THREADS TO THE PAST:

THE CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION

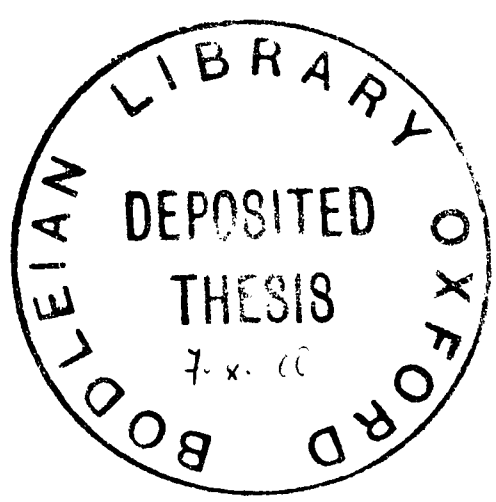
OF KINSHIP IN THE COAST SALISH SOCIAL NETWORK

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THREADS TO THE PAST: THE CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF KINSHIP IN COAST SALISH COMMUNITIES

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This thesis describes the aboriginal and contemporary social organization of the Coast Salish people of southwestern British Columbia and northwestern Washington State, with a focus on the Squamish Nation whose Reserves are situated in North Vancouver and the Howe Sound area. It is based on field research undertaken over a 30-year period and on published and unpublished sources. The thesis explores the construction of kinship and social groups among the Coast Salish, and the transformation of these relationships over time and in various historical circumstances, from the mid-19th century to the present day.

Drawing upon the theoretical approaches of William Davenport (1959), Raymond Firth (1963) and Anthony Cohen (1985), among others, the thesis discusses key components of Coast Salish social organization and identity, including a group's contrasting identity and relation to the groups within its ambit of comparison, the association of specific social units with territory, and the expression of status in both traditional and contemporary society. Specific findings document a shift to nuclear family households, the adoption of English kinship terms, the development of hereditary and elected leadership, and the emergence of the Tribe and the First Nation as primary symbols of identity in the 20th century. Some current issues resulting from the impact of change are examined in the context of naming ceremonies and disputes over inherited property, including ancestral names.

The thesis argues that the diversity and complexity of neither the traditional nor transformed expressions of Coast Salish social organization find congruence with models of aboriginal society being deployed by contemporary Courts and Treaty negotiators. Issues of territorial "overlap" presently impeding treaty negotiation among BC's Coast Salish peoples were nevertheless predictable, for like some of the world's other cognatic societies, the Coast Salish could hold discrete notions of identity simultaneously.

In conclusion, the thesis examines briefly the application to the Coast Salish of Lévi-Strauss' "House-society" as a specific form of social organization.

Dedicated to the memory of the late Chief Louis Miranda (*sx̱aaltxw*)
and the late Chief Joe Mathias (*t'echux̱ánm*)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis comes after ethnographic research undertaken over a 30-year period with members of those Coast Salish communities that anthropologists classify, from north to south, as Bella Coola (Nuxalk), Homalco, Klahoose, Island Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, Saleelwat, Nanaimo, Musqueam, Tsawwassen, Cowichan, Saanich, Esquimalt, and Skokomish (Twana). While focussing on the Squamish, my thesis draws upon interviews with a vast number of individuals, as well as my observations gleaned from participation in their daily lives and ceremonial affairs.

I am particularly indebted to the late Chief Louis Miranda of the Squamish. As much a colleague and friend as an informant, Louis Miranda embodied the ideal collaborator — patient, precise, and unflagging in his endeavours to document Squamish traditions. Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote of him in 1981 that: "In Japan, Mr. Miranda would certainly be honored as a 'National Living Treasure.'"

Louis Miranda's numerous contributions were recognized in 1981 by Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia, who conferred on Chief Miranda the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa*. Mr. Miranda requested that historian Reuben Ware, who nominated him for this honour, together with me and my colleague and husband, Randy Bouchard, accompany him to the University President's formal dinner. It was a thrilling event; the memory of Louis Miranda's pride in his heritage and his personal accomplishments displayed on that occasion will remain with me forever.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Squamish Nation Council who facilitated research with their people. The Council's participation permitted my colleague and I to broaden the scope of our investigations to include numerous other Squamish individuals and

to pursue avenues of inquiry reflected in this thesis. It also allowed us to develop professional working relationships and friendships with many individuals including: Chief Philip Joe, who along with the late Chief Joe Mathias initially directed the project to compile the Squamish genealogical database; Squamish language specialist Chief Lawrence Baker who assisted notably in confirming some Squamish terms; and David and Andrea Jacobs, whose dedication to tradition will ensure the presence of Squamish longhouse teachings in the years to come. I am deeply indebted to all of them, along with the many other Coast Salish people I interviewed, only a few of whom are quoted by name in this thesis.

Chief Joe Mathias died suddenly in hospital on March 10th, 2000, when I was writing the final chapter of this thesis. The heart-felt grief following his death attests to the high regard that both aboriginal and non-Native people had for Chief Mathias, who was one of the best known and most respected aboriginal leaders in Canada. His long-standing concern for the recognition of aboriginal rights for BC's indigenous peoples, coupled with his deep interest in the maintenance of Squamish traditions were constant themes of the eulogies given at his funeral, which was attended by over 2,000 friends, relatives and admirers.

Most of my research among the Coast Salish has been conducted jointly with Randall (Randy) Bouchard under the auspices of the BC Indian Language Project (BCILP). Though the name of our research group reflects the nature of the work in which we engaged during the early years of our collaboration, our research has been largely ethnographic and ethnohistoric since the mid-1970s. Randy Bouchard's linguistic expertise has contributed greatly to the capacious character of our research, complementing as it has my interest in social anthropology. While I profited immensely from my own linguistic studies at the University of Victoria, I have relied on Randy's expertise in checking all linguistic

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To Donald Mitchell, Professor Emeritus of the University of Victoria, Professor Nancy Turner of that institution's Faculty of Environmental Studies, and the late Chief Joe Mathias of the Squamish Nation, a special thanks for their support of various applications for university entrance and/or scholarships.

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This thesis draws upon a wide range of documentary materials. Staff of the Tylor and Balfour Libraries at Oxford provided considerable assistance to me, as did friends and colleagues in Canada who tracked down various books, articles and manuscripts on my

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A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Throughout this thesis I have used a version of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) employed by linguists working on the Northwest Coast. The IPA's use for transcribing the complex phonology of Northwest Coast languages is described in Thompson and Kinkade's (1990, 30-51) article on Languages in Volume 7 of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians*. In some cases where I have relied upon the transcription of others, such as in Appendices One and Three, I have maintained the original orthography, even though not always a version of IPA or linguistically accurate. Where terms are used in the text of this thesis that do not reflect the accuracy of contemporary linguistic research, they have been placed in double quotation marks. By linguistic convention, glosses of Native terms have been placed in single quotation marks.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1897 ethnographer Charles Hill-Tout crossed Vancouver's Burrard Inlet on a mission to hear from an aged and blind Squamish historian the origin of his people. The elderly, monolingual man named *məlkʷs* was brought forward and Hill-Tout felt dismayed in having to use an interpreter to understand the tale that an audience then gathered to hear. At the behest of Squamish elders, some preparations were carried out before the old man began. These consisted of making a small bundle of tally sticks, each about six inches long, that in the hands of *məlkʷs* represented individual segments of his epic story. Picking up the first stick, the old man "began his recital in a loud, high-pitched key, as if he were addressing a large audience in the open air" (Hill-Tout 1897, 85). A full ten minutes later, old *məlkʷs* paused and the interpreter explained:

> In the beginning there was water everywhere and no land at all. When this state of things had lasted for a long while, the Great Spirit determined to make land appear. Soon the tops of the mountains showed above the water and they grew and grew till their heads reached the clouds (Hill-Tout 1897, 86).

The storyteller went on to narrate a long tale — only a fifth of which Hill-Tout estimates that he recorded — setting out a series of catastrophes: the repopulation of the Squamish lands; the return of the salmon to the rivers; and the bestowal of three gifts to the "first man" — a salmon trap, a chisel, and a wife. Other versions of the story explain how one particular tragedy, a Great Flood, covered the land, causing canoes to seek safety by

anchoring to Mount Garibaldi. One canoe broke free and floated south. The water receded and these lost Squamish Indians, it is said, became the present Nooksack tribe of Washington State.

To the Squamish, their way of life, with some calamity, began and developed where they still live today. Their neighbours have similar stories. Halkomelem-speakers tell the story of how the Cowlitz are descendants of some Cowichan people who were swept away from Mount Tzuhalem on Vancouver Island, and how a family of Coquitlam carried by the floodwaters from Mount Golden-Ears became another Washington State tribe. Mount Cheam in the Fraser Valley, and Estero Peak near Bute Inlet sheltered many aboriginal people who tied themselves to these mountains' summits until the waters receded. "Proof" of the Flood Story — pieces of the cedar bark ropes that anchored the canoes — is said to have been found by generations of Coast Salish people, but always the fresh-looking rope has crumbled to dust when touched.

For aboriginal people there is no debate of a Bering Straits migration, a sea voyage down the coast, or a long trek through an ice-free interior corridor, and certainly not an earlier civilization — contentiously non-aboriginal — that may be represented by skeletal remains of the type the North American media has recently christened the Kennewick Man. When Noel George Harry of Sliammon began his story of Raven and the Windmaker with the words, "Our people have always lived here, and the wind has always blown," he meant just that.

Locating the Coast Salish

While the aboriginal people view the composition of Coast Salish as unchanged since the beginning of time, with their neighbours being scattered but related communities,

anthropologists on the Northwest Coast continue to probe the cultural and linguistic roots of these people, searching for origins and relationships. Linguists and anthropologists classify these people of Johnstone Strait, the Gulf of Georgia, and Puget Sound linguistically as "Salish," a term originally applied by nineteenth-century fur traders to a group of people occupying the easternmost area of what is now Washington State. When early scholars discovered that the language spoken by these particular "Salish" was but one of a large number of related languages, they eventually applied the name to the whole family of languages both in the interior and on the coast.

The indigenous people who reside in southwest British Columbia and much of Washington State are (or were) speakers of the Language Family classified as Salishan. There are 23 distinct languages in the Salishan Language Family, separated into two Divisions, Coast Salish and Interior Salish. Sixteen languages are within the Coast Salish Division, with the remaining seven situated on the east side of the coastal mountains forming the Interior Salish Division. This thesis concentrates on the social organization of the people called "Coast Salish."

Coast Salish consists of numerous "tribes." What are commonly known as tribes in the Coast Salish literature and in common speech can best be described as clusters of villages having enough social unity to be recognized as a named group, often with its own distinct dialect or language, and identification with a specific area. The "tribe," aboriginally, was one of several social groups, but was neither a political nor an economic unit. A more in-depth look at this level of organization will be found in Chapter 3.

Tribes recognized under the rubric "Coast Salish" (see figure 1) include those classified culturally as: Northern Coast Salish, consisting of Comox, Sechelt and Pentlatch (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990b); Central Coast Salish, containing Squamish, Halkomelem,

MAP

Map showing relative location of Coast Salish languages and geographical extent of the Coast Salish Language Family

Legend

- Boundary of Coast Salish Language Family
- Island Comox — Salishan languages
- Nuuchahnulth — Non - Salish neighbours
- Stillaguamish — Other tribal groups mentioned in thesis

Nuxalk
Bella Coola
Kwakwaka'wakw
Homalco
Chilcotin
Klahoose
Mainland Comox
Island Comox
Sliammon
Stl'átl'imx
Nlha7kápmx
Nuuchahnulth
Pentlatch
Sechelt
Squamish
Tsleil-waut
Mainland Halkomelem
Yale
Tait
Nanoose
Coquitlam
Musqueam
Katzie
Chehalis
Pilalt
Nanaimo
Kwantlen
Island Halkomelem
Tsawwassen
Nicomen
Cheam
Semiahmoo
Matsqui
Chilliwack
Cowichan
Ditidaht
Halkomelem
Lummi
Nooksack
Northern Straits
Saanich
Lukungum
Samish
Chobaabish
Makah
Sooke
Swinomish
Northern Straits
Stillaguamish
Suiattle
Skagit
Lushootseed
Clallam
Quileute
Quilcene
Snohomish
Snoqualmie
Quinault
Duwamish
Twana
Squaxin
Southern Lushootseed
Puyallup
Lower Chehalis
Upper Chehalis
Nisqually
Muckleshoot
Cowlitz

KEY MAP
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
Coverage Area
Pacific Ocean
WASHINGTON

Figure 1

Northern Straits, Clallam and Nooksack (Suttles 1990a); and Southern Coast Salish, comprising the speakers of Lushootseed (Skagit, Upper Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle, Swinomish, Snohomish, Skykomish, Snoqualmie, Suquamish, Stillaguamish, Tulalip, Duwamish, Puyalup, Squaxin, and Nisqually) and Twana (Quilcene, Skokomish and Duhlelap) (Suttles and Lane 1990). Additionally, anthropologists now distinguish a Southwestern branch of Coast Salish comprising Quinault, Lower and Upper Chehalis, and Cowlitz (Lower Cowlitz). This last cluster of people spoke languages classified within the Tsamosan Branch of Coast Salish (Hajda 1990, 503). In this thesis I make only incidental reference to this latter group of Coast Salish speakers, focussing instead on the Central and Northern Coast Salish groups where I have undertaken extensive field investigations over the past three decades. My particular emphasis is on the Squamish and neighbouring Central Coast Salish, and to a lesser extent the Northern and Southern Coast Salish.

While the languages of the Southern and Southwest divisions of Coast Salish are moribund, serious efforts are being made to reintroduce or revitalize indigenous languages throughout the region. Lushootseed (Southern Coast Salish) teachers, who themselves received technical language instruction from linguists, now offer after-school and summer language camps to school children. Such programs are common throughout the region, though not all have had the same level of success. Halkomelem (within Central Coast Salish) continues to be heard on ceremonial occasions and is spoken regularly by elders, although it has long ceased being the language of daily communication, instead being replaced by English. Squamish and Straits are seldom heard in Native homes. The Squamish language, spoken fluently by only a handful of speakers today, differs from the idiom I heard spoken by an earlier generation alive in the 1970s. Notwithstanding, Squamish language classes are now acquainting school-age children with the aboriginal

speech, and once again, Squamish can be heard in the longhouse[1] and tribal offices. The Nooksack language, however, is extinct. Clallam is spoken fluently only by several people living in Washington State, and the last fluent speaker of the Vancouver Island Becher Bay Clallam community died in January 2000. In the north, the Pentlatch language became extinct with the death of the last speaker around 1940. The last speaker of the Island dialect of Comox died in 1995, although aboriginal people who are middle-aged or older continue to have fluency in the Mainland dialect of this same language. Knowledge of the Sechelt language remains among only a small number of elders.

The linguistic diversity of Coast Salish is not mirrored culturally, although the region is not homogeneous and subareas or subgroupings have been distinguished. Throughout the history of research on the Northwest Coast, beginning in the 1840s, ethnologists have attempted to discern cultural similarities and differences within the area. Suttles and Jonaitis' (1990b, 4-12) review in Volume 7 of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* found that early classifications of Northwest Coast peoples all applied a mixture of physical, cultural and supposed intellectual and moral characteristics. Classification without judgements about intellect and morality began with Franz Boas in the 1880s, but relatedness was then distinguished impressionistically on the basis of conspicuous culture traits. Subsequently, Alfred Kroeber's (1923, 1963) analysis resulted in a classification system that recognized the area west of the coastal mountains extending from Alaska in the north to California in the south, as the Northwest Coast Culture Area.

From an anthropological perspective, there are some distinct characteristics that set

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[1] The term "longhouse" has largely replaced the earlier English terms "smokehouse" and "bighouse," although as Ryan (1973) noted, the three can be used interchangeably.

this region apart as the Northwest Coast Cultural Area. These include: its marine and riverine orientation that permeated not only subsistence practices but ideology and outlook; a subsistence pattern that placed emphasis on fishing and marine mammal hunting, and also involved considerable gathering of shellfish, other marine invertebrates, and plants; a highly developed woodworking technology; a tripartite system of social stratification that included nobles, commoners and slaves; an emphasis on property, both tangible and noncorporeal; and a lack of inter- or even intracommunity political organization and the absence of significant political office.

Only beginning in the 1970s was the Culture Area differentiated by a statistical analysis comparing the presence of a large number of traits. Jorgensen (1969) found a close fit between language and culture, with greater language diversity and relative cultural similarity among the Coast Salish division than among the Interior division of Salish. He demonstrated cohesiveness within Coast Salish and showed that within this group, as language similarity increases, cultural similarity increases concurrently. In a subsequent study, Jorgensen (1980) considered cultural and environmental characteristics in a comparative analysis designed to further delineate such correlations. The question of diversity within the Coast Salish continuum was taken up in a more recent article by Suttles (1987c).

Background to Research

By the time I began to elicit information from Coast Salish people, beginning in the early 1970s, practices these people believed to be "traditional," were, in fact, the result of decades of innovation, and some customs described in the early historical record were entirely foreign to contemporary elders. Other practices I observed were clearly informed

by an aboriginal perspective not shared by the wider North American society.

Since initial contact with Europeans in the late 1700s, Coast Salish people have responded to their increasingly urbanized environment by creating new strategies for economic and cultural survival, while maintaining a sense of aboriginal identity that clearly sets them apart from their non-Native neighbours. Although some ceremonial practices, along with most of the languages, had fallen into disuse by the 1970s, only about one-third of the registered Coast Salish population in British Columbia lived off-Reserve, so a sense of community remained strong. Around this time, elderly aboriginal people throughout the region were advocating a grass-roots interest in linguistic and cultural revival, often with the support of the academic community, with the result that a growing number of young people were taking an interest in resurrecting and/or maintaining their people's cultural past.

The process of cultural revitalisation required — as it always does — remembering and making choices about what was indeed "traditional." In the Central Coast Salish area, two particularly-striking identity markers emerged that were to take on considerable importance for those participating in the revival. One was the resurgence of the winter dance and an associated ceremonial life (see Kew 1970), and the other was the acquisition of ancestral "Indian names." Senior members of each community guided what became recognized as the "traditional way" of doing things. They recalled what they had witnessed of ceremonies in the early 1900s, and what they had heard from parents and grandparents about earlier times. They held meetings to debate procedures, then behind closed doors grumbled about the relative accuracy of other elders' views. Eventually, however, they arrived at a workable consensus for social enactment, and today, it is common for longhouse schedules to be booked more than a year in advance for families to carry out

their preparations for the "work" to be done.

Programmes aimed at cultural revival appeared in Native communities throughout the Northwest Coast in the 1970s, and not just among the Salish. Each adopted a similar course, as groups of elders formed "Cultural and Language Committees" and applied successfully for government funding to pursue their interests, particularly in the areas of language, music, dance and ceremonies. Anthropologist Susan Golla (1987) found in the Nuu-chah-nulth area of western Vancouver Island aboriginal societies actively resurrecting their past, though many had been pronounced dead as cultural entities by a previous generation of anthropologists. Many of her observations on the transformation of Nuu-chah-nulth society apply equally to the Coast Salish. By drawing upon memories of what comprised an aboriginal identity — whether consciously maintained or unconsciously constructed — tribal communities forged what have now become their traditional ways.

Among the Squamish, my friend and teacher, Louis Miranda (b.1892 — d.1990), was a major force behind the revitalization of a proud Squamish identity. Little ethnographic work had been done among the Squamish at the time and few monographs on Coast Salish traditions were available, so younger members depended upon Mr. Miranda and several other elders to recall the finer points of earlier practices.

I first saw Louis Miranda from a distance in early 1971. Though in his late seventies, he was hammering shingles on the roof of a new longhouse on the Capilano Indian Reserve in West Vancouver, a project he had undertaken with Moses Antone, a Squamish man of similar age, supplementing a small grant for the construction costs with funds from their own pockets. A smaller longhouse built in 1958 by August Jack, Mathias Joe, and Dominick Charlie had once occupied the site, but had burned down after several years of use, and the Squamish Band had not replaced it. With the resurgence in winter

dancing that was occurring by the early 1970s however, some Squamish elders recognized the importance of constructing a new longhouse as younger members were discovering a place for traditional Squamish religious beliefs in their lives.

One of the first events held in the new longhouse was a naming ceremony that I describe here in Chapter 7. I had by then known Louis Miranda for a year and had observed the lengthy preparations being made for the event that he was hosting. This occasion made me first aware of the persisting importance of kinship in Squamish society, although initially I found the use of kin terms baffling, and the reasons why certain people participated in the event to be obscure. Over the next two decades, my colleague Randy Bouchard and I spent considerable time with Louis Miranda and his wife Jessie (originally from the Cowichan tribe on Vancouver Island), discussing with them both in formal interviews and more casually — while going for long drives or sitting around the table for endless cups of tea — what was recognized as true Squamish culture and what it was we were observing in the community at that time.

Spending so much time with Louis Miranda, I became particularly interested in the intricacies of social relationships involving the exchange of names and ceremonial property, and the type of social groups that enactment of such exchanges brought about. Among Mr. Miranda's responsibilities as a tradition-bearer for the Squamish people, he acted in the unofficial position of "keeper of the names," and was renowned throughout the Central Coast Salish area for his knowledge of ancestral or "Indian names." Often we would arrive at his home to find him preparing a tape-recording setting out a particular family's linkage to a name they wished to bestow on a new dancer, or meeting with the longhouse Speakers to discuss the appropriateness of a certain family's use of a name or ceremonial prerogative. In a school-scribbler he recorded a roster of individuals, along

with each ancestral name that he had helped the family's elders choose from those belonging to their ancestors. Clearly, cultural rules guided the transmission of ancestral names. Mr. Miranda had strong opinions on what those rules might be and adopted a somewhat patronising attitude toward those who did not hold his views, or possess his impressive knowledge. Still, he was a very generous man, sought out weekly for his advice on what Squamish traditional culture entailed. He received all visitors warmly, Native and non-Native, and thanked them for their interest in his people's culture.

In 1983, while contracted by the Squamish Indian Band (as it was then called) to undertake research in connexion with an aboriginal land use study, my colleague and I came across an extensive collection of records that had been compiled, beginning in 1860, by Catholic priests of the Oblate Order of Mary Immaculate. The registers noted the baptismal and marriage events for Central Coast Salish people and for some beyond. The records that we transcribed from these registers have contributed many long-forgotten ancestral names that have been linguistically reconstructed for use by contemporary generations searching for ancestral names. Information in these records has also been of interest to other Squamish members keen to learn more about their personal family history.

As we worked with Mr. Miranda and numerous other elders in tracing each family's genealogical history (using these church records along with other census data that we then obtained), it became clear that the information being generated could help address some of the questions concerning social organization that had been posited by earlier anthropologists working among the Coast Salish. Additionally, it was clear that these data could be used to test hypotheses derived from these anthropological studies.

In the late 1980s, I began to computerise the genealogical database in order to most efficiently manage the data and generate examples of specific relationships. This has been

an ongoing endeavour that has seen the database updated and expanded each year since, and has broadened to other Coast Salish areas as more data became available. The database now contains approximately 12,000 individuals and for some families, demonstrates twelve generations of kin.

Since my first visit to the Capilano longhouse in 1972, I have attended ceremonial events at numerous longhouses, as well as at church, community and recreational halls throughout the Central Coast Salish area, and have visited other longhouses in the Southern Coast Salish area as well. The events hosted on these occasions often included the transmission of ancestral names and sometimes the solemn display of owned prerogatives, such as masks and rattles. Each event brought together for the occasion a selection of individuals expressing their acknowledged kinship as they stood together, a "family," the physical manifestation of their biological and social relationships. I noticed that on other occasions, the same individuals might be affiliated with other kin, contributing to another group seen as having for the moment an undifferentiated identity. While each "family" was conceptually defined as a unit, standing in a formal relationship with other such units, the nature of the defining criterion was sometimes obscure, raising questions in my mind about group formation, the rules governing the acquisition of property such as ancestral names, and especially, the role of descent and affinity in the transmission of such property. I was particularly interested in knowing how the structured groups I saw displayed at ceremonial events in the 1970s had transformed from the past.

An earlier analysis of Coast Salish social organization that I undertook for my Master's Thesis at the University of Victoria (Kennedy 1995a) used the genealogical database to test five hypotheses relating to the extent and intensity of village exogamy in the Central Coast Salish area, with an emphasis on Squamish marriages and the social

network formed by such relationships. The findings of this study provided support for the model of social relations that had been put forward by William W. Elmendorf (1946, 1960, 1971) and Wayne Suttles (1960, 1962, 1968). I found the genealogical database to have a high degree of validity and reliability, and as I discuss in Chapter 7, the database has permitted individuals to be traced through the years and their names to be followed across the generations and village boundaries.

It is apparent when observing Coast Salish rituals that a particular structural relationship can be seen and expressed on these occasions in a wide variety of ways. The "expressions" seem varied, although recurrent and familiar. People either stand together or in groups opposite one another, form lines and clusters, or receive "thanks" from those who do. They display spiritually-imbued ritual paraphernalia or sit and watch those who have such profound and ancient possessions. These are all manifestations of the structural relations between persons and groups which comprise Coast Salish society. Yet the nature of the groups formed is somewhat elusive when Coast Salish individuals unite to amass property, display rights to ritual prerogatives, and stand together as "family" while bestowing upon their kin the names of their ancestors. The groups formed are not constant, and do not assemble in an identical way on another occasion. There is, of course, no confusion in the mind of the participants themselves, each of whom recognizes a wide range of kin. Though certain contemporary practices are seen by some Coast Salish people to be "incorrect," and certain individuals are regarded as ignorant of the "real" way things should be done, the fluidity of longhouse events is a credit to the organizers and all who participate, and certainly is evidence that these people have transformed meaningful aspects of their past into a vital component of the present. There is an appearance, at least, that everyone knows with whom to stand, and to whom to give.

All of the aboriginal Coast Salish villages were connected formerly by multiple, overlapping bonds of kinship and marriage, as implied by a small population having a bilateral extension of marriage prohibition with cousins. My earlier work (Kennedy 1995a), focussing on Squamish, quantified the individual connexions, making it possible to construct the parameters of the tribe's social network established through marriage. In this present thesis, I expand upon that research and look also at the nature of identity being expressed by various social and residential groupings.

Throughout the present thesis I will be examining how Coast Salish individuals recognize themselves and others, and how groups are formed and transformed through the years by the exchange or transmission of corporeal and non-corporeal property. These are the main themes of my thesis. I will be weaving through the generations, drawing upon early historical vignettes, explaining them with the ethnographies of the early 1900s, and illustrating the continuity and revision of certain practises with information I and others obtained from Coast Salish people during the second half of the twentieth century. In each chapter I write about the past and the nature of its transformation into the social organization of contemporary Coast Salish society. For this analysis I draw upon field notes I made working with various Salish peoples beginning in 1971 and largely ongoing. Though this thesis focuses on my investigations among the Squamish, I also present information I elicited from members of the following other groups: Klahoose, Homalco, Island Comox, Sechelt, Saleelwat, Saanich, Esquimalt, Tsawwassen, Musqueam, Cowichan and Nanaimo.

I begin in Chapter 2 by looking at how Coast Salish people identity themselves, focussing on the ethnonyms used to define their sociocultural universe and to draw boundaries differentiating various groups. Additionally, at the level of the individual, I

discuss the application of kinship terms throughout the Coast Salish region, showing the extent of consanguineal and affinal recognition. Chapter 3 examines the evidence for rank or class in traditional Coast Salish society and how markers of high status are being manifested in the contemporary community. In Chapter 4 I will be showing how the residential and social groups that traditionally ordered an individual's life have undergone such transition that today an identification with one's tribe or "Nation" has largely replaced most individuals' association with the local group or village, social units that have become inconsequential in the modern world. While I offer an analysis of social units comprising the *traditional* social organization of Coast Salish people, I am equally interested in showing how the contemporary social arrangements are transformations of earlier ways, reordered and realigned, sometimes to satisfy contemporary needs. Chapter 5 looks at the structural principles important in Coast Salish society by examining the concepts of kinship, affinity and descent in the creation of a regional social structure.

Having recognized that certain social units collectively held certain property, I review in Chapter 6 the use of social strategies in the management of rare or highly productive resources, and the role of the elite in maintaining the balance and dichotomy between hierarchy and equality, and exclusivity and communality. Chapter 7 follows this with a look at the individual use of corporate property through the acquisition of an ancestral name. It is my position that while notable changes have occurred in the organization of Coast Salish society, threads of familial relationships remain strong, and where a family's participation within Coast Salish ceremonial life has been revitalized, the contemporary interpretation of the fabric of tradition provides enduring support. The public acquisition of an ancestral name, together with the distribution of property, have always been conspicuous ways in which people expressed the identity and strength of the family,

and the wealth and status of its ancestry. Today, however, possession of such a name also demonstrates the solidarity and pride of an *Indian* identity. Using the ceremony to express one's ethnic distinctiveness evolved along with the desire to express cultural pride and distinctiveness as *indigenous* people and members of First Nations, vis-à-vis the broader "White" society.

Chapter 8 provides a prominent example of how reference to the past and assertions about the primacy of certain levels of socioterritorial organization are being used by contemporary First Nations to assert claims based upon individuals' association with specific inherited property. The data are often highly contradictory, of course incomplete, and the subject of much heated debate. I do not believe that it is possible to sort out the "whole truth" of the specific issue at this late date in time, but I do believe that understanding how and why the genealogy of a particular individual can be the basis of contemporary claims tells us a lot about the principles of traditional social structure.

Chapter 9 presents the Conclusions to this thesis where I discuss this present analysis and its broader implications for our understanding of Central Coast Salish social structure and these peoples' land claims. I also discuss why I do not believe that application of Claude Lévi-Strauss' concept of the "house society," as a specific form of social organization, adds to our understanding of this particular cognatic society.

Contemporary Implications of the Study

The question of the structure of traditional Coast Salish society has taken on considerable importance. Today in British Columbia, groups of contemporary Coast Salish people assert claims to lands and resources, along with special rights, that are premised on their fulfilment of certain legal tests. These tests demand, in part, that a claimant group be

the lawful descendants of an *organized* societal entity that used and occupied lands to the *exclusion* of others at the time British sovereignty was asserted here in 1846. Evidence presented in the Supreme Court of British Columbia during the *Regina v. Van der Peet* litigation in 1987 initially raised these issues which were addressed again in subsequent fishing cases such as *R. v. Hope and R. v. Fraser.* And finally, in the Federal Court of Canada, during the 1996-1997 *Mathias et al. v. the Queen et al.* litigation, the issue of Coast Salish social organization received a rigorous examination by the four contending parties, three of whom were aboriginal groups vying for interests in the same piece of property. I gave evidence in the *Mathias* litigation as an Expert Witness on behalf of the Squamish Nation.

One of the questions that emerged in the *Mathias* case was the relationship of the contemporary First Nation claimant to the earlier property-holding group. Each group asserted aboriginal title to a certain area, and while only the Squamish could demonstrate that the residents of the disputed land recognized themselves collectively as Squamish and were seen by others to be Squamish, the other aboriginal groups tried to establish a legal interest in the land through ties of kinship. It is important to understand why such strong assertions are being made and how this is somewhat in accord with Coast Salish tradition.

Not just aboriginal people engage in lengthy disputes regarding the veracity of a particular perspective on traditional Coast Salish practises. Anthropologists, too, disagree on the nature of the area's social organization and the appropriate terminology to be applied to the constituent units. It is, therefore, with tremendous respect for those colleagues who have made their opinions known, that I now commit my own views to paper.

Terminology

A word on terminology is necessary. Since the late 1980s, aboriginal people in Canada have recognized themselves as members of "First Nations" (I discuss this further in Chapter 3), a contemporary terminology which conveys their sense of having governments parallel with the structure of the dominant nation-state. In Canada, this terminology has largely displaced the term "Indian," seen by some indigenous people and anthropologists as pejorative, but which remains current in ordinary daily conversation by both "Indians" and "Whites" alike. In Washington State, the term "Indian," along with "Native American," remains a preferred form of self-identification among people of aboriginal descent, and bumper stickers proclaim in large red, white and blue letters — sometimes patterned like the American flag — "Proud to be Indian." In this thesis, I tend to use the synonyms "indigenous," "aboriginal," and "Native," but occasionally make reference to First Nations, tribes, and Indians, as well, following the context of the people's own usage of these terms. For the most part, however, I have tried to use the names of specific groups, as used by the members themselves, especially when providing comparative data.

I occasionally identify informants (a role mostly identified nowadays as "Native Consultants" here on the Northwest Coast) by their personal name, either Christian or ancestral. Some of these individuals are deceased, and others are not. I use names (and initials) in those instances where I have concluded that their comments reflect more general knowledge and contain nothing that could be construed as offensive to their friends and neighbours. In situations where their comments about other individuals or groups have been important for understanding Coast Salish social structure, but may nevertheless encroach upon the sensitivities of others, I have excluded any identifying characteristic, and in a few instances, changed certain distinguishing features in order to obscure the person's

identity. I have, nevertheless, included a chapter focussing upon an ancestral name of considerable status that is currently held by several individuals, some of whom dispute the others' right to the name. I have chosen not to mention any of their English names, as that is irrelevant to the discussion. These same data received a public airing in the Federal Court of Canada during the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation. This highly-public example, I believe, illustrates dramatically some underlying principles of the culture of Coast Salish social structure, and its contemporary expression, so I have chosen to include it, and trust that my discussion has been respectful of the divergent positions.

Sources on the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia and Puget Sound

The Ethnohistorical Record

The early explorers visiting the Northwest Coast in the late 18th Century did not keep detailed records. Nor did they stay long enough to achieve fluency in the Native languages, or any true understanding of the complexity of the interrelationships going on around them. In the early 1800s, considerable exploration by fur-trade companies took place on the east side of the Cascade and Coastal Mountains, but little direct contact with either Central or Southern Coast Salish people occurred to the west, other than the sporadic presence of trading vessels plying the coast. The limited contact made by these explorers with the aboriginal people of the region shows that while some trade certainly took place, and European goods circulated among most tribes — even those in more remote areas who did not themselves see Whites — the direct impact of Europeans on indigenous society in these early years was marginal.

Of more consequence to an examination of social organization is the indirect effect of epidemics which decimated entire populations during this early historic period. Scanty

but compelling evidence attests to much larger pre-epidemic societies, with estimates for the entire Northwest ranging from around 80,000 to a possible 400,000, with most anthropologists conceding that a figure of 150,000 is entirely plausible. There is no questioning, however, the devastating effect a series of epidemics had on the indigenous populations, an issue well-described in the work of anthropologists Robert Boyd (1985, 1990, 1994, 1999) and Steven Acheson (1996), and cultural geographer Cole Harris (1992, 1994).

It was not until the late 1820s and 1830s, with the presence of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) fur-trade posts in the midst of the Coast Salish, that we are provided with Europeans' and Americans' observations of aboriginal society on a daily basis. Communication with indigenous people continued to be restricted, although the HBC officers hired Post translators and the senior company servants were keen observers. They were educated men intent upon knowing the local inhabitants, and some learned the local indigenous languages. The survival of the HBC operations — moreover, the safety of the men — depended largely upon maintaining mutually-beneficial relations with the local residents, and the journals reflect considerable interaction with them.

In his recent assessment of the 1827-1830 Fort Langley Journals, Wayne Suttles (1998, 163-164) points out that we must not assume that the journals reveal the *aboriginal* situation. For four decades prior to the HBC's establishment at Fort Langley, epidemics had ravished the coastal populations, European trade goods had passed between aboriginal villages, and contact with American ships entering Juan de Fuca Strait may have occurred. The same is true for the records emanating from Fort Nisqually, at the south end of Puget Sound, beginning in 1833, and from Fort Victoria, on the south end of Vancouver Island, set up a decade later. Nevertheless, the HBC journals do contribute, as Suttles states, an

unparalleled check on the ethnography of this area, confirming statements of Native consultants recorded years later, and providing data where few existed.

Among the earliest ethnological works on the Coast Salish people of Western Washington was material compiled by Horatio Hale, who served as ethnologist with the United States Exploring Expedition, commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, between 1837 and 1842. Other early observers include ethnologist and lawyer Dr. George Gibbs whose research was undertaken for the Oregon Territorial government in connexion with the 1854-1855 railroad surveys and in association with Indian treaties negotiated by Governor Stevens. Gibbs prepared several reports (Gibbs 1855, 1854-1856, 1854-1857, 1855-1856, 1877). Later he worked in the employ of the International Boundary Commission and spent considerable time with the Native people residing near the 49th parallel, and with their assistance produced a collection of maps showing place names, as well as travel routes by which exchanges and contacts were likely made.

Several other ethnographic investigations that covered parts of the Coast Salish area were undertaken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While all of these researchers had the advantage of interviewing aboriginal people who were alive before the signing of the American treaties in the mid-1850s and the establishment of British Columbia's colonial reserves in the 1860s, their work was not found to be useful for the purposes of this present study. More helpful have been the records of Catholic missionaries who introduced Christianity to the Coast Salish soon after the fur-trade posts began operation. In 1839 and 1840, Fathers Demers and Blanchet travelled through Puget Sound, teaching prayers and Christian doctrine. Their efforts were followed by a few insignificant attempts to establish missions, until finally in 1848 Oblate priest Father Pascal Ricard founded the first permanent mission on Puget Sound at what is now Olympia. In 1858 the Oblates of Mary

Immaculate moved their headquarters north to British Columbia and set up missions at Victoria, Cowichan, and in 1860, on the mainland at New Westminster.

Records compiled by both Catholic and Protestant priests carry their biases, especially their abhorrence of indigenous ceremonialism that in this area included the use of face-paint and the wearing of apparel viewed by the missionaries as animalistic and primitive. But despite their judgemental attitude, these records provide useful first-hand observations of Native life in the second half of the 19th Century. The objective of the missionaries' reports was to gain support for their efforts of Christian proselytisation, a task in need of both cash and recruitments; yet along with reports on the missionaries' success, their bulletins contain specific examples of the activities of the local Natives. Among the missionaries' duties of conversion was the registration of baptisms, confirmations and marriages. These particular records are especially germane to this present study. As the records identify individuals by ancestral name and Native village, it has been possible to reconstruct the population of numerous Coast Salish villages over many generations. This has allowed me to begin an examination of Coast Salish marriage rules, practises and patterns (Kennedy 1995a). Although marriage is the aspect of the Coast Salish social network to which Northwest Coast scholars have ascribed primacy, previous researchers entered discussions concerning intergroup relations and marriage patterns armed only with anecdotal data. These missionary records fill that data gap. They offer a remarkably clear window to the past, permitting the flow of people throughout the network to be tracked from village to village, over time, and quantified.

While the Protestants were less inclined to record ancestral names and villages, their descriptions of cultural practices are often lengthy (see for example Crosby 1907). Once the Congregationalists were assigned the Squaxin and Skokomish Reservations of

Washington State, for example, Reverend Myron Eells set about producing an enormous amount of ethnographic writing on the Natives of the Puget Sound area, among whom he lived for thirty-three years as a missionary, beginning in 1874 (Eells 1883, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1892; Castile 1985). While Myron Eells saw to the Skokomish people's spiritual well-being, his brother Edwin Eells served as Indian Agent. In the performance of his job, he enumerated the name and ages of the tribal members for the 1880 U.S. National Census (United States 1880), data that have been relied upon in this thesis.

The Ethnographic Record

Few modern ethnographic works concern the Northern, Central and Southern Coast Salish people and their culture, despite the role that the aboriginal people of the Northwest Coast have played in the development of anthropological theory. Among the first scholars to work in the area was Franz Boas, a critic of the ethnocentric ethnology that was characteristic of the 19th Century, and a leader in recognising the need for more descriptive cultural facts that would result in the historical reconstruction of a culture (Rohner 1969, xvi). A biography of Franz Boas by historian Douglas Cole (1999) has been recently published posthumously.

Boas was initially attracted to the Northwest Coast by his enchantment with the Bella Coola dances he had witnessed when these Native people travelled to Germany in 1885. He set out for British Columbia the following year. Soon after arriving in Victoria in September 1886, Boas sought out representatives of the northern tribes who were camping in the city to obtain from them information on the drawings he had brought with him of ceremonial items held by various European museums. Boas visited members of the local Lukungun Central Coast Salish, but he had little patience or understanding of what he

regarded as their depraved lifestyle. Instead, he spent his time searching out speakers of the Bella Coola language, with which he had some familiarity, and Tsimshian, whose stories rivalled the Bella Coola in their complexity. After a month, Boas headed to Cowichan, and then on to Nanaimo where he recorded more texts in Halkomelem. On this occasion Boas learned much about the latter group's social organization, although his views have not withstood the test of time. Boas' 1886 trip also included a quick visit with the Comox and Pentlatch, from whom he obtained most of the extant oral literature recorded with these people, transcribed in both English and in the indigenous languages. Word lists of Comox, Sechelt and Pentlatch were also compiled. A few days were then occupied interviewing Squamish people before Boas headed back to New York (Rohner 1969, 52, 73-77, 86-87).

Beyond collecting the first corpus of Coast Salish mythology, some of which Boas transcribed in the indigenous languages to be used for linguistic analysis, Boas elicited data that he used for an important map and accompanying article describing tribal distribution, the first serious attempt at classifying the languages of this region (Boas 1887a, 1887b). Contemporary scholars consider this work to be unsurpassed in its understanding of dialectical relationships (Suttles and Jonaitis 1990, 74). Having emigrated to the United States in 1887, Boas now continued his fieldwork on the Northwest Coast guided and funded by various organizations. Boas' letters reveal that the needs of these institutions were not always in accord with his own views, resulting in him feeling constrained in his research, and the institutions judging his reports as unsatisfactory.

In 1888, while waiting for steamship connexions to take him north — where he perceived the Native cultures to be more dynamic and more interesting than the Coast Salish — Boas returned to work with the Squamish in North Vancouver. There he spent a few more days recording a lexicon and grammatical sketch (Rohner 1969, 86-87). Some of

Boas' field notes from these early trips survive and are held in the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia, and the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Over the next decade the British Association for the Advancement of Science published some results of Boas' first investigations in British Columbia, all written on the basis of limited field work: Nanaimo (Boas 1889, 1891d); Lukungun (Boas 1891f); Squamish (Boas 1891c); and Mainland Halkomelem (Boas 1891e, 1894). They remain, nevertheless, among the few extant descriptions of these Central Coast Salish peoples.

Squamish (Hill-Tout 1897, 1900), Mainland Halkomelem (Hill-Tout 1903, 1904a), Sechelt (Hill-Tout 1904b) and Northern Straits (Hill-Tout 1907b) were also the focus of ethnographer Charles Hill-Tout's research which was undertaken around the turn of the century. A schoolteacher by profession, Hill-Tout lacked the scientific judgement of Boas and launched into highly speculative hypothesizing concerning prehistory and philology (Hill-Tout 1895, 1905, 1906, 1907a), views controversial for their time and disregarded wholly at the present. Though ethnographers could long debate the merits and weaknesses of Hill-Tout's approach, Ralph Maud (1982, 34) in his book *A Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend* deemed Hill-Tout's work "the most readible body of Native literature in the canon." Hill-Tout furnishes us with the narrative context for the storytelling event, an aspect of the elicitation process Boas neglected entirely.

Some of Hill-Tout's ethnographic descriptions came from exceedingly brief periods spent with tribal elders and leaders: a few days with the Squamish, including an afternoon with their "historian," *məlkʷs* (born circa 1830); and a week with Chief George of the Chehalis. After moving his family to a homestead in the Fraser Valley in 1897, Hill-Tout spent greater amounts of time in the Native villages: for his 1903 report, Hill-Tout used

seven named informants from three groups; and for his 1904 report used five named individuals from an additional two groups. A forty-pound sterling grant from the Royal Society facilitated a month's work at Sechelt, and Hill-Tout produced in return one of the few ethnographic accounts of this group ever compiled.

Several years later, Edward Curtis travelled among the Coast Salish, recording myths and snapshot descriptions of Native culture. Curtis was a master photographer, and his ethnographic observations, while not always attributed as to source, are considered generally reliable. His collection of stories include some of the most vivid accounts of inter-tribal hostilities (Curtis 1913).

By the 1920s to 1940s, Boas' students were working in the field: Hermann Haeberlin (1916-1917, 1924), T.T. Waterman [1919-1920], [1920], 1922), Erna Gunther (1927), Thelma Adamson (1926-1927, 1934), and Melville Jacobs (1927-1931, 1937), all working among the Southern Coast Salish; and Marian Smith (1935-1945, 1940, 1941, 1947, 1949, 1950, 1963) spending her time mostly with the Puyallup and Nisqually Southern Coast Salish, apart from a summer field school she organized among the Halkomelem (Central Coast Salish). Boas' influence permeated the investigations of his students, resulting in several of them combining linguistics and ethnography, and most of them collecting myths and folktales, some in the Native languages. Additionally, Louis Kroeber (1963) and Leslie Spier (1936) included the Southern Coast Salish in areal studies each prepared.

Studies on technology by Waterman and colleagues (Waterman 1930, 1973; Waterman and Coffin 1920; Waterman and Greiner 1921) remain classics for this area, as does Marian Smith's publication, *The Puyallup and the Nisqually* (M. Smith 1940) which I have cited extensively in this thesis. Smith did ethnographic fieldwork among these

aboriginal peoples in 1935-1936, with "every available Indian of the oldest generation." She listed a dozen named individuals with whom she elicited and cross-checked information (Smith 1940, xii). Her work is often cited for its comprehensive ethnographic description and should be taken seriously, despite her classification schemes not enduring far beyond their initial publication. William Elmendorf (1971, 356) credited Smith with making the first adumbrated attempt to distinguish local units and networks in Coast Salish. This alone is an iinportant contribution.

The Royal Anthropological Institute's archives in London, England, holds the original Marian Smith (1935-1945) field notes, a microfilm copy of which is held by the British Columbia Archives in Victoria. This collection includes about 200 pages of Arthur Ballard's (1929a) notes, acquired from him by Smith. Ballard, though not a professional anthropologist, began his inquiries into Puget Sound ethnography in the early 1890s and conducted systematic field work beginning in 1909 and continuing until the 1950s. Some additional Ballard ınaterials are also among the papers of anthropologist Herbert Taylor in the Northwest Ethnohistory Archives of the Anthropology Department at the University of Western Washington in Bellingham (Ballard 1930). Ballard's publication on Puget Sound Salish [Lushootseed] kinship terms was the first to record such information for this area (Ballard 1935). Additionally, he published some ethnographic material in local newspapers during his lifetime (Ballard 1912), as well as articles in scholarly journals (Ballard 1929a,b, 1950, 1951). Additional Ballard material can be found among the collection of T.T. Waterman held by the Bancroft Library in Berkeley (Waterman and Ballard 1920). These and other Waterman materials have been cited herein. The manuscript of Waterman's comprehensive study of Puget Sound Geography is held by the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution.

In the 1930s several anthropologists turned their attention to studying particular facets of Northwest Coast cultures. Some results were published; others remain only in manuscript form, but are nonetheless accessible and authoritative. Diamond Jenness from Canada's National Museum (as it was then called) in Ottawa spent a few months among the Central Coast Salish in 1934 and 1935. Jenness had been recruited while studying classics at Oxford to join an Arctic expedition, and later to replace Edward Sapir at the Museum and carry on Sapir's research among Canada's indigenous people. Working among Straits and Halkomelem speakers, Jenness wrote an as-yet unpublished manuscript, "The Saanich Indians," a published biographical essay on "The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian," and produced a 2-volume collection of field notes containing such diverse data as village composition, ethnobotany, social organization and mythology (Jenness 1934-1936a,b,c, 1955). Jenness' compelling biographical essay relied exclusively on an account provided by Mainland Halkomelem-speaker Old Pierre, a shaman and experienced raconteur whose individual integration of myth and religious belief provides a coherent explanation unique in the Coast Salish literature (Jenness 1955).

Also in the 1930s, Bernhard Stern (1934) prepared his study of the Lummi Indians of Washington State. In British Columbia, Homer Barnett (1938a,b,c, 1939, 1944, 1955, 1957) compiled comprehensive studies of the Northern and Central Coast Salish based on his 1935-1936 fieldwork. Barnett's research in the area was undertaken for the University of California's study of culture element distribution, and while the resulting trait list is still consulted, its usefulness is limited. Of particular note is Barnett's study that he prepared for his 1938 Ph.D. dissertation (at the University of California at Berkeley) concerning the Northwest Coast potlatch (1938a,c), still regarded as one of the best analyses of this topic. Barnett's Coast Salish field notes (1935-1936), held by the University of British Columbia

Library, have been particularly beneficial to this present study, as they contain examples of kinship and exchange relationships not found in his much-later published monograph (Barnett 1955). These field notes require close reading, however, due to the provisional nature of some of Barnett's first thoughts on particular issues, as contrasted with his later publication (Barnett 1955). The notes assist us, nonetheless, in understanding more fully the development of Barnett's work because they permit verification of the published data. Barnett was frankly disappointed with the results of some of his ethnographic work. He reports that his aboriginal consultants were often too busy, suspicious of his motives, or limited by their age or other factors (Barnett 1955, 4-10). But despite its limitations, Barnett's research on the Central and Northern Coast Salish remains authoritative.

The late William Elmendorf began his research among the Twana (Skokomish) of Hood Canal in the early 1930s and continued until the mid-1950s. His monumental study, *The Structure of Twana Culture* (Elmendorf 1960; reprinted in 1992) is generally recognized as the most thorough, published ethnography of any Coast Salish group. Over the years, less-kind reviewers have pointed out that his Skokomish work was based primarily on interviews with only two elderly men. Elmendorf tells us, however, that these two men were, in his opinion, representatives of what remained of the traditional culture in which he was interested; the Twana language was nearly moribund even then. Elmendorf published numerous other works discussing various aspects of Twana/Skokomish culture, including kinship (Elmendorf 1946, 1961b), secret societies (Elmendorf 1948, 1970), social ranking and networks (Elmendorf 1971), geographical relations (Elmendorf 1969), and mythology (Elmendorf 1961a), including a monumental work entitled *Twana Narratives: Native Historical Accounts of a Coast Salish Culture* (Elmendorf 1993). This present study builds upon Elmendorf's insightful theoretical work, best exemplified by his

1971 article "Coast Salish Status, Ranking and Intergroup Ties" (Elmendorf 1971). With the permission of Professor Elmendorf's widow, I have obtained copies of his Coast Salish genealogical notes (Elmendorf n.d.) which I have relied upon in this thesis. Elmendorf's field notes (1934-1940) are held by the Bancroft Library in Berkeley and copies of these have also been obtained for this thesis.

June McCormick Collins in the 1940s was the first anthropologist to work among the Upper Skagit, producing as a result of her field investigations a study of religious change (Collins 1974a), a general ethnography of the group (Collins 1974b), as well as studies concerning the effects of culture change (Collins 1950, 1974c). Collins also recorded the life history of an Upper Skagit shaman, John Fornsby (Collins 1949). An autobiography of a Lushootseed elder of the Puget Sound area was recorded by Warren Snyder (1968a,b). Sally Snyder in the 1950s studied the religious life of Upper Skagit including Skagit values and the potlatch (Snyder 1964, 1975). Colin Tweddell compiled a comprehensive ethnography of the Snohomish based on field work conducted in 1952 and 1953 (Tweddell 1974, 1984).

Perhaps the most enduring work on the Coast Salish of the Strait of Georgia area has been that of Wayne Suttles, beginning in 1946 and continuing through to the present. Although his initial field research took him to meet Northern Straits speakers, Suttles soon expanded his geographic area of interest and interviewed numerous members of other Coast Salish tribes, particularly Halkomelem-speaking peoples, resulting in a series of theoretical articles that remain seminal to all discussions of Coast Salish.

Now retired — although actively writing — Suttles has remained throughout his long professional life the epitome of an "old school" approach to anthropology that is now out of favour in some academic circles. While in recent times his younger colleagues have

been decontextualising and deconstructing, Suttles has continued transcribing texts — often in the indigenous languages — and reconstructing traditional cultures in the Boasian mould taught to him by Gunther, Garfield and Jacobs. Coast Salish social organization caught Suttles' interest early in his career, as illustrated by his 1951 dissertation (Suttles 1951), and has held his interest over the decades, as demonstrated most recently in a 1987 article (Suttles 1987c). By the 1960s, Suttles' interests were drawing him to what became ecological anthropology. His major theoretical works were done at this time. It is largely Suttles' ideas presented in these articles that continue to provide the intellectual fodder for Northwest Coast researchers, and I am no exception to those who rely greatly on his work.

Suttles was the first doctorate in the University of Washington's Department of Anthropology, receiving his Ph.D. in 1951 for his study "The Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits." Several other students also worked among the Coast Salish and completed their doctorates at the University of Washington, including: Barbara Lane (1953) on religion; E. Michael Kew (1970) on ceremonial life, focussing on the Musqueam; and Pamela Amoss (1972) on aboriginal beliefs and practices among the Nooksack. Paul Fetzer also researched Nooksack before his early death while still a student in the 1950s. I have benefited from his genealogical work, copies of which are held by Western Washington University's Northwest Ethnohistory Archives (Fetzer n.d., 1951a,b).

Wilson Duff, working under the auspices of the Provincial Museum of British Columbia (as it was then called) beginning in the late 1940s, conducted field work among the Halkomelem-speakers of the upper Fraser Valley, and the Straits-speakers of the Greater Victoria area, using the historical reconstruction approach of Boas. Duff's publications cited here include a monograph on the Upper Stalo (Duff 1952), which formed his University of Washington Master's thesis, and a discussion of the Fort Victoria

Treaties, in which he examines the social composition of those groups with whom James Douglas negotiated treaty agreements (Duff 1969). The Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria holds Duff's (1950) field notes. These notes are relied upon in this present study.

Two non-professional ethnographers, Oliver Wells (Maud *et al.* 1987) working among the Mainland Halkomelem in the 1960s, and J.S.Matthews (1955) working among the Squamish between the 1930s-1950s, recorded numerous hours of conversations describing traditional practices. In Washington State, Nels Bruseth (1926) prepared what has been described by Suttles and Lane (1990, 502) as "a sympathetic settler's view of the Stillaguamish."

So-called "salvage ethnography" guided Northwest Coast research in the 1960s-1980s as national museums in both Canada and the United States, as well as other agencies, offered funding for short-term ethnographic and linguistic studies in response to the realisation that some Native languages were now moribund and indigenous tradition-bearers were becoming fewer.

Since the 1980s, considerable ethnographic research undertaken in both British Columbia and Washington State has complemented archaeological investigations being conducted to satisfy legislated, heritage-impact requirements considered prior to various development projects. This resulted in a renewed interest in ethnographic field work, particularly in recording data concerning land and resource use, an area that, for the most part, had been neglected in the study of Northwest Coast peoples.

Some investigations of Coast Salish social organization have been undertaken during the past three decades, including the work of the following researchers: Joan Ryan (1973); Astrida Blukis Onat (1984); Helen Norton (1994); Bruce Miller (1989), and his collaborative effort with Daniel Boxberger (B. Miller and Boxberger 1994); as well as the

work of Kenneth Tollefson (1987, 1989, 1992a,b, 1996), and his collaborative effort with Martin Abbott (Tollefson and Abbott 1993). Anthropologist Jay Miller has published several books and articles on Southern Coast Salish (J. Miller 1988, 1996, 1997). Additionally, Lorraine Littlefield (1995) completed a doctoral dissertation on Nanaimo women's employment.

Assessment of the Data

The ethnographic works cited above all reflect the time in which they were written. Those of the Boasian School focussed on reconstructing aboriginal culture, using the language as a conduit to the cultural patterns. Boas, himself, interviewed monolingual Salishan speakers, and often worked with the aid of translators, a time-consuming process Boas found frustratingly unreliable. Though Boas' Salishan work is not commensurate with his research among the Kwakiutl (now called Kwakwaka'wakw), his linguistic transcriptions are remarkably good.

The weaknesses and the strengths of Boas' approach are reflected in the methodology and focus of his students. As noted recently in a review of Northwest Coast ethnography, neither the master nor his students asked about such things as the organization of production and work, while technology and material culture were comprehensively described (Donald 1997, 64).

Most Salishan research has occurred in the post-Boasian era beginning in the early 1900s. Ethnographic information elicited by anthropologists working on the Northwest Coast focussed on traditional culture and reflects what Native consultants witnessed in their youth and what they heard from then-deceased old people. Consequently, the earliest ethnographic data apply to the period well *after* contact with Europeans in the late 18th

century. Social change occurred rapidly and constantly. The information obtained by Boas may have related to the early 1800s, but those data elicited by his successors likely applied to the period of the mid-1800s, just before the establishment of Indian Reserves and Reservations.

Much of the post-Boas research in the Coast Salish area was memory ethnography which attempted to describe aboriginal society based on interviews with seemingly-knowledgeable informants. These were men and women — the cluster of intelligent, articulate individuals we call today "Native Consultants" — whose interest in both their culture and its documentation led them to speak with a sporadic trail of anthropologists and linguists. An apparent vestige of aboriginal culture was the golden bough sought by these diligent scientists, and though the occasional nod confirmed a recognition of why there was profound social change, the literature is resplendent with the pronouncements of the loss of culture.

Hill-Tout (cited in Maud 1978, III, 14) wrote of his disappointment working among the Chilliwack, saying "[they] seem to possess but few folk-tales, or they have forgotten them." Among the Squamish, Hill-Tout (1900, 472) lamented that it would be only a few years before those "who now alone possess the knowledge we desire to gather, will have passed away, and our chances of obtaining any further reliable information of the past will have gone with them." Marian Smith (1940, xi) proclaimed the Puyallup-Nisqually culture to be "gone," with the exception of the handful she interviewed. A resurgence of interest in thick description and textual materials, however, beginning in the 1950s, operated from a more dynamic view of culture.

The Court Record

Coast Salish tribes have litigated aboriginal rights in Washington State and British Columbia for almost a century. In most cases before the Courts, anthropological and ethnohistorical evidence has been central to establishing the claim, as issues of aboriginal rights pitted tribe against tribe, and all against the governments. Valuable ethnographic data for Coast Salish can be found in these court records, some of which contain the most extensive information available on certain tribes, particularly those in Washington State.

In December 1923, a Bill introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives waived the statute of limitations and permitted Indian tribes throughout the country to bring suits against the Government in the U.S. Court of Claims to recover payments promised them in the treaties.[2] The claim of the Puget Sound and Olympic Peninsula Tribes became known as *Duwamish et al. v. United States (1927)*. Abstracts of Decisions have been published, as have many transcripts (*Duwamish et al. v. U.S.A.* 1935, [1945]). Additional transcripts, exhibits and other supporting documentation can be found in the U.S. National Archives in Washington, D.C.. The evidence presented in *Duwamish* by tribal elders, some of whom were born in the 1840s-1860s, sets out village locations and delineates tribal composition and territorial boundaries, in addition to information on house types and resource use. Aboriginal law as practised in the 1920s, however, was not the sophisticated craft to which it has evolved in the 1990s. Neither lawyers leading evidence nor cross-examining in *Duwamish* prodded the witnesses for clarification of essential points or facilitated the Court's hearing what now would be deemed the relevant facts.

In 1946 the United States Congress enacted legislation that mandated the Indian Claims Commission to be the designated body to hear claims "on behalf of any Indian

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[2] The Court of Claims had been established initially in the United States in the late 1850s.

tribe, band or identifiable groups of American Indians." The process, which began in the early 1950s, involved attorneys for petitioning Indian tribes presenting and rebutting evidence along with representatives of the Department of Justice. Anthropologists Suttles, Elmendorf, Collins, Snyder, Taylor, Tweddell, Ballard and Riley were among those who presented evidence. All but Riley, whose field work was done purposely for the Commission, had years of experience in the area. Riley's (n.d., 1953, [1955], 1973 a-h, 1974) reports are generally competent, although less comprehensive than some other work by anthropologists who were able to devote more tiine to fieldwork.

The testimony and exhibits of the Indian Claims Commission coinprise the most comprehensive source of data on the American Coast Salish. These records, which extend from the 1950s through into the 1970s, illustrate the territory claimed by the tribes and present the traditional land use and occupancy evidence assembled in support of these claims. Ballard's (1951) four hundred pages of testimony on the Muckleshoot contributes greatly to the ethnography of these little-known people. Elmendorf's (1956) testimony expands upon Twana data contained in his publications and accompanies documentary evidence not earlier provided.

Evidence from both the *Duwamish* litigation and the Indian Claims Commission also forms part of the Court record in the *United States et al. v. State of Washington et al.* (1974) proceedings, now better known as the "Boldt Case," after the name of the original presiding Federal Court Judge, the late George Boldt. Additional evidence presented to the Court by anthropologists consisted of a series of summary reports describing briefly the social composition and history of each petitioning group. Northwest Coast scholars contributed also to a second phase of this litigation which addressed Washington State Indians' right to the State's shellfish, pursuant to the Stevens Treaties (*U.S. et al. v.*

Washington et al. 1994, 1998). The expert reports, transcripts, exhibits, etcetera, prepared for the proceedings are held by the offices of the U.S. District Court, Western District of Washington, in Tacoma and Seattle, Washington.

Judge Boldt (and subsequently, Judge Rafeedie) found that individuals had a treaty right to fish (and gather shellfish) that flowed from being a descendant of a member of a treaty tribe. But not all people in the United States who identify themselves as Indians are members of Federally-recognized tribes, a legal status conferring upon the recipient parties certain rights and financial arrangements. The opinion in *United States v. Washington* (1974), as pointed out by lawyer and historian Alexandra Harmon (1995, 670), gave individuals the incentive to seek acknowledgement of their existence, and landless tribes the impetus to seek recognition of their status. Anthropological reports demonstrating the existence of cohesive Indian communities were required.

In Canada, recent Indian claims litigation has contributed a substantial body of documentation, some resulting from fieldwork with members of contemporary Coast Salish tribes. Of relevance to this study are the proceedings of *Regina v. Sparrow* (1984), *Claxton et al. v. Saanichton Marina* (1985), *R. v. Van der Peet* (1989), *R. v. Fraser* (1991), and *Mathias et al. v. the Queen et al.* (1996-1997). The nature of Coast Salish social organization occupied a central position in the testimony of experts tendered before the Court in several of these cases. The *Mathias* evidence dealt largely with Coast Salish social organization and resource use, specifically the association of particular social units with certain territories. Evidence and expert reports presented during this latter trial are cited in this thesis.

Coast Salish Social Organization in the Development of Anthropological Theory

Relatively little attention has been paid to the Coast Salish who have been, in respect to anthropological theory, "poor cousins" to the Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian who dazzled anthropologists with their complex matrilineages, and to the Kwakwaka'wakw, whose elaborate potlatch rituals hosted between quasi-lineages became featured examples of exchange taught universally to students of social anthropology. Coast Salish peoples organized into patrilaterally-biased households have been considered less interesting than their more indisputably-structured northern neighbours.

Anthropologists have few explanations for why the organization of the Coast Salish took the particular form it did. Of course, with so little attention being paid to the area, the underlying question of the nature of Coast Salish social organization reinains ambiguous — as distressingly exhibited in recent claims litigation — and consequently the more discerning matter of "why" unilineal groups do not exist here, is as elusive as ever. Nor does this present thesis assume to answer such lofty questions. Such a search, I suggest, may be a fruitless journey. Instead, my goal is fixed firmly to the ground, rooted in the tradition of British Social Anthropology, nourished by the seminal work of American scholars Wayne Suttles and William Elmendorf, and influenced also by the French structuralists.

Many present-day anthropologists would support Suttles' contention made more than thirty years ago that the Northwest Coast may be well known, but poorly studied (Suttles 1965, 156). While I do not submit that Suttles' own work is burdened by such deficiency, little attention has been paid to either testing or refining models of Coast Salish social relations, apart from a few notable exceptions discussed below. Nevertheless,

fundamental questions relating to Northwest Coast ethnography that were set out by Suttles (1965, 156) in the 1960s, remain unanswered.

As my interest here is in the formation of social groups and the transmission of hereditary prerogatives, several questions posed on Suttles' list are addressed in this present thesis. These include the following: what were the structural strands in the social fabric, and what, if anything, was embroidery; what was the relationship between kinship and residence in the formulation of social units; and were there indeed any discrete social units at all?

Concerning exchange, Suttles focussed on the potlatch, asking if the potlatch was really mere social striving unrelated to the "subsistence economy," or was it part of that system? This present study takes a broader view of exchange, including, under this term, the transfer of ancestral names and ritual prerogatives, but excluding for the moment the trade of wool or like commodities, and the barter of fish with hungry neighbours. I am looking here at the flow of people (through marriage) and the consequent exchange or transmission of names and rights.

The existence of networks of communication has become a "given" of Northwest Coast ethnography, particularly among the Coast Salish where the prevailing exogamous marriage principle resulted in kin ties beyond the village and often beyond the speech community. Suttles (1960) and Elmendorf (1971) described them for Coast Salish; I quantified one aspect of them among the Central Coast Salish (Kennedy 1995a); and Hajda (1984), focussing on the Chinookan, examined networks using a model of regional analysis that draws also upon concepts of information exchange and areal culture.[3]

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[3] On the southern Plateau, Anastasio (1975) illustrated how in the early historic period, fluid local groups participated in an "areal culture" of common values maintained by marriage, exchange, and task groupings that fostered cooperation in hunts, gambling and alliances. In this same area, Walker (1967)

Anthropologists working in the area suggest that preferred marriages were those linking individuals from distant villages, a practice reportedly most common among families of higher rank. Exchanged gifts at the time of marriage established life-long economic ties. Suttles (1960) saw these economic bonds between families as part of an adaptive system — one that provided an aboriginal insurance policy. Suttles remarked during his 1992 testimony to the Court in *Regina v. Fraser* that today he would not use the term "adaptation," having read Stephen Jay Gould's work on the subject.[4]

Nevertheless, in 1960, when setting out his often-cited model of socioeconomic relations, Suttles (1960) postulated that this area of the Northwest Coast, unlike that of the north, was characterised by four features: great variety in the kinds of food available; variation in the geographical distribution of resources; seasonal availability of some foods; and long-term fluctuations in availability of important resources. The last feature in Suttles' model (long-term fluctuation in availability of important resources) presented a problem that was overcome by a patterned and compulsory food-for-wealth gift exchange between specified affines. Thus, according to this model, marriages were sought with families geographically distant from one another and therefore likely to be in areas with different long-term resource cycles. If food supplies failed or were insufficient, the family moved in with kin residing in a more prosperous neighbourhood. Furthermore, according to Suttles (1960, 1962, 1968), the system depended upon the potlatch to even out any imbalances resulting from prolonged inequalities. Suttles subsequently clarified that the

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examined cross-utilisation of fishing resources, and Shuster (1975) looked at the interband use of resources among the Sahaptin-speaking Yakama.

[4] Regina v. Archie George Fraser, File No. 8280C, Transcript of Cross Examination of Dr. Wayne Suttles, 12 February 1992, p.70 (Provincial Court of British Columbia, Hope, B.C.). Suttles states: "Now, today I'm not so sure I would argue that—about adaptation, having read the biologist Stephen J. Gould I am feeling that as things develop, accident plays probably a larger role than—than natural selection. . . but that was the idea."

potlatch did not function as an Oxfam Aid organization held to distribute food to villages during times of shortages — as his model was characterized by one critic. Instead, it was to be seen as adaptive because it promoted continuous exchange among villages (Suttles 1987a, 63). Hence, for Suttles, the Coast Salish social network integrated economic distribution.

Critics point out two short-comings of Suttles' model: it is based largely on an impressionistic survey of the resource base, despite his ecological perspective (Donald 1997, 304); and it suffers from the problem of equifinality, proving that an institution [the potlatch] exists in response to a particular problem (B. Miller 1989, 268).

Anthropologist William Elmendorf's research also provided the basis of what is known today about traditional Coast Salish social organization. Working from the perspective of Twana, he saw social networks established through marriage as the basis of a status-asserting system. High-status, gained through participation in a number of ceremonial activities, was dependent on recognition within the network. Elmendorf (1960, 323; 1971) reports that villagers possessing the most status appear to have been ranked in relation to one another, a feature described among the local groups comprising the Nanaimo (Jenness 1934-1936a,b; Barnett 1955), and also among the Yale (Duff 1952). Exogamous marriage, in Elmendorf's view, was a preadaptive element, preceding other cultural features of the network.

