these facts are conceptualized, remembered, and organized into a temporal framework,” (Rappaport 1998: 11). Santos-Granero proposes that history can be read in individual topograms, or in interrelated ones that are organized to create new historic associations (Santos-Granero 1998: 141). This general use of landscape to organize history and the constant re-working of the historical narrative brings me to a final point made by both Santos-Granero and Rappaport, which is that these historical ‘texts’ do not exist in stasis, but are constantly revisited, reworked, and reconceptualized, often through performance of ritual and revisiting specific sites. Rappaport’s assertion is more general, that “historicity is not lodged in a static text but in an ongoing process of interpretation,” (Rappaport 1998: 11). Santos-Granero takes this idea further by giving us an idea of what this ‘ongoing process of interpretation,’ looks like. Santos-Granero discusses the performative act of revisiting different landmarks as an integral part of maintaining certain landmarks as topograms. He gives the example of people revisiting topograms, many embedded in the ‘mythic’ past to pursue collective rituals and give offerings (Santos-Granero 1998: 142). It is this revisiting by multiple generations who “Through the combined assistance of mythical narratives, ritual activities, and personal memories... keep fresh the historical significance of their topograms,” (Santos-Granero 1998:142).

Ultimately what all of these scholars do is examine the fundamental role of landscape and specific landmarks in remembering and interacting with history. However, their writing, while providing a useful academic position in the context of my research, falls short in two regards. Firstly, in light of my discussion on perceptions of landscape, which is addressed in the previous chapter, I would argue that these authors through

implying that history and historical meaning are “written” into or otherwise placed upon the landscape by people is at odds with the idea that meaning is found *in* the landscape not forced *upon* it. As Ingold says “meanings that the people claim to discover *in* the landscape are attributed to the minds of the people themselves, and are said to be mapped *onto* the landscape,” (Ingold 2000: 54), which is the exact pitfall that would be encountered if I were to apply these scholars ideas directly. Rather I propose that while history is ‘read’ in the landscape, the meaning of the ‘mythical’ events that have taken place exists prior to humans and so is not ‘written’ but rather ‘read’ or ‘found’ in the landmarks associated with different stories by those with appropriate cultural literacy to find them.

My second critique of this body of work is that there is an arbitrary distinction made between ‘myth’ and ‘history’. Indigenous societies themselves may not make that distinction and so it would be inappropriate to make such an arbitrary distinction in any academic examination of Indigenous histories. In the context of my own work I would refer to the stories as a deep, formative, history that have their own place as the basis of the historical.

Before examining my ethnographic data I would like to draw upon Betty Bastien’s work as well as provide an example of various topograms in Blackfoot country provided by Percy Bullchild. Bastien states that “The stories and legends of *Napi* address the origins and existence of the *Siksikaitsipoyi* culture as well as the geographical features of their territory. This can easily be seen in many of *Napi*’s adventures that are associated with specific locations in Alberta,” (Bastien 2004: 9). This assertion by Bastien addresses the existence of topograms or historic landmarks associated with creation in Blackfoot

Country. Percy Bullchild in his compilation of stories *The Sun Came Down* (1985) provides a map which contains many significant cultural and historical landmarks of Blackfoot Country which includes the places where Napi and his sister started the Oldman River and Okotoks where Napi was saved from a rock by a pair of nighthawks (Bullchild 1985: 64-65). This demonstrates the existence of landmarks in Blackfoot Country similar to those discussed by Rappaport and Santos-Granero.

Ultimately in my examination of Blackfoot history and historical landmarks I will draw upon the ideas of layered meaning, memory, and performance when revisiting these sites that are discussed by the scholars whose work I have discussed. However, unlike these scholars I will attempt to discuss the stories such as those written by Bullchild, or their results as legitimate historical data within the context of Blackfoot historical consciousness without relegating them to the arbitrary category of mythic.

Section II: Kainai History and Historical Consciousness

Prior to examining how the people with whom I worked interact with and find historical meaning in the landscape, I will first examine more generally how history is perceived and transmitted in the experiences of these people. I will attempt to delineate a broad picture of historical consciousness by examining the different types and bodies of knowledge that interact to inform perceptions of history within the community.

Ultimately the objective of this section is to provide a rough sketch of how the community members who participated in my research view Kainai history from their contemporary position.

To begin, Kainai history is comprised of a complex and diffuse body of knowledge housed in a number of different places. The appropriate starting place for any

examination of Kainai history is the stories. Anthropologists and historians might be inclined to define the stories as the ‘mythic past,’ however this arbitrary distinction of the ‘mythic’ from the ‘historic’ is not an appropriate distinction to make when examining Kainai history. The stories begin with the creation of the world and continue through the shaping of the world and its inhabitants by historical figures such as Napi² and Katoyis³, whose formative journeys and activities are still visible in the geographical features of Blackfoot country. These stories cannot be separated from the more recent past or the present as neither the more recent past or the present could be possible without their shaping of the world and teachings that have informed and affected all history since their occurrence. The stories can be seen as the base layer in the metahistory of Blackfoot country and all of its human and non-human inhabitants and as historical events that continue to inform the interpretation of the past and present experiences.

The next layer of Blackfoot history can be roughly defined as oral history, which has been transmitted through the generations. While this is similar to the stories, it can encompass more specific events such as battles, treaties, and movement. These stories constitute a large and interconnected body of knowledge that is spread out between the tellers and listeners, often with certain people having specific knowledge of a few historical stories or narratives. For example, a person in one family might be privy to certain oral histories concerning the actions of a specific ancestor who performed a war deed or signed a treaty. That is not to say that oral histories are entirely limited to certain

² Napi is a recurring figure in old Blackfoot stories, he was sent by Natosi (Creator) to help shape the world but ended up acting as a trickster and many of the landmarks and quirky appearances or scents of plants and animals are the result of his adventures.

³ Katoyis (Blood Clot) occupies a period of history after Napi’s departure. In contrast to Napi, Katoyis is a more heroic figure who exemplifies good behaviour and was sent to help the Niitsitapi. His adventures too are manifested in certain landmarks such as the Belly Buttes.

genealogies or families, but family histories hold specific meaning to contemporary family members and are often remembered in most detail by members of that family. One example of this is the story of Crow Spreading Wings, who is the ancestor of Morris Crow Spreading Wings. When discussing the past Morris related to me the story of his ancestor and the war deeds he performed which earned him the name that has become Morris's surname. This was related to me in the context of family history and illustrates the manner in which personal genealogies inform the oral histories that people take interest in and have access to.

Another point regarding oral histories and stories is the manner in which they are transmitted and told. When stories were related to me the teller of the story would often refer back to the person from whom they originally heard it. This serves to both credit the source of the story, but also reaffirm the social relationship between the teller and listener, as well as to verify the validity of where the story has come from. This validity is often due to the relationship of the person who originally related the story to the story itself or their access to a large body of historical knowledge.

Kainai history also draws upon the written records of European and Canadian chroniclers, and historical documents such as the records kept by treaty commissioners and Indian agents. Many of the men who I talked to about Kainai history have done a good deal of reading about their own history, drawing upon these documents. However, these documents are often interpreted in the framework of the stories and oral histories which the readers also have access to and knowledge of, which often leads to different interpretations, contextualization, and problematizing of those documents than one finds in academic literature. Nonetheless, these documents play an important role in

understanding the historical interactions between the *Siksikaitstapi* and the more recently arrived *Napikwaiiks*⁴. This understanding of such interactions also informs perspectives on contemporary society and issues for the people who have undertaken such research.

Thus the idea of historical continuity is very much a part of the historical perspectives that have been shared with me, and I observed several instances in which historical knowledge was deployed in order to examine contemporary issues. One recurring example of this is the discussion of the Mormon settlement of Cardston on the southern boundary of the Blood Reserve. Many of the people shared with me the perspective that Mormon settlement occurred after a lease agreement was made between the Mormon settlers and the Kainai. However, that agreed upon lease is often referred to as expired, which brings up the issue of historically agreed upon boundaries of the reserve, the arbitrary reduction of those boundaries in the 1880s, and the disagreeable ruling that resulted from the Blood land claim in the 1990s.

Another major trend in Kainai history that I noticed is the discussion of place and movement. This trend is present in both older and more contemporary histories. When discussing the former distribution of various nations and clans of the Blackfoot Confederacy people with whom I spoke talked about clan-specific wintering grounds, as well as the meeting places in the summer where the Sun Dance would take place. The movement from the originally proposed reserve in the north to the contemporary Blood Reserve is another physical and social movement in both history and geography as it marked a period of major social change and a major increase in sedentary life. Yet another example is the history of how the population of the Blood Reserve settled into its

⁴ Blackfoot word for "White People"

current appearance and how different communities on or near the reserve such as Standoff, Lavern, Cardston, and Bull Horn Coulee came to be. These contemporary communities have not existed in stasis as the population was formerly more evenly dispersed before consolidating into these communities. Another more contemporary movement was the movement of people to the north end of the reserve, which occurred primarily after the construction of the highway. In all of these cases we can see people moving both between geographic places within the space of Blackfoot Country, but also between different points of Blackfoot history.

I have already touched upon the diffuse nature of Blackfoot historical knowledge but I do not want to present an essentialized sketch that portrays historical knowledge within the community as disjointed. There are different bodies of knowledge concerning the same topic and when multiple bodies of knowledge are drawn upon one can elicit a clearer picture of the history surrounding an event or a place. Perhaps the best example of this is the body of knowledge concerning why Red Crow insisted upon the Blood Reserve's current location. One person stated that Red Crow did not ask to move the reserve to its current location, but instead he moved there and told the Crown that the location he chose would be the location. This takes a perspective emphasizing the agency of Red Crow and the Kainai in determining the location of their present day community. Another person told me that the contemporary Blood Reserve was a part of the traditional wintering grounds of the Fish Eater Clan, which is the largest Kainai clan and also happened to be Red Crow's clan. This implicates the time of year at which this movement occurred and the political power of the Fish Eaters within the nation as the primary reasons behind the Blood Reserve's current location. Still other people implied

that the sacred landmark of the Belly Buttes, which are still the highest point on the reserve and a major landmark, came into consideration when the reserve was chosen.

Ultimately one cannot consider Blackfoot historical knowledge without addressing its inseparability from place. This link between history and geography is one that I will explore further in the following section in which I will also discuss the different meanings and relationships that arise from personal experience with various landmarks.

Section III: An Historical Landscape

In this section I will explore the manner in which historical meaning is found, interpreted, and interacted with within the landscape. I will first discuss a number of the various historical landmarks that I personally saw and interacted with during my time on the Blood Reserve, and then draw upon the experiences that the people I spoke with shared with me in order to demonstrate how this history is read, enacted, and informed by personal interaction with these landmarks.

