TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND USE ASSESSMENT, CITY OF LETHBRIDGE

SOUTH SASKATCHEWAN REGIONAL PLAN COMPLIANCE INITIATIVE
ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORIC RESOURCES STRAGEGY

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:
City of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, Alberta

Prepared by:
The Blackfoot Confederacy Nations of Alberta
in association with Arrow Archaeology Limited

December 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Blackfoot Confederacy and Arrow Archaeology Limited would like to thank the City of Lethbridge for retaining and for the assistance the City has provided. We particularly thank City of Lethbridge staff Perry Stein and Maureen Gaehring who were always available to lend advice and provide assistance when the Blackfoot Confederacy team required it and their on-going patience and understanding of complex and far-reaching discussions by Elders in bringing this project to a conclusion. On behalf the Elders and the elected Councils of the three Blackfoot Nations in southern Alberta, we offer our sincere thanks to Mayor Chris Spearman and Lethbridge City Council for their interest in and foresight in recognizing the need for this project and working to enhance understanding of Blackfoot and First Nations cultures in the City.

We would also like to thank Elders and Experts working with the Traditional Use Consultation Departments of the Blood Tribe, Piikani First Nation and Siksika First Nation and who helped to complete the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan Compliance Initiative Environment and Historic Resources Strategy Traditional Knowledge and Use Assessment for the City of Lethbridge.

The header at the top of the page is the symbol of the Blackfoot Confederacy, including the *Ampskapikani* of Montana. The symbols at the bottom of the are from the Canadian Blackfoot Nations and Arrow Archaeology, the consortium that completed this Taditional Kowledge and Land Use Assessment.

Cover photo: Prayer ceremony at the Medicine Rock in Indian Battle Park, Lethbridge.

PROJECT PERSONNEL

Siksika: Scotty Many Guns, Richard Right Hand, Fred Breaker, Noran Calf Robe, Staci Calf Robe, Leo Pretty Young Man, Joseph Old Woman

Piikani: William Big Bull, Dustin Wolfe, Shirley Crow Shoe, Joanne Yellow Horn, John McDougall, Jim Swag

Blood: Mike Oka, David Striped Wolf, Ray Black Plume, Andy Black Water (non-field expert), J. J. Shade, Mike Tail Feathers

Arrow Archaeology Limited: Alyssa Hamza, Cynthia Temoin, Neil Mirau, Don Boras, Dave Hastie, Lyle Shanks

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report summarizes the results of Traditional Knowledge and Use Assessment for the City of Lethbridge, part of the City's South Saskatchewan Regional Plan Compliance Initiative Environment and Historic Resources Strategy. This assessment was conducted by a consortium composed of the Alberta members of the Blackfoot Confederacy's Traditional Use Consultation Departments of the Blood Tribe, Piikani First Nation, Siksika First Nation in association with Arrow Archaeology Limited. The project assessed a number of publically accessible lands within the City of Lethbridge city limits.

This report was written by *Niitsitapii* Cultural Team of the Blackfoot Confederacy as listed above and Arrow Archaeology Limited staff. Portions of the background section of this report, where oral histories are presented, are taken from Mirau and First Rider (2009).

This report notes that the lands occupied by the City of Lethbridge are within Blackfoot Traditional Territory and that although urban development in the City has impacted the local landscape to a great degree, there are extant traditional knowledge and resources within City lands primarily, but not exclusively, in and adjacent to the Oldman River Valley on undisturbed and minimally disturbed terrain. The City still contains important traditional plants and other natural resources, important historical sites for the Blackfoot Confederacy and other First Nations and indigenous peoples, remains of ceremonial sites, habitation sites and others. We provide a list of considerations in this report that attempts to provide input so that these sites and resources can be protected and managed responsibly for all indigenous peoples and the general public, as well as considerations that will help preserve Blackfoot and First Nations culture and help educate and inform citizens of Lethbridge and visitors about those cultures and history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES and TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The Traditional Use Consultation Departments of three Blackfoot Confederacy First Nations, that is, Kainai (Blood Tribe), Piikani and Siksika in partnership with Arrow Archaeology Limited conducted the *South Saskatchewan Regional Plan Compliance Initiative Environment and Historic Resources Strategy Traditional Knowledge and Use Assessment* for the City of Lethbridge. The three Nations are the Canadian Blackfoot and, along with *Ampskapikani* – the Blackfeet Nation of Montana form the Blackfoot Confederacy. This report often refers to the Blackfoot Confederacy and the use of the term is inclusive of those Blackfoot people who are part of the Blackfeet Nation in the United States, however the fieldwork and this final report is the result of work carried out in the City of Lethbridge by members of the three Nations within Canada.

This report presents the findings of the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan Compliance Initiative Environment and Historic Resource Strategy Traditional Knowledge and Use Assessment (TKUA) for *Sikóóhkotok* (Black Rock), that is, the modern day City of Lethbridge. Findings from this TKUA are presented by *Siksikaitsitapi* (members of Blackfoot Nation), specifically the *Akainawa* - Kainai (Blood Tribe), the *Apathohsipikani* - Piikani First Nation, and the *Siksika* - Siksika First Nation, in conjunction with Arrow Archaeology Limited. The goal of the TKUA is for the *Niitsitapii* or *Siksikaitsitapi* (Blackfoot confederacy) to produce a comprehensive Traditional Knowledge and Land Use report and database for sites and areas within the *Sikóóhkotok* (i.e. the Lethbridge City limits). This material is intended to be utilized for management, monitoring, and protecting the sacred and cultural *Niitsitapii* Traditional Land Use places within the city. For this report the following are used as a guideline for defining traditional sites and use areas:

- Places where naturally occurring animals are harvested for food, clothing, medicines, tools and other purposes.

- Places where naturally occurring plants are harvested for food, clothing, medicines, tools, shelter and fuel;
- Places where rocks, minerals, and socials are collected for making tools, conducting ceremonies and other purposes.
- Ecological knowledge of habitats and sites critical to the survival of important animal and plant populations;
- Corridors and areas which animals use to migrate feed, mate, calve and winter;
- Habitation and economic practice sites, such as settlements, trading areas, and travel and trade routes;
- Spiritual, religious and sacred places such as ceremonial sites, rock paintings and burial locations;
- Special places of history, legend, myth and other accounts about specific places.

Another goal of this work was to provide an innovative approach where the *Niitsitapii* (Blackfoot Nations) are the primary consultants, rather than the informants for a report authored by non-Blackfoot experts. The purpose of this report is to function both as a foundational document and as a stepping-stone for the City of Lethbridge toward reconciliation with the *Niitsitapii* nations. Findings released by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) indicate that "the relationship between the federal government and Aboriginal peoples is deteriorating. Instead of moving towards reconciliation, [and] there have been divisive conflicts over Aboriginal education, child welfare and Justice" (TRC 2015: 8). The cultural team members see this TKUA as an important opportunity for the Confederacy and the City to engage in relationship building on a local government level. The team also view this as an opportunity for the City of Lethbridge to make strides in becoming a municipal leader in the identification,

acknowledgement, protection, and management of their culturally important spaces and places. The Blackfoot Confederacy members who have authored and provided information for this report have not been limited to delineating issues related strictly to traditional resources. A number of considerations articulated herein try to address specific issues identified in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's reports, guiding principles and recommendations.

The protection of, and engagement with, cultural heritage places and spaces is seen as a fundamental human right (Bennoune 2016; Nakashima and Roue UNESCO 2002). Internationally, the link between identity, cultural heritage, and wellbeing shows "that reinforcement and preservation of living culture has helped to develop identity, sense of place and build self-esteem" (Lily 2016) in both First Peoples communities and non-Indigenous groups (Australian Productivity Commission Heritage Strategy 2016 in Lily 2016; see also UK Heritage Lottery Fund 2016).

The *Niitsitapii* believe that *Ihtsipaitapiyo'pa* (the creator and "Source of our life") gave the *Niitsitapii* homeland and landscape to their people to care for (Eli 2011). *Niitsitapii* territory and landscape are important and cannot be separated from the actual people as the Earth, the environment, the land, water, and flora and fauna are part of the Spirit within which repetitive renewal occurs (Little Bear 2000). The sacredness of the *Niitsitapii* landscape is dynamic, but eternal.

Sikóóhkotok/Lethbridge is located in the heartland of *Niitsitapii's* Cultural Landscape. When discussing the cultural and spiritual importance of the Old Man River valley former Piikani Chief, Leonard Bastien noted:

"Napi created the animals, birds and people and could converse with them. If Napi could talk with the animals, plants, birds and rocks, seeking their power to help him, it follows they must have spirits and must be sacred. From this comes the Indian beliefs that nothing is inanimate and therefore all is sacred. Rocks are sacred as a human life is sacred. It follows then that the Oldman River Valley, home for many of these birds, rocks, plants and animals is sacred as well….

From these spiritual beings comes the contents of the medicine bundles, from which spiritual power is derived. The bundles are an accumulation of physical objects which are reminders of the spiritual blessings given the owner….The bundles are part of the cyclical connection that forms the Peigan [Piikani] culture. It starts with the flora and fauna of the area, which have spiritual power and confers that power to an individual of the tribe. The power is represented in a physical sense by the skins, or parts of the flora and fauna, collected and placed in the bundle. That bundle becomes a catalyst between humanity and the spiritual world….

The Beaver Bundle is the oldest, most complex of the spiritual powers or blessings conferred on the Peigan people. Almost every bird and animal known to the Peigans is represented in that bundle, accompanied by a song for each of them. The Beaver Bundler…shows the connection between man and nature.
The Oldman River valley is a sanctuary for the birds and animals of the plains and foothills. The Peigan contact with those animals and the plant life in the valley is the basis of the nation's entire religion. Without the

valley as it is, existing medicine bundles would become vestiges of a dead culture, since input for change would not be possible. For the Peigan, the river, the valley, the plants and animals allow for the self-perpetuation of their Culture" (Bastien quoted in Hamel 1993, 16-17; original text from the Lethbridge Herald July 8, 1989).

Current Blackfoot Elders also encourage the need to preserve what remains, but at the same time provide opportunities for responsible and sustainable use of natural resources. Elder Andy Black Water (pers. comm. 2009 and as cited in Mirau and First Rider 2009)) states:

"We as Blackfoot people believe that these [traditional use and sacred] areas still have a presence and therefore should not be disturbed, so that these areas shall remain for the future generations. Our young can say I am going to that particular area and seek a vision or gift, [so] these places should remain. We as a people have reached a time where it is very difficult in that many different factors have come into play in our lives [which detracted from our traditional ways]. We are now [learning and] trusting our traditional ways more…These are the things that we are taught today. [Modern life and non-traditional way have] changed that [which was]…the rivers and hills and the medicinal plants that have been given to us sustain life. I don't think it has changed all that much, these sacred things that we own came from these areas. People say that particular area is where someone received a gift or it was transferred to that person. We were pitied with a mysterious power from these sites [and we need to maintain those sites].

> *We only ask [that non-First Nations people] respect our ways the same way you respect your sacred ways. We respect our lands [as] "sacred lands". We have our spirit beings just as the white people have theirs and we do not expose our sacred ways too much [and] there are things that we revere, and we will not talk about those things. Our [beliefs and religion that we cannot share with everyone is saved for] the future generations that are going to take part or become a part of the sacred ways of the Blackfoot. We are protecting these ways for them. That is why we like to be involved in what's happening around us to protect our sacred way of life. The [larger culture] has developed much of our lands for monetary wealth and have ruined much of the tracts that were left for us to protect…that is [why we believe] we are right about what we say [to save and protect] the Traditional Blackfoot Lands that we know [remain]".*

Since the initial European incursions into the Northwest Plains, generations from many cultural groups have been born within *Niitsitapii* territory. Today both *Niitsitapii* First Nations people and non-First Nations groups call this landscape home. They identify with the mountains, the plains, the rivers, and the chinook wind - all of which transcend cultural definitions and barriers. *Niitsitapii* country has aided non-indigenous people in the construction of their own cultural identity and well-being. In essence, *Niitsitapii* country is part of each person that resides here. As a result, each occupant has a responsibility to conserve and protect the stories embedded within places and spaces, educate the next generation about the significance of this region and its First Peoples, as well as protect the landscape itself, as First Nations did for millennia before the present era. It is the overarching aim of this report that the information and recommendations included here will assist the City of Lethbridge in acknowledging, monitoring, and protecting the


Niitsitapii Traditional places and spaces within the City limits. It is also hoped that this information will be disseminated to instil current and future citizens with knowledge and respect of the landscape and the culture of the *Niitsitapii* people.

Report Structure

The report begins by contextualizing traditional land use within the greater *Niitsitapii* cultural landscape, also known as Blackfoot territory. Traditional knowledge and traditional uses are linked concepts and different interests have defined these ideas differently. For the purposed of this report, the following definitions are considered appropriate. According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO):

> *"[Traditional knowledge] can be broadly defined as the knowledge that an indigenous community accumulates over generations of living in a particular environment. This definition encompasses all forms of knowledge – technologies, know-how skills, practices and beliefs – that enable the community to achieve stable livelihoods in their environment"* (UNEP 2008) *and:*
>
> *"[Indigenous people]…living in and from the richness and variety of complex ecosystems, have an understanding of the properties of plants and animals, the functioning of ecosystems and the techniques for using and managing them that is particular and…detailed" (Nakashima and Roue,* UNESCO 2002).

The archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic findings are then summarized to contextualize the lifeways of groups occupying the *Niitsitapii* landscape for over 11,000

years. This is done with the aim of locating the data in both cultural and scientific frameworks. The methodology and results of the current TKUA are then outlined. Specific measure and steps, herein referred to as 'considerations' have been made by the TKUA team regarding the cultural heritage within Lethbridge and are identified and presented alongside calls to action by the TRC (2015) and the UNDRIP (2008). The report concludes with these considerations for consideration and implementation by the City of Lethbridge.

Cultural areas associated with traditional knowledge are discussed within this report, including both the greater *Niitsitapii* landscape and *Sikóóhkotok*/Lethbridge, prior to the signing of Treaty 7 and the implementation of the Resere System. It is widely acknowledged this system, in conjunction with the implementation of the Indian Act 1876 - which saw First Nations people made wards of the State (Eli 2011: 9) - and residential schools severely impacted *Niitsitapii* lifeways. The TRC (2015:8) stated:

> *"For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada.*
>
> *The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide… The Canadian government pursued this policy of cultural genocide because it wished to divest itself of its legal and financial obligations to Aboriginal people and gain control over their land and resources. If every Aboriginal person had been "absorbed into the body politic," there would be no reserves, no Treaties, and no Aboriginal*

rights…Residential schools were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture" (TRC 2015:8).

The Reserve period is referred to here as the period when First Nations were confined to Reserves. Life on Reserves did not result in the abrupt end to traditional uses or practices in spite of harsh circumstances. Traditional knowledge and uses, customs and other elements of the long-lived cultures of this region have survived and continue to thrive (Mirau and First Rider 2009). One of the recommendations of the *Niitsitapii* cultural team is that the time period subsequent to the implementation of the Reserve system is acknowledged and discussed by a committee of *Niitsitapii* Elders and City officials at a different time within a separate framework to this report. The Cultural team identifies this as a way forward in healing and reconciling this part of our past.

Language

Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) language and names of places and people are used in this report where applicable, allowing the *Niitsitapii* to tell the story of their homelands with their own language and voice. As Little Bear noted *"language embodies the way a society thinks. Through learning and speaking a particular language, an individual absorbs the collective thought process of a people"* (2000:9). The use of *Niitsitapii* names for spaces and places has been shown to, *"… involve the social construction of space and the symbolic construction of meaning about place. The (use) and recovery of Blackfoot place names is part of the process of reclaiming history and memory'* (L'Heureux 2011). The stories do not change, the histories stay the same, and we have attempted to include these stories where applicable. And while we, as the authors, have tried to use the correct *Niitsitapii* terms here, we acknowledge we may have made errors, for which we take full responsibility. The Blackfoot language is part of the Algonkian language family but is

dissimilar to other languages in this large North American language family. That difference is thought by most linguists to indicate that the divergence of Blackfoot from other members of the family occurred in the very distant past (Bloodtribe.org 2017). Most other Algonkian languages are native to areas east of the northern Plains of North America. The Blackfoot languages is the westernmost of this family. The great age of Blackfoot and its dissimilarity from other Algonkian languages suggests that the Blackfoot people have been in their homeland on the northern Plains in what is now parts of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana and Wyoming for many thousands of years (Campbell 1997, Greenburg 1987). This inference by Campbell, Greenburg and other historical linguists is of course completely compatible with Blackfoot history and traditions with regard to the homeland.

The *Niitsitapii* and the Land

Blackfoot territory includes southern Alberta and beyond and extends from the North Saskatchewan River in the north, to the Yellowstone River in the south and from the Rocky Mountains in the west to the confluence of the north and south Saskatchewan Rivers in the east in modern day Saskatchewan (Figure 1). *Sikóóhkotok*/Lethbridge and the South Saskatchewan River Basin is a central location within Blackfoot traditional territory since “time immemorial”.

Figure 1: Map of Traditional Blackfoot Territory (from Siksika Nation. com 2017).

Elder Andy Black Water of the Blood Tribe described traditional Blackfoot territory as:

> *"These days we have talked much about Northern Piikani, Siksika, Akainaiwa, (Southern Piikani), [and] how all four are related and how we have come to occupy the lands that we do today. I have heard the Elders say we were put here to watch and protect these lands - the Belly Buttes of*

the Blood Reserve, the Porcupine Hills of Northern Piikani, and Blackfoot Crossing at Siksika and all points north. We were put here to watch over these lands [and those of] the Southern Piikani.

All [Blackfoot are] very fond of these areas, they grew up there, they gain much knowledge there. That is why we say that is where the spirits of our ancestors are. We feel their presence there. We say we are going home. We are all a part of the Traditional Blackfoot Land. Today if we travel far, maybe to Siksika we say we are home, [or to] Edmonton, the North Saskatchewan River… we say we are home. West to the Rocky Mountains and south to Yellowstone River a person will know they are home, even though their house is far from where he or she is. This is how I was taught. We feel a part of this land.

Now we as Akainaiwa, our land base is very large. I [learned from] Elders that I directly heard [as] they talked about [our territory that included] the North Saskatchewan River from where [its] head waters are in the Mountains…to where it meets the South Saskatchewan River and [our territory extends] south east of the Great Sand Hills. [The boundary of] the Blackfoot territory [goes] south to the land of the Crow Nation [near] the north corner of Wyoming and [then] west to the Yellowstone River near the Shoshone Nation. West of the mountains…is out of the Traditional Blackfoot Territory… is what I was told. I did not learn this from books. In our ways we had land maps. That how it was marked, the Blackfoot people used rivers, hills, and the mountains those are what we refer to [the Blackfoot people

say] are lands maps--they are written on the earth" (pers. comm., from Mirau and First Rider 2009:8).

The *Akainawa,* that is, Kainai (Many Chiefs) or Blood Tribe, along with Siksika (Black footed people), the *Apathohsipikani*, Piikani or *Amiskapipikani* (Far Off Robes/Scabby Robes), are members of the Blackfoot Confederacy. The *Amiskapipikani* are more commonly referred to as the Southern Blackfoot who reside within the United States side of *Niitsitapii* country. Blackfoot is the common language spoken by the Blackfoot Confederacy although dialects vary slightly between the different nations. Linguistically, Blackfoot is part of the Algonquian language group, with the Piikani and Kainai being the most closely related of the dialects (Wissler 1911). The Blackfoot as a group share similar traditions, religious, and belief systems.

The oral history story that details the naming of the three Niitsitapii tribes as we understand them today is described below:

"In the very long ago, an old man and his three married sons, and their women and children, were near starvation, because of the scarcity of deer and elk, so they set out to try find a better game country. They crossed some mountains, and for the first time came to a treeless country: great plains, upon which were countless numbers of huge dark-haired animals new to them, the buffalo. The three sons attempted to approach and kill some of them, and failed, as the animals always outran them.

Then, in accordance with a vision that the old father had, he made a black-coloured medicine, rubbed some of it upon his eldest son's feet, and it


enabled him to run swiftly that he easily overtook and killed some of the strange animals. Whereupon the old father said that Blackfeet should thereafter be his name. At that, the two other sons became jealous of their elder brother, and demanded that they also be given some of the black medicine. The old man refused to give it, for, he said, his vision had plainly shown him that it was to be used only by his eldest son. However, they should also have new names, and they must earn them: they should go far away upon discovery of the new country and its life, and upon their return he would name them in accordance with what they had done.

The two sons departed, and were gone a long time. The younger of the two, who went south, returned with several beautiful tanned and painted buffalo robes which he had obtained from a friendly tribe that he had met, so his father named him Piku'ni (Far-Off Robes). The other son, who went east, brought back scalps of a number of enemies that he had killed, and he was therefore, named, Ah-ka-i'na (Many Chiefs). Such was the origin of the three tribes" (Schultz 1930: 30-31).

The lifeways of the *Niitsitapii* in Lethbridge, and elsewhere on the Northern Great Plains of North America are based on the seasonal procurement of resources. Southern Alberta provides a rich and highly seasonal environment. Prior to contact with non-indigenous groups the economy of the *Niitsitapii* people for many thousands of years was focused on large grazing mammals, like the bison (*Bison bison*) (Oetelaar 2008; Wilson 1992). The *Niitsitapii* also exploited other resources including wood for lodges, root vegetables, berries (for pemmican), and a range of other plant-based material for economic and ceremonial use (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Kainai Woman drying meat in the sun ca. 1900's (Glenbow Museum Archives 2017).

The current Oldman River Valley is known as a wintering grounds for the *Niitsitapii* due to the abundant and dense willow and wood bearing trees found along the waterways (Figure 3). The valley is also a prolific berry picking area where Saskatoon berries flourish.

Brings-Down-The-Sun, a prominent Piikani Chief in the 1890's described *Niitsitapii* use of the Old Man River Valley, and commented on the need to preserve the resources contained within the valley for subsequent generations:

"We pitch our tipis in this grove of cottonwoods [along what is now called the Oldman River] every summer to gather sarvis [saskatoon] berries for our use when the snows are deep. You will find many kinds of berries on all sides. You can eat them now or gather and dry them for your winter supply just as we do. ***I ask, however, that you will be careful not to injure the trees, or break the branches of the berry bushes. I make this request because I am looking ahead for my tribe. I am anxious to preserve these big trees and berry bushes for our children. I am accustomed to admonish my people in this manner, warning them not to be short sighted****. (Emphasis added). [Others] once had many large trees along their river, but they cut them down for firewood. Now their country is bare and they have few berries. I am continually advising my people not to cut down trees from along the river, but to haul their wood from the mountains. They have followed my advice and we still have our big leaf trees (cottonwoods)… the spear leaf trees (balsam poplar)…, the round leaf trees (trembling aspen)…and brush sticks (willows)"* (McClintock1999: 386).

Figure 3: Blackfoot Winter Camp in the Elbow River Valley ca. 1880 (Bourn and May in Glenbow Museum Archives 2017).

There is archaeological evidence of major wintering camps in the Oldman River Valley between the Lethbridge and Taber. It is predicted that a large camp may have had 200 or more lodges. Population indices indicate that number of people per lodge may have numbered 6 to 8; therefore, a given village could have been 1200 to 1800 persons (Ewers 1955, 1958; Kidd 1986; Verbicky-Todd 1984; Uhlenback 1911; Vickers 1991).

The *Niitsitapii* Ecological knowledge was grounded in sustainability, which is essentially taking what is necessary for survival, and ensuring not to over exploit resources. In addition, other forms of knowledge would be required. This would include knowledge of:

- The distribution, location and density of plants

- The time of year the plant flowered, matured and set seeds (which would have varied from place to place in southern Alberta) and the related knowledge of how the plant responded to harvesting operations in a given area.
- The productivity of any place the plants grew, for example, how often that area was affected by drought and the effects of drought on plant reproduction and productivity
- How the plant competed with other plants in the area and what its primary competitors were.
- Local conditions where the plant grew, such as soil moisture and precipitation patterns in that area.
- What other animals exploited the plant and how that it affected is ability to reproduced and survive.
- Knowledge of water resources; flooding and low water timing of rivers streams and other water resources (from Mirau and First Rider 2009).

In addition to the procurement of food resources, the lifeways of the *Niitsitapii* were dynamic. Ceremony and social transmission required the congregation of large groups periodically throughout the year to renew contacts, form alliances, and build relationships. The Sundance grounds within Lethbridge's Pavan Park are visible today (and will be discussed in detail later in the document). This and similar sites, such as the Majorville and Sundial Butte Medicine Wheels, respectively located north and east of the city, continue to be used by First Nations people. These sites are also considered critical to the history, the belief systems and culture of First Nations. In a recent interview, Andy Black Water described knowledge of the Sun Dance, sacred sites, and medicine wheels on the Northern Plains. He noted:

"They [the Old Ones or Elders] also talked about medicine wheels. I have asked many people [about these]. Some say they are called sun dials [because they represent] the sun…drawn on the earth, others have different names for them because they are not all the same. They are found in Blackfoot Territory [and] our ancestors talked about [and knew about] them.

We have [now started to again see] these sites [and] also tipi rings and effigies where death happened. Some [sites] are just circular placements of rocks [and] those are known as vision quest sites. There must be others that are talked about in stories [and we need to find them and revisit them]… I will say we as Akainaiwa leave our offerings after the Sundance [and] we leave the offerings [of] the Buffalo Women Society and also Horn Society [and these become sacred]. This practice has never stopped… [and its] practice evolved from the centre of our religion. I can't talk any further [about] that. It came from the pipe and the sacred items that were given to us those are what we have to respect." (pers. comm. 2009 Mirau and First Rider).

All of these elements, which facilitated the lifeways of the *Niitsitapii,* are viewed as part of the *seasonal round*. Seasonal rounds are intrinsic to the survival of groups within many diverse landscapes. Similar to the crop rotation strategies used by modern farmers, and the seasonal recreation activities of Lethbridge citizens, the movements by the *Niitsitapii* were planned in in advance and reflected the season. Movement was generally planned in consideration of the animal behaviour and other factors. For example, fish were utilized during times when large game was scarce. Also, during time of drought, which is common on the plains, the round would be altered to obtain sufficient animal, as well as plant, resources to survive and to ensure populations were sustained for subsequent years.

The Seasonal Round in Southern Alberta

The following is an excerpt from Mirau and First Rider (2009:9-17):

A seasonal round is the regular movement of humans on the landscape to take advantage of seasonally available resource and to maintain contact and relationships with other members of the culture. The more seasonal the environment is in which a culture lives, generally the more important the seasonal round. On the highly seasonal plains of southern Alberta, people had to be where the important resources where when those resources could be most easily and efficiently acquired and had to be in protected and relatively secure areas during the cold season when resources were more difficult to acquire and special needs, such as adequate fuel for fires to keep warm was plentiful.

Moving from one place to another during the course of year to be in the right place at the right time required considerable advance planning. The seasonal round was made more complex because groups separated into small groups for portions of the year and came together in larger groups at other times of the year. These cycles of agglomeration and dispersal were as central to cultural survival and renewal as was the acquisition of food and other resources.

The climate of the northern Plains can be harsh and although there has been substantial climate change in what is now southern Alberta over the last 10,000 years, the dominant climate pattern has consisted of cold, relatively long winters, warm, relatively short summers and often highly variable spring and autumn seasons. Life during the summer was easier than during the winter, however, clearly preparation for long winters was a major consideration throughout the warm season.

There is a widely cited account of a typical seasonal round (Figures 4 and 5). The account is related by anthropologist C. C. Uhlenbeck (1911) and was a description given to him by a Piikani man called Kainaikoan. Kainaikoan is identified as Jim Blood by Elder informant Shirley Crow Shoe. Although Kainaikoan lived during the Reserve period and life for him was much different that before the arrival of Europeans on the Plains, he described a seasonal round that had been practiced by his ancestors before the Reserve period.

*Kainaikoan, describing an annual cycle of movement stated that winter was spent in the Marias River valley of northern Montana. This river valley, not unlike areas of the Oldman, Bow, South Saskatchewan and other southern Alberta river valleys, offered shelter from winter weather and its gallery forests of poplar and other trees provided abundant fuel and shelter. Water was readily available in the river. The river valley would also have been an attractive wintering area for at least some animals upon which humans relied. In spring, once snow cover was gone and spring plant growth was underway, Kainaikoan's ancestors moved north toward the Sweet Pine (Sweet Grass) Hills to hunt bison bulls that were starting to move out of their wintering areas in the river valleys and parkland of Alberta to take advantage of new grass. A common plant called the buffalo bean (*Thermopsis rombifolia*) in southern Alberta, Saskatchewan and Montana and which blooms in May and June was an important traditional indicator for the commencement of the spring hunt. The name "buffalo bean" is taken from its role as an important sign for the Blackfoot of this area to start the spring hunt. The plant is known as the golden bean or golden pea in other parts of North America.*

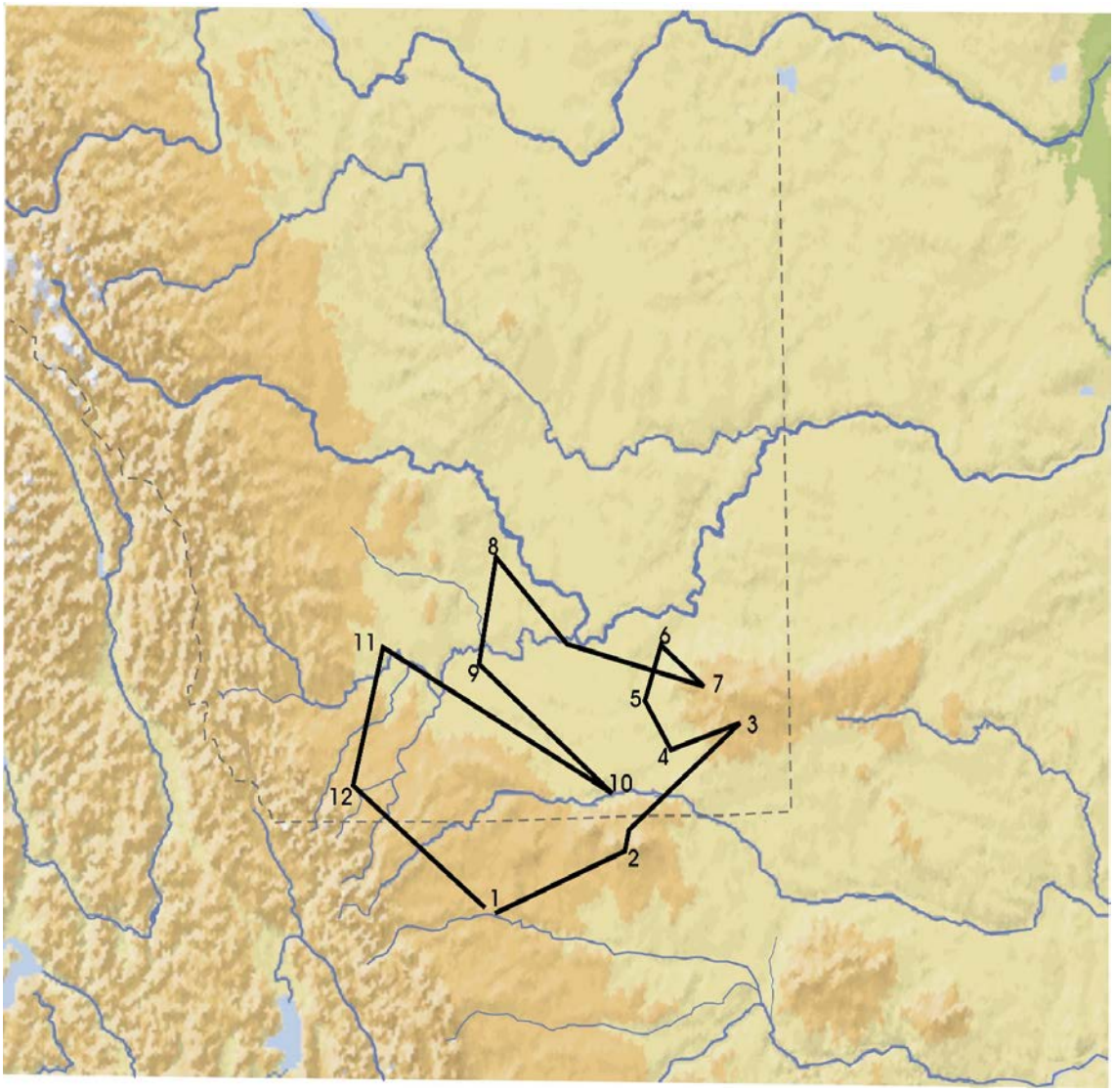


Figure 4: The seasonal round of Kainaikoan as told to Ulhenbeck (1911) showing 1) the Marias River and with spring moved northeast to 2) Sweet Pine Hills, 3) Cypress Hills, 4) Pakowki Lake/Manyberries 5) Bullshead and 6) Bullshead Creek/highlands west of Cypress Hills to hunt bison and gather plant foods 7) Cypress Hills to gather lodge poles and moved northwest to 8) "Where the women society left their lodge pole" The group then moved south to 9) Green Lake (location uncertain) and 10) to Writing On Stone and 11) "Woman's point" (speculatively identified by the authors of this report as Women's Buffalo Jump, north of Fort Macleod to hunt bison and continue to gather plants as the summer progressed.

