The Paradox of Boundaries in Coast Salish Territories

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Abstract

This paper grapples with the seeming paradox in the notion of representing cartographic boundaries for an indigenous community whose core social relationships are embedded in a moral ethos of borderless kin networks. While ethnographic maps of the Coast Salish people (southwest British Columbia and northwest Washington) have traditionally represented territories as discretely bounded, continuous regions, contemporary land claims maps submitted by Coast Salish political leaders reveal a nest of overlapping and interlocking lines. The paper argues that delineating territories based strictly on land use and occupancy does not take into account broader relationships between people and place. Property, language, residence and identity are categories also appropriate to Coast Salish territorial boundaries, while ideas and practices of kin, travel, descent and sharing make boundaries permeable. The paper considers the boundary lines created by Coast Salish leaders within the context of land claims, which potentially, have the power to transform Coast Salish social and political relations.

Keywords: boundaries, territory, counter-mapping, Coast Salish, land claims

Introduction

The cartographic practice of representing indigenous territories as discrete, mutually exclusive units contrasts starkly with indigenous discourse, which frames the notion of territory within a pervasive ideology of sharing. In the case of the Coast Salish[1] in British Columbia, territorial relations are underwritten by a relational epistemology—a way of knowing the world through relationships. Can boundaries so seemingly permeable be thought of as "boundaries" at all?

What are the epistemological limits of the Western notion of "territorial boundaries" in a world of interlocking kin ties, where knowledge, use, control and even ownership of land is based on complex relationships with ancestors and spirits which go to the heart of indigenous experiences of dwelling in place?

Typical ethnographic mapping of indigenous lands leads to the production of territorial boundaries to advance claims to land and resource rights. These boundaries, and the indigenous social groups they attempt to represent, often conform to protocols familiar to the state institutions with which indigenous people are engaging. They tend not to represent a phenomenologically-informed view of indigenous relationships to land and formulations of community. There is an inherent tension in 'counter-mapping' of this sort. The very maps that indigenous people hope will reconcile their claims with the jurisdiction and property claims of the state may in fact subvert indigenous notions of territory and boundaries.

I begin the paper theorizing how ideas of boundaries are linguistically and culturally constructed, arguing that indigenous epistemologies and ontologies must be appreciated to model territories and boundaries. I describe how 'counter-mapping' discourses which have worked to map these ways of knowing in the contexts of indigenous claims to land and self-government, are fraught with power relations that can work both for and against indigenous people. Drawing on Ingold's metaphor of a *meshwork* of relations of people, whose lives are trails through the world, rather than across or divided by boundaries, I propose here a model for a radical cartography, which attempts to take into account the totality of territorial relations of indigenous people. This new

perspective challenges conventional ethnographic mapping and thinking around boundary-making. I draw in part on the work of Homer Barnett who created a visual image of Coast Salish territory as a network of resource harvesting sites. I propose pushing this image further, to re-configure our maps in a way that recognizes the intersection of kin-based territorial relations with those produced from village-group associations. Achieving this requires the mobilization of considerable local knowledge in novel, technologically-supported representations of dynamic territorial relations.

I draw on extensive ethnographic research in Coast Salish communities, to describe the land-tenure system and show how indigenous concepts of ownership and territoriality can be understood in terms that dispel the apparent paradox of indigenous territoriality within an ethos of seemingly borderless kin networks. I then examine the contemporary political dilemmas that have emerged from the maps Coast Salish people have made of their own territories in the context of state-sponsored land claims processes. I describe how local elders and some leaders have criticized these maps for disrupting and disconnecting important kin connections and property relationships in favour of newly empowered village- or tribal-level governments. The territorial mapping efforts of Coast Salish people involved in negotiating land claims settlements with the governments of Canada and British Columbia are potent examples through which to investigate these boundary paradoxes. With over $1 billion already spent on the negotiation process alone, and significant lands, resources and jurisdictions at stake, these Coast Salish maps and their theoretical underpinnings will impact the socio-political landscape in this region and beyond.

Achieving reconciliation between indigenous territories and state assertions of sovereignty depends not only on making better maps, but also on the state recognizing and accommodating the totality of indigenous relationships with land, resources and other people in land claims settlements and indigenous self-government institutions. Without pursuing these alternatives, indigenous people who attempt to reach settlements with the state using standard ethnographic maps are faced with a future of fractured relationships and divided communities resulting from overlapping land claims.

Theorizing Indigenous Boundaries

Boundaries are deeply embedded cultural experiences and can have any number of meanings. Barth has suggested that to grasp local concepts of boundaries and territories one must apprehend the subtleties of the local language used to describe the notions of boundary and territory.[2] He argues that normative English-language views of the concept divide territories on the ground, set limits marking distinct social groups and provide a mental template for categories of things.[3] These visions of boundaries, he argues, are not universal cultural and linguistic constructs.

An understanding of boundaries in the context of indigenous territories must also consider the political, ideological and spatial relationships to the land and the people who dwell within it, what Myers called "the totality of relations among people", or Ingold's notion that people and places are constituted within a complex field of social relations.[4] This would include permeable boundaries of paths and itineraries, structured not to physically impede movement or exclude

others, but to provide for the social interaction of different social groups within common places.[5] From this perspective, boundaries are physically located discourses of kin, sharing and travel. These indigenous boundaries, Ingold argues, are "more like sign posts than fences, comprising part of a system of practical communication rather than social control".[6]

Since individuals in this system of flexible and dynamic social relations can construct their identity and group affiliation in multiple ways, boundaries between territories may seem imprecise to external observers of these system.[7] Such a perspective has led some scholars to describe indigenous communities as entirely lacking boundaries.[8] Ellen Semple, an influential American geographer in the early to mid twentieth century, misconstrued Native American boundaries as vague, undefined and often overlapping, reflecting a "superficial and unsystematic utilization of their soil" and "uneconomic and extravagant use of the land".[9] This logic has persisted in some state characterizations of indigenous territories, undermining indigenous efforts to assert rights to culturally distinct ways of relating to, dwelling in and owning the land.[10]

In jurisdictions like Canada, the state has, after decades of indigenous litigation, largely recognized the idea that aboriginal people have territories. Still, in designing processes for reconciling indigenous connections to land with state sovereignty, such states have invariably taken a Cartesian approach to envisioning boundaries. As Rundstrom has described, western epistemologies favored by states do not "prize key characteristics of indigenous thinking, including; the principle of the ubiquity of relatedness; non-anthropocentricity; a cyclical concept

of time; a more synthetic than analytic view of the construction of geographic knowledge; non-binary thinking; the idea that facts cannot be dissociated from values; and precise ambiguity exists and can be advantageous; an emphasis on oral performance and actions."[11] Envisioning indigenous territories as neither a fixed cadastral matrix superimposed on a static social landscape (a cartography that, as I describe below, typifies ethnographic mapping), nor as boundary-less (and by implication property-less), is clearly the challenge for resolving the seeming paradox of mapping indigenous boundaries.

Indigenous people – or more often the ethnographers and cartographers who have worked with them – have also used western methods to draw maps of fixed, polygonal boundaries and borders[12], asserting their claims in a language that is familiar to the nation states with which they are hoping to redefine relationships.[13] This counter-mapping has risks and advantages for indigenous people.[14] The advantages are largely associated with the ability to use the maps as a foundation for negotiations with the state, resulting, ideally, in settlement claims or accommodations of cultural, social or economic rights.[15]

The disadvantage, however, is that the fluid and flexible nature of indigenous thinking that Runstrom described above, is largely lost once mapped in the ethnographic tradition of fixed boundaries,[16] which assumes a one-dimensional relationship between social organization and territory.[17] When compiled for a region, the resulting maps show interlinking social systems and multiple attachments to place through often confusing and overlapping lines. Where these overlapping lines have been used to delineate the territories of contemporary indigenous polities

in land claims processes – demarcating segments of a region as being the exclusive or shared exclusive territory of one indigenous political body over another – tensions among neighbours and kin tend to be exacerbated. This is demonstrated clearly in the legally binding land claim settlements in the Nisga'a and Tsawwassen Final Agreements in British Columbia, both of which leave outstanding significant overlapping claims. Peluso has called for careful examination of these kinds of counter-mapping processes, where "territorialities based on a variety of legitimating discourses" can often be found clashing in the kinds of claims of rights, jurisdictions, and zones of influence that these overlapping boundaries create.[18]

As Fox *et al* have observed in similar counter-mapping projects done with indigenous communities in Southeast Asia, such powerfully defining cartographies of fixed boundaries ultimately transform long-standing socio-political relations between communities.[19] In the Canadian context, tribal bureaucrats and elected band officials are empowered through land claims settlements to make decisions, whereas pervasive networks of kin were once the key decision-makers about resource use and access. Territorial practices rooted in ideologies of sharing, travel and kin have become increasingly strained as local indigenous governments are empowered to make land and resource decisions in the familiar terms of state governance.

