Looking for Tribes in all the Wrong Places:
An Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network

by

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## ABSTRACT

Anthropological evidence is being relied upon increasingly in aboriginal claims litigation in British Columbia. In one such case, a debate focused on whether or not a Central Coast Salish defendant's group should be classified at the "band" or "tribal" level, as defined by Elman Service's model of sociocultural integration. It is contended that the Service model was misapplied and that the flow of people and goods can best be understood within the framework of a social network, as suggested in the earlier work of Wayne Suttles and William Elmendorf. Five hypotheses are presented, each designed to test and to quantify the extent and intensity of the social alliances of individuals and villages resulting from a predominantly exogamous marriage practice. This study confirms an earlier-postulated rate of village-exogamous-patrilocal residency. Specific quantitative examples focus on the Squamish and their inter-relationships with neighbouring Coast Salish groups.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The late Karl Popper, speaking of the logic of scientific discovery, stated:

> Bold ideas, unjustified anticipations, and speculative thoughts, are our only means of interpreting nature; our only organon, our only instrument for grasping her. And we must hazard to win our prize. Those among us who are unwilling to expose their ideas to the hazard of refutation do not take part in the scientific game (Popper 1959:280).

By Popper's lofty ideals, Wayne Suttles continues to be an archetypal scientist. Those of us who devote our time to probing the roots of Coast Salish society owe thanks to Suttles for his fifty years of scholarship. "Bold ideas" are principally Suttles' style, but his willingness to share his thoughts in publications, in papers, and in person, sets him apart from many others. My work and my life remain enriched by his scholarship and fellowship.

I selected my thesis committee for their personal standards of scholarship as demonstrated by decades of achievement: Dr. Nancy Turner, my colleague, whose considerable ethnobotanical studies have brought international attention to this highly-relevant area of indigenous knowledge; and Dr. Ross Crumrine, my professor, whose sensitive and long-term relationship with the Mayo of Northwest Mexico reminded me that I should not stray too far from the human dimension of the Native society that I wished to quantify. Quantification, I had learned in earlier years, rests somewhere between skill and art, occupying a seemingly-menacing zone in which I felt extreme discomfort; hence, I sought out for expertise in this area my Advisor, Dr. Donald Mitchell. His well-honed understanding of Northwest Coast societies, his proficiency in

statistics, and his commendable writing and editing abilities fulfilled my expectations of what I envisioned to be his role in the completion of this study. To these three scholars I offer my thanks. I would also like to acknowledge the participation of my External Examiner, Dr. Christopher Morgan, ideally suited to the post because of his own previous work concerning Northwest Coast ethnography.

The quantitative analysis in this study is based on a computerized genealogical database that I compiled on behalf of the Squamish Nation of North Vancouver. It is used here with their permission. The compilation of this database has been a project directed by Chief Joe Mathias and Chief Philip Joe between 1983 and 1995 with the support of the Squamish Council. Their foresight, I trust, will be rewarded in achieving a greater understanding of their people's history. I am especially indebted to my Squamish friend and teacher, the late Chief Louis Miranda, whose genealogical knowledge and linguistic abilities were renowned both within and beyond the Central Coast Salish community. My thanks also go to Squamish language specialist, Chief Lawrence Baker, for confirmation of some Squamish terms.

The late Father Thomas Lascelles (of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate) will be remembered for acquainting me with the church records that formed such an important part of this study. The research that resulted in the compilation of the genealogical database, in addition to other Squamish-focused ethnographic investigations, has been undertaken jointly with my colleague Randy Bouchard, whose linguistic expertise I relied upon after my own was quickly exhausted. Our research assistant Peryl Cain expedited the tedious task of preparing the figures for the census indices.

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of linguist Dr. Brent Galloway of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, Regina, and anthropologist Allan Richardson of Whatcom Community College, Bellingham, Washington, for providing Nooksack materials compiled by the late Paul Fetzer.

The archival documents cited in this study were collected over the course of 25 years of research I conducted in institutions throughout Canada and the United States. I would especially like to acknowledge the staff of the British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria, the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, and the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.

As the time approached to print this thesis, I realized that the frustrating difficulties I was encountering with the linguistic symbols could not be overcome by my limited technical abilities. I appreciate greatly the considerable effort that was extended to me by Don McGregor of JD Micro Devices, Victoria.

During my graduate work, the Canadian Federation of University Women presented me with the Alice E. Wilson Award, an honour bestowed upon professional women who return to university to enhance their skills. Thank you; the recognition means a lot to me.

# Chapter I

## INTRODUCTION

In 1989 an aboriginal woman residing in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia was charged with selling salmon,[1] a violation under the *Fisheries Act* of Canada. An important component of her trial in Provincial court was an anthropological debate focusing on whether the concept of "tribe" or "band" should apply to the local Central Coast Salish of which she is a member. An anthropologist acting as an expert witness for the Federal Crown presented evidence arguing that the defendant was a member of a group whose socio-cultural level was little more than a band, thereby denying the possibility of exchange beyond generalized reciprocity. The anthropologist testifying on behalf of the Native fish-seller asserted that the defendant's society constituted a tribe with a market economy. Both positions relied upon Service's (1962) concept of a sequence of stages of social integration corresponding to human societal evolution.

I contend that the problem raised in the *Van der Peet* litigation--the identity of the operative socio-economic unit--received no assistance from Service's model in ascertaining how economic and ceremonial obligations flow. These experts' failure to discard inappropriate labels, together with their misapplication of the Service model, confused rather than clarified the main issue of the litigation which was whether or not the Central Coast Salish sold salmon in aboriginal times. Perhaps it was not with

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[1] *Regina v. Van der Peet* (1989) Provincial Court of British Columbia, File No. 43322T.

conscious intent that each side's expert found support for their particular client's position in the Service model; yet there are obviously some genuine difficulties in the way in which Coast Salish socio-economic relations are understood.

The present study does not attempt to address this question of an aboriginal fish distribution system. It does, however, address the underlying question of the nature of the Coast Salish social concept, an issue better resolved within academic discourse than in the courts. Hence, this study strives to test a more constructive theoretical framework for confronting such questions as how people, goods and information flowed throughout Coast Salish society. The structure of this framework is social network analysis, described by Bott (1957), Jay (1964), Lesser (1961), and Srinivas and Beteille (1964), applied to Coast Salish by Elmendorf (1971) and Suttles (1960, 1963), and subsequently re-examined in a contiguous area by Hajda (1984), who subsumes network analysis under the more general theoretical rubric of regional analysis. More recently, Miller (1989) focused on regional social organization in the Puget Sound area, by applying measures of graph centrality to modes of exchange.

The application of network analysis as used in socio-cultural anthropology has taken several forms. On the southern Plateau, Anastasio (1975) illustrated how in the early historic period, fluid local groups participated in an "areal culture" of common values maintained by marriage, exchange, and task groupings that fostered cooperation in hunts, gambling and alliances. In this same area, Walker (1967) examined cross-utilization of fishing resources. On the Northwest Coast, Elmendorf (1948, 1960, 1971) and Suttles (1960, 1963) examined the functional and structural relationship of

"local units" (to use Elmendorf's terminology) to the social network. Elmendorf (1971:356), himself, attributes an adumbrated first attempt to distinguish local units and networks to Smith's (1940) work among the Southern Coast Salish of Puget Sound. Speaking of the difficulty of demarcating boundaries between tribes, Smith (1940:151) proposed that if they ever existed, they had subsequently been blurred by a process of intermarriage, owing to exogamic and postnuptial marriage regulations.

Intervillage ties, in Elmendorf's (1971) opinion, were prerequisite to social ranking within a social field that was itself defined by the total set of intercommunity relations. Thus, the existence of such "networks" linking Coast Salish villages has been postulated as an adaptive feature of the indigenous economic system (Suttles 1960; Elmendorf 1971). Moreover, Suttles' (1960) analysis of the Coast Salish potlatch focused on the system's ability to smooth out unpredictable long term fluctuations in resources while promoting intervillage ties in a region where neither villages nor "tribes" were self-sufficient.

The existence of networks has become a "given" of Northwest Coast ethnography, particularly among the Coast Salish where the prevailing exogamous marriage principle resulted in kin ties beyond the village. Yet, apart from these studies' assertions that such networks exist, little attention has been given to the remaining fundamental questions concerning Central Coast Salish social organization that arise from such an understanding. The present study aims: 1) to assess the kind, extent and incidence of village exogamy; 2) to determine the relationship between kinship and residence in the formation and maintenance of the social region; and 3) to examine the

relationship between the "network" and "tribal territories" in the historic period.

Reflecting upon the Coast Salish social network, Suttles (1987d:243) stated recently that "we can find no clear evidence for social or cultural boundaries." Thus, a seemingly incongruous situation exists among the Coast Salish: at one level they are comprised of named groupings (village, local group, "tribe"), and unnamed aggregates (see Mitchell 1983a); still, at another level these same groups constitute societies seemingly without clear boundaries. Supporting ideology links people to place, while at the same time the social system permits the movement of people, information and goods across a vast landscape. Suttles (1987d:248) suggests that Coast Salish people developed and preserved their control of resources through symbols of local identity, such as unique myths, ceremonies, or forms of speech, while at the same time developing and maintaining ties with neighbours. Yet social cohesion waxed and waned with the tide of social interaction, uniting on specific occasions, dispersing on others, emphasizing the local unit or tribal solidarity, or asserting claims far beyond the community when circumstances required. Symbols of local identity may have asserted a notion of control, but those same symbols moved throughout society, while language boundaries were transparent or ill-defined.

If there are no clear social or cultural boundaries, how can we speak in terms of "traditional tribal territories"? To avow the primacy of one social group and search for bounded units possessing specific bundles of cultural traits and occupying a specific territory may appear contrary to the dynamics of the Coast Salish population who maintained it. But the Coast Salish paradox looms. Individuals may reach beyond the

family and participate in social groups of varying size, complexity and membership. These same people may choose, however, at any particular time, to assert a specific tribal identity which emerges from group consensus. The flow of people throughout the network may result in one's tribal identity transforming to suit the occasion, simply by invoking one's ancestral ties. Similarly, the identity of tribal territories can appear overlapping, interlocked and in flux.

How the social network maintains itself can be illustrated by the flow of people, information and goods. Such are the tangible manifestations of networks. Yet there are few extant data concerning the distribution of information and goods throughout Coast Salish society that can be used to demonstrate the operation of networks. Data concerning the flow of people, however, are at hand. Utilizing available information and leaning heavily upon population reconstruction, I explore and quantify the movement of individuals throughout Central Coast Salish society, that characteristic of the network to which Elmendorf (1971) and Suttles (1960) have ascribed primacy. Hence, this present study contributes a kind of demographic analysis of intergroup relations to achieve a clearer understanding of how people become distributed throughout the network. Drawing from a large corpus of Central Coast Salish data, I test a number of hypotheses focusing on the creation and maintenance of social networks and their relationship to the identity of named social groups.

## 1.1 Central Coast Salish

The present study employs data relating to those aboriginal people classified as

"Central Coast Salish," a subregion of the Northwest Coast comprised of speakers of five languages: Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Clallam.[2] In the early historic period, the Central Coast Salish occupied the lands and waters extending on the mainland from the Squamish River south to Bellingham Bay, including the lower Fraser Valley; on southeast Vancouver Island, south of Parksville, and southwest to Sheringham Point; the Gulf and San Juan Islands; and an area on the northern coast of the Olympic Peninsula (see Figure 1).

Prior to the population loss caused mostly by diseases that began to be introduced in the 1770s, the Coast Salish as a whole may have numbered around 35,000 (Boyd 1990:136). Estimates calculated by Boyd (1990:136) for the pre-1770 Central Coast Salish population are as follows: Squamish (1,700), Halkomelem (9,500), Nooksack (1,000), Northern Straits (4,500), and Clallam (3,000). Boyd's estimates attribute this "province" of Central Coast Salish a denser population than either the Northern or Southern Coast Salish.[3]

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Suttles' (1968:58) earlier usage of the term "Central" for only the Halkomelem-Straits region was subsequently expanded by him (Suttles 1990a) to include a larger geographical area. Used also in this thesis are the terms "Island Halkomelem," referring to speakers of Halkomelem residing on Vancouver Island between Northwest Bay and Saanich Inlet; "Downriver Halkomelem," referring to those speakers of Halkomelem residing in villages around the mouth of the Fraser River and upstream as far as the Stave River; and an "Upriver Halkomelem" group who resided above the Stave River (Suttles 1990a:454-455). The latter two groups are known collectively as "Mainland Halkomelem." Ethnographically, the people comprising Upriver Halkomelem are more commonly referred to as the "Stalo," a term derived from the Halkomelem word for 'river.' Within "Stalo," Duff (1952) recognized an "Upper Stalo" division consisting of the Chilliwack, Pilalt and Tait.

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Discussions of the diseases responsible for population loss in the Coast Salish area can be found in Boyd (1985, 1990, 1994) and Acheson (In press).

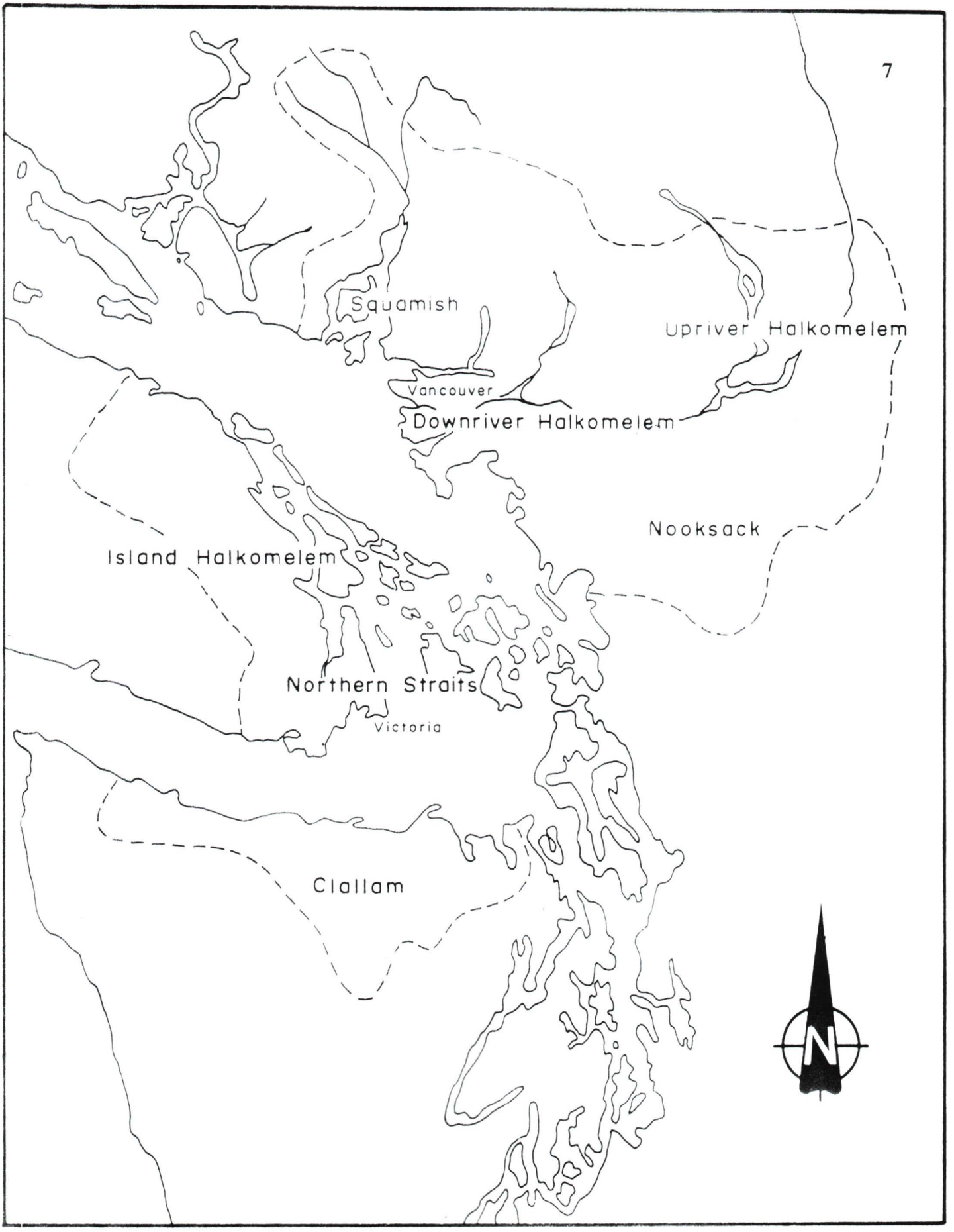


Figure 1. Central Coast Salish

## 1.2 Early Classification of Central Coast Salish Peoples

Recognizing Central Coast Salish people as a group of "Salish" is derived from a linguistic classification. The term "Selish" (Salish) was originally applied by non-Indian fur traders to a group of people occupying the easternmost area of what is now Washington State. When early linguists (see Gallatin 1836, 1848; Hale 1846; Latham 1862) discovered that the language spoken by these people was but one of a large number of related languages, they applied the name to the whole family of languages. Today, "Salishan" is regarded as a language family consisting of 23 distinct languages (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:33). Such linguistic diversity, however, is not mirrored culturally.

The early sources on the Central Coast Salish classified the aboriginal people on the basis of perceived linguistic likeness and divergence. For example, explorer/fur trader Simon Fraser in 1808 astutely recognized in the area of Spuzzum a change in "language and manners" between the Hacamaugh [*nɬaʔkápmx* (Thompson) Interior Salish] and Ackinroe [*sʔáčnkʷu* (Stalo) Coast Salish] "Nations" (Lamb 1966:97-99).[4] Captain Vancouver, during his 1792 exploration of the Northwest Coast, noted a linguistic change in the vicinity of Menzies Bay between those Natives speaking Coast Salish and those speaking Kwakwala (Newcombe 1923:84). Thus, commonality of language and customs constituted the foundation of a primary classification of

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[4] The Native terms cited in this study are transcribed in the orthography used by many Northwest Coast linguists. A key to this orthography appears on page *x* of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7, Northwest Coast,* published in 1990.

Northwest Coast people. Within these large groups, the explorers observed mostly single villages, although on occasion they spoke of tribes or nations.

Those foreigners who took the time to learn the languages, or at least to discern the diversity, began to recognize distinctions and similarities. Early travels (1824-1826) to the Northwest Coast made by a Hudson's Bay Company physician, Dr. John Scouler, resulted in his classification system that applied the term "Kawichen" to all Coast Salish in addition to the "Atnas," the word used to refer to the Shuswap-speaking Interior Salish people (Scouler 1841:224, 1848:234). Latham (1848:234) appears to be based on the work of Scouler. Roderick Finlayson (1845) was one of the first to classify all Halkomelem-speaking peoples under the designation "Kawitchins," which he described as their "general name." A similar practise was used by H.B.C. Factor James Douglas (1856) who classified by "tribe" followed by "family," as well as by language, a categorization that applied the label "Cowegin" to Coast Salish from Cape Mudge south to the Skagit River. A similar use of the term "Cowitchan" was used by fur trader Pym Compton (n.d.), reflecting on his time among the Native people in the 1850s-1860s. Observations by Captain Wilson (1866:278) of the Northwest Boundary Survey of 1858-1862 identified all Central Coast Salish as the "Cowitchan Race," comprised of numerous tribes.[5] There is no evidence in the ethnographic or linguistic literature that the Native people themselves had a term referring collectively to the

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The extension of the name of one group to surrounding peoples, such as the application of the term "Cowichan," was also observed by Hajda (1984:9) who remarked that "Chinook" came to refer to all Indians speaking any dialect of Lower or Upper Chinookan.

Central Coast Salish or Coast Salish. Self-designation, as will be discussed in this study, did not include a regional classification.

Chief Factor Yale of the H.B.C.'s Fort Langley commented in 1839 on the generality of speech and kinship among the Native peoples of the lower mainland of British Columbia:

> Excepting the two subjoined tribes who speak quite a different language and form the population between Simpson's Falls and the forks of Thompson's River they might be thought to have sprung from the same common stock, and are all connected and related when it suits their policy to be so, but when the back is turned they are all enemys (Yale 1838-39).

A comparable appreciation of the variance between linguistic and social cohesion among the Coast Salish was couched in more academic language by Elmendorf (1971) 150 years later:

> The term "Coast Salish" has at times been used as denoting some kind of ethnological unit. In fact, the Coast Salish are a congeries of at least 12 mutually unintelligible language groupings in southwestern British Columbia and western Washington. The languages do constitute a division of the Salish stock; other than this, it is not easy to discern special features which would justify an exclusive grouping of the Coast Salish vis-à-vis other Northwest Coast peoples (Elmendorf 1971:355).

Notwithstanding, a correlation between language and culture *had* been postulated in a 1969 study by Jorgensen which identifies Northwest Coast groupings on the statistical basis of their shared cultural traits and linguistic features (Jorgensen 1969). Jorgensen found a close fit between language and culture, with greater language diversity and relative cultural similarity among the Coast Salish division than among the Interior Salish. He demonstrates cohesiveness within Coast Salish and shows that

within this group, as language similarity increases, cultural similarity increases concurrently. In a subsequent study, Jorgensen (1980) considered cultural and environmental characteristics in a comparative analysis designed to delineate cultural similarities and differences.

The criterion of political organization is seldom used in the early historical accounts to identify social units among the Central Coast Salish. If we can use the identity of a "chief" to distinguish the presence of a political organization, we see that a problem emerged in the early identification of the appropriate unit over which a "chief" was presumed to have authority. The inconsistency in this classification is evinced in the categorization of "languages," "tribes," and "families" used by Douglas in his presentation of the Northern Straits-speaking people. According to Douglas' 1856 census, families have "chiefs," tribes do not (Douglas 1856); yet Douglas found it almost impossible to determine the identity of the chiefs representing certain individuals and associated with specific areas of exclusive use when he signed the so-called Fort Victoria treaties in the early 1850s (see Duff 1969). Among the Cowichan River villages, Douglas observed headmen with great influence but no power to govern (Douglas 1854:246).

Language continued to be a primary classifier as early ethnographers, too, struggled to find "tribes" among the Central Coast Salish. Tolmie and Dawson (1884:38-39) collected extensive vocabularies for use in classifying Northwest Coast languages. Although they did not always differentiate the complexity of languages within language families, they did recognize basic similarities, resulting in their use of

the term "Kawitshin" for Coast Salish. Nanaimo and Songhees were regarded as "tribes," while Kwantlen was a "sept." What is particularly significant about this early work is the recognition of a local unit--sept--that distinguished another type of grouping not based on linguistic criteria. Unfortunately, Tolmie and Dawson applied the terms tribe and sept inconsistently to refer to units of approximately equal "value" according to either linguistic or cultural criteria.

Boas' (1887b) article "On the Ethnology of British Columbia" is a meticulous early classification scheme. It addresses aggregates based on both linguistic and cultural criteria. This 1887 article also illustrates the anthropologist's tussle with terminology, mostly equating "dialect" with "tribe," with further divisions of "families." Among the Halkomelem-speaking people (whose language Boas calls the "Qauitschin Dialect"), he recognized other divisions, but was unsure how to classify them, opting for a scheme of five subdivisions, further divided into 25 tribes. Writing in German, Boas (1887b, 1895) used the term *stämme* to refer to tribe, village or all those speaking a common language, thereby acknowledging a commonality of speech as a distinguishing feature, but demonstrating a confusion in finding the appropriate language-bearing unit. In his article published the same year in English, Boas (1887a:288-289) referred to the "Selish tribes," speaking a great many dialects of the "Selish language." At the same time, Boas (1891a:25) was arguing that language, culture and race had no necessary connection with one another.

## 1.3 Review of Central Coast Salish Literature

With rare exception, ethnographic research carried out in the Central Coast Salish area has been limited mostly to memory ethnography; few accounts report lifeways contemporary with the authors. The earliest problem-oriented research began with the arrival of Boas in 1886. A year later he published a map and description of the tribal distribution (Boas 1887a, 1887b), followed by accounts of the Nanaimo (1889), the Songhees (1891f) and the Mainland Halkomelem (1894), all written on the basis of limited field experience.

