# THE ECONOMIC BASIS AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF TRADITIONAL NOOTKA POLITIES

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1978

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

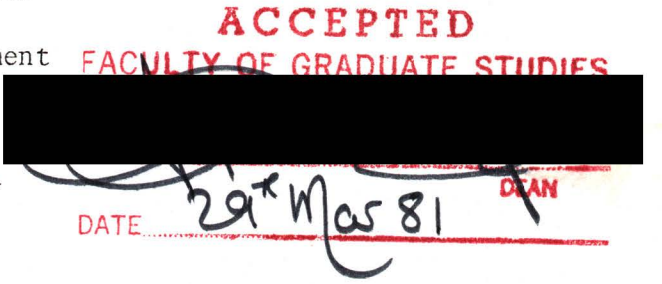
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology

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August 1980

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## ABSTRACT

There were two different forms of polity in traditional Nootka society: independent winter village groups and federations of winter village groups. Both polity types displayed the same characteristic features, which were an internal ranking of potlatch seats, a name, seasonal residence at an aggregate village site, unity for purposes of warfare, territorial unity, internal peace, and a decision-making body which coordinated the unit's political affairs. The federation polity, however, was a more complex and highly segmented organization than the winter village polity, the federation being composed of descent units from more than one winter village group.

Using data from all available ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources on the Nootka, the thesis examines relations among winter village units within federations in comparison to relations between independent groups. This analysis shows that some variations in marital, ceremonial, and material exchange practises were related to the within-federation versus between-polity variable. Members of the titleholding class frequently married out of the political group to establish interpolity alliances, whereas their low class kinsmen usually married within the political group. Guests from other political communities attended the presentation of winter ceremonial

dramas given by Loqwana secret societies which were sub-village, non-kinship sodalities. The presentations by societies from a maximal political unit - an independent winter village group or a federation - were given at one village, and were fitted into a series according to the rank of the titleholders which headed the separate secret societies. Material resources were used for provision and for political-ceremonial purposes, most particularly in potlatches. Material exchange between independent polities took the form of balanced and negative reciprocity, whereas exchange among winter village groups within federations was closer to the generalized pole and the flow was centripetal.

The thesis uses data on the primary food resource in the Nootka area, which was Pacific salmon, and shows that there was a significant difference between the amount of salmon resources directly available to independent and to federated winter village groups respectively. On average, independent groups were located in the richer territories, while federations developed where winter village territories rank lower on the salmon resource variable.

Some winter village groups amalgamated when the size of the unit was too small relative to that of neighbouring polities. More generally, however, political federation was a response to limitations in the amount of resources available in the winter village group territory. The thesis identifies four modes of obtaining resources not available in the group territory; these were reciprocal interpolity exchange, titleholder marriage which could confer usufructory rights to resources owned by titleholders in other political groups, voluntary fusion with

another polity, and expansion through warfare. Nootka warfare was frequently directed towards the acquisition of additional territory. The thesis reconstructs the federation process and argues that political federation usually resulted when warring groups established peace, exchanged rights to exploit their respective resource base, and began to reside together in summer at a village site owned by a leading titleholder in one winter village unit.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| ABSTRACT | | ii |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | | v |
| LIST OF TABLES | | vii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | | viii |
| Chapter | | |
| I | INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| II | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK | 8 |
| | Theories of Social and Political Evolution | 8 |
| | The Political Aspect of Group Organization | 18 |
| | Perspective on the Nootka Case | 23 |
| III | ETHNOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION | 27 |
| | Identification | 27 |
| | Ecology and Subsistence | 28 |
| | Society | 32 |
| | Political Groups and Intergroup Relations | 36 |
| | History | 40 |
| IV | NOOTKA POLITIES | 47 |
| | The Sample | 47 |
| | Political Variable | 49 |
| | Traditional Polity | 49 |
| V | THE CHARACTER OF GROUP RELATIONS | 60 |
| | Methods Employed | 60 |
| | Marital Relations | 63 |
| | Warfare | 68 |
| | Organization of the "Shaman's Dance" (Loqwana) Secret Societies | 72 |
| | Ceremony and Exchange of Goods and Services Between Independent Polities and Among Federated Winter Village Groups | 76 |

| Chapter | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| VI | POLITY FORM AND THE RESOURCE BASE ..... | 90 |
| | Salmon Resource Variables ..... | 90 |
| | Group Size ..... | 92 |
| | Contact Variable ..... | 95 |
| | Test for Correlation Between Salmon Resource, Population, and Contact Variables ..... | 96 |
| | Test for Relationship Between Resource Availability and Level of Political Coordination .. | 98 |
| VII | DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS ..... | 101 |
| | Integration of Polities ..... | 101 |
| | Form of Polity and Control of Resources ..... | 108 |
| | Hypothetical Reconstruction of Federation Processes ..... | 113 |
| | Conclusions ..... | 116 |
| NOTES ..... | | 118 |
| WORKS CITED ..... | | 119 |
| APPENDIX A - Sources ..... | | 126 |
| APPENDIX B - Total and Chum Salmon Resources, Contact Interval, and Population for Vancouver Island Nootka Winter Village Groups ..... | | 132 |
| APPENDIX C - Rank on Total and Chum Salmon, Contact Variable, and Population for Vancouver Island Nootka Winter Village Groups ..... | | 133 |

# LIST OF TABLES


| Table | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Seasonal Round of Economic Activities, Vancouver Island Nootka ..... | 31 |
| 2 | Political Status, Winter Village Units of Vancouver Island Nootka ..... | 56 |
| 3 | Availability Sample of Specific Marriages Categorized on Political Relation and Rank/Class Variables ..... | 64 |
| 4 | Rho Matrix for Nootka Winter Village Group Population for 1860, 1881, and 1884 ..... | 95 |

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The original subject for this thesis was suggested to me by Dr. L.H. Donald, and it was through work as a research assistant for Dr. Donald and Dr. D.H. Mitchell that I was able to read and develop a knowledge of the Nootka materials. I am deeply grateful for this interest in my studies and for the opportunity to do ethnohistorical research. Dr. Donald's advice and insights have been extremely instructive. Special thanks are also due to Drs. Donald and Mitchell for providing the salmon resource data used in the thesis.

I would like to convey my warmest thanks to Dr. K.A. Mooney for her guidance and for her sustained attention to the numerous queries which have arisen during the preparation of this manuscript. I appreciate Dr. Mooney's continued encouragement during my years at the University of Victoria.

Dr. M. Levin recommended that it would be important to develop a working definition of 'political,' and this aspect of the thesis work proved useful for my own conceptual development as well as for the purpose of strengthening the argument that independent winter village groups and federations were political units. I also wish to thank Dr. Levin for his comments on an earlier draft of the thesis.

The staff at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, and at the Special Collections Division of the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, provided access to rare historical sources.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Political organization on the Northwest Coast of North America poses some interesting problems for theories of the evolution of complex society. Organizational complexities occurred in association with extractive economies. Some polities were composed of a large number of identifiable subgroups. Ordinarily, the expectation for growth in size and complexity of political units, for example the transition from a "tribe" to a "chiefdom" (Service 1971), is that a political apparatus coordinates several separate political communities. Increased political complexity on the Northwest Coast, however, involved the amalgamation of previously separate and independent groups into localized polities. Socio-economic classes are usually expected to occur in association with the state and agriculture. Class structure was present on the Northwest Coast, however, and the chiefs who owned titles to productive resources also coordinated the political and ceremonial affairs of the group, which centred largely on the institution of the "potlatch".

The present thesis examines some aspects of the development of different political aggregates in the Nootka division of the Northwest Coast. The ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature on the Nootka show that there was some variation in form of polity in that society. The basic socio-political unit was the non-unilineal descent

group. While most descent groups were organized into winter village polities and independence at this level was the norm, some village units also fused to form political federations. Federated winter village groups convened annually at a shared summer village site. A body of titleholders from component descent groups coordinated federation affairs. Non-federated winter village groups were dispersed in summer. These latter arranged their affairs without reference to the authority of any superordinate organization.

The Nootka federation of winter village groups was unique on the Northwest Coast. Elsewhere on the coast the winter village group was the largest politically integrated unit.

Nootka society has been considered in several important works on social and political evolution such as Fried (1967) who interprets the Nootka as a "rank" society, and Service (1978) who classifies the Nootka federation as a "chiefdom."

This thesis reconstructs and re-analyzes the organization of traditional Nootka polities. The objectives are to describe independent winter village groups and federations and show that both were maximal political units, to test some hypotheses about group relations to determine what cultural institutions assisted political integration in Nootka federations, and to test a hypothesis of a relationship between polity form and resource availability to see what conditions might account for the development of federated polities.

In the course of the research I extracted and analyzed data on political organization, marriage, warfare, ceremony, and material

exchange interactions from all ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources available through library and archival collections. The data cover the contact periods from 1774 to 1805 when Nootka society was essentially autonomous, and 1860 to 1890 when the society was semi-autonomous but relatively intact. (There are no data for the years 1805 to 1860 when the Nootka had very little contact with Europeans and Euro-Americans.) The analysis of a relationship between the resource base and polity form utilizes information on the single most important resource in the area which is Pacific salmon. Using Canadian Government Fisheries Department estimates of salmon escapement to streams in British Columbia, Donald and Mitchell (personal communication) have developed a measure (median salmon run over a seventeen year period) of the amount of salmon available to each winter village group in a typical year. The data show that there was considerable variation in the size of salmon runs exploited by different winter village groups.

Chapter Two of the thesis starts by discussing some ideas that occur in the theoretical literature on the evolution of complex social and political organization. The work in this area has mainly been concerned with developing typologies, and fitting ethnographic examples into "levels" of complexity on the basis of selected cultural traits. Writers portray their typologies as representing the full range of societal types known. Both Fried (1967) and Service (1978) classify Nootka society using their respective evolutionary schemes. The theoretical discussion next isolates the "political" aspect of social organization through reference to

a set of attributes which might be discerned in social action. The definition helps to clarify the interpretation that independent winter village groups and federations were political formations. The closing section of Chapter Two briefly reviews what treatment the Nootka federation has received in the ethnological literature, and how this particular form of organization reflects on the validity of prevailing theoretical expectations about the emergence of higher levels of political organization.

Chapter Three provides an ethnographic sketch of Nootka society and culture. The description serves to familiarize the reader with the empirical context in which winter village polities and federation polities developed. The sketch locates the Nootka in the Northwest Coast culture area. It describes the ecology of the west coast of Vancouver Island, the Nootka subsistence complex, and the seasonal round of Nootka groups. The sketch gives account of the main principles of Nootka social organization. Variations in forms of political aggregation are described with some reference to the economic and social activities in which these groups participated. The ethnographic sketch includes an account of the history of Nootka contact with Europeans and Euro-Americans up to 1890 with some consideration of the effects of this contact on Nootka communities.

Chapter Four describes a set of attributes which characterize independent political groups in traditional Nootka society. It then refers to the principal ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources on the Nootka to show that some winter village groups were independent while

others were federated, and that federations were political in nature. An alternative to this view is that federations were congregations of politically distinct groups which came together for economic or ceremonial purposes. It could also be contended that the Nootka federation was a post contact development such as the "confederation" of the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, or the Tsimshian "chiefdoms" described by Jorgensen (1979:15). The description establishes the political and the aboriginal status of Nootka federations.

Various types of institutions integrated federated polities. Marriage, ceremony, and material exchange occurred both within and between maximal political groups. Absence of civil war indicates that federations were effectively integrated. Chapter Five analyzes the content of relations among winter village groups within federations in comparison to the content of relations between independent polities. One hypothesis that finds support is that upper class marriages were generally community exogamous and strategic and served to establish and maintain alliances between independent political groups, whereas lower class marriages usually occurred within the political community. Another hypothesis which is supported is that interpolity exchange inclined towards the balanced and negative end of the reciprocity continuum (using Sahlins' (1972) model), while exchange among winter village units within federations took the form of centralized reciprocity which was coordinated from the apical position of the political hierarchy and which directed the flow of goods used both for provision and for political-ceremonial exchange.

The presence of federations versus independent winter village polities appears to be linked to variation in the amount of resources available in the winter village territory. The analysis in Chapter Six tests for a relationship between a specific resource (median salmon) and the political status of winter village units (independent or federated). The hypothesis which is validated is that where the salmon resource base was relatively productive the winter village group was politically independent, whereas where salmon resources directly available to the winter village group were less abundant the group was attached to other units in a political federation.

Chapter Seven is a synthesis of the description and analyses in the previous chapters. One section considers how the means of integration in federated polities illuminates some problems with general theories on increased political complexity. A second section examines the relationship between political variability in the Nootka area in the light of some ideas of Jorgensen (1979) and Carneiro (1970) on the formation of more highly segmented polities. I then propose an explanation of the empirical fit between the economic and political variables in the form of an hypothetical reconstruction of the federation process. The reconstruction draws on details about Nootka cultural institutions and on data from available accounts of the federation process. It hypothesizes that maintenance of a minimum group size relative to that of neighbouring groups was one variable which could promote political aggregation of previously independent groups, but that warfare over resources was the main process leading

to the political federation of Nootka winter village groups. The thesis concludes with a statement of the points supported by the data that are presented.

# CHAPTER II

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The objective of this chapter is to place the study and analysis of Nootka polity forms into a theoretical framework. The chapter begins with a review of some evolutionary schemes put forward by selected writers. These schemes generally fail to account for the types of polities that occurred in the Nootka area. The chapter then develops a definition of "political" which is useful for the analysis of pre-state organizations. The issue of defining the political aspect of "total" organization is particularly relevant in view of Service's (1978:227) contention that the Nootka federation was a social and not a political aggregate. Finally, the theoretical import of the Nootka federation is considered.

### Theories of Social and Political Evolution

The classic nineteenth century account of evolution distinguished two forms of society represented by such dichotomies as 'status'/ 'contract' (Maine1861), and 'societas'/'civitas' (Morgan 1877). Sometimes this distinction was elaborated into a set of stages, for example Morgan's 'Savagery,' 'Barbarism,' 'Civilization' scheme. To Morgan, progress through these stages was initiated by technological innovations which improved productivity; institutional changes were associated with changes in material conditions. Work with these

schemes emphasized classification and known societies were fitted into a series of statuses which culminated at 'Civilization.'

Modern cultural anthropology has revived cultural evolution but has rejected the notion of a succession of stages through which each evolving society must progress. The primary emphasis is on relationships between culture and environment. Two prominent evolutionists, L. White and J. Steward, hold contrary ideas regarding the proper scope for analysis of evolutionary problems. To White (1943, 1959) society and culture evolve as a result of increases in "thermodynamic efficiency." White's analysis is universal in scope, his formulation treats "the habitat" (as well as "the human organism") as a constant. Technological developments improve man's ability to extract energy from a generalized environment. Social relations are subject to developments in the technological sector. Steward's theory concentrates on relationships between particular cultures and their local ecological settings. The "core" features of a culture are adapted to the significant aspects of its particular environment. To Steward, evolution is not a single universal process but proceeds along many lines in adaptive response to diverse environmental conditions. The disagreement between these two theorists warrants recognition because each provides a different answer to the necessary question: Where do we look to discover those factors that produce variation in social organization? White suggests a focus on changes in the capacity of methods of energy exploitation. Steward suggests an examination of the problems presented by particular habitats.

Sahlins (1960) responds to this debate by making a distinction between "specific" and "general" evolution. In its specific aspect culture adapts to different ecological niches. Through selection and adaptation culture diversifies and manifests a heterogeneity of forms. As an example consider rules of descent group membership; rather than representing different levels of evolutionary development patriliny and matriliny are simply alternative types of rule of affiliation based on kinship reckoning. Comparative analysis of specific cultural forms must work within a relative framework since the alternatives develop in response to local historical and ecological conditions.

General evolution covers the appearance of new, higher levels of organization. Organizational complexity does not necessarily increase with greater thermodynamic efficiency, but does increase in association with a rise in the amount of energy utilized by a society. Level of organizational complexity is suitably represented by Steward's concept of "level of integration." Three trends are apparent as level of integration increases: society is more segmented, social groups become more specialized, and the society is more effectively integrated (Sahlins 1960:22). Complex societies are less vulnerable to changes in environmental conditions and are better able to expand into new ecological niches. Sahlin's interpretation suggests that trends in the development of organizational complexity may be used as indices of general social evolution.

The modern approach to the study of the evolution of society has also been largely typological. Constellations of basic features of social organization are cited to define levels of complexity. The criteria used by different theorists do not always correspond; different writers characterize stages on the basis of the features which strike them as important. Processes of change have received minimal attention though there are various suggestions as to what conditions result in the development of new forms of organization. Fried (1960, 1967) and Carneiro (1970) are partial exceptions in that they attempt to link stages and offer hypotheses on transitional processes.

Steward (1955) presents the concept of "level of sociocultural integration" as a methodological tool. Steward's typology lists "family," "community," and "national" levels. He argues that each level is characterized by new forms of cooperation and social interaction which develop in response to demands for improved organization of production. Unity required for economic purposes is reinforced by new social institutions and group ceremonialism. Each level of organization features new forms of social control and leadership.

Service (1958, 1971) applies the notion of sociocultural integration and distinguishes four levels: "band," "tribe," "chiefdom," "state." Service's scheme has been particularly influential though problems are recognized. Service (1958, 1978) includes the Nootka as a case study and classifies the society as a chiefdom. Because of the suggested location of Nootka society in this scheme the following summary concentrates on the features that characterize tribes and chiefdoms.

The distinctive means of integration in tribes is the pan-tribal sodality (non-localized sodality) which may be a kinship or non-kinship association. Tribes are basically egalitarian, political hierarchies are absent, leadership is personal and achieved. Tribal societies are composes of like groups, each being self-sufficient and autonomous - equivalent to Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity." Intergroup relations take the form of alliance and reciprocal exchange of women and goods. Polities generally ally for a particular purpose and subsequently revert to their localized autonomous structures, Sahlins's (1961) analysis of segmentary lineage systems typifies this operational feature. Tribal structures tend toward disunity and pan-tribal sodalities such as descent units, age grades, and ceremonial socieites counter this tendency.

One structural type is the "cognatic tribe" which displays non-unilineal descent groups and flexible post-marital residence rules. It is hypothesized that cognatic tribes occur in association with "closed" territories delimited by geographic barriers or neighbouring groups (Service 1971:126). Service describes a sub-type which appears as "a kind of compromise . . . which results in a residential group that is a mixture of lineal and cognatic principles" (1971:125-126). The social group consists of a core of unilineally related kinsmen that hold a disproportionate amount of the property and authority and a tissue of non-unilineal relatives who shift residence in response to changes in the availability of resources. This group resembles the "stem lineage" described by Sahlins (1957).

Chiefdoms are said to develop in environments where centralized control of the economy is an adaptive advantage, such as where resources are distributed throughout diverse ecological zones. Production is specialized. Residential units occupy all zones and contribute local produce towards a system of redistribution controlled by a central "office." The separate units are interdependent - "organic solidarity." The office becomes indispensible to the continued well being of the society.