Though 'counter-mapping' based on ontologies of respect and reciprocity may be difficult to execute in ways that will meet state expectations, we must imagine a more subtle cartography to bridge worldviews in these powerful land claim arenas. We must either shift the cartographic discourse or risk the continued empowerment of maps that leave unresolved the paradox of

boundaries and transformed indigenous societies.

Making Claims and Mapping in Coast Salish Territories

Coast Salish people live in southwest British Columbia (Canada) and northwest Washington
State (United States). Most of the British Columbia-based Coast Salish – the groups on which
this paper is focussed -- have never entered into any formal treaty arrangements with the state,
and questions of title to land, control over resources have remained outstanding and contested
over the past 200 years. In the late 1800s, the Canadian state organized relatively independent
Coast Salish households, villages and sometimes groups of villages into Indian Bands for the
purposes of administering colonial policy. Starting in the 1850s, and intensively in the 1870s-
90s, colonial governments undertook survey work to set aside village sites, cemeteries, and
fishing stations as Indian Reserves. These small, specific plots of land were not the whole
territories held by Coast Salish communities. They were tiny outcrops – even by the standards of
other Indian Reserves set aside in Canada and the US – splintered away while hunting ranges,
clam gardens, camas fields, sacred sites and ancestral places became the settled farms, towns,
cities and industrial forestry operations of the newcomer society.

Today, there are 54 Coast Salish Indian Bands providing programs, services and a limited range
of governance jurisdictions for over 27,000 registered members. Just over half these Indian
Bands (29), representing 70% of the total Coast Salish membership in Canada, have since 1993
entered into formal land claims and self-government talks with Federal and Provincial
governments through the state-sponsored British Columbia Treaty Process.[20] The wellspring for

these negotiations is to resolve outstanding territorial title claims, and to establish formal, democratic aboriginal governments outside of the colonial legislative framework of the *Indian Act*. The First Nations involved in these talks are 'nations' on self-defined, socio-political scales. Some groups submitting claims are individual *Indian Act*-defined bands (i.e.: Tsawwassen or Snuneymuxw First Nation); some are groups of bands forming all or (more often) part of a cultural or linguistic group (i.e.: Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group), and others are political alliances that crossed cultural or linguistic boundaries (i.e.: Te'mexw Treaty Association).

I have been an active participant in the cartographic discourse of land claims, having been a tribal researcher and negotiator for two Coast Salish groups -- the Stó:lō (1994-7) and the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (ongoing since 2000). I have conducted land-use and occupancy research, a territorial boundary study and have led significant policy development efforts around co-management and self-government. I have worked closely and candidly with a large group of knowledgeable and often elderly men and women, and with the political leadership of the community.[21] I have, along with a cohort of lawyers, community researchers and natural resource professionals, been active in negotiating arrangements with federal and provincial governments that assert the territorial jurisdictions of several Coast Salish First Nations. Through all of these processes, the practice of single, polygonal representations of traditional territories – a practice that has long roots in the ethnographic mapping practised by anthropologists since the late 19th century – has confounded negotiations and exacerbated relations among kin and neighbouring First Nations communities. I argue that these ethnographic models for representing Coast Salish territories do not adequately account for indigenous understandings of boundaries.

Ethnographic Mapping of Coast Salish Territories

Since Franz Boas' 1887 ethnographic map of the Northwest Coast, most ethnographers who have

written about Coast Salish people have discussed the 'tribal territories' of the communities that

they have worked in and many have produced accompanying territory maps.[22] These maps have

given a varied picture of where the lines should be for Coast Salish territories, but nearly all

portray a Cartesian vision of contiguous, bounded areas held by a village, band, tribe or language

group. Cartographically these territories tend to map onto areas within a watershed, often

aggregating or splitting where multiple village groups can be distinguished by language, dialect

or micro-dialect.

The map in Figure 1 represents many of the typical elements used in ethnographic mappings of

these Coast Salish residence-based territories. It shows how larger linguistic divisions map onto

smaller territories, based on approximations of the watershed and island-shed areas used and

occupied by single or aggregated resident-group communities. The watershed-based boundaries

for each territory on this map provide a schematic of the territories of Coast Salish residence

groups. It does not represent with precision the complexity and nuance of temporal changes to

the territories of these residence groups, which have moved, split, merged and otherwise changed

over time.[23] It also is a poor representation of the location and extent of territories shared

exclusively among or between residence-group communities, such as the productive island areas

in the Strait of Georgia. Thus, even as a relatively detailed schematic of residence-group

territories, this kind of cartography has significant limitations.

[**Figure 1. Coast Salish Territories**]

Territorial relations in the indigenous cultural settings take different forms than in the dominant western discourse.[24] Indigenous territorial relations are firmly wrapped in mythological and other social and historical relationships to land. Territory, from this perspective of dwelling, is not so much a commodity of real-estate or a base area of jurisdiction, as it is a way of ordering kin relations and relationships of sharing. Bird-David has argued that a 'relational epistemology' of this kind has authority in hunter-gatherer societies where sharing is normalized, people are intimate with their environment, animistic performances are celebrated and supernatural forces are encountered as friendly helpers or kin.[25] Ingold has suggested that understanding such relational epistemologies is an essential element in rethinking the problematic nature/culture divide in western thought.[26]

The territorial boundaries map shown in Figure 1 reflects a western view of the Coast Salish world, bounding residence-based social units in a familiar cartography of contiguous boundary lines. Though these kinds of maps have become standard in representing territories, it is, I argue, ultimately unfamiliar to the lived experiences of Coast Salish people. These ethnographic maps of residence-based territories – drawn today around the historic villages, Indian Reserves, or larger 'tribal'[27] affiliations – mask another important axis of territorial relations, the bilateral kin group. The ethnographic description of the Coast Salish land tenure system I describe in the following section reveals how kin-group affiliations transcend, bisect and overlap these

residence-group territories. Additionally, traditional ethnographic mapping of territories largely

fails to account for the moral ethic of sharing of resources that is a central feature of Coast Salish

economic life. In kin-ordered societies like the Coast Salish, these kin-group associations and

moral ethics are essential to understanding how boundaries are understood within indigenous

territories.

Coast Salish Land Tenure System: Territorial Relations of Residence and Kin Groups

For Coast Salish people, many productive and predictable resource locations are owned by

groups of extended families, related through descent from common ancestors who were

connected to specific places.[28] People claiming membership to these groups may draw authority

with respect to these properties from their knowledge, and publicly recognized use of, historical

and mythical privileges handed down from the ancestors. The ancestral quality of hereditary

personal names and named places provide a degree of order, grounding social relationships in

named and owned places.

Coast Salish "First Ancestors" and other powerful beings are inscribed in the landscape through

legends that describe the creation of the landscape's features by the mythic acts of a powerful

Transformer (sometimes glossed in English by fluent speakers as the Little Christ), and through

the powers of these ancestors and other beings of the spirit world that continue to be recalled and

experienced in these places.[29] People may encounter these ancestral figures through the spiritual

and ritual practices that take them into the land for spirit encounters. Relations with these

ancestral figures require reciprocity, sharing and respect for other persons, both human and non-

human, who are associated with place. They create and reinforce kin-based property relations, where the land at once belongs to the ancestors who dwell there, and to those living today who encounter the ancestors.

The kin-based properties in this land-tenure system map out on the land in complex, multifaceted ways. Not every named place is owned by kin groups. Ancestors may be associated with lands in numerous locations and individuals associating with these ancestors may enjoy property rights in a number of places. These associations with ancestors reveal a network of places in the region that an individual may access by virtue of their geneology.

Regional kin networks also involve sharing among one's kin by marriage. People with no direct claims to property in these areas may be granted access through the pervasive practice of being host of, or guest to, one's affinal kin, particularly those kin linked through extra-village marriages.[30] Hosting in-laws from distant villages wishing to use resources not locally available, and being 'thanked' by guests with gifts of food or wealth, formed a system of sharing and reciprocity of the kind discussed by Ingold[31]. Such normalized sharing has resulted in a dominant idiom of inclusion, influencing territorial relations with neighbours.

The famous wealth and prestige associated with Northwest Coast potlatch economies is achieved in the Coast Salish instance through the hosting of visiting relatives who wish to harvest locally owned and controlled resources. It is also achieved through the sharing of local abundance at the feasts of affinal or consanguineal kin, and through mass redistribution of the wealth obtained as a

product of resource abundance at large potlatch events.[32] These economic and social networks are sometimes even further expanded through trade, barter or sale of owned resources to far-flung non-kin, transactions which can also take on the flavour of sharing among kin through the gifting of local names to visiting individuals.[33] Territories, from this point of view, are less about the impermeable boundaries of residence-group ownership and jurisdiction, and more about networks of kin.