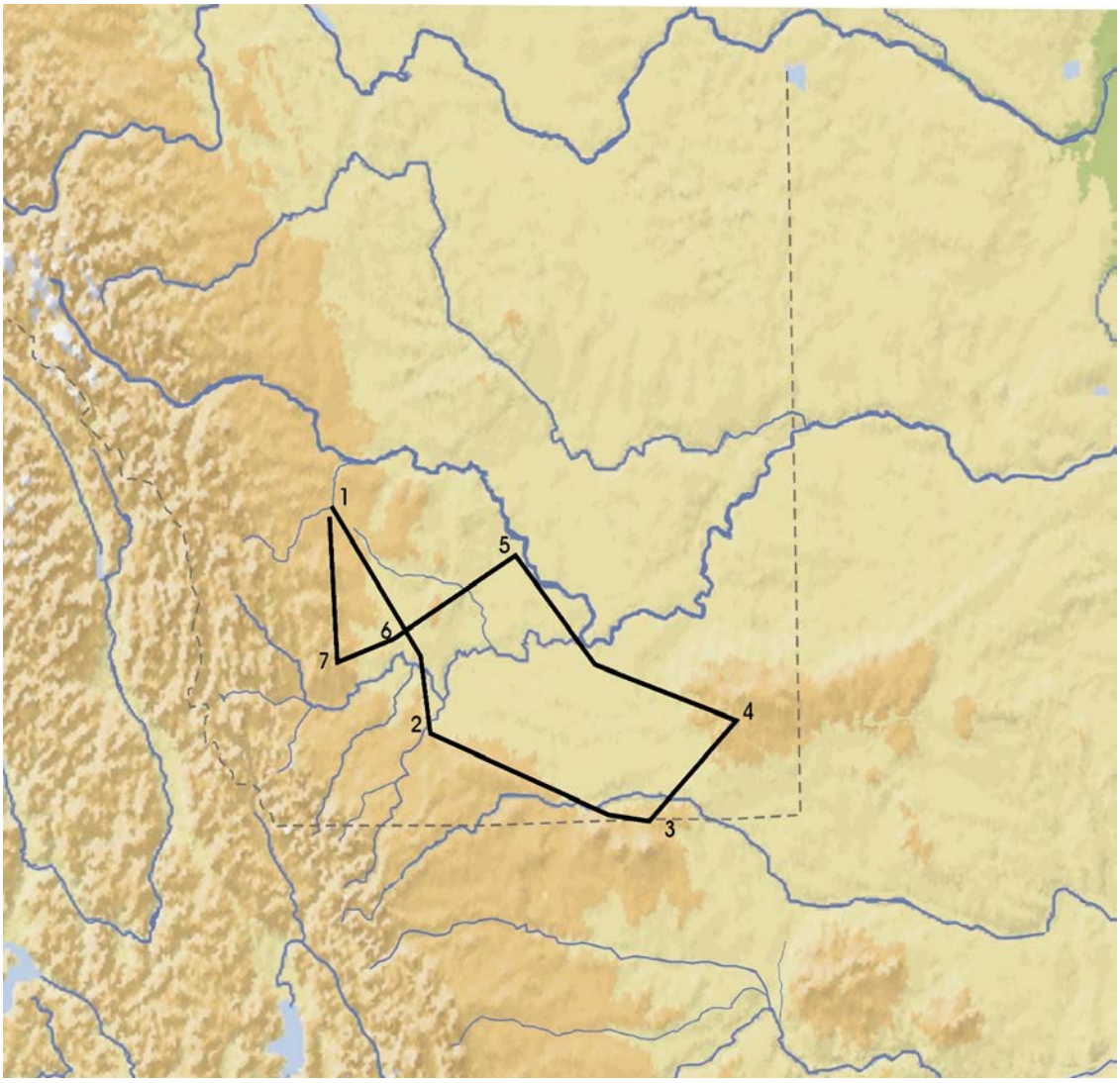


Figure 5: Additional example of seasonal round recounted by Andy Black Water recorded by Mirau and First Rider (2009). The wintering location shown here is along the Highwood River near present day High River. With the arrival of spring, the seasonal cycle of movement is south to the St. Mary River (2) and southeast to the Sweet Pine Hills (3) to hunt and gather wood for lodge poles at Cypress Hills (4), then likely northeast to the Sun Dance area (5), southwest to hunt at Head-Smashed-In/Women's Buffalo Jump (6) and west to 7) to collect plants and more wood for poles before returning to the Highwood River wintering area.

If bison were moving out of their wintering areas early, Kanaikoan's people would hunt at the Sweet Pine Hills; if not, the group continued to move northeast toward the Cypress Hills. After this initial spring foray, which would have been important to replenish meat supplies that were depleted over the long winter, the group moved to the Pakowki Lake/Manyberries area in southeastern Alberta to continue the hunt and pick early ripening berries. The names of the hamlet of Manyberries and Manyberries Creek are derived from the Blackfoot term *akoniskway* (many berries). Interestingly and not coincidentally, this part of southern Alberta is the warmest and driest part of the South Saskatchewan River Basin and berry plants would bloom early and their fruits would ripen here before areas to the west and north. A variety of berries and likely other early maturing plant foods would have been acquired in this area.

As the warm season progressed the group would move north to Buffalo Head (now known as Bulls Head in the Seven Persons area) to hunt bison and gather more plant foods. One of most important food plants to the indigenous population of southern Alberta, the prairie turnip *Psoralea esculenta* (also known by other common names such as Indian bread root) would have been harvested in early June when it first flowers. The prairie turnip and other plants are discussed in more detail in the Plant uses and significance section.

This Buffalo Head area has rolling hills, some sheltered valleys (such as Bullshead Creek valley, Red Rock Coulee and Peigan Creek) and contained significant numbers of *wapiti* or elk *(Cervus canadensis*). Kanaikoan's ancestors would gather plant foods and hunt bison, elk and probably other animals such as deer (e.g., mule deer *Odocoileus hemionus*), and pronghorns (*Antilocapra americana*) in the area. The group then moved back to the Cypress Hills to acquire lodge poles, travois poles, wood for backrests and

pine resin. Although not specified by Kainaikoan or detailed by Uhlenbeck (1911), undoubtedly this portion of the seasonal round would include harvesting other plants in the Cypress Hills which do not commonly occur in the open grasslands, such as cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*), a plant used both for dietary and medicinal purposes.

From Cypress Hills, Kanaikoan's ancestors moved west to what he described as "where the Women Society left their lodge pole", likely a reference to Sun Dance grounds and an area where many groups came together during the year to meet. This would have occurred during the most plentiful time of year when many plant foods were available and where communal bison hunts could occur. This coming together of small groups probably occurred in mid-June to mid-July before the bison rut (occurring from roughly mid-July to mid-August) when mass bison hunting would have would have been difficult (Frison 1978, Morgan 1979). Kainaikoan does not give the exact location of this seasonal agglomeration, but one reasonable supposition is an area on the west side of the Bow River south of Gleichen, in the general area where the Majorville medicine wheel is located. There is significant archaeological evidence in the Majorville area that it was an important summer gathering place for the small bands of people, most likely Blackfoot (Moors, 2007). A number of other similar places where people may have gathered to hunt bison, renew acquaintances and not incidentally to meet potential mates are discussed in the Traditional Use Sites section. The central element of the summer gathering would have been the Sun Dance.

While religious knowledge and practice is part of traditional knowledge, we are focusing on other elements more directly related to land use in this discussion. We briefly talk about the Sun Dance in subsequent sections of this report, but it is worth noting that virtually every major work we examined notes the prominent position of the Sun Dance in

Blackfoot culture. For example, McClintock (1999, 172) says “[The Sun Dance] was…the great annual religious festival…the supreme expression of [Blackfoot traditional] religion”.

The Sun Dance itself may have lasted 7 to 12 days and this festival was probably accompanied by other activities both before and after the actual Sun Dance ceremony, By mid-summer, probably late July or early August, Kainaikoan’s group made its way to the Writing on Stone area of the Milk River valley to hunt bison after the rut, harvest plants and engage in other activities. Root plants would have been available at this time of year as well as later ripening berries. The group would gradually move west upstream along and in the Milk River valley to continue to hunt bison, deer and antelope. By this time, early fall would have arrived and the group would have continued west to the coniferous forests of the foothills and mountains (the Eastern Slopes) to obtain additional wood for lodge poles and other uses and to continue to hunt bison, elk and other animals.

Although Kainaikoan does not specifically mention it, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump and other communal bison hunting locations may have been utilized at this time as the group moved westward as it prepared for winter. Berries and other plant foods also ripen later in southwestern Alberta, and with the general westerly movement towards the end of the warm season, people could exploit the later ripening plant foods efficiently. After the final lodge pole gathering and likely intense efforts to harvest as much plant and animal food as possible, it would be late fall or early November, still earlier than the onset widespread snow cover and very cold temperatures. During this period the group returned to the Marias River valley to prepare the winter village. Winter was mostly a time to stay in one place and wait out the cold weather. During the cold season groups would make tools, clothing and other necessities and prepare for next year’s travels. An important winter activity was acquiring fur bearing animals such as wolves, coyotes, fox and other

animals when their coats were prime. In addition to bison hide and the hides of ungulates, furs were important as articles of winter clothing, bedding, decoration, ceremony and for other purposes.

Winter could be difficult and without adequate food, starvation and hardship could occur. It was therefore of critical importance to know the landscape and know where one could turn if the most desirable foods were in short supply.

Kainaikoan's description of an annual seasonal round covering a significant portion of the South Saskatchewan River Basin is a widely cited example, but there are others. A previously mentioned Blood Elder, Andy Black Water (Shot-On-Both-Sides), has outlined another seasonal round (Figure 5) that started from favoured wintering areas north of the modern Canada-U.S. border. Mr. Black Water specifically noted three important wintering areas, one near where the town of High River is now located on the Highwood River, one along the Oldman River near the modern town of Fort Macleod and a third near the confluence of the Oldman and St. Mary Rivers just south of the City of Lethbridge - near the original Fort Whoop Up. From these wintering areas, Mr. Black Water indicates that with the coming of spring, groups would move south generally along the St. Mary River and then south and east towards the Sweet Pine Hills to hunt bison bulls. The group then moved north towards the Cypress Hills, again to take advantage of the more early ripening plants in that area and to gather poles for lodges, travois, and other uses. From there the group moved back to the west to hunt, participate in Sun Dance and then continued hunting further westward, perhaps at Head-Smashed-In and Women's Buffalo Jump. This group continued to the eastern slopes of the Rockies before returning to their wintering locations (Figure 6) **(**Mirau and First Rider 2009: 9-17).

Figure 6: Blackfoot Camp in the Rocky Mountains (Glenbow Museum Archives 2017).

Archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic data confirms that groups were highly mobile throughout prehistory on the great northern Plains and the seasonal round underscores the importance of *Sikóóhkotok* within the *Niitsitapii* Cultural Landscape which, in turn, is comprised of several significant places and spaces.

Peopling of the Americas

To begin, the colonization of North America is a complex archaeological question that is heavily debated within the scientific literature. Controversies involve different perspectives on migration and settlement, the effects of glaciation on the climate and

environment and discrepancies in dating techniques (see Potter et al. 2017 which includes additional references providing an overview of the data).

Current scientific evidence indicates that groups of people and animals travelled across the “land bridge” referred to as Beringia, into North America from Siberia during and after the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM or Ice Age) when sea levels were much lower than they are today. Some of the earliest evidence of habitation in Northern Canada comes from a site called Blue Fish Cave in the Yukon Territory that has been dated to approximately 24,000 years ago (Bourgeon et al. 2017). Through the application of DNA studies and other genetic studies (mitochondrial and nuclear genomic DNA) it has been found that all Native North American populations (excluding the Inuit) diverged from a single, genetically diverse ancestry that originated in Northeast Asia sometime between 20 - 25,000 years ago (Rasmussen et al. 2014; Skoglund and Reich 2016).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the First Peoples travelled either along the coastline from Alaska and along British Columbia, and/or through the “Ice Free Corridor” to colonize North America (Erlandson 2013; Erlandson et al. 2015; Ives et al. 2013). Sites from the southern United States and South America, for instance a site called Monte Verde in Chile, indicate that groups of people reached these localities by about 16 - 19,000 years ago (Dillehay et al. 2015). Early archaeological evidence indicates a rapid dispersal by people through different terrains and environments during a climatically challenging time. Coastal migration took them along the west coast of Canada and the United States. The “Ice Free Corridor,” which was formed as the glaciers (the Laurentide and Cordilleran ice sheets) melted and thus “retreated” at the end of the Last Glacial Maximum. The melting process created a gap between the two ice sheets allowing the

movement of people and animals through areas previously covered by ice. A portion of the “Ice Free Corridor” was located directly through modern day Alberta.

Environmental reconstruction of past environments and the analysis of plant pollens from ancient deposits indicate that the landscape within the “Ice Free Corridor” was able to support vegetation by 13,650 years ago (see Potter et al 2017:10 and references contained there) and supported bison and other animals by 13,430 - 12,875 years ago (Heinzman et al. 2016). Researchers believe that the landscape was re-inhabited by people first from the south and then from the north after the glaciers melted (ibid).

Early evidence of groups utilizing southern Alberta after the Ice Age reflects similar landscape use that is noted above in the Blackfoot seasonal round. Material excavated from Wally’s Beach (St. Mary’s Reservoir, southwest of Lethbridge) reveals that First Peoples hunted mammoths and other large animals (megafauna), such as ice age camels and horses, around 11,500 years ago (Fiedel 2009:29). The 10,900 year old Vermillion Lakes site, located in Banff National Park, is one of the oldest occupation sites in Alberta, and contains evidence of structures and mountain goat hunting along the Eastern Slopes by highly adaptable groups (Fedge et al. 1995). Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump World Heritage Site (located west of Fort Macleod), is a communal hunting site that have been in continuous use by the First Nations for over 6,000 years (Brink 2008). Ceremonially significant sites are also present in the landscape. For instance, archaeological evidence confirms that the Majorville Medicine Wheel (located near Milo, Alberta) was constructed and has been used for the past 5,000 years (Peck 2011). All these places, along with numerous others, are located within the extensive *Niitsitapii* traditional landscape.

Niitsitapii History

The *Niitsitapii* break down their history into two parts. The Dog days and the Horse days. The Dog days are used to reference a time when the First Peoples travelled and lived with canines as primary beasts of burden, hunting, guarding aids and animal companions (Ewers 1955). The Horse days are part of the more recent time frame, and reference the introduction of the horse into *Niitsitapii* culture, which is argued to have enhanced, rather than fundamentally changed, their existing traits in hunting and war strategies and made them a formidable cultural group on the North West Plains (Bethke 2016; see also Carlson 1998; Wissler 1911).

The Dog Days

The Dog days refer to the time period that extends from the peopling of the Americas to prior to the acquisition of the horse by the *Niitsitapii* in the 1700s. Dogs were used to carry small backpacks and pull travois when moving camp sites (Wissler and Duvall 1908). Dogs were also essential in other important cultural and resource acquisition tasks as noted above.

Although the Blackfoot have lived on this land since “time immemorial”, archaeologically, the *Niitsitapii* become discernible through unique artifacts and features (material culture record) by 4,500 years ago (Peck 2011). The *Niitsitapii* become increasingly visible archaeologically between about 1,100 - 1,350 years ago (associated with what archaeologists have named the Avonlea complex) and 1,100 - 250 years ago (also referred to as the Old Woman’s Phase by archaeologists) (Peck 2011). These archaeological periods are identified by the introduction of bow and arrow technology, pottery, intensification of bison kill sites, increased production of rock art, larger campsites (habitation) sites, and the production of stone effigies (pictures created on the landscape

with rocks and cobbles) interpreted as depictions of Napi. All of this material is still found across the southern Alberta landscape today (Peck 2011). It is important to note that archaeological information and data is still poorly understood in terms of its ability to detect specific ethnic or cultural affiliations, however, research continues in this field and Peck among others have successfully demonstrate that archaeological data can be useful in this regard. This means that additional research may be able to detect even older firm archaeological proof of the presence of Blackfoot people in this traditional territory.

The Horse Days

The introduction of the horse into Blackfoot culture generally marks the beginning of the contact with European-derived people. The horse is believed to have been incorporated into Blackfoot lifeways by the early-mid 18th century (ca. 1725-1750) and has remained a large part of the Blackfoot culture to this day (Figure 7). Some oral histories indicate that the Blackfoot acquired horses from western mountain tribes including the Kootenai (*Ktunaxa*), Salish (*Secwepemc*), Nez Perce (*Niimiipuu*) (Benthke 2016:66); or from the south from Shoshone (Haines, 1938:245, Wissler 1910:19). The best known account of how the Blackfoot people obtained horses comes from Saukamapee as told to fur trader David Thompson (Tyrell 1916: 334 in Bethke 2016: 66-67). The story tells of the Blackfoot who were in Snake Indian territory to hunt bison and deer and came across a horse that had been killed.

> *"We all admired him, he put us in the mind of a stag that had lost his horns; and we did not know what name to give him. But he was a slave to Man, like the dog, which carried our things, he was named Big Dog"* (Tyrell 1916: 334 in Bethke ibid).

The introduction of the horse onto the Plains brought about a prosperous time in Blackfoot culture. The horse enabled the Blackfoot to further excel as bison hunters and to raid neighbouring enemy camps to steal more horses, women, and wealthy trade goods. Some sources indicate that as formidable hunters and warriors the Blackfoot maintained strong borders that surrounded their territory (Binnema 2006). This is understood to have enabled the groups to maintain distance from the Fur trade - choosing to participate initially through the Cree and Assiniboine instead (Binnema 2001).

Figure 7: Horse with travois in Blackfoot Camp (Photo: Glenbow Museum Archives 2017.

After the over-exploitation of small fur bearing animals (including the beaver), and the introduction of steamboat and rail to areas within the Northern Plains facilitating the transportation of goods from inland to the coast and eventually to Britain, bison robes

became in high demand (Ewers 1955; Lott 2003). This increase in demand saw a heightened economic time in Blackfoot history. Women were the main producers of the robes, and therefore there was an increased demand for female labour during this time (Raczka 2011). The “Hide Rush” (Lott 2003 in Benthke 2016:87) was in effect by 1871. This time period saw the over hunting of Plains bison herds by the Blackfoot and non-indigenous people alike. As Benthke (2016:87) commented:

> *“The bison hide trade, at first viewed as a source of prosperity to the Blackfoot people, eventually entrapped them further in a global capitalist economy that forced the overhunting of their most precious resource.”*

The collapse of the Fur Trade of small fur bearing animals by Hudson Bay Company in the 1830’s, created an economic vacuum on the Northwest Plains. By the1860’s, American whiskey traders and trappers were established in southern Alberta and Saskatchewan to capitalize on the prosperous bison robe industry and the illegal bootlegging of alcohol into the United States. The invasion of Blackfoot lands by whiskey traders saw the introduction of alcohol into plains culture that had rampant sociocultural impacts within Blackfoot culture. Fort Hamilton (also known as Fort Whoop Up), located along the Old Man River in southwest Lethbridge is part of this pivotal time period in Blackfoot history.

The Horse Days, and the subsequent periods associated with the bison robe, fur and whiskey trade, are marked by numerous smallpox and measles epidemics, increased alcoholism, droughts, harsh winters and the over predication of bison resources which essentially decimated Blackfoot populations. In the 1800’s the Piikani alone are recorded to have numbered over 3,000 (Dempsey 2001; Zedeño et al. 2014), with the Blackfoot as


a whole numbering between 9-16,000 (and possibly 20,000) people (Ewers 1958). The smallpox epidemic of 1782 (Biinema 2001: 120-130) is believed to have killed two thirds of Blackfoot people. The smallpox and measles epidemic during the 1860's reduced populations even further.

In September of 1877, the three Blackfoot Nations as well as the Sarcee (Tsuu T'ina) and Stoney Nakoda Nations signed what they believed was a Peace Treaty (Treaty 7) with the Government of Canada (Dempsey 1978). Treaty 7 was not a peace treaty, but rather part of a larger Canada-wide assimilation policy restricting the freedom of First Nations groups, which essentially impacted the cultural lifeways of all of Canada's first peoples (TRC 2015). Prior to the implementation of this policy, the Blackfoot were prosperous and independent of government aid and its restrictive policies.

By 1883 bison populations were exhausted. The loss of the bison brought about an economic collapse within Blackfoot culture. In 1883-1884 over 600 Piikani people starved to death due the loss of the bison as a resource, crop failure, and harsh winter temperatures of up to -50°C (Schultz 1907; see also Benthke 2016: Chapter 2 for complete overview). The impact of disease, alcoholism, and the overhunting of bison saw the Blackfoot people turn to the government for assistance. Blackfoot groups were subsequently forced off of their traditional homelands and onto reservations. First Nation's People had their human rights almost completely stripped away during this time. This is known as the Reservation Period.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY

This section outlines the research design and methodology for the project and provides relevant background and contextual information. Of paramount importance throughout this TKUA was the inclusion of, and close consultation with, Blackfoot Confederacy Elders from each of the three Nations. The Elders that participated on this project were established experts on Blackfoot traditional knowledge and history. These individuals have experience with traditional use assessments and are well respected both within and outside their individual Nations. These Elders are the primary holders of Blackfoot traditional knowledge.

Since this project was a joint effort between the three Blackfoot Nations, the senior team members from each Nation were responsible for seeking input from appropriate Elders in each of their Nations. Mike Oka was the senior team member for the Blood Tribe, Richard Right Hand for the Siksika, and Dustin Wolfe for the Piikani. Toward the end of the project, Dustin Wolfe left his position for another in Piikani Band Administration and was replace by Ira Provost who guided his team through the final stages of the project. Each team member had considerable experience working with Elders on traditional assessments. Discussions and interviewed the Elders both in Blackfoot or (when they preferred) English. The senior members noted above along with Scotty Many Guns of Siksika are all important traditional knowledge and experts as well. All First Nation team members were fluent in Blackfoot and English. The Elders participated in multiple meetings and were an integral part of the field-truthing phase of the project. Specific working methodology is outlined below, however, this methodology emphasized field visits, relocation of sites, the search for formally unrecorded traditional sites and linking sites and areas to Blackfoot historical knowledge from living Elders and experts and non-

Blackfoot research and conclusions by archaeologists, anthropologists, historians and early European visitors to Blackfoot Traditional Territory.

The purpose of this project was to conduct a TKUA on City-owned lands and specifically those lands that were undisturbed or minimally disturbed, that is, those lands that remain in or close to their natural state. The dominant Blackfoot economy was based on acquisition of naturally occurring resources and while the Confederacy traded widely in North America throughout the vast majority of its history, most day to day necessities and subsistence resources were acquired by harvesting naturally-occurring resources. Therefore most extant traditional resources and including remnants of past activities will be best preserved on areas that are minimally disturbed. Field survey therefore was oriented to these lands and within the City, the vast majority of which are within or directly adjacent to the Oldman River valley and its subsidiary coulee systems. Figure 9 below shows the approximate survey areas. These areas are mapped based on the boundaries of City-owned lands in and along the river valley and GPS derived route maps and other records made during field examinations. It should be emphasized that much of the terrain in the survey areas as shown in Figure 9 is steep and otherwise difficult terrain was not subject to close examination by Elders and TKUA experts. Rather our field survey and recording was primarily based on sampling areas. Areas within the TKUA selected for sampling were based on an initial examination of remotely-sensed data such as air photos and topographic maps, the mapped location of recorded archaeological sites and known historically significant sites. For example, the Belly River Battle site was identified as a site of significant historical importance the Blackfoot Confederacy and First Nations and it is also recorded as a significant archaeological site. In addition, Elder's knowledge, both natural and historical, were considered and included in determining priority areas to visit. We also attempted to visit examples of various microhabitats within City-owned lands that had potential to contain specific traditional plants. For example, *ma's* (prairie turnip) is

known to prefer sandy soils and does occur in and around Lethbridge. Elder's therefore asked us to locate possible locations where ma's would grow in Lethbridge. Similarly Elders selected areas where specific types of willow plant are known to occur and actively searched for those areas.

Naturally occurring plants used by the Blackfoot are common in the City of Lethbridge. Southern Alberta and adjacent sections of northern Montana and eastern Saskatchewan are estimated to have had approximately 1000 to 1500 species of naturally occurring plants prior to the arrival of Europeans. Since the advent of modern agriculture, global trade in plants and modern travel, several hundred species have been introduced to this area. Of the native plants, approximately 175 are known to have been used by First Nations in this area (Johnston 1987). Hellson and Gadd's (1974) estimate of plants used is lower at about 100. Current research, Elder knowledge and direct ethnographic evidence indicates modern First Nations people use well over 100 different naturally occurring plants that occur within City and many are widespread throughout the project's survey area. We did not record every traditionally-used plant observed, however we did record the general location of observed plant resources that are considered by the Blackfoot people to be particularly important and are becoming more scarce. Plants are used by humans for many purposes including subsistence/dietary uses, medicinal uses and ceremonial uses. Since food plants such as berry bushes and edible roots are ubiquitous, we chose to limit our recording of these and concentrated on those medicinal and ceremonial plants. The location of these selected plant resources are shown in Appendix A. The mapping of the plant resources are not to be taken as indicator of their rarity or extent to demonstrate that plants that are important to the Blackfoot people occur widely in the City and these plants remain an important part of Blackfoot culture.

With regard to historical/archaeological sites, results are mapped in Appendices A and B. Like the plant survey, these traditional resources were sampled and we did look for and locate some previously unrecorded resources. Some sites such as the Belly River Battle site and the West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy are considered sites of high significance and specifically targeted for a more intensive examination. These and other priorities were determined in advance with assistance and input of Elders from each of the three Canadian nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy.

Fieldwork was carried out in snow free and frost free conditions and we purposely conducted fieldwork in the spring, summer and autumn to have the opportunity to visit sites and areas when field visibility was high and when plants were at various stages in their annual cycle

The brief contextual information outlined here informs and provides guidance for our research design and the project outcomes. All key members of the team have knowledge of and/or have participated in the development of the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action, United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as well as City of Lethbridge Area Structure Plans.

The Northern Great Plains, including what is now southern Alberta, are the traditional home of the Blackfoot people, that is, *Niitsitapii*. There has been debate in the past among non-First Nations anthropologists and historians about the length of time that the Blackfoot people occupied southern Alberta; it is now generally agreed that this area has been their homeland for millennia. The *Niitsitapii* state unequivocally that they have been here since time “immemorial”. The location of Lethbridge is at or near the centre of

traditional territory and this area has high significance to *Niitsitapii*. The long-term occupation of the area means that traditional knowledge and history is extensive and that, despite modern development, traditional resources and areas still exist.

This TKUA considered the outcomes and spirit of the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan (SSRP) and specifically those elements of the plan that consider the plan's impact to and consideration for First Nations and other aboriginal people, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action. Specific examples of the applicability of these documents to the City of Lethbridge's TKUA initiative include, but are not limited to Article 11(1) of the UN Declaration that states in part:

> *Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.*

and Article 31(1) of the same document that states in part:

> *Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as manifestations of their….knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora…. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.*

The SSRP specifically identifies an outcome and a strategic direction that requires the "Inclusion of aboriginal peoples in land-use planning" (SSRP 2014-2024, pp.41; 99-102; 118-119) and identifies the importance of the inclusion of First Nation's interests, rights and cultural, social and economic priorities in other areas of that document.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The project was completed in phases and started with the identification of identifying areas within and adjacent to the City of Lethbridge with potential for the presence of traditional sites and resource areas (Figures 8 and 9). Fieldwork was limited to City owned public lands and some purposefully selected privately-owned lands in the City that were examined with the permission of the landowners. The results presented herein only deal with traditional sites and areas on public City lands since that was the scope of our work for this project. Work with the Blackfoot Confederacy Elders consisted of meetings, recorded interviews, field-truthing and ceremonies. Field-truthing occurred in publically accessible lands, and as a result, Pavan Park, Indian Battle Park, Scenic Drive Dog Run, Bull Trail Park, Popson Park, and the coulees near the Riverstone and Paradise Canyon subdivisions were examined.

All team members are familiar with the sensitivity of cultural and traditional information and intellectual property rights. The senior team members were responsible for confirming the sensitivity of information and determining what could be included in the public version of the report versus culturally significant material that cannot be shared. This report thus contains information that has been deemed appropriate for the public eye.

The following information was collected throughout the duration of the project on various days at various locations. Background research was also conducted to broaden the

information that was shared by the Elders and provide a more complete and detailed picture of the *Niitsitapii* and their relationship to the lands within the City of Lethbridge limits.