Suttles and Elmendorf's models of Coast Salish social and economic organization influenced the work of other Northwest Coast scholars. These researchers include Piddocke (1965), whose analysis of the Southern Kwakiutl potlatch emphasized exchange within a regional context, and Blukis Onat (1984), who viewed the Northwest Coast region as a system, integrated by kinship, marriage, clan structure, property, residence and resources

location and use. Allen (1976) prepared a brief and limited examination of tribal exogamy or regional (riverine vs. littoral) among the Northern Coast Salish. The work of Richardson (1982) relied also on the model of resource use postulated by Suttles. Richardson focussed on control of productive resources, finding a relationship between cultural variation and ecological variation. It was the work of Joseph Jorgenson (1969), however, which tested statistically the correlation of a vast number of variables. Bruce Miller (1989, 268) criticized Jorgenson's approach for its heavy reliance on the demands of food procurement as determinants of social organization, at the expense of procurement of technological needs. For his own contribution, Miller (1989) examined regional social organization in the Puget Sound area by applying measures of graph centrality to modes of exchange.

Exchange in contemporary Coast Salish society has also been the subject of recent investigation. Mooney (1978), addressing some relationships between economic variables and networks of economic assistance, found a reliance upon kin and community. Those Native people involved in the traditional longhouse religion kept alight the most broadly defined generosity toward others in need. In an earlier study, Mooney (1976) found that social distance linked Coast Salish people more firmly than geographical distance, thereby supporting her argument that a traditional ethos of kinship continues to bind contemporary Coast Salish communities, a position with which I wholly concur.

CHAPTER TWO

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

This Chapter examines principles of identity with an aim to distinguishing how Coast Salish people characterize and construct their notions of self-identity and relatedness. This avenue for investigation has been posited by Carsten (1997, 290) in response to Schneider's (1984) critique of the anthropological analysis of kinship. I begin with a discussion of Coast Salish ethnonyms, a largely geographically-based system of naming that associates groups of people with a particular territory, a connexion that persists even after death. I then present an extended analysis of kinship terms used by speakers of Coast Salish languages, especially focussing on relationship terms in Squamish and other Central Coast Salish languages.

Finding Community Among the Coast Salish

Ethnographers on the Northwest Coast now see that earlier assumptions about both the homogeneity or isolation of the constituent groups comprising Coast Salish communities are untenable, and that the region is best seen as an area of cultural diversity within a social and biological continuum. This seemingly-paradoxical situation — home to over a dozen speech communities, but where boundaries blur and cultural traditions are shared over a large area — has prompted Wayne Suttles to reconsider his use of the term "community" when speaking of Coast Salish villages. With evidence for both diversity and

for a continuum, Suttles (1987a, 14) explains that the term "community" is inappropriate for it "often implies a social unit with a high degree of cohesiveness, in-group feeling, internal social control, and so forth, and the Central Coast Salish village may not have been such a unit."

The use of the term "community" in anthropological writing has vacillated over the years. It has been rejected at times for its connotations of specious closure — as Suttles' comment illustrates — but resurrected in the work of Anthony Cohen (1982) as the manifestation of self-willed identity maintenance. For Cohen, communities are formed from within. Cohen and his colleagues, states Banks (1996, 142) in his review of identity's relationship to ethnicity, resurrect the diminishing status of community by introducing "a Barthian notion of boundaries and by focussing on the use and manipulation of symbols in sustaining these boundaries." In short, Cohen's communities subsume their shared identity for the purpose of interaction with the outside, a point I will return to later in my examination of Coast Salish social identity in Chapter 4.

Suttles' rejection of the association of "community" with Coast Salish villages highlights the problem in finding clear evidence for social or cultural boundaries. The commonality of bilingualism, the fuzziness of linguistic boundaries, the overlap and spread of cultural traits, and the network of kinship ties with economic and ceremonial obligations extended throughout the Coast Salish region. Goods, people and information linked individuals and groups into a regional social network. But, as is so evident in the Coast Salish cultural continuum, boundaries of identity do exist. They distinguish separate social groups with differing conceptions of history, language, or territory, always with an imagined sense of difference that is founded on belonging to a certain locality, and having that identity recognized by others. As Elizabeth Tonkin and colleagues point out so well in

their discussion of contrasting notions of identity, these perceptions can be somewhat essentialist and ephemeral. Describing identity, Tonkin *et al.* state that it is:

> an attribute, entity, thing, whatever, which an individual or a group has in and of itself, an 'identity' that is subject to growth and decline, to health and sickness; and another much like that of ethnicity as already discussed—a notion only existing in a context of oppositions and relativities. The latter is no radically novel idea, but it is far from being well understood outside social anthropology, and it coexists uneasily with the discourse of identity as an essential and unitary entity (Tonkin *et al.* 1996, 24).

The Coast Salish use a variety of devices to mark out boundaries which define most meaningfully their similarity to and difference from other persons and groups, and consequently, in Anthony Cohen's (1982) terms, maintain their social identity. Such devices consist of the use of ethnonyms, distinctive forms of speech, and the symbolic construction of community, including the use of local symbols and mythic narratives. Boundaries of territory often coincided with geographical features or occurred where changes of an ecological nature were present. Finding neatly bounded social units is nevertheless hard, as distribution of cultural traits shifts over time.

Though Suttles (1987a, 248) suggests that Coast Salish people developed and preserved their control of resources through manipulation of symbolic devices, he also cautions that it would "be unwise to suppose that any [culture complex] but the most environment-bound are altogether stable." Suttles gave an oral presentation at a Conference in Victoria, British Columbia, in October 1999 in which he illustrated this point with an example taken from his field notes. The scene described was an event he witnessed during a winter dance held in a longhouse south of Nanaimo in the early 1960s. Suttles explained that certain ritual prerogatives usually associated with the west coast of Vancouver Island were displayed during the dance. These prerogatives were presented as part of the Salish host's ritual property, as indeed they now were, regardless of their place of origin. Suttles'

example raises the more fundamental question of how it is that people incorporate such rights within their family's prerogatives, an issue that will be discussed throughout this thesis.

Coast Salish Principles of Identity

Today in British Columbia many well-known aboriginal ethnonyms left from a colonial past are being replaced with indigenous autonyms, often followed by the term "Nation." Collectively, such groups are known in Canada as "First Nations," referring to their antecedent position as independently-organized societies with respect to the more recently-constituted nation-state called Canada. Some non-aboriginals are now querying the ubiquitous and seemingly-flexible constituency of "First Nations," and ask whether such groups are the appropriate indigenous social units to be negotiating and implementing treaties. Questions relating to the process of self-identity and the composition of collectives have thus come to the fore. Such concerns are not new to anthropology, nor to discussions of Northwest Coast ethnography, but such debates focussing on the application of terminology and the veracity of key concepts have now spread beyond an academic audience and have real significance for the successful negotiation of modern-day treaties in British Columbia.

It is well acknowledged that social identities are created in specific historical circumstances. They often involve affiliation with place and exhibit what Barnard (1983) calls "levels of socioterritorial organization," distinguishing between the local and supralocal order. It is also commonly recognized that ethnonyms can offer insight into indigenous conceptions of their sociocultural universe. A people's self-chosen name often means simply "person," "human," or humankind," with nonmembers designated as

strangers, barbarians, or by pejorative terms suggesting a less than human status. This pattern finds congruence with Sahlins' (1972, 196-197) model of reciprocity being expressed in proportion to kinship and geographical distance, with the negation of economic relations to those denoted as nonkin or strangers.

The model's structure is enticing, and at least one recent student of Coast Salish culture attempted to find terms in a Coast Salish language to conform with its linguistic framework. The intent of the exercise was clearly to offer support for application of Sahlins' entire economic model to this area. However, this was a seriously flawed aspiration, as closer consideration of various Coast Salish terms' semantic domains clearly underscores the shortcomings of this approach. Moreover, an examination of the conversational resources that Coast Salish people employ for self-identification and for a recognition of others does not find a comfortable fit either with the commonplace oppositional forms of ethnonyms, or with Sahlins' analytical model. To the contrary, I have found no evidence among the Coast Salish of a tendency toward exclusiveness, which would equate the state of being "human" with one's own village or tribe, to the neglect of others. Such a view of the world would be contrary to the Coast Salish ethos, where social relations beyond the village are often as significant as those within it.

Throughout the Coast Salish region, indigenous people employ autonyms to distinguish and thereby create boundaries between themselves and others. Some of these autonyms reify a connectedness to a particular village or territory, while others stress kinship or condense symbolically their bearers' social theories of similarities. Other groups identify themselves with names that can no longer be analysed.

Indigenous Coast Salish people named clusters of various complexity, including local groups and aggregated settlements, as well as the entities commonly called "tribes."

Some unnamed groupings also possessed salience for Coast Salish people's identity, including, for example, the seasonally-constituted resource-harvesting aggregate (see Mitchell 1983), and in some areas, the kindred or cognate descent group. None of these groups was socially-discrete, although the relative permanence or fluidity of each social unit varied from area to area, and in some places, from one year to the next. Several of these levels of organization were associated with a concept of territory.

Anthropologists probing the roots of Coast Salish society recognize that we can omit discussion of political autonomy as a criterion in defining the "tribes" of this region, though most acknowledge that indigenous people identify more closely with those belonging to the named cluster of villages that we commonly call a tribe, than to villages farther beyond and associated with a separate cluster. While the tribe was not a politically-autonomous group, individuals identified with a stretch of territory that is usually identified as the "tribal territory," and exceeds the property belonging to his or her particular local group or immediate kin. But questions arise whether the identification of this tribal territory denotes a common ownership among the constituent groups that form a Coast Salish tribe — or for that matter, among those comprising any level of socioterritorial organization. Related to this question is whether identification with a territory is the same as a proprietary interest in the area that would satisfy the legal requirements of exclusivity or shared exclusivity required by the Court. To explore such questions, as I do in Chapter 6, requires first examining the ways in which Coast Salish people draw boundaries differentiating social groups.

Coast Salish Ethnonyms

The manner in which the Coast Salish individuate groups of differing structural

complexity does not present a homogenous pattern that can be disclosed through either morphological or semantic analysis. Local groups, the minimally-named residential collectives, are not distinguished from aggregated villages or clusters of villages by a consistent and overt use of specific lexical markers, grammatical forms or through the consistent use of specific cultural referents. Nor is the same hierarchy of local group/village/village-cluster or "tribe" manifested in all areas. In many areas, local group and winter village are synonymous; in other areas, winter villages are aggregates of local groups. In some areas, social cohesion beyond the village has not always been apparent, as Duff (1952, 19) concluded with respect to the Tait.

The identification of aboriginal villages and tribes has been especially problematic among the Southern Coast Salish. It has been estimated that prior to the treaties of the mid-1850s, over 50 named groups or tribes constituted what is now called Southern Coast Salish, and that each "tribe" consisted of one or more village (Suttles and Lane 1990, 485). The entity that became known as the "Tulalip Tribes," for example, was created when six different groups who were parties to the Treaty of Point Elliott were assigned to the Tulalip Reservation (Kent 1981, 314). Modern Tulalip people are thus descendants of this amalgamation of formerly separate groups, although not all members of the groups who comprised the original six became members of this particular aggregate.

Common to the naming system is the predominant use of geographical names as the basis for Coast Salish ethnonyms. The most explicitly-exclusive names are those containing a lexical suffix translated as 'people' or 'people of,' which differentiates residents of one geographical area from that of another and provides a direct relationship to land. This form of identity, categorizing people according to their association with focal areas, is common throughout Coast Salish, but by no means universal. The suffix 'people of' can denote a

connectedness to both a village and river drainage, with application dependent upon context, as Smith (1940, 6) demonstrates with reference to the people comprising the present Puyallup and Nisqually of Southern Puget Sound. These two ethnonyms, each anglicized from an indigenous name, applied to people occupying separate river drainages. Puyallup, for example, comes from the term *spuyáləpabš*, where, affixed to the aboriginal name of the drainage, which is derived from the lexeme *√púy'* 'bend,' is the lexical suffix '-people of,' thus designating all the people belonging to this river (in its English form, the ethnonym drops the suffix) (Bates *et al.* 1994, 165). A Puyallup person's more primary form of identification, at least to others living within the same drainage, was by the name of his or her resident village, to which was also added the suffix 'people of.' Smith's data thus indicate that hierarchical levels of inclusiveness and exclusiveness were present in the group naming system of aboriginal people living in southern Puget Sound, with each level denoting a connectedness with a specific territory. Jay Miller (1999, 24) suggests in his recent examination of Lushootseed data that the "greater cohesion of the downriver towns was indicated by the *-bsh* ending, while the looser organization of the upriver communities was reflected in the *-bix*^{w} ending to imply 'bunch'. . .". Miller's suggestion notwithstanding, the available data do not support his hypothesis. Smith (1940, 9-14), for example, indicated that the people living in the uppermost Puyallup drainage are called by a term containing the *-bš* suffix, while linguist Warren Snyder (1968b, 133) provided the name *sqáaqabex*^{w} for a Suquamish settlement on Port Orchard and translated this term containing the *-bix*^{w} (or *-bex*^{w}) suffix as 'many people.' In looking at the use of these suffixes as manifested in group names throughout the region, I can find no correlation between the suffix and relative location, or the group's relative cohesion or size. Miller (1999) does not explain his use of the term "cohesion," nor does he provide examples to

support his hypothesis.

The meaning of the indigenous terms translated as 'village/permanent settlement,' apart from the agglutinative construction of ethnonyms, extends conceptually to the residents as well. To hear mention of the place is to think of the people who live there. In cases where the residents of a village moved *en masse* to a new location, as happened with a group of Twana (Elmendorf 1960, 31), the community did not keep its old name, but instead became known as the people associated with the new site, again using the placename as the basis for their identification. Examples found among the Squamish, Northern Straits and Halkomelem suggest that this practice was common. When a group of Twana people established a settlement at the south end of Hood Canal, they, too, simply "Twana-ized" the pronunciation of the original placename, in this case a name in the Lushootseed language. This is a common practice among North American indigenous people — linguists commonly analyse placenames to determine something about the earlier residents of an area (Kinkade and Powell 1976, 85).

A similar linguistic process to the use of the 'people' suffix marks the association of a collective with a particular area, often a stream or small river. Central Coast Salish examples include the use of the lexical suffix [*-uɬ* (Sq) *-aʔɬ* (Ms)] 'belonging to' or 'pertaining to,' as can be found in such group names as: *səĺílwətuɬ* 'belonging to *səĺílwət* (Indian River)' (Bouchard 1996), and *snəkʷəmaˊɬəɬ* 'belonging to Nicomekl' (Suttles 1955, 12). The former appears to have been an independent local group for much of its history before being absorbed into the Squamish prior to the mid-1800s, while the latter group became extinct as a result of a smallpox epidemic before Europeans arrived. The suffix *-uɬ* is also used in the construction of the term referring to Squamish territory, *sqx̣ʷúmiš̓ʔúɬ* 'belonging to the Squamish people'.

As noted in Chapter 4, some local groups or house clusters had their own winter village, while others had adjacent houses in the same winter village. Local groups distinguished themselves in several ways, including the use of names denoting a group's relative geographically-based position within the aggregated village, as described above for larger geographical divisions. For example, within the large entity known as *snəné́yməx*^{w} [Nanaiino] (itself an unanalysable term), local groups' names translated as directional terms, probably with reference to the position of each local group's house(s) at the Departure Bay winter site, where four of the five groups resided during the cold months.

The Northern Coast Salish also present many examples of self-identification where local groups took their names from their summer place of residence and maintained their independence as named, autonoinous groups when aggregated for the winter. Island Comox presents such a case; there was great diversity in the manner by which groups in this area identified themselves. In the twentieth century, for example, the term *sáɬuɬtx*^{w} applied to all the Island Comox people, but earlier may have referred only to a northern division speaking a distinct dialect (Boas 1887a, map; Sapir 1915, 2). On one occasion, Boas (1887a, 131-32) used the term *sáɬuɬtx*^{w} to refer to all Comox-speaking people, residing both on Vancouver Island and on the mainland. The term has also been used to refer to one specific *local group* that Barnett (1955, 25) included among the five northernmost "tribes" who occupied the so-called "Whale House" near Cape Mudge during winter months and performed special whale-related rituals. Barnett (1955, 25; 1935-1936:3, 13) called the five entities who comprised the "Whale House" either "tribes" or "lineages," although it is more likely that each of the five was a *local group* who joined with others for the winter season and together comprised the *sáɬuɬtx*^{w}. The etymology of the term *sáɬuɬtx*^{w} is unknown, other than the lexical suffix *-tx*^{w} meaning 'dwelling'.

Even in the early 1900s, after the survivors of what then consisted of three distinct Comox-speaking groups (including the *sáɬuɬtxʷ*) had moved to Comox Harbour IR 1 (which was originally in the territory of the Pentlatch who spoke a different Coast Salish language), the houses of the merged community continued to be divided into three separate areas. The people themselves applied the name of the one group, *sáɬuɬtxʷ*, to the collective. Over time, however, they became more commonly known by a "Comoxized" pronunciation of the Kwakwala term referring to the village site, anglicized as Comox. This is the name retained today.

The etymologies of other local groups' names, such as those of the Lukungun recorded by Boas (1891f, 569), are not as easily translatable, either linguistically or symbolically. The terms "Songhees " and "Songish" are anglicizations of the indigenous term *sc̓áŋəs* which, in the Songhees dialect of the Northern Straits Coast Salish language, refers to a group who formerly lived at Esquimalt Lagoon and Albert Head (Suttles 1990a, 474), and more specifically, took its name from a small bay in this area (Duff 1969, 28, 31). The term *sc̓áŋəs* ("Songhees" or "Songish") became more generally used to refer collectively to a number of formerly autonomous settlements.

Recognition of these named groups appears to be old, as the names of social units that appear on most maps today are the same as those recorded by the early explorers, as well as by the early anthropologists: Sechelt, Squamish, Nisqually, Snohomish, Skagit, Saanich, and so on. We call them "tribes," though not in a political sense. The names appertained to clusters of villages possessing some sense of collective identity, sometimes expressed in speaking a common dialect or language. Nowhere was the village a social isolate. The fact that there are groupings above the local group/village level that have names clearly old and indigenous, suggests that the collective that has become known as the

"tribe" has a salience to Coast Salish people, even though it presents a poor fit with anthropological models of tribes. Still, the arbitrary recognition of this entity by the people themselves may be the only feature required. As Edwin Ardner noted with reference to tribal communities and ethnicities:

> they demand to be viewed from inside. They have no imperative relationship with particular 'objective' criteria. They have not 'internalized' even such objective criteria as an outsider purports to discover. They are in this sense 'named by the people' (cited in Chapman 1989, 111).

How then are these supra-local group units named? Anthropologists on the Northwest Coast call them "tribes" — sometimes using quotation marks around the term to flag its fuzziness. Coast Salish people themselves often called such clusters of villages by names derived from that of a principal village site within the cohesive cluster. As such, these names often expressed an ecological feature of the area. For example, autonyms of the Musqueam (downriver Halkomelem-speakers), as well as the Nooksack-speaking people, note the presence of specific plants said to grow in the environs of each group's principal village (Duff 1952, 19-28; Amoss 1978, 7; Suttles 1985; Kinkade 1986, 60-62). The origin of other tribal names, such as Chehalis — which was not knowingly applied to a village site but was said to mean 'running aground on a sand-bar' (Duff 1952, 27) — has faded from the collective memory of these people (Hill-Tout 1904a, 315). The people calling themselves Homalco took their name from the turbulent water passed through to enter the inlet in which they principally resided. Land and its resources is thus a critical dimension in the way Coast Salish people identify groups of people, though speakers of aboriginal languages can no longer offer etymological analysis of all place names or ethnonyms.

Some Coast Salish speech-communities share a sense of social cohesion. Elmendorf (1960, 255) remarked on the expressions of sentiment that unified the Twana speech-community, strengthened, in his view, by the conjunction of speech, territory and name. This distinction of the speech-community was more pronounced among the Twana than the other single-name and single-drainage groups in western Washington, Elmendorf (1960, 255) hypothesized, as none of the latter groups possessed exclusively a single language. Presumably, Elmendorf's comments referred to the Lushootseed-speaking peoples of Puget Sound, where dialectal differences are coincident with geographically-circumscribed areas, though the language extended over a wide area. Collins (1974b, 8) confirmed Elmendorf's view, pointing out that her Upper Skagit consultants "do not use an English word to designate the language as a whole but resort to specific dialect names such as Skagit, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and so on." These are the labels now regarded as "tribes." Consequently, there is not necessarily a correlation between "tribe" and speech-community.

The Northern Coast Salish people exhibit social cohesiveness where autonyms identify clusters of villages occupying isolated inlets, and where dialectal distinctions are coincident with a confined terrain. Homalco and Klahoose are two such examples where geography creates social and physical boundaries. Though people within the "Comox" speech community — which includes the Homalco and Klahoose dialects, among others — have a term translated as 'those who speak the language,' elders from these areas report that they rarely heard it being used as an autonym, despite its inherent recognition of the larger speech-community's unity. Instead, speakers of this language draw attention to the linguistic distinctions marking the various dialects of this language, particularly noting the characteristic modulation that gets exaggerated when mimicked in English, and identify

themselves by their tribal name. Groups neighbouring this speech-community use only cognates of the names now anglicized as Homalco, Sliammon, Klahoose, and Comox, and not the term referring to the speech-community as a whole.

Where geography limits communication, either through distance or terrain, spatial separation can lead to discontinuities in speech-comınunities and the emergence of distinctive styles in material culture. Some of the first European visitors commented on this situation when they observed the linguistic limits of Coast Salish. In 1808, the explorer/fur-trader Simon Fraser astutely recognized in the area of Spuzzum in the Fraser Canyon a change in "language and manners" between the "Hacamaugh" [*nɬa ʔkápmx* (Thompson) Interior Salish] and "Ackinroe" [*s ʔáčnkʷu* (Upper Stalo (Coast Salish)] "Nations" (Lamb 1966, 97-99), a boundary marking a major division within the Language Family itself. An equally keen observation was made by Captain Vancouver and his botanist, Archibald Menzies, during their 1792 exploration of the Northwest Coast. When in the vicinity of what was afterwards named Menzies Bay on Vancouver Island, Menzies perceived the linguistic change between those aboriginal people speaking Coast Salish and those speaking Kwakwala (Newcombe 1923, 84), a division that linguists recognize as two distinct Language Fainilies.

The etymology of the names for a few Coast Salish languages alludes to a geographically-specific activity engaged in by a large number of individuals speaking the same language. The term "Halkomelem," the anglicization of the name of the language spoken by the Cowichan, Musqueam and others, is such an example. It is said to be derived from the indigenous name of a village on Nicomen Slough near Deroche on the lower Fraser River (Duff 1952, 11, 22; Galloway 1977, xviii). Suttles (1987b, 185) postulates that the name of the language, which seems to be "a progressive verb form with

a sense like 'be Nicomening,' presumably 'be talking Nicomen,'" perhaps had its origin from the gathering of Halkomelem-speaking people at this particular village site during the eulachon run. It is possible, Suttles suggests, that the eulachon run was significant enough to draw people to the spawning grounds from over a wide area. Camping at Nicomen Slough, they made it the basis for their collective way of speaking. In the historic period, at least, the sharing of the Halkomelem language has not been mirrored socially and there is no known activity in which all the Halkomelem together engage.

Occasionally names are bestowed upon groups of people by their neighbours, but are not used as referents for self-identification. A common form of designation is one that provides a geographical referent for certain people, yet is not location-dependent, instead noting the group's relative position. The name "Tait" meaning 'upriver' is such an example. The Katzie applied this name to five clusters of houses situated farther up the Fraser River. Those called Tait possessed little social or political cohesion that unified them, leaving Duff (1952, 19) undecided with how to categorize them. In *The Upper Stalo Indians*, Duff simply stated: "[The Tait] could be considered either as one tribe, or as a large group of Upper Stalo who had no 'tribal' concept." Though Archibald McDonald's 1830 census of the area included the term "Teitton" [Tait] (McDonald 1830), the number of Upper Stalo village names presented in the census supports Duff's subsequent conclusion that the village unit was the preferred form of self-identification in this area.

Smith (1940, 29) recorded that Puget Sound people also differentiated clusters of villages in this manner, using terms such as 'open sea people,' 'salt water people,' 'river people,' 'inland people,' and 'prairie people.' The term 'river people' is also used in the Fraser Valley (Duff 1952; Maud *et al.* 1987). Here, an anglicization of the aboriginal term "Stalo" has gained the status of an autonym, although there is no consensus regarding

exactly who is being included in its current designation. Such relative terms of convenience may not ever have been used aboriginally for discrete groups, but do suggest that identity is situational. Smith, for one, expressed reluctance in proposing that such terms be designated "ethnic units" before further research was undertaken. She nevertheless proposed a classification system based on perceived cultural features that recognized an opposition between inland people and those of the coast that cut across drainages to unite groups speaking different dialects but occupying similar environments. Evidence in Smith's own work suggests that these groupings may have afforded more salience to Smith than to the Puget Sound Indians. A village name, Smith writes, was always given when an inquiry was made as to where someone came from, not these relative geographical terms which, in her words, "were so generalized as to have cultural value only in comparison to the local situation" (Smith 1940, 31). The commonality of this form of identification is evident in the ethnographic literature. Twana people, for instance, also distinguished groups based on the territory they exploited during summer subsistence activities, contrasting 'interior people' with 'saltwater people,' and, based on winter residence, made a further distinction between 'river people' and 'saltwater people' (Elmendorf 1960, 256-57).

Viewed from the vantage point of ethnonyms, Coast Salish people carry multiple identities denoting an assortment of residential and social units. Permanence is not necessarily a feature of any of these groups, and membership is negotiable, although an individual's primary affiliation is with his or her natal village. Every person had an everlasting connexion with his or her birth village, a tie never broken, even at death, thereby allowing for the possible return of a corpse.

Persistence of Connexion to Land at Death

The bonding of humans with specific lands continued to be acknowledged at death. Although the practice was by no means all-embracing, some local groups marked coffins or graves with symbols derived from the deceased's first ancestor stories. Around 1900, Paul of Port Douglas [Lower Lillooet, Interior Salish], whose mother came from the Yale village within the Mainland Halkomelem-speaking area, explained that his rights to the Yale site endured beyond his life and would be recognized symbolically at his death:

> If I were to die here (Port Douglas) and my people were to bury me in the old-fashioned way, they would paint or carve a figure of a man on my coffin as well as my other crests. Anybody seeing this would know that I belonged to Yale on one side of my family (Hill-Tout 1905, 149).

The coffins of Musqueam and Saanich people, according to Barnett (1955, 218) could also have carved upon them the symbols representing the owned prerogatives of the deceased's family, although symbols of the deceased's own talents or exploits were sometimes shown.

So persistent was an individual's connexion to his or her home village that if death occurred some distance away, Coast Salish families commonly hired an undertaker to retrieve the body for interment at their own site. Elmendorf (1993, 124-25) provides a Twana account demonstrating that many years might pass before a family could retrieve the body of a deceased relative from a temporary site for burial in one's own cemetery. Yet if a woman was a long resident in her husband's village, she might be buried there instead of being returned to her natal village (Elmendorf 1960, 452). War captives, according to Haeberlin (1916-1917, Book 39, 33), went to the afterworld of their original tribe after death, although those born into captivity were needed by their masters in his afterworld and thus remained with them.

The association of groups of people with specific burial sites is not limited to places

where corpses were interred in the ground or placed in canoes or grave houses. A Pentlatch subgroup residing in Comox Harbour owned a particular grove of trees reserved especially for tree burials of their people, with the varying placement of the burial chest indicating the relative status of the individual (Barnett 1955, 217). Other coastal groups designated burial islands for this purpose: the English name, "Deadmans' Island," evinces the former use of such places located in Victoria and Vancouver harbours. Graveyards might be used by individual descent groups (where present), villages or clusters of villages, but they were always associated with specific groups of individuals. Among the Chilliwack, for instance, corpses of a single family were placed together (Hill-Tout 1903, 364). One Pilalt local group on the Fraser River was named 'going down,' because the dead of this village were always taken downstream to another site for their final resting place.

During a visit among the Comox at Cape Mudge in 1792, Captain George Vancouver and Richard Menzies observed a graveyard situated to the north of the village, some two miles distance, but as it contained so few "mortuary tombs," compared with their calculations of the village itself, they concluded that these must have belonged to individuals of high status (Newcombe 1923, 83). Other interpretations besides that of the explorers are possible, of course, but the visitors may have observed a grave-site restricted to members of a particular descent group.

In the historical period, Coast Salish people exhumed their burials sites whenever villages relocated, either when graveyards were threatened by flood or similar natural disasters, or, in more recent time, by development. When residents of the Squamish Indian Reserve No. 6 at Kitsilano in Vancouver Harbour were relocated in 1913 to the Squamish River, the Squamish requested the assistance of their neighbours, the Musqueam, in removing the bodies. In accord with Squamish tradition, ritualists from another group had

to perform the act. On another occasion when this was done among the Squamish, Chief Jimmy Harry of the Seymour Creek Reserve clarified the meaning of the practice to a reporter for the *Vancouver Province*, emphasizing that removal from one's "resting place" was generally discouraged.

> It was explained by Chief Jimmy Harry that, according to ancient custom, no member of the Squamish nation could touch the bodies, or take part in removing the remains from their resting place. To do so would be to show disrespect to the dead, and be little less than sacrilegious (McKelvie 1924 [?]).

In former times, the Squamish did disturb the dead a year after death, when they hired a ritualist to guide the exhumation and reburial of the corpse in new blankets. This practice they shared with the Upper Stalo (Duff 1952, 95), Nooksack, Upper Skagit Lushootseed (Collins 1974b, 235), Puyallup and Nisqually (Smith 1940, 205), and perhaps others, although the interval between burial and exhumation varied from area to area. The ceremony emphasized that people are identified with a place through death, burial and reburial. Squamish people describe the exhumation as a social affair. When last done in the early 1900s, a hired ritualist retrieved the bones of several family members from their graves, and after displaying the bones to those in attendance, wrapped them in a single new blanket and buried them together. A feast was then held to announce to the community that the host family had "redressed" their family. Reference to this practice is still occasionally heard when blankets are given out at a naming or memorial to thank people for witnessing the event. If presented to an old person, he or she might respond, "It is good that you do this for me now; you don't have to change my blanket when I am gone."

It is apparent that Coast Salish mortuary practices have undergone considerable change through the millennia. Death does not necessarily leave its mark on the land. The location of numerous individual burials and extensive areas of midden interment become

known to aboriginal people only through archaeological investigation. Recent incidents in British Columbia indicate, nevertheless, that in the highly-contested arena of land claims, newly discovered burial sites may take on profound significance as symbols of First Nations' inmortal connexion to particular territory, even where claims of direct association with a specific claimant group may be spurious.

Ancestral spirits remain part of the Coast Salish cosmology, and their residency in a land of the dead is never too far away not to take into consideration in the daily affairs of one's life. A few days after death, food is burned for the deceased's trip to the land of the dead, and periodically the ritual is repeated — especially when the dead intrude upon and threaten the well-being of the living. Grave goods can be placed in the coffin or at the burial site for use in the afterworld. But the dead are not always content in that world and, lonely for their relatives, sometimes visit the living to entice them into death. Hence, illness, misfortune or death is sometimes attributed to the dead's unwanted presence. Children are kept away from funerals, and inside at night with the window blinds drawn, for fear of the influence of the deceased.

Reincarnation is not a model that Coast Salish universally subscribe to, and while some people believe that various forms of souls are reborn in grandchildren, killer whales, wolves or owls, others have denied it explicitly (see Hill-Tout 1903, 364; Jenness 1934-36c, 109; 1955, 89; Lane 1953, 19; Amoss 1978, 73-78). Barnett (1955, 221) remarked, "the Coast Salish had conflicting and irreconcilable notions regarding the nature, destiny, and behaviour of the soul after death." One old Saanich man, however, declared that the soul or similar entity, until reborn, haunted the place where the man obtained his guardian spirit (Jenness 1955, 89). For those believing in reincarnation, evidence of its presence is manifested in the resemblance of physical features, personality or talents. As one elderly

Comox woman divulged while showing me a scar on her small finger, her grandmother had been placed in a burial box with this particular finger caught in the lid, and now she bore this mark.

Kinship Terminology

My focus here is on the Central Coast Salish, specifically Squamish, and to a lesser extent, Halkomelem, but in Appendix One I set out the kin terms recorded for ten Coast Salish languages, including representative languages from throughout the Central Salish area, as well as Chehalis from the Tsamosan group, as defined linguistically by Thompson and Kinkade (1990, 33).

Considerable variation in kin terms exists throughout the area. Central Coast Salish terminology differs from group to group within the Central Salish region, and varies also from that of Northern and Southern Coast Salish. As a group, the Coast Salish terms deviate considerably from those of the Interior Salish. Few linguistic studies have examined Salishan terminologies as systems of term usage, but the major two were compiled earlier by scholars whose formidable anthropological skills were matched by their outstanding linguistic abilities — W.W. Elmendorf and Wayne Suttles. Both studies were stimulated by the prevalent theories of the time concerning kin terms, specifically those of Kroeber, Murdock and Service.

Elmendorf (1961b) undertook comparative analysis of Salish terminologies — focussing on grandparent-grandchild and uncle-aunt-nephew-niece terms — to determine if anything could be inferred as to the nature and direction of change in Salishan terminologies. Among his findings were that major innovative change has occurred in Salish kinship terminologies. Coastal lineal terminologies, in Elmendorf's opinion, have

been derived from an original bifurcate collateral terminology similar to systems found among the contemporary Interior Salish. He describes three patterns of change: the reduction in the number of terms through generalizing meaning; restriction of generation-reciprocity by distinguishing ascending from descending generations usage, and the introduction of new terms for child's child; and through multiple independent innovations. The smaller number of terminological distinctions for immediate kin, and the presumably more complex structure of general status relationships in coastal cultures, vis-à-vis the Plateau, suggested to Elmendorf that this case might satisfy Service's (1960) theory regarding the devolution of "egocentric-familistic" systems of nomenclature in more complex societies.

Not fully satisfied with Elmendorf's results or with Service's hypothesis, Suttles (1965) set out to test the proposition by looking at Halkomelem kin terms and certain non-kin terms as they were used in their native environment, that is, as found in Halkomelem grammar and Halkomelem texts. What Suttles found was that a Halkomelem speaker, through the grammatical apparatus of the language, makes a number of further distinctions, resulting in the total number of "terms" in Halkomelem being no less than those present in an Interior Salish language. Suttles discovered in his review of indigenous texts that the grammar system "includes a six-slot article (or demonstrative) system that distinguishes two genders (masculine and feminine) and three positions (present visible, nearby invisible, remote or nonexistent)." Thus, the article system expresses both the sex and the life status of the referent, creating a terminological system of finer distinction than a simple elicitation of kin terms would otherwise reveal. The principal difference, Suttles ([1965] 1987a, 253) concluded, may be simply that of a bifurcate collateral vs. lineal structure, for as he points out, back in 1917 Kroeber proposed that kinship terms can only

be understood as linguistic and psychological phenomena.

Others following in the steps of Kroeber took a different view. Joseph Greenberg's cognitive-linguistic theory of kinship universals takes as a given Kroeber's principles of kinship classification, which observe in part that 'particular social arrangements can produce new dimensions confined to certain societies.' Yet Greenberg proposed that cognitive-linguistic factors, such as marking rules, also come into play in accounting for the structure and evolution of kinship terminology. Precisely how marking rules articulate asymmetries in kinship terms is the focus of a recent article by linguist Per Hage (1999) who applies Greenberg's theory to the corpus of Salishan kin terms presented originally by Elmendorf (1961). Hage (1999, 437) concludes that the Salishan kin terminologies he examined were "conjunctively defined and showed clear-cut marking effects, both synchronically and diachronically." His review supports Elmendorf's earlier opinion that the coastal terms were derived from a proto-language most similar to Spokane Interior Salish, but Hage's interest in this data extended to an area Elmendorf summarily discounted, that is, Murdock's (1949) theory that terminological distinctions in bilateral systems may have behavioural significance. Elmendorf submitted evidence to neither support nor rebut the hypothesis. Yet as Murdock himself advised, such evidence may be subtle enough to escape the attentive ethnographer, or, as Hage noted, it simply may be weakly correlated, albeit present. Faced with analysing his Tenino data, Murdock found no significant differences in behaviour between different kinds of aunts and uncles, and nieces and nephews, for example, yet a disciplinary relationship between paternal grandfather and grandchild alerted him to the possible correlation of terminology and behaviour.

Kinship terms may tell us very little about the practice of kinship, but they do provide clues to certain attitudes toward such phenomena as relative seniority and affinity.

These two principles are highlighted in relationship systems throughout the Coast Salish area. Though the Squamish inventory of kin terms is not as complete as has been recorded among some other Coast Salish peoples, particularly Halkomelem (Galloway 1993), Straits (Stern 1934; Suttles 1951; Montler 1991), and Lushootseed (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974b; Bates *et al.* 1994), sufficient data have been elicited to describe common and divergent principles.

Each Salishan individual is related equally to his or her mother's and father's families. Little distinction is made, when speaking of these relations, on the basis of speaker's gender or on that of the consanguineously-related individual. Only with respect to one's parents does gender become important. Like the Straits kinship terms recorded by Suttles (1951, 297), Squamish sets the core nuclear family apart from other relations, identifying with specific terms an individual's father and mother, with additional terms distinguishing parents from parents' siblings.

There is some variation in cousin terms as expressed in Coast Salish languages. In Twana (Elmendorf 1946) and Southern Lushootseed (Ballard 1935; M. Smith 1940, 174) distinction is made with respect to the relative age of a referenced individual (if in ego's generation), whereas the more northern groups designate cousins based on the relative age of the two individual's parents, thereby demarcating junior and senior lines of descent between cousins. An example from the Squamish corpus, which distinguishes cousins in the same manner as Halkomelem and Straits, is the term */kʷúpic/* glossed both as 'older brother or sister' and 'son or daughter of a parent's older brother or sister.' Because of this practice, people are often quite out of kilter with the relative ages of kin (see Needham 1966), but as Needham (1974) remarked, cognatic societies commonly emphasize relative age. An older man, using a term indicating seniority, can sometimes find himself referring

to a younger person whose parent was a senior sibling to his own parent. Just as terms denoting seniority carried a commensurate level of respect, terms used for "younger" kin were considered somewhat indiscreet. Gunther's (1927, 259) Clallam informants told her these words were "small" and "slighting," and pointed out how a young man — who was, in fact, a younger sibling's child — could be flattered by addressing him using a term meaning 'older sibling's child.'

Suttles explains this feature that makes explicit the relative social position of two individuals in Ego's generation as a reflection of these coastal societies' attention to relative status. As he states: "this suggests a stress on primogeniture and the kind of system whereby family privileges and rank are transmitted through the senior lines, leaving junior lines with little but their kinship with the leaders of society" (Suttles 1951, 297). The common practice of upper class individuals referring to those of lower class or slaves as "my younger sibling," as reported by Jenness (1934-1936c, 61), is regarded by Suttles as further support for this proposition. While Suttles does not account for the Lummi practice reported by Stern that those of lower status are called "my little wives," the use of gender in this instance appears consistent with the voiced cognizance of differential status using the junior sibling term.

Throughout the Coast Salish region some significant terminological change occurs upon the death of a linking kin, the feature of classificatory kinship systems that Murdock (1949, 101) called "decedence." In Squamish, for example, one's parent's siblings are called by one term during the lifetime of the linking relation [parent's male sibling/cousin */sísi/*; parent's female sibling/cousin */sáta/*], and by another following the parent's death,

wəɬ sáýxʷəɬ.[5] The change in status that would occur after the intervening parent's death — that is from "parent's sibling" to "foster-parent" — is manifest in the two variant meanings for the term referring to this individual: 'wife of mother's or father's brother' equals 'stepmother,' and 'husband of mother's or father's sister' equals 'stepfather.' Galloway (1993, 484) suggests that "responsibility" for the younger family member is also acknowledged by the use of the same term for 'aunt, uncle, grandmother' after death. These are the individuals who look after the surviving child, for a parent's sibling's spouse gains obligations toward the child upon the death of the intervening parent, although it is unclear why the Halkomelem would apply a term to these relatives once dead. Galloway did record a special term for a child of a deceased sibling, a term cognate with the Squamish and derived from the term meaning 'orphan,' which is a clear reference to the surviving child's position once his/her parents are dead. Louis Miranda noted that when an aunt or uncle died after one's own parents had died, the special Squamish decedence terms were no longer used and these siblings of one's parents were again called by the usual terms for 'aunt/uncle.'

Apart from the term translated as 'relative/friend,' no kin term applied to agnates applies to affines as well. Some Coast Salish languages contain a collective term for 'blood relatives,' in addition to a term for affines, thereby distinguishing cognates from others. Relations with these distinct classes of kin differed, and depended largely upon the state of the connecting relative. Even a parent's brother's wife, addressed with a term glossed as 'stepmother,' held an obligation to raise the child of her husband's deceased sibling only if

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[5] Barnett (1955, 239) notes that his data did not confirm Spier's (1925, 74) assertion that "the Salishan kinship type" was characterized by "merging of father's and mother's siblings: that is, there is only one term for 'aunt' and one for 'uncle.'" A broader examination of kin terms (see Appendix One) indicates variation throughout the Coast Salish area.

her husband was alive. Her substitution as a "mother" therefore depended upon her continuing relationship with affines through an active marriage.

It is common for Central Salish languages to include terms for parent's sibling's spouse and other affinally-related individuals. Notably significant within the affinal class is the relationship referred to as "co-parents," a term Suttles — presumably influenced by Kroeber — introduced for the affinity between the set of parents of a married couple. Upon the death of their married child or child's spouse, they refer to one another using a special term translated loosely from the Squamish as 'those who cry together,' and cognate in the languages (Straits, Halkomelem and Clallam) of other Central Coast Salish peoples. The root of the Comox term also refers to grief. This term would continue to be used until the marriage was reconstituted through a levirate or sororate marriage. There is agreement among anthropologists that the use of decedence term for affinals likely relates to their role in arranging remarriage for the surviving spouse, for those in a situation to marry the widowed spouse were addressed with special terms as well (see J. Miller 1985).

It has become part of the conventional wisdom of Northwest Coast ethnography to speak of marriage as the economic union between two families. It is the expression of an underlying structure that recognizes individuals as representatives of certain localized groups. The special relationship between two families created by this fusion is made especially explicit in Twana and Lushootseed relationship terms. Here, as Pamela Amoss (1997) observed during her testimony in the *Mathias* litigation, the collective word for one's affines — which extends not just to a spouse's parents but to the spouse's consanguines as well — is derived from the term meaning 'sacred; forbidden,' and reflects the ideal of respect associated with this relationship. Central Salish languages containing this term also have specific lexemes referencing the affines of one's own generation,

though Collins (1974b, 90) documents that upon the death of a spouse, those who were related through the dead mate are now called by a new term, separating them from the class of affines married to one's children and the children of one's siblings, who remain in-laws. For most Salishan peoples, affinal terminology is limited to a category (parents-in-law, brother/sister-in-law, parents' siblings' spouse) significantly less extensive than those of cognates. In the south, however, affinal terms for parents-in-law and children-in-law are merged, as are man's sister-in-law and woman's sibling-in-law. A distinct term is used for man's brother-in-law.

Coast Salish kin terms have extended referents or allosemes, that is, variants of meaning for the same lexeme.[6] The Squamish term *sč'áṁiq*^{w}, for example, refers to the third ascending generation (great-grandparent or great-grandparent's siblings/cousins) and has an alloseme 'great-grandchild,' referring to the third descending generation from Ego. In a process like that described for the Halkomelem — which Galloway (1993, 482) calls morphosememic rather than allosemic — the Squamish term *č'ímás* has two variant meanings: 'sibling's spouse' and 'spouse's sibling.' Smith (1940, 175) glosses the cognate term in the Puyallup-Nisqually area of Lushootseed as 'female sibling or cousin of living spouse; wife of living male sibling or cousin; females related by marriage to siblings or cousins,' restricting it to females. Among the Skagit, however, also speakers of Lushootseed, Collins (1974b, 89) reports that it can be used by a female Ego to refer to a husband's brother and her sister's husband. The meanings of cognate terms thus digress across linguistic boundaries, a characteristic likely tied to their individual evolution from

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[6] An extensive review of allosemic patterns in Halkomelem kin terms appears in Galloway's (1993, 478-486) grammar of this language. I am grateful to him for additional data provided during the completion of this thesis. The same processes described by Galloway appear also in Squamish and therefore do not need to be repeated here in such detail.

proto-Salish. The particular alloseme can be determined from the semantic environment where linguistic features mark words for gender, and may indicate also whether the individual is dead or alive, or present or not.

The Southern Coast Salish relationship terms differ from those to the north by their confinement of terms signifying ancestors to those of the fourth ascending generation. The term refers also to those who came before. This distinction in the southern corpus is consistent with the lack of emphasis on lineal descent that is found among the more northern groups of Coast Salish. Those who have attempted to elicit genealogies among the Southern Coast Salish have found them to be shallow. Smith (1940, 178) certainly encountered the task of eliciting genealogies among the Puyallup-Nisqually to be futile, for her informants frequently "could carry one's own genealogy back only two or three generations." Moreover, she found little interest in genealogy except as it affected the relationship of persons with whom one frequently came into contact. This practice therefore accentuated classes of individuals identified by generation, rather than keeping intact a precise reckoning of kinship.

Languages throughout the Central and Northern Coast Salish area extend relationship terms to the sixth generation, with the earliest category incorporating any known members beyond. From the third to fifth generations, the terms are reciprocal for both ascending and descending generations. Lexemes recorded in Squamish for these generations are cognate with forms in other Central Coast Salish languages, yet there is no consistency from one language to another, or even by speakers within a single speech-community, with respect to which particular generation the terms should be applied. The terms for the fourth and fifth ascending generations, as given by Squamish speakers to Kuipers (1967; 1969) in the 1960s, and to me in the 1970s-1980s, are the reverse of how

they are most commonly glossed by Halkomelem speakers. Galloway (1993, 478) found that a minority of speakers of Upriver Halkomelem dialects also exchange the glosses for these two terms. During a name-giving ceremony I attended in 1999 at Tsawwassen, when the young Halkomelem Speaker confirmed that the ancestor was of the 'fourth-ascending generation,' I noticed that he used the term *ʔəɬkʷiyəqʷ* in relaying this information to the gathering. I found among Sechelt speakers in the 1970s that they, too, exchanged the glosses, although Hill-Tout around 1900 recorded the form *ƛ̓əpiy̓iqʷ* for 'great-great-great grandparent,' adding support to the application of this lexeme to the earliest generation in former times. A comparison of Stern's Lummi data from the 1930s with that of Montler's from the 1980s shows also their discrepant use of the terms denoting remote generations over a fifty-year period.

Few of these generational terms are analysable. The Squamish terms above the second ascending generation, however, all contain the suffix *-əqʷ* 'head,' as do the other Central Salish languages, but the stem of each remains uncertain. A tentative analysis of the Squamish term referring to the sixth ascending generation *təmíxʷiy̓iqʷ* suggests that the root relates to 'land' *təmíxʷ*, along with the suffix *-əqʷ* 'head', and while it may be tempting to speculate on a cognitive association between the land and one's ancestors, such a conclusion would be premature without additional analysis. Gunther's (1927, 258) gloss for the Clallam term "*tsapīakwīa´kʷ*" as 'the furthest underneath,' does not appear linguistically supportable, however, based on a preliminary analysis of the form. I recorded a non-cognate term *p'útnƛ'ač* in Mainland Comox. The striking translation offered for this term distinguishing the sixth ascending/descending generations — 'anus in belly' — brought about impulsive chuckling, but no cultural insights.

Generation-reciprocity in relationship terms for the fourth and beyond ascending

and descending generations — such as the single lexeme for 'great-grandparent, great-grandparent's siblings/cousins' being applied also to 'great-grandchild' — is not uncommon among indigenous people. With the Coast Salish form, a circular framework revolving around Ego is bilineal, and has a system of nomenclature in which one term is used for both ascending and descending generations of an equal distance from Ego. The Coast Salish people's conceptually circular nature of reckoning kin is similar to their circular transmission of ancestral names (see Chapter 7), although there is no rule directing the transmission of a name between these two specifically designated generations.

In examining the kin terms in the previous section, I have noted that the inclusion of cognates is entirely bilateral; those who may be counted within any particular individual's personal kindred being a reflection of the extent of his or her own genealogical knowledge. This was evident among the Coast Salish people interviewed, where familiarity of one's kin was usually patrilaterally-skewed, especially for generations beyond the second ascending. It appears that in former times — and it is certainly true today — acknowledgement of some people as kin focussed on identifying their generational category, rather than on determining the precise linkage between two individuals. Moreover, the social relations that people conceive as genealogical sometimes exceed the biological ties of descent or consanguinity, for as other anthropologists have recognized, a kinship system exists only in human consciousness. R.H. Barnes (1984, 148) has observed that several scholars criticized the notion "that relationship systems express specifically biological rather than social relationships." Relatedness to members of the society can include companionship, affinity, friendship and adoption, as well as biological ties. Still, the question arises as to how the Coast Salish themselves regarded relationships formed on the basis of kinship, descent or marriage, issues that are discussed in the next few chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

STATUS AND ITS MAINTENANCE

This Chapter discusses the nature of stratification in traditional Coast Salish society, and its continuing place in the contemporary world. I begin by describing the traditional Coast Salish village with the constituent multi-family longhouses, and how social inequality was formerly manifested in spatial distinctions both within and between villages. This is followed with a discussion of how a tripartite system of social stratification distinguished nobles, commoners and slaves, and how appropriate behavior and specialization was a mark of the first. I then consider the longhouse found in Coast Salish communities today and how attention to status is exhibited in these communities.

The Traditional Coast Salish Village

Traditional villages of the Coast Salish were shallow pockets of settlement dotted along riverbanks, streams and seashores, and carved out from the near-impenetrable cedar forests. Cedar did not stop at the village edge, however, as broad planks of its easily-split silvery wood formed the walls and roofing of the dwellings — unobtrusive structures that faced the water, their front doors overlooking the main passageway. Both the use of cedar and the construction of cedar plank houses are distinguishing features of the distinctive Northwest Coast Culture Area. Only the style of house varied from place to place, with shed-roofed houses being common throughout the Coast Salish area, but not to the

exclusion of gabled-roof houses which were preferred in some regions of the coast, five-pitched or gambrel-roofed houses reportedly used in parts of Puget Sound, and houses in the Fraser Valley with a specially-designed roof to collect and funnel the rain water (Smith 1941, 282-86; Duff 1952, 44; Suttles 1991).

No two villages were alike. While some villages constituting Coast Salish settlements contained a single dwelling, other villages observed at the height of the fishing season on the lower Fraser River appeared as continuous thin ribbons of planked structures built end to end along the bank. One such village received comment when, in July 1808, explorer Simon Fraser stopped at a Stalo village of about 200 people, all living under one roof in a single structure measuring 640 feet long by only 60 broad, and standing about 18 feet high in the front (Lamb 1960, 102). A similar sight was reported for a nearby village where houses, though deserted, stretched nearly a mile along the Fraser River (Annance 1824). Where the site was circumscribed by rough terrain, however, house size conformed, so that a dwelling seen at Hope was said by Simon Fraser to have measured only 46 feet long and half as wide (Lamb 1960, 99). The orientation of houses within the village conformed to the landscape, usually with the front doorway facing the river or bay; they were not constructed on a proscribed plan reflecting, for example, attention to cardinal points.

The practice of removing the cedar house planks for transporting by canoe to seasonally-occupied sites that were the location of permanent house frames accounts for the early explorers' vivid descriptions of "skeletons" of villages left behind when villages were dismantled. Flotillas of rafts, formed by laying house planks across two canoes, carried baggage, supplies, and the products of a season's labour, between the winter and summer

villages (Barnett 1955, 41, 251; Scouler 1905, 205).[7]

Northern and Central Coast Salish villages had no central plaza and few purpose-built, communally-owned buildings, whereas wealthy men among the Twana (Castile [Eells] 1985, 64-66; Elmendorf 1960, 154-65) and Lushootseed (Smith 1941, 282-86; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 23) commonly built specially-large "potlatch" houses which were opened for well-attended ceremonial events. Sechelt people may have constructed large plank houses used only for ceremonial purposes as well (Peterson 1990, 34), and I have been told of "potlatch houses" among the Klahoose, although this type of structure is not generally associated with the northern groups. More commonly, Suttles (1991, 214) points out, each multifamily dwelling doubled as a "food processing and storage plant, and it was a workshop, recreation center, temple, theatre, and fortress." The inclement coastal weather meant that the house served many functions as the residents carried out their daily chores indoors, out of the incessant rain. Within the house, each nuclear family — sometimes augmented with older or younger dependent relatives — had its own section of the house, and its own supplies and fire, although members frequently shared food and cooperated in social and ritual activities. Sam Wilson told Waterman [1920] that each Lushootseed family owned their own section of the house and indicated their ownership of it by a mark on the post at one end of the compartment.[8] The more usual explanation for interior painting and carving is that such designs represent the owner's guardian spirit power.

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[7] In June 1792, explorer and botanist Archibald Menzies, a member of Captain Vancouver's expedition, wrote a particularly vivid description of the "skeletons of the houses" remaining in the deserted village situated on Point Roberts (Newcombe 1923, 60). Presumably, the salmon had not yet arrived.

[8] Other Coast Salish elders reported during the 1927 Duwamish litigation that while each family occupied a section of the house, the dwelling itself was regarded as tribal property, as the assistance of many people was required in its construction. Legal counsel found it extremely difficult to obtain consensus on the point of house ownership.

The interior of a "Clallam lodge" near Victoria that was large enough to accommodate eight to ten families was described in 1847 by the artist Paul Kane (Harper 1971, 102). Kane's sketch of this house indicates that low partitions, and bed platforms extending about six feet from the wall, marked each family's area, although the side of each compartment facing the centre of the house remained open to a common area. Some groups separated families with removable mats. Smith (1940, 33) writes that there were no partitions within Puget Sound houses, although each family had its own sleeping benches and storage space. Families of higher status occupied larger sections of the house structure than independent households with fewer members. Still, Suttles believes there is little indication that such sections of the dwelling were more opulent or situated in such a position that would endow its residents with greater status, with the exception of statements by Hill-Tout (1900, 486; 1903, 7-8; 1906, 233), which Suttles (1991, 221) regards as anomalies. Suttles (1991, 216), quoting Vastokas' (1966, 109) study of Northwest Coast architecture, comments that the section occupied by a house head "was simply a linear extension of the normal amount."

Data contained in some Coast Salish field notes, including those of Barnett, present evidence of distinctions in household position being made on the basis of relative rank. In describing the household composition of his father's house on the Squamish River, Jimmy Frank explained that one of his uncles was recognized as being of higher status than his brothers, and thus he and his family occupied the choice position nearest the front of the house, and the house was known by his name. Situated farther toward the rear of the house were those occupants with slightly less status, although all were high class families (Barnett 1935-36). Hill-Tout's (1900, 486) data concur that the common folk were at the rear, while the chief, according to his sources, occupied the centre, with his brothers and

other notable people on either side. It is not certain what Hill-Tout meant by "centre," but with fires down the structure's central passageway, however, he was likely referring to the central section of one long side of the house, an area that would be close to a fire. Henry Sicade told Haeberlin (1916-1917, Book 28, 19) the same, although his own grandfather, a man of considerable status, chose to live at one end of his house. Data concerning several Nisqually households in Puget Sound recorded by Smith (1940, 37-38) indicate that those of high status lived in the right-hand corner of the down-river end of the house, likely the part of the house away from the draft of the door.

In parts of the coast where winters could be particularly severe, semi-subterranean houses were built. The use of these dwellings has been recorded among the Stalo (Hill-Tout 1903, 360; Smith 1947; Duff 1952) and Nooksack (Amoss 1978, 8), and I have been told of their use among the Squamish in the Cheakamus River area. Construction of these dwellings appears to have been siinilar to the semi-subterranean houses made on the Plateau where the saucer-shaped depressions left from these structures still dot the landscape. A different style of semi-subterranean house was used by some Northern Coast Salish groups. Among the Sechelt and Mainland Comox-speaking tribes, regular plank houses were set in excavated areas so that the entire house looked as if it was buried, while other semi-subterranean houses consisted of smaller rectangular structures constructed so that the roof was level with the ground. This latter type appears to be what Barnett (1944) reported among the Musqueam and Smith (1935-1945, Book 4, 25) reported among some Upper Stalo. Accounts agree that these semi-subterranean houses were used also during troubled times. They remained in use among these Salish peoples until around the beginning of the 19th Century. The great-grandmother of a Klahoose woman I interviewed in the 1970s told her that a large depression at Smelt Bay on Cortes Island had been left

from an excavated house that she identified as a "potlatch house." Several such pits still visible throughout Toba Inlet in the 1920s marked the sites of structures used formerly as retreats.

Social Inequality

The best evidence for the former presence of social classes, in Suttles' ([1958] 1987a, 7) opinion, comes from descriptions of village structure and intervillage relations. Individuals considered to be low-class people sometimes occupied spatially-distinct communities, either at ends of villages or in exposed locations where they would take the brunt of an enemy attack. Such low-class villages occasionally lacked fortification and had no warriors among their residents (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 15; Tweddell 1953), or consisted of villages whose residents had moved to less productive areas where they could not obtain the resources to improve their social position (Collins 1974b, 129). The Twana had no separate low-class village, as such households were dispersed throughout winter villages, although a "slave village" belonging to the people of a nearby settlement has been reported (Elmendorf 1960, 319, 325).

The data available on the personnel of these low-class sections of villages indicates that they were commonly orphans (Hill-Tout 1907b, 308; Stern 1934, 73), the offspring of female slaves impregnated by their masters (Hill-Tout 1897, 477; Jenness 1934-1936c, 59; Collins 1974b, 129), including the offspring of noblemen who married slave women (Jenness 1934-1936a,169). The Snohomish (Lushootseed) referred to the latter group of children by a term translated as 'tied to something low' (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 56), suggesting that their position was immutable. One Katzie man accounted for a particular groups's subservient lot in life by attributing their status to a mythological event (Jenness

1955, 86), yet ethnographic accounts throughout the Coast Salish area generally attribute the unfortunate position of these individuals — separated from family and family traditions — not just to bad birth, but to depopulation caused by epidemics that occurred on the Northwest Coast beginning immediately before contact with Europeans (eg., Jenness 1934-1936b, 171). Smith (1940, 52) adds lack of marital stability and economic usefulness to the defining characteristics of low-class, and suggests that common folk experienced more mobility in their residency. People in this position were also said to be composed of refugees from other villages facing hardship, and the junior lines of higher class families too far removed from the property-managing elite core to have adequate status and influence.

Sally Snyder (1954) proposed that when the low-class segment of Lower Skagit communities became too large, they fissioned, forming separate villages that themselves developed stratification. Later marriages, Snyder argued, might link the upper strata of the two newly-formed villages, and leaders might achieve enough prestige to marry into families of established elite.

Upriver—Downriver Status Distinctions

Several ethnographers have suggested a former distinction in community status between saltwater villages and upriver villages. The former's superior status, in Collins' (1974b, 125, 129) view, was manifested in the greater number of slaves being held in these downstream and saltwater villages. While a wealthy man could be called *siʔáb* 'high class person; leader' if he did not own a slave, there was an assumption that being *siʔáb* and owning slaves was an appropriate combination, although few Upper Skagit people owned them. According to Collins, few upriver Skagit individuals could be addressed as *siʔáb*.

Few owned slaves and few hosted potlatches. As control of wealth was a prerequisite for potlatching, which, in turn, required the acquisition of spiritual powers that bestowed wealth upon the possessor (Smith 1940, 111), inland people had little chance of achieving such prestige, for the most influential of these powers came from the salt water. Their lack of access to these salt water wealth powers meant that status divisions between upriver and saltwater villages were largely inflexible.

A Tripartite Distinction

It is well-known that the aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Coast paid considerable attention to their social position, expending time and wealth validating, maintaining, and enhancing a particular social status that set them apart from other members of society. Whether the stratification evident here constitutes rank or class, however, has been interminably debated. That such a discussion has occurred, in the opinion of Leland Donald (1997), whose comprehensive book on Northwest Coast slavery reviews the debate, is due partly to the authors providing no particular analytical meaning or importance for the terminology, including the terms "class" and "classes." Donald (1997, 274), himself, considers class to be present "when significant segments of that society have relatively permanent differential access to resources and/or power" and that each segment is "capable of biologically reproducing itself." He thus concludes that most, if not all, Northwest Coast societies were indeed class-divided, especially since slavery was pervasive. Class, in his opinion, was present and important on the Northwest Coast, but did not dominate or determine all social relations (Donald 1997, 275).

A slave stratum is well-acknowledged by members of Coast Salish society and is observable to the analyst, but divisions between free members of this society are not as

clearly demarcated. Anthropologists have nevertheless distinguished either three or four strata, consisting always of slaves at the bottom, a stratum of lower-class or common people, and a higher-class, sometimes with a small group of nobles at the apex. Every Coast Salish language has terms denoting individuals' relative status, although I have found no word that encapsulates the concept of "class" itself.

Wayne Suttles (1958), who has contributed the most influential model of Coast Salish social organization — an analysis which he extends more generally to the Northwest Coast — proposes that an appropriate model for a tripartite division of class exists. In his view, the model resembles not a pyramid, with a small apex of elite members, but an "inverted pear." From this perspective, the majority of people in traditional Coast Salish society were of good birth and formed a class of high-class nobles. Below them existed a much smaller group of low-class individuals, and then, at the bottom of society, a group consisting of slaves. This tripartite societal division is reflected in terms that translate as 'high class,' 'commoners or low-class,' and 'slaves,' and some Coast Salish languages contain terms for finer distinctions as well. Sharp distinctions drawn verbally, however, are less evident in actual behaviour (Elmendorf 1971, 362), and the relative numerical strength of each group remains an open question.

Only the status of slave was a permanently fixed state. These individuals, kidnapped at opportune moments, and thence bought and sold, or traded, or given away at the whim of their owners or, if fortunate, ransomed by their tribesmen, retained their lowly status. Social distinctions among free people were more imprecise, although opinion on this point has varied over the years. Hill-Tout (1907b, 308) considered social distinctions to be "hard and rigid" among the Northern Straits, with the position of headman distinguished from the class of hereditary nobles, and below them a separate class of "untitled or base folk," and

then slaves. The divisions within the free strata were less evident among the Squamish, in Hill-Tout's (1900, 475) opinion, while Barnett (1955, 247) believed that social classes were not well defined among any of the Central or Northern Coast Salish groups, and that free individuals formed "a continuous gradation of rank." A "judgement of worth," is how Smith (1940, 47-48) characterized the relative scale of Southern Coast Salish individuals, though she denied the presence of social class in what she called "the caste sense," presumably meaning a rigid separation in matters of contact, labour and hierarchy. Only with slavery, in Smith's view, do we find a true social class.

Suttles (1958, 498) concluded, in support of his pear-shaped model showing the bulk of the population as members of the free upper-class, that apart from slaves, "social class was more a myth than a reality," for the distinction between groups of free individuals was ambiguous. A similar view was presented by Duff (1952, 80) who noted with respect to the Stalo that "individuals and families differed in social rank because they differed in the degree to which they possessed the qualities which were admired and respected."

Elmendorf's (1960, 323) Twana study also proposed a gradation of status among individuals, but he recognized that while the grades may be hard to formulate precisely, they were exhibited by the order in which hosts issued invitations to intercommunity feasts, and by the order in which recipients at these affairs received gifts. No seating in the potlatch house was better than any other (Elmendorf 1993, 32). And as Donald (1997, 282-82) pointed out in his review of Elmendorf's Twana data, there was no meaning attributed to the order in which villages received their gifts, and thus there was no ranking of the nobles themselves. Evidence from other parts of Coast Salish largely supports this view. Donors distinguished only between titleholders and commoners, giving the former their

gifts in ranked order, after which the commoners received gifts *en masse* (Elmendorf 1971, 371). Suttles ([1958] 1987a, 7), in his more general review of Coast Salish potlatching, also concluded that there was no permanent receiving order, and that each host used an *ad hoc* order based on his own debts and upon his own evaluations of the recipients. His assessment was shared by Collins (1974b) reporting on Skagit (Northern Lushootseed). All agree, nonetheless, that hosts made distinctions between the elite and commoners. Writing on the nature of the potlatch gift on the Northwest Coast, Barnett remarked:

> The selective character of the gift, for one thing, is indicative of esteem. Not everyone is so honoured, nor in the same degree. There are many instances of gifts which discriminate between those who have given a certain kind of feast or entertainment and those who have not. The Salish 'feel good' when they receive a dollar, but "cheap" if the gift is a quarter while others get a dollar (Barnett 1938c, 87).

Anthropologists' descriptions cited above are in accord with the logic of gift-giving reported to me by contemporary Central Coast Salish people. My personal, albeit unquantified, observations of Central Coast Salish gift-giving today, nevertheless, lead me to suggest that priority is now given to those who are friends and to those senior in age, regardless of their family's ancestral history, and also to those recognized as prominent in the community, regardless of whether their prestige has been achieved through retention of traditional prerogatives, or through accomplishment in contemporary aboriginal affairs. Moreover, at contemporary give-aways, everyone present at the event receives something. No one is dependent upon family elders or certain high-class representatives to make a secondary distribution of goods that they, in turn, received from the host donor, as was the situation described for earlier times.

Throughout the Coast Salish area people acknowledged that some individuals were commoners, of low-class, yet not enslaved. Indigenous terms used for these latter persons

of low status have been translated as 'commoners; unfortunate; poor people; worthless people; untitled or base folks' and include the descriptive terminology offered by Southern Coast Salish informants that has been translated as 'no account' (Smith 1940, 48). Connotations of the indigenous terms for low-class people carry much the same connotations as the English translations: without wealth, unfortunate, and pitiful.

Appropriate Behaviour

While the real touchstone of low-class seems to be deprivation of kinship with a large supporting family, in the aboriginal view, such people were without moral training and thus did not know how to behave. Suttles ([1958] 1987a) observes that it was likely a Coast Salish fiction that only high-class families' advice included general injunctions cautioning that one should not lie, steal, or throw rocks at his grandmother, but it is well-acknowledged that upholding the honour of one's family was a critical dimension of high status. Low-class people were those who not only had lost their links with the past, but did not have the knowledge of how to behave. Speaking of a low-class Snohomish village, Tweddell's (1953) consultants referred to their "isolative or mean disposition" and to having "no smart men" among them. An alternative name for the Snoqualmie, as known among their neighbours with whom they fought, was said to mean 'worthless people,' as they were thought by their enemies to have loose morals and be generally dishonest (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 11). But throughout the area, Coast Salish people could have no worse fault than laziness, and slothful people in the eyes of the Comox were called simply 'bad people' as a consequence of their idleness (Barnett 1955, 248).

Low-class villagers were also said to be subservient to others, with duties including fishing, collecting firewood and fetching water. The Nanoose, said to be subservient to the

Nanaimo, were restricted in choosing a spouse only among other people of equally low status (Jenness 1934-1936b). Harrington (1910-1942, Reel 15) learned from the Muckleshoot (Southern Coast Salish) on the main stem of the White River that visitors from a low-class village situated farther upstream would be required to wash the feet of their hosts and to erase their own footprints from the sand upon leaving. Still, among some Coast Salish peoples, upward mobility was possible for those who were merely low-class and not slaves. Upon attaining adulthood, according to Stern (1934, 73), Lummi members of the low-class might redeem themselves by giving large quantities of food and blankets to their benefactors, though the humiliation of their dependent period — like that of returned slaves — was remembered with rankling shame.