The authority of the chiefly office extends to other sectors of activity. Rules of succession and of affiliation to noble ranks produce a conical social structure with the chief at the apex and statuses of kinsmen graded down from the apical position on the basis of genealogical distance from the chiefly line. The central figure plays a prominent role in the religious life of the community. Centralization of authority facilitates the application of material and human resources to political projects. This potential gives chiefdoms a competitive edge over less centralized polities. It is the inward focus on the central controlling apparatus that integrates the group as a whole. The chiefdom incorporates a specific set of localized subgroups and sets them off from groups that belong to other polities.

Fried (1960, 1967) presents a somewhat different account of the evolution of political organization. The scheme distinguishes levels of development on the basis of degree of differentiation of roles and statuses within the society. Fried's levels are: "egalitarian," "rank," "stratified," and "state." Nootka society is typed as a rank society (Fried 1967).

Rank societies have fewer positions of prestige than people capable of holding such positions. Statuses are hierarchically ordered. Rules specify who will enter into high status positions and who will not. Fried terms such rules "narrowing devices" (Fried 1960); the simplest is birth order. The highest ranking position is the centre of the redistributive system and coordinates pooling activities. The "regularity of the role of village redistributor conveys prestige and bolsters political status" (Fried 1967:118). Still, in contrast to stratified societies, exploitative power is absent. Prerogatives of leadership are enmeshed in kinship rights and obligations. All members of the society have unconditional access to basic resources. Family units optimize opportunities presented by kinship connections. Close male relatives frequently stay together and form a permanent "nucleus' in which high rank concentrates. This practise might produce a relationship between the descent group core and lower ranking kinsmen out of which stratification develops (Fried 1967:123). The nucleated structure resembles the cognatic tribe described previously.

The most important structural unit in rank societies is a set of kinship groups which are integrated economically through their common participation in a redistributive network. Fried terms this structural arrangement "economic interdigitation" (1960:719). Typically the network is organized and operates at the level of the village, though sometimes the redistributive system and a ranking system link separate villages. On islands (a type of "closed" or "circumscribed" environment) in particular, there tends to be a stronger sense of regional

aggregate unity. Relations between high ranking representatives of different villages pattern relations between villages groups. Yet villages continue to be "the largest effective social groups" in the society (Fried 1967:175).

Fried argues that redistribution is latent in the household economy. The origins of the suprafamilial redistributive network are to be found in "technogeographical situations" (Fried 1960:720) which persuade fissioning kinship units to retain active economic ties with the parent community. The relation extends the geographic and institutional range of the economy and diversifies and insures the resource supply which provisions participating groups (Fried 1960:720). The economic organization operates as a complex of generalized exchange relationships between residential groups.

Under a stratified social order subgroups within the society control the resources that provision the society as a whole. Rules restrict subordinates's right of access to basic resources. Fried distinguishes two general types of restricted access: "total exclusion," where certain members of the society hold all available usufructs; and access on condition of "payments or labour outputs in excess of those required of people with direct access rights" (Fried 1967:188-189). Fried is unable to identify any non-state society that is stratified (cf. 1967:185,194). On this point he adheres to anthropological orthodoxy which does not associate true socio-economic classes (stratification) with kinship based organization.

Consistent with his structural-ecological approach, Fried argues that stratification might develop when a disequilibrium between population and resources causes kinship groups to enforce preferred rules regarding access to resources with the result that certain kin categories are denied rights. One method, cited by Fried (1967:199-201) for Tikopia, is to apply strict conditions for use of resource areas to families that violate standard post-marital residence rules. The development of new rules limiting access to resources results in a contradiction between the reciprocal rights and obligations that govern relations between kinsmen and new relations of production within the local group. Communities are composed of an upper stratum and dependent subordinates (dual class structure). Members of the upper stratum convert control over resources into real political power. Subordinates depend on relations with the controlling stratum for their economic and political well-being. Relations between groups are controlled by the upper stratum and tend to reinforce class solidarity.

Another interpretation of political evolution is put forth by Carneiro (1970) who focuses on restrictions in the availability of food as the condition which stimulates the development of political integration above the village level. Carneiro hypothesizes that where resources are abundant but concentrated, population will increase beyond the carrying capacity of the immediate territory. The argument continues that when the resource base is "circumscribed" by geographic barriers or by neighbouring polities, groups without sufficient resources engage in warfare that is directed toward the acquisition of

new territory. Groups that are conquered by expanding polities are politically incorporated into the unit which seizes their territory, and this process produces a supra-village political organization which is dominated by the conquering group (Carneiro 1970). For Carneiro, warfare is the mechanism that leads to the appearance of higher levels of political integration. His theory of political evolution is therefore a "coercive" theory, since it specifies that political complexity is achieved through the application of force (Carneiro 1970:734). "Coercive" theories are distinguished from "voluntaristic" theories which favour peaceful amalgamation of groups as the main process of political evolution (Carneiro 1970:733-734). Carneiro cites V.C. Childe and K. Wittfogel as two writers who offer voluntaristic theories of state formation. Carneiro refutes "voluntaristic" theories generally on the basis of his observation of:

> the demonstrated inability of autonomous political units to relinquish their sovereignty in the absence of overriding external constraints. We see this inability manifested again and again by political units ranging from tiny villages to great empires. Indeed, one can scan the pages of history without finding a single genuine exception to this rule (Carneiro 1979:734).

My interpretation is that under certain conditions, specifically when the political group size is too low relative to the size of neighbouring units (Fried(1967:119) suggests that groups must maintain a minimum size), independent polities will aggregate peaceably, but that the Nootka data suggest that, generally, political federation resulted after a period of warfare between the winter village groups involved.

The preceding discussion outlines some ideas on growth in size and complexity of political organization that occur in selected ethnological works. I shall argue that Nootka groups did not correspond to the structural model of the "chiefdom" as Service (1971) holds, and that Fried's classification of the Nootka as a "rank" society is inaccurate because it overlooks the rules for ownership and control of productive resources. A re-analysis of the Nootka data does, however, reveal the relevance for this society of the concepts of the "cognatic tribe" (Service 1971), of "stratification" in the sense of Fried (1960, 1967), and of "coercive" aggregation processes as described by Carneiro (1970).

## The Political Aspect of Group Organization

In order to distinguish the "political" from other aspects of social organization I review some ideas on politics and political organization developed in political anthropology. A set of attributes are presented to represent the political dimension of total social phenomena. In a subsequent section the concepts will help to support an interpretation of variation in forms of politically organized groups in Nootka society.

The organization of "societas" societies tends to be "total" in the sense of Mauss (1954). The various dimensions of cultural activity are not under the jurisdiction of separate specialized institutions but are coordinated through a unitary system of division of authority. Figures who dominate the higher levels of organization

also head their respective subgroups. All aspects of social relations are coordinated from the same positions of authority and power. The organization itself, then, may have several facets and carry out many kinds of activity that are often the purpose of specialized institutions in state societies.

This tendency for "total organization" or perhaps "total coordination" is recognized by Godelier (1978). Godelier discusses the theoretical implications of variations in linkage between relations of production and other axes of social relations in different societal types. He observes that frequently the "distinction between infrastructure and superstructure is not a distinction between institutions, but a distinction between different functions within a single institution" (Godelier 1978:764, emphasis in original). And so it was with Nootka. Winter village groups and federations were, simultaneously, economic, political, and ceremonial organizations. The concept of total coordination seems akin to what Wittfogel means by systems of "total power" (Wittfogel 1957). One administrative apparatus controls the full range of social relations.

Sahlins encounters the problem when he attempts to develop a working definition of economics for primitive societies:

> Any institution, say a family or a lineage order, if it has material consequence for provisioning society can be placed in an economic context and considered part of the economic process. The same institution may be equally or more involved in the political process, thus profitably considered as well in a political context . . . we find no socially distinct "economy" or "government," merely social groups with multiple functions, which we distinguish as economic, political and so forth (1972:185-186 fn.)

Political organization, like economic organization, is based on the same principles and involves the same groups and ties between groups that order social relations generally. The relationship of the political to the broader social organization is roughly coincident. The problem for the analyst is to specify features to represent the political axis.

The concept "political" involves the notion of possessing and applying control over relations that affect the group. Swartz, Turner and Tuden (1966) view political processes in terms of sequences of events which influence the development of public, versus private, relations. A political decision or action affects a kinship unit, a territorial unit, or a set of such units. A further attribute of politics is that it concerns goals (Swartz et al 1966:5-6). The authors combine these attributes and argue that politics is primarily concerned with objectives that are sought for a unit larger than the individual. Such goals include establishing new relationships with other groups and assigning offices, titles, and other limited resources for which there is competition requiring group consent (Swartz et al 1966: 5-6). The first type of goal covers such concerns as achieving independence, warring and peace-making, elevating prestige, or re-ordering the status of subgroups within the maximal unit. The latter type of goal helps to see the political aspect in such phenomena as Fried's "narrowing devices" mentioned earlier. Rank societies employ rules to establish which members will fill positions of control.

The above formulation of the sorts of objectives that are political in nature receives some support from Keesing (1976). Keesing defines political organization with reference to a set of problems which constitute part of the total social concerns of a group. The problems he discusses are: maintenance of territorial rights, preservation of intra-group order, and allocation of power to make decisions with respect to group action. Political organization, Keesing argues, "comprises whatever rules and roles are used to manage these problems" (1976:348). The problems Keesing focuses on share a common theme of control over group prerogatives. Fried defines political organization as "those portions of social organization that specifically relate to individuals or groups that manage the affairs of public policy or seek to control the appointment of these individuals or groups" (1967: 20-21). This interpretation also focuses on the distribution of power to exercise public prerogatives. A politically organized group confronts such problems with some degree of unification.

Political matters are purposive but the objectives need not be fully perceived nor be equivalent for all members (Swartz et al 1966: 5, Keesing 1976:361-2). This latter point merits particular note when considering stratified societies. It may be that leaders alone are aware of the actual objectives behind a project or strategy. Differential benefits may apply to different social categories or groups. Reasons for participating in war, for example, can range from acquisition of property or power, to simple avoidance of sanctions imposed against objecting parties. The objectives, then, need

not be the same for all members of the group. Swartz et al (1966:5) stress that the essential component is competition which requires group consent for the outcome to be effective. A political process engages the group. Developments rest largely on the differential application of some mode of control over a unit of society.

In summary, social action has a political dimension if it manifests an objective, is a public rather than a private process, and shows a parameter of control over group affairs. For any given society these theoretically developed attributes must be operationalized and translated into empirical elements of that particular political organization. To discern the "political" in the total phenomena of Nootka society I rely on general descriptive statements supplemented by some case data. An identifiable organization which displays the specific empirical elements, or "variables," may be distinguished as wholly or partially political in nature. Linked subgroups share the same state on a given variable, for example a common name or a single decision-making body. Relations between independent polities involve alliance and opposition. Instances of group interaction help to outline the boundaries of independent political units.

## Perspective on the Nootka Case

For all discussions of cultural evolution Northwest Coast societies are particularly interesting, because they are difficult to classify. The constellations of cultural features on the Northwest Coast defy common ethnological assumptions. In the absence of both the state and agriculture, socio-economic class structure was fairly widespread. Organization was complex for local community groupings, but between separate groups alliance and reciprocity rather than politicized hierarchy and redistribution were the common political modes.

The Nootka federation was a singular phenomenon even in the Northwest Coast context. The federation was the one prehistoric organization that fused a number of winter village groups into a politically integrated unit. Federations thus represent the most highly segmented aboriginal political formations on the Northwest Coast of North America.

Despite its theoretical implications and frequent mention in the literature (Rosman and Rubel 1971; Suttles 1962; Service 1962, 1978), the Nootkan federation has received little examination beyond the expository data provided by Drucker (1951). The latter work describes "confederacies" as political units and suggests that geographic propinquity promoted their development (Drucker 1951:5,7,10). Drucker specifies hereditary rank and kinship ties to be the means of integration for Nootka groups generally. Other writers tend to give a cursory

account of the distinction between federations and winter villages. Rosman and Rubel note that the "confederacy . . . represents the union of several geographically contiguous tribes" (1971:70), "tribe" being Drucker's term for the winter village unit. The authors proceed to analyze the form of the potlatch practised by the Nootka with reference to structural variables associated with succession rules and "ambilateral descent." The issue of polity formation is not important in their analysis. Suttles mentions the "confederacy of the Wakashan type" (1962:523) as a point of contrast with respect to community relations among Straits and Halkomelem Salish. Service suggests that Nootka "winter villages united into confederacies because of the use of a common territory in the summer" (1978:227). He argues further that the federation was "a social order rather than a planned political order" (1978:227). Service does not report that groups varied with regard to political status but portrays the federation as a constant in the Nootka area. Drucker's term "confederacy" is adopted by each of these writers. No variables other than proximity of group territories are cited to explain why Nootkans developed federations.

A discussion of the contrast between the Iroquois confederacy organization and the organization of political groups on the Northwest Coast appeared in Jenness as early as 1932. Recently, Donald (1979) has pointed out that the application of the term "confederacy" to the Nootka case detracts from the critical feature that the largest political unit was a localized group. In the Nootka area politically attached winter village units resided together for the summer season.

Donald (1979) suggests that the term "federation" be used to more accurately represent the effective political cohesion evidenced in Nootka summer aggregates.

The development of different forms of polity in the area appears as an instance of specific evolution (as defined by Sahlins 1960). Winter villages and federations were integrated on the same design (Drucker 1951:220). An important feature of Nootka society as a case study is that variation in political organization occurred within the one ethnolinguistic division. This resembles the situation which Sahlins describes in his analysis of differences in "degree" and "form" of social stratification in Polynesia; the observed variation developed from a common source and within the context of one cultural tradition so that Nootka polities, like Polynesian societal types, represent "members of a single cultural genus that [had] filled in and adapted to a variety of local habitats" (Sahlins 1958:ix). Independent winter village polities and federations developed from a common proto-Nootka polity type. It will be shown that resource availability varied through the Nootka area, and it is expected that variations in polity type were related to the conditions of the resource base.

The Nootka tradition included a fishing and sea mammal hunting complex which directed seasonal movements and group aggregation. Sahlins (1972a) argues that hunter-gatherer groups extend the resource base through group mobility. Service (1958:135-136) suggests that bands and tribes engage in reciprocal exchange of goods from different

zones, and that under non-agricultural economies groups exploit several resource zones through movement of people rather than produce. I hypothesize that Nootka groups expand the provision base through both movement and exchange. Such exchange may be reciprocal or redistributive, or it may be transitional between these two forms with some groups using principles of reciprocity to stimulate and uphold the development of a redistributive economy. Where reciprocity was present I expect that localized groups were fully self governing and exchange took place largely in the context of intergroup ceremonials and negative and balanced reciprocity relations. Where the exchange relation involved pooling and redistribution I expect that the titleholders who coordinated economic activities organized the political activities of the participating groups; and that the groups which belonged to the redistributive unit resided together for at least part of the year.

# CHAPTER III

## ETHNOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION

This chapter provides a brief introduction to Nootka ethnography. The linguistic status of the Nootka and their geographic location on the Northwest Coast are noted. This identification is followed by an account of the environmental conditions in the area, and a description of Nootka group economic activities. The third and fourth sections describe principles of social organization, and survey the structure of political groups and intergroup ties. An overview of the history of contact in the Nootka area concludes the chapter. The chapter is descriptive in nature and emphasizes those features of Nootka ethnography that relate to the topic of group organization.

### Identification

The term "Nootka" designates an ethnolinguistic unit that includes the speakers of three languages: Nootka proper, Nitinat, and Makah. In the late 1700's the Nootka inhabited the west coast of Vancouver Island from Cape Cook south to around Port Renfrew as well as Cape Flattery across Juan de Fuca Strait. On Vancouver Island an isogloss sketched inland from a point just north of Nitinat Lake separates Nootka proper to the north from Nitinat. The Makah language is spoken at Cape Flattery so the Strait separates Makah groups from those based on Vancouver Island.

The Nootka division of languages together with the Kwakiutl division (languages: Kwakwala, Haisla, and Heiltsuk) comprise the Wakashan linguistic family. While Nootka and Kwakiutl share a high proportion of culture traits there was considerable diversity within and between these divisions.

## Ecology and Subsistence

In the Nootka area the rugged coastline is indented with large "sounds." Channels reach between islands and headlands and lead into sheltered fiords that terminate where cold mountain streams reach salt water. Outside the sounds the coastline is exposed, being broken only by small bays and rivermouths. Occasionally a depressed area behind the coastline will hold a freshwater lake. The temperate rainforest that covers the land is virtually impenetrable, and from beach villages the eyes of the people looked seaward. Visitors arrived by sea; the waters provided sustenance. The Nootka people plied these waterways in accord with an organization of activities which had developed in response to survival problems that confronted the society.

The Nootka economy was extractive. As such the pattern of food resource exploitation was closely affected by the character of the environment. Suttles (1974:133) notes four features of the Northwest Coast environment to which native societies were adapted: variation in resource types, local diversity, seasonal variation, and fluctuation from year to year. On the coast, types of resources are fairly consistent within ethnolinguistic areas so that Suttles observes a

"partial correspondence" of linguistic, cultural, and ecological boundaries (1974:133). Thus within the Nootka area, local diversity, seasonal variation, and annual fluctuations are the variables that aboriginal economic, social, and political organization were designed to accommodate.

Nootka subsistence activities followed a characteristic seasonal round shown in Table 1. The seasonal pattern followed the cycle of availability and access set by resource location, species migration, and weather. The staple foods were salmon of various species, herring, and halibut. Salmon were taken from March through to November. On the west coast of Vancouver Island the modal peak of the sockeye salmon run occurs in June. Chum and coho runs peak in October. In this area the chum (dog) salmon run is largest. The volume and the time of the chum salmon run combined to make this the most important species used in the preservation of winter supplies. Makah groups deviate from the general Nootka pattern in that salmon streams are limited and halibut was the winter staple. Makah fished for salmon only when herring were available for bait. Swan (1869) reports that whale flesh, oil, and blubber as well as halibut were the staple foods at Cape Flattery. Generally, fish oil and roe were highly prized. Sea mammals, most significantly seals and whales, were eaten and provided raw materials. Nootkans hunted and trapped some land mammals and a few small upriver groups relied heavily on elk and bear meat and venison. Avifauna were taken generally during migration stop-overs, although some freshwater lakes supported permanent bird populations.

Shellfish, most especially clams and mussels, were gathered, particularly when preferred foods could not be obtained in sufficient quantities. Wild plant foods, shoots, roots and berries, supplemented a diet rich in oil and protein.

Table 1 opens with the herring season. The full population participated in herring fishing activities in bays owned by titled kinsmen. At the close of the herring fishery subsistence activities diversified. Workers whose "chiefs" owned halibut banks moved to "outside" fishing stations. Other work groups proceeded to waterfowl haunts, berry patches, salmon trolling areas and so forth. Whaling and sealing expeditions embarked from sites on the outside coast. Outside sites were the congregation loci for federations where they existed. As summer closed all descent groups removed to their salmon streams, for by early September chum are moving inshore and upstream in large numbers. Men trapped and harpooned the fish; women and slaves processed the catch. In a normal year the take was probably limited more by capacity to process and preserve than by numbers of fishermen. After the chum run ended descent groups left their streams and convened at winter village sites. During the winter festival season rough weather prevailed and subsistence activities lulled. Men alone or or husband and wife pairs fished for cod (codfish grounds were not owned) as weather permitted. Winter huckleberries were available into December and shellfish gathering continued. The stores of smoke-dried salmon usually lasted throughout the winter until the arrival of the herring. Tradition records, however, that if the herring arrived late the people suffered deprivation and hardship.