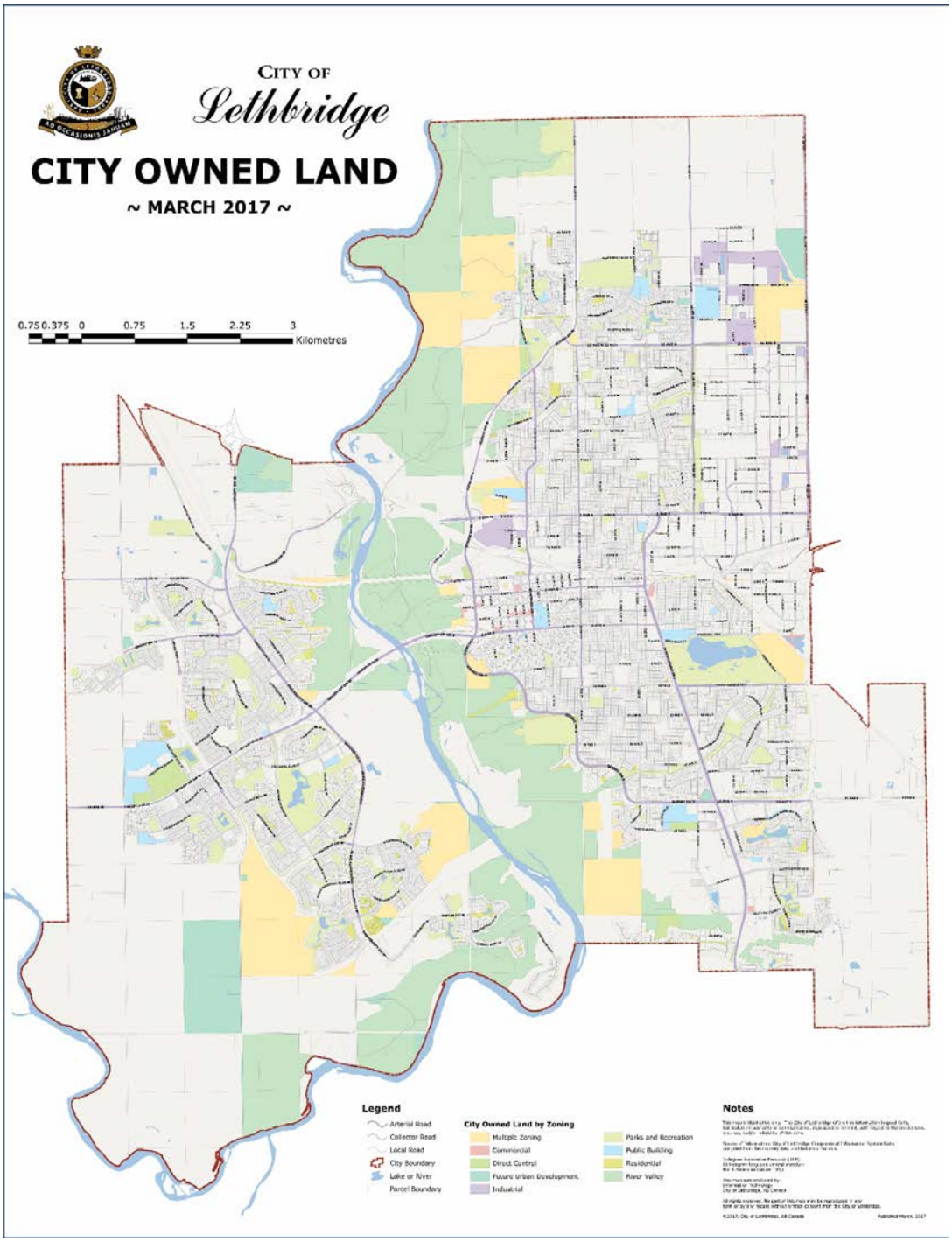


Figure 8: City of Lethbridge City Owned Land map.

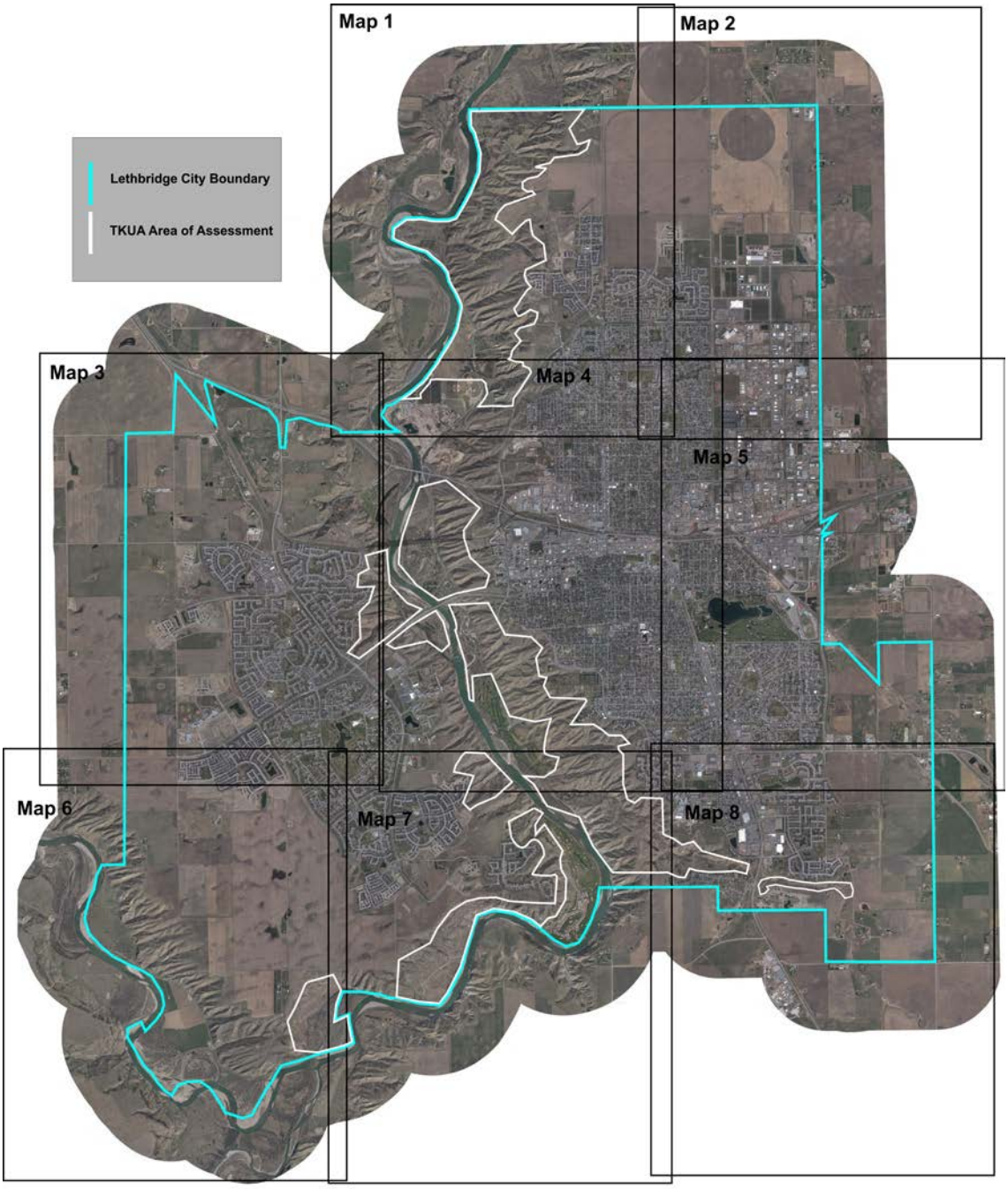


Figure 9: This maps shows approximate locations of TKUA assessment. See methodology section for additional details. Maps 1 to 8 shown here are in Appendix A.

RESULTS

During the course of this project, six different areas within the City of Lethbridge limits were surveyed and field-truthed with the Blood, Siksika, and Piikani Elders. These areas were Indian Battle Park, Bull Trail Park, West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy, Pavan Park, Scenic Drive Dog Run, and Popson Park. All are significant for various reasons, and they are all connected through traditional *Niitsitapii* activities, stories, and histories.

Indian Battle Park

Indian Battle Park is located in south Lethbridge. As with many areas within City limits, this area is of great significance to the *Niitsitapii*. The park extends from south of Highway 3 to Whoop-Up Drive, and then east of the Oldman River to the tops of the coulee margins (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Map of Indian Battle Park (City of Lethbridge).

The area where Lethbridge is located has been referred to as *Sikóóhkotok* or “black rock” by the Blackfoot people (Carpenter 1997:45). This was confirmed by William Big Bull, who stated that there was black pipestone located near the Medicine Rock in Indian Battle Park. David Striped Wolf remarked that he would test the softness of the stone with a nail to see if it was suitable for pipe manufacturing. He also said that “black stone” refers to the pipestone material available in the area, and not specifically to the black coal seams that were present along the Oldman River valley. The Oldman River itself is also significant to the *Niitsitapii*, since it is believed that *Napi*, also referred to as “Old Man”, and his sister originated from the Oldman River (Bullchild 1985:65). William Big Bull also stated that the Oldman River was known as “Napi’s water.”

The river bottom, which will be discussed later in this report, is rich in native vegetation. It is a cultural landscape that includes vegetation, trees, and very old poplar trees. There are a great number of trees in Indian Battle Park, forming a remaining gallery forest. Scotty Many Guns remarked that some of the largest, oldest trees might have been small saplings during the Cree/Assiniboine and the Blackfoot Battle in 1870. Part of this battle occurred here, and the Cree may have retreated through the area, using it as an escape route.

Battle of the Belly River (Indian Battle) of 1870

The Battle of 1870 is significant for a variety of reasons. Although other battles were larger and of greater importance, this battle has received notoriety for three reasons (Johnston 1997:21). Johnston stated that since “eye-witness accounts are available, the battle has become one of the best recorded of inter-tribal conflicts; it took place within and adjacent to what became a large city and has excited the imagination and interest of local citizens

for… [now well over] one hundred years; and it was the last great inter-tribal battle to be fought in North America" (Johnston 1997:21).

There is a plaque located on the west coulee ridge in Bull Trail Park where the main portion of the battle is believed to have taken place. However, the plague records only minimal information (Figure 17), and reads:

> *When a Cree and Assiniboine war party launched a surprise attack upon tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy in October 1870, a major battle erupted in territory now within and adjacent to the City of Lethbridge. Overwhelmed by the combined strength and superior weapons of Blackfoot, Blood, and Peigan, the attackers attempted to withdraw but only shattered remnants of the initial war party escaped the vengeance of the pursuing warriors. Although minor skirmishes between Indian nations continued for some years, this engagement of 1870 was the last great inter-tribal battle to be fought in North America.*

Although recorded from numerous sources, there does appear to be a knowledge gap in the battle that took place between the Cree and the Blackfoot on October 25, 1870, which is also referred to as the Indian Battle or the Battle of Belly River. There does not appear to be one story, but multiple accounts from various individuals. In this report, we have attempted to outline the main elements of the stories surrounding the events of the Indian Battle, both from the Blackfoot and the Cree points of view.

There are conflicting accounts of where the first part of the battle begun. It may have started at Fort Whoop-Up, at the confluence of the Oldman and St. Mary Rivers; alternately it may have started three miles "above" the Fort, or it may have begun closer to Raymond (Johnston 1997). William Big Bull believes that the fighting started at Fort

Whoop-Up. By all accounts the battle was scattered. It was spread out throughout the river valley, possibly from the present location of the University of Lethbridge grounds and perhaps continued to the north. It was not an organized battle and there were multiple skirmish sites throughout the river valley. William Big Bull stated that some Cree and Assiniboine warriors surrendered at the location of the Galt Museum, where a hospital built in 1891 eventually became the Sir Alexander Galt Hospital, completed in 1910.

Tousche (2009:76) wrote that in the fall of 1869 smallpox reached the Blackfoot and by spring of 1870 the disease had decimated the First Nations groups. He wrote “the Peigans lost 1,000, while the Bloods and Blackfoot had each lost about 600. The Cree, Assiniboine, and Gros Ventres experienced similar losses” (Tousche 2009:76). Thus, in the fall of 1870, the Cree attacked the Blackfoot during a time of animosity when they thought the Blackfoot were weak and vulnerable. Due to the devastating death toll caused by the smallpox plague in the winter of 1896-1870, the Cree/Assiniboine tribes believed they would easily be able to defeat the Blackfoot (Dempsey 2007:173). A powerful Blackfoot leader, Seen-From-Afar (who will be discussed later) also died in 1869 during this epidemic. During his tenure, he avoided conflict with the Cree and he maintained peace with them from 1866 until his death (Dempsey 2017). This may be one possible cause for the Cree believing the Blackfoot were weak during this time period.

Unknown to the Cree and Assiniboine warriors, however, was that the South Peigans were camped very near the Blackfoot, having crossed the Canada-USA border after the Baker Massacre in Montana (Dempsey 2007:173). David Striped Wolf recalled that there were campsites all the way along the coulees from Kipp to Lethbridge. It appears that the Cree/Assiniboine scouts failed to observe the large numbers of South Peigan camps beyond the hills, upstream from the Blood camps and shortly before dawn, an isolated

Blood camp was attacked and a chief was killed and the horses were stolen (Dempsey 2007:173). Tousche (2009:76) and Dempsey (2007:176) wrote that the Cree/Assiniboine warriors attacked this camp that only contained 11 Blood tipis. This action alerted the rest of the Blackfoot that they were under attack and steadily the Blackfoot warriors joined the fighting. Mike Mountain Horse (Dempsey 2007:173-175) stated:

> *Some of the Blackfoot women swam across the river to the main camp to summon aid. One Blackfoot woman slew four Cree warriors with her only weapon, a tomahawk. In the first part of the hostilities, causalities were few at the beginning. Although outnumbered the Blackfoot held their own on account of the advanced model of firearms they used. The noise of rifle firing and dogs howling soon brought assistance to the handful of isolated Blackfeet who were attacked.*

During this project, David Striped Wolf told us that when the enemy attacked the tipis, the women fought the warriors, and notified everyone else of what was happening. Dempsey (2007:176) reported that the image of the Blood woman who had killed the Cree warriors, as well as a young Blood girl, named Morning Star, who rode to gather assistance, can be seen on the "Big Battle Robe," which was possibly painted by a Blood artist named Percy Plain Woman (Figure 11).

Kennedy described that the battle started approximatly three miles above Fort Whoop-Up, when the Cree wariors attacked a few isolated Blackfoot lodges (1890, cited in Johnston 1997:10). He reported that it was at this time that Red Crow's bother was killed; this was reiterated by by David Striped Wolf during the current study. Kennedy stated that it was the noise that rose from this skirmish that notified the rest of the Blackfoot camp that they were under attack and within only minutes the Blackfoot warriors were fighting with the Cree/Assiniboine braves and sending messages to the South Peigans (ibid).

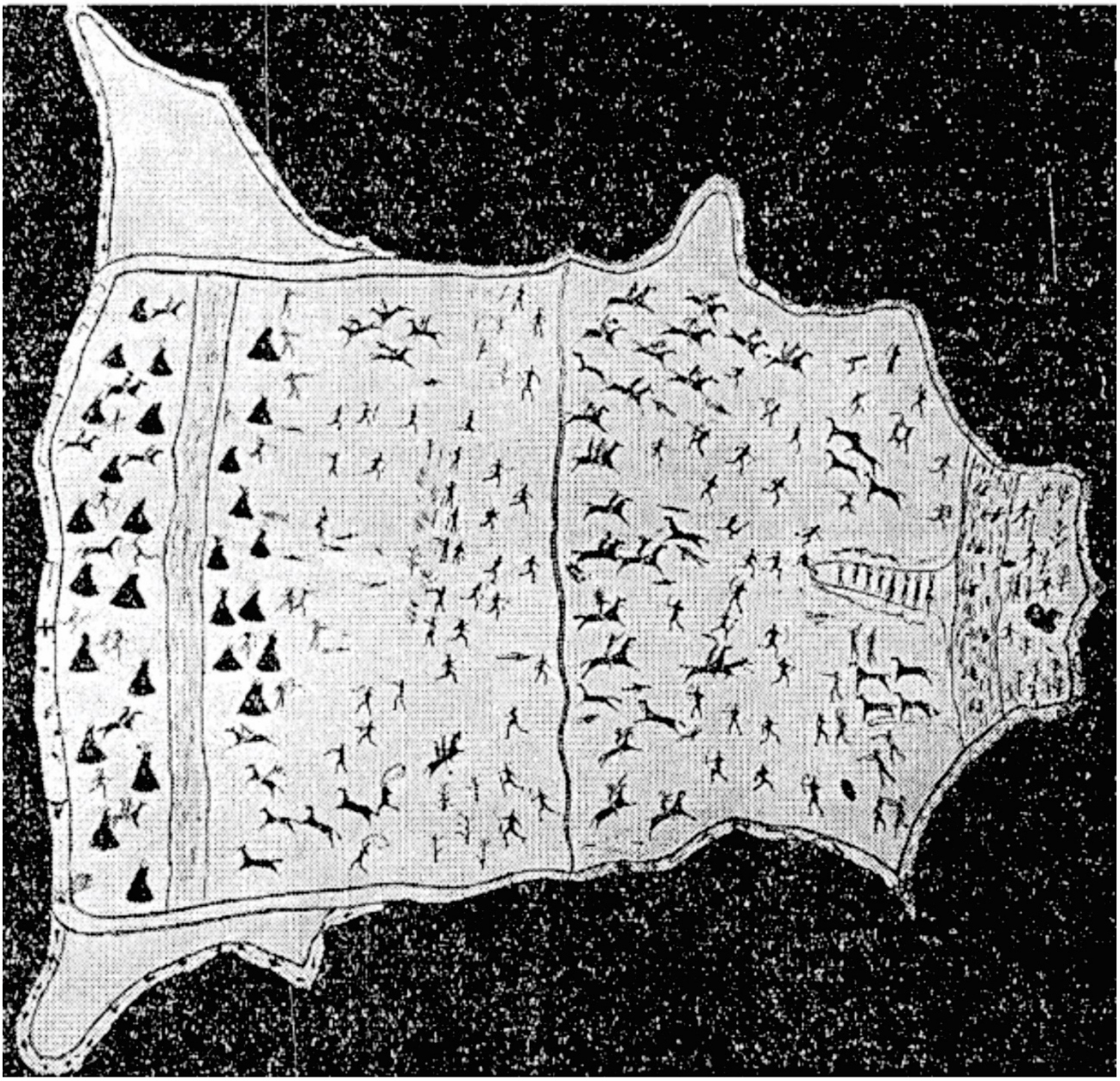


Figure 11: Big Battle Robe (Dempsey 2007:174)

The majority of the Blackfoot warriors were positioned on top of the coulee and fired at the Cree and Assiniboine warriors who were at the disadvantage as they attempted to ascend from the valley. The Cree/Assiniboine war parties could not withstand the Blackfoot's larger numbers and their superior weapons, and the Cree were thus forced east into the Oldman River (Dempsey 2007:175). Kennedy stated that the "South Peigans were well armed with repeating rifles, needle guns and revolvers; the Bloods were not as well equipped, while the Cree and Assiniboines had only old muskets acquired from Hudson's Bay traders and bows and arrows to depend on" (1890, cited in Johnston 1997:10). William Big Bull recounted that Winchester rifles were used during the battle and that the major battle took place at the coulee valley where the current monument is located in Bull Trail Park (Figure 17). Hand to hand combat took place in the river valley below when the Blackfoot descended into the valley. Mike Mountain Horse recounted that the dead bodies of the Cree were strewn along the retreat route as the hand-to-hand skirmishes occurred (Dempsey 2007:175). The Blackfoot threw large boulders onto the Cree, killing some of them and then routed them out of the coulee and down a steep cutbank into the river, where they were massacred. Mountain Horse stated "the water in the river turned crimson in places from blood" (ibid). David Striped Wolf also recounted that the river was bloody, but added that the Blackfoot allowed a number of Cree warriors to escape, fitting with Johnson's account that following the initial attack the Cree soon retreated and those that were not slaughtered were permitted to escape (1997:19).

Mountain Horse described the battle as follows:

> *At break of day, warriors from the Blackfoot camps, north and south, could be seen approaching, on horseback, in twos and threes, over hills and knolls, chanting their war songs in joyful anticipation of battle….*

The invaders began to retreat, the Blackfeet warriors in full pursuit. The Crees endeavored to reach the present site of the city of Lethbridge but were headed off by their enemies to the coulees south of the railway bridge at Lethbridge….All along the route of the retreat, hand-to-hand conflicts occurred and dead bodies were strewn as the Crees tried to make a stand…

After throwing down large boulders on the Cree braves, and killing a few in this manner, the Confederacy fighters closed in and routed them out of the coulee, sending them down a steep cutbank into the river. Here a fearful massacre occurred, the waters of the river turning crimson with blood. Chief Calf Shirt, already wounded in the neck and arm, with arrows sticking out of his body, dispatched two of the enemy with his Bowie knife. Jerry Potts, famous interpreter for the North-West Mounted Police in later years, did magnificent fighting for the Confederacy warriors in this battle…..Prairie Chicken, a Blood warrior, jumped his horse from a cutbank into the river to go after the enemy… Approximately about ten Crees survived this battle in the river and crossed safely on the other side…..where they proceeded to entrench themseves in the brush….These surviving Crees had only one revolver and no ammunition as their supply of powder was wet from the recent encounter in the river…." (1956, in Johnston 1997:17).

William Big Bull also described how the Blackfoot chased the Crees down into the river valley, specifically recounting how one Blackfoot woman pursued four Cree warriors into the river before killing them with her axe, despite the Cree having pistols (similar to the story related by Mike Mountain Horse, above). The Cree and Assiniboine warriors were

forced across the river and the powder for their guns got wet. At that point they were essentially weaponless and powerless.

William Big Bull told us that it was after this battle that Jerry Potts was accepted by the Blackfoot. As the son of Andrew Potts, orginally from Scotland, and *Namo-pisi*, a Blood woman, he straddled two very different cultures (Tousche 2009:71-72). However, his "brave deeds, heart, and determination won him the name by which the Blackfoot Nation would forever know him: *Kyi-yo-kosi* or Bear Child" (Tousche 2009:73).

David Striped Wolf reported that a rancher named (Howell) Harris witnessed the battle. Johnston (1997:19) recounted that Harris had witnesssed part of the battle, and had said that the Cree were so badly beaten that they abandoned their temporary campsite on Coyote Flats, about two miles west of Sundial Butte, and that the remains of the camp stood for many years after the battle.

Iron Horn, a ten year old Cree boy at the time of the battle, recounted that their chief, Pie-a-Pot, had a dream. He told the story that Pie-a-Pot had narrated (Mountain Horse 1956, cited in Johnston 1997:17):

> *"My chldren. I had a dream last night. I saw a buffalo bull with iron horns goring, stamping and killing us. We were unable to destroy it. After long meditation, I have come to the conclusion that we must abandon this venture and return home, otherwise misfortune awaits us."*

David Striped Wolf gave us the same account, where in the dream, a bison with iron horns had killed the Cree people and warriors. David went on to say that the chief had this dream and told the other men in the war party, and then half of the warriors saw this as a

message and turned and fled back home. However, the remainder stayed to fight, beleving that the Blackfoot were severly weakened by smallpox and disease and could be easily defeated. But Pie-a-Pot ‘s dream came true, and the Cree and Assiniboine were indeed defeated.

William Big Bull stated that there were about 600 Cree and Assiniboine warriors, which is in line with with Johnston’s estimate of 600 to 800 Cree warriors invloved in the battle (1997:8). Sanderson reported approxiamtely 260 Blackfoot lodges scattered thoughout the hills (1894, cited in Johnston 1997:18). With their South Peigan allies, the Blackfoot far outnumbered the Cree and Assiniboine warriors. Johnston (1997:19) wrote that the Cree may have lost anywhere from 60-70 to over 300 men, while Dempsey (2007:175) stated that between 200-300 Cree/Assiboine warriors were killed. Johnston stated that the Blackfoot lost about 40 men, and between 50-60 were wounded during the course of the battle (ibid).

It should be noted that the Cree and Blackfoot accounts of this battle significantly differ, reflected by McNab’s observation that the Cree and the Blackfoot accounts differ in “many ways: the reason for the battle, the vents during the battle, as well as the outcome, and the number of fatalities” (2000:16).

According to Cree/Metis storyteller Humphrey Faveur, 22 of their men had gone missing while they were gathering gum from the silver pine trees (McNAb 2000:22-25). Faveur’s wife had a dream that the Blackfoot had killed the men, and she described the surroundings to him so that he would know where to start looking for the missing men. The warriors mounted a search, eventually finding them dead and decided to trail the Blackfoot to avenge their deaths. Faveur reported that 300 Cree warriors gathered for the

impending battle, tracing the Blackfoot back to the banks of the Belly River (now known as the Oldman). Faveur's account of the battle follows:

> *"We could see that there were many more Blackfeet than Crees but it did not frighten us.*
>
> *Our horses now ran towards the Blackfeet and as our mounted warriors shot arrows at them some of them jumped into the river and [swam] downstream climbing up the bank and ready to fight with us again. The mounted warriors by this means broke up their main body and when we saw them divided, two foot groups rushed on them, as our arrows and theirs flew thick and the noise of wounded horses and warriors was great. We forced them to the stream and as we come to close quarters tomahawks were used. The Cree was having the best of the fight when I noticed that our head chief was not with us. Striking the Blackfoot with my tomahawk, who had my bow clenched with both hands, I hurried back to the outside of the fight and saw the head chief surrounded by four Blackfeet, who were forcing him towards the river. It did not take me long to be beside him, and soon two of their warriors were without scalps and two had jumped into the water.*
>
> *We found that our warriors were being surrounded by the Blackfeet and speaking a few words to the head chief we hurried to the very bank of the stream where they were in hand to hand fight with their enemies, and shouting in loud voices for them to retire we soon found ourselves with more than half of them, and behind the Blackfeet.*

Then with a shout we rushed upon them and carried them to the bank of the stream. We did not stop but with swinging tomahawks forced them into the water, and as many a head rose it was but to sink again, brained by the strong arm of a Cree.

The reminder of the Blackfeet, finding that they were beaten and very few of them upon our side of the river, jumped into the stream with such strength as they had left to gain the other bank. About half of the Blackfeet were killed or drowned and we withdrew out of range of the arrows taking our dead and wounded with us, and preparing for our return. One out of three of our warriors were killed and one-half the remainder were wounded" (McNab 200:24-25).

After the battle, McNab wrote that the Cree and the Blackfoot entered into a peace treaty in January of 1871 (2000:16). Kennedy stated that the Cree sent the Blackfoot tobacco, and a formal peace treaty was established in the fall along the Red Deer River (1890, cited in Johnston 1997:13). This treaty endures to this day, and thus the battle represents the beginning of an established peace (McNab 2000:16). David Striped Wolf recounted that there had been an existing peace treaty maintained with a pipe between the Blackfoot and the Cree. However, because the Cree did not honor their pipe the Blackfoot won the battle.

Medicine Rock

On the first field day of this TKUA, those involved with the project met at the Medicine Rock located to the northeast of the re-created Fort Whoop-Up in Indian Battle Park (Figures 12-15). Traditional prayers (*aatsímoyihkaan*) were conducted. Tobacco (*pistahkaan*) was offered to confer blessings and assistance to those involved in the

collaboration. Following the prayers, Ray Black Plume told a story about the Medicine Rock passed on to by his grandfather in the 1950s:

> *"A long time ago, a Native man was around here and across the river he saw an old man, a medicine man sitting there wrapped in a red blanket. He saw this old man and he went across the river to where the man was sitting, but when he got to where he had seen the man, there was no man, but a rock covered in red ochre, a 'holy red rock' was what he saw. The man made an offering there. That night when he went to sleep he had a dream and he dreamt that the medicine man came to him and said 'I am the rock, I am the rock you saw. Every time you come to make an offering the Creator will bless you and help you.' The man told his family what he had seen and they went and gave an offering to the rock. He was able to prosper. The old medicine man was helping him. And the people saw this. What the man saw was a vision. And now the people go out and dream, on vision quests, for help and guidance."*

The Medicine Rock is a sacred rock, called *Mi'k(i)atówa'si* in Blackfoot. The original location of the Medicine Rock is not truly known. It was reported to be located on an alluvial deposit due west of the present Galt Museum (the old Galt Hospital), likely south of the CPR High Level Bridge at the bottom of the ravine that ran from the old Brewery site to the river bottom (Carpenter 1997:45-48). Unfortunately the stone was removed from its original position in 1954 and was placed in the weir (Carpenter 1997:48). In 1985 the Medicine Rock was removed from the weir and returned to the area near the old Brewery Road during the completion of Indian Battle Park (Carpenter 1997:48). It is likely that the current Medicine Rock is the original stone since its colour and height match earlier descriptions, and it resembles a man squatting down (Carpenter 1997:49). The stone is a type of gneiss naturally reddish grey in colour, but it may also have been painted

or coated with reddish brown earth (Carpenter 1997:45,49). Offerings at the base of the Medicine Rock - smaller stones, driftwood and other lengths of wood and branches, sweetgrass and sage, strips of fabric, pennies, and tobacco - reflect its continuing importance to the Blackfoot.

Figure 12: The Medicine Rock located to the Northeast of Fort Whoop Up in Indian Battle Park.

Figure 13: Prayers at the Medicine Rock in Indian Battle Park. Left to right: William Big Bull, Ray Black Plume, Clifford Dodging Horse, David Striped Wolf.

Figure 14: William Big Bull speaking. Perry Stein stands behind him to the left; Mike Oka and Lethbridge Mayor Chris Spearman are seated on the right.

Figure 15: Prayer ceremony at the Medicine Rock in Indian Battle Park.

Bull Trail Park

Bull Trail Park is located on the west side of the Oldman River and extends from Whoop-Up Drive north to Highway 3 and east from the housing developments to the Oldman River. A smaller section of the park is located south of Whoop Up Drive (Figure 16).

This coulee is believed to be the location of the main battle site of the 1870 conflict as discussed above (Figures 17-21). Several plants significant to the Blackfoot (*Niitsitapii*) were also identified during this part of the survey and these are discussed in a later section.

Figure 16: Map of Bull Trail Park (City of Lethbridge).

