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UNIVERSITY.....Univ. of British Columbia.....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED.....Ph.D.....

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED.....1973.....

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NL-91 (10-68)

SQUAMISH SOCIALIZATION

by

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B.A., Carleton University, 1957
M.Ed., University of Alaska, 1959

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1973

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ABSTRACT

Squamish Socialization

This is a study of the socialization processes among major extended families on the Capilano Reserve. Ethnographic data introduce the social environment and provide the context for an analysis of socializing experiences. The analysis of socialization also gives insights into social change and adaptive responses, and focuses on the acquisition of ethnic identity within a multicultural setting.

The thesis seeks to show how children, youths and adults resolve personal dilemmas of formulating an identity when the sanctions of socialization processes are in opposition. The study points out that any individual may be involved in first, second and third processes of socialization which may be experienced simultaneously or in sequence. The context in which they occur is a complex one bounded by membership in a specific extended family. The individual must also accommodate the demands of opposing family groups who form the Band corporate structure and the demands of the adjacent white society in which he/must also be involved. Primary emphasis is placed on the description and analysis of the process of socialization rather than on the practices. This provides an extension to the traditional literature on socialization and a fuller understanding of the dynamics of interaction between adults and children as well as among those adults who undergo the third process of socialization. Findings indicate that cultural conflicts, if they exist, do not necessarily result

in perceptual conflicts. Rather, one individual may choose a primary path which avoids conflicting choices; another may tolerate exposure to conflicting processes and emerge as a bicultural person. In either case, the individual is Squamish by self-definition.

The ineffective socialization that is carried out by parents who were themselves unable to complete a socialization process in either white or Squamish culture is also discussed. This discussion links historical determinants of life styles with the re-establishment of a closed system for socialization within the extended family. Such a closure restores to the grandparental generation their roles as primary socializers and cultural custodians. It also allows some youths to choose to become bicultural.

The concluding statement of the thesis links the presentation of Squamish theories of socialization and the observed practices with specific theoretical concerns about development, identity, and cognitive balance which have a general application.

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FOREWARD

Many people have been involved in the process of completing this thesis. In the course of work over the years, my Chairman, Harry Hawthorn, has been consistent in his belief that the work would come to fruition. He has been a helpful and enthusiastic mentor as well as a friend. I wish the work more fully reflected the excellence which could be the tribute he deserves. There is no way in which to express my genuine gratitude for the time and effort he has invested in this work.

One of the most rewarding aspects of thesis research has been the relationships we established with people at Capilano. Individuals, too numerous to name, have helped in a variety of ways with the data collection. Dominic and Josie Charlie took us into their family in the Squamish way. This generous and kind act brought us into a circle of relationships which have been of great importance to my girls, Sandra and Taanis, and to me. There is no adequate manner in which we can convey the affection and happiness we feel as we continue our association with the Charlie family. Dominic's and Josie's daughter, Barbara Kobierski, has been an especially good friend as has her daughter, Ann. Steve Charlie, Sally Nahanee, and Chuck and Barbara Billy have also welcomed us at any time. Children of these families have treated mine as cousins and all have enjoyed growing and playing together.

There is no proper expression for the grief we feel because of the death of our grandfather, Dominic Charlie. He was interested in having a written record on the Squamish. To this end, he gave generously of his time and energy in recalling his early life and in providing an elder's perspective on contemporary issues. He added his knowledge and wonderful humour to the interpretation and analysis of the information we reviewed together. He especially enriched the lives of the children with his presence and with his story-telling. One of Sandra's most cherished moments was the day he accompanied her to school in Calgary to tell the children about the Squamish people. Taanis remembers their early morning walks along the Bow River. She appreciated her time in the smokehouse with him too. He gave such moments to each of his grandchildren throughout his life. Dominic's contribution to this work was made not only through the provision of information but also through the enrichment of our thoughts and the deepening of our perspectives with his philosophy.

My daughters, Sandra and Taanis, have endured beyond belief. They have graciously accepted my absences, my irritability, and the considerable mobility required by fieldwork. Many of their experiences while on the Squamish reserves have been important and gratifying ones. Unfortunately, these have not always compensated for the dubious quality of our lives during the writing period. In recognizing that their relief equals my own at the completion of this task, I wish to express my gratitude to them for enduring with such patience and goodwill.