Pamela Amoss (1993), in her article on the development of Coast Salish social stratification, asks if there were real differences within the dual free-strata other than gradations in honour and respect.[9] After all, most Coast Salish ethnographers have concurred with Elmendorf's (1971, 368) suggestion that almost any free individual "whose behavior did not afford grounds for disparagement" might be called by the term for high-class persons, despite the rigid stereotypes of the existence of these two free classes held by Coast Salish informants. The view that most people were high class endorses Suttles' "pear model" of stratification. More recently, however, Donald's (1997, 283) reassessment of Coast Salish stratification has questioned the relative size of the two free-strata, as well as the yardstick for demarcation. In examining the case of class-based societies on the Northwest Coast, Donald advises that Suttles' "probably depended too much on

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[9] Amoss (1993) presented a view of Coast Salish society in which wealthy leaders turned the potlatch (inter-village redistribution) to their own economic and political advantage by gaining control of a special currency—the wool dog, whose hair was used to supplement the wool of mountain goats in the production of blankets. Blankets were the most important article of wealth in the Central Coast Salish exchange system.

conversations with informants in the 1950s and 1960s" for development of his "pear model," where the upper class greatly outnumbered the lower class. In advancing his proposition, Donald argues that if the lower class "were largely the descendants of slaves and a few others who were excluded from access to productive resource sites," then the existence of a group of *former* slaves is likely a post-European phenomenon, for in Donald's (1997) view, they are unlikely to have been significant in pre-historic Coast Salish communities.

Estimates from aboriginal people in the 1930s concerning the abundance of slaves lend support for Donald's rejection of the pear model. For example, the Saanich told Jenness (1934-1936b, 168; 1934-1936c, 59) that the numerical proportions of "nobles, commoners and slaves" was a ratio of 3:7:2, and at Cowichan (Halkomelem), he learned of a slightly higher ratio of 3:7:3, with both calculations providing a rough estimate of commoners being more than twice the number of the other two classes. The ratio obviously varied from one community to another, but these particular aboriginal people restricted the elite to the category of individuals Donald refers to as the titleholders, a group half the size of the strata said to be simply commoners.

In identifying markers of class distinction, Suttles ([1958] 1987a, 5) advised that separate residence is one clue to stratification, and as demonstrated above, there is considerable evidence for the existence of such communities or segments of communities. If Donald is correct that such spatial distinctions due to "slave ancestry" or "loss of history" developed in the historical period, then the appellation "common people" or "low-class" may have consisted originally not of former slaves, or remnants of families devastated by epidemics, but of those untitled individuals who formed the junior or untitled lines of families, particularly those whose access to wealth was circumscribed by their

relative position. The terms "worthless" and "no account" may have described a group within the untitled strata of society whose existence is coincident with the historical period alone. If common folk were simply untitled, that is, lacking in the big names, they would have formed a larger common class than Suttles acknowledged, that would allow for the inclusion of refugees and of the perennially-lazy folk spoken of so often by those of higher status. Though Suttles' informants placed great emphasis on the moral worthlessness of the lower-class, it was Suttles' opinion that its significance was as a foil to remind upper-class people of the folly of misbehaviour. More significant in distinguishing those individuals belonging to the higher-class might have been their access to property denied to others, an affluence based on the control of illustrious ancestral names, as well as on the management of resources and ceremonial prerogatives.

Participation in Potlatching

Verbal distinctions made in the languages do differentiate between persons of high class and low-class, and some languages distinguish slightly a smaller group of individuals situated at the apex of the upper class. Several terms have been recorded for a leader or headman of higher status than others. One way in which greater importance is indicated uses a demonstrative article *tə-* or *ti-* affixed to the term for 'leader; headman; high class person,' such as recorded among the Squamish (Hill-Tout 1900, 476) and Comox (Barnett 1955, 247). The 'head governor of the tribe' according to Duff's (1952, 82) informants was called *ləsiɛ́mčɪt*, derived from *lə-* 'third person past tense marker' + *siɛ́m* 'leader' + *-čɪt* 'possessive pronoun, our'.[10] Hill-Tout (1903, 358) also recorded the Chilliwack

[10] It is possible that the form provided by Duff contains a typographical error and that the lə- should be tə-, the demonstrative pronoun which would be consistent with Comox and Squamish.

Halkomelem form "Yūw'el Sīäm," which prefixes the term meaning 'first' to the word for 'high-class person; leader.' Among the Comox, the prefix meaning 'big' is used to denote greatness and importance.

In the Twana view, those highest individuals among the upper class were known by a term that distinguished "persons who had demonstrated or displayed their high position by formal activities based on the factors of wealth, personality, and spirit power" (Elmendorf 1960, 322). Elmendorf's Twana data show that contrast between titleholders and commoners was reflected at potlatches. Titleholders were the small group of high-status individuals who received potlatch gifts individually, before the common people received smaller token gifts en masse (Elmendorf 1971, 371). Thus, intercommunity recognition of status was necessary to attain this status. Elmendorf's Twana and Clallam texts indicate that distinctions in amounts received by titleholders, as opposed to commoners, applied to wealth items, but that gifts of food were distributed equally among all present.[11] Ethnographic reports from other areas specify that status differences were acknowledged in the distribution of gifts of food on non-ceremonial occasions. For example, at Nanaimo it was reported that the rich man distributed birds caught in his duck-net, or game caught in his trap, according to "rank or status" (Barnett 1935-36:I, 64).

The hosting of at least one potlatch as a prerequisite for high status was also reported among the Skagit (Collins 1950, 333; 1974b, 138) and Lummi (Stern 1934, 72). These authors reserve the term *siʔáb* (or its cognate form *siʔám*) for potlatch hosts, individuals who carried "honoured names," rather than applying it, as Suttles (1958) does, to the large group of "good people."

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[11] The manner in which gifts of wealth were distributed at Coast Salish potlatches is especially well illustrated in a text describing a Dungeness Clallam potlatch that was recorded by Elmendorf (1993, 53-57, text 14.17-14.22).

There is no question that both population decline and new economic opportunities in the historic period opened up participation in the potlatch system to more individuals, including those formerly regarded as commoners. Thus, distinctions between free strata became blurred, and today the terms *siʔáb* (or *siʔám)* are applied to all good people alike. Still, allegations of slave ancestry are whispered, although these people, too, are now addressed as *siʔám*.

External Signs of Status

Members of the high class were recognizable by external signs of dress and decoration. They possessed a certain countenance that set them apart either in demeanour (Lamb 1960, 109; Wagner 1933, 261) or in wardrobe (Wagner 1933, 256).[12] Among the Northern Coast Salish peoples, Lower Stalo, Clallam, some Northern Straits peoples, and Nisqually, nose and ear-piercing, as well as head-flattening in some areas, were indicators of high status (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 41; Stern 1934, 73; Duff 1952, 80; Wilson 1866, 278; Hill-Tout 1903, 14). Nevertheless, Jenness (1934-1936c, 61) notes that children born to slaves held by the Saanich had their head flattened like those of other people. Head-deformation is also reported for the Squamish, but without reference to status discrimination (Hill-Tout 1900, 479-480). Tattooing also seems to have been a practice of high-class people throughout the region.

High-class individuals have been described as "well-born" (Barnett 1955, 180; Elmendorf 1971), "high born" (Duff 1952, 81), or having "good blood." As Duff remarked, "the accident of birth into a high-ranking family constituted a tremendous

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[12] Slaves were distinguished from others by their short hair (Stern 1934, 74; Wilson 1866, 290) and poorer dress (Jenness 1934-1936c, 60).

advantage" (Duff 1952, 80). The Upper Stalo believed that children inherited highly-acclaimed personal characteristics, thus creating, to a certain extent, a hereditary class society. My Northern Coast Salish consultants reported similar sentiments and were insistent that only certain families were of high status, a quality that they regarded as hereditary.

Differential Wealth

It is evident that the division of wealth and ritual prerogatives in Coast Salish created hereditary inequalities in the status of groups and between individuals. Indeed, the Lushootseed term *siʔáb* meaning 'leader, high-class person' is said to be derived from the term *ʔiʔáb* meaning 'wealth' (Bates *et al.* 1994, 15). Kuipers (1967, 374) proposed a relationship between the Squamish cognate term *siʔám* and the root √*hamʔ* meaning 'be covered.' Possibly there is a relationship here with 'blanket,' called *həmtn*, the main item of the wealth in the Central Coast Salish area, although this is conjecture based solely on Kuiper's suggested etymology.

Among the Coast Salish, the prevailing ideology was that the wealthy achieved their riches due to their possession of specially-influential guardian spirit powers, more often than through inherited characteristics. The Coast Salish had no belief in a single Creator, a Mother Earth or a Great Spirit; instead, an individual sought a personal spirit power.[13] As Suttles (1981) observed in his discussion of Coast Salish religion, this activity had to be conducted away from humanity, in a pure place, as the objective was to find a non-human

[13] Jay Miller (1999, 77), relying upon Old Pierre's personal account of Katzie (Stalo) cosmology and Nuxalk (Bella Coola) data from B.C.'s central coast, has recently argued that members of Coast Salish elite families believed in a high God prior to European contact. Others have suggested that reference to a 'Chief in high' reflects Christian teachings.

helper. Each individual trained alone and entered into a partnership with a new helper that appeared in a vision. Though some spirit powers might be inherited, according to Snohomish elder Jack Wheeler, it had to be reinforced with intensive training (Haeberlin 1916-1917, Book 10, 9). Once obtained, this guardian spirit power was a private possession, never discussed, but sometimes hinted at in the manner in which a person danced or painted his or her face at a winter spirit dance. On these occasions, people overcome by their power danced individually around the longhouse, accompanied by others beating drums or sticks and helping with the song.

Among the Twana, those individuals without any type of guardian spirit were "destined to be social nullities" (Elmendorf 1971, 365). Yet even slaves in this society could seek a spirit power. Twana people of high status sought more potent helpers than slaves; such helpers were difficult to acquire, but when found, provided enhanced access to wealth. These "wealth powers," as Elmendorf called them, were exhibited not at winter spirit dances, but at intercommunity gatherings where wealth was distributed. Such wealth powers, Elmendorf (1971, 366) states, "presented a social selection factor built into the otherwise theoretically egalitarian guardian spirit system." In this way, wealth powers were similar to the ceremonial prerogatives, such as *sk^{w}ədíləč* boards possessed and displayed by high-class people belonging to northern Lushootseed groups, and the *sx̣^{w}áyx̣^{w}i* masks found among some Central Coast Salish.

Donald (1997, 283) states that wealth powers such as those reported for the Twana may have been widespread among the Coast Salish. Barnett (1955, 148; 1935-36, I, 97) learned of their existence from the Saanich (Northern Straits), Nanaimo (Halkomelem), Klahoose (Mainland Comox) and Comox (Island Comox), while Gunther (1927, 291) and Elmendorf (1993, 45) report them for the Clallam, Collins (1974b, 151-53) reports them

for the Skagit, and Haeberlin and Gunther (1930, 70-73) for some Puget Sound tribes. To this list I can add confirmation from several other Northern and Central Coast Salish areas.

Not just one power could bestow wealth upon a seeker, although throughout the Southern Coast Salish area one wealth power stood out above all others. Among the Twana, Chehalis (Elmendorf 1993, 166-179) and Lushootseed (Haeberlin 1916-1917, Book 1, 34; Bates *et al.* 1994, 357; Collins 1974b, 151), Native accounts tell how the most potent of the wealth powers was a creature in human form who lived in an underwater house and came to those of high status who trained at certain places where such a power was thought to be, by diving below the surface in search of it. Farther north, the name of the Clallam wealth power is also associated with the sea, as evinced from its name, translated as 'something from far out in water' (Gunther 1927, 291). The Nanaimo also described a particular deep hole off Gabriola Island, at the bottom of which lived a man who offered power for obtaining food, as well as doctoring power to those who visited him (Barnett 1935-36, I, 97). The Comox knew a creature called "komakwe" that was said to be the keeper of wealth and, some say, also lived underwater (Barnett 1955, 148).[14]

While no *underwater* wealth power has been reported among the Mainland Halkomelem, Saanich, Squamish, Sechelt, or Mainland Comox, these Northern and Central Coast Salish people did have wealth powers of a different type. Squamish elders told me about their ancestors finding the "crying frog-like creature" which brought wealth to the recipient, and agreed with Barnett's consultants that sanction for its use came later in a dream. Perhaps it is significant that this creature is amphibious, connecting the underwater world with that of humans. Homalco and Klahoose (Mainland Comox) elders I interviewed

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[14] This is likely Barnett's attempt to transcribe the same term that Boas (1895, 84 [1980-81]) identified in a collection of Comox legends as "K·ō′mō′koaē," a legendary creature who used to "stay on top of the mountain, in the shape of a grizzy bear."

in the 1970s knew that such a creature brought wealth, as did people consulted at Sechelt.[15] Jenness (1935-36b, 102) recorded from Old Pierre that he knew of a "Slelakan [*sƛ'áləqəm*, a spiritually-powerful unnatural creature] that gives wealth" that Jenness says was "apparently identical with that of the Saanich." The name of the creature, transcribed by Jenness (1935-36b) as "xamaliɬtsa" is cognate with the name of the "money-frog" as recorded in other Central Coast Salish languages. Accounts of men and women possessing this power include stories of how their mountain-goat wool or money multiplied overnight when placed in a trunk with this frog-like creature. None of the individuals I interviewed, however, spoke of any display of the frog power on ceremonial occasions, a distinguishing feature of Twana wealth powers. Among the Central and Northern Coast Salish, only among the Nanaimo has it been reported that a man displayed a mask representing the wealth-giver, a being which appeared human-like with half-closed eyes (Barnett 1955, 148).

Specialization

The acquisition of a spiritual helper sometimes provided the human who entered into such a partnership with the ability to amass great wealth, but more often the assistance obtained from the non-human world permitted individuals to have more general successes in life. By undergoing rigorous training at the time of puberty — a regime consisting of solitary sojourns in the wilderness, fasting, bathing in cold water and scrubbing the body with conifers such as the coarse boughs of hemlock — young people acquired valued skills to complement their family's esoteric lore. Some spiritual helpers encountered were

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[15] The term provided by the Squamish, xaháməlč, is cognate with the Saanich form provided by Barnett (1955, 148). Sechelt refer to the 'money frog' by the term títílič, which is cognate with the Mainland Comox form tít-hí·lič, which Barnett (1955, 148) transcribed as "diteluc."

dangerous beings whose power, if not faced directly, could cause misfortune ranging from bad luck to paralysis. Once the supplicant had accepted his or her partnership with the spiritual helper, the nature of the power was kept private. Each power was unique, sometimes hinted at in songs or displayed on houseposts, but never discussed openly. Those powers recorded ethnographically indicate a direct correlation between the characteristics of the creature bestowing the power and the nature of the skills transferred: woodpeckers helped canoemakers; powerful animals like goats, bears and whales helped hunters; bees and mythical spirits created fierce warriors; and spirits of the dead and owls aided individuals to become powerful clairvoyants. Other spiritual partners bestowed their power upon shamans. While every man could hunt, fish and dig clams to some degree, those men who had received certain powers excelled in these activities. Women also obtained help from the non-human side of the world. I was told of a certain woman at Tsawwassen renowned for her weaving abilities who was said to have received spiritual help from snakes.

A recent interpretation of aboriginal Coast Salish society put forward by Jay Miller (1997, 1999) suggests that Lushootseed (Southern Coast Salish) society was stratified into three classes, and that the upper degree contained ranking based on specialization. Nowhere does Miller make explicit the ranking of the specialties, although he infers that the "resource manager," which he calls a "task leader" or "siger"— a term he coined — is among the highest. The siger's role, from Miller's perspective, was to "coordinate all sigs and sigers into an effective and productive system," a task accomplished by being at the nexus of information flow. As it appears that Miller developed his thesis largely from Smith's (1940) Lushootseed data on leadership and specialization, a brief review of these data may assist in unveiling the basis of Miller's commentary.

Villagers respected those individuals possessing particular technical skills, such as hunters, harpooners, canoe-makers and gamblers. By means of their talents, these persons amassed wealth for immediate distribution — through intravillage feasts — or for trade. While each person's skill differed, Smith (1940, 49) stated, "their prestige depended in each case upon their ability to produce and procure wealth by their own efforts." Specialization meant having knowledge of a full complement of skills. Those who devoted most of their time to hunting, for example, also tanned the skins of the animals they procured, and distinguished themselves personally by adorning their own buckskin clothing with a skin of cougar draped over one shoulder, and a quiver of the same fur over the other (Smith 1940, 319). Similarly, the canoe-maker made his own tools and paddles, and the basket-weaver gathered her own roots and dug the clams to put in her basket. The mountain-goat blanket weaver, however, sometimes spun wool using a whorl made by her husband and carved with spirit-like beings, possibly caricaturing his own guardian spirit power. It was the strength of the protective power that enhanced the possibilities for success. As well as gaining advantage for himself, the gambler had it within his power to win or lose the bets of all members of his village. Other specialists included the undertaker, mid-wife, and ritualist, each of whom was paid for his or her services in the community. It was the "differences in talent which were standardized and which furnished the social scale by which men were judged and honored," according to Smith (1940, 49), but like Miller, she does not make explicit what the scale of standardization might have been, or if the acquisition of a speciality occupation simply distinguished the upper strata of society from those of more common origins. Smith (1940, 35) does remark, however, that the difference in individual's abilities were often expressed in religious terms, by which she meant the relative strength and worth of their guardian spirit power.

Though specialists exercised their authority foremost in those situations in which they excelled, such as hunting or warfare, their influence permeated all their relations with other villagers. More akin to political authority, however, was the influence of those men recognized as headmen, leaders or chiefs. Smith (1940, 49-50) notes that among the Southern Coast Salish the wealthiest household head was usually acknowledged as village leader. He was the individual who possessed wealth powers and in whose name feasts and potlatches were sponsored. The qualities of such an individual, in Smith's view, extended beyond wealth to include being "an expert in human affairs," with an outlook characterized by "foresight, experience, and knowledge of men." The village leader did not arouse personal antagonism, had the ability to smooth out differences, and was tolerant. Fellow villagers recognized publicly such men's abilities to foster good intravillage relations, and thereby encourage an atmosphere in which all men could pursue wealth, by presenting him with gifts. Thus the leader's workload was reduced, and as one of Smith's (1940, 50) informants mused: "He just sits and things come to him."

Throughout the Coast Salish region, a leader exemplified characteristics that commanded respect from his own family and from the larger community within which he represented his extended family. All members of his family revelled in the reflected glory of this man's prestige, for although individuals may have varied in their personal attributes, as Duff (1952, 80) remarked, "the accident of birth into a high-ranking family constituted a tremendous advantage." Stern (1934, 72), nevertheless, pointed out that a leader or headman had "no legislative, judicial or executive authority." Barnett (1955, 243) concurred with this opinion and concluded that "there was no single individual or body to which village members as such could appeal for leadership, for redressment of wrongs to the individual, and the like." This apparent lack of judicial authority was observed as well

by James Douglas who wrote of the Cowichan Indians he visited in 1854:

> They live in several villages, each having a distinct chief, or headman, who cannot be said to rule the community which acknowledges his supremacy, as there is no code of laws, nor do the chiefs possess the power or means of maintaining a regular government; but their personal influence is nevertheless very great with their followers (Douglas 1854, 246).

Though there was no central government, the men of a household, and sometimes a village, met to discuss issues of common concern. Deference was shown to those men of elite families, and to those senior in age, but all individuals, apart from slaves, had a voice in community affairs. In multi-family villages, the household headmen were undoubtedly loosely ranked by prestige, but as James Douglas observed, none had supreme authority over another. Personal reputation gave some men more influence than others and with such leadership capabilities, certain individuals developed what Duff (1952, 81) called a "habit of leadership." His Upper Stalo consultants, for example, advised him that the two most respected leaders among the Stalo "have always been the heads of family lines at Yale and Langley." To a limited degree, Duff commented, this social ranking was a political ranking as well.

The available evidence concerning the role of household heads suggests that the hierarchy of the winter village unit contained the elite of one or more households in that village alone. There was no sodality or supra-order of polity that united villages into a tribal group or confederacy. Moreover, the village groups that aggregated at other seasons of the year kept their autonomy during the period in which they resided together. Within Coast Salish society, various aspects of cultural activity, whether they be economic, political or ceremonial, were co-ordinated through a unitary system that bestowed power and influence from the position of the household elite and affected the interests of a large group of individuals. The elite controlled the relations that affected the family at large, and

sometimes the village itself.

The household heads, while they did not occupy political *positions*, did make up a political field, if we consider their relationships in the light of Swartz, Turner and Tuden's (1972, 4-5) discussion of what defines "politics." In their terms, the concept "political" involves the idea of possessing and applying control over members of a group. Choice of residency in Coast Salish society, as in other cognatic societies, provided individuals with a far-reaching choice of association; they could come and go, and participate or not, as they chose. Still, resident elite members administered the full range of social relations, and to a considerable extent, controlled the affairs of the group in a manner that can be regarded as "political." Within the kin group, the elite managed the distribution of names and ceremonial prerogatives, especially through narrowing devices that affected inheritance by favouring senior lines; in their relationship with other villagers, the elite managed access to private resources; and within a greater network of villages, elite individuals participated in intervillage potlatching that acknowledged their relative prestige within a regional network. The same elite group had many roles. As Sahlins (1972, 185-186 fn.1) noted with respect to primitive cultures, "Here we find no socially distinct 'economy' or 'government,' merely social groups with multiple functions, which we distinguish as economic, political and so forth."

Coast Salish headmen (of households and of villages) exhibited several qualities that Swartz *et al.* (1972) have considered evidence of "political" activity. As these authors define the concept, a political process is public rather than private. An activity must therefore affect a group larger than him or herself — for instance, a kin group or village. Still, other characteristics must also be present, including the calculation of intended public goals. In this sense, the traditional Coast Salish elite possessed a political dimension, for

their actions were both public and involved meeting public goals. The outcome of their concerns affected a social unit larger than the individual, and had ramifications for the position of the localized family — and often the village — with respect to other such social units. These goals, as Swartz *et al.* (1972) describe, included the achievement of new relations *vis-à-vis* some other group, warring and peace-making, elevating prestige or rearranging the social ranking of subgroups within the network, building or managing community projects, and allocating scarce resources for which there was community competition. As I will discuss further in later chapters, the Coast Salish elite fulfilled such roles.

Another characteristic of the political process as identified by Swartz *et al.* (1972) is the requirement that political allocations are those that command the consent of an entire group in order to be made effectively. As discussed here in Chapter 6, an example of this symbiosis is the elite members' role as resource managers, a role that was dependant upon the people's consent to the allocation of authority. Moreover, among the Coast Salish, competition for relative prestige was acknowledged by the acceptance of gifts presented on "potlatch" occasions by a larger, non-resident attending group who witnessed the change in status of the host's kin. Giving, alone, was not enough, as regional prestige flowed from acknowledgement beyond one's own family. Consequently, while resident cognatic decent groups occupying one or more households were self-governing, the elite headmen of these groups were linked through kin relations and gift exchange into non-centralized political networks.

The Squamish are among those tribes whose recognition of certain high-status individuals as household and village leaders eventually led to their more general confirmation of "hereditary chiefs," a transformation in the hierarchy that evolved in the

historic period. In 1923, leaders and village representatives lobbied government for the formal amalgamation of villages constituting the Squamish tribe, and for recognition of a Squamish Tribal Council comprised of these leading men. Many Squamish people now regard the signatories of the amalgamation document as the Nation's earlier "hereditary chiefs," and indulge in lavish expenditures to recognize publicly a member of their family descended from one of these individuals. Additionally, Squamish families now recognize a senior representative of high-status families as holding a position of "chieftainship." Independent families jockey to place their own offspring in such a position. While disputes erupt over the appropriateness of recognizing certain individuals, few people pay heed to the diaphanous relationship between this contemporary notion of "hereditary chief" and the aboriginal concept of leadership.

The Contemporary Longhouse

The traditional plank house, once thriving with activity, is now built in Coast Salish villages solely for ceremonial purposes, and its construction reflects this limited use. Bare of furnishings and partitions, it now has broad steps running around the interior perimeter of the house, built like bleachers at a ballpark, and not quite as wide as the sleeping platform found in earlier dwellings. The elders sit along the lower step during gatherings, their legs wrapped in blankets, and shawls drawn close around their shoulders for warmth. From here they can watch the proceedings and offer a handshake or hug of recognition to those who stop to greet them with respectful words of welcome: "Oh, aunty, it is so good you came to help us here tonight." Costumed spirit-dancers also sit on the lower two steps where the spacious platform of each step provides room for their bags of ceremonial paraphernalia. Behind them sit guests and observers, many with their own bags containing

snacks of soft drinks, fruit and candy. Those familiar with the longhouse will have brought blankets and cushions to soften the hard seats. Against the back wall of the longhouse huddle young couples and chatty teenagers. Bewildered White guests, often seated together despite their having no previous acquaintance, also form the back guard.

Several large, log fires burn in the centre of the house during any affair. As the hours go by, most houses become smoky, resulting in longhouses through the Coast Salish area being ranked informally by the quality of their ventilation systems. The dirt floors are sprinkled with water to lessen the dust. After several hours of sitting, guests take a respite in the back kitchen, a bright, intiinate room bustling with women tending large cauldrons of soups and fish and stews on electric stoves, and serving all who sit at the rows of wooden tables filling the room. A doorway leads outside, where small groups of people stand about swapping stories and smoking cigarettes. Both inside and out, longhouse affairs are friendly events.

Not every contemporary Coast Salish villages has a longhouse, so apart from winter spirit dancing — which today occurs only in these traditionally-styled buildings — Coast Salish ceremonials also take place in community and church halls, and in gymnasiums. Where both a longhouse and a gymnasium are present in a community, the venue chosen will depend largely on the time of the year and the age of the host family's elders, with preference given to the modern building between April and October, and when there is a concern for comfort.

Regardless of the structure of the building, entering a gathering for a naming ceremony or a winter dance is definitely a step into another world, one in which cultural rules guide how individuals relate to one another as family and friends, and one in which enhancing and maintaining status are passionate and persistent goals.

Maintaining Status in Contemporary Society

The drama in the life of a contemporary Coast Salish individual often stems from the achievements and conflicts arising within the acts employed in maintaining an inherited status. Possession of high status is a particularly volatile state. It is subjected to inspection and rumour, and ultimately resolved through assertion and consensus. Whispered gossip about other's low-class ancestry, Suttles ([1958] 1987a, 5,8,10) reported in the 1950s, enabled families to make claims of superior status, although Suttles believed none to have any more validity than another. Still, correct training resulted in high-class people preserving the knowledge of their own heritage and valuing it, and possessing a knowledge of good moral conduct.

Gossip continues to be an influential mechanism of social control in Central Coast Salish society. Influential, that is, among the older generations and those involved in the longhouse and similar community events rooted in tradition, who see adherence to "being Indian," and the values associated with this distinct identity, as the answer to survival in a predominantly White and urban world. One Squamish friend describes his affirmation of what he perceives to be a uniquely Indian identity — and particularly that of Squamish — as "knowing the protocol." Elders commonly lament the lapse of this "protocol" in contemporary society, admonishing young people for their lack of respect for others, particularly for the elders themselves.

Young people's lack of respect was the dominant message of a special dinner called by the Squamish Nation Council in 1999 to discuss an uncommonly violent youth fight. In accord with tradition, elders voiced concern for the lost values of a simpler time when such explosive acts as that under review occurred rarely, and generally among those of low-class. While focus on the erosion of community values as the root of social problems

among youth is mirrored in the surrounding non-aboriginal community, those attending the Squamish dinner discerned its presence as an attack on their collective aboriginal identity. The fight scarred not just the two families' honour, but transgressed and challenged the common value system. As such, it was an extraordinary incident that called for resolution within a public domain that highlighted the moral training associated with high status. The general meeting provided such a forum and a spiritual leader ("Indian Doctor") from another tribe was called upon to lift the burden from the people.

Since anything that affects the honour of an individual affects that of the family, the grandparents of those involved in the attack took a lead role in representing their family. The family of the fight's victor accepted responsibility for the incident and faced the anger of the seriously-injured youth's grandmother. The former had decided to mitigate the tension with a formal exchange of property (primarily money, blankets and towels) presented to help "dry the tears" of the aggrieved family.

In speaking with the donating family after the presentation, I asked what prompted their generosity and their transposition to this occasion of a longhouse tradition, seen at funerals and memorials, that has been reportedly common since the 1940s. At such events, those persons in attendance disencumber the financial burden of the grieving family with cash donations expressed symbolically as "hankies to dry their tears." This money is a gift to the family and not recorded as a prestation to be returned. There were several compelling reasons for the response of the uninjured youth's family, including their request for forgiveness; yet the ultimate issue at stake, for them, was regaining honour lost in the fray. The family is prominent in the longhouse community, owning, as they do, several hereditary prerogatives that mark them as people of considerable status. As the community elders regarded the underlying reason for the current problem to be the lapse of tradition

among the younger members, the family elders took the opportunity to display their knowledge of protocol and extend the traditional teachings to a contemporary situation. Those I spoke with who were present at the meeting conceded that they did the correct thing by "covering the family [with a blanket]," as did the aggrieved family by their acceptance of the gifts.

The exchange of property that ensued due to the fight has an antecedent in traditional Squamish society. Louis Miranda recalled that while it was unconscionable for a high-status man to strike his wife, when it did occur and become known, the offender presented gifts to his wife's female relatives, after calling together a group of people to witness the transaction. The ceremony, called in translation 'wiping her face,' sought forgiveness for the husband, and protected his children against slurs of low-class resulting from his momentarily arrant behaviour. The Southern Coast Salish called gifts of this type that arose out of strained relationships by a term translated as 'buy their goodwill,' and described how the presentation of such gifts would prevent retaliation and feuds (Smith 1940, 148).

"Knowing the protocol" includes having respect for one's ancestors and one's elders. As reviewed in Chapter 2, attention to seniority of descent is embedded in indigenous kin-terms. English speech generally mimics this attention to relative age by addressing older people using kin-terms, especially if a putative relationship is being emphasized. In greeting non-kin or less closely-related kin using the indigenous languages, the chosen term of address is also highly respectful, usually *siẏám̓*, now best translated in such contexts as "sir" or "madam." Wisdom comes with age, according to Coast Salish belief, although in former times a young person's instruction came from the elders of one's own family. While a more general respect for other families was regarded as proper

behaviour, people of high-status with an intact family history simply had no need to consult older people who were not kin. Since the mid-1970s, however, a time corresponding with the inception of government-funded, cultural-revitalization programmes, aboriginal people have referred to all those individuals forming the senior strata of indigenous society as "elders." This term carries connotations of wisdom, and those addressed as such are considered tradition-bearers, whatever the actual depth of their "traditional" knowledge. The use of the term "elder" has gained considerable currency in contemporary Coast Salish society, although the seniors of high-status families often question its general application to those of perceived lower status, and members of these elite families continue to resist consultation with non-family "elders."

Opposing parties in heritage-related disputes often use relative age as a weapon to deflate — if not to defeat — contested versions of tradition. Speaking with reference to highly-vocal and public claims being made by a woman in her early-forties, several Squamish individuals advised me of the impropriety of her remarks, not so much for their content, but for the assertive and outspoken manner in which they were delivered to those senior in age. One man in his seventies commented:

> She is just a young person; she is still learning. She has a tendency to overstep her elders. Now I'm not saying she knows more or less than me. Maybe she does, but the way she goes on is not very becoming . . . She is belittling our ancestors. It is against protocol.

The issue of gender appears less frequently in assessing rightful claimants, although the speaker above did note that in contrast to the more northerly tribes, in Squamish "the woman doesn't seem to have the right to anything," a statement not supported by evidence, but nevertheless his own firmly-held and sincere belief.

The special advice that high-class families provide to their younger members is

known throughout the Coast Salish region. In addition to instruction in protocol and solid moral training, advice consists of genealogies and family traditions revealing family greatness, and guidance in practical matters, such as how to quest for the right kind of guardian spirit, make special medicines learned through dreams, and transmit secret signals for indicating that someone is of lower-class descent. Homalco elder Ambrose Wilson conceptualized this advice, known as *ú·táqn* in the Mainland Comox language, as a highly-private and coherent body of knowledge passed from generation to generation that was subject to adulteration and dilution by acts of bad behaviour. As AW explained to me:

> Well if I see something with my family or all the Wilsons, if I see something bad that they do that is getting worse, like drinking, stealing, or going after women, anything like that, doing things that are just not right, and I would say to them: "Where do you get this, what [it is that] you want? It is not in your ú·táqn, no, it's not in your background. Why is it that you want to step off the road and go on the real bad road, like a rotten road?" And then he has to think. They let that out of themselves if they want to be bad.

Fasting and physical training remain important among the Coast Salish, particularly for those engaging in ritual activity, though extended guardian spirit quests belong to past generations. Secret signals for indicating others' lack of status, nevertheless, remain part of a high-class family's repertoire of advice. To illustrate such knowledge, an elder whose family possesses the *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* mask informed me that a dancer could alert those in the know to the impropriety of a certain host hiring the dancers by making a particular motion towards his mask [which she demonstrated for me] as he danced around the longhouse. Of course only family members would comprehend the coded message being conveyed by this unconventional dance movement.[16] Yet as Barth (1975, 217) showed among the Baktaman

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[16] Barnett (1955, 191) recorded a similarly-subtle indicator of high status. Describing a father's visit to his daughter and new son-in-law, Barnett explained how the young woman joined her father on the planked canoe, and while he sang and used his rattle, she held up her little finger to indicate that all other girls were like that as compared to her.

of the East Sepik, the value of ritual knowledge may be "inversely proportional to how many share it." And just in case I was not abundantly clear on the association between status and private knowledge, my elderly Coast Salish friend interrupted herself several times to advise me of her family's very high status, and also of my good fortune in being able to interview her. The transmission of this particular esoteric knowledge, however, had not extended to all dancers whose entitlement stemmed from the same source. When I asked a family member and *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* dancer residing in a different community if he had been taught secret signals, he recalled hearing of their existence, but had never seen them used, nor did he know of any specific gesture.

Along with a revitalized ceremonial life that began in the late 1960s has been a fusion and dissemination of some knowledge that was formerly the private property of families. Included is knowledge associated with the *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* dance. In earlier times, a father might bestow a mask on one of his sons, at the same time teaching him the dance, how to care for his costume, and any esoteric advice that set his family's masked dancers apart from all others. Few dancers remained in the Central Coast Salish area by the 1960s, however, when the dance experienced a reawakening, and numerous families who had the right to wear a mask found themselves without elders to instruct the young men in its use. Those individuals who had adhered to the tradition were then called upon to share their knowledge with descendants of former dancers, even those with whom there was no kinship relation. A Squamish friend, for example, learned to dance using a mask inherited through his Nanaimo relatives, from instruction provided by a Musqueam master dancer. This Squamish man's mother supplemented the instruction with additional teachings from her family, where the mask origmated. The same Musqueam dance-master taught the skill to another friend's son, a young man whose mother is Musqueam and whose father is from

the Interior of British Columbia. The announcement that the young man was taking the mask of his ancestor, however, was made in the Somenos longhouse at Cowichan, for it was a mask (and accompanying song) that had belonged to the family of his maternal grandmother, who had come from there. His instruction, however, came from Musqueam.

Since Coast Salish society experienced a hiatus in which masked dancers did not regularly perform, the line of transmission for some individual's prerogative is not always apparent to other members of the community. For three decades I have heard the same rumblings about a particular family's right to use a mask and their assumed ownership of a specific song. There is a reluctance to question too persistently or publicly any perceived misconduct, or to search too earnestly for reconciliation, for to do so always risks the scrutiny of others on oneself. Ultimately, the correctness of a family's claim to certain ritual prerogatives has little bearing on the preservation of the ceremony itself. Today, as in the past, the maintenance of status in Coast Salish society is dependant upon the public acceptance of the family's claims. People may choose to attend and witness a family's ritual work, or not. Where doubt lingers about the legitimacy of a certain family's rights, the raising of a little finger, or a feigned poke in the eye, can sometimes say more than words — at least within the family. For Coast Salish people, being confident that your own family's behaviour is appropriate to their high class means more than sharing publicly one's knowledge of the more common origins of others. Gossip, rather than confrontation, is still a more effective social regulator. To be the object of gossip continues to be shameful.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM VILLAGES TO FIRST NATIONS

The present chapter offers an analysis of Coast Salish classifications of affiliation and corporation, and their correlation with territory. I begin by noting a few problems that have emerged in applying specific models of societal organization to indigenous societies and how the ill-considered use of some models has impeded resolution of indigenous land claims. I then consider the nature of residential and social groups found in traditional society throughout the Coast Salish region. This is followed with an examination of the development of "First Nations" among the Canadian Coast Salish, as exemplified by the historical evolution of the Squamish and the Tsleil-waut[17] (Burrard) Nations, to gain an understanding of the relationship between these contemporary groups and their historical antecedents. This discussion suggests that today, as in the past, there is continuous social and territorial realignment as groups merge or assert independence, all the while clinging tenaciously to patterns of speech, fragments of traditions, and symbols of status that allow them to assert specific identities and distinguish themselves as members of groups of differing social complexity.

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[17] The anglicized spelling "Tsleil-waututh" for /səl̓íl̓wət/ was suggested by Burrard representatives during the 1996-1997 Mathias litigation, and was used earlier in their submission to the BC Treaty Commission. As the form provided by the Burrard would be translated as 'belonging to the /səl̓íl̓wət/,' I have instead used the transcription "Tsleil-waut," to refer to the people themselves. Another anglicization which appears in the pertinent literature is "Saleelwat" (Suttles 1990a, 455).

A History of Obscure Terminology

Many refinements in our understanding of aboriginal societies have resulted from the demands of litigation. For example, when the US Indian Claims Commission (ICC) — more of a Court than a Commission — got underway in the early 1950s, it brought to the fore problems both in the identification of claimant groups and in anthropology's equivocal application of ambiguous or attitudinal terminology such as "band" and "tribe." It soon became clear that many terms and concepts bore little relationship to the social reality of the petitioning groups, resulting in anthropologists rethinking the nature of numerous aboriginal societies. This scrutiny of the data led to considerable advances in anthropological theory, though some models of social and political organization, particularly unilinear models of social evolution, remained resilient. Long after the ICC debates[18], such models continued to be relied upon by litigators and anthropologists seeking to establish checklists of essential features that might satisfy certain categorization, and hence the demands of legal resolution in cases involving aboriginal rights.

Considering anthropology's bond to models — particularly evolutionary ones, that themselves resemble eighteenth-century theories about stages of societal development — we should not look too harshly upon the legal profession for succumbing to the charms of an essentialist perspective, searching for the essence of society in a particular bundle of facts. Nor should we attribute disingenuous motives to those anthropologists who, in their efforts to explain the intricacies of complex social institutions, fall back upon models whose explanatory powers may disguise the ways in which particular societies are defined and experienced by the people themselves. Labels such as "band" or "tribe" provide to

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[18] A series of thoughtful articles emanating from debates in the anthropological community at this time appeared in the journal *Ethnohistory* in the mid-1950s.

anthropologists and lawyers alike a convenient conceptual shorthand. Yet models that reify and perpetuate social categories and characteristics go wrong when they attribute social reality to the model without full consideration of the society it purportedly represents.

A particular case before the Supreme Court of British Columbia in recent years that raised an essentialist model of "bands" and "tribes," engendered considerable discussion within the anthropological community on the Northwest Coast. As a result, debates concerning the application of unilinear models of social evolution are unlikely to emerge here again. Other issues relating to the use of models, with consequences both for anthropology and for the application of anthropological data in the land claims process, are nevertheless being discussed presently, and may yet require adjudication by the Court. Some of these issues appear to have emanated from an assumption that institutions parallel to European ones of governance and economics existed aboriginally among British Columbia's indigenous societies, and that these institutions were the same throughout the Province. In part, such expectations evolved from a lack of information and an expectation that a western model is applicable in describing this dimension of indigenous societies. This situation is not unique to British Columbia, and reflections upon problems and perspectives that emerged during land claims resolutions in other areas of the world, particularly in Australia, should now inform our understanding of the ramifications of such assumptions.

Court judgements, themselves, contribute models of relationships. The December 1997 decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the *Delgamuukw*[19] litigation provides a model illustrating the relationship between aboriginal rights and aboriginal title. Lawyers point out that there exists a spectrum of rights, ranging from the practices and customs that are an integral part of an aboriginal culture, but not necessarily tied to the land, to rights

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[19] Delgamuukw et al. v. Her Majesty the Queen et al. No. 23799, December 11, 1997 (S.C.C.).

relating to the use of land, and, at the far end of the spectrum, aboriginal title (see Foy 1998; Slattery 1998). Aboriginal title is thus a subset of aboriginal rights dealing with land. The Supreme Court of Canada found in *Delgamuukw* that aboriginal title far exceeded the right to practise traditional activities like picking berries — it was a right to the land itself, independent of the activities carried out on the land. This decision now bolsters aboriginal demands for territory in ongoing treaty negotiations in British Columbia. However, the Court did not make any determination about which particular Native groups actually hold aboriginal title, as it was not the task of the Court in *Delgamuukw* to distinguish which entities were indeed the "nations" with whom claims should be settled.

Though several landmark court cases in British Columbia clarified what aboriginal rights might encompass, *Delgamuukw* confirmed that proof of aboriginal title in Canadian law continues to require fulfilment of a number of "test" criteria set out in the frequently-cited 1979 *Baker Lake* case.[20] These "tests" specify that the plaintiffs were: 1) members of an organized society; 2) the society occupied the specific territory over which they assert title; 3) the occupation was to the exclusion of other organized societies; and 4) the occupation was an established fact at the time sovereignty was asserted by Britain. In the 1997 *Delgamuukw* decision, Chief Justice Lamer recognized the possibility of "shared exclusivity," a term he applied to those instances where there was a right to exclude others from territory, except those with whom exclusivity is shared. Justice Lamer was clear that in those cases where, for example, hunting lands were shared by a number of bands, that "those shared lands would not be subject to a claim for aboriginal title, as they lack the crucial element of exclusivity" (Lamer, paragraph 159).

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[20] Hamlet of Baker Lake v. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1979), 107 D.L.R. (3d) 513.

In an effort to put aside costly litigation, a majority of British Columbia's First Nations have entered into treaty-making with the Federal and Provincial governments. This process has been criticized by numerous disillusioned parties, First Nations and other Canadians alike, and as of the early months of the year 2000, some considered the process in danger of total collapse. As British Columbians focus attention on these tripartite negotiations, the critical issue of who is being represented by the aboriginal petitioners is causing some observers to ask whether the treaty agreements will carry legal force in years to come (eg., O'Neill 1999). Of particular concern to non-Native critics of the process is the nature of the self-identified "First Nations" petitioners. As set out in the 1991 BC Treaty Commission Agreement, any First Nation may submit a "Statement of Intent" (the document that registers a claimant group, along with its territory) to negotiate a treaty, with the stipulation that a First Nation be:

> an aboriginal governing body, however organized and established by aboriginal people within their traditional territory in British Columbia, which has been mandated by its constituents to enter into treaty negotiations on their behalf with British Columbia and Canada (BC Treaty Commission Agreement 1991).

Such a permissive definition induced a plethora of First Nations to file Statements of Intent. There were many more than had initially been anticipated by the Treaty Commission's planners. Unexpected petitioners have also taxed the capacity of the operation, resulting in all First Nations experiencing excruciatingly-slow advancement through the stages of treaty-making. Frustrated with the process, some First Nations refuse to participate, while some non-Native observers of the process urge caution to all participants. The detractors note that issues such as the seemingly-ambiguous identity of the First Nation claimant group may later provide a legal hook upon which disgruntled indigenous groups might hang their grievances to advance their own interests, alleging that

they were unrepresented at the treaty table by the self-identified signatories (O'Neill 1999). Some First Nations denounce the process as a theft of inalienable and inextinguishable rights.

Related to the issue of the appropriate social unit to be filing a claim is the question of the identity of the lands they should be rightfully claiming. With the BC Treaty Commission Agreement making no requirements for independent ethnographic corroboration of either social unit or traditional territory, aboriginal groups are consequently applying various criteria to define not only themselves but also the principles of land allocation upon which their Statement of Intent is based. This situation is evinced dramatically by the "overlap" among claimant groups depicted on maps of British Columbia showing the locations of purported "First Nations' traditional territories." Throughout British Columbia, the professed boundaries of one group conflict with those of another. Where one group boycotts the treaty process entirely, their neighbour's unsubstantiated assertions of territory go unchallenged.

Unresolved boundary disputes currently divide several First Nations and prevent their advancement to the final stages of treaty making. It has been the position of the BC Treaty Commission, nevertheless, that overlap disputes should be settled among the aboriginal claimants themselves. The reluctance of the BC Claims Task Force to have a role in the resolution of these conflicts may reflect a sensitivity to the former pervasive involvement of government in aboriginal affairs, yet without guidance or independent expert assistance to encourage mediation, the feuding parties are slow to find common ground, and some First Nations are proceeding to litigation to advance their deeply-felt convictions. The Court has already invited aboriginal claimants to do so. Chief Justice Lamer commented, with respect to conflicting First Nations' views over lands claimed in

Delgamuukw, that some aboriginals nations might wish to intervene in the litigation of their neighbours (Lamer 1997, paragraph 185).

Importantly, Justice Lamer pointed out that aboriginal title is a collective right, held exclusively by aboriginal "nations." What constitutes an aboriginal *nation* is thus a salient issue, as legal recognition of the *appropriate* social unit to be filing a claim may be critical to achieving a satisfactory and final conclusion to British Columbia land claims, regardless of whether claims are settled through litigation or negotiation.[21]

Identity and overlap disputes do raise serious questions about the internal cohesion of British Columbia's self-identified First Nations. A look at the situation on the United States side of the border suggests that these same issues, if not adequately resolved, may continue to plague socio-economic development during the implementation of negotiated treaty agreements. In Washington State, for example, disputes over the control and profits of salmon and shellfish harvesting provided by the so-called [Judge] "Boldt Decision"[22] continue to pit one tribe against another as interpretations of treaty language are contested. The locations for practising traditional economies — the "usual and accustomed places," as they were referred to in the Stevens treaties of the 1850s — remain hotly disputed, notwithstanding the findings of the Indian Claims Commission in the 1950s, and Judge Boldt's Court in the 1970s and 1990s. Several dissatisfied tribes have hired teams of lawyers and anthropologists to marshal evidence for new legal challenges to unacceptable post-treaty situations.

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[21] The Nisga'a treaty has been ratified by their aboriginal membership, and by British Columbia and Canada, and, as of April 2000, finally received approval of the Canadian Senate. This new treaty came into effect on May 11th, 2000. No other contemporary treaties have yet been ratified here in BC, however, and the land-based disputes that have gone before the Court await decision.

[22] United States et al. v. State of Washington et al. United States District Court, Western District of Washington, Civil No. 9213, Sub-Proceedings No. 89-3; Ninth Circuit, US Court of Appeals, Nos. 96-35014, 96-35082, 96-35196, 96-35200, 96-35223.

The problems raised for discussion by observers of the BC treaty process and by the Court cannot be addressed simply. Certainly, historical and cultural "facts" are hard to establish. For most regions of the Province, the available ethnographic literature lacks a coherent review of social organization and the principles of aboriginal land tenure, and scholarly comment on these subjects, which is often inconclusive, has seldom extended beyond the cryptic or obscure. Moreover, reports from earlier decades of anthropological inquiry do not necessarily find congruence with current declarations of self-identified First Nations. Comments from contemporary aboriginal elders and Native political leaders in particular may emphasize the boundedness of the "Nation" in its current manifestation, the rigidity and predominance of hereditary chieftainships, or the precision of defined territories.

Such dilemmas confronting those involved in resolving land claims disputes require consideration of data scrutinized more commonly by anthropologists than by government negotiators. They include questions relating to the construction of social groups, and manifestations of their corporate nature. While the author of a recent news magazine article alleges that some First Nations with whom the government is negotiating may not be legally-constituted, I have no expertise in law and leave comment on the merits of such remarks to those who do. In this chapter I do, however, examine the nature of aboriginal social groups within the Coast Salish region, and how these groups have undergone transformation in the historic period.

Aboriginal Residential and Social Groups

In traditional Central Coast Salish society, two types of residential units existed within a common structure: the independent household and the extended household, terms

recommended by Mitchell and Donald (1988) for application throughout the Northwest Coast. Ethnographers commonly agree that an independent household, based on a single nuclear family (and occasionally including older dependent relatives or slaves), occupied each section of a cedar plank house, while the extended household consisted of several such families related either through males or females (Barnett 1935-1936, 1955; Jenness 1934-1936c, Stern 1934, 31; Smith 1940, 32-40; Suttles 1951; 1990a, 464).

There has been a tendency in discussions of Coast Salish society to regard the independent household as the fundamental social and economic unit throughout Coast Salish society. A new unit was formed when a newly-married couple established a living area within a multi-section longhouse. Each independent family obtained and stored its own food, and with the exception of the Chilliwack, whose households ate communally according to Hill-Tout (1903, 359), each resident family cooked its meals over its own fire, and occasionally went its own way during months of good weather. The unity of the independent household, Smith (1940, 33) observed, was symbolized by the cooking fire. Even among the Southern Coast Salish people with whom Smith worked, where houses lacked the interior partitions separating one independent family from the others (a feature present in both Northern and Central Coast Salish plank dwellings), each independent household sat around its own fire during mealtime. Evidence presented by Lushootseed consultants during the 1927 *Duwamish et al.* litigation demonstrates that some of the larger houses had as many as ten fires, indicating the presence of ten independent households. This was an exceptionally large house, and more typically houses had a fewer number of fires, with less than six being the usual number in Coast Salish dwellings. A collection of houses enumerated by Father J.B. Boulet between 1879 and 1884 contained as many as 102 individuals in a single household, although it is not apparent how many independent

households were represented in this tally (Norton 1994). Household censuses taken for the same period in Central Coast Salish villages indicate fewer residents, even in households containing three or more generations (see Appendix Two).

Further evidence of the economic autonomy of the independent household and its core members is provided by Jenness' description of the house structure in the Central Coast Salish area:

> Each married family in this group occupied one segment or room in the dwelling; it owned the wall and roof boards of that segment, either through inheritance or through having cooperated in the building; and it might remove these boards whenever it wished, leaving that portion of the common home wide open (Jenness 1934-1936c, 54).

In a footnote to this passage, Jenness added:

> As a rule a family only removed its wall and roof boards for temporary shelter in a spring or summer camp; but occasionally (eg. in the event of a quarrel) it removed them permanently and used them for construction of a new home (Jenness 1934-1936c, 54fn).

The independence of co-resident nuclear families is thus reflected in the construction of the plank house. When a family left a village because of a dispute, or a move to a summer site, occupied annually with other families for several months of the year, they transported their house planks to the summer village, laying them across canoes to form vessels resembling catamarans, and piling them high with possessions and supplies. Once arrived at the summer site, they attached the planks to permanently standing house frames, or constructed a more temporary shelter using planks and matting. The easily-dismantled shed-roof house, Suttles (1991, 216) observed, was well suited to a variable or even fluid village occupancy. It could be expanded with the addition of poles and planks, or reduced in size by their removal. Despite this potential for mobility, the independent family was nevertheless embedded within a larger complex of social relations, both with other

members of the extended household and with members of other villages.

The extended household also played important economic and social roles. Household residents frequently shared food and would co-operate also in some social, economic and ceremonial activities *vis à vis* other households in the village, but these activities were not necessarily restricted to a household. Commonly, a successful hunter shared food with the village at large, helping to foster group cohesion.

Household residents throughout the Coast Salish area commonly consisted of a core group of agnatically-related males, their spouses and children, unmarried sisters, and slaves, and occasionally some kin of lesser status (Barnett 1935-36:IV, 107-9; 1955, 19; Suttles 1951; Elmendorf 1960, 561). While anthropologists report considerable variety in the composition of the extended household, especially among the Southern Coast Salish, few have presented household census data delineating the relationship between the members. Smith (1940, 37) found such data difficult to elicit; notwithstanding, her information remains the most complete for the Southern Coast Salish area. Data she obtained for households in a Nisqually village illustrate that they practised optional residency, as her examples show that several daughters of a particular household head resided with their husbands and children in their father's house. Throughout the Coast Salish area, however, patrilocal residency was preferred, notwithstanding examples of other patterns of residency that indicate it was not prescribed. Among the Upper Skagit, where informants voiced a preference for patrilocal post-marital residency, a woman's parents sometimes persuaded an industrious son-in-law to reside with them (Collins 1974b, 83). Twana informants advised Elmendorf (1960, 311) that "each group of blood kin co-resident in the village usually formed a household, inhabiting one large plank house," making the core of the household a patrilineally-related kinship unit, the situation I found prevalent

among the Central Coast Salish as well. Among the Squamish, I found that 69% of marriages occurring prior to 1851 practised post-marital patrilocal residency, with an increase of only one percentage for marriages occurring prior to 1900 (Kennedy 1995a).

Coast Salish households commonly focussed on an agnatically-related group, but among the Puget Sound people, who Smith (1940, 34) says exhibited greater variety in household composition, independent households placed considerable emphasis on maintaining their share of the total household economy. Brothers frequently did not belong to the same house group and, instead, the extended household created a form of kinship — albeit temporarily — by presenting itself to the world "as socially and economically enviable," despite it not being a biological kinship unit and having no jural obligations between fellow household members (Smith 1940, 34). The Puget Sound folk acknowledged consanguinity in determining relatedness, but unlike the Salishan groups to the north, they also constructed kinship through more social means, such as sharing and supporting a resident household group. Any affinity established through the propinquity of residency lasted only as long as the structure remained the headquarters for its members and, as in the north, it was more often the relationship of blood that united people into common action (Smith 1940, 35; Barnett 1955, 241).

Beyond the household was a localized group usually named for the site it occupied, but occasionally named for a significant historical incident, or its spatial position with respect to other like-groups. Each local group possessed a sense of identity and often a myth accounting for its origin. Some had their own winter village, while others shared a winter site, with each group retaining its autonomy and occupying its own section of the village. During the warmer months, the constituents of these aggregates dispersed to their own summer/autumn sites.

What we now call the "local group" has been identified ethnographically by various terms. Boas (1889) in his Nanaimo Halkomelem work, first applied to this group the term "gens," which he used interchangeably with "clan" with reference to each of the five named local groups. He later used the same terminology in his report on the Songish (Northern Straits Salish), where examples provided indicate the term was again applied to localized groups (Boas 1891f, 569). By 1890, Boas (1891f, 578) had added "sept" to his repertoire of Central Coast Salish social units, referring to the Tsartlip as a sept of the Saanich.[23] The term "sept" appeared again in the work of Hill-Tout (1904a, 312-317; 1904b, 25; 1907a, 308) who applied it to a social unit described as being the localized descendants of a First Ancestor and organized on bilateral principles such as the groups of ancient Ireland. Hill-Tout (1897, 476), in his Squamish work, had also employed the term "gentes" to what appears to be a unilineal descent group, although as Hill-Tout noted, "the distinction between what might be regarded as a gens, or a sept, or a mere tribal division, is very difficult to determine." In his report on the Lukungun, Hill-Tout (1907b, 308) wrote of the "local group or sept," and pointed out that "the word gentes had a very loose meaning in this country at the time when Dr. Boas wrote, and I am not sure what he meant to convey by it." Local groups present among the Island Comox were called simply "component groups" or "villages" by Barnett (1955, 27), who believed data he elicited on this point were "not as full as could be hoped for."

Coast Salish consultants sometimes recalled the origins of local groups in myths that associated a named group with a specific site, and often with specific skills, knowledge or

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[23] Boas' use of this term for 'local group' is inconsistent. In the Introduction to his "Second General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," he (Boas 1891f, 560) referred to the Cowichan tribe as a "sept" of the linguistic stock, and elsewhere (eg. Boas 1891f, 554), he called the Bella Coola a sept of the Salishan family.

prerogatives. Yet not all members of a local group regarded themselves as kinsmen, and the group often consisted of one household that claimed a lineal connection with the founding ancestors, along with dependent households (Suttles 1990a, 464). The extant examples suggest that filiation and residency were the only requirements for inclusion in a local group. Along with those who regarded themselves as descendants of the First Ancestors were those non-cognates who either married-in or moved-in. The ideology permitted all to consider themselves members of the local group.

Anthropological opinion varies regarding whether the local group provided a significant reference point for segmentation. On the one hand, Duff (1952, 86) found little evidence among the Upper Stalo that First Ancestor traditions gave rise to functional social groups. Information describing the Nanaimo local groups, on the other hand, suggests that these people exhibited greater social cohesion than Duff reports for the Upper Stalo, to the extent that the Nanaimo groups were named units said to be ranked in relation to one another (Boas 1889, 324; Barnett 1955, 22). A family of the local group possessing the highest status performed the annual First Salmon ceremony on behalf of all the Nanaimo people, a prerogative explained and maintained by mythic charter (Barnett 1955, 89-90; Jenness 1934-1936b, 5). Lukungun local groups also became ritual units at the time of the first salmon catch, and again, the ceremony was hosted by the headman on behalf of those who fished with him (Boas 1891, 16-17).

Association with a local group can provide a focus of identity, as is evident in the contemporary village of Musqueam, an amalgamation of formerly distinct local groups, one of which possessed an origin story associated with a particular grass that once grew around the mouth of the Fraser. Today, the community sometimes identifies itself as 'People of the Grass,' with reference to this legend. This identity sets them apart from non-Musqueam

villages, while not uniting as kin all who regard themselves as Musqueam.

First-ancestor legends associated with local groups did not generally appear in ritual performances. An instance of an origin myth being dramatized at a public event, however, can be found in Suttles (1951, 420). He was told of a Sooke family who displayed at a potlatch a representation of the copper box that descended to earth at the beginning of time, carrying four men who became the ancestors of the Sooke, Malahat, Duncan Cowichan, and Elwha Clallam. Barnett's (1955, 25) data on Island Comox local groups indicate that rituals conducted there depicted a collective story representing five groups' participation in a so-called Whale-house, an account that may have developed from a common tradition of descent. Young men performed the ritual annually, part of which served to distinguish their people's superiority over that of other Comox local groups who were not members of the Whale-house. Descendants of all Island Comox local groups now reside together on the Comox Indian Reserve in Comox Harbour, a site that in the eighteenth century belonged to the Pentlatch, with whom they later amalgamated. The "whale" remains prominent as a symbol for the Comox people's identity.[24]

Coast Salish winter village groups consisted of the occupants of one or more cedar plank structures situated at named sites. Barnett (1955, 21) called each of the Cowichan River villages a "house cluster," and presented stories supporting the interpretation of this aggregate as a local group. Occasionally, however, the village was comprised of several local groups who kept their individual identity during the season of aggregation, such as is evident in the Nanaimo winter village of Departure Bay mentioned above. Here, the

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[24] The community art gallery, where the Comox First Nation sells locally-made Native crafts, is named the Qua-neesh Galley, using an anglicized spelling for the term 'whale'; the representation of a large whale is painted on the front of the community longhouse; and, as a symbol associated with the history of some Comox local groups (the "Whale-House people"), and with former Pentlatch traditions as well, it is an appropriate logo for the Comox Nation's letterhead.

members of four (of the five) local groups, whose names are translatable as directional terms, probably with reference to the position of each local group's house(s) at the winter site, were associated also with specific sites along the Nanaimo River which they occupied during the salmon fisheries (Suttles, cited in Bouchard 1992). Nanaimo elders I interviewed in the 1990s continued to identify their ancestors as having an association with one of these named groups. Winter villages among the Mainland Comox were also sometimes composed of local groups who came together for several months each year. At least around the time of contact, groups of Homalco, Klahoose, and Sliammon gathered at Grace Harbour for the winter, but extensive archaeological deposits attest to a greater antiquity of this location (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983).

Coast Salish people often established new village membership by invoking a kin link with a present or former member of the settlement in which they wished to reside. It would be highly unusual for a total stranger with no kinship connection to show up seeking permanent accommodation. Mobility was mostly within the geographical area in which an individual had recognized kin. Smith (1940, 41) commented that "the larger proportion of the population retained a strict provincialism and were loathe to shift or alter their village affiliation." Consequently, Southern Coast Salish families thought of themselves as being more or less permanently-anchored autonomous units bound together within the village for mutual assistance. All strangers were suspect, for most individuals resided in the village where they were born, or into which they married. Wealthier communities did occasionally attract new residents, especially when a common ancestral link could be ascertained, and the additional labour force was needed. In the Southern Coast Salish area, examples where mobility occurred indicate that changing homes was frequently a consequence of either hardship or new possibilities, and that such relocations were ordinarily influenced by

kinship. The connexion between an individual and his or her village was never lost, although low-class individuals, known as "no-accounts," moved most frequently, married often and were without close village ties (Smith 1940, 44).

The Coast Salish village had little centralized jural authority, for as discussed in Chapter 2, the authority of resident household heads was limited, and apart from the outcome of their influence, which could be considerable, they had no legislative power. Under some circumstances, a group of men described by Smith (1940, 35) as "not unlike a council" was formed to discuss common interests. Again, the effectiveness of their decision-making depended upon acceptance by the group's constituent members. No jural recourse was available to punish offenders or to settle disputes, apart from abandonment, or one of the disputing parties moving away.

In a few places, the village at times formed an economic unit. For example, all the Sumas, according to Duff (1952, 69), owned and maintained a sturgeon weir on the Sumas River (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of proprietary interests). This situation appears similar to that recorded among the Southern Coast Salish as well. There the association of weir sites with specific villages has been recorded among the Lushootseed (Riley 1973b II, 18-19) and the Twana (Elmendorf 1960, 72). Notwithstanding, it is not common that the Coast Salish village formed a ritual unit. Perhaps only during the First Salmon ceremony did a ritual benefit the community at large. During the fishing season, inappropriate behaviour by *any* villager would offend the fish and affect the run, suggesting that the salmon's relationship was with the village as a unit. Moreover, the distribution of the harvest also suggests that the village was regarded as a unit while harvesting the salmon; fish could be sold to outsiders, but within the village salmon was distributed more freely, although not necessarily equally (see Chapter 6 for a further discussion on

proprietary interests).

The term "tribe," when applied to Coast Salish society, refers to a cluster of villages having enough social unity to be recognized as a named group. It would often have a common distinct dialect or language, sometimes have marked customs, and would always be identified with a specific area. Thus, the "tribe" was a coherent social unit aboriginally, although not a political nor an economic unit until the nineteenth century. For multi-village tribes, the larger social unit had less salience in the daily lives of individuals than the independent family, local group or village, but still provided a primary form of identification, as evinced in early census data that tallied the number of men (hunters) comprising each tribal unit (McDonald 1830; Yale 1838-39). In 1830, while at Fort Langley, Archibald McDonald prepared a census recording the names of numerous well-known local tribes, such as "Toannois" [Twana], "Hoomus" [Squamish] and "Musquams" [Musqueam], in addition to several groups that can now be identified as Upper Stalo villages, including, for example, "Skam" and "Whuaquam," identified in the work of Galloway and Ware (1977) as sqám (Hope I.R.2) and xwyó:qwem (Trafalgar Flat) respectively.

Tribes were not self-sufficient, bounded units, and in no way did they form separate societies or maintain distinct cultures in the aboriginal period. Little evidence exists that a tribe in this region acted as a unified group, apart from some suggestion that it formed a unit of defence (Suttles 1998, 185), though there are indications that people felt closer to fellow tribal members than to non-kin members of other tribes. This is reflected in the Lukungun's view that collective action may be required against one of their *own* members to safeguard themselves against a family belonging to another tribe who had been offended by a Lukungun person's insult. As Boas learned from the Lukungun:

> If a man has offended a foreign tribe, all members of his own tribe are liable to be seized upon, being held responsible for all actions of any one member. Therefore, it is considered condemnable to offend a member of a foreign tribe, and when, for instance, a man has stolen something from a foreign tribe, and is found out by his own people, the chief will compel him to return the stolen property (Boas 1891f, 570-571).

Tribal cohesiveness was also manifested in the composition of the lower Fraser River fishing camps , where summer settlements generally corresponded to tribal divisions. Seasonal aggregates in the Coast Salish region were not necessarily restricted to a single tribe, although larger groups appear to have retained their autonomy during the season of aggregation.

The Evolution of "First Nations"

Profound transformation in language, village composition and territory took place in the early historic period. These changes — accelerated by disease, depopulation and colonization — accounted for early changes in "tribal" composition and tribal territory. In the nineteenth century, the tribal unit gained a rigidity lacking in traditional aboriginal society. Anthropologists have prepared many important works documenting the types of changes experienced by indigenous people in the aftermath of colonial contact, and from these studies can be gleaned several recurring factors that have been present in situations of culture contact. Some outcomes are self-evident — the dominant society triumphed. What is less apparent is that social change in the colonial context depends on a host of factors, varying greatly from one situation to another, and from one individual to another. The effects of culture contact on the social organization of Northwest Coast peoples received attention in the 1950s, notably in Elizabeth Colson's (1953) extensive work on Makah assimilation and identity, Suttles' (1954) review of culture change among the Lummi, and Collins' (1950) examination of the growth of class distinction and political authority among

the Skagit. These studies reflect the approaches to social change current at that time.

Anthropological case studies demonstrate that indigenous societies around the world endured cultural change, regardless of the type of colonial rule under which they became subjugated. Globally common, although not universal, was an aboriginal society's change to *tribalism* as a result of an external colonial policy. This process created new forms of indigenous political systems and provided an alternate ethnic identity for the people. Barfield says of tribalism in his *Dictionary of Anthropology*:

> It was cultivated in missions, imposed and employed in colonial administration . . . brought to life in the mining towns . . ., and skilfully manipulated in post-colonial states by ethnic entrepreneurs seeking control of governments. In North America, tribes carved out along expanding frontiers were segregated on reservations, then registered and regulated by government policy (Barfield 1997, 476).

In the Western Hemisphere, colonization took the form of both Indirect and Direct Rule: laws formulated by Britain were administered by local officials, often with the help of appointed aboriginal leaders. Still, with few European people actually residing in the new colonies, the implementation of western law and order was sporadic and inconsistent, resulting, in part, in the composition and internal cohesiveness of Coast Salish tribes varying considerably from place to place and over time. Moreover, colonialism was one of a constellation of factors that resulted in social change. Some tribes now consisting of just one winter village, such as the Katzie in the Fraser Valley, formerly occupied several sites situated in another part of the territory they traditionally occupied, but had moved to the river by the time of colonial rule, likely as a result of depopulation. Other contemporary tribes formed when colonial governments brought together formerly autonomous villages to reside on one Reservation, such as the situation among the Duwamish of Puget Sound, and several of their neighbours.

By the time the government established Indian Reserves in the Central Coast Salish area, village composition had already undergone change. Some villages had merged with others, some relocated, and, in general, considerable migration to developing areas with new employment opportunities had occurred. Families supplemented wild foods with commodities purchased with earnings from jobs as labourers, and traded Native crafts, especially baskets, with their neighbours for used clothing. The major agent of change in village composition, however, was the missionary who expressed and promoted the popular view that only by Christianizing and educating Indians in European ways, including residing in single-family dwellings, could indigenous people be "civilized" into Canadian society. White officials therefore viewed the tidy cottages constructed on the Squamish Mission village as evidence of triumphant success. Census data from the later part of the 19th Century reveal a corresponding reduction in household size, with few containing more than two generations (nuclear families) by 1901, except when an elderly parent became widowed. It was not unusual for an old couple, however, to live alone. As set out in Appendix Two showing changes in household composition after Indian Reserves were established, households of two generations were the dominant household type throughout the Central Coast Salish area by 1901. The nuclear family became the dominant type, although households composed of a set of brothers and their spouses and offspring were still present at this time. Large, multi-generation households were rare.

Since the initial days of culture contact, aboriginal peoples have continued making choices and pursuing strategies, within given limits, that have affected their social composition. A shift in household composition emphasized relations within the nuclear family, a trend that has continued into the 21st-Century. Now, along with a primary recognition of the tribe — the social unit that gained significance both in British Columbia

and Washington State in the second half of the twentieth century — BC's indigenous people present themselves as members of *First Nations*, a term said to have been coined in 1988 by aboriginal leaders proposing an indigenous parliament (Tennant 1990, 211). In many cases, this social unit is congruent with the aboriginal *tribe*. In others, it is a contemporary self-defined collective that may or may not be based on a former recognition of commonality of territory and/or language — as was the Coast Salish tribe — but, rather, a commonality of political purpose and solidarity.

In this next section I explore the strengthening of the Coast Salish tribe in the historical period, and its evolution in British Columbia to the status of a self-identified Nation, by examining these developments within the social organization of the Squamish. I begin with some brief remarks illustrating the contrast between the American and British policies that resulted in significantly-different social units on either side of the border, and then proceed to consideration of the Squamish themselves. I also examine the isolation of one village of largely Squamish-speaking people, who chose an alternative identity at the time of the formal consolidation of the Squamish Tribe in the twentieth century.