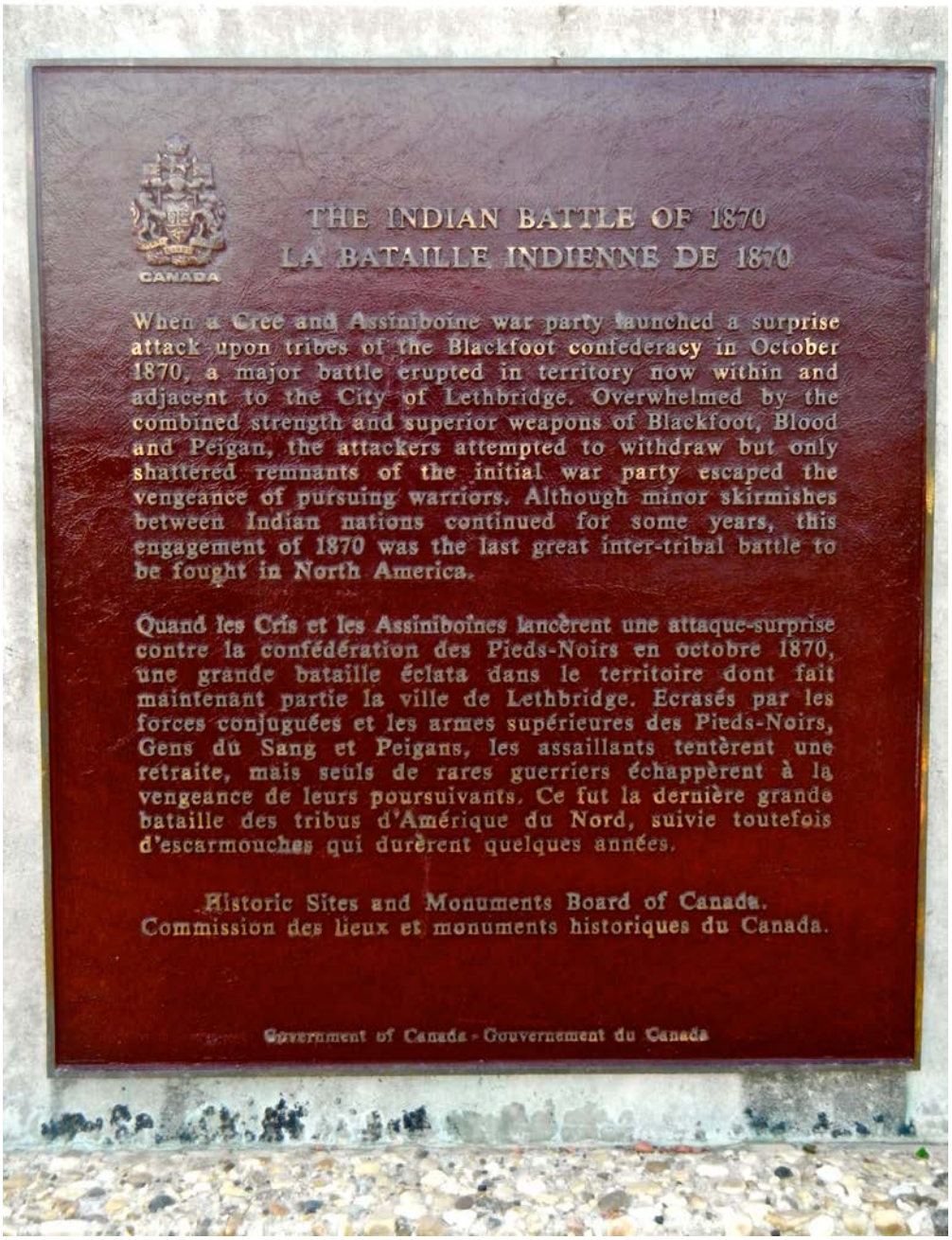


Figure 17: Monument commemorating the battle in Bull Trail Park.

Figure 18: East view of the coulee where the main battle of the Indian Battle of 1870 took place. Taken from Bull Trail Park.

Figure 19: Mike Tail Feathers surveying the area of the main battle of the Indian Battle of 1870 took place.

Figure 20: Surveying the coulee margin near the area of the main battle.

Figure 21: Left: Fred Breaker and Scotty Many Guns Siksika, David Stripped Wolf Kainai discuss the Battle and oral traditions associated with it at Bull Trail Park. Right:

Blood Elder Ray Black Plume provides an account of the battle stories associated this area.

West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy

The West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy, is located on prairie upland overlooking the Oldman River valley and is geoglyph composed of cobbles. The geoglyph (a design such as in this case, a representation of an animal, is produced on the ground typically using rocks and other durable materials. Geoglyphs have been produced by various cultures in various time periods and occur throughout the world. They are often considered to have ceremonial, mythical or religious significance). The West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy geoglyph is considered an important and highly significant site to the Blackfoot people. Offerings observed at the site indicate it is still in active use by the Blackfoot community and remains significant to the *Niitsitapii* (Figure 23). The coulees near the effigy were also surveyed for other potential sites of importance (Figure 26).

Although it is commonly referred to as a “turtle” (*sspopíi*), it has been disturbed by past farming activity and possibly by animals such as bison that may have kicked and displaced stones in the geoglyph. Naturally occurring processes such as wind deposited sands and silts have covered buried portions of the site. While it is generally considered to be a depiction of a turtle, its modern appearance is less clear than would have been the case centuries ago, when it was constructed. There has been some speculation htat it could depict a lizard, also an important animal in Blackfoot mythology and history. Over a century ago, Clark Wissler recorded a story about the beaver bundle involving a lizard who could control the weather through his songs. The lizard returned a man’s wife to him after she was taken by the chief (1912:197-199). The man saw that the lizard had great power and asked the lizard if he could paint his image on the rawhide for his beaver

bundle. Maclean recounted a Blackfoot creation story where both a lizard and a turtle are present:

> *Napioa, the Old Man, floated upon a log in the waters, and had with him four animals: Mameo, the fish; Matcekipis, the frog; Maniskeo, the lizard; and Spopeo, the turtle. He sent them down into the waters in the order named, to see what they coud find. The first three descended, but never returned; the turtle, however, arose with his mouth full of mud. Napioa took the mud from the mouth of the turtle, rolled it around in the hollow of his hand, and in this manner made the earth, which fell into the waters, and afterward grew to its present size* (Maclean 1893:165).

An account by George First Rider about the orgins of the beaver bundle also illustrates the connection with the lizard and the turtle:

> *When the lizards sang, the words in their song were, "I want rain." The lizards told the beaver man, "sketch us on the hide. We live by the rain." The turtles also said, "put me in too. You will use my shell for your facial make-ups. You will use my shell for a bowl."* (First Rider 1968:5).

Bullchild also recounted a story similar to Wissler's, where lizards could control the weather with their songs and are depicted on the beaver bundle (1985). Bullchild noted that the lizards have the power to control "water, the rain, lightning, and thunder" (1985:319).

The West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy was revisited by Elders and other experts during this assessment and the general consensus arrived at is that it is a turtle. Elders and Blackfoot historical and cultural experts, Wilton Goodstriker, Shirley Crowshoe, Fred Breaker, Scotty Manyguns, Ira Provost and Blackfoot Elder and University of Lethbridge

Professor Leroy Little Bear, among other members of the Traditional Knowledge and Land Use Assessment team discussed the site, its location in the City and in Blackfoot Traditional Territory and is consequent significance. According to these experts, the turtle is a female symbol in Blackfoot culture and this geoglyph is both historically and culturally significant since it harkens back to Blackfoot culture of the past when it was a matriarchical culture. Similarly the turtle and in particular its carapace or upper shell has mythical importance and is related to both the earth and the astronomical passage of time, as well as the role of the turtle in the creation of the land and humans. In addition turtles are one of the most long-lived naturally occurring animals in Blackfoot Traditional Territory, as the Blackfoot culture and people have their origins in the deep past and as the Elders and experts note the Blackfoot have occupied by their territory for thousands of years.

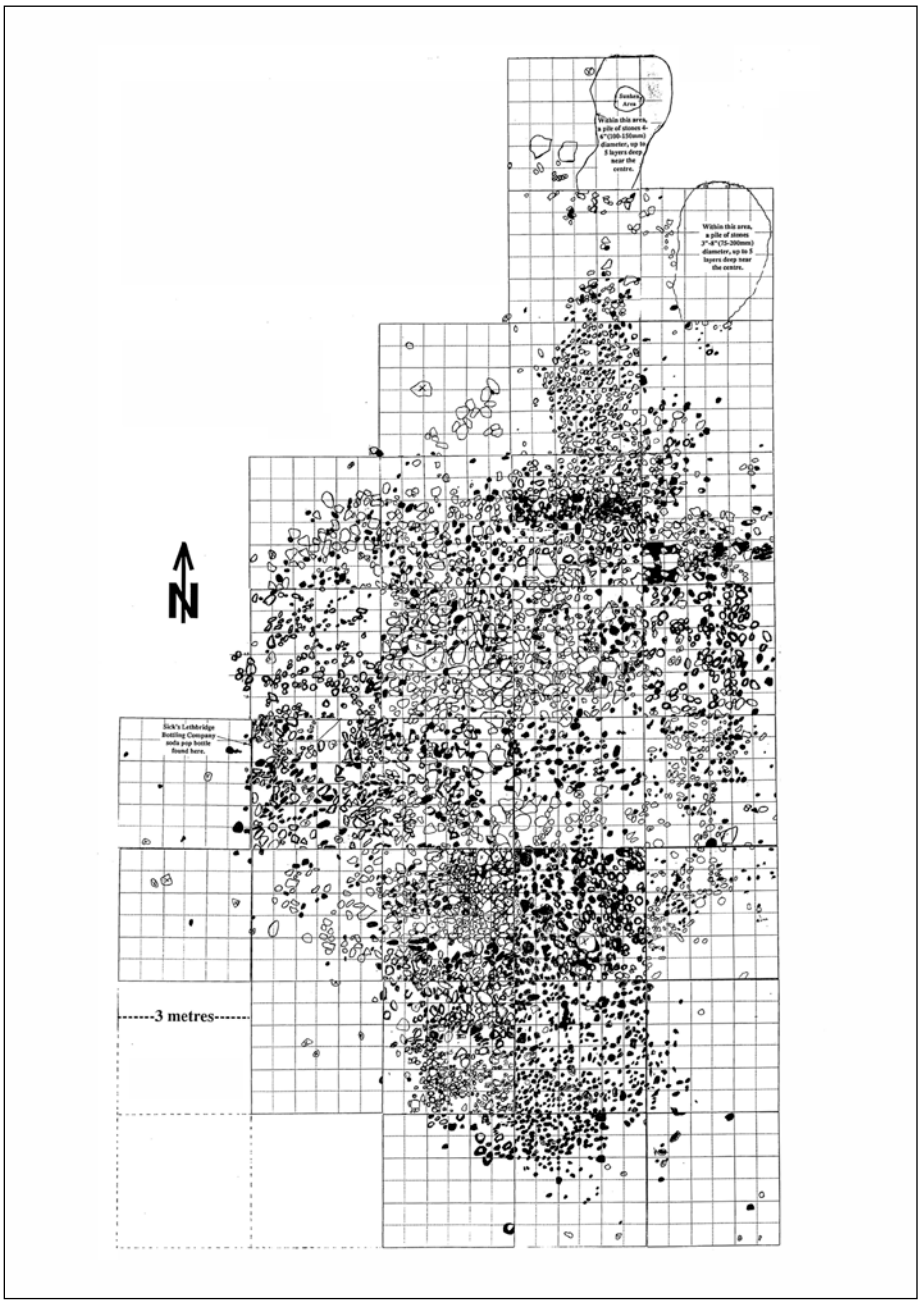


Figure 22: DjPf-128: Map of the “West Lethbridge Turtle” feature produced by Archaeological Society of Alberta (2000). It is important to note that this image recorded all stones in the area and its original shape was probably more like the following outline that has been overlain on this map.

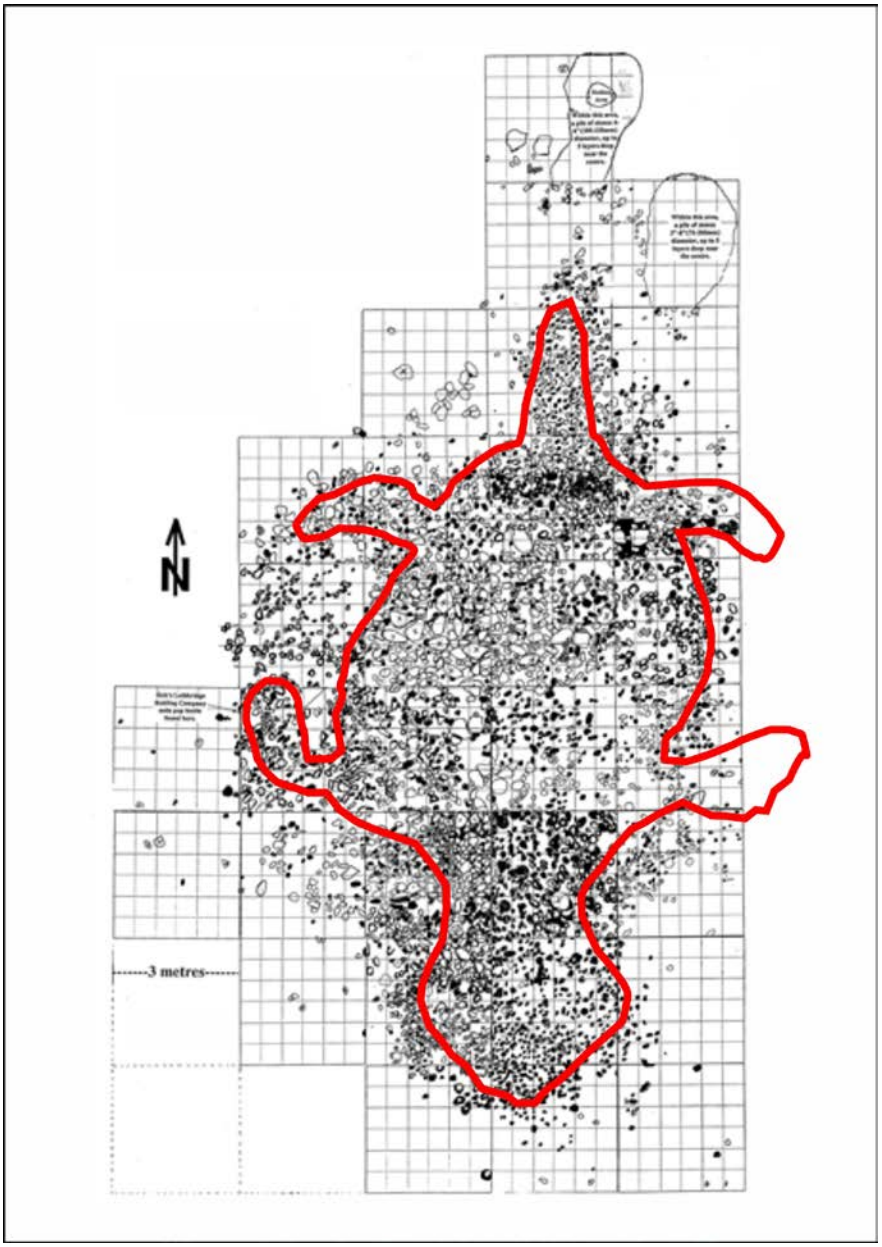


Figure 22A. This is an intepretation intended to more repreent what the geoglyph probably looked like when it was first recorded by using the arrangement of stones in the previous image and attempting to eliminate the effects of prior disturbance. For example, it appears that the first Euro-Canadian farmers in the area did not recognize the site's significance and deposited rocks on top of it while clearing rocks from adjacent fields.

Figure 23: Blackfoot Elder (foreground) addresses the group at the West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy.

Figure 24: Dustin Wolfe surveying the coulees in West Lethbridge near the West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy.

Popson Park

Popson Park is located on the west side of the Oldman River very near the Paradise Canyon subdivision. It extends from 10th Street West to Range Road 210 (Canyon Blvd West) and from the Oldman River to the coulee margins (Figures 25-27).

This area is significant to the Blackfoot as campsites or winter camps may have been located here before the development of the City (see Introduction and Pavan Park section for more information on winter camps). Again, a large number of significant plant species were identified within this area, which are discussed in a later section.

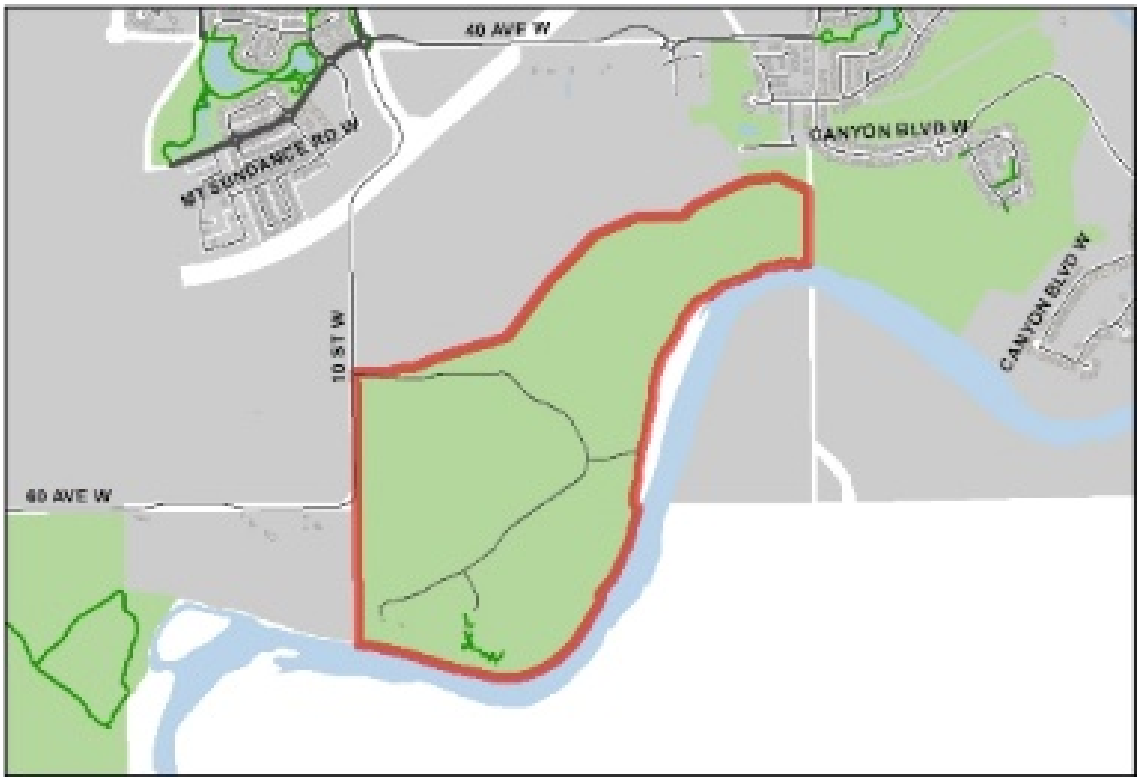


Figure 25: Map of Popson Park (City of Lethbridge).

Figure 26: Mike Oka with Perry Stein in Popson Park, West Lethbridge.

Figure 27: Mike Tail Feathers and J.J. Shade in Popson Park, West Lethbridge.

Original Fort Whoop-Up

Although not visited, various Elders throughout the course of this TKUA referenced the site of the original Fort Whoop-Up. The Fort Whoop-Up site sits on the Blood Reserve, just south of City of Lethbridge city limits, and is an important in regards to the development of the city itself.

Fort Whoop-Up was established first as a stockade by Hamilton and Healy, and in 1871 became known as Fort Whoop-Up (Degenstein 2009:31), who recounted that:

> *"Rosie Davis, a Blood woman who died in 1983, recalled the Fort as a little girl…She recalled a place with life and vitality, where her people would visit not only to drink, but to gamble and race horses. She also recalled the Fort as a store where the white traders brought to them wonders from beyond the prairies - brightly coloured cloth, beads and jingles, copper cooking implements, tools, and all manner of goods that enhanced their nomadic lives."*

Although Fort Whoop-Up was standing during the time of the Blackfoot/Cree battle in 1870, it appears that no one at the Fort was interested in the conflict nor took any part in the battle (Johnstone 1997:21).

The location of the Fort is also of significance since both David Striped Wolf and William Big Bull agree that there are burial sites at, or very near, Fort Whoop-Up. David has stated that the founder of the Dog Society was buried there and William recounted that since there were burials there, the First Nations may not have camped near the Fort.

Pavan Park

Pavan Park is located north of Lethbridge on the east side of the Oldman River (Figure 26). It extends from approximately 62 Ave North south to the boundary of the Alexander Wilderness Park, and east from the Oldman River to the tops of the coulee rises. The Alexander Wilderness Park is located just south of Pavan Park and extends from Marie Van Haarlem Crescent North to Pavan Park and east from the river to Stafford Drive North (Figure 29).

The Elders noted that former Sundance grounds and the burial of an important Blackfoot Chief and leader, Peenaquim or Seen-From-Afar are located in the vicinity of Pavan Park or the adjacent Alexander Wilderness Park/Peenaquim Park. Only the approximate location of these features is known, however, and it is not known if any identifiable material remains or other indications of these locations are intact. As William Big Bull noted, *just because archaeologists cannot discern anything or see anything or locate anything (that is, physical evidence) in an area, it does not mean that the Blackfoot, the* Niitsitapii*, were not there*. The river valleys would have been intensely utilized, as the Blackfoot used the coulees to hunt bison as they watered at the river. It was noted that the Blackfoot would settle where there was more vegetation, shelter, and water, and not so much on the wide open plain. Peenaquim died of smallpox during the winter of 1869 when more than 600 Blood people were victims of the disease (Dempsey 2017). He was buried in the river valley almost assuredly in what are now City of Lethbridge public lands. Peenaquim was the uncle of Red Crow, another important Blackfoot chief and leader and a signatory to Treaty 7.

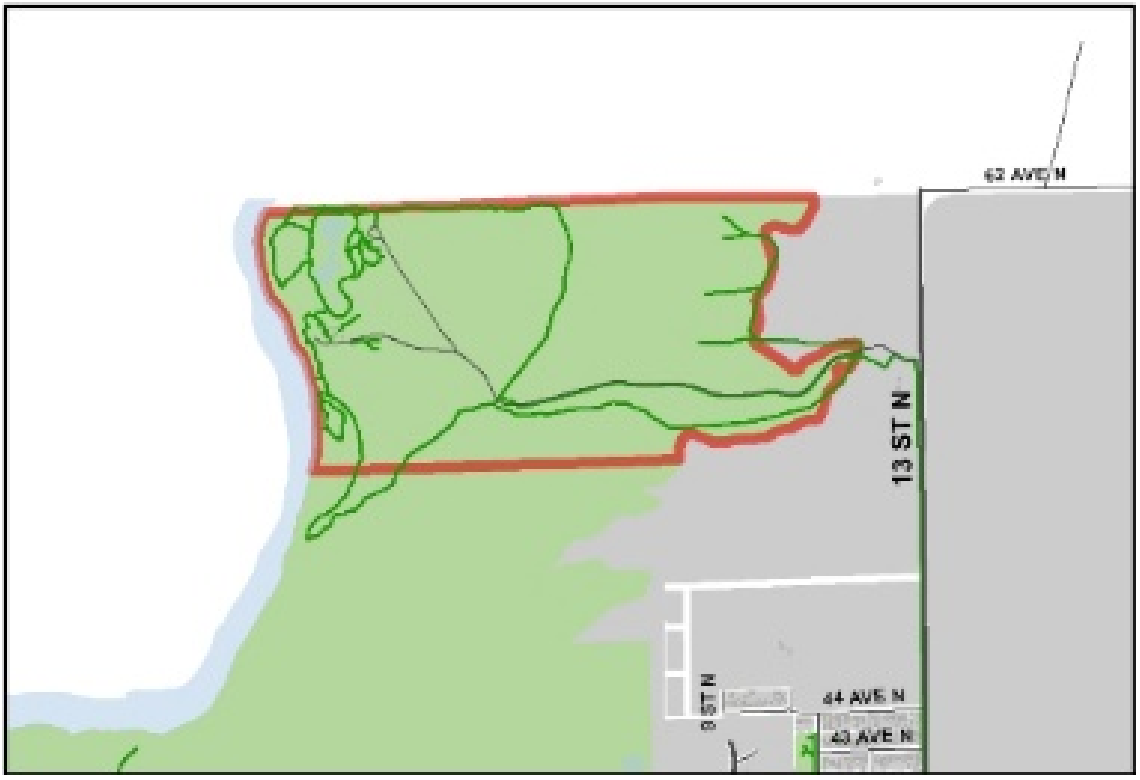


Figure 28: Map of Pavan Park (City of Lethbridge).

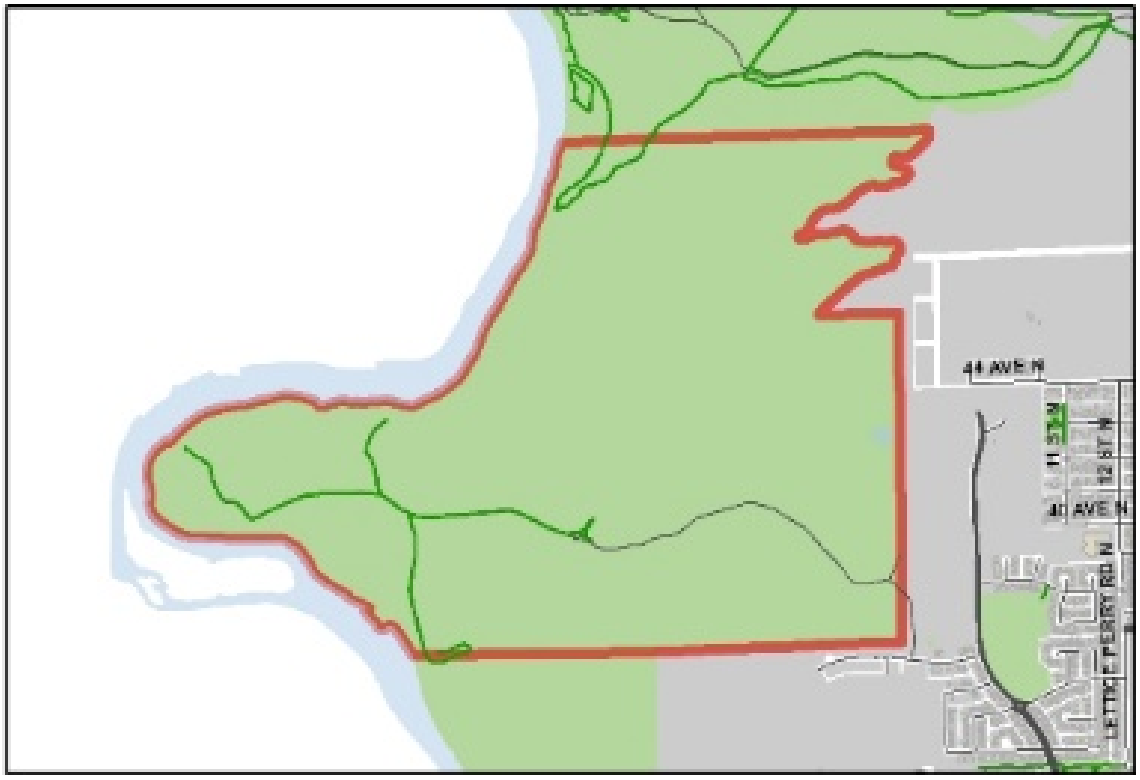


Figure 29: Map of Alexander Wilderness Park (City of Lethbridge).

In an unrelated survey of the area in 2005/2006, Neil Mirau recalled that there was a Sundance site in the river valley on the old flat, based on the memory of two different Blackfoot Elders. They also indicated that it was an important area for plants and could have been a wintering ground. Additionally, they recalled stories of burials in the area.

The Sundance grounds would have been used before the Indian Battle of 1870. According to Fred Breaker, the floodplain in Pavan Park would have been a good area for a Sundance (Figures 30-31). With numerous cottonwood trees growing naturally nearby, wood would have been readily available and the *Niitsitapii* would not have needed to transport it a long distance. David Striped Wolf mentioned that back in the day, there would have been over 500 tipis, since each of the Societies would have a tipi. Everyone

would gather for the opening of bundles and other significant events. Wissler had observed “the Blackfoot sun dance is inseparably associated with the ritual to a bundle” (1912:281). David Striped Wolf also noted that this place should not be disturbed, since such important events occurred here.

David Striped Wolf acknowledged that this would also have been a good wintering grounds area and this area would have been used regularly. He noted that there are numerous stories regarding the area. Scotty Many Guns also noted that this would have been an ideal winter camp area. The old growth trees and the valley itself would have provided shelter from the wind and elements. Although many trees were examined, none appeared to have been modified or cut to create lodge poles; that is, no culturally modified trees were identified during this field-truth. Although this particular area was noted as a good wintering ground, Scotty Many Guns acknowledged that winter camps might have been located at various locations throughout the coulee bottoms. There are many natural resources, such as medicinal plants and edible plants, located in the river bottom. The Blackfoot have used the Oldman River and the valleys for thousands of years. They recognize their intimate connection with the land, including the lands where the City of Lethbridge is located.

Seen-From-Afar, *Piinokoyim* (aka *Peenaquim*) was born around 1810 in southern Alberta and was the son of Two Suns (Dempsey 2017). He died during the smallpox epidemic in 1869, and was reportedly the first of his band to succumb to the disease; more than 630 Blood members died during the epidemic of 1869-1870 (Dempsey 2017). He is believed to have died south of Milk River, south of the Sweet Pine (Sweet Grass) Hills. He was the leader of the Fish Eaters, *Mamyowis*, composed of about 260 individuals, so named when starvation had forced them to eat fish, which was a food they normally avoided (Dempsey

2017). He was also a powerful leader of the Bloods, leading approximately 2,500 people, from about 1840 until his death (Dempsey 2017; Virtual Museum of Canada 2017). It is said that his bones were transported to Lethbridge because he loved this place so much, and were likely buried on a high point after being rubbed with red ochre (David Striped Wolf and Shirley Crow Shoe). Dempsey (2017) also stated that Seen-From-Afar was buried along the Oldman River Valley, north of Lethbridge.

It is important to recognize that Seen-From-Afar avoided conflict with the Cree, and although he and his followers were in danger of being attacked by the Cree, he maintained peace with them from 1866 until his death in 1869 (Dempsey 2017). Wissler confirmed that many times burials were placed on high areas, hills, and were “barely covered with earth and stones”. He goes on to say that mourners would not go near the burial site and that the burial was not marked in any way (Wissler 1912:31).

Figure 30: Neil Mirau and William Big Bull on the floodplain in Pavan Park where the Sundance may have been located.

Figure 31: Facing north, the Oldman River is to the west. Consulation team surveying the area of the possible Sundance site, as well as identifying traditional and medicinal plants in the river valley.

During this field-truth survey, David Striped Wolf and Cynthia Temoin found a previously unrecorded cairn on top of a coulee ridge in Pavan Park (Figures 32-34). Although small, this cairn confirms that the Blackfoot used the area, apparently in numerous ways. It may have been a resource gathering area, a hunting ground, a winter campsite, a Sundance site, a burial site and/or used for other utilitarian and ceremonial purposes. The cairn itself is composed of four stones (with the possibly of other stones buried beneath the surface). It measures 0.5 m x 0.5 m. The earth and stones comprising the cairn are slightly mounded and the stones are covered with lichen.