Drs. Beatrice and Edwin Lipinski deserve special mention. They have housed us and provided the use of their study for many periods throughout the research and writing phases. Their welcome and continuing personal support have made the task of thesis writing an easier one.

Several people have read the draft of this work. Professors Michael Ames, Michael Kew, Wilson Duff, and Arthur More have offered comments useful for revision and for thought. In addition to these readers who comprise my committee under the chairmanship of Professor Harry Hawthorn, others have undertaken to help in a variety of ways. Dr. Claudia Lewis was my external reader. Early drafts were commented on by Reva Robinson, Madeline Bronsdon, Vernon Serl. Marlene Baker and Pat Jacobs contributed substantial time and information on socialization. Barbara Kobierski has provided time and information which enabled me to make corrections or amplify various points. I have appreciated the assistance I have received from these and many other persons. Any errors or misconceptions are my responsiblity and not that of the people who have so generously assisted. Dr. Robert Westbury has been a helpful friend throughout the writing period. Lena and Bill Gallup of Gallup Exploration Company graciously assisted with the map work.

There are many ways in which this material could have been presented. The manner chosen seems to be the most effective for the current purpose. I have not been able to use many of the data I have on hand for a variety of reasons. Some of it is not relevant to socialization; much of it is confidential; some of it needs to await a less

sensitive time for reporting. Some of the Capilano people who provided such information will be disappointed to find their material only partially included. I am sure that they will accept the above explanations and realize that I have valued their assistance nonetheless. In the attempt to mask personal information, I have tried not to distort the more specific Squamish ways. I believe that the report is sufficiently balanced to be generally acceptable. The time lapse between the yearsof research and the presentation of this report in 1973 will make some matters irrelevant and others appear to be inaccurate. The thesis reports on situations as they were in 1968-70. Revision of the thesis to accommodate changes since that time could not be done at this time. I again express my appreciation to the Capilano Squamish people for their willing participation and continuing interest in this work.

The research which began with the health survey in 1968, was carried out with funds from three sources:

Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation

Department of National Health and Welfare

Canada Council.

INTRODUCTION

Data for this thesis were collected on the Capilano Reserve between 1968 and 1971. Initially, I made contacts with as many families as possible in order to carry out a health survey on the reserve; it was completed in 1969. The health survey was a team study carried out by Gloria Webster, Virginia Carter, myself, and Paul Termansen. A preliminary report was published in 1970;[1] the full report was submitted to Band Council, and to participants, in the fall of 1969.

The general ethnographic data collected during the specific health survey provided a basis for continuing investigation into patterns of socialization. This research followed from my interest in how Squamish individuals and groups resolved stressful situations which arise within the family, within the reserve, or in contact situations between reserve members and the surrounding white community. I became particularly interested in the question of identity as it related to an individual's ability to find a functional place within his kin group, within the corporate Band group, and within his school or work group. It was clear that each of these groups required differing orientation and social skills on the part of the individual. In many instances, these membership groups were in critical conflict of goals and aspirations but they involved overlapping membership. It was necessary, therefore, for individuals to accommodate these considerably dif-

1. Paul Termansen and Joan Ryan, "Sociocultural Parameters of Health and Disease Among B.C. Indians," Canadian Medical Association Journal, April 1970.

ferent goals and aspirations, loyalties and skills; they needed, in other words, to be people of many parts.

The process of socialization involves instruction of the young by the members of one or more senior generations. The ends of the socialization process are to teach the young in matters vital to the maintenance of the society, or social group, of which the individual is a member. Thus the individual, as he develops and matures, must acquire those social skills which enable him to communicate with other members of his group, to perceive his environment and experiences in ways similar -- if not identical -- to the majority of group members, and to adhere to the regulative restrictions of the group as long as he remains a member. The primary group of membership of any individual is the domestic group which involves both nuclear and extended family members. In this group the child learns to whom he must be responsible and loyal; he learns to love and to hate; he learns the requisite behaviour and normative values which enable him to "belong," "to be worthy," and to "behave properly." Membership implies an "in" and an "out" status. So, the child learns who other members of the "in" group are, that is, who his kin and close friends are; he also learns to identify the outsiders and the accompanying set of prescribed behaviours which enable him to coexist with them.