Though the social world of Coast Salish people is extensive, they do not play host to everyone all the time. Community members have the right, in theory and in practice, to restrict distant affinal or non-kin outsiders from trespass or use of land and resources that are owned by family or residence groups. Indeed, the tension between in-laws is one of the famous unresolved social distinctions in Coast Salish society.[34] Enforcement against trespass is largely the result of outsiders over-harvesting or overstaying their welcome or failing to respect social, ritual and technical protocols which are often only locally known. Historically, appropriate reprisals for trespass ranged from reparations through potlatching to death. Today, public and family pressure continues to be important mechanisms in maintaining respectful property relations. Sharing territorial access within a scheme of property relations needs to be understood in the context of a society for whom the dominant social order is realized through a regional network of inter-related kin.

Returning to the notion of territory, given that the Coast Salish land-tenure system is based on residence *and* kin group affiliation, individuals experience their territories as 'itineraries' of

places, engaging in reciprocal practices relating to their use, and respect, of the land[35] within an ecosystem that they continually appropriate throughout their lives.[36] Territories are actually experienced as an element of individual choice with respect to (in part) the appropriate use of one's residence and descent group properties. In the Coast Salish social order, simultaneous affiliations and identity with these groups allows individuals to draw on the potential wealth of both community and ancestor as needed during the course of one's life.

A regional sense of territory and identity are also reinforced through extensive travel for trade, for visiting kin, for participating in the region-wide circuit of ritual dances and ceremonies, and engaging in secular summer festivals and sporting events. As in other hunter-gatherer societies,[37] it is in these territorial experiences that smaller-scale, local or family group affiliations are transcended by larger Coast Salish regional group identities. And it is the ongoing operation of the regional network, rather than large-scale, formal political structures, that define and empower territories.[38] However, as I discuss later, the territorial claims of tribal councils or treaty organizations have added a new dynamic to these territorial experiences.

The Problem of Translation of Coast Salish Boundaries

Returning to Barths observation that carefully unpacking how native-language terms for boundaries are mobilized in local discourses can better inform how they are locally understood, I set out to discuss with a number of individuals perfectly fluent in both English and the Salishan language *Hul'q'umi'num'* how they would speak about 'boundaries' in a native-language context. My conversations revealed that describing territorial maps in native-language terms

poses particular problems of translation. When I asked Cowichan elder Arvid Charlie how the word 'boundary' might be translated into *Hul'q'umi'num'*, he responded that the appropriate word would be *xutsten'* , listed in the Cowichan dictionary as meaning marker, index or identifier. Chemainus First Nations cultural leaders Peter Seymour, Willie Seymour and Roy Edwards all gave the cognate word *q'ulexutstun*, meaning 'fence' or 'enclosure'.[39] I was cautioned that such *q'ulexutstun* or fences did not exist between communities, other than the hard lines drawn around Indian Reserves. Chemainus elder Irene Harris's response reflected a general distaste for eliciting *Hul'q'umi'num'* terms for boundaries. She explained that to her, boundaries were like fences, strictly for animals, not for First Nations people. *Hwuhwilmuhw* [First Nations people] with kin ties in multiple communities are not so 'domesticated' and do not have such fences. Many of the other conversations I had about boundaries reiterated such sentiments.

Coast Salish people have expressed the view that non-Native concepts of boundaries are powerfully reinforced through the *Indian Act* provisions, which create formal membership divisions between communities and differences between on-reserve and off-reserve members, whereas ties through travel, kin and descent suggest there should be none. An excerpt from a speech by long-time Cowichan leader Abraham C. Joe during an elders mapping committee meeting, demonstrates the point:

> The way the white man wants us to have boundaries, we never had boundaries
> before. We went from one end of the island to the other. And I think we gotta
> come up with something that would erase those boundaries.

Abraham went on to stress that in the old social order of his and prior generations, territorial

relations were centred around kin connections. If you had family, there was no boundary preventing one from travel, as the Canada-US border now does. [40]

> Those days the old people used to make canoes and travel all over. All the way past Seattle up into Tacoma to a big house up there. They travelled on canoes. [...] Like Rose [James] says 'There was no such thing of our ancestors [that they drew boundaries]. They visit one another, they were related.' No matter how far you go you've got relations. Down the United States you got relations. And they all got along good. [...] There's no such thing as borders, no I don't believe it.

For Abraham and others in a kin-oriented social world, these arbitrary boundaries – treaty lines, international boundaries, or the metes and bounds of an Indian Reserve –create a dilemma. Coast Salish people make careful reference to their potential extensive bilateral kin networks and their ability to navigate these boundaries, the genealogical reckonings becoming 'passports' of sorts.

A person did not need permission from their relatives to go somewhere, stressed another Cowichan elder in a follow-up mapping committee meeting: "They [your relatives] never questioned who you are, they knew who you were and you just go and you would just go do whatever you can". The ethic of sharing and giving away wealth, not hoarding it, provides a moral basis for this assumed permission. In a system where village exogamy, combined with bilateral kin reckoning, creates a very wide kin network, it appears there are no territorial boundaries.

That said, as Kennedy points out, "the expansive social network did not create a regional free-for-all, driven by the moral ethos of kinship and affinity, with an attendant erasure of ownership or 'territory'".[41] The apparent norm of territorial openness must be understood in the context of a

functioning property system in which local or kin-group owners withdraw permission when appropriate. As we know from several examples of Coast Salish stories and experiences of people from outside their expansive social networks,[42] rules and limits on sharing are clear and non-kin or distant kin who disrespect the limit of hospitality within these territorial boundaries are treated with outsider status. The land-tenure system is, thus, essential to preventing over-exploitation and limiting movement of wealth from one community to another at times of scarcity.

At the same time, Coast Salish values and morals prevent hoarding. Sharing among kin in good times is normal, as per Coast Salish mythology. Cowichan elder Ruby Peters recalled (and published) the story of Seagull, which teaches about the drastic consequences of gluttony and not sharing with your relatives.[43] These principles are constantly in tension in Coast Salish views of people-land relations. Indeed, Snyder has pointed out the tense nature of the relationship between resource-sharing in-laws in Coast Salish society where the expectations of the guests at times push the bounds of what the hosts can or are willing to share.[44]

This tension is underlined when people grapple with the boundaries of Indian Reserves and band membership imposed by the Canadian state. Fisherman and tribal historian Robert Guerin expressed his concerns with such boundaries, emphasizing the interconnectedness of people from different and sometimes distant villages through kinship.

> I have a hard time talking about how we are different because I don't believe that we are. I don't think there is a line that separated the Cowichan people from the so-called Chemainus people, from the Musqueam. I don't think that exists.

Robert himself recalled his own close kin ties to several communities in the Coast Salish world, including Musqueam, Penelakut, Chemainus and Cowichan. For him, recognition of bilateral kin challenges the notions of boundaries expressed in the context of Indian Bands or the territory maps produced for treaty talks.

Irene Harris similarly discussed her concerns about a proposal to draw territorial boundaries among Island Hul'qumi'num communities to advance separate land claims. She felt that such an action could further divide the Lyackson and Chemainus communities, to which she has intimate ties – to Valdes and Gabriola Island through her Lyackson grandfather and the burial places of her ancestors, to Kulleet Bay through her life-long residence in the Chemainus community. Drawing hard boundary lines between these communities as part of individual land claims settlements would be, for Irene, "a mistake like what Indian Affairs done long time ago" when creating the Indian bands and Indian Reserves. Such boundaries might ultimately restrict freedom of travel or resource harvesting for people in these communities, supplanting the porous relations of the territory and property of kin with the impersonal divisions of state-backed harvest areas or small parcels of treaty settlement lands.

The famous carver Simon Charlie emphasized this last point succinctly. Boundaries for him are colonial tactics used to divide Coast Salish people and disperse their political and economic power. Kin ties and sharing, he emphasizes, undercut these colonial forces.

> Our big problem, I think, is that we're so intertwined that there was no border. Saanich would come here and, you know, they were part of the family. Same with Nanaimo. And it bothers me now that, you know, when somebody wants to come and fish, our young people say, 'oh you don't belong here.' No, our way of life was

> if we belonged to, like, related to the Musqueam, we can go over there any time and live there if we want to. The same with the Lummi. My grandfather met his uncles in Lummi and they told me the house is still there any time you come, you come you live here. The same with Musqueam. The Points were very close to us and old people told him any time he wants to go to the house, I go there. But now the Indian Affairs brainwashed our young people that we only belong to one band. That wasn't the way it was before.

Many Coast Salish people categorically reject the totalizing, bounding and limiting visions of territorial boundaries called for by the state, though they often have to adjust to them because of the administrative and bureaucratic power of its institutions. Indeed, in this narrative, Simon is concerned about what "our young people say," when the leaders of contemporary residence-group communities – Indian Bands and Tribal Councils – challenge the power of the kin group to manage access to resources.