American and British Colonization

Imposed change in aboriginal social composition was common in the western United States. In the mid-1850s, when Washington requested newly-elected Governor Stevens to treat with the Native residents and set aside lands reserved for their use, he was advised to establish reservations away from White settlement, outside of the various tribes's aboriginal territories, if necessary, and on as few tracts of land as possible. The task, of course, created an ethnographic and administrative absurdity, as groups with sometimes little former contact were brought together to share lands and resources, and to be represented

by one head chief given responsibilities and position not present aboriginally (Richards 1979; 1993).

In British Columbia, colonial history resulted in little geographical displacement, but a century and a half after the American Coast Salish signed treaties, most aboriginal peoples in British Columbia remain without such a document. The policy in colonial British Columbia was an extension of the basic political and legal institutions of Great Britain — indigenous people were to be afforded the protection of the Crown until no longer required in their advancement along the path of civilization. Moreover, the Honour of the Crown had to be maintained.

British Columbia's indigenous peoples' isolation meant that the authority of aboriginal leaders was not initially undermined by the presence of European administrators, at least not until the founding of permanent Christian missions in the 1850s-1860s, and the introduction of Indian Agents in the 1870s. Still, the imposition of the Crown's ownership of lands and resources had a pervasive, if not immediate, consequence upon aboriginal cultures. As I have reviewed elsewhere (Kennedy 1995b),[25] the policy of James Douglas, who represented the British Crown, was to negotiate treaties and establish Indian Reserves first in those areas where he anticipated White settlement. Douglas hoped that tensions between Natives and newcomers could thereby be reduced. Consequently, he treated first with the aboriginal people in the area around Fort Victoria in 1850 because of the oncoming settlement, while in areas where Douglas did not think settlement likely in the immediate future, he showed little interest in signing agreements with the indigenous residents.

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[25] Information presented here is partly summarized from my report on the establishment of Indian Reserves prepared for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Kennedy 1995b).

In contrast to the American policy, aboriginal people in BC would remain in their villages and be allocated adequate agricultural land to enable self-sufficiency. Local officials were empowered during the Colonial period to set aside these village lands by marking their extent on the ground and announcing the results of their work publicly. This policy proved inconsistent when actually practised. Some village groups received only the immediate environs of their villages as Reserves, while others were allotted collectively with other such village groups and granted extensive areas. A major problem was that Reserve creation competed with other tasks of infrastructure development in acquiring scarce logistical resources, and additional treaties failed to be negotiated after Douglas retired from office. Most Indian Reserves, therefore, were not set aside until British Columbia's entry into the Confederation of Canada in 1871, at which time the management and trusteeship of the Province's aboriginal people fell to the Dominion government, as set out in Article 13 of the *Terms of Union*.

In Burrard Inlet, where the effects of settlement were being experienced by the indigenous residents, five Squamish Reserves were set aside a few years prior to Canada's confederation. Reserves such as these, established during the late Colonial period, tended to be limited for the use of the specific "residents thereon," an expression seen commonly in the historical documents, including the official *Gazette* notice in which their creation was announced. The arrangement satisfied the immediate concerns of Squamish people residing in the Inlet whose homes were being threatened by settlers' unlawful pre-emptions.

After Confederation, the Dominion and the Province had very different interpretations of the meaning of Article 13 governing jurisdiction of Indian Affairs. Divided between the two jurisdictions — federal and provincial — the allotment of Indian Reserves produced a major deadlock unresolved for decades. The Dominion

attempted to break the impasse by recommending the establishment of a Joint Indian Reserve Commission (JIRC) that would meet with the aboriginal peoples and bring the thorny issue of Indian Reserve allotment to a conclusion.

An initial Reserve allotment policy, submitted to the governments by missionary William Duncan of Metlakatla, proposed that, while no acreage for reserves be fixed, "each Nation of Indians be dealt with separately on their respective claims" (Duncan 1875). By the term "nation," Duncan meant speech-community, in the same manner as Indian Superintendent Powell, in his initial report to Ottawa in January 1873, had spoken of the "Cowichan" — his term for Coast Salish — as a "Nation" (Powell 1873). Duncan's proposal included provision for concentrating nations, rather than tribes, on large central Reserves, similar to the situation in Washington Territory, with which he was familiar. Ottawa instantly accepted this proposal, but after negotiations with the Province, certain terms were amended.

Reaction from the public was less complacent. Particularly disagreeable was the notion of forcing aboriginal groups onto centralized Reserves, and after considerable deliberations, the two governments acquiesced. The Indian Reserve Commissioners, themselves, soon concurred with this conclusion. G.M. Sproat (1876), the jointly-appointed Commissioner, explained that among the coastal tribes in particular, "their village sites and burial grounds and favourite places of resort are very dear to them . . . ."

The Joint Indian Reserve Commissioners began their work in the late fall of 1876,[26] travelling from village to village to meet with Natives and allotting or adjusting Reserves. The Commissioners started at Musqueam, and then proceeded to Burrard Inlet and Howe Sound, where they allotted lands to the Squamish before going to Sechelt, and from there to

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[26] The year 1876 also saw Canada revise the new Indian Act and set into motion a system that distinguished who was and was not "Indian," the former being members of "Indian bands."

Vancouver Island. At Cowichan, on the Island, the aboriginal people insisted to the Commissioners that residents of all their villages be recognized together. They emphasized, as the Commissioners later reported, that "they were one people and desired to be treated as such" (Anderson *et al.* 1877). The Commissioners listened, for they had been advised by Ottawa not "to do any needless violence to existing tribal arrangements" (Laird 1876).

Initially, when Reserve Commissioners visited in 1876, they suggested to the Squamish that these separated smaller Reserves around the Inlet might be consolidated into a single larger one situated there. Commissioner G.M. Sproat recorded that the Squamish "were disturbed in their minds even at the idea of such a proposal" and "were anxious that they should not be taken away from their homes, and placed on large reserves" (Sproat 1876). Soon, the impracticality of creating a large Reserve because of local settler opposition and prior land alienation became clear to the Commissioners as well, and they dropped the matter entirely, although Sproat (1876) commented that the chiefs "intimated to us, however, that they would expect large reserves on the Skwawmish river." Sproat thought this was a fair and sensible idea. Accordingly, following the Commission's visit to Howe Sound, Sproat (1876) would note that a large reserve had been given to the Squamish Indians generally, whether resident on the Squamish River or at Burrard Inlet.

The Reserves were thus confirmed for all Squamish people and not for individuals, or for just the members of one village or several villages. As Sproat commented:

> The Commissioners were careful to explain to the Indians that all lands confirmed by them, or given by them as reserves, were for the people generally, not for any <u>particular chiefs</u> or individuals [emphasis in original] (Sproat 1876).

In all, eighteen separate Reserves would be created for the Squamish along the Squamish River, including one especially large Reserve in the vicinity of Cheakamus (Anderson *et al*

1877). The Commissioners spoke of these large Reserves as "common reserves, allotted to the Skwawmish people."

After the establishment of Squamish Indian Reserves, certain families continued to be associated with specific — and usually several — villages included within the roster of the Squamish Tribe's allotted lands. Yet personal loyalties and identities were multifarious, and individuals recognized an affiliation with the Squamish *Tribe* as an supra-level organization, as well as with particular villages in which they and their ancestors lived. The Commissioners had recognized headmen of specific villages, or with ties to specific sites, as village or Band "Chiefs," with the result that a man could now represent an uninhabited village, while others could represent two different villages.

By the beginning of the 20th century, most Indian Reserves in British Columbia had been laid out, although few had been surveyed. The aboriginal people remained displeased, having been dispossessed of most of their traditional territories without having either their aboriginal title extinguished or their aboriginal rights acknowledged. One means by which the aboriginal people expressed their displeasure was in a series of petitions submitted to various levels of government. These petitions reflect a change of focus to more collective tribal interests that occurred by this time. In August 1906, for example, three leaders led by Joe Capilano (Joe *sʔápəlәq*) of the Squamish tried to make a direct appeal to Britain about the inadequacy of their Indian Reserve lands. Dressed in traditionally-woven blankets and tunics, these chiefs travelled to Britain and sought an interview with the King, the individual whom they had been told would protect their inherent aboriginal rights. The following spring, the chiefs followed up their visit by submitting two petitions.

The petition reflects the more encompassing concern with tribal lands, rather than with individual villages, as had the earlier submissions. Chief Joe, himself, travelled to

Britain first as a representative of all the Squamish people, second as a representative of the aboriginal Coast Salish people, and third as a spokesman for the Natives of British Columbia. The next appeal from British Columbia aboriginals came with the Cowichan Petition of 1909, followed by another petition signed by representatives of the Songish, Saanich, Cowichan, Nanaimo, Squamish and Sechelt tribes. Once again, representatives signed on behalf of the *tribal* group and not individual villages, as had been the case in earlier times.

The status of the Squamish reserves, and indeed, of every other Reserve in British Columbia, would be considered by the *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia*, which began its work in 1913 and concluded in 1916. This Commission was created as the result of an agreement made between British Columbia and the Dominion to settle all differences between them and thus be a final resolution of the disputes over Indian policy, which had not been settled by the Indian Reserve Commission allotments.

Again the Commissioners travelled about the Province, meeting with aboriginal people. By the early 1900s, Squamish leaders recognized a disparity between the more traditional system of social identification and — notwithstanding the allocation of Indian Reserves collectively for the Squamish people — the Department of Indian Affairs now administered the lands as belonging to discrete "Bands" of Squamish, each having a distinct membership and trust account. The discrepancy between tribal and "Band" interests became especially pronounced when funds became available for distribution, resulting from timber sales or right-of-ways. With each offer of alienation, the Squamish and their Indian Agent drafted Band resolutions containing lists of names to indicate the requisite male members of the Band whose authority had to be obtained. The rationale for the inclusion of

the specified individuals became the object of discussion during meetings held between the Squamish and Royal Commissioners in 1913. Among those testifying was Andrew Paull, who at that time was the Secretary of the Squamish. Paull explained to the Commission that those residing on Mission I.R. 1, for example, also had homes on other Squamish Reserves. When asked who should benefit from the potential sale of any Reserve, Paull conferred with Squamish Chiefs and, speaking of the Mission land, announced that "those who assisted and contributed to build this reserve" should participate in the distribution of funds.

Finally, on January 20th, 1913, a petition prepared by Andrew Paull and signed by 36 Squamish men, was submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs, asking that the administration of their business be changed and that they be permitted to elect a Squamish Council to assist the "Government Chief."[27] This petition embodied their recognition of evolving political cohesion. Another decade passed, nevertheless, before the Department of Indian Affairs agreed to their request. Meanwhile, the Royal Commission spent considerable time determining the relationship between the Squamish Tribe and its constituent "sub-tribes" or "sub-bands," as the Commissioners referred to the individual villages. Speaking of this issue, an exasperated Indian Agent, Peter Byrnes, conceded that "they are all mixed up to such an extent that it is very difficult to know just how the whole matter stands" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916).

Throughout the tenure of the Royal Commission, Andrew Paull wrote often in his

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[27] It is not known how the position of "Government Chief" came into existence, apart from the obvious deduction that he was an appointed individual with whom the government could liaise. Even though the Government Chief and other Squamish leaders seem to have acquired their official positions from the Indian Reserve Commission's need for identified individuals with whom they could consult at the time of Reserve establishment, the subsequent appointment of their successors was contingent upon the agreement of other Squamish leaders who had the power to veto the selection of unsuitable candidates (Baker 1916). The Commissioners also recognized Joseph as the "Head Chief" of the Squamish, a position that his descendants have since occupied.

petitions to government of the cohesive nature of the Squamish Tribe, advising that his people considered kinship, not residency or "Band" membership, foremost in determining who should receive financial benefit from Reserve development or alienation. Paull did not, however, consider potential interests of kin who did *not* regard themselves as Squamish. Entitlement to Squamish Reserve lands, in his opinion, rested with those whose loyalties were to the Squamish Tribe, regardless of where they lived, provided they had not formally transferred into another Band. Furthermore, contrary to the aboriginal pattern of resource ownership, Paull apostatized any interest that non-Squamish peoples may have had in Squamish lands that emanated from a right based on kinship. Interests in Squamish Reserves therefore excluded Musqueam people whose ancestry may have extended to some of these same lands. Musqueam, too, dealt with the Commission as a tribal group with collective interests that disregarded claims of people recognized as Squamish or Tsawwassen. The legal interest of aboriginal women who had married White men was lost along with their status as Indian people, as set out in the 1876 *Indian Act*.

The Squamish held meetings to discuss a more formal amalgamation of the individual Reserves, after which petitions supporting the proposal were drawn up and signed. Finally, in 1923, the Squamish people amalgamated to confirm their collective *tribal* identity. In response to the request from chiefs and sixty-one adult men of the Squamish, the Department of Indian Affairs authorized amalgamation of the Squamish membership and consolidated their trust accounts. Only residents associated with Burrardview (Burrard I.R.3), whose village the Joint Indian Reserve Commission and the Royal Commission had also confirmed for the Squamish Tribe, chose not to participate.

The Distinction of the Burrard or Tsleil-waut (Saleelwat) First Nation

A letter dated January 9th, 1923, and signed by Chief George *slíx̱^{w}əltx^{w}* and 13 Tsleil-waut men, sets out the reasons why they chose not to participate in the Squamish amalgamation. Primary concerns included their leader's loss of power, and their potential loss of Christianity. The petition states:

> Our understanding is that if amalgamation should pass, our Chief, as a leader, would be void of power. The majority would always rule. . . .
> . . .
> . . . the inevitable majority rule would seem an approach to paganism. We, the No.3 Reserve Band of Indians, have always been true to the Christian Faith which civilization has taught us, and therefore have no desire to foresake Christianity (George *et al.* 1923).

Power and paganism were not the only issues of concern to the Burrard people. They, too, asked about money derived from Squamish Reserve lands that had been surrendered but had not been distributed generally, with the underlying concern that revenues from their lands might now be spread beyond their own Reserve's residents. In the end, they chose to not participate in the formal amalgamation.

The Tsleil-waut people's response to amalgamation was to present themselves as an unified group with independent collective interests *vis à vis* the Squamish, with whom they had parted company, both physically and economically. In doing so, they developed a stronger sense of *communitas* that evolved into the present Burrard or Tsleil-waut First Nation, a 365-strong group on par, organizationally at least, with that of the 3,000-strong Squamish Nation.

In the years following the 1923 Squamish amalgamation, bitter feelings remained between the Burrard Band ("Tsleil-waut") and the Squamish. Those Burrard members who opposed amalgamation left the Mission Reserve, where they had earlier chosen to live in close proximity to their highly-cherished Catholic Church, and returned to Burrardview to

build their own church. The wedge of amalgamation also created a social division between the two peoples. Squamish elder Louis Miranda, for example, recalled that his people attended canoe festivals at Burrardview, but that the two groups sat apart, with the leading Burrard family remaining at a silent distance from their former Squamish friends.

A Tsleil-waut history distinct from that of the Squamish became a significant factor in the Burrards' growing independence. Chief George (b. 1873, d. 1935) and his family, when interviewed in the 1930s, highlighted the Tsleil-waut people's distinctiveness before contact with Europeans, at which time the predominant language spoken in the eastern portion of Burrard Inlet was likely a dialect of Halkomelem, not the Squamish language that became common in the historic period (eg., Menzies 1934; Barnett 1935-36; Suttles 1990a, 454-454). The Tsleil-waut also drew upon stories of their ancestors that demonstrated their independent relationship with the land. Apart from a mythological account of a more eastern origin for the Tsleil-waut's ancestors (Carter 1972, 12), stories recount events situated mostly in the interior of Burrard Inlet and Indian River watershed. A number of these stories mention the illustrious Tsleil-waut ancestor, *wáċaʔq*^{w}.

Most Tsleil-waut people, particularly those of high class, descend from the well-known leader, *wáċaʔq*^{w}, a man who lived in Burrard Inlet between around 1770 and 1840, whose father was a Tsleil-waut man named *slíx̣*^{w}*əltx*^{w}, and whose mother was apparently from Musqueam.[28] Oral tradition relates how *wáċaʔq*^{w} resided with his Squamish wife at a once-large village decimated by smallpox and other diseases that likely reached the Inlet beginning in the 1780s. Raids from northern peoples contributed to the extermination of the population here. It was during one of these raids, members of the George family at

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[28] The Tsleil-waut recognize that generation after generation of high status Tsleil-waut men have carried the name-titles *slíx̣*^{w}*əltx*^{w} and *wáċaʔq*^{w} (see Chapter 7), and they view their transmission of these names as evidence of their continual occupation of this area.

Burrardview informed me, when enemy warriors killed the heroic *wáca ʔqʷ*. Later, when the body of *wáca ʔqʷ* was moved across Indian Arm, orca whales accompanied the canoe carrying his remains. Since then, orcas have been seen at the time of death of other members of this family as well. In 1981 when the well-liked actor Chief Dan George of Tsleil-waut died, the *Vancouver Sun* announced the unusual appearance of a whale pod that remained in Burrard Inlet for several days. The George family, descendants of *wáca ʔqʷ*, understood why, and the whales' appearance was the subject of much discussion.

Tsleil-waut oral tradition generally begins with the story of *slíx̣ʷəltxʷ* and his son *wáca ʔqʷ*, leaving an earlier presence in the Inlet ambiguous, and certainly irrelevant, to the contemporary construction of an independent Tsleil-waut identity. It is probable that the Tsleil-waut were a Halkomelem-speaking group at one time, and one account aligns their speech most closely to that of the Coquitlam (Paull, cited in Matthews 1955), although the latter dialect remained unrecorded before its demise, making the comparison relatively meaningless today. It is clear that in the historic period the Tsleil-waut occupied one main village at Burrardview, where the Indian Reserve Commissioners allotted Squamish Indian Reserve No. 3. Reduced to only a few individuals, there was no cluster of villages that identified a tribal unit, for the survivors lived together at one location.

Oral tradition tells of continuing conflict with northern raiders in the early historic period. The residents fortified the new village at Burrardview, a task that required assistance from kin who moved from the Squamish River to help the few, disadvantaged survivors. Jenness (1955, 86) recorded in the 1930s that some people in eastern Burrard Inlet had become so disadvantaged that they were subservient to the Squamish, though the veracity of the comment cannot be established. In 1916, the assistance of Squamish River people in defending the old Tsleil-waut village was recalled when some Burrard members

questioned a particular family's right to share in a financial distribution, and it was then quickly acknowledged that the family's ancestor had built the fort at Burrardview (in about 1830-1840), and that his descendants of this family had lived there ever since (Tom 1916).

Evidence suggests, notwithstanding the early history, that by the mid-1800s the Tsleil-waut identified themselves most closely with Squamish in speech, traditions and association. When an Oblate priest baptized the son of *wáċaʔq*^{w}, James *slíx̣*^{w}*əltx*^{w}, at the age of 40 in November 1867 — importantly, at a time prior to the establishment of the Burrard Indian Reserve — the family was identified as *Squamish*:

> St. Marie 1867, 1 [?] Novembre. James Sléroltwh [*slíx̣*^{w}*əltx*^{w}] agé de 40 ans, fils de Watsartk [*wáċaʔq*^{w}] sauvage Skromish [Squamish] et de N-sié-tsar. Le parrain a été Joseph Manatleuten [*mənáɬəltən*] (St. Mary's Indian Residential School, Mission City. Baptismal Register 1863-1871. Page 41 [stamped], Baptism No. 182).

When the Burrardview site was eventually set aside as an Indian Reserve in September 1869, surveyor J.B. Launders noted that only a few elderly members of what was considered to be the *original* Tsleil-waut remained, and the population was then predominantly Squamish. Launders wrote in his field diary:

> Friday 24th: This Village is called Lillooet [*səlílwat*, Tsleil-waut] and was established by Indians from the portage of that name perhaps 30 or 40 years ago there are yet 2 or 3 old people of that tribe still living here — all the remainder of the Indians here and all over Burrard Inlet are of the Squamish tribe, very much divided (Launders 1869).

The name of the Chief of the Burrard village was recorded by Launders as "Slaeck-whelt," clearly with reference to James *slíx̣*^{w}*əltx*^{w}, and later documentation confirms his role. By the time James *slíx̣*^{w}*əltx*^{w} was an adult, his people had abandoned their earlier village site and the few remaining members had relocated to the area of Burrardview where the Reserve was marked out and surveyed as a Squamish Indian Reserve.

Until the official amalgamation of the Squamish villages in 1923, when the issue of

Tsleil-waut ancestry was ultimately raised, the Burrardview village residents regarded themselves as close affiliates of other Squamish villages, particularly with residents of the Mission, Seymour and Cheakamus Reserves, where many kin resided. In 1922, the Tsleil-waut's leader, Chief George, was among those who signed a petition authorizing four representatives of the "Squamish Nation of Indians" to "represent the Squamish Indians before the Federal Government in all matters pertaining to the Reserves of the Squamish Indians and in all matters concerning the welfare of the people in general" (Squamish Indians n.d. [1922]). However, against the reality of highly divergent economic interests that crystalized at the time of amalgamation a year later, the Burrard's retention of traditions that set them apart as a formerly-independent local group now made possible the flourishing of a distinct political and social identity.

The Tsleil-waut, named for the Indian River on which they relied for salmon, again emphasized their autonomy with traditions, practices and territory that they identified as uniquely their own. Commonality of speech, ancestors and cultural traditions that had allied them with their Squamish neighbours were no longer important factors in the group formation process that had permitted them to be, coincidently, members of a supra-level organization — the Squamish Tribe or Nation — members of the Tsleil-waut local group descended from *slíx̣^{w}əltx^{w}*, and residents of the Burrardview village. Instead, the community championed their collective interests by focussing on their affiliation with their eighteenth-century progenitor from whom members of the elite traced their descent and entitlement.

This was not the first time that the Burrard people had taken action to maintain their autonomy and associated property, however. During a discussion of marriage prohibitions, one of Barnett's (1935-1936, IV, 135) Squamish informants raised the circumstances of the earlier occasion on which the Tsleil-waut were proactive in maintaining their

distinctiveness. This man advised Barnett that cousins could not normally marry, but that the Tsleil-waut people arranged an endogamous marriage between second cousins who were descendants of *wáca ʔq*^{w} as "they were the last (part Musqueam) of the group." He explained that this was necessary "to revive the family or lineage." Barnett's mention of "Musqueam" is likely a reference to the original Halkomelem-speaking local group from which the two cousins were descended, rather than a direct association with the present Musqueam village itself, although the wife of the man named *slíx*^{w}*əltx*^{w} who lived in the mid-1700s is said to have come from Musqueam.

In contrast to their Squamish neighbours whose cognatic ideology, combined with linguistically-endogamous marriage, bolstered the political co-dependence of the villages comprising the speech-community, the Tsleil-waut became an increasingly insular group after the 1923 amalgamation. Their descent doctrine fostered a sense of autonomy in the political domain. It has served to maximize intra-group co-operation in defence of their contemporary territorial claims, while minimizing encroachment from their economically and politically more powerful neighbours.

The Burrard (Tsleil-waut) people have used several forms of self-identification to assert their distinct identity and their sense of community. At times they have referred to themselves as "people of the wolf," a reference to a well-known myth shared with the Squamish of the Cheakamus River area as well. They also tell a story of how a wolf accompanied *wáca ʔq*^{w} on his walks (Mortimer 1981, 78). In explaining the social unit to which their autonym relates, the Tsleil-waut have sometimes referred to their "clan," thereby emphasizing themselves as a socially-closed, descent-based group. At other times, they have called themselves "people of the inlet," thereby advancing territorial claims to Burrard Inlet, and importantly, the cities of Vancouver and North Vancouver. Since around

1990, the Burrardview people have called themselves the "Tsleil-Waututh First Nation," using both the indigenous name of the group associated with the Indian River fishery (*səlílwət*), anglicized as "Tsleil-waut," and the contemporary term "First Nation," to define a self-identified political unit. In each case, the Tsleil-waut have drawn upon symbols which allowed them to express a consciousness of community isolating themselves from their neighbours. The manner in which these symbols invoke this Tsleil-waut distinctiveness, as pointed out by Anthony Cohen's (1985, 99) studies on the symbolic construction of community, "resonates with contemporary influences."

Competing Claimant Groups

I began this chapter with a discussion of problems that can emerge from attitudinal and obscure terminology, and from reliance on societal models derived from one society and applied haphazardly to another. During the US Indian Claims Commission, lawyers devoted considerable time cross-examining expert witnesses regarding the social cohesiveness of petitioning groups within the Southern Coast Salish, and the relationship of these social units to groups identified in the Stevens treaties of the 1850s. At one point in the proceedings, Donald Marshall, Counsel for the Defence during the ICC, explained to the Court: "the only thing that is involved here now, Your Honor, is who owned the land claimed" (Marshall, ICC Testimony, 18 July 1953). It was not an easy question to address, despite the capable assistance of anthropologists representing all parties.

When the examination of anthropologist Carroll Riley focussed on his understanding of the concept of title held by the Puget Sound peoples with whom Stevens negotiated treaties in the 1850s, Riley responded that "the question would be confused . . . I don't think the Indians thought in terms of titles, or terms of ownership in that sense" (ICC

Testimony of C. Riley, July 18th, 1953). Dr. Riley added, however, that "the pattern of ownership, inasmuch as you could use the word 'ownership,' was on the village level."

Of course, the same question arises now in disputes between British Columbia's Coast Salish groups who may claim interests in the same land. Strong convictions are held by opposing aboriginal parties concerning the correctness of their position, while the data available to clarify the issue of ownership are obscure. Contributing to the difficulty in determining who might be the rightful claimant group, is the issue of the relationship of the contemporary petitioners to the aboriginal group who formerly occupied the land under review.

As I have addressed above, people throughout the Coast Salish region recognized themselves as members of groups of differing social complexity, only some of which were associated with territory and property. These residential groups were as follows: the independent household; the extended household; the local group; the village; and the tribe. While territory could be defined for the local group, village and tribe, no precise boundaries marked their limits, apart from occasional geographical boundaries that tended to circumscribe the lands occupied by some village or tribal units. Still, the Coast Salish did not attribute the same rigidity to boundaries, as is evident among some other Northwest Coast peoples. And, as Riley observed during the US Indian Claims Commission, their concept of ownership does not always fit comfortably with that held by the Court.

The situation of the Burrard or Tsleil-waut, and their relationship with the Squamish Nation, provides a particularly good example of how great flexibility is needed in applying legal tests of aboriginal title and rights to the Coast Salish. The Squamish and the Burrard submitted to the BC Treaty Commission very similar maps setting out their tribal territory — the full extent of geographically-circumscribed lands encompassing all known village

sites occupied by Squamish-speaking people at the time Britain asserted sovereignty in 1846.

As discussed above, the Tsleil-waut people are an example of a Coast Salish group in which the indigenous social units — the local group and the village — coincided. At various times in their history, the Tsleil-waut asserted an identity as either an independent people, or as a member group of the Squamish. In each case, they applied diverse classificatory principles to either strengthen social unity within their autonomous residential group (which was probably the case in earlier times), or to align themselves with a larger group with whom they shared a common language, kinship, and certain cultural traditions, and with whom they stood together in opposition to the surrounding White community.

The Tsleil-waut largely maintained a sense of distinctiveness throughout the years, despite the fact that the confirmation of Indian Reserves in common for those recognized as "Squamish" — which then included the Tsleil-waut — created external political and economic factors that placed constraints on the Tsleil-waut's independence. This independence came to the fore at the time of the Squamish amalgamation in 1923, resulting in the Tsleil-waut's present position in the year 2000 as a First Nation consisting of one village and slightly over 350 members. The situation is not dissimilar to that described by Cohen (1985, 107) with respect to the Norwegian Saami. There, Cohen noted, "to be Norwegian is only to be different from Swedes or Danes," while to be a Norwegian Saami "is to have a range of interests which, in discriminating you from 'white' Norwegians, paints a much fuller portrait." It is apparent that the Saami could hold discrete notions of identity simultaneously. This, I believe, is the key to understanding the overlap between lands claimed by the Squamish and the Tsleil-waut.

In 1923, when the Tsleil-waut perceived their political autonomy and future wealth

threatened by a Squamish Nation with emerging political powers, they deployed a level of social unity embodied in several discrete symbols — their heroic ancestors, a connection with whales and wolves, their association with Indian Arm — thus permitting them to draw a boundary around their community and separate themselves from those regarded as Squamish. More recently, the Tsleil-waut have recognized more common symbols — language, affinity, and broadly-based traditions — and, of course, the government's inclusion of the Tsleil-waut within the Squamish Tribe in 1876, to recognize as their own the territory associated with the larger Squamish group.

In cases such as Squamish, the evidence is clear that traditions, language endogamy, and propinquity engendered a fairly-cohesive social unit at the tribal level, even in former times. Yet, development of the Nation or tribe among the Squamish is demonstrably the result of a transformation from an earlier form of social organization in which the village and tribal units were *associated* with territory, and the cognatic stem-kindred owned exclusive property.

Before moving on, however, it is enough to note that patterns of aboriginal land use and occupancy, as evinced by the data on Coast Salish social groups reviewed here, do not fit comfortably with the legal tests set out by the Courts of Canada in both the *Baker Lake* and *Delgamuukw* decisions. Motivated by the quest for authoritative judgement, the Court seeks the essential from the evidence before it applies its own tests of organization, the first of them being that the group in question is indeed an organized society, and furthermore, that the group occupied a territory to the exclusion of other organized societies. Some aboriginal rights lawyers, such as Freedman (1995), have already proposed that flexibility is needed in the way the *Baker Lake* legal tests are applied in British Columbia.

Coast Salish is definitely one area in which litigators require a greater understanding

of the aboriginal situation and its transformation. The same flexibility needs to be understood by BC treaty-makers and their critics. To find within the Coast Salish region a social unit that used and occupied lands to the exclusion of others at the time of sovereignty, as set out by *Baker Lake*, may result in the untenable situation of hundreds of claimant groups. The alternative is an appreciation that tribal territories do not have to be *private* property for others to acknowledge their association with certain people. Still, neither approach fits comfortably with either the legal or the aboriginal model.

There will always be issues of "overlap," for within the Coast Salish region, the concept of territory differs from the concept of specific resource ownership. Rights of ownership include those established on the basis of kinship, a factor that today, as in the past, bestowed jural rights on elite residents and, as discussed in Chapter 5, potential rights to non-residents as well. In the historic period, however, considerable realignment in the identity of individuals comprising the residential groups of all levels, has contributed to irresolute disputes among First Nations concerning the identity of the appropriate claimant group in issues of aboriginal rights and title. While the legal models do not fit comfortably with the system of land and resource ownership developed over the millennia by Coast Salish people, the strong assertions being made by some contemporary Coast Salish leaders do not always distinguish the evolving association between specific social units and place, with the present construction of groups claiming rights based on some members' descent from some notable ancestor. What is clear is that the principles upon which rights were established in earlier times have undergone transformation.

At funerals of Squamish members over the past three decades, I have commonly heard Tsleil-waut leaders offering condolences to the gathering, beginning their speech with

a few words spoken in the Squamish language: "My friends and relatives, we are all Squamish . . . ". Identity and social groups, I am reminded, are socially and symbolically constructed. They are created in specific historical circumstances, and only exist in a context of oppositions and relativities. The appropriate Coast Salish social unit with whom the Courts and the BC Treaty Office should be consulting will thus vary from place to place and over time.

CHAPTER FIVE

KINSHIP AND DESCENT

It has become almost trite in anthropological literature to begin discussions of cognatic societies by pointing out how attention to unilineal descent systems has been at the expense of bilaterally-structured groups. Yet, when sentiments such as those voiced by Davenport (1959, 557) forty years ago concerning cognatic societies being "an unstudied residual category for everything that is not unilinear" continue to preface books on bilateral systems published in the 1990s, the veracity of these remarks should not be ignored. It is evident that a global disregard for cognatic systems remains. Hüsken and Kemp (1991), for example, remark in their recent volume on the cultures of Southeast Asia:

> In contrast [to unilineal systems], cognatic systems were for a long time neglected if not totally ignored, and even today do not receive the attention that one might legitimately assume to be their due given their demographic preponderance . . . and association with both simple and complex societies (Hüsken and Kemp 1991, 1).

Other anthropologists, too, point to the long-standing and widespread neglect of cognatic societies, often tracing the roots of apathy to Radcliffe-Brown's (1950, 82) cavalier dismissal of bilateral societies as not only rare, but limited in their ability to divide society into separate organized kin-groups. Cognatic societies, Radcliffe-Brown opined, lacked an unambiguous way for assigning individuals to social statuses. "In kinship systems," he wrote, "cognatic kinship cannot provide this; it is only made possible by the use of the principle of unilineal descent" (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, 43). Certainly this

perspective has been reflected in social anthropologists' languor in probing these societies' structures, and likely contributed to their overwhelming preoccupation with unilineal systems, while societies whose criteria for group membership appeared less demarcated remained unanalysed, or at best, poorly understood.

It is evident that few studies of non-lineal societies were available in the 1950s upon which theoreticians could draw, but more to the point, anthropologists' bleak references to bilateral societies most often accentuated what they seemingly lacked when set against African models of unilineal societies. Anthropologists are now more critical of the essentialists' view, regardless of where it has emerged, and some now argue that models of unilineal societies, too, require abandonment, for phenomena particular to one area of the world do not necessarily provide adequate guiding principles for understanding another (Appell 1976, vi). Yet, with cognatic societies, neither the studies nor the models were forthcoming until the 1950s, resulting in there being few extant models — the handful that prevail sometimes exhibit the typological thinking that finds the type to be real, and the world, itself, merely a poor reflection.

Non-Residential Social Groups

Anthropologists working among the Coast Salish — where the bilateral nature of these societies has been recognized for over a century — initially measured the local non-lineal form against models of unilineal groups to the north, and to cognatic societies in other parts of the world. Franz Boas, for example, whose first work on the Northwest Coast had been in Victoria in 1886-1887 among indigenous visitors from the north, anticipated that a unilineal principle ought to be present among the Lukungun (and Nanaimo) Coast Salish as well, resulting in his initial use of terms such as "clan" and

"gentes" in his Salish work, including his hasty assignment of Nanaimo children to "the clan of the father" (Boas 1889, 321). After additional fieldwork, Boas concluded that individuals could associate with, and acquire ritual prerogatives from, either parent's ancestors, although the nature of these social units remained indeterminate (Boas 1894).

Once anthropologists recognized the cognatic nature of Coast Salish societies, a few began to see indications, though never fully documented, that an element of descent operated in the ideology of those societies we now classify as Northern and Central Coast Salish, while the more southern groups apparently placed little emphasis on connecting themselves with generations of illustrious forebears. The substantial variation between the north and the south within the Coast Salish continuum evaded the attention of all but a few researchers. Most social scientists investigating aboriginal Coast Salish societies in the first half of the 20th Century devoted their efforts to encapsulating a broader view of these peoples' culture, rather than focussing their gaze on the finer points of social order. Consequently, fundamental questions regarding the social organization of Salishan people remained unaddressed, and a consensus regarding descriptive terminology was slow to develop.

Ethnographers found especially difficult the task of labelling social units that possessed an ephemeral notion of descent, drawing upon a cluster of ill-fitting terms like "bilateral descent," "cognatic descent," "ambilineal descent," "ramage systems," and, of course, "non-unilineal" to capture what was initially regarded as an unusual phenomenon. Almost forty years ago, Raymond Firth lamented, with respect to terminology used in the study of descent groups "of the kind commonly called 'bilateral,'" that:

> [it] is still one of the least systematic aspects in the theoretical development of comparative kinship. Definition is much more difficult than with unilineal

> groups — hence, the cautious, non-committal appellation of 'non-unilineal' (Firth 1963, 22).

Firth's comment, of course, reflects the era of anthropology when descent groups were classified in terms of essentialist criteria, and societies were classified based on tabulations of ideal characteristics, with the category of "non-unilineal" catching those found to be *not* lineal. Anthropology has undergone alterations in its theoretical perspective since the time Firth wrote this passage, and there is now a reluctance among social scientists to see descent as consisting simply of mutually-exclusive categories — regardless of whether they are unilineal or non-lineal. Yet problems with terminology remain, and the multiple characteristics of descent mean that our reference to societies as agnatic or cognatic may indeed augur very little.

Anthropologists now acknowledge that descent may be active only in certain situations, requiring us to look at other operative principles of social organization in the same society. Furthermore, it is now understood that descent constructs produce social categories, and as Keesing (1968, 454) so succinctly notes, these, too, lie in the cultural realm. Recruitment of social groups from these categories, Keesing writes, "depends on complex patterns of decision and contingency." Assignment to one such social group in a cognatic system is not, of course, exclusively through patrilineal or matrilineal links. An issue to be addressed with respect to the bilateral Coast Salish, however, is whether an individual *could* belong to more than one descent group concurrently, or, if not, how factors such as residency, association and property influenced affiliation. I begin by reviewing the development of expert opinion on these issues among anthropologists working with Coast Salish, who generation after generation have endeavoured to advance our understanding of non-unilineal societies on the Northwest Coast.

The Presence or Absence of Descent Groups

Anthropologists writing for the Northwest Coast volume of the Smithsonian Institutions' *Handbook of North American Indians* report the presence of non-localized, kin-based, corporate descent groups among the Central Coast Salish (Suttles 1990a, 464) and Northern Coast Salish (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990b, 447), but note their absence from the contiguous groups to the south (Suttles and Lane 1990, 495), who instead emphasize relationships with lateral cognates.

The relationship between descent and property, including both ritual prerogatives and territory, has been troublesome on the Northwest Coast — as in other parts of the world — resulting in obscure descriptions of Coast Salish corporations. In the Central Coast Salish area, property such as rare or notably productive resource sites, ritual paraphernalia, and songs, has been reported consistently as belonging to a corporate group, centred on a core of upper-class individuals. Boas (1891f) concluded initially that the Lukungun (Northern Straits) gens was a corporate patrilineage, each owning fishing grounds that were managed by the gens' chief. The group composition was agnatic, Boas observed, as was the transmission of property, a view that bolstered his spurious opinion that a unilineal system was present among the Salish, just as it was farther north. The cognatic nature of Salishan social organization was soon recognized, however, due particularly to anthropologists' observations of bilateral inheritance of ceremonial prerogatives, although what such a state indicated in the broader context of the Northwest Coast was not always clear.

Hill-Tout (1904a, 327) thought that a "bilateral" condition meant that the society had evolved from a union of two earlier states of matri- and patri-focussed lineages. This

conclusion was consistent with the evolutionary perspective common in anthropology at that time, and certainly in accord with Hill-Tout's proclivity for theoretical speculation. He failed, nevertheless, to discern the distinction between the property of affines with that of consanguines, and thus found it difficult to reconcile the presence of kin-based households with the ideology of descent within local groups — a persistent problem in studies of Coast Salish social organization. This is especially apparent in Hill-Tout's discussion of "hereditary totems" in his paper presenting the results of his work among the Chehalis and Scowlitz groups of Mainland Halkomelem. Hill-Tout stresses the bilateral nature of property transmission and kinship, and importantly, raises the question of the inclusion of affines and others who were regarded as kin, in the corporate group, notwithstanding their lack of consanguineal ties. In comparing these Central Coast Salish people with the unilineal groups to the north, Hill-Tout states:

> the only difference that I can perceive between the group totemism of the Salish and that of the northern tribes is that among the latter the group was confined, at least in theory, to *blood* kindred, and counted on one side of the house only, whereas among the former [the Salish], the group included those connected by affinitive as well as blood ties, and counted the relatives of both father and mother.
> . . . like the Salish, where a union of the two earlier states has taken place, and where the social unit is the family which comprises the relatives on both sides of the house, which I may denominate "kin totemism" for lack of a better term. In all these groups there is the same transmission of the common protecting genius from one generation to another. Under matriarchy, this is effected by the conventional fathers of the group on the female side of the house, that is, by the maternal uncles. Under patriarchy by the "ostensible or real fathers" of the group on the male side; and under the social structure which results from a combination of the two, like that among the Salish, by the "fathers" on both sides of the house (Hill-Tout 1904a, 327).

Putting aside Hill-Tout's views on totemism, this passage demonstrates some of the complexities of a cognatic system. Farther north on the coast, as Hill-Tout points out, kin units are either matrilineal descent groups (as among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and

Haisla) or non-unilineal descent groups (as among the Bella Coola, Kwakwaka'wakw and Nuu-chah-nulth), each of which is a discrete social unit. Among Salishan peoples, Hill-Tout recognized the eminence of a household's resident kin as possessors of bilaterally-inherited rights. His brief statements made in association with his views on totemism indicate that he believed the corporate group to be focussed on a single conjugal couple. Earlier, Hill-Tout (1900, 476-477) wrote that corporate rights and responsibilities were held by "families or clans," defined in his Squamish work as "the blood relatives of any given family on both sides of the house for six generations." His delineation point of closure for this group lay where lexemes for generational kin-terms terminated, and thus demarcated its boundary (see Chapter 2). Hill-Tout defined this point explicitly in his Sechelt (Northern Coast Salish) report, when commenting on the genealogical chart of a Sechelt Chief and his brother:

> I gathered from the chief and his brother all that is now known of their ancestry and past. They have a genealogical table, extending back to the sixth generation, that is, to their Tō´piyuk. The genealogical lists of all the Sī´ciatl divisions stop at this point. They have no memories or traditions of anything beyond (Hill-Tout 1904a, 22).

It was around 1950 when Wayne Suttles initiated his seminal work on Coast Salish kinship systems, and while he was not the first to consider kinship relations, it is the maturation of his thoughts that has contributed most consistently to our understanding of cognatic societies on this part of the Northwest Coast. Beginning with his doctorate thesis in 1951, describing the economic life of the Northern Straits Salish, Suttles (1951, 271) observed that their "social organization seems to have lacked any principles which rigidly set one group off from another." The existence of social units such as family, household, community and tribe, he offered, "depended more upon its functioning as such than upon principles of descent." In this scheme, Suttles (1951, 398) regarded the "family" as the

property-owning unit that held inherited privileges including real estate, songs, masks, and names.

After additional research in the area, Suttles became cognizant of descent as an organizing feature, and in an 1958 article, postulated that each Central Coast Salish village originally consisted of what he referred to as "a single lineage" (Suttles [1958] 1987a, 9), his definition of which corresponds to that of the local group described in Chapter 4 (that is, descent from the sky or otherwise, antiquity and continuity of ties with territory, and ownership of hereditary rights and privileges). All descendants from the founders were taken to comprise a distinct ancestor-oriented descent group, and as agnatic co-residency was a central feature of Suttles' "lineage" — as he defined it initially in 1958 — the group had a patrilineal bias that kept property close to home. Lineages, local groups, and villages, therefore, could be mutually inclusive groups, with the exception of those people who had either married in or married out — individuals not included in the localized lineage, as Suttles then defined it. At that time, Suttles considered Boas' early use of the term "gentes" for Coast Salish villages to be "probably quite proper," inasmuch as "membership in a lineage was usually through the male line" (Suttles [1958] 1987a, 9).

By 1960, Suttles ([1960] 1987a, 17) regarded the "extended family" to be the corporate group, defined then as "the nuclear families of brothers, cousins, and brothers-in-law" that formed a household group. He provided the Halkomelem term *xʷnəc̓ə́ləwəm* for this corporate cluster of consanguines, and, inasmuch as the unit included brothers-in-law, Suttles included affinally-related kin in his definition, as well. A paper Suttles delivered at a conference the same year (1960), nevertheless, emphasized that the corporation was non-discrete and non-localized, and that membership in the group was strictly through bilateral descent, thereby excluding affines from this more polished definition, and extending

membership to those descendants residing beyond the household (Suttles [1960] 1987a, 210). This was not Suttles' last word on the subject, and in 1962 he published a more focussed article in which he acknowledged a debt to Davenport's (1959) influential article, "Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups." Now, Suttles likened the Central Coast Salish kin-based corporate group to Davenport's concept of a "stem-kindred" (Suttles [1962] 1987a, 30).

It is necessary to digress for a moment to consider the characteristics of the social unit to which Davenport applied this term, "stem kindred," to see why Suttles might have felt more comfortable with this terminology. Davenport recognized that cognatic systems could form kin-linked corporate — yet non-unilineal — organizations that were, nevertheless, non-localized. Providing there was a patterned rule of succession, Davenport suggested, the system would have continuity through time, for the property was not alienable (Davenport 1959, 564). In the case of the Central Coast Salish, control of property by an elite core group of kin, whose leadership was partly through seniority and partly through ability, satisfied this requirement. Given that membership was through bilateral descent, the property-owning kin-group was soon not localized, even if the local group was originally endogamous. Thus, Suttles ([1960] 1987a, 219) concluded that it was "this group or its head," rather than any of the residential groups, that owned the most important prerogatives and the most productive natural resources.

Suttles refined this conclusion in his subsequent work. In 1968, apparently motivated by new observations, he presented further analysis of Central Coast Salish society. While earlier he had suggested a strong patrilocal preference, he now saw residence as ambilocal, so that "neither the household nor the village formed any kind of definable kin group" (Suttles [1968] 1987a, 57). Still, he retained Davenport's terminology

and proposed that personal kindred of several generations, that is, "cognatic kin groups best understood as 'stem kindreds,'" were corporate groups.

In his 1987 collection of previously-published papers, Suttles included a 1974 post-script to his reprinted 1958 article. Here, he explicitly abandoned any lingering attachment to the term "lineage," and settled on the use of "cognatic descent group" to describe the non-discrete corporate groups present in Central Coast Salish. He wrote at that time:

> the term 'lineages' now seems inappropriate, since that term generally refers to the discrete descent groups found with unilineal descent, whereas the (central) Coast Salish cognatic descent groups are non-discrete (i.e. overlapping) extended families or 'stem kindreds' (Suttles [1958] 1987a,14).

Suttles reiterated his conclusion that corporate, non-discrete, cognatic descent groups existed in Central Coast Salish, in his article on these aboriginal people appearing in Volume 7 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Suttles 1990a). Here, he provided a brief definition of his terminology in which he characterized cognatic descent groups in the Central Coast Salish area by several features, including descent, corporation and localized authority:

> In stronger houses the core of blood relatives constituted the functioning members of the xʷnəc̓áləwəm 'one family,' a cognatic descent group identified by Jenness (1934-35, 52) as the "house" in the sense used by European nobility. Members of the kin group were the descendants of some notable ancestor, and they shared inherited rights to resources, names and ceremonial activities and paraphernalia. In theory all descendants, those in the ancestor's village and those elsewhere, were members. In practise, the management of resources remained in one house and tended to become concentrated in the hands of an elite, through a preference for primogeniture modified by a policy of restricting technical, ritual, and other information to children who showed special aptitude (Suttles 1990a, 464).

Suttles' views on the corporate group thus evolved over time. Initially, he translated the Halkomelem term *xʷnəc̓áləwəm* as the resident nuclear families of consanguineally and affinally-related kin who formed a household. Later, he narrowed the definition of the term

x^{w}*nəc̓áləwəm* to include only lineal descendants of an ancestor, but extended it to include those living beyond the village. This latter definition clearly emphasizes descent and excludes the affinally-related brother-in-law present in the gloss for this indigenous term that Suttles first provided in 1960.

Few studies of the Central Coast Salish have explored the structure of society with the same indomitable persistence as Suttles. Barnett (1955, 241) and Duff (1952, 34) simply referred to corporate groups as "families," or "extended families," though Barnett presented some woolly data supporting an association between certain local groups or village groups with specific places. In his notes, Barnett also referred to the property-owning group as "extended family lineages." His field notes contain, for example, the following comment concerning the ownership of resource sites:

> It would appear that in some cases at least (Nanaimo & Comox) the summer retreats are extended family lineage owned & extended family lineage has prerogatives at the particular spot they retire to for hunting and fishing at this season (Barnett 1935-36, III, 93-94).

The names Barnett recorded for these "family groups" or "extended family lineages" indicate that he believed they corresponded with local groups. Barnett (1955, 252) ultimately concluded that there was "family ownership of summer resorts and fishing lands," a more ambiguous statement than provided in his notes, and one in which the element of descent is concealed by his omission of the word "lineage." The notion of descent emerges again in Barnett's discussion of ritual property. The ownership of hereditary prerogatives, such as the use of a mask or rattle, or privileged acts, were considered by Barnett (1955, 141) to be also "family-owned." The extended family, in Barnett's (1955, 242) view, formed the nucleus of the household and was "bound together, not only by descent, but by common traditions and associations and by important property

interests." Barnett's observation that a person would be scorned unmercifully for claiming such prerogatives without being able to show a legitimate blood connexion with the previous owner, confirms that such property was restricted through consanguineal kin. Where Barnett provides examples of the transmission of ritual property, it is clear that ownership extended beyond the localized kin group.

Suttles pointed out that the cognatic descent group is the unit which Jenness (1934-36c, 52), in his research with the Saanich and Halkomelem, compared to the European Houses of nobility. In his Saanich notes, for example, Jenness defined this group as an "enlarged or genealogical 'family'" called "hunit'sɛ'lakum" [*x*^{w}*nəc'ɛ́ləwəŋ*], cognate with the Halkomelem form *x*^{w}*nəc'ɛ́ləwəm*, which he associated with a household, without further clarification. Lacking examples that might instruct us regarding precisely which individuals Jenness included in the term *x*^{w}*nəc'áləwəŋ*, we are left with the provisional conclusion that he considered this a *resident* group of kin claiming descent from a common ancestor.

Another anthropologist to examine the nature of corporate groups among the Coast Salish was Joseph Jorgensen (1980, 179). While he completed his areal study of the Northwest Coast without benefit of field research among the Coast Salish (instead, basing his conclusions solely on his interpretation of the available ethnographic literature), Jorgensen recognized a corporate group as a unit he called "deme," a term with obvious biological and linguistic antecedents.

Jorgensen applied the term "deme" more generally to all Northwest Coast corporate groups exhibiting descent from a common ancestor, regardless of the connecting ascendants' gender. Criteria for a deme, as defined by Jorgensen, nevertheless extended beyond common descent. This group needed to be additionally united by another criterion, such as unilocal post-nuptial residence or collective ownership. Jorgensen does not

delineate which ancillary factors are operative in his recognition of demes among the Coast Salish, or whether the secondary criterion was elective. As noted above, the research of Suttles and Barnett among the Central and Northern Coast Salish — both of whom Jorgensen cites — does not specify residency as a criteria for descent group membership, although control over property usually became concentrated in the hands of a *resident* elite. Ownership of property as a criterion for denoting membership is similarly vague, for it distinguishes active members from those non-resident kin who may have rights to share in corporate property, but fail to exercise their option. It also assumes that property could be held by non-resident descendants.

More recently, anthropologist Michael Kew addressed the nature of Coast Salish social organization during the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation. In Kew's opinion, the fundamental units of traditional Central Coast Salish society are what he called the "large lineages"— thus resurrecting the term "lineage" — and the "extended families" (Kew 1996, 3). Kew's expert report, prepared on behalf of the Musqueam, who were one of the aboriginal parties in the *Mathias* litigation, defined the term lineage to mean: "a group of people sharing common lines of descent and living together or maintaining association because of their descent."[29] Kew applied the term "extended families" to the co-resident group related by both lineage ties and affinal ties (Kew 1996, 4). Thus, Kew's "extended family" and "lineage" differ in that the latter group demands a consanguineal link, and while both may be resident groups, the latter may include members who associate with one another due to their common ancestry, without sharing residency. Kew initially stated that birth conferred merely an *opportunity* to participate in a lineage, but that membership

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[29] In this same litigation, I adopted Suttles' more recent terminology, identifying the "cognatic descent group" as the property-owning group, with control being vested in the kin group's resident elite (Kennedy 1996b).

required prerequisite acquisition of an ancestral name belonging to the lineage that had been made known at an appropriate public gathering. The issue of whether membership is exclusive is an important one, and I will return to this again below.

Anthropologists have been equally troubled in their use of terminology for the Southern Coast Salish data, but especially important to this present discussion is their explicit denial of the existence of any groups based on descent. The "Southern Coast Salish" article in the Smithsonian's Northwest Coast Volume, written by Suttles and his coauthor, Barbara Lane, concluded that the kinship of these aboriginal people is "reckoned bilaterally," with "no lineage-like kin groups." Notwithstanding, a recent paper using Elmendorf's (1960) Twana data employs Murdock and Jorgensen's term "deme" — which includes the notion of descent — to describe what the authors identify as "a clan like group of persons who reside together and are related to one another by marriage or by common descent through either of their parents" (Lansing *et al.* 1998, 5). Lansing *et al.* cite Jorgensen (1969) and Murdock (1949) as authorities on use of this terminology, even though Jorgensen did not include affines in his own definition of either this term, or the related term "patridemes."

The term "deme" had a short fluorescence in the 1880s when applied to an Attica local group, similar in form to an English parish (Howitt and Fison 1885), after which it languished until George Murdock reintroduced it into the modern language of social organization. The "deme," Murdock (1949, 63) proposed, would refer to "an endogamous local group in the absence of unilinear descent, especially when we are regarding it as a kin group rather than as a community." Convinced that the deme was originally an endogamous group and similar to a clan, Murdock postulated that, due to the incest taboo, endogamy could be replaced by exogamy, resulting in fundamental changes to the deme. Murdock

(1949, 64) suggested that when rules of residence prevail, and unilinear descent has not developed, demes can be distinguished according to residence as either "patridemes" or "matridemes." But they never include affinally-related individuals.

Indigenous Terminology

While the use of terminology is a matter of agreement and conventions, it is apparent that each of the anthropologists noted above, through the use of several well-known terms, gave preference to a particular feature of group formation: residence, descent, and filiation were disparate focal points in their application of the various terms. Wayne Suttles (1990a, 464), speaking of the Downriver Halkomelem and Northern Straits forms *xʷnəc̓ɛ́ləwəm* and *xʷnəc̓ɛ́ləwəŋ* respectively, calls the corporation "a cognatic descent group." Sophisticated Central Coast Salish people use a broad array of English terms to describe the property-owning group, including extended family, lineage, clan, but most often, simply, "family." Speakers of Native languages apply an indigenous term to this group in some parts, although such terms are not found throughout the region. Galloway (1998, *pers. comm.*), for example, after thirty years of linguistic research on the Upriver Halkomelem dialect, has not encountered a term cognate with the form recorded by Suttles, despite this concept being present among the upriver Stalo.

Appendix Three sets out the terms for this property-owning group that I have found in the available literature. The recorded gloss and source of original transcription follows the term. I found that few contemporary Salishan speakers know this term, but its omission from contemporary linguistic corpuses possibly reflects the incompleteness of the data, and not the presence or absence of the term in earlier speech. Still, it is now impossible to confirm whether the notion of "descent group" is indeed conceptualized in each

cognate form.

The common concept embodied in the aboriginal terms listed in Appendix Three is the notion of "oneness," emphasizing the bonds between members of a particular group. Squamish is typical; here, the term *nč'ay̓uʔám* has been glossed as 'all descendants of one head; of one blood or family; family.' As in languages of other Central Coast Salish peoples, the Squamish form contains the root meaning 'one,' along with other morphemes that are not now analysable. In these languages, the root √nač', √nč' (Sq) or √nəˈcʼʔ (Cw-Halk), √naʔt̓ (NStr) can also be found in relationship terms meaning 'half-sibling' and 'spouse of spouse's sibling.' Again the notion of oneness or sameness is repeated, although Suttles considers the concept of "one blood" to be present in the term */xʷnəc̓ɛ́ləwəm/*, sometimes glossed as 'one family,' and said to be a cognatic descent group. Though the Clallam form transcribed by Eells in 1878 as "Nu-sĭn-sái-a-hŭn," and glossed as 'gens,' is cognate with neighbouring languages, Eells (1878) remarked in his notes: "I find but little of this and do not feel positive about the term." Whether Eells meant that he found little evidence of a *patrilineage* — which might be inferred from his use of the term 'gens' — or whether his uncertainty extended to the presence of descent-based groups is ambiguous. In the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem, and in Northern Straits, the root 'one' appears also in a term glossed as 'people, tribe,' composed of the root 'one' and the lexical suffix meaning 'people' (Kuipers 1967, 313; Montler 1986). These particular Coast Salish languages also contain a distinct word for 'any relative,' and 'any ancestor,' thereby distinguishing conceptually between "all kin," "any progenitors," and members of this particular corporate group, although none of these groupings are exclusive.

Descent Groups

At this point we need to turn to a fundamental question posited by Firth (1963, 24) with respect to group formation: "Out of a bilaterally descended set of kin or cognatic stock abstractly viewed, how are viable descent groups formed in practise?" Referring to group-forming factors as "operational criteria" (thereby stressing the mobilization of some members rather than the elimination of others), Firth suggested that descent group formation requires one or more of the following criteria to be first attained: 1) a common name; 2) specific situations in which the descent group may be deemed to operate; 3) a restrictive criterion that may be applied in terms of number of ancestors in sequence; 4) cannot be non-lineal; 5) a point of attachment; 6) a residence rule; 7) a marriage rule. Firth (1963) followed this set of theoretical criteria with a cautionary note that regard must be given to the operational significance of these listed criteria. Since the identity and composition of Coast Salish social groups have been the object of so much dispute, it is perhaps useful to review how they conform to the seven criteria listed by Firth, with respect to kinship-based descent groups.

The Coast Salish area is particularly appropriate for examining Firth's question, as it has been described as a cultural continuum where both the presence and absence of descent groups have been reported. As the discussion below will show, in the Coast Salish area, neither descent, residence, nor property, taken alone, is criterion for group construction. Yet the emphasis placed on each of these organizing principles varies.

1) Name

Transmittal of a common name through regular genealogical procedures, well recognized as one of the most general phenomena in unilinear systems, is also present in

some bilateral or non-unilineal systems. Firth (1963, 24) says it can be "one of the most significant defining and relating symbols." People are distinguished by the name of the unit to which they belong. When the name of the group is given as a putative ancestor, then the implication is that there is a descent group, although a common kin name does not always indicate the existence of a descent-based group.

Central Coast Salish people did not name kin-based or descent-based groups like the unilineal descent units situated farther north on the BC coast where appellations for Houses and clans were widely known. Indeed, the Salish did not *necessarily* name these segments at all. Occasionally, groups based on descent were distinguished with names that transferred from one generation to the next. Sometimes a group individualized itself by the name of a male progenitor, one of the ancestors recalled in the mythology of the *local group*. An example of this practice, given in descriptions of community rituals provided to Jenness (1955, 71-73) by Katzie elder Old Pierre, illustrates not only how Katzie people applied First Ancestors' names to specific descent-based groups, but also how prerogatives obtained from these ancestors remained in use among his descendants (see Appendix Four). Descendants from these ancestors in the Halkomelem-speaking area thus apply the forebears' names to the groups of descendants who share in the prerogatives given to them by the ancestor. Old Pierre's account explains that, despite the merging of formerly discrete settlements associated with these ancestors, the descendants maintained their distinctive identity and property. Consequently, in this area, only the descendants of "Seleeptim" (not all of whom identify themselves as Musqueam) have rights to the specific cleansing device mentioned in the story.

Especially regarded as descendants of these First Ancestors are those individuals who carried the ancestral names of these ancient progenitors — *c'simlɛ́nex*^{w}, "Seleeptim,"

and so on. Such appellations, Pamela Amoss (1997) suggested in the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation, might better be termed "name-titles" to capture more accurately the social status embodied in what are known colloquially as "big names." The term "title-holder," used more commonly in descriptions of the northern tribes, would be inappropriate among these Coast Salish peoples, where such a concept is weakly developed.

For individuals identified closely with the family's ancestors, the very mention of their names invokes the beginnings of time, and invariably this connexion to place constitutes a crucial aspect of their assertions of descent and ensuing property rights. To call such forms of identity simply "names" would disguise an important principle of the social order, as it remains only the bearers' of these name-titles who represent the interests of the larger non-discrete group of descendants, through the control and management of the social unit's real and ritual property. The affiliation of kin of lower status is not so readily apparent, apart from their direct, physical association during ceremonial events, when their support bolsters the position of those who actually host the event. On such occasions, the names of those possessing relatively-less status may or may not be called to receive gifts of lesser value.

Members of families associated with a more recent but particularly-illustrious ancestor — but not necessarily the First-Ancestor — occasionally refer to themselves as the 'family of X,' the name of the "founder" whose prestige is recalled. The progenitor's name by which a group is known could therefore have little genealogical depth, and the focal ancestor may shift over time as particular individuals gain prestige in certain locales. Some contemporary people among the Squamish and Musqueam, for example, speak of themselves as belonging to the family of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, a leader who resided in the environs of Burrard Inlet prior to 1870 (see Chapter 8).

There is also a tendency, when speaking of the ownership of hereditary prerogatives, to refer to such privileges as the property of the group's living, leading representative. Thus, Barnett (1955, 156), in his discussions of performance privileges, including shamanic displays for 'washing' an honoured person, identified specific individuals said to be owners of these rights. While the performance may nominally belong to an individual in terms of its possession and supervision, it remains the property of a larger group of individuals associated with the same ancestor from whom the right was transmitted.

Prior to the adoption of single-family residences, households of prestigious men might also be known by the name of the leader, especially if an individual of great prestige founded the house. Yet the household was not coincident with the cognatic descent group, which extended beyond the walls of the dwelling.

2) Specific situations in which the descent group may be deemed to operate

Firth (1963, 25-26) presents several examples of specific situations in which the descent group may be deemed to operate, some of them applicable to Coast Salish, and one of which — recognition as a group with respect to property — is a primary criterion influencing group formation in this area.

In the Central Coast Salish area, aboriginal personal property included one's own canoes, weapons, implements, and slaves. So developed was the sense of personal property that even the cedar planks of a multifamily dwelling were regarded as individual property. Women and children owned property independently of men and parents, and had the right to amass, trade or dispose of their property as they saw fit. Yet, throughout the Coast Salish continuum, corporate groups owned and managed certain types of property.

Nowhere was this as well developed as among the Central Coast Salish.

Ethnographies of the Central Coast Salish area report that property held corporately transferred bilaterally, and while all descendants were theoretically owners, a resident elite-core managed the use of such property on behalf of the larger group. An elite family's property might be thought of as an estate possessing an assortment of highly-valued prerogatives — names, masks, songs and dances, as well as the animal skins and rattles used in ritual and shamanic performances — in addition to private advice and knowledge such as magical formulae. The key to the estate, Jenness explained, was possession of an ancestral name belonging to the group:

> since each village community had its own set of ancestral names (some for males only, others only for females), and a man's lineage connected him with several communities, he often received one name in his father's village and another in his mother's, if he happened to visit his relatives there. Attached to these ancestral names were certain rights and privileges to which adoption gave no claim (Jenness 1955, 75).

Jenness opined that prerequisite to descent-group membership was possession of an ancestral name. Because prerogatives were transmitted bilaterally, each cluster of siblings potentially inherited rights that would not necessarily be held by their cousins, with the result that each generation of siblings received a mixed bundle of rights, varying in composition to those held by their parents individually. Jenness' description undoubtedly reflects the situation that existed when villages consisted of a few households, including one or two particularly high-status families, the core of which controlled corporate property for resident kin. Individuals could possess a name belonging to another group with whom they sometimes resided. Yet, it is evident that revisions have occurred in the way that possession of property is implicated in the formation of social groups. In the past three decades that I have been observing Central Coast Salish ceremonials, I have noted that access to certain

rights and privileges has not been dependant upon possession of an ancestral name from the group in question. A name can be acquired from one's patrilineal relations, while rights to a mask can come from one's maternal forebears. Today, a man might inherit the use of a mask independently from his ancestral name.

If, as Firth suggests, we examine contemporary Central Coast Salish situations in which a descent group may be deemed to operate — such as a naming — we find that the precise identity of the social group associated with displayed corporate property is not immediately conspicuous, despite the durable relationship that property has with those people implicated in its past. An example from the Capilano longhouse will illustrate the seemingly-ambiguous nature of the property-owning group. The example shows how the spectre of several descent groups may be present in a contemporary ceremony where property is transmitted to a new generation, for now a host couple often forms a nexus for determining which property might be displayed and transferred during the ceremony.

The particular ceremony at Capilano occurred in 1992. The host couple, both Squamish members, were giving ancestral names to their children. It was a lavish affair, involving the use of *sx̣^{w}áyx̣^{w}i* masks and rattles, and a large expenditure of cash. The names being exchanged across the generations all came from their Squamish ancestors, while the particular ceremonial rights displayed on this occasion came from the male host's mother's kin in Nanaimo. It was a point of contention with the host's mother that he had not chosen her ancestors' names for his children (although their residency among the Squamish determined the name selection). Nevertheless, people descended from his maternal grandmother at Nanaimo, who held the right to use the rattle, ushered in those individuals receiving their ancestral name, and the ceremony's Speaker, on behalf of the family, announced the Squamish connexion of the names.

The appearance of the *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* dancers added to the solemnity of the occasion. The *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* mask, worn only by men, passes through both men and women to be used by their sons. Women do not dance, but form the chorus to sing the family's *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* song, keeping the rhythm of the chant by rapping together two stubby sticks as the men dance counter-clockwise around the longhouse. While each family knows its own song, and uses it on those occasions when they hire dancers, other women, belonging to other families possessing the mask, sing alongside them. Prior to the event, the singers practise for three nights before performing together on the fourth. Sometimes there is an announcement as to whose song is being used, especially when the host family borrows a song for the occasion. This might occur when a family possesses the right to hire masked dancers — by virtue of one of their ancestors having had the *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* — but no longer knows the song that once accompanied the dance. At Capilano, in 1992, a dozen ınask dancers appeared, accompanied by singers using the family's song from Nanaimo. Included among the mask dancers was the host, dressed in ritual garb, the right to which he inherited through his ınother. Since that time, he has trained his eldest son, who now carries a Squamish name, in the use of the *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi*. It is anticipated that another son will take a mask received through Squamish kin, once his parents consider his lifestyle commensurate with the responsibility of being a masked dancer.

I have observed that just *who* possesses rights to use masks and similar prerogatives is not well-known in the community. Today, the *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* mask can be used by any individual whose ancestry includes a person who possessed the right in earlier times. When a family hosts a naming, memorial, or other event during which they hire dancers, there is not an announcement of *how* it is that the family holds the right. It is assumed, instead, by those in attendance, that all this has been worked out, for surely the masked dancers and

singers would not otherwise be performing. Perhaps there is a little generosity of spirit that blankets such occasions, for masked dancers with whom I have spoken say they feel obliged to dance when asked, without questioning the family too much about their right to hire the dancers in the first place. A dancer's lingering doubt may be expressed by using a coded signal understood only by members of his family.

An elderly Nanaimo woman, herself a member of a family possessing several masks, confided to me that a certain man wore a mask, belonging to his wife's father, that had been transferred at the time of marriage. She believed this to be definitely wrong and reported it with some disdain. While this was her understanding of the situation, the individual in question told Barnett how he used a mask received from his *mother's* father, a member of another community who would not have been familiar to my elderly consultant. Such misunderstanding is not uncommon. The claim of another Central Coast Salish family to a particular prerogative is also questioned by other families, and although critics have not confronted the family directly, there is an expectation that dancers from another tribe — where their right is said to have originated — may yet challenge their ownership.

Few masks I have seen used are actually old. Hired carvers create new masks for purchase by those who may possess them, although a few Central Coast Salish carvers produce them for museums and collectors, and some masks worn by dancers now reside in museum storage areas. Some dancers challenge the appropriateness of displaying masks publicly, while others regard the object to be devoid of power if its possession is not accompanied by the right of ownership. Before every performance, the Speaker announces to the gathering that the *sx̣^{w}áyx̣^{w}i* mask dance is a sacred event, and photography and the use of other recording devices are not permitted.

The cluster of hereditary privileges owned corporately was known in Northern

Straits Salish by the term *čəlélŋəm*. Barnett (1955, 240) found in the 1930s that the term was also used by Straits Salish speakers to refer to 'my great-great-great-great-grandparent' as well as to 'my ceremonial privilege or property.' In more recent years, evidence given during the 1985-1989 *Claxton et al. v. Saanichton Marina et al.* litigation, broadened the concept of inherited ceremonial possessions in meaning to include "our history, our traditions, our heritage, our culture. It is our way of life . . . The teachings of the CELANEN [*čəlélŋəm*] are based upon our beliefs in the Creator" (Claxton 1985, I, 102).