Figure 32: Northwest view of the Oldman River from the previously unrecorded cairn.

Figure 33: Previously unrecorded cairn. This cairn confirms that the Blackfoot used this area.

Figure 34: Top of the coulee facing west with David Striped Wolf (right) and Clifford Dodging Horse (left).

Plant Use and Significance

The river valley and the coulee margins are rich with native plants and vegetation, many of which are significant to the Blackfoot people. These plants are important as they have traditional medicinal, cermonial, or dietary uses within Blackfoot culture. There are numerous areas of naturally occuring vegetation in the City, and many of these are located in the various Parks in the coulees and river bottom (Figures 33-35). The suggestions for such areas are outined in the recommendations section of this report.

Figure 35: Surveying and observing the vegetation in the river bottom in Pavan Park. Cynthia Temoin with Arrow assisting members from the Kainai Nation.

Figure 36: Fred Breaker of the Siksika Nation holds up traditional plants.

Figure 37: Shirley Crow Shoe and David Striped Wolf discussing the medicinal benefits of mint, which he picked nearby.

A number of significant plants and their uses were discussed during the field-truthing portion of this TKUA. As previously stated, the Blackfoot/*Niitsitapii* exploited vegetation including wood for lodges, root vegetables, berries (for pemmican and other foods), and other plants for economic and ceremonial use. Several of these are identified and discussed below.

Prickley pear cactus (*Opuntia polyacantha*): According to Fred Breaker, prickly pear cactus (in Blackfoot called *otahkoottsis*) commonly found on south-facing slopes within the coulees, had a number of uses (Figure 36). After burning off the needles they could be eaten. Cactus berries were harvested for food. However, these plants could also have been used as soap. Johnston noted that the plants could be boiled to remove the skin and spines more easily (1987:45).

Figure 38: Prickly pear cactus (Blackfoot: *otahkoottsis*).

Hawthorn (*Crataegus douglasii*): Wood from the hawthorn plant was used to make sticks to dig up roots since it is a robust wood and the fruits (berries) were eaten fresh or dried for use during the winter months (Johnston 1987:38). According to Scotty Many Guns, hawthorn plants are getting difficult to find.

Red Willow (*Cornus sericea*): Shirley Crow Shoe stated that straight red willow branches (in Blackfoot: *mi'kotíípiiyis)* were used to make backrests; 110 lengths were needed for one (Figure 39). Red willow was also used to remove unwanted spirits from the home (Johnston 1987:32).

Willow (*Salix* spp): Willow, known in Blackfoot as o*tsipiis*, are significant within the Blackfoot culture as evidenced by their numerous uses, but are in short supply on the Reserves. Willow was often used for tipi pegs or pins, lodgepoles of small hunting tipis and buckets, basins and containers (Johnston 1987:32). Willow branches, approximately 1.5 inches in diameter, were used to construct sweat lodges. Scotty Many Guns also stated that the interior bark of the willow could be used as a painkiller, but had ceremonial as well as medicinal uses.

Figure 39: Red willow (Blackfoot: *mi'kotíípiiyis*) in the autumn at the Scenic Drive Dog Run.

Wolf willow (*Elaegnus commutata*): Scotty Many Guns explained that the seeds of the wolf willow (known in as Blackfoot *miss-is-a-missoi*) were used to make beads. Johnston confirms this and adds that the beads were used on necklaces or on clothing as decoration (1987:46). Scotty Many Guns also recounted that the wood from this plant was not burned since it emits a foul, stinky odour, hence its name of “stink wood”. Johnston has additionally observed, “anyone who collected the wood of this species for a tipi fire was an object of derision” (ibid).

Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana* var. *melanocarpa*): Scotty Many Guns explained that the wood from the chokecherry plant, known in as Blackfoot *as paahkipistsi,* could be used to make bows, while the bark inside could be used as an analgesic. Johnston wrote that chokecherry, mixed with other ingredients, was used to treat dysentery and as a cold cure; its dried root was used to stop bleeding (1987:39). Chokecherry wood does not burn easily, and David Striped Wolf mentioned that the wood was used to make pipe stems. Shirley Crow Shoe also noted that forked chokecherry sticks were used to move and remove ash and stones from fire pits. Chokecherry branches could also be used to create paintbrushes.

Bull berry (*Shepherdia argentea*): Berries from the bull berry, *mi’ksiníttsiim* in Blackfoot, were eaten, dried for winter use, made into soup and tea and used to make a red dye for hides (Scotty Many Guns and Shirley Crow Shoe pers. com 2016; Johnston 1987:48). Shirley Crow Shoe told us that these berries sweeten after the first frost, and are then easily removed from the branches. The berries can be harvested by placing a sheet on the ground and then hitting the bush with a stick.

Saskatoon berry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*): The Saskatoon berry, in Blackfoot *ookonokitsi*, could be eaten, or dried and used in making pemmican (Scotty Many Guns, pers. com 2016). The berries could be used to make soups, stews and to flavour meat (Johnston 1987:38). Scotty also described how the Saskatoon branches were used in ceremonies (such as those of the Horn Society), as well as for buttons and pegs. A forked Saskatoon bush stick could also be used in religious rituals (Johnston 1987:38).

Goose berries (*Ribes oxyacanthoides*): Shirley Crow Shoe explained that goose berries (*pakksíni'simaan*) were the first berry to develop and ripen, could be eaten fresh or boiled, and made into soup. The berries could also be used for kidney problems and an extract can be made into soap.

Wild mint (*Mentha arvensis*): David Striped Wolf observed wild mint (*kak-it-simo*) in Pavan Park and explained that it could be used as a painkiller. In addition, the leaves could be used to flavour meat and stews, and to make tea to help upset stomachs and sore throats. The dried leaves could also be used to help treat chest pains (Johnston 1987:51). Mint was also used to keep insects away and animals away and was packed with food for that reason.

Black birch (*Betula occidentalis*): Scotty Many Guns and Richard Right Hand both explained that wood from the black birch (*sííkokíínis*) could be used as pegs and anchors. The wood was also used to burn, to make wooden bowls (Johnston 1987:33).

Prairie turnip (*Psoralea esculenta*): David Striped Wolf identified prairie turnip (*ma's)* on top of the coulee ridge between the High Level Bridge, Highway 3 and on both sides of Six Mile Coulee in southeast Lethbridge. Prairie turnip may have been the most

important premodern era food plant of the First Nations of southern Alberta. *Ma's* has an edible root and was eaten raw, roasted or preserved via drying for use in the winter. It could also be ground into flour. It is high in protein, fat, sugar and fibre. Ma's has a number of other micronutrients such as vitamin C, A and several important dietary minerals. It is native to the area and grows best in light sandy soils. It tends to occur within the City of Lethbridge in bluff top sandy deposits, mostly on the east side and overlooking the Oldman River valley

Figure 40. Prairie turnip in bloom.

The prairie turnip is an important enough plant among the Blackfoot to have myths and stories associated with it and the plant has a role in the Sun Dance ceremony (Cowen 1991).

These plants were eaten, preserved for the winter, given to teething children and used to treat bowel complaints (Johnston 1987:41). Mas is considered to be both an important dietary plant and one that has ceremonial significance. The food value of mas is very high and for millennia has been an important plant to Blackfoot and other First Nations people.

Sage species (*Artemisia cana, frigida, ludoviciana*): All species of sage were important to the Blackfoot; sagebrush was called *ah-pu-tu-yis* and pasture sage was called *ninaika'ksimii* (Figure 40). Ray Black Plume recounted that sage possesses many healing properties, including treating diabetes, headaches, and as a pain reliever. Drinking sage leaf tea could help loosen a tight chest, relieve a sore throat, settle a sore stomach and clean your liver. In addition to its medical applications, sage was used in ceremonies as incense and symbolic cleansing activities (Johnston 1987:56).

Figure 40: Sage is found throughout the Parks in the City of Lethbridge. This is an example found in Pavan Park.

Lichens of various colours could have been used to create paint, and that goose or duck droppings were used to create a greenish colour of paint (Shirley Crow Shoe pers. com 2016).

Fatmucket mussel (*Lampsilis siliquoidea*): Scotty Many Guns and David Striped Wolf mentioned that fresh water mussel shells, commonly known as *fatmucket mussels* could have been used to hold paint or ochre (Figure 41).

Figure 41: David Striped Wolf explains how a freshwater mussel shell was utilized.

The Oldman River Valley is a location rich in both flora and fauna, which were long procured and utilized by the Blackfoot People. Additional information on utilized plants found within *Sikóóhkotok* is included in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Plant names, significance and uses

Plant Name and Habitat	Summary of Significance and Use
Prairie turnip (*Psoralea esculenta*) *Native to Southern Alberta*	Has an edible root and was eaten raw, roasted or preserved via drying for use in the winter. Was ground into flour, source of protein, fat, sugar and fibre. The plant was harvested when it flowered in early summer and matures earlier in southeastern Alberta than in southwestern Alberta. The prairie turnip played a role in the annual Sun Dance.
Saskatoon (*Amelanchier alnifolia*) Grows *throughout southern Alberta on well-watered slopes, the open prairie and within incised valley's near river and streams*	The plant has probably figured prominently in traditional culture for thousands of years, however, with the development of pemmican ca. 4800 years ago, it undoubtedly became more important. Saskatoons are a significant component of pemmican, the dried meat, fat and berry food common among northern Plains people.
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana)* *Similar to Saskatoon Berry Habitat*	Chokecherry plants occupy similar habitats as the Saskatoon and were used in a similar manner. In traditional practice, Saskatoon berries had preference over chokecherries due to their taste and the fact that they do not have a hard pit like chokecherries. Regardless, Chokecherries were an important food and contributed both calories and micronutrients to traditional diets and used in pemmican.
Canada Milk-Vetch (*Astragalus canadensis)* *Sandy and gravelly soils in the grasslands of Southern Alberta.*	The root was eaten raw or cooked with other foods. Some varieties of milk-vetch are poisonous due and can cause health problems due to their tendency to accumulate high concentrations of selenium and molybdenum (Johnson et al. 1995).
Arrowleaf balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza sagittata)*	Both the roots and seeds are edible.
Cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum)* *Forested environments in southwest Alberta*	A tall plant belonging to the carrot family. The stem and root were consumed. Stems would sometimes be cut into small pieces, dipped in blood and stored for use in soups and broths (Hellson and Gadd 1974).
Buffalo berry (*Shepherdia canadensis)* *Forested Environments, also in Cypress Hills*	Sometimes considered a famine food, the berries are high in vitamin C and iron and were often mixed with other berries. The berries would have been an important dietary supplement and may have been consumed to ensure adequate intake especially of Vitamin C.

Double root, Indian turnip (*Perideridia gairdneri*) Not to be confused with prairie turnip, this grows in *brushy areas throughout southern Alberta*	Indian turnip is a member of carrot family whereas prairie turnip is a member of the pea family (Wilkinson 1999), however both have nutritious roots. Indian turnip is rich in sugar, Vitamins A and C and potassium and is said to have a sweet flavour (ibid). The roots were consumed raw or boiled and were used as a constituent in soups.
Sweetgrass (*Heirchloe odorata*) *Moist areas along water sources*	Sweetgrass is used as incense in ceremonial and religious activities. Hellson and Gadd note "virtually every holy artifact was incensed with sweetgrass" (1974:9). The grass was collected, dried and braided into strands and sections were broken off and burned. The fragrance is sweet and pleasant. Sweetgrass was also used as perfume and sometimes mixed with tobacco for ceremonial purposes. Tea made from sweetgrass was consumed to treat infections.
Tobacco (*Nicotiana attentuata, Nicotiana multivalvis*). *Specific areas on the plans near flood plains and stream terraces*	Tobacco appears to be the only plant that was cultivated, since southern Alberta was out of its natural range. Tobacco became common on the northern Plains ca. A. D. 1200 (Yellowhorn 2003). Blackfoot people grew *N. attenuata*, but the most common traditional variety was *N. multivalvis* (Hellson and Gadd 1974).
Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) *Grasslands and wooded areas*	Using the entire plant the Blackfoot made a tea that was used for stomach problems and headaches. A rub from an infusion made with the plant was used to treat sore eyes in both humans and horses. The plant has a number of other medicinal uses.
Scarlett mallow (*Sphaeralcea coccinea*) *Xeric Grassland*	The plant was thought to have cooling properties and a paste created from it was used to treat burns and scalds. The paste may have been used as a protection from scalding while cooking.

Blooming Prarie Turnip (Right). A Piikani digging stick, used for harvesting the prairie turnip. Photo from the Glenbow Archives, Calgary. Also published in Hellson and Gadd (1974).

Saskatoon Bush (Left) .Traditional method of sun drying saskatoons ca. 1920 of a Tsuu T'tina woman. From Glenbow Archives, Calgary. Image also published in Johnston 1987.

Crushing choke-cherries in the traditional manner. This photo was taken ca. 1920 of a Tsuu T'tina woman. From the Glenbow Archives, Calgary photo. Image also published in Johnston 1987.

Figure 42: Vegetation and traditional methods of processing plant material.

DISCUSSION

The findings of the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan Compliance Initiative Environment and Historic Resource Strategy Traditional Knowledge and Use Assessment (TKUA) for *Sikóóhkotok*, the modern day City of Lethbridge were presented in this report. These were developed by the three *Niitsitapii* (Blackfoot Nations) Traditional Land Use Consultation Departments: the Blood Tribe, the Piikani First Nations, and the Siksika First Nations, in conjunction with Arrow Archaeology Limited. The goal of this TKUA was to allow members of the Blackfoot Nations to produce a comprehensive traditional use report for areas within the Lethbridge city limits, with the intention of providing material to be utilized for management, monitoring, and protecting the sacred and cultural *Niitsitapii* Traditional Land Use places within the city.

First Nations involvement was crucial to the completion of this project. The Elders hold knowledge, stories, and histories that are critical to maintaining the rich cultural record of the people and the area, specifically *Sikóóhkotok*/Lethbridge. This can be summed up by the words of Fred Breaker of the Siksika; on leaving the site of the battle, Mr. Breaker stated “it is nice to come to a place with such history. These places are significant to the Blackfoot people. People are all related. Historical places mean a lot. Thank you.”

CONSIDERATIONS

Through this partnership between the Traditional Use Consultation Departments of the Blood Tribe, Piikani First Nation and Siksika First Nation and Arrow Archaeology Limited, a number of elements and considerations have been developed for the City of Lethbridge. These recommendations are listed below.

- The City establish a committee of Blackfoot experts that can serve a consultative function with regard to traditional Blackfoot resources in the City, as well as the impacts of development thereon, and other elements and aspects of First Nation historical and cultural interest in the City. We do not prescribe the exact role of the committee, however, we suggest its mandate be to provide input and expertise with regard to the management and protection of traditional resources and cultural matters, including elements that arise from the recommendations in this report, and general matters regarding development in the City, particularly with respect to Parks and current natural areas. This committee could include current Blackfoot advisors and experts at the City, but at minimum should include one member from each of the Blackfoot Nations in southern Alberta.

- The current river valley system in the City, including Six Mile Coulee, be recognized as an area of significance to the Blackfoot people. The exact spatial boundaries are not definitively delineated in this report however, the area should include the river valley below the commonly defined break of slope to the valley and should include undevelopable geotechnical setback areas from the valley slope that are owned by the City. Please refer to Figure 9 above and maps in Appendix A below. We do not recommend the inclusion of any non-City owned lands, but we would urge the City to communicate with the University of Lethbridge and Lethbridge College and ask them to endeavour to protect at least some native terrain on their respective campuses from future development and consult with the Blackfoot confederacy through the above recommended committee to determine whether areas on campuses could or should be recognized as Blackfoot traditional areas. See figure xx for a map of the areas that we believe warrant inclusion in this area. We have attempted to develop these mapped polygons using TKUA results

and considering City owned lands. The maps as noted above should not be regarded as definite, but are used here to indicate these areas.

- Ongoing management and protection of recorded First Nations sites in the City by the City. These are sites that are recorded under the Alberta Historical Resources Act and afforded protection under that act. However in some cases, sites considered significant *to* First Nations are not considered equally significant *by* First Nations people and, by and large, provincial ranking and significance of sites does not consider a site's traditional significance. There since the City has the authority over most kinds of new development within its boundaries, we recommend that the City maintain a record of these sites, particularly where they are located and what they consist of, so that City development decisions can consider these sites. If sites cannot be avoided and must be impacted by development, we recommend that the City seek input from a committee of Blackfoot experts and, if applicable, archaeologists to help determine appropriate mitigations.

- Remaining areas of naturally occurring vegetation and undisturbed landscapes both within and outside of designated parks should be protected and preserved where possible and practical. Those sites that contain important traditional medicinal, ceremonial, or dietary plants should receive higher priority for protection. Where possible, and in the event of unavoidable disturbance, we recommend the City allow the pre-development harvest of traditional plants. We further suggest that the City consider allowing First Nations to conduct limited and sustainable harvests of important medicinal and ceremonial plants that occur on City owned land in the river valley. We further recommend that if this consideration

is put into effect that First Nations Elders and plant experts consult fully and completely with City biologists, environmental experts and planners to ensure any harvest is sustainable.

- The City develop and maintain a list of Blackfoot words and names for the purpose of naming streets, roads, neighbourhoods, and other features within Lethbridge. We recommend that the list be developed by, or in cooperation with, the above-recommended committee or members of this consulting group. As is the case with all languages, Blackfoot words and names that could be used for naming features are context specific, we therefore recommend that the above-recommended Blackfoot committee, or an equivalent, be consulted prior to the approval/designation of any Blackfoot word or name for its contextual appropriateness for the specific feature to be named.

- There are two highly significant features in Pavan Park and/or the adjacent Alexander Wilderness Park. These sites are a former Sundance grounds and the burial of an important Blackfoot Chief and leader. The approximate location of both features are known by Blackfoot Elders, but the exact locations, if they are determinable, are not known. It is not known if any material remains or indications of these significant locations can be identified or determined. However, we recommend that the City and the aforementioned Blackfoot committee, or equivalent, consider this problem and decide if the locations can be or should be determined, and whether or not they are, develop signage for placement in Pavan that explains the sites and their significance. If the site locations can be determined with confidence, we would recommend additional measures to ensure their

protection and the possibility of reincorporating these sites into the body of known traditional sites and areas in Lethbridge.

- Several previously unrecorded sites that have archaeological elements and are considered traditionally significant were recorded during the fieldwork portion of this study. These sites should be included as part of the City of Lethbridge's Site and Traditional Area Data base. We also recommend that each of these sites be named by the Blackfoot Elders based on their inferred use/role in traditional culture and history. We do not recommend any invasive archaeological investigative work that would impact the sites.

- The site commonly known as the West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy was visited and examined during this TKUA. We recommend that the City of Lethbridge establish a plan with the Blackfoot Confederacy members of the TKUA, and. if appropriate, the Band Councils of the three Blackfoot Nations, to carefully map the feature and possibly remove some rocks that are thought to be recent additions and revisit the site by Elders who can examine it closely, consider it's form and the level of disturbance that has occurred at the site, and provide a coherent interpretation and discussion of the site and what function and meaning it has to Blackfoot people and culture. If appropriate, we further recommend interpretative signage at the site that briefly explains its significance to the visitors to the site. However, this recommendation for signage is not agreed upon by all of the Elders. We further recommend that a plan be developed that will permit the long term protection of this site and that the site be maintained and that First Nations be permitted to perform ceremonies at the site.

- The development and placement of interpretative signage in and near the river valley that offers basic information about the First Nation culture and history of the area. The exact nature and extent of signs should be developed to summarize how First Nations people used the area. We recommend signage, in both English and Blackfoot, illustrating and briefly discussing extant native plants in the valley and describing their use in Blackfoot culture, subsistence and/or medicine and other basic culture history data.

- The site of the late 19th century battle between the Blackfoot and Cree is an important historical event to Blackfoot people. There is an interpretative sign above the main battle coulee in West Lethbridge, but the sign is relatively minor. We recommend improved and increased signage that better discusses the battle, the causes and the outcome. We also recommend that signage be placed in a more publically accessible location, for example, west of the Galt Museum where visitors could get an overview of the main battle area. The base of the coulee where the main battle area is also being used for casual recreation and there are signs of significant erosional disturbance from this activity. We recommend the city take steps to reduce this erosion in order to preserve the site area.

- The City of Lethbridge is in the heart of traditional Blackfoot territory and it is a large centre in relative proximity to the three Canadian Blackfoot Nations. Many members of all three Nations work, live, and attend primary, secondary, and post-secondary educational institutions within the City. However, it is our general view that the majority of citizens of Lethbridge, while aware of the Blackfoot Nations, are generally not fully aware of the rich culture and history of the Blackfoot people, and thus we recommend that the City of Lethbridge consider designating an annual

Blackfoot Heritage Day. We further recommend that consideration be given to designating October 25 as Blackfoot Heritage Day, as that is the day of the Blackfoot-Cree battle. While we do not here recommend specific activities, general suggestions for recognition of the day would be presentations on Blackfoot history and culture in schools, public lectures, and other activities such as demonstrations of Blackfoot art, historical practices, and the similar.

- Given the above, we also recommend consideration be given to establishing a permanent Blackfoot culture and heritage centre in the City, either in a stand-alone facility or as part of an existing facility. We do not comment further here on the nature of such a centre, rather the intent is to make the recommendation and have it considered for the future.

- Consideration be given to the City facilitating the creation and display of First Nations and indigenous public art within the City. There are significant numbers of Blackfoot and other indigenous artists in southern Alberta and their art tends to be underrepresented in public displays. It is our view the City could and should commission First Nations and other indigenous artists to create art for public display in the City of Lethbridge as a means of fostering understanding of First Nations cultures and enhancing cultural knowledge and understanding between First Nations, indigenous peoples and the general public.

- Consideration be given to raising and maintaining a Blackfoot Confederacy flag at City Hall.

- The Fort Whoop-Up Interpretative Centre is currently being operated by the Galt Museum, which we applaud; however, when the present contract comes up for

renewal, we would ask that the Blackfoot Confederacy be invited to provide a proposal to run the centre or join with the Galt Museum in an operating consortium.

Figure 44. Participants in the TKUA survey, Indian Battle Park, June 16, 2016.

REFERENCES CITED

Anderson, H. R.
1997 Inventory of Archaeological Artifacts from the Last Indian Battle of 1870 (Mid-October) at Belly River. In *The Last Great (Inter-Tribal) Indian Battle, Occasional Paper No. 30* edited by Carlton R. Stewart. Lethbridge Historical Society. Graphcom Printers Limited, Lethbridge, AB.

Archaeological Society of Alberta
2000 *Report of the June 4 & 5, 2000 mapping of the West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy, Borden Number PjDf -128 (sic).* Archaeological Society of Alberta, Lethbridge Centre, Lethbridge, AB

Bastien, B.
1993 Sacred Relationships and Sacred Places of Tribal People, In *Kunaitupii Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites*, edited by B. O. K. Reeves and M. A. Kennedy, Archaeological Society of Alberta, Calgary.

Bennoune, K.
2016 Cultural Heritage is a Human Rights Issue. UNESCO Thematic Reports to the UN General Assembly. Retrieved March 23, 2017 from http://en.unesco.org/news/karima-bennoune-cultural-heritage-human-rights-issue

Benthke, B.
2016 *Dog Days to Horse Days: Evaluating the Rise of Nomadic Pastoralism among the Blackfoot*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Arizona.

Binnema, T.
2001 *Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

2006 Allegiances and Interests: Niitsitapi (Blackfoot) Trade, Diplomacy, and Warfare, 1806-1831. *Western Historical Quarterly* 37:327-349.

Bourgeon L., A. Burke, and T. Higham
2017 Earliest Human Presence in North America Dated to the Last Glacial Maximum: New Radiocarbon Dates from Bluefish Caves, Canada, *PLOS ONE* 12 (1).

Bloodtribe.org
2017 Blackfoot History in http://Blackfoot.org 2017.

Brink, J.
2008 *Imagining Head-Smashed in: Aboriginal Buffalo Hunting on the Northern Plains*. AU Press, Edmonton.

Campbell. L
1997 *The Historical Linguistics of Native America*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Carpenter, J. H.
1997 The Medicine Rock in the area of Indian Battle Park. In *The Last Great (Inter-Tribal) Indian Battle, Occasional Paper No. 30* edited by Carlton R. Stewart. Lethbridge Historical Society. Graphcom Printers Limited, Lethbridge, AB.

City of Lethbridge
2017 Park Maps. Retrieved March 23, 2017 from: http://www.lethbridge.ca/Things-To-Do/Parks/Pages

Dempsey, P.
2001 Blackfoot. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 13, Plains, edited by R. DeMallie, pp. 604-628. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Dempsey, H. A.
2017 "Peenaquim," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. Retrieved on March 29, 2017, from http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/peenaquim_9E.html

Dempsey, L. J.
2007 *Blackfoot War Art: Pictographs of the Reservation Period, 1880-2000*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Dillehay T. D., C. Ocampo , J. Saavedra, A. O. Sawakuchi, R. M. Vega
2015 Correction: New Archaeological Evidence for an Early Human Presence at Monte Verde, Chile. *PLOS ONE* 10(12)

Erlandson, J. M.
2013 Channel Islands Amol Points: A Stemmed Paleocoastal Point Type form Santarosae Island, Alta California, *California Archaeology*, 5(1), pp. 105-122.

Erlandson, J.M., T.J. Braje, K.M. Gill, and M. Graham.
2015 Ecology of the kelp highway: did marine resources facilitate human dispersal from northeast Asia to the Americas? *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 10:392-411.

Ewers. J. C.
1955 The Horse in Blackfeet Indian Culture: with Comparative Material from Other Western Tribes. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 159. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1958 *The Blackfoot: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Fedje, D. W., J.M. White, M. C. Wilson, D.E. Nelson, J.S. Vogel, and J. R. Southon
1995 Vermillion Lakes Site: Adaptations and Environments in the Canadian Rockies during the Latest Pleistocene and Early Holocene. *American Antiquity* 60:81-108.

Fiedel, S.
2009 Sudden Deaths: The Chronology of Terminal Pleistocene Megafaunal Extinction. In *American Megafaunal Extinctions at the End of the Pleistocene,* edited by G. Haynes. Springer, Netherlands.

First Rider, G.
1968 *Beaver Bundle Origin Myth of the Blood Indians*. Transcribed by Joanne Greenwood. Transcript Disc 46. Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

Friesen, J. W. and V. L. Friesen
2006 *Canadian Aboriginal Art and Spirituality: A Vital Link*. Detselig Enterprises Ltd, Calgary, AB.

Greenburg, J. H
1987 *Language in the Americas.* Stanford University Press, Berkley, CA.

Haines, F.
1938 Where did the Plains Indians get their horses? *American Anthropologist* Vol 40, No.1.

Hamel, P.
1993 The Land Question: Aborginal Spirituality and Old Testament Connections, In *Kunaitupii Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites*, edited by B. O. K. Reeves and M. A. Kennedy, Archaeological Society of Alberta, Calgary.

Heintzman, P.D., D. Froese, J. W. Ives, A. E. R. Soares, G. D. Zazula, B. Letts, T. D. Andrews, J. C. Driver, E. Hall, P. G. Hare, C. N. Jassi, G. MacKay, J. R. Southon, M. Stiller, R. Woywitka, M. A. Suchard, and B. Shapiro
2016 Bison phylogeography constrains dispersal and viability of the Ice Free Corridor in western Canada. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* (PNAS).

Ives, J. W., D. Froese, K. Supernant, and G. Yanicki
2013 Vectors, Vestiges and Valhallas - Rethinking the Corridor. In *Paleoamerican Odyssey*, edited by Kelly E. Graf, Caroline V. Ketron, and Michael R. Waters, Chapter 9, pp. 149-169. College Station, Texas: Peopling of the Americas Publications, Center for the Study of the First Americans, Texas A & M University.

Johnston, A.
1987 *Plants and the Blackfoot, Occasional Paper No. 15*. Graphcom Printers Limited, Lethbridge, AB.

1997 The Battle at Belly River: Stories of the Last Great Indian Battle. In *The Last Great (Inter-Tribal) Indian Battle, Occasional Paper No. 30* edited by Carlton R. Stewart. Lethbridge Historical Society. Graphcom Printers Limited, Lethbridge, AB.

Kidd, K. E.
1986 *Blackfoot Ethnography*, Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division, Edmonton.

L'Heureux, J.
2011 *Three-Persons and the Chokitapix: John L'Heureux's Blackfoot geography of 1871*. Allen Ronaghan (Ed. & Trans.). Red Deer, AB: CAHS Press. (Original work published in 1871).

Lily, I.
2016 Friday Essay, War Crimes and the Many Threats to Cultural Heritage. The Conversation. Retrieved March 10, 2017 from http://theconversation.com/friday-essay-war-crimes-and-the-many-threats-to-cultural-heritage-65957

Little Bear, L.
2000 Jagged Worldviews Colliding. *In* Battiste, M. ed. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision,* pp: 78-85. UBC Press: Vancouver, BC.

Lott, D.
2003 *American Bison: A Natural History*. University of California Press, Los Angeles.

Maclean, J.
1893 Blackfoot Mythology. *Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 6, No. 22 (Jul. - Sep. 1893)*, pp. 165-172. American Folklore Society.

McClintock, W.
1999 *The Old North Trail, or, Life, Legends, and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln (reprint, original published in 1910).

McNab, D. T.
2000 Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories - Part IV: Gathering Gum from the Silver Pine: A Cree Woman's Dream and the Battle of Belly River Crossing. *Saskatchewan History*, 52 (2) pp. 15-27.

Mirau, N and D. First Rider
2009 South Saskatchewan Regional Plan (SSRP) Traditional Use Studies Project. Prepared for Alberta Environment, Lethbridge, Alberta, 2009.

Nakashima, D. and M. Rou
2002 Indigenous Knowledge, Peoples and Sustainable Practice Volume 5, Social and Economic Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, pp 314–324. In *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*. Edited by P. Timmerman. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester.

Oetelaar, G. A.
2016 Places on the Blackfoot Homeland: Markers of Cosmology, Social Relationships and History. In *Marking the Land: Hunter-Gatherer Creation of Meaning in Their Environment*, pp. 45-66, edited by William A. Lovis and Robert Whallon. Routledge, New York.

Oetelaar, G. A. and D. J. Oetelaar
2006 People, Places, and Paths: The Cypress Hills and the Niitsitapi Landscape of Southern Alberta. *Plains Anthropologist* 51:375-397.

Peck, T.
2011 *Light From Ancient Campfires: Archaeological Evidence for Native Lifeways on the Northern Plains*. Athabasca University Press, Edmonton, AB.

Poelman R. and J. H. Carpenter
1997 Indian Battle Coulee: Archaeological Record of Artifacts from the Last Inter-Tribal Indian Battle. In *The Last Great (Inter-Tribal) Indian Battle, Occasional Paper No. 30* edited by Carlton R. Stewart. Lethbridge Historical Society. Graphcom Printers Limited, Lethbridge, AB.