Territorial Maps and Territorial Terminology used in modern-day Treaty Negotiations

During the process of negotiating potential settlements to expansive regional land claims, Coast Salish leaders have attempted to express territoriality in terms familiar to western bureaucratic institutions while portraying the multifaceted complexity of their peoples' relationships to land. When drawing territorial boundary maps for the 15-year old land-claims negotiation forum, British Columbia Treaty process (see Figure 2), Coast Salish people have attempted to balance their community-based interest in sharing among kin with the power of their proprietary and jurisdictional interests in territory. I would not, however, say, as Ingold has argued, that Coast Salish people "systematically invert their own understandings"[45] in articulating their collective connections to place in this way. Rather, as Scott has argued, they have employed dual strategies to persuade outsiders of the distinct Aboriginal cultural meanings in the land, while negotiating

the legal position of their territories in terms familiar to Euro-Canadian concepts of property and jurisdiction.[46]

As I detail below, however, when used in negotiations to resolve outstanding land claims, these Statement of Intent maps, as they are known, and the native language debate around how to name and talk about them, have been received cautiously by Coast Salish people who reflect on political and cultural affairs. Many have expressed concern that the maps have the power to transform social and political relations and to threaten ongoing relationships between kin and certain place-based cultural practices. Their concerns highlight the potential of these territorial maps to accede to state terms of municipal-like governments and the state's centralized mechanisms for controlling resources, a critique not unique to the Coast Salish situation.[47]

[**Figure 2.** Overlapping claims of Coast Salish First Nations in BC treaty process]

These 'Statement of Intent' maps are required by the BC Treaty Commission (BCTC), an independent body set up by governments and First Nations leaders, to oversee the process of negotiating comprehensive land and resource claims. With these maps First Nations are asked to identify the area in which they wish to establish constitutionally protected, non-exclusive harvesting rights, freehold ownership and local governance by the First Nation. The maps represent territorial *primae facie* claims, as the BC Treaty Commission does not require proof of prior use, occupancy or ownership accompany these Statements of Intent. In return, the expectation of governments is that they are not asked to recognize any particular historic land or

resource rights, but rather will agree only to describing the scope and extent of future treaty rights.

While the British Columbia Treaty Process negotiations allow First Nations to self-define territories, the maps submitted since 1993 by the 29 Coast Salish First Nations in the BC Treaty Process (and the lack-of-maps for those who are not participating) reflect a complicated tangle of overlapping claims (see Figure 2). Of the Coast Salish groups in the negotiation process, 18 Indian Bands, representing roughly half of the Coast Salish people in the 'treaty process', have banded together in one of three local umbrella organizations to represent collective interests.[48] The other 11 Coast Salish Indian Bands are negotiating their territorial interests independently.[49] Another 25 Coast Salish Indian Bands, representing over 7,500 members, have elected for various reasons to not engage in this comprehensive forum for land claims and self-government negotiations.[50]

This diversity of configuration was never expected by governments when establishing a government-to-government negotiation process in British Columbia. Indeed, the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal People argued that the right to self-determination be vested in "Aboriginal nations", rather than "small local communities", the former being "a sizeable body of Aboriginal people with a shared sense of national identity that constitutes the predominant population in a certain territory or group of territories".[51] The Commission concluded that such self-determining Aboriginal nations would produce more efficient and effective Aboriginal governments. In spite of occasional 'block voting' at provincial and national institutions like the

First Nations Summit and the AFN, and a recent government-sponsored movement for an annual "Coast Salish Gathering" to discuss environmental issues in the multi-jurisdictional marine environment, there appears to be little appetite among Coast Salish leaders to resolve claims in a united settlement, or establish any kind of umbrella Coast Salish government.

In spite of the obvious problems of overlapping claims and jurisdictional and group membership issues, Coast Salish leaders and negotiators have, since entering the British Columbia Treaty Process, expressed their communities' assertions of Aboriginal title, jurisdiction and rights over their territories through the use of these Statement of Intent maps, and by identifying indigenous language terms for the notion of traditional territory. The aboriginal leadership has largely supported mapping their territorial boundaries with a single polygon, essentially 'counter-mapping' territories in a landscape that to date had only formally recognized limited jurisdiction within Indian Reserves.

As part of my work in Coast Salish communities, I have been privileged to be directly involved in the drawing of two First Nations' Statement of Intent maps for submission to the BCTC. My first experience with this process was with the Stó:lō Nation in the fall of 1994. The Stó:lō leadership were required to submit a Statement of Intent map to begin the treaty process. Having cartography skills, I was asked to draw a line around a boundary that had been determined by senior staff and political leaders. In general, the map followed the watershed areas around places that were named in Upriver *Halq'eméylem* (see Figure 3), including headwater areas in places far flung from the named place and including an extensive area of metro Vancouver up to 40 km

downriver from the lowest Stó:lō community. Over the next ten years, as the Stó:lō Nation developed as a political institution representing most of the Fraser Valley Coast Salish First Nations communities, this map became a reified representation of Stó:lō Traditional Territory.

[**Figure 3.** S'ólh Témexw, Stó:lō Traditional Territory]

The image of the Stó:lō traditional territory on this map has been given the Upriver *Halq'eméylem* name *S'ólh Témexw, Our Land*. Though the area defined in the Stó:lō traditional territory map is quietly critiqued by some First Nations leaders as being a massive expansion of territorial claims by the upper Fraser Valley-based Indian Bands' leadership (particularly the areas near the mouth of the Fraser River and the head of Harrison Lake), the term *S'ólh Témexw* and the distinctive image of the territory line has become a familiar symbol of the current political landscape in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

In 2001, I helped redraft the Statement of Intent line of another Coast Salish political organization, the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group. In consultations with community elders, it was clear that the old Statement of Intent map, on file at the BCTC, did not adequately express Hul'qumi'num people's connection to the territory and several important areas were completely excluded. I began a series of focus groups, individual interviews, and Chiefs' and elders' meetings to discuss crafting a new line. The result was submission of a 'core' and 'marine' territory line to the BCTC, to reflect the Aboriginal title territory of the Hul'qumi'num people, as well as the marine area within which Aboriginal rights are exercised (see Figure 4). During these

meetings, conversation often turned to the boundaries and borderlines of Hul'qumi'num communities' territories. It was only through intense community discussion that firm borderlines were agreed upon, and for those whose frame of reference are the idioms of kin and sharing, the process was problematic.

[**Figure 4.** Hul'qumi'num Traditional Territory Statement of Intent, 2004]

Equally challenging was choosing a *Hul'q'umi'num'* language term for the claimed area. Though the phrase *s'alh tumuhw* is commonly heard in the political discourse in Island Hul'qumi'num communities, it was not seriously considered as a moniker for the map, possibly because of its high-profile use in the Stó:lō context, a group with whom the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group has overlapping claims. When I asked fluent speakers independently about the term, some agreed that it might be useful to express the idea of 'territory'; however, many felt that it inadequately conveyed the Hul'qumi'num idea of territory. Ruby Peters countered with a different term, *stl'ulnup*, which she felt was a more subtle expression of territory. Ruby referred to the Statement of Intent map as illustrative of the scope of this term. *Stl'ulnup* implies that the land referred to is ancient, that it has an association with other kinds of inherited properties, such as the big-house 'secrets' described above by Roy Edwards, and importantly that the land means all the things on and under the ground. Most of the elders in the group thought it important to come to a consensus on a term, but only a few were comfortable with the term *stl'ulnup* because of its breadth of meaning. Interestingly, some thought that translating English concepts like 'Aboriginal title' or 'territory' into *Hul'q'umi'num'* was tantamount to "thinking like a white

man".

The indigenous language terms mentioned above signify the balance that some in the Coast Salish leadership have tried to achieve between expressing in their own terms the core notions of property, authority, ancestry, identity and permanence that give rise to territorial claims, and providing state agents concepts familiar to western cadastral figurings of boundaries and territories. Cruikshank has characterized such processes as "the difficult task of reconciling the state's narratives about land as bounded units to be owned and operated for profit with their own spatial understanding that stories crosscut maps".[52]

The real paradox of boundaries: cartography that re-orders social relations

Still, not everyone is satisfied that an ontological balance has been reached. Some Hul'qumi'num community members have expressed deep concern over the construction of borders and boundary lines for treaty negotiations. They see boundaries and borders as arbitrary and artificial at best, and at worst a part of a recurring colonial mechanism of government to create division between communities and kin and weaken the potential for a future where all Coast Salish people are a politically unified, self-determining indigenous Nation. They are concerned, and perhaps rightly so, that territorial terminology and cartography will have the effect of severing their connections to place and to each other. Ultimately, they fear that the bilateral kin group as a significant and powerful social order will be dismantled and replaced by a patchwork of municipal-like self-governments with limited jurisdictions over their lands and territories. While the process established by the BCTC recognizes each community's ability to be self-

determining, it created a situation where contemporary political differences among self-defined

First Nations – from single-family units to massive multi-village, multi-language polities – are

not congruent with the kin and residence based social order of which the older generation of

Coast Salish people speak.