There are a number of landmarks that hold multiple layers of historical and personal meaning on the Blood Reserve and throughout Blackfoot Country. As I discussed in the previous section, there are multiple layers of history in Blackfoot Country that are observable in the landscape. The first of the landmarks that I will discuss are those that come from the stories that detail the formation of the landscape in Blackfoot Country. Perhaps the two most dominating landmarks on the Blood Reserve are Chief Mountain and the Belly Buttes. While Chief Mountain is not located on the Blood Reserve or even in Canada⁵, it is a highly visible landmark, dominating the horizon

⁵ Chief Mountain (*Ninnaistako* in Blackfoot) is located on the Blackfeet Reserve in Montana.

in many places on the Blood Reserve. Chief Mountain has its origins in Napi's shaping of the world, which is the first layer of historical meaning that can be experienced within its context. However, many people with whom I spoke have told me that they visit Chief Mountain due to its cultural significance, sometimes in order to seek visions. The act of a vision quest is an intensely personal and spiritual experience, which is occasionally sought at places of historical and spiritual importance. This act would add another layer of experience and meaning to an already significant historical landmark.

The Belly Buttes are another dominant landmark which not only hold historical and cultural import but also constitute the highest elevated point on the Blood Reserve. I was told the origin of the Belly Buttes lies in a more recent story that occurred after Napi's initial shaping of the landscape. The story is that of Katoyis, or Blood Clot. This story explains many major and minor geographic features in Blackfoot Country and even the English names of many of these places are translations that arise from this story. The story is of a fight between Katoyis and a large animal that was described to me as either a giant buffalo or a wind-sucker. During the course of the struggle between Katoyis and his adversary, various parts of the wind-sucker were struck off of its body and scattered throughout Blackfoot Country. The Belly Buttes themselves were formed when Katoyis disemboweled the wind-sucker, spilling the contents of its belly on the prairie, and creating the Belly Buttes. Other landmarks in Blackfoot Country related to this story include Bull Horn Coulee (located on the Blood Reserve), Milk River Ridge (the ribs of the wind-sucker), and Heart Butte in Montana. The Belly Buttes themselves constitute a major geographic landmark on the Blood Reserve and hold many layers of historical meaning. One elder with whom I spoke frequently has spent twenty-seven years living in

the Belly Buttes, and has observed both very old and very contemporary layers of history which inform his relationship to this landmark. I will draw upon some of his experiences to illustrate how multiple layers of history and meaning can be read in a single landmark.

Due to the sheer drops in some areas along the Belly Buttes, certain places were historically used as buffalo jumps. This type of use is revealed in this elder's experience in his finding of buffalo skulls on the land he occupies at their base. He is also aware of a very old burial that was unearthed on the Belly River which flows just west of the buttes. Prior to the present settlement of the Belly Buttes, the road now called Old Agency was a wagon trail that lead through the Belly Buttes to the Indian Agency, in itself an historic site. Still more recently the Canadian Military used the land in the Belly Buttes as an artillery range during the Great War, and he related to me that old ordinance is still occasionally found in the Belly Buttes. Finally in recent times there have been a number of houses built in the Belly Buttes making them a site of inhabitation. There is also land use in the Belly Buttes that brings people into contact with them and occasionally historical artifacts such as the aforementioned buffalo bones and old military ordinance. Frank, whose story I drew upon in the previous chapter in the section on surface mining related to me that there are good places to pick Saskatoon berries on top of the Belly Buttes. There is also horse and cattle ranching in the buttes which bring people into constant contact with this landmark. Due to their size and the housing around them, the Buttes are one of the most evident historic sites on the Blood Reserve and are often experienced both in quotidian practice and historical context.

Some of the other landmarks that I personally encountered or that were frequently mentioned to me are more diminutive geographically, but nonetheless continue to hold

historical importance and constitute sites of history being read and experienced in the landscape. These landmarks might be minor geographic features that break up the prairie, such as the Box Canyon; human constructions such as the Many Spotted Horses/ Sees From Afar Tipi Ring, old building sites, or the Cree grave referred to in Chapter I; or sites that are known to have been burial or camp grounds. Some of these sites are interacted with through the placement of offerings or become the site of vision quests and production of additional personal meaning. Others serve as points of historical reference that help describe the events surrounding them.

I will draw upon a number of stories and shared with me concerning specific historical landmarks in order to illustrate the layers of meaning present within smaller historical landmarks that while not present in the stories, exemplify more compact histories that people can access and experience in the landscape. The first landmark that I will describe is the Many Spotted Horses or Sees From Afar tipi ring. Firstly, there is some debate over whether the ring itself should be attributed to Many Spotted Horses or Sees From Afar. While the sign, graven into the concrete at the entrance to the tipi ring reads 'Many Spotted Horses,' Morris related to me that his father told him that the tipi ring itself predates the introduction of that specific type of horse to the region and thus should be rightly attributed to Sees From Afar. Morris's experience with this historic landmark began due to dreams that he had about the specific location, which in turn lead him to research and ask questions about the place. The ultimate result was that he went there for a vision quest. Here we can see that the historic nature of the place is not the only layer of meaning that it holds for him. While he did explore its history and significance, this was only the result of a dreamed experience, which lead to a vision

quest. Thus the place holds both historic and deep personal meaning for him, acquired through direct engagement with the place.

Morris's experiences with this landmark do not constitute the only layered meanings held by this place. It's location in a specific flat speaks to the known use of that flat as a campground historically, as well as the tipi ring itself being connected to a specific, albeit contested, historical figure. There are more contemporary layers of meaning added to this site in recent times as well. Firstly, it is fenced in order to prevent disturbance of the site by livestock. Secondly, it is a frequently revisited site. My experience with this tipi ring occurred while picking prairie turnip in that flat when we decided to visit the tipi ring and leave offerings of money in a prayer for prosperity. This is something that others before us had done as we saw older offerings made at the tipi ring. Thus this tipi ring contains layers of personal and historical meaning. It associates with a specific figure while also serving to contextualize the surrounding prairie as an historic camping ground. It also continues to produce personal and spiritual meaning on an individual basis through being engaged as a site of vision quest or offering and prayer. The giving of offerings in this case is similar to the offerings and prayers made while engaging in land use, although they are a form of social engagement with the historic past they engage it to find personal meaning, rather than to exchange resources.

Not only does this tipi ring serve to contextualize the surrounding area historically, but it also serves as a guiding landmark in an otherwise relatively uniform stretch of prairie. I have heard it referred to twice as a point of reference: once when describing the location of a sweat lodge, another time in reference to the historic resting place of 'Mean' Calf Shirt, a powerful warrior feared for his volatile temper who was

killed by whisky traders. This serves to illustrate the manner in which historic sites also take on the form of landmarks that can serve to position a place both geographically and socially.

Other places that do not contain visible landmarks still constitute historic sites that, while they may not hold a great deal of meaning or be revisited, are still used as historical reference points that engage the history of an area. One such example is a pair of hills that straddle a road. I was told that they were the site of children's burials some time ago. Knowing and discussing this led to a discussion on the history of the flat that these hills sloped down to. On this flat, similar to the one previously discussed, there is knowledge that the area was used as a campground for a long time. In addition to that, it was also a site of engagement between whisky traders and the Kainai, which resulted in trade but also some violent conflict between the two parties.

In another discussion that I had with Morris, we discussed the various historic sites that might produce certain kinds of visions in a vision quest. He related to me that the Box Canyon (which was also a buffalo jump) and Belly Buttes would be visited by those seeking war medicine, and that the types of power resulting from such visions often were accompanied by very extreme sacrifice, in some rare cases even the sacrifice of a wife or other family member, on the part of the recipient. He also related that the grave site of the other Calf Shirt, who had a special and powerful relationship with rattlesnakes, was a site where one could acquire visions and powers related to snakes. Interestingly, both Morris and a woman with whom I spoke described this particular grave site as the home of a snake of extraordinary size. This may seem to engage the 'mythic' past in present terms, but Morris's father actually saw this snake and while he shot at it, he did

not succeed in harming it. This demonstrates the contemporary reality of the place, which is intimately intertwined with its historical context. Another interesting point about this area concerning snakes is that as one of the more recently and sparsely inhabited areas on the Blood Reserve, there is living memory of it prior to housing being constructed there after the construction of the highway. A few people that I spoke with told me that prior to the highway and subsequent increase in habitation the area was home to a multitude of rattlesnakes, which was a concern at the time of settlement. While there are still rattlesnakes in the area, and these comments were not explicitly connected to the grave site, it is an interesting correlation between other inhabitants of the landscape and history.

There are also historical features within the landscape that do not necessarily constitute landmarks or ‘historical sites,’ but nonetheless directly engage one with the stories of Napi shaping the world if one is aware of them. The two best examples that I can give are plants. The first is the wolf willow (*Elaeagnus commutate*). I have heard this plant referred to as ‘Napi’s toilet paper’ due to the fact that it gives off the stench of feces if burnt. While I do not know the specific story linking this shrub to Napi, the reference to his use of it as toilet paper in light of its contemporary stench engages a relatively common plant within the context of Napi shaping the world and being responsible for many of its quirks. The second plant which draws upon Napi’s experiences is the black knot fungus (*Apiosporina morbosa*) which infects chokecherry trees. This fungus takes the form of oblong lumpy blackish brown knots on the smaller branches of the trees. Due to its appearance it is sometimes referred to as ‘Napi’s feces’ which similar to the wolf willow draws upon Napi’s experiences and bodily functions in order to explain a ‘quirk’ present in the landscape. In both of these cases it is clear that even in absence of the full

story, Napi's role as a shaper of the land, often in the context of a trickster which can include crude or humorous stories, is addressed in a manner that attributes various biological or geographical features to the deep history of the stories.

While I have already touched upon the diffuse nature of Blackfoot historical knowledge in the context of who has access to specific bodies of knowledge, I should also discuss the diffuse nature of knowledge of historical spaces and places. This is often a matter of locality with the level of experience with a place correlating to knowledge of the landmarks in that place. For example, the north-eastern portion of the Blood Reserve was not heavily populated until the construction of Highway 509 in the latter decades of the 20th century. This means that there is a smaller number of people who frequently engage with the historical landmarks in this area. I was fortunate to speak with people from this area as well as the more heavily populated south-central portions of the reserve. Some people who spent a great deal of time on the northern part of the Blood Reserve have intimate knowledge of various historic landmarks but also place names. Most of the flats and river bottoms have historically been named. Not every name is necessarily remembered, but two men that I spoke with who have spent extensive time in the northern portion of the reserve knew of the names of several of these locations such as Elk Bottom, Rabbit Bottom, and Weasel Fat Flat. This is fairly locally specific knowledge that someone from another portion of the area would not likely be privy to due to lack of interaction. Conversely, on the west-central portion of the Blood Reserve in the area between the Belly Buttes and Standoff there were people who could tell me the names of the various creeks such as Sunshine Creek which is a tributary of the Belly River, a name not known to some of my acquaintances from the north end. Within this

same train of thought, the meaning or nature of landmarks can vary by the experience of the person with that landmark.