TABLE 1: SEASONAL ROUND OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, VANCOUVER ISLAND NOOTKA

| | Feb. | March | April | May | June | July | August | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Jan. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aggregate Group | Work groups under separate titleholders | | Federation<br>Specific work groups dispersed | | | | | Descent group | | Winter village group | | |
| Location | Herring fishing sites on lower reaches of inlets | | Federation sites on the open coast | | | | | Descent group fishing stations in coves, at rivermouths, then upstream | | Winter village site | | |
| Resource | Herring | Herring Spawn | Whales<br>Halibut | | | | | Chum salmon<br>Coho | Ducks<br>Gulls<br>Fern<br>Skunk cabbage<br>Roots<br>Winter huckleberries | Occasional codfishing | Shellfish | |
| | Spring Salmon | | Waterfowl<br>Berries<br>Greens | | Sockeye- Spring | Clover roots | | | | | | |
| Preservation and Storage | Herring dried | Herring Spawn sun and wind dried | Halibut sun dried | | Whale oil extracted and stored | | | Salmon smoke dried<br>Salmon eggs boxed | | | Codfish and shellfish eaten fresh only | |

Source: Drucker 1951.

## Society

The primary kinship unit in Nootka society was a named descent group whose members shared belief in descent from a common ancestor and whose active members co-resided. Donald (1979) has identified the Nootka type of non-unilineal descent group as the "patrilineal stem lineage" as defined by Sahlins (1957). Stem lineages were headed by titleholders who acted as leaders in economic, social, political, and in some cases religious activities. The titled position was ascribed on the basis of primogeniture and rules of descent that contained a strong patrilineal bias. Within the descent group individual statuses were ordered from high to low each rank being a function of genealogical closeness to the lineage ancestor. In principle, the highest ranking titleholder was the eldest direct patrilineal descendent of the ancestor. Outside the patrilineal core descent was reckoned non-unilineally, therefore every person could affiliate and identify with several descent groups. Stem lineages were loci of wealth, authority and power around which low rank kin coalesced.

Nootka society as a whole contained three classes: titleholders (ha'wiɬ), commoners (måstcum), and slaves (kōɬ). All status was hereditary. Slaves were obtained by capture or trade. Slaves may be distinguished from the two former categories by their status as aliens in a community of kinsmen. Slaves were attached to lineages as property and possessed no rights. On other criteria, however, slaves and commoners together differed from titleholders. All property - food and

wealth resources and noncorporeal properties - was "owned" and controlled by titleholders (Drucker 1951:248). Chiefs validated titles through distributions of property on ceremonial occasions. Rights to title were accompanied by definite responsibilities and obligations. Despite the importance of reciprocal kinship obligations, commoners obtained access to resources only through co-residence with a titleholding kinsman and delivered a portion of the produce to the title-holders. Slaves relied on their chiefs for provision and protection. Donald suggests that both commoners and slaves should be regarded as types of "dependent labour" (1979:5). This implies class conflict while kinship is an integrative principle. The contradiction between the principles of rights through kinship, and labour as a condition of access to resources, seems to have been mediated by a custom of circulating between chiefs's houses (cf. Drucker 1951:279).

There was considerable flexibility in residence patterns. While post-marital residence was normally virilocal (with husband's kin), it was mid to high rank people who adhered most frequently to the rule (which is consistent with their patri-bias). Commoners shifted residence continually and persons of rank made extended visits to relatives. A residence shift meant that labour power and consumption demands were transferred to another group. Regular movement between descent groups was one means of adjusting population to resource availability.

Division of labour was modest, tasks were assigned primarily by sex. The sex criterion did not apply to slaves who had to perform any

assigned task. Titleholders, however, appear to have been partially exempt from menial work. Skilled craftsmen gave over a disproportionate amount of time to special tasks, eg. canoe-building. Such talents sometimes earned favour but no superior status. War chiefs were generally from the lower nobility. Success in war conveyed some special titles and privileges which were passed on to heirs. By strict principles of seniority elder siblings within the nobility were the secular and spiritual leaders of the society.

Nootka warfare is more properly described as raiding. Encounters were usually surprise dawn attacks, the object being to slaughter as many adult men as possible and capture women and children. Retaliatory revenge, status ambition, and economic gain are known motives (cf. Swadesh 1948). Victims were generally decapitated and heads kept as trophies but we lack information on the ideology behind this practice.

Social control was not institutionalized. A victim's close relations might avenge a murder but intra-group violence was very rare. Sanctions of minor offences and conflict usually took the form of advice or gossip from kinsmen. Public reprimand generally quietened an antagonist. Weregild was unknown. Drucker (1951) repeatedly emphasizes that passivity was a social virtue and contrasts peacetime behaviour with the horror and sadism prevalent in war. Witchcraft and adultery were the main causes of intra-group conflict.

The winter ceremonial was an extended period of feasting and ritual theatrics which were accompanied by "potlatching." Feasts were required at a wide array of events as when a chief received produce

from food resource areas, when the first salmon, and the first berry crop of the season were taken, or when a stranded whale was found. Any formal announcement, such as a potlatch invitation, was accompanied by a feast. The Nootka potlatch was a social event at which titles were transferred to young heirs. To the young recipient the event constituted a rite of passage. Most dramatic was the Shaman's Dance (Loqwana) at which the young novice was abducted by wolf spirits, who allegedly took him to his ancestral home and gave him a number of hereditary rights and privileges. Subsequently rescued by his kinsmen, the initiate re-entered the community under a new status. The whole community attended these events, as did invited guests from other villages. Strict rules of procedure prevailed, and the host presented gifts in order of rank. By their presence guests approved and acknowledged the transfer of rights.

Nootka marriage practices gave consideration to kinship and to status differences. Stratum (class) endogamy was usual. Gift exchanges at marriage included titles, wealth goods and food. Marriage between close relatives was prohibited (Drucker (1951:287) reports that first and second cousins seldom married, and for Makah Swan (1869:13) notes ties only as close as fourth cousin). Nootkans preferred to marry within the kin circle, however, and it was recognized that related families had the right to ask for a daughter in marriage. First marriages in particular were arranged by the families of the bride and groom and involved much ceremony in accord with family status. Polygyny was permitted but was not the norm. Marriages, particularly

those between titleholding families, affected relations between whole communities.

## Political Groups and Intergroup Relations

The non-unilineal descent group was the basic component of the higher levels of organization. Blocs of stem lineages united into winter villages which in turn came together to form summer federations. The latter two types of aggregate had three features in common: a residence site, a name, and an internal ranking of chiefs. Areal distribution of the three levels of organization varied. In the north most polities had evolved to be federations. It is not clear whether central Nootkans were organized into federations aboriginally, but they had reached this level by the fur trade era (Drucker 1951:219). Data on sociopolitical organization south of Barkley Sound is limited, but Nitinat appears to have included four winter village groups, while Makah had five winter villages (described as independent by Swan 1869:219) and three summer villages close to halibut and whaling areas. Prehistorically some descent groups were independent, eg. up Muchalat Arm and in Hesquiat Harbour. Most descent groups, however, were consolidated into larger units.

The winter village was composed of two or more descent groups. Some winter villages formed by accretion. The process is known to have been set in motion by both peaceful actions, eg. Tlupana Arm groups (Drucker 1951:230), and violent actions, eg. Ahousat (Drucker 1951: 238-9). Occasionally, descent group fissions produced a mixed

winter village in which each new unit took a house and a name.

Just as winter villages featured several descent group houses, federations came into being when descent groups from different winter villages constructed summer houses at a given site. The summer house was actually a duplicate of the descent group's winter house. The site was owned by one titleholder who invited or coerced other descent group heads to come with their retinues and take up summer residence together. Frequently, permission (title to a house site) was transferred in marriage. From summer villages all member groups had access to ocean resources.

The seasonal movements of Nootka groups were activated in response to local and temporal diversity of resources. Whales and halibut occur off the open coast and to exploit these resources it was necessary for the group to be stationed "outside." Groups that did not hold residence right at sites on the open coast could not exploit the off-shore zone but were restricted to fiord and inlet habitats. Given that outside stations were all owned there was definite economic advantage to federation membership, Drucker's (1951:223-227) account of the formation of the "Ehetisat confederacy" (federation) exemplifies the central importance of exchange of economic rights in the process of federation development.

In the case of access to whaling areas the motivation need not have been merely utilitarian. Whaling was a prerogative of rank. Its practice was enveloped by ritual and guided by strict rules of procedure. As with seals, body parts of whales were distributed in

accord with specific hereditary rights. Despite these embellishments, whaling may not have been economically productive. Drucker (1951: 48-56) in part using Jewitt's data, asserts it was not. Mitchell (1979) argues that given the numbers of drift whales taken and the size of these creatures food returns were fairly substantial. Either way, success at whaling conferred high status. Taking this valuation as a precondition, it is likely that desire to participate in whaling activities probably motivated some titleholders to seek out relationships that would provide access to the open coast zone.

These hypothesized developmental processes give rise to an interesting question: What would motivate owners of open coast sites to open seasonal coresidence relationships with other groups? Mitchell hypothesizes that federation relationships were "an advantage in making war and keeping peace, and they may even have encouraged a pooling of other important resources [besides whales] as well" (Mitchell 1979:9). I hypothesize that host titleholders actively sought to extend their influence through placing obligations on other groups, or rather on other leading titleholders. By accepting an invitation to erect a house at a federation site a group titleholder incurred a "debt." Reciprocal repayment might, as hypothesized for intra-winter village exchange, result in a centripetal flow of social, economic, and political resources which would accrue to the owner of the federation site.

The internal organization of federations is not well known. As previously stated, the unit had a name and heads of winter villages were

fitted into a ranking system that was expressed at "potlatches" and feasts. Drucker reports that federations were "units for war as well as ceremonials" and that internal hostilities were almost unknown (Drucker 1951:221). One recognizable pattern is that federations tended to be circumscribed within sounds; the Kyuquot federation, for example, included all groups within that sound. It is clear that federated groups cooperated and mobilized together to pursue projects that benefitted the whole aggregation. The thesis investigates federation organization in as much detail as available data will allow. It undertakes an analysis of integrative institutions, and describes federation government.

Finally, non-federated groups are particularly interesting. A number of independent groups did not join with others at summer sites. This unattached group status appears to associate with two ecological-economic conditions: winter village groups whose title-holders held exclusive title to summer fishing and sea hunting stations, eg. Chickliset; and winter village groups which held "inside" territories that were particularly rich, eg. up Muchalat Arm. This pattern of association tends to suggest that some groups remained detached aboriginally because they were economically self-sufficient, had satisfactory political strength, and perhaps because their title-holders did not demand additional resources for participation in social exchange.

History

Nootka society first encountered 'civitas' man in the 1770's. Until about 1890, by which time the Vancouver Island Nootka were effectively incorporated into the Canadian state, Nootka society experienced a series of contact phases that may be defined on the basis of the objectives of the invaders. Indian society underwent varied changes during these different contact phases. The thesis is concerned with the development of variation in sociopolitical organization and relations. Some aspects of sociopolitical change are still poorly understood and it is frequently difficult to determine whether particular developments during the historical period are consistent with processes that obtained aboriginally or are discontinuities that can be attributed to contact factors. My present concern is to briefly survey the history of European and Euro-American activities in the area and Nootka reactions to the changing conditions. From this background sketch, some contact factors that might have initiated discontinuities should become apparent. The sketch also gives an historical context to the ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources on the Nootka which are discussed in Appendix A.

Spanish naval forces, mindful of Russian ambitions on the North Pacific coast, reached present day British Columbia in 1774. In that year Juan Perez anchored off the west coast of Vancouver Island and while Perez did not go ashore local Indians went aboard the "Santiago" from their canoes. Nootka Sound is identified as the

location of this encounter and W. Cook (1973:67) relates that Perez recognized the strategic importance of the natural harbour.

In March 1778 Captain James Cook visited Nootka Sound before proceeding northward in search of a Pacific approach to a Northwest Passage. The designation "Nootka" arose from Cook's misinterpretation of Moachat vocabulary. The crews of the "Resolution" and the "Discovery" procured about 1,500 sea otter pelts from the Moachat, intending to use the furs for coats and bedding on the northward voyage. Subsequently the British seamen sold the pelts in Canton for a substantial profit.

The sea otter, Enhydra lutris, was hunted aboriginally by the Nootkans who appreciated its natural warmth and beauty. The Japan Current which runs along the northwest coast of North America is always cold and the sea otter does not shed its fur in summer. The Chinese aristocracy valued and eagerly purchased these luxuriant pelts. Reports of the high profit potential in a North Pacific coast fur trade spread quickly in Britain and the new American Republic. Maritime trade interests acted quickly on this knowledge. The infamous Meares arrived in 1785 and was soon followed by Hanna, Strange, Barkley, Portlock and Dixon, Gray and Kendrick, Douglas and numerous others. Initially, small items, especially iron implements, were exchanged for furs but the natives soon increased their demands. Within the Nootka area the main loci of trade were Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds and to some extent Neah Bay near Cape Flattery. The maritime trade established these harbours as satellites of the larger economy. Traders needed Indian sea hunters to bring in the pelts, thus the satellite areas

provided both labour and resources. In turn, Indian leaders at the three main ports of call collected furs from outlying groups and dominated the trade. Differential access to wealth goods as well as firearms affected social and power relations between groups in a society that traditionally associated control of property with rank.

Contemporary with the early trade Spanish authorities moved to establish sovereignty at Nootka Sound. Martinez arrived in 1789; his seizure of the ships "North West America," "Argonaut," and "Princess Royal" resulted in the famous "Nootka Sound Controversy" which embroiled Spain and Britain in a tense diplomatic struggle and brought those nations to the brink of war. Negotiations led to the rendezvous at Nootka Sound in 1792 of Bodega y Quadra and George Vancouver. In 1795 the Spaniards abandoned the Nootka Sound outpost.

The importance of that port was diminishing for reasons other than the Spanish imperial retreat. Intensive trading had caused overhunting of the sea otter and by the 1790's the species were disappearing from Nootka waters. As a result the frequency of trade decreased. Some vessels continued to call at Nootka for provisions though and the ill-fated "Boston" was among these. In 1803 Moqwina and his Moachat warriors seized and decapitated all the ship's crew, save two men, in revenge for a series of atrocities committed against his people by visiting ships. A petty insult by the "Boston's" captain sparked the massacre. The two survivors, one of whom was the metalsmith John Jewitt, were held as slaves for two and a half years. Moqwina's position in regional politics was considerably enhanced by his seizure

of the "Boston's" cargo of trade goods. Following the extermination of the sea otter and the "Boston" and "Tonquin" massacres trading ships stopped calling at Nootkan ports. The fur trade shifted to land based operations on the mainland, and from 1805 to about 1860 Nootka society experienced little direct contact.

Makah contact history differs somewhat from that of the Vancouver Island Nootka. Similar trends hold for the early period: traders were active at Neah Bay and the Spanish established a temporary base there; but following the demise of the maritime trade era the Makah were subject to different events. Colonial settlement and enforced pacification took place earlier in Washington Territory than in the Hudson's Bay Company's domain. Governor Isaac Stevens established a treaty with the Makah in 1855. The treaty reduced Makah territories, forced the resettlement of a whole winter village (Baada), and led to the establishment of an Indian Agency at Neah Bay. Politically subdued, the Makah feared raids from their northern neighbours through the mid to late 1800's. Following their incorporation into the larger political system the Makah participated more heavily in the introduced market economy. As elsewhere, the injection of new sources of wealth disrupted the traditional stratified order.

One aspect of the growth of a colonial economy was the creation of a high demand for dogfish oil. In autumn the liver of the dogfish, a species of small shark Acanthias suckleyi, swells with oil. Nootkans extracted and traded the oil aboriginally (Swan 1869:29 describes the Makah method for processing the livers) but around 1870 a commercial

demand developed and production was stepped up. The processed oil was used in lamps and to lubricate sawmill machinery. Independent traders travelled up and down the coast exchanging manufactured goods for as much oil as the Nootkans could produce. In response to the new labour opportunity many groups began to reside for the winter at summer village locations which were more accessible to trading vessels.

Colonial settlement on Vancouver Island brought the enforcement of law and order. The murder of several white traders by isolated Nootka groups provoked reprisals by the British Navy stationed at Victoria. In 1875 Reverend A.J. Brabant established a mission at Hesquiat. Drucker relates that "modern Nootkans consider that he put a stop to the intertribal wars that scourged the coast. The fact is, of course, that he was actively supported by Canadian law" (Drucker 1951:13). Under the imposed peace coastal travel became safe and many Nootkans left their home villages to take up wage labour.

Commencing in the 1880's Nootka sea hunters took employment on fur sealing ships. Initially commercial sealing was a seasonal activity where hunters preyed on migratory herds. Soon the exploitation strategy shifted to long excursions to the Bering Sea. Expert hunters were engaged under long term contract and were extended credit. A result of this contract labour relation was that Nootka men allotted less time to subsistence activities and dependence on the trading posts increased.

Depopulation combined with the influx of new wealth to affect a radical disturbance of the traditional social order and a challenge,

in particular, against class privilege. Nootkans suffered from venereal disease and smallpox throughout the colonial era. The major smallpox epidemic was in 1852, it brought death to thousands of Indians up and down the Northwest Coast. With increased mortality positions of status were left vacant and without heirs. Ambitious men, of low rank, who therefore did not have the birth prerequisite for assumption of high status positions and who had not been properly initiated during their youth, attempted to elevate their status through potlatching. Nootka potlatching, though, was never as exaggerated as potlatch activities among the Southern Kwakiutl.

Firm governmental control saw the complete breakdown of the traditional social and political organization. The potlatch was prohibited by law in 1884. Indian "reserves" were established in the 1870's and revised in 1916. Under the reserve program Nootka groups retained all federation, winter village and temporary fishing sites, but lost control of most of the resource base associated with them. In the twentieth century the Nootka's power of self-determination is restricted by the conditions of dependence and marginal incorporation into the market economy and by some aspects of their special legal status.

A brief survey of Nootka history shows that at least three contact variables may have affected developments in Nootka government. These variables are: differential access to introduced goods, shifts in settlement patterns, and depopulation. The second and third variables directly affected group population size.

Political variability in the Nootka area developed in association with an extractive economy and semi-sedentary residence patterns. The principles of individual rank, socio-economic class structure, and non-unilineal descent with a patrilineal emphasis among title-holders characterize Nootka social organization generally. Two different polity types - independent winter villages and federations - developed in this cultural context. The following chapter describes these two types of political formation.

# CHAPTER IV

## NOOTKA POLITIES

Nootka groups exhibit variation in maximal level of political organization. This chapter focuses on the variable "political status of the winter village unit." It describes the distinction between forms of polity in Nootka society, and specifies the political status of each winter village unit in the sample.

### The Sample

In examining the possible relationship between resource variability and form of polity the question investigated is why did some winter village groups federate and others remain independent? For this problem the proper unit of analysis is the winter village group. My sample is composed of the twenty-four units for which adequate territorial and political data are available.