Around the turn of the century, Hill-Tout recorded data on legends, cosmogony, and general ethnography among the Squamish (1897, 1900), Mainland Halkomelem (1903, 1904) and Northern Straits (1907b), in addition to Coast Salish generally (1905, 1907a), although he was equally fascinated by speculative thoughts on prehistory.

Curtis captured quality photographic images of Indians, dressed for another time, with accompanying snap-shot descriptions of Coast Salish culture, including Cowichan, Nooksack, and Clallam (Curtis 1913).

Boas' student Adamson collected folklore and ethnography in the Chehalis area of Mainland Halkomelem (Adamson 1926-27, 1934). During the 1930s, Jenness worked with several Central Coast Salish groups, and wrote an as-yet unpublished manuscript on the Saanich (Northern Straits) (Jenness 1934-1936c), a biographic essay on "The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian" (Jenness 1955) and a collection of unpublished field notes for both Mainland and Island Halkomelem, as well as for Northern Straits (Jenness 1934-1936a, 1934-1936b). Around this same time, Barnett participated in the

University of California's study of culture element distributions, directing his attention to the Salish of the Strait of Georgia. Barnett's publications (1938a, 1938b, 1939, 1955), including an ethnography on Coast Salish, are supplemented by his field notes (1935-1936) containing additional detailed information. An ethnography of the Klallam [Clallam] was published by Gunther in 1927 and a work on the Lummi by Stern followed in 1934 (Gunther 1927, Stern 1934). Both studies present generalized data on subsistence as well as on the social and ceremonial life of these peoples, described holistically with the studied neutrality that was common for this era in anthropology.

Marian Smith's Columbia University field school based in the Mainland Halkomelem community of Seabird Island in 1945 resulted in publications concerning traditional practices authored by herself (Smith 1947, 1950) and by Leacock (1949). Additional data are contained in Smith's (1935-1945) field notes.

Intensive fieldwork undertaken by Suttles beginning in 1946 among the Northern Straits and in 1955 among the Mainland Halkomelem, and by Duff beginning in 1949 among the Mainland Halkomelem, has provided some of the most thorough ethnographic accounts from Central Coast Salish (Duff 1949-1950, 1952, 1969; Suttles 1951, 1954, 1955). Wayne Suttles' (1987a) theoretical contributions emanating from this seminal research remain the basis of most Coast Salish discussion.

Topical studies based on field work among Central Coast Salish have focused on religion (Jenness 1955; Lane 1953; Robinson 1963; Kew 1970; Jilek 1974; Amoss 1972, 1978), mythology (Boas 1891b, 1891c, 1891d, 1891e; Wells 1966b, 1970; Lerman 1952, 1976), contemporary economy and social life (Weightman 1972; M.

Mitchell 1976; Richardson 1976; Mooney 1976, 1978) and family life (C. Lewis 1970; Ryan 1972), ethnobotany (Turner 1975, 1979; Turner and Bell 1971; Turner and Hebda 1990; Bouchard and Turner 1976; Galloway 1982), hunting and fishing (Kennedy and Bouchard 1976a, Kennedy and Bouchard 1976b; Rozen 1978; Galloway 1979), place names (Wells 1966a; Galloway and Ware 1977; Galloway and Richardson 1983; Rozen 1985; Elliott and Poth 1990); material culture (Kissell 1916; Lane 1951; Wells 1969; Marr 1979), and ethnographic summaries (Fetzer 1951a; Bouchard 1992; Bouchard and Kennedy 1991, 1995; Kennedy *et al.* 1993:90-102, 117; Suttles 1984a, 1990a:453-457). Ethnographic work by missionaries includes Crosby (1907) on the Halkomelem.

Two amateur ethnographers, Wells (Maud *et al.* 1987) working among the Mainland Halkomelem in the 1960s, and Matthews (1955) working among the Squamish between the 1930s-1950s, recorded numerous hours of conversations focusing on traditional practises.

This review of anthropological research among the Central Coast Salish indicates that most of it was carried out with Native consultants whose personal experiences, like that of their parents, reflected a time after the establishment of Indian Reserves (an event with profound consequences for aboriginal social organization).[6] Despite this serious limitation, data concerning land use and occupancy, in addition to

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[6] Although a few Indian reserves were established for Central Coast Salish people prior to British Columbia joining the confederation of Canada in 1871, most of the reserves in this area were delineated by the Joint Indian Reserve Commission (1876-1878) and the [Sproat] Indian Reserve Commission (1878-1880) (Kennedy 1994b).

kin relations--the social fabric weaving together a regional social system--were retained as memory culture. The present near-moribund state of these indigenous languages, however, means that a layer of knowledge has been lost along with the lexicon. Today, Native people, together with ethnographers and anthropologists, are returning to the primary documents of archives and libraries to ask the questions that earlier generations failed to address.

Of course, ethnographies reflect the time in which they were compiled. To fault Boas for his overwhelming concern with collecting linguistic texts is to overlook the insights that such material yields with critical analysis. To fault Barnett for not quite getting the appropriate social unit is to detract from the explicit examples of interaction buried in his field notes. The orientation of these early ethnographers was not socio-cultural anthropology. Yet whether their approach was reconstructing an earlier culture, outlining trait distribution, or discovering the relationship of people to their environment, it is apparent that our intellectual mentors grappled with the problems of discerning Coast Salish social units and their relationship to one another. It is upon this anthropological framework that a study using ethnohistorical data can now build.

## 1.4 Theoretical Considerations

Since the formative work of Marian Smith in the 1930s-1940s, anthropologists have recognized the existence of regional structure in the Coast Salish area. This has been expressed as a network based on affinal relations and the exchange of goods and information. The first definite attempts to distinguish local units and networks were

made by Suttles (1951, 1960, 1963) and by Elmendorf (1960:298-305, 401-407, 545, 1971). As noted by Miller (1989:265), however, few authors have uncovered the details of such a structure.

The Central Coast Salish web described by Suttles (1960) and Elmendorf (1971) consists of local units which are "nodes" in a network of larger, regional relationships. In such a model, human beings are seen as systemic entities occupying space and interacting with one another and their environment in patterned ways. The network provides for the circulation of people and goods in a dynamic system that fluctuates over time and space and creates aggregates of individuals and groups which have differing levels of structural significance. The region or "social field" of any particular focal group is neither permanent nor static.[7]

Network analysis did not originate in studies of the Coast Salish. The utility of the approach has been recognized in several areas where anthropologists have acknowledged that a conventional usage of the concept of "tribe" obfuscates the active nature of social interaction. In his now classic study, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Leach (1964:282), for example, investigated the "unstable" nature of cultural unity, finding that among the Kachin there was a "palpable lack of coincidence between the boundaries of cultural and structural phenomena."

The conceptual model known as network analysis used by Elmendorf (1971)

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For the purposes of this introductory discussion we can accept Bott's (1957:59) definition of social network as a "set of social relationships for which there is no common boundary."

was formulated in the work of Jay (1964), Lesser (1961), Srinivas and Beteille (1964) and Barth (1969). Hajda (1984) develops the model as part of a regional analysis that draws also upon concepts of information exchange and areal culture presented by Haggett (1966), Barnes (1954, 1972) and Schwartz (1975), among others.

One writer suggests that the Coast Salish linguistic continuum can also be seen as the manifestation of a certain type of social organization. Hajda (1984:20), quoting the work of Hill (1978), a critic of the use of a "dialect tribe model" in relating language to human ecology and evolution in Australia, considers widespread linguistic features as illustrative of "active aspects of dynamic, area-level human adaptations which allow a flexible response to local environmental stress" (Hill 1978:5). Hill notes that multilingualism and "linguistic exogamy," two of the linguistic phenomena denoting the presence of a network, occur on the Northwest Coast.[8] In support of her position, Hill reports that the multilingual nature of Central Coast Salish individuals and villages has been emphasized by Suttles (1951, 1987d).

Suttles (1960) submits that Central Coast Salish villages were not socially, nor usually economically, self-sufficient units. Elmendorf (1971:358) credits Suttles with according a functional primacy to the interaction between affinally-related sections of communities, inasmuch as these interactions form the structure for the region's

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Hill (1978:13) applies the term "linguistic exogamy" to the practise of marrying a member of a group not speaking one's own "father tongue." Thus, linguistic exogamy is distinguished from multilingualism, the knowledge of several languages acquired in a number of other ways. On the Northwest Coast, both multilingualism and linguistic exogamy, in her view, "have facilitated, and in return been facilitated by, the widespread areal phonetic and syntactic and usage similarities which characterize the area" (Hill 1978:16).

distribution mechanisms. Suttles (1963, 1987a:14), himself, upon reflection, rejects the term "community" owing to its denotation of cohesiveness. He maintains a view in concert with that of Elmendorf (1971), however, that the social network was what allowed exchange and movement to occur. This social and cultural environment is what Befu (1977:259) refers to as the "socio-cultural context" in which social exchange takes place. The network is the structure by which participants can act out their roles in pursuit of certain interests.

Elmendorf proposes that this net of regional relations defined with respect to a particular referent community constituted a "social field." In his classic work on Twana ethnography, Elmendorf (1960:302, table 3) showed the area from which upper-class Twana men obtained wives. More recently, Suttles (1987d) transposed Elmendorf's Twana marriage field onto a map illustrating the Musqueam marriage net to indicate the area of overlap between the two groups' social fields, and thereby the extent of the social and biological continuum. He suggests that the practise is old and common. Yet Suttles' (1987d) analysis does not provide data that quantify the intensity and extent of village exogamy, the data required to assess regional structure and change within the social groups, particularly with respect to change in "tribal" identification, boundaries and resource use.

The primary alliances between families were established by marriage. Reports on post marital residency indicate a voiced patrilocal preference, but this practise was not rigidly adhered to, and grandchildren could reside in whatever village with which a grandparent associated. No choice was permanent. Membership in kin groups was

through bilateral descent, with alternate or multiple membership possible (Suttles 1987a:30). Allen (1976) noted that the customarily accepted model used for Coast Salish places emphasis on virilocality [patrilocality] with the consequent assumption that a nucleus of non-emigrating males provides the cultural identity of the group. But as Amoss (1972:15) observed earlier, no quantitative data have been put forward to support this assumption. The quantification of exogamy and residency compiled by this present study should clarify this aspect of the social network.

### 1.4.1 The Concept of "Tribe" in Anthropology

To appreciate the insights that can be gained by testing a corpus of Central Coast Salish ethnohistorical data in terms of network analysis, it is pertinent to summarize the constituent units comprising the network system. First, however, it is necessary to review the inadequacy of the concept of "tribe" in the identification of Central Coast Salish cultural/social units. These two issues are inextricably related: it is important to distinguish opinions about the nature of the culture-bearing unit--as tribe has been sometimes defined--from opinions about the proper unit to be used. Equally important, it is necessary to quantify the complexity of the region.

Few terms in anthropology subjected to such rigorous debate as the word "tribe" have endured with such resilience. One critic has used the words "scandalous imprecision" in describing the ephemeral nature of this term (Neiva, in Naroll 1964:302). Others, such as Steward (1955), call for prudence in its application. Another contemporary critic of the nomenclature "tribe," Fried (1968:5) ranks it

second only to "race" in terms of meaninglessness.

There is simply no escape from Godelier's (1977:71-72) conclusion that the term "tribe" is in crisis. As he astutely argues, almost everyone uses tribe to refer to a type of society, although there is by no means consensus of when to apply it. The other use of the term--for a stage of evolution--is again not accepted by all, and entirely disclaimed by some.

The Latin origin of "tribe" designated an Indo-European institution of great antiquity, a particular kind of social and political organization which existed before the appearance of city states. The tribe contained an internal relationship between kinship and politics. Membership was kinbased, a root criterion that Benveniste showed was embedded within the terms used in the principal Indo-European languages (Godelier 1977:72).

It is to Lewis Henry Morgan that we turn for the earliest anthropological analysis of ideas about tribal forms of society. Morgan illustrated how kinship relations are a basic organizing mechanism within primitive societies. His detailed studies of marriage and kinship terminologies as reviewed in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity in the Human Family* (Morgan 1871) provided a mirror of an internal logic of the particular society. Morgan assumed an historical sequence of humans evolving sequentially from sexually promiscuous hordes to the basic human family, albeit in a barbarian state in its early stages, and not yet a civilized, political society. Autonomous political integration and common descent became features denoting tribal society--or in Morgan's (1878:112) vernacular--gentilitius society, that is, an organization of gentes

or clans. He (Morgan 1878:114-117) portrayed it as having specific characteristics: the presence of a number of kin units (gentes in his view); individualized by a name; by a common language; by a supreme government; and, by possession of a common territory which it occupies and defends as its very own. The tribe, in Morgan's (1878:102-103) view, was a necessary and logical step in "the growth of the idea of government."

With the collapse of the evolutionists' theories, Morgan's thoughts on tribe as a stage of evolution corresponding to a type of society were rejected by Western anthropology. Yet a foray into the annals of anthropology (as reviewed by Naroll 1964:283-286) summons the names of many great thinkers who continued to wrestle with the term tribe and, for the most part, retained elements of Morgan's definition: Evans-Pritchard (1940:278-79) applies the term "tribe" to a political unit within the Nuer people, although it was the Nuer as a whole whom he describes in terms of Nuer culture; Radcliff-Brown (1940:xii-xiii) refers to the hundreds of Australian tribes, each with its own language, organization, customs and beliefs. To Reichard (1938:413f.) the term "tribe" denotes a culture-bearing unit, "an economically independent group of people speaking the same language and uniting to defend themselves against outsiders." Evans-Pritchard and Fortes (1940:23) designate the concept of "society" as the basic culture-bearing unit, a unit comprised of several characteristics, among them commonality of speech. Though common language is noted by all of these anthropologists, Naroll (1964:284) points out that none of them think that speech alone can be relied upon to define the basic culture-bearing unit; Hymes (1968) presents an

exemplary essay on the reasons why. Although appraising various aspects of the concept of tribe, these scholars do not agree on the particular assemblage of characteristics that should be considered.

By the 1912 edition of *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*, Morgan's first point--a number of interconnected gentes--was gone from the definition, but "a rude form of government" was emphasized (Freire-Marreco and Myres 1912:156). A political component to the concept remained. The 1951 edition proclaims that: "a tribe may be defined as a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory" (Royal Anthropological Institute 1951:66). Honigmann's (1964) article on tribe, however, illustrates the difficulties that arise when political characteristics, beyond the notion of a common territory, are discussed as an essential dimension of the term's definition. While Honigmann (1964:729) maintains that tribes may or may not be politically coordinated, he includes commonality of culture and language as criteria that unite smaller groups, such as bands, villages, districts, or lineages, into named tribes.

Friedrich (1963:543) perceives "tribe" as the second of four levels of government--identified with the regional community, a group having "marked linguistic peculiarities" and "distinctive. . .features of folk culture." Such an approach, Fried (1968:10) noted, has parallels with that of Steward's levels of socio-cultural integration. Steward, too, had problems defining the term "tribe." In *Theory of Culture Change*, Steward (1955:53) states: "it is significant that the term 'tribal society' remains an exceedingly ill-defined catchall." Although he attributes to it "a pattern or

configuration," he proceeds to distinguish it by a list of negative traits: lack of state organization, absence of classes, absence of literacy, and other features said to be common to "civilized" societies (Steward 1955:44-5).

Those anthropologists who cling tenaciously to the terms "band," "tribe" and "chiefdom" when discussing indigenous Northwest Coast people, adhere to a theory of "levels of social integration" proposed initially by Steward (1955), and countered by Service (1962), among others , including Fried (1967). Like Friedrich, Service saw the "tribe" as the second level of political evolution, the first in Service's scheme being the "band." *Contra* Steward, Service defined each level by a set of characteristics.

In Service's classification, "bands" are described as small groups of families (usually 30-100 individuals, with a density of one person or less per square mile), subsisting by foraging wild foods, linked with other bands only through marriage ties, with the family being the only group having economic, political or religious functions. The most prominent ceremonies are individual life crisis rituals. Division of labour is based on gender and age (Service 1966:7-8, 1971:46-98).

Service (1962:100) saw "tribes" as "not simply a collection of bands." "Tribes" are defined as associations of local groups, linked by pan-tribal sodalities (such as clans, age-grades, or secret societies). They often subsist by farming. Leadership is achieved, not ascribed, there being no political offices. Like bands, tribes are egalitarian (Service 1962:99-132).

The next higher level in Service's typology is "chiefdoms." They are characterized by denser populations, social stratification with an office of chief, greater

production, and exchange through redistribution, instead of the family reciprocity practised in bands and tribes (Service 1962:133-169).

In his review of the Service-Sahlins typology, Lewis (1968:102) considered there to be no clear structural differentiation between their tribes and bands, apart from tribes having a general appearance of increased complexity. The sodalities that Service believes to be a characteristic of tribes, in Lewis' (1968:103) view, may give the impression of greater intergroup cohesion without the reality of such homogeneity.

Anthropologists' difficulties in defining the term "tribe" are apparent from this brief literature review. Most have generally agreed, however, that a tribe is a culture-bearing social unit, which is distinct from equating tribe with either "culture" or "society." As Suttles (1987d:248) points out with respect to the Coast Salish, it is as difficult to speak of "a culture" as it is to define "the culture," as shared knowledge could unite particular Coast Salish villages and exclude others, while yet other knowledge might be shared by all. Moreover, Suttles concluded that "society" must be defined differently for each village or else identified as the whole region or more.

Considering the antiquity and intensity of the debate focusing on the concept of "tribe" it is little wonder that anthropologists and the court in the *R. v. Van der Peet* litigation succumbed to the baffling charms of the Service model. These individuals' testimony in *Van der Peet* provoked comment from Coast Salish scholar Michael Kew (1993:98) in a recent article. Noting the misapplication of the Service model in this litigation, Kew remarks: "once more the 'truth' is deducted from the model." Speaking to the erroneous notion of "essentialism"--the idea that the type is real and that the

variations exhibited by humans are imperfections--Kew (1993:99) admonishes those who see the essence of a society "located in some precise bundles of data." Once again, when the people did not fit the model, they were found to be lacking. They did not possess enough of the *essential* criteria.

Essentialism is derived from an objectivist view of the world that sees reality as having specific properties, among them properties that are essential. Without these properties, any particular entity would not be that kind of thing. Non-essential properties are accidental, and certainly incidental when it comes time for categorization, as it is the collection of essential properties that constitute a certain category (Lakoff 1987:162-165, 197-199). In this objectivist doctrine, the world has discrete categories.

The anthropologists in *Van der Peet* looked at what Service had told them were essential criteria for denoting bands and tribes and then compiled their checklist of traits. In the eyes of these anthropologists, bands could not possibly have regularized trade in salmon, but tribes could. When the evidence was weighed, the court proclaimed the Chilliwack Stalo to be a band--not a tribe--and therefore lacking a mechanism for fish distribution and consequently incapable of engaging in trade beyond generalized reciprocity. This decision of the court in *Van der Peet* was more recently upheld in *Regina v. Fraser*[9], another fishing case involving a Central Coast Salish defendant.

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9 *Regina v. Fraser* (1994). Summary of Judgement. Provincial Court of B.C., Hope Registry.

As will be demonstrated in this present study, the spectacle of anthropologists' pitting "tribe" against "band" in *Van der Peet* simply exemplifies how little utility this scale of societal types has with respect to this part of the Northwest Coast. Though the term "tribe" continues to be used in Coast Salish literature, the concept of tribe is often an abstraction in the mind of the ethnographer, with "tribe" being equated with speech community or with a group possessing territory and a sense of unity.

I suggest that the Central Coast Salish social system is complex and best understood from a broader perspective that would encompass all the essential social units.

### 1.4.2 The Concept of "Tribe" in Jurisprudence

Litigators' own problems with the definition of "tribe" first became apparent in the United States. As in Canada, the U.S. Federal Government's legal obligations towards aboriginal people flowed from recognition accorded to the "several Nations or Tribes of Indians" by the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763.

While the term "tribe" proceeded to be used in American jurisprudence, a brief examination of its usage suggests that it does not have a uniform definition. The courts, like some anthropologists, stressed a political component. Chief Justice Marshall in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia* portrayed tribes as "independent political communities" having "institutions of their own, and governing themselves by

their own laws," with the status of "domestic dependent nations."[10] The Bureau of Indian Affairs subsequently relied upon the definition in *Montoya v. United States*[11] which expanded the definition to include a communal existence, a common leadership, and common territory:

> By a "tribe" we understand a body of Indians of the same or a similar race, united in a community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular though sometimes ill-defined territory (quoted in Marston 1984:375fn.1).

It was the Montoya definition of "tribe" that the *Indian Claims Commission Act* (1946) relied upon in proceedings of the U.S. Indian Claims Court, as the designated Commission was mandated to hear claims "on behalf of any Indian tribe, band or identifiable groups of American Indians." The process involved attorneys for petitioning Indians presenting and rebutting evidence along with representatives of the Department of Justice.

In the American courts, anthropology and jurisprudence, in addition to the anthropologists themselves, had trouble finding common ground in the use of basic concepts and terms. Turmoil erupted within the field of anthropology concerning the issues raised during the claims proceedings. Consequently, the role of the discipline in litigation was the subject of a special symposium held in Detroit in 1954, and an attempted reconciliation on the pages of the journal *Ethnohistory* throughout the next several years.

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10 *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 17 (1831); *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 543, 559-61 (1832).

11 *Montoya v. United States*, 180 U.S. 261 (1901).

In these articles, prominent anthropologists discussed the challenges to anthropology resulting from Indian claims litigation in the 1950s. Among the most impassioned exchanges was a spirited discussion of the inappropriate application of anthropological terms to some aggregations of humans (see Steward 1955; Kroeber 1955; Jones 1955; Lurie 1955; Manners 1957). Speaking of the term "tribe," Kroeber suggested that it was:

> a White man's creation of convenience for talking about Indians, negotiating with them, administering them -- and finally impressing upon their thinking by our sheer weight (Kroeber 1955:313).

Away from the passion of the moment one might take a more reasoned view of the concept, but Kroeber's statement serves to underscore the importance of obtaining a clear perspective of aboriginal social organization.

Hajda (1984:10-11) in her examination of the Lower Columbia people, revisited some of the testimony that was presented to the U.S. Claims Commission. She noted that the Commissioners listened with bewilderment as anthropologists battled it out, each proclaiming or disavowing "tribal" existence. The Indian Claims Commission Act required that there be a particular form of claimant group to uphold a claim, or that it be shown non-existent to disallow a claim. Arguments relating to indigenous peoples of the Lower Columbia, in Hajda's view, were incoherent, as once again the model did not fit. Confusion became apparent. Neither political nor linguistic criteria distinguished "tribes." Moreover, Hajda (1984:11) points out, anthropologist Spier acknowledged that Native people themselves had "difficulty in 'answering the apparently simple question, to what tribe or tribelet do they belong,' because of the ancient practice of intermarriage among groups."

In Canada, proof of aboriginal title requires fulfilment of a number of criteria set

out in *Hamlet of Baker Lake v. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development* (1979).[12] Among these "tests" are that the plaintiffs are: 1) members of an organized society; 2) that the society occupied the specific territory over which they assert title; 3) that the occupation was to the exclusion of other organized societies; and 4) that the occupation was an established fact at the time sovereignty was asserted by England.

A recent paper by Freedman (1995) discussing the four principles that make up the *Baker Lake* test finds that flexibility is needed in the way in which *Baker Lake* is applied in British Columbia, where patterns of aboriginal land use and occupancy differ significantly from those of the Inuit, in relation to whom the *Baker Lake* test was developed. Freedman (1995:31) suggests that the "test" be viewed as a broad outline and that the particular circumstances or complexity of a case might call for a modification of this test, appropriate to the area in which a right is being asserted. As will be discussed in this present study, the Central Coast Salish might be one such area where neither the legal nor the anthropological models that have been relied upon in litigation involving Central Coast Salish defendants fit comfortably with the particular cultural reality of the society.