When Morris discussed the nature of vision quests in the Belly Buttes he brought up the ideas of the place providing costly visions for warriors and being the home of ghosts. However, he has spent much of his life in the northern portion of the reserve. Another man, who has lived in the Belly Buttes for over two decades told me that they are a good place to camp and provide good dreams. When I brought up the idea of costly war visions that Morris had related to me he respectfully disagreed, stating that nearly any place on the land could yield good or helpful visions, but that during a vision quest the beings that might contact the vision quester often look for that person's weakness in order to challenge them; this is not so much a matter of locality as it is a part of the process of the vision quest. This demonstrates the different knowledge and meaning that can be accorded to different historically significant places as a result of the amount of interaction and depth of personal relationship to those places.

In this section I have attempted to tease together the manner in which diffuse knowledge of historical landmarks contribute to the various layers of history that can be read and experienced with them, as well as how some of those experiences come to pass through land tenure, ceremony, and quotidian interaction.

Section IV: History as a Framing Device

Throughout the previous two sections I have attempted to illustrate how Kainai historical knowledge is distributed in the community and landscape within my experience and those shared with me. In this section I will discuss how history and historical knowledge are deployed, both overtly and discretely in order to position

persons and actions with regards to the social and physical spaces they inhabit and interact with. I will then move on to discuss the use of history to contextualize and address contemporary issues, which will serve as a segue to the following chapter dealing with cultural opposition on the Blood Reserve.

As I have discussed in the previous sections, Blackfoot history as presented in the stories is intimately intertwined with landscape and geography. Blackfoot Country is demarcated by a number of landmarks, the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the west, the Yellowstone River to the south, the Saskatchewan River to the north, and the Cypress Hills to the east. However, throughout this vast territory are historically and culturally important landmarks rooted in the stories of how Napi shaped the world and other later stories that resulted in landmarks. These landmarks, while they do not necessarily constitute boundary markers, are recognizable features with historical and cultural import. This recognition of meaning ties the person reading it to the territory and places them geographically and historically in Blackfoot Country. This notion of being in and carrying out action with Blackfoot Country is still invoked and recognized in spite of the colonial paradigm that confines any sort of Blackfoot control of the Blackfoot Country to reserves. However, this has not removed the awareness or acknowledgement of many Blackfoot people of their physical location in Blackfoot Country, and their place within an historically charged and sentient landscape. When discussing the story of Katoyis and his battle with an ancient being, one cannot help but to invoke the whole of Blackfoot Country as the distribution of that being's body is spread over its geography, and while some landmarks such as Bull Horn Coulee or the Belly Buttes are on reserve

land while others such as Heart Butte in Montana are not, that formative section of the historical narrative cannot avoid being evoked.

Even the present day reserve and its location can serve to frame contemporary circumstances. By engaging with the rationale behind the selection of the reserve one can frame their current location as either the result of Red Crow's determination to select the best possible location for the settlement of the Kainai or as the continued inhabitation of clan-specific wintering grounds of the Fish Eaters. This leads to a variety of ways in which people can geographically and historically situate themselves in contemporary times.

This type of positioning is also informed by land tenure, with the time spent living in an area positioning people in relation to familiar historical landmarks. As I discussed in the previous section these landmarks take on personal meaning through interaction, thus positioning people within their own history through their personal engagement with and visitation of historical landmarks such as geographic features as well as those which are manmade. The net result is that while people are able to position themselves historically, which also brings history into the present, it is not necessarily abstracted or removed from current experience, but instead both past and present experience are synthesized.

Historical knowledge of the landscape and how it used to be is also used to interpret contemporary issues on the Blood Reserve. In light of resource extraction, such as the many oil wells on the reserve, the comparison is drawn between the previously healthy environment and its contemporary abuse by fossil fuel extraction. One woman I spoke with described salt deposits at certain waterholes as the result of oil drilling. While

this may or may not be the case, it deploys the historical landscape as a comparison to the contemporary one which is impacted by oil extraction. I also was given the comparison of colonization to resource extraction in which the colonial process was compared as parallel to the contemporary abuse of the land through practices of resource extraction, as have been undertaken to benefit Canada at the expense of the original people or environment.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to tease together what bodies of knowledge constitute a Kainai historical perspective, and how these bodies of knowledge can be related to the landscape. I have attempted to illustrate the manner in which history can be ‘read’ in various landmarks in a manner similar to Santos-Granero’s ‘topographic writing’. I have also discussed the manner in which geographical space and landmarks can be used to organize Kainai history starting with the creation stories of the formation of the world, but also how these places and spaces are still engaged with, bringing the historic into the contemporary through revisiting, acknowledging, and experiencing historically charged spaces and landmarks. I have also attempted to illustrate the manner in which these historical perspectives and performances are deployed to frame contemporary issues such as resources extraction and colonial historical paradigms through referencing how the environment used to be, or by highlighting the agency of the Kainai in the selection of their own reserve’s location. I have illustrated how the chronicle of Kainai history, transmitted through stories, and embodied in the landscape is a dynamic body of knowledge that begins with the deep history in the stories but which is constantly being re-engaged, re-interpreted, and actively experienced. This focus on the

contemporary nature of history and its redeployment and reinterpretation as an experiential and conceptual alternative to mainstream colonial Canadian history serves to inform my following chapter that examines how the experience of landscape and experiencing the history that is present in the landscape inform a culture of opposition to the colonial paradigm on the Blood Reserve.

Chapter III: Kainai Cultures of Opposition and Resilience

The final conversation contained in this thesis is one of cultures of opposition and cultures of resilience. Essentially this discussion deals with the manner in which the culturally specific views on land and history discussed in the previous two chapters are brought into the context of either opposing the colonial paradigm directly, or else promoting Kainai perceptions in a manner that I propose constitutes cultural resilience.

I initially wanted to entitle this chapter ‘Quotidian Resistance among the Kainai.’ However, the term resistance, while potentially appropriate, has connotations that may not make it the *most* appropriate. The word ‘resistance’ contains a connotation of action directed in a specific manner against something, or else an active refusal to accept or entertain something. Another term that while more appropriate in some contexts might be ‘resilience’ which implies something of a passive weathering of external action. Neither of these terms fully demonstrates the actions, ideas, and concepts that I will be discussing. However, both terms do have their place in the discussion. I have instead settled upon the term ‘culture of opposition’ to encapsulate both resistant and resilient practices and concepts as well as those which may not fit neatly into either category. The other advantage offered by the term ‘culture of opposition’ is that it brings these practices into an explicitly cultural realm, in this case the culture of the Kainai, which delineates a specific lens through which these practices are viewed and engaged. The lens that I will attempt to illustrate is one that is informed by the culturally Kainai practices that I have discussed in the previous two chapters. Thus, ‘cultural opposition’ for the purposes of this chapter can be taken as culturally informed actions, practices, and concepts that oppose through resistance, resilience, critique, or disengagement, the colonial paradigm,

that paradigm being a body of thought and action containing “the coercive and draconian... Indian policy” (Burnett and Read 2012: 168) of the state as well as the actions and perspectives of non-state actors.

The second concept that I will be using in this chapter which is also embodied as its own term is the ‘colonial paradigm’. Within the scope of my work this can be taken to mean the collective structural, physical, conceptual, and epistemological practices undertaken by both state and non-state actors that stand at odds with and/or attempt to influence or interfere with Kainai persons, collectives, and cultural practices. The practices that I refer to are policies such as the Sun Dance ban, racism, and the brutal legacy of residential schooling. The scope of this term is quite broad as it can be taken to include state practices and structures such as laws that impact the Kainai through Canadian law, structures imposed by such legislation as the Indian Act or through the creation of the Blood Reserve via Treaty 7, previous and contemporary attempts at assimilation, and the administration of such laws and treaties on the ground. It can also be taken to include the actions undertaken by non-state actors who are members of the settler society that interacts with the Kainai, such as ranchers, oil companies, and banks. Thus the term ‘colonial paradigm’ can address the concepts, processes, and regulations that inform the perspective of various state and non-state actors within the context of their engagement with the Kainai.

Having established these two terms that are fundamental to this chapter, I will give a brief outline of the upcoming discussion. Beginning with the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877 the Canadian state has imposed a number of laws and regulations in order to effect state control over the Kainai with the end goal vacillating between elimination and

assimilation. The most obvious historical impositions of the Canadian state include confining the Kainai to a reserve, the social and economic regulations imposed under the Indian Act, monitoring of the Kainai via Indian Agents, and residential schools to name only a few. Concurrently with these government programs there was a flood of Euro-Canadian settlement in Kainai territory. The practices of these settlers and their interactions with the Kainai constitute another aspect of colonization that has personal, social and economic implications, especially with regards to development projects beginning with the farming instructors present in the early reserve days and continuing to present day cattle and oil leases on the Blood Reserve.

While the ultimate goal of the Canadian state was (and arguably still is in a legal sense) to eradicate Kainai culture through attrition or assimilation of Kainai persons in order to exert full state authority over their territory and bring that land base fully into the market economy, the project ultimately failed in so much as the Kainai are still here and still identify as Niitsitapi. Thus this chapter will address how the Kainai people with whom I interacted engage in a culture of opposition that counters the colonial paradigm through engagement with and deployment of specific, culturally informed practices, concepts, and identities that run counter to the models imposed by the state and settler society. Before framing my discussion in the context of scholarship on the topic of resistance and opposition within anthropology I should touch upon the nature and form of cultures of opposition among the Kainai which will be addressed in more detail further on. Cultures of opposition encompass a variety of practices, concepts and activities that run the gamut from overtly resistant practices that break state law, the deployment of culturally and historically specific knowledge in critique of contemporary state and settler

practices, the simple act of not engaging in certain economic activities and removing one's self from state and capitalist spheres, to what is perhaps the most important and widespread action of simply being and identifying as Niitsitapi through engagement in culturally informed practices and perspectives. The sections of this chapter discussing my ethnographic data will be arranged in descending order from the most overtly resistant and legally charged practices, to the culturally informed critique of contemporary issues by deploying culturally specific knowledge, to the final and most widespread action of being Niitsitapi.