The socialization process in Western society assumes a unitary direction of life and life-style. In large and complex societies we generally assume that the majority of individuals will live their adult lives in circumstances relatively similar to those of their child-

hood. As a result, we expect to find little conflict in the process of socialization. Individuals may extricate themselves from their first process and undergo a second socialization in another system; this involves considerable adapatation on the part of such individuals. Some people who undergo such experiences are never completely socialized in the second one and ultimately return to their natal group norms. An example of this are the young adults who revert to early normative behaviour at critical life stages; for example, at the time of marriage, or when they have children, find permanent employment, and the like. In Canadian society in general, the second process of socialization takes place in a linear fashion, that is, after 14 or more years of primary socialization. Also, there appears to be a tertiary process of socialization[2] only for members of minority groups in Canada.

The Canadian Indian situation contrasts markedly from the general Canadian one. There are approximately 280,000 registered Indians in Canada, and an estimated 300,000 people of Indian descent who have never been registered.[3] With the exception of a few extremely isolated reserves, most Indian people come from reserves which have access to rural or urban white centers. Vital reserve services, and the general source of income, are dependent on relationships with white government officials and resources. Schooling is almost totally administered by white personnel and based on a white, middle-class model,

2. This term is explained on p. 16 ff.
3. Personal conversation with Tony Belcourt, President, Native Council of Canada, March 1973.

curriculum, and educational process. These white institutions affect the Indian socialization process. White personnel bring into Indian communities and homes a variety of goals, perspectives and processes[4] which may alter the life-style of individuals. Public health services, schooling, and employment require specific and different sets of perceptions, goals and behaviours than do kin obligations, subsistence activities, and education in Indian mores, religion and etiquette. While the degree of acculturation varies from group to group, and while the degree of success in the introduction of white institutions vary, few Indian individuals escape the necessity of making some adjustment to the white community and its norms. When the adjustment is complete the Indian individual becomes bicultural; when it is only partially completed, the Indian individual becomes a marginal person who is not fully accepted in the Indian or white community, or he reverts to his primary status. In the latter case, he often becomes a person who is ignored or rejected by the white community. In a few cases, an Indian individual may exchange his Indian orientations completely for those of the white community. In such cases, he is often rejected by his primary group.

In the process of becoming bicultural, most Indian individuals undergo considerable periods of stress, of personal quandary, and dif-

---

4. I am postulating an essential difference in the perceptions of Indians and whites. This difference is cognitive and affects social behaviour. It is not related to the degree of economic acculturation. The differences in perception account for the differences in ends and means of the socialization process. It is the cognitive diversity which determines the "Indianness" or "whiteness" of an individual and which makes his economic and political status somewhat irrelevant.

ficult decision-making. Even in highly urbanized and acculturated groups such as the Squamish, the process is seldom an easy one. Where the process involves migration from a rural reserve to a city it is sometimes so traumatic that it renders some individuals dysfunctional. In addition, some individuals undergo a third process which either enhances their bicultural status, or minimizes it and enhances their Indian status in a manner which goes beyond the primary socialization process and its accomplishments.[5]

In observing the opposition of groups and individuals while doing the health survey, I began to question how the socialization processes in effect at Capilano prepared people to adjust to the various situations described above. I became particularly interested in the dilemma of persons whose membership groups were both opposing and overlapping. It appeared that the level of stress for such individuals could be considerable when certain decisions had to be made which involved conflicting loyalties, personal feelings, and local social demands. To which of the many groups did parents from different kin groups orient their children? When the first and second processes of socialization were simultaneous rather than sequential, how did youth evolve a basic identity? When the first and second processes of socialization were in conflict, how was the situation resolved; what were the results

5. An example of such a case is where an individual has been raised on a reserve but only speaks English, becomes bicultural in the sense that he is educated, employed, and familiar with "the white ways"; then he begins to learn his own language, joins the traditional ritual group and its activities, and acquires acceptance and status in it.