Demonstrations of hereditary privileges in which a cognatic descent group operates take place during public ceremonies marking such events as puberty attainment, name giving, marriage proposals and marriages, and commemoration of the dead. In former times, the Central Coast Salish never exhibited such privileges during winter spirit-dances, where the corporate identity of the descent group was subjugated to that of the spirit-possessed individual, and instead limited their use to summer ceremonials. Since the summer and winter ceremonials fused sometime around the 1920s, a distinct segment of a winter evening's proceedings is now devoted to these events, and families bring out their owned prerogatives for naming, puberty announcements, marriages, funerals, and memorials. The display of *sx̣ʷáyx̣ʷi* masks and rattles at such affairs is a memorable sight and a source of visible pride for the families possessing these rights.

Though the Southern Coast Salish reportedly had no descent-based groups, they did regard ancestral names and esoteric bodies of knowledge, including formulas, recipes and spells, to be corporate property inherited within the large consanguine group. Elmendorf (1960, 375) writes that both types of property descended in theory in a lineal chain, although possession might be obtained from a collateral relative. Cleansing ceremonies using masks or rattles, as found farther north, however, were unknown, and situations in

which the consanguineously-related group acted corporately were more limited in Twana than among the Central Coast Salish. Without the over-riding *ideology* of descent governing the bilateral transmission of property such as names, the residential core of kindreds in the Southern Coast Salish area might best be described as "stem kindreds," the terminology initially suggested by Davenport (1959), adopted by Suttles ([1968] 1987a, 57), and most recently applied to this southern area by Jay Miller (1999, 90).

3) generation depth

Firth (1963, 26) proposes that the third way in which descent groups may be formed or restricted is by closure in terms of the number of sequential ancestors as valid recognition of group membership. Throughout the Coast Salish area, a person recognizes kinship with a great many individuals. Relationship terms can be applied specifically to cousins, or to individuals whose ancestor was in a cousin relationship to one's own. For instance, Gunther (1927, 260) provided an example of children whose mothers were the daughters of parallel cousins who continued to regard one another as cousins.

Hill-Tout, in attempting to find northern-like clans among the Squamish, commented on the extensive bilateral recognition of kinship acknowledged by any particular individual:

> The members of these clans are not bound together, as the gentes of the northern tribes, by common totems or crests. They comprise the blood relatives of any given family on both sides of the house for six generations. After the sixth generation the kinship ceases to hold good and the clanship is broken. Under this arrangement an individual's relatives were legion, and he would often have family connection in a score or more different ukwumuq [villages] (Hill-Tout 1900, 477).

Every individual in aboriginal Coast Salish society had potential access to property or residence through consanguineal ties with all four grandparents. While Hill-Tout (1900)

suggested that kinship recognition ceased at a particular point of genealogical distance, in practice there was no formal closure in corporate group composition due to biological distance. Other mechanisms limited the size of operational groups, however, for the choice was never as broad as the ideology would imply.

4) Lineality

In terms of continuity, Firth (1963, 26) points out that a descent group cannot be non-lineal, and even in bilateral societies must be bilineal, ambilineal, or multilineal. The latter term is applied by Firth not to mean "many types" of principles of tracing descent, but many lines, combining two principles. Both males and females in any line of descent are therefore recognized as members.

Rivière (1971, 61) in his reassessment of the category of marriage, reminded us that "forms of social organization are, in part, constructs of the mind " that deal with the "classification of people, the divisions and distinctions to be made between the members of a given society." In this thesis I have reviewed how the Coast Salish, like many other of the world's cognatic societies, managed without ordered systems of marriage exchange, precise rules for apportioning rights over persons, or rigid structures that allocated individuals to specific groups. Where rules existed, they were flexible. Expressed marriage prohibitions generally applied to those addressed as kin, emphasizing the extent of an individual's kindred, rather than consideration of descent.

Cognatic descent groups in the Coast Salish region could, nevertheless, resemble unilinear ones farther north in the creation of localized units of consanguineously-related kin who regulated activities requiring residency and participation with other members of the group. Few such activities needing residency have been reported in traditional Coast Salish

society, apart from the performance of some ceremonial privileges and the management of some resources and technology. Yet, among the Central Coast Salish, and to some extent among the Northern Coast Salish as well, there was an ideology of descent that tied people to locality and ensured group continuity through a perpetually-resident group.

It is evident in looking at the Northern and Central Coast Salish areas that individuals in earlier times did not have exclusive ascription to one specified group, unlike the lineages to the north. Membership alternatives were possible and negotiable. Though each individual had a seemingly large number of options established by birth, few individuals took an active interest in the affairs and property beyond the group with which he or she resided. High-class people especially emphasized their lengthy connection with the property of the resident group. The possibility remained, nevertheless, for an individual to be known by a name associated with consanguineal kin with whom he or she did not reside, or carry an ancestral name from another group in addition to the name received from one's residential group. Once a Central Coast Salish person made a choice through residence, a particular line of descent was strengthened, with recognition of a common ancestor and access to corporate property being coincident. A descent group's property might include house sites and burial grounds, along with specific resource sites, ceremonial prerogatives and ancestral names (the use, management, and transmission of which I will discuss further in later chapters).

Affiliation with one group of kin did not restrict an individual from having his or her affiliation with another group from being acknowledged. The predominant way in which an individual made public such affiliation was through the acquisition of an ancestral name belonging to the other group. For instance, Chief George of Chehalis informed Boas (1895, 456) that "when a person has relatives in two villages, he is known by two names."

This has been reported commonly throughout the Coast Salish area as the aboriginal practice. I have seen little confirmation in elicited genealogies, however, that individuals *commonly* held multiple names simultaneously, or even serially. Possibly this reflects the expense incurred to take an additional name, as well as the reduction in prestige associated with this form of property in the first half of the 20th century.

Coast Salish people recognized mobility as an option. Providing the host group was receptive to accommodating a new associate, residency in the village of one's mother or grandparents, if different from one's natal village, was possible. Whether Central Coast Salish people considered association with one's mother's kin group, for example, as a "right," or as an "opportunity" that necessitated public announcement through "potlatching," is a distinction that Michael Kew, anthropologist for the Musqueam, grappled with during the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation. Neither word fits comfortably with the Central Coast Salish situation, as Kew quickly conceded. Kew initially proposed that membership in what he called the "lineage" embodied a consummated opportunity. It was not an expression of an inherent "right" that may or may not be actualized, for membership in a "lineage" always required activation by publicly acquiring a name belonging to the host group. The fragility of Kew's semantic distinction between "opportunity" and "right" became evident when he explained why many non-resident relations of registered Kitsilano Band members petitioned the government, asserting their interests in this Indian Reserve that was said to have been illegally-surrendered in 1913. Contrary to his earlier statements, Kew concluded that these people were invoking their *rights*, "property rights — rights legitimate within their Native cultural tradition," without reference to their realized or unrealized "opportunities." When questioned further by legal counsel concerning his previous, seemingly-uncompromising semantic distinction, Kew acknowledged — and few

of us would disagree — that neither term fully captures the aboriginal perspective. As he explained to the Court concerning those with ancestral ties to this village:

> They had a legitimate or proper or recognized cause for claiming that through traditional teachings. You can call it a right, but that might imply in our common usage today something more or — I think opportunity really doesn't get it. It's a recognized traditional connection that people know of, legitimate within the sense of what's proper in this culture (Kew Testimony, January 30, 1997) .

What *is* proper among the Central Coast Salish is that kinship, including kinship created out of descent, is recognized. Yet it is evident that in traditional society lineality was only one organizing feature, and that acquisition of an ancestral name, along with factors such as residency and the investment of labour, activated one's affiliation with a particular descent-based group. Cognatic descent groups in the Central Coast Salish area were not discrete units, for members, and potential members, could reside in villages different from that of the apical ancestor where descendants formed a residential elite. Others, including non-resident descendants, could activate a more direct relationship. Kinship alone was not sufficient to claim full rights, while at the same time, it was the basis of descent group membership. The composition of groups cognatic by dogma, however, was subject to the impact of a predominantly-agnatic mode of residency, resulting in a loss of connexions with non-resident matrilaterally-related kin.

The emphasis on lineality is certainly apparent in those areas where indigenous ideology invokes descent from a First Ancestor as a primary organizing feature. This is evident in Central Coast Salish origin myths describing the founding of local groups (which consisted originally of one descent group), and is emphasized also for groups whose prerogatives come from more-recent illustrious ancestors who founded certain households. Hill-Tout (1904a) provides an example of the latter situation elicited from a Halkomelem

informant, who told of an incident that transpired involving his great-grandfather. Certain names and privileges given to this ancestor became inheritable property of the descendant family. Today, some of these families reside in the ancestor's village, yet others do not, while all descendants recognize a potential connexion to valuable ceremonial prerogatives.

Aboriginally, Coast Salish people exhibited a strong preference for patrilocal residency among those of high status, resulting in households of several generations of agnatically-related individuals, producing what J. Barnes (1962) has called "cumulative patrifiliation." Though cognatic in ideology, the agnatic ingredient in descent-based groups among the Central Coast Salish produced predominantly male-focussed stem kindreds. They also stressed primogeniture, as evinced in the relationship terms distinguishing relative age of siblings and cousins. No fixed rule regulated the transmission of rights to the eldest, although such a pattern seems to have been preferred, so that senior lines of descent controlled corporate property.

Village-exogamous marriage resulted commonly in descendants of an apical ancestor residing in several communities. In my earlier study of village-exogamous marriage focussing on Squamish, I determined that 78 percent of Central Coast Salish people born prior to 1876 selected a spouse from another community and established first patrilocal residency, thus supporting a predominantly agnatic line of succession (Kennedy 1995a). A further analysis of augmented data (undertaken for this thesis) focussing on Lummi (Central Coast Salish) found the rate of village-exogamous marriage to be similar.[30] Although 62 percent of Squamish people married within the speech-community, I found that only 40% of Lummi people followed this practice, likely reflecting the smaller population base of the

[30] In analysing the Lummi data, I tested the same hypotheses developed for my earlier Squamish-focussed study, and used the same procedures described there (Kennedy 1995a).

latter group. Lummi marriages for individuals born prior to 1876 (and most of the sampled individuals married before 1876) joined Lummi families with three other speech-communities, with the greater number finding spouses with Northern Lushootseed speakers. In terms of individual tribes, however, individuals favoured Nooksack and Skagit.

Typically, a multi-generation household contained three patrilineally-related generations, for the senior sons remained permanently in the ancestral home. The household, or at least the elite core of the household, therefore perpetuated itself as a corporate group. This traditional form of household continued into the 20th Century. For example, data from the 1901 Canada census demonstrate that in the Halkomelem-speaking village of Kuper Island, on Vancouver Island's east coast, 11 of the 31 houses then present in 1901 — a full 35 percent — contained sibling sets. The usual situation at this time was for unmarried, adult siblings to live in the household of an older brother and his wife and children, or for widowed siblings of either gender to reside with a married brother and his family. Among the Nanaimo in 1901, 22 percent of households consisted of sibling sets, but, again, the second, and sometimes third sibling, was either a young single-adult or widow. In no case did two siblings reside together when both had spouses and families, a situation found commonly in early census data. One quarter (25.2 percent) of the Nanaimo population lived in multi-generation (3 or more) households in 1876 (Blenkinsop 1876-1877), but by 1901, this figure had dropped to 16 percent. The commonality of this pattern throughout the Central Coast Salish area suggests that nuclear family households were the preferred form of residence by 1901, although single and widowed siblings continued to be incorporated into the households of senior males. Importantly, this residence pattern also suggests that Central Coast Salish ideology continued to acknowledge the primacy of

patrilocal residency, and rights that passed to cognatic descendants. Still, the gradual decline in the population percentage that resided together in multi-generation households undoubtedly impacted upon people's recognition of individual descent-based groups, and, I would suggest, disrupted the transfer of traditional information within the group.

The Squamish were among those Coast Salish groups with strong patrilateral attachments that discouraged a man of high class from living in the village of his wife's family. Louis Miranda recalled a special Squamish term *kʷí'ɬiw'* used to describe a young man going to live in a woman's village, a practice frowned upon by the tribe's elders. In a Duwamish text recorded by T.T. Waterman [1920], a man who married into another tribe was referred to by the term "*asqw³iɬLew*," which seems to be derived from the cognate term *qwilx̌w*, meaning 'in-laws,' although Waterman translated the term as meaning 'half-married,' without further explanation. While Kroeber (Elmendorf 1960, 348) reported the circumstance of being "half-married" among the Yurok and Tolowa of California, ethnographers, apart from Waterman, have not mentioned this state of marriage existing farther north. Bates *et al.* (1994, 131) simply glossed the term *kʷiɬw* as 'go to live with in-laws,' without reference to any pejorative connotation. The Lushootseed term appears also in Meeker's (n.d.) notes. Twana used the term *asqáci* with reference to the condition of post-marital residence away from one's own parents' village, again without specifying which partner remained home (Elmendorf 1960, 350).

The rights extended to an in-marrying spouse require comment. As patrilocal residency occurred in 75 percent of village-exogamous Central Coast Salish marriages (Kennedy 1995a), most women did not have natal rights to the property of the group with whom they resided after marriage. Women who married "out" did not lose their rights to the family's descent-governed property, and occasionally participated in wealth

distributions alongside their brothers when visiting their natal village on ceremonial occasions. Still, examples in the ethnographic literature suggest that a wife acquired a temporary membership in the household group of her husband. Her investment of labour was certainly essential to the economic well-being of the extended household, and her support and participation in intervillage property distributions undoubtedly placed her often with the host group. In the Pilalt area, it was the wife who initiated the distribution of her deceased husband's property, joined on the occasion by her affines (Hill-Tout 1903, 405). In some areas, such as among the Nooksack, women owned specific resource sites. In all areas, women possessed personal property. Yet the temporary nature of a woman's membership in her husband's household is evinced by the procedure that occurred in the event of her spouse's death. While her children were automatically members of their father's group, her loss would result in an ambiguous situation. She would either return to her own family, especially if she was childless, or if children were involved, the husband's kin would sometimes arrange a levirate marriage so that she and her children might remain close to the property of their deceased father's family. Elmendorf (1960, 351) reported that among the Twana compromises might be negotiated, whereby a widow would return home with one or more of the children, while the rest remained with their father's kin. In the Central Coast Salish area, at least for the historic period reflected in the marriage records, there has been little emphasis placed on either levirate or sororate marriage, although widowed women commonly lived with their sons or brothers. A sororate marriage was likely the situation described in the Fort Langley Journal in April 1830, when eight months after the Squamish wife of a Kwantlen man hung herself (reported August 16th, 1829), her family arrived on the Fraser River with another bride (MacMillan and McDonald 1827-1830).

5) a point of attachment

The point of attachment, in Firth's (1963, 27) descent group criteria, distinguishes between the criterion of lineality, and the criterion of point of attachment, or laterality. Firth notes that an individual commonly attaches to a group through a parent, though the point through whom membership in the descent group is claimed can ignore the parental generation and emphasize attachment directly through a grandparent. Attachment through a relative of the grandparent's generation was especially common, for it was the transfer of names between these generations that signalled maturity, along with participation in the corporate group. The continuation of the group achieved through the transmission of uch property required very little depth of genealogical knowledge.

Coast Salish people's primary affiliation with one's natal group usually converged on the longhouse residents descended cognatically from one's paternal grandfather. Still, membership potential in Central Coast Salish society was what Firth (1963) calls optative — there was an element of choice or personal selectivity. Points of attachment emanated from both parents to greater groups of kin, and included any of the four grandparents. Comments from Coast Salish aboriginal consultants clearly state that whatever one's natal village, an individual was related equally in kinship to his or her mother's and father's blood kin, and through relatives on both sides, could activate available rights and privileges. Exercising choice, however, demanded acceptance by the group with whom an individual wished to associate. Permission to do so was not generally refused, especially to relatives of a recognized social standing, as the teachings of all well-bred individuals included the importance of extending hospitality to others and supporting those considered to be kin. They understood, moreover, that non-resident consanguineal relations, despite their sporadic affiliation, might seek access to resources managed by the resident elite, and

could, by the acquisition of an ancestral name or residency, activate membership in the cognatic descent group.

6) residence rule

Firth (1963, 28) states that a residence rule is one of the most common and important criteria for restrictive definition of bilateral descent groups. Consideration of absentee members, however, creates a problem in reckoning membership. The Iban solve such situations by restricting descent group membership to resident members. Keesing (1968, 82) found that among the Kwaio, membership is neither "invariably exclusive and singular, nor is it freely extended and multiple." There, a man could belong to two or more descent groups, with the agnatic territory serving as the point more stable than social and residential ties. Firth's (1963) Maori example, nevertheless, presents a solution more akin to that of the Coast Salish. There, a system of graded recognition — a continuum — acknowledged the potential rights of children of non-resident members, provided the lapse did not continue indefinitely. Among the Coast Salish, an individual's affinity and potential membership in the descent group was generally acknowledged, but it was residency, and the acquisition of an ancestral name or use of ritual property, that soldered the link and marked full, active membership. Descent group membership did not demand full-time residency, although the interests of residents appear predominant. An individual could hold several ancestral names, and thus have access to the property of diverse estates belonging to descent groups focussed in different villages.

Since the revitalization of Coast Salish ceremonies, families have placed less emphasis on the correlation of prerogatives and residency. Central Coast Salish people now often reside in one village, while possessing a name or ceremonial right associated with

another. Families take account of the ancestral facts in various ways. Where branches of families have become disassociated through infrequent contact, names and property belonging originally to one group might become associated with distinct stem-kindreds residing in dispersed villages, sometimes in different speech-communities. Genealogical connexions to apical ancestors might be only several generations removed. Still, under pressure of competing rights, and in defence of territorial claims, a dogma of descent can strengthen affiliation and maximize the interests of select branches, while ancestral connexions encompassing other local groups are contemptuously discounted.

7) marriage rule

Firth (1963, 29) proposes that the marriage rule would appear to be less important as a defining criterion of "bilateral," than of unilineal or unilateral descent groups, where there is an expressed intent to either conserve or circulate group property. While the Coast Salish lack positive rules of marriage specifying the category of kin from whom one should select a spouse, there remained concern for the disposition of property, at least among those of high status.

The Central Coast Salish descent group did not regulate marriage, although establishing access to highly-valued and often scarce resources for one's immediate family, and prestigious ceremonial privileges for one's future grandchildren, were significant considerations when selecting a spouse for one's child. More importantly, aboriginal ideology stressed that the establishment of "many homes" — as one of Barnett's (1955, 182) Native consultants euphemistically referred to marriage alliances beyond one's own village — brought both security and protection from those quarters. This is evident in the remark by another Coast Salish consultant that village exogamy was the best way to "get

better babies" and to "cut out war" (Barnett 1935-1936, 4). Charles Jules of Snohomish told Haeberlin (1916-1917, Book 5, 6) that chiefs married their children to people of various tribes for it made him famous, and, as Jules explained, village-exogamous marriage "raises him up."

In the Twana area, the establishment of many homes meant the actual construction of plank houses in several villages, and not just the establishment of alliances alluded to by Central Coast Salish informants. Elmendorf (1940, VII,18) recorded several stories where the gift of a house was presented to a young man by his father-in-law so that "he would have a place to stop." In the Puyallup-Nisqually area of Southern Coast Salish, where descent dogma was not an organizing feature of society, consideration of marriage exogamy applied to the house group. Smith (1940, 42) observed that house and village exogamy were frequently synonymous, as villages often consisted of only one house.

Rather than arranging marriages that were exogamous with respect to one's own descent group, the Central Coast Salish had negative marriage rules (incest prohibition) which ensured that marriage united individuals recognized as non-kin. Marriages, consequently, were predominantly village-exogamous. Central Coast Salish commonly prohibited marriage among first and second cousins (Hill-Tout 1904, 319; Jenness 1934-1936a, 168; Suttles 1951; Duff 1952, 85; Barnett 1955,184), although Suttles (1990a, 464) states that, in theory, marriage was prohibited between persons as distantly related as fourth cousins. A look at Central Coast Salish marriages that took place in the mid-1800s reveals that cousins did in practice marry, though rarely, and these few incidents remain the subject of gossip. Sometimes, families arranged such marriages to maintain property, in a similar manner to endogamous marriage in areas of unilineal descent. Included in the genealogical database I compiled is support for an example of cousin marriage recorded by Barnett

(1935-1936, IV, 35), which was said to have been arranged to ensure the continuity of a particular Tsleil-waut (Burrard) family.

Coast Salish marriage rules, together with the extent of collateral kin recognized by relationship terms, establish the limits of what Leach (1950, 61-62) has called a "personal kindred." The limits of this group for any individual coincide only with those of his or her siblings. While all those within the collateral limits are considered "family," knowledge of relationship terms does not express precise genealogical links, but rather categories of kin, each of which contains a large number of individuals. For example, the Squamish term *sč'ámhiq*^{w} refers to all those consanguineously-related kin of ego's great-grandparents' generation, as well as ego's great-grandchild, and thus distinguishes the referenced individual from the speaker, by his or her relative generation. I have recorded Squamish kin terms for generations extending to the sixth ascending generation, though it is seldom that people can name individuals within this category. Nevertheless, knowledge that two individuals shared even a great-grandparent can cause elderly relatives to caution young people about blossoming romances.

The Puyallup-Nisqually data present a significantly different situation than that discussed here, relating to the Central and Northern groups of Coast Salish. Smith's (1940, 176-77) data show that biological kinship was not the sole consideration for interpreting negative marriage rules. Marriage prohibition extended to classificatory siblings and cousins not related by blood, as these individuals resided together in one household and consequently were regarded as kin. Among these Southern Lushootseed-speaking villagers, co-resident non-kin were more like kin than non-resident biological relations. While a lowering of status might result from a marriage between consanguineously-related individuals, Puyallup-Nisqually families sanctioned such arrangements if the couple had not

been raised together.

Related individuals lived, laboured and hosted rituals together, but seldom were these groups *restricted* to kin. Obligations towards kin may have been of primary importance, especially when residing together, but households, task-groups and rituals units, while being kin-based, often comprised non-kin as well. Some of these people may have been hired, and some recruited due to their status as junior or distant kin, and for others, their geographical propinquity may have contributed to their inclusion in a group. But descent and residency should not be confused. For individuals belonging to junior lines of descent (people without name-titles and ritual prerogatives), their residence and participation were as much evidence of the sociology of descent, as the recognition of biological links. Yet, recognition of their inclusion in a Central Coast Salish descent group flowed from an ideology of descent imposed on a community of kin, and focussed on an elite core of residential kin, who, in the context of political relations, recognized themselves relative to other such groups, and together formed the regional social structure.

CHAPTER SIX

A GENERAL PROPRIETARY INTEREST

Contemporary aboriginal discourse often contains assertions of groups possessing bounded territories governed by hereditary chiefs, from whom members of other First Nations or tribes request permission before trespassing on their land. Such sentiments have been commonly heard during several of the long-distance canoe voyages that have become popular icons for cultural revival on the Northwest Coast over the past five years. The scenario is one in which a flotilla of canoes is paddled along the coast, stopping in for meals, relaxation, and sleep at various Native communities. As each canoe approaches the shore, a paddler stands and calls out, "Chiefs of X Nation, the canoe of the Y Nation requests permission to land." The formulaic address varies slightly from speaker to speaker, but reference to both "nation" and "permission" is constant. In areas such as Victoria and Vancouver harbours, where questions of jurisdiction remain unresolved between contesting aboriginal parties, an especially astute speaker might target his or her remarks to all possible contenders.[31] Never is there any explicit consideration of whether or not the groups in question are indeed "nations," or whether the asking of "permission" is appropriate to the particular social unit or culture. Yet Northwest Coast people now

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[31] This contemporary practice has spread beyond the aboriginal community. For example, in July 1999, a sign at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria welcoming visitors to a new exhibit of Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts from the west coast of Vancouver Island, acknowledged the location of the museum in the traditional territories of both the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations.

regard such a prelude as an integral component of their expression and acknowledgement of indigenous sovereignty. As such, it is thus deemed appropriate to use the introduction, whether in the context of a canoe festival, or when attending an event in what is regarded as another First Nation's territory. Acknowledgement that the area *belongs* to some aboriginal group, and that territorial, or at least identity boundaries, can be articulated with precision, is now a requisite part of any intergroup proceedings.

Some assertions of boundedness and the need for permission are proclaimed with great conviction. During the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation, where issues emanating from the aboriginal use of Burrard Inlet were being contested by three separate indigenous groups, an elder, testifying on behalf of one First Nation, told the Court that in traditional times during the fishing season, his people regularly blockaded the Inlet and monitored all those who approached to prevent "northern intruders" from trespassing without having the required permission. Putting aside the veracity of this man's colourful image, his example underscores the certainty with which he and other contemporary elders often perceive the exclusiveness of what they now regard as their *traditional* lands.

Not only are aboriginal people in the Northwest setting themselves apart from White society, but they are fixing firm boundaries to distinguish themselves from other aboriginal groups. No doubt, some such convictions of boundedness respond to the *a priori* assumption of the Courts and government that such boundaries *do* exist at the tribe or Nation level of organization. And boundaries *do* indeed exist, if they are comprehended as boundaries of identity, and not necessarily as immutable boundaries of land use and ownership.

The Coast Salish region is better known for being a social and biological continuum where kin can be identified in any number of villages, than for being an assortment of

insular, bunkered-down collectives guarding the perimeters of a known territory. Still, the existence of the social network linking people throughout the region, as Suttles (1992) pointed out, "does not mean that the local groups, villages or tribes were simply temporary collections of people." These residential groups, regardless of how transparent their boundaries might sometimes appear, comprised the groups that Suttles called "the other side of the coin" in the regional social network that linked Coast Salish individuals to their neighbours. With regard to these social units, residential or not, the question arises whether these units were land and resource owning, and whether the ownership of land and resources was conceptually the same. Certainly it is the Tribe or Nation's entire "traditional territory," and its resources, that today is the predominant unit in the discussion of aboriginal claims. Still, we might ask if there was a salient association between them in former times, and if not, how the equation of the Nation with a specific territory developed.

Contemporary claims that aboriginal Nations, prior to European disruption, practised wholesome and holistic management acts to protect the natural resources within the territory for the benefit of the *Nation*, are based, of course, on the assertion that the *Nation* maintained a proprietary interest in the land, and a protective concern over its resources. The present-day and the historical patterns of ownership are undoubtedly related, but for several reasons the contemporary claims may be refractions, rather than reflections, of the earlier practices. To demonstrate this point, I review the concepts of ownership and management among the Coast Salish. I particularly explore the way in which real property is implicated in social group formation, and the relationship between these groups and the individuals who comprise them.

Ownership of Land and Resources

Early government observers reporting on the Coast Salish found it difficult to envisage the "two sides of the coin" that Wayne Suttles distinguished — the recognition of rights and ownership associated with non-localized kin-based groups complementing the recognition of groups associated with territory in the environs of villages, and the consciousness of forming, together with one's neighbours, identifiable tribal units.

Evidence of confusion dates back to the early days of the colony when James Douglas, at the behest of Britain's Colonial Office, set out to sign treaties extinguishing the Native people's rights to those areas on Vancouver Island where Douglas anticipated the first European settlement. The foreigners' attitudes to land at the time were based on the perception that labour gave value to land, and wilderness was simply waste land waiting to be ploughed. The 1850-1854 treaties drawn up by James Douglas consequently reserved for the Native people their enclosed, cultivated fields, in addition to their villages, and the right to fish and hunt as formerly. In purchasing rights to the other lands, Douglas expected to find clearly demarcated territories associated with particular men (identified as chiefs or owners), with whom he could negotiate. Instead, Douglas encountered a situation he failed to comprehend. Among the Saanich people, Douglas deemed it "impossible to discover among the numerous claimants the real owners of the land in question," and, at one point, after failing to distinguish the true owners, simply called a general convention of all the Saanich to settle the issue (Duff 1969, 8, 25). Douglas accepted the situation as he found it, rather than attempting to reconstruct which groups of individuals might have been associated with certain areas in former times, prior to the depopulation and extensive migration that had occurred since contact.

Wilson Duff, in his review of these southern Vancouver Island treaties,

characterized them as "faulty" ethnographic records — though he concedes that this was not Douglas' purpose — for considerable discrepancies existed "between the ethnographic realities of 1850 and the situations which the treaties implied to exist" (Duff 1969, 51). Douglas' assumption that "families or tribes" exclusively owned the large, delineated sections of land noted in each treaties' preamble, distorted the ethnographic facts and overlooked the aboriginal concepts of property ownership. Given the confusion, there remains today some debate concerning which Vancouver Island aboriginal groups did indeed sign treaties.

Other colonial observers simply assumed there was no operative system of ownership, and resource use was a free-for-all, providing, of course, the aboriginal people were not engaged in killing one another. American ethnologist George Gibbs, for example, appears to have misconstrued the good relations that existed among the Puget Sound peoples, as meaning there was no explicit land or resource ownership anywhere. Consequently, he believed that they held resource sites in common, including fisheries and hunting grounds, although he acknowledged that a sense of tribal territory prevailed:

> As far as I can gather the views of the Sound tribes, they recognize no individual right to land except actual occupancy. This seems to be respected to this extent, that if a man has cleared a spot of land for cultivation, he can hold it on the return of the season for planting from year to year, as long as he sees fit. So in their villages, the site of a house pertains to the individual as long as he leaves any vestige or evidence of a building on it. Among the Tsinūk [Chinook] and Lower Tsihalis [Chehalis], the right may have been carried somewhat further, but unsettled lands away from their usual haunts are but little regarded. Tribes are, however, somewhat tenacious of territorial right, and well understand their respective limits; but this seems to be merely as regards their title, and they never, it is believed, exclude from them other friendly tribes. It would appear also that these lands are considered to survive to the last remnant of a tribe, after its existence as such has in fact ceased . . . As regards the fisheries, they are held in common, and no tribe pretends to claim from another, or from individuals, seigniorage for the right of taking. In fact, such a claim would be inconvenient to all parties, as the Indians move about, on the sound particularly, from one to

> another locality, according to the season. Nor do they have disputes as to their hunting grounds. Lands and sea appear to be open to all with whom they are not at war (Gibbs 1877, 187).

A more informed perspective emerged from subsequent research, and demonstrated that both Douglas and Gibbs failed to appreciate that openness of access does not mean there were "no 'objective structures' (Bourdieu 1976) defining the limits and patterns of association" (cited in Myers 1991, 96), as I review below. Arriving from countries with a "fee-simple" concept of property ownership, these newcomers sometimes assumed that weakly-observed boundaries meant that either they were not present, or that these people lacked a land-owning unit, especially if there was an absence of *individual* ownership. Studies of hunter-gatherers in Australia have nevertheless shown that boundaries do not have to be firm to be present, and that groups of people can be owners (see Peterson 1976; Williams 1986; Peterson and Rigsby 1998).

Nancy Williams (1986, 4), an anthropologist and advocate of aboriginal land rights in Australia, is among those social scientists to have commented extensively on what she perceived to be that government's generalizations about certain key aspects of aboriginal society. She specifically maintains that problems created by using institutions in western society as yardsticks for measuring achievements of aboriginal societies rest upon an implicit two-class universe. This results, in Williams' view, with findings that aboriginal societies lack certain features of the European model and are thus deemed deficient in meeting certain legal tests. Williams (1986) supports her proposition with data concerning the Yolngu people of Australia. Arguing that the Yolngu system allowed for flexibility and fluidity, while being proprietary and having precise jural rules and sanctions, Williams illustrates how western concepts of land tenure impeded the Court's understanding of this particular Australian aboriginal system. However, in 1992, following many attempts to

convey an understanding of this aboriginal land system, the *Mabo*[32] decision in the Australian Court recognized this aboriginal perspective and represented a victory for Australia's indigenous people. The ruling augured clear implications for the settlement of claims in other Commonwealth countries, and Canadian litigants have since cited the *Mabo* judgement.

While Coast Salish notions of property have parallels among the Australian aborigines, they also diverge in significant ways, as I show here in my discussion of the Coast Salish conceptualization of land and resource proprietorship. I do not believe that it is now possible to gain a *full* understanding of aboriginal concepts of ownership, as it is evident that considerable changes in the indigenous system have occurred, largely as a result of colonialism, but also as a consequence of depopulation, beginning prior to the initial European contact. Sufficient data exist, nonetheless, to examine the principles of ownership that governed access to resources at the time of colonial settlement, and were subsequently adjusted to meet changing circumstances.

Proprietary Interests

Wilson Duff (1952, 77) was one Coast Salish anthropologist who stated emphatically that he found little evidence of a proprietary interest in land and its resources. He wrote that "exclusive tribal or village ownership of resource areas was practically unknown to the Upper Stalo," adding that the "tribe" and the "village" were themselves poorly defined. The prevailing ethos, as stated by one of his Native consultants, was that "anything to eat is for everyone" (Duff 1952, 77), and, for the most part, family groups travelled unimpeded throughout the upper valley to get their necessary supplies. In further

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[32] Mabo v. the State of Queensland Court (1992).

support of his premise that Upper Stalo people exhibited little proprietary interest in land, Duff noted the fluidity of village membership, with people moving frequently between villages or to uninhabited places, mostly for reasons of food and wood acquisition, but also in response to social discord within a household or village. What little sense of land or resource ownership did exist, Duff suggested, emerged from customary use.

Duff was a scrupulous ethnographer in his recording of divergent viewpoints in his notes, though it appears that a few heavily-weighted factors may have influenced his published conclusion that a proprietary interest by the village or tribe was practically unknown. Perhaps most significantly, Duff was troubled by the lack of discrete, stable communities formed of identifiable individuals who were recognized as owners of ascribed territories. Instead, he observed that Stalo traditions tell of considerable mobility "in pre-White times," with examples commonly showing the relocation of villages and individual families throughout the area. Yet Duff's (1950) original field notes and his 1952 publication also illustrate his Native consultants' association of certain groups with specific lands. For instance, a Stalo man in whom Duff expressed confidence, showed him one archaeological site where, the man explained, a particular tribe lived before they "owned any land" (Duff 1952, 40), suggesting a more transient settlement pattern in former times, but a more recent proprietary interest in a specific area. Another man gave an example of a village that fissioned, resulting in the formation of new groups associated with different areas, and losing their identity as a distinctive people after they had moved (Duff 1952, 43). In each case, the movement was within the Mainland Halkomelem speech-community, and, judging by the examples provided, within an area where extensive kin-ties likely existed. Biological closeness did not necessarily prevent animosity within the Stalo area, nevertheless, and reports of quarrels between families are not uncommon. Duff nonetheless regarded the

fluctuation of residential group membership here as evidence that an association between the residential group and territory did not exist.

In Duff's view, the concept of ownership demanded an *exclusive* use of the resource, along with a right to acquire or alienate the property, criteria found in European concepts of property ownership that he considered satisfied among the Upper Stalo only with family-owned fishing stations. In these places, Upper Stalo people recognized single owners of particular rocks, and use by others required approval, although such approval was never refused (Duff 1952, 86). Groups adjacent to one another, according to Duff, freely used nearby sturgeon-fishing sloughs, berry-patches, and hunting grounds; no one had a right to exclude them from these areas. Duff does report, however, on the village ownership of salmon fishing weirs, and on the sturgeon trap said to have been built by the Sumas tribe (Duff 1952, 69, 77).

The force of Duff's conclusion rests on several essential components. Firstly, he anticipated that a system of ownership would be present only if it related to the exclusive use of an area by permanently-bounded residential groups — the village or tribe. Such units, in Duff's view, would be associated with delimited territory, and not simply specific resources scattered about the landscape — in this area, a series of family-owned fishing rocks in the canyon, and the odd salmon or sturgeon weir. Secondly, in his statement on property, Duff indicates that he does not regard the Upper Stalo's proprietary interest in these particular types of fishing sites as material, inasmuch as his aboriginal consultants said that these sites could be used both by kin and by outsiders, simply for the asking, with permission never being refused. Thirdly, Duff regards a proprietary interest, established by "customary use," to be less consequential than what he calls "exclusive rights," a distinction upon which he does not elucidate. (In fairness to Duff, I should point out that

his investigation of property rights was incidental to the more general parameters of his study.)

A sustainable response to Duff's conclusion might be that we are misled by the equation of proprietary interests only with *exclusive* use of an area that includes all its resources. Duff's own information reveals a heterogeneity of property relations within the Upper Stalo area. Ownership of land and resources, he noted, was more pronounced among the Chilliwack, where hunters aggressively pursued intruders, and where the villagers collectively defended a specific territory (Duff 1952, 87). Ample evidence exists in Duff's field notes to indicate that he overlooked other examples of owned hunting-territories where boundary enforcement may have fallen short of the Chilliwack's aggressive expulsion of intruders, yet was nonetheless present. For example, in several pages of notes elicited with Patrick Charlie at Yale, Duff (1950, IV, 37-39) recorded this man's identification of specific hunting grounds, noting, in a series of statements, evidence of what we generally call "ownership": delineation of specific territories associated with certain villages; permission-seeking behaviour with respect to the use of another's hunting grounds; liberal access to other people's areas being mostly through kin-ties; and the shared use of some areas by explicit groups, to the exclusion of others. In each of Patrick Charlie's examples, the social unit enjoying the right to hunt and to control other men's access to the identified area was the village — Hope, American Bar, Yale, Squatatch, and Union Bar being among the examples he identified by their English names.

The non-exclusive use of the Fraser River salmon fisheries, repeatedly documented in the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley Journals of 1827-1830, also suggested to Duff that no particular village or tribe had a proprietary interest in the land or resources. Duff had read the Fort Langley Journals' accounts of many summer visitors to the river,

although his informants knew nothing of this seasonal pattern. The yearly relocation of these summer visitors, in his opinion, argued against Upper Stalo land tenure, although at one point he raised the possibility that the visitors' claims to the canyon fisheries might be ancient ones, drawing upon ties of kinship (Duff 1952, 32, 85). Still, it appears to have been the ideology ("everything to eat is for everyone") that Duff found to be the more determinant evidence in his negation of land and resource ownership by the village or tribe, rather than other recorded practices — exclusion, hospitality and granting of permission — in illustrating its presence. Notwithstanding his own examples of hunting territories, or his tacit understanding that notions of ownership may vary between resources and be held by social units of differing complexity, Duff dismissed the issue of proprietary interest beyond the family level.

Though Duff did not find a consciousness of territory or land tenure present among the groups comprising the Upper Stalo (apart from the Chilliwack, whose history differs from neighbouring groups), he did recognize such unity among the Songhees (Lukungun) of southern Vancouver Island, with whom he undertook less investigation. The Songhees, he concluded, acknowledged both the ownership of specific places by families, and had a general proprietary interest, held by *all* the Songhees, in a roughly-delineated territory (Duff 1969). He detected evidence of both the exclusive, individual ownership of certain resource sites, as well as a territory held inclusively by a larger collective. It is unfortunate that neither Duff's (1969) publication nor his field notes (Duff 1951-68) make explicit the process by which he came to this conclusion, so that we might gain more understanding of why he believed these features to be *lacking* among the Upper Stalo.

It appears that Duff regarded the Lukungun tribal property as the sum of the areas encompassing the significant sites of the constituent local groups who regarded themselves

as Songhees. It was, of course, the consciousness of collectives of any form — villages or tribes — that Duff found obscure among the Upper Halkomlem, specifically among the Tait, despite his field notes showing an awareness of village-owned hunting territories that he disregarded in his published monograph. Duff may have been influenced also by Hill-Tout's (1907a, 129-130) report that the distinguishing feature of the Northern Straits people (including Songhees), as opposed to the Island Halkomelem, was that "the first have separate and exclusive fishing, hunting, root and berry grounds." *Contra* Hill-Tout, other ethnographers have claimed that families, villages and tribal groups within the Island Halkomelem area, could all be resource-owning social units. Jenness (1934-1936b, 170, 173) wrote that the Cowichan tribe held a hunting territory in common, but that each village constructed and maintained its own fish weir, while each family visited its own fern-root and camas digging area. Similarly, Homer Barnett (1935-1936, I, 67, 117) reported that Nanaimo families — likely meaning cognatic descent groups — held their own camas and fern-root beds, but that the headman of the highest-ranking local group owned the salmon weir on the Nanaimo River.

The recognition of boundaries being permeable for some resources, but not for others, was observed by Myers (1982, 173) among the Pinutpi Aborigines of the Australian Western Desert. A similar situation exists among the Coast Salish, where rights of use and ownership can be distinguished, and ownership of resources and land are conceptually different. Specific studies illustrate this pattern. Alan Richardson (1982, 95-97) noted, in his regional review of the control of resource production on the Northwest Coast, that no evidence exists of restrictions being placed on the harvesting of resources common to the coast, while rare or highly-valued resources were sometimes regulated. Different groups within the same region — even adjacent tribes — could hold different concepts of resource

ownership. Examples from throughout the Coast Salish area reveal that owned property *could* include sturgeon and salmon fishing sites, clam beds, cranberry bogs, wapato ponds, Indian carrot plots, camas grounds, egg-gathering sites, waterfowl refuges, bear-hunting areas, sea mammal hunting sites, and mountainous areas where mountain goats were hunted. Often these resources involved harvesting technology difficult to make or to acquire. Throughout the region, data concerning ownership of resources appear to be resource-specific; in no place were there pervasive restrictions preventing other groups from using all the resources of a particular area. Other group's use of an area depended upon factors such as friendly relations and the granting of permission, aspects of Coast Salish resource management discussed below.

Barnett (1955, 252) was another Coast Salish ethnographer who added to our understanding of the principles of Coast Salish land tenure by commenting on the relationship among people harvesting resources. He stressed *amicable relations* as a significant factor determining constant access to resources. Villagers were free to roam, providing they did not interfere with others, for if a man wanted to live with other people, Barnett (1955, 244) remarked, he "had to respect their property rights in hunting and fishing just as he expected others to respect his privileges in this domain." Barnett's research from the mid-1930s provides numerous examples of the locations of such valued sites among the Northern and Central Coast Salish. On some parts of the coast, such as among the Sliammon, Comox, and Sechelt, Barnett (1955, 22-30) believed *all* harvesting areas to be named, owned and occupied in the summer by individual families. Use of these owned places by non-owners depended upon the charity of those who held these socially-approved interests in the land's resources, and consequently the right to grant or exclude access to others. Barnett found no evidence of a proprietary interest in hunting territories

among the Central Coast Salish groups he interviewed, although on the point of ownership of hunting territories among the Nanaimo his data appear inconsistent (Barnett 1955, 23, 252), and contradicted by others (Jenness 1934-1936b, 170, 173). We might also question Barnett's assertion that owned resource sites stand out with more clarity among the Northern Coast Salish on the mainland than among Coast Salish peoples to the south, for he appears to ignore such factors as variation in what is owned, and in the land-owing unit. Barnett himself expressed uncertainty about whether these particular northern groups had more clearly defined beliefs about resource ownership, or whether his consultants from other Coast Salish groups were just less able to recall more clearly-defined, family-owned hunting and gathering rights.

The few data available on proprietary interests among Puget Sound peoples show that the nature of ownership depended largely upon the particular resource and where it was situated. Though Smith (1940, 26) reports that use of shellfish beds during the summer months no more constituted proprietary rights than did the more constant use of drainage system territories, her own data suggest that concepts of ownership were associated with river fisheries at specific places, and that these were owned by village groups and managed by headmen. Other Southern Coast Salish ethnographic data support this interpretation. Men of a single Twana village, for example, worked together constructing a salmon weir that consisted of individually-owned components provided by each builder constructing the device (Elmendorf 1960, 72, 269). Anthropologist Carroll Riley, who recorded Nisqually information for presentation to the Indian Claims Commission in the 1950s, also found that the village was a property-owning unit and that ownership extended from the village to particular nearby fisheries. He stated that:

> the Natives who lived along the Nisqually River fished this river and the

> various smaller streams that drained into it. They built fish-traps along these tributary streams and used gill-nets in the main river. Each village had its own stretch of river and an indefinite contiguous area which it used extensively, but there was communal use of favored spots (Riley 1973b, II, 18-19).

Riley also wrote:

> each village had its own major fishing region and thus concentrated on the economic potentialities of the home ground. Movements to other areas usually took the form of family migrations. The right to use the fishing areas of other villages probably necessitated asking permission but, because families were linked by kinship and friendship ties, and because of the culture pattern of economic generosity, this would seldom be refused . . . (Riley 1973c).

A statement on property recorded from Puyallup elder Jerry Meeker also referred to a system of ownership, whereby particular villages assumed rights to particular fisheries. The first note from Meeker (n.d., 50) reads: "'accostomed' [sic] property — was used by certain families or group of families." Unlike the Twana situation reported by Elmendorf (1960, 73), those Nisqually families who camped together often came from separate villages along a single river, and gathered to construct fish weirs under the direction of a headman. The leader received the first catch, followed by the other villages fishing one after another (Meeker n.d., 74-78). The Meeker notes are clear that those who built the trap fished first, but permitted others to fish after they had finished. A statement elsewhere in the Meeker notes implies that such places were regarded as "owned" property. Meeker pointed out that the Puyallup regarded some camping grounds to be "stábi^{u}xs," a term he translated as a general word for 'property,' suggesting that places could be owned independently of the resources found nearby. This indigenous term appears cognate in neighbouring Coast Salish languages, where it is generally glossed as 'land; earth; country.'

A system of ownership appears to have also governed the Muckleshoot use of fish traps. As among the Puyallup, Muckleshoot fishermen, other than the builders, could use the trap with permission, and those of low class could obtain usufruct rights. Incidents of stingy management were so uncommon that they have been remembered in oral tradition (Ballard 1957), for the mores of the society meant that owners managed the resource, and controlled access by other users. It is probable that the Muckleshoot situation was similar to the neighbouring Puyallup, with a village headman overseeing the weir's use and designating the order of users, always with the potential that someone might be refused, and always providing surplus to the weir-builders and elite villagers.

The Muckleshoot seem to have been among those inland Puget Sound groups who held an explicit perception of hunting territory, expelling others from areas they considered their own. Muckleshoot elder Joe Bill confirmed, during the *Duwamish et al.* proceedings in 1927, that "the country was divided up between the different families" (*Duwamish et al.* 1945, 161). Muckleshoot villagers regarded areas around their villages as their own, but it was the individual, resident family-groups who owned the specific hunting territories making up the aggregate of Muckleshoot territory. These individual rights were of greater significance than the rights that flowed from residency within the tribal territory, for they allowed small groups of hunters to control areas of prime resources. In discussing the concept of owned hunting territories, Smith (1940, 24 fn. 1) referred to the territorial map appearing in Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) and suggested that their aboriginal consultant, Henry Sicade (Puyallup-Nisqually), was thinking in terms of hunting boundaries, and not, strictly speaking, "tribal" boundaries. A review of Haeberlin's notes (1916-1917) held by the National Anthropological Archives, of the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, D.C., reveals that Sicade may not have distinguished family-owned hunting areas. If he did

not, he certainly recognized a larger social group as the property-owing unit. Haeberlin's notes taken with Sicade state:

> picking[,] fishing grounds were property of certain tribes. Different tribes had different areas . . . Puyallup & Squalli [Nisqually] had joint picking & fishing grounds. From Muckleshoot to Columbia River was great camas-country. Much was traded here. Hunting grounds also property of the separate tribes (Haeberlin 1916-1917, Book 28, 18-19).

Access to hunting areas was generally extended to congenial neighbours or relatives, especially those from the coast, who were expected to reciprocate by hosting access to other resources. The inland hunters were less inclined to view the presence of other inland villagers as favourably, inasmuch as they, too, held the concept of owned hunting territories (M. Smith 1940, 26-27). Yet with specific reference to owned hunting territories, Smith (1940, 25 fn.1) noted that "it is difficult to say how meticulously this was carried out," as the concept fell into disuse soon after White occupation and, in Smith's opinion, "it is probable that the arrangements were never very formal." Little information has been recorded on this point.

While the available data indicate that the groups constituting the Coast Salish often exhibited a system of ownership that included proprietary interests in certain resources by a family (stem kindred) or village (and occasionally tribal unit), members of these social units collectively held a proprietary interest in a tribal territory which they regarded as their own. The delineation of territory among the Coast Salish was not as rigid as among the Nuu-chah-nulth of the west coast of Vancouver Island, who marked the shoreline with boulders and fought over property found at the frontiers of territories. There was, however, a consensus among the Coast Salish about what constituted the general tribal territory of one's own group, and that belonging to another, even though its recognition did not impact greatly upon the acquisition of common resources, and had little influence on daily affairs.

This is likely what George Gibbs (1877, 187) meant when he observed in the 1850s that the tribes of Puget Sound were "somewhat tenacious of territorial right." A presumptive ownership of territory coexisted with the capacity of individuals or groups to exercise control over *certain* sites containing productive resources — or, at least, not to object to others' exploitation of resources in the general environs of one's own significant sites. This is evident in Jerry Meeker's (n.d.) statement, made after reciting the names of half a dozen different groups who regularly dug clams in "The [Tacoma] Narrows," that: "The Narrows were really Gig Harbor territory." Meeker recognized that the area was not fully a commons used by any who wished to do so; rather, it was an area where the Gig Harbour people did not object to others exploiting this particular resource. When William Sheldon, a Snohomish hunter, was asked by Haeberlin (1916-1917, Book 1, 11) if members of other tribes would hunt or fish in his territory, he replied, "Yes, if they had friends or relatives in the other country. If they were strangers, then it may mean that they were looking for trouble and the stranger might get into danger."

The relationship between owned sites and territory throughout the Coast Salish region was thus similar to that observed among Australian aborigines, described by Christopher Tilley as follows:

> Specific sites are claimed to belong to individual social units, and the total of these constitutes the territory of a group. Territories are made up of significant sites, rather than being conceived in a more abstract spatialized manner as relatively well-defined areas of land with boundaries containing sites. As Ingold puts it, "land does not contain sites; rather the sites contain the land' (Ingold 1986, 150). People do not, therefore, restrict themselves to delimited territorial areas, but may wander over areas claimed in the same way by other groups (Tilley 1994, 39).

Barnett had expressed similar sentiments several decades earlier. The line separating the territory of one Coast Salish group from another was vague, Barnett (1955, 18)

commented, in part because interest centred not on the boundedness of an area, but on the locations of conveniently-located places within the larger area, and on those owned sites that were visited annually in a more or less predictable seasonal round. Lands where no particular family or individual exercised control, according to Barnett (1955, 19), remained *unclaimed*, and in those areas, anyone could obtain their food and supplies, provided they maintained amicable relations with the local people. Where this failed, unfriendly folk might be expelled.

In summarizing land tenure among the Northern and Central Coast Salish, Barnett proposed:

> it is difficult or impossible to draw boundaries. A more satisfactory conception pictures the village groups of a certain region occupying simultaneously or in turn several traditionally assigned spots for their hunting, gathering and wintering activities (Barnett 1955, 19).

Barnett (1955, map) illustrated this view diagrammatically by showing arrows extending from winter villages to summer resource sites, rather than boldly circling areas believed to denote tribal territories. Still, his focus on amicable relations is evidence arguing for the Coast Salish people's recognition of territory. In this area, as in parts of Australia, a concept of territory had less to do with actively excluding non-residents, than it did with not objecting to their presence, providing they were friendly and the resource base was not stressed. This is especially evident in the use of salt water fisheries, which, apart from reefnet locations, were used communally. Friendly relations, along with a plentiful resource, permitted their non-exclusive use. Puyallup elder Wapato John (b. *circa* 1850) clarified this point in his testimony during the 1927 *Duwamish* litigation:

> Question: Would the Nisqually people have the right to come in here, in early days and fish in your country?
> Answer: Yes, they can come to fish all they want to with us.
> Question: Ask him whether that was a matter of privilege or right which they

possessed.
Answer: They were friendly. They come just for to get and go home, and they go over there and fish and come back. They were friendly.
Question: A matter of friendship, was it?
Answer: Yes, Sir.
(Wapato John, in *Duwamish et al.* 1927, 660)

A "general proprietary interest" is how Michael Kew characterized the type of land tenure held by the residents of a particular village to these "unclaimed" lands in their environs. In an Expert Report he prepared for the Federal Court of Canada during the 1979 *Regina v. Guerin* litigation[33], Kew explained that the Musqueam's view of land was conceptually different than other forms of property, such as masks or songs:

> Land, in contrast, was not privately owned. There were no precise boundaries setting out village or tribal districts, although occupants of villages took a general proprietary interest in lands and waters in the vicinity of their villages and would unite to repel strangers or interlopers with physical force (Kew 1979, 4).

Kew subsequently testified in the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation that the "lineage" [cognatic descent group] collectively held special lands like house-sites and resource sites, and, concurrent with this notion of ownership, that the residents of a village took a proprietary interest in their general environs. At another level, Kew explained, the residents held a consciousness of interest in a larger territory — by which he presumably meant the territory occupied by the cluster of villages we call the *tribe* (Kew testimony, January 27th, 1997).

Anthropologists sometimes raise mutual defence of an area as evidence for a prevailing sense of ownership. Some Coast Salish villages were fortified, and the residents then presented a collective response to interlopers, but this was not always the case, and where villages were comprised of several kingroups, there was little incentive for

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[33] *Guerin v. Regina*, Federal Court of Canada, Plaintiffs Exhibit 91, Registry No. T-4656-75.

consolidated action. In practise, the ethnographic and historical literature indicates, raiders sometimes targeted individual houses within villages (Suttles 1951, 323; Barnett 1955, 267-271) and one household might even send out a raiding party without consultation with other villagers (Jenness 1934-1936b, 52). Sometimes, the area encompassing a cluster of villages was defended by an alliance of warriors whose membership and residency crossed both village and linguistic boundaries, often drawing together those whose affinity flowed from kinship rather than tribal solidarity.

Marian Smith (1940, 26), in describing land and the control and ownership of resources among the Southern Coast Salish, stated that territorial boundaries were typically of little consequence in village affiliations. "Land in itself had no value," Smith (1940, 142) wrote, and "the products of the land were beyond the pale of property rights." Territorial boundaries within the Southern Coast Salish region, in common with Salishan groups to the north, were seldom delineated with precision, although they were perceived to exist, and were confirmed by those on friendly terms, most readily by adhering to the protocol of acknowledging that the resource or area belonged to someone. Those territories conforming to geographical barriers, such as a river drainage, tended to reinforce a sense of separateness, and because most resources could be obtained close to home, people found themselves engaging in subsistence practices in what they regarded as their own tribe's territory. Sometimes a people's association with a specific area extended beyond subsistence activities to include areas for spiritual pursuits as well. An example appears in Haeberlin's (1916-1917, Book 23, 5) notes, taken with Kokum George of Snoqualmie. Speaking of a certain mountain near the town of Monroe, Washington, Mr. George explained that the local Trickster decreed at the beginning of time that only the "Studohobish" people could obtain their spiritual powers from this mountain, and that all

others would die if they passed through this way.

Villagers — hunters especially — observed the behaviour of strangers, and by their actions, judged their intentions. Those who did not approach openly and establish their kinship ties were particularly suspect. Collins (1974b, 118) was told by the Upper Skagit that they feared the Nlha7kápmx (Thompson Interior Salish) and regarded them as strange in a very different way from other Plateau peoples. The Nlha7kápmx earned this reputation, she surmised, by camping in the woods in a secretive way and not openly approaching the nearest Upper Skagit village and identifying themselves.

Meeker (n.d, 118) believed that only those related would be visitors, although "outsiders" would be welcome "so long as they knew them." If night came, strangers would identify themselves and ask permission to stay. Still, few occasions brought together people with no previous contact, and an individual's travels usually took him or her to visit kin, regardless of how distant a relationship was being invoked. Complaints by early explorers regarding their guide's lack of familiarity with the country being surveyed, or their guide's fear of being in the territory of a neighbouring group, are not uncommon (eg., Custer 1858). Smith (1940, 47) reported that people residing on the upper Puyallup River had never been more than a few miles from their homes, and had no desire to visit the salt water, despite the short reach of the river.

Stories describing extensive intertribal hostilities reveal that access to resources was often the cause of these hostilities. One such story reported by Curtis (1913, 26) explains a people's migration in terms of their attraction to the resources offered by the new area, and how the people were afterward all but exterminated by another group desiring their fishery. The conquering people were not after land *per se*, only the resources it provided. Each year, when the fishing season ended, the builders dismantled the weir and returned to their

winter village in their home territory, leaving the land vacant until the salmon returned again the following year.

Migration stories are common, suggesting that movement to another area was possible when people maintained good relations with neighbouring villages, or when people relocated to an uninhabited area. Resources of some type were generally available locally, but Coast Salish people coveted productive salmon streams and offshore fisheries where good harvests could sustain their families throughout the winter. When a man named "Yō´kum" and a group of Clallam set off around 1840, across the Strait of Juan de Fuca for Beecher Bay, they were after the salmon fisheries. Hostility with their new neighbours, nonetheless, resulted in their subsequent departure (Gunther 1927, 179).

Non-Exclusive Use

Coast Salish consciousness of territory is similar to the situation Williams described for the Yolngu aborigines of Australia: "Boundaries are, in general, only as precise as they need to be and they may be precise or imprecise for a number of reasons" (Williams 1986, 83). Where amicable relations between Coast Salish neighbours existed, they envisaged boundaries less sharply, and changes in territory were not protested. This was likely the situation among the Clallam, who, after fishing in Lummi territory for many years, finally settled near the Lummi village at Marietta, intermarried with them, and subsequently received allotments on the Lummi Indian Reservation (Gunther 1927, 179). It was certainly the case among the Nisqually that their attitude toward the Sahaptin newcomers was one of acceptance, for there are no traditions of problems between the two (Smith 1940, 23). In cases where people believed a boundary violation to have occurred, it often followed from disregard or ignorance of the protocol concerning use of the area's *owned* resources, or

from the intentional and violent takeover of land containing specially-rich resources.

The use of resources outside of what was considered to be one's own tribal territory has been repeatedly recorded both ethnohistorically and ethnographically. It is most unlikely that this practice developed after contact with Europeans, as the Spanish explorer Quimper observed the non-exclusive use of resources in 1790. While sailing within the territory of the Northern Straits, Quimper commented that "the Indians from outside the strait come here in great canoes" to get the resources (Wagner 1933,130). While we do not know if these particular people travelled in village or tribal groups to obtain these resources through harvesting or trade, it is clear from the Hudson's Bay Company journals that members of specific groups maintained their collective residency when they moved seasonally beyond what was regarded as their usual territory, and set up summer villages on the Fraser River. The Cowichan, for example, resided annually at summer fishing villages on the Fraser River, likely transporting their house planks to erect on permanent frames at these seasonal locations. An observation made by HBC trader George Barnston (MacMillan and McDonald 1827-1830, 23rd July 1827), while aboard the ship *Cadboro*, suggests that the Cowichan winter villages of Somena, Penalahuts, and Quamichan could be distinguished spatially within the long row of houses comprising what was identified as the Cowichan sumıner village on the lower Fraser. Other passages in the Fort's journal speak of the Nanaimo, Squamish, and Musqueam each occupying a village site while camping along the Fraser for the fishing season. The fact that these tribal groups camped independently of one another, and used the same sites annually, suggests that their regular presence affirmed perpetual rights that were independent of their kinship with those who resided on the Fraser more permanently, as Duff had earlier proposed. A similar situation is evident in the Puget Sound and Hood Canal areas where Southern Coast Salish elders

documented the locations of specific sites that their people used annually for shellfish digging and fishing, places often within sight of harvesters from other villages and speech-communities.

Seasonal aggregates often brought together people from different tribes at locations where resources were concentrated. The Nooksack, for example, fished and dug clams as far south as Chuckanut Bay (Amoss 1972, 9), where they were in the company of the Lummi and Samish (Suttles 1951, 67), and the Saanich, Lummi, Semiahmoo and Tsawwassen all converged upon Point Roberts during the sockeye season (Suttles 1951; Barnett 1955, 20; Bouchard and Kennedy 1991, 147), near the entrance to the Fraser River, where millions of salmon ascend the river each year. At the latter site, each head fisherman owned a particular place where he set his reefnet. Stern (1934, 43) noted that within each summer house the arrangement of the occupants reflected the paddlers' position in the reef-net canoe. With such order reflected both within a house, and on the fishing grounds themselves, it is likely that house sites, too, were owned at these summer sites, although I have not found information directly on this point.

The Need for "Permission"

Several ethnographers have reported the need for "permission" for access to be given to outsiders wanting to harvest resources within an area where the outsiders were not usually resident. The data are consistent that permission would be sought from an elite member of the group, often a resource site owner or manager, regardless of the nature of the resource-owning group, although the unit of ownership varied from area to area within the Coast Salish region. Haeberlin's field notes, taken with Henry Sicade, a man of mixed Puyallup-Nisqually ancestry, raised the issue of permission being granted to other tribes:

> picking & fishing grounds were property of certain tribes. Different tribes had different areas. But one tribe could ask permission from another tribe to fish & pick in their territory. This permission was hardly ever refused. If permission was not asked, it was regarded as an invasion. Puyallup & Squalli had joint picking & fishing grounds (Haeberlin 1916-1917, Book 28, 18).

Sicade's comment suggests that while the Puyallup and Nisqually together used some berrying-grounds or fisheries, they expected people of other tribes to ask permission. The notes are not explicit on which particular areas were used jointly by the Puyallup and Nisqually, whether Sicade's reference applied only to saltwater as opposed to river fisheries, or whether the "joint use" mentioned by Sicade reflected his personal mixed ancestry, and therefore his own family's practices. Haeberlin's notes were "withdrawn" from evidence submitted to the Court during the *United States v. Washington* litigation in the 1970s, so Sicade's comments were obviously not considered in the final judgement, where the Court concluded that:

> Use of the lower Nisqually fisheries by non-Nisqually was with the permission of the local people and would have been accorded automatically to people claiming descent from someone who had come from the local village or who had married into it. People with more distant kin ties to the local village or with none would be accorded fishing privileges on request if amicable relations obtained (U.S. v. Washington et. al 1974, 1101).

No mention is made in the judgement of the situation described by Sicade in which two tribes — in this case, Nisqually and Puyallup — shared use of some areas to the exclusion of others for harvesting specific resources. If their joint occupation of this land was to the exclusion of all others, this may be an example of what Justice Lamer, in his 1997 *Delgamuukw* decision in the Supreme Court of Canada, subsequently called "shared exclusivity." If their use of the land prevented others from fishing there, but did not provide an exclusive right to exclude others from digging roots, for example, the Puyallup-Nisqually may have had, by Justice Lamer's ruling, not aboriginal title to the area, but a

site-specific right to exclude other fishermen and berry-pickers. Yet each of these groups also held exclusive rights to hunting areas. The spatial relationship between the owned hunting territories, and the fishing and berry-picking territories, is not recorded. Still, it is clear that while site-specific rights flowed from the exclusive or shared-exclusive right to harvest specific resources, and that trespass was regarded as a serious offence, the land, itself, was not regarded as being *unclaimed*, to use Barnett's (1955) term. Rather, use by others required either explicit or implicit permission — implicit when neighbours opportunistically harvested clams or salalberries in common, but explicit when the same neighbour wanted access to *owned* resources.

A commonly-reported expectation that "permission" would be sought prior to others using particular areas or resources provides additional evidence on the nature of boundaries and the concept of ownership. While various types of resource sites could be owned, the integrity of hunting areas was especially important, and often their violation without the owner's consent was a serious matter. Sometimes the restriction applied only to the taking of specific animals, such as highly-valued mountain goat, the hunting of which required specialized knowledge, though in other areas the encumbrance pertained to any large game. The late Ambrose Wilson, a Homalco (Northern Coast Salish) elder, explained to me in 1978 how individuals actively controlled use of their personal hunting grounds in the Bute Inlet area:

> They [hunting places] were owned by certain people — yes — just like a trapline for us now. If somebody else goes trapping my trapline, I get mad. Well, the same thing with them old-timers; when you go to the hunting ground, they really get mad—some of them kill a man for it, you know. You have to go and ask for it, ask if it's alright for you to go and hunt on his hunting grounds. "Well," he said, "sure you go ahead." Then you're alright; then you're free. But if you don't tell him—maybe he goes a couple of days later, and there would be nothing in there because you were there and you cleaned them out, or scared them away. And that's the reason why;

> he doesn't want to go up for nothing. . . If anybody else happened to want to go, they should let him know first — ask him if they can go and hunt on his hunting grounds — so he'll know, he doesn't have to go right after you — he knows that if you're hunting, the ground wouldn't be good until maybe next week, maybe week after—then, again there is going to be some more game in your hunting ground again. Then you can go out to your hunting ground.

Ambrose Wilson's statement is instructive for what it tells us about the rules regarding access to owned property. Very important was the requirement that other users request permission from the owner before entering an area. Lands distant from villages, however, were impossible to monitor, and hunters failing to make a request prior to hunting could give notification promptly upon their return. Neglect to do so could result in serious disputes, although blatant disregard for such protocol would suggest that relations had already broken down between the parties. Nevertheless, warnings that went unheeded could provoke violence. Nooksack hunters guiding mountaineer Edmund Coleman over Mount Baker around 1869, for example, were outraged upon noticing evidence of human activity in a desolate area where they regularly hunted. They explained to Coleman that for several years Nlha7kápmx (Thompson, Interior Salish) hunters had been poaching on their hunting grounds, and that they had killed one of them the year prior.[34] In recounting the incident, Coleman (1869, 804) remarked: "No lord in England guards his preserve more jealously; no Highland laird could be more irate against deer-stalking than was this same Indian."

Few explicit examples of what occurred after an encroachment of owned territory appear in the ethnographic literature. Moreover, I did not find Coast Salish people in the 1970s-1990s who could expound on this issue beyond pointing out that owners got "real

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[34] Though Coleman's (1869) account is not explicit on whether it was the territory or the species of animal that the Nooksack regarded as being "owned," Amoss' (1993) inference that it was specifically a mountain goat territory that was encroached upon is quite defensible, considering the location.

mad" or would "kill a man for it" when permission was not sought. Though the punitive measure, told to Coleman and mentioned to me by my Homalco friend, was always an option, Coast Salish people practised other, less severe forms of retribution, as well. One Squamish account notes that unauthorized use of individually-owned fish traps on the Capilano River caused acute friction between the parties and resulted in the offenders moving to another village (Moody 1956). Mainland Halkomelem consultants disclosed similar sentiments concerning troublemakers to Duff, as well. Explaining the constraints of a chief's authority, Duff's informants stressed that villagers, themselves, took action against a malefactor after obtaining a consensus on the issue: "If someone around you don't want, all the people meet, and decide they don't want him. Then [they] chase that man out or kill him" (Duff 1950, IV, 66). Expulsion appears to have been an acceptable manner of dealing with those who offended the prevailing morality of the resident group, as attested by the commonality of the mythological motif of the "abandoned boy," excluded from his people because of inappropriate behaviour.

Persistent encroachment on a group's hunting grounds, especially when too close to a village settlement, might simply provoke a verbal reprimand, along the lines of telling the offenders to: "get out and use their own territory" (Elmendorf 1960, 267). Yet reactions to trespass varied, and were likely coloured by the balance of amity between the groups at any particular time. Intrusion upon family-owned root-plots in the Nooksack area resulted more often than not in "big fights" (Smith 1950, 337). Chilliwack and Pilalt quarrelled often over the former's unauthorized use of hunting grounds (Hill-Tout 1903, 358). The Clallam, Gunther (1927, 267) commented, took great offence when people of other tribes took from their fish traps or duck nets without permission. And an elderly Cowlitz (Southwestern Coast Salish) woman testified before the Indian Claims Commission in 1953 that her people

used to have lots of arguments with the Nisqually over berry patches and deer hunting grounds on the ridge between Nisqually and Cowlitz lands. She had heard that one such conflict climaxed in a big fire being set on the disputed berry patch (Kiona 1953, 10-11, 54), and her comment does not suggest that this particular fire was an instance of practising landscape burning to promote production of the resource.

Still, Ambrose Wilson's account of strictures placed on Homalco (Northern Coast Salish) hunting grounds suggests that while ownership involved the right to deny access and exclude certain individuals, the Homalco generally allowed use of an owned area by those who requested permission. This is expressed colloquially, though examples of refusals have been nonetheless reported. When the owner of a salmon weir on the Green River (Southern Coast Salish) denied access to another fisherman, the rebuffed party felled a nearby tree, destroying the fish trap in the act (Ballard 1957). Aggrieved parties deprived access to fish weirs sometimes took their revenge by breaking open the weir, thereby permitting the fish to swim upstream, an act sanctioned in mythological accounts, as well.