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

# Chapter II

## TRADITIONAL COAST SALISH SOCIETY

Anthropological field research among the Central Coast Salish beginning with Boas (1887a, 1887b, 1889, 1891a, 1891b, 1894, 1895) and followed by Hill-Tout (1897, 1900, 1903, 1904, 1907) and others such as Jenness (1934-1936a, 1934-1936b, 1934-1936c), Barnett (1935-1936, 1938b, 1955), Duff (1949-1950, 1952, 1969), Fetzer (1951a, n.d.), Suttles (1951, 1960) and Elmendorf (1960) indicates that each of these researchers grappled with the problem of discerning Coast Salish social units and their interrelationships. The problem was still apparent as recently as 1984. At that time, Suttles, in his expert report concerning the Musqueam (a downriver Halkomelem group) that was submitted to the court in the *Regina v. Sparrow*[13] litigation placed quotation marks around the term "tribe" in defining the aboriginal group.[14]

Analyses of the available ethnographic data concerning Coast Salish social organization have been undertaken by Suttles (1958, 1960, 1963) and by Elmendorf (1971). Their examinations of Coast Salish society rely substantially on their own field work, but draw also upon ethnographic data compiled by their colleagues Duff and Fetzer, in addition to the work of earlier researchers including Gunther, Stern, Jenness and

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13 *Regina v. Sparrow* (1987) 2. W.W.R. 577.

14 The use of the punctuation denoted--to those in the know--the familiar ambiguity in the application of the term to a group such as the Musqueam. In explaining the nature of this group to the court, Suttles likened the Musqueam to one of the tribes of Israel, an obscure referent that harkens back to Tylor's (1888:267) earlier examination of the development of institutions.

Barnett. Each of these authors emphasized the social network; few demonstrated its operation. Hence, the primary goal of the present chapter is to summarize those studies concerning social organization that are pertinent to the analysis of the Central Coast Salish social network that is undertaken in Chapter IV.

The importance of determining the nature of the constituent units entering the network system was stressed by Elmendorf (1971:357). There has not been a consensus, however, on the identification of these units and their relative level of social cohesion. Elmendorf (1971:357) suggested that writers on Coast Salish ethnography have consistently identified the localized house cluster or village as a basic community unit. Barnett (1955:18) also commented that the village preserved its own "social unity and autonomy."

Suttles (1963) takes a more specific look at Coast Salish social groups than does Elmendorf and recognizes four types of residential groups: family; household; local group and winter village; he also acknowledges a nonlocalized kinship group, as well as a larger named group which he refers to as a "tribe." Thus, in Suttles' view the village was only one of several equally important social groupings; moreover, the village did not form a culturally homogeneous unit. Instead, Suttles (1992:214) tells us, it was the extended household that was the most important social group, an opinion shared by Duff (1951:85) following his investigations among the Upper Stalo.

A number of other social groupings could also be distinguished. These included seasonal or activity-specific aggregates not necessarily identical with residential or kin units (Barnett 1935-1936, 1955; Mitchell 1983a).

The early ethnographic and ethnohistorical records describing Central Coast Salish peoples provide few details for features of the social and political structure that would permit us an unfettered view of aboriginal life in the early historic period. Some of the less critical observers of the nineteenth century assumed that the normal condition of Coast Salish society was a division into either bands, tribes or nations; these terms were used without precision or consistency. Differences in behaviour--as evinced by the Native people's relationships with White fur traders and settlers--received more attention than did differences in village and household composition, or the identity and status of leaders and other individuals, or the relationship between individuals and groups to one another and to the world around them.

## 2.1 Identification of Aggregates

It is frequently hoped, somewhat wistfully, that an understanding of the Native languages will provide the key to our understanding of aboriginal social organization. The thinking goes: discover the Natives' own terms for human aggregates and you have found the socio-cultural units. While self-designation may indeed reflect a level of reality illustrating Native conceptualization, the association of aboriginal socio-cultural units with anthropological terms presents its own problem--there is seldom a good fit. Hence, the poverty of anthropological terminology is a source of built-in ambiguity requiring terms to be defined whenever they are applied. The following sections review first the Native conceptualization of aggregates, as reflected in the Central Coast Salish Native languages, and secondly the diversity of anthropological terms and descriptions that have been

applied to these same groups.

### 2.1.1 Self-Designation

Central Coast Salish languages have terms referring to an extended family (or "stem kindred," Suttles 1987a:14), a village, and a larger group that had some sense of unity and was occasionally based on commonality of language and territory.

The word */xʷnəc̓áləwəm/* in Northern Straits (Suttles 1990a:464, transcribed also in Jenness 1934-1936b:167) and Cowichan, and */nc̓áyʔuuʔam/* in Squamish (Kuipers 1967:308), and translated in all three languages as 'one blood or family,' has been identified by Suttles (1990a:464) as the term for the cognatic descent group constituting the core members of a household.

In Central Coast Salish languages, there is a term 'village' that denotes both the occupants and the physical structures.[15] For example, the Squamish term */ʔúxʷumixʷ/*, glossed as 'village,' refers both to the houses and to the inhabitants (Kuipers 1967:396). In Squamish, there is also a conceptual distinction between one's home-settlement, as opposed to a site for temporary lodging (Kuipers 1969:72).

The anglicized names that are usually designated Coast Salish "tribal" units, such as "Squamish," "Nooksack," or "Saanich" (referred to as ethnic groups by Barnett 1938b:119, 1955:18) are derived from terms associated somewhat with a system of

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15 A reconstruction of the Proto-Salish forms of terms glossed as 'person; Indian; man' appears in Kinkade (1993).

geographic names.[16]

Native people name their domain. Assigning names to the land perpetuates useful knowledge for locating resources and finding one's way from place to place throughout a particular territory. Certain places are associated with certain groups of Native people by means of their self-identification with specific named places. For example, the anglicized form "Halkomelem," the name of the language spoken by the Cowichan, Musqueam and others, is said to be derived from the name of a village on Nicomen Slough near Deroche (Duff 1952:11, 22; Galloway 1977:xviii). As discussed by Suttles (1987b:185), the name of the language seems to be "a progressive verb form with a sense like 'be Nicomening,' presumably 'be talking Nicomen.'" Suttles offers a cultural explanation for the term's etymology, speculating on the gathering of Halkomelem-speaking people at this particular village site during the eulachon run.

The Halkomelem speech-community was comprised of a considerable number of local groups (Duff 1952:19) or village clusters, described as "tribes" (in quotation marks), each with its own name. Some of these, such as the "Scowlitz," took their name from that of the principal village site. Another group, the "Tait," received its name (meaning 'up-river') from its geographical position *vis-à-vis* the neighbouring

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The term "ethnic group" is generally understood in anthropological literature (see Barth 1969:10-11) to designate a population that is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values; makes up a field of communication and interaction; and has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as a distinguishable category. Hence, if we apply this definition of "ethnic group" to the groups that Barnett (1955:18) so designates, we see he is clearly fallacious in his application of the term. These groups listed by Barnett are not only biologically related, but share aspects of culture such as subsistence technology (for example, West Saanich, East Saanich, Tsawwassen) as well as language (for example, West Saanich and East Saanich), as well.

Halkomelem-speaking groups. Clusters of tribes or local groups were also referred to as up-river or down-river people depending upon their relative geographical position to the speaker. The origin of other tribal names, such as "Chehalis" which was not knowingly applied to a village site but was said to mean 'running aground on a sand-bar' (Duff 1952:27) has faded from the collective memory of these people (Hill-Tout 1904:315).

The Straits Salish, as explained by Duff (1969:4-5) referred to themselves as Lekwungen */ləkʷáŋən/*; yet groups around the Lekwungen referred to them by the term */sc̓áŋəs/*, now anglicized as "Songhees."

A slightly different concept is evident where a group is named for an ecological feature of their area. For example, both the Katzie and Musqueam (downriver Halkomelem), as well as the Nooksack-speaking people, were named for the presence of specific plants said to grow in the environs of each group's principal village (Duff 1952:19-28; Amoss 1978:7; Suttles 1985; Kinkade 1986:60-62).[17]

The Lummi present yet another form of self identification. Stern (1934:108) reports that their name is taken from the term used to designate two houses called 'facing each other,' that were situated in the main village of Gooseberry Point when White settlement began *circa* 1852. The name then came to designate the Lummi

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Galloway provides the linguistic etymology for the ethnographic term */nɯxʷsæʔæq/* "Nooksack," used for all the Nooksack-speaking people, as well as the term */ɬčælosəm/*, derived from the name of a specific village and used to refer to the Nooksack language. Similar to the etymology of the term referring to the Halkomelem language, the term for the Nooksack language means loosely 'speaking like those in the village of */ɬčélos/* (Galloway and Richardson 1983:135,153) .

Reservation, and was subsequently extended to all speakers of the Lummi dialect.

Many names are so old that any direct meaning they may have once possessed has been lost. For example, /*sqx̣ʷúʔmiš*/ anglicized as "Squamish," includes the lexical suffix /*-miš*/ meaning 'people,' which is common to many Coast Salish languages, along with a now-unanalysable root (Kuipers 1967:130). The term /*sqx̣ʷúʔmiš*/ is applied to all Squamish-speaking people.

The above-noted forms of self-identification describe either a "tribe" or a speech-community.[18] As in the case of Nooksack, the two can be coincident.

A "tribe" can contain local groups that were also named geographically-based entities, each having a sense of identity. For example, the Nanaimo "tribe," who identify themselves as /*snənáyməxʷ*/, is comprised of local groups whose names are translatable as directional terms, probably with reference to the position of each local group's house(s) at the Departure Bay winter site (Suttles, cited in Bouchard 1992). The etymologies of other local groups names, such as those of the Songhees recorded by Boas (1891:17) are not as easily translatable.

### 2.1.2 Anthropological Designation

"Tribe" is not the only anthropological term that has caused confusion in discussions of Coast Salish society. The inconsistent and imprecise application of

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A discussion of tribal name synonymy for the Central Coast Salish can be found in Suttles (1990a:473-475). An earlier compilation was published by the Geographical Board of Canada (1913).

anthropological terms for particular types of Coast Salish socio-cultural aggregates creates its own tangled web. What follows is a summary of the ethnographic data describing the composition of Central Coast Salish social units.

#### 2.1.2.1 The Family and Household

In aboriginal Central Coast Salish society there were two residential units within a common structure: the independent household and the extended household.[19]

Information on Central Coast Salish household composition contained in the work of Barnett (1935-1936, 1955), Jenness (1934-1936c), Stern (1934:31) and Suttles (1951, 1990a:464) indicates that the people occupying each section of a cedar plank house comprised an independent household at the core of which was a nuclear family (but occasionally included were older dependent relatives, orphans and slaves) and that the extended household consisted of several such families related either through males or females. Each wife in a polygynous relationship had her own compartment within the house (Jenness 1934-1936c:42).

The independent household was the fundamental social and economic unit. Each obtained and stored its own food, cooked its meals over its own fire, and occasionally went its own way during the months of good weather. The members of an extended household, nevertheless, frequently shared food and cooperated in some social,

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19 These terms have been put forward in the literature by Mitchell and Donald (1988) who suggest their applicability to residential groups throughout the Northwest Coast. Barnett (1955:21) used the term "household cluster" for the aggregate of several households.

economic and ceremonial activities.

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

> Each married family in this group occupied one segment or room in the dwelling; it owned the wall and roof boards of that segment, either through inheritance or through having cooperated in the building; and it might remove these boards whenever it wished, leaving that portion of the common home wide open. . .As a rule a family only removed its wall and roof boards for temporary shelter in a spring or summer camp; but occasionally (eg. in the event of a quarrel) it removed them permanently and used them for construction of a new home (Jenness 1934-1936c:54).

While Jenness' report emphasizes "family" autonomy and raises one form of dispute resolution, households generally acted more co-operatively and the structure would be owned by a single owner or jointly by those who shared in its construction (Suttles 1992:216).

Wealthy men, with multiple wives and several slaves, would occupy a larger section of the house structure than independent households with fewer members. Yet with the exception of statements by Hill-Tout (1900:486, 1903:7-8, 1906:233), which Suttles (1992:221) regards as anomalies, there is no indication that this section of the dwelling was more opulent or situated in such a position that would endow its residents with greater status. Suttles (1992:216), quoting Vastokas' (1966:109) study of Northwest Coast architecture, points out that the section occupied by a house head "was simply a linear extension of the normal amount." Hill-Tout (1903:8) reported that each compartment generally measured 8 "*talçs*" square, each measure being the distance between a man's outstretched arms. The size of Hill-Tout's estimate, an area of

approximately 50-feet square, suggests that his Native consultants were referring to a house structure and not just one compartment within the house.

The extended family was the only truly exogamous social unit among the Central Coast Salish, as marriage was prohibited only among first and second cousins (Hill-Tout 1904:319; Jenness 1934-1936a:168; Suttles 1951; Duff 1952:85; Barnett 1955:184).

The extended household's core group of blood relatives is what Jenness (1934-1936c:52), speaking of the Saanich, identifies as the "House" (the cognatic descent group) and compares to the notion of European nobility embodied in an expression such as "the House of Windsor." Members of this kin group believed themselves to be descended from some illustrious ancestor and to be the inheritors of an assortment of names and prerogatives that were exercised only by the family. In theory, not all members of the Coast Salish kin group were localized in one house, or even one village, as all who regarded themselves as descendants of the acclaimed progenitor were recognized as "family." In practice, Suttles (1990a:464) points out, control of the family prerogatives became concentrated in the hands of an elite.[20]

#### 2.1.2.2 The Local Group

The concept of "local group" has been described using a variety of terms, as has been summarized by Suttles:

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[20] Suttles' (1958) early work referred to the Coast Salish cognatic descent group as a "lineage." In his 1987 reprinting of this 1958 article, he reconsidered the application of the term "lineage" to Coast Salish.

> The named local group was identified in the Fort Victoria treaties (Duff 1969) as a "family," by Boas (1889c:321) as a "clan" or (1889c:322) "gens" or (1891:563) "sept," and by Hill-Tout (1904a:312, 1907a:308) as a "sept" or "local community" (Suttles 1990a:464) [original referencing retained].

Suttles (1990a:464), relying upon Hill-Tout (1907b), defines "local group" as:

> a group having a sense of identity and a myth of descent from a "first man," even though its members did not regard themselves as kinsmen and were divided into distinct classes (Suttles 1990a:464).

A local group was generally named for the site it occupied. It consisted of a household or kin-group, together with dependent households. Some local groups had their own winter village, while others shared a winter site, each group retaining its autonomy and occupying its own section of the village. An example of this latter arrangement is the aggregate of the four (of the five) Nanaimo local groups who congregated at Departure Bay for the cold season, while the fifth local group wintered alone.

The fact that seasonal assemblages of local groups retain their identity and autonomy during the season of aggregation suggested to Mitchell (1983a) that the question to be addressed should be how such groups interacted when aggregated. As Mitchell (1983a:103) reports, Barnett provides evidence of such aggregates but offers little comment on how peaceful relations were maintained; he appears to emphasize the absence of polity by reference to the constituent units of seasonal aggregates as "ethnic divisions."

The traditions of common descent embodied in local group's first-ancestor myths take several forms, usually telling the story of how an individual or handful of

individuals descends from the sky and travels around, engaging in a series of adventures, during which they establish villages and resource sites. The following extract from a Cowichan first-ancestor myth, translated from Boas' (1895) original German publication, illustrates a typical series of events:

> In the beginning the earth was uninhabited. But then Siā´latsa came down from the sky to Qā´tsa (Quamichan Lake) and built a house there. On the following day, Swutlā´k· descended from the sky, then a woman called K·ola´tsiwat. The following day Suk·sā´k·ulak´ came down, then Sk·uē´lEm, Swik"em'ā´m, Siai´imk·en, Kto´qcin, Hē´uk·En, Qtlā´set, QaiõtsE´mk·En, and QuitE´qtEn, each one of them on one day. They went to Tsu´k·ola and built houses. Siā´latsa carried a painted staff with the aid of which he was able to kill monsters and heal the sick. . .Once Swutlā´k· went to K·au´ämen near Sâ´menos [Somenos] and there observed many salmon. He told Siā´latsa what he had seen. Then they went to K·au´ämen together and built a house. Siā´latsa had the men fell a tree, and burn and sharpen its lower end. Swutlā´k· then set the tree upright on one side of the river and put up a second one the same way on the other bank. He laid a third trunk across the other two and tied it fast. To this he attached many vertical sticks. Thus he made the first salmon weir and the people had plenty to eat (Boas 1895:47-50).

Sometimes these first ancestor myths were interwoven with stories of "Transformers," mythological beings who helped put the world in order for the first Coast Salish people. Among the Mainland Halkomelem, first ancestor traditions occasionally combine the motif of descent from the sky with the actions of animal protagonists. An example is provided from the Chilliwack area: the first ancestor of the Chehalis people builds a fish weir and thereby deprives an upstream tribe of food. Sons of the leader of the latter people, descended from the marten and the mountain goat, are captured while trying to destroy the weir. The Chehalis then invite the upriver people to join them downstream. Boas (1894:455) opined that this particular myth

recounted the historical incorporation of a formerly Nooksack-speaking group into the Mainland Halkomelem (cf. Suttles 1957). Some Tsawwassen people claimed to be descended from a number of puppy-children who were the offspring of a woman abandoned by her people when she became pregnant by a dog-suitor (variants of this tradition are discussed in Bouchard and Kennedy 1991:110-115). This same story is also said to be the origin myth for all high-class Clallam people (Gunther 1927:184-185).

A list of first-ancestors among the Mainland Halkomelem provided by Boas (1894:454), along with the transcribed associated myths[21] (Boas 1895:24-28), indicates that not only animals but also fish and plants were said to be antecedents for the present Coast Salish people. Yet the notion of an association with a first ancestor might not have been common to all Central Coast Salish peoples; *contra* Boas, Duff (1952:85) in his investigation among the Upper Stalo found that first ancestor stories were not present among those groups. More likely, these stories had been lost from the Upper Stalo oral repertoire by the time of Duff's research, as Boas' (1894:455) Chilliwack narrative noted above is typical of such stories. A tradition of descent is recorded for local groups comprising other Central Coast Salish "tribes" both on Vancouver Island (Boas 1895:47-50; Hill-Tout 1907:308; Jenness 1934-1936a:51-55; Barnett 1955:21-22, Bouchard 1992:12-14) and on the mainland (Boas 1886c, 1894:453-456, 1895:24-28; Hill-Tout 1897:85-90, 1903:54-55, 1904:313, 363; Stern 1934:107; Lerman 1952;

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Boas (1895:24-28) relates these Stalo first-ancestor stories and refers to them in German as "Stammessagen," meaning 'tribal myths or legends.'

Jenness 1955:10ff; Barnett 1955:18, 32; Suttles 1955:23; Bouchard and Kennedy 1991:110-115).

In reviewing the lack of "first ancestor" traditions within Upper Stalo society, Duff (1952:86) suggested that a consciousness of kinship and territorial unity that generally accompanies such traditions was "either less developed conceptually or performed by such groups as did exist [in Upper Stalo]." He found it unclear whether or not first ancestor traditions in other Coast Salish groups gave rise to functional social groups (Duff 1952:86). Ethnographic data are not explicit on this point. For example, information describing the Nanaimo local groups suggests that these people exhibited greater social cohesion than Duff reports for the Upper Stalo, to the extent that the Nanaimo groups were "ranked" in relation to one another (Boas 1889:324; Barnett 1955:22).[22] A family of the local group possessing the highest status performed the annual first salmon ceremony on behalf of all the Nanaimo people, a prerogative explained and maintained by mythic charter (Barnett 1955:89-90; Jenness 1934-1936b:5). Just how the myth contributed to this solidarity can not be fully ascertained, and apart from the Nanaimo example, a direct association between social cohesion and possession of a first ancestor tradition has not been demonstrated.

#### 2.1.2.3 The Village

Seasonal subsistence patterns among the Central Coast Salish involved

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Boas (1889:321) also reported that during times of war a single leader "leads the warriors of the whole tribe."

congregating at named winter village sites for part of the year. Such villages, consisting of one or more cedar plank structures, were situated on seashores of sheltered bays and inlets and along riverbanks. Houses were either of a gable-roof or shed-roof style, although with the exception of the Squamish and Musqueam, where the shed house was preferred, the gable-roof house was indicative of social prominence (Barnett 1955:35). The Saanich, Cowichan and Nanaimo are said to have removed the house planks for transporting by canoe to seasonally-occupied sites that were the location of permanent house frames (Barnett 1955:41, 251).[23] This practise was also among the Lummi, as documented by Scouler (1905:205) who observed a group of Lummi people in the 1820s dismantling their fall fishing camp on Lummi Island; this included the removal of the house boards from a permanent frame.

House structures were normally constructed parallel to the beach or riverbank. Some villages had more than one row of houses, and according to traditions throughout the Coast Salish area, the poor or people of lower status resided in houses on the ends of or at a distance from the houses of more prominent families (Barnett 1955:19, 21, 23, 32-33).

A noteworthy article by Suttles (1992) reviews the construction and use of Coast Salish shed-roof houses.[24] As reported by Suttles (1992:212), early explorers to this

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In June 1792, explorer and botanist Archibald Menzies, a member of Captain Vancouver's expedition, wrote a particularly vivid description of the "skeletons of the houses" remaining in the deserted village situated on Point Roberts (Newcombe 1923:60).

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An earlier discussion of the construction techniques employed in Central Coast Salish houses can be found in Wilson (1866:286-288).

area described both shed-roof houses and the layout of Coast Salish villages, while some visitors like Paul Kane in 1847 left behind sketches of their observations (Harper 1971), including the arrangement and furnishings of Coast Salish dwellings. These reports indicate that houses varied in size. In July 1808, when Simon Fraser stopped at a Stalo village of about 200 people, he described the whole village as a single structure measuring "640 feet long by 60 broad. . .under one roof" (Lamb 1966:102). Another house observed by Fraser near Hope (also among the Stalo), where suitable land was circumscribed by rough terrain, measured only 46 feet long by 23 feet wide (Lamb 1966:99). Dwellings could be built end to end and extended long distances along a riverbank. In November 1824, while making a reconnaissance of the lower Fraser to select the site for Fort Langley, Francis Annance observed "a deserted village nearly a mile long", likely comprised of several structures, situated slightly below what became the fort site (Annance 1824).

The construction techniques used for Coast Salish shed houses permitted the addition or deletion of house sections as required, a practise that was in keeping with fluid residency options provided by the bilateral principle of descent (Suttles 1992:216). This observation of Suttles becomes significant in an evaluation of Elmendorf's (1971:357) assertion that the localized house cluster or village was the basic community unit. Elmendorf, in designating the village as the primary social group, is hesitant to call this the "winter village group," as is sometimes stated in the literature, noting instead that the reference to "winter" might be redundant since "these villages do not seem to have been replaced in the summer by other structurally

comparable membership units" (Elmendorf 1971:357). Concerning the appropriate constituent unit, Elmendorf states:

> for the Coast Salish generally it is clear that the winter coresident house group was the basic, and probably the most stable sort of localized social unit. . .It is also clear that the Coast Salish village was the primary localized community unit in the network system (Elmendorf 1971:357).

The relative permanence of village populations varied from area to area and probably from one year to the next. Duff reports that among the Upper Stalo, villages "with few exceptions, [were] small and impermanent." He notes that village population was quite fluid, with people moving frequently to different villages or to uninhabited places, mostly for reasons of food and wood acquisition, but also in response to social discord within a household or village. Thus, population shifts were not restricted to alterations in the composition of seasonal aggregates. The corollary was that core populations of villages in resource-rich areas would be more constant and attract winter residents from other tribes (Duff 1952:85). Yale (*šílqʷeɬ*), in the Fraser Canyon, was one such location. Duff attributes this seasonal relocation to downriver people exercising options available through kinship ties with Yale residents (Duff 1952:32, 85).

The village was only a unit in certain ceremonial activities and certain types of sharing, but in general the independent household was autonomous (Suttles 1990a:464; Jenness 1934-1936c:52). Extended households of a village did occasionally function as a unit both economically and socially, and particularly when defending the residents against enemy attack, although this was not always the case, and other than self-

interest, there was little incentive for consolidated action.[25] Individual houses within villages were sometimes the target of raids (Suttles 1951:323; Barnett 1955:267-271). One household might even send out a raiding party without consultation with other villagers (Jenness 1934-1936b:52).