Mitchell and Donald have reconstructed the territories of twenty-seven winter village groups of the Vancouver Island Nootka for the period 1800 to 1830.[1] The reconstruction of territories utilized all available ethnohistorical and ethnographic materials; these included early accounts of exploration on the west coast of Vancouver Island such as Brown (1864), Indian Affairs investigations, particularly Blenkinsop (1874), the Royal Commission on Reserves (1916), and Drucker (1951). Two or three additional winter village groups are mentioned in the

sources and a number of others are intimated but the territories of these groups cannot now be reconstructed.

Political status can be determined for twenty-four of the groups whose territories are reconstructed. Eleven groups in the sample were federated, thirteen were independent. Data on the organization of Nitinat, Clo-oose, and Carmanah units are extremely sparse. Modern day informants tell that a smallpox epidemic in 1852 (also mentioned by Swan 1869:3), drastically reduced the Nitinat population and the survivors retreated to the vicinity of Nitinat River and Nitinat Lake. There is some evidence from these informants to suggest that the Nitinat previously incorporated a number of villages, one of which was at the mouth of Jordan River which is south of the late historic boundary of Nootka occupation (Mooney 1978, also Curtis 1916:182). The seasonal status of some of these villages is not confirmed. Brown (n.d.:35) notes five Nitinat villages and Curtis (1916:182) lists Clo-oose, Carmanah, Wyah, and Tsooquahna for the Nitinat "tribe." Arima (1975) claims that the first three villages were "tribes" centring on a winter village with a head chief but does not give detailed supporting evidence. Numerous warfare accounts describe Nitinat as a large force while Clo-oose and Carmanah are not mentioned in warfare contexts. Because of conflicting reports and the absence of definitive data on connections between these village units, particularly with respect to potlatch seats, I do not assign a political status to Nitinat, Clo-oose, and Carmanah and they are omitted from the sample. The twenty-four unit availability sample contains all the

winter village groups that can be described for the relevant time period.

## Political Variable

To justify the distinction between independent village polities and federation polities I referred to the better ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources on the Nootka area. These works are listed by source in Table 2. It is necessary to make clear that the two types of units that aggregated seasonally were not merely congregations of allied independent groups, but that the aggregates were politically integrated and mobilized with common political purpose. Reading the accounts, I systematically recorded statements that describe Nootka political organization. I sought both general statements and accounts of specific instances of group behaviour. In particular, I was looking for data on how the government of these groups was formally structured, what were the limits of authoritative and coercive leadership, and in what definitively political activities winter village groups and federations operated as integrated units. My interpretation of the material was aided by some of the ideas on the nature of the "political" that are discussed in Chapter Two. Below I define seven empirical attributes that characterize independent polities in Nootka society.

## Traditional Polity

Ethnographic evidence indicates that both winter village and federation polities existed before European contact. Political

centralization accelerated during the contact era, but was originally set in motion by aboriginal conditions. Curtis was aware of political change in the area. He writes: "Traditions indicate that at the time when the Nootka came into contact with civilization the tribes of the present day were in the process of formation by the coalescing of neighbouring groups" (Curtis 1916:62). The aboriginal status of federations is confirmed by Drucker who notes that federations "seem to have been older and more firmly established among the Northern Nootkans, although early in the historic era, if not before, they made their appearance among some of the Central tribes" (1951:219). For one hundred years following contact, when Nootka society was autonomous and semi-autonomous, complex polities continued to develop through the aggregation of simpler units.

It is possible to infer from ethnohistorical sources that political forms varied through the Nootka area. At Nootka Sound in 1792 Menzies records a visit by an "aged chief named Floopannanoo [Tlupananut], whose tribe occupied one of the Northwest branches of the Sound . . . Both he and Hannapa [another titleholder] seemes to be dependents of Maquinna" (Newcombe 1923:115). At that time Maquinna (Moqwina) was the highest ranking titleholder of the Moachat. The "tribe" mentioned by Menzies is undoubtedly a Tlupana Arm group which was drawn into the Moachat polity upon receiving title to a house site at Yuquot. Probably during Menzies time the potlatch seats of the Moachat and Tlupana were not yet fitted into a single series (cf. Drucker 1951:230-231). Coasting in Barkley Sound in 1795, Bishop writes: "we were visited by

two chiefs from the East shore, their names were Yapasuet & Annathat . . . I believe these People are independent of Wicannanish [head of the locally dominant Clayoquot polity]" (1967:108). And in 1857 Grant reports: "The inhabitants of Barclay Sound . . . are very much divided both into tribes and small families" (1857:287). Thus the accounts describe some units as being appended to prominent groups and others as being distinct and independent.

Drucker attests to the political nature of federation and winter village formations, referring to them alternately as "polities," "political orders," and "political units" (1951:221). He observes "a very real feeling of solidarity within these confederations. They were units for war as well as ceremonials. Intraconfederacy wars were very rare . . . " (Drucker 1951:221). Some winter village units were attached in federations, others were fully self governing. Thus, both formations stood as maximal levels of political organization. In political as well as other interactions independent winter village groups frequently confronted federations.

In structural terms federations were expanded versions of winter village polities. Drucker (1951:220) points out that both political formations display the following formal features: internal ranking of potlatch seats, an aggregate village site, and a name. It is clear that a group so identified also mobilized as a unit for military operations; was a territorial unit; constituted a peace group; and possessed an apparatus which coordinated the political affairs of the aggregated subgroups. These seven empirical features serve to identify

independent political units in Nootka society and are used to interpret the political status of each winter village unit in the sample. I first explain and illustrate some details of these features.

Seriation of titleholders: Ranking of potlatch seats was the fundamental uniting principle in both types of Nootka polity. The seats were occupied by a leading titleholder from each "house" (descent group or major sub-group of a descent group) in the unit. The hierarchy of the independent winter village contained titleholders from that village unit alone. The federation hierarchy seated titleholders from more than one winter village. In his account of the development of the Moachat federation Drucker writes: "The tribes [winter village units] retained their autonomy to a greater extent than did those of neighbouring confederacies . . . for the two series of chiefs were not integrated for a long time" (1951:230). Of the seven variables, integration of potlatch seats is the criterion that signifies full political cohesion.

Aggregate village site: At the winter village site each descent group, and in some cases fissioned descent group segments, had a house which was occupied by its active members. Similarly, at the federation site descent units from each component winter village constructed a house. The village site itself was owned by the highest ranking titleholder of one descent group. Frequently, but not always, that titleholder held the highest rank in the polity. Political centralization began when a village site owner gave an outside descent group permission to build a house. The Tacisath chief's invitation to the

ϵ'asath (Drucker 1951:228) exemplifies this pattern.

Group name: While the Nootka vocabulary did not contain terms to distinguish forms of polity, most political units were named (Drucker 1951:220-221). Normally the name was suffixed with "aht," or some variant thereof, which Sproat (1868: and Drucker (1951:222) gloss as "people, or persons, of" and Curtis (1916:180 fn.) translates to mean "belonging to" or "originating at." Though the spellings vary considerably, principal group names recur throughout both ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources.

These three structural features specified by Drucker combine to characterize independent political units in Nootka society. Drucker's description of the Kyuquot federation shows their empirical weight:

> Just as the local groups [descent units] were united into tribes by possession of common winter villages, so the four tribes were united through sharing a common summer village site on aqtis (Village Island . . .), and a system of feast and potlatch seats which ranked all the chiefs of the local groups into a single graded series, and a name for the entire group: qa'yokwath (1951:222).

The remaining features of political organization reflect the kinds of problems that are political in nature.

Mobilization for war: Warfare, by its very essence, is a political exercise: the ultimate application of power to attain group objectives. In the Nootkan area deadly quarrels frequently set smaller polities against the formidable power of larger aggregates. Sapir and Swadesh's (1955:412-439) record of the Barkley Sound wars illustrates this type

of opposition. When attacked by the larger Ucluelet group, the Toquat sought alliance with neighbouring small units. Independence is revealed in military organization. Within an alliance independent units were led by their own chiefs.

Defense and use of territory: The polity as a whole was the territorial unit. Descent group titleholders owned divisions of the territory separately. All polity members were permitted, conditionally, to exploit these resource areas. The polity mobilized as a body to defend the holdings of constituent units. Sproat (1868) does not discern the variation in forms of polity but refers to independent winter villages and federations as "tribes." He reports that "each tribe maintains the exclusive right of its members to the tribal territory - including all lands periodically or occasionally occupied or used . . . and would strongly resist encroachment on these places" (1868:80). Expansion and resistance engaged the full aggregate.

Peace group: Moral obligations applied within the polity as well as between kin. Drucker (1951:220,333,343-344,453) emphasizes the pacific nature of intragroup relations. Sproat concurs that effective social control obtained within the group: "The men rarely quarrel except with their tongues and a blow is seldom given" (1868:51). Intragroup peace and order relied largely on sociopsychological sanctions. The leading titleholder applied physical sanctions against extreme transgressions (cf. Jewitt 1974:163).

Decision-making body: Political decisions were reached by a process of deliberation that involves leading men from the descent

groups within the polity. There was some degree of correspondence between the decision-making apparatus and the ceremonial seat hierarchy. Boas (1890:585) describes a council, called ici'mitl, in which each descent unit was represented by its highest ranking titleholder. This council held authority to make resolutions for the aggregate polity. It appointed a speaker to declare its decisions at community gatherings and to negotiate with other groups (Boas 1890:585). In his synthesis on warfare, however, Drucker makes clear that prominent men other than seated titleholders did influence political decisions: "Whatever the reason for war, it was decided on formally. The men met, often outdoors . . . Nominally the decision rested with the highest ranking chief of the tribe. Actually we hear of chiefs of lesser rank, and of war chiefs of known prowess, turning the tide of opinion one way or the other" (1951:334). Political authority was formally vested in principal titleholders while other ranking men had some power over group affairs. Sproat (1868:113) emphasizes that group consent was necessary to activate a decision. Accounts show that desertion and assassination were two modes of reaction to abuse of authority or unpopular political manoeuvres (Drucker 1951:318-319; Sproat 1868: 196).

The features described above are used to classify independent Nootka polities and to determine the political status of winter village groups. Table 2 gives the status of winter village units in the sample along with appropriate federation names and sources of supporting data. Each unit is classified as federated (F) or

TABLE 2: POLITICAL STATUS, WINTER VILLAGE UNITS OF VANCOUVER ISLAND NOOTKA

| Winter Village Group | Status | Federation | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chickliset | I | | Drucker 1951:222; Curtis 1916:180 |
| Qanopit | F | Kyuquot | Drucker 1951:222-5,246,261<br>Curtis 1916:98,180 |
| Tsawisp | F | | |
| Qwixqu | F | | |
| Tlaa | F | | |
| Ehetisat | F | Ehetisat | Drucker 1951:225-7,262-3<br>Curtis 1916:180 |
| Tsinexnit | F | | |
| Apaqtu | F | Nuchatlet | Drucker 1951:226-8<br>Curtis 1916:180 |
| Tsattsattnit | F | | |
| Dkhats | F | | |
| Koopti | F | Moachat | Drucker 1951:228-231,263<br>Curtis 1916:181 |
| Tlupanna | F | | |
| Muchalat | I | | Drucker 1951:232-5; Curtis 1916:181 |
| Hesquiat | I | | Drucker 1951:235-8; Curtis 1916:181 |
| Otsosat | I | | Drucker 1951:238 |
| Ahousat | I | | Drucker 1951:238-9; Curtis 1916:181 |
| Clayoquot | I | | Drucker 1951:240-243 |
| Ucluelet | I | | Blenkinsop 1874 |
| Toquart | I | | Blenkinsop 1874; Boas 1890:584 |
| Seshart | I | | Blenkinsop 1874; Boas 1890:584 |
| Opetchisat | I | | Blenkinsop 1874; Boas 1890:584 |
| Uchucklesit | I | | Blenkinsop 1874; Curtis 1916:182 |
| Ohiat | I | | Blenkinsop 1874; Curtis 1916:182 |
| Pacheena | I | | Mooney 1978; Curtis 1916:182<br>Sproat 1868:308; Whymper 1869:78-9 |

N = 24

Key

I : Independent

F : Federated

independent (I). "Federated" means that the group was formally linked to other winter village groups on the basis of the specified features. The status "independent" means that the features distinguish that winter village group from other polities. In the latter instance associations with other groups took the form of alliance rather than integration. My interpretation of each case relies primarily on explicit details in the cited accounts. Some units require separate discussion to clarify their status.

Prehistorically the Hesquiat territory was occupied by a number of independent descent groups (Drucker 1951:233). These units subsequently consolidated to form a single polity. Drucker refers to this latter unit as a confederacy but his account (1951:235-238) shows that the component descent groups wintered together at Hɛckwi. I therefore treat the Hesquiat as an independent winter village polity.

The details of the pre-war status of the Otsosat and their relationship with the neighbouring Manoisat are not clear (Drucker 1951:238). In the absence of evidence to the contrary I accept Drucker's impression that before the Ahousat predations the Otsosat formed a single winter village polity (1951:238). It is curious that the Otsosat separated in response to Ahousat attacks and sought safety in isolation. This strategy contrasts with that of the Muchalat Arm groups which fused together to face strong opposition. Possibly the configuration of the Otsosat territory (several inlets), compared to that of Muchalat Arm (a single deep inlet) influenced their respective strategies.

In intergroup relations the Clayoquot were a dominant group rating alongside federated polities. They conquered and subjugated many small groups during the historic era. Despite the size and strength of the unit, the seats of the Clayoquot hierarchy were restricted to the chiefs of a single lineage until the La'okwath granted seats to some younger men of related descent groups (Drucker 1951:266). It seems that the remnants of conquered groups moved to the Clayoquot winter village of Opitis, and there is no evidence that separate winter village groups were formally integrated under Clayoquot control. On the basis of these considerations I regard the Clayoquot as a winter village polity.

For Pacheena the reports are consistent. Curtis (1916:182), Sproat (1868:308), and Mooney (1978) list the unit as a distinct village polity. Whymper (1869:78-79) mentions a Pacheena raid against the Makah. Since these independent accounts are mutually corroborative, the Pacheena are treated as an independent winter village polity.

Of the twenty-four winter village units in the sample, eleven are classed as federated (forming four federations) and thirteen are classed as independent. This variation in unit political status means that in the Nootka area there was a difference in the level of organization which coordinate the affairs of the winter village groups. Independence was possible at two different hierarchically ordered levels of political coordination - the winter village level, and the federation level. The federation was the more centralized polity, with one rank order including titleholders from politically attached winter

villages, and was more highly segmented, consisting of two or more winter village groups.

# CHAPTER V

## THE CHARACTER OF GROUP RELATIONS

Relations between federated winter village groups differed from those between independent polities. This chapter looks at variation in intergroup relations in an attempt to recognize how federations developed, and to determine what institutions served to integrate political federations. The analysis considers marriage, warfare, secret society organization, ceremony, and material exchange. It examines the content of these relations among winter village groups within federations in comparison to those between independent polities, and identifies some variations that are related to the within versus between polity distinction.

### Methods Employed

Accounts of specific group interactions are found in numerous ethnographic and ethnohistorical works. Sources for the specific interaction data used in this chapter are as follows: Colson (1974), Drucker (1951), Mills (1955), Mozino (1970), Curtis (1916), Sproat (1868), Moser (1926), Koppert (1930), Howay (1941), Blenkinsop (1874), Jewitt (1974, 1976), Bishop (1967), Brown (1864, n.d., n.d.a.), Barret-Lennard (1862), Swan (1869), Meares (1967), Irvine (1921), Mayne (1969), Sapir and Swadesh (1939, 1955), Swadesh (1948), Vancouver (1967), Jacobsen (1977), Boas (1890), Bell (1915), Brabant

(1900), Beaglehole (1967), Wagner (1933), Grant (1857), Whymper (1869), Pemberton (1860), Colnett (1968), Arima (1973), Mooney (1978).

The data contained in these works describe Nootka society when it was autonomous and semi-autonomous. The first step in the data collection was to catalogue the names, aliases, and locations of all winter village groups found in the sources investigated. Using this file as a guide, I read all available accounts and recorded statements that refer to relations between winter village groups. To place events in social and historical context, I recorded the time, place, numbers, and participants involved. I distinguished between observed incidents, statements involving named groups, and general statements. The latter are not used in the content analysis. Interactions were coded as instances of marriage, trade, feasting/ceremonial activity, and/or warfare. I reformulated the data under these separate headings and assigned each case to one of two categories on the political relation variable: interactions within a federation, or interactions between independent polities. I then examined the data to sift out variations that are associated with this difference in political relations.

One interest was the relative frequency of marriage, warfare, and ceremonies and exchanges in each political category. I cannot place too much weight on the frequencies, however, because only the best ethnographic sources distinguish winter village groups within federations. Most sources describe events with reference to political units, rather than their subgroups, so that the interaction data tends to be biased in favour of between-polity relations. Rough frequencies do

reveal meaningful trends in group relations, however, and are assessed in consideration of this utility.

When looking at marriage relations I focussed on the class of the families involved. I expected that members of the titled class married across political boundaries, which likely established and maintained interpolity alliances. Lower class marriages might display a tendency for polity endogamy.

On warfare, I was interested in determining what amount of group conflict took place within federations (indicating lack of effective integration). I also expected that the amalgamation of winter village groups into federations sometimes occurred because groups needed to strengthen their defense against enemies, and at other times was the result of political domination following conquests.

In analyzing the data on ceremonial interactions and material exchange within federations and between polities I focussed on the categories of people involved, variations in types of goods, and the forms of distribution and reciprocity. I expected that interpolity affairs would mainly concern titleholders and that wealth and trade goods would be the main items of exchange. Interpolity exchanges should incline towards the balanced and negative end of the reciprocity continuum (following Sahlins' (1972) model). Ceremony with federations might be more likely to involve the whole community and exchange might emphasize subsistence items, especially basic foods. I expected to find that the federation was a unit for centralized reciprocity, where the apex of the political hierarchy was the focal point of a

pooling and redistribution network.

Compared to the other ethnolinguistic divisions on the coast the Nootka intergroup interaction data are quite substantial. There is some material on Nitinat and Makah groups that are not included in the sample of twenty-four winter village units; where appropriate, these data are brought into the analysis.

## Marital Relations

The indications from the marriage data are that high ranking titleholders tended to "marry out" to establish and reinforce alliances with leaders in other polities, whereas the mid to low ranks and commoners generally married inside the political unit. This association appears to be related to a strong preference for class endogamy and to differential access to material and non-corporeal property required for marriage. It is interesting that Nootka traditions cite transfer of residence rights at marriage as a critical step in the process of federation development.

There is a strong bias in the available data on specific marriages. Of fifty-five specific marriages known, 87.3 per cent (forty-eight marriages) are among winter village groups within federations. This bias is largely an artifact of emphasis in the sources. Most accounts discuss group relations with reference to independent political units and do not focus on political subgroups. Elaborate interpolity affairs were most prominent in terms of production as well as to the Nootka social memory. The bias can be viewed another way - only 10.4 per

cent (five specific unions) are low rank and commoner marriages. Historical observers interacted mainly with the chiefly ranks and did not record much data on commoner affairs.

The specific marriages in the availability sample were separated into categories with reference to the rank and socioeconomic class of the partners. Rank and class could not be determined for nine marriages; thus the sample reduced to forty-six specific instances of marriage. Table 3 shows the distribution of the cases in this subsample on the political relations and rank and class variables. The nature of the sample, the sample size, and the expected frequencies which result from this distribution do not satisfy the conditions for Chi-square or Fisher's exact test specified by Siegel (1955:110, 178-179), and consequently these statistical techniques cannot be used to test for significance.