Many of those individuals seeking permission would be kin of some type to whom permission would not generally be refused. Most ethnographic reports are vague on this point, however, and Native consultants usually state that permission to *anyone*, kin or not, would never be refused. They promote the idea that all subscribed to the moral principle that sharing was desirable, but extant examples tell another story, one in which the level of generosity is governed by social distance and relative status. Especially welcome at owned resource sites were those persons with the necessary kin-based ties (Barnett 1955, 252) that brought together people from dispersed areas. Marriage was the usual method for acquiring subsidiary rights in land and resources beyond one's own village, at least for those of high status. Central Coast Salish people even distinguished visits to one's in-laws by a

specialized vocabulary emphasizing the exchange of food (Suttles [1960]1987a, 19). To take food to in-laws was known by a term meaning 'to paddle.' Slightly farther afield, among the Upper Stl'átl'imx (Lillooet Interior Salish), where a system of stratified ownership governed the use of dip-netting sites, someone simply indicated his desire to fish by sitting down behind the fisherman and waiting to be passed the net. The lexicon reflects the presence of the practice, and I recorded a specific term in the Lillooet language, meaning 'to sit and wait for your turn at such a site' (Kennedy and Bouchard 1992, 309). Still, Barnett's (1935-1936, IV, 10) Squamish field notes record that others who wished to use the owned dip-net sites on the Squamish River, along with the net, itself, presented the owner with a blanket or similar payment, along with their request for permission. Similarly, Hill-Tout (1904a, 316) mentioned that Chehalis leaders' required tribute in exchange for use of their fisheries by other tribes. Coast Salish ethnographies seldom report the payment of tribute. Katzie people who were interviewed by Suttles explicitly denied that tribute of any type would be collected in exchange for use of their cranberry bogs. Playing host, Suttles (1955, 27), wrote, was its own reward, for "a host at one time and place is potentially a guest at another."

Control in relation to ownership consisted of both constraints and obligations. Chief Julian of Sechelt exemplified this in his explanation to Barnett regarding the constraints imposed on a site's owner. A "big man who owned a resource could not be stingy, and could not exclude others — although they recognized that he owned the place — because generosity was a criterion for a good big man" (Barnett 1935-1936, VI, 105).

Resource Management

In the previous section, I examined how, aboriginally, a system of ownership governed the use of resources that were rare or special in some other way, required either specific technology or co-operation in the harvesting and processing, or fell within a territory that a group of individuals regarded as their property. Owners could be individuals or groups of people, but one, or a few, elite representatives generally controlled access or owned the technology. We may speak of these sites as being the property of individuals representing cognatic descent groups or stem kindreds, as they were among the Northern and Central Coast Salish, or belonging to a village or cluster of villages, as they tended to be regarded farther south. In the ideology of the Coast Salish, one generation of owners (and users) simply tended the resource and passed ownership to their descendants, not all of whom remained resident in the immediate area. The place itself was the enduring entity, while owners replaced themselves through substitution each generation, as ancestral name-titles passed from grandparents to grandchildren. The affiliation of the user group could therefore change from one generation to the next, without the property being alienated, except in extraordinary circumstances, such as when resource areas were taken by force, as was the case with the Lummi appropriation of the Samish fishing grounds (Curtis 1913, 30), or when the interests of formerly-distinct groups merged.

Some resources harvested by Coast Salish people were subject to seasonal and yearly fluctuations in abundance and availability, and thus required planning and management to increase both dependability and productivity of the resource, and distribution of the harvest, while at the same time maximizing surpluses for the nominal owners. To overcome potential resource stress and the possibility of inadequate food supplies, resource owners employed several management strategies. Some of their tactics

could be social, such as controlling access to the resource, managing the labour force, exchanging food products with other elite individuals, or simply moving to a more productive area. Other strategies required technological intervention, including the management of the resource itself. Even where the area's resources were regarded as the presumptive property of all those comprising the tribe, principles of resource management are evident, and management rested in the hands of a very few individuals.

Resource managers included individuals or groups recognized for their skills and ability. Skilled specialists — the site or resource owner — carried out the most important or difficult work, or directed the work of others. Suttles (1960, 300) reported that an individual directed the construction of a Musqueam sturgeon trap, and while its catch was taken freely by family members, people of other extended families required permission from the builders. Gunther (1927, 199) also found that salmon traps were owned by "the chief of the village, who tends it at night, leaving it during the day-time for his poor relatives who have no traps of their own." A crew from members of other extended families, or even other communities, might be hired by the owner of a Straits reef-net location to help catch salmon (Suttles 1951). In each case, ownership was real and had to be acknowledged and respected. Nevertheless, the investment of labour gave the workers an interest in the harvest. Ned Williams told Suttles (1951, 221) that the crew would take a share each day, while the owner would keep the surplus. On days of poor fishing, however, the owner's responsibility to feed his crew continued, even though he acquired no surplus fish.

Puyallup (Southern Coast Salish) elder Jerry Meeker provided a particularly

informative account of aboriginal fisheries management.[35] The description illustrates several social and technological strategies employed by the weir owner in controlling the salmon harvest on the Puyallup River, and addresses questions about the differential access to the resource. To overcome potential resource stress and the possibility of inadequate food supplies, resource owners employed several management strategies.

Meeker explained that construction of the weir to be used by several village-clusters residing in the environs of the Puyallup River began in July, just prior to the start of the silver (coho) salmon run. The commencement of the task was at the invitation of a man named *"walisxai,"* who Meeker called the "Chief," an individual whose role he distinguished from that of a man named *"kat'sáp,"* the Chief's relative, and himself a leader from another village. This latter man would actually manage the construction job. Not every man knew how to build a weir, so the Chief invited those with the requisite skills, meaning just a few men from each village along the river. Once the trap was completed and the salmon started their ascent, the Chief's group caught the first fish and held a feast at which everyone participated, rich and poor alike. If someone from this Chief's group had died during the previous year, a few fish would be returned to the river, or at least placed reverently into a fire. The group to which *"kat'sáp"* belonged fished second, followed by the two other villages' (or village clusters') fishermen in a prescribed order, always permitting the builders in the group to fish first. During the daytime, the weir remained open, but each night, the Chief designated the three or four shifts who would fish. Meeker explained that "the commoners would come along with the nobles (leaders) as

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[35] It is not recorded who interviewed Jerry Meeker (born 1860s), or when, but the extensive linguistic, genealogical and land-use data, and a handwriting comparison, suggests that it was possibly Marian Smith, although this is speculative. The notes are held by the Manuscript & University Archives Division of the University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, where they are identified as the Meeker Family Papers, and are thus identified here in that way (Meeker n.d.).

part of a village," working alongside those of higher status and always striving to help the household of the leading man by fetching wood and water as required, and supporting his entertainment of other high-status visitors. Their catch was their own, nevertheless, and no form of tribute was expected from the commoners for this privilege (Meeker n.d.).

When the Chief's group fished, the catch was taken to shore where it was divided by the Chief's wife among the residents of their own village, first to the women of the leading house groups, and then to women whose families were poorer, followed by those who came from outside the river drainage. Of course, these were usufruct rights that were granted to outsiders and thus could be revoked at any time. While the leader ensured that everyone received enough fresh salmon to eat for their daily survival, the poor were given additional salmon, according to Meeker, only when there was an excess catch, presumably meaning when there were fish beyond what the leader's family and their slaves could process. The leading women of other villages distributed the catch from their husband's fishing platform in the same manner. At times, the Chief might give permission to the poor to fish and their individual catch would then be their own. Anyone could make a living at these weirs — providing sufficient supplies were available — but the real surpluses, as Suttles (1951, 56) proposed, could be obtained by resource owners at places they controlled. In the example provided by Meeker, the manager ("Chief") and builders, were those who received this surplus (Meeker n.d.).

During the first two weeks of the salmon run, only the leading families would receive enough salmon to process for storage, while the others present at the fishery got only enough for their daily sustenance. By the end of the three-month season, during which the builders and their families remained camped at the weir, they had harvested and processed large quantities of salmon for winter storage. Families from Puget Sound also

visited them at the river weir when saltwater fishing was poor. These coastal people did not pay for this privilege, although they stayed for as much as ten days, fishing for themselves, before they moved on to the berrying grounds in September (Meeker n.d.).

Based on his discussions with Jerry Meeker, the unidentified ethnographer concluded, in a marginal notation, that the Chief owned the weir and managed its use, although the leading men who comprised the builders also had a proprietary interest, as they provided sections of the device itself. Elmendorf (1960, 72) reported a similar situation among the Skokomish (Twana). An important aspect of the property was the possession of a dip-net used to scoop the trapped salmon from the river. Meeker explained that the Chief named *walisχai* knew how to make both dip-nets and the twine from which they were woven, and carefully selected kin to whom he taught these skills. Consequently, in addition to having the skills to build a weir, each owner contributed a net made from a specially-valuable plant fibre that came from farther north and was obtainable only through trade.[36] So precious was this indigenous hemp that buyers sometimes paid as much as one slave to acquire a supply. Fishermen who borrowed these nets always ensured that they left enough salmon for the owner's daily needs, knowing that their greed would result in their next request for the net being refused. In Meeker's time (around the 1860s), both Chief *"walisχai"* and the leading weir-builder, *"kæt'sáp"* had died, and although another man assumed management of the weir, salmon fishing using these devices soon ceased (Meeker n.d.).

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[36] The plant fibre is likely *Apocynum cannabinum*, known as Indian hemp, which grows commonly on the east side of the Coastal Mountains. The stem fibre was harvested in September-October, dried, pounded, spun on the bare thigh and spliced into a continuous length. It was a noted trade item among the aboriginal peoples of the Plateau. Although Meeker recalled it being traded from the north, the hemp fibre likely originated to the east.

Meeker's description, summarized here, suggests that indigenous management strategies ensured the resource was not over-harvested. These included foremost the public acceptance of a manager who controlled access to the most productive technology, thereby limiting the number of harvesters to correspond with the availability of the fish, as well as the availability of fish processors. It also included a planned harvesting regime which allowed for the free passage of fish at certain times. Socially-approved stratification meant that rich people harvested large quantities of salmon at weirs, while poorer people harvested fish by less-efficient methods, such as in streams, or sought other resources that required more time and effort for the benefit obtained. The account is abundantly clear that resource management was primarily the management of the *users* and not the resource.

Coast Salish religious ceremonies (not fishing until they had held the First Salmon Ceremony) and moral sanctions (leaving fish for the net owners) also facilitated sustainable harvesting. Of course, data on salmon management comes from the period after major depopulation, and whether such practices governed salmon fishing at earlier times is impossible to discover. Certainly fish stocks, for the most part, were plentiful in the early historic period, with references to "walking across streams on the backs of spawning fish" appearing commonly in historical accounts. Notwithstanding, historical reports document great fluctuation in the abundance of salmon. For instance, the Fort Langley Journal recorded 1828 as a poor salmon year, adding that, in contrast to the previous year, the Natives would "hardly part with any," due to their own meagre supplies (MacMillan and McDonald 1827-1830, 14 September 1828).

Ambrose Wilson's statement (cited above) about the owned Homalco hunting territories also draws attention to resource management being a conservation strategy. Owners required others to seek permission before searching for game in the area.

Monitoring the numbers of hunters therefore permitted the owner to safeguard against over-harvesting. As Ambrose Wilson explained to me: "He knows that if you're hunting, the ground wouldn't be good until maybe next week, maybe week after — then, again there is going to be some more game in your hunting ground."

Similar sentiments apparently influenced control of the Katzie cranberry bogs, some of which belonged to all the Katzie, and others of which belonged to individual families. Again, the resource owners required outsiders to ask permission before reaping the crop. A young man appointed to watch the ripening of the berries prevented anyone from picking them while still green. Though there is no indication that the owners ever refused permission, protocol insured that unripe berries were not harvested. Suttles (1955, 27) points out that this was especially important in the second half of the 19th Century when the Natives were selling berries to the Whites at New Westminster. If green berries were offered, the price dropped, making the market poor for all subsequent pickers.

Management of the Resource Itself

It has been commonly argued in earlier anthropological writing that the higher a population's size and the greater its density, the more significant the impact on natural resources (Krech 1999). And although population density is not the only factor of importance in interpreting transformations in ecosystems, one still hears the question of whether indigenous people employed strategies of management and conservation in harvesting the local resources, or whether there was simply such an abundance of resources that their low population and relatively simple technology did not make much difference. While aboriginal people may have had the capability to fish out salmon streams and over-harvest plant and animal resources, the available evidence indicates that this was not done,

and that, instead, they manipulated and increased the resource availability of certain areas through specific cultural practices.

In a previous section, I reviewed some social aspects of management as evinced from Jerry Meeker's description of the Puyallup salmon weir. Management of some resources extended also to altering the environment to maintain or improve the harvest. This is especially evident in the management of plant resources, but can also be seen in fisheries and game management as well. Though none of the Northwest Coast peoples practised true agriculture, the stability of the winter village, along with effective management of annually-used resources, permitted diversity and intensification of the food supply, which led ultimately to the cultural complexity for which the Northwest Coast is known.

Starvation is a constant theme in Northwest Coast traditions, with common reference being made to sizable vagaries in seasonal and annual food supplies. It is a gross oversimplification, as Suttles (1973, 622) observed, to state that on the Northwest Coast salmon was the staple everywhere, abundant beyond human needs, easily caught, and easily preserved year to year. While references to food shortages are common, there is little reference to mortality, and little historical evidence of documented cases of starvation. Still, nutrition and mortality are directly correlated. Starvation may have been rare, but seasonal shortages likely caused nutritional imbalances that resulted in health problems or had periodic effects on fertility, morbidity and mortality (Suttles 1973). Evidence from human skeletal remains indicates, however, that for the most part, Northwest Coast people adapted well to the pathogen load of the local environment. With some regional variation, stability in nutritional health has been reported archaeologically from about 3500 BC, to the period after contact with Europeans in coastal populations.

The following section reviews some of the Coast Salish people's strategies for management, with a focus on the level of intervention designed to intensify the resource.

Ethnobotanists apply the term "landscape burning" to the practice of intentionally setting fire to forests, hillsides and meadows to promote plant growth, a practice that Boyd (1999, 2) recently called "by far the most important tool of environmental manipulation throughout the Native Pacific Northwest." In the Strait of Georgia area, where the bulbs of blue camas (*Camassia leichtlinii*) comprised a primary food, the Straits Salish engaged in post-harvest burning of the camas prairies so that they would be more fertile the following year (Suttles 1951, 60). Ethnobotanist Nancy Turner (1991) believes that it may have been the fires of the indigenous people burning their camas meadows that George Dawson observed in August 1875, when he noted dense smoke around the Gulf Islands (see Cole and Lockner 1989, I, 48).

The Gulf Islands, noted for their semi-Mediterranean climate so ideal for the production of camas, were an area where both owned and unowned camas meadows are said to have been located. Jenness (1934-1936c, 52-53) stated that each Saanich "House" (by which he meant resident members of a cognatic descent group) had "its own camas beds on Galiano and neighbouring islands." Family-owned camas sites in the Gulf Islands have been reported also by Suttles (1951, 34) who recorded several examples of Straits Salish families (and their slaves) digging these bulbs at sites they owned and managed. Both men and women comprised the recorded owners of camas beds (Suttles 1951, 60).

Camas bulbs were harvested in May and June while the distinctive purple flowers were still blooming, enabling diggers to distinguish the edible plants from the lethal death camas (*Zydaedenus venosus*) which bears white flowers. While Stern (1934, 43) concluded from his Lummi informants' accounts that camas beds were not owned exclusively by the

women who tended them, their annual customary usage of the same plots suggests, nevertheless, that he may have been mistaken. Still, only certain meadows were owned. Suttles (1951, 60-61) presented information about private ownership of camas beds by some Northern Straits families, though he was told by his Lukungun consultants that the camas beds around Victoria "were open to anyone and that even Samish came to dig there." It is apparent that Coast Salish people had access to both owned and unowned resources throughout the area.

Techniques of cultivating camas, recorded from aboriginal diggers, suggest that the husbandry of annually-used beds was an incipient form of agriculture. Turner (1991) mentions several examples in her 1991 article on landscape burning. To her account can be added testimony given during the *Duwamish et al.* litigation in 1927, which spoke of the manner of cultivation and a particular practice that encouraged plant growth. Louisa Duette, an elderly Puyallup woman (who didn't know her age but recalled receiving some calico at the signing of the Medicine Creek Treaty in December 1854), was one of several elders who mentioned their people's use of landscape burning. "They don't all burn it; they just burn parts of it . . . It seems where they burned at certain spots that they kind of dig around it with a sharp stick until digging time come," explained Mrs. Duette (Duwamish *et al.* [1945], 645). It is evident that landscape burning often required the co-operation of groups of people to prepare the area and monitor the fire.

Controlled burning stimulated berry growth, resulted in more abundant and larger bulbs and other root crops, preserved and promoted large timber, enhanced forage for game, and in more recent times, provided some of the best feed for domestic animals. Yet, as Cowlitz elder Mary Kiona (1953, 47) lamented, by her time (late 1800s) the best Cowlitz huckleberry patches had disappeared because burning the patches to stimulate regrowth had

been banned as a fire hazard. Foresters and rangers sometimes saw this aboriginal practice of landscape burning as nothing more than "carelessness" (Hunn 1990, cited in Turner 1991, 68).

Coast Salish women also applied other horticultural practices to plant gathering. The stems of wild carrot and tiger lily were replanted by Upper Skagit women after harvesting the edible carrot root and lily bulb from their owned plots (Collins 1974b, 55). Other plant species could be transplanted to form new plots. Henry Sicade (Puyallup-Nisqually) explained how previous generations transplanted both camas and wapato from one site to another. They regarded the meadows about Wapato Lake as the "breeding grounds" from which they took plants for transplanting (Haeberlin 1916-1917, Book 29, 2).

The "cultivation" of shellfish digging areas may have required less ecological knowledge than the management of plant resources, but, nevertheless, it was a strategy intended to facilitate more efficient resource harvesting. In the 1970s, Klahoose (Northern Coast Salish) people mentioned the practice to me. They told me that even though clam beds were not owned property in their area, diggers "took care of" the clam beds by removing larger rocks from the gravel and placing them to one side to make future digging easier. I observed this practice continuing into the late 1970s, while digging clams with younger Northern Coast Salish people, who confirmed the purposefulness of their actions. Stern (1934, 47) reported the same activity occurring at a clam bed located on Orcas Island, but stipulated that only owned beds would be cultivated and reserved for the owners' personal use, and that this activity was exceptional. While my Klahoose and Homalco friends were not aware that a system of ownership of clam beds was formerly in place, it is likely that in earlier times it was similar to the situation described by Stern. The diggers would have little purpose if they were not the ones to reap benefit from their labour. I did

notice a decrease in the care of shellfish beds once increased competition with non-Native diggers affected the aboriginal harvest in the Northern Coast Salish area.

The social relationship that Northwest Coast people believed to exist between animals, including fish, and themselves, and the relationship they understood to exist among things in the natural world, governed other forms of intervention aimed at acquiring a plentiful supply of salmon. Fisheries management among the Coast Salish also included efforts to introduce new runs. Ambrose Wilson raised the issue of the Homalco transplanting fish in connection with a discussion regarding the powerful influence of twins. They had the ability, Mr. Wilson explained to me, to move both sockeye and herring.

Such practices of aboriginal intervention to affect the productivity of specific resources suggest that, both individually and collectively, Coast Salish people invested in the management of resources that were highly valued or scarce. On a cursory review, it appears that there is a direct correlation between ownership of a resource, regardless of the unit of ownership, and a management strategy aimed at intensifying the ultimate harvest. Coast Salish people's practices to control the exploitation or productivity of an owned resource ensured that their descendants gained from the owners' investment, while providing elite members with surplus to enhance their own status. The notion that some elite individuals had special spirit-powers, sometimes wealth powers, and particular skills and knowledge that enabled them to manage special resources for the benefit of all, gave them socially-sanctioned control over the differential access to both material and immaterial resources.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TRANSMISSION OF ANCESTRAL NAMES

Few aspects of traditional Coast Salish culture remain as integral to their contemporary society as the transfer and use of ancestral names. These inherited appellations assert status, link people with their ancestors, and provide appropriate, ritualized socialization that bolsters feelings of "Indianness." In this chapter, I examine the naming ceremony, with a particular focus on the recognition of social groups and the nature of exchange intrinsic to the ritual, by drawing upon descriptions and observations of such ceremonies among the Central Coast Salish. Comparative data from the Southern Coast Salish help determine the spatial and temporal dimensions of some practices. Considered also is the type of meaning associated with the Coast Salish personal names bestowed upon family members on these public occasions.

Dressed for the Occasion

During the winter dance season of 1996 I was called to the floor of the Capilano longhouse in North Vancouver. While I stood before a gathering of several hundred aboriginal people from throughout the Coast Salish community, a woman draped a commercially-made blanket diagonally across my body and pinned it in place. A safety pin held a sum of paper money to the cloth. A folded, polyester scarf was tied around my head, bandana-style. I now resembled, in costume at least, the other participants clustered near a

central fire in the cavernous smoky building. We had all been called upon by this high-status family to help in the performance of one of the most profound events in a Coast Salish person's life. We were upholding the rights and privileges of the family by assisting with the formal and public transmission of an aboriginal ancestral name.

It was an act of social rearrangement for all of us. The young Squamish woman receiving the name was undergoing initiation as a spirit dancer; she had answered her *syə́wən*, the 'spirit power' that resides within each Coast Salish person. Until the next winter dance season, the woman would be classified as a "baby," apparently a modern term, yet one that clearly reflects the trajectory of the transformation that occurs. It is truly a *rite de passage*. She was changing her *social persona* for she was acquiring a new role in life. The acquisition of an ancestral name this evening consummated her induction and socialization into a community of aboriginal people who hold fast to traditional values. Like many new dancers present in the longhouse — or "House," as it is commonly called — her ancestral Indian name had been written in red sequins on part of her distinctly "baby" costume.

The scene on the floor of the longhouse was tense. Everyone had a role, and everyone knew that the family's honour depended upon the successful fulfilment of that role. The "Work," as public longhouse transactions are known, calls for the assistance of hired "Speakers" — here a Musqueam elder and a middle-aged male member of the Squamish Nation — who act and talk on behalf of the sponsor. Summoning the young woman forward, one of the Speakers stood her on a blanket and announced to the House the nature of the Work that was taking place. He used the formal style of Halkomelem speech-making. In a loud voice, he called out to the crowd — whom he addressed as "friends and relatives" — and asked them to listen to what was going to take place. The

family was recognizably nervous. They stood in a row, most with small bags and purses full of quarters, and their pockets visibly heavy with the weight of more coinage. Stacked behind the family, not too far removed from the scene, were thousands of dollars worth of goods to give to those witnessing the rite. Heaps of scarfs, socks, shawls, towels, dishes, glasses, candles, kitchen utensils, fruit, and of course, large piles of inexpensive pastel blankets, all formed a wall of wealth behind the assembled kin.

The Work had been many months in preparation. Sometime before the event I had received a telephone call from the head of the family, the late Chief Joe Mathias, recognized as a hereditary Chief of the 3,000-member Squamish Nation, a group whose genealogical history I had reconstructed, on their behalf, over a 15-year period. Now they were looking for another ancestral name, and I was to find one.

Categories of Names

Squamish names fall into three categories: ancestral names, known as *kʷəšámin;* nicknames, known as *niná?min* (< *sna?* 'name'); and pet names, the Native term for which is now lost from the lexicon (Kuipers 1969, 39). Traditionally the system of naming among Squamish and other Central Coast Salish probably resembled that recorded by Elmendorf (1960, 372, 377) for the Twana (Southern Coast Salish), where there was a primary dichotomy between adult ancestral names and various other types of names. Child or pet names among the Twana that were retained into adolescence or beyond, became nicknames, or were replaced.

The three types of names identified for Squamish continue to be used, although pet names and nicknames are no longer in the indigenous language, and, instead, are in English, and similar in etymology to those used by the broader society. Pet names today are

often diminutive forms of Christian names, terms or expressions used by the child during early development, or items associated with a child.

In former times, every child was given a temporary pet name, a few examples of which have been recorded. Louis Miranda's mother called him *x̣ʷiyámaẏɬ*, literally 'fairy tale child,' until he received an adult name at age eighteen. LM's mother, as a little girl, had been named y*əks*, a name given so that she would become a good berry picker, and derived from the Squamish term *syəks*, 'berries or roots harvested'. Mr. Miranda's mother had been so well known by her pet name that her son was initially unfamiliar with her ancestral name when I read it to him, in 1983, from baptismal records of his siblings recorded in the 1880s.

Another recorded Squamish pet name is similar to those names Barnett (1955, 132) said were customary in the Strait of Georgia area, and can be glossed as 'little one,' derived from the Squamish term meaning 'offspring.' Calling infants simply 'boy' or 'girl' was common. Reference to the sequence of children's birth, relative to one's siblings, also formed the basis of a pet name, so that a child could be called 'youngest' or 'eldest'. Such names were bestowed without thought to originality. Duff (1952, 90) found among the Upper Stalo that parents referred to children using a set of standard terms that distinguished three age grades: newborns, until they can crawl; walking babies, until they are little girls and boys; and, individually, boys and girls, until puberty. Thus, until people reached puberty, their names signified membership in a series of preordained classes. Among the Puyallup, according to Jerry Meeker (n.d. I, 43), parents sometimes gave ancestral names to very young children to avoid the expense of a naming ceremony later on.

Squamish nicknames, in addition to pet names, always carried meaning. Linguist Aert Kuipers (1969, 39) recorded from Louis Miranda the nickname *šəwáɬ* 'door'. The

bearer of this name had been found lying with his wife near the open door of his home, and was thereafter known by this scandalous epithet. As in this example, a nickname often highlights a shameful act or circumstance, a quirk of personality, or a physical characteristic. In recent years, Coast Salish people have taken, as ancestral names, nicknames recorded in the genealogical database that I have compiled, with the idea that remembering these names, too, honours their ancestors.

Not all people have such names, although they appear to have been common in the late 19th century. In reconstructing Squamish genealogies, I heard of many individuals from this time recalled fondly by their English nickname, including those with the following colourful appellations: "Hundred Charlie," who would not use the facilities of a bank until he had saved a hundred dollars from his employment; "Bummer Jack," always in need of the possessions of others; and "Spot-eyed Mary," whose eye bore a distinctive mark. The etymology of others such as "Captain Louie" and "Squamish Jim" is more apparent. Nicknames are still the convention. Occasionally I found myself at a loss for not recognizing an individual's nickname when people used it as a referent when advising me of their relations — Red, Shorty, Seagull, and Bones being such examples.

Newborn infants' pet names were bestowed without ceremony. The immediate family made up a name soon after birth, and the name retained currency at least until another name was given at some arbitrary time during childhood. This custom was also recorded by Elmendorf (1960, 378) among the Twana. Barnett (1955, 132), however, wrote of a small naming ceremony that occurred when a child was about a year old and received an ancestral name inherited through one's family. The naming was accompanied by a distribution of the blankets on which the child was laid at the time its name was announced to guests.

Information recorded earlier in the century by Hill-Tout (1903, 415) from Halkomelem consultants corroborates this practice, with slight regional variation that may merely reflect the brevity of the interview, the attention to specific aspects of the ceremony distinguished by the individual contributors, or, importantly, the owned privileges possessed by the specific contributor's family. Hill-Tout, however, generalizes traditions to groups we regard commonly as the tribal unit, rather than acknowledging familial differences. His muddle of data supports Barnett's assertion that ancestral names were given to children. Thus, in Hill-Tout's (1900, 484; 1903, 366, 415; 1904a, 322) view, Squamish named their children when about three years old; Chehalis families gave a child a name during its first year of life, at a ceremony accompanied by feasting and gift distribution, and the Kwantlen ceremony waited until the child could walk, for there the toddler was led by the hand as a group of hired *sx̣^{w}áyx̣^{w}i* dancers shuffled around the House in a circle. Where Kwantlen families did not hire dancers, the father conducted a ceremony himself, distributing blankets and giving a feast, during which an elder stood and announced the child's name to the guests. Hill-Tout's (1903, 366) Chilliwack account speaks of the masked dancers symbolically washing a newborn child, but a description of a naming is not included.

Anthropologist Diamond Jenness, quoting the prominent Katzie elder Old Pierre, specifically denied the practice of young children receiving ancestral names. Old Pierre's opinion was that children would not live long if given adult names, a statement elicited by Haeberlin (1916-1917, Book 21, 16) from a Snoqualmie informant as well. These reports were supported also by Louis Miranda of the Squamish, and to underscore the avoidance of giving ancestral names to children, LM related the following incident: When he moved to the Squamish River around 1905, it came to his attention that several of Chief Andrew's

young children had died in succession. The community elders expressed their opinion that the deaths were as a result of Chief Andrew giving his children ancestral names while they were very young. LM questioned the elders about this explanation, and they interpreted the deaths to be caused by the spirits of the deceased whose names were being used. When I informed Louis Miranda of Barnett's contradictory statement, he acknowledged the possibility that children may have received ancestral names at an earlier age in previous times. Yet, by the early 1900s, when Chief Andrew's children were dying, Miranda clarified, the power of Indian Doctors and Ritualists had dwindled to a point that they could no longer offer children protection from malevolent spirits. His comment is reminiscent of Hill-Tout's (1903, 366) explanation for the *sx̣^{w}áyx̣^{w}i* rite being performed for Halkomelem newborns — to secure for the child the protection of this powerful medicine.

Data I elicited recently at Nanaimo suggests that while a "party" was held to announce the birth of a child, and at the same time to display the family's ritual prerogatives, the baby may not necessarily be given a name on this occasion. As elder Effie Brown of Nanaimo explained to me with respect to her own family's prerogatives, when her grandfather called the people together to see his first grandson, he placed the baby on a swing and invited certain individuals to push the baby:

> And if you are good enough, they will call your name out to push the baby and [they] give you a blanket. And another one that is good enough to touch the baby, they holler [at] you and they go to touch the baby and get a blanket.

Mrs. Brown considered it significant that the family hosted the event for their first grandchild, and that only other high-class people would be invited to approach the child. This Nanaimo family's display of a special swing, not common in the area, was an owned prerogative held also by a few high-status families among the Ditidaht and Nuu-chah-nulth on Vancouver Island's west coast. In those areas, families more commonly displayed the

swing at puberty ceremonies. They placed the young woman on a swing and pushed her several times before the assembled gathering. Again, high-class members of other families were invited to nudge the apparatus with its valuable load, receiving in turn a blanket or similar gift.

Around the time of a child's puberty, parents are confronted with the problem of naming and turn to family elders for advice. Ancestral names are property inherited bilaterally; thus, the selection of a name becomes a decision in which many individuals — particularly the elders — may have an opinion. Names given can be "brought down" from deceased ancestors, or passed on by living relatives, but always ancestral names have two distinguishing features: they are bestowed publicly and with ceremony; and they remain the owned property of the group descended from the previous name-bearer. Reporting on the Twana practice, Elmendorf (1960, 380) added a third feature to the list: adult names have a pre-emption usage, meaning that only one name was borne by an individual at a time, and plural names were used for the same person only when a nickname was kept in use for this individual. This was not the situation among the Central Coast Salish, where an individual could hold more than one name, signifying his or her link to several villages. The difference, I would suggest, likely reflects the more northerly groups' acquisition of an ancestral name to awaken membership in a branch of the family with whom he or she was not necessarily resident.

The Naming Ceremony

In the following section I describe the structure of the Squamish naming ceremony, including the social and economic relationships activated by the ceremony. The events described are common to the Central Coast Salish. Comparative data drawn from the

Southern Coast Salish determine the extent of the practices within the regional network. There is only a small amount of data available on Northern Coast Salish naming. A few people I interviewed from this region carried ancestral names, but they were the exception, and were members of families concerned greatly with upholding tradition. Several acquaintances among the Northern Coast Salish people possess an ancestral name they received directly from their family without public announcement. The few naming ceremonies that I am aware of, and observed, that took place among the mainland groups of Northern Coast Salish in the 1970s and 1980s, followed the structure of the Squamish ceremonies, but lacked the solemn formality that is so evident there. Those occurring among the Island Comox during this same time period, however, incorporated grand rituals and prerogatives acquired through intermarriage with the Lekwiltok and Kwakwaka'wakw people. It is common for people at Comox who hold ancestral names to have received them from ancestors belonging to more northerly Kwakwala-speaking groups.

A text prepared by Louis Miranda in 1977, and excerpted below, is instructive for what it reveals about the nature of the preparation for a Squamish naming ceremony. In this text, Mr. Miranda recalled the naming of his daughter-in-law in 1972. It was the first naming ceremony I personally observed within the Central Coast Salish community. This naming ceremony, moreover, was an occasion that LM considered to mark a turning of the tide for the Squamish people's ritual life. Ceremonial rites had undergone transformation within his own lifetime, and naming ceremonies, in particular, had waxed and waned over the decades. Few longhouses remained, indigenous language use was in decline, and naming ceremonies, when held at all, were small affairs witnessed by a few guests sitting around the kitchen table. Some families tacked such rituals onto winter dances, but in 1972, the winter spirit-dance itself was undergoing revitalization among the Squamish, so dances

had not been frequent before this time.[37]

Louis Miranda's own naming ceremony, held in 1910 when he was eighteen years old, was an event hosted by his mother and step-father for the specific purpose of giving him a name — no other activity occurred during the proceedings. Suttles ([1960] 1987a, 199-208) commented that secular "potlatch" affairs, including namings, fused with the winter dance complex sometime around 1920 in British Columbia. It was subsequently reported by Amoss (1978, 88) that the fusion of the summer and winter rituals obviously happened later in Washington State than in BC; Amoss noted that Joyce Wike had attended a dance at Swinomish in 1939, and found that wealth distributions were excluded.

Descriptions of naming provided by Central Coast Salish people, including LM, suggest that the ceremony in the 20th century was a more significant affair than can be gleaned from the scanty description offered by Barnett (1955, 134). According to Barnett, the naming took place at any time of year, and only within the "local group," a term he never defines but appears to use synonymously with village, or at most, village cluster. Barnett's data, as well as Twana data elicited by Elmendorf (1960, 386), indicate that the event did not necessitate inviting outside guests, apart from the family of the child's non-resident grandparents, if the name came from that side. It is probable, however, that hosts invited a broader range of guests for naming ceremonies held in conjunction with the summer potlatch events, such as honouring the dead and puberty ceremonies, especially on occasions when they displayed prerogatives such as masked dancers and carved rattles. The host and his family required the attendance of high-status individuals from other villages to reflect and to remember their enhanced prestige. Yet it is apparent that the naming

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[37] Until the revision of the *Indian Act* in 1952, which had previously forbid the hosting of Indian gatherings which included dancing and potlatching, the fear of fines and imprisonment resulted in such affairs being poorly attended.

ceremony has undergone several transformations in the historic period. Today, it is common to focus events on a naming, and to hold such ceremonies in the community hall.

For his daughter-in-law's naming in 1972, Louis Miranda desired to bring back the grandeur and opulence of the ceremony he recalled from his youth. He also wanted to combine the affair with the newly-revitalized spirit dance held in the longhouse he had helped to build in 1970-1971. LM was not alone in his recognition that this important ceremony should be revived, and he relates how others joined in as he planned the ceremony:

> [As one proceeds in the preparation] you give a high respect to the deceased whose name you are receiving by doing it in the one and only way, which is the right way and that was the way I received my late grandfather's name (*sxa·ltx*^{w})
> . . . I was talking to DC, a dear old friend who is my senior by several years and he mentioned that he wanted to give some names to his grandchildren . . . That old man in the Indian way was my uncle. And I said that I would like to do it that year. Then my cousin came to me and said that it would make it easier if the three [of us] got together as he wanted to give a name to his grandson. So it was decided that we would go ahead. He immediately gave me twenty dollars, his wife gave me twenty dollars, my wife Jessie gave me twenty dollars, I gave twenty dollars, and my son Frankie gave me twenty dollars.

This text highlights several important characteristics that identify the preparation as a highly-charged symbolic affair. Firstly, Louis Miranda was conscientious in his description to invoke reference to the past and adherence to ritual. There was a *correct* way of proceeding. Secondly, he included others in the affair by referring to them using kin terms. This appears in accord with the earlier practice described by Suttles (1958, 500), who wrote that typically such an occasion transpired after several leaders of a household or village pooled their life crises, name-givings, and so forth, for a joint endeavour vis-à-vis other households and/or villages. A check of the genealogies reveals that LM is not related

biologically to either man he referred to here, except, as he put it, "in the Indian way," meaning here, when the occasion requires a recognition of kinship. Among Coast Salish people, some kind of kin connexion can always be found. Individuals may ponder an alleged relationship privately, but the voiced assertion of kinship is never questioned openly, for the doubter risks the chance of having his/her lack of genealogical knowledge exposed. Thirdly, the text reveals a precise accounting of the donors contributing, and the amounts collected. The reader can sense the binding nature of the contract, sealed by this transfer of these twenty dollar bills.

As LM proceeds in his description of the naming, he continues to identify participants by kin terms (although they are not all consanguineal relatives), using ancestral names for those who have them, and making a detailed accounting of their donations. Much of their assistance came in the form of food, as "feeding the people" is a critical component of all Coast Salish ceremonials. It is a basic social requirement. All home visits are accompanied by "tea" — often a euphemism for a full-course meal. Sharing food is an important way in which aboriginal people perceive themselves to be different from Whites (Native people often comment that you can go to the home of a non-Indian and not be given even a cup of tea). Feeding several hundred people, however, is an obligation taken on only by those of high status, and it requires immense organization, as Louis Miranda pointed out:

> We had to have cooking utensils, also cups, dishes, spoons, forks, knives, bowls and all the requirements of a kitchen and the table. So I approached my cousin *sút'lut* (Mrs. SA) whose granddaughter *tənáɬ* (GN) was the second party to answer the call of the syə́wən [spirit power] . . . So with the heart of her ancestors, *sút'lut* said, "I have everything you need." And so we prepared, knowing the strict rules of our older people — you must be very careful . . . I got my nephew to get us a deer, and my daughter-in-law got in touch with her sister married at Saanich and they brought over a hundred pounds of clams. Then the dear wife of *sx^{w}píləm* (PJ) got in touch with her

> father, Mr. W at Courtenay, and he brought us a good hundred pounds of fresh clams. Then *q*^{w}*ə*l*á*n*ə*x^{w} (WN) went out to Defence Island and brought us a bunch of ducks which he plucked himself. Then my daughter-in-law got in touch with her sister at Chehalis, for they cure and dry the salmon. Then finally we went to the White man's cupboard and bought three big turkeys. My son and I purchased six boxes of oranges to give to the rookie dancers, referred to as babies, and I purchased three more boxes of oranges to be served at the table. AN purchased three boxes of oranges for the table, and Mrs. N purchased two boxes of apples.

While these segments of Louis Miranda's narrative suggest that he was sponsoring the name-giving, he explains earlier in the account that he was left to host it alone when his co-parent — the father of his daughter-in-law — died a few months previously, after advising LM of his plans. This man had gone to LM and announced that he felt his duty to his daughter was incomplete, as he had not publicly validated a name given to her by a grand-aunt. His request to LM was in accord with the traditional Coast Salish practice of calling upon one's affines to assist in potlatching.

Because of the private manner of the earlier bestowal of the name, it remained unrecognized by the community, and during the preparation for the ceremony, LM found that another woman currently used the name. Despite having available the option of arranging for the two women to share the name, LM decided to find another:

> I knew that two people can carry a name and get along; on the other hand, there are some who do not like the idea of sharing the name, and it is not openly shown, but you can see that there is a resentment. So W, the elder of my cousins suggested that we visit Mrs. MJ, my daughter's auntie, and the eldest of the P family, and who has a lot of knowledge in regards to these ancestral names . . . she said the name involved was theirs and that the name was given to my daughter when she was very young, but was never made public. So I told her how I felt and asked her if she could give her niece another name that was clear and clean. She did not hesitate. She said, "My late aunt, my father's sister has an unclaimed name and I would be real proud if my niece would accept the name." After, her daughter gave us lunch.

Louis Miranda's description of his own naming, over sixty years earlier (in 1910), confirms that only qualitative changes had occurred in the procedural structure used for the preparations now being conducted (in the early 1970s) in an environment of greater financial resources. Those called upon to assist in amassing the wealth necessary to host the event were affinally related to the original sponsor, LM's co-parent from another tribe. When the work fell to LM, it was the family of his daughter-in-law, as well as LM's own wife, son, cousins, nieces and nephews — some of whom were related "in the Indian way" — who supported the affair, either financially or with gifts-in-kind.

Louis Miranda took several months preparing for the naming in 1972; his parents had required years to amass the essential money and goods for his own naming in 1910. But as LM explained, his parents considered the lengthy preparation required:

> [They] decided that it would take about three years to save enough money to cover the expenses, so right away they started to put money away and this is how it was done. Mother and Dad would be passing by someone's place and were invited in for lunch. So after lunch they would talk awhile and just before leaving, either my mother or dad would dig in and give to their host anywhere from ten to thirty dollars or more, with the understanding that probably in three years or so the money was to be returned. They would not mention what they intended to do. This continued. In the spring of the year that they intended to give me my name, they would notify all who they had given money to, that they would be doing their Work. Still they didn't mention what they were going to do. And then when the people found out that my mom and dad were giving out money [i.e., were going to do some Work], they started to give money and blankets to my parents. So winter came, and about three weeks before the time of the gathering, my mom and dad went around to invite [the quests] and set the date of the gathering. I accompanied them.

The transaction that took place between Louis Miranda's parents and those they visited for the purpose of engaging them in the future work, is called in Squamish *ləʔtm* meaning 'to put away'. While blankets and money were returned, as quoted in the passage above, LM reported that foods might also be given at the time of the ceremony, a custom

evident in the transactions that occurred in 1972. Speaking of earlier times, Suttles (1960, 303) proposed that such an investment in one's affinal relations protected the resources needed for potlatching, as these individuals would be honour-bound to return the gifts when required, whereas food and wealth kept at home could be used up by his own blood kin, whom a man was honour-bound to support.

Preparations do not end with the selection of a name, or even with the acquisition of food, blankets and goods. Guests must be invited and looked after. LM described how in 1910 he accompanied his parents from house to house to invite the guests, travelling to communities situated more than fifty miles away, and arranging for discount fares on the Squamish-bound steamer for his guests' journey. In former times, the sponsor of a summer potlatch would set out by canoe for distant villages, carrying a bundle of pencil-like cedar sticks, each one representing a household whose presence they requested. Upon arriving at a village — often that of his affines — the future sponsor would go to the desired house and, when welcomed, announce his intentions to "do something" at an appointed time and place. He then gave his host one stick, an invitation extended to the household. The following day he would proceed to the next village. After his departure from the first, the household gathered to determine how much they would contribute to the expenses of the planned affair (Jenness 1955, 76).

In the last several decades, namings held in conjunction with winter spirit dances have been open to any individual from the Native community. Invitations are made in the House to all present, long before the event takes place. Those receiving a personal invitation, however, are obliged to attend, for they have been specially called to witness the event, but hosts welcome any who might appear unexpectedly. Occasionally, when I have been in the House for a dance over the years, I have been approached by an elder, often

with a bashful young relative in tow. Along with an introduction to the young person, the elder's mission has been to extend an invitation for witnessing some Work occurring a full year away. In the Tsawwassen longhouse in September 1999, I heard affairs being announced for a specific time late in the year 2001. Some longhouses now maintain a register in which families record their scheduled event, to prevent too much Work being programmed for one evening.

White people are welcome in the longhouse, though the few who attend are generally in the company of aboriginal friends, or comprise a group of professionals who associate with the tribe owning the host longhouse: lawyers, health workers, teachers, priests, and, of course, anthropologists and linguists. At the entrance, a doorman gently probes for information on their association, and they are seated with the tribe with whom they are affiliated.

Seating guests in the longhouse is yet another opportunity for the sponsor to demonstrate his family's high status. Hired ushers direct the people to their seats, distinguishing guests from each part of the Coast Salish region, and making distinctions in villages if many people come from nearby settlements. Some Coast Salish longhouses, including the one on the Tulalip Reservation in Washington State, have the tribal name of each commonly-visiting group of guests permanently transcribed in the indigenous language on the wall behind each group's particular seating area.

Guests must be seated promptly. Hill-Tout recorded the employment of ushers among the Lukungun, where he portrayed the procedure as being "absurdly like that in vogue in high social functions among more sophisticated peoples" (Hill-Tout 1907b, 309). Yet to leave one's guests standing by the door, explained LM, would cause them to feel slighted. If that should occur, the offended guests might distribute money to buttress their

own status, and thus shame the neglectful host.

Louis Miranda and his co-sponsors left nothing to chance in 1972. They fed the people and then began the Work. AN went first, bringing down a name for his grandson. DC followed, giving names to two grandchildren, and then calling upon the assembled guests to bear witness to his daughter's name. She had received the name previously, but by calling and paying witnesses to remember her ancestral name, DC bolstered the family's status within the Coast Salish community by displaying this property. LM then approached the centre of the floor to begin his Work. While DC finished his Work, LM's female relatives had gone counter-clockwise around the House and pinned a ribbon to the clothing of each female guest. This identified the ribbon-wearer as a witness and distinguished her as someone to receive fifty cents for accepting this responsibility. Names are gender specific, and only women witness female names, just as men witness male names. At times, hosts identity their witnesses by giving them matches or small sticks.

The Work was now ready to begin. LM proceeded with the dressing of the participants, as explained in the following passage of his narrative:

> My two cousins were my official Speakers. I had the Speaker VS call four men to come forward, two to put the blanket on V's brother, WS, and two to put the blanket on him, each receiving fifty cents. Then VS called two women to spread a blanket on the floor. They received fifty cents each. Then four men were called to bring two chairs which were to be occupied by the receiver of the name and by her aunt who was to verify that she was a direct descendant and entitled to the name. These men, two per chair, placed the chair on a mat. They received fifty cents each. Then two women were called to bring in Mrs. MC, my daughter-in-law's aunt, who was called to give the background of the name. Then two more women were called to bring my daughter-in-law to the chair. They received fifty cents. Then two more women were called to place a blanket around my daughter-in-law, and a kerchief on her head. The kerchief contained fifty cents tied in one corner. The Speakers had the same kerchief. Again the women who helped were given fifty cents each. I then asked my Speakers to advise the people of the work that I was doing.

If LM held any owned prerogatives, such as a mask or carved horn rattle, they would have been used in this phase of the ceremony, as was done in 1992 when I attended a naming in the Capilano longhouse, hosted by a family whose maternal kin come from a high-status Nanaimo family residing on Vancouver Island. This side of the family has rights to the carved rattle known in the Halkomelem language as *šə́lməx^{w}cəs*, and used only by ritualists (men and women whose priest-like role involves the use of secret words and red ochre paint). This is an owned prerogative that requires recognition by others. As Nanaimo elder Effie Brown explained to me:

> You have to have a rattle from way back. You can't just put it on. So when my sister first used the rattle, people stood up in Capilano and said, "we can't say nothing, we know you belong to that."

While waiting for the naming to commence in 1992, I could hear the chanting of the ritualists, obviously coming from outside the house. The chanting became louder. The door opened and four women, acting in pairs, appeared at the entrance way, ushering into the house the family members to receive names. Each woman held a rattle in her right hand, shaking it slowly and with a deliberate downward thrust. The procession proceeded towards the centre of the house at a labouriously protracted rate, stopping at the spot where the Speakers stood. It was a dramatic display of family solidarity and wealth. Describing such events to me many years later, one of the members of this family who, herself, uses the rattle, spoke of the processions into the longhouse on another occasion when the family showed the photograph of a deceased relative:

> It got to be a head lady, an old lady that is going to start it. I always just carry the picture, right. When they are going to bring it into the big house, they are going to rattle it in. They start the song here, and they go across here, and here, and here. They all have different songs, each rattler. And I know when we get to the end we will move a few steps and we will stop and then sing again.

Standing on the floor of the Capilano longhouse in the winter of 1996, I sensed what I imagined to be some of the angst experienced by generations of Coast Salish people called to testify before the House regarding the legitimate transmission of an ancestral name. By 1996, I had observed this rite for a quarter of a century and had documented the ceremony in every way I thought possible. But regardless of how well I thought I knew the procedure, or the hundreds of names and relations I had learned in my pursuit of indigenous knowledge, I still balanced the tension between involvement and detachment, as Geertz (1968, 157) characterizes the anthropologists' ambiguous position. It was a tightrope act I knew well, yet it was an unsettling feeling. Wrapped in my blanket on the floor of the longhouse that evening, I felt both pride and trepidation. I am told that even among the most careful of families a shroud of uneasiness envelopes the proceedings, for something may be carried out improperly, or someone may challenge their rightful possession of the name being transmitted. That night, however, an additional possibility existed — in my mind, at least — that someone might challenge the *process* of validation. For the Sponsor had selected *not* an elder, but an anthropologist with a computerized genealogical database, to substantiate the young woman's rightful inheritance and to recite the genealogical history of the name.

The Selection of Ancestral Names

The selection of a name among the Coast Salish is generally the decision of the older members of a kin group, one of whom then attests publicly to their legitimate possession of this property. Elders discuss the available names, that is, the names held formerly by the person's ancestors that are not presently in use by any member, as well as the relative prestige of those names. The practice reported among the Twana (Elmendorf

1960, 382) and the Snoqualmie (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 47), that the applicability of the name was judged also on the basis of physical or behavioural resemblance of the receiver to the former name-bearer, is also the Squamish custom. An old fisherman might want his name passed to a young relative who exhibits an interest in the activity; acquisition of the name, however, does not *necessarily* make the younger person a *better* fisherman. Still, as Parkin (1989, 63) observed with respect to the Giriama and other African peoples, the idea of "a discrete and sharply separable person entrusted with his/her own fate is rare." African personal names — and to this can be added the Coast Salish — may be bestowed upon individuals, "but may also be seen as deriving from a grandparent, some of whose qualities may go with it" (Parkin 1989, 63). Hence, the young Coast Salish fisherman is motivated to increase his proficiency because he is admonished at the time of his naming to uphold the honour of the illustrious ancestor. In this way, individuals may inherit a distinguished social personae, along with a name.

Coast Salish names can be taken from one's father's or mother's family; gender in no way determines from which side of one's family a name is acquired. In recent years I have heard some Squamish people suggest that names are taken only from their father's side, but such statements appear rooted in their contemporary preference for patrilineal inheritance. A recitation of their own family's names normally illustrates conclusively that inheritance is transmitted bilaterally. Jerry Meeker, a Puyallup elder born in the 1860s, confirmed the bilateral transmission of names among the Southern Coast Salish, noting that primogeniture was a factor in deciding which son or daughter would receive a particular name (Meeker n.d. I, 49).

With most families, a name from one side of the family is typically not better than the other, as marriages unite individuals within the same social strata. Suttles (1958, 502-

503) pointed out in his discussion of primogeniture that it was not invoked when determining the appropriateness of names, and the great names often would go to the child judged to be potentially the most successful. Families consider the worthiness of the young person, nevertheless, and today the social, educational, or financial achievements are personal attributes weighed by the elders when judging the suitableness of certain names. Recognition of achieved status has always permitted talented individuals to succeed in Coast Salish society, providing, of course, they were not slaves or their descendants.

Elders also deliberate on whether another branch of the family might have a closer connexion to a name being contemplated. Previous name-bearers do not have to have been direct lineal ancestors; names can come from siblings of grandparents, or even great-grandparents. Using a sample of forty-five names carried presently by Squamish men, I found that 48.9% of the names (22 individuals) had been received from the second ascending generation, with an equal number transferred matrilineally and patrilineally. In three cases, the family brought down a name held by an individual of the fifth ascending generation; these names had belonged to eminent leaders. No female names of this generation were found in an analysis of 20 names, but again the sampled names illustrated a preference for the second ascending generation as the source for contemporary appellations.

As the demand for ancestral names has increased along with population, sharing names is now common, when permission to do so can be obtained. It is not considered the ideal situation, but a solution relied upon when no other name can be found. In public gatherings, Speakers differentiate between name-holders by adding descriptors, such as "the older X" or "X of Capilano."

The usual situation for contemporary name-bearers is to avow affiliation with the antecedent who most recently carried the name, especially when the previous generation

resided in the same area as the current recipient. Indeed, the relative shallowness of most genealogies means that families tend to regard their own direct antecedent as the family progenitor, without searching for earlier individuals and tracing the transmission of a name from one village to the next. With name-titles as prestigious as *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, however, there seems to be greater initiative to display one's genealogical knowledge, particularly among descendants whose access to ritual prerogatives and resources is dependant upon recognition of these claims.

Purchase of a name is impossible throughout the Coast Salish area. Nor can names belonging to a wife's family go to her husband or to his kin. An individual may decide to pass his or her personal name to a young relative during his or her lifetime, thereby ensuring the desired route of transmission. Called in Squamish "undressing," the act of giving a younger person one's own name is likened to taking off one's blanket or clothes. Once removed, the name cannot be used by the original carrier. A Twana person would sometimes take a new name when passing on his or her own name. The practice was rare; Elmendorf's (1960, 387) Twana consultant recalled only one specific example of this being done, although Hill-Tout (1904a, 322) reported the custom among the Chehalis (Mainland Halkomelem) as well. The older person would cease to use the name, or the young person's full possession of the name would be held in abeyance until the death of the older name-bearer. In 1990, I heard one Squamish acquaintance announce at the funeral of his deceased relative that he would now use a name promised to him. The announcement was unusual, but not aberrant. I was told that when Chief Henry Jack of the Squamish died in 1955, the family announced, before his body was removed, that his grandson EP would now carry his name, as this had been the old man's wish. Present were several men of high status, along with some relatives, and thus the name's transmission was said to be in accord with

tradition. When a Squamish friend announced at the funeral in 1990 that he would be using his new name, it came as no surprise, as I recalled that a couple of years earlier, the widow of the previous name-bearer had given the younger man some money to ensure that her husband's name would not lie dormant.

Transformation in the selection of adult names has occurred throughout the Coast Salish community during the past couple of decades. Some of this change is clearly a consequence of the language loss that has taken place. Despite a resurgence of aboriginal pride, beginning in the late 1960s, that generated Native language classes, success has been limited in teaching the language to children, and the number of speakers continues to decline (Thompson and Kinkade 1990, 49). It is the tragic reality today that most of the Coast Salish languages are moribund. The layer of knowledge that has been lost along with the lexicon includes ancestral names. Among the Washington State Coast Salish in recent years, a few ceremonial leaders have encouraged people to adopt placenames, along with the terms for flora and fauna, as ancestral names. One Southern Coast Salish acquaintance proudly reported to me at the opening of an art show that he had given the name of a mountain to an infant. An adult member of a neighbouring tribe, where the indigenous language is also moribund and few elders remain, currently holds the name of another prominent mountain.

I have not heard of many occasions when the taking of a name has been challenged openly, and only a couple of examples have been recorded. In Jenness's (1955, 77) edition of "The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian," he added a footnote to a hypothetical account of a Katzie naming ceremony that explains what would happen if such a challenge was made. The ceremony would stop while the Sponsor and the protagonist discussed the issue, along with two old men chosen by the claimant. If the case was proven, the Sponsor had to select

another name, about which there was no dispute. Sometimes, however, names passed down may not be recognized by the community. In such cases, the individual's English name continues to be used in the House, until the family brings down a name considered more acceptable. Homer Barnett recorded an example of a more overt challenge concerning ownership of a name that was made by the father of his Nanaimo consultant, Albert Wesley. The note, titled, "Name dropping potlatch," describes how the man shamed the opposing side with a lavish donation of goods, more than the opposing man could possibly return, thereby demonstrating how the Wesley family was the more appropriate possessor of the name:

> Informants father had a grievance against another man who had assumed a name which belonged to inf. family. Without ever mentioning the purpose (tho everybody knew) inf. Father gave a potlatch & gave the fellow more than he could return — so he dropped the name. If he had been able to out-potlatch his rival he would have kept the name (Barnett 1935-1936:1, 119).

A quick conference with the Speakers regarding the family's right to the name takes place before he announces to the House the nature of the Work being done. This acquaints the Speaker with the name before its disclosure to the assembled guests, and provides him with a brief recitation of its route of transmission. In the Capilano longhouse in 1996, the Sponsor requested that I repeat the new name to the hired participants. This was not an easy task. One of the Speakers' ear for the phonological complexity of his ancestral tongue was then just developing, and he had difficulty distinguishing uvular and velar stops and fricatives. Added to this, the older Speaker's fluency in Halkomelem predisposed him to apply Halkomelem phonology to whatever he was hearing, in this case, a name transcribed originally by a French priest in a baptismal record in the late 19th Century, being pronounced by a native speaker of English with an unsubstantial knowledge of Squamish. The name was repeated — several times. Then I recited the genealogical connexions to the

name. A clear path of transmission led to the new dancer who would now be carrying a name that had remained silent for so long. I recited the name's genealogical history privately to the Speakers. Once they felt comfortable pronouncing the name, and understood the name's course of transmission, the call for witnessing began.

Longhouse speech is formally structured. Speakers using the Squamish language usually begin by calling out loudly: *nəw síy̓aḿ i síiyay̓*, literally, 'you respected people and friends/relatives.' In English, the salutation is commonly "my dear friends and relatives." The Speaker then requests the guests to witness the event. During the naming of LM's daughter-in-law in 1972, it was at this point in the ceremony that older female members of the family went to each woman wearing a ribbon and pressed two quarters into her hand. The Speaker informed the gathering the reason why the women received this money: "the family asks you to witness."

The names of people of some prominence who are present in the House during a naming are announced individually, the name being repeated twice, followed by the request for witnessing. An example would be: "*Iyámšəlut, Iyámšəlut*, you are asked to witness what is going to take place here tonight." Members of the Sponsor's family then go to the woman called and give her the quarters. At a gathering I attended in 1999, I was seated next to a Squamish Chief who the first witness called. He leaned forward and confided, "that is a real honour, you know, being called first." In the Capilano longhouse, English as well as Indian names are called, as numerous Squamish people do not carry ancestral names, yet are frequent visitors to the longhouse. At Cowichan, where the language continues to be heard on ceremonial occasions, longhouse Work is mostly conducted in the aboriginal language, and ancestral names are customary.

With witnesses paid, a Speaker, on behalf of the Sponsor, announces the name to

the guests and asks them to remember it. A recitation of the name's history, as provided to the Speaker by a family elder or other designated person, is then reiterated so that the witnesses can learn of the family's right to the appellation. The Squamish term for reciting a name's history is *xʷənxən*. Reciting such history is an unusual role for an anthropologist in Central Coast Salish society, but one which the Halkomelem Speaker dealt with the second time I was called to perform this task, by introducing me to the gathering as "my sister," followed by a friendly wink in my direction.

The Speaker always highlights a name that has been dormant for a while, imploring the people to remember and use the name now brought down among them. Those witnesses called individually now take the opportunity to speak directly to the person receiving the new name, as well as to the Sponsor family. The advice is also formalized. Praise is bestowed upon the family for their respect of tradition, and for their attention to keeping the name alive. Along with respect, the witnesses often stress the importance of kinship. Always the person receiving the name is admonished to behave in a manner fitting of the name. Pamela Amoss' (1978, 17) observation with respect to Nooksack naming ceremonies is certainly appropriate here: "it was almost as if he were given to the name rather than the name given to him." During these speeches, witnesses liken the new name to a blanket and instruct the name-carrier to keep it "clean" and never allow this new covering to drag in the mud. As each witness stands to deliver such a speech, the family forms a single file and, one after another, thanks the witness with an additional fifty cents.

The ceremony is almost over. The new name-bearer and Sponsor walk around the House and distribute the blankets reserved for this occasion, along with the blanket and kerchief the name-recipient wears for the naming. There is no proscribed manner of

selecting the individuals to whom these blankets are given, although friendship appears to be a factor in the selection, and today children are often guided to present their ceremonial apparel to their age-mates. The quiet is interrupted and a commotion ensues as young men scramble for the layers of blankets upon which the name-recipient stood. In former times, when mountain goat wool blankets were common, young men scuffled about the floor to seize corners of blankets which tore apart in their struggle, but were then taken home and woven into new blankets, by women specially trained in this skill.[38]

For two years following a naming, whenever one of the witnesses addresses the name-recipient using his or her ancestral name, the witness is given another fifty cents. In common speech, this small gift of cash given to a witness is called a "payment." As emphasis is placed on acknowledging the witness' participation in the ritual, and their respect of the ancestor's name and the new carrier of that name, some people prefer to express the payment as "thanking them with fifty cents."

Repayment

Several people assisted Louis Miranda financially when he named his daughter-in-law in 1972. Years passed without an occasion when LM could return this money. He worried that he would die without repaying the sum, despite there being no obligation to do so. In 1978, however, his son approached him and asked if a Squamish name was available in the family, as he then held a name from his mother's people, the Cowichan. He wanted to carry a Squamish name, as it was among them he lived and worked. LM found that the name of his own grandfather's cousin, who had died without heirs, remained dormant. For

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[38] Twana and Clallam people associated this practice with the more northern Coast Salish groups, and viewed the lack of decorum displayed on these occasions with some disdain, as is conspicuous in a text about a Lukungun potlatch recited to Elmendorf (1993, 40).

Mr. Miranda this provided the opportunity to return the financial help, but once the community knew of his intention to give his only child an ancestral name, additional donations were forthcoming.

LM hosted the naming ceremony in October 1978, prior to the winter dance season, so he held the event in the basement hall of the catholic church situated on the Squamish Mission Reserve in North Vancouver, instead of in the Capilano longhouse. A meal was served and the occasion got underway, but before the Speaker announced what was to take place, several people attending the lunch stepped forward to do their own Work. Using the hired Speaker, they called and "thanked" witnesses, and proceeded to donate hundreds of dollars and six blankets towards the naming of LM's son. LM's daughter-in-law's sister recorded the names and amounts presented, in accord with the contemporary practice of keeping notebooks of all transactions. Some of those called as witnesses then stood and, in the proscribed manner, spoke of how happy it made them feel to see such help being offered. Once they concluded their Work, Louis Miranda called upon the Speaker to announce that he wished to complete his Work begun in 1972. LM called witnesses and proceeded to return to each individual donor the precise amount of money that was given to him in 1972.

The structure of the 1978 ceremony mirrored that convened for LM's daughter-in-law in 1972, with the exception of an added bit of drama to enhance the name. Once the Speakers were dressed in their blankets, LM's son left the hall. Two men were then hired to go outside and find him. To ease Louis Miranda's son's feigned fear of accepting such a "big name," they were instructed to put a blanket on his back to give him courage, and then to accompany him into the "House" where the ceremony recommenced.

In former times, the donations given prior to the naming ceremony consisted of

blankets and goods such as canoes and guns; in the 20th century, donations have been mostly cash and blankets.

Utterance Prohibition and Restriction on Name Use

Not uttering the name of recently dead people is reported by the Twana (Elmendorf 1960, 389). Again, kin terms would be used, as well as phrases such as "the deceased." Elmendorf's informants explained that recitation of a dead person's name offended the living, causing them grief, as it referred to the last carrier of the name, a deceased family member, until it was brought down and formally assumed by a living member. The name prohibition relaxed after about a two-year interval. Strangers occasionally made such slips of etiquette and they were expected to make amends with a small gift once the transgression was explained. The Twana also prohibited the use of words that sounded like the name of a recently deceased person. Elmendorf (1960, 393) documents one example of this practice. The word for 'rock' phonetically resembled an ancestral name of a dead man, so the family called together the resident villagers for a feast, at which they announced a substitute term — in this case, 'round objects' — for the tabooed word. The reasons for doing this were to enhance the prestige of the group owning the name, and to avoid the dangerous aura of the deceased which might affect the word of similar sound. Prohibiting the use of such words appears to have been a strategy seldom invoked among the Twana, although the prohibition against speaking the name of the deceased appears to have been present among the Squamish and Halkomelem, as evinced by Hill-Tout (1900, 484; 1903, 365-66, 405) and Barnett's (1955, 231) data, and also among the Clallam and Puget Sound groups, according to Gunther (1927, 257), and including the Puyallup (Meeker n.d., II, 13).

Squamish forbid the mentioning of words that had been used as names by recently

dead people, at least in front of the deceased's living relatives. Using the example of a man known by the Squamish term 'paddle,' Hill-Tout (1900, 484) noted that a synonym for the implement was adopted in its place, even when referring to the manner of propelling a canoe. The name 'paddle' is of a form more consistent with a nickname than an ancestral name, indicating that the prohibition may have extended beyond proper names. Louis Miranda's observation supports this assumption. He noted that when the man known by the nickname *šəwáɬ* 'door' passed away, his friends avoided the term, instead using a synonym for door, *qəp'tán*.

Old Wesley of Nanaimo considered it a serious impropriety to name a dead man. In similar fashion to the Twana, the offender made amends by immediately presenting a small gift to the mourning relative. The recipient would then return the gift, adding to it, if he was a person of high status. When a gift was not forthcoming, the family member shamed the thoughtless violator by making him a gift (Barnett 1955, 231).

The nature of these few disperse examples suggest that utterance avoidance was common. I have observed in contemporary society a reluctance among the Central Coast Salish to mention the name of the departed, even at the funeral, where the deceased is frequently referred to by an English kinship term, or euphemistically as "our friend," "our dear one," or a similar expression. There is no reticence, however, about speaking the name of someone who died even a year ago. Names of deceased kin are mentioned individually during a rite conducted to "burn food for the dead," at which plates of food are ceremoniously offered to the named and unnamed dead and consumed in a fire to appease their hunger. Names of deceased kin are also uttered at memorials, sombre occasions when witnesses are paid to remember the individual as a photograph of the deceased is carried reverently around the longhouse to be viewed by all present.

Intercommunity Diffusion of Names

Coast Salish people inherit ancestral names from either side of one's family and thus names follow the linkages established by intermarriage. A Squamish person might carry a name that is said to be Sechelt, Cowichan or Stl'átl'imx, for example, while a name associated with a Squamish ancestor might be held by an individual identified today as Musqueam or beyond. Names travel throughout the marriage network, crossing both social and linguistic boundaries.

Name-sharing was rare in former times, but not unheard of. A Twana consultant acknowledged that two people holding the same name would not cause provocation if the individuals resided in two separate communities that were not in frequent contact, especially when there had not been recent marriage ties between the settlements (Elmendorf 1960, 385). Only when a close relationship existed between the name-bearers in the same or nearby village was the need felt for one of them to acquire a new name.

Names considered prestigious have been particularly prone to duplication, at least in recent years. At least five men in the Strait of Georgia area now carry the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} (as it is pronounced in Squamish). Importantly, no two name-bearers reside in the same village. A female form of this name, *qɛyɛptnáɬ*, is also said to be in use among the Musqueam. Reviewing each name-bearer's purported genealogical history reveals a common source for this illustrious appellation, although there is little agreement on what should be deemed the *correct* route of transmission (see Chapter 8). Yet the paths leading from an ancestor to his descendants illustrate dramatically how names can be disseminated to several villages, and be held by numerous individuals, all of whom claim to hold the name legitimately.

Ancestral Names in a Contemporary World

Possessing an ancestral name in contemporary Coast Salish society displays an individual's cultural preference. It says to the aboriginal community, "I am an Indian and proud of it." This takes on particular importance when an individual's physical appearance reflects a mixed ancestry that among the Coast Salish often includes a broad range of nationalities, including English, Chilean, Filipino, Hawaiian, and Chinese, among others.

Some Native people proudly display their ancestral names on the backs of casual jackets, knitted into sweaters and carrying bags, and on personalized vehicle licence plates. Others now call themselves by an anglicized form of their ancestral name, using it as a personal name along with a Christian surname. More recently, some Central Coast Salish have begun to officially change surnames to ancestral names, a situation also seen among the Nuu-chah-nulth of Vancouver Island's west coast. And it is not unusual for Coast Salish people to identify themselves on their personal telephone answering machine with both their English and aboriginal appellations.