Speaking of the lack of village unity, Barnett wrote:

> The aggregate of the extended families inhabiting a winter village has not been called a tribe because any sense of unity which may have bound the family units together was of a diluted sort and was not the basis for collective action. The motivation for collective action in all cases derived from blood relationship; and, if and whenever all or any part of a village membership responded as a unit, it was because of interconnecting blood ties (Barnett 1955:243).

Occasionally, there were alliances of villages or tribes (or parts of the same) for raiding or defence purposes. The Fort Langley journal (MacMillan and McDonald 1827-1830) provides several examples of such coalitions, making it clear that alliances were temporary and that their composition depended upon the occasion.

#### 2.1.2.4 The "Tribe"

Each Central Coast Salish "tribe" was comprised of clusters of local groups having enough social unity to be recognized as a named group. Each possessed a territory and, occasionally, its own distinct dialect or language. But these were not

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An historical example of the lack of consolidation is provided by the journal of Ermatinger, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. After the murder of a small party of H.B.C. men by the Clallam, the Company sent out a group to take punitive action. Native report told them "that the Klallams have divided, those who wish to stand neutral having separated from those who wish to resist." Once the camp of two lodges was located, the household said to house the Clallam was fired upon while the other household remained docile and did not participate in the fray (Ermatinger 1907).

entirely self-sufficient units.

Boas (1894:454) assumed a one-to-one correspondence between winter village and tribe, as evinced in his list of the fourteen Stalo tribes; yet, as Duff (1952:86) aptly demonstrates, the falsity of this opinion is apparent by reviewing the incongruous comparison of tribal names obtained by Boas (1894), Hill-Tout (1903, 1904), Jenness (1934-1936a) and Duff (1952:131). While confusion seems to obscure descriptions of Stalo tribes, Duff (1952) presents evidence of considerable variation among the groups and profound transformation in language, village composition and territory in the early historic period, accounting for some changes in "tribal" composition and tribal territory. As Duff discusses, some clusters of villages, particularly those sharing a common language or dialect, may have possessed enough of a social identity in concept and territory to be considered a tribal unit; others--and Duff's (1952:87) Tait example is likely appropriate here--present a more complex situation, as the constituent units comprising the "tribe" may themselves function in a similar manner as some down-river tribes. It seems that groups recognized as Stalo tribes in the early twentieth century, such as Chilliwack, might not have an integrity that recedes into a remote past (see Smith 1950; Duff 1952), yet at least by the late 19th century had a more cohesive sense of tribal territory than some of their neighbours (Duff 1952:77). It is probable that "tribal" affiliation and constitution were subject to changes in fortunes and circumstance. In the early historic period, villages became depopulated, their residents amalgamated with other groups, either voluntarily or by force, and some villages

became dominated by speakers of other languages.[26]

#### 2.1.2.5 Summary of Terminology

The foregoing sections reviewed the composition of Central Coast Salish social units and the assortment of anthropological terms applied to them. Before proceeding with a discussion of other aspects of this society, a summary of this terminology is appropriate.

The two residential units within a common cedar plank structure were the independent household, at the core of which was a nuclear family but which occasionally included older dependent relatives and slaves as well. Several such related families constituted the extended household. The independent household was the primary economic unit, although sharing of resources within an extended household was common.

A Coast Salish local group consisted of one or more households and included a central kingroup and dependent households. It was named for the site it occupied. Although a local group has a sense of identity, and often a "first-ancestor" myth, its members do not necessarily consider themselves as kinsmen. A single local group could occupy a winter village or join with other local groups at a winter village site.

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Miller (1989:265) suggests with respect to the Puget Sound area of Southern Coast Salish that a re-analysis of available evidence shows that area to be "heavily structured during the [early historic] period and not to be the chaotic collection of independent tribes pictured in the earliest anthropological literature." Perhaps a re-analysis of the Central Coast Salish might show a similar situation, at least during the historic period, but such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this present study.

The winter village group consisted of the occupants of one or more cedar plank structures situated at named sites. A winter village group could consist of one local group, but occasionally it was comprised of several local groups who kept their individual identity during the season of aggregation. The households of a village shared a territory in the environs of the village, although a bounded perimeter was not recognized..

In its common usage, a Central Coast Salish tribe was comprised of a cluster of villages sharing a common name, a shared concept of territory, and occasionally, a common form of speech. The tribe, however, did not constitute a political or economic unit until the second half of the nineteenth century.

## 2.2 Status and Leadership

Central Coast Salish society was loosely stratified into three classes: slaves; lower-class or worthless people; and high-class people.[27] Some researchers working among the Coast Salish have commented on the imprecision of these terms. Hill-Tout (1907b:308) considered social distinctions to be "hard and rigid" among the Northern

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The use of the term social class has been adopted herein, but there is some controversy regarding the use of the term "social class" to describe these divisions within Coast Salish society. Suttles (1958), Barnett (1975:246-250) and Gunther (1927) have referred to classes, while Duff (1952) has preferred to describe the variant statuses as "ranking." Suttles (1958:506) states that he employs Goldschmidt's minimal definition of a social class as "a segment of the community, the members of which show a common social position in a hierarchical ranking" and his characterization of the true class-organized society as "one in which the hierarchy of prestige and status is divisible into groups each with its own social, economic, attitudinal and cultural characteristics, and each having differential degrees of power in community decisions." "Such groups," he writes, "would be socially separate and their members would readily identify" (Goldschmidt 1950:491-2).

Straits but less so among the Squamish (Hill-Tout 1900:475), while Barnett (1955:247) believed that social classes were not well defined although individuals formed "a continuous gradation of rank." Suttles (1958:498) concluded after a more extensive review of the evidence that apart from slaves, "social class was more a myth than a reality." A similar view was presented by Duff (1952:80) who noted that "individuals and families differed in social rank because they differed in the degree to which they possessed the qualities which were admired and respected." These qualities he summarized as: wisdom, ability, industry, generosity, humility, and pacifism. All agree that wealth brought respect as it was the concrete manifestation of these characteristics. Notwithstanding, a poor person could overcome a disadvantaged birth and, providing the individual was of good character, could be addressed with the common term showing respect. But most people simply had good blood inherited along with other laudable qualities from illustrious ancestors.[28]

### 2.2.1 High Class People

The literature is consistent that "good people" formed the majority of the

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Some reports state that at least among the Lower Stalo, Clallam and some Northern Straits peoples, nose and ear piercing as well as head-flattening were indicators of high status (Stern 1934:73; Duff 1952:80; Wilson 1866:278; Hill-Tout 1903:14). Jenness (1934-1936c:61) notes that children born to slaves held by the Saanich had their head flattened like those of other people. Head-deformation is also reported for the Squamish, but without reference to status discrimination (Hill-Tout 1900:479-480). Although Duff (1952) stated that head deformation was not practised above Fort Langley, Simon Fraser in 1808 observed that the people in the Hope area had flat heads and faces (Lamb 1966:101). Fraser was there during the fishing season however, so he may have seen coastal people who were summer visitors.

population, as portrayed diagrammatically in Suttles' (1958:504) "inverted pear" model. In that model, an impermanent set of leaders formed the elite of the "good people" class, below which were the worthless people and the slaves. Linguistic evidence supports this model.

There is a cognate term */siy̓ám̓/* throughout Central Coast Salish that refers to the elite men (and by extension, women) whose wealth, status and influence set them apart from others.[29] Jenness (1934-1936c:54) believed that this term applied only to those Saanich Straits Salish who had received ancestral names at potlatches, whereas researchers working among the Southern Coast Salish reported the hosting of at least one potlatch to be prerequisite (see Elmendorf 1960:545, 1971:368; Collins 1950:333), a criterion that apparently was held also by the Lummi (Stern 1934:72). Suttles suggested this term was used to address most members of Coast Salish society as they belonged to an upper or respectable class (Suttles 1958:499, 1965:158-159). Today, this same term continues to be heard during Central Coast Salish gatherings; for example, a Squamish speaker in the longhouse commonly addresses those in attendance as */nəw síiy̓am̓ i síiyay̓/* 'you respected people and friends.'

Cognates of the term */siy̓ám̓/* have been glossed in the Central Coast Salish ethnographic literature as 'real man' (Barnett 1938b:130, 1955:245), 'rich man' (Gunther 1927:260; Barnett 1955:245), 'Sir; Madam; high-class person' (Suttles 1951, 1958:499), 'hightone man,' 'smart man' (Barnett 1938b:130), 'nobles' (Jenness 1934-

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29 Recorded as */siy̓ám̓/* (Squamish); */siy̓ém̓/* (Halkomelem), */siy̓ém̓/* (Northern Straits Salish); and */siy̓ém̓/* (Clallam). Only the Nooksack form, */sæɬém̓/*, is not cognate.

1936c:54), 'leader' (Duff 1952:81) or 'chief' (Boas 1886b, 1891f:18; Duff 1952:81). In theory, each good family had a headman or */siy̓áṁ/* but such a man was not necessarily present in each household. A */siy̓áṁ/* exemplified the characteristics that commanded respect from his own family and from the larger community within which he represented his family. All members of his family revelled in the reflected glory of this man's prestige, for although individuals may have varied in their personal attributes, as Duff remarked, "the accident of birth into a high-ranking family constituted a tremendous advantage" (Duff 1952:80). Those members of the family who had not achieved such a level of respect were looked upon as 'people,' not of a lower class, but simply individuals who had not developed their potential as displayed openly by their older and wealthier relatives. In the historical record, these ordinary but high-class people are simply referred to as "the men," "the retinue" or "the followers" of the "principal chiefs."

The blessings bestowed upon persons of high status included both tangible and intangible rewards. Ancestral names, songs, private family knowledge, and the use of ceremonial rights were every bit manifestations of prestige as was the preferred access to a few uncommonly-productive resource sites. All of these were inherited possessions.[30] Birth order was significant in the acquisition and recognition of status,

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Among the Northern Straits, such inherited possessions owned by particular families are known as */c̓əlélŋən/* while the learned possessions of 'advice' are known as */snáp/* (Suttles 1951:54-55). In more recent years, as was demonstrated during the 1985-89 *Claxton et al. v. Saanichton Marina et al.* litigation, the concept of "inherited possessions" has taken on a whole new meaning to describe "our history, our traditions, our heritage, our culture. It is our way of life. . .The teachings of the CELANEN [*/c̓əlélŋən/*] are based upon our beliefs in the Creator" (Affidavit of Earl Claxton, Appeal Book Vol. 1, 102. Victoria Registry, No. 852873).

but the possession of an appropriately powerful guardian spirit was critical in a man's proficiency to accumulate wealth, at least according to Coast Salish theory (Suttles 1951:55, 1958:502; Barnett 1955:250-251). But spirit possession, itself, was somewhat reliant upon family status. Good families, as Suttles (1958:501) remarked, "knew better than others how to train their children." Unlike the lower-class families, these good people possessed "advice," the moral training incorporating homespun wisdom, gossip, and personal family history that all good families believed would guide their children to the venerated planes of humble dignity. Low-class people, Suttles (1958:501) was told, had lost their history and had no advice to offer.

### 2.2.2 Low Class People

Losing one's history appears to be the distinguishing mark of low class. As Stern found in his investigations among the Lummi:

> Orphan children who become dependent upon their relatives or on other people of the tribe upon the death of their parents lose their status and are known as staychem. Upon attaining adulthood, they may redeem themselves by giving large quantities of food and blankets to their benefactors but the humiliation of their dependent period is remembered with rankling shame (Stern 1934:73).

Hill-Tout (1907:308) also described "the untitled or base-class" as being comprised of "orphaned and friendless children." Among them he included the offspring of female slaves impregnated by their masters (Hill-Tout 1897:477; Jenness 1934-1936c:59). Jenness (1934-1936a:169) also reported that on the rare occurrence when a "nobleman married a slave woman her children ranked as commoners."

This group of low-class individuals, said to be tarnished by their lack of history and consequently lacking in the "private knowledge and morality" possessed by those whose ancestry was intact, were referred to by cognates of the term */sƛ̓áš̓əm/*[31]. As has been discussed by Suttles (1958:498) descriptions of Central (as well as Southern) Coast Salish villages suggests that persons of low class lived apart from those of high status, either at ends of villages, as reported among the Saanich (Barnett 1955:19, 30), or in particular rows within a village as reported among the Semiahmoo (Suttles 1958:498), or in separate but nearby village sites designated for their use, as among the Clallam (Gunther 1927:183-184, 261). Other villages, including Nanoose (Jenness 1934-1936b:12; Barnett 1955:23; Suttles 1958:498), Chemainus (Suttles 1958:498) and Coquitlam (Boas 1894:455; Hill-Tout 1903:407-408; Barnett 1955:34; Jenness 1955:86) as well as a settlement at Ioco (Jenness 1955:86) were said to be wholly lower-class.[32] Boas (1894:458) reported among the Lower Fraser Halkomelem that "chiefs and common people were buried in separate houses or boxes."[33]

One Katzie man accounted for the Coquitlam people's subservient lot in life by

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Cognates include */sƛ̓ašəm/* Squamish; */sƛ̓ɛšəm/* Halkomelem and Northern Straits. Another Halkomelem variant is the form */sƛ̓ɛxəm/*. The Halkomelem form recorded by Jenness (1934-1936c:54) as "sas musteemuch" and glossed as 'commoner' is a composite of the term */tsas/* 'person of low class' and */məstíməxʷ/* 'person' (Bouchard and Paul 1974a). A cognate form */tsas/* 'low class' has been recorded in Saanich (Bouchard and Paul 1974b; Montler 1991:30)

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We may add to Suttles' (1958) review of separate lower-class villages the presence of a village at Ioco near Port Moody in Burrard Inlet which Jenness identified as being subservient or "tributary" to the Squamish (Jenness 1955:86).

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Among the Upper Stalo, "the bodies of slaves were placed in a special box in the graveyard" (Duff 1952:83).

attributing their status to a mythological event. As told by Old Pierre:

> in the dawn of time, when the great transformer Khaals wandered over the earth, he elevated the humble to the rank of siєm or heads of households, and degraded the haughty to st'éxəm; and that later, when the population grew, the st'éxəm were forced to live in separate communities, where they maintained a semi-independent position, having leaders, medicine men, and family names of their own, and holding their own winter dances (Jenness 1955:86).

Another explanation--and one more plausibly rooted in history--is provided in Jenness' notes from interviews with Albert Wesley, a Nanaimo man whose tribe was said to have been the "masters" of the Nanoose:

> During the "great winter" (in the time of Wesley's great-grand-father)[34] so many people died that numerous families became entirely extinct, while of others there remained only little babies who were found sucking their dead mothers' breasts. The survivors rescued these and brought them up; but since they had no parents of kinsfolk (and in some cases their parents were not known), they were called stacem (a word meaning "low class", and not allowed to marry "people of good birth"). They built small houses for themselves near the big houses that sheltered groups of closely related families, and were called on to help those families whenever their services were required. In return, they received protection. They were not slaves, however, not sqwaias ['slaves'], for they could not be bought and sold; they were as much a part of the villages as the people they served (Jenness 1934-1936b:171).

Gunther's (1927:261) Clallam consultants informed her that such low-class people fished and gathered their food, but that there were no hunters among them. It

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This would date the disastrous event to the late 1770s-1780s. Old Pierre, Jenness' Katzie consultant, described a smallpox epidemic that occurred during his great-grandfather's time, "not many years" before the arrival of Europeans, that is said to have killed "about three quarters of the Indians" (Jenness 1955:34). Recent studies have discussed how it was during the 1770s-1780s that a major epidemic of smallpox devastated the Native people of the Pacific Northwest (Boyd 1985, 1990; Acheson: In press). Such an example lends more support for this disadvantaged class coming about as a result of disease and warfare than as an "historic period artifact of White encroachment," as suggested by Drucker (1989:88-89).

seems astonishing, however, that men failed to learn hunting skills simply because they did not possess the private knowledge of their higher-class neighbours. But inasmuch as successful hunting required a powerful guardian spirit, received in part from adherence to family advice, it conforms with the Coast Salish fiction that those of low status were so terribly deprived that they could not possibly hunt. Fishing, on the other hand, was an occupation within the reach of any man. And the Coquitlam, it is said, did so much of this activity on behalf of their masters that they were known as the 'slimy, smelling of fish slime' people (Jenness 1934-1936b:33).

### 2.2.3 Slaves

Slaves were even further down the social scale than those of low class. Ethnographic data relating to the extent and role of slavery in Coast Salish society is sparse, for although the practice of slavery was acknowledged, researchers have found Native consultants to be reticent in discussing the subject (Stern 1934:73; Suttles 1951:305).

Slaves were a form of property, captured during attacks on other villages, kidnapped at opportune moments, and thence bought and sold or traded or given away at the whim of their owners or, if fortunate, ransomed by their tribesmen (Hill-Tout 1903:14; Gunther 1927:264; Stern 1934:74; Barnett 1938b:132, 1955:108, 249). Slave-taking occurred both within and between speech-communities, as is evident in the 1827-1830 Fort Langley journal and in the ethnographic literature. As with warfare, not all members of a particular group were engaged in alliances that offered them

protection. For example, in October 1827 a war party of Cowichan and Musqueam headed by the Cowichan leader "Shashia" attacked the Chilliwack. Five months later, when on another raid against the Chilliwack, a Cowichan war party led by "Lammas" came upon a Musqueam "chief" and his family and took from him one of his daughters while threatening to take another (MacMillan and McDonald 1828-1830:51). Considerable property could change hands to ransom one's kin, as revealed by several incidents recorded in the Fort Langley journal (MacMillan and McDonald 1827-1830).

Slaves were distinguished from others by their short hair (Stern 1934:74; Wilson 1866:290) and poorer dress (Jenness 1934-1935c:60). They slept in the house of their master (Jenness 1934-1936c:60; Barnett 1935-1936) where their treatment varied from the rare physical abuse recorded by Jenness (1934-1936c:61) among the Saanich and by Duff (1952:83) among the Yale, to the kindly treatment received at the hand of a Katzie leader, whose family addressed their slaves using kinship terms (Jenness 1955:6). Slaves' work was menial, but differed from that of others only in degree (Jenness 1934-1936c:60; Gunther 1927:214).

It is difficult to calculate the extent of slave labour among the Central Coast Salish. Stern (1934:74) opined that "all siems have slaves," while Boas (1890:570) reported that they were held by people "of all classes," presumably meaning both high and low class individuals. Barnett, writing about the Coast Salish and the Kwakiutl suggested that slaves "in bondage [were] as much a liability as an asset and. . .useful primarily as overt demonstration of the ability to possess them" (1938a:352). He considered that "their economic productiveness scarcely outweighed the expense and

nuisance of having them around" (Barnett 1955:249). Estimates of their population in the historical literature, however, range from a high of 29% recorded by Warre and Vavasour (cited in Martin 1848:81) for the Northern Straits and Halkomelem-speaking areas[35], to a low of 9% among the Lummi alone as recorded by Tolmie (cited in Schoolcraft 1855(5):703), both sources referring approximately to the period of the 1840s-1850s. A Saanich consultant estimated the numerical proportions of "nobles, commoners and slaves" as being a ratio of 3:7:2, while a Cowichan man estimated a slightly higher ratio of 3:7:3 among his people, providing a rough estimate of slaves constituting 16% and 23% of the respective populations of these two tribes (Jenness 1934-1936b:168, 1934-1936c:59).

It is likely that the enumeration prepared by Yale in 1838-1839 of "followers of all descriptions" for the tribes who came into contact with Fort Langley contains both slaves and low-class people. Table 1 presents a summary of this category for each group, expressed as a percentage of the total population. Without additional data it is difficult to interpret Yale's figures. The high figures for both Nanaimo (74%) and Nanoose (76%) could denote a high percentage of slaves being held by the former and a high percentage of merely low-class people among the latter, a pattern that would be consistent with ethnographic accounts. It is also interesting that the total number of followers among the Musqueam comprises such a small percentage of their population.

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Warre and Vavasour describe this area as being that of the "Challams-Cowaitchims, 24 tribes, speaking the Challam and Cowaitzchim languages" and extending "from lat. 50° along the Coast South to Whitby Island in lat. 48°; part of Vancouver's Island and the Mouth of Franc's [Fraser] River" (Martin 1848:81).

However, we can only speculate, for the figures by themselves mean very little, apart from suggesting an avenue for further consideration.

### 2.2.4 Leadership

Leadership was exercised by virtue of achieved talents (gained with the aid of an appropriately strong guardian spirit) and the readiness of others to accept, even to look up to and assist (Barnett 1955:243: Duff 1952:81-82) A leader was not a "chief" per se: he did not hold a political office; he could not coerce action or servitude from non-slaves; and he could not extract tribute from others.[36] And as Stern pointed out, he was not even a "boss," for he had "no legislative, judicial or executive authority" (Stern 1934:72). Barnett (1955:243) concluded that "there was no single individual or body to which village members as such could appeal for leadership, for redressment of wrongs to the individual, and the like." Writing of the Cowichan Indians he visited in 1853, Douglas stated:

> They live in several villages, each having a distinct chief, or headman, who cannot be said to rule the community which acknowledges his supremacy, as there is no code of laws, nor do the chiefs possess the power or means of maintaining a regular government; but their personal influence is nevertheless very great with their followers (Douglas 1954:246).

In spite of the seemingly-deficient nature of a leader's role, a Coast Salish "chief"

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Among the Chehalis, a hunter "usually set aside the best portions for the chief, but always received a generous acknowledgement of his gift. Sometimes a successful hunter would take his whole bag to the chief. The latter would call all the people together to share it with him and would publicly acknowledge his indebtedness to the donor and pay him the full value of the game in blankets" (Hill-Tout 1904:317). Such an exchange clearly lacks the notion of obligation that accompanies "tribute." Yet as redistributor of the game, the chief (as well as the hunter who provided it) received prestige and bolstered status.

Table 1. Percentage of "Followers of all Descriptions" Comprising Total Population. Data adapted from Yale (1838-1839). An * following the tribal name indicates a Central Coast Salish group.

| Names of Tribe | Total Population | "Followers of all Descriptions" | Percentage of Followers in Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Skadchads | 874 | 422 | 48% |
| Wholiemies* | 731 | 137 | 19% |
| Eusaukes* | 146 | 22 | 15% |
| Sinayamies* | 56 | 9 | 16% |
| Eusanich* | 183 | 107 | 58% |
| Samus* | 127 | 70 | 55% |
| Cowaitchins* | 1143 | 714 | 62% |
| Nannimoes* | 477 | 355 | 74% |
| Nonouse* | 159 | 121 | 76% |
| Tsilholts | 252 | 199 | 80% |
| Tseashalls | 131 | 35 | 27% |
| Tlohose | 192 | 55 | 29% |
| Skohomus* | 784 | 143 | 18% |
| Misquiams* | 154 | 13 | 8% |
| Quatlains* | 375 | 52 | 14% |
| Smaise* | 123 | 27 | 19% |
| Chilwaook* | 151 | 30 | 20% |
| Cheenus* | 139 | 19 | 14% |
| Lilliwhits | 1211 | 165 | 14% |
| Pallalts* | 304 | 27 | 8% |
| Steatons* | 123 | 16 | 13% |
| Teates* | 555 | 44 | 8% |
| Humcenahs | 556 | 47 | 8% |
| Qualthens | 481 | 39 | 8% |
| Totals | 9427 | 2868 | 30% |

appears to have been easily recognized. It is his most immediately apparent aspects that were responsible for his eminence and are reviewed below

Suttles (1958) explains the application of the term */siém/* to Central Coast Salish leaders and others as follows:[37]

> A person of high status was called *siém*. This term is often translated as "chief," but it is clear that the whole institution of chieftainship as it now exists developed after European contact. *Siém* meant and still means simply "Sir" or "Madam" in address and "gentleman" or "lady" in reference. One could speak of the *siém* of a house, if it had one clearly recognized leader, perhaps the man who had organized the building; but not all houses had such leaders. One could also say the *siém* of the village, but the title did not imply a political office. If there were a *siém*, he was probably the wealthiest man, the leader in the potlatch. Leadership in other matters was apt to be in the hands of others, depending upon their special abilities. The plural, *siiém*, is usually translated "high-class people" (Suttles 1958:499).