Potter, B., J. Reuther, V. Holliday, C. Holmes, D.S. Miller, N. Schmuck
2017 Early Colonizing of Beringia and Northern North America: Chronology, Routes, and Adaptive Strategies. *Quaternary International*.

Schultz, J. W.
1907 *My Life as an Indian*. Fawcett Publications, Greenwich, Conn.

1930 *The Sun God's Children: The history, culture, and legends of the Blackfeet Indians*. Reprinted in 2010. Riverbend Publishing, Helena, Montana and Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana.

Tousche, R.
2009 Jerry Potts, Bear Child. In *The Last Blast: The Fur Trade in Whoop-Up Country. International Fur Trade Symposium Proceedings*. Edited by G. Tolton, D. Degenstein, D. Balcovske and S. Crowshoe. Printed by the Fort Whoop-Up Interpretive Society in 2013. Lethbridge, AB.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
2015 Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Retrieved on March 27, 2017 from www.trc.ca

Tyrell, J.
1916 *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812.* Champlain Society, Toronto.

Uhlenbeck, C.
1911 *Original Blackfoot texts from the southern Peigans Blackfoot reservation, Teton County, Montana*. With the help of Joseph Tatsey. Collected and Published with an English Translation. Johannes Muller, Amsterdam

UNDRIP
2008 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. UNDRIP. Retrieved March 7, 2017 from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

UNESCO
2002 United Nations Year for Cultural Heritage Information Kit. UNESCO. Retrieved March 7, 2017 from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127155eo.pdf

Verbicky-Todd, Eleanor
1984 *Communal Buffalo Hunting Among the Plains Indians: An Ethnographic and Historic Review.* Alberta Culture Historical Resources Division, Edmonton.

Vickers, J. R.
1991 Seasonal Round Problems on the Alberta Plains. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 15:55-72.

Virtual Museum of Canada
2017 Glenbow Archives NA-668-53: "Mi'kasto" - Red Crow. Retrieved on March 27, 2017 from http://www.virtualmuseum.ca

Wissler, C.
1911 *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*. Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish, Montana.

1912 *Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians*. Order of Trustees, New York.

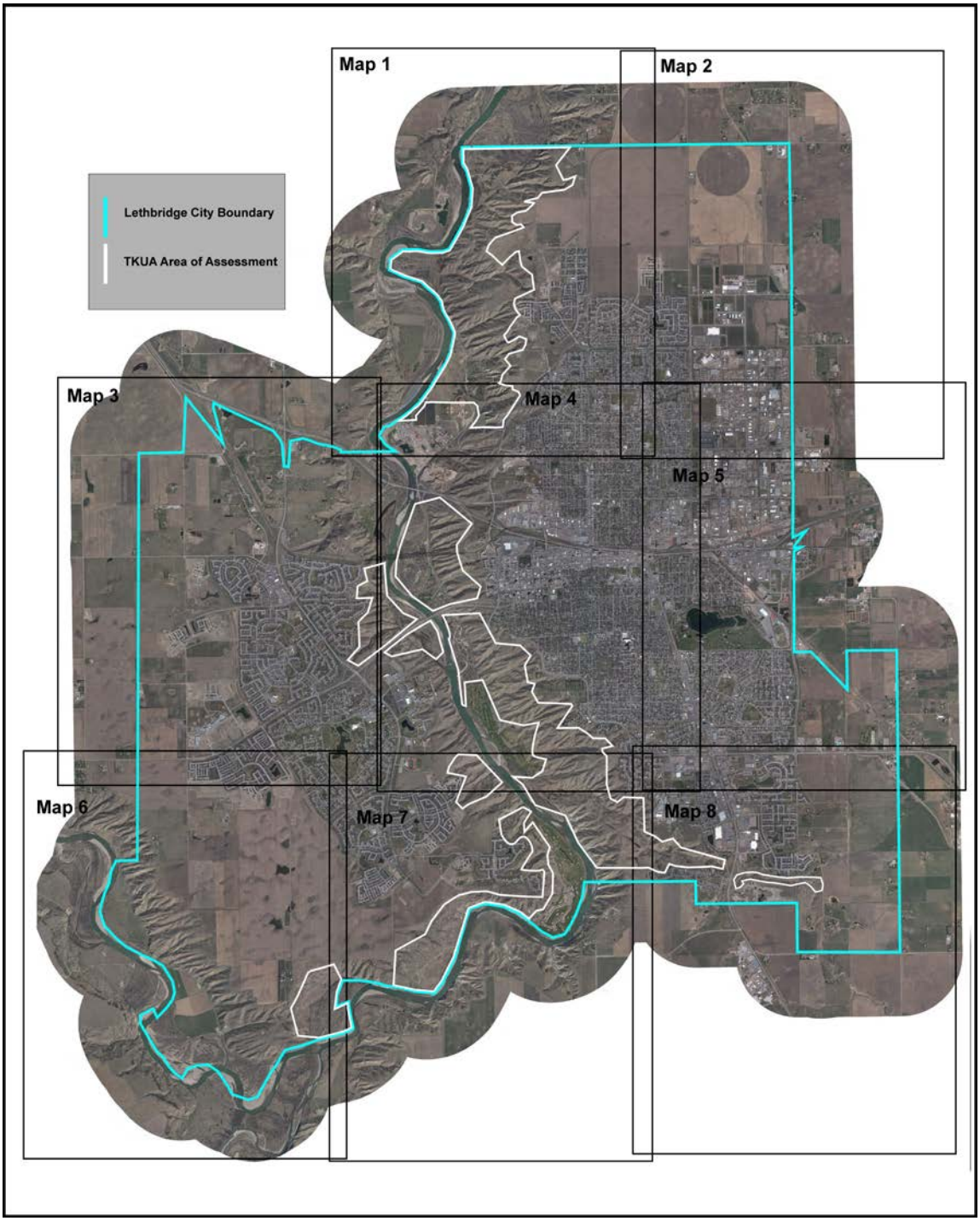
Wissler, C. and D. C. Duvall
1908 *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians*. Reprinted 2007. Bison Books, University of Nebraska.

Zedeño, M., J. Ballenger and J. Murray
2014 Landscape Engineering and Organizational Complexity among Late Prehistoric Bison Hunters of the Northwestern Plains. *Current Anthropology* forthcoming.

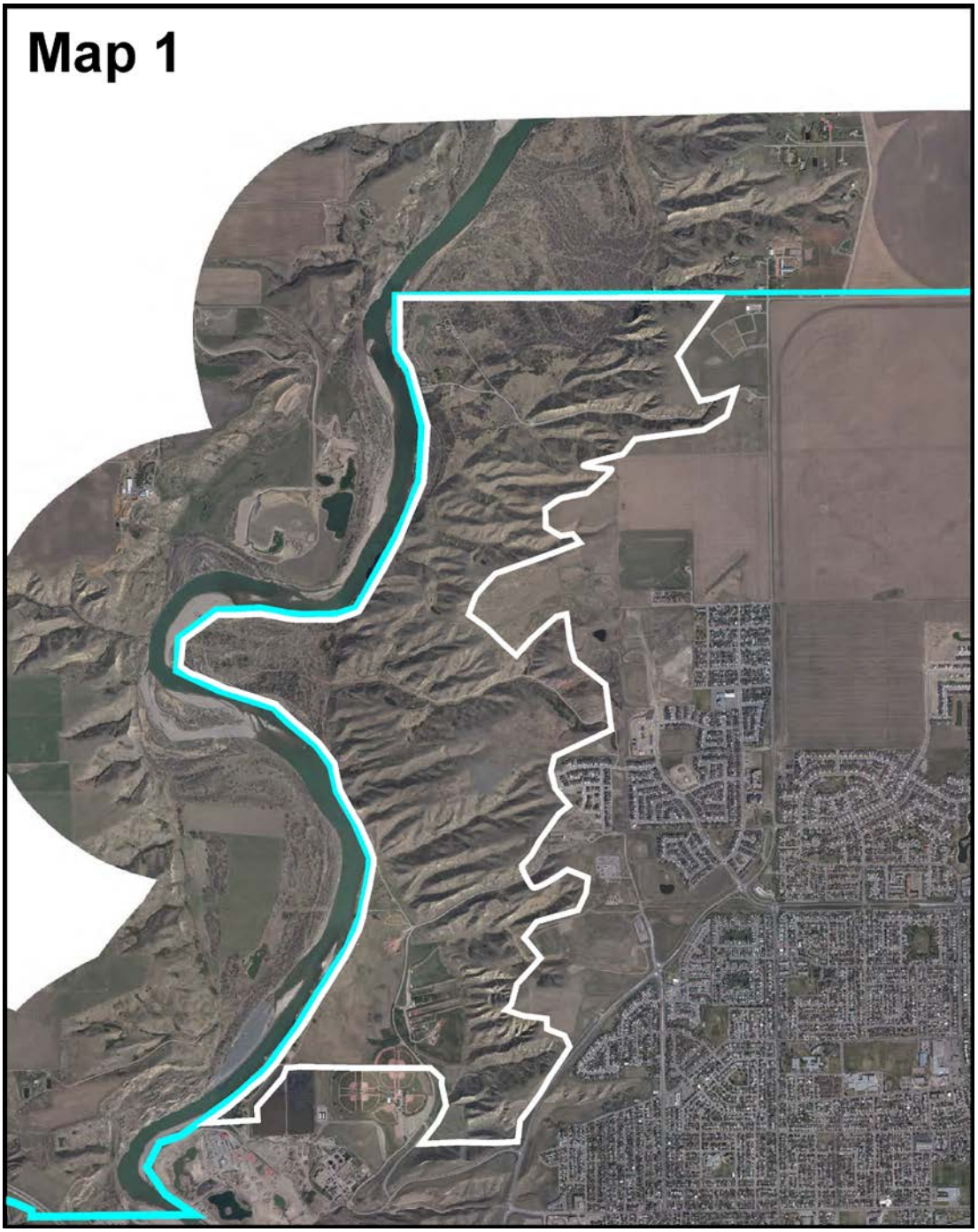
Appendix A: City of Lethbridge boundary, survey areas, general location to be considered as an area of special significance the Blackfoot people

Map Notes: The first page of this appendix shows a key map with recorded sites or resources, City boundaries and other details at small scale. The key map shows eight numbered maps for each appendix and these shown the same detail in larger scale.

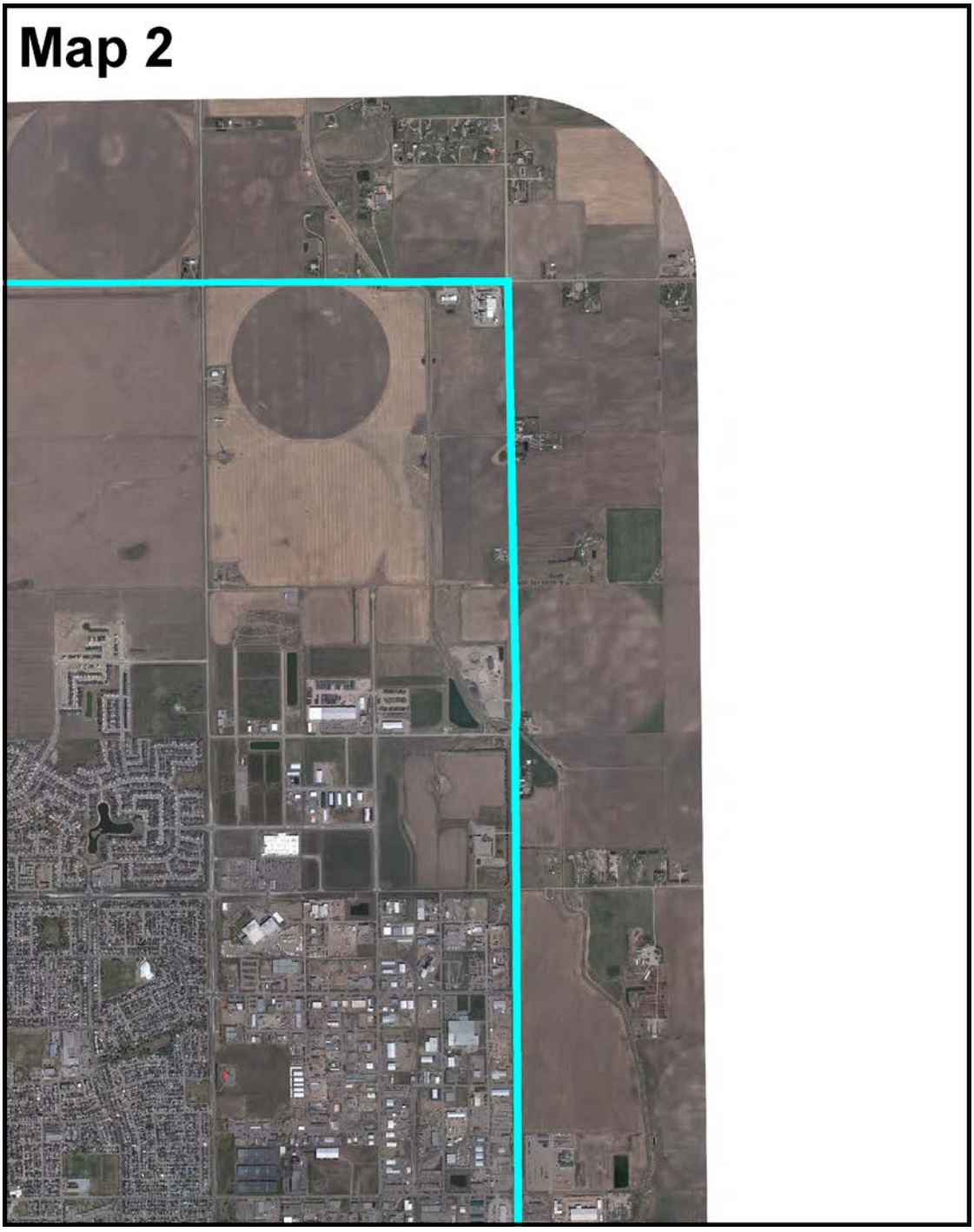
It is important to note that for the locations mapped here are necessarily shows much larger than the map scale so that they are easily visible at the scale shown here. We do have specific location coordinates for all mapped resources and these will be provided to City planners following review of this report. We do not include location coordinates here since the exact location of many of these resources should not be widely distributed. We have mapped survey areas using our field records and the location of minimally disturbed or undisturbed lands. The survey areas as shown in this appendix are approximately coincident with City-owned lands, however these polygons are not intended to be precise locations of City owned lands. As well, it should be noted that the polygons in this appendix were not all subject to thorough and intensive surface survey, but were sampled by the project field team.

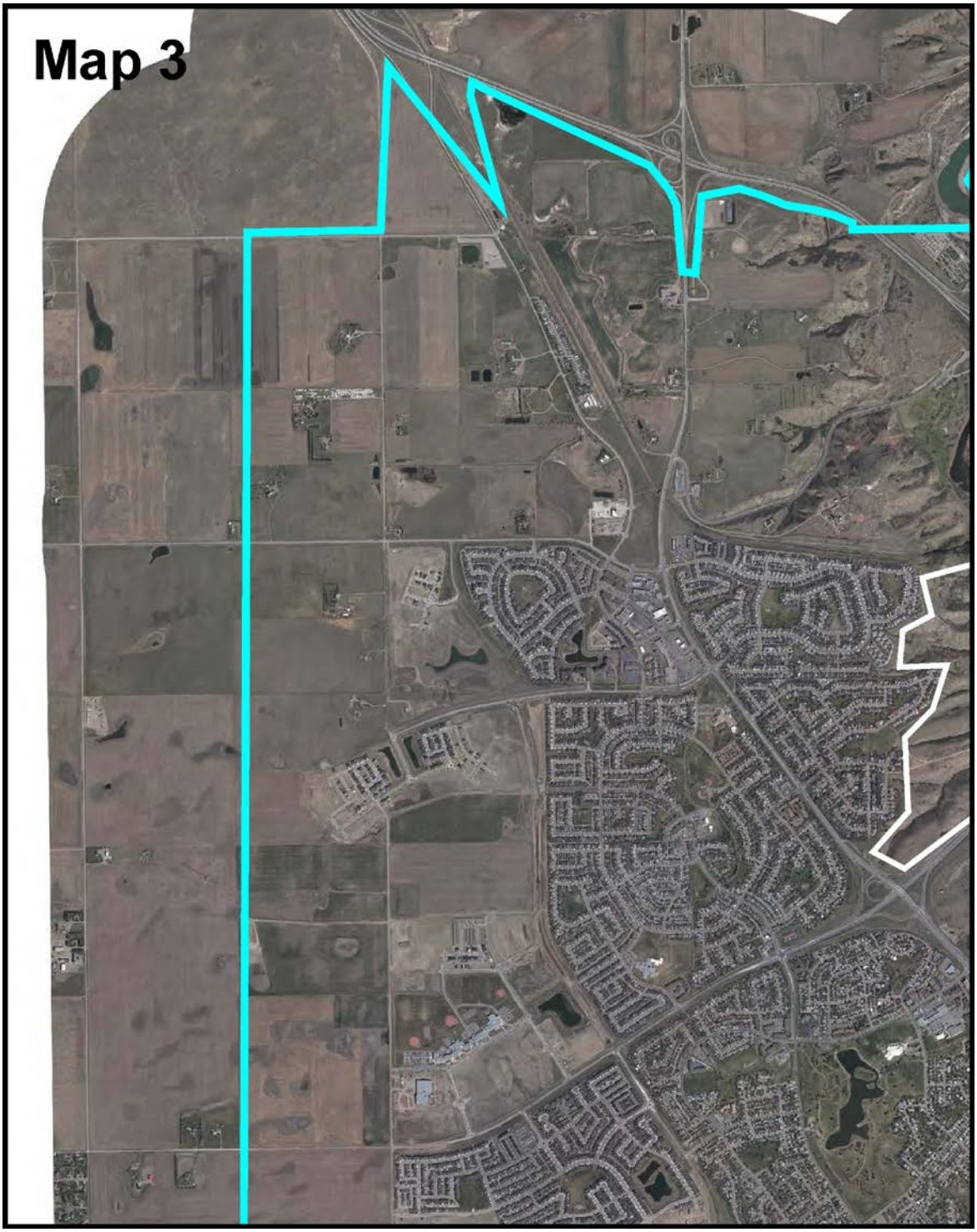

Map 1
Map 2
Lethbridge City Boundary
TKUA Area of Assessment
Map 3
Map 4
Map 5
Map 6
Map 7
Map 8