TABLE 3: AVAILABILITY SAMPLE OF SPECIFIC MARRAIGES CATEGORIZED ON POLITICAL RELATION AND RANK/CLASS VARIABLES. N=46

| | Between-polities | Among winter village units within a federation | |
|---|---|---|---|
| High rank titleholders | 38 | 3 | 41 |
| Mid to low rank and commoners | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| | 39 | 7 | 46 |

General discussions of Nootka marriage practices support the hypothesis that within/between polity marriage was related to rank and class variability. Sproat writes explicitly that:

> Intermarriage with other tribes is sought by the higher classes to strengthen the foreign connections of their own tribe . . . the poorer orders are . . . unable to do otherwise than marry among their own people (Sproat 1868:99).

The inability to which Sproat refers concerns the possession of the considerable amount of property required for the marriage ceremony. Mozino (1970:32) reports that many commoners never married, while some received assistance from titleholders. Drucker concurs and describes the arrangements for a commoner marriage within the Kyuquot federation:

> only a chief who had ceremonial and material possessions could bestow them on a bride, or transfer them to a son-in-law. Those lower in rank simply had less to give. When commoners married, very often their chiefs would "lend" marriage privileges and songs to them . . .
>
> When the youngest of three commoner brothers [of Tacisath descent group, Qanopit winter village unit (see Drucker 1951:280)] at Kyuquot . . . married, his brothers furnished most of the money and blankets. The tacis chief lent him privileges to use. He married a woman of the a'licath [descent group, Qanopit winter village unit]. The a'licath gave back a dowry of blankets and other goods and wockwityz [the groom] gave it to his elder brother to give away for him (Drucker 1951:292).

In addition to property, which was principally in the hands of titleholders, an interpolity marriage required assistance from members of the groom's group for the journey and ceremony. Members of the lower class could not command this assistance.

Various aspects of intergroup marriage strongly affected intergroup political relations. Marriage was a mechanism for creating and maintaining alliance, a method for establishing peace between warring groups, and an event at which property titles were transferred between groups. These aspects are discussed in turn.

Titleholder marriages generated alliances. Affinal ties did not simply link the families concerned; by creating formal political alliances they involved entire political units. The marriage of a principal titleholder was debated and approved by leading members of the political group (Sproat 1868:99-100). Drucker writes that the concept of affinal relationship "was extended not only to all the local group of a family to which he claimed kinship but to the whole tribe or even confederacy" (Drucker 1951:274). Titleholder's marriages were strategically made and resulted in close political ties between independent groups.

A good example of alliance via marriage is the reciprocal marriage between the first ranking descent groups of the Moachat federation and the Clayoquot winter village polity. Bell observed of Moqwina (I) and Wicanninish that "Their families are united by Marriage which of course unites their Politicks" (Bell 1951:39). Moachat chief Moqwina (I)[2] cited his alliance with the Clayoquot in a speech to Spanish commander Bodega Y Quadra (Mozino 1970:56). Vancouver (1967:254) noted that the eldest daughter of Moqwina (I) was betrothed to the first born son of the Clayoquot chief. Jewitt reports that the Clayoquot were "very frequent visitors at Nootka [Yuquot, Moachat

federation village], a very close friendship subsisting between the two nations, Maquinna's (II) Arcomah, or queen, Y-ya-tintla-no, being the daughter of the Wickanninish king" (Jewitt 1974:67). For this combination of polities titleholder marriage was reciprocated by a match of equivalent rank within the same generation.

Marriage could also be used to establish peace. This practise was a recognized institution. The Pacheena Chief Charles Jones recalls that during war if a chief declared to his enemy: "I will give you my daughter" the fighting would stop immediately (Mooney 1978). This was a ritualized procedure; the chief would raise his arm (arms?) before speaking and a special Nitinat verb "to give" was used (Mooney 1978). Drucker (1951:302-303) describes a case where marriage was arranged at the conclusion of war.

Titles to resource areas and residence sites were sometimes exchanged in marriage. The former were frequently sought, and marriages were often deliberately negotiated to obtain exploitation rights. The Ahousat-Otsosat war started because an Otsosat titleholder did not include chum salmon fishing rights in his marriage gift to the second chief of Ahousat (Drucker 1951:344-345). As discussed in Chapter Four an aggregate village site was one attribute of the federation polity. The federation process was initiated when the owner of the beach at the federation village gave titles for house sites to chiefs from other winter village units. The traditional history of the Moachat federation specifies that house sites at the federation village were transferred as marriage gifts:

> the Tlupana Arm groups comprising a winter village polity were given places for summer houses at yukwot, thus forming the basis of the confederation of tribes. Tradition accounts for these rights having been given in connection with marriages (Drucker 1951:230).

A gift of title to a house site at the federation village actualized the development of a political federation. Marriage may have been one mode of formally initiating the development of a federation polity. This point is discussed further in the concluding chapter.

## Warfare

Deadly quarrels between groups were frequent in the Nootka area. There are no substantiated accounts of fighting among winter village groups within federations. The data indicate that warfare could play a central role in the federation process.

In a sample of fifty-five specific incidents of warfare no incident concerns civil war within federation polities. There is a case mentioned in Drucker (1951:225) of a Kyuquot Sound group who were annihilated by a related descent unit that wanted all fishing rights to the A'lic River. There is, however, no indication as to whether the war occurred before, during, or after the development of the Kyuquot federation. This war involved only the two descent groups; no other Kyuquot groups participated. The collected data support Drucker's (1951:221) statement that intraconfederacy wars were very infrequent.

There was considerable variation in the size of independent groups throughout the Nootka area. Maintenance of fighting force sufficiently large to defend the village and territory was a prerequisite to group

survival. The adult male population figures for 1860 (see Appendix B) indicate that during this period when warfare was still practised, the range in military strength of Nootka polities was 5 to 230 adult males with a median of 36 adult males.

Accounts show that some groups joined together for defense against predations by superior forces. One example is the aboriginally independent descent groups on Muchalat Arm who amalgamated during the Moachat expansion into that area (Drucker 1951:232-235). Blenkinsop records that a Barkley Sound unit named "Ekoolth.ahts" joined with the Seshart for protection. These amalgamations produced loosely cohesive winter village polities. In both cases the original political groups formed factions within the winter village. The Muchalat unit eventually developed into an integrated winter village group. The "Ekoolth.ahts" faction was suppressed and absorbed into the Seshart polity.

In an earlier chapter I drew attention to the contrast between defensive strategies taken by the Muchalat and Otsosat respectively. Muchalat groups banded together, while the Otsosat dispersed and sought refuge with kinsmen in stranger groups. Prior to the described wars the Muchalat appear to have had minimal intercourse with groups outside their immediate locale. Established relations with other groups is one variable that would influence strategy options.

Another strategy considered by the Otsosat was that the group abandon their territory on the outside coast; some men "thought this would stop the fighting" (Drucker 1951:350). Territorial expansion was a frequent motive for warfare in Nootka society (Drucker 1951:333;

Swadesh 1949; Mills 1955:58-59). Ahousat, Clayoquot, and Ucluelet campaigns are cases in point (Drucker 1951:238-243,333,346-353; Swadesh 1949:78-79). In wars for territory the instigators attempted to completely exterminate the enemy group. This practice was connected to a rule that the territory was not legitimately won while members of the resident group still lived. Drucker explains that: "The property - lands, fishing rights, and even ceremonial privileges - of a group that was completely liquidated could be claimed by the victors. It is said that as long as any of them remained, except as slaves, such properties could not be claimed" (Drucker 1951:343). In some instances the defeated group was obliged to remove to the victor's village and live there in subjugated status. Clayoquot expansion in the Kennedy Lake region had this result (cf. Drucker 1951:241-243). Jewitt mentions a unit referred to as "Klahars" which had been conquered and incorporated into the Moachat polity: "they must be considered as in a state of vassalage, as they are not permitted to have any chiefs among them, and live by themselves in a cluster a little distance from the village" (Jewitt 1974:65). The latter unit cannot be identified, but it is clear that the Clayoquot chiefs assumed title to the Kennedy Lake territories.

Titles seized through warfare became the property of the individual chief who killed or captured the previous owner. This custom is illustrated in incidents from the Ahousat versus Otsosat wars and the Ucluelet expansion into Effingham Inlet:

> The Ahousat took some [Otsosat] captives, among them was a young chief who owned the west shore of Flores Island from Rafael Point to nawaksis. Returning to Ahousat, they brought the young chief out on the beach, and called to moqwina [First chief of Ahousat] to come down and kill him, so that he would be the owner of the territory. moqwina refused, for the young man was a kinsman of his. Ahousat war chief ganima sang his war song, then brained the young Otsosat. Subsequently he claimed the beach line (Drucker 1951:352).

> The Ucluelets decimate the A'uts [Effingham Inlet group]. One Ucluelet band obtains a small river by killing the owner. Another captures the son of the A'uts chief. Maawitsi's older brother buys the captive boy for various valuable trinkets. The A'uts chief then ransoms his son by giving up all land rights. People say that the Maawitsi family did not acquire the land properly because they had not actually captured the A'uts heir to the title (Swadesh 1949:79).

There was, then, an institutionalized procedure for a titleholder to take full ownership rights from an enemy.

This method did not actually improve the chief's honour. Titles taken in this way were referred to as tcinōkt and were considered less noble than tcimōkt (patrilineally inherited) or ɬutchaōkt (received in marriage)(Drucker 1951:343). Marriage was the preferred method for obtaining titles from other groups. In one case the Clayoquot conquerer Ya'aistohsmalni ennobled his descendents by naming their stem lineage ɬūtchaōktakåmɬath, that is, "(privileges)-obtained-in-marriage people" (Drucker 1951:242). Marriage transfer has particular implications for federations development. In the previous discussion of marriage it was noted that Moachat traditions recall the Tlupana having received titles to house sites through marriage. Other sources, however, make reference to a period of warfare between Koopti and Tlupana groups

before the development of the Moachat federation. In later discussion I shall elaborate on the political implications of titleholder marriage as a mode of ending warfare.

## Organization of the "Shaman's Dance" (Loqwana) Secret Societies

Initiation into the "Shaman's Dance" (Loqwana) secret societies was the central activity of the Nootka winter ceremonial complex. Feasts and potlatches accompanied the initiation. The Loqwana ceremony is described by Drucker (1951:386-443), Curtis (1916:69-91), Swan (1869:66-73), and Boas (1890:599-602). The data show that, contrary to the interpretation of the Loqwana as "a sort of tribal initiation" (Drucker 1951:391)[3], Loqwana secret societies were sodalities within polities. Polity titleholders presented initiation ceremonies in sequence. Federated winter village groups gave these ceremonies at one village.

The winter ceremonial was a public drama attended by the whole winter village group or federation. Independent groups frequently attended winter ceremonials at allied villages. Jacobsen (1977:65) notes that Clayoquot and Moachat visited Nuchatlet, for example. Sproat writes that the ceremony "is given by one tribe for another when they are on friendly terms" (Sproat1868:60). At the ceremony, each society gave a separate performance; non-members were present as audience and guest titleholders received gifts at the associated potlatches. The initiation segment of the ceremony, however, was

restricted to a narrower category of people. Only members of the particular society were permitted to observe the initiation rite. In the Barkley Sound area initiates stayed four days inside the taboo house of the society (Boas 1890:600). Curtis reports that non-members of the same village group were locked in their houses, and slaves and visitors were led into the woods "even though they were tlugwana in their own villages" (Curtis 1916:80). This separation of society members and audience was designed to protect society secrets (Curtis 1916:80). The secrets, songs, dances, display rights, etc. were privately owned by descent group titleholders. There were differences "between the procedures of tribes of the same confederacy, and between local groups [descent groups] of the same tribe" (Drucker 1951:387). In their "role as initiated spectators" (Drucker 1951:391) members of the audience reinforced the solidarity of a secret society membership.

Members were initiated into a society under the sponsorship of a titleholder. Sponsors "were the same chiefs that held highest rank in the lineages and tribes" (Drucker 1951:388). Drucker writes that "it was necessary for a chief to give Shaman's Dances to maintain the allegiance of his commoners on whose support he depended" (Drucker 1951:440). Membership was not restricted to kinsmen. Drucker (1951:391) states that slaves had to be initiated. Boas writes that: "Anyone who wishes to join the Tlokoala can do so, or a society may invite a man to become a member" (Boas 1890:599). The larger the membership the greater the resources and retinue to support the titleholder. The "friends of a person who is to become a member make

a collection on his behalf, and turn over the property collected to the chief of the Tlokoala" (Boas 1890:599). The father of the initiate "gave what he could so that the chief would have an abundance of property to distribute at the ceremonial and at the potlatch afterward" (Drucker 1951:391). Structurally, the Loqwana secret societies were non-kinship sodalities attached to specific titleholders.

Each initiation was a separate event. An opposition was maintained during the ceremonial. When the whole village assembled, "railleries between the various groups [were] continually going on" (Boas 1890:601). The secret societies were distinct units within polities. There is evidence, however, that the organization of the sodalities, and particularly the organization of initiation drama presentations, was related to the means of integration for the polity as a whole. Independent winter village groups held winter ceremonials at the polity village site. Federated winter village units aggregated for winter ceremonials and federation titleholders presented Loqwana ceremonies in sequence. Drucker writes that all house groups in the Kyuquot federation "had to be invited to the winter festivals" (1951:225). The Moachat federation consisted of two winter village groups - Koopti and Tlupana. Curtis shows that the Koopti chief Tsahwasip,[4] and chief Tlupananuhl of the Tlupana group gave Loqwana ceremonies at the same village. After Tsawasip completed his presentation:

> Tlupananuhl, chief of the Haiyanuwashtakumhl'ut$^{ha}$ [Tlupana descent group], went about quietly and called . . . the four principal chiefs beside himself. It was his custom that when his child

> was a$^{ha}$tsa [an initiate] he would himself give the ceremony immediately after [Tsawasip] . . .
>
> Now the ceremony was repeated from beginning to end, with Tlupananuhl and his son acting as giver and chief a$^{ha}$tsa, instead of Tsawasip and his grandson. At the conclusion of this performance, some other chief caused his son to disappear as if stolen by wolves and thus the ceremony was kept up all winter (Curtis 1916:90-91).

Tsahwasip (Moqwina) was first ranking titleholder of the Koopti winter village unit and the Moachat Federation. Tlupananuhl held first rank in the Tlupauana winter village unit. Drucker (1951:231) indicates that it took some time to integrate the seat hierarchies of these units. When the federation initially developed, Moqwina received potlatch gifts first, then Tlupananuhl, then second chiefs in the respective units, and so on; eventually the Tlupana hierarchy was fixed to the end of the Koopti order (Drucker 1951:231). The dates are not clear, but if the described ceremonial took place before the seat order was finally fixed, then these federation titleholders gave Loqwana ceremonies in the order that they received gifts at potlatches. This seems a reasonable interpretation given the significance of rank in group affairs generally.

Wolf dance secret societies were non-kinship sodalities that clustered around individual titleholders. A separation between societies was maintained through secrecy, theatrical rivalry and discrete initiation ceremonies. At the same time initiation ceremonials sponsored by titleholders of an independent political group (winter village or federation) were localized, and were fitted into a series which probably followed order of titleholder rank in the potlatch seat hierarchy.

## Ceremony and Exchange of Goods and Services Between Independent Polities and Among Federated Winter Village Groups

Nootkans potlatched, feasted, and engaged in barter exchange across polity boundaries. The independent winter village group participated in these interactions as a distinct unit. It received separate invitations to potlatches and feasts, and titleholders received potlatch gifts following the order of rank in the winter village hierarchy. During interpolity interactions the attention of visiting groups was brought to focus on the first ranking titleholder of the winter village. Exchange between independent polities took the form of balanced and negative reciprocity.

Relations among federated winter village groups were clearly different from those sustained by independent winter villages. The whole federation structure was activated for interpolity potlatches. Public attention was directed toward the highest ranking titleholder of the aggregated winter villages. Exchange within the federation was centralized, with many resources being pooled and redistributed. The centralized system was used to accumulate potlatch goods and for purposes of general provision.

My availability sample of specific incidents of exchange and ceremony consists of 79.6 per cent (43 incidents) between-polity interactions and 20.4 per cent (11 incidents) interactions among winter village groups within federations. As mentioned for the marriage data this bias results principally from bias in the sources which over-represent interpolity events. The obtained distribution should not be

interpreted as showing that interactions between federated winter villages units were relatively infrequent. Its nature and internal composition make this sample of specific interactions unsuitable for statistical analysis. A less rigorous analysis may be pursued using general data to supplement information from specific interaction accounts.

The evidence refutes my original expectation that between-polity exchange emphasized wealth and trade goods and within-federation exchange emphasized food. Food and wealth items were both exchanged within and between groups. Drucker (1951:372) reports that informants distinguish feasts, where food was given, and potlatches, where wealth gifts were presented. An additional point of distinction is that the potlatch was characterized by strict rules for seating and gift receiving in order of rank. Priority of rank was not so pronounced at feasts.

Independent winter village groups and federations both operated as cohesive ceremonial units. At interpolity potlatches leading titleholders were seated and received gifts in order of their rank in the political group hierarchy (Drucker 1951:260). This formal procedure focused attention on the internal organization of the polity. The predominant office was especially emphasized. Boas reports that "neighbouring tribes" were always invited to a potlatch which commemorated the investiture of a polity's principal chief (Boas 1890:588). It was observed by Jewitt that when foreign "tribes" visited the federation site of Yuquot, the head Moachat chief Moqwina "exhibited his child" (Jewitt 1976:3), and on another visit: "we had a dance by

our chief's son, to entertain the strangers" (Jewitt 1976:24). If the independent polity were a winter village group this recognition was conferred on the highest ranking office of that winter village. For federated units, it was the primary office of the whole aggregate which was acknowledged before other titleholders:

> The order of seats (and the correlated order of receiving gifts) indicated the relative rank of the various chiefs of a tribe or confederacy, and thus was the visible symbol of their nobility. The first chief, he who outranked all others, was called for and conducted to his seat first. Homage was accorded . . . on the basis of this seating (Drucker 1951:260).

Federations and independent winter villages interacted together in this institutionalized format. For example, Sapir and Swadesh (1955:324-326) record an account of a potlatch given by Clayoquot chief "Hunts-Ten" upon the death of his niece; members of the Seshart winter village polity and the Kyuquot federation went to the Clayoquot winter village for this event. Jacobsen (1977:65) mentions an instance where the chiefs of the Clayoquot winter village group and the Moachat federation attended a feast and dance hosted by the Nuchatlet federation. In January 1886 the Chickliset winter village group potlatched the Ehetisat federation, went to a potlatch presented by the "Queen" of the Kyuquot federation, and subsequently invited the Hesquiat winter village polity to a potlatch at Chickliset (Nicolaye in Moser 1926:145). It is evident that titleholders in both polity types potlatched other groups.