An affirmation of Coast Salish leadership must begin with negation: Suttles (1963:513), in formulating his opinion that "there was no office of village chief and no village council," relied upon comments by early explorers. He noted the remarks of Quimper who in 1790 was at a loss to find a "superior chief" among the Sooke or the New Dungeness Clallam. Suttles (1989, 1990a:465) also considered the negative

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Terms said to refer to 'highest chief; grand chief; head governor of the tribe; first-going chief' have been obtained from the Nanaimo and Chilliwack groups of Halkomelem as well as from speakers of Northern Straits Salish (Boas 1886a, 1886b; Hill-Tout 1903:6; Duff 1952:82). Barnett (1955:247) reported "grades within the aristocracy" being expressed by use of the prefix */ti-/*. Cognates of a composite form */cícəɬ siém/* 'chief above' have been used for "God," although Suttles (1976) suggests this is a loan-translation of the Chinook Jargon *sáxali táyi* 'chief or Lord above.' According to Duff (1952:122), this translated term was used to address the Supreme Being during the Upper Stalo "first salmon ceremony," at least in historic times after the introduction of Christianity. Hill-Tout (1903:58) reported the Kwantlen's use of the term in prayers made after abnormal events. See also section 2.2.1 for a discussion of "high class people."

evidence presented by the Spanish and British expeditions of 1790-1792, as well as the observations of Fraser in 1808 (Lamb 1966:102-105) and Scouler in 1824 (1905:196-205). No one has offered any evidence to the contrary, at least among the Central Coast Salish.[38]

It is without question that none of these explorers found "superior chiefs;" but all found, as Quimper called them, "principal chiefs" (Wagner 1933:110). These were the men who provided the guests with food, gifts and hospitality (Lamb 1966:102-105, 110; Scouler 1905:197), used their influence to sway opinion and to have certain tasks undertaken (Lamb 1966:104), and to have stolen goods returned (Lamb 1966:115). They possessed a certain countenance that set them apart either in demeanour (Lamb 1966:109; Wagner 1933:261) or in wardrobe (Wagner 1933:256). Moreover, they told the explorers who they were (Wagner 1933:99) and expected acknowledgement of their status, usually in the form of trade goods. Still, Barnett's (1955:284) portrayal of Coast Salish chiefs is likely appropriate:

> He was an unassuming man and 'quiet' by which is meant that he spoke little, and only after mature consideration. He maintained his dignity but without hauteur. . .He was paternalistic, forwarding the best interests of his relatives. . .He was careful to avoid trouble but led the way when trouble was imminent. He was . . .generous (Barnett 1955:246).

At one time, according to Coast Salish ideology, most villages consisted each of a single cognatic descent group (Suttles 1958:502). The wealthiest, and often the oldest

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Recent work by Tollefson (1987, 1989) purports to demonstrate through a re-analysis of available historic and ethnographic data the existence of chiefdoms in the Puget Sound area (Southern Coast Salish). Comment on this issue has been offered by Suttles (1989). A thoughtful rebuttal of the Tollefson article has been provided by Miller and Boxberger (1994).

male in the group was generally considered its head. He was the man who possessed acclaimed names, had special skills and untainted ancestry, and importantly, had the ability to host celebrated potlatches. In short, he was a /*siém*/, a high-class indivi dual; when he spoke, others listened. Each house-owner in a multi-house village could be considered the leader of his own structure, although not all houses had headmen and occasionally when several kin-groups were present in one village, Jenness (1934-1936c:55) reports, it was the man who headed the numerically-strongest household who was regarded as the principal man in the village. Duff (1952:81) is more likely correct in targeting "relative prestige" as the distinguishing feature of village leadership. In his words, certain individuals who were depended on for their "wisdom in leadership" tended "to develop a 'habit of leadership' over the whole village and undertook certain duties as a village official" (Duff 1952:81). In discussing leadership among the Stalo, Hill-Tout (1903:6, 1904:317) found that each village or community had a chief, a statement also made by Fetzer (n.d.) with respect to the Nooksack.

A headman carried the obligation to uphold his family's illustrious names by potlatching. In day-to-day affairs, he mobilized task forces that required co-operative labour, such as the building and maintenance of fish traps and houses. Just how much control leaders of kin groups had over resources is far from clear and may have varied throughout the area (see section 2.3). Those men who functioned as village leaders could also be called upon to accompany and speak on behalf of a family when going to another village to seek a bride (Duff 1952:81).

Hill-Tout (1904:317) also found that each tribe had one paramount chief. Duff

(1952:82) found the same among the Chilliwack. Among the Nanaimo, the head of one particular local group was considered to be of higher rank than the heads of the neighbouring four groups (Barnett 1955:22). And thus, when the Nanaimo signed a treaty with Governor James Douglas in 1854, it was the leader of the "Sarlequun," the local group possessing the most status, who "signed" the agreement on behalf of all Nanaimo people (Hudson's Bay Company 1854). The two most highly respected leaders among the Mainland Halkomelem, according to Duff's (1952:81) Hope consultant, "have always been the heads of permanent family lines at Yale and Langley."

There *were* particular individuals who stood out and became recognized as "tribal chiefs" in the historic period. Such is apparent from comparing the observations of several early explorers and traders, such as those of Scouler (1905) as well as the authors of the Fort Langley Journal (MacMillan and McDonald 1827-1830), all of whom observed Central Coast Salish people in the 1820s.

Suttles (1958:499) opines that Coast Salish chieftainship as known today is a post-contact phenomenon. That is likely so. It is evident, nevertheless, that the men and their descendants who hosted potlatches and represented their kin and community within the aboriginal society were the same individuals who acted in a leadership role in relationships with the emerging non-Indian community in the early historic period. Central Coast Salish ethnographic accounts reveal this congruity.

In addition to the traditionally-recognized leaders, a hierarchy of religious leaders consisting of watchmen and captains was introduced by Catholic missionaries

beginning in the early 1860s (see Lemert 1954).[39] Apparently the two systems of leadership functioned coincidently, with traditional leaders assuming an additional prestige-related function, or maintaining their customary role apart from those who adopted the new religion.[40] Continuing into the period of the 1870s-1880s, when the majority of the Central Coast Salish Indian reserves were established, headmen were recognized as chiefs, and as representatives of villages and tribes met with government officials to designate specific sites as Indian Reserves (Kennedy 1994b). In some Central Coast Salish areas, such as among the Squamish, groups of leading men expressed a collective interest in lands and resources beyond their current village of habitation.

Today, Central Coast Salish society acknowledges certain individuals as "chiefs," or even "hereditary chiefs," meaning those heads of families who are descendants of men recognized as leaders of kin groups and villages in the late 19th Century.

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It is apparent from church records that Methodist missionaries active among the Nooksack and a few groups of Stalo appointed "stewards" to oversee fellow converts' adherence to Christian principles (see for example, Tate 1876, in Scott 1879-1920).

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In 1869 a clash between converts of Protestant and Catholic missionaries resulted in a disagreement concerning who should be considered "chief" of a newly-established reserve (among the Mainland Halkomelem), and thus, who should receive the official plan. Before the Indians (and the missionaries) came to blows, a meeting was held at which time it was recognized that the men initially believed to be chiefs were in fact "second in command and the names of the hereditary chiefs" were duly inserted on the maps (Kennedy 1994a). The example serves to illustrate that although outside forces had an influence on leadership at this time, traditional values continued to be acknowledged foremost, and when "imposters" claimed a particular status that was not accepted by the larger community, such claims could fail.

## 2.3 Property

Personal property included one's own canoes, weapons, implements, and slaves; the family as a whole owned the highly-valued stock of names and ceremonial prerogatives, including songs and dances, in addition to private advice and knowledge such as magical formulae. These were inheritable possessions. Ownership of land and resources, however, was conceptually different. As anthropologist Kew explained to the court with respect to the Musqueam:[41]

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

Duff (1952:77) is more explicit; he writes that "exclusive tribal or village ownership of resource areas was practically unknown to the Upper Stalo," adding that the "tribe" and the "village" themselves were poorly defined. The prevailing ethos, his Native consultants tell us, is that "anything to eat is for everyone" (Duff 1952:77). Barnett (1955:252) suggested that villagers were free to roam, providing they did not interfere with others.

Such comments do not, however, negate a sense of tribal territory. The social integration of clusters of villages sharing a name followed geographical lines and, occasionally, linguistic lines. Hence, winter village sites were situated within an area where people obtained large portions of their food and materials, and which they

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41 *Guerin v. Regina*, Federal Court of Canada, Exhibit 91, No. T-4656-75.

identified using names in their own language. A group's territory is commonly identified by applying the suffix /*-uɬ*/ meaning 'of or belonging to,' to the term used for self-designation, such as in the term used to refer to Squamish territory, /*sqx̣ʷúʔmɨšʔúɬ*/.[42] One's territory is also the landscape imbued with oral tradition, stamped with reminders of a time when the world was a much more awesome place. Ownership was expressed individually as the right to use resources in a multitude of areas, and was independent of proprietary feelings for one's tribal territory.

Descriptions of subsistence activities suggest that food could be procured at a minimal distance from one's home village, apart from the specific resources that were found either in highly-localized and productive small clumps, such as specific cranberry bogs, or were available in large numbers at temporally-restricted times, such as the Fraser River salmon runs.

The extent to which notions of resource ownership prevailed, varied throughout Central Coast Salish society.[43] Although the Sardis Halkomelem regarded hunting grounds as common to all who wished to use them (Jenness 1934-1936b:17), the neighbouring Chilliwack held an explicit perception of hunting territory, aggressively expelling the adjacent Pilalt from territory they considered their own (Hill-Tout 1903:6; Duff 1952:77). The Nooksack also expressed a sense of outrage when

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This same suffix is used to designate a smaller group of people being identified with a particular river, such as /*sqʷaʔəńƛ̓íɬəɬ stáʔlʔw*/ meaning 'River of the Kwantlen' (Suttles 1955:17).

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A discussion of the variation in concepts of ownership and territory on the Northwest Coast has been prepared by Richardson (1982).

Thompson (Interior Salish) hunters were found poaching mountain goat in Nooksack territory (Coleman 1869, cited in Amoss 1972:11), but apparently felt no encroachment when Lummi (Northern Straits) hunters were present (Stern 1934:50).[44] Resources in other Upper Stalo areas, Duff (1952:77) writes, were used freely by all nearby groups. He does, however, report that salmon dip-net stations were owned nominally by heads of families, under whose leadership drying racks were built and maintained. The dip-net, itself, was owned by the fishing station owner, but it was left at the water's edge for others to use at will.

In historic times, as reported in the Fort Langley journal (Macmillan and McDonald 1827-1830), the fishery at Yale was visited by hundreds of canoeloads of Central Coast Salish who came to fish.[45] Duff attributes their use of the fishery to "the web of kinship," noting that in more recent times the nominal owners have scattered through intermarriage, but that traditionally these "outsiders" may have come "as relatives, privileged guests, or claimants on less desirable stations" (Duff 1952:78).

The temporal dichotomy suggested by Duff may be spurious, however, inasmuch as both the so-called recent and traditional practises are rooted in kinship. There is no insinuation that these Yale owners received tribute, as Hill-Tout (1904:316) suggests was a requirement in exchange for use of the Chehalis fisheries by other tribes. Considering the lack of central authority that Hill-Tout (1904:317) contends set

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Smith (1950:337), however, stated that she found no evidence of the ownership of hunting territories among the Nooksack.

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This practice was unknown to Duff's Native consultants interviewed in 1949-1950.

the Chehalis people apart as "more democratic. . .than the average Salish tribes," Hill-Tout's interpretation appears doubtful.

Among the Katzie, streams where salmon weirs were constructed or where dip-nets were used, were the joint property "of several families," and the use by others required first seeking permission from the head men, a request that would not be denied (Suttles 1955:22). Permission was also said to be required of outsiders who wished to gather cranberries and dig wapato in Katzie territory, some of which were tribally-owned and others of which belonged to a particular family. A young man was instructed to watch the ripening of the fruit and to ensure that visitors did not pick the berries while still green. Although tribute was not expected, Suttles (1955:27) hypothesizes that "identification with a rich cranberry bog was its own reward in that it permitted the owners to play the role of hosts." By 1870, the gathering of cranberries from the lower Fraser bogs for sale to the Whites at New Westminster was such a thriving industry that twenty-one chiefs representing Coast Salish people from Sechelt to Yale--all of whom had an interest in the cranberry bogs--petitioned the Colonial government to have the bogs reserved for their exclusive use (Holbrook 1870).

The Nooksack are said to have divided into family-owned plots a particular prairie where "Indian carrot" [likely *Lomatium utriculatum*, see Turner 1975:108] grew in abundance. Trespass upon another family's area, apparently, resulted in "big fights" (Smith 1950:337).

The non-exclusive use of the Fraser River salmon fisheries is not the only instance of tribes using resources beyond what was considered their tribal territory. For

example, the Clallam *en masse* are reputed to have fished salmon annually in Sooke Harbour and Becher Bay (Gunther 1927:195); the Nooksack fished and dug clams as far south as Chuckanut Bay (Amoss 1972:9), where they were in the company of the Lummi and Samish (Suttles 1951:67); and the Saanich, Lummi, Semiahmoo and Tsawwassen all converged upon Point Roberts during the sockeye season (Barnett 1955:20; Bouchard and Kennedy 1991:147).[46] It is unlikely that this practise developed as a post-contact phenomenon, as the non-exclusive use of resources was observed by the Spanish explorer Quimper in 1790, while sailing within the territory of the Northern Straits:[47]

> They are lazy and therefore do not make a practice of fishing or hunting, maintaining themselves entirely on seeds while they last. The country is so prolific in these that the Indians from outside the strait come here in great canoes to provide themselves with them. Together with fish they serve as a general source of food for one and all (Wagner 1933:130).[48]

The evidence concerning resource ownership is contradictory. With few exceptions, Barnett (1955:252) found his Musqueam, Saanich, and Island Halkomelem consultants unaware of family-owned resource harvesting areas. Nor could Hill-Tout (1900:491) find evidence among the Squamish "that any family or village had exclusive

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46 A discussion of seasonal aggregates can be found in Mitchell (1983).

47 It is possible that non-Straits people were obtaining these foods through trade and not personal harvesting.

48 Suttles (1989:256) submits that the explorers' use of the term "seeds" to refer to the canoe loads of food obtained by the Indians of the region might be meant as a generic term for vegetable foods. He raises the possibility that the time of Quimper's visit (late June to mid-July) was "a bit late for bulbs." Turner (1975:79), however, reports the harvesting of *Camassia quamash* and *C. leichtlinii* from May to August, providing support for the identity of Quimper's seeds as "camas."

rights over fishing, hunting, or berry and root grounds." Hill-Tout (1907a:129-130) writes, however, that the distinguishing feature of the Northern Straits people, as opposed to the Island Halkomelem, "is that the first have separate and exclusive fishing, hunting, root and berry grounds." Hill-Tout does not offer any information on what defined the unit of exclusivity.

Data concerning ownership of resources among the Island Halkomelem appear to be resource-specific. Jenness (1934-1936b:170, 173) claims that the Cowichan tribe held a hunting territory in common, but that each village constructed and maintained its own fish weir, while each family visited its own fern-root and camas digging area. Nanaimo families also held their own camas and fern root beds, but the salmon weir on the Nanaimo River was said to be owned by the headman of the highest-ranking local group (Barnett 1935-1936:1:67, 117). Specific exclusive fishing rights at one particular location were said to be held by the Nanaimo and Nanoose, collectively (Boas 1887b:132-133).

Among the Northern Straits, Stern (1934:43, 47) considered the Lummi's annual use of camas beds to be customary, but not exclusive, although he did note that some clam beds were owned and tended by removing the rocks to facilitate digging. Suttles (1951:60-61) recorded ownership of camas beds among the Samish and Saanich, but not among the Songhees, who, Suttles reports, were joined by the Samish to dig these bulbs. He confirmed the private possession of certain clam beds by Lummi and Samish families, and possibly by the Semiahmoo as well. In post-settlement times, Suttles (1951:68) notes, members of other tribes joined the original owners at these

productive clamming areas.

Boas (1890:568) states that among the Northern Straits "every gens [local group] has its own fishing ground. The chief of the gens will invite a number of families to help him catch salmon." It is probable that the fishing grounds referred to by Boas are the sites used annually for reef-netting, a type of fishing technology unique to Northern Straits Salish which appears to have been owned by individuals, but operated by a hired crew who shared in the proceeds.[49]

*Contra* Barnett (1955:252), Suttles found evidence of sturgeon-traps (Suttles 1960:300) and salmon traps (Suttles 1984:14) belonging to extended families among the Musqueam. The catch was taken freely by family members, but all others required permission from those who built the traps (Suttles 1960:300). Gunther (1927:199) also reports that salmon traps were owned by "the chief of the village, who tends it at night, leaving it during the day-time for his poor relatives who have no traps of their own." It is unclear whether the property was in the equipment or in the site at which it was used. Although deer-nets and deer-pits were owned property, and their operation was generally directed by the owner of such equipment, there is no indication that the sites where they were used constituted owned property. Likewise, aerial duck-nets and the poles on which to hang them were owned by families (Suttles 1951:72), or a "rich man" (Barnett 1935-1936:1:64), although the sites on which they were erected were used by several tribes in common (Suttles 1951:72). One of Suttles' (1951:72) Saanich

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[49] A comprehensive discussion of reef-netting and the question of ownership can be found in Easton (1985).

consultants suggested that the locations themselves might have been private property in former times, and subsequently Suttles (1990a:459) has described such sites as being individually owned.

## 2.4 Contemporary Views on Central Coast Salish Social Organization

Coast Salish social organization continues to fascinate and perplex. Suttles (1990b:12) commented recently that while a great deal of attention has been paid to delineating culture areas, less notice has been given to the social networks or regional social systems in which the people participated. His own works (Suttles 1960, 1963, 1987a, 1987d) and that of a few colleagues are notable exceptions. Hajda (1984), working with the journals of early explorers and fur traders, mapped a Greater Lower Columbia region in which politically-independent villages were linked despite linguistic, cultural and ecological diversity.

Elmendorf (1960:298-305) demonstrated among the Southern Coast Salish how the Twana elite had ties of intermarriage and participated in intervillage activities with speakers of three other Coast Salish languages, as well as a non-Salishan language. The social field involved a series of ceremonialized status-asserting activities. Village exogamy, in Elmendorf's view, was a functional prerequisite to other intercommunity activities.

Further north, Suttles (1951) examined marriage patterns in the Samish (Northern Straits) village on Guemes Island. More recently he discussed the seemingly-paradoxical situation of "cultural diversity within the Coast Salish continuum" (Suttles

1987d). Relying substantially on Elmendorf's Twana data, Suttles offers a comparison with findings evidenced from his own Musqueam data, and presents the following conclusions, herein abbreviated in point form:

1. while linguistic diversity is a characteristic of Coast Salish, and each language was spoken by one or more "tribes," a tribe being a cluster of villages or even a single village with a distinctive name, there is no clear evidence for social, political or cultural boundaries;

2. linguistic maps do not reflect the vagaries of boundaries; for example, they do not reflect overlapping or interlocking tribal territories, or the shifting of locations of speech communities brought about through marriage and the gradual substitution of one language for another;

3. the ratio of people to resources (i.e., the abundance of resources, exchange of resources and the movement of people in consequence of the extent and exchange of resources) was dealt with in the context of social networks (Suttles 1987d:243, 247-248).

Realization that a regional model might be more culturally-appropriate for examining social interaction on the Northwest Coast has been championed by the above-noted studies, particularly that of Suttles (1987d:249) who observed that ethnology and ethnohistory have been "too long distracted by tribal and linguistic identities." He tells us also that the network of intermarriage is neither recent nor restricted to the elite. These statements present testable hypotheses. Yet few studies have attempted to quantify Coast Salish intergroup ties, with the notable exception of Allen's (1976) brief and limited examination of tribal exogamy among the Northern Coast Salish, Hawthorn and colleagues' (1958) study of contemporary relations, and

statements by Kew (1970) concerning post-1900 rates of Musqueam intermarriage. The following chapters are one small step in that direction.

# Chapter III

## HYPOTHESES, DATA AND PROCEDURES

This present study is undertaken with tremendous admiration for those previous generations of scholars who sat patiently, hour after hour, day after day with Coast Salish elders (at a time when they were still called "old people") and, in the words of one such researcher, "collected place names, genealogies, and information about who went where and did what" (Suttles 1987:xiii).

It is substantially these same data that we now mine for cultural fragments on which to build aboriginal land claims, putting forward and rebutting arguments in a forum where anthropology and litigation share little understanding. We should have learned from the U.S. Claims Court that our anthropological accounts of social practices are not necessarily the legal facts sought as evidence by the courts. We have our rules; they have theirs. As discussed recently by Kew (1993), anthropologists seldom reconcile debates with finality; models come and go. This does not mean that anthropologists are less interested in "truth" than lawyers, or that our discipline is intolerably imprecise. But we are open to variant interpretations of the same data. At the same time, we must be ready to acknowledge that some models lose their lustre as other guiding lights emerge.

Ironically, as *Regina v. Van der Peet* so aptly demonstrated, much of the debate among litigation anthropologists concerned with Coast Salish society has been spent on pigeon-holing the Native peoples of the area into classificatory systems reflecting

outdated models. With a few exceptions, there has been a curious absence of analysis regarding the applicability of the Service model and other such models to determine just how well they fit.[50]

Some models, however, have endured. They have endured because they exhibit an inherent kernel of correctness; they simply "feel" right. Yet this somatic measure should not excuse them from being tested and refined. The Coast Salish social network theory as put forward by Suttles and Elmendorf is one such model that has endured but has not been tested.

This chapter presents methods used in the testing of the social network model. It is divided into 3 sections: 1) the hypotheses emanating from statements in the ethnographic literature; 2) a discussion of the data used to test these hypotheses; and 3) the procedures used to apply the data to the hypotheses.

## 3.1 Hypotheses

Sufficient primary data exist to begin clarifying the concluding statements outlined in section 2.4 and the dilemmas encountered in addressing them. My procedure is to quantify and to test a few of the assumptions that have been made in the ethnographic literature concerning Central Coast Salish village exogamy and the maintenance of the social network. In the section that follows, I present statements

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Exceptions include Burley's (1983, 1989) and Tollefson's (1987, 1989) identification of "chiefdoms" on the Northwest Coast, as well as Mitchell's (1983b) examination of "tribes" among the Tsimshian. Additionally, a more contemporary view of the model of evolutionary change of human societies that reaches beyond the Service classification is provided by Johnson and Earle (1987).

from the anthropological literature, specifically those from the publications of Barnett (1955), Elmendorf (1960, 1971) and Suttles (1951, 1958, 1960, 1968, 1987a), but also from those of their colleagues, and propose for each statement, or series of statements, a testable hypothesis.

### 3.1.1 Hypotheses One and Two

Barnett reported in his summary article on the Coast Salish:

> Residence, with few exceptions, was patrilocal, which brought it about that a man and his brothers, with their extended families in the male line, lived under one roof (Barnett 1938:129).

In 1951, Suttles stated with respect to Northern Straits:

> The couple usually lived in the household of the husband's family. . .My rough guess is that residence was with the husband's people in three out of four cases (Suttles 1951:290).

In 1958, Suttles said:

> Kinship was reckoned bilaterally but residence was patrilocal, so membership in such a lineage was usually through the male line (Suttles 1958:502).

When Suttles republished his 1958 article in a collection of his papers (Suttles 1987a), he proposed the following correction:

> "Patrilocal" now seems misleading if not plain wrong, since it may imply a clearly formulated rule that a couple should live with the husband's family, whereas the (Central) Coast Salish asserted that a couple was free to live with either family. *In practice perhaps two-thirds (the data have not been properly pulled together) of all couples did live with the husband's family*, but those who lived with the wife's family did not suffer any loss of status because of it (Suttles 1987a:14; emphasis added).

In 1968, Suttles reported:

> The central coast Salish social organization was seemingly looser than that of the Chinook. Village exogamy was preferred but residence was ambilocal so neither the household not the village formed any kind of definable kin group (Suttles 1968:65).

Elmendorf (1971:359) stated:

> Characteristically, wives and mothers in the non-slave portions of households were married in from other villages, which might not all belong to the same linguistic group.