Chief Rick Thomas has effectively articulated the core problem created in trying to resolve

borders and boundaries and territories with the drawing of a simple line:

> I extend my appreciation for the elders taking the time to come out and voice their
> concerns on the issues that are before us in the treaty process [the drawing of the
> boundary line for the Statement of Intent]. It is not only the treaty process, but the
> whole situation we are in. The governments put these division lines between us.
> But we always seem to come to the conclusion that we are all related and that
> these boundaries shouldn't be there.

The boundary lines on this traditional territory map offend a kin- and ancestor-centred sense of

place. They have the potential, if empowered with the legal and policy institutions of the state to

establish and recognize collective land ownership and governance rights, of significantly

impacting Coast Salish social and territorial relations. In the context of land claims agreements,

the impact could play out in areas as diverse as wildlife harvesting and management, fish

allocations, ancestral heritage sites, the extent of governance powers, and even the criteria of

eligibility for becoming beneficiaries of these agreements. Such impacts would be, as Irene

Harris has stated "a mistake like what Indian Affairs done a long time ago"—separating families

and dividing communities.

The potential for transformation is illustrated in the final land claims and self-government

agreement of the Tsawwassen First Nation, proposed for parliamentary assent in 2008.[53] A group

of 350 Coast Salish people comprises the Tsawwassen First Nation; they are registered members

of the *Indian Act* reserve community at the historical village site of Tsawwassen. The leadership

have agreed to extinguish their collective aboriginal title in land and to modify all their

constitutionally protected rights related to the practices of their distinctive pre-existing cultures

in exchange for freehold title to a small area (717 hectares) of valuable urban real estate and for a

handful of cultural rights whose exercise is set out within a framework of concurrently applying

Federal, Provincial and, to a limited degree, Tsawwassen laws. This transformation of the legal

status of aboriginal land and resource rights to ones that are firmly entrenched in village-based

communities is a re-imagining of Coast Salish social and political order. In essence, once vast

territories are now enclosed in a small 'treaty settlement land' base, to which the underlying

radical title is held by the Crown. Eligibility for membership in this group is based primarily on

the ability to trace ancestry to a family from Tsawwassen, and enrolment of eligible members in

the group is administered through a Tsawwassen-run registry system. An individual enrolling in

the group must demonstrate that they have de-enrolled from any other Canadian First Nations

group to avoid 'double-dipping' for program and service dollars. If the current processes around

Indian Band membership are any indication, the bureaucracy surrounding membership will limit

flexibility and promote village-based associations at the expense of kin-based ones. This, along

with the reified jurisdictions of Indian Bands and Tribal Councils (quintessential modern-day

forms of the residence-group) over traditional territory bounded in the tradition of ethnographic

mapping, are significant—and not necessarily welcome—forces of social and cultural change in

these indigenous communities.

The Coast Salish World: counter-maps for treaty talks that satisfied no-one

Certain of the elders and political leaders of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group worked through their mapping committee (which had at its disposal considerable GIS capability) to craft a new map which attempted to address their concerns of being "sold short" by the overlapping territories maps depicted in Figure 2. They were concerned that even by using "government words" like 'overlaps', 'boundaries', 'final treaty settlement land', they were buying into state prohibitions of fluidly activating their community and kin connections to a broad land-base within their wide network of kin. The map they produced, which they called the Coast Salish World (Figure 5) suggested a more inclusive approach. The map, with its singular, extensive territorial boundary, pointed to the relatedness between Coast Salish communities. It represented the total area they had told stories for, recalling histories of travel, trade, alliances, kin ties, regional ritual practices, harvesting areas, graveyards, and owned resource areas. Arrangements and protocols could be made between these communities and kin, as they had in the past, to access and manage resources and other cultural properties. Essentially, their solution was to work out modern-day arrangements that would formalize governance between inter-related communities of the Coast Salish world.

[**Figure 5.** Coast Salish world draft map, Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, 2002]

Such a broad cartographic casting of territory has been largely criticized.. Anthropologist Dorothy Kennedy, for one, has raised concerns that envisioning territory in such an expansive

sense "obfuscates the deep-rooted ties of local groups to place and the recognition that, through village-exogamous marriage, families -- not tribes or speech communities -- formed ties with neighbouring families facilitating access to resources not otherwise extended to non-kin".[54] Certain First Nations leaders have seen this line as a cynical expansionist move by the regionally powerful Cowichan group, while government officials, if they take it seriously at all (and some have clearly expressed to me that they do not), dismiss it as an impossible conundrum of competing aboriginal jurisdictions, unimaginable in the context of bureaucratically managed and regulated aboriginal and treaty rights such as harvesting wildlife or fishing salmon. This kind of counter-mapping, though clearly informed by the desire to reflect the kin groups that are otherwise obfuscated in conventional territorial mapping, satisfies the expectations of neither First Nations nor the state. If territories are going to be represented cartographically, a dramatically different kind of mapping needs to be considered to more fully take these concerns into account.

A proposal for a 'radical' cartography of Coast Salish boundaries

Coast Salish territorial relations, as I have described, are underwritten by a relational epistemology – a way of continually coming to know the world through one's relationships with the beings and things encountered in the world. Drawing on Ingold's meshwork metaphor,[55] I suggest a cartography that recognizes the importance of complexly networked social groups enmeshed in locally rich property relations, reflecting a relational epistemology of kin, travel, descent and sharing. Territorial boundaries according to this view are then attributed less to state-endorsed political structures (such as Indian bands, tribal groups, or treaty offices), and more

through indigenous idioms of kin, ancestor, sharing and residence affiliation. Such a cartography

would be similar to an airline route map showing the hubs and destinations of its scheduled

flights, the total area of which reflects the 'territory' of that airline.

Another student of Coast Salish culture offered a similar cartographic view of territorial relations

over 50 years ago. Homer Barnett, a student of Alfred Kroeber, created an image of Coast Salish

territory depicting a network of resource harvesting sites (redrawn in Figure 6).[56] This map was a

significant departure from the maps of Kroeber, who used solid lines to delineate mutually

exclusive territories based on language, kinship and myriad other cultural features. Barnett

viewed tribal territories as being:

> ...centered upon beach sites conveniently located with respect to gathering and
> hunting grounds. Certain productive localities were claimed and resorted to
> during the seasonal round, but most of the land was unclaimed. Hence 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.[57]

[**Figure 6.** Barnett's Gulf of Georgia group exploitation areas]

This view is reflected in his published map of the Coast Salish area. Rather than depicting

regions as bounded by borderlines, it shows the winter villages he had visited, with lines

radiating out to a few of the summer camps to which people from these communities travelled

each year.

Barnett's map and the accompanying description are both useful and deceiving. The map's lack

of boundaries challenges conventional ethnographic mapping, and makes, instead, the nodes of travel, land use and sharing the primary references for showing relationships to territory. These activities are not usually reflected in traditional ethnographic maps. However, the representation of Coast Salish non-territories, as it were, leaves the false impression that the white spaces between the nodes of activity are empty, culture-less places. Indeed, Barnett's text, which says that "most of the land was unclaimed"[58] lies counter to the clear notions of territory that have been expressed in the ethnographic literature before and since Barnett's work. Such an interpretation may have been made in response to the current scholarship of the day which, as reviewed earlier, theorized that Aboriginal territoriality emerged only in response to European culture. Indeed Barnett's own work, published only a few years earlier, observed that "on the mainland at least boundary lines were rather well defined".[59] Again, we see the struggle with the seeming paradox of boundaries.

I propose pushing Barnett's representation further. The cartography of territoriality can be re-configured to a view that recognizes the intersection of kin-based territorial relations with those produced from Coast Salish village-group associations.[60] While Barnett's map does give a cartographic picture of what Poirier has described as itineraries of movement through the land,[61] here reflecting Coast Salish seasonal travels to village-owned resource locations, it fails to take into account movements along non-village-based lines to the properties of bilateral kindred. In my proposed radical cartography of territory, the Coast Salish world would be represented by lines radiating out from the chosen residence location of each individual. These lines would connect to the owned areas (properties) of all of the ancestors (bilaterally reckoned), with as

much temporal depth as can be legitimately demonstrated. Additional lines would radiate out to all the fixed properties owned by the residence group of that individual. This would create a field of many-pointed 'stars' radiating out to a multitude of locations throughout a broad landscape of corporate groups of bilaterally related kin. Such a cartography of territory could profitably be animated to indicate mutability over time, as the residence affiliations of individuals change over a lifetime, and as people are born and die.