Section I: Concepts of Resistance in Anthropology

Since the 1980s there has been a move in anthropology toward examining the manner in which marginalized peoples interact with the state and how the state interacts with them. The bulk of the ethnographic data within this field examines the relations between the state and peasantries in South America and Southeast Asia. The fundamental nature of each state-subject relationship examined is mutually informed by the culture of those that the state seeks to rule and culture and organization of the state itself. Due to the uniqueness of each of these relationships, I would propose that each of these relationships constitutes its own oppositional culture. I will draw upon the work of anthropologists studying various oppositional cultures in order to position my own discussion within the discourse on resistance while also bringing it into the context of relations between the Kainai and the Canadian state and Canadian settler society.

Within this positioning of my own short discussion I will examine the work of these other anthropologists with an eye toward delineating three aspects of oppositional

culture. Firstly I will draw upon the work of James C. Scott in order to establish a general framework of how the state attempts to administer its authority over the population and how the customs, culture, and local knowledge of those it seeks to rule shape this relationship. Secondly, I will examine the work of Jean Comaroff and Gavin Smith, who discuss the manner in which local knowledge, custom, and culturally informed bodies of knowledge and practice are deployed in order to resist, critique, and ultimately oppose those aspects of state rule that are deemed locally problematic. Finally I discuss the work of Colburn (1989) and Scott (1998) to provide a baseline of the types of practices that are carried out within the realm of cultural opposition.

In *Seeing Like A State* (1998) James C. Scott discusses several important concepts with regards to the complex relationships between the state and those that it attempts to rule. Scott begins his discussion by questioning why the state is perpetually at odds with people who move around. His answer is that the sedentization of mobile people is “a state’s attempt to make society legible, to arrange the population in ways that simplify the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion,” (Scott 1998: 2). Scott identifies ‘legibility,’ achieved through organization and ‘mapping’ of the population as a central problem of the state and its efficiency. He goes on to apply this to the manner in which the modern state attempts to catalogue and control the natural world as well through mapping, inventories, and development projects. It is in this comparison between the state’s attempt to quantify and to some extent control the natural world in a similar fashion to which it administers its population that Scott presents the very elegant and effective metaphor of the ‘State Scientific Forestry’ in order to address the same

issues of legibility and opacity, as well as the relationship between state rule and local knowledge and custom.

The type of forestry that Scott discusses emerged in 18th and 19th century Germany, with the basic objective of streamlining the harvesting of lumber as well as maximizing the amount of lumber yielded by a forest. The basic process was to fell the natural mixed forest and start anew by planting monocrop tracts of a single species of commercially valuable tree, dispensing with all of the other species deemed commercially inferior, as well as the various types of animals and undergrowth considered pests. The result was a “new legible forest,” (Scott 1998: 20) devoid of those plants lacking in commercial value and construed as “weeds” or “brush” (Scott 1998: 13). In this type of state-imposed forestry, however, “the actual tree with its vast number of possible uses was replaced by an abstract tree representing a volume of lumber,” (Scott 1998: 12). The ultimate effect of this type of abstraction and highly managed forest was twofold. Firstly, the newly legible forest and its ease of management was incredibly productive when the first generation of trees were cut. Secondly, the removal of all other species in the interest of a legible, commercially valuable monocrop, resulted in the nutrient cycle of the forest being damaged to the point that the productivity of each successive monocrop stand plummeted (Scott 1998: 20).

What Scott’s metaphor of state scientific forestry illustrates on the one hand is the manner in which the state seeks to codify, measure, and simplify the complex society which it seeks to rule in order to make it legible, thus efficiently controlled. On the other hand, the metaphorical forest also reveals that while the state attempts to abstract society to a point of legibility, local knowledge and custom remain both illegible to the state and

indispensable to the functioning of society which constitute the metaphorical 'undergrowth'. Essentially, in spite of the standardized and efficient rule of the state, there is an "indispensable role of practical knowledge, informal processes, and improvisation in the face of unpredictability," (Scott 1998: 6). This is evident on the Blood Reserve in the manner in which people rely on kin and friends in order to function, move, etc. and the informal exchanges that take place. For example, while working as a helper at both the piercing Sun Dance and Circle Camp I was fed and given cigarettes to keep me comfortable as I worked. This illustrates the informal exchanges that are somewhat outside of the state's vision but still serve an important purpose in day to day life on the reserve.

Finally, Scott discusses the concept of state and non-state spaces, circling back to the idea of the state constantly attempting to settle people who maintain a mobile lifestyle. He draws upon the societies of Southeast Asia in which the people of the hills who practice itinerate slash-and-burn agriculture become illegible through their movement while the sedentary peoples of the lowlands who practice wet rice agriculture are made legible due to their relatively static geographic position (Scott 1998: 187). Scott argues that those peoples who maintain a mobile life in the hills create a non-state space due to the illegibility that they foster as a result of their mobility. Similarly, many Kainai persons are frequently moving about, between different relatives and friends, between the reserve and town, or between pow wows which inadvertently makes it more difficult for the state to monitor them.

Much of the anthropological work on everyday resistance⁶ deals with peasantries and the manner in which marginalized, rural populations engage in everyday actions that challenge the power structures which they find themselves at odds with. Colburn identifies peasants as “1) the peasant works in agriculture, and 2) he or she has a subordinate position in a hierarchical economic and political order,” (Colburn 1989: ix) which sets the stage for the unique type of subordinate position and lifestyle that is being discussed. In his discussion on the nature of peasant resistance Colburn identifies many of the actions taken as prosaic with the ultimate ends being to both enhance the personal welfare of the peasant and gradually erode unpopular laws, practices, or regulations (Colburn 1989: x).

In the first paper presented in Colburn’s volume Scott elaborates on the types of oppositional practices commonly engaged by peasants in relation to the state. Firstly, Scott identifies development projects as being enacted by the state in a top down manner which essentially creates a disconnect between those enacting such projects and those that they seek to help or whom at least most feel the effects of such projects (Scott 1989: 3). Scott follows this notion with a summary of the types of everyday actions that constitute opposition to the state in “circumstances where open defiance is impossible or entails mortal danger,” (Scott 1989: 5). These types of subversive practices include “foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, feigned ignorance, desertion, pilfering, smuggling, poaching, arson, slander, sabotage, surreptitious assault and murder, anonymous threats,” (Scott 1989: 5). Scott goes on to address some of these actions in greater detail, the first one being poaching. One key point that Scott makes about

⁶ See Colburn (1989), Comaroff (1985), Rappaport (1998), and Scott (1998)

poaching is “the activity itself was part of the traditional subsistence routine of the rural population, an activity embedded in customary rights. Poaching as a crime, therefore, entails less a change in behavior than a shift in the law,” (Scott 1989: 9). Scott also identifies the social relationships that make poaching a viable form of resistance as “a normative consensus that encourages it [poaching] or, at minimum tolerates it,” (Scott 1989: 10). This speaks to the illegibility created by marginalized communities when dealing with state authorities, but brings me to the final point made by Scott which is that groups who experience the ‘denial of status’ as a form of domination deploy a discourse of disguise, opaque to outsiders, in which they create an “autonomous social space for the assertion of dignity,” (Scott 1989: 27).

This idea of creating social spaces in which opposition can occur is also a theme in Jean Comaroff’s *Body of Power: Spirit of Resistance* (1985) which examines resistance of the Tswana of South Africa to the apartheid state. Comaroff states that “The realpolitik of opposition dictates that resistance be expressed in domains seemingly apolitical,” (Comaroff 1985: 261). This type of ‘safe space’ for opposition can be physical such as the safe space of the Blood Reserve for poaching birds of prey or driving without a license, or theoretical in the manner which elders speak about the history of the Kainai and the state. This too speaks to the previous point made by Scott and Colburn that while resistance is a political act, it is concealed in the sphere of everyday life. What Comaroff also does is bring resistance into the realm of the conceptual stating “‘resistance’ is typically neither an all-or-nothing phenomenon nor an act in and of itself; it is frequently part and parcel of practices of subjective and collective reconstruction,” (Comaroff 1985: 195). This line of thinking allows us to examine concepts and

frameworks within such realms as history and spirituality as not only fundamental to cultures of opposition, but also as modes of opposition themselves. Joanne Rappaport speaks to this in her examination of historical knowledge among the Nasa of Colombia, writing, “The nature of the State is central to the analysis of native historical interpretation... The mode of narration and even the language chosen by the historian are intimately linked to the character of the State which he confronts,” (Rappaport 1998: 24). This speaks to the influence of state-subject relations with regards to Indigenous concepts of history, but the history itself, Rappaport argues, can constitute “an arm for the communal definition and resistance which arise as an adaptation to state expansion.” (Rappaport 1998: 24).

Before presenting the ethnographic data discussing oppositional culture among the Kainai I will summarize the general ideas put forward by the scholars that I have discussed in the context of the historical and political relations between the Kainai and the Canadian state. Scott’s discussion in *Seeing Like a State* illustrates the nature of the state in relation to those it would rule rather than the specifics of resistance. However, the general structure that he puts forth is highly salient to the relationship between the Canadian state and the Kainai. The theme of settling mobile peoples in order to bring them into a legible framework for rule describes accurately the Canadian state’s actions with regards to the numbered treaties. Thus we can examine the creation of the Blood Reserve through the signing of Treaty 7 as an attempt by the state to settle the previously nomadic Kainai in a geographically explicit and administratively demarcated area that created a legible space within which the Canadian state could administer its rule over the Kainai. This attempt to create legibility is even more clearly illustrated in light of the

Indian Act, Indian Agents, residential schools, and other draconian programs implemented by the state with goal of monitoring, codifying, and controlling Kainai lands and bodies with the end goal being extinction by assimilation.

However, as Scott illustrated in his metaphor of state scientific forestry, the clean lines imposed by the state overlook the ‘undergrowth’ of custom and informal social relations that are critical to the functioning of society. This is true of the state in any context, but I would argue that within the context of the Kainai who maintain social relations that are not only outside the administrative framework of the state, but also the cultural framework in which the Canadian state originated and functions, there is a depth of unintelligibility present in the Kainai community with regards to the Canadian state. This can also entail what Scott describes as a ‘climate of opinion,’ in which folk culture fosters a degree of informal cooperation with those community members engaged in acts of resistance (Scott 1989: 23). This type of informal cooperation can be seen in a Kainai context in the discussion upon eagle poaching in the following section in that while some community members may disapprove, there is a tacit acknowledgement that it can be necessary and the harsh penalties in engaging in it are unjust. This type of acknowledgement often leads to informal coordination by which such activities while widely known, are kept silent and concealed from outsiders by informal consensus. Thus the pursuit of Kainai modes of exchange, kinship, and subsistence create a space of illegibility to the state, a non-state space, especially in light of contemporary circumstances in which Indian Agents and residential schools have been done away with as practices of state monitoring and imposition.