Hence, Barnett, Elmendorf and Suttles have all proposed that for the non-slave population, village exogamy was the norm and patrilocal residency was preferred. Suttles (1951:290) initially suggested that patrilocality was practised in three out of four marriages; he later revised his estimate to two out of three (Suttles 1987a:14). The statements therefore present two closely-related hypotheses.

*Hypothesis One:*

*Most marriages are village exogamous.*

*Hypothesis Two:*

*Most intervillage marriages result in patrilocal residence.*

### 3.1.2 Hypothesis Three

Three statements bear on what will be my third hypothesis:

> People of high rank want their sons and daughters to marry outside of the tribe [Clallam] on account of the political ties that are established in this way (Gunther 1927:241).

> Kinship connections within the social field were fundamental to high-ranking status. . .High status, and hence this element of ranking in the free class, was a function of the social field activity system (Elmendorf 1971:370) .

> For the upper class the most proper and usual sort of marriage was one arranged between families of similar social standing in different communities (Suttles 1960:297).

Each of the above statements implies that men of the upper class seek brides beyond the village and do so to a greater extent than those of lesser status. To test such a statement requires the assumption that those men who have been identified as "chiefs" or "headmen" or "leaders" in the historical and ethnographic record were of higher status than others. Hence, hypothesis three:

> *Men regarded as "leaders" will have a greater frequency of obtaining wives from beyond their village or "tribal" group than those not identified as leaders.*

### 3.1.3 Hypothesis Four

Suttles (1951:292-93) stated:

> Since marriages with another community meant safety from that quarter, it was an advantage to one's own community to have ties in all directions.

This statement suggests that there was less hostility between groups whose

relationships were based on marriage alliances. Therefore, there should be a higher frequency of marriage with groups who were "friends" than with those who were regarded as enemies. Hence, hypothesis four:

> *The incidence of intergroup marriage will be higher with groups who are regarded as "friends" than with groups who are regarded as "enemies."*

### 3.1.4 Hypothesis Five

Suttles (1951:292-93) stated:

> It may be that there was a tendency for the different households that made up a community to parcel out the neighbouring communities among them, so that in a given community A might be allied with groups to the east and south, house B with groups to the west, and house C with groups to the north, thus creating among them a balanced system of foreign relations.

Suttles (1988) subsequently reiterated this idea:

> Any one family in a village, was not likely to have ties with all surrounding villages, but the several families within a village could have links with all, giving the village as a whole the security that a single family could not have.

Hence, hypothesis five:

> *In a village containing two or more households, there will be a high incidence of marriage alliances being formed among that village and two or more different villages.*

## 3.2 The Data

### 3.2.1 Reliability and Validity

The most accessible and reliable data concerning the flow of people throughout a network are marriage and baptismal records, augmented with historical censuses compiled by administrators, enumerators and the Native people themselves. These ethnohistorical data can then be complemented with ethnographic accounts of cultural practises contemporaneous with the records, thereby improving the quality of both classes of data. Such an approach was illustrated by Moore and Campbell (1989) in their study of Cheyenne demography. In that work, the question of bias was front and centre as the authors confronted the strongly articulated caveats regarding aboriginal population data, weighed the evidence, and emerged from the mire promoting a blended methodology. This enriched perspective advised the use of historical data together with an understanding of the ethnohistory of the people in question. Distortions observed in censuses, in the authors' view, "are not random or arbitrary, but are structured, regular, discoverable, and correctable" (Moore and Campbell 1989:19).

Data employed in testing hypotheses must have a high confidence level for the results to be valid. The distortions, for them to be corrected, must first be found. Meister (1980) addressed this question of reliability of ethnohistorical data in his study of Pima and Maricopa demography, and offered some tips on an evaluation procedure applicable to censuses.

It became obvious to Meister that total population figures for North American

aborigines can not be accepted at face value. I share this view. Some censuses of Central Coast Salish, such as the 1845 Warre and Vavasour census, report to be "the nearest approach to accuracy" and "from the best obtainable information" (Martin 1848:80). A case in point is provided by Yale's 1838-39 census of the Fort Langley district. After tabulating the numbers of "tribal" populations distinguishing men, wives, sons, daughters, and followers, Yale tells us that the figures are the best that are ascertainable:

> The extremely superstitious and deceitful character of the Natives here renders it difficult to obtain authentic information from them. Indeed, it is hard to believe anything they say, but this account of their numbers would seem more correct than their boasted oral computation which would exceed it two fold (Yale 1838-39).

Douglas (1839), on the other hand, considered this census to be a model of careful collection and attention to detail. A second copy of this particular census, the original of which is in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, can be found in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, California. This second version was subsequently transcribed, with errors, and placed in the British Columbia Archives and Records Service in Victoria. Using the total population figures from this latter transcribed version would further compound the deficiencies of the enumeration.

Meister (1989:154) cautions that as many censuses as possible should be collected so that each total population can be put in the context of all others. He advises that individual names should be counted rather than relying upon total populations tallied by someone else. And, of course, a census is superior to an estimate. Meister notes also that in most cases one may assume an under-enumeration, unless the Native

people have accrued some benefit by being counted. A technique offered by Meister to evaluate a series of population figures for rough accuracy is to compare the trend with information gleaned from qualitative data, such as Indian Agents' reports, providing accounts of epidemics, starvation, catastrophes, or of thriving populations (Meister 1980:155-57).

Where balanced sex ratios are not evident, several factors may be responsible: among them, female infanticide, high maternal mortality, high male mortality due to warfare or accident, or random variation. Meister (1980:158-159) presents a methodology for assessing the probability of chance occurrence of a sex ratio for a given population. He also reviews ways to provide a summary measure of age mis-statement (Meister 1980:161-166).

### 3.2.2 The Central Coast Salish Database

Defining the population to be tested presents a seemingly-paradoxical dilemma: on the one hand the hypotheses are designed to test the operation of a network that in theory has no bounds; on the other hand, arbitrary boundaries must be set to identify a discrete project, manageable both in terms of data and effort. The "Central" division of Coast Salish has been selected because of the availability of primary data that has been compiled over the past twelve years during my ongoing ethnographic research undertaken on behalf of the Squamish Nation[51].

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51 Formerly known as the Squamish Indian Band.

My own interest in the social network began in 1972 when for the first time I attended an ancestral name-giving ceremony in the Squamish dancehouse on the Capilano Indian Reserve in North Vancouver and heard people from throughout Coast Salish society being addressed with kin terms. A series of speakers reminded the assembled gathering of their relationships to one another and admonished all those present to remember their history, a common plait that I was to hear repeatedly over the next two decades.

Once I realized the extent and richness of the documentary genealogical data available, resplendent with ancestral names and village affiliation, I anticipated a very practical use could be made of a database that would assist Native people to reconstruct this aspect of their history. The Squamish, concerned as they were and are both with membership eligibility and with the retention of ancestral names, shared my vision. Hence, the computerized database used in the analysis for this present study was prepared initially at their request and is used with their permission. This database was subsequently expanded to include a broader geographical area.

Census data of the type discussed by Moore and Campbell (1989) and Meister (1980) include the following for the Central Coast Salish: the 1838-39 Yale census; the 1876-77 Blenkinsop census prepared for the Joint Indian Reserve Commission; and the 1881, 1891 and 1901 Canada Censuses. The Yale (1838-39) census and Blenkinsop (1876-77) censuses are limited by the exclusion of female names, although the population totals by sex are provided. Additionally, Yale's census provides a count of "followers."

American census data relating to the Central Coast Salish include the 1880 U.S. Census and the various Indian Agency Censuses, both of which are contained within Record Group 75 (Indian Affairs), held by the U.S. National Archives, Seattle Branch. Of particular help for the Nooksack was a series of affidavits prepared by the Nooksack people themselves in 1917 in an effort to receive land allotments. These include extensive accounts of each family, providing for every individual, name, sex, blood quantum, relationship to one another and collateral families, and ancestry of head of family and spouse, for an ascending generation. Special Agent Roblin who received the information then made cross references to other families and tribes.

The transcription quality for the Native names contained in these censuses varies considerably; Blenkinsop's transcriptions are the most linguistically accurate and Yale's the least. The transcriptions in the Canada Censuses (1881, 1891, 1901) are generally of poor quality, as enumerators had little experience with indigenous languages and little facility for their complex phonologies. By 1901, however, aboriginal people are identified predominantly by English names. In the Canada Censuses, enumerators used both the household and the family as social units, with the relationship of each person to the head of household indicated. Households were grouped into villages and, occasionally "tribes."

Census data were checked for demographic trends in the total population, for the general population parameters and for possible sources of error. Checking for error relating to the age of individuals noted in the Canada and United States federal censuses was required as these are often the basis for estimating the age of those individuals not

baptized and consequently not recorded in church registers, where age data is generally more precise.

Two methodological tools have been used to determine the presence of age-heaping in the census data.[52] These are the Whipple's Index and Myers' Index. The "Whipple's Index" is calculated by summing the number of individuals at ages 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, 55, and 60, multiplying the total by five, dividing the result by the number of individuals ages 23 to 62 inclusive, and multiplying by 100. Where the enumerator showed no preference for ages ending in zero or five, the index will equal 100. A maximum score of 500 reveals that only ages ending in zero and five will appear in the census.

The results obtained from applying the Whipple Index to the census data used in compiling the database confirmed my suspicions regarding the enumerators' guess work methodology. An extreme example is provided by the 1881 census of Musqueam. Using the Whipple index, the ages of Musqueam residents provided a whopping score of 388, meaning that the census-taker's estimates were heaped substantially at ages ending in zero and five. Females' ages (index 402) were heaped even greater than those of males (index 375).[53]

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52 "Age-heaping" is the patterned mis-reporting of age estimation in raw census data. The usual form of age-heaping is the over-estimation of ages ending in zero and five, often in combination with "heaping" on or avoidance of socially-important ages, such as the age of maturity or retirement (Howell 1979:24).

53 For purposes of comparison, the results of Whipple's Index computation for the 1901 Bengal census was 277.3 for males and 292.3 for females. The United States 1880 census was 144.8 (United Nations 1955:41).

A more comprehensive measure of age mis-statement is provided by the so-called Myers' Index (also known as Myers' Blended Method). The advantage of this method over the Whipple Index procedure is that it produces values of deviation from expected frequency of occurrence for all terminal age digits, not just zero and five, in addition to a summary index of overall age mis-statement.[54] The primary assumption of the measure is that in populations with accurate age statement, very near 10% of the blended population will be found at each terminal age digit. Hence, applying the Myers' Index to the same 1881 Musqueam census, a more precise determination of error can be ascertained, as illustrated in Table 10 found in Appendix 1. The summary index figure of 42.23[55] is derived by halving the sum of the deviations. The theoretical range of Myers' Index is from 0, representing no heaping, to 90, which would result from reporting the last digit of all ages as the same value, such as zero (Shyrock and Siegel 1971:207).[56]

The practical implication of the confirmation of age-heaping is that ages provided in censuses like the 1881 Musqueam enumeration can not be relied upon for precise calculation of age. Consequently, the criterion of age should be weighed less

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A more complete description of the methodology used in calculating the Myers' Index can be found in Meister (1989), Shyrock and Siegel (1971), and United Nations (1955). These discussions are based on the original article by Myers (1940).

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For comparison, the 1880 United States census had a summary index of 10.4. Subsequently, there was a gradual lessening of age-heaping; by 1960, a 25-percent sample of the American national census revealed an index of .08. The 1901 Bengal census of males had a Myers' Index of 31.3 (United Nations 1955:42-43).

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I have adopted Shyrock and Siegel's (1971) practice of halving the sum of the deviations to acquire the summary index figure between zero and 90. *Methods Manual II* (United Nations 1955) prefers expressing the index sum in a range of zero to 180, which does not require halving the sum of the deviations.

than the criteria of similarity of name or association with affines when used in collaboration with other data sources. Fortunately, the trend in Canadian census-taking was improvement over time. By 1901, for example, a test of the presence of age-heaping in the Musqueam census reveals a Whipple Index of 230 and, for the male Musqueam population, a Myers' Index of 38.51, thereby suggesting a slightly greater level of confidence can be attributed to age data contained in that enumeration than age-data presented in the earlier census (see Appendix 1, Table 11).

The more comprehensive nature of the Myers' Index is illustrated by an analysis of age-heaping in the 1888 census of the Lummi Reservation compiled by the United States Indian Agent (see Appendix 1, Table 12). The Whipple Index suggested that there was no age-heaping at terminal digits of zero and 5, and indeed these digits may have been under-represented. Only the Myers' Index revealed the extent of the inherent problem, the census-taker's preference for one and four as terminal digits.

A more precise record of individuals and their age, that is, the identity of their natal village and the subsequent villages in which they resided, is provided by baptismal, confirmation and marriage records. Church registers compiled by Catholic and Protestant denominations begin in the 1860s yet reflect data that extend the genealogical record back to the late 1700s. The bias of these records is that they pertain only to those people converting or adhering to a Christian faith. Men practising polygyny are excluded from marriage records, although the priests did not banish their "innocent" children to the same dark fate, and thus the baptisms of the offspring of "pagans" were duly recorded. Used together with the census data, and with statistics

providing the ratio of Christians to "pagans," a presumption with a high degree of validity can be made that most souls have been counted.

The strength of the church records is in the accuracy that can be attributed to the data they contain. The information was given by respondents at major life events. Each had an opportunity to state his or her ancestral Native name or that of their child, their English name (if they had one), and their age and village. Additionally, a "tribal" affiliation is often given. Multiple baptisms provide collateral information. Consequently, these data provide the best opportunities for nominal linkage across generations. To check for consistency in the identification of specific individuals, and their link to Ego, variant transcriptions of personal names can be noted. Table 2 provides examples of such baptismal and marriage data; these data have been translated from the original French, retaining the original transcription of baptismal and ancestral names, as well as village and tribal names.

Table 2. Examples of baptismal and marriage records illustrating variance in transcriptions of Native ancestral names, linkage with antecedent and collateral generations, and identification of natal village.

| |
|---|
| At New Westminster: 11th June 1865, baptism of Louis, 12 months, son of Tsièl-shin and Tetemât. |
| At New Westminster: 23rd February 1868, baptism of Marie, age 4 months, daughter of Sialchen from Tsiakremish and his woman Tetemât from Skromish. |
| 10th January 1869. Thomas (Tom) Chialshen, 24 years old, Indian of Tsiakremish, son of Iamas, marries Josephine Tetemat, Skeromish, born Meskoyem, 20 years old, daughter of Kéapelanou. |
| At Burrard Inlet: 27th April 1873, baptism of Jean-Baptist, 6 days, son of Tom Tsielechen and Josephine Tetemate. |

I have found, from my experience reconstructing aboriginal names from church records, that transcriptions made by multilingual Catholic priests are better than those

of English-speaking Protestants. The Catholic priests offered a greater consistency in their use of English phonemes and diacritics for unusual Native phonemes. Furthermore, Catholics retained the use of Native ancestral names, often compounding them with French or English names, whereas Protestants more frequently baptized converts with single names, particularly biblical names ("Mary" and "Joseph" being the most common).

Variant transcriptions of Native ancestral names can be matched and reconstructed once the range of corresponding phonemes has been determined. For example, the uvular plosive [stop] /*q*/, the labialized uvular plosive [stop] /$q^w$/, the uvular fricative /*χ*/, and the labialized uvular fricative /$χ^w$/ are not distinguishable sounds in English or French, and consequently were transcribed by the same priests as "r" or a combination of "k" and "r." Nor are the glottalized sounds distinguished. Thus, the Squamish ancestral name /*səlqəwánəx*$^w$/ was identified on various occasions as "Selkroua-nou," "Sokavanou," and "Selkreivanou," among other transcriptions.

Genealogies contained in the fieldnotes of ethnographers also form an important cross-check of documentary sources. Yet the relative accuracy of field genealogies and censuses has been investigated by Morrill and Dyke (1980), who concluded that while both types of genealogies contain inaccuracies, the historical record is more reliable. Native consultants tend to identify fewer relatives than the records, particularly of female ancestors, and the proportion of persons missing increases as we move back into time. Thus, the Morrill and Dyke (1980:5) study illustrates important implications for

the reliability of Native consultant-generated data. Especially common among contemporary Central Coast Salish people is the claim of two families' common ancestry at an unnamed great-grandparent level, or a linkage through an "aunty" whose lineal connection is no longer known. Such lineal truncation is customary. Still, I have found that significant clarification can be offered by living Native consultants, particularly concerning adoptions and fostering of children.

## 3.3 Procedures

The database was compiled using *ROOTS* software, a dedicated genealogical program with extensive application among social historians and medical researchers, as well as family genealogists. Initially, the database had been compiled on paper, but this procedure soon became unmanageable as more data were obtained.

At the time of the inception of the Central Coast Salish computer database (1983), the *ROOTS* program was reputed to be the best available. Several updates have improved the program over the years, including adapting the software to manipulate data relating to an infinite number of individuals. Still, it lacks certain functions appropriate to demographic and anthropological analysis, such as computing a statistical accounting of pedigree. It does, however, permit extensive footnoting to keep track of documentary sources and variant transcriptions of names or discrepant dates. Moreover, *ROOTS* has built in redundancy checks to ensure there are no impossible date sequences, including marriages of people the program considers too young. On those occasions when the database is presented with a 12-year old bride, the program

permits her to be added once an affirmative response is given to the contemporary-minded query "are you sure?" In general, *ROOTS* has been an adequate data management tool, but lacks sufficient sophistication for statistical computations concerning a whole population. Consequently, I have had to spend an inordinate amount of time printing out genealogical charts and coding the sheets by hand.

Linkage of individuals in the database was achieved by comparing the names and composition of families, rather than individuals. Such an approach helped to distinguish different individuals holding similar names. It was assumed that a higher degree of accuracy would emerge using the following linkage criteria: 1) alternative transcriptions of names; 2) association with specific named individuals; and 3) an approximate number, range and identification of children within a family structure. This was also the procedure employed by Moore and Campbell (1989:21) in their independent study.

There remain in the early censuses individuals who can not be identified or linked with a descending generation; obviously, entire family lines have died out. On the other hand, for some groups such as the Squamish, there is complete linkage from contemporary members to their lineal ancestors living at a time prior to the mid-1800s.

Although birth and baptismal records are common, there are few death records available for the 1800s. Death can be assumed in those cases when a marriage identifies one of the parties as either a widow or widower, and presumed when an individual has been dropped from subsequent censuses.

### 3.3.1 Nature of the Samples

The computerized genealogical database consists of approximately 8,000 individuals[57] and spans the time period from the late 1700s to 1994. The population used for the present study, however, is restricted to those people born prior to 1900. The sample was stratified into three time periods: 1) individuals born prior to 1851; 2) individuals born between 1851 and 1876; and 3) individuals born between 1877 and 1900. The first of these periods corresponds to the first delineated by Allen (1976) for his study comparing riverine (Nooksack) and littoral (Lummi) marriages.[58] Employing the same first temporal parameter as the Allen project does not, however, permit direct comparison with his results, as the units of analysis differ between the two studies. Allen examined "tribal" or regional (riverine vs. littoral) exogamy, while my study focuses on the village as the unit of analysis. The two projects' results can be compared only for rates of exogamy beyond the speech community.

Several steps were followed in compiling the samples for analysis. First, the computer was used to identify all men born within each of the three temporal strata. Either male or female-targeted runs could be employed in compiling the sample, inasmuch as the focal variable was "marriage;" however, the former was used due to the higher number of males than females identified in each time period. The sample

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57 The nucleus of the database is the mainland area of Central Coast Salish, particularly Squamish, Nooksack, Mainland Halkomelem and Lummi. Thus, 4 separate speech-communities are targeted.

58 Allen (1976) also included the periods 1851-1900 and 1901-1950. The latter period has been excluded from this present study.

size decreased significantly from the total population after the application of two criteria. First, the computer recognized only those men whose birth date (or approximate birth date) was provided, thereby excluding from the sample all those men who were possibly alive during the relevant time, but whose presence could not be confirmed with documentation.

Also excluded from the sample were all marriages which lacked the pertinent data for *both* spouses, i.e., date of birth and primary village affiliation. The latter criterion--village affiliation--was of particular importance as the unit of analysis I chose was the *village*. Such stringent requirements eliminated from the sample the many cases of, for example:

> Joe [ancestral name], born September 2nd, 1854, a Squamish Indian, marries on February 2nd, 1875, Mary [ancestral name], born May 1860, a Squamish Indian.

This example's deficiency--the lack of documented village affiliation--would void its use in testing the hypotheses. Incidences of the following, however, were retained for testing the first hypothesis, for despite the lack of precise village affiliation, it was established that two different villages were involved:

> At the Squamish River, Joe [ancestral name], born September 2nd, 1854, a Squamish Indian, marries on February 2nd, 1875, Mary [ancestral name], born May 1860, a Sechelt Indian of Tlalt.

The elimination of those data that did not meet the full criteria for inclusion was personally a most devitalizing task, especially considering the sheer size and scope of the entire database. The final samples vary in size; a few do not comply with what historical demographers refer to as the "general rule" in demographic sampling:

> the sample should be large enough so that there are 100 or more units in each category of the major breakdowns and a minimum of 20 to 50 in the minor breakdowns (Sudman 1976, quoted in Willigan and Lynch 1982:199).

Coding for village and for type of post-nuptial residency was done simultaneously on work-sheets consisting of computer print-outs of each groom's summary data (name, birth and death dates, appearance on censuses, village and/or tribal affiliation). The population was then screened for alliances with incomplete data; these were excluded from the sample. Those remaining were then coded indicating the type of marriage (village exogamy or endogamy) and type of post-nuptial residence (patrilocal, matrilocal or neolocal). Where post-nuptial residence could not be determined, either from lack of data or obscure data, the particular case was excluded. Next, the results were tabulated, as presented in Chapter 4.

Data used for examining hypotheses four and five regarding intergroup hostility required the addition of qualitative data extracted from the ethnographic and historic record.

# Chapter IV

# RESULTS

The types of data used in examining the hypotheses together with an assessment of their validity and reliability have been discussed in the preceding chapter. In applying these data to the hypotheses, however, certain shortcomings became alarmingly apparent. The major problem encountered was one of incomplete data, a discovery that came unexpectedly considering the size of the database, at this point numbering 8,000 individuals. Each hypothesis being tested quantitatively demanded that the sample consist of cases providing *all* the essential information which in some instances comprised several types of information for each spouse. Hence, couple by couple, relationships had to be dropped from each sample as they were found to be deficient in some facet. The final samples used are of an acceptable size for purposes of historical demography but I had hoped and anticipated that they would be much larger. They are, nevertheless, based on what I believe are reliable data representative of three historical periods.

In retrospect, the three temporal divisions of the population (pre-1851, 1851-1876, 1877-1900) have been appropriate, considering both the results of the examination of the hypotheses and my personal knowledge of extraneous variables at work during the latter two time periods. The results of the quantification are not astonishing; there have been no surprises, only support and numbers for an aspect of a theory that has, until now, remained untested for several decades. What is remarkable

is that the data exist to enable this quantification to be undertaken.

In this chapter I present the results of my analysis of the hypotheses introduced in Chapter Three. Below each hypothesis is a short summary of the sampling methodology as well as a discussion of the results of analysis. In Chapter Five, these results are discussed within the framework of social networks, drawing upon the qualitative data presented in Chapters Two and Three. Throughout the following pages, endogamy and exogamy refer to marrying within or beyond the village unless otherwise indicated.

## 4.1 Testing of Hypothesis One

*Most marriages are village exogamous.*

The null hypothesis was that there is no difference in the frequency of types of exogamous and endogamous marriages; thus, each type would have equal value in a sample of marriages. The population was sampled for three time periods, and each sample examined to determine whether or not the initial assumption was acceptable. For all hypotheses, Chi-square was used to test the significance of each distribution. The data for the samples are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Rates of Exogamous and Endogamous Marriages for Three Samples.

| | Village Exogamy | Village Endogamy | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-1851 | 101 (89.4%) | 12 (10.6%) | 113 (100%) |
| 1851-1876 | 116 (82.3%) | 25 (17.7%) | 141 (100%) |
| 1877-1900 | 80 (78.5%) | 22 (21.5%) | 102 (100%) |

The null hypothesis was rejected. There was less than 1 chance in 100 that such distributions could have occurred by chance alone. Statements in the ethnographic literature concerning Central Coast Salish peoples' preference for village exogamy receive strong support from analysis of these samples. The decreased percentage of village exogamy for those individuals born 1877-1900, in my view, should not be seen as a change in marriage preference, as excluded from the sample were cases of race-exogamy, where either spouse was of non-Native ancestry. Such marriages can be viewed as effectively equivalent to those categorized as village exogamy.