When a titleholder was organizing to give a ceremony he called on his group for assistance. At a preliminary feast he informed the

leading chiefs of his intention, specified which polities were to be invited, and requested aid. Once his group conferred approval, the titleholder formally extended invitations to the guest group(s). The titleholder might assemble an invitation party and go in person to the guest village, or, for interpolity potlatches he might "send his Supernatural Quartz Crystal" to the invitees (in this case the invitation was actually conveyed through intergroup gossip channels) (Drucker 1951:367-368). When the ceremonial was given to another group within the polity, the titleholder's subgroup assisted, whereas when potlatching a separate independent group the titleholder activated his full polity - the independent winter village or the federation - to prepare for the event:

> if . . . some major festival was being planned the announcement was formally made . . . at a feast, to which the principal chiefs were asked, or the lineage chiefs, if one intended to invite other divisions of the tribe or confederacy (Drucker 1951: 367).
>
> . . . all his people - local group, tribe, or confederacy (depending on whether the guests were from the giver's confederacy or were outsiders) - aided in the preparations . . . (Drucker 1951:300).

For potlatches between independent political groups a leading titleholder in a federated winter village group could call for support from all units in the federation. The titleholder in a non-federated winter village had a structurally narrower base of support.

A major aspect of polity support for potlatching and festivals generally was the use of material resources. Hosts requisitioned property for ceremonials. The titleholders also received resources

through the regular processes of production and exchange that generally provisioned the group. Independent groups exchanged goods via balanced and negative reciprocity relations. Federated winter village units were organized into a system of centralized pooling and redistribution.

Evidence for negative and balanced reciprocity between independent groups is found in general statements as well as accounts of specific interpolity interactions. Some instances are temporal, others apply to preparation for ceremonials. Sproat mentions theft while describing social relations. The frequency of this type of negative reciprocity was related to the within- and between-polity distinction:

> Larceny of a fellow-tribesman's property is rarely heard of, and the aggravation of taking it from the house or person is almost unknown . . . Thieving, that is, intertribal thieving, has been commonly practised among the tribes for many generations (Sproat 1868:159).

Interpolity exchange to obtain goods for potlatching sometimes involved negative reciprocity. Sapir and Swadesh record a tale in which a Seshart chief goes to a Makah site to procure some oil to be used at a potlatch. The Makah attempt to over charge for the oil. At night the Seshart chief performs ritual to weaken the spirits of the Makah. The ritual is effective and he exchanges forty blankets for ten bladders of oil. The Seshart chief invites the Makah group to his potlatch and there humiliates them; he made them "miserable, the ones who did not give him oil" (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:299-300). Exchange across polity boundaries to obtain resources for feasting and potlatching was an established practice. Drucker reports one instance where war chiefs of the Tlaa unit at Kyuquot chided a Tacisath, Qanopit, chief for having

no oil, "no whales had drifted in for a long time" (Drucker 1951:376). The Qanopit chief "said nothing, but after the dog salmon season, he sent 15 young men secretly over the trail to the Nimkish River to buy olachen oil" (Drucker 1951:375). The Qanopit then potlatched the Tlaa at the winter village of Maxqet. These accounts show that titleholders undertook exchange with other political groups to obtain resources for potlatching and feasting. The Seshart-Makah incident and Drucker's reference to the Qanopit "purchase" from the Nimpkish indicate that negative or balanced reciprocity characterized this type of interaction.

Further evidence for balanced reciprocal exchange between independent groups comes from Jewitt's observations regarding Moachat chief Moqwina's intercourse with visiting parties from different political groups. Moqwina regularly received resources and reciprocated with other goods:

> Other tribes of Indians came every day to trade with our Chief, bringing with them whale's blubber, train oil, dried clams etc. and receiving in return cloth, etc. (Jewitt 1976:5-6).

> Arrived a canoe from the Wickeningish [Clayoquot]. Our chief was informed that they had been at war with another tribe called Ah-char-arts [?], and killed men and women to the amount of one hundred and fifty. They brought our chief nine slaves as a present. He gave them in return cloth, muskets, powder, shot, etc. (Jewitt 1976:11).

> Arrived a canoe from Ai-tiz-arts [Ehetisat] with five sea otter skins for our chief; in return for which he gave cloth, muskets, etc. (Jewitt 1976:26).

Direct return is one indicator of balanced reciprocity (cf. Sahlins 1972:194-195). The relative value of the goods exchanged cannot be

assessed from Jewitt's account, but immediacy of return and value equivalence are generally associated. Jewitt's journal includes a number of incidents of interpolity exchange where returns are not mentioned, however it is reasonable to interpret that these transfers were reciprocated in other interactions. The cited passages also indicate that both wealth and basic food resources were reciprocally exchanged between independent political groups.

Negative and balanced reciprocity had a moral concomitant that is perceivable in interpolity interactions. Warfare was the most extreme manifestation of a negative reciprocity relation. The more moderate version was a certain amount of suspicion, and customs designed to guard against possible hostilities:

> the strangers retired on board their canoes, for so numerous were they that Maquina would not suffer any but the chiefs to sleep in the houses; and, in order to prevent the property from being pillaged by them, he ordered Thompson and myself to keep guard during the night, armed with cutlasses and pistols (Jewitt 1974:39).

> Travellers are generally well received, but members of another tribe are not expected to take their guns or pikes inside the house with them (Sproat 1868:56).

It is demonstrable, then, that negative and balanced reciprocity relations obtained between independent Nootka polities. Federations and independent winter village groups each participated in exchange interactions across political boundaries and this was one mode used by titleholders to procure resources. Exchanges included wealth items and basic foods. Resources obtained through this reciprocal exchange

between polities were used for potlatches as well as feasting, and constituted part of the total resources that socially and materially provisioned the group.

Exchange relations among co-federated winter village units differed from interpolity exchange. The former were organized into a centralized system of kinship-rank reciprocities, otherwise referred to as pooling and redistribution (cf. Sahlins 1972:209). This is a version of generalized reciprocity characterized by nonspecific returns and a value differential between goods exchanged. The data show that property for potlatches and foodstuffs moved through this centralized intervillage system.

As noted, a titleholder called together the principal chiefs of the federation to relate his plans for an interpolity potlatch. This convention included head titleholders from each of the co-federated winter village units. There are some data to show that members of all attached groups contributed resources to be distributed at potlatches. Sapir and Swadesh (1955:204-206) describe a case in which a Moachat titleholder prepared to give a potlatch. He accumulated goods through two forms of exchange: barter with the independent Ahousat and Clayoquot, and pooling of blankets by all the people in the Moachat "tribe." The property was presented to the titleholders of the several polities which attend the event. In a second case the highest ranking titleholder of the Ehetisat federation potlatched the Kyuquot. Drucker (1951:417-418) recounts that the chief called all the Ehetisat to a preliminary feast and asked for their assistance in dancing and

singing and dancing only since his family had sufficient money to give away. But the federated Ehetisat knowing that "the Kyuquot are many" pooled $600 "to help the chief" (Drucker 1951:417-418). A third instance concerns a Kyuquot titleholder potlatching a Kwakiutl chief: "He called his whole confederacy together, asking for all their sea otter skins; they assembled about ninety" (Drucker 1951:384). These three cases do vary on specific details from the most frequent Nootka interpolity potlatches. The first two probably occurred late in the historic period (note that the gifts were blankets and cash). The latter demonstrates a competitive element not characteristic of most Nootka potlatches (Drucker 1951:384). The available data, unfortunately, contain few accounts of federation potlatch preparations. An argument for within-federation pooling of potlatch goods does receive support from associated data. All leading titleholders were briefed on plans for interpolity potlatches. Federated units attended interpolity potlatches as a cohesive group and titleholders received gifts in order of rank in the federation hierarchy. It is consistent with this structural arrangement that all groups in the federated organization helped to accumulate potlatch goods.

Goods pooled for potlatching were termed hinaƛyàq which is glossed as "assistance for potlatching" or "help" (Drucker 1951:381). The underlying relation is generalized reciprocity:

> All these gifts for "assistance" had to be reciprocated, but by smaller gifts, not full equivalents. A man who gave the chief a sea otter hide might get a medium-sized canoe in return (the canoe being worth considerably less, in recent times, at least) (Drucker, 1951: 381).

This system of generalized reciprocities translates into politically centralized pooling and redistribution network.

The system channelled the regular flow of food and wealth resources as well as goods directly requisitioned for potlatches. Curtis assesses that the titleholders gained from the established exchange relation:

> his occasional distributions of whale meat and blubber were more that compensated by the frequent contributions of game and skins by hunters, berries and blankets by women, canoes and boxes by carvers, and slaves by warriors (Curtis 1961:64).

Ownership of slaves was restricted to chiefs. Following a raid, captives were presented to the principal titleholder of the polity who controlled the subsequent distribution. Jewitt explains: "the spoils of war . . . [were] understood as appertaining to the king, who receives and apportions them among his several chiefs and warriors according to their rank and deserts" (Jewitt 1974:112-113). The warfare unit was the full polity - the independent winter village group or the federation. It clearly follows that, while not ignoring independent allies, the head of a winter village polity distributed plunder within that group, while the federation leader made distributions among ranking men in all attached winter village units.

This centralized organization of exchange relations also channelled the flow of basic food resources. Resources were apportioned within the polity at specific intervals according to seasonal availability. A large proportion of the produce was pooled at the centre. Jewitt (1974:11) mentions fishermen bringing 2500 salmon to Moqwina's house in one day. Redistribution was coordinated by the highest

ranking titleholder. In reference to herring exploitation by the Moachat, Mozino writes: "At the conclusion of the fishing, the tais, or someone appointed by him, distributes a considerable portion to each village" (Mozino 1970:47). This distribution system ensured provision and equalized availability of resources among attached winter village groups.

Resources owned by specific title were distributed within the federation. Various chiefs owned specific resource areas and were expected to share produce among federated groups. The Qu'opincath was a descent group in the Cawisp winter village unit of the Kyuquot federation. Drucker writes that: "When the qa'opincath chief got many waterfowl (his right as chief and owner of the inlet gave him as tribute all of the first two catches of his hunters each spring), he ordinarily invited all the Kyuquot chiefs to a feast" (Drucker 1951:374). Jewitt provides another example of chiefly distribution of specific resources. While at the Moachat federation village of Yukwot he notes: "Afternoon our girls returned with four bushels of brambleberries, which our chief divided among his people" (Jewitt 1976:7). Certain resources, such as geese or berries, were not available throughout the Nootka area but were found in particular territories that were controlled through legitimate title. Through intrapolity redistribution federated winter village groups regularly received produce from ecological niches outside the winter village territory.

Federated groups aggregated at federation villages in spring and summer and during this time some titleholders hunted whales.

The produce was dispensed among the populace. Jewitt mentions a feast of blubber given in Moqwina's house at Yuquot "to which all the village was invited" (Jewitt 1974:92). Moqwina owned the federation site of Yuquot and the adjacent offshore resource area (cf. Drucker 1951:224-231). It was Moqwina's prerogative to take the first whale of the season (Jewitt 1974:92). Moqwina performed ritual to induce whales to come within hunting range (Jewitt 1976:11).

Chiefly rituals for whales were part of a larger complex whereby titleholders were responsible for ensuring food supplies. This complex had spiritual and political as well as economic dimensions. Responsibility for provisions was a crucial aspect of the titleholder's relation to the group:

> shrines (tciyasam) . . . were made and used to 'bring' a variety of products of economic importance; and often the same shrine and its ritual served to bring heavy runs of salmon, herring, and to cause dead whales to drift ashore. Most frequently the chief who owned the territory where these commodities were obtained was expected to see that the supply did not fail by carrying out his ritual meticulously (Drucker 1951:170-171).

> The vassals receive their sustenance from the hands of the monarch, or from the governor who represents him in the distant villages under his rule. The vassals believe that they owe this sustenance to the intercession of the sovereign with God (Mozino 1970:24).

> Last night our chief informed me that he was concerned for his life, because there were no fish to be caught; he told me that his own people were going to kill him . . . (Jewitt 1970:20).

This obligation applied to titleholders in less complex polities as well as federations. Drucker (1951:172-173) gives account of an Hesquiat chief who, following complaints from his people, performed

ritual to attract drift whales. There is also an account of a Muchalat Arm chief who executed an intricate ritual procedure to induce heavy runs of salmon.

In his managerial role the titleholder possessed the right to receive goods; this right was complemented by the duty to distribute resources within the polity. This combination of right and duty was an essential attribute of the titleholder's position. The prerogatives of rank were balanced by the rule that the titleholder was:

> obligated to support his dignity by making frequent entertainments and whenever he receives a large supply of provision, he must invite all of the men of his tribe to his house to eat it up, otherwise . . . he would not be considered as conducting himself like a Tyee [chief], and would be no more thought of than a common man (Jewitt 1974:113).

Responsibility for provisioning the group centred on titleholders, and titleholders had an interest in maintaining their position (a class interest). At the same time, the institution of intra-polity pooling and redistribution provisioned the society.

The analysis of relations among federated winter village units in comparison to relations between independent groups shows that Nootka titleholders usually intermarried with titleholder families in other independent polities while their lower class kinsmen usually married within their own polities. There is no evidence of civil war within federations, but interpolity war was frequent and was often directed towards the acqusition of new territory. Titleholder marriage was an institutionalized method for concluding warfare. Winter ceremonials

were occasions for interpolity visiting and guests witnessed ceremonial dramas, however, the Loqwana secret societies were organized at the sub-polity level and only members of the specific society were participants in the dramas hosted by the titleholder who owned the ceremonial privileges. An independent winter village group held Loqwana ceremonies at the winter village, whereas co-federated groups presented Loqwana dramas at one village, and the order of presentations was based on the rank of the titleholders who headed the distinct secret societies. Balanced and negative reciprocal exchange took place between independent polities, whereas centralized pooling and redistribution occurred among winter village groups within federations. The resources exchanged through these different reciprocity relationships were used for potlatch distribution as well as for group provision.

# CHAPTER VI

## POLITY FORM AND THE RESOURCE BASE

The development of federations versus independent winter village polities may have been associated with variation in the amount of basic food resources controlled by the winter village unit. In this analysis I first check for possible correlations between salmon resource, population, and contact variables. I then determine whether independent and federated winter village units differ significantly with respect to availability of salmon, group population, and degree of contact.

### Salmon Resource Variables

Salmon was the main food resource in the Nootka economy. The fish were generally exploited inshore and upstream during regular spawning migrations. A measure of the amount of salmon available to each winter village group was developed by Donald and Mitchell from Fisheries Department estimates of escapement to streams in British Columbia. Using this method of measurement for Southern Kwakiutl territories Donald and Mitchell (1975) formulate a model which predicts Southern Kwakiutl local group rank on the basis of knowledge about volume of salmon and local group population size. The same salmon resource measures are used in the present study.

Stream escapement figures for the period 1950 to 1967 were used to calculate median salmon, by species and total, for each territory.

The median was selected because there are some large differences in escapement figures from year to year. The median is relatively stable with uneven distributions whereas extreme cases radically affect the size of the mean, particularly with small samples.

It is legitimate to question whether the sample of salmon escapement figures used to develop the scores is representative of the amount of salmon available to Nootka groups in aboriginal times. The summary measures are derived from figures collected over a seventeen year period; this is reasonably good time coverage. Offshore commercial salmon fishing has reduced overall stocks during the twentieth century as have changes in spawning stream environments. It is recognized that the raw medians are not reliable estimates of the numbers of salmon running in west coast streams prior to the advent of commercial exploitation. For the analysis the medians are used to rank winter village groups relative to each other on salmon availability. An overall reduction in salmon stocks is not likely to have seriously disrupted the rank order of salmon escapement by group territory. This conversion to an ordinal scale also has the advantage of lessening the impact of reliability problems and random error.

Two aspects of salmon variability are considered. Median Salmon covers all species of Pacific salmon (Oncorhynchus spp.) found in the area and is a measure of the total salmon resources available to the winter village group. Median Chum measures availability of the species (Oncorhynchus keta) most relied upon for winter food stores. Appendix B shows raw medians on these two salmon variables in "standard fish."[5]

Median Salmon ranges from 9,400 to 172,000 standard fish. Six of the twenty-four units score at or below 20,100, the median for the distribution is 45,350, while the six richest territories have more than 64,800 standard fish. The range on Chum is 2,800 to 75,000 standard fish. The first quartile falls at 14,850, the median is 22,100, and the third quartile is 39,650 standard chum salmon. These distributions indicate that there was substantial variation in relative salmon availability within the Nootka area.

Ordinal scores derived from raw medians are shown in Appendix C along with ranks on the population and contact variables. Groups are ranked from poorest to richest on total salmon (Md.S.) and chum (Chum S.) resources, from smallest to largest on population variables, and from most to least intensive on differential contact.

There is a moderately strong correlation between Chum and Median Salmon. Spearman's rho on the rank orders is 0.697. This indicates that the species most important for winter supplies accounts for a little less than half (approximately 48.6 per cent) of the variation in rank on Median Salmon.

Group Size

The earliest comprehensive population figures for Nootka groups are Sproat's for 1860 (1868). Two other relatively complete sets are for 1881 (Koppert 1930), and 1884 (D.I.A. 1885). These are entered into the analysis as three separate population variables. I do not attempt to estimate aboriginal or early contact populations because the recon-

struction would rely too heavily on mid to late nineteenth century information. No systematic counts or estimates were made during the maritime trade era; the early observations refer to a few communities at different points in time according to the pattern of contact. The figures cited apply to the same time period as the data on political organization. Appendix B lists the raw population figures. These three compilations appear to be mutually independent. Sproat gives adult male population only. He provides no indication as to the origin of his figures. My impression is that the Sproat list (1868:308) includes some estimates, particularly for groups distant from Barkley Sound, as well as counts based on firsthand observations. Koppert (1930:4) lists total population. Kopper's data were collected by C.M. Moser and E.E. Frost. The figures for 1884 are published in the Department of Indian Affairs Report (D.I.A.) for that year and appear to be based on a recent census since the Reports for 1881-1883 simply reprint Blenkinsop's (1874) Barkley Sound data. Sproat and Koppert contain rounded figures, the D.I.A. report does not. This suggests that each community was directly enumerated for the latter report.

There is not a complete fit between the three population lists and my sample of winter village units. The accounts contain entries for some units which do not occur in the sample. These figures are excluded from the population measures. Generally group names are easily recognized; the one exception is a unit listed in the Department of Indian Affairs Report as "Emlh-wilh-laht" (1885:186). By process of elimination and through comparison with figures for surrounding years it

is apparent that this group is the Ucluelet, so the "Emlh-wilh-laht" figure is used for that unit. Otsosat is one group in the sample of reconstructed territories. The Sproat and Koppert lists contain Manoisat but not Otsosat. In consideration of the history of warfare and the high degree of overlapping membership in these two groups (cf. Drucker 1951:238) it seems reasonable to view the figure given under Manoisat as a rough measure of the Otsosat population. This group is the smallest in the sample. The Indian Affairs Report does not mention Otsosat or Manoisat. This is the only case of missing data in the three population surveys.

As previously outlined, the unit of analysis is the winter village groups. One problem with the population data is that figures are listed by independent polity and federation populations are not broken down into constituent winter village units. The working solution to this problem was to divide figures for federations by the number of winter village groups that comprise them. Each unit in a federation therefore has the same rating on population. This somewhat reduces the value and precision of the population estimates but is unavoidable in the circumstances. The population data show that in the mid to late 1800's there was considerable variation in the size of winter village groups in both independent and federated categories with an 1860 range in adult males of 5 to 230 and a median of 36 adult males.