In the past decade or so I have observed the increasing use of ancestral names among the Coast Salish at both formal Tribal Council meetings and casual gatherings. This practice is antithetical to that reported for earlier times. Twana elder Henry Allen (Elmendorf 1960, 390), for example, stated that individuals were never called by name unless they were about to given something at a potlatch. Apart from names being used in direct address to the name-bearer during a public speech, a person would most often be addressed using a kin term, whether a biological relative or not. Allen recalled the admonition given to children: "Don't call him by name; you are not giving him money!" And, he added, you never "call anyone 'old'" (Elmendorf 1993, 118). Paul of Port Douglas, whose ancestry was partly from Yale, agreed that names were seldom used, apart

from when people were given food or an item of wealth, and the recipient wished to offer thanks. Names were used when someone was being honoured. Paul remembered that when his mother wished to coax him to do something, or when he had gratified her by some act, she would address him using his ancestral name, but nicknames and kin-terms were applied more commonly (Hill-Tout 1905, 153).

Hill-Tout (1904a, 322) found during his Central Salish fieldwork in the early 1900s that there was a strong reluctance among the Chehalis to divulge their own ancestral name. Personal names were private, corporate property guarded closely and seldom used. Today, the opposite is true. Coast Salish Natives have no hesitation about stating their ancestral names — of which they are fiercely proud — even though few people today have knowledge of the phonology of the language from which their name is derived. Notwithstanding, anglicized pronunciation is not an impediment to use.

In one instance, where a name had been reconstructed from church records and the woman receiving it had been provided with a tape-recording of the assumed, probable pronunciation, her feelings towards her new name developed, along with her familiarity of Squamish phonology. For a full year she used a particular anglicized pronunciation. Once she had listened to the tape a sufficient number of times to discern the complex sounds of the Squamish language (the phonology of which includes glottalization and uvulars not present in English), she alerted her friends to the pronunciation she now heard. The new-found proficiency resulted in her feeling closer to the previous name-bearer, her great-grandmother, as she now shared with her ancestor the knowledge of how to produce some of the difficult sounds that are characteristic of her people's traditional language.

While Coast Salish people today employ ancestral names in address, the use of kin terms for acquaintances, particularly those senior in age, is viewed as appropriate and

polite. The Squamish community commonly greeted my friend, Louis Miranda, a highly-respected Squamish elder, as "uncle," although in fact, he had only a handful of nieces and nephews. It is commonplace to hear older women called "auntie" or "grandma" by people who are not immediate family members, the choice of term often depending upon the relative ages of the speaker and the recipient. Men and women of similar age refer to one another as "sister," "brother," or "cousin" in public ceremonies. So routinely are kin terms used as terms of address that I would add them as another category of naming used by the Coast Salish.

Possessing an ancestral name is of profound importance. Nowadays it is not uncommon for names to be carried by two or more individuals, though elderly people without ancestral names hesitate to share appellations with younger people who are not members of their immediate family. Consequently, there are a number of older people known only by their English name. It is apparent, from discussions with them, that it is personally embarrassing for these elders to be called by an English name in the longhouse when asked to serve as a witness. I became apprised of the seriousness of the situation when, several years ago, I was called to attend a meeting of a particular Squamish family's elders. They had not advised me of the reason for the meeting and when I entered the room the elders were visibly anxious. I assumed that it was to correct some perceived transgression I had made with respect to my reconstruction of the family's genealogy, as this genealogical history contained several individuals not of aboriginal ancestry, and this is a sensitive area of investigation with some families. Instead, the purpose of the meeting was to enlist my assistance in the search for an appropriate ancestral name for the eldest male member. Now in his seventies, this individual regarded his Squamish identity to be incomplete, as he had never received a Squamish ancestral name, although he carries one

from another tribe.

Analysis of Names in Database

Baptismal, marriage and confirmation records provide the most complete corpus of ancestral names available today. The strength of church records is in the accuracy that can be attributed to the data they contain, from information given by respondents at major life events. Each had an opportunity to state his or her ancestral Native name, or that of their child, their English name (if they had one), and their age and village. Additionally, a "tribal" affiliation was often given. The absence of name-sharing in the nineteenth century permits greater confidence using these records to trace the transmission of ancestral names through generations.

European Christian names were first adopted routinely with the advent of the missions in the mid-1800s. The church records noted Native names along with baptismal names until around 1900, after which the English name of an older generation became recognized as a surname, and ancestral names were dropped from the records. Thus, the children of Joseph *sḵʷatatxʷámqin* became members of the Joseph family, a patronym continuing in use among the Squamish, and each descendent carried two English names in apposition, such as Moses Joseph. They initially assimilated English baptismal names into the indigenous phonological patterns, however, resulting, for example, in "Mary" becoming *méli* or *má·li,* and "Fidel" becoming *pətél*. Mithun (1984, 52) observed this same phenomenon among the Mohawk of Eastern Canada and United States.

It is apparent that each Coast Salish family owned a large stock of names — more than have been recorded or remembered. But the question of meaning conveyed by these names has remained elusive. It has long been assumed, as R.H. Barnes (1980a) reviewed in

his examination of Hidatsa personal names, that Amerindian names have meaning and significance. Morgan thought an individual's clan could be determined by knowing the name; Dorsey thought that all names convey meaning; and Fletcher considered them to be largely ceremonial, providing to the bearer the protective presence of a deity (as cited in R. Barnes 1980a, 325). Among the Salish, Hill-Tout (1904a, 322) commented, with respect to the Chehalis Halkomelem, that "names were never mere tags or labels to distinguish one person from another." Still, meaning is not readily evident in Coast Salish names. An uninformed listener, lacking social familiarity with the pool of ancestral names in use, or with the family associated with a particular name, would have little to go on in identifying the status, family, village or tribe of the name-holder. Only gender would be apparent. An exception is the class of so-called "Indian names" that are given to Whites. These appellations always carry unambiguous meaning. A few examples in translation include 'falling leaf,' a name given to a Catholic priest who became an Indian dancer, and 'good heart,' a name given to a woman whose kindness the bestower wished to acknowledge publicly. Apart from these names, elders do not immediately associate ancestral names with meaning.

Can we then believe Hill-Tout's (1900, 484) assertion that aboriginal names do, in fact, have meaning? Speaking of the Chehalis, a Halkomelem-speaking group, he reported that names were always connected with family legends, and had some reference to an incident believed to have happened in the life of an ancestor (Hill-Tout 1904a, 322). Some examples of names contained in Hill-Tout's monographs partly support his proposition. The first man of the Kwantlen, for instance, was said to have a name derived from the word 'to appear,' while the first woman of the Chehalis was given a name derived from 'getting down,' after she descended to earth from the upper regions (Hill-Tout 1903, 407; 1904a,

312). From Paul at Port Douglas, Hill-Tout (1905, 147-152) learned that the names "are almost invariably derived from early ancestors of the family or group." Names originated at the beginning of time from many sources, according to Hill-Tout's informant, including dreams, spiritual helpers, mystical beings, as well as the experiences and travels of the Transformers and the First Ancestors. Some names were associated with specific powers that permitted one to be a clairvoyant or to compel animals to approach. A hereditary name held by a leader of high status among the Sechelt, a Northern Coast Salish people, stemmed from the root meaning 'to hold in a bundle; press down [i.e., all competitors],' referring to the ancestor's prowess in potlatching (Hill-Tout 1904b, 22). Hill-Tout (1900, 484) compiled from Squamish stories a list of ten names, including ones he translated as 'moccasin,' 'owl,' 'rainman,' 'skull,' and 'copper.' The other five names he listed without translation; only these latter five are recognized today as personal names. Of the names on Hill-Tout's list, the name 'owl' is no longer in use among the Squamish, but a Stalo Halkomelem man formally carried it as a nickname. It is likely that the other Squamish names listed above were also nicknames and not ancestral personal names.

While Hill-Tout listed many sources for names that reach back to the beginnings of time, the origin of names is more commonly thought to come from one's ancestors, without further consideration of how they might have originated. Some of the "sources" noted by Hill-Tout — such as a dream state or mystical being — would not be regarded as a legitimate way to receive an ancestral name today. People adhere to the obvious and necessary prerequisite for an ancestral name — that it was held previously by an ancestor. As Henry Sicade explained to Haeberlin (1916-1917, Book 28, 6), rarely did an individual receive a name from his spiritual power. The acquisition of such names did not carry the prestige associated with name-titles passed through the generations. Once obtained,

however, such a name could be passed on and become an ancestral name. Bates *et al.* (1994, 379-381) recorded several such names held presently by Lushootseed people.

Kuipers (1969, 40) found in his review of Squamish names that few contain roots or stems which are meaningful, with several notable exceptions. Various forms of the term *siy̓áṁ* 'chief; person of high status' are found in several Squamish names. It is also common in Halkomelem names. Additionally, Kuipers found the Squamish root 'white' was recognizable in one name and the root *x̣iʔ* 'appear; come into existence [i.e., human race]' seems to be present in one name, and in a reduced form in a second. Other roots appear in several names, although Kuipers noted that these roots are unknown (the root *kʷəc* is such an example).

Galloway (1993, 225) included in his review of Upriver Halkomelem lexical suffixes a few names containing both an analysable root and suffix. For example, the woman's name *kʷələɛxtəlát* is derived from *kʷəlxʸámə* meaning 'fine snow that drifts in windows and doors.' The suffix *-át* denotes a female name. The woman's name *xʷ(-)iyɛ́ləm* is said to mean 'something one really makes good use of,' derived from the root *ʔiyáləm* 'right, correct, okay'. Two examples of a male's name possessing obvious meaning include the Halkomelem appellation *siyaməlɛ́ləlxʷ*, clearly derived from *siyám* 'head or leader,' with the addition of a male-name suffix, and *x̣ɛ́ytələq*, derived from the word 'to growl [of a person],' along with the suffix meaning 'one who.' The latter name was held originally by a strong warrior who is said to have punched through a man's chest (Galloway 1993, 226-227).

Men's and women's names are generally distinguishable by the suffixes they contain, although naming practices have undergone revision in the past couple of decades, with female suffixes being added more freely to male names in families where shortages of

female names have occurred, and *vice versa*. The *-át* suffix present in several of the analysable names provided above by Galloway is the most common suffix, indicating 'female name' both in Halkomelem and Squamish personal appellations. Variants of the suffix include *-ələ́·t*, *-ɬát*, *-á·t*, and *-mat*. Together with *-át*, the occurrence of these suffixes in Halkomelem is restricted to female personal names, although they can be found in names of humans and animals, including animals in mythology. The suffix *-(aɬ-)ya* or *-ia*, common in Squamish female names and found also in a few Squamish male names, is the only cross-gender suffix that I have recognized in my corpus.

Elmendorf found that Twana names may seem analysable as stem-plus- affix formations, yet Twana speakers found the components semantically empty. Occasionally, a name affix seemed recognizable as a bound form in free formation elsewhere in the lexicon. A particularly significant example provided is the suffix *-c̓a*, as found in the names *tíčalc̓a* and *kʷʷaláɬuc̓a*, occurring elsewhere with the meaning 'blanket' (Elmendorf 1960, 380). The cognate suffix *-ic̓aʔ* is present also in Lushootseed women's names (Bates *et al.* 1994, 379), although here the suffix does not appear to have such a meaning when used in names. Though the suffix is common to both Squamish and Halkomelem lexicons as well, I have not found any examples of it being contained in personal names used by these people. Nor have I encountered any marriages between Squamish and Lushootseed people.

Kuipers (1969, 40) found in his linguistic analysis of seventy-two ancestral names held by Squamish people that these names deviate from the rest of the lexicon. Two-thirds of them (48 out of 72) are characterized by a small number of suffixes, two thirds (6 out of 9) of which are not productive in Squamish; that is, they contain suffixes that are meaningless in that language. While Kuipers identified in his corpus a total of seven suffixes for male names, and two for female names, to his list can be added several other

suffixes gleaned from my examination of a larger collection of names. The expanded list appears in Appendix Five containing charts setting out suffixes that appear in names recorded among Squamish and Halkomelem. In addition to linguistic data recorded by a number of Northwest Coast linguists noted in the introduction to these Appendices, I rely upon lists of ancestral names compiled by Squamish elders Louis Miranda and Lawrence Baker, and upon the extensive database of Coast Salish genealogical relationships and ancestral names I assembled beginning in 1983 and on-going. Suffixes found on male names have been distinguished from female names.

As names are property, transmitted to a new generation conceived from village-exogamous marriage, the distribution of productive and non-productive affixes should theoretically mirror the known marriage field for any particular group. Hence, Squamish people should possess names containing affixes both productive and unproductive in the languages of neighbouring tribes with whom they marry, while lacking suffixes common in, for example, Lushootseed. My 1995 statistical study of village-exogamous marriage determined that the marriage field for Squamish encoınpassed predominantly speakers of Halkomelem and Sechelt, when beyond the Squamish speech community (Kennedy 1995a). The distribution of particular suffixes would support this finding.

Several names have a male and a female form, as for example: *ʔaláx*^{w}*-iyətəl*, the male form, and *ʔaláx*^{w}*-əlwət*, the female form, used by the Upriver Halkomelem (Galloway 1993, 226). Suttles (1951, 383) recorded names given by the father of Patrick George of Lummi to his son and daughter that contain these gender markers affixed to a spell-word for 'daylight.' He gave them these names in the hope that his sickly children would be given strength. There are numerous names, however, lacking affixing denoting of either gender or meaning. The roots of these names are also mostly unanalysable.

Whereas a few examples of translated male and female names contained in the available linguistic literature provide support for Hill-Tout's proposition that names are derived from legends or events in the life of an ancestor, the vast majority of Coast Salish names, at first sight, seem to support Mill's (1843, 29) criteria for classifying them as proper names — most have the appearance of unmeaning marks of pure reference. The roots, linguists tell us, are largely unanalysable. Moreover, it is evident from the data that the number of lexical suffixes used in personal names is limited, although lexical affixing is widespread and very productive in Coast Salish languages, all of them being highly polysynthetic. Galloway's (1993, 197) comprehensive research identified over a hundred lexical suffixes in Halkomelem alone. Many of these were included also in the comparative study of Salishan lexical suffixes compiled initially by Haeberlin and edited by linguist Terry Thompson (1974). Suffixes can be added to several different syntactic or semantic classes, yet in each of the representative languages examined here, only a few of the suffixes found in names appear in other lexical classes. Hence, personal names can be distinguished from other classes of lexicon by the presence of certain suffixes; still, this is not universal and some suffixes appearing in names emerge elsewhere in the syntax.

With respect to meaning, it is evident that Coast Salish ancestral names encompass a broad spectrum, including: no apparent meaning; meaning suggested by partly or fully analysable constituents; those derived from a description or extended statement, and those predicating the subject. Coast Salish society has obviously instituted a set of names assigned according to gender, with the flexibility to alter this attribute as required. There are no names reserved specially for twins, as recorded by Boas (1921) among the Kwakiutl, or for any other subset of society. Slaves were known by the name they formerly held when free, or were addressed using the name of the place from which they originated.

In a paper presented by Elmendorf in 1967 to the Second International Conference on Salish Languages, he proposed three means by which ancestral names, if once meaningful, might become unintelligible through reference to morphemes in the language of the society employing them. The three are as follows: 1) borrowing the name from another language, in which it might have been meaningful; 2) special analogic, hypocoristic, or other changes undergone by the onomastic parts of a lexicon, which change these items formally away from any recognizable connection with other morphs — including other onomastic morphs with which they might once have been connected; 3) alteration of phonologically or semantically resemblant non-onomastic items in a lexicon, as the result of prohibition based on a particular personal name as a model (Elmendorf 1967, 11-12).

The ephemeral and enigmatic nature of meaning in Coast Salish ancestral names provides support for Elmendorf's propositions. Names flow through society from one language to another without the direction of transmission always being apparent. When a name transfers to another speech community, the name-bearer pronounces it using the phonology of his or her own language. Since the Halkomelem inventory of phonemes includes all those of Squamish, as Suttles (1996) explained to the Court in the *Mathias* litigation, a Halkomelem speaker would have no difficulty pronouncing the "Squamish" name. Squamish, on the other hand, lacks some phonemes present in Halkomelem, requiring a modification to the original form, replacing, for example, Halkomelem θ with Squamish s, and Halkomelem x with Squamish š. If the name then transfers into Straits, a further phonemic modification occurs, so that meaning may be obscured. Additionally, meaning may be obscured where a specific lexeme is discontinued and replaced by a substitute coinage, usually a descriptive derivative.

While petnames and nicknames — in which meaning is abundantly clear — along with the standardized set of appellations given to children, belong to the public domain, ancestral names are corporate property held by a group of individuals, those descended from the name-bearer. Names constitute a class of property seldom used but jealously guarded, and among those of high status, formerly kept private along with family "advice." Advice, according to Suttles, had several characteristics:

> [It] consisted of genealogies and family traditions revealing family greatness, gossip about other families demonstrating how inferior they are, instruction in practical matters such as how to quest for the right kind of guardian spirit, secret signals for indicating that someone is of lower-class descent, and a good deal of solid moral training (Suttles 1958, 501).

To this list could be added ancestral names. With an ideology equating status with secretly-held knowledge, there is little wonder that ancestral names, themselves, veiled with a cloak of obscurity, hide meaning from all but those members familiar with the hints contained within them. It is perhaps not coincidental that the only male names fully analysable are those connoting greatness, prowess, or long-term attachment to the landscape through reference to First-Ancestors. The majority of ancestral names, however, do not overtly classify either the name-bearer or the speaker, nor provide apparent reference to the name's history. Yet as cloaks of wealth and status, possession of personal names attests to a family's position within the society, as some names, such as *qiyáplánex*^{w}, are made great by the illustrious deeds associated with its forbear. A name represents part of the storehouse of property, and in a society that equates status with secretly-held knowledge, it is perhaps to be expected that ancestral names reveal very little.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"CAPILANO"

In the Capilano longhouse a name is announced. "Q*iyáplánəx*^{w}, *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, you are asked to witness what is taking place here today."[39] Backs become rigid and necks crane forward as inquisitive eyes scour the benches for the presence of individuals answering the call. It is a great name, of similar importance to a title or heraldic emblem, and, in fact, is sometimes called a "name-title." Hill-Tout (1900, 476) emphatically referred to *qiyáplánəx*^{w} as the title of the "supreme siam [leader] of the [Squamish] tribe," and the name of the local chief of the "Capilano sept." Not all agree. Mention of the name provokes disgruntled murmurs voicing generations-old grudges, particularly between members of the Squamish and Musqueam. For the last century, these two groups — recently joined by members of the Burrard or Tsleil-waut Nation, among whom is a man carrying this same name — have quarrelled bitterly over the ownership of the name, each accusing the other of having stolen it, or, at the least, of not knowing their history and consequently using the name improperly.

Finally, in 1996-1997, a rigorous examination of the issue took place in the Federal Court of Canada in connexion with the *Mathias* litigation. On behalf of the Squamish, I presented information showing the many variants of the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} genealogy, and

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[39] I use the Squamish pronunciation of the name here (which I have also recorded as qiyaplánəx^{w}); Halkomelem-speakers say qiyɛplɛ́nəx^{w}.

illustrating the probable mixed ancestry of the name-bearer who died in the early 1870s.

I believe an impartial analysis of the available data supports my proposition that this *qiyáplánəx*^{w} was of both Squamish and Musqueam ancestry, and was identified as a Squamish Chief, among whom he resided in Burrard Inlet, and at a community that now forms parts of the present Musqueam Indian Reserve. The Court also heard evidence of a Squamish witness descended from the half-brother of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, whose own brother now holds the name. In fairness to the Musqueam, I should point out that they disagreed with the variant genealogies of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, some of which had been obtained from respected Musqueam elders. Musqueam witnesses, and their anthropological expert, Michael Kew, presented a view of the genealogy that reflected only one version — the one they believe to be true. Their version of the genealogy shows *qiyáplánəx*^{w} as a Musqueam, without Squamish ancestry. Conflicting historical and genealogical evidence challenged this stance, while documentary materials presented by the Burrard people largely supported the Squamish position. It was clear, however, that all the indigenous contenders harboured quite different, and sometimes dogmatic, views on the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} genealogy, and despite the mass of evidence placed before the Court, continued to regard conflicting opinions as entirely spurious.[40]

The dispute over the provenance of the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} is of interest here not for the depth of feeling it generates among the Central Coast Salish name-bearers and their families, or for the accuracy of any particular perspective. Indeed, it is the lack of

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[40] A recent Master's thesis in history, presented to Simon Fraser University by one of the Musqueam's researchers who assisted them in preparing their Court position, and had her thesis reviewed by the Musqueam, adopts a narrow view of history (Roy 1999). It is Ms. Roy's opinion that all historical reference to *qiyáplánəx*^{w} 's *Squamish* affiliation must be "a misunderstanding on the part of white officials regarding Coast Salish social organization" (Roy 1999, 27, fn45). Even if these officials were the bumbling bureaucrats that Ms. Roy suggests — and I do not believe they were — she also disregards similar statements from Musqueam elders (reviewed here) that speak of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} 's affiliation with *both* groups.

consensus with respect to the name that illustrates most clearly how the success of competing claims may be dependent upon a family's reputation and the public acceptance of genealogies, rather than on the discovery of the one true and objective genealogy. Rather, by focussing on evidence concerning the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, the present chapter examines how recognition of kinship and descent is shaped as much by contemporary needs, and acceptance of those claims, as it is by the biological relationship. I also examine how kinship is experienced in contemporary society, and how the distribution of a name-title is entwined with inter-group political relations and aspirations that rest upon the variable interpretations of genealogical data.

Origins of the Name Q*iyáplánəx*^{w} ["Capilano"]

Ancestral names held in great esteem in the Central Coast Salish area are especially those associated with eminent biographies and include the following themes: those from illustrious First Ancestors, recalled in stories recounting the adventures of village founders; those from tales of men's deeds, illustrating exceptional physical or mental fortitude; those of men whose heroic, yet brutal, acts sometimes resulted in an equally-macabre death; and passed-on recollections of men whose success brought them wealth and many wives. A female form of many esteemed names is constructed by the addition of gender-denoting suffixes, but stories of women ancestors, along with knowledge of uterine genealogical lines, are scanty.

Despite unreserved acknowledgement of prestige associated with the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, the lack of consensus regarding genealogy of the men who have carried this name extends to contested views on the name's origins. Though one version has a heroic and somewhat mythologized basis, which, in other circumstances, might tend to bolster a

proponent's claim, it is not an account relied upon today, likely because the descendants of the informant assert no rights to the name. In that version, recorded by Jenness in 1935, Old Pierre of Katzie tells how the name "Keapilano," which he states means 'returned to life' (I have been unable to confirm this translation), was bestowed upon a Musqueam man taken captive by the Lekwiltok while his family were drying fish at Capilano. He escaped and made his way back to Capilano, but his family had returned home to Musqueam. When the man arrived, they gave him the new name *qiyɛplɛ́nəx*^{w} (the Halkomelem form) to celebrate his survival. Old Pierre maintained that the incident occurred "four generations ago," placing it around 1830, and that the name then passed in lineal succession to three generations of men (Jenness 1934-1936b, 41), a statement not supported elsewhere.

Squamish member Andrew Paull provided another account of the name in "Legend of the Capilano Bridge," published in July 1927. Speaking of the Capilano River pictographs, Paull stated they were made by the son of a Squamish man named Capilano. After Capilano had made his way from Squamish, he constructed a lodge at the mouth of the Capilano River, where his wife gave birth to twin boys, one of whom he named *láwa*. During the time *láwa* was training for spiritual power, he isolated himself and received a vision telling of the arrival of the Whiteman, the image of which he reproduced on the rocks. Paull placed the event at around 1750 (Paull 1927).

Those Coast Salish people who carry the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} today relate it most often to the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} who lived in Burrard Inlet, and also at a settlement called *máli,* that was situated just west of the village of Musqueam (near the mouth of the Fraser River's North Arm) in the 1800s. Some Musqueam members of the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} family, however, tell how the name was received earlier, on the occasion of a marriage between a Musqueam man and a Nanoose woman from Vancouver Island, whose father gave her the name

qiyáplánəx^{w}, to be bestowed upon her future son. Others deny this Nanoose connexion (Suttles 1952). It is the transmission of the name subsequent to this alleged event where conflicting views among the Musqueam themselves come into play. The several recorded accounts of Musqueam genealogical ties to this Nanoose origin differ considerably, with some offering an unnamed (but half-Squamish) generation not included in the accounts of others.

My Squamish friend Louis Miranda considered *qiyáplánəx*^{w} to be a Squamish name, passed eventually to the Musqueam, a view shared also by Squamish member Andrew Paull (1927). Looking from farther afield, Simon Pierre of Katzie did not recognize the name as coming from Nanoose, but believed the name and the man *qiyáplánəx*^{w} originated at Musqueam, and that this man was a Musqueam leader and brother to his own grandmother (Suttles 1952).

Nor is there agreement among the genealogies concerning parentage of the man known as Chief Capilano who lived in the 1800s, or on the precise transmission of his name to contemporary Musqueam people who regard themselves as descendants. One area of disagreement focuses on whether contemporary Musqueam people might be related through a daughter or a niece of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}. Lines of other's descent from *qiyáplánəx*^{w} are generally excluded from their accounts. The Burrard name-bearer traces his ancestry directly to a lineal descendent of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, though there is conflicting evidence concerning the gender of the connecting relation. Among the Squamish, there is a man who carries the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, who explains that his linkage to the great man is through *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s half-brother — with whom he shared a Squamish father — as well as through his mother's family from Nanaimo, who are also connected with the name by means of an earlier generation who bore the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and lived on Vancouver

Island.

While some accounts speak of a house post commemorating the deeds of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s warrior father, and some stories speak of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s own courageous acts, it is also the role of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} living in Burrard Inlet, as a wealthy leader with several wives, that is recalled today. Some Squamish descendants thus consider allegations of an earlier transfer of the name from a Vancouver Island family at Nanoose to be irrelevant to the prestige of the name, for its contemporary association, for them, is with a leader who resided at Capilano when the Europeans came to this land. Of course, to those Musqueam who hold to the Nanoose origin of the name, and especially to others who recognize many consecutive generations of leaders having the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and residing among the Musqueam, the name's longstanding association with Musqueam is evidence of what they suggest is their superior claim. Both groups now use the genealogical connexion of some of their members to this leader as "proof" that Burrard Inlet should be regarded as the traditional territory of their particular First Nation.

Observations on the Ancestry of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}

An empirical fact agreed to by all is the existence of a man known as *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and associated with Burrard Inlet in the 1800s. The name was first recorded by James Murray Yale, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley in 1838. The census prepared by Yale identified a "Misquiams" [Musqueam] man named "Caapanalow" living among the Squamish, who was reported as having three wives, three sons and one daughter, in addition to two followers (Yale 1838-1839). Several interpretations of his ancestry are possible, but his wealth is apparent by his number of wives and goods.

Michael Kew, Musqueam's anthropologist, considered the man noted in the census

to be an uncle of the man of same name who died without children, and whose name subsequently passed to his unnamed sister's son (Kew 1996). Another view is that this *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, whose name Yale transcribed in 1838, was the same individual referred to by Indian Reserve Commission Gilbert M. Sproat in 1876, reflecting on a trip Yale was said to have made to the Capilano River around 1825:

> Kah-pil-lah-no was a Muskweam chief of half Skwawmish blood. In 1825 or 1827 Mr Yale in charge of the Hudson Bay Co fort at Langley, accompanied Kah-pil-lah-no to the creek which now bears his name, in Burrard's inlet to point out to him the best ground for potato patches (Sproat 1876).

While I agree with Sproat's assessment of this leader's mixed ancestry, I believe that the reference to his chieftainship — identified here as a "Muskweam chief of half Skwawmish blood" — should have been reversed. In fact, the available evidence indicates he was a *Squamish* chief of half Musqueam blood. The use of the term "chief" simply refers to *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s high status in the Central Coast Salish society. The residency of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} among the Squamish in Burrard Inlet is more significant. Subsequent observations by colonial figures identify him solely as a Squamish Chief, without reference to other genealogical connexions. The leader *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s mixed Squamish and Musqueam ancestry is supported by several genealogies, although the gender of the respective Squamish or Musqueam parent is not reported consistently, and in all genealogies, the identity of a number of relatives is missing.

A genealogy obtained from Musqueam consultants in the 1950s by the now-retired University of British Columbia anthropologist Harry Hawthorn (and retranscribed by Wayne Suttles), indicates the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} of the 1800s had a Squamish father, and a mother of mixed Musqueam and Nanoose ancestry. This is the *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, according to one Musqueam elder, who erected a house post commemorating his ancestor, a great warrior

(Suttles 1963a). Some Musqueam say the ancestor was this man's uncle, who also had the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, but not all Musqueam consultants agree on the existence of this earlier generation.

Another Musqueam elder said the post commemorated *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s father, a man known by this same name, but he does not clarify if he regards this man as Squamish or Musqueam.[41] In a subsequent note, this same Musqueam consultant referred to the mixed ancestry of this earlier generation called *qiyáplánəx*^{w} (Suttles 1963a). Another Musqueam elder presented a different view: he believed that the parents of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} were a Musqueam man named *qiyáplánəx*^{w} — a warrior — and a Squamish woman, while the wives of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} included a part-Squamish woman from the Capilano River, as well as a Musqueam woman (Suttles 1962). Frank Charlie of Musqueam, however, considered *qiyáplánəx*^{w}*'s* mother to be Musqueam and his father to be Squamish (Matthews 1955, 268). His version of the oral tradition has the Squamish man settling at the site of *máli* (just west of Musqueam), which was subsequently associated with his son *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, and known as a Squamish village (Matthews 1955, 268). Another Musqueam consultant had *qiyáplánəx*^{w} carving a house post at Capilano and erecting it at *máli* (Suttles 1962). Though the post does not appear to exist any longer, the description of it obtained by Suttles (1962) designates it as additional to the three posts now held by the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and another held by the University of British Columbia, all of which are said to have been associated with the house of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}.

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[41] A replica of this house post, erected for Expo 86 held in Vancouver, B.C., was accompanied by a plaque identifying the former owner of the post as "a 19th century Q-MuthQ-IAM (Musqueam) Indian leader who held the name Keyepelenuxw ('Capilano')." Though the plaque states that "records during the 1850s referred to Keyepelenuxw as a leader and spokesman of the Q-MuthQ-IAM (Musqueam) people living near the mouth of the Fraser River," I am aware of no such records. Another large and exquisite replica of a Capilano house post stands in the Vancouver Airport, where it is among a collection of Coast Salish art that greets international arrivals.

Several carved posts from the house of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} at *máli* remained in the 1890s, although the house was no longer functional. After anthropologist Harlan I. Smith visited Musqueam on a collecting trip in 1898, he wrote to Boas telling him that the Musqueam Chief [Johnny] "Nuxwhailak" [*x̣*^{w}*ix̣*^{w}*áyələq*] gave him his choice of several house posts, with the understanding that it was a gift, for educational purposes, to New York's American Museum of Natural History. Ten dollars changed hands to seal the transfer (H. Smith 1898). Smith obtained two other Musqueam posts through a White acquaintance, and sent these, as well, to New York. Around 1904, Charles Newcombe of British Columbia's Provincial Museum paid a visit to Musqueam. Again he met with Chief Johnny and spoke with him about the existing posts on the Reserve. His notes record a discussion about *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, whom he identified as the chief's grandfather. The Musqueam leader felt compelled to point out the mixed ancestry of "Kiaplanuq." Newcombe's (n.d) notes of the visit state: "Kiaplanuq — a chief half of Musqueam & 1/2 of Squamish. Put up this pole 60 or 70 years [ago] at Mali about 1/2 a mile beyond Musqueam." This time estimate suggests that they erected the post around 1840. By the early 1900s, the house where the post had stood had long since fallen, and the village of *máli*, with its mixed Squamish and Musqueam population, had been incorporated into the Reserve confirmed as belonging to the Musqueam. During the visit of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in 1913, the Musqueam decorated the entranceway to the meeting hall with the remaining *qiyáplánəx*^{w} post and another associated with a high-status leader of the Musqueam.

No consensus of opinion can be established regarded the parentage of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} . The Squamish father of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, according to one Squamish elder, was "Sclalchp-ten" [*sx̣əlápčtn*], father also to the Squamish warrior *pícəməq* (Matthews 1955, 229). Others have said the Squamish father of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} was "Dtutchukahahnum" [*t'əčux̣ánm*]

(Matthews 1955, 121), and yet another source reported that *qiyáplánəx*^{w} was half-Squamish, for his mother was sister to a Musqueam leader. The wife of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, in this individual's opinion, was a Squamish woman from the upper Squamish River village of "Chuckchuck" [čə́qčəqc] (Mathews 1955, 229). Musqueam elder James Point considered the bi-lingual *qiyáplánəx*^{w} to have a Musqueam father and a Squamish mother (Suttles 1962).

Conflicting opinions about the ancestry of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} are long-standing, and at times have become public. Obviously, a brief mention of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} in a 1940 Vancouver newspaper provoked discussion of the issue, for remaining from that time is a pensive letter written by Musqueam elder Johnny Guerin to his niece, a Squamish woman married to the Chief of the Tsleil-waut village at Burrardview, in which he answers her query on this subject. The affiliation of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and the people in Burrard Inlet, according to Mr. Guerin, was Squamish, although the name came from Vancouver Island:

> In reply to your request in connection to the descendants of the great Capilano (Kyeplannoh), My Dear Child, I regret very much to hurt other peoples feelings, because our parents never did so in there [sic] time. I am very much amazed to see in papers saying Capilano of the Squamish tribe, well and good. He was Squamish thats why my mother and uncle and all my or our grand parents talk Squamish Language, but the name Capilano is not a Squamish name it is a Nanoose name . . . (Guerin 1940).

If indeed the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} did come from Nanoose, as Mr. Guerin informed his niece, it remains contentious whether or not it was then carried by several generations of men connected with Burrard Inlet. Old Pierre of Katzie thought a succession of three generations was named *qiyáplánəx*^{w}. The number of purported generations of chiefs named *qiyáplánəx*^{w} grew to five in a 1927 petition in which Musqueam leaders drew upon their genealogical history to demonstrate occupancy of Burrard Inlet, while seeking a financial interest in its Indian Reserves (Tsemlano *et al.* 1927). Such a declaration undermines the veracity of the

Musqueam's genealogy submitted in 1996 to the Court, however, which demonstrates the name's relatively recent arrival from Nanoose. Of course, the truth of the matter concerning the number of generations holding the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} cannot be established, and it is not the accuracy of the statement that is of interest here.

Despite any uncertainty that surrounds ancestry of the man named *qiyáplánəx*^{w} who resided in Burrard Inlet in the 1800s, a considerable amount of information *is* known about this individual. He had houses at several locations, including the Capilano River (now Squamish Indian Reserve No. 5), and the place called *máli* (now part of Musqueam Indian Reserve No. 2). Again, the extant historical data indicate that at both these sites *qiyáplánəx*^{w} lived primarily among his Squamish kin. Frank Charlie, said to be the grandnephew of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, stated that the Musqueam gave the Squamish father of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} the site at *máli* when he came down from the Squamish River to find a wife (Matthews 1955, 226), and that he established a community there. According to Julius Voigt, who lived next door to *máli* for a number of years in the late 1850s, and had considerable dealings with his neighbours, *máli* was a "ranchery of the Squamish," meaning the site of Squamish longhouses. As Voigt wrote in a letter to Governor James Douglas in 1860:

> I have lived on the coast of British Columbia for nearly one year and a half, my house being near the ranchery of the squamish indians called Malae [*máli*, near Musqueam], ½ mile north on the coast from the northernmost mouth [North Arm] of Frazer river . . . (Voigt 1860).

In light of the unpublished historical documents, it is now clear that *qiyáplánəx*^{w} lived both at *máli*, as reported by Voigt, and at the mouth of the Capilano River, as observed by Captain Richards and his contemporaries in the Colony of British Columbia, as well as the Hudson's Bay Company personnel in earlier years. Observations on the age of the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} who died circa 1870 (at the age of about 100 years) suggest, in my opinion, that

it was likely the same individual who lived at both these sites.

It is evident that *qiyáplánəx*^{w} fathered several children by several wives. Best known are Josephine *təṫəmát,* and Thomas *láwa*, both of whom resided among the Squamish. Josephine's descendence from *qiyáplánəx*^{w} is confirmed in baptismal and marriage records kept by the Oblate missionaries beginning in 1860. The records confirm her name and age, note her birth at Musqueam, and identify her tribal affiliation as Squamish.[42] Louis Miranda, who knew *təṫəmát*, recalled that she regarded herself as Squamish, but also had Northern Coast Salish ancestry. Her brother *láwa* does not appear in the records of the Catholic church, despite his apparent fondness for the Oblate Order's ceremonial accoutrements (Matthews 1955, 264). According to Squamish member Dick Isaacs (b. *circa* 1859- d.1947), however, *láwa* associated himself at one time with the Protestant missionaries who established a small church on the south shore of Burrard Inlet. Recalling both *láwa* and his father *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, Mr Isaacs told Major Matthews in 1932:

> I remember old chief Capilano. I don't know how old I am, maybe 60, may be 70. When old Capilano die his son Lah-wa be chief. Lah-wa get married in little Indian church at Gastown to Fraser River Indian woman. Lah-wa get drowned (Matthews 1955, 178).

Láwa did drown, some say under mysterious circumstances. At the inquest, held in April 1895, Squamish people were called upon to give evidence regarding his final hours. Squamish witnesses referred to the deceased as their "Chief"; the inquest report referred to him by the name "Capilano" (British Columbia 1895). Years earlier, a notation on the census, prepared by George Blenkinsop at the time of the Indian Reserve Commission's visit to the settlement at Capilano River in 1876, stated that "Lowah" [*láwa*], "son of Kahpillahno," considered himself "to be of both tribes," that is, mixed Squamish and

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[42] An incomplete copy of the registration contained in a second register noted her father's affiliation as Musqueam. I give more weight to the original document on which *qiyáplánəx*^{w} placed his mark.

Musqueam ancestry (Blenkinsop 1876-1877).

While completing the present chapter in March 2000, I found records of the baptism and marriage of an older sibling of Josephine *tətəmát* and Thomas *láwa* that had been performed by Father Chirouse, an Oblate priest, at the Lummi village in Washington State on January 20th, 1861.[43] Father Chirouse recorded that 20-year old Félicité Wialouet [likely *wíyalwət*] was the "fille naturelle de Khépélandou [*qiyáplánəx*^{w}] de la tribu des Korwamish [Squamish], et de la defunte Taramelouet [likely *taxámalwət*] de la même tribu," and that she married a named Lummi man. Again, in both the baptismal and marriage record, the participants identified *qiyáplánəx*^{w} as *Squamish*. This record is particularly helpful in determining the perception of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s identity in 1861, for the event occurred beyond the territory of both Squamish and Musqueam, and thus required the candidates to identify their own parentage.

There is no indication that *qiyáplánəx*^{w} ever associated with the church, Catholic or otherwise. His name appears in the records of the Oblate missionaries as the father of Félicité Wialouet [*wíyalwət*] and Josephine *tətəmát*, but an 1869 petition of a Squamish leader named "Snatt" makes it abundantly clear that the Catholics on the Mission Reserve and the "pagan" *qiyáplánəx*^{w} had their differences. The text of the "Memorialists" states that:

> because we have another Reserve surveyed at Reaplanon's [q*iyáplánex*^{w}] place, we beg respectfully to represent that the Reserve in question is surveyed for Reaplanon and his people, between whom and your Memorialists there never has been friendly feelings (Memorial of the Indians of Snatt's Village, 1869, in British Columbia 1875, 76-78).

Nor were friendly feelings flowing between *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and the Musqueam — the

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[43] Sacramental records held by the Archdiocese of Seattle Archives.

differences went far beyond those of religion. Rear Admiral Baynes learned from Captain Richards, who investigated some allegations of trouble in Burrard Inlet in 1859, that the Musqueam had killed one of the sons of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, resulting in the Chief's enthusiastic participation in the apprehension of some Musqueam murderers:

> From the Chief Ki-ap-a-lano [*qiyáplánəx*^{w}] I am informed, that the murder before alluded to was perpetrated by the Indians of a Neighbouring Tribe of Mus-qui-oums whose persons he is acquainted with, that the Mus-qui-oums, between whom and the Squamish people much ill feeling exists, had spread the report among the latter that two of their tribe had been apprehended. . . (Richards 1859).

Such sentiments indicate a painful chasm had emerged between *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and certain Musqueam. Other documents, including an earlier passage of Captain Richard's letter, indicate that at this time *qiyáplánəx*^{w} was regarded as a Squamish Chief:

> On passing up the Inlet I had sent to request that Ki-ap-a-lano the chief of the Squamish Tribe who had been reported to have molested the party of Englishmen would visit me on board, which he immediately acceded to, and this forenoon came to the ship (Richards 1859).

Old Chief *qiyáplánəx*^{w} came to the aid of some other Whites the previous year, when he and his son spent some time with them, including having the young man (possibly either *láwa* or the boy killed by the Musqueam) act as a guide for a trip up the Squamish River. Reporting on this expedition to the *Victoria Gazette* on October 19th, 1858, R.L. Massy wrote:

> We left Point Roberts Sept. 25th, with about ten days provisions, taking with us an Indian boy for pilot, said to be the son of the head chief of the Squamish tribe. We arrived at his father's ranch on the evening of 25th, and camped there. We found the old chief (Kioplina) very glad to see us. He treated us with great hospitality, and accompanied us to the next ranch . . . (Massy 1858).

Qiyáplánəx^{w}, the father of Josephine *təṫəmát* (born 1849), Thomas *láwa* (born c.1847), and Félicité *wíyalwət* (born 1841), was a very old man when he died in the early

1870s. *Qiyáplánəx*^{w} was so old, in fact, that Frank Charlie, apparently his grandnephew, reported that *qiyáplánəx*^{w} "saw the first white man come down Fraser River when he was a boy of about ten or fifteen" (Matthews 1955, 60). The referent is likely Simon Fraser, who gave his name to the river in 1808. Thus, if this information is correct, then *qiyáplánəx*^{w} would have been born *circa* 1795. However, a closer relative to *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, his daughter Josephine, stated that her father witnessed the 1792 arrival of Captain Vancouver in Burrard Inlet. So convinced was she in the truthfulness of this statement that it has been inscribed on the headstone Josephine erected in the cemetery on the Squamish Mission IR 1 in North Vancouver.

Josephine's husband, Chief Tom of the Squamish, also commented on his father-in-law's encounter with the first Whiteman:

> The last Chief George Capilano who was the first Indian to meet Capt. Vancouver when he entered Burrard Inlet and who was the father of my wife many years after the death of the Indians by the plague, cleared a large area of land just about where the Lumberman's Arch is now situated, as the cleared land of the former inhabitants had again became wild land, and during the course of his work he discovered the bones of his ancestors, which he collected and buried (Chief Tom n.d.).

For *qiyáplánəx*^{w} to have indeed been present when Captain Vancouver entered the inlet in 1792, his birth must have occurred *circa* 1770-1780. Hence, the "Old Chief Capilano" who was so frequently described in the historical record as the Squamish Chief of mixed ancestry – the old warrior, stone-blind, hunched and white-haired – was likely in his nineties when he died *circa* 1870. Indeed, Frank Charlie told Major Matthews he was "'bout one hundred, then die" (Matthews 1955, 226). Frank Charlie also regarded *qiyáplánəx*^{w} as Squamish: "Old Capilano my grandfather; he Squamish Indian, he marry Musqueam woman . . ." (Matthews 1955, 392).

Ethnohistorical records suggest that no offspring of either Josephine *teteḿát*, or

Thomas *láwa,* survived to adulthood (I have not yet traced the descendants of Félicité *wíyalwət).* Contemporary aboriginal people do not agree on this point, accounting for some of the confusion about the identity of individuals who today might be descendants. Some suggest that a child of Josephine's survived. Though she gave birth to numerous children, I can find no evidence to support the claim that one grew to adulthood.

Oral traditions report, nevertheless, that *qiyáplənəx*^{w} himself had several children, besides his youngest offspring, Josephine, and Thomas, born when *qiyáplənəx*^{w} was of middle-age. The mothers of these two differ from the mother(s) of his younger children. The name of Félicité "Wialouet's" mother, said to be a Squamish woman named "Taramelouet" [*taxámalwət*], was recorded by the Oblates. A great-granddaughter of *qiyáplənəx*^{w}, interviewed by Major Matthews (1955, 211), in explaining the practice of polygyny among men of high status, said that *qiyáplənəx*^{w} had more wives than any other man, and that he visited his wives every month. Though the birth order of *qiyáplənəx*^{w}'s offspring, and the precise number of mothers associated with these children, is uncertain, the reality of at least nine descendants has been reported. Still, no consensus exists today that all or any of these nine individuals were in fact progeny (or even a niece or nephew) of *qiyáplənəx*^{w} . Some Central Coast Salish people advise that among them are children either adopted or fostered, or the offspring of slaves impregnated by *qiyáplənəx*^{w}, points usually raised to dampen the present declarations of possible descendants.[44] The available ethnohistorical records are seldom helpful on this point, apart from the confirmed parentage

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[44] Albert Wesley of Nanaimo, who recognized the "Keapilanuq" name as coming from Nanoose, stated that the Nanoose Chief Keapilanuq gave away in marriage many low-class Nanoose girls, instead of his own daughters, when suitors came to call. The descendants of these women, according to Wesley, are now mistaken in the belief that they are descendants of Keapilanuq, and actually have no right to use the name (Jenness 1934-36a). In 1952, Simon Pierre of Katzie opined that several men at Cowichan who hold the name "Koɛplɛ́nex^{w}" are descendants of women captured as slaves and later sent home, taking the name with them (Suttles 1952).

of Félicité, Josephine, and Thomas *láwa*, all of whom were said to be Squamish. What is important here, however, is the firm assertion that these nine individuals — some of whose names have been forgotten — are intermediary links that join contemporary people with the respected leader who held the name-title *qiyáplánəx*^{w} in the 1800s. I am aware of five men who in the year 2000 hold the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, each residing in a different community.

Squamish, Musqueam, and Burrard people have asked me privately about the integrity of certain individuals' claims to the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} name-title, and to other names associated with the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} family — questions I carefully deflect — yet overt challenges to what they see as "the contenders and the pretenders" are rare. I suggest that, underwriting this reluctance to avail themselves of the traditional dispute resolution mechanism in the longhouse, is recognition that genealogical knowledge is not complete, along with an appreciation that to squabble with those whose claim may, in fact, be secure, would sully the name-title itself. Many disputes arise between people who never had the opportunity to learn fully what property might be theirs. I recorded an instance among the Nanaimo where a high-class woman, upon hearing her sister's name being given to another woman in the longhouse, preferred not to question the claim. As she explained, "I decided not to ask, cause maybe we are related way back." The woman who received the name was of sufficient status that my Nanaimo consultant was unwilling to conclude that an error had been made. People have frequently repeated similar incidents to me, suggesting that more confrontation might occur in the longhouse if people were not so willing to overlook dubious claims, a situation they often conceded, due to the limitations of their own knowledge. Sometimes families are not so accommodating with pronouncements made in the House, but questioning is usually done within their own longhouse community, and frequently concerns which branch of a family might indeed be closer to a particular name.

When outright challenges are not made, but the taking of a name engenders discussion, adjudication then rests with the larger community, whose decision either to acknowledge or to ignore the claim being made is evinced by their use, or non-use, of the name on public occasions.

Recognition of Kinship

In examining the divergent genealogies put forward by families claiming knowledge of the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} ancestry, I come to the conclusion that each family has a tendency to know little beyond their own line of descent. Even that knowledge is often sketchy. The biological basis of competing versions is largely unknown, as is the genealogical history of families *not* associated with *qiyáplánəx*^{w}. This "structural amnesia" — to borrow a term used by Freeman (1961, 208) for the Iban's forgetting or non-recognition of kindred in cases where knowledge of them might be held to be socially useful — may simply reflect high mortality rates in the historic period, and the extinction of whole family lines. It may also reflect a reduction in the use of the indigenous languages, as well as disuse of ancestral names in the 1930-1940s that accompanied the decline in winter dancing and related longhouse activities. Jenness (1934-1936c, 56) found that many people did not know, or bother to find out, what names they were entitled to receive. While he recognized that Canada's prohibition on potlatching likely affected the state of knowledge, Jenness opined that names had lost their social significance even before the mid-1930s, and that some people, who were adults prior to the law's restriction, failed to receive ancestral names.

My observation, in eliciting genealogical data over a period of many years among the Central Coast Salish, is that interest in the subject is very general, though, of course, there is great variation in the depth of genealogical knowledge, a factor which tends to be

correlated with social status. Boas (1894, 456) found, among the people of Harrison River, that descendants took special care in preserving the genealogical history of chiefs. My own observations support his conclusion. Few individuals can name their eight great-grandparents, although most can name their four grandparents. Members of high-class households, however, proud to belong to long-established families owning prestigious prerogatives, can more often trace their roots to the third ascending generation or beyond, at least along one prominent line, and sometimes through several. It is the name of the apical ancestor of this remembered link whom they regard as the family progenitor, a person commonly male, and generally of the great-grandparent generation. This individual is usually remembered for his prominence, and, as in the case of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, many of his bilateral descendants will claim him as the family ancestor, even if the genealogical linkage is imprecise.

Another factor contributing to absence of information in Coast Salish genealogies is that recognition of kinship tends to favour agnatically-linked relations, as women often become lost from genealogical histories when they leave their natal village upon marriage. Successive generations of patrilocal residency thus strengthen patrilineal links. Due to contemporary Coast Salish attitudes toward post-marital residency, I am inclined to think that precedence of knowledge of one's patrilineal relations may be the indigenous situation, despite changes brought about as aboriginal people adjusted to new identities formed by the adoption of Christian surnames. My supporting evidence, nevertheless, is slightly more than an observation, as I have not pulled together the data to adequately test such a hypothesis.

Having the complete genealogical information is not required for recognizing kinship. Parents in high-status Coast Salish families continue to make a special effort to

introduce their children to relations, giving them sufficient knowledge to identify close and distant kin, and consequently manage their social obligations. Seldom have I heard children being given a precise accounting of the genealogical links uniting them with another family. Yet by the time young adults seek spouses, they are well-aware of who comprises a category of relations with whom they should not be dating. If any doubt remains, family elders are quick to set them straight: "You can't go out with him, he is your cousin!" When computing a more exact relationship with another individual is necessary, this is often done by reference to relationships in an earlier generation, such as: "our grandmothers were cousins," or "she was an aunty to my grandfather," without further clarification being offered or expected.

Children learn recognition of kin in the longhouse or at community gatherings by being frequently admonished to "look after your aunty or uncle," responsibilities that include running errands, accompanying the elder to the washroom, or, when at home, delivering to their door a surplus of Indian-style food. On the few occasions I have asked children to tell me how they might be related to a specific individual they address, for example, as "aunty," it was apparent from their response that kinship flows less from learning by rote the linkages of who begat whom, than from internalizing conceptions of these individuals gained from the expression of a social act appropriate to the recognition of kinship. In this way, as Hagen ascertained among the Maneo of Indonesia, kinship knowledge is bound up with its use and "shapes the world as well as reflects it" (Hagen 1999, 180).

Some high status individuals in present-day Coast Salish society keep their own form of "family tree" or lists of ancestral names. In a few cases, individuals have kept name-books, recording the ancestral names of their own family members, as well as those

with whom they associate in the longhouse. These name-keepers are recognized by the community and consulted for their knowledge of family relations and available names, information that has gained considerable prestige in recent years. Their role in the community is not dissimilar to former times, when the child with the best memory in the family would be selected to retain guarded knowledge such as the genealogies and family traditions contained in "advice" (Suttles [1958] 1987a, 10).

The classic anthropological kinship charts I have made of each registered Squamish family's ancestors are also highly valued, and often placed in the family Bible or kept among family papers. (It was consequently not surprising when, during the *Mathias* litigation in 1996-1997, a Burrard Band member submitted to the Court a rough, hand-drawn chart of the chief's ancestors that I had given him twelve years prior.) Genealogical histories I reconstructed from the church records and other censuses, however, are generally accepted by the families only insofar as they confirm or supplement a family's personal knowledge. Where the records reveal inconsistency with a family's own oral tradition, and the family elders cannot easily reconcile the gap, the mistake is invariably seen to rest with the written record and not the imperfection of memory. Still, the Membership Division of the Squamish Nation, for one, consults these records for adjudicating disputable membership applications and for determining missing genealogical information. Though a neighbouring tribe boasts publicly of their superiority in maintaining their genealogical history as an *oral* tradition, they have furtively compiled genealogies based on the same written records and used them to augment their members' knowledge. Nowadays, some younger people have begun tape-recording ancestral names, including anthropologists' discussions of names, as a way of ensuring the preservation of this knowledge for their heirs.

Conflation of ancestors and missing links does not mean that recognition of kinship is not continued. Kinship for most people in contemporary Coast Salish society — and I hypothesize that this was likely the situation in the past — draws foremost on a *sense of relatedness*, rather than a precise ordering of biological ties reaching into antiquity. Kinship among the Coast Salish is primarily social, rather than biological. It is a sense of relatedness that is celebrated during ceremonials when the Speaker refers to the broad web of kinship that unites them, and addresses the gathering using an indigenous term that translates equally as "friends or relatives." It is also a putative sense of commonality of ancestry that a Coast Salish individual invokes today when addressing distant or obscure kin, using English kinship terms generally reserved for closer relations, or by accepting, without question, the discovery of relationship when another family announces their use of an ancestral name considered one's own antecedent.

Facilitating the ambiguity surrounding kinship — and consequently the property associated with certain families — is the paucity of occasions during which genealogies are recited publicly. In former times, a particular family member might possess this information, but others relied upon the superior memory of that individual. This was especially so where etiquette restricted overt reference to individuals' names, such as among the Squamish and Puget Sound peoples, where utterance of a recently-dead person's name was prohibited, or, as among the Twana, where names were seldom used apart from formal occasions, a situation common throughout the Coast Salish area. Robert Barnes (1984, 122) points out that this situation is familiar to Americanists, for many indigenous peoples of America did not normally employ a person's name in direct address. This situation was clearly known to Hill-Tout (1904a, 322), who, after working among the Chehalis, lamented that eliciting information on names was difficult, for in his words,

"they have the usual dislike of primitive people of speaking about their names, especially to those outside the tribe." Avoidance of personal names was not universal throughout the Coast Salish area, however, as Gunther (1927, 259) explicitly noted the preference for personal names over kinship terms among the Clallam.

In former times, Coast Salish children learned the relationship of those residing in the same longhouse and village, and knew the appropriate application of kin-terms, the usual form of address instead of personal names. Only during such public occasions as naming ceremonies would a family hire a Speaker to recite genealogies showing the route of a name's journey from the previous name-bearer. The few recorded responses from witnesses present at naming ceremonies held earlier in this century suggest that little more than a cursory knowledge of any name's genealogical history might be known to the assembled gathering witnessing the transmission of a name.

Coast Salish witnesses more often recall an association of a name with a particular place. Boas (1895, 456) understood his Chehalis informant to say that an individual is known by a different name in each village in which he has relatives, and is called by that name when present there. This proposition assumes, of course, that the person has been given an ancestral name from different sides of his or her family. I would also add that on the three occasions when I have been called to the floor of the longhouse during a naming ceremony, the main question asked of me by the Speaker, after I had recited the person's genealogy, was *where* the name came from, whether it was Squamish, as opposed to Musqueam or Tsawwassen, or if it was known to have come from a particular village. This overriding concern with a name's place of origin is also evident in an account recorded by Suttles fifty years ago from Patrick George, a Lummi man, speaking of a potlatch at Victoria:

> For one name, the speaker asked a row of old men if the name rightfully-belonged to the boy's family. All were afraid to speak. Finally the one at the end said, "I know the name is from xʷəlxʷəʼlokʷ (Birch Bay) and you are all like this (holding up index fingers parallel) cousins, and you all can use it." Then another man got up and said, "The name is really Klallam. It was given with a Klallam girl who was married at Clemclemalitz [at Cowichan]. [But he apparently did not try to stop the use of the name, and it was given.] (Suttles 1951, 403).

Puyallup elder Jerry Meeker confirmed that among the Southern Coast Salish, the village of high-class people holding name-titles, which he called "famous names," would be recognizable:

> One knows where one comes from by the name. They know exact village the name comes from. They carried the name to differentiate them from the other people (commoners) (Meeker n.d., 42)

Yet names are itinerant. They are brought down from one's ancestors and passed along during marriages for the use of future offspring, or presented at naming ceremonies as appropriate appellations for young descendants (see Chapter 7). With the majority of Central Coast Salish marriages being village-exogamous, names circulate among communities as highly prestigious valuables. The individuals who may potentially carry these names are therefore not localized, and over the course of time, a name may be associated with several villages. Jenness (1934-1936c, 55) reported that names were accorded the most prestige in the community in which they originated, with little import outside of that immediate area. Suttles (1951, 404) submits that while Jenness' statement may be describing past generations, it was his own observation in the early 1950s that names were well-known throughout the area of potlatching and spirit-dancing. With the name *qiyáplánəxʷ*, as I have reviewed above, there is no consensus on where the name did, indeed, begin — though descendants are sometimes adamant that several generations of the name-bearers have always dwelt in their own village — but the name is certainly well-

known throughout the Central Coast Salish area, and is generally associated with Burrard Inlet and Nanoose.[45] Nevertheless, not all name-bearers recognize that their name may be used also in another village, and not all names, though identical, trace back to the same place.

Anthropologists now recognize that kinship is inextricably bound with economic and political activity and alliance formation. It is used strategically in manipulating power and control. Among the Coast Salish, where closed unilineal descent groups are not present, the creation and maintenance of kin networks assumes these dimensions. Inasmuch as economic and political power was vested in the elite — those individuals described to Suttles ([1958] 1987a, 7-8) as having, among other laudable qualities, "good family trees, with a stock of good hereditary names and a few other hereditary rights" — they sought mates with similar pedigrees. Spouse selection took into consideration access to hereditary prerogatives, including prestigious names, for the use of future children. Barnett (1955, 134) explained that a name was "in reality a status which had been occupied and was to be occupied by an indefinite succession of lineally-related incumbents." So important was the acquisition of a name laden with history and prestige in attaining high status, that Barnett (1955, 133), speaking of the Coast Salish, referred to the bestowal of grandfathers' names on children, as the creation of "manikin 'chiefs,' moved by their fathers behind the scene." The process was not as pronounced as it was farther to the north, among the Kwakwaka'wakw, Barnett added, but I have little doubt of the accuracy of his observation.

Nowadays, mothers, too, get involved in promoting their children's position in the community through the possession of a big name. In 1999, a woman approached me who

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[45] I have not, however, assessed the influence that the recurrent use of the English form "Capilano" for the reserve, the village, and the local street has had on the high recognition of the indigenous name from which it is anglicized.

wanted to confirm whether her own ancestor descended from *qiyáplánəx*^{w} was senior to that of another family presently exercising their high status through connexion to this appellation. She requested the information with the transparent desire that the answer be negative so that they might take it for one of her own descendants, for the other family planned to announce, not just their use of the name, but the young man's place as "chief," as well. Since the other family appears, from all accounts, to be descended from an individual senior to that of her own relative, the matter was quickly forgotten. Evidently, the extraordinary cost that would be incurred to publicly announce the name-title, prevents the other family from proceeding at this time.

Central Coast Salish people now associate big name-titles with "family chieftainships," and I have observed in the last several years a growing trend to have such titles acknowledged. I was invited to one such affair in 1999, in which the family announced that they were passing to their eldest son both a name and the position of chief. The name in question came from an individual whose residency in a particular village appeared in a census compiled at the time of the Indian Reserve Commission in the mid-1870s. The Commissioners recognized a chief in each village, and this man was so identified. Homer Barnett, in his field notes, also confirmed this individual as the owner of a longhouse during this same period, and recorded a few details about his canoe-making abilities and similar skills. Since the late 19th Century, the name had been carried by one other man, a member of another branch of the family. It was significant to the family taking the name that this now-deceased individual had not signed documents as a "chief." In their view, the earlier individual, who had met the IRC census-taker in the 1870s, was the last man to be identified as chief, leaving the way clear for their son to take up the role. Considerable controversy surrounded their action in assuming the title for their son, and

noticeably absent from the well-attended gathering were the descendants of the more recent name-bearer. The family called upon members of the Nation's Language Department to verify the transmission of the name, and after calling witnesses to hear the history of the name, the Speaker informed the gathering how it gratified the elated family to see a direct patrilineal transmission of the name through six generations. They obviously perceived this as a point of tremendous weight that bolstered their confidence and their claim, considering they had not gained agreement with the other contending family. The literate tradition contributed by the Indian Reserve Commission and Barnett's field notes, and conveyed through the Language Department representatives, furnished a sketch of the earlier predecessor recorded in the available records, with his skills now hailed as qualities of family status, honour and leadership. The vast number of witnesses called, and the significant wealth distributed on this occasion, contributed greatly to the public acceptance of their contentious claim, and consequently augured the definitude of their assertions.

For contemporary Central Coast Salish people, the possession of a big name provides stature when representing one's family at events such as funerals and potlatch gatherings, including namings. As conveyed in oral testimony given during the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation to the Federal Court of Canada by the current Musqueam bearer of the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, this is the reason the name was transferred to him from his elder brother during his sibling's lifetime. The new name-recipient spoke at gatherings, while his brother did not; thus, he required a big name to represent his family properly. Among the Squamish, Musqueam, and Burrard, there are few names that hold the stature of the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}.

At one point in the history of the Squamish and Musqueam, even use of the anglicized form of the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} became the subject of debate. The incidence is

significant as it illustrates several characteristics of a cognatic descent group's intangible property that have been discussed here in earlier chapters: it can be loaned but never alienated; it is associated with a group of related individuals; it is displayed to bring prestige to an affair; it is jealously guarded as an owned possession.

In August 1906, three aboriginal leaders, led by Joe *sʔáplәq* (great-grandfather of the late Chief Joe Mathias) of the Squamish village at Capilano River, tried to make a direct appeal to the British Crown about the inadequacy of their Indian Reserve lands. They travelled to Britain and sought a personal interview with King Edward VII. Joe *sʔáplәq* was of a high-status family himself, but his wife came from the extended *qiyáplánәxʷ* family, and it was deemed appropriate for Joe to wear the bigger name "Capilano" when appearing before the sovereign, especially since Joe resided at the site known by the anglicized form of the name, the "Capilano" Indian Reserve.

Some people have suggested over the years that Joe *sʔáplәq* acted improperly in carrying the name *qiyáplánәxʷ*. A few brief descriptions of the controversy, printed in Matthews (1955), appear to have fuelled more recent accounts of the incident that now serve to sully Joe's involvement in the event, and to augment certain assertions of superiority with respect to land claims. One recent author, claiming to report a Musqueam oral tradition, states that Joe *sʔáplәq* had been a last-minute choice to send to England, after Chief Johnny of Musqueam became ill (Roy 1999, 78-79). Documents compiled closer to the time, however, tell a very different story, indicating that the articulate and popular Chief Joe was clearly the people's choice.

Simon Pierre of Katzie, translator for the leaders during their visit to England, recalled in an interview with Wayne Suttles in 1952, Joe's participation in organizing the affair. Mr. Pierre explained how Chief Charlie of Cowichan and "Chief Joe, chief of the

Capilano tribe" decided to take their grievances directly to the King. "He [Joe] came from the Capilano Reserve," said Simon Pierre, "so they choose that name — Joe Capilano." As other aboriginal leaders heard about the planned trip, inquiries came in from across BC, along with numerous offers of financial support. Chief David of Bonaparte joined the delegation, for, according to Simon Pierre's account, he informed the people that "he'll go wherever [Joe] Capilano goes" (Suttles 1952). Louis Miranda recollected Joe *sʔáplәq* travelling around the Province by bus, raising the necessary funds for the trip to Britain, a task accomplished largely due to Joe's perseverance, and the people's recognition of his leadership (Ware 1979). At a stop in Nanaimo, a *Free Press* reporter described Chief Joe as an intelligent, multi-lingual man, "rejoicing in an unpronounceable name among his fellows," and "in every way worthy of the confidence he enjoys among his brethren." The reporter also appreciated Chief Joe's vision, adding to accolades about the aboriginal leader that he was "the originator of a scheme that, in its way, is one of the most unique in the history of the natives of this Province" (*Victoria Colonist*, March 6th, 1906). And it truly was.

Newspaper reports following the group's progress in England soon referred to Joe as "Chief Joe Capilano," or simply "Chief Capilano," a title they continued to bestow upon him even after his return (e.g., *Province*, 14 August 1906). Central Coast Salish people generally agree that in 1906 the descendants of *qiyáplánəxʷ* thought that Joe's use of the name would discontinue following his return from England, inasmuch as he was not a direct descendant himself, and had not announced the taking of the name in the traditional manner — even if he had been entitled to keep it. They especially objected to the newspapers' public and constant reference to "Chief Joe Capilano." Shortly after his homecoming from seeing the King, descendants of *qiyáplánəxʷ* called Chief Joe before

them and demanded return of the loaned name. In accord with Coast Salish tradition, the name was property owned by a group of kin — descendants of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} — which did not include Joe *sʔáplәq*.

Simon Pierre thought that the daughter of *láwa* instigated the confrontation with Chief Joe, and Louis Miranda thought that Charles from Musqueam had a role in the affair. But in my view it was more likely *qiyáplánəx*^{w}'s daughter Josephine, as *láwa*'s natural children did not live to adulthood. In fact, in 1906, Josephine was the only living locally-resident child of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, for her brother Chief *láwa* had died in 1895, Félicité had died earlier, another sister (or half-sister) had moved to Vancouver Island, and other descendants' ties to the great man were not as close, and it appears, were of a younger generation.

According to an account provided in 1983 by Louis Miranda, who heard the story directly from Josephine, the Catholic Bishop approached Josephine after *láwa* died, and recommended that Joe *sʔáplәq* be head of the Capilano village, due to his many talents and leadership abilities, including his skill as an orator. Josephine's consent to Joe's position is confirmed in a letter that she wrote to Indian Agent Perry in 1922, in which she stated that because of her gender and age at the time of her father's death, she "named late chief Joe, father of Mathias Joe, to act as Chief of Capilano, and since that time, Chief Joe died [and] I have retain[ed] my rights again" (Josephine Chief Tom 1922). Joe died in 1910, again using his name own ancestral name, *sʔáplәq*, but the incident of Joe "taking on the blanket" of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} remained part of his largely-misunderstood legacy.

In former times, Coast Salish people arranging marriages employed one of two possible strategies in considering the transmission of name-titles, the appellations belonging

to those of high status. One was to marry into another community, but still within one's own, or higher, social stratum. In this way, a name and ensuing prerogatives would be transferred out of the village of origin, but be held for the use of the couple's child. This we can see in the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} genealogy, regardless of whose view is accepted. The link facilitated the construction of alliances between groups of equal status. Of course, Jenness (1934-1936c, 55) believed that the prestige embodied in a name did not transfer unimpaired. If this is the case, the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} should not bear the considerable status it has in Burrard Inlet, when used today in other communities such as Nanaimo, Kuper Island or Neah Bay. This would be a difficult proposition to test, however, and I have not done so. Oral traditions do indicate, nevertheless, that the man named *qiyáplánəx*^{w} who lived in Burrard Inlet in the 1800s achieved very considerable prestige during his lifetime. Yet contemporary Nanaimo people, whose ownership of certain prerogatives stems from their relationship to the Burrard Inlet *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, do not necessarily seek to affirm a relationship with earlier generations of men named *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, who may have lived at Nanoose, Squamish River, Musqueam, or any other place outside Burrard Inlet. Sufficient time has now passed that *qiyáplánəxw's* descendants who lived outside of the Burrard Inlet area, mostly regard the more recent generation of the name-bearer as their family progenitor, despite recognition of their relationship to the well-known and highly-acclaimed *qiyáplánəxw* who lived in the 1800s. Some of these *qiyáplánəx*^{w} descendants on Vancouver Island trace their ancestry to an adopted grandson of the great *qiyáplánəx*^{w} (from the 1800s) and it is their connexion to him that is recalled more commonly.