## 4.2 Testing of Hypothesis Two

*Most intervillage marriages result in patrilocal residence.*

The null hypothesis was that there is no difference in the frequency of exogamous marriages and their cross-classification with three common forms of post-nuptial residency. The data were drawn from those used in testing hypothesis one. The number of marriages for the first two time periods were reduced, however, due to the data's obscurity concerning the form of post-nuptial residency of several cases which were then excluded.

The third sample is relatively small considering the total number of known marriage alliances for this time period. Relationships excluded from the sample consisted of those individuals for whom data were missing and, significantly, those individuals who were raised off-reserve or whose spouse was a non-Indian (an additional 17 cases). Retained in the sample were people of mixed ancestry who grew

up on an Indian Reserve. Although the descendants of many of those people excluded from the sample are now registered as members of an Indian Band or Nation, the non-Native community of origin of particular ancestors precluded some individuals' inclusion in the sample used for testing "village exogamy."

In the samples, neolocal-exogamy refers to the practice of a man marrying a woman from another village and establishing a home in yet a third settlement. The proportion of neolocal-endogamous marriages, that is, a couple of the same village marrying and moving to a new settlement, ranged from 1.7% of all marriages (1851-1876) to zero (1877-1900).

Table 4 compares the rates of exogamy and endogamy for each of the samples, while Table 5 presents the data cross-classifying exogamous marriage with types of post-nuptial residency for each of the three time periods.

Table 4. Total Number of Exogamous and Endogamous Marriages In Each Sample.

| | Village Exogamy | Village Endogamy | Total Marriages |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-1851 | 80 (87%) | 12 (13%) | 92 (100%) |
| 1856-1876 | 96 (79.3%) | 25 (21%) | 121 (100%) |
| 1877-1900 | 80 (78.5%) | 22 (21.5%) | 102 (100%) |

Table 5. Frequency of Village-Exogamous Marriage Cross-Classified with type of Post-Nuptial Residency for 3 Time Periods.

| | Patrilocality | Matrilocality | Neolocality | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-1851 Exogamous | 69 (86%) | 6 (7.5%) | 5 (6.5%) | 80 (100%) |
| 1851-1876 Exogamous | 68 (71%) | 6 (6%) | 22 (23%) | 96 (100%) |
| 1877-1900 Exogamous | 68 (85%) | 6 (7.5%) | 6 (7.5%) | 80 (100%) |

The null hypothesis that there is no difference in the frequency of types of marriages cross-classified with three forms of post nuptial residency has been decisively rejected for all three samples. The observed frequency of exogamous- patrilocal marriages has fluctuated from 75% of all exogamous marriages for the early time period of individuals born pre-1851, to 56% for individuals born 1851-1876, to 67% for individuals born 1877-1900. Since the Chi-square values indicate rejection of the null hypotheses at the .001 level of significance, I conclude that there is a statistically meaningful relationship between marriage type and post-nuptial residency.

In Suttles' (1951:290) study of Northern Straits Salish he estimated that "residence was with the husband's people in three out of four cases." Subsequently, he commented with respect to Central Coast Salish generally that "in practice perhaps two-thirds. . .of all couples did live with the husband's family" (Suttles 1987a:14). The earliest sample used in this present study--pre-1851--supports Suttles' initial estimate. This is higher than his subsequent estimate that the figure is more likely closer to two-thirds. In this same early time period, 13% of all marriages were endogamous.

The second sample quantifies the marriages of individuals born during a period characterized by a smallpox epidemic and by social disruption brought about by encroaching industrialization and by the establishment of Indian Reserves. Infant mortality was high in this period, although this lamentable calculation is yet to be disinterred from the database. Despite the numbers of people excluded from the sample for this period, due to death or to incomplete data, the information for this time span reflects the turbulent era. Village exogamy is still above 75% (96 of 121 marriages in the sample are exogamous), but only 68% of these marriages have patrilocal residency. During the same period, 23% of exogamous marriages (18% of the entire sample) establish neolocal residency, a rise from 6.5% in the previous time period. Factors such as migration and coalescence of formerly-vital villages now reduced by disease and circumstance account for this increase.[59] The 1856-1876 sample also exhibits an increase in village endogamy from 13% to 21%. As aggregated villages became larger during this period, those men who so desired could find a bride residing in their own village.

The later sample (1877-1900), representative of the time immediately after the establishment of Indian Reserves, reveals patrilocality is still the preference for exogamous marriages (85%), and constitutes 66% of all marriages. Interestingly, this was the figure that Suttles (1987a:14) subsequently proposed after rejecting his own

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[59] An example of an exogamous-neolocal marriage would be an individual from the Squamish village of Cheakamus marrying someone from Stawamus and establishing their residence in the Squamish village of Mission.

earlier estimate for which this study provides support. The data indicate clearly that exogamy continued to be the preference around the turn of the 20th century, while increased village endogamy (21.5% in the 1877-1900 sample) appears to have been made possible by the occurrence of a larger population.[60]

The data are clear for all the sampled time periods that residency after marriage was flexible and changed over the passage of a lifetime. Despite a patrilocal preference, individuals had many homes.

## 4.3 Testing of Hypothesis Three

*Men regarded as "leaders" will have a greater frequency of obtaining wives from beyond their village or "tribal" group than men not identified as leaders.*

The samples used to examine this hypothesis were derived from the samples used for hypothesis one, although the second of the two post-1851 samples was omitted due to the exceptionally small number of chiefs involved (n = 5). As hypothesis three compares the frequency of the exogamous marriages of "leaders" with those of men not identified as leaders, the former were extracted from the earlier samples to create two discrete groups. Two additional chiefs' marriages for which data were available were added both to the pre-1851 sample and to the 1851-1876 sample.

The null hypothesis stated that the relative proportion of exogamous marriages

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[60] The statistical correlation between increased village population and increased endogamy remains to be shown and at this point is merely speculation suggested by the data.

for both chiefs and others would be the same. The data for the two samples are provided in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6. Frequency of marriage types for "leaders" relative to non-leaders for individuals born pre-1851.

| | "Chiefs" | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Village Exogamy | 15 (88%) | 88 (89.7%) | 103 (100%) |
| Village Endogamy | 2 (11.77%) | 10 (10.3%) | 12 (100%) |
| Total | 17 (100%) | 98 (100%) | 115 (100%) |

Table 7. Frequency of marriage types for "leaders" relative to non-leaders for individuals born 1851-1876.

| | "Chiefs" | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Exogamy | 15 (94%) | 103 (81%) | 118 (100%) |
| Endogamy | 1 (6%) | 24 (19%) | 25 (100%) |
| Total | 16 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 143 (100%) |

The null hypothesis accepted for both samples was that the frequency of exogamous marriages would be the same for men identified as "chiefs" as for men not so identified. Chi-square values suggest that the observed difference between "chiefly" and "others'" preference for village exogamy or endogamy could have risen by chance alone for the pre-1851 sample ($p > .80$). The chance of occurrence for the observed rate in the 1851-1876 sample is: $p > .20$. These tests suggest that there is no essential difference in the frequency of exogamous marriages between chiefs and others.

## 4.4 Testing of Hypothesis Four

*The incidence of intergroup marriage will be higher with groups who are regarded as "friends" than with groups who are regarded as "enemies."*

The Central Coast Salish database clearly demonstrates that most people married exogamously, but close to home. When calculating the rates of village exogamy and endogamy for hypothesis one, I also determined the rate of exogamous marriage beyond the speech-community--a marriage, for example, between a Squamish individual and a spouse from a community that predominantly speaks a different language. The proportions of speech-community exogamy as a percentage of exogamous marriages are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Number of marriage alliances between members of two speech-communities, expressed as a percentage of total exogamous marriages.

| | Pre-1851 | 1851-1876 | 1877-1900 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Exogamy | n = 101 | n = 116 | n = 80 |
| Speech-Community Exogamy | 42 (41.6%) | 39 (33.6%) | 30 (37.5%) |

If hypothesis four is correct, incidents of hostility between groups with extensive intermarriage, particularly between villages within a particular speech community where most marriages occur, should be exceedingly rare. The Fort Langley journal records a few such occurrences of Halkomelem-speaking people from Vancouver Island attacking groups of Upriver Halkomelem, but the data are not adequate enough to assess the relative rate of marriage between these specific hostile groups. Slave taking appears to be a factor in some of these raids, but it is unclear

whether it was causal. Suttles (1989:253) states that the two traditions of conflict between neighbouring Coast Salish groups that he recorded involved the acquisition of territory for its resources. In at least one case, the Lummi attack on the Nooksack River, the records show considerable intermarriage between these groups in the post-1850 period.

Intertribal hostility in this area continued into the 1860s. At that time, the Colonial government actively discouraged the long-distance travels of the Lekwiltok and the Haida, the main aggressors against the Central Coast Salish as well as the Southern Coast Salish residing in Puget Sound.

To test this hypothesis required knowledge of intergroup hostility involving a particular group, in addition to a sample of marriages that occurred during the time of intergroup hostility and shortly thereafter. A reasonable-sized sample of such information was available in my database only for Squamish. Hence, the sample used to test the hypothesis consisted of 82 exogamous marriages of Squamish individuals born pre-1876 that allied a Squamish household with a non-Squamish household (there are no documented incidences of intervillage hostility within the Squamish speech-community).[61] A review of the available ethnographic and ethnohistorical records documented hostility with Lekwiltok (Hill-Tout 1900:490), Haida (McKelvie n.d.), Chilcotin (McKinlay 1876-1877), and Lower Lillooet (Teit 1906:236).

The null hypothesis assumed that there was no difference in the frequency of

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Barnett (1955:267) comments that "the Squamish villages along the Squamish River maintained friendly relations."

marriage between Squamish people and their friends and Squamish people and their foes. The data are presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Squamish Marriages with Friends and Enemies.

| | Friends | Enemies | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marriages | 76 | 6 | 82 |

The computed Chi-square value indicated rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .001$). There is a statistically significant difference between the rates of Squamish marriage with groups who did and groups who did not engage in on-going hostile relations.

## 4.5 Testing of Hypothesis Five

*In a village containing two or more households, there will be a high incidence of marriage alliances being formed among that village and two or more different villages.*

The sample used to examine this statement consisted of five Squamish and Mainland Halkomelem villages where it could be established using ethnographic and ethnohistoric documents that two or more extended households were present in these five villages *circa* 1877, as the marriages examined were individuals born prior to 1877. The presence of village-exogamous marriages with different settlements was then confirmed for at least two households in each of the five settlements. It was apparent from the data that extended households individually may have apportioned marriage

alliances to different communities, thereby ensuring hospitality and protection from all directions.

The extremely small sample size precluded the proposition being framed in terms of probability. Only five villages were examined, all of which demonstrated confirmation for the hypothesis. The sample size could not be expanded readily with the data on hand due to the restrictive requirements of the hypothesis, that is, the corroboration of the presence of at least two households, in addition to data concerning contemporaneous marriages of individuals within these households and the identification of each spouse's natal village.

A null hypothesis was deemed to be inappropriate in "testing" the hypothesis as stated, inasmuch as "incidence" and not "probability of occurrence" was all that could be determined. Thus, the results of the examination of the small sample indicate a possible presence of an intravillage marriage-alliance strategy, but confirmation of such a practice requires additional consideration beyond this cursory investigation.

# Chapter V

# SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The previous four chapters introduced a number of issues and presented a considerable amount of data relating to the existence and maintenance of Central Coast Salish social groups. This chapter will synthesize these data and examine their inter-relationship in the maintenance of a social network.

## 5.1 The Service Model and *Regina v. Van der Peet*

This discussion of Central Coast Salish social units and their relationship within the Central Coast Salish network began with reference to testimony given during the *Regina v. Van der Peet* litigation. In that testimony, the model of human societal evolution that Service (1962) initially proposed, recognizing "bands" as distinct from "tribes," was relied upon to demonstrate that groups such as the Chilliwack possessed certain characteristics that placed them at a particular stage of socio-cultural development. It was argued that the Chilliwack, not having climbed sufficiently high on this evolutionary ladder, were thus limited in their forms of exchange, and that generalized reciprocity--giving to kin with the expectation of an eventual return--was the norm. It is certainly true that within Coast Salish society, people, goods and intangible commodities such as prestige followed marital paths linking families and villages; nevertheless, the use of the Service model was misapplied in this litigation.

Service's taxonomy of increasing structural complexity came from an era in

anthropology that was concerned with the evolution of culture. Earlier, Morgan's (1871, 1878) approach to evolution and society was a single progression in which humankind was liberated from a state of "savagery." The new line of evolutionary development identified by Steward (1955) and Service (1962) emphasized social organization--particularly political integration--as the central characteristic that evolved from a rudimentary form. In Service's view, "tribes," forming the way-station in humanity's eventual leap to statehood, exhibit sodalities, the social and at times political units such as clans and age-grades that are "missing" from "bands." Thus, tribes are knit more firmly together than bands. Additionally, an increment in specialization and social control set tribes apart from bands.

It was not long after the publication of Service's initial typology that he recognized its limitations. The band-tribe dichotomy posed a problem. After being criticized by colleague Morton Fried (1967) and others, Service collapsed the two but suggested application of the term "egalitarian society" to denote a single type with a broad range encompassing bands, tribes and confederacies. Service subsequently found his distinction between chiefdom and primitive state to be worrisome and proposed a series of additional revisions to his controversial typology, resulting in the total rejection of the terms "bands" and "tribes" and reconsideration of the rest (Service 1971, 1975, 1978). This alone should have negated the debate in *Van der Peet.* Unfortunately, the court never heard about the evolution of Service's own classification system.

Not all anthropologists agree that such stages of complexity as proposed by

Service are necessary in the evolution of humanity, or indeed, if such modes of social organization as "tribes" even exist (see Fried 1967; Godelier 1977). More importantly for *Regina v. Van der Peet*, Service's 1962 typology, as Godelier (1977:79) has so convincingly argued, metamorphosed societies by making them typical representatives of the organization of human society in its entirety. Accordingly, variation among societies is not an expression of reality but rather an aberration to be dealt with by recognizing only *essential* criteria. If a society is found to be lacking essential criteria, it drops a rung.

The underlying assumption in using typologies is that societies possess particular traits that allow them to be categorized and thus compared. Hence, tribe is not only *a stage of evolution* but also *a type of society* that can be compared to other *types* of society. But as reviewed in Chapter One (section 1.4.1), anthropologists can find little agreement in what constitutes a "tribe"--if tribes are not in fact creations of the colonial period--owing to the vagueness of the criteria used to define them.[62] Depending on which criteria are applied and which are considered essential, researchers will differ in what type of aggregate they identify as a tribe.

Godelier (1977:95) tells us astutely that "tribe" is "a thing understood, a *sous-entendu*, which guides one's thinking and limits it." Such is the paradox. The enduring appeal of the term undoubtedly arises from its universal recognition as a type of human

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Colson (1953) suggested that the Makah Tribe of northwestern Washington State was a secondary phenomenon in political organization that sprang up in colonial times. Similar situations have been reported for colonial Africa.

aggregate; it is a term of popular veneration, a relic from the founding of Rome. It is also a term whose multiplicity of definition is rooted in kinship.

The deterministic nature of the term "tribe" becomes uncommonly delineated when searching for the terminological middle ground between anthropology and litigation. Lawyers have, somewhat independently of anthropology, evolved their own concepts of human aggregates and defined their own benchmark criteria for membership (see section 1.4.2). Consequently, litigators have their own notion of which particular forms of human aggregates possess certain rights. Motivated by the quest for authoritative judgement, the court seeks the essential from the evidence before it and applies its own "tests" of organization, the first of them being that the group in question is indeed an *organized* society, and furthermore that the group occupied a territory to the *exclusion* of other *organized* societies. Additionally, as in *Van der Peet*, the court weighs the anthropological evidence and determines whether a particular custom or practice--be it fishing or fish trading--is "integral to the distinctive culture."[63] And as the court found in *Van der Peet*, some types of human aggregates can have legal rights that do not necessarily accrue to others. Such decisiveness is uncommon to anthropology, and here in the courtroom the congenial ground of academic discourse finds itself unwelcome.

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Freedman (1995:37) argues that the further burden placed upon aboriginal defendants to show that a practice was "integral" to their culture excludes any possibility for the evolution of the aboriginal society. In Freedman's opinion, legal tests should be modified so that "the right to commercial sale [of fish] would be one manifestation of a larger title to the fishery."

## 5.2 The Concept of "Tribe" and the Central Coast Salish

The review of Central Coast Salish society in Chapter Two identified several levels of social cohesion, including the independent household and extended household, the local group and the village, in addition to the "tribe." Each is a meaningful component within Central Coast Salish society. Each includes relatively concrete relations of language, location or genealogy.

Anthropologists working among the Central Coast Salish find no problem with retaining quotation marks around the term "tribe" and applying it to groups such as the Squamish, the Nooksack and the Cowichan. Notwithstanding the usage, the term "tribe" in this context is not meant to typecast such groups as conforming to the gauge of a postulated model, be it Service's or another. Popular use of this term, however, does recognize a level of social cohesion within Central Coast Salish society that has relevance in the life of these Native people, both today and in the past. It may encompass some of the same definitional criteria that turn up repeatedly in anthropologists' attempts to define tribe (without quotation marks); but individually or in combination, these criteria do not work for the Central Coast Salish groups we call "tribes."

Central Coast Salish "tribes" do possess a collective identity, distinct from that of their neighbours. Sometimes this distinctiveness is based on language or dialect; always it is associated with specific territory. As well, certain groups were more cohesive than others. For example, Hill-Tout found greater social cohesion among the Squamish than other groups of this area, commenting that:

> an individual's relatives were legion, and he would often have family connection in a score or more different ō'kwumūq [villages]. Among the present Squamish almost all of them are related in this way to one another, and their cousinships are endless (Hill-Tout 1900:477).

At the most basic level of cohesion, a Central Coast Salish individual was born into an independent household. The autonomy of this group was shown in its relationship with other such independent households who together comprised the extended household. The family forming the independent household occupied its own section of a dwelling and looked after its own domestic affairs, and if the social life became unpleasant, dismantled its section of the house and moved on. The independent household may have, in some important respects, exhibited autonomy, but in other respects may have exhibited a fundamental dependence on the extended household. Members of the extended household often worked cooperatively and shared in the proceeds jointly, both for their own use and for exchange with other families. The core group of kin of some such households owned productive resource harvesting sites, and under the leadership of its high status men, managed the technology used at these sites, or at least regulated access to them. Such individuals of high status had an attachment to the land where they and their forefathers resided. They formed the core of a property-holding cognatic descent group, but membership in this group and rights to use resources managed by the group extended far beyond the cedar plank walls of any particular dwelling.

One or several extended households comprised a village, a named physical space that people of high status shared with low class people and slaves. Central Coast

Salish society emphasized status and the accumulation of wealth by those born of high class; wealth was distributed at intervillage affairs hosted by leading men and supported by their kin of lesser standing. Some of those in attendance were members of outlying villages and other speech-communities.

Individuals residing in Central Coast Salish villages interacted extensively with other extended households within the village and among neighbouring villages, and also with individuals residing at distances of several days' journey. Relationships with all of these groups resulted from alliances created through marriage.

## 5.3 The Central Coast Salish Marriage Network

A marriage system that allowed for continual adjustments to the environment and fostered some interdependence on affinal links in a number of villages suited this area well. The establishment of "many homes," as Barnett (1955:182) euphemistically referred to marriage alliances, brought both security and protection.[64] The emphasis was on the exchange of people, but goods flowed both before and after the alliance was sealed. Descriptions of marriage proposals (Suttles 1951; Duff 1952:92-93; Barnett 1955:185, 197-201) and the continuing relations of co-parents-in-law after the death of an adult child attest to the on-going transfer of food and wealth (Suttles 1960:298).[65]

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64 Other Native consultants interviewed by Barnett (1935-1936) remarked that village exogamy was the best way to "get better babies" and to "cut out war."

65 Suttles (1960:298) provided the Halkomelem form *c̓ɬx̣ɛɛm* 'those who weep together.' I elicited among the Squamish the term for this relationship as *kʷenɬ wa x̣aam*, glossed the same as the Halkomelem form. These kin terms are used until marriage is reconstituted (Suttles 1960:298).

The social networks established by the movement of people by means of exogamous marriages have been the subject of several hypotheses examined in this study. Postulated statements were tested using samples taken from a genealogical database consisting of the inter-relationships of individuals born prior to 1900 and identified with four speech-communities; these hypotheses were formulated to assess the extent and intensity of village and speech-community exogamy. The population was divided into three discrete time periods. Samples used in the study varied in size, affecting the confidence level of some of the findings. The data, however, were reliable, with the exception of problems connected with "age-heaping" in census material, which were then measured and treated accordingly.

### 5.3.1 Summary of Findings

In ethnographic accounts of the Central Coast Salish, marriage exogamy has been continuously postulated as the norm. On the basis of the present study's confirmed hypotheses, it appears that village exogamy was indeed the preference (hypothesis one) during the historic period targeted in this study. Available mates for males in Central Coast Salish society were obviously those who shared a similar cultural background. Few long-distance alliances have been recorded with members of a completely different language *family*, such as a marriage between a Squamish-speaker and a Kwakwala-speaker.[66] This is not to suggest, however, an affinity between language and culture

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[66] Kwakwala is the language spoken by the people known as the "Southern Kwakiutl," now identified as the "Kwakwaka'wakw." The one case of such an alliance contained in my sample is said to have been arranged to

(see Hymes 1968); most Central Coast Salish people simply married within their own speech community ($\bar{x}$ = 62%) or with that of an immediately-neighbouring group who shared an underlying set of common propositions about the nature of the world. Some Island Halkomelem and Sooke people, however, obtained mates among the neighbouring Nitinat and Westcoast (Nuu-chah-nulth), so marriage beyond the language family was known. Multilingualism within a village was common, inasmuch as approximately 38% of men obtained mates whose "father-language" was different.

When asked, the Squamish stated a traditional preference for patrilocal residence. I recorded the term *kʷɬɬiẁ* used to describe the practice of a young man going to live in a woman's village, a strategy apparently frowned upon by earlier generations of Squamish.[67] The confirmation of hypothesis two relating to rates of post-nuptial residence appears to bear this out, although the data indicate that couples lived in many homes over the course of a lifetime. The three samples examined in this study ranged from 56% to 75% patrilocal residency for exogamous marriages. The sample representative of the earliest period examined--that is, marriages of individuals born pre-1851--was the highest at 75% patrilocal residency.[68] Throughout the three samples, matrilocal residency was consistently the preference for approximately 6% of

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confirm the peace between the Squamish and the Southern Kwakiutl.

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Elmendorf (1971:359) recorded the Twana term *asqásci'* to refer to 'an in-married wife, not native to her village of residence.' Still, Suttles (1987a:14) notes that among other Coast Salish groups there was no loss of status resulting from matrilocal residence.

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Interestingly, Boyd's (1985) demographic studies focusing on epidemics in this area suggested that it would take two generations to recover from the depopulation that resulted from the 1780s smallpox epidemic, therefore placing the target generation coincident with my earliest sample.

newly-weds.

The amount of neolocal residency shifted significantly for individuals married during the period of the establishment of Indian Reserves and of concentrated early settlement on the lower mainland of British Columbia. At that time (represented in my study as individuals born 1851-1876), villages amalgamated and sites once used seasonally became major settlements. This variation is again reflected in the rate of village endogamy in the last time period (1877-1900), although it must be remembered that the many exogamous marriages with non-Natives have been deleted from this sample.

If the pre-1851 sample used in this study indeed reflects the aboriginal situation, then the finding of 75% patrilocal residency supports Suttles' (1951:290) original estimate; there was no need for him to down-size his "three-quarters" estimate to "two-thirds" as he stated subsequently (Suttles 1987a:14).