Population values are converted into rank scores to be consistent with the ordinal measurement on salmon resource variables as well as to reduce measurement error (for ranks see Appendix C). The rank orders on

population are intercorrelated using Spearman's rho as a measure of association. Results are given in Table 4. The very high correlation coefficients show that these population data are internally consistent.

TABLE 4: Rho MATRIX FOR RANK ORDERS OF NOOTKA WINTER VILLAGE GROUP POPULATION FOR 1860, 1881, AND 1884

| | Population 1881 | Population 1860 |
|---|---|---|
| Population 1860 | 0.899 | |
| Population 1884 | 0.997 | 0.881 |

(rho > 0.3430 significant at $p \leq 0.05$)

Sources: Sproat (1868), Koppert (1931), Canada (1885).

Contact Variable

The information on form of polity and the distinction between independent and federated winter villages relates to around 1870 or approximately one hundred years after initial contact. Though it is clear that some federations existed aboriginally, Euro-American contact may have affected federation development. Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds were the loci of intensive contact during the maritime trade era. A measure of relative proximity to these harbours is used as an index of differential contact.

My measure is based on the technique for measuring number of "contact intervals" described by Jorgensen (1969:30). Taking each

winter village unit in turn I first counted the number of units, regardless of size, that occurred between it and two trade loci.[6] The distances follow the shortest sea route possible. Where more than one unit is accessible from a single bay each of those units receives the same score. Contact was more frequent and intensive at Nootka Sound than at Clayoquot, therefore I weighted the contact intervals according to the following formula: $\frac{2\ D.N.S. + D.C.S.}{3}$, where D.N.S. represents distance to Nootka Sound and D.C.S. represents distance to Clayoquot Sound. This procedure yields a measure of differential contact for each unit in the sample (see Appendix B). The method does not produce a perfect measure of intensity of contact experienced by the group in the sense that there are numerous factors not accounted for by simply measuring "distance" to trade loci. However, the method does draw directly on historical knowledge of where trade, and contact generally, was most intensive and has the advantages of objectivity and uniform application.

As with the measures of salmon availability and group population, values on the contact variable are converted to an ordinal scale (rank scores are entered in Appendix C). This conversion permits comparison of test results and at the same time reduces problems inherent in the measurement method for the contact variable.

## Test for Correlations Between Salmon Resource, Population, and Contact Variables

Spearman's rho was used to measure strength of association between group population and differential contact, and group population and

resource availability. No relationship between these combinations of variables produced a rho that was statistically significant at $p \leq 0.05$.

One would expect some correlation between contact and population variables since Nootka residence rules were flexible and trade opportunities frequently attract people to contact centres. It is clear, however, that in the Nootka case members of the titleholding class managed trade with Europeans. Untitled persons probably derived little direct benefit from the early trade, while titleholders likely stayed within their natal group and intensified exchange relationships with leading members of allied villages. More notably, there is a large time differential between the 1774 to 1810 contact interval and the 1860 to 1884 population data, and the intervening years saw virtually no contact. Any early shifts in population distributions due to the maritime fur trade would probably have been negated before 1860, especially since most of post-1810 Nootka population change was decline due to disease. Since we lack comprehensive population data for the early period it is not now feasible to formally assess the effect of the maritime fur trade on Nootka population distributions.

Variation in rank on median salmon does not account for a significant proportion of the variability in Nootka group population. This result contrasts with Donald and Mitchell's finding that rank on median salmon can account for 72 per cent of the variation in rank on 1830's Southern Kwakiutl local group population (1975:338). The Nootka exploited a more diverse resource base than neighbouring Southern

Kwakiutl groups, relying more heavily on herring, halibut, whales, and shellfish. The lack of a significant correlation between median salmon and Nootka winter village group population is probably due in large part to the importance of these additional resources.

It may also be meaningful that the earliest (1860) Nootka population measure gives the highest correlation coefficient with Total Salmon, rho = 0.288, rho-squared = 0.083 (rho > 0.3430 significant at $p \leq 0.05$). The value of rho-squared for median salmon and Southern Kwakiutl population for the 1830's and the 1880's respectively drops from 72 to 29 per cent. The latter value indicates that median salmon accounts for only 29 per cent of the variability in 1880's Southern Kwakiutl local group population; this result is barely significant (rho = 0.54; see Donald and Mitchell 1975:336, Table 3). Demographic change not related to resource variability is responsible for some of this decrease in amount of population variability explained. While emphasizing the diversity of resources in the Nootka area, I would predict that a weakly significant correlation held between salmon availability and pre-contact group population.

### Test for Relationship Between Resource Availability and Level of Political Coordination

I have hypothesized that independent and federated winter village groups differed on the amount of salmon resources available within the unit territory. Those groups that occupied the generally poorer territories engaged in relations that culminated with the development of

political federations. Resource variability is measured ordinally. Variation on the dependent variable, form of polity, is expressed by two levels of organization. The Mann-Whitney U test is used to ascertain whether federated units rank significantly lower on total salmon and chum salmon availability. For control I also test for difference in ranks on population and contact variables.

The Mann-Whitney test assesses the probability that two samples stem from the same population. It is a nonparametric test and assumes an ordinal level of measurement. For most non-normal distributions Mann-Whitney is more powerful than the, more generally familiar, t-test of difference between sample means (Siegel 1956:116). In this application the two samples are of independent and federated groups respectively.

The Mann-Whitney test reveals that winter village political status is related to variation in total salmon resources. On average, winter village groups that federated have lower ranks on median salmon than groups that remained independent. This difference is highly significant according to the test ($p \leq 0.0065$).

The Mann-Whitney test was also applied to the variables median chum. 1860, 1881, and 1884 population, and differential contact. The test was not significant at $p \leq 0.05$ for any of these variables. Since political status is related to median salmon, and Spearman's rho showed no correlation between population and median salmon, it is not surprising that Mann-Whitney shows no significant association between political status and available population measures.

The main return from the Mann-Whitney test, then, is the demonstration of a significant relationship between political variability and resource variability. The test validates the main hypothesis stated earlier. In general, Nootka winter village groups controlling richer salmon fishing areas were politically independent while groups occupying poorer territories had aggregated into political federations.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

# DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

## Integration of Polities

The concept of "means of integration" figures prominently in the evolutionary schemes reviewed earlier. In the Nootka area the two groups which had general political significance were the independent winter village groups and the federation. These were organized political formations which represent a specific evolutionary variation made up of two types of aggregate which were organized at different levels of complexity. The low frequency of civil war shows that federation polities were well integrated. This discussion considers those institutions which served to integrate federation polities.

The main integrating principle for Nootka polities generally was the seriation of descent group titleholders which was expressed in the order of seating and receiving gifts at feasts and potlatches. The ceremonial seat hierarchy in the federation merged titleholders from a number of winter village groups into a single order. Resident kinsmen and non-kin members of secret societies were attached to this graded core through a dependency relation with titleholders who owned and controlled resources and commanded the manpower necessary for defence.

Sequential presentation of secret society initiation ceremonies is another aspect of ceremonial organization which served to integrate

the polity. Available data indicates that independent winter village groups each held a winter ceremonial, while titleholders of federated winter village groups presented initiation ceremonies at the same site, probably in order of rank. The secret societies were sub-village non-kinship sodalities and a separation between societies was emphasized during the winter ceremonial. Presentations for titleholders of a given polity were, however, localized and fitted into a series. Systematization of secret society ceremonial presentations at the polity level operated to integrate the unit.

Federation affairs were centrally coordinated. Centricity and gradations of rank were emphasized in rules of procedure which prevailed in political-ceremonial contexts like intergroup visits, winter ceremonials, and, especially, potlatches. Centricity is also inherent in the pooling and redistribution system, and in the principal titleholder's role as ritual specialist responsible to the group. This centralized and hierarchical organization is reminiscent of the conical social structure which Service (1971), as well as Sahlins (1868), represent as being typical of "chiefdoms." It is evident, however, that Nootka federations were neither "chiefdoms" nor "tribes" as defined in Service's taxonomy. Centralized integration of separate communities is a major component of the definition of a "chiefdom;" the pan-tribal sodality is an important means of integration at the tribal level. Federations were composed of a number of winter village groups and a system of resource pooling and distribution was maintained among these groups. But the federated groups seasonally cohabited at a

village where descent units had house sites with permanent houseframes. Group movements were seasonal and in summer the federation was a localized aggregate. No sodality integrated all members of a federation. Kinship ties extended beyond the political community. Ancestor oriented kin groups within the polity were overlapping but did not share a tradition of common descent. Descent groups and non-kinship sodalities retained distinct identities and names. As socio-political subgroups they were united through public recognition of the central hierarchy which joined superordinate titleholders.

On the same vein, Nootka society does not fit the definition of a "rank" society formulated by Fried (1967), though that author argues for this classification. Some features of Nootka social organization resemble the definitive characteristics of "rank" society, most particularly an emphasis on primogeniture as a "narrowing device" and the point that the occupant of the office at the apex of the rank hierarchy held the role of village redistributor. Exploitative relations are not particularly overt and Drucker (1951:273) emphasizes that titleholders maintained an ideology that generosity was essential to retain a following of labourer kinsmen. Yet on the essential criterion - ownership and control of productive resources - access was restricted to a category which by birth, or occasionally as a mark of favor, received titles to resource areas and salmon traps, and possession of whaling gear and ritual knowledge. Nootka society was "stratified" by Fried's criterion.

Nootka residential groups came closest to the "cognatic tribe" described by Service (1971) and its merits mentioning that the conditions hypothetically associated with the development of cognatic tribes coincide with conditions Fried suggests are related to the emergence of stratification (Service 1971:126). Contrary to prevailing anthropological opinion, true socio-economic class structure ("strafification") has occurred in "societas" formations. The development of rules restricting access to productive resources may be adaptive in conditions of fluctuating resource supplies (like the Northwest Coast). As Drucker (1951:136 fn.) points out, Jewitt's privations probably resulted from his slave status, for kin group members were provisioned. Slaves, and following them commoners, no doubt suffered first during times of shortage. The practice of titleholders receiving first catch would secure a food supply for a category of the population. Possible shortage factors would then strike the lower class probably initiating residence shifts while the core of the group could retain occupation of streams until runs increased.

The strategic nature of upper class marriages is characteristic of stratified society generally as well as stem lineage organization. Such considerations as maintaining or elevating rank of offspring, and acquisition of valued titles to productive and noncorporeal property operated along with the interpolity alliance factor. Marriage was one relation which could secure access to resource areas controlled by other groups. The pre-war Ahousat strategy of arranging marriage with the Otsosat to obtain rights to exploit chum salmon streams

within Otsosat territory indicates that transfer of titles in marriage was a recognized option for groups seeking to secure additional resources.

In addition to political alliance, it is clear that intermarrying groups also maintained close economic and social ties. The Moachat and Clayoquot polities frequently convened on ceremonial occasions and Bell (1951:39) reports that Wicanninish attended Moqwina (I) at his death. There was frequent exchange of goods between these groups and the Clayoquot obtained firearms and ammunition from Moqwina as well as through direct trade with Euro-American vessels visiting Clayoquot Sound. Titleholders controlled trade and were able to allocate goods to purposes they considered worthwhile. Balanced reciprocity probably strengthened marriage alliances. It seems reasonable to assume that when members of first ranking families intermarried in the same generation both sides retained equivalent status. In relations involving the "exchange of women" direct reciprocal marriage is the social equivalent of balanced reciprocity in economic exchange.

The tendency for polity endogamy by the lower stratum probably assisted integration by creating close kinship ties within the political community. Intrapolity marriage would produce considerable overlap in descent group membership. This effect should improve the operation of generalized reciprocity within the polity, since for that form of reciprocity "the material flow is sustained by prevailing social relations" (Sahlins 1972:145). The political community as a

whole would lean towards homogeneity on the basis of internal kinship affinities, while retention of distinct identities by secret societies and descent group cores countered this tendency. Cross-cutting kinship affiliations within the polity would also assist pooling for potlatches given by the principal titleholder since most persons probably had some degree of non-unilineal connection to the first ranking descent group.

The inter-winter village group redistribution system coordinated from the central office strengthened federation integration. Integration through redistribution of produce need not be attributed to any Durkheimian notion of interdependence of subgroups. Rather, centralization of control would bind subgroups. Dependency relations are more likely to produce conflict, not unity. The ranking of linked subgroups within the polity no doubt mediated inter-group opposition. The institution of the potlatch provided, in part, a public format where shifts in relative group power could be translated into changes in formal organization, specifically internal ranking. To Fried (1967), management of the redistributive system elevates prestige and confers political status. Economic, ceremonial, and political roles coincided in Nootka polities. Control over these various aspects of group life was concentrated in titleholder offices.

An elaboration of Fried's directional hypothesis can be developed for the Nootka case. Political status in Nootka groups was reflected in the relative rank of descent group heads. Economic power was based on control of labour and a variety of resources. I shall confine

the discussion to salmon resources. Component descent groups exploited their respective salmon streams separately and at the close of a run congregated at the polity site owned by a leading titleholder. (This applies to federations as well as winter village polities since federated groups convened for winter ceremonials, and communication generally was maintained through the winter.) I hypothesize that descent groups exchanged salmon at the polity site, the direction of flow being from the groups whose streams were more productive to the groups which fished the poorer streams. Over time, if exchanges did not balance, and the demonstrated variation in size of salmon runs suggested they would not, "salmon givers" would probably attain high rank, receive a disproportionate amount of wealth goods and attract manpower. (For some related ideas on potlatch exchange see Suttles (1960:303-304, 1968:57-58)). The centripetal flow of high status and material and human resources would direct and attach decision-making power to specific titleholders in the polity. Centralization, hypothetically initiated by unequal exchange of resources, might first manifest itself in ceremonial life, and later come to apply to political authority and power. This hypothesis would apply most particularly to the working out of a seriation of titleholder ranks when new polities first formed. Drucker's (1951:222-243) accounts of the history of Nootka polities refer frequently to periods when internal rank orders became established. Following this initial period of adjustment, federations were internally stable with minimal revision in the rank order of leading titleholders.

As previously shown, the redistributive system channelled the flow of food and wealth goods. Food and wealth goods were also exchanged in the context of balanced and negative reciprocity relations between independent groups. A chief of an independent winter village received, through pooling, resources from a single winter village territory. Principal titleholders in a federation could command the use of resources from a number of winter village territories. Goods received from outside the territory of the maximal political group had to be reciprocated by items of equivalent value. Titleholders were using goods obtained through these variable reciprocity relationships for two purposes: group provision, and political-ceremonial exchange, most specifically potlatching.

This constitutes a more or less functional account of the structure and operation of Nootka political groups. Independent winter villages and federations were essentially variations on the same design, with federations being the more complex and highly segmented political form. The interesting questions now are what were the conditions which stimulated the development of this variation, and what were the processes of federation development?

## Form of Polity and Control of Resources

One of the more useful propositions on political development is put forth by Jorgensen (1979) who argues that competition for resources was the major variable shaping forms of political organization in aboriginal Northwest America. Jorgensen's analysis shows that political

organizations were developed to assist the ownership, control and protection of resources. This interpretation is attractive for the Nootka case where it is clear that economic relations were generally controlled by political leaders. The analysis implies that certain basic conditions produced intergroup oppositions directed towards acquisition of resources.

A similar argument is presented by Carneiro (1970) who hypothesizes that restrictions in food supplies lead to the incorporation of autonomous groups into a centrally coordinated polity. Carneiro specifices population growth in areas of concentrated or circumscribed resources as the condition most likely to produce demand for additional food supplies. Once the ratio of population to preferred land reaches a critical level, warfare over land produces polities composed of dominant and subordinate village groups. The main thrust of Carneiro's analysis concerns the emergence of the state, but his model can assist the examination of political developments at pre-state levels, including the development of Nootka winter village federations.

In terms of Carneiro's (1970) distinction between "voluntaristic" and "coercive" theories of political evolution, Jorgensen's perspective, emphasizing competition, leans toward the latter. Intergroup competition also necessitates the maintenance of a group size adequate for defense against competitive neighbours. Fried (1967) stresses the significance of minimum group size but his theory for the development of "economic interdigitation" seems to favour voluntary intergroup association.

Consideration of Nootka political organization in light of the ideas on political development offered by Jorgensen and Carneiro lead to the following hypotheses:

1) Given flexible residence rules, group population size should correlate with resource availability (since shifting group membership would be a ready option in face of population to resource pressure).

2) Winter village groups holding poorer resource bases should be organized into more complex polities and richer, adequately defended winter village groups should be independent.

3) Intergroup competition should be higher in poorer resource areas (specifically, warfare should be initiated from these areas), and should be related to political variability.

Analysis does not confirm the hypothesis of positive correlation between group size and total salmon resources directly available to the group, (rho for median salmon with 1860 population is 0.288, with rho $>$ 0.3430 significant at $p \leq 0.05$). Comparison of this result with the results of similar tests for Southern Kwakiutl data suggests, however, that pre-contact group population should yield weak but significant correlation with median salmon (see Chapter Six). Considering the diversity of the Nootka resource base, other resources, besides salmon, should account for a proportion of the population variability. Any attempt at a statistical test for this possibility would confront the problem of weighting the various resources. Since the dependent variable (group population) and the prospective independent variables (herring, halibut, access to whaling areas, as well as salmon) can be

quantified, multiple regression analysis might be used to test for the possible relationship.

The second hypothesis, for a relationship between resource variability and variation in political complexity is validated; (Mann-Whitney test for ranks on median salmon by independent versus federated winter village groups is significant at $p \leq 0.0065$). If other resources were incorporated into this test one should expect an even lower level for rejection. Salmon was the most important food resource in the Nootka area, but, as noted, other resources were also important. Some independent groups, for example the Hesquiat, had very few salmon streams and relied heavily on alternative resources.

The test for a relationship between resource variability and group political status indicates that winter village groups in poorer territories had expanded their resource bases through political aggregation and associated generalized reciprocity relations. In part, this development may have been a response to the problem of provision of basic foods; yet the pattern of resource use show that a certain margin of production was required to provide goods for culturally defined purposes. Donald and Mitchell (1975) show that among the Southern Kwakiutl there was a reasonably strong correlation between median salmon availability and the potlatch rank of the local group. This relationship suggests that in addition to provision of food for survival, groups with poorer territories would have been concerned with acquiring resources for political-ceremonial purposes, especially potlatching.

The modes of obtaining resources not available in the group territory included the following: 1) reciprocal interpolity exchange, 2) titleholder marriage strategically planned to give access to resource areas owned by chiefs in other groups, 3) voluntary fusion which conferred exploitation and residence rights in another group's territory, and 4) expansion through warfare. Each of these strategies had inherent imperatives and consequences. Interpolity "trade" was practised, but in the long term this mode could not be used to increase the overall amount of resources available to the group since it required a return of equivalent value. The interpolity marriage option was actively employed, yet marriage gifts seem to have been limited usufructory rights rather than full ownership titles. Fusion is evidenced for some groups, for example the Ha'watakamlath (cf. Drucker 1951:226). In this case, acceptance of a gift of a house site and exploitation rights placed the receiving group under obligation to the site owner. This relation involved some loss of autonomy and assumption of subordinate rank in the aggregated unit. The data show that the warfare option was frequently practised and was effective. Considering that Nootka warfare was frequently directed towards territorial expansion, the third hypothetical sequence implied by the proposition of Jorgensen and Carneiro is particularly interesting. The theoretical prediction is that political variability should be related to variation in resource availability. It is unfortunate that data are not available to test for general relationships involving warfare.[7] We do, however, have knowledge of the history of some federations.