There are, of course, serious methodological difficulties. This kind of radical cartography would take a massive, sustained, community-based research effort – likely only possible through Coast Salish political or cultural institutions. It would require substantive genealogical knowledge, and close tracking of the residence and kin affiliations of individuals over time and over a large area. It would also require a much more thorough picture of the various village and kin-group properties owned, used and occupied over time.

This radical cartography of Coast Salish territories would dissolve the language-group boundaries often used by anthropologists, who also give more weight to the bilateral descent group as a primary constituent of Coast Salish territoriality, as opposed to the 'tribal' or village groups that have been the focus of colonial and contemporary governments. This re-configuration by corporate descent group is consistent with Suttles' critique of Federal government policy, which he said overemphasized Indian Bands and Indian Reserves as the focus of social policy development, rather than the unit of most significance to Coast Salish people themselves, these groups of bilaterally descended kin.[62]

Though this may present a simulacrum of Coast Salish territoriality, this exercise in radical cartography is not an indigenous proposal. In practice, the codification of this information can be highly contested and contextual, fraught with all the difficulties and divisiveness of bringing out into public discourse the contradictions and secrets that such genealogical work inevitably uncovers. Indeed, almost every time I discuss these kinds of territorial mapping ideas with elderly and knowledgeable people in the community, the first response I get is "no, lets show them our place names to prove that we were always here", as local knowledge, history and association with named places is one of the key mnemonics through which connection to place is understood. Unfortunately, as Coast Salish people have discovered after nearly 15 years of active land claims negotiations in the BC Treaty Process, place-name maps have little utility in resolving outstanding issues over land title and indigenous self-government.

Conclusions

A number of years ago Willie Seymour, a respected Coast Salish orator and cultural leader, made a speech to a group of senior First Nation Chiefs and politicians about the problems of creating borderlines in land claims. He reminded them of the difficulties of striking a balance between claims that will be understood by the state, and the strength and unity of kin connections throughout the Coast Salish world. Willie recalled his speech to me one day in a conversation about the potential problems of overlapping land claims.

> I had the same argument at the [First Nations] Summit. It was about 10 years ago,
> I went to a Summit meeting they had at the Hotel Vancouver. Joe Mathias had
> spent a day and a half talking about overlaps and how they're going to deal with it.
> There was a really heated argument on the floor, especially outside the Coast

Salish area, you know. And the Kwakiutl are saying there is no way they are going to be flexible. That they are going to hold strong in their position. The interior, to the north of Squamish and Chehalis, those First Nations were saying that, that their boundary is firm. You know, it's this mountain and there is no flexibility whatsoever. And then, Stó:lō was defending their area as well, very strongly, saying that Cowichan's were intruding.

And anyway I sat there. I got interested and I sat there and listened, and listened to the arguments.

Finally, Joe Mathias come over to me and he says, "what do you think of all this?"

I said, "That's not an argument. There shouldn't even be a concern at this political table."

He said "I want you to say that. I want you to get up and say that."

So, I got up and I spoke. I said, "I'm having a real difficult time defining the term boundary, or territory, or fence, because I never heard that terminology before. You know, I never heard that."

"Except to say that our grandfathers shared. They'll invite each other to come to their hunting area, or to their fishing area, or harvest area. They invite their relatives to go share with them. "

"The reason I have a problem is that my family name, I'm registered Chemainus First Nation, but if we go by, by these rules, I'm displaced, because my family name don't even come from *Shts'um'inus* [Chemainus]. My name *Xwulqwutstun* [Willy's traditional name] comes from *T'eet'qe'* [Lyackson village at Shingle Point]. My father's name comes from a place called *Qwul'sthut* [Bazan Bay] Bazan Bay near Sidney, that's where *S'xwulten* [Willy Seymour's father's name] comes from. My grandmother is Penelakut and my grandfather is Lyackson, my great grandfather is Lyackson. My grandmother is *Meluxulh* [Malahat] but her name comes from Lummi and her grandfather's name came from Lummi, *Tthut'suwenuhw* [another persons traditional name]."

 I said, "I'm totally confused with the arguments going here. Am I going to be divorced from all my family ties with this new rule that is going to be brought down?"

And it just hushed, you know.

So the ones that were arguing the hardest just shut right up. You know, that's all I said. All I did was talk about my family tree and it showed how diverse my family

is. How great an area that we shared. And I said I have a connection to each of those areas.

While Willie Seymour was able to silence temporarily this group of Chiefs and First Nations politicians in their discussion of boundaries — by reminding them of the moral code of sharing among kin — his reminder has not yet led to firm political action. The Coast Salish and neighbouring communities have stood behind their Statement of Intent maps, drawing lines between families, communities and nations. And present indications of the Coast Salish political leadership and community sentiment suggest that the problem of overlapping claims will continue to bedevil collective aspirations.

They will continue to bedevil, that is, until we find a radically different way to map territories, based on culturally constructed notions of boundaries. Understanding boundaries in Coast Salish thought requires us to heed the ways kin ties cross-cut state-recognized political units of village or tribal governments. Understanding that both of these are powerfully at play in Coast Salish social relations allows us to resolve the first 'paradox' I mention at the beginning of my paper – the existence of boundaries within a culture of pervasive travel and a strong ethic of sharing. To make sense of ancestral and ongoing experience, Coast Salish territorial jurisdictions must be envisioned simultaneously along both lines.

The second paradox – which requires First Nations leaders to win their land claims at the expense of their culture -- remains more troubling. The power given to the maps indigenous people use in the legal and political contexts of developing self-government and negotiating

relationships with state governments continues to create exclusivity and enclosure that mirror Western ways of relating to land. These are the same kinds of problems being grappled with by indigenous communities engaging counter-mapping discourses all over the world.[63]

The solution, however, is not simply to make better maps. The solution lies in more robustly reflecting aboriginal concepts of relatedness and community in the recognition of their rights of self-determination. When state governments are able to develop relationships with indigenous governments that recognize the flexibility and adaptability inherent in social and property relations, they will get better resource management, more cultural pluralism and less hegemony. The idea of this 'radical cartography' could well lead to the recognition of kin, the flexibility of group membership, and the protection of customary property rights in the kinds of powerful reconciliation arrangements being negotiated at treaty and self-government tables throughout the indigenous world.

Reframing territories according to these less familiar references (at least to a western Cartesian cartography) will not undermine territorial land claims. Rather, it is likely to produce and sustain more harmonious political relations between related communities in a contemporary world of treaty settlements and self-determination.

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Endnotes

1. The term Coast Salish is a generic name used to refer to speakers of several related languages who share strong social, economic, and cultural ties living in southwest British Columbia and northwest Washington State. My own research has been entirely with Halkomelem-speaking communities along the Fraser River and southeast Vancouver Island. Though there is significant regional variation in cultural practices, I do believe that the conclusions of this paper are broadly applicable within the Coast Salish region. In writing native-language terms, I have adopted here the orthography used by Island Halkomelem speakers, which I have described more fully in pages 426-8 of B. Thom, Coast Salish Senses of Place: Dwelling, Meaning, Power, Property and Territory in the Coast Salish World [dissertation], (Montreal, McGill Department of Anthropology, McGill University, 2005.

[2] F. Barth, 'Boundaries and Connections', in: Cohen A, editor, Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values, (London, Routledge, 2000), p 17-36.
3. Barth, 'Boundaries', p. 17.

4. Page 20 in F. Myers, Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines, (Washington and Canberra: Smithsonian Institution Press and Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1991); T. Ingold, The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill, (London, Routledge, 2000); T. Ingold, 'Rethinking the Animate, Re-Animating Thought', Ethnos 71,1 (2006), pp. 9-20.

5. S Poirier, 'Ontology, Ancestral Order and Agencies Among the Kukatja of the Australian Western Desert', in: Clammer J, Poirier S, Schwimmer E, editors, Figured Worlds: Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 58-82.

6. Page 156 in T Ingold, 'Territoriality and Tenure: the Appropriation of Space in Hunting and Gathering Societies', in T. Ingold, ed, The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on Human Ecology and Social Relations (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1987), pp. 130-64.

7. Page 176 in F. Myers, 'Always Ask: Resource Use and Land Ownership Among the Pintupi Aborigines of the Australian Western Desert', in: Williams N, Hunn E, editors, Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-Gatherers, (Boulder, Westview Press, 1982), pp. 173-95.

8. Ingold, 'Territoriality', p. 150.

9. Page 396 in E. Semple, 'Geographical Boundaries – I.' Bulletin of the American Geographical Society 39,7 (1907), pp. 385-97.

10. Pages 248-249 in D. Culhane, The Pleasure of the Crown: Anthropology, Law and First Nations, (Burnaby, Talonbooks, 1998).