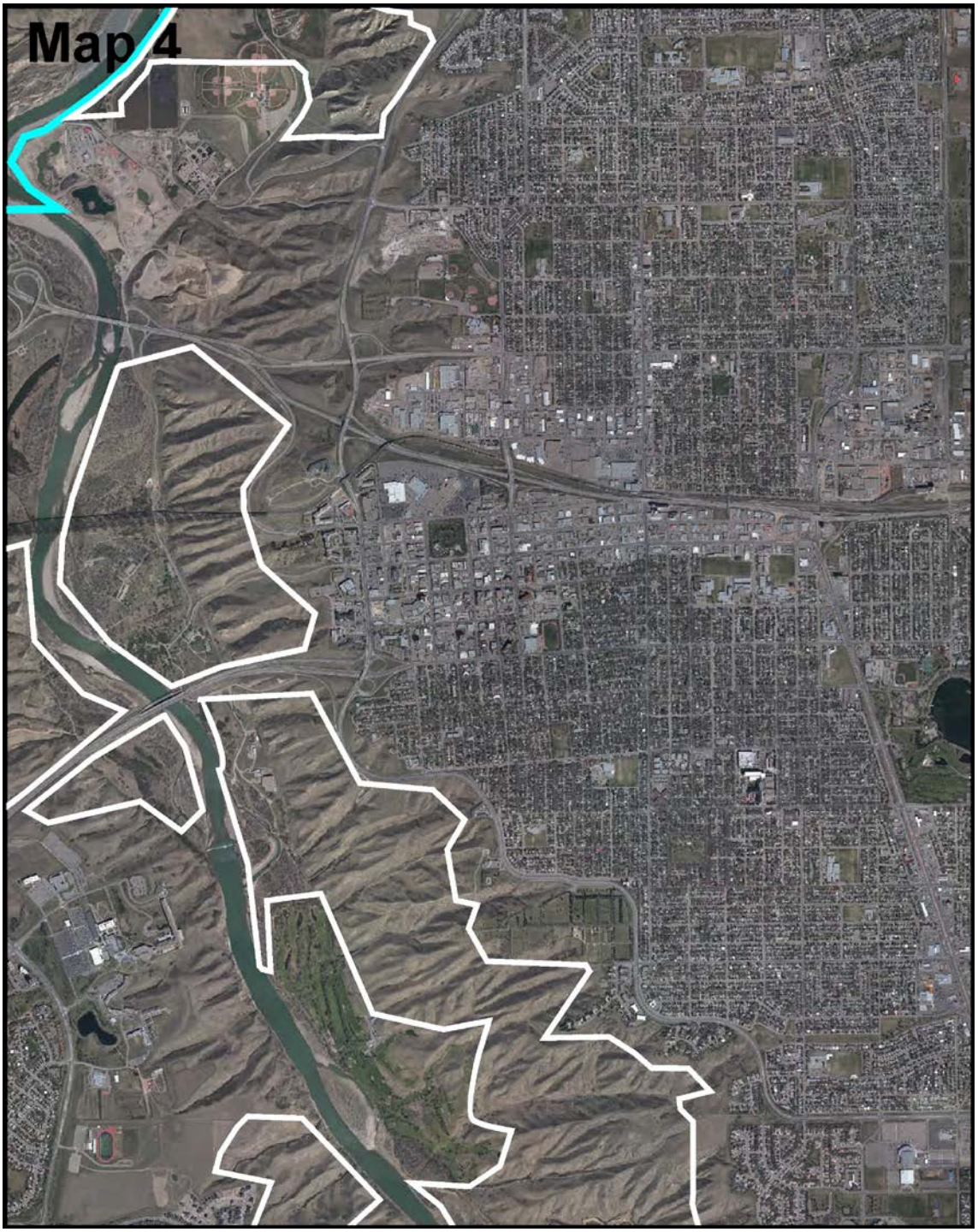
Map 1

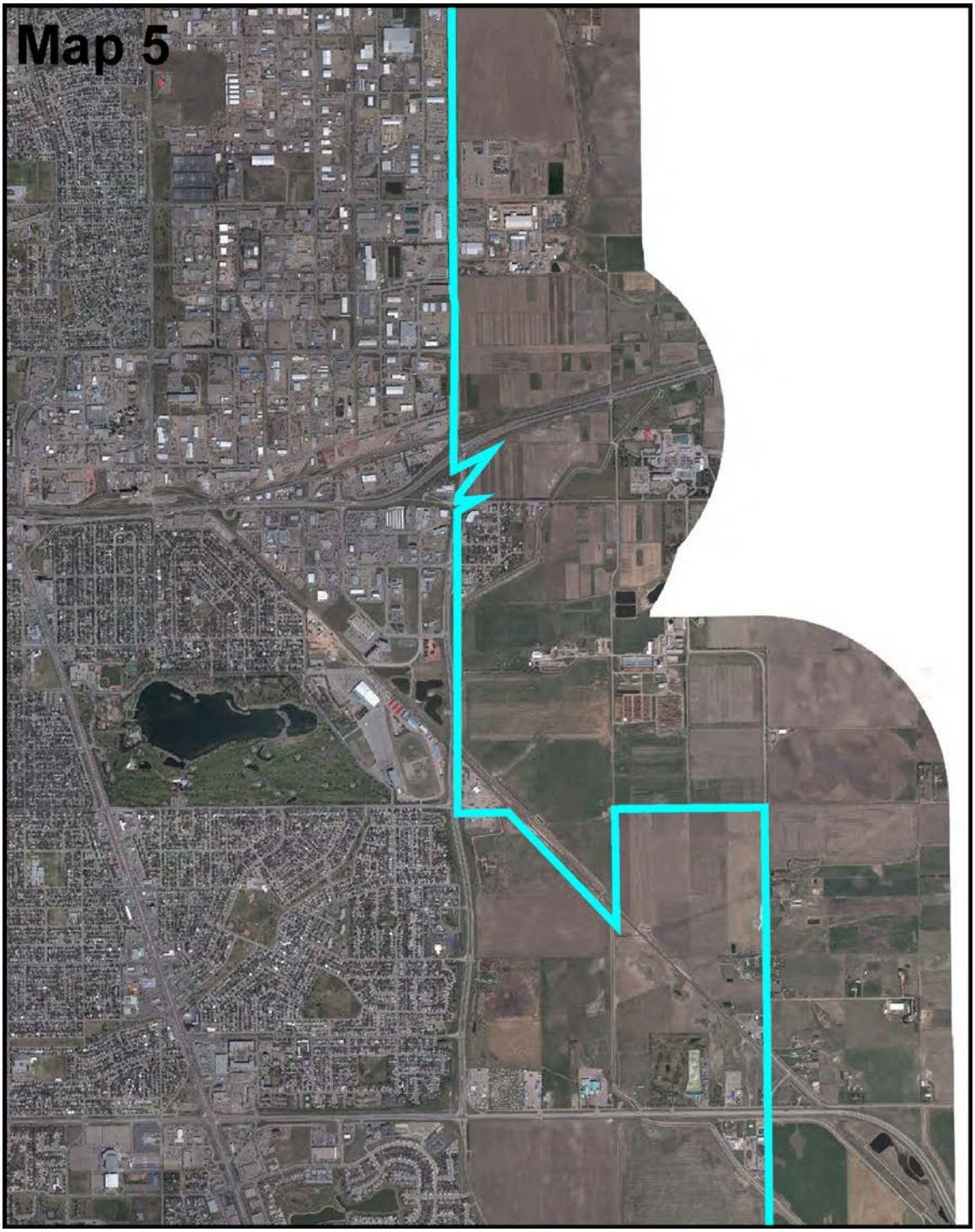


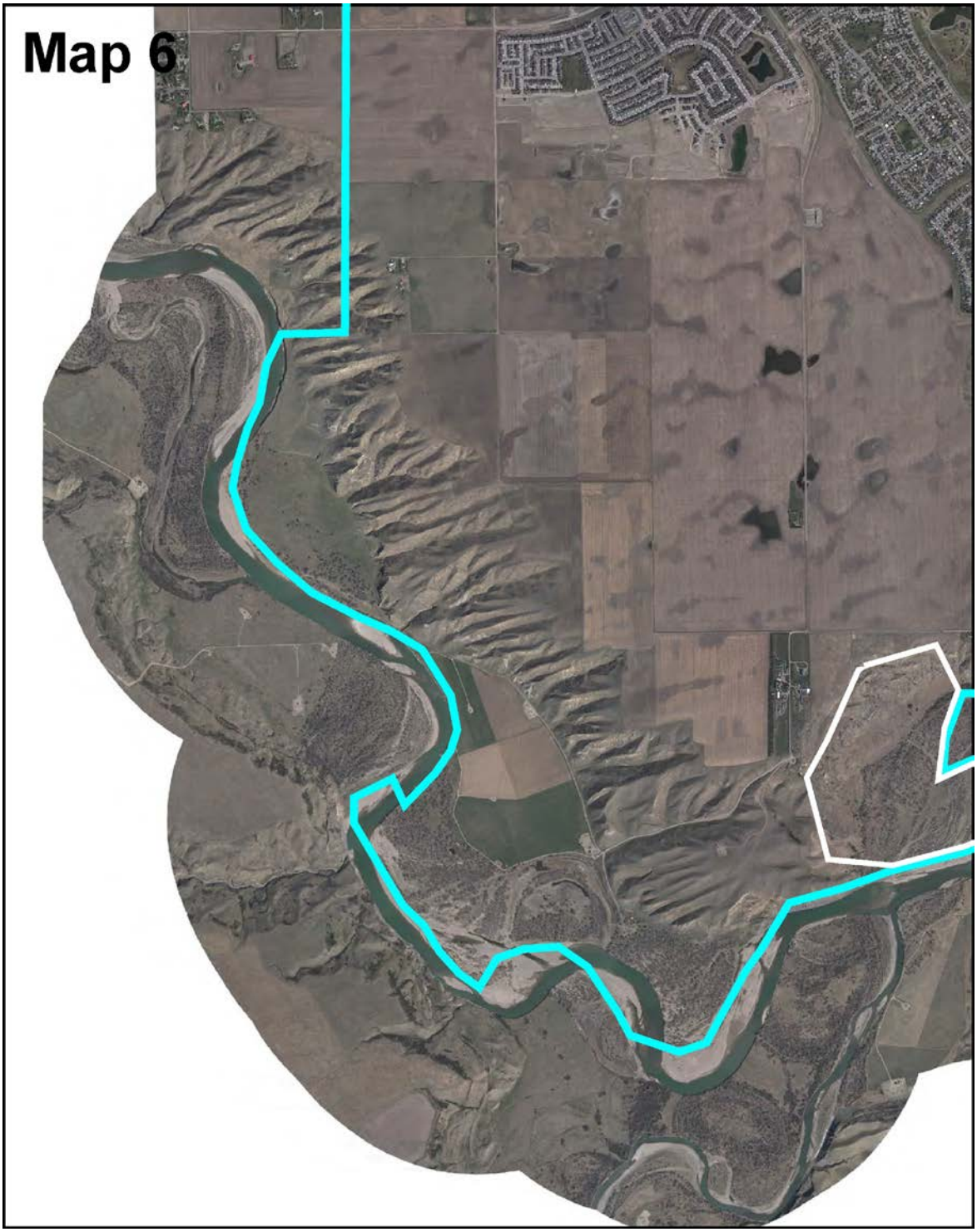
Map 2

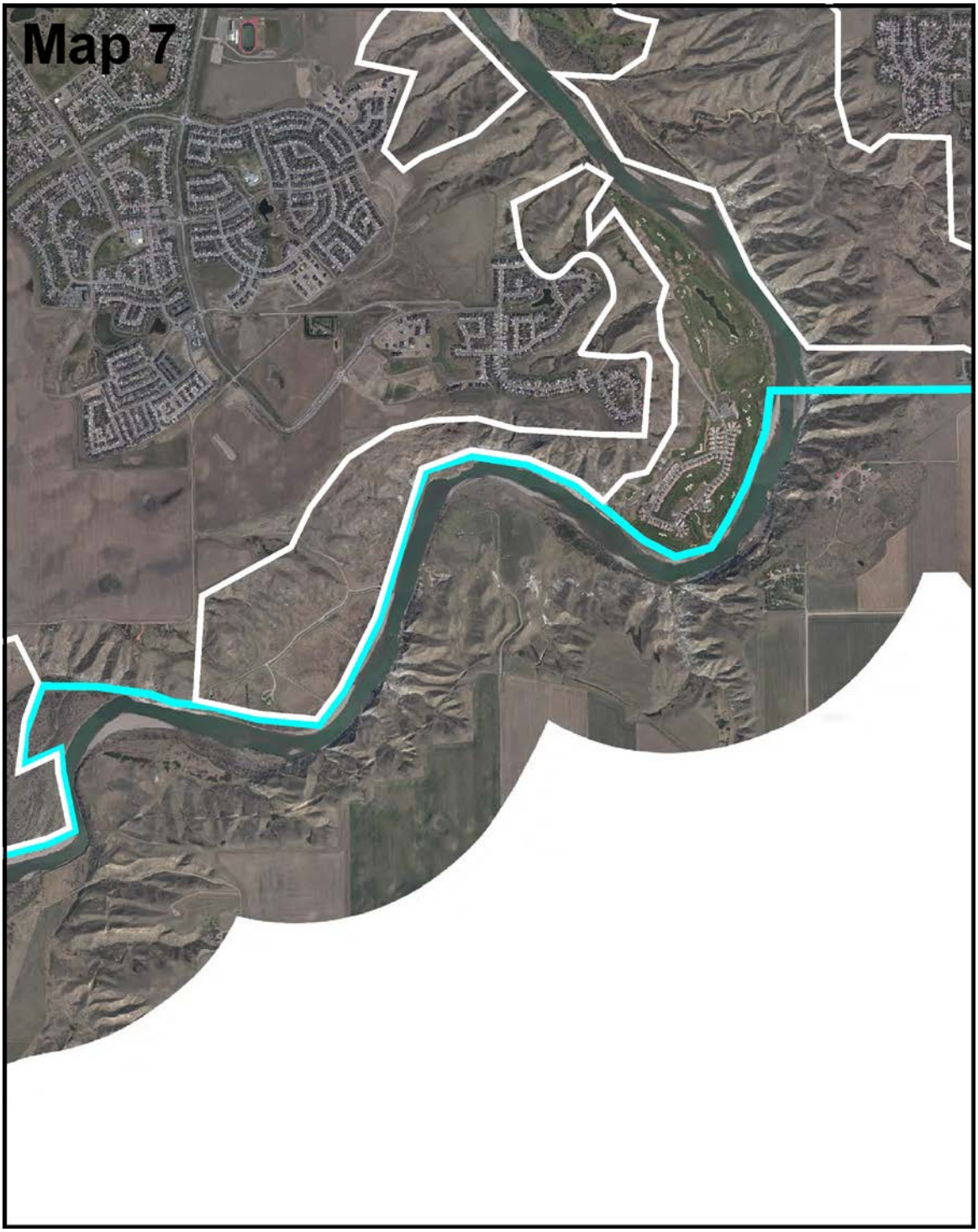


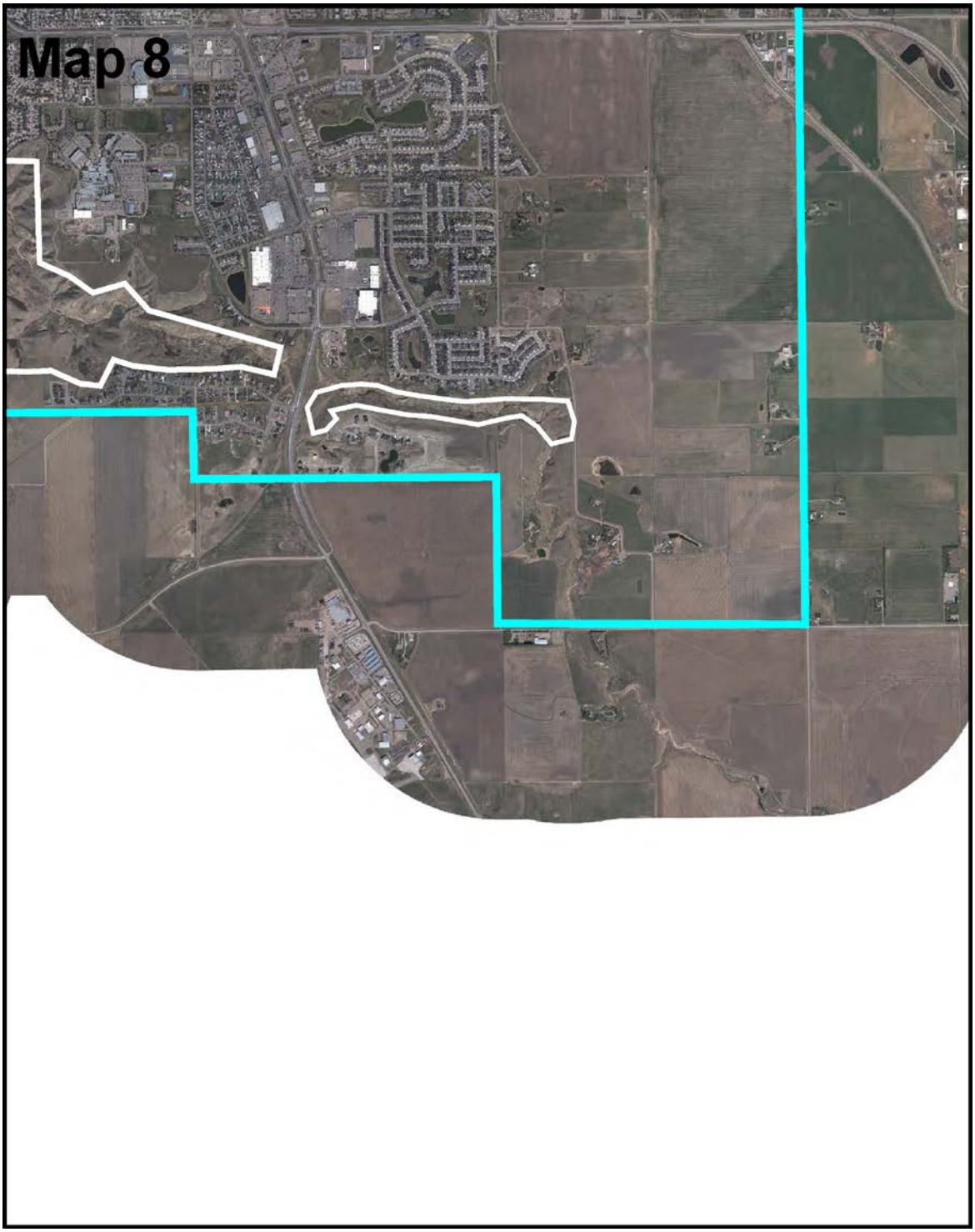

Map 3


Map 4


Map 5

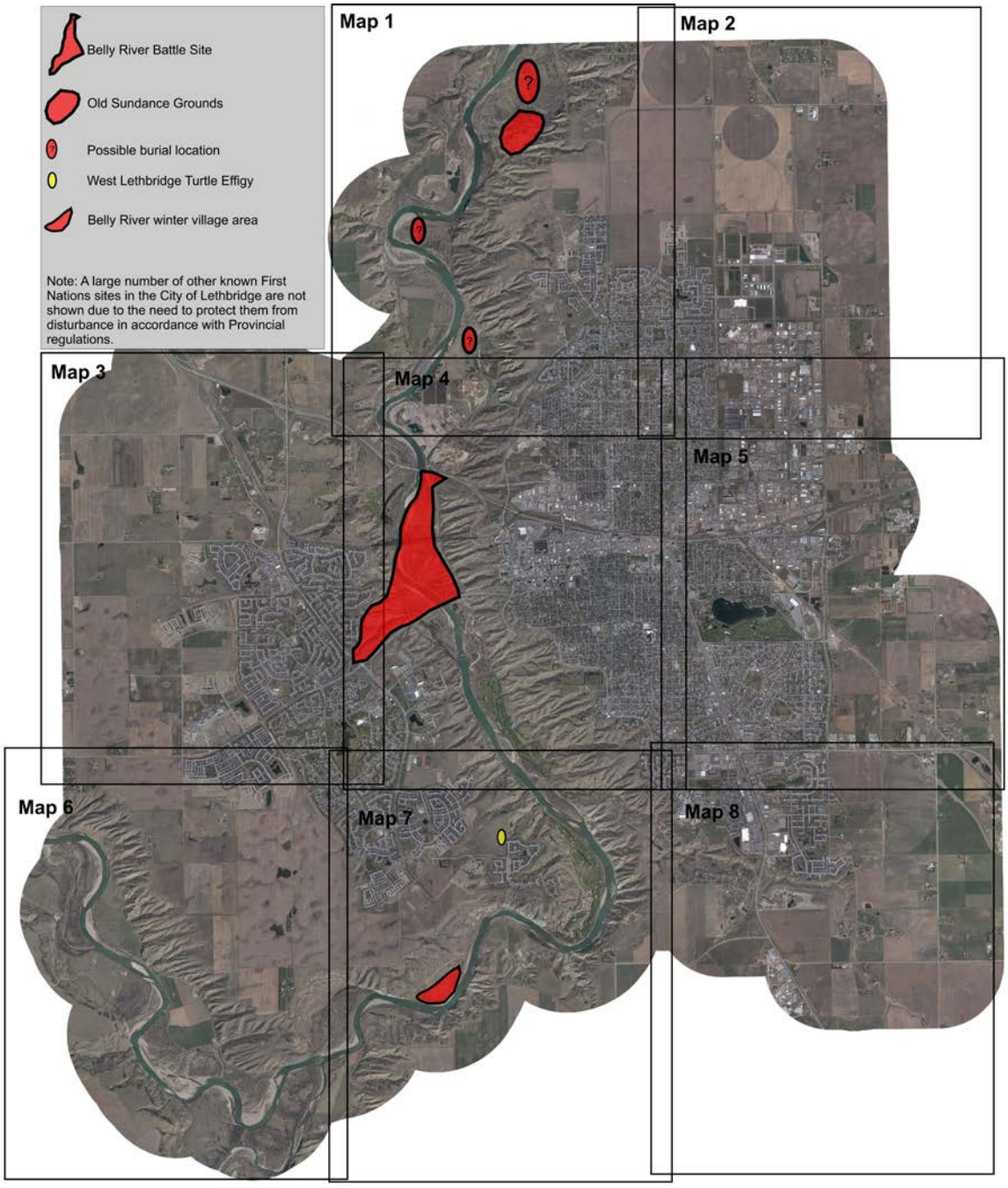

Map 6

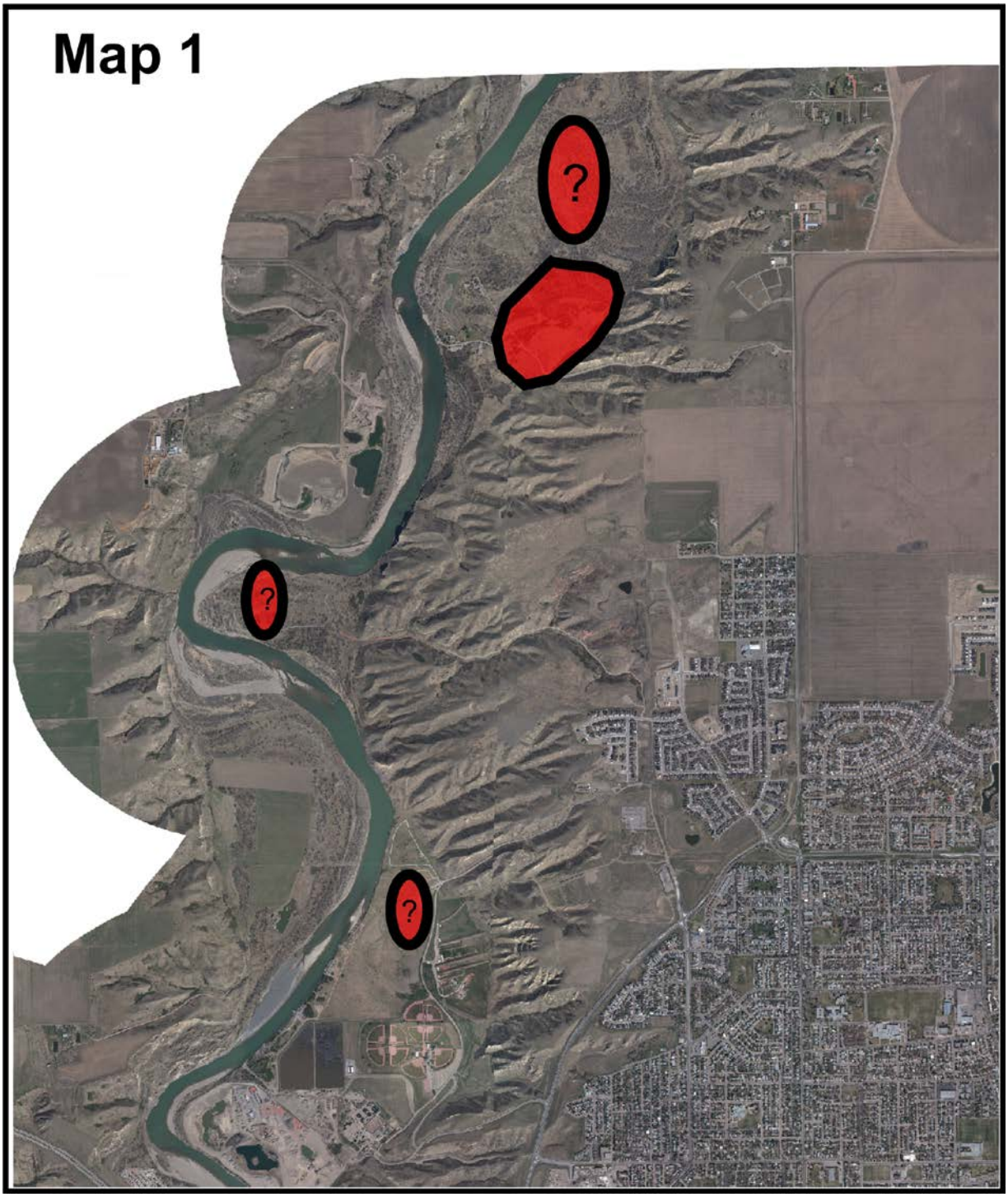

Map 7


Map 8

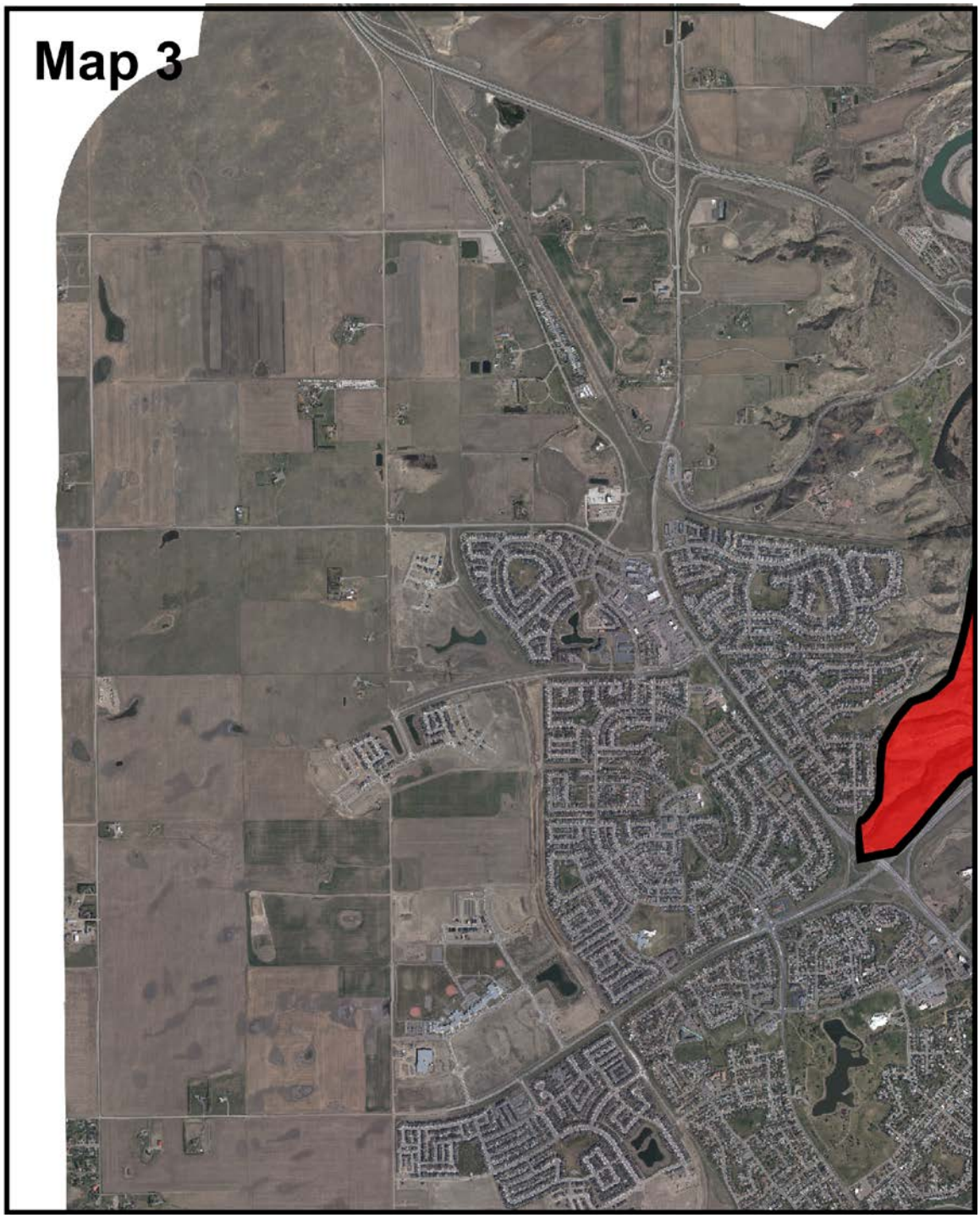
Appendix B: Historical Site Locations

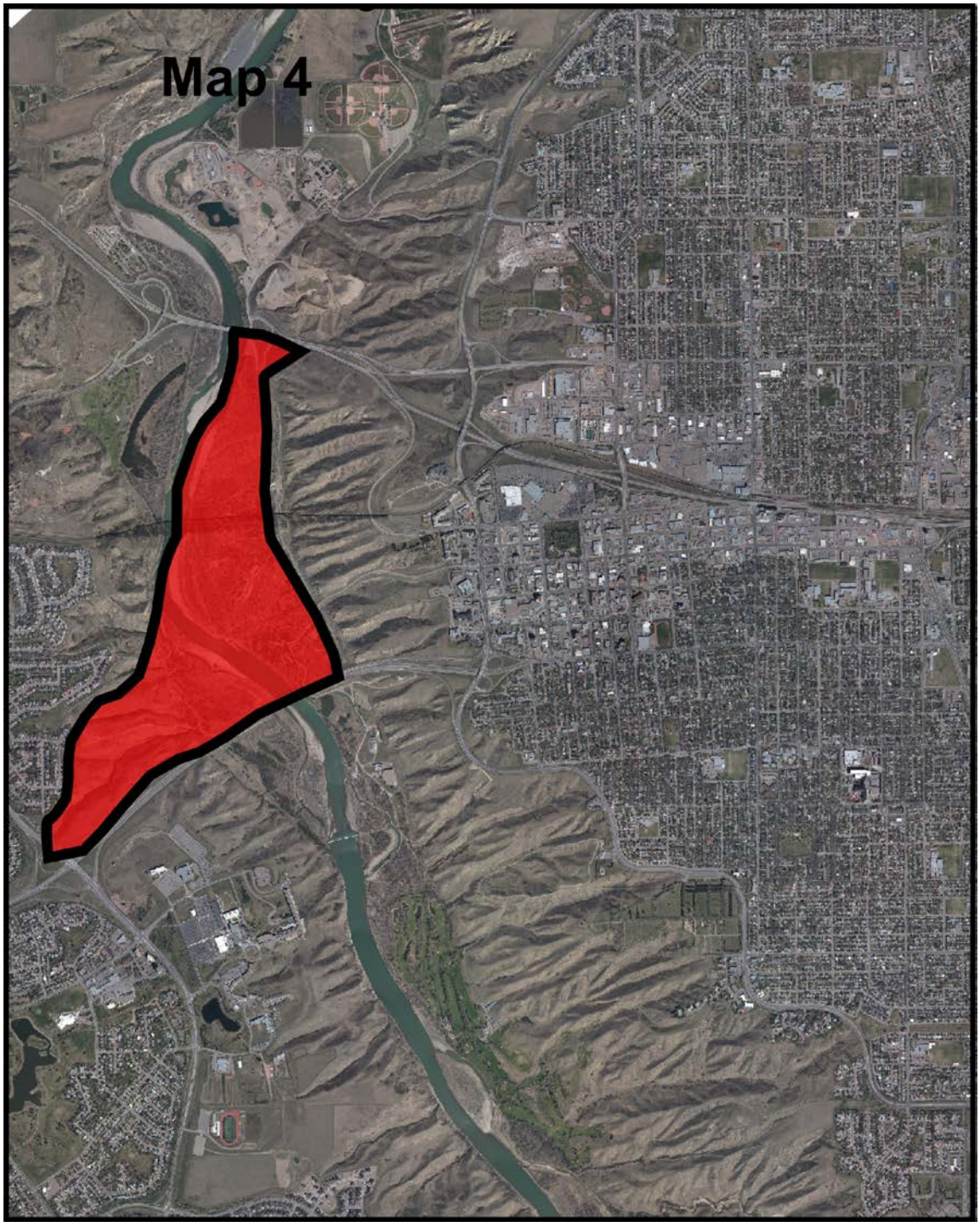
Map Notes: This appendix contains symbols showing the location of important and highly significant historical resources on City of Lethbridge lands assessed by the Blackfoot Confederacy under this project. First Nations Elders, experts and archaeologists also assessed a large number of other First Nation sites located in the City of Lethbridge, however, they are not mapped here in order to protect their confidentiality, as required under the *Alberta Historical Resources Act* and under general practice and policy of the City of Lethbridge. The project team also located previously unrecorded sites and since these sites are protected under the *Act*, they are not shown here. This appendix indicates the location of highly significant areas within the City and which are generally known to the public at large. The general map notes on map scale, preciseness and other information as shown on the Appendix A cover page also apply to Appendix B.

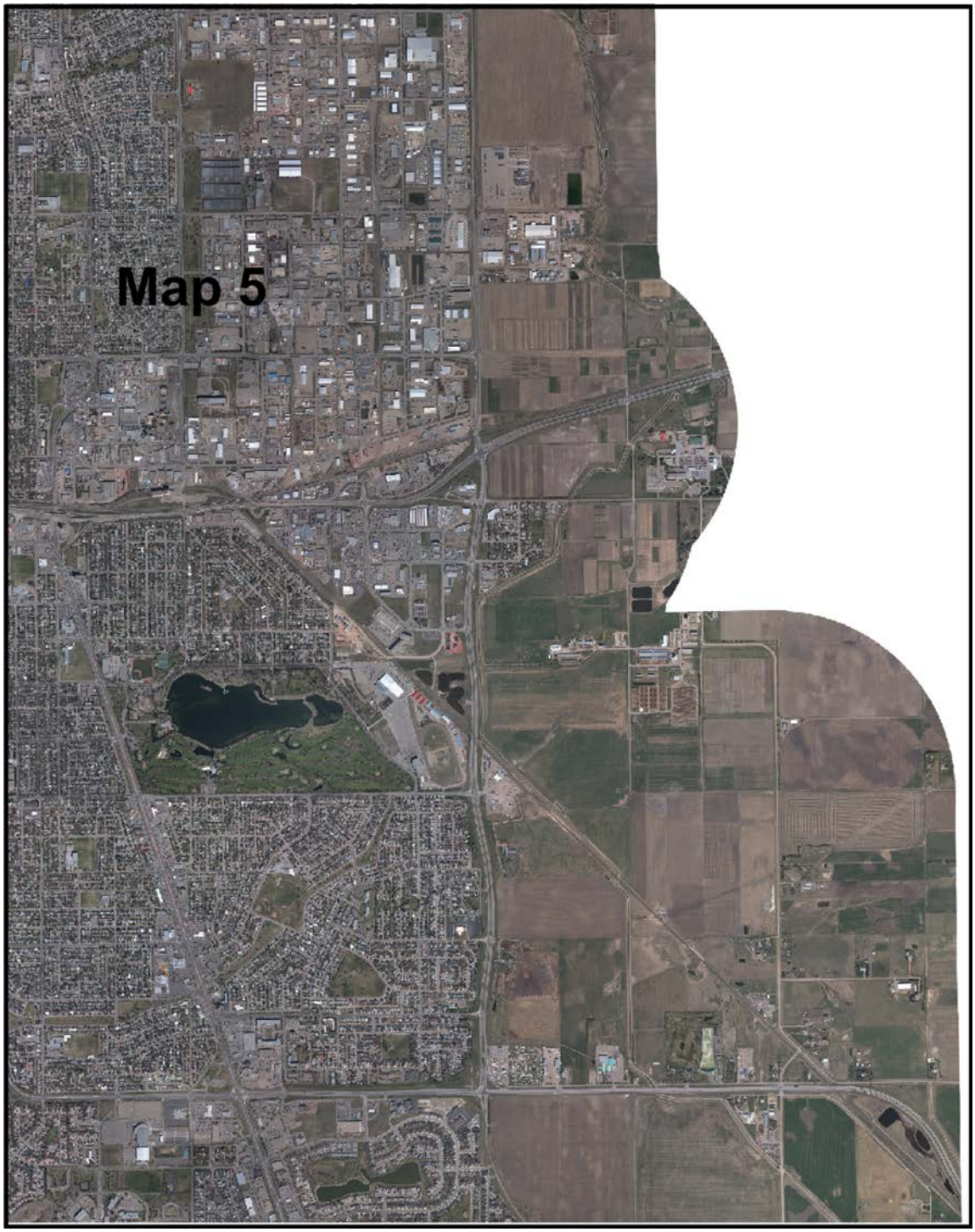

Belly River Battle Site
Old Sundance Grounds
Possible burial location
West Lethbridge Turtle Effigy
Belly River winter village area
Note: A large number of other known First Nations sites in the City of Lethbridge are not shown due to the need to protect them from disturbance in accordance with Provincial regulations.
Map 1
Map 2
Map 3
Map 4
Map 5
Map 6
Map 7
Map 8

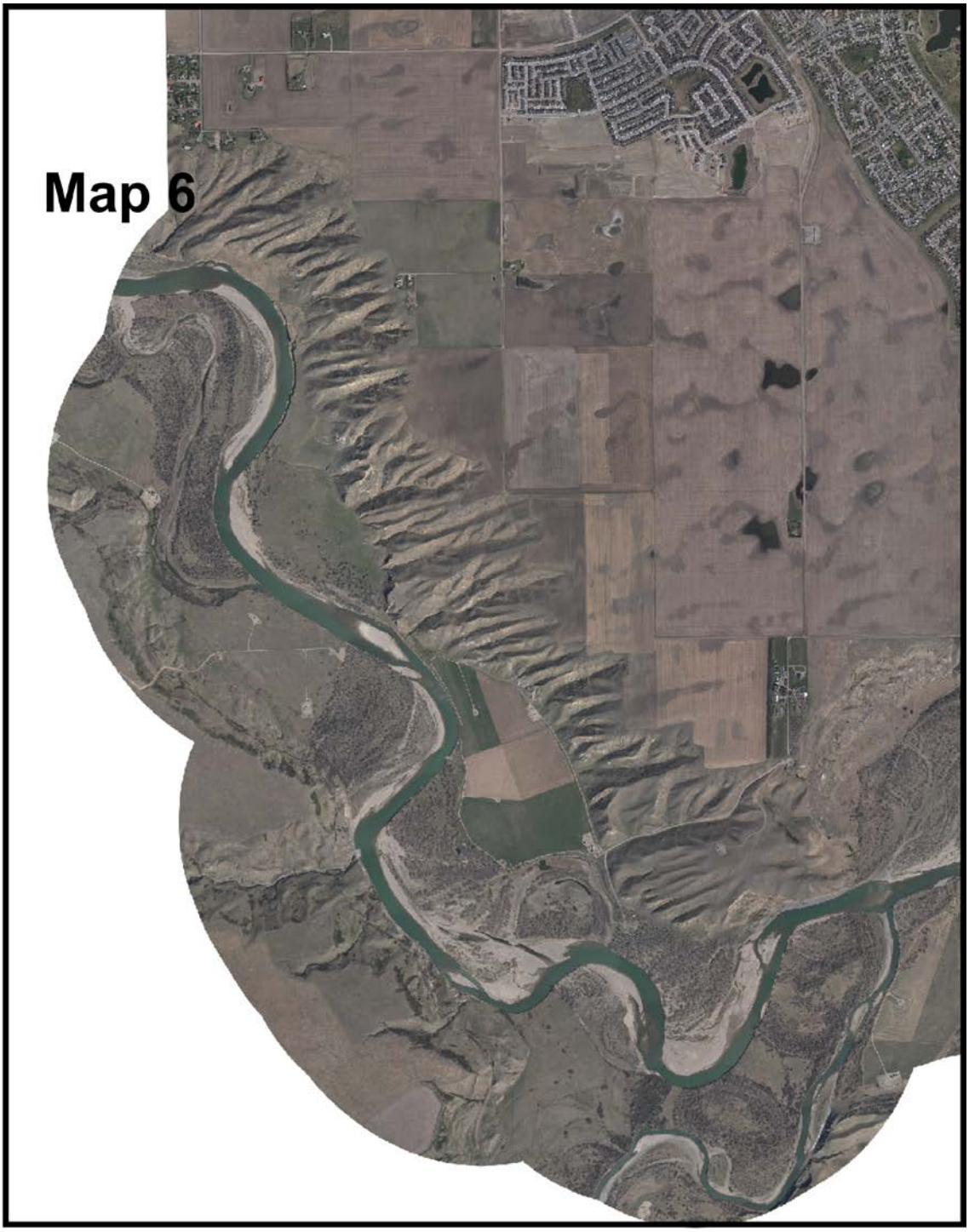

Map 1
?
?
?