The use of warfare and group fusion as modes of obtaining access to new territory correspond respectively to Carneiro's distinction between "coercive" and "voluntaristic" processes. The importance of fusion and warfare in the development of Nootka federations may be considered further in the light of knowledge of federation histories and cultural institutions.

## Hypothetical Reconstruction of Federation Processes

Analysis shows that, generally, it was the winter village groups in the less productive territories which had aggregated into political federations. Some federations may have formed by voluntary fusion. There is reason to believe, however, that titleholders in independent winter village groups would be reluctant to simply move in with another polity. The federation process was initiated by one winter village group taking up residence at a village site owned by a titleholder in another group. A title to a house site at a federation village was a form of gift from the village owner. Acceptance of such a gift would imply subordinate status: "generosity is . . . a starting mechanism of leadership <u>because it creates followership</u>" (Sahlins 1972:208, emphasis in original). It is unlikely that first ranking titleholders in an independent group would voluntarily aggregate and assume a subordinate position in another political group. Warfare would be a more attractive mode for acquiring new territory. An exceptional circumstance would be when winter village group size was insufficient for defense (a variable Fried (1967) emphasizes), or for sufficient

production to participate in potlatching and so forth. For example, the Tcinexnit decision to join the Ehetisat federation took place after group size was considerably diminished (Drucker 1951:227). The application of the Mann-Whitney test to population ranks by group political status showed no meaningful relationship between these two variables (the test was not significant at $p \leq 0.05$). Two reasonable explanations for this result are that the respective group population measures do not apply to the periods in which federations were formed, and inadequate group size was not generally significant to federation development.

Warfare over resources was an established practice in Nootka society. As previously discussed, a cultural rule specified that all members of the original group, and particularly the owning titleholder, must be enslaved or slain before a territory was legitimately won. This process generally produced an expanded winter village polity. There is some indication that if warfare took another course, political aggregation followed.

Curtis (1961:184) reports that prior to federation with the Koopti, the Tlupana group attacked the Koopti village of Yukwot on the outer coast in an attempt to seize this whaling site for their own use. A series of raids ensued and the Koopti slowly gained the upper hand; Mills (1955:142) corroborates this point. Drucker (1951:230) reports, however, that Moachat (the Koopti-Tlupana federation) tradition recalls that the first chief of the Tlupana received residence rights at Yukwot through marriage (evidently into the first ranking family of Koopti whose head owned the Yukwot village site). The first chief

of the Tlupana clearly survived the war since his heirs retained title to territories on Tlupana Arm. As previously discussed, marriage was an institutionalized mechanism for establishing peace. From this assorted data it seems reasonable to speculate that after a period of warfare the Koopti and Tlupana groups made peace through negotiation of a marriage between the respective first ranking titleholders. Residence rights at Yukwot were, I speculate, transferred in marriage as part of the peace arrangement. (It was probably because the Koopti were winning the war that their titleholders held higher rank in the federation.) Subsequently both groups shared access to the two winter village territories, thus overcoming the original cause for the war. Following this war the Moachat polity structurally resembled the aggregation of superordinate and subordinate village groups described by Carneiro (1970) as typical of polities resulting from conquest.

There was a clear advantage for a group winning a war to arrest the hostilities through accepting an offer of marriage and transferring a gift of residence rights at that marriage. First, coresidence would bring a rival group under the host's control. Second, and more important, when the enemy group was completely annihilated the victorious group gained territory and resources, but did not gain additional military or labour power. To an expanded polity more military power would be useful for defense of the larger territory. Additional workers would be useful since, with existing technology, labour power (particularly women to process primary food resources) was the main variable accounting for productive capacity. Increased production within

the group assisted provision and, with centralized economic control, provided principal titleholders with additional resources for use in interpolity potlatches.

## Conclusions

Independent winter village polities and federation polities were specific evolutionary developments in aboriginal Nootkan social organization. Nootka federations represent the most highly segmented traditional political formations on the Northwest Coast of North America. The analysis shows that there was a significant relationship between availability of the most important basic food resource in the area (median salmon) and the political status of winter village groups (independent or federated). Hypothetically, only groups whose size was below the minimum needed for economic production or defense aggregated voluntarily; available accounts of federation history suggest that winter village groups warred before aggregating to form hierarchically structured federation polities.

In summary, the data and analysis presented in this thesis support the following points:

1) Nootka society does not fit the definition of a "chiefdom" or a "tribe" offered by Service (1971), nor that of a "rank" society as described by Fried (1967). Nootka society was a class-structured "societas" society with all important productive resources being owned by titleholders. Commoner access to these resources was on condition of labour and residence in a descent group house owned by a leading titleholder.

2) The titleholding class frequently married across polity boundaries to generate political alliance with other polities. The lower class tended towards polity endogamy which strengthened intrapolity kinship ties and assisted the operation of generalized reciprocal exchange within the political group.

3) Non-unilineal descent groups and non-kinship sodalities were attached to specific titleholders. Within the maximal political group - the independent winter village or the federation - these units were fitted together on the basis of the rank of the respective titleholders.

4) Independent groups participated in balanced and negative reciprocal exchange with other polities, while federated winter village units participated in centralized pooling and redistribution which was coordinated by the first ranking titleholder of the federation's ceremonial seat hierarchy. The resources exchanged in the context of these different relationships were required for provision and were also used by titleholders at potlatches.

5) Some winter village groups aggregated when the size of the unit was too small in relation to that of neighbouring polities and was thus inadequate for defence and possibly also for exploitation of the group's resource base. The available data on the aggregation of Nootka winter village groups leads to the hypothesis that federation polities usually developed following the cessation of warfare between groups that were competing for limited resources.

6) In general, Nootka winter village groups controlling relatively productive salmon streams were politically independent, whereas winter village units with poorer salmon resources formed political federations.

## NOTES

1. Particular Nootka group territories are not discussed in detail here as territorial mappings will be presented in detail in a forthcoming work by Donald and Mitchell.

2. I use the designation "(I)" to refer to the Moqwina who held first rank in the Moachat federation during the time of Meares and Vancouver, and who died in 1795. His son and successor - Moqwina (II) - was the "Maquina" who captured the "Boston" and enslaved Jewitt.

3. In Drucker (1951) the term "tribe" generally refers to the winter village group, but sometimes it refers to a federation.

4. Tsahswasip was Moqwina's winter ceremonial name (cf. Curtis 1916:69 fn.).

5. "Standard fish" is a unit of measurement developed by Donald and Mitchell and uses the average size of pink salmon, which is the smallest species. All numbers of fish are standardized on that basis using the average size of each of the other species.

6. The underlying assumption is that the fewer the groups between a particular group and the trade locus the more frequent the contact.

7. A form of indirect evidence of warfare might be available. In their paper on the Southern Kwakiutl, Donald and Mitchell (1975) suggest that distribution of fortified sites can indicate regional variation in the significance of warfare. The authors contrast the Coast Salish region, where stockades are generally rare but are concentrated in areas subjected to Wakashan raids, to the Southern Kwakiutl region, where fortified sites are evenly distributed. Cultural differences could certainly affect this association (site fortification is an optional defense strategy, some groups opted for flight, particularly by women and children), but it is possible that the distribution of fortified sites could be used as an indicator of intensity of warfare throughout the Nootka area.

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# APPENDIX A

## Sources

Ethnographic works contain general statements and some specific descriptions of Nootka political organization and social processes. The thesis research also relies heavily on direct observational accounts of the society when it was autonomous or semi-autonomous, and historical records constitute a substantial part of the reference materials. Murdock's (1975) bibliography is strong on ethnographic sources. The best compilation of historical materials is Strathern (1970).

While the Nootka are well known in the ethnological, linguistic, and historic literature the coverage of economy and politics is uneven. Owing principally to Drucker's (1951) work, the northern and central groups are better described than those south of Barkley Sound. Historical figures varied as to local experience, training, and concerns. These factors affect the value of their writings for ethnohistoric research. Historical activities were concentrated in certain areas; again, the region north of Barkley Sound is better known. The actual writing of historic sources is sometimes detached from the events. Journals are written on location. Memoirs recall fairly recent observations. Reminiscences are composed years after the events. Use of field notes improves the accuracy of memoirs and reminiscences.

Accounts of the very first voyages are not particularly informative. Perez's brief offshore encounter produced no useful observations.

"Resolution" and "Discovery" stayed inside Nootka Sound for four weeks. Beaglehole's (1967) edition reproduces Cook's original journal of events and includes journal entries by Captain Clerke and ships's officers, but the language barrier hindered comprehensive observation. At one point the Moachat mobilized to prevent a fleet of canoes from approaching the ships, but the visiting party is not identified. This set of accounts give only minor insights into trade and group behaviour.

As a category traders's accounts are reasonably informative. Knowledge of local customs, territory, and economic and political arrangements was one requisite to successful trade. Several traders made more than one voyage to the coast. A number of logs and journals are available in reprint editions. F.W. Howay's editorial work is well known, for example. For various reasons a healthy skepticism is advised for all records. Of the traders, Meares's credibility is particularly suspect and statements from the log (reproduced 1967) probably should not be accepted without supporting evidence. The primary strength of accounts left by maritime traders and explorers is that they are early and therefore come closest to the aboriginal condition.

Spanish sources apply only to the first twenty years of contact. An excellent history of Spanish activities on the Northwest Coast is Cook (1973). Numerous Spanish accounts, eg. journals of Quadra and Martinez remain untranslated in archival vaults in Mexico City and Madrid and unfortunately cannot be tapped. Some translations, eg. those edited by Wagner (1933) and Mozino's (1970) report are available.

Mozino was official botanist to Quadra's 1792 expedition and researched the geography, sociology, and history of Nootka Sound. He achieved some control of the native langauge. The report is not without shortcomings but does constitute a familiar and quasi-scientific report of the Moachat and their neighbours at the time of the Spanish occupation.

Jewitt's experiences resulted in two publications, each of which surpass any other single account from the early contact period. During captivity Jewitt kept a journal which he had printed in 1807. The journal constitues a daily record of economic activities, Moachat war campaigns, and group movements for a period of two and a half years. Richard Alsop, a professional writer in Middletown Conn., composed a narrative based on a series of interviews with Jewitt which develops on the original journal. This work is probably best considered to be a memoir. Harrington (1969) reports that Alsop consulted Jewitt closely on details and rendered the facts as accurately as possible. While the narrative (orig. 1815) is not as precise as Jewitt's journal it does provide supplementary background information.

We lack information on the Nootka area for the period 1806 until the 1850's. With planned settlement commencing in 1860 a new type of inquiry and familiarity ensued. Though many pioneers observed little of Indian lifeways, G.M. Sproat was a superior exception. Sproat was a colonial magistrate on Vancouver Island in the mid 1800's. His account (Sproat 1868) is reasonably systematic, and considers language, custom, social organization, and values. In preface to his study Sproat states that the report is based on "memoranda, written with a

pencil on the spot - in the hut, in the canoe, or in the deep forest; and afterwards verified or amended" (1868:xi-xii). Sproat's work concentrates on Nootka groups on central Vancouver Island. An associate of Sproat was R. Brown F.R.G.S. Brown led some survey parties through previously untrekked parts of western Vancouver Island. His printed articles and manuscript journals contain useful information. These are available at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

Following the treaty between the Makah and the territory of Washington, J.G. Swan took up permanent residence at Neah Bay "in the capacity as teacher and dispenser of medicines" (in Swan 1969:iii). With the support of Gibbs of the Smithsonian Institution, who also wrote on the Makah, Swan published a report on Makah culture (Swan 1869). The report contains little information on aboriginal polities, but is detailed on subsistence and economics and so has some utility. The only good ethnography on the Makah is Colson (1953). Colson is a fieldworker of very high calibre; her Makah study, however, concerns acculturative processes and modern reserve life and is thus of limited value for the present thesis.

Missionary activities in the Nootka region were dominated by the efforts of A.J. Brabant. Brabant's reminiscences of twenty-five years mission service cover the period 1875 to 1899. Nootka society underwent profound change during this period and extrapolation into the past is unadvised. However, due to his length of stay in the area Brabant earned a close familiarity with Indian life and there is some interesting data. Ch. Moser, Brabant's successor, published

Brabant's record along with his own and some other missionary accounts (Moser 1926).

A part of volume eleven of photographer E.S. Curtis's documentary record of North American Indians (Curtis 1916) is devoted to the Nootka. The account is based on research and travels in the area circa 1910. It covers both Vancouver Island Nootka and Makah and is scholarly. Curtis (1916) stands with Drucker (1951) as essential reading for those interested in Nootka society and culture.

Drucker's (1951) publication is the product of ethnographic researches conducted in 1935-36 under the support of A.L. Kroeber. Originally intended as an investigation "to determine the bases of social stratification" (Drucker 1951:1), the study ended up on an excellent full ethnography. The ethnographic horizon is 1870-1900, though the ethnographer believes that his information on formal history is accurate for earlier times (Drucker 1951:15). While Drucker does not raise many theoretical issues, as a descriptive ethnography this work is unparallelled in Nootka studies.

Data for Barkley Sound and Nitinat groups comes mainly from the linguistic researchers of E. Sapir and M. Swadesh. In the years 1910 and 1913-14 Sapir recorded traditions and legends in the Nootka language. The texts are remarkable for detail. Two major contributions to Nootka language studies have resulted (Sapir and Swadesh 1939, 1955). While the analysis of these texts has been primarily linguistic they provide a good data source for other researches. Swadesh's (1948) paper, for example, used the texts to examine motivations and patterns

in aboriginal warfare.

As part of their research into aboriginal slavery and warfare on the Northwest Coast, Drs. L.H. Donald and D.H. Mitchell have reconstructed the territories of Nootkan winter village groups and federations for the period 1800-1830. The territory maps available for the thesis research. Also a product of the described research, measures of volume of salmon for winter village and federation units were developed and are available for use. These data originate from the Federal Department of Fisheries records of salmon stream escapement for a seventeen year period (1950-67). These modern fish figures are the best resource data available.

APPENDIX B

TOTAL AND CHUM SALMON RESOURCES, CONTACT INTERVAL, AND POPULATION FOR VANCOUVER ISLAND NOOTKA WINTER VILLAGE GROUPS

| Winter Village Unit | Md.S. | Chum S. | Contact Interval | Pop. 1860 (Adult Male) | Pop. 1881 | Pop. 1884 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chickliset | 464 | 354 | 6.3 | 32 | 144 | 147 |
| Qanopit | 467 | 222 | 5.3 | | | |
| Tsawisp | 443 | 392 | 5.3 | 230(K)** | 691(K)** | 594(K)** |
| Qwixqu | 174 | 142 | 5.3 | | | |
| Tlaa | 165 | 155 | 5.3 | | | |
| Ehetisat | 235 | 219 | 1.6 | 36(E)** | 147(E)** | 143(E)** |
| Tsinexnit | 99 | 91 | 3.3 | | | |
| Apaqtu | 305 | 296 | 2.3 | | | |
| Tsattsattnit | 182 | 181 | 3.3 | 26(N)** | 155(N)** | 139(N)** |
| Dkhats | 111 | 101 | 4.3 | | | |
| Koopti | 259 | 191 | 1.3 | 150(M)** | 230(M)** | 254(M)** |
| Tlupana | 531 | 401 | 1.3 | | | |
| Muchalat | 858 | 548 | 1.6 | 36 | 87 | 74 |
| Hesquiat | 94 | 39 | 1.6 | 30 | 213 | 222 |
| Otsosat | 948 | 750 | 2.3 | 5 | 18 | -- |
| Ahousat | 309 | 220 | 2.3 | 115 | 300 | 296 |
| Clayoquot | 1032 | 334 | 2.6 | 190 | 324 | 304 |
| Ucluelet | 601 | 545 | 3.6 | 100 | 250 | 222 |
| Toquart | 508 | 417 | 4.6 | 11 | 25 | 32 |
| Seshart | 1727* | 333* | 5.6 | 70 | 176 | 171 |
| Opetchisat | 1492* | 123* | 7 | 15 | 60 | 52 |
| Uchucklesit | 508 | 161 | 6.6 | 28 | 56 | 52 |
| Ohiat | 695 | 636 | 6.6 | 175 | 240 | 233 |
| Pacheena | 220 | 28 | 8.6 | 20 | 82 | 79 |
| | 12427 | 6879 | | 1269 | 3198 | 2754 |

* These two winter village groups both have access to salmon entering the stream system at the upper end of Alberni Inlet; therefore, counts from streams with multiple access are entered in each group's figures.

** These figures are for the federation polities and the sources do not specify the population size of the constituent winter village units. To obtain the ranks for winter village group population in Appendix C these figures are divided by the number of winter village groups in the respective federations (see discussion in text). K: Kyuquot E: Ehetisat, N: Nuchatlet, M: Moachat.

Sources: Donald and Mitchell (personal communication); Sproat (1868; Koppert (1930); Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Report (1885).

APPENDIX C

RANK ON TOTAL AND CHUM SALMON, CONTACT VARIABLE, AND POPULATION FOR VANCOUVER ISLAND NOOTKA WINTER VILLAGE GROUPS

| Winter Village Unit | Md.S. | Chum S. | Contact Interval | Pop. 1860 (Adult Male) | Pop. 1881 | Pop. 1884 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chickliset | 13 | 17 | 20 | 12 | 14 | 14 |
| Qanopit | 14 | 13 | 16.5 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 16.5 |
| Tsawisp | 12 | 18 | 16.5 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 16.5 |
| Qwixqu | 5 | 6 | 16.5 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 16.5 |
| Tlaa | 4 | 7 | 16.5 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 16.5 |
| Ehetisat | 8 | 11 | 4 | 7.5 | 8.5 | 8.5 |
| Tsinexnit | 2 | 3 | 10.5 | 7.5 | 8.5 | 8.5 |
| Apaqtu | 10 | 14 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Tsattsattnit | 6 | 9 | 10.5 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Dkhats | 3 | 4 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Koopti | 9 | 10 | 1.5 | 19.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 |
| Tlupana | 12 | 19 | 1.5 | 19.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 |
| Muchalat | 20 | 22 | 4 | 13 | 11 | 10 |
| Hesquiat | 1 | 2 | 4 | 11 | 20 | 20.5 |
| Otsosat | 21 | 24 | 7 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Ahousat | 11 | 12 | 7 | 22 | 23 | 23 |
| Clayoquot | 22 | 16 | 9 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| Ucluelet | 18 | 21 | 12 | 21 | 22 | 20.5 |
| Toquart | 15.5 | 20 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Seshart | 24 | 15 | 19 | 18 | 19 | 19 |
| Opetchisat | 23 | 5 | 23 | 6 | 7 | 6.5 |
| Uchucklesit | 15.5 | 8 | 21.5 | 10 | 6 | 6.5 |
| Ohiat | 19 | 23 | 21.5 | 23 | 21 | 22 |
| Pacheena | 7 | 1 | 24 | 9 | 10 | 11 |

N = 24

Sources: Donald and Mitchell (personal communication); Sproat (1868); Koppert (1930); Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Report (1885).

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