[11] Page 7 in R. Rundstrom 'Mapping, The White Man's Burden.' The Common Property Resource Digest 45 (1998), pp. 7-8.
12. N. Sterritt N, S. Marsden, R. Galois, P. Grant, and R. Overstall, Tribal Boundaries in the Nass Watershed, (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1998).

[13] Page 403 in N. Peluso, 'Whose woods are there? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia.' Antipode 27,4 (1005), pp. 383-406.

[14] Page 38 in D. Turnbull 'Mapping Encounters and (En)countering Maps: A Critical Examination of Cartographic Resistance.' Knowledge and Society 11 (1998), pp. 15-44.

[15] M. Sparke, 'A Map that Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography, and the Narration of Nation.' Annals of the Association of American Geographers 88,3 (1998), pp. 463-495.

[16] Page 3 in J. Fox, 'Mapping the Commons: The Social Context of Spatial Information Technologies.' The Common Property Resource Digest 25 (1998), pp.1-4.

17. Myers, 'Pintupi', p. 19.

[18] Page 2 in N. Peluso, 'Seeing Property in Land use: Local Territorializations in West Kalimantan, Indonesia.' Geografisk Tidsskrift 105,1 (2005), pp. 1-15.

[19] J. Fox, K. Suryanata, and P. Hershock, Mapping Communities: Ethics, Values, Practice. (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 2005).

[20] Another 45 First Nations organizations representing other (non-Coast Salish) aboriginal communities in BC are also negotiating in the BC Treaty Process.

[21]. I have previously provided a more lengthy reflection of the intersubjective nature of this research, ibid., pp. 36-59.

[22] F. Boas, 'Zur Ethnologie Britisch-Kolumbiens', Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen 33,5 (1887), pp. 129-133; see also Thom, 'Coast Salish', p. 341-350 for a more detailed discussion of the history of Coast Salish ethnographic mapping.

23. Changes in the occupants of territories, and their shapes and boundaries, are well recorded in the ethnographic literature. The lower Fraser River area had significant changes throughout the fur trade and early colonial period with, for example, the Kwantlen, who were very successful in controlling access to Fort Langley, expanding their territory (Hill-Tout 1902:406; Suttles 1955:8, 12). The Squamish (Ryan 1973:40-42), Semiahmoo (Suttles 1951:29; Suttles 1998:174) and perhaps the Sooke and Klallam (Suttles 1951:9-13) have also seen changes in the shape and size of their territories. See, C. Hill-Tout, 'Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkome'lEm, a division of the Salish of British Columbia', Report of the 72nd Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1902) pp. 353-445; W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, (Victoria, British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1955); J Ryan, Squamish Socialization [dissertation], (Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1973); W. Suttles, The Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits [dissertation], (Seattle, University

of Washington, 1951); W. Suttles, 'The Ethnographic Significance of the Fort Langley Journals', in: Maclachlan M, editor, The Fort Langley Journals 1827-30, (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1998).

24. Ingold 'Principle', pp.226-7.

25. Page s.76 in N Bird-David, ''Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology', Current Anthropology 40 (1999), pp. s67-s91.

26. Ingold, 'Rethinking'.

27. D. Kennedy, Looking for Tribes in all the Wrong Places: An Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network [dissertation], (Victoria, University of Victoria, 1995).

28. For a full discussion of Coast Salish property systems see Thom 'Coast Salish', chapter 7; for a discussion of the importance of bilateral descent groups in other areas of Coast Salish economic, social and ceremonial life, see W. Suttles, 'The Persistence of Intervillage Ties among the Coast Salish', Ethnology 2 (1963), pp. 512-25.

29. P. Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing: The Survival of an Ancestral Religion, (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1978).

30. Suttles 'Affinal Ties'.

31. Pages 229-234 in T. Ingold, 'The Principle of Individual Autonomy and the Collective Appropriation of Nature.' in T Ingold, ed, The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on Human Ecology and Social Relations, (Iowa City, University of Iowa, 1987), pp. 222-42.

32. W. Suttles, 'Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige Among the Coast Salish', American Anthropologist 62,2 (1960), pp. 296-305.

33. I have heard of prominent travelling people who held several names concurrently, some having been granted to the individual by distant communities which they had visited or lived in.

34. S. Snyder, Skagit Society and its Existential Basis: An Ethnofolkloristic Reconstruction [dissertation], (Seattle, University of Washington, 1964).

35. C. Scott, 'Hunting Territories, Hunting Bosses and Communal Production Among Coastal James Bay Cree', Anthropologica 28,1-2 (1986), pp. 163-73.; C. Scott, 'Property, Practice and Aboriginal Rights among Quebec Cree Hunters', in: Ingold T, Riches D, Woodburn J, editors, Hunters and Gatherers 2: Property, Power and Ideology, (Oxford, Berg, 1998), pp. 35-51; Poirier, 'Territory', p. 107).

36. Page 71 in A. Escobar, 'Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Biodiversity Conservation and the Political Ecology of Social Movements', Journal of Political Ecology 5 (1998), pp. 53-82.

37. Page 65 in F. Myers, 'Burning the truck and holding the country: property, time, and the negotiation identity among Pintupi Aboriginies', in: Ingold T, Riches D, Woodburn J, editors, Hunters and Gatherers: Property, Power, and Ideology, (New York, Berg, 1988), pp. 52-74; Page 272 in F. Myers, 'Critical Trends in the Study of Hunter-Gatherers' Annual Review of Anthropology 17 (1988), pp. 261-82.

38. Suttles 'Persistence'; W. Elmendorf, 'Coast Salish Status Ranking and Intergroup Ties', Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 27 (1971), pp. 353-80.

39. The word *xutsten'* 'marker' is clearly cognate with *q'ulexutstun* 'fence'. /q'ul-/ is the root meaning 'to go around/over something'.

40. B. Miller, 'The 'Really Real' Border and the Divided Salish Community', BC Studies 112 (1997), pp. 63-79.

[41]. Page 23 in D. Kennedy, 'Quantifying 'Two Sides of a Coin', A Statistical Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network', BC Studies 153 (2007), pp. 3-34.

42. Thom, 'Coast Salish', pp. 377-382.

43. T. Hukari, R. Peter, and E. White, 'Halkomelem (Seagull Steals the Sun)', International Journal of American Linguistics, Native Texts Series 2,3 (1977), pp. 33-68.

[44]. Pp. 389-391 in S. Snyder Skagit Society and its Existential Basis [dissertation], (Seattle, University of Washington, 1964)

45. Page 133 in T. Ingold, 'Ancestry, Generation, Substance, Memory, Land.' in T Ingold, ed, The Perception of The Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill, (London, Routledge, 2000), pp. 132-51.

46. Page 7 in C. Scott, 'On Autonomy and Development', in: Scott C, editor, Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Quebec and Labrador, (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2001), pp. 3-20.

[47]. Page 12 in N. Peluso, 'Seeing Property in land use: Local territorializations in West Kalimantan, Indonesia', Geografisk Tidsskrift, Danish Journal of Geography 105,1 (2005), pp. 1-15.

[48] The Indian Bands negotiating in the BC Treaty Process as aggregated groups (and their March 2008 registered populations) include: Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (Cowichan (4196), Chemainus (1145), Penelakut (840), Halalt (208), Lyackson (189), Lake Cowichan (15)), Te'mexw Treaty Association (Scia'new (230), Malahat (258), Snaw-naw-as (217), Songhees (489), T'Sou-ke (216)), and Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association (Aitchelitz (40), Leq'á:mél (341), Popkum (8), Skawahlook (72), Skowkale (227), Tzeachten (387), Yakweakwioose (63)).

[49] The independent Indian Bands negotiating in the BC Treaty Process (and their March 2008 registered populations) are: Homalco (456), Klahoose (79), Sechelt (1218), Sliammon (959), Snuneymuxw (1513), Katzie (494), Musqueam (1196), Squamish (3600), Tsawwassen (275), Tsleil-Waututh (442), Yale (145).

[50] The Indian Bands who are not participating in the BC Treaty Process negotiations (and their March 2008 registered populations) are: Chawathil (521), Cheam (470), Kwantlen (197), Matsqui (233), Kwawkwawapilt (40), Scowlitz (107), Seabird (801), Shxw'owhámél (164),

Soowahlie (351), Sumas (182), Peters (118), Union Bar (118), Shxwhá:y (319), Squiala (129), Chehalis (965), Skwah (464), Kwikwetlem (61), Semiahmoo (80), Qeqayt (9), Esquimalt (256), Qualicum (106), Tsawout (749), Tsartlip (571), Pauquachin (363), Tseycum (153).

51. Page 10 in Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 5, Renewal: A Twenty-Year Commitment, (Ottawa, Canada Communication Group Publishing, 1996).

52. Page 16 in J. Cruikshank, The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

53. The text of the Tsawwassen Final Agreement is available at http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/firstnation/tsawwassen/default.htm.