Another marriage strategy was to retain a particularly high-class name within the village by bestowing it upon a resident descendent, preferably a grandchild of the previous title-holder. Individuals holding name-titles such as *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, for example, gather

around them coteries of junior kin, and their political interests and capacity to flourish depend incrementally upon the support given to them by these people. If such an individual became the most influential in the village, and his house numerically the strongest, he might be regarded as the principal man in the community, and consequently exert some influence within the social network. By all accounts, *qiyáplánəx*^{w} was such a man.

Qiyáplánəx^{w} in Contemporary Society

In the contemporary setting, Central Coast Salish families also employ strategies concerning ancestral names to obtain influence and stature, especially when, as illustrated above, an ancestor's name has been associated historically with the role of leadership. Generally, families select the eldest son to receive a big name, providing he is of good character, which today is equated with education, employment and sobriety, as well as an interest in traditional culture. There is no fast rule of succession, although contemporary notions about the transmission of property express a strong preference for patrilineal descent. It is therefore not surprising to hear families asserting the superiority of their claim to a name based on the gender of their ancestor providing the link to the earlier name-carrier, in addition to the former concern with relative seniority. In the case of the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, several current holders of the name are offspring of female descendants in the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} family, several of whose names are not known. In the current Musqueam genealogy of *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, for example, names of female links beyond the grandparent level are no longer remembered. There is less emphasis placed on acquiring names of high-public status for one's daughters, although Central Coast Salish people expect individuals of either gender who become winter dancers, masked dancers or singers, or influential Native politicians, to carry an ancestral name. This brings the bearer tremendous pride,

regardless of the relative eminence of the former individual to possess the name.

Disputes over big name-titles occur mostly between divisions of one family who *do* recognize common ancestry, yet contest the relative seniority of other possible contenders for the name. The long-term dispute over the name-title *qiyáplánəx*^{w} differs in that opponents have consistently emphasized also the tribal affiliation of the leader *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, a factor which has advanced the dispute beyond an inter-family squabble to the arena of contemporary land claims.

The Squamish and Musqueam, and, to a much lesser extent the Burrard, each use the status and residency of *qiyáplánəx*^{w} at several sites within Burrard Inlet in the 1800s as the foundation for their collective group's association with this area. This was evident in the position taken by the Musqueam in the 1996-1997 *Mathias* litigation. Michael Kew, anthropologist for the Musqueam, wrote the following concerning the relationship between the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} and lands in Burrard Inlet:

> In one respect the residence of the Musqueam man qeyepelE'nuxw (1:3:2) at xwmelt'sthen (Capilano), which led to naming of the river and place after him by map makers and Indian Affairs officials, is strong evidence of the rights of people of his lineage and descent, to the house site and lands which he used there. This means that a large portion of the present Musqueam Band members have, in their traditional system of law, the right to claim that place (Kew 1996, 53).

Squamish members make the same strong assertions, though each First Nation views the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} ancestry differently. Descendants who today regard themselves as Musqueam, consider *qiyáplánəx*^{w} to have been Musqueam, while Squamish descendants tend to regard *qiyáplánəx*^{w} as Squamish. Contributing to the disparate perspectives is the fact that the government set aside the villages in which *qiyáplánəx*^{w} made his home — *máli* and Capilano River — for the Musqueam and Squamish respectively.

Kew's declaration that the residency of the name-bearer *qiyáplánəx*^{w} in a particular location gives rise to ownership by "a large portion of the present Musqueam" appears at odds with his view that membership in a "lineage" requires activation by the acquisition of an ancestral name belonging to the family group — in this case the *qiyáplánəx*^{w} family — the catalyst that converts what Kew termed an "opportunity," into a "right" (Kew 1996).[46] A large portion of Musqueam, or any other First Nation, could not sustain this qualification. The claims of both Musqueam and Squamish people, that their respective First Nation "owns" the area associated with *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, rests upon their recognition of *tribal* territories and the political influence of influential leaders who lived within these territories, and not from rights to private property restricted to a small group of descendants comprising the descent-based group, that is, real property which formerly included a housesite, burial area, and usually a fishing station.

Contemporary Central Coast Salish people do advance claims of territorial antiquity with assertions that many generations of specific name-bearers have been associated with a certain village or resource site. Such claims may not always endure a scrutiny of the facts, even when those facts are deemed by the group in question to be the one true version of events. As we saw with the 1927 Musqueam elders' petition (Tsemlano *et al.* 1927), for example, territorial claims based on the presence of multiple generations of men carrying the same name may sometimes be metaphorical constructions with shaky historical foundations.

It would seem that the rules of property have undergone considerable transformation in the historic period. Concepts of territory and private property have partly merged.

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[46] Kew subsequently reconsidered, in his oral testimony, the precision and rigidity of "lineage membership" that he had conveyed in his Expert Report, illustrating instead that the aboriginal perspective was not fully satisfied with a rather cumbersome distinction between opportunities and rights.

Whereas former concepts of territory extended a general proprietary interest to those residing together, regardless of their ancestry, and tribal units maintained a sense of cohesiveness that set a group apart from their neighbours, the descent-based rights to specific lands and resources connecting non-resident descendants with a residential elite, I believe, were the preeminent form of property in traditional society. Coast Salish people appear to have had two different models of land use in their consciousness. First, is their model of resident, elite individuals owning property on behalf of a group of kin who formed a group that was neither discrete nor localized. The high-status individuals who managed the group's property thus located hubs of influence and power in the social network. Second, Coast Salish people acknowledged territory that constituted a commons to be used by all members, and could, by silent agreement, be extended to congenial neighbours.

The assignment of Indian Reserves to tribal units notwithstanding, rights that once reached beyond the residential group have been severed by presumed boundaries of rigid tribal identity. Many people who grew up in residential schools, or were otherwise alienated from multi-generation households, did not have the opportunity to learn how a matrix of kin relations formerly provided a network upon which information and goods flowed throughout this region. Some aboriginal people believe that the present acknowledgement of bounded tribal groups is how it has always been, with great leaders (now perceived as chiefs) possessing political power over large territories. Only where intangible property is involved, do property rights continue to link non-resident kin, although lack of clarity in the historical facts governing transmission of these rights — relative seniority, gender, and residence — fosters disputes that simmer for generations.

The Squamish, Burrard and Musqueam try to preserve amity among themselves,

despite long-term disagreements over names and territory that occasionally get aired outside of the longhouse and Indian Reserves. The situation is lamentable, yet unavoidable. Nevertheless, inter-family and inter-tribal disputes are beneficial in that they focus attention on the importance of reviving and maintaining traditional knowledge and practices, and tremendous effort and wealth is being put towards achieving this goal.

Name-titles such as *qiyáplánəx*^{w} continue to be heard in public forums where Central Coast Salish people gather to celebrate their traditions. Due to the transmission of names between villages, disputes do arise between families related distantly by agnation, such as the collective descendants of a sibling, or half-sibling pair, but there are few occasions when several carriers of the same name are present at the same event. Though feelings at times run high that some individuals may hold big names by dubious means, the manipulation of kinship generally allows distant linkages to be found when required, and discontent to be kept within the family and shared with anthropologists. The cost of naming a family member with one of these name-titles is so enormous, with reports of over $10,000.00 (Can.) being common, especially when masked dancers are involved, that the expenditure of funds itself discourages accusations of impropriety against the host family. There is an assumption that people do not spend money of this amount without knowing their history. The cost of an event is a fact that families remember and relish in their recollections. In some respects, it is precisely the public showing of largess that creates the popular — or at least predominant — version of history, for without funds and access to information, potential rivals stand little chance of contesting assertions.

When we examine the case of the name-title *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, we see that each contemporary name-bearer's history concentrates the name and its reflected prestige within his own tribal group. Where there is acknowledgement that the name has been disseminated

to a number of men, each residing in a separate community, these non-local name-holders are ordinarily understood to be descendants of distant or junior lines of kin, or simply individuals of fraudulent association. The veracity of such statements is a separate issue, and not one that I believe is reconcilable. Still, Coast Salish people's acknowledgement that all carriers of the name *qiyáplánəx*^{w} may, indeed, be related, is only reluctantly forthcoming. They more readily proclaim agreement that *qiyáplánəx*^{w} possessed the requisite attributes for great leadership — wisdom, bravery and wealth — and is consequently someone with whom people want to be affiliated. Those claiming to be his descendants boast of his many wives and numerous offspring, his courage and cunning ability to outwit hostile tribes from the north, his good relations with the Colonial government, while striving to protect the interests of his followers, his tremendous wealth manifested in ritual prerogatives, slaves, and many homes, and, of course, his reputation and influence that distinguished him as one of the great 19th century Central Coast Salish leaders.

Individuals descended from *qiyáplánəx*^{w} bask in his reflected glory. Members of other great families call upon them to witness their Work, on occasions when they are publicly regaled as people of high status, and given gifts and recognition. And, importantly, those descended from *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, and similarly great men, possess sufficient confidence to withstand the often scathing and personal gossip that is so pervasive in Coast Salish society regarding an individual's ancestry. Still, there is no greater shame than to be accused of appropriating ancestral property that others consider to be their own.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

A leitmotif of Coast Salish life is reference to the largeness and largesse of one's family. Aboriginal people view family, whether created by descent, marriage, residence, or some ephemeral connexion, as the more positive aspect of traditional life that permits them to remain distinct as individuals, tribes, and First Nations, while standing together as indigenous people.

It was a concern with family — or perhaps who should be regarded as family — that I first noticed when I began to pay attention to the structure of groups highlighted at Coast Salish ceremonial events in the early 1970s. People made constant reference to "family," yet as a category, "family" seemed arbitrarily constructed. I often heard my friend Louis Miranda using kin terms to address individuals with whom he had no apparent biological relationship, while at the same time deliberating for hours, with other elders, over the appropriateness of a certain family using a particular ancestral name. What was deemed "correct" for the transmission of a name, rested not just upon consideration of descent, but also of seniority, gender, status, and lifestyle (read adherence to "Indianness" and sobriety). These criteria obviously allowed for flexibility within the social structure, yet at the same time appeared limited by the structure itself.

"Flexibility" is a word often used in discussions of cognatic societies. In the course of this thesis, I have explored how flexibility was attained within the Coast Salish region at

the expense of maintaining discrete groups, such as those found among the more northerly Northwest Coast peoples. Suttles ([1965] 1987a, 248) asked rhetorically if there were *any* discrete groups among the aboriginal Coast Salish. His question was a serious one, and not easily answered. Malleability, it would appear, under different historical and social conditions, has been a defining feature of Coast Salish kinship. Apart from the independent family that occupied its own section of the cedar plank house, both residential and non-residential social units — extended households, local groups, villages, tribes, and cognatic descent groups — all consisted of imprecise membership. Affiliation with any residential group was negotiable. Even units based on kinship often appeared indiscrete, as individuals considered factors other than precise biological connectedness in their reckoning of relationship, and every individual had the potential to belong to more than one group. Social groups were constantly being formed and transformed as individuals exercised personal autonomy in their choice of affiliation.

Coast Salish people used several means to mark off social boundaries, as they distinguished themselves as members of named local groups, villages and tribes. Drawing upon ideas of relatedness and difference, the aboriginal Coast Salish could hold simultaneously, I suggest, discrete notions of identity. Boundaries may have been ephemeral in terms of most subsistence pursuits, especially where traversed lands and waters crossed tribal boundaries, but as the product of the human mind, boundaries created social distance. The named residential groups by which the Coast Salish were known had both a social and spatial salience. Consequently, the territorial relationship between tribes and their tribal lands was not through boundary maintenance and the exclusion of outsiders, but through a general custodianship, along with control of the areas' key resources — those particularly valuable or rare — by elite members who used the surplus obtained from such

sites to establish regional reputations in ceremonial affairs. These same individuals, at another level of identification, presented themselves as members of specific villages and tribes. Ethnonyms could create unity, just as they could be employed to draw distinctions.

The more general proprietary interest in land held by a member of a particular residential group, such as a village or tribal unit, was conceptually distinct from the notion of ownership invested in the resources managed by the elite. The two coexisted. The elite core of stem kindreds, some having originated at the beginning of time when a sibling set or individual came to earth at a particular spot, became corporate by their association with scattered pockets of significant resources.

According to the Coast Salish view, the binding ties between people emanated from their connexion with place, although the Central Coast Salish also highlighted descent, emphasizing bonds between individuals descended from a common ancestor, and rooted in a particular location. Common to the identification system was the predominant use of geographical names as the basis for Coast Salish ethnonyms. I have noted that the most explicitly-exclusive names are those containing a lexical suffix translated as 'people' or 'people of,' which differentiates residents of one geographical area from that of another and provides a direct relationship to land.[47]

Many Coast Salish people recognized an affiliation with a tribal group, although aboriginally this was not an organized political or economic unit, and could, in fact, be co-incident with the village. Tribes usually consisted of a cluster of villages possessing a common dialect or language, notion of territory, and sense of cohesiveness. Records

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[47] This relationship appears circular. Many place names contain anatomical referents, such as "nose," "foot," or "head" which provide metaphorical extensions of the human body to the landscape. The extension of body part terms to spatial relations appears central to the symbolic processes by which space is realized and possessed as place on the Northwest Coast.

originating from the Hudson's Bay Company posts at Fort Langley, on the Fraser River, and Fort Nisqually, at the southern end of Puget Sound, identified aboriginal people using names applied to both village and tribal units. In some areas, such as among the upper Fraser Valley peoples, historical evidence suggests that the village provided the primary form of identification. Other peoples, such as the Squamish, presented themselves, as often, as members of a tribal group. The Squamish travelled together, camped as a group when visiting the summer fisheries on the Fraser River, and were perceived by their neighbours as a tribe. Even people as distant as the Ditidaht on the west coast of Vancouver Island, with whom the Squamish had no direct contact, knew them by their tribal name. The sufficiently large Squamish population permitted mainly tribal-endogamous marriages, while recognizing marriage prohibitions of several degrees of relationship. Still, until the late 1800s, the "tribe" was not a political unit.

Throughout the region, Coast Salish people recognized the village as a significant social unit, for it represented a constant referent for an individual's self-identification. This is reflected in the Squamish language which makes a conceptual distinction between one's home-settlement, as opposed to a site for temporary lodging. Connexion with one's natal village endured — even marriage or death did not sever this relationship with place, although people could, and often did, reside in several villages during the course of a lifetime. My analysis of genealogical data in the Central Coast Salish area indicates for aboriginal people born prior to the 20th century, a strong patrilocal preference, yet the records also illustrate that families occasionally relocated to the wife's natal village. When individuals moved to another village, kinship ties generally determined their relocation. Even in the late 1800s, in those villages where multi-generation households remained, male-dominated sibling sets, sometimes including a widowed sister, continued to be

present. These dissolved with the cessation of longhouses being used as dwellings around the beginning of the 20th century.

Coast Salish people's conscious model of their own former society, at least as documented in the first half of the 20th century, emphasized distinctions between an elite and a commoners class based on inherited prerogatives, achieved abilities, and the relative efficacy of spiritual powers. Though each of these was a potential source of political power, the fundamental opposition between hierarchy and equality, and between aggregation and autonomy, maintained a balance in Coast Salish society that among the free classes inclined towards individual autonomy and mobility. A residential elite — more easily associated with a specific place — was morally obligated to help out those in need, some of whom were spatially separate, in both the household and the village, from those of higher status. Coast Salish people also recognized social stratification existing between local groups and between villages, with relative status seemingly correlated roughly with resource availability — salmon ranked higher than deer, while control of the fish trap or weir put one in an advantageous position over other fishermen.

Suttles (1989; 1998, 185-187) observed that historical evidence argues against the earlier presence of superior chiefs. I concur. While certain men of repute and achievement became regarded as the most important in their tribe, they did not occupy positions of chieftainship, and the influence of powerful men did not necessarily extend beyond their own local group or village. The historical literature is redolent with examples of both their successful endeavors and foundered manipulation. Kinship and ideology, nevertheless, granted certain individuals greater status, while not permanent political power. As reflected in the system of kinship terminology, ideology favoured senior lines of descent, allowing certain individuals greater access to illustrious name-titles and ceremonial prerogatives, and

control over owned resources — privileges extended to varying degree with those with whom they shared a line of descent and, often, residence.

Anthropologists working among the Coast Salish a century after European contact occasionally found it difficult to distinguish those of high status from commoners. The ideology of an elite class formerly materialized itself in the amount of wealth goods held and distributed by these senior men (especially goods such as mountain goat wool blankets and slaves in the north, and dentalium shells in the south), and in the hosting of intra- and inter-village ceremonies. Differential status manifested itself also in the manner in which a host distributed goods. Prestigious persons carrying great name-titles who, themselves, hosted similar events, were acknowledged first, followed by lesser known individuals.

A family's status, and especially that of its senior members, depended also upon establishing ties of marriage with other villages, and receiving from those villages recognition of its status, just as it depended upon its possession of wealth within its own resident community to maintain the family's social position. The evidence is particularly clear that men identified as chiefs or leaders systematically built up a network of relations with several villages by marrying women from diverse but neighbouring tribes, so that these leaders might extend their sphere of influence. Throughout the region, marriage choices were regulated by culturally defined preferences and prohibitions. Given the size of the aboriginal villages at the time of contact, the broad bilateral extension of the incest prohibition, and the preference for spouses of similar social rank, the chances of finding a mate in one's own village were limited. Most marriages required the departure of one individual. It was usually daughters who left home, while sons managed the localised family property. Any individual's ancestors therefore associated with a number of villages, as inter-village marriage linked people of the Coast Salish region and beyond into a

network of kinship. Elmendorf (1960; 1971) and Suttles (1958; 1960; 1963b) first proposed that the Coast Salish people's flexibility in permitting individuals to activate membership in multiple villages gave groups an advantage in those areas faced with the twin problems of fluctuating resources and vacillating group size. My statistical analysis of village-exogamous marriage supports ethnographic reports that a high frequency of village exogamy and largely patrilocal residency existed commonly throughout the region. Optional residency nevertheless presented alternative strategies for maintaining adequate numbers and balancing gender-ratios for some economic activities.

Connexions to many villages also enabled families to search where they were known and respected for their children's spouses. By examining village-exogamous marriages for individuals born in the first half of the 19th century, I have established that geographical propinquity was fundamental in establishing a network of kin. Figure 2 illustrates the known marriage area for several Coast Salish tribal groups, derived from my examination of marriages denoting each spouse's resident village. Most families selected mates for their children from neighbouring groups. The Fort Langley Journals provide examples of marriages linking distant tribes (including the marriage of a Cowlitz man to a Clallam woman living over 125 miles away). The database I compiled using church and census records illustrates some, similarly-remote ties, but these long-distance alliances were infrequent.

In the Central and Northern Coast Salish areas, resource and land-holding corporate groups owned sites such as important fisheries, berry patches, or places where they employed specific harvesting technology. These were scattered about the central coast. *Effective* affiliation with the elite owners of such sites required not just kin ties, but also residence, the investment of labour, and, in former times, the acquisition of an ancestral

name belonging to the group represented by the elite residents. Residency, I propose, was key, for an individual could, at any time, withdraw his allegiance by moving to another village. Similarly, an in-marrying woman attained a form of membership for the duration of her marriage. Her offspring's membership to the natal village began at birth, although a child's status required formal socialization through the bestowal of an ancestral name, usually occurring around puberty, which marked the individual as a fully-socialized adult, now capable of receiving and distributing goods. At birth, each individual had potential rights in the property of both parents' descent group, but during his or her lifetime came to exercise rights predominantly in one or the other group. Non-resident kin, including out-marrying sisters, continued to hold rights to the property managed by the resident stem kindred (using Davenport's terminology), a multi-generation group generally focused on a set of brothers, and always including a core of cognatically-related individuals. As in other parts of the world, the stem-kindred remained corporate due to the management of its property by a resident core group.

In this discussion of Coast Salish social units I have highlighted problems of fit between criteria that anthropologists generally use to identify aboriginal social units, including those commonly referred to as cognatic descent groups or lineages, and the observed social practices of Coast Salish people living on the coasts of British Columbia and Washington State. Considerable variation has been found: all Coast Salish people recognized the existence of kindreds, but whereas the basic ties between people in the Southern Coast Salish area arose from kinship and co-residence, without a voiced regard for descent, the Central Coast Salish (and to some extent peoples comprising the Northern Coast Salish), emphasised, ideologically, both descent and residence in the manner in which they formed groups. Residency could be a thin wall separating recognized kin

Map

Map showing overlap of marriage field for members of Musqueam, Squamish, Lummi, Nooksack, and Twana born prior to 1880.

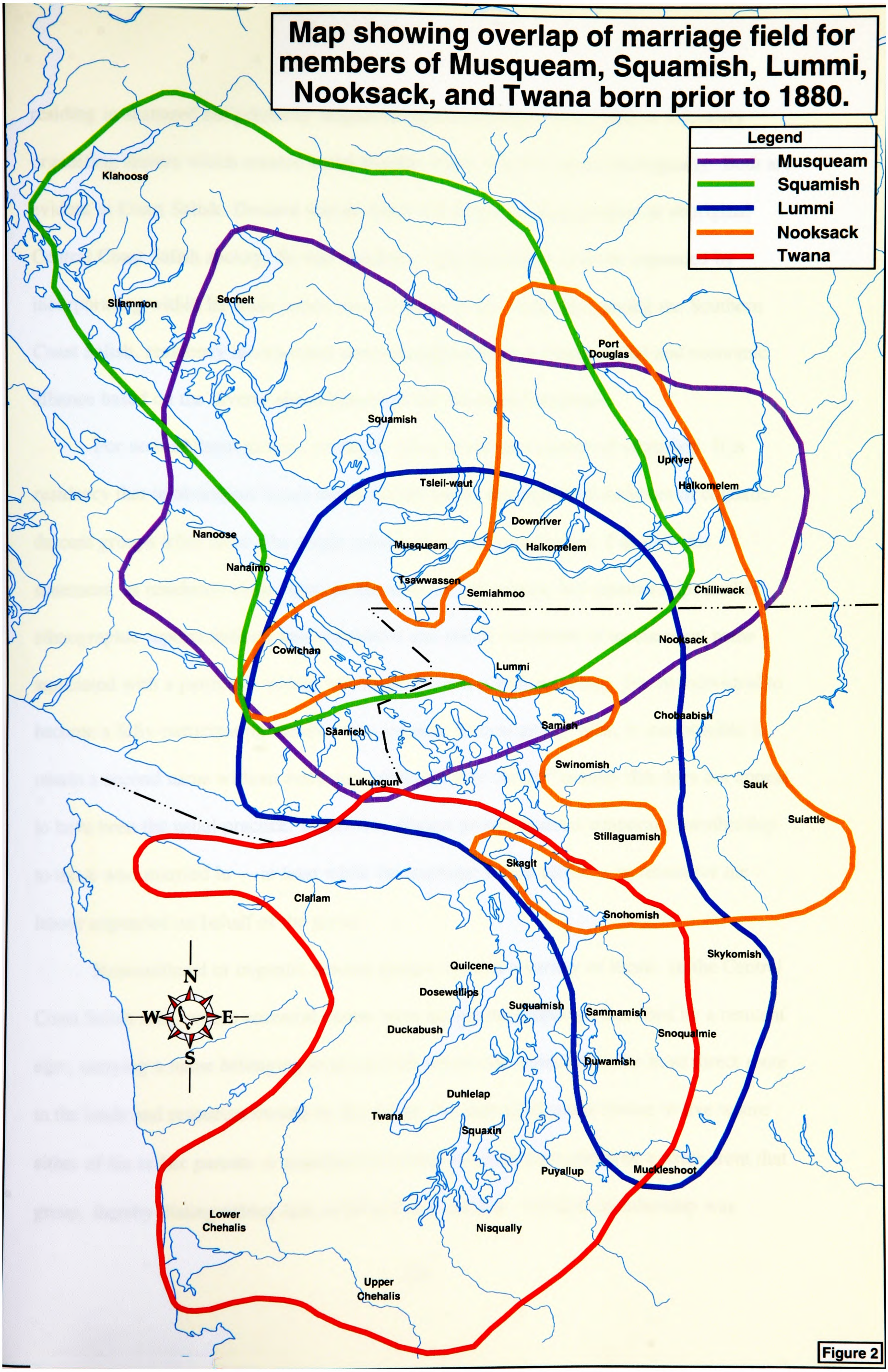


Figure 2

residing in scattered but primarily neighbouring communities, or it could be a primary organizing feature which created social kinship where it never existed biologically. Both are evident in Coast Salish. Descent was an important means of incorporation in aboriginal Central Coast Salish society. So was residency. The household could be expanded by incorporating within its walls junior lines of putative kin. Similarly, among the Southern Coast Salish, residency incorporated non-consanguines into a fragile social and economic alliance based on the diverse specialization of the household residents.

For non-unilineal groups, residency often serves as a system of ascription. It is *residency* that in aboriginal Coast Salish society partly distinguished members of cognatic descent groups from those who might *potentially* be active members. I qualify this statement, as residency alone, without descent, did not activate full membership. Earlier ethnographic reports indicate that acquisition and public validation of an ancestral name associated with a particular village was required, along with residency, for an individual to become a fully-participating member in a cognatic descent group. Still, it was possible to obtain a second name without residency, although until the 20th century this does not appear to have been the usual practice. Moreover, descent groups granted temporary membership to those who married in — at least while the marriage was in effect — in return for the labour expended on behalf of the group.

Non-unilineal or cognatic descent groups come in a variety of forms. In the Central Coast Salish area, where ancestral names were among the property controlled by a resident elite, carrying a name belonging to group with whom one resided was the most direct route to the lands and resources owned by the group. An individual could choose to live where either of his or her parents or grandparents lived, but commonly received a name from that group, thereby distinguishing him or herself as a member. Multiple membership was

possible, but since each name had to be publicly validated, an individual's family found it difficult to fulfill this obligation with more than one name. Yet according to Coast Salish ideology, people did not, upon acquisition of a name, sever all potential affiliation with other groups, although residency and participation effectively emphasized rights associated with the group with whom the named individual resided.

In an analysis of the transmission route for names held by contemporary Squamish members, I found that residency is no longer a determinant in the selection of ancestral names. Most contemporary men and women receive names from their grandparents' generation, on either side of the family, without too much concern for the recipient's place of residence, or for that of any intervening link. Consequently, apart from big name-titles, names are seldom associated with specific villages, as they appear to have been in former times, although people often express a preference to hold a name that belonged to an ancestor of the same tribal group with whom they live. Coast Salish people now associate big name-titles with specific tribes, rather than villages, although they continue to assess the validity of the name's transmission and the appropriateness of the recipient.

In former times, wealthy individuals of senior descent lines remained patrilocally-resident and held illustrious name-titles that distinguished them as high-class members of certain villages. Only big names were associated with specific places, although such appellations sometimes accompanied marriage exchanges to be used for the new couple's offspring. Membership involved an element of choice, even for the more sedentary individuals. Unlike unilinear descent groups, and some cognatic groups where the establishment of membership in one group resulted in the loss of membership in all others, Coast Salish people could *effectively* activate a primary membership through residency and social participation, while retaining alternative strategies available through one's ancestry.

This potential for activating options suggests, in my view, that Coast Salish cognatic descent groups are best regarded as over-lapping stem-kindreds, a term divested of the rigidity and exclusivity that the alternative term "lineage" implies. It was the resident agnatic line of name-title holders with whom a group of cognatically-related individuals associated, that provided intergenerational continuity for the group.

Throughout this thesis I have considered the construction and transformation of social groups. I have seen that affiliation, marriage and residence are all mutually implicated in the way in which Coast Salish form groups. By focussing on the exchange of names across generations, it is possible to see the manifestation of this process. It is evident during preparations for naming, and at the ceremony for transmission, that there is considerable ambiguity in the delineation of who might be considered kin. In the Central Coast Salish area, those who putatively share a line of descent or close residency might affiliate themselves with the host, participating both in accumulating and distributing the necessary property. In many respects, "family" is the group who come forward on these occasions and support the host. Those who stand together and thank witnesses for remembering their family's "Work," count themselves as kin, and recognize their affinity. Affmal relations do not share this obscurity, and their participation derives from obligations contracted by the marriage, exchanges that emphasize the two parties' differences.

While descent is emphasized during a naming ceremony, particularly by the public recitation of the name's route of transmission, it also determines the valued prerogatives displayed on such occasions. The showing of masks, rattles, and animated stuffed animals marks the hosts as descendants of people who held such privileges in earlier times. Hired participants in such displays are themselves descendants of similarly-great families, or kinsmen of the host, though the distinction between who is hired, and who is kin, is not

conspicuous. Their performance, however, sets them apart as people of high status.

The elite individuals who occupied central roles of influence in their local groups held big names of ancestors renown throughout the region for their potlatching and alliances. In turn, they extended their influence through polygynous relationships, selecting spouses from a number of neighbouring villages. With these marriages, names passed between villages, resulting in highly valued name-titles being held in succession by individuals, usually of at least a third descending generation from the earlier ancestral name-bearer, and residing in diffuse villages, or, perhaps, the same village as the ancestor. Transmission of these names reinforced descent, along with relative status, for great names carried a biographical aspect that influenced the dynamics of subsequent name-bearers' interpersonal relations.

Application of rules about who should carry these big name-titles required considerable negotiation among the descendants, as several factors could be deemed relevant, and choice was open to negotiation. No fixed rule favouring primogeniture gave preference, yet while names could be passed bilineally, senior lines of patrilineally-reckoned kin have been regarded as more appropriate for names of former leaders, though other factors, including one's financial ability to host a public announcement, influenced the extended family's decision. Receiving an ancestral name from the side of the family with whom one resided provided confirmation of membership in the corporate group and effective participation. Not all members, however, were necessarily resident. Names and associated privileges exist in perpetuity. It may have been an individual's *right* to access the property of his or her ancestors, but it was the taking of the name (or rattle or mask, etcetera), and their acquisition of these valuables through the act of public recognition, that made individuals corporate. Cognatic descent groups, or corporate stem-kindreds, were

thus realigned by the activation of the privilege, a process constantly in flux that resulted in transformation of the group with each generation. Moreover, the point of attachment was forever variable, as the bolstered fame and fortunes of certain ancestors marked them as preferred apical ancestors in their descendants' reckoning of entitlement.

The development of the concept of corporateness in Central Coast Salish society has, I believe, always been marked by flexibility in its application. But in the historic period it has been subject to a particular kind of change that merged complementary concepts associated previously with specific forms of social units. Coincident with continuity in the recognition of the stem kindred has been the dislocation of its real property, along with a subsequent revitalisation of interest in its non-corporeal property. Changing political and economic developments also influenced what property Coast Salish people regarded as corporately-owned. Most significantly, perhaps, has been the transformation in their ideology about the nature of the association between the tribe and its territory.

Tribes were now seen to have bounded, exclusive territorial *ownership* — not merely a "general proprietary interest" that had formerly characterized this association. The complementary opposition which had earlier characterized the relationship between the property-owning stem kindred and the property-using tribal group — the relationship that Suttles called the "two sides of the coin" — was now skewed and forever out of kilter. Due to the conflation of concepts concerning corporateness, contemporary Central Coast Salish individuals' affinity with renowned early leaders by means of either kinship or residential propinquity, were now factors that bequeathed aboriginal title to those who recognized themselves as members of the leader's *tribal* group. In some cases, there is no consensus on what the leader's tribal affiliation might have been.

As is so dramatically evinced in the dispute over the name-title *qiyáplánəx*^{w}, the matrix of kinship provides many lines of potential entitlement, for leaders as great as *qiyáplánəx*^{w} had many wives and resided in several villages. Kin who formerly would have stood together and celebrated their common descent from this great man, and revelled in his reflected glory, now use tribal and linguistic boundaries in a political struggle to emphasize, at different times and in different contexts, their diversities and similarities. It is possible to view the contrasting claims of the Squamish and the Musqueam, not as the invented or anomalous allegations of "northern intruders" or "people who might not know their history," but rather, as Cohen (1985) suggests with respect to the construction of community, the "normal, expectable expression of the resilience of culture." Each side draws upon tradition to bolster its contemporary claims. The symbolic nature of the opposition means that members of these First Nations can negotiate competing aboriginal land claims to expansive areas of *tribal* territory, and then meet in the longhouse as "friends and relatives," where they choose to stand, or not stand, with a segment of society tied to one another through recognition of descent from a common ancestor.

House Societies

Throughout the Coast Salish network, stem-kindreds constituted the invertebrate structure of social relations. They formed the nucleus of high-class households. It was their elite leaders who potlatched and engaged in affinal exchanges with others of equal status. But considering the obscurity and variation in this notion of a Coast Salish "stem-kindred," we might ask, would it be better replaced by Lévi-Strauss's idea of a "House" as a specific form of social organization? After all, common to all the Coast Salish whose social structure I have reviewed is recognition of the extended household as an important social

unit. This is especially evident among the Puyallup-Nisqually where so-called "fictive" kinship temporarily unites co-residents regardless of consanguineal ties, but is manifested also among the more northerly groups. The attention given to this idea in other parts of the world, such as in the collection of essays edited by Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995), compels me, in conclusion, to address its application here on the Northwest Coast.

Ethnographers working among the Coast Salish, like colleagues elsewhere, have grappled with concepts borrowed from other parts of the world to capture the essence of aboriginal societies that fit awkwardly into the classic categories. Faced with such ambiguities, the image that a house-based social group might allow Coast Salish corporations to be better categorized as "House societies" is undeniably seductive. One Northwest Coast scholar seems to have partly succumbed to this. Jay Miller (1999, 36) recently proposed, without expounding upon his statement in his recent work on the Southern Coast Salish, that it may be common to human societies without a tradition of scientific inquiry that "the cosmos was an organic whole in which in the shape of a house mirrored that of the universe." Miller stated with respect to a house that:

> The house frame was imagined to be a body on its hands and knees, with the face at the front. Therefore, the outer skin, canoe shell, house walls, and rim of the world were equated, as were the inner heart, hearth, and helios (Miller 1999, 36).

Certainly Littlejohn's (1960) innovative article on the Temne found a link between the body and the house, as did R. Barnes (1974) and Forth (1981) in their studies of Indonesian societies and Hugh-Jones (1995) in Northwest Amazonia, while Rivière (1995) saw the cosmos reflected in the dwellings of the Ye'cuana. Still, I have found no such correspondence among the Coast Salish, and no support for Miller's cryptic proposition.[48]

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[48] It is my view that neither the construction style, nor Central Salish terminology used for parts of the shed-roofed house (the most commonly used among the Salish), would support the symbolism suggested by

I do not accept that Lévi-Strauss's concept of "house societies" mollifies the awkwardness of the Coast Salish corporate group, nor enlightens our understanding of the area's social structure more effectively than Davenport's "stem-kindred." While the category "house society" may at first glance provide a convenient conceptual shorthand, its amplified explanatory power with respect to Coast Salish, I suggest here, dwindles under scrutiny.

Lévi-Strauss formulated his model of House societies in *La Voie des Masques* (1975; published in English translation in 1982), having found what he calls a striking resemblance between Boas' definition of the Kwakiutl (now Kwakwaka'wakw) term "numaym" (derived and anglicized from *nəmíma*) and the noble houses of Medieval Europe.[49] Casting his gaze farther afield, Lévi-Strauss recognized similarities with Japan and ancient Greece, as well. The concept of the "House," Lévi-Strauss proposed, resolves the paradoxical traits of ambiguous social groups such as the "numaym." In Lévi-Strauss' words, these obscure groups, "when found among the Kwakiutl, used to embarrass Boas, and which, with regard to other populations, continue to embarrass anthropologists" (Lévi-Strauss 1982, 176).

The resemblances that Lévi-Strauss observed among numerous societies converged upon the idea of continuity, the transmission of property, and the exploitation of the language of kinship, but especially prominent was the centrality of alliance. In *The Way of the Mask*, Lévi-Strauss described the institution of the House as follows:

> a corporate body holding an estate made of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of a name, its

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Miller (1999, 36). Nor have I found mention in Coast Salish ethnographies or mythology that suggests they imagined the house in this way.

[49] A comprehensive discussion of Kwakuitl numaym can be found in Mauzé (1989).

> goods, and its titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both (Lévi-Strauss 1982, 174).

In House societies, Lévi-Strauss proposed, the dialectic of filiation and residence constitutes a common feature. Marriage, too, he observed, creates tensions. Families need to calculate the capture or loss of property through marriage, along with the political consequences resulting from contraction of the marriage alliance. In the Kwakiutl situation, Lévi-Strauss found that employing the concept of the House permitted resolution of the antagonistic, compounding forces between hereditary and elective rights by the custom of the father transferring in his own lifetime his titles to his eldest son. Since the transmission of rights was done during a potlatch, potential rivals were neutralized publicly. Lévi-Strauss considered such tensions between the occupants of certain positions evident throughout the social structure and, indeed, to be at the crux of the system (Lévi-Strauss 1982, 183-86).

The issue of hierarchy — between houses and between families — is critical to Lévi-Strauss's model. As he explains, tension between the maternal and paternal kinsmen is never openly acknowledged, but motivates economic and political interests harnessed by the ties of kinship. Lévi-Strauss (1982, 187) reminds us that in House societies, "descent can substitute for affinity, and affinity for descent. From then on, exchange ceases to be the origin of a cleft whose edges only culture can mend." Having argued that descent and alliance are mutually substitutable, Lévi-Strauss (1982, 184-85) champions the pre-eminence of alliance made possible through marriage. The conjugal couple, in his view, comprises "the true kernel of the family, and more generally, of the kindred" (Lévi-Strauss 1987, 155), and thus the house symbolises the achievement of alliance.

House-societies and the Coast Salish

Though houses of cedar planks were commonly built from Alaska to northern California, Coast Salish shed-roofed dwellings differed from houses used by their neighbours. I described some of their characteristics in Chapter Three, noting the facility with which a house's size could be modified, a design feature not present in northern houses, and one that enabled flexibility and mobility of the Coast Salish independent household. The potential withdrawal of support to the household by a conjugal couple was reflected in this mutable construction of the shed house: if any family moved away, the house could be shortened by bringing in the end wall, with the reversed process being used to accommodate new members. While every household attempted to draw in grandchildren and those of lesser status to contribute labour to the family enterprise, in most places the independent family retained its own space within the house, cooking and eating at its own fire. Only during ceremonial occasions were impermanent partitions removed, transforming the house into an open theatre where feasts and gift-giving occurred.

Coast Salish people engaged in two kinds of gatherings at which gifts were given: the first, called *ƛ'əʔášəm* in Squamish, was an intrahousehold or intravillage gathering at which one person as host shared an unexpected surplus of food; and the *ƛ'əʔə́nəq* or 'potlatch' was an intervillage gathering at which the household or village as host gave away wealth. In neither situation did a Squamish household necessarily constitute the host unit. Instead, the corporate stem-kindred comprised the moral entity, for it was this non-localized social institution that owned the housesite, along with other corporeal and non-corporeal property, and was the unit able to perpetuate itself in modified form across the generations. As a social group, the extended household was contingent upon the integrity of the visible dwelling, but its temporary nature made this a poor indicator, indeed.

Rather than seeing the house as resolving tensions based on opposing principles, as Lévi-Strauss proposes, the adaptable architecture of the Central Coast Salish seems only to have retained the antagonism between the wife-givers and the wife-takers. It enabled the on-going negotiation of these competing options by means of individual ownership of the house planks, yet subordinating one principle to the other while the house planks were affixed. Of course, from the perspective of the couple, the House, through its flexibility, may be said to unite the opposition, albeit temporarily. Among the Twana, where shed houses were not dismantled, a father-in-law might lure his daughter's husband by erecting a new house, an alternative home where the son-in-law's labour could be exploited for the benefit of his in-laws. In this case, realignment, rather than resolution, was achieved.

Certain sections of houses were evidently more permanent than others. The most successful men portrayed guardian spirits on their house posts, though these designs were kept covered and only unveiled during potlatches. Boas (1891f, 564) explained that the owner did not like "to be constantly reminded of these his supernatural friends and helpers." Such helpers granted specific abilities or powers to their human recipients, permitting them to acquire the wealth necessary to potlatch to members of other villages. Still, the house structure was not necessarily permanent for all time. Among the Puyallup, potlatch houses and those belonging to shamans might be burned at the time of the owner's death (Smith 1940, 203), although other Lushootseed consultants said that a house might be simply vacated for a while, unless the owner died inside, in which case the remaining residents left, and the structure would be burned or given away (Haeberlin 1916-1917, Book 41, 4). Farther north, hired ritualists exorcised the house and its residents, who continued to reside therein.

Rituals surrounding Coast Salish marriage proposals did not have the same overt

symbolic charge of the Nuu-chah-nulth, where the capture of property was embodied in the ritual spearing of the house. Nevertheless, the house does feature in Central Coast Salish marriage practices, at least among the upper class. Accounts of the proposal procedure follow a similar theme throughout Coast Salish. The party approached, but either the door of the house was barred and the party could not enter, or the young man was required to sit at the entranceway where he might endure a series of humiliating experiences until a response was forthcoming. While these rituals might suggest a symbolic passage beyond the stage of liminality into the house through marriage, other social units were active in the event and may in fact have preeminence. For instance, regardless of whether the couple lived in the same coastal village in the Central Coast Salish area, the groom and his relatives made their initial approach ceremoniously by canoe from the water. Hence, they made the approach to the village. A variant among the Southern Coast Salish has the groom's family camped at some distance from that of the bride, and a series of reciprocal visits being made during the marriage ceremony (Smith 1940, 172). Throughout the area, once the proposal had been accepted, the groom's father paid a bride-price, sometimes calling upon the help of his brothers and in-laws, to provide food and wealth, some of which was then used to host the guests, and some of which was kept for the bride's father himself. Similarly, along with the girl's dowry, sometimes containing names and hereditary privileges to be used by their future children, her father gave the groom gifts of food and wealth which he, in turn, used to host a feast and distribution, and kept for his own enjoyment. The prestations given to the bride's father on this occasion were subsequently returned. On-going exchanges now allied the two families, although these exchanges often extended to the village as a whole, especially when the affines brought a large amount of goods.

Let us return for a moment to Lévi-Strauss's (1982, 187) assertion that "descent can substitute for affinity, and affinity for descent," and reflect back on Central Coast Salish relationship terms. Squamish is a case in point. The terms for older and younger siblings are used for cousins of senior and junior lines of descent. Hence, the child of a parent's older sibling is called 'older sibling' even if younger than the speaker. During ceremonial occasions, speakers use the term "little younger siblings" for lower-class people, suggesting to Suttles ([1958] 1987a, 10) that historically they may be the descendants of propertyless junior lines. Though Suttles raised the spectre of "fictitious kinship" to account for the usage, he did not pursue the idea. Following upon Lévi-Strauss's concept of House societies, we might see the application of relationship terms to the household at large as a means to encompass those who gained affiliation through residency, without a critical audit of their descent. This situation has parallels among the Southern Coast Salish where, in Lévi-Strauss's (1987, 155) terms, "The role of the house is to solidify, if only in illusory form." There, an extensive vocabulary incorporates non-consanguineal house-mates into the social field of kin relations (Smith 1940, 175-176).

On this part of the Northwest Coast, as I have examined in this thesis, relations are highly structured, though ephemeral, with descent, affiliation and residency all operating as structuring principles in different contexts. The concept of the House bears relationship to the manner in which Coast Salish peoples incorporated co-residents into effective social groups involved in the exchange of property, yet in the Central Coast Salish area, indigenous ideology ascribed primacy to the feature of descent in the construction of a non-discrete and non-localized corporate group. Nevertheless, residency determined the composition of the effective unit. Such descent-based families existed and operated in opposition to other such groups, some of whom were related affinally. In daily affairs,

exchanges occurred between affines, preferably residing in different villages. Visiting families gave their affines gifts of surplus food — which the host fed to his fellow-villagers — and then left with gifts of wealth received in exchange. The opposed relationship was, nonetheless, ideally egalitarian, and became the subject of scorn and ridicule when unbalanced. On other occasions, such as during a name-giving, affinally-related groups might jointly sponsor the affair for a common descendant, but this appears more common in the south where the kindred was more socially prominent.

One could argue that Coast Salish social structure exhibits enough similarity to Lévi-Strauss's definition of "House societies" that this term could be applied. Yet due to the considerable variation within the Coast Salish region, in my view, this terminology would require no less qualification than the classical categories now employed. Lévi-Strauss's concept of "House societies" does not contribute sufficiently to our understanding of Coast Salish society to replace our present terminology.

Nations as Claimants

In this thesis I have examined consequential transformations that occurred during the historic period in the nature and significance of Coast Salish social units. Some of these changes were on-going at the time of European contact, due to massive depopulation that resulted from waves of devastating epidemics caused by viruses that reached the Northwest Coast more quickly than the earliest sailing ships, and were only hastened by foreigners' repeated visits. British and American rule institutionalized boundaries of lands and social units, resulting in greater attention being paid to localized property. Villages realigned, merging remnant populations of formerly vital settlements. Some shifts in population provided the impetus for change in a community's language.

As I have examined with respect to the Squamish, the impact of ensuing external forces, particularly the Indian Reserve Commissions that established and confirmed Reserves for village groups, and later for tribal entities, accelerated this process of change. Yet these transformations were shaped also by the existing social structure. The sense of cohesiveness that formerly united Squamish villages into a Coast Salish *tribe* became increasingly emphasized. During the historic period, the tribe gained a rigidity, as their leaders defined themselves and their tribal lands in opposition to both Whites and other indigenous peoples. Ultimately this led to the present recognition, among British Columbia's Coast Salish, of bounded *First Nations*. Most of these, but not all, correspond to an aboriginal social unit, though as I have illustrated here, not necessarily the same one.

Squamish and Tsleil-waut represent polarized responses to the situation that emerged after colonization. Yet due to inherent flexibility in the ways in which aboriginal social groups aligned and endured, the traditional system, for both the Squamish and the Tsleil-waut, was able to transform the past into a workable structure for changing times. The salience of the local group, and invocation of a distinct though imprecise past, permitted the Tsleil-waut, after 1923, to effectively stabilize a social identity independent from that of the Squamish, with whom they had for many decades shared a tribal affiliation. As I have reviewed here, the Tsleil-waut, threatened by the growing political cohesiveness of the Squamish, resisted their neighbours' developing power by emphasizing the primacy of their village — and particularly its core, cognatic descent group, with its separate history and language — thereby asserting a distinct social and political identity. This distinctiveness, derived from myth and history, provided the Tsleil-waut with a charter for contemporary action that was legitimatized by their past. Their concept of themselves now emphasized what they felt they were not — and that was Squamish. As other

anthropologists have so insightfully observed, "community, and its refraction through self, marks what it is not, as well as what it is, emphasizing traits and characteristics, 'at once emblematic of the group's solidarity and of the group's contrasting identity and relation to the groups within its ambit of comparison'" (Schwartz 1975, cited in Cohen 1985, 109).

Throughout the region, contemporary Coast Salish people's image of their own society lends a coherence to it that is, however, contradicted by social reality. In eliciting genealogies, and reviewing those recorded by others, I noticed that kinship ties were sometimes vague, allowing for considerable latitude of situational choice, determined often by personal advantage. Although elite families maintained genealogies with greater depth than those of lesser status, even among the former, knowledge of connecting female links was often missing at the third ascending generation and above. Relations could not be specified with precision. Individual relationships acknowledged by using the English form of address "aunty" or "cousin," for example, were based on the acceptance of the relationship by the individual being acknowledged, and often, by ratification of the relationship by family elders. Though external factors have contributed to neglect of this knowledge in aboriginal society, even when Native languages were more commonly used, the classificatory nature of kinship terms converged relations by generation, and obfuscated precise biological links. Beyond a knowledge of one's direct lineal ancestors, what was transmitted concerning kinship to the next generation was the *acknowledgment of relatedness* with certain individuals.

Though it is common in cognatic societies not to count as relatives those individuals not known personally (Freeman 1961), especially if they were born and raised in another village and there was no habitual contact, Coast Salish people spend considerable time unraveling tangled and missing threads to the past that might clarify an assumed or

conjectured relationship. Still, I do not see this murky state of affairs as a result of collapse in the social structure. Recognition of kinship, I suggest, has always been amorphous, for secrecy and ambiguity were mechanisms that permitted the manipulation of principles defining social groups. Coast Salish individuals move freely between groups shaped by notions of descent, residence and affiliation, and formed by context.

While there are no neat kinship diagrams of descent in Coast Salish society, there is no muddle in the minds of Coast Salish individuals concerning with whom they should stand.

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APPENDIX ONE
Coast Salish Relationship Terms

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
man	man	man mam (address)	mǽn	mɛ·l (upriver) mɛ́n (musq.)	men	tsåt	bád	bád	kʷumá·ʔ	father
tan	tan	čéša taʔ (address) kiẏa (address)	tǽn	tɛ·l	ten	tan	sɁǩʷúy	skʼoʹi	ǩʷúy	mother
čipθ		sísiʔ (sísit)		sxʷəmlí·kʷ (upriver) šxʷəmníkʷ (musq.)	sečs se·ˊtcs (Lummi, Stern)		qsíʔ qəsi	kásiʔ	ǩʷúɬ	brother or male cousin of living parent
čipθ		sátaʔ (sátat)		sxʷəmlí·kʷ	sečs se·ˊtcs (Lummi, Stern)		púsʔəpús	tcaʹp	ǩʷúɬ	sister or female cousin of living parent
						kɬīˊtɬk				parent's younger sibling
						swīyáeEñ				parent's older sibling

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
kʷ'éjiɬ		wəɬ sáy̓xʷəɬ		sməstiyɛ́ɬ	sqsəčeeɬ k̓sɪčäɬ (Lummi) sk̓setce·́ɬ (Lummi, Stern)		yəláb yela´B (Ballard 1935)	dusta·ˈɬɬbɑd	ƛax̣ʷínut	deceased parent's sibling
qix̣	sqix̣	sqaʔq	sóq'ʷay	sqɛ·q; qɛ́·q (musq.) sá·səqwt	səʔey̓čən səʔčal̓ɬ sea´atcan (Lummi, Stern)	2. tEqʷinoíɬ	təlíxʷ 1. sókwa (Smith 1940) 1. so´qwa (Ballard 1935)	3. su·k̓ʷai	4. néʔsči	1. younger sb; 2. S or D of a parent's younger sb; 3. man's younger B; 4. younger B
						satcuíɬ	1. a'lc	2 a·lt̓c	2. pésn'	1. man's younger Z; 2. younger Z
nuʔɬ	čičt	kʷúpic ʔəʔ'l (respectful address)	šqæqæ´tæn šqæ	sə´lƛa sθƛɛtəl ʔɛ́əɬ (musq.)	šəyəɬ che·´iɬ (Stern)	suxstō´nuq	təlíxʷ ska (Smith 1940) 1.ska' (Ballard 1935)		1. x̣ʷáɬ	1. older B or Z; 2. S or D of a parent's older B or Z
	ʔálíš			ʔɛ́ləx			ʔálš alc		taxʷálx̣	sibling (cross-sex), cousin (cross-sex)
	ʔálíš						a´'cɪd (Ballard 1935)			sibling (same-sex), cousin (same-sex
					cswc´qwe' (Stern)	sō´q!wa			taxʷálx̣	any male sibling or cousin

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
					e·´las	aí'īs			taxˌʷálxˌ	any female sibling or cousin
		kʷúpic	šqæqæ´tæn šqæ	ʔɛ́əɬ (x-sex)				tcα′t		older B
		kʷúpic	šqæqæ´tæn šqæ	ʔɛ́əɬ (x-sex)				cα′c		older Z
						senatátxʷin				older or younger BW; husband's younger BW or H younger B
	scˌílixʷ						stalәɬ	sɬua·´lac		man's sibling's child
							stalәɬ	stalát		woman's sibling's child
					sečs					1. FBW; 2. MZ; 3. MBW;
	scˌílexʷ	stáyaɬ	stíwən	stí·wəl	stíkwən			stá·yʔɪɬ		sibling's child
		skʷ'íwes			sečs					M or F of sibling's spouse
1. tánašn	1. tánalašn	1. sxʷman		2. xʸcɛpθ 1. cɬilɛ·m	1. šxʷsʔaƙʷɬ 1. cxwso´ƙeɬ (Lummi, Stern	1.sᵘsᵘōkɬ 2. swīyáeEñ		1. stcɬba·´dab	1.sčəɬmánˌm	1. stepfather; 2. Spouse's parents's sibling of same sex (as Speaker) ;

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
1. tánašn	1. tánalašn	1. sxʷčéša?		1. cɬilɛ·m	1. šxʷs?aǩʷɬ 1. cxwso´ǩeɬ (Lummi, Stern)	1.sᵘsᵘōkɬ		1. stcɬba·´dab		1. stepmother
	sʷínemtn									step-parent in-law
má?na	ména	meɲ		1. méɲ?ə	ŋənə?	1. swīkátct 2. slanatcátc		1, 2 bαdα		1. S 2. D
	sƛoɬálnʌm	šéʷayiɯ			sǩʷəŋ'e'ɬəŋ					adopted child
				ċɬx̣ɛ·m						dS or dD
mén?íykwtxw		sxʷmeɲ		1. təx̣ʷmələm		1. suná'añ	tcuʟbadá³b	stcɬba·´dab		1. stepchild; 2. child of spouse's B or Z
θ'éyixʷ	sc'ilixʷ	stáyaɬ			stikʷən		s√táləɬ			child of living Sb or cousin
θ'éyixʷ										child of second cousin
jí?ánen										third cousin
		swenimáylh	swɛnimáiƛ	swemɛ·yɬ	ŋəčəɬ (Saanich) skʷənŋɩ´čƛ (Lummi)		s√qəlájut skʊla´djitaɬ (Ballard 1935)	stái'ɩɬ		child of dsb or cousin

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
kʷúkʷpaʔ	síla	siʔl	sílʔai	sí·lə	silәʔ	sī´a	2 s√cápaʔ 2. sápa (Smith 1940)	2. si·´la	2. čúpʾa (ref.) cáʔpa (address)	1. MF, FF, MFZ, MFB, FFZ, FFB 2. MF, FF, MFB, FFB 3. or spouse's MF, FF, MFB, FFB
číčiyiʔ						1. sī´a	1, 2 kiáʔ kaíya (Smith 1940)	1. káya	1. kəʹy	1. MM, FM, MMZ, MFZ 2. Spouse's MM, FM, MMZ, MFZ
kʷúkʷpa číčiyiʔ		sxʷsiʔl		smɛtəxʷtəl	šxʷsilәʔ					spouse's MF, FF, MFZ, MFB, FFZ, FFB
č'íč'eɱiqʷ	sč'áɱiqʷ	sč'áɱiqʷ		sč'á·məqʷ	č'áɱəqʷ	tcámakᵘ	s√cábiqʷ stc'ábeuqᵘ (Smith 1940) tca´biqᵘ (Ballard 1935)	t'cábä·qʷ	camé·cʾa mé·c'a	MMF, MMM, MFF, MFM, MFZ, MFB, FFF, FFM, FMF, FMM, FFZ, FFB ; great-grandchild
híhkʷiyiqʷ	c'ép'iɣiqʷ	c'ép'iɣiqʷ		ʔəkʷiyəqʷ	ʔəkʷəyəqʷ tsóp'iaqw (Stern)	akwīákᵘ	ʔəkʷyiqʷ xéwɬlyeuqᵘ (Smith 1940) kwáliyɛ´'qᵘ (Ballard 1935	t'súp'iä·qʷ		gr-gr-grandparent; gr-gr-granduncle; gr-gr-grandaunt; gr-gr-grandchild

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
k'ík'ilt'iyiqʷ	hékʷiɣiqʷ tsúpīyuk (Hill-Tout 1900)	hékʷiɣiqʷ		θəp'iyəqʷ	t'θəp'əyəqʷ okwiyaqw' (Stern 1934)	tsapīakwīákᵘ	héwɬlwe''qᵘ (Ballard 1935)			gr-gr-gr-grand parent; gr-gr-gr-granduncle; gr-gr-gr-grandaunt; gr-gr-gr-grandchild
p'útnʎač 'anus in belly'		tmíxʷiɣiqʷ		támiyəqʷ	q'o·'t·cia'qw (Stern)					gr-gr-gr-great grand parent and relatives beyond
ímeθ	ʔímac	ʔíməc	íməθ ímɛc	ʔí·məθ ʔíməθ (musq.)	ʔIŋəs	ī'ngets	ʔíbac	íbac	ʔə·mc	grandchild; grandniece; grandnephew
mátaxʷtn	čéwítáɬ	seʔx̱		sciwtɛ·ɬ (BG)	sčutɛ·ʔ stcawte·'ɬ (Lummi, Stern)			sxaxá'	smátaxʷn̓	SW
mátaxʷtn	čéwítáɬ	seʔx̱		sčutɛ·ɬ scəwtɛ·ɬ (musq.)	sčutɛ·ʔ stcawte·'ɬ (Lummi, Stern)		sīaēɬ	sxaxá'	smátaxʷn̓	DH
mátaxʷtánuɬ										dSSp, dDSp
gínem	1,2 swínəm	seʔx̱		slɛ'ɬ sƛʷíɬow	slɛ·ʔ sle·'il	saē'ɬ		1. sápa 2. sxaxá'	smátaxʷn̓	1. WM, HM; 2. HF, WF

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
č'imáš	č'emáš	č'emáš (č'áyaʔy)		2. smɛtəxʷtəl 5, 6, . sxʷʔɛləxʸ 3. smɛ́təxʷtən (musq.) 5,7. šxʷʔɛ́ləx (musq.)	1, 3, 5. sŋɛ'txʷən 6 šxʷʔeləs 3, snge´txwan (Lummi, Stern)		6,, tc'ábic 3, 4, 6, 7 čəbás (Collins)	1,2, 3, 4, 5, 6. sxʷsɬxʷ	1. sápn č'əbás 2. syáxʷtč	1. sister-in-law; sibling-in-law; 2. spouse's sibling/cousin; sibling's spouse; 3. WZ / W cousin; 4. a woman's ZH; 5. HZ; 6. woman's BW, HZ; 7. HB
				1,3. sƛʷíɬəw (musq.) 2. scəwɛ́ɬ (musq.)	sŋɛ'txʷən 1. sleʔəɬ 2. sčutɛ·ʔ 3. sčəwteeɬ 1 sle·´il (Lummi, Stern)		ǩəɬəd 2, 3. xátl'ɪd (Smith 1940)	1, 2 s'ya·´ltct	x̱əɬəd	1. WB; 2. man's ZH
		senč'íneq		sləčeləq	snəčəlŋəq	sintcaíEnuk		yɪlél'αB		W or H of spouse's B or Z
kʷ'úges	sƛ̓ʷólʷas swínemtn	skʷ'ikʷ'íwas		sƛ̓ʷɔ́lwəs	skʷ'alwəs	sk!ō´'wīyus			qʷílx̱ʷ	co-parent; parents of living daughter-in-law or son-in-law

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
	skʷ'úlwas			sḵʷəlwəs	1. sleʔəɬ səlsleʔəɬ		s√ḵʷəlwás s√x̌áʔx̌áʔ 1. qʷílxʷ (B,B&H) 1. sxa´xa (Ballard 1935)	qʷel'qʷélaxʷ	3. qʷílx̣ʷ	1. in-laws; 2. siblings' spouses relatives; 3. Member of affine family except in-laws
				θ'ɛ'yɛ			s√bálucid 1, 2. sbálosɛd	2. sɬʷét's	2. sšəʔns	1. relative of dSp; 2. Reciprocal term for a widow and her husband's relations, woman to whom levirate rights may be applied
xágamus		č'áyaʔ		čɛ·´yʔɛ (Cow.)	3. čeeʔə		2. bálucid	3. sk'ʷe't's	sšəʔns	1. dWZ; 2. dHB (and reciprocal); 3. spouse of dSb (cross-sex)
kʷ'úgesuɬ		kʷ'eɬ wa x̲a·m		c̓ɬx̣ɛ́·m (Musq.) nasx̣eam (Cow.)	q̓ʷəɬx̣ʷaʔəɳ' t'θləɬx̣ʷaʔəɳ	k!ɬwēhō´un k´weɬxwe·ong'				co-parents after the death of the connecting child

Comox Bouchard and Kennedy (1977a)	**Sechelt** Bouchard and Kennedy (1977c)	**Squamish** (Kuipers 1967, 1969; Bouchard & Kennedy 1977d)	**Nooksack** (Elmendorf 1961; Galloway 1991)	**Halkomelem** (Galloway 1993; Suttles 1987; Duff 1950; Jenness 1935-36c)	**N. Straits** (Montler 1991; Elmendorf 1961)	**Clallam** (Gunther 1927)	**Lushootseed** (Ballard 1935; Smith 1940; Collins 1974; Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1994)	**Twana** (Elmendorf 1946, 1961)	**Chehalis** (Kinkade 1991)	**English Gloss**
					sleʔəɬ səlsleʔəɬ		sxaxa	qʷel'qʷélaxʷ		parents of living spouse and all blood relatives in 2nd-4th generations
							qwelqᵘ (Smith 1940)			affinal relatives (of spouse)
jíji	siyáya	siyáy̓		siyɛ´ʔyɛ	stcétce·	tcátca	s√yáʔyaʔ		syálax̣ʷlp	relative; friend
kʷ'uxʷseq				1,2 sxʸá·yɛ	šəyəʔ	sīyᵘ		cɩ'cáyu		1. co-wives; 2. former husband
				yá´ʔtəlʔ				sduxʷbát'əd; sxʷαdα´xʷbə't'əd (plural)		blood relatives

APPENDIX TWO
Comparative Household Composition in Four Coast Salish Villages

	Musqueam 1876					Musqueam 1881					Musqueam 1901				
	No.	% of	Pop.	Av	% of Pop.	No.	%	Pop.	Av.	% of pop.	No.	% of Hou.	Pop.	Av.	% of pop.
1 gen.	4	25%	4	1	4.2%	5	15.6	10	2	7%	8	26.6 %	14	1.75	12%
2 gens	6	37.5 %	24	4	25%	23	71.8	105	4.5	76%	18	60%	89	4.9	76%
3 gens.	6	37.5 %	68	11.3	70.83 %	4	12.5	24	6	17%	4	13.3 %	14	3.5	12%
Total	16	100 %	96	5.4	100%	32	100	139	4.3	100%	30	100%	117	3.4	100 %

	Burrard 1876					Burrard 1881					Burrard 1901				
	No.	%	Pop.	Av.	% of pop.	No.	%	Pop.	Av.	% of Pop	No.	%of Hou	Pop.	Av.	% of Pop
1 gen.	1	12.5 %	4	4	10.3 %	6	37.5 %	13	2	20%	3	33.5 %	6	2	19%
2 gens	6	75%	27	4.5	69%	9	56.2 5%	41	4.5	64%	5	55.5 %	17	3.4	55%
3 or more gens	1	12.5 %	8	8	20.5 %	1	6.25	10	10	16%	1	11%	8	8	26%
Total	8	100 %	39	4.9	100%	16	100 %	64	4	100%	9	100%	31	3.4	26%

	Kuper Island 1876					Kuper Island 1901				
	No. Hou.	%of households	Pop.	Average	% of pop	No.	%of households	Pop.	Average	% of pop.
One gen.	-	-	-	-	-	5	16.1	17	3.4	11%
Two gens	8	57.1	84	10.5	37%	24	77.4	119	4.96	77%
three gens.	6	42.9	141	23.5	63%	2	6.5	18	9	12%
Total	14	100	225	16	100%	31	100	154	5	100%

	Nanaimo 1876					Nanaimo 1901				
	No. Hou.	% of households	Pop	Average	% of pop	No.	%of households	Pop.	Average	% of pop.
One gen.	17	35.5%	35	2.06	17%	8	22%	17	2.1	10%
two gens	25	52%	116	4.46	58%	24	67%	122	5.1	74%
three or more gens	6	12.5%	51	8.5	25%	4	11%	27	6.5	16%
Total	48	100%	202	4.2	100%	36	100%	166	4.6	100%

APPENDIX THREE
Indigenous Coast Salish Terms for the Stem Kindred

Aboriginal Group	Indigenous Term	Gloss Provided	Source
Squamish	/nč'-áiʔuuʔam/	'family (all descendants of one head)';	Kuipers (1967, 308)
	/nč'-áiʔuuʔam/	'of one blood or family'	Kuipers (1967, 313)
	nch'áy̓uu7am	'one family'	Bouchard & Miranda (1978)
Halkomelem (Downriver Dialect)	/xʷnəċɛ́ləwəm/	'extended families'	Suttles ([1963] 1987a, 17)
	/xʷnəċɛ́ləwəm/	'one family'	Suttles (1990a, 464)
	/x̣ʷnəċəˈlwəm/	'family (bilateral kindred)'	Kuipers (1967, 308)
Halkomelem (Nanaimo Dialect)	gunĕts'ĕ́luwum	'gens'	Boas (1886b)
Straits	hunit'sɛ'lakum /xʷnəċáləwəŋ/ nts'ā´lĕkuñ	'enlarged or genealogical family' 'one blood or family' 'one family'	Jenness (1934-1936c, 52) Suttles (pers. comm 1995) Boas (1886a)
Klallam	Nu-sĭn-sái-a-hŭn	'gens'	Eells (1878, 25)
Lushootseed	tc'ágwɛp	'from one root' individuals only one or two steps removed from a common ancestor, this ancestor generally being a leader or important social figure	Smith (1940, 175)
Twana	sčəlˑa´	'a bilaterally reckoned family line or lineage; a series of ancestors and descendants'	Elmendorf (1960, 348)
Chehalis	nač'áwayq̇ʷ	'one family'	Kinkade (1991, 87)

APPENDIX FOUR
First Ancestors

The masked dance he [Old Pierre] said, was the prerogative of families descended from c'simlɛ́'nex^{w}, the leader of the Musqueam Indians, who had received it directly from Him Who Dwells Above, and it should be performed only at some crisis in the life of a member of those families — a birth or a death, the adolescence of a girl or her marriage. Rarely there were other occasions. Thus, if a man's daughter was unhappily married, he sometimes invited the son-in-law and his son-in-law's kinsmen to a feast, at which he put on his masked-dance costume, clothed his daughter in rich goat's wool blankets, and denounced her ill-treatment in a song that was taken up by his relatives with drums and sticks. In this way he publicly shamed his son-in-law, whose kinsmen hastily offered compensation, and either ensured the woman against further ill-treatment or agreed to annul the marriage.

. . .

During the nineteenth century several small settlements at the mouth of the Fraser River merged with the Musqueam, but in earlier times they were quite separate. When He Who Dwells Above created c'simlɛ́'nex^{w} to be the leader of the Musqueams, he created also a man named Seleeptim (Revive) to be the leader of a neighbouring group. Later Khaals [the Transformer] changed some members of this group into fishers, and said to Seleeptim: "These animals will comfort you in generations to come. They shall be your çəx̣^{w}tɛ'n [ceremonial cleansing device], a solace to dry away your tears . . . The ritual that he then taught the Indians was handed down to Seleeptim's descendants, but only to those who became priests (Jenness 1955, 71-73).

APPENDIX FIVE
Lexical Suffixes Used Commonly in Naming

Suffixes used in Coast Salish male ancestral names

SQUAMISH MALES	UPRIVER HALKOMELEM MALES
/-(l-)ánəx^{w}/ [possibly reminiscent of /-auanəx^{w}/ 'year(s)'	/-(l-)a'nəx^{w}/
/((a)l-)tn/ 'implement'	
/-l-tx^{w}/ 'house'	/-(ím)əltx^{w}/ 'house'
/-ílm/	**/-íləm/, /ɛyləm/** [possibly derived from -íl 'come, go, get, become' and -əm 'middle voice']
/-am-qin/	
/-(a'l-)ya/	
/-cut/	
/-l-a'ča/	
/-l(ə)q/	/-ələq/ [probably 'one who']
	/-θət/ [probably 'verbaliser' or 'self; reflexive']
	/-əlɛləx^{w}/
	/-iyətəl/
	/-(əl)ɛcɛ/ [possibly the (əl) may be part of the stem, leaving /ɛcɛ/ 'male name'

Suffixes used in Coast Salish female ancestral names

SQUAMISH FEMALES	HALKOMELEM FEMALES
/-(a'l-)ya/ [formative, 'in' ?]	/iyɛ/ 'diminutive'
/-lut/	
/-at/ /-a·t/	**/-at/ /-a·t/**
	/-əlá·t/
	/-ɬát/
	/-mat/
/-əlwət/	/-əlwət/ [probably 'garment; clothes']
	/əwat/

Halkomelem data excerpted from Galloway (1993).