Considering together the three time periods examined, exogamy beyond the speech-community averaged 38% with a range of 34% - 42%, the higher figure being associated with the earliest sample.[69]

It has also been postulated in the ethnographic literature that a strategy among high class families was to seek brides for their young men from comparably high status families in distant villages. Testing such a statement is problematic for several reasons.

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Hill-Tout reports that the Chilliwack and Kwantlen were both originally endogamous but subsequently changed, supposedly as a result of coming into "closer contact with neighbouring tribes" (Hill-Tout 1903:7), a seemingly-dubious explanation for a change in marriage pattern. In the historical period examined in my study, these groups were unquestionably exogamous.

As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.2), it is somewhat difficult to isolate those of high status from the rest of society, apart from, of course, slaves. Using ethnohistorical data, however, this task is notably complex. The documentary record (see section 2.2.3) indicates that a considerable portion of the Central Coast Salish population in the first half of the nineteenth century was comprised of slaves, but the data are obscure on just who those people were. Surely they didn't all return home once the colonial government advised the Natives that holding slaves was not to be tolerated. What then happened to them? Today, tales are still whispered about certain families' tarnished ancestry, even 150 years after the tragic event! Yet marriage records are silent on the relative status of individuals below that of "chiefs" or church-appointed officials, making it exceedingly difficult to test the relative frequencies of exogamous marriage between high class people and others. Consequently, in this study I chose to measure marriages engaged in by men who were identified as "chief," against those not so identified (hypothesis three). In this case, the null hypothesis was accepted; chiefs did not marry beyond the village at a significantly higher rate than others.

The ethnographic literature has suggested that extended households within a village portioned out the marriage alliances to provide protection from all quarters. This statement is addressed by hypothesis five. Examining a small sample of villages demonstrates support for the hypothesis. The ethnographic and historic data concerning village raids (see section 2.1.2.2) suggests that the household would develop the same strategy for its own protection, arranging marriage alliances for their children with families in several different settlements. A cursory examination of household

composition indicates that families did indeed follow this practice. Such a statement, although quite testable, has not been examined in this study.

### 5.3.2 The Extent and Intensity of the Social Network

Testing the hypotheses identified in this study has confirmed the postulated high incidence of village exogamy, patrilocality, and marriage with one's friends (or, perhaps, with one's enemies to make friends). For the Central Coast Salish, such alliances created social networks. The extent and intensity of a marriage network both within and beyond a specific speech-community can be further demonstrated by examining two samples of Squamish marriages of individuals born prior to 1877. The first sample of 93 cases illustrates the extent of cohesiveness within the Squamish speech-community.[70]

Before quantifying the intensity of cohesion within the speech-community, qualitative information was applied to identify aggregations caused by factors such as spatial proximity and village movement. An examination of census and baptismal data suggested that the villages of *puy̓ám̓* and *č̓áqč̓əqc* should be coded as one due to the repetitive shift of the residents between these sites.[71] In three other instances, villages

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70

Many other Squamish-endogamous marriages were recorded but had to be excluded from the sample due to missing data, generally the identity of one or both villages, as numerous couples were identified simply as "Squamish."

71

Barnett (1955:31) suggested that these two villages, in addition to the settlement of *yəɬx*ʷ, were "like one family." Although I have coded the villages of *skawsn* and *yəɬx*ʷ separately, they more likely should be considered together with *puy̓ám̓* and *č̓áqč̓əqc* as one group, similar to the "extended village" that Elmendorf (1960) describes for the Skokomish.

were grouped due to the relocation from one site to the other during times of flooding that occurred within the time period of the sample. Such paired villages are noted on the list of settlements accompanying Figure 3 which shows the relative locations of the 19 sites identified in the sample. Figure 2 illustrates graphically the alliances between two villages identified by the sample of 93 cases. Figure 2 illustrates a high level of

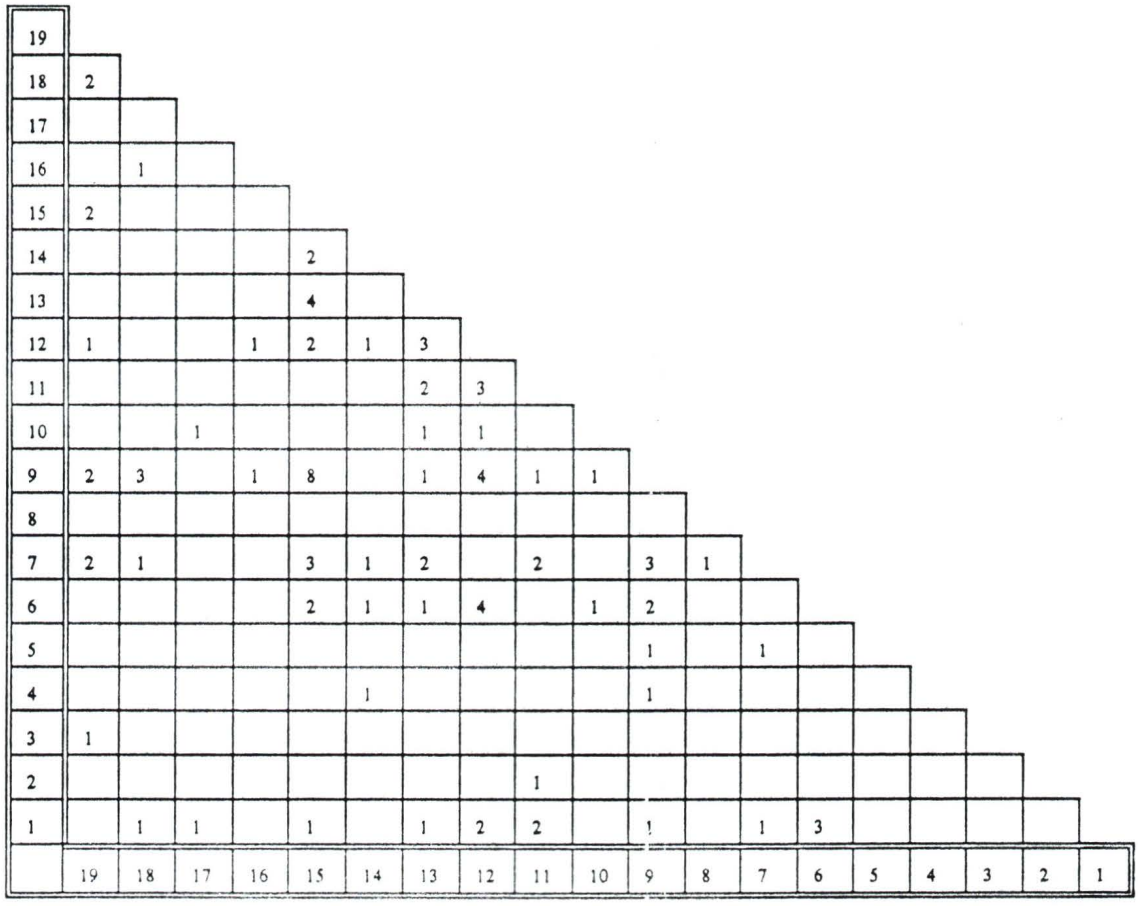


Figure 2. The graph illustrates the intensity of marriage alliances between the following villages identified by number: 1. *puyáṁ, čəqčəqc;* 2. *skawšu;* 3. *yəlx*ʷ; 4. *nčəmáy̓*; 5. *x*ʷ*yəkʷáyaqin*; 6. *yəkʷc*; 7. *łəqʷłáqʷəmay̓*; 8. *puqʷay̓úsm, sqəmín*; 9. *čiyáqməs*; 10. *wiwqm, łəqłqáy̓*; 11. *ʔíkʷikʷs*; 12. *kʷakʷməu*; 13. *yəkʷápsm*; 14. *kawtíṁ*; 15. *sťáuməs*; 16. *x*ʷ*məlčstn*; 17. *səṁáqʷ*; 18. *skaʔáṁ*; *19. ʔácənač.*

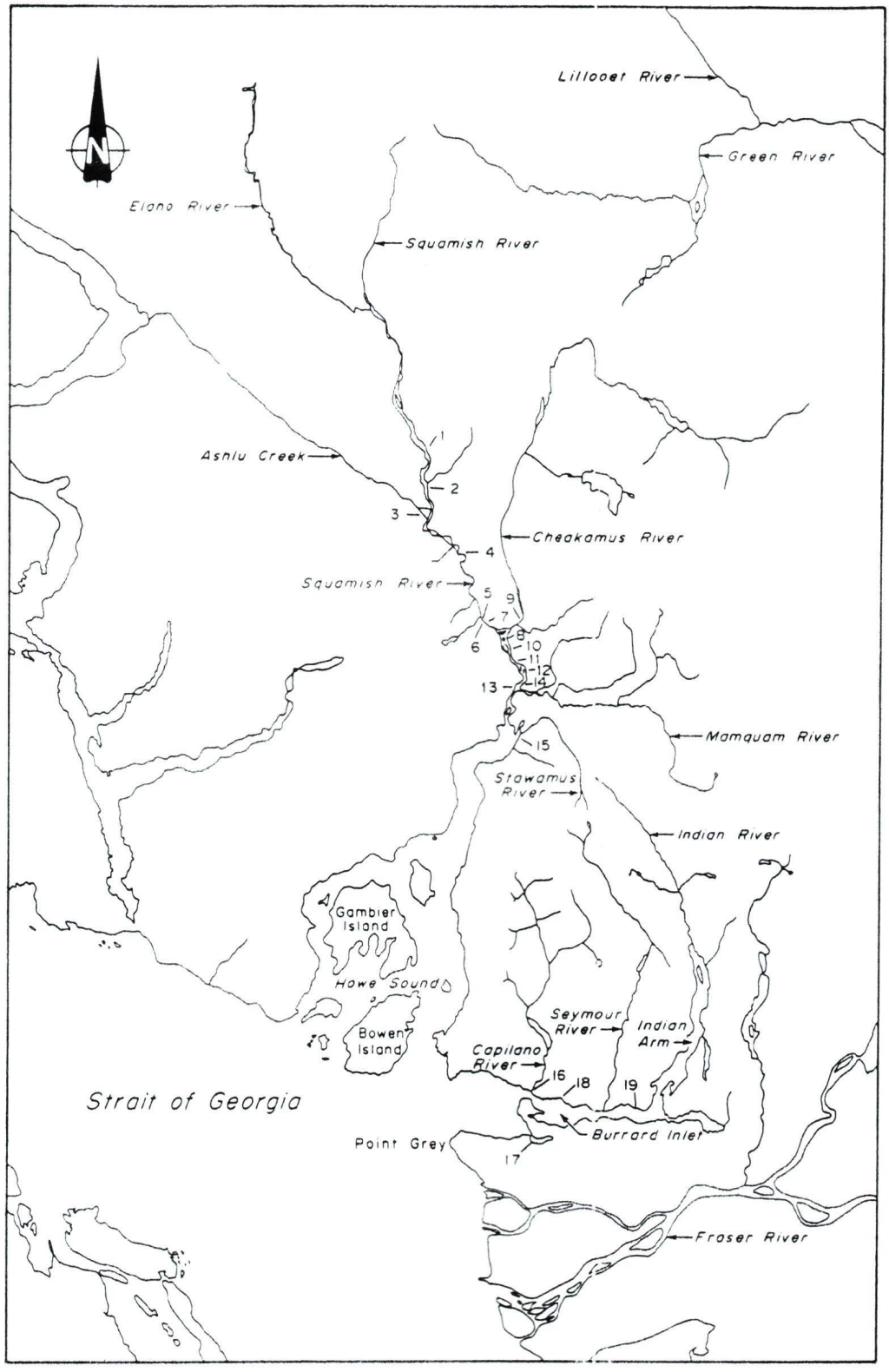


Figure 3. The relative locations of settlements within the Squamish speech-community identified in Figure 2 are indicated by the corresponding numbers on this map of the Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet area.

cohesiveness within the speech-community; marriages have allied single villages dispersed throughout the Squamish-speaking area, with the most intensive clustering of alliances being between *sťámḥəs*, a village situated at the mouth of the Squamish River, and another situated a short distance up the Cheakamus River. The graph also demonstrates that in this sample, Stawamus was the settlement affiliated with the greatest number of other Squamish villages. Its location as a wintering site, as well as a gathering place for the Squamish during the spring when the eulachon were running, was noted by Barnett (1955:31).

A second sample of marriages of individuals born pre-1877 examined the extent and intensity of Squamish marriages with members of other speech-communities. Working with a sample of 82 cases, the results were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Halkomelem | |
| Musqueam | 14 |
| Cowichan[72] | 13 |
| Stalo | 9 |
| Nanaimo | 4 |
| Sechelt[73] | 30 |
| Mainland Comox[74] | 3 |
| Lillooet | 3 |

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72 It is uncertain whether the term "Cowichan" as used in these 13 cases refers at all times specifically to the group identified as Cowichan who resided on Vancouver Island, or if the term is being used generically to refer to Halkomelem-speaking people. See section 1.2 of this study for a discussion of this term.

73 The rate of exogamy involving specific Sechelt-speaking villages was not calculated.

74 Mainland Comox marriages included Klahoose and Sliammon.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nooksack | 2 |
| Chilcotin | 2 |
| Tsawwassen | 1 |
| Lekwiltok | 1 |
| "Stikine" | 1 |

The extent of the Squamish marriage area can now be added to the map prepared by Suttles (1987d) illustrating the overlapping social fields created by marriage alliances, as delineated by Elmendorf (1950) for the Skokomish and by Suttles (1987d) for the Lummi and Musqueam. Figure 4 consists of a compilation of all these data. The Chilcotin, Lekwiltok and "Stikine" cases found in the Squamish sample are regarded as anomalies, and thus are not included within the social field of Squamish marriages.

The marriage network provides the framework upon which other relations occurred, although the full extent and intensity of other forms of interaction such as trade, coalition, and ritual activities remains to be determined. The data indicate that a marriage preference for village exogamy among the Central Coast Salish delineated a social network with a high degree of internal cohesion, both within a speech-community, and within the region itself.

### 5.3.3 Implications of Village Exogamy

The "many homes" initiated through marriage appear to have established more than temporary protection and hospitality for a particular generation. Alliance is a long term strategy concerned with enduring relationships that were reconstituted after the death of an adult child and reinforced with each new generation. An incomplete examination of several generations of Central Coast Salish marriages undertaken during the course of the present study suggests that alliances were concerned with the continuation and affirmation of already established alliances. Hence, a Squamish family united in marriage to a Musqueam family in one generation was likely to seek a bride in that same district in a succeeding generation. Although this presents a testable hypothesis, sufficient data have not yet been compiled to undertake such a study.

It is apparent from following the trails of individuals through census data that people did indeed exercise their option of "many homes." Occasionally, resettlement was a necessity due to environmental catastrophe, such as the flooding of a village on the upper Squamish River, as described by Barnett (1935-1936). More often, moves appear to have been motivated by personal choice and kinship. For example, a certain Musqueam individual's residency in a Vancouver Island village became more understandable once it was recognized that it was the home of his maternal grandmother. Still others moved to vacant land and formed new settlements, as Duff (1952) described among the upper Stalo, or relocated to depopulated areas, such as Suttles (1977b) reports to have occurred with the land formerly occupied by the Snokomish. Mostly, however, the data indicate that kinship and residency were directly

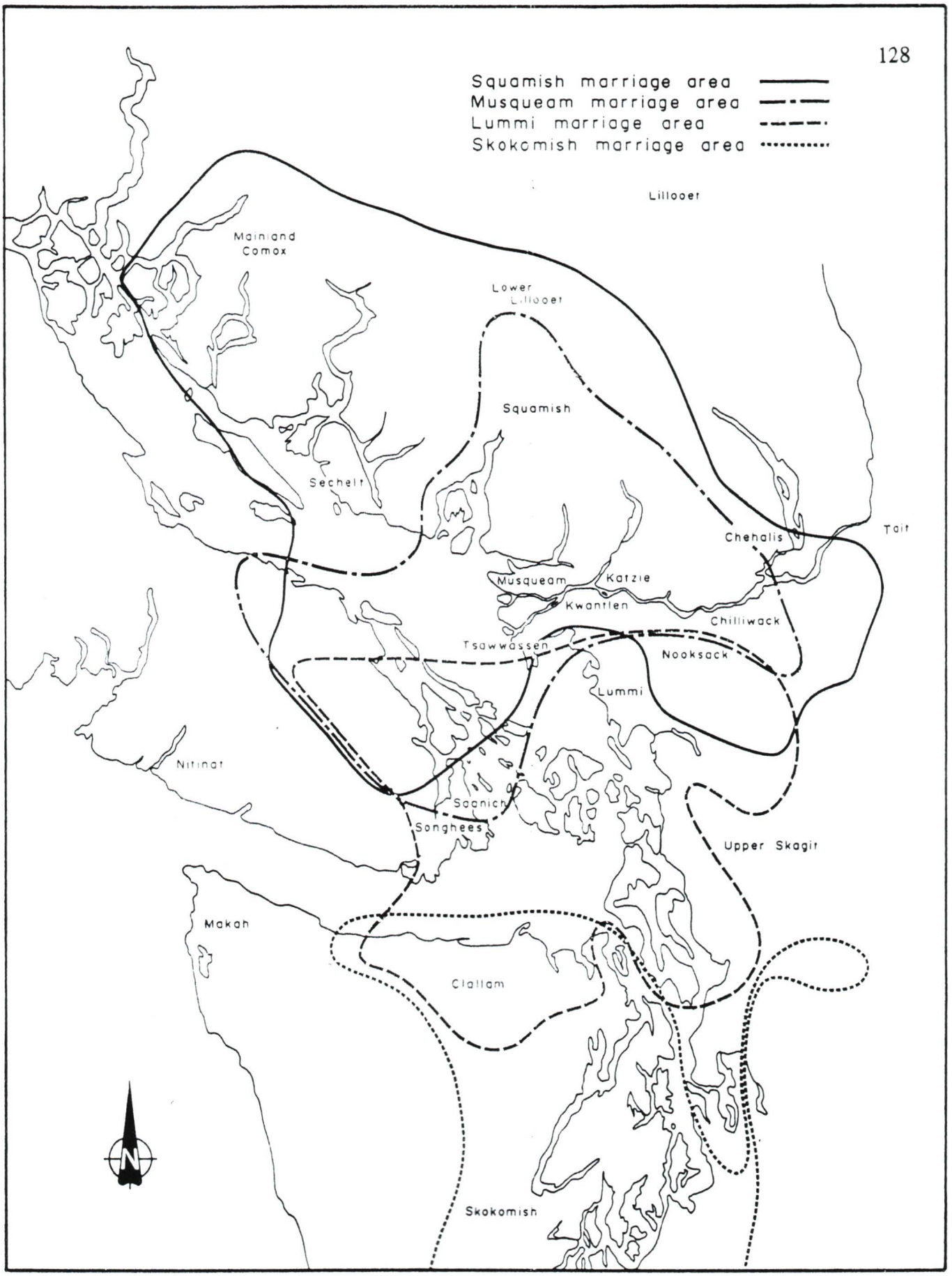


Figure 4. Map illustrating overlap of marriage areas. Squamish marriage area has been added to those compiled by Elmendorf (1960) and Suttles (1987d).

associated.

The extent of speech-community exogamy in marriage relations indicates that villages were commonly multilingual, inasmuch as in-marrying women brought along a parental language. Slaves, too, were speakers of languages not common to the village. In cases of extensive village-exogamous marriage, a situation that existed particularly within villages of small population, an original language could become secondary to that of another. Gradually, a village's speech could change.

Messages about social identity are in part signalled by language. Individuals are identified by others based on the language they speak in their daily lives, in their interaction with others and in their relationship with the world around them. Thus, place names articulated in a certain language, along with peculiarities of speech, are markers of identity akin to self-designation. Self-identity, as has been reviewed in section 2.1.1, includes several dimensions of classification involving kinship, language and geography, as individuals at various times assert membership in a kingroup, village or speech-community. Within Central Coast Society, however, boundaries of social and political groups are ephemeral.

## 5.4 Conclusions

Central Coast Salish social organization is made complex by the formation and maintenance of overlain and overlapping social and political aggregates. These aggregates are based on far-reaching affinal and cognatic relationships, as well as a practical local organization into households and villages. In this area, pigeon-holing

groups into Service's initial typology of "bands," "tribes," or "chiefdoms" simply results in too many pigeons or too many holes. If Central Coast Salish aboriginal rights are to be addressed by the courts--and there is no indication that this practice will cease--the path to better law must start with better anthropology. To argue, as was done in *Van der Peet*, that a people's legal rights must flow from their ability to fit into an out-dated and ill-fitting model is to disregard the dynamic and adaptive nature of the social network.

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## APPENDIX 1

| Terminal Age Digit (Males) (1) | 10 + x to 80 + x (2) | 20 + x to 80 + x (3) | to Col. 2 (4) | Col. 3 (5) | Blended Population [(2) x (4)] + [(3) x (5)] (6) | Percentage Distribution of (6) (7) | Deviation from Expected (10%) (8) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | - | 2 | 8 | 2 | .44 | -9.56 |
| 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 30 | 6.58 | -3.42 |
| 3 | 1 | - | 4 | 6 | 4 | .88 | -9.12 |
| 4 | - | - | 5 | 5 | 0 | - | - |
| 5 | 16 | 15 | 6 | 4 | 156 | 34.2 | +24.2 |
| 6 | 1 | - | 7 | 3 | 7 | 1.54 | -8.46 |
| 7 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 38 | 8.33 | -1.67 |
| 8 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 48 | 10.53 | +.53 |
| 9 | - | - | 10 | 0 | 0 | - | - |
| 0 | 18 | 17 | 1 | 9 | 171 | 37.5 | +27.5 |
| Total | | | | | 454 | 100% | 42.23 |

Table 10: Myers' Index of Age Mis-statement. Sample based on 1881 Canada Census of Males Members of Musqueam Village.

| Terminal Age Digit (Males) (1) | 10 + x to 80 + x (2) | 20 + x to 80 + x (3) | to Col. 2 (4) | Col. 3 (5) | Blended Population [(2) x (4)] + [(3) x (5)] (6) | Percentage Distribution of (6) (7) | Deviation from Expected (10%) (8) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 0 | -10 |
| 2 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 53 | 15.23 | +5.23 |
| 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 2.87 | -7.13 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 2.87 | -7.13 |
| 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 60 | 17.24 | +7.24 |
| 6 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 2.87 | -7.13 |
| 7 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 46 | 13.22 | +3.22 |
| 8 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 76 | 21.84 | +11.84 |
| 9 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 10 | 2.87 | -7.13 |
| 0 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 9 | 73 | 20.98 | +10.98 |
| Total | | | | | 348 | 100% | 38.51 |

Table 11: Myers' Index of Age Mis-statement. Sample based on 1901 Canada Census of Males Members of Musqueam Village.

| Terminal Age Digit (Males) | 10 + x to 80 + x | 20 + x to 80 + x | to Col. 2 | Col. 3 | Blended Population [(2) x (4)] + [(3) x (5)] | Percentage Distribution of (6) | Deviation from Expected (10%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| 1 | 19 | 15 | 2 | 8 | 158 | 17.7 | +7.7 |
| 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 43 | 4.83 | -5.17 |
| 3 | 12 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 108 | 12 | +2 |
| 4 | 21 | 18 | 5 | 5 | 195 | 21.89 | +11.89 |
| 5 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 40 | 4.49 | -5.51 |
| 6 | 14 | 14 | 7 | 3 | 140 | 15.7 | +5.7 |
| 7 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 44 | 4.94 | -5.06 |
| 8 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 58 | 6.5 | -3.5 |
| 9 | 5 | 3 | 10 | 0 | 50 | 5.6 | -4.4 |
| 0 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 55 | 6.2 | 3.8 |
| Total | | | | | 891 | 100% | 27.37 |

Table 12: Myers' Index of Age Mis-statement. Sample based on 1888 Census of Female Members of Lummi Reserve, Tulalip Agency.

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Looking for Tribes in all the Wrong Places: an Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network

Author: 

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April 27th, 1995