Within Colburn and Scott's work in *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* there is a parallel to be made between peasantries and the population of the Blood Reserve in that both exist as politically, socially, and economically marginalized groups and both live in relatively rural places. While not every person on the Blood Reserve resides in a rural setting, outside of a few compact communities, many people on the Blood Reserve do live in widely dispersed, rural housing which fits within this framework. The community as well, in certain ways, enacts what Scott refers to as "an autonomous social space for the assertion of dignity" (Scott 1989: 27) by engaging in collective activities that function within a Kainai framework, in part outside of the social frameworks of kinship and status imposed by the state.

Finally, in Comaroff and Rappaport's work we see the discussion of resistance and opposition being brought into the conceptual realms of history and spirituality, both of which can be deployed in opposition to the state. This is a theme that I will be addressing in the second section of this chapter.

Section II: Overt Opposition

During my time on the Blood Reserve I found that the most overt forms of opposition, those which directly conflicted with the law, in my experience were related to animals. However, before I begin my discussion on these over forms of resistance, which find themselves explicitly at odds with Canadian law, I should state that by no means are these exceedingly widespread in the community, nor are they supported or approved of by many Kainai persons. However, an examination of these practices both tie in Scott's discussion on poaching as an example of resistance, as well as Comaroff's discussion of resistance often taking place in seemingly apolitical realms. The first of the two practices

that I will discuss is that of cattle rustling. On the Blood Reserve the land is held by the band, with individuals occupying and utilizing plots of land. This band ownership enforces a type of collective ownership which on the one hand prevents the gradual sale of reserve land, and on the other makes it more difficult for Kainai would-be-farmers or ranchers to get the bank loans so heavily relied upon by off-reserve farmers and ranchers, due the inability to use land as collateral. Thus, one of the ways that Kainai persons can make money and support themselves is through leasing grazing rights to off-reserve ranchers on the basis of a certain amount of money per head of cattle. This is not terribly uncommon, but it results in a large number of cattle roaming one's land. In leaner times, or when it is necessary to feed a large number of people, such as at a gathering or ceremony, I have been told that people will occasionally go out, kill, and butcher a calf in order to meet those needs. This is obviously at odds with Canadian law, but it is done with the goal of sustenance and utilizes a resource placed on one's land and has a substantial historical precedent as cattle killing has been well documented on the Blood Reserve since it's early days (Dempsey 1994: 153).

The second overt form of opposition that I will address is poaching, specifically poaching Golden Eagles and other birds of prey. This action falls neatly within Scott's discussion of poaching as a pre-existing practice that becomes oppositional due to a shift in law rather than in the intent or engagement of the practice itself. Eagles have a certain degree of ceremonial importance in Kainai culture as their black and white tail feathers, wings, and wing bones are all utilized in ceremonial regalia such as war bonnets, eagle wing fans, and eagle bone whistles. There is a long history of Kainai people hunting eagles for these reasons, their traditional mode of hunting being described by Wissler

(1910). However, in contemporary times one must go through the Ministry of Natural Resources in order to legally acquire parts of accidentally killed birds or naturally preened feathers due to the eagle's status as a protected species. The process and long waiting periods involved can prove prohibitive for people seeking out eagle parts, the demand for which exceeds the legal supply. Other birds of prey fall under the same protected status, yet their feathers are occasionally needed for pow wow regalia or personal spiritual reasons due to a personal relationship with the particular species of bird.

It would be a mistake however, to construe the quest for eagles as a totally spiritual enterprise, there is a pragmatic monetary aspect to it as well. Due to the high demand and difficulty in acquiring eagle feathers, many people are willing to pay large sums of money to acquire the necessary feathers. During a barbecue in July, the topic of eagles, their import, and poaching, came up as a lively topic of discussion. While one woman present conveyed her disapproval of poaching and the need to keep the population of eagles protected, she also stated that the current mechanism for legally obtaining feathers was rather ineffective. Another man told the story of his deceased relative who went on an eagle hunt. He located a large eagle and although the bird was exceptionally large and tough, requiring two shots from a .303 British to bring it down, it provided equally valuable feathers, which earned him a great deal of money when sold as a war bonnet to a chief on another reserve. This story illustrates the complex nature of eagles in contemporary Kainai culture, as well as several points brought up by the previously discussed works on resistance. While overtly illegal, eagle hunting does constitute an historically contiguous practice of cultural import. On the surface it may

seem to be done purely for traditional reasons. However, when the monetary value of feathers comes into play it could be seen as a pragmatic act to the economic benefit of the hunter. Rather, I propose that eagle hunting constitutes on the one hand an historically contiguous cultural practice due to both the ceremonial importance of eagle parts, and the large economic exchanges that take place around eagles, which are also contiguous with the gift-giving practices that surround the acquisition of ceremonial items. On the other hand, the engagement of Kainai persons in a capitalist economy changes the nature of the gifts given to some extent, these gifts sometimes taking the form of money, which brings the exchange into the capitalist economic sphere, albeit in a clandestine and culturally informed fashion. This proves problematic as traditional modes of gifting and exchange involve giving gifts appropriate to or needed by the person who provides the eagle parts. In contemporary times money is sometimes, but not always, the most appropriate gift as it is needed to survive. However, utilizing monetary exchange, even in the context of a traditional gift exchange can bring that exchange into conflict with contemporary laws concerning the trafficking of protected species.

This toggle between traditional exchange and animal usage in ceremonies on the one hand, and the need to function in a contemporary market economy on the other, is addressed by Marshal Sahlins in his essay “Cosmologies of Capitalism” (2000). This essay deals with the European trading practices in the Pacific, and discusses the interaction between ceremony and capitalism in a Kwakiutl. Sahlins discussion examines the manner in which the Kwakiutl “could not be faulted for their aptitudes as wage workers, or even entrepreneurs, but White men often wrung their hands about what the Indians did with their wages,” (Sahlins 2000: 448). What the Kwakiutl did was purchase

capitalist commodities such as Hudson Bay blankets in large numbers for their giveaway ceremonies, the Potlach. Thus, the giveaway of these commercially produced blankets, acquired through working for money, brings capitalist production into the ceremonial sphere (Sahlins 2000: 450), a mode of exchange distinctly different from Western notions of capitalist exchange. In examining the case of monetary exchange for eagles we see a similar toggle. On the one hand there is an object of major ceremonial import while on the other the medium of exchange (money) is brought in from direct engagement with a capitalist economy in the case of the eagle however, it brings this exchange into conflict with the law rather than outsider expectations.

The toggle between ceremony and capitalism also speaks to the assertions made by both Smith and Comaroff. Smith asserts that “the daily task of piecing together a living influences the form a people’s political struggle takes, just as much as does the specificity of their historical experience,” (Smith 1989: 13). While Comaroff states that “Capitalism does not necessarily replace existing Indigenous structures, but has been determined by the local structures it sought to engulf,” (Comaroff 1985: 2). Taken together and in the context of eagle poaching, the ideas of both Smith and Comaroff speak to the manner in which both the experience of traditional exchange and existence in a capitalist economy influence both traditional practices and those practices that conflict with state rule. This is particularly salient when examining eagles, as it is both the need to make a living and the act of exchanging money which result in the illegal action of exchanging money for eagle parts bringing this act from the realm of contiguous cultural practice into one of illegality and resistance to state law.

While I was not directly involved in, nor did I directly witness any of the overtly illegal practices described in this section, they are important to address in the overall examination of cultural opposition in the Kainai community as well as in the illustration of how pre-existing cultural practices become resistant to state law due to the imposition of state rule upon a group of people. Thus, this section provides a brief illustration of some of the more overtly resistant cultural practices in the Kainai community, though these are by far the least common modes of cultural opposition.

Section III: Opposition of Historical Knowledge

The second general form of cultural opposition that I observed over the course of my research, is the deployment of historical knowledge as a critique or challenge to state practices and commonly disseminated versions of history. As discussed in the previous chapter, history can be deployed as a framing device to contextualize contemporary issues both by examining historical events that have led directly to contemporary social and political issues and by using knowledge of how Kainai society and lands used to be in order to juxtapose problematic practices in contemporary times such as resource extraction and violence against women.

In this section, I will discuss three general methods of deploying historical knowledge as a mode of cultural opposition to the colonial paradigm. Firstly, I will explore the manner in which Kainai persons utilize a synthesis of oral historical knowledge and written accounts to problematize colonial historical perceptions that address historical events which have led to contemporary social and political circumstances. In this exploration, I will address a small number of historical events with an eye toward how the concepts and language used to describe them reveal the process of

deploying history in a resistant manner, rather than attempting to debunk the colonial historical perceptions themselves. Secondly, I will explore the manner in which knowledge of how Kainai society functioned in the past, as well as past relations to the land, are deployed as counterexamples to contemporary social and environmental circumstances in a way that problematizes those contemporary circumstances. Thirdly, I will explore the manner in which historical performance and interaction with the historical consciousness that is present in the land serve to both provide an alternative historical perception to that of the colonial state and also keep historical knowledge alive, bringing it into the contemporary in a way that is uniquely Niitsitapi and removed from Western perceptions of history.

The conversations that I had with two elders, Raymond Many Bears and Glen Oka, on the manner in which the present location of the Blood Reserve was settled upon serve to illustrate how a synthesis of oral historical and linguistic knowledge, combined with knowledge gleaned from books, is deployed to challenge colonial perceptions of history. In the Indian Claims Commission Proceedings (ICCP) report on the Kainai land claim (2000), the language used to describe the manner in which the Kainai, under Red Crow's leadership chose their reserve portrays the process as more or less passive. The report cites the annual report made by Indian Commissioner to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Edgar Dewdney in 1880 with regards to the location of the Blood Reserve. Dewdney stated that "The Bloods, a portion of the Blackfoot Nation... notified me last year that they were not content with their reserve as agreed to be *given* [my emphasis] them at the time of the treaty." (Holman and Bellegarde 2007: 214). Further, the report describes the Kainai as wishing to exchange the reserve "granted" in 1877 for a

new one (Holman and Bellegarde 2007: 215). The ICCP report on the Blood Land Claim is a very official, state-sanctioned, authoritative historical interpretation, and as such serves as a good example of the type of colonial historical perspective that can be challenged by the deployment of a Kainai historical perspective. The language of both Dewdney in 1880, and the ICCP report in 2000 utilize words such as ‘granted’ or ‘given’ to describe the manner in which the Kainai acquired their reserve. As previously mentioned, this construes the process by which the Blood Reserve was created as passive on the part of the Kainai, and both active and benign on the part of the state.