[54]. Kennedy, 'Quantifying', p. 9.

55. Ingold, 'Rethinking', p. 13.

56. Page xix in H. Barnett, The Coast Salish of British Columbia, (Eugene, University of Oregon Press, 1955).

57. Ibid., p. 18.

58. Ibid.

59. Page 119 in H. Barnett, 'The Coast Salish of Canada', American Anthropologist 40 (1938), pp. 118-41.

60. A cartography of this kind was recently suggested by indigenous scholar Sonny McHalsie, who mapped his own genealogy over the Stó:lō landscape. See pages 32-33 in K. Carlson, ed, A Stó:lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas, (Vancouver, Douglas & McIntyre, 2001).

61. Poirier 'Ontology', pp. 62-3; Poirier 'Territory' p. 107.

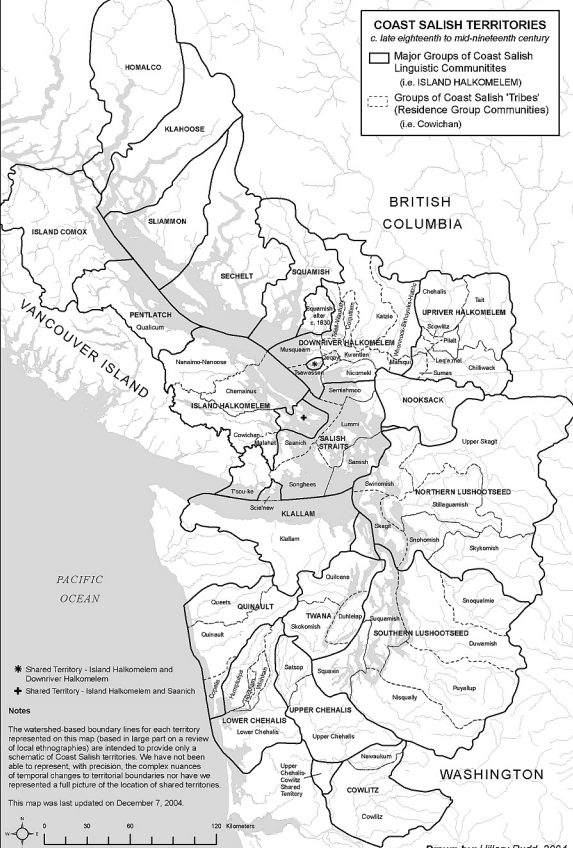62. W. Suttles, 'Private Knowledge, Morality, and Social Classes among the Coast Salish', American Anthropologist 60,3 (1958), pp. 497-507.

[63]. See for example J. Fox et al, eds, Mapping Communities: Ethics, Values, Practice, (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2005); D. Hodgson and R. Schroeder, Dilemmas of Counter-Mapping Community Resources in Tanzania, Development and Change 33 (2002), 79-100; Peluso, 'Seeing'.

COAST SALISH TERRITORIES
c. late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century

Major Groups of Coast Salish Linguistic Communities (i.e. ISLAND HALKOMELEM)

Groups of Coast Salish 'Tribes' (Residence Group Communities) (i.e. Cowichan)

BRITISH COLUMBIA

**VANCOUVER ISLAND**

PACIFIC OCEAN

WASHINGTON

HOMALCO
KLAHOOSE
ISLAND COMOX
SLIAMMON
SECHELT
PENTLATCH
Qualicum
Nanaimo-Nanoose
Chemainus
ISLAND-HALKOMELEM
Cowichan
Malahat
Saanich
Tsou-ke
Scia'new
Songhees
SQUAMISH
Squamish after c.1830
Musqueam
Tsawwassen
Nicomekl
Semiahmoo
SALISH STRAITS
Samish
Lummi
KLALLAM
Klallam
DOWNRIVER HALKOMELEM
Katzie
Sumas
Chehalis
Tait
Scowlitz
Pilalt
Leq'á:mel
Chilliwack
UPRIVER HALKOMELEM
NOOKSACK
Upper Skagit
Swinomish
Skagit
Stillaguamish
NORTHERN LUSHOOTSEED
Snohomish
Skykomish
Snoqualmie
Duwamish
SOUTHERN LUSHOOTSEED
Suquamish
Puyallup
Nisqually
QUINAULT
Queets
Quinault
TWANA
Quilcene
Dutlelep
Skokomish
Satsop
Squaxin
LOWER CHEHALIS
Lower Chehalis
UPPER CHEHALIS
Upper Chehalis
Upper Chehalis-Cowlitz Shared Territory
Newaukum
COWLITZ
Cowlitz

✸ Shared Territory - Island Halkomelem and Downriver Halkomelem
✛ Shared Territory - Island Halkomelem and Saanich

Notes

The watershed-based boundary lines for each territory represented on this map (based in large part on a review of local ethnographies) are intended to provide only a schematic of Coast Salish territories. We have not been able to represent, with precision, the complex nuances of temporal changes to territorial boundaries nor have we represented a full picture of the location of shared territories.

This map was last updated on December 7, 2004.

0   30   60   120 Kilometers
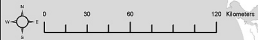
Drawn by: Hillary Rudd, 2004

Overlapping Claims of Coast Salish First Nation in BC Treaty Process

Participating Groups with SoI Boundaries

Homalko First Nation
Klahoose First Nation
Sliammon First Nation
Sechelt First Nation
Squamish Nation
Tsleil-Waututh First Nation
Katzie First Nation
Yale First Nation
Stó:lo Nation
Musqueam First Nation
Tsawwassen First Nation
Snuneymuxw First Nation
Temexw Treaty Association
Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group

Non-Participating First Nation Groups (no lines):

Qualicum First Nation
Chehalis First Nation
Qayaqyt First Nation
Semiahmoo First Nation
Kwikwetlem First Nation
Cheam First Nation
Skway First Nation
Skwah First Nation
Union Bar First Nation
Peters First Nation
Tseycum First Nation
Tsawoul First Nation
Tsartlip First Nation
Pauquachin First Nation
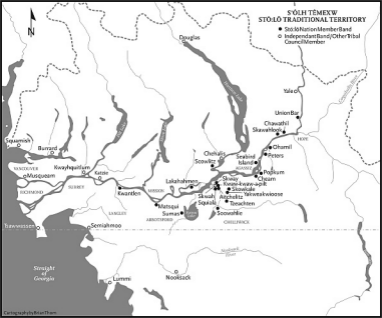Esquimalt First Nation

N
W E
S
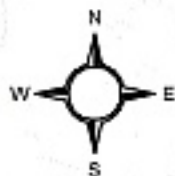
Territory lines are based on Statement of Intent submissions to the BC Treaty Commission.

Non-participating Coast Salish groups are listed, but not represented by a territory line.

Map showing Stó:lō Traditional Territory (Stó:lō Témexw), with the legend:

- Stó:lō Nation Member Band
- Independent Band/Other Tribal Council Member

Labels include: Douglas, Yale✝, Union Bar, Chawathil, Skawahlook, Peters, Ohamil, Seabird Island, Popkum, Cheam, Shxw'ow'hamel, Skwah, Aitchelitz, Skowkale, Yakweakwioose, Tzeachten, Soowahlie, Squiala, Skway, Kwaw-kwaw-apilt, Chilliwack, Matsqui, Sumas, Scowlitz, Lakahahmen, Kwantlen, Katzie, Kwikwetlem, Musqueam, Burrard, Squamish, Semiahmoo, Tsawwassen, Lummi, Nooksack

Geographic labels: Vancouver, Strait of Georgia, Surrey, Langley, Abbotsford, Mission, Fraser River, Hope, Harrison Lake

Cartography by Brian Thom

Hul'qumi'num Traditional Territory Statement of Intent, 2004

British Columbia
CANADA

Vancouver Island

Strait of Georgia

Fraser River

Cape Mudge
Powell River
Comox
Sechelt
Vancouver
Yale
Hope
Nanaimo
Chilliwack
Ladysmith
Duncan
Bellingham
Port Renfrew
Victoria

Washington
U.S.A

Neah Bay
Juan de Fuca Strait
Port Angeles
Everett

Puget Sound

Core Traditional Territory
Marine Traditional Territory

0 25 50 75 100
Kilometres

N
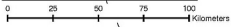
Rivers Inlet

Port Hardy

Knight Inlet

Kamloops

Campbell River

Merritt

Yale

Vancouver

Nitinat Lake

Neah Bay

Victoria

Seattle

Columbia River

Yakima

Coast Salish World - Draft Line
Submitted to the BC Treaty Commission
by Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group 2002

Warm Springs

N

0 25 50 75 100 Kilometers

Gulf of Georgia Salish Group Exploitation Areas

Redrawn from Barnett (1955:xix)

Lines indicate summer localizations of family units radiating from winter convergence points.

Map produced by: Rob Flemming, 2004