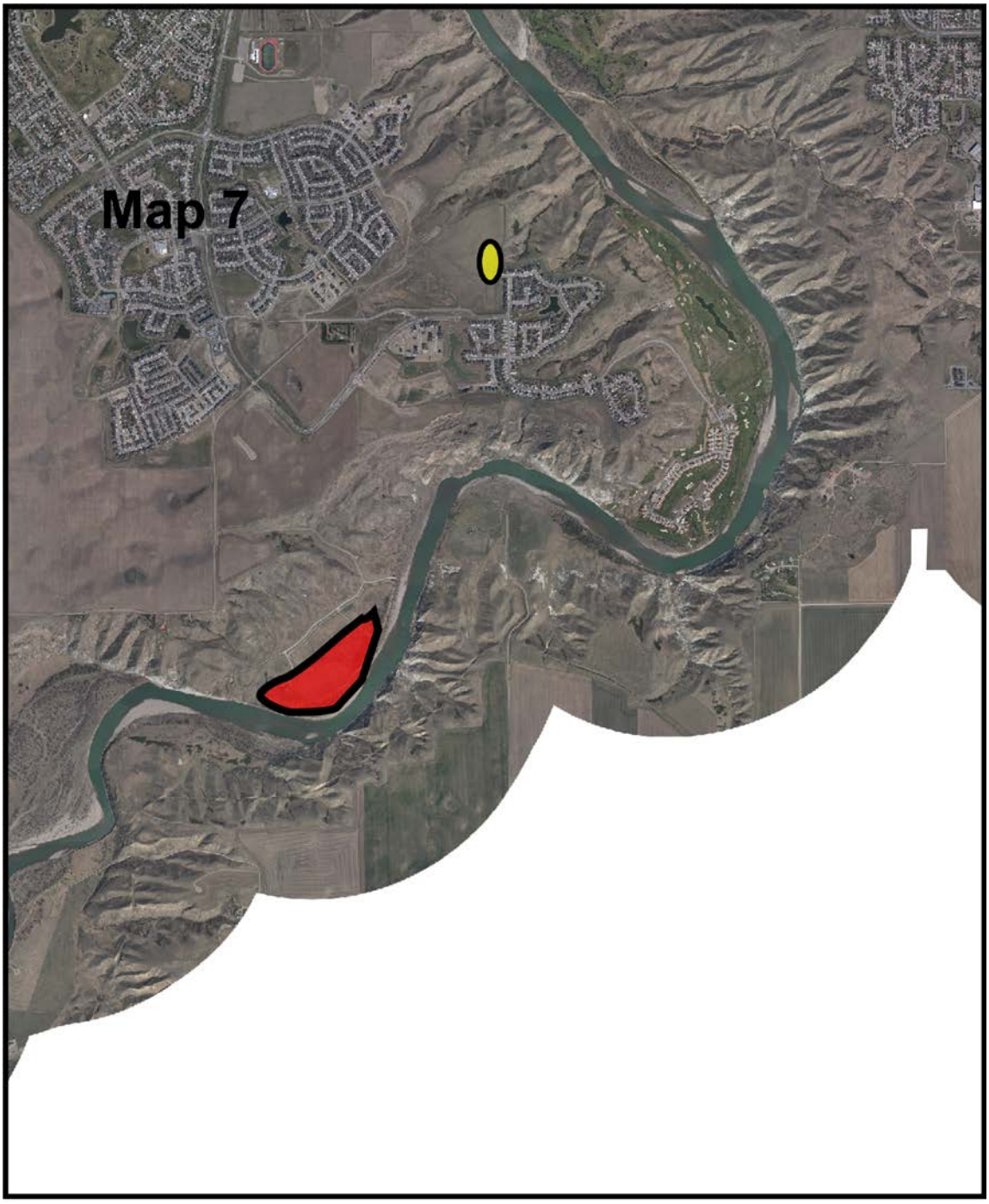

Map 2

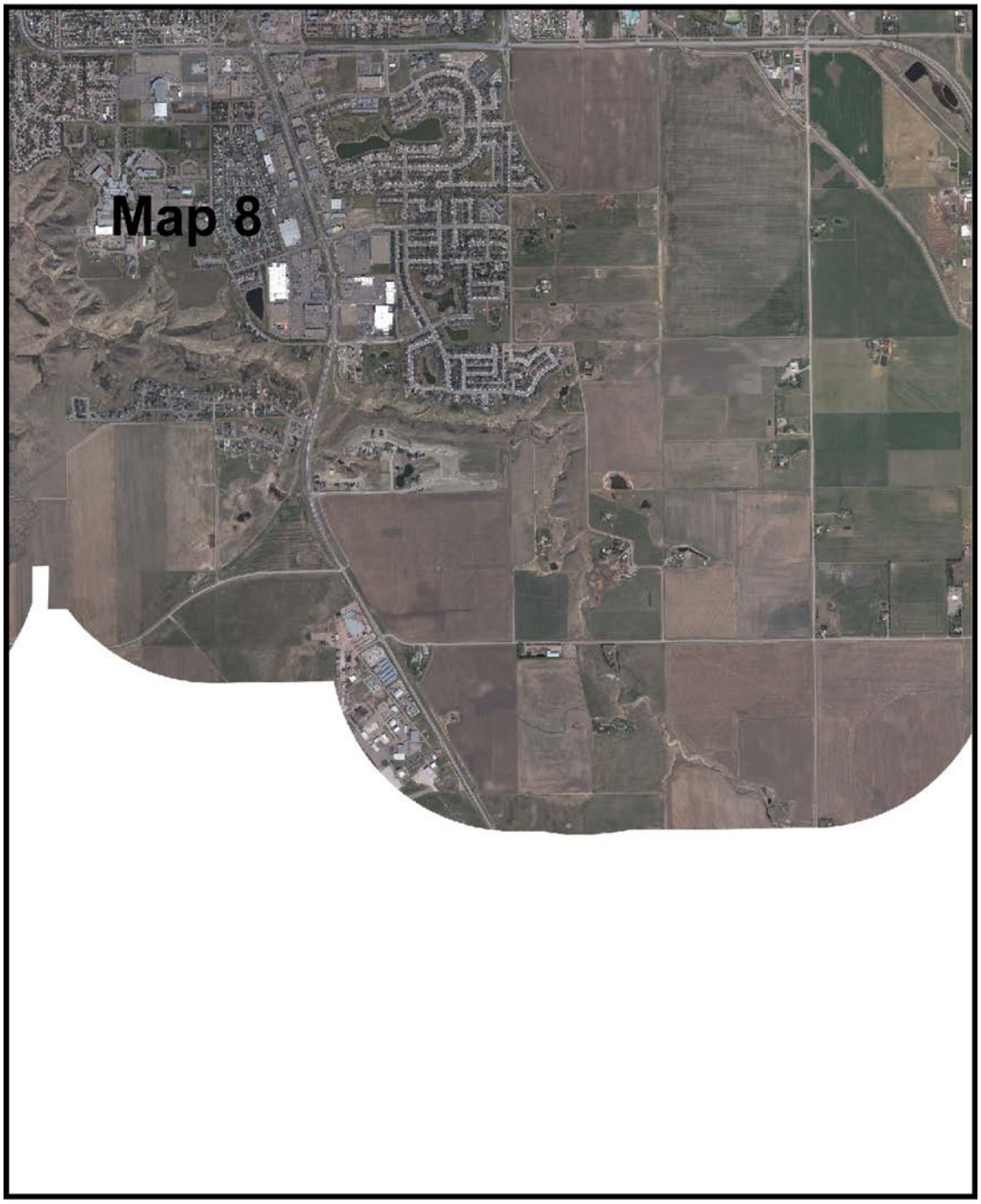

Map 3


Map 4


Map 5

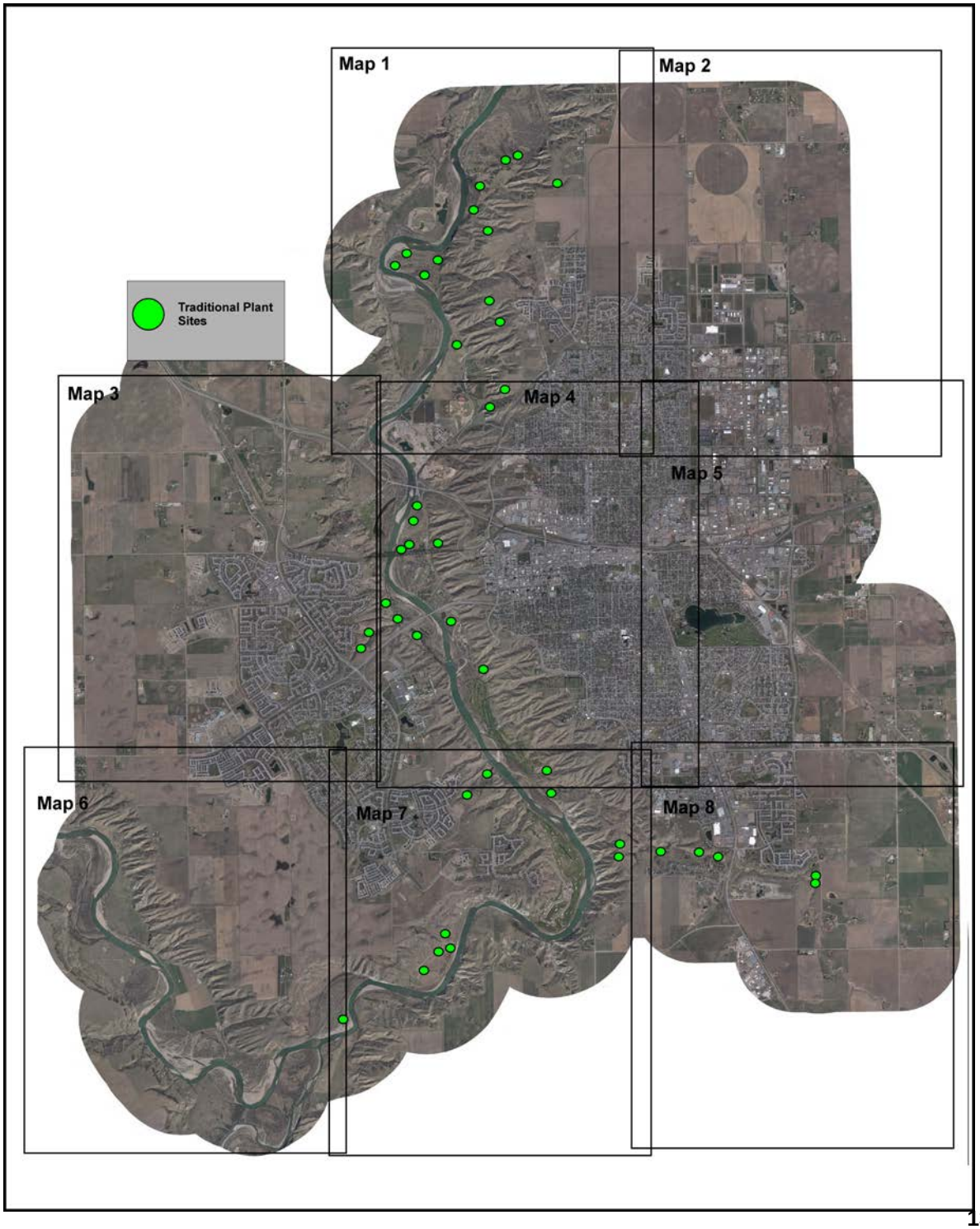

Map 6


Map 7

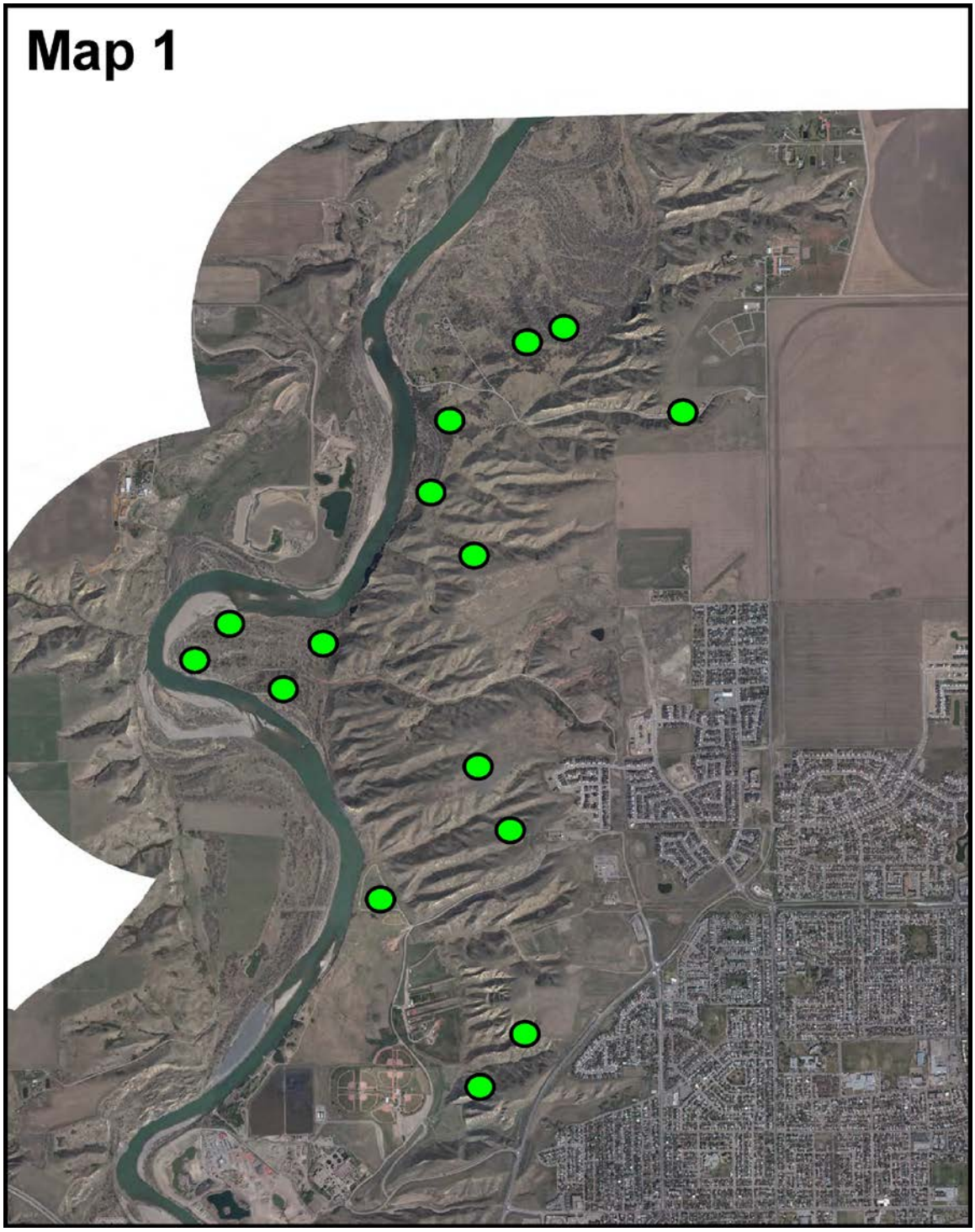

Map 8

Appendix C: Selected Traditional Plant Locations

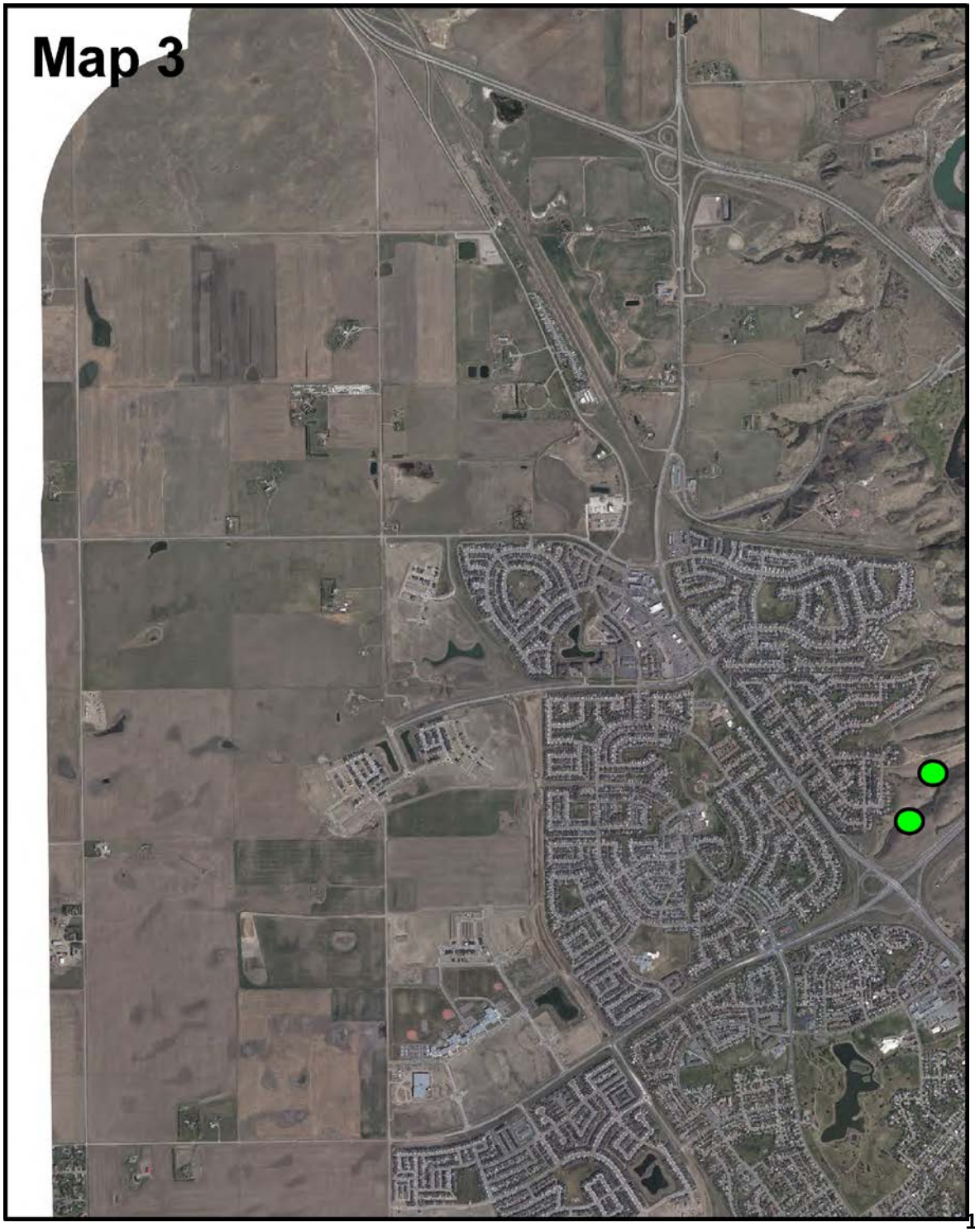
Map Notes: This appendix contains symbols showing the location of a selected number of traditionally important plants. This map set should not be considered to be a complete inventory of traditional plants on City owned lands, rather it is intended to convey a sense of the general distribution of important and extant plants that are considered to be significant medicinal or ceremonial plants to the Blackfoot people. We chose not to map plants that were used strictly for dietary purposes, since those are widespread on minimally disturbed and undisturbed lands in the City. The general map notes on map scale, preciseness and other information as shown on the Appendix A cover page also apply to Appendix C maps.

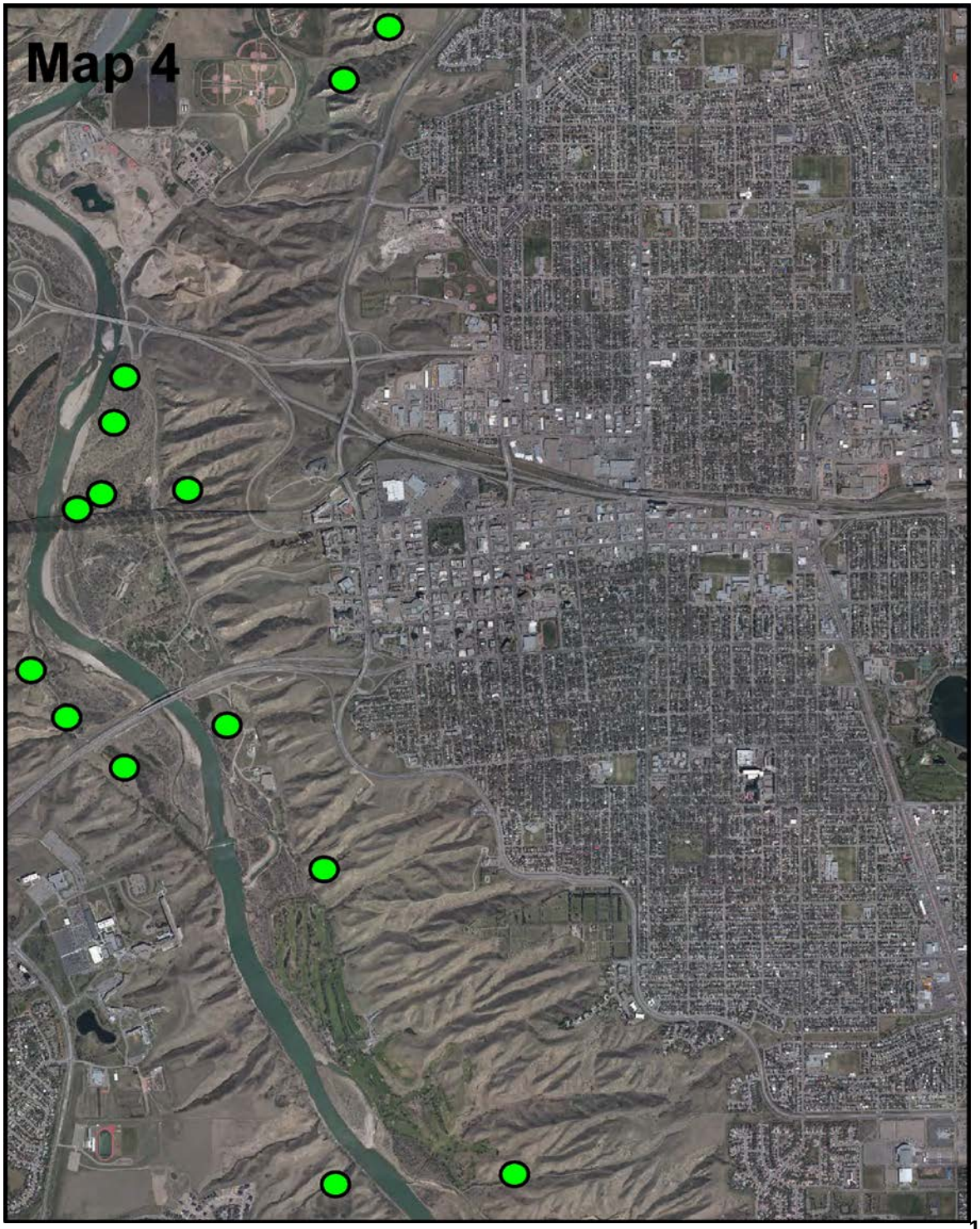

Map 1
Map 2
Traditional Plant Sites
Map 3
Map 4
Map 5
Map 6
Map 7
Map 8

Map 1

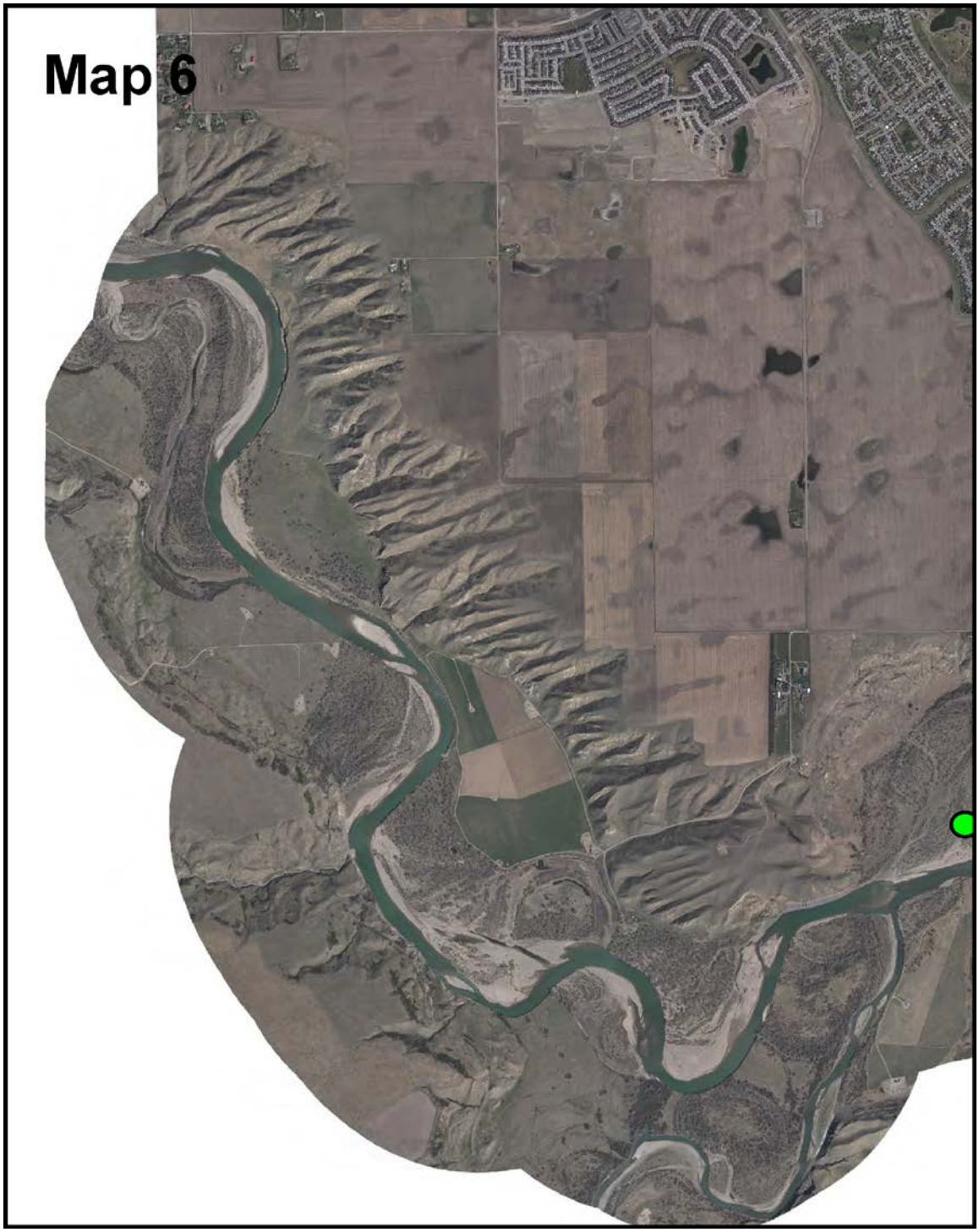


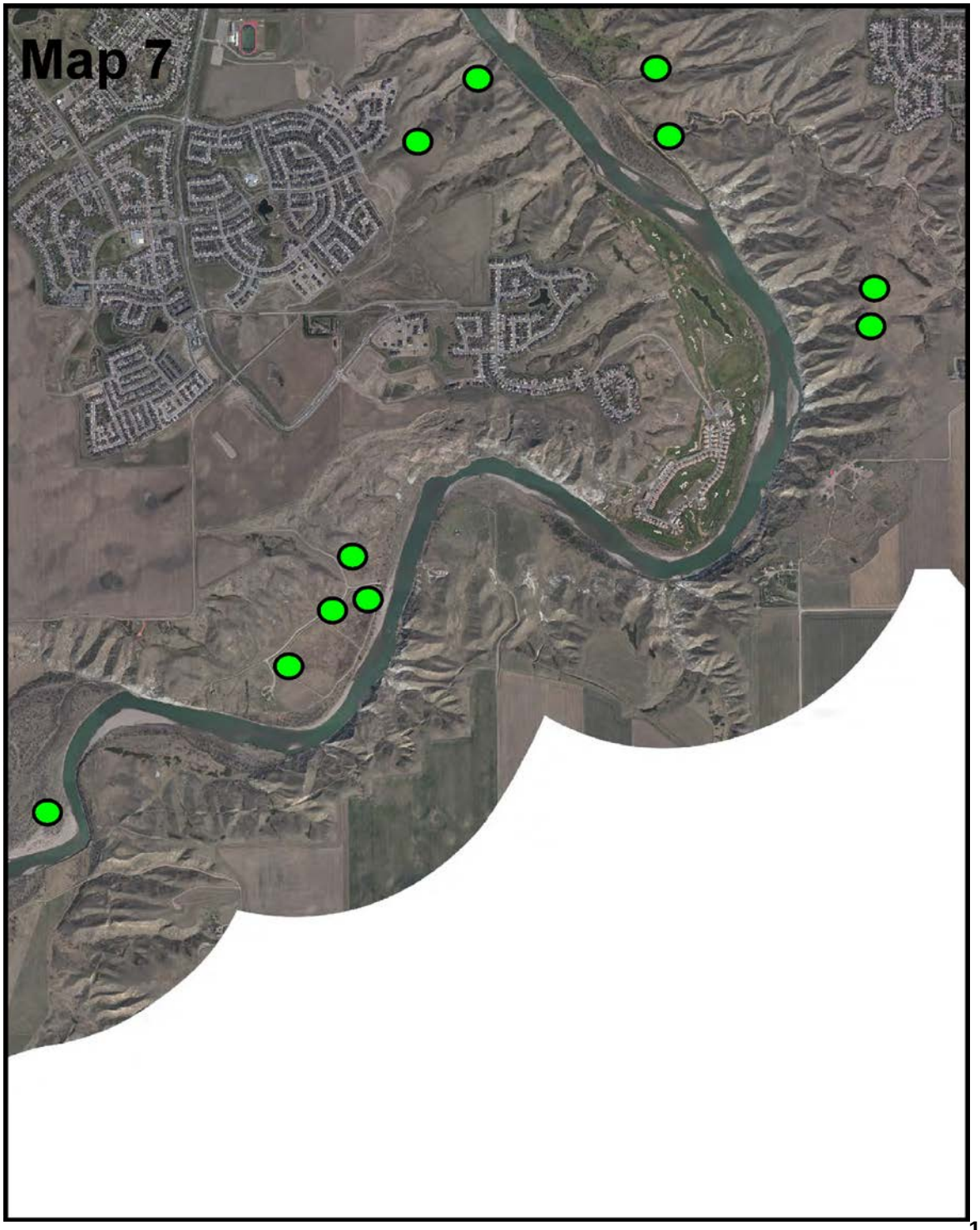
Map 2


Map 3


Map 4


Map 5


Map 6


Map 7

Appendix D: Selected Blackfoot Terms Used in this Report

Blackfoot Term	English Translation
Aatsímoyihkaan	Traditional Prayers
Ah-pu-tu-yis	Sagebrush
Akainawa	Blood Tribe
Akoniskway	Manyberries
Apathohsipikani	Piikani Nation
Ihtsipaitapiyo'pa	The Creator
Kak-it-simo	Mint
Mas' or *Mats*	Prairie Turnip
Mi'k(i)atówa'si	Medicine Rock
Mi'kotíípiiyis	Red Willow
Mi'ksiníttsiim	Bull berry
Miss-is-a-missoi	Wolf Willow
Naamsskíí	Lizard
Napi	Old Man/The Trickster
Niitsitapii	Blackfoot Nations
Ninaika'ksimii	Pasture Sage
Oki	Hello
Ookonokits	Saskatoon berry
Otahkoottsis	Prickly Pear Cactus
Otsipiis	Willow
Paahkipistsi	Chokecherry
Pakksíni'simaan	Goose Berries
Pistahkaan	Tobacco
Sííkokíínis	Black birch
Sikóóhkotok	Black Rock, Lethbridge
Sspopíi	Turtle