Kainai historical renderings however, utilize particular forms of language use and historical knowledge and understandings that often challenge official histories. Raymond Many Bears, a member of the Horns Society, who holds a great deal of historical knowledge especially concerning treaties, spoke to me about the process through which Red Crow decided upon the contemporary location of the Blood Reserve. Raymond provided me with some background of his own historical thought. That thought began from listening to elders speak, which sparked his interest in history ultimately leading to his conducting research of historical literature, providing him with a synthesized and critical body of knowledge. In our discussion, the language that Raymond used to describe Red Crow’s actions that resulted in the relocation of the Blood Reserve from its initial location on infertile land to the north to its present location is as active as the official history’s is passive. While telling me about this process, Raymond told me that Red Crow “refused” the initial location proposed by the Crown and simply moved his band to the present location of the Blood Reserve, demanding the re-location of the Kainai’s reserve.

This type of language is not passive, but quite active and paints Red Crow as a major actor in the event, one with a great deal of agency, and one who actively opposed and defied the Crown's initial actions in attempting to place his people. As stated before, the language used and the perspective of the speaker when discussing an historical event can have tremendous effect on how that history is interpreted, magnified when we consider that the manner in which history is interpreted informs how we view contemporary circumstances. If we take Raymond's view that the contemporary Blood Reserve was demanded by Red Crow in spite of the initial wishes of the Crown we can look at the Blood Reserve as a place that was actively *chosen* with full agency on the part of the Kainai, rather than benignly *given* by the Crown. The type of language and historical agency present in Raymond's account illustrates what Joanne Rappaport found in the Andes, namely that history can be "an arm for the communal definition and resistance which arise as an adaptation to state expansion." (Rappaport 1998: 24)

Another elder with whom I spoke concerning the location of the Blood Reserve was Glen Oka. While he reaffirmed what Raymond related to me in terms of the initial refusal of an infertile parcel of land to the north, the language he used challenges the official state historical perspective that the reserve was a benign action toward the passive Kainai. When discussing the larger historical processes surrounding the creation of the Blood Reserve Glen spoke of a time "before we were *confined*" to reserves. His use of the word 'confined' provides a profoundly negative view of the entire process and taken in light of Raymond's discussion of Red Crow's agency illustrates a profoundly different historical view from that of the colonial state. This view can vacillate between emphasizing the agency of the Kainai as actors in their own history and a critical,

negative portrayal of the state-imposed process of creating reserves. Ultimately, taking either view can serve to criticize the official view of this (and other) historical event(s) by drawing upon a culturally informed historical perspective that is aware not only of the oral histories but also of what is written from a Western perspective.

The nature of the Canadian state's relations with the Kainai and other *Siksikaitstapi*, is informative to the manner in which Kainai historical knowledge is deployed in opposition of official understandings of history. Unlike the relations between the Lakota and the United States, which resulted in eventual military conflict and conquest, the Canadian state did not engage in a large armed conflict with the Blackfoot Confederacy, rather both parties signed Treaty 7 on a nation to nation basis. This speaks to what Joanne Rappaport writes concerning Indigenous historical perspectives in South America, essentially that "The nature of the State is central to the analysis of native historical interpretation... The mode of narration and even the language chosen by the historian are intimately linked to the character of the State which he confronts," (Rappaport 1998: 24). This is clearly illustrated when we examine both Raymond and Glen's discussion of the location of the reserve in relation to the specific history between the Kainai and the Canadian state. Due to the act of signing treaties rather than engaging in war, the Canadian state describes the treaty process and creation of reserves by positioning itself as a benign actor, *granting* reserves to the members of the Blackfoot Confederacy, who are commonly portrayed in a more passive role. Raymond's emphasis on the agency of Red Crow in the reserve's creation and Glen's emphasis on the pernicious or passive aggressive 'confinement' of the Kainai to a reserve both speak to

the unique nature of the relations between the Kainai and the Canadian state in an historical context.

A final point in this discussion is that both Raymond and Glen's historical knowledge draws upon their learning of Kainai oral histories as well as their personal research of written texts generated by historians working in a Western academic medium of history, a process that Rappaport also discusses. In her exploration of Indigenous histories Rappaport comments upon the manner in which non-Western historical practices are influenced by, and adopt some Western historical practices as a result of encounters with the colonial state, and deploy the resulting hybrid historical practices as a means of resistance. One of the most common adoptions is the practice of adopting text as a means of communicating history, which places textualized non-Western histories within the privileged purview of the written word (Rappaport 1998:65). Although Raymond and Glen related their historical knowledge to me orally they drew upon Western historical texts as a means to glean a more comprehensive knowledge of events, occasionally corroborating what they had already learned from oral histories, but also a greater understanding of the historical perspective which they were critiquing.

Historical knowledge of how both Kainai society and Kainai territory used to be are deployed in order to juxtapose and critique contemporary social and environmental circumstances. The first of the circumstances that I will explore is the very contemporary and very prominent issue of murdered and missing Indigenous women in Canada, an issue that is keenly felt not only in the Kainai community, but in Indigenous communities across the country. When speaking with Rachel on this issue on our way back from picking mint she posed the question "Where are our warriors?" This question

acknowledges and problematizes the danger posed to Indigenous women in contemporary Canada, but also draws upon the historical role of warriors in Kainai society to defend the rest of the nation, namely women, children, and elderly people. Similarly, at a public talk on murdered and missing Indigenous women that I attended in February, Martin Heavy Head Jr. discussed the traditional role of women in Blackfoot society, especially the autonomous role of the Maotokiks (Holy Women's Society) in both ceremony and Blackfoot society. This autonomous role discussed by Martin was presented in juxtaposition to the vulnerability and abuse suffered by Indigenous women both within and outside their reserves. Both of these discussions drew upon traditional gender roles within Blackfoot society and how they used to function in order to shed light upon a very contemporary social issue in both the Kainai community and Canada's larger Indigenous community. This also serves as an example of how historical knowledge of Kainai society functioned historically can be deployed in critique of contemporary social issues.

Historical knowledge deployed to critique contemporary circumstances is also present in discussions on environmental issues on the Blood Reserve. Often these critiques draw parallels between the historical experience of the Kainai in relation to the state and the resource extraction projects being imposed upon the land. Many of the people with whom I spoke held strong opinions on the grazing leases and oil leases that are common on the Blood Reserve. Specifically, the environmental effects of oil wells was a commonly held concern. Rachel was concerned that there was a connection between oil wells and the salt deposits present on the edges of some potholes on the north end of the reserve. Similarly, Raymond likened resource extraction practices and development projects to "a whole new genocide" this time directed toward the land.

While these ideas are not purely historical, these conversations often drew upon the idea that historically the land and the water were healthy and able to be used by human and non-human inhabitants with relative safety, whereas in contemporary times practices such as oil extraction have degraded the land and water to the point that they can be unhealthy of their inhabitants and users.

These two examples illustrate how comparison of historical social and environmental circumstances can be made in order to critique contemporary social and environmental issues through a culturally specific lens. They also speak in a general sense to what Joanne Rappaport writes about the nature of the state that Indigenous historians confront shaping the manner in which they write and deploy history, essentially how they choose and arrange the historical data that they present. As Rappaport writes “History is an arm for the communal definition and resistance which arise as an adaptation to state expansion,” (Rappaport 1998: 24).

Section IV: Being Niitsitapi, an Act of Cultural Resilience

So far in this chapter I have endeavored to provide examples of explicit actions both physically and conceptually that Kainai persons undertake in a manner that confronts the Canadian state and the colonial paradigm present in this country. I will now move on to discuss the most widespread yet implicit actions that constitute what I will term as cultural resilience in the face of the imposition of Canadian rule. These implicit actions demonstrate a continuity of pursuits that are uniquely Niitsitapi and that are removed to a large degree from state control or vision.

The practices that I will be discussing in the context of cultural resilience in the face of imposed state and colonial rule are the same practices that have been detailed in

Chapters I and II, namely land use, engagement with history, and ceremony. The first of these practices, land use, and the requisite engagement with the land in order to acquire raw materials (plants, rocks, meat, etc.) constitute culturally specific modes of production and experience. These practices fundamentally produce *something*, whether it be food, medicine, or ceremonial objects as the result of a social interaction with the landscape. These modes of production are removed, to a degree, from both the state and the market economy so intimately linked to it. For example, the killing of deer for food in lieu of buying meat produces food and hides in a space removed from the market economy as well as in a space that is not being recorded or monitored by the state. Such actions help those engaged in providing for themselves, an action that the state seeks to control through taxation and monitoring, in a space that is opaque to state vision and removed from capitalist modes of exchange. The same can be said of picking sweet grass for use as a smudge, or finding *iniskim* for ceremonial use. Both practices not only provide the necessary materials for spiritual practice, but also circumvent capitalist modes of exchange by engaging personally with the direct source, the land. When these items are exchanged, sometimes as gifts, other times with the appropriate transfer, they foster social relations outside of those regulated or even acknowledged by the state. Thus these objects and their exchange foster social relations between community members and the landscape. This speaks to Comaroff's observation that it is possible for people to make 'non-commodities' that maintain the personal nature and connection to the time and work put into the resulting object (Comaroff 1985: 127)

This type of action through traditional land use practices and the resulting exchanges do not constitute a direct opposition, or even direct engagement, with the

Canadian state, market economy, or settler society, rather they circumvent all three and continue to foster an identity that pre-dates all three through performative practice. These actions constitute a small part of what it is to be Niitsitapi to the individuals and collectives that engage in them, and thus continue to define what that identity means and how it is performed on its own terms.

The engagement of Kainai persons with their history through knowledge and performative action can also be viewed as a mode of cultural opposition. By simply choosing to acknowledge for example, what constitutes 'Blackfoot Country,' and maintaining one's sense of being home within that territory, a person dispenses with the arbitrary boundaries imposed by the Canadian state which has relegated 'Blackfoot Country' to a few scattered parcels of land. Similarly the performative action of engaging with historical landmarks such as tipi rings by visiting or leaving offerings connect Kainai persons with their history and identity, bringing history and identity together in the present in a manner absent in Western-style histories. This engagement with the past not only brings people into contact with their history, but also informs the identities built up from that history in a positive manner removed from the Western histories drawn upon by settler society. This is a significant form of cultural resilience as it draws upon meanings, stories, and interpretations that are outside the scope of what is commonly known or acknowledged by either the state or settler society.

Finally, ceremony also constitutes a major practice of cultural resilience. Ceremony, like history and land use, engages meanings, practices, performances, and identities that are removed from the state and settler society. Ceremonies also tend to engage a larger collective at once than either land use or history. They engage identities

of individuals that are uniquely Kainai. For example, a person's day job does not necessarily have any bearing on their status within ceremony, they may hold a job of little authority in capitalist or state frameworks and yet within the context of the ceremony and its associated community hold a position of authority and have rights to conduct practices of major importance. Similarly, the concepts, values, and meanings within a ceremonial setting are also separated from those of the state, economy, and settler society. One instance of this is the removal from some forms of everyday economic consumption and exchange by emphasizing the communal or abstaining from eating or drinking in cases of fasting. This speaks to Comaroff's observation that certain religious movements and practices include "a rejection of the logic of rational materialism and its reified religion," (Comaroff 1985: 254). Ceremonies also constitute performances that contain major elements that are unique to the Kainai and also the long standing continuity and importance of such practices. Thus, the engagement in ceremony not only reaffirms personal and collective cultural and spiritual identity, but also serves to temporarily remove those engaged from the external context of the state, market economy, and settler society.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have teased together the variety of ways in which Kainai persons, through culturally informed practice, manage to confront, critique, or circumvent the state, market economy, and settler society. I have also examined multiple points at which some of these practices intersect with such elements as the market economy while standing in opposition to the state, such as the case of eagle poaching. Explicitly I have demonstrated a major point made by Comaroff, namely that in the

nearly 140 years since the signing of Treaty Seven “incorporation into colonial society was not a one-sided domination,” (Comaroff 1985: 12). This is revealed in the intersections between traditional Kainai practices of production and exchange and the market economy, which results in a pragmatic bricolage that maintains a powerfully Kainai cultural element in spite of incorporating Western mediums of exchange or learning. This type of bricolage is most evident in the use of money as an item exchanged within a traditional framework of gifting and also in the use and re-deployment of historical knowledge produced as text by external observers and chroniclers.

Along the same lines I have demonstrated that, as Comaroff also found in South Africa “existing cultural structures deployed to develop novel modes of practice; practice that expressed resistance,” (Comaroff 1985: 12). This holds true with all of the forms of opposition that I have discussed, whether they be overtly resistant or simply and powerfully resilient. This idea is evident in practices such as eagle poaching, which was an extant practice for centuries only becoming resistant when proscribed by the state, but also in practices such as picking or ceremony in which there is a removal, if only temporary and partial, from the results of colonization and contemporary state structures while pursuing actions with deep cultural continuity.

With regards to the nature of the state informing how the Kainai engage and think about their position what Smith writes on Peruvian peasants also rings true when he states that “historical experience, especially of past political engagement... forms contemporary subjectivity,” (Smith 1989: 16). This type of historically informed subjectivity is especially present in discussions upon history in which the specificity of the Kainai experience with the Canadian state has been shaped and informed by the terms of Treaty

Seven all the way to the present. This also speaks to Rappaport's work on history among the Nasa and the shaping of history by interactions with the state in which process "The nature of the state is central to the analysis of native historical interpretation... [and] the mode of narration and even the language chosen by the historian are intimately linked to the character of the state which he confronts," (Rappaport 1998: 24). Thus the historical entanglement of the Kainai with the Canadian state serves to inform present interpretations, narrations, and deployments of historical thought within the community.

Finally, what I have implicitly illustrated is the 'opacity' or as Scott refers to it 'illegibility' of the Kainai to the Canadian state within the context of the Blood Reserve. The state project of settling the Kainai which began with Treaty Seven has produced a space, both physically and conceptually, within which traditional modes of cultural practice are still very much alive and in some cases relied upon. This type of space creates a setting in which Kainai persons can more freely be just that and in so doing oppose the framework of the colonial Canadian state through quiet, diffuse actions of resilience and opposition. That is not to say that the resilience of Kainai cultural practices take on the form of cultural stasis in the face of state and capitalist imposed change. Rather the cultural practices I have discussed, while rooted in and informed by past practices, continue to evolve and change, thus their resilience comes from their adaptation and continually refreshed relevance on definitively Kainai terms.

Conclusion

I stood in the arbor, midway in from the west gate, facing the tree. I could feel the cool evening air through the thin cotton of my ribbon shirt that had once belonged to Old Morris, a gift. Behind me stood some of those I love the most, Akatomoo who had just finished telling four stories of his own accomplishments that had only been completed through intense perseverance stood closest. Behind him stood Apaitsitapiaki, clutching the large dirk I had brought as a gift, with her two children. It was quiet until Akatomoo let loose a few sentences in Blackfoot and shoved me in the back hard enough that I staggered forward a pace. He began to sing his honor song. I was no longer simply Kurt, I had just been given the name Istai Ikaakimaa Otsitapiimiks, “Tries Hard for the People”. In that moment I wondered at how I had made the transition, all I had been through with these people around me to get such a name, and how I now had a new name, a new identity, a Blackfoot name that I had to live up to. I was left contemplating what would come next.

When I set out to conduct research on the Blood Reserve I had three primary questions. How do Kainai people view the land through the lens of traditional land use? How do Kainai people see and experience their history, especially in the context of the land? And how do the answers to both of those questions inform cultural resilience and opposition to the surrounding colonial culture?

In my attempts to elucidate answers to each of these questions I have drawn upon the work of other academics to position my inquiry. In my exploration of how Kainai people view their land through the lens of traditional land use I first had to find a precedent for a working idea of what constitutes ‘landscape’. Drawing upon the academic

genealogy of landscape as a concept, I began with the idea put forth by geographers Cosgrove and Daniels that landscape constitutes a “cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolizing our surroundings,” (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988: 1) as a starting point. From that starting point I considered the work of anthropologists Tim Ingold, and John Bradley, as well as Siksika scholar Betty Bastien in order to elucidate a basic premise of what ‘landscape’ is for the purposes of my inquiry. Ingold proposes that with regards to hunter-gatherer cultures “meanings that the people claim to discover *in* the landscape are attributed to the minds of the people themselves, and are said to be mapped *onto* the landscape,” (Ingold 2000: 54). He also directs a criticism toward Cosgrove and Daniels idea of landscape as a culturally constructed image stating we must “reject the division between inner and outer worlds,” (Ingold 2000: 191) and instead argue that “the familiar domain of our dwelling is *with* us, not *against* us, but is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it,” (Ingold 2000: 191).

Bradley, on the other hand, argues that in order to engage with non-Western cultures’ perceptions of landscape we as anthropologists must engage the mythic quality of the land and that “Humans share the essence, although, as with the multitude of other living things, they differ in form; thus the Western binary of culture and nature is unified and exists as a corporate whole,” (Bradley 2011: 49). This speaks to Bastien’s work on Blackfoot epistemology in which she argues “the non-separation of nature and humans is one of the demarcations between Eurocentred and indigenous philosophy,” (Bastien 2004: 80). The ideas put forth by these scholars caused me to grapple with the concept of landscape. The land has inherent consciousness and qualities that exist independently of

us (humans), but the manner in which we interact with, and perceive it is socially and culturally informed. Thus, the concept of landscape that I settled on in my work is that rather than a social construction, landscape is a culturally informed animate entity with which people who engage it through traditional modes of land use have a fundamentally social relationship.

In establishing how Kainai persons perceive landscape I had to develop relationships with both Kainai persons and Kainai land through direct engagement in land use. It was through this engagement that I managed to understand in general how Kainai people view their land. The practice of praying and giving an offering prior to engaging in picking or surface mining is what threw this perception into sharp relief for me. Giving an offering and praying prior to taking anything from the land demonstrates three things that taken together provide a general basis for how Kainai persons view their landscape. Firstly, the land and its non-human denizens are animate and have a consciousness as it only makes sense to address animate beings in prayer. It also only makes sense to give an offering or gift to something that is animate and has the consciousness to accept such a gift. Secondly, the giving of an offering prior to taking something illustrates a practice of reciprocity, again only possible if both parties in the exchange are animate and conscious beings. Thirdly, the giving of an offering prior to taking from the land is very similar to Blackfoot cultural protocol in which it is proper to give a gift to another person prior to asking for help or information. This brings the reciprocal exchange made during land use into the social realm. These three points reveal landscape, as viewed by Kainai persons, as an animate, conscious space that is inhabited by animate, conscious beings all of

whom, while different from each other and humans, can be brought into and engaged with in the social realm.

Establishing how Kainai persons view their landscape through a specific cultural lens has implications within both my own work and the bodies of academic work concerning the Kainai and how landscape is perceived. Within the academy it contributes a perspective on how specifically the Kainai view land, a perspective that is not explicitly addressed in most of the work that has been done on the Kainai and other Blackfoot. It also contributes to the broader discussion of how land is perceived in non-Western cultures and how while socialization and cultural perspectives are fundamental to how landscape is perceived, the relationship is a reciprocal one in which the land itself, not exclusively humans, has agency. Within my own work establishing how Kainai persons view their land sets the stage and informs my exploration of how history is perceived and experienced in the landscape, as well as how land use practices and a relationship with the land inform cultures of opposition and resilience.

Having established a basic understanding of how Kainai persons view the land I can now address my second question. How do Kainai people see and experience their history, especially in the context of the land? To answer this question I begin by drawing upon the work of several scholars in order to position my work within the anthropological discussion on the relationship between land and history. The work of Fernando Santos-Granero establishes the idea of ‘topographic writing,’ in which historical landmarks (topograms) spread throughout a territory constitute an historical ‘text’ within non-literary traditions. The resulting ‘text’ can then be read by those with the appropriate cultural, geographic, and historical knowledge (Santos-Granero 1998: 139). However,

due to the physical nature of the topograms and their longevity, it is possible for generations of people to have multiple experiences with them, resulting in layers of history being present in the same place.

Both Santos-Granero and Joanne Rappaport (1998) state the importance of myth in the geographical understanding of history, as many sites are significant due to their place in myth. Taking into consideration the importance of historic sites, present within an animate landscape, and the informative and formative nature of the stories (mythic past) I set out to explore just how history, especially as experienced on the land, is understood by the Kainai. During the course of my research I visited several historic sites, some significant since the shaping of the world by Napi and Katoyis, such as the Belly Buttes and Oldman River, others made significant by more recent events such as the construction of trading posts or burials of old leaders. The result was that I began to see the different layers of meaning in specific locations, and how they evoke historical thought in the people who experience them.

For example, the 'Many Spotted Horses' tipi ring has several layers of history and practice present. It evokes a debate, as it is designated as belonging to Many Spotted Horses and yet others who are intimate with its locality argue that it pre-dates the arrival of appaloosa horses in the region and instead belongs to Sees From Afar. Visiting its location also evokes discussion of how the bottom that it is located in was historically a heavily used camping area for the Kainai, and became even more historically significant with the construction of a whisky fort in the area just prior to the creation of the Blood Reserve. Further, this tipi ring is often visited in the present day as the location is a good

place to find prairie turnips, and many people leave offerings and prayers, while others still consider the tipi ring a good location to have visions.

Similar to the tipi ring are the Belly Buttes, the highest and most dominant geographic feature on the Blood Reserve, their history runs even deeper as they were created when Katoyis gutted a monster in the early history of the Blackfoot. The Belly Buttes have since become a bombing range, an area that people inhabit and pasture livestock, and are close to the contemporary location of the annual Sun Dance.

Having established how Kainai persons do indeed experience and ‘read’ their history in the land, I explored how they talk about their history, with an ear toward how the intertwined concepts and experiences of land and history inform cultures of opposition and resilience on the Blood Reserve. This became most clear in my interviews concerning history as the manner in which those that I interviewed speak about their history elucidated an understanding of how history is deployed as Rappaport puts it “an arm for the communal definition and resistance which arise as an adaptation to state expansion,” (Rappaport 1998: 24). Deployment of historical knowledge and discourse in critique of the Canadian state and treatment of the Kainai Is accomplished within Kainai historical discourse in two ways.

Firstly, when discussing events such as the creation of the Blood Reserve, those with historical knowledge present Red Crow’s acceptance of the reserve’s current location as a forceful demand in which he refused the initially proposed location and relocated to a more favorable one. This reveals the agency of the Kainai in the historical process that is often missing from more ‘official’ state histories such as the reports of the

Indian Claims Commission and parliamentary sessional papers. Secondly, knowledge of the past with regards to society and the land are often brought up as a means to critique contemporary social and environmental circumstances. Discussions on the contemporary dangers faced by Kainai women often evoke traditional Kainai gender roles in which women had a high degree of agency and men were expected to respect and defend women. When talking about contemporary environmental issues knowledge of how the land was in the past is evoked to illustrate the negative impacts that have resulted from introduced practices such as farming and oil extraction, such as the lack of clean drinking water on the Blood Reserve.

The conclusions drawn from my second question address the relationship between history and land in Kainai culture. This brings my work into the broader conversation within anthropology on that specific relationship though much of the work on the topic has focused on South American cultures. This provides a North American context for the same field of inquiry. My work also in some ways synthesizes previous historical work done by scholars such as Hugh Dempsey, with older ethnographic work done by Wissler and Ewers, by engaging Kainai history through a Kainai historical lens. It also begins to answer my third research question.

I have already presented a portion of my findings in answer to my third question. How do the answers to my first two questions inform cultural resilience and opposition to the surrounding colonial culture? As I have just stated, the deployment of history is a frequently utilized tool in criticizing the colonial state and contemporary issues resulting from its expansion into Kainai territory. However, other practices relating to the land also occur and speak to the work of other scholars that I have drawn upon to establish what

cultural resilience and opposition look like. Acts like poaching and cattle theft, the practices that I found to be most directly at odds with state laws, are actions discussed by both Forrest D. Colburn (1989) and James C. Scott (1989). The Blood Reserve as a location for resistance also speaks to Scott's discussion on how states interact with those that they seek to rule. Scott discusses how in order to effectively rule, the state must "arrange the population in ways that simplify the classic state functions" (Scott 1998: 2) especially with regards to the sedentization of mobile people. The confinement of the Kainai to a static reserve explicitly illustrates this aspect of state rule and sets a stage for examining resilience and opposition on the Blood Reserve.

My findings with regards to eagle poaching as one of the more overt forms of opposition practiced among the Kainai also leads to a discussion on the manner in which a traditional practice (the hunting and use of eagles), made illegal by the state, becomes informed by the colonial structures that have engulfed it. I found that traditional exchanges require gifts, but in contemporary Kainai society these gifts often take the form of money, bringing such exchanges into the realm of our capitalist economy. This speaks to Comaroff's work, in which she states "Capitalism does not necessarily replace existing Indigenous structures, but has been determined by the local structures it sought to engulf," (Comaroff 1985: 2).

Ultimately, cultural resilience and opposition the Blood Reserve are frequently informed by traditional and historically contiguous land use practices, as well as understandings of Kainai history. The actions that constitute resilience and opposition, such as historical discourse, continuity of ceremonies, and poaching eagles, are explicitly Kainai practices that due to contemporary circumstances are influenced by both the

Canadian state and economy, but locally these practices also influence the relations of Kainai persons to both. My findings concerning cultural resistance and opposition contribute two things to the broader academic discourses on both the Blackfoot and on resistance. With regards to work done on the Kainai and other Blackfoot, there is little ethnographic work that examines post-reserve culture or relations between the Kainai and the Canadian state, a gap that is made smaller through my work. Within academic work on resistance, this work brings the complex and substantial body of work regarding state rule and resistance to it into the uniquely North American context of state imposed reserves for indigenous peoples.

In answering my three, inter-related research questions I have generated a piece of work that is academically significant in four areas of inquiry. Firstly, this thesis constitutes one of the few pieces of contemporary ethnographic work concerning the Kainai, significant as most of the ethnographic work on the Kainai and other Blackfoot people is dated and focused on re-constructing historical Blackfoot culture rather than contemporary practice. Within the realm of academic literature focused on the Kainai and other Blackfoot peoples this thesis provides explicit information concerning how the land is perceived and intertwined with history and relations to the state in both contemporary time and practice. It also provides insight into how the Kainai view their own history, presenting an opportunity to contextualize historical work previously focused on them through a Kainai cultural lens. Secondly, my work contributes to the anthropological discussion on landscape and how it is perceived in a Kainai cultural context, which contributes to the conversation on both how non-Western cultures view landscape and how we as anthropologists theorize landscape as we interact with it in our work. Thirdly,

this thesis provides data concerning historical perceptions in traditionally non-literary cultures and how it is informed by and experienced in the landscape, bringing the past into the present. It also contributes to the discussion on how culturally specific historical narratives synthesize the ‘mythic’ past with what is commonly considered to be hard historical data. Finally, my work contributes to the anthropological discussion on resistance and indigenous relations with the colonial state, specifically in the uniquely North American structure of Indian reserves.

The work and information that I have compiled in this thesis also provides a base from which future work should be done. Having gleaned an understanding of landscape, history, and resistance among the Kainai, and built good relations within the community I can now direct future inquiry in the form of a doctorate level thesis with this work as a starting point. The concept of land is central to any future work that I will engage in, as both the land itself and the social spaces negotiated by Kainai persons is essential to contextualizing future academic inquiry. Social spaces involving the Blood Reserve and surround communities such as the Cardston Mormon and Stand Off Hutterite Colony is one intriguing area that I would like to include in future work. I would also like to bring my inquiry in to Kainai persons’ relations to the land into a larger scale by examining how they interact with off-reserve historical and sacred sites such as those contained in parks like Writing-on-Stone and Waterton. By continuing to direct my inquiry at land and history and how the Kainai interact with off-reserve sites and communities my future work would also draw upon issues of state and non-state control and regulation of off-reserve spaces.

My work's emphasis on the relations between land history also provide a fertile base for contributing to non-academic work focused on collaborative projects with the Kainai community and other parties such as national parks in areas that concern historical sites and establishing cultural context. By this I mean working with on and off-reserve actors in situations where it is necessary to provide cultural context to the public and other state and non-state actors with regards to land use and history.

References

- Bastien, Betty. *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing: the worldview of the Siksikaitisitapi*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.
- Bradley, John J. "Whitefellas Have to Learn about Country, It Is Not Just Land," in *The Place of Landscape: Concepts, Contests, Studies*, edited by Jeff Malpas, 45-64. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2011.
- Bullchild, Percy. *The Sun Came Down: the history of the world as my Blackfeet elders told it*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Burnett, Kristin, and Geoff Read. *Aboriginal History: A Reader*. Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 2012.
- Colburn, Forrest D. *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989.
- Comaroff, Jean. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Cosgrove, Denis E. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Cosgrove, Denis E., and Stephen Daniels, ed. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Dempsey, Hugh A. *Red Crow, warrior chief*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980.
- Dempsey, Hugh A. *The Amazing Death of Calf Shirt and Other Blackfoot Stories: Three Hundred Years of Blackfoot History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

- De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father de Smet*. Edited by Hiram Chittenden, Martin Richardson, and Alfred Talbot. New York: Kraus Reprint 1969.
- Dewalt, K. M., B.R. Dewalt, and C.B. Wayland. "Participant Observation," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, edited by H.R. Bernard, 259-299. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press 1998.
- Ewers, John C. *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Gow, Peter. "Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia," in *The Anthropology of Landscape: perspectives on place and space*, edited by Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, 43-62. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hirsch, Eric, and Michael O'Hanlon ed. *The Anthropology of Landscape: perspectives on place and space*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Holman, Alan C., Daniel J. Bellegarde, and Canada Indian Claims Commission. *Blood Tribe/Kainaiwa Big Claim Inquiry*. Ottawa: Indian Claims Commission, 2007.
- Ingold, Tim. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in livelihood, dwelling, and skill*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Medina, Domingo A. "From Keeping It Oral to Writing to Mapping: The Kuyujani Legacy and the De'kuana Self-Demarcation Project," in *History and Historicities in Amazonia*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead, vii-xx. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Milloy, John S. *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870*. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1988.
- Ortner, Sherry. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2006

- Rappaport, Joanne. *The Politics of Memory: native historical interpretation in the Colombian Andes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Sahlins, Marshall. "Cosmologies of Capitalism: the Trans-Pacific Sector of the World System," in *Culture in Practice: selected essays*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Zone Books, 2000.
- Santos-Granero, Fernando. "Writing History into the Landscape: Space, Myth, and Ritual in Contemporary Amazonia." *American Ethnologist* 25(2) 2009: 128-148.
- Scott, James C. "Everyday Forms of Resistance," in *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, edited by Forrest D. Colburn, 3-33. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Smith, Gavin. *Livelihood and Resistance: a study of peasants and the politics of land in Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1989
- Thompson, David. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812*. Edited by J.B. Tyrrell. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916.
- Vidal, Silvia M. "The Arawak-Speaking Groups of Northwestern Amazonia: Amerindian Cartography as a Way of Preserving and Interpreting the Past," in *History and Historicities in Amazonia*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead, 33-58. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1973
- White, Hayden. *Tropics of Discourse: essays in cultural criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1978

Whitehead, Neil L. *History and Historicities in Amazonia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Wissler, Clark and D.C. Duvall. *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians*. New York: Order of the Trustees, 1908.

Wissler, Clark. *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians*. New York: The Trustees. 1910

Wissler, Clark. *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*. New York: American Museum of Natural History. 1918

Appendix: A Glossary of Blackfoot Terms

Apaitsitapi: Literally translates to “Weasel People” a name the Blood use for themselves, born from their use of ermine skins in ceremonial clothing.

Iniskim: “Buffalo stone, a piece of ammonite shaped like a buffalo and used in ceremony.

Maotokiiks: Holy Women’s Society with many responsibilities at the Circle Camp and Sun Dance

Napikwan: White man

Niitsitapi: Native people

Rights: Having the “rights” to a ceremonial function comes from a process of learning and formal transfer.

Siksikaitsitapi: Blackfoot-speaking people

Transfer: A ceremonial exchange in which someone is given the rights to a certain ceremonial function.