in terms of identity and enculturation? In an urban setting where the white community was visibly comfortable in contrast to the more restricted situation of the Indian community, how did peer socialization affect that of the family? In a community where successful biculturation was viewed with considerable discomfort and suspicion on the part of many individuals, how did the bicultural individual survive at home and in both the Indian and white communities? What price did individuals have to pay for being bicultural? How did individuals remain "whole" while juggling several roles, a number of which were in constant conflict? What were the mechanisms used in the resolution of such conflicts by a group which had institutionalized avoidance of overt conflict?

This thesis seeks to answer the questions raised above. In searching for answers, I have talked with many Capilano and Sta'amus people, examined our own concepts and practices of socialization, and considered the literature carefully. The results are presented in two ways: 1) I offer a full description of the social setting of the Capilano reserve and point out the ramifications of that urban setting. I also report on the information gathered about socialization practices and theories in the two major factions on the reserve. To these, I add my own observations on family life, alliances, and conflicts. 2) I add to the reports and observations my analysis of the events reported and observed. I attempt to relate the analysis to what is known about the process of socialization in any group, and to the theoretical writings on the dynamics of human behaviour especially as they relate

to the acquisition of identity and the resolution of interpersonal conflicts.

The thesis accomplishes two major ends: it presents new ethnographic material on a contemporary Squamish reserve. Its major emphasis is on the processes of socialization found within the community which make individuals into "acceptable" Squamish people by their own definition. In addition, the thesis questions the adequacy of some of the current social science writings on enculturation, Indian-white relationships, reference groups, social change, and similar material. In raising such questions, I attempt to provide alternate explanations which may prove to be useful in anthropological discussions of Indian reserve life, social change, acculturation, and socialization.

The Literature

Writings on socialization abound in the psychiatric, psychological and educational literature. In addition, the ethnographic literature has considerable descriptive material on child-rearing practices but very little of it deals with contemporary urban material. The anthropological literature on social change, ethnicity, and acculturation provides some insights into the dynamics of change and adjustment; seldom, however, does it use data from family observations to expound these points. In general, the social change literature deals with the corporate group and structural change; it tends to be economic and political in its focus and seldom social. In reading about political

systems, ethnic group theory, religion, culture, migration, acculturation and similar topics, one can piece together concepts about families and individuals and their specific adjustments. Seldom are child-rearing practices examined with reference to broad political, economic, Indian-white and historical factors.

In reviewing the psychiatric literature, it is clear that few writers consider socialization practices beyond early childhood, although there is material on adolescent development. Most of it has a heavy middle-class bias. Significant events affecting one's self-concept and identity after adolescence have little or no place in the classical literature.

The literature reviewed from the field of psychology is inadequate in the same way stated for the psychiatric material. Discussion of individual reactions and adjustments to stress and conflict focuses on personality theory and seldom considers group cultural characteristics. The exception to this is the cross-disciplinary literature in the field of culture and personality. Even there, however, there is heavy reliance on Freudian concepts and little is said about the dynamics of adult experience.

The literature on educational psychology and sociology draws heavily from the classical literature in psychiatry and psychology. While some of the material uses cultural concepts, it is highly evaluative and generally middle-class in reference. Naturally, the major portion of the material deals with secondary socialization and focuses on the schooling process as the means by which it is accomplished.

References to minority groups and their cultures are generally negative and stated in terms of the failure of minority group members to adapt to the school and its goals. The appended bibliography lists the writers whose material was considered and found wanting in the ways stated.

I have selected the most relevant major author from each field from whom to draw concepts to use in this thesis. Some I have adapted to fit my data; other concepts have been used throughout to illustrate specific points. I have used Erikson (1959, 1968, 1963, 1964) as my major psychiatric reference, Festinger (1962) and some Gestalt theorists, Berne (1961), and Moustakas (1969) from psychology, Ausubel (1965, 1968) from educational psychology, and a variety of sources on socialization from the anthropological field: Whiting and Child (1953), Whiting (1963), Mead (1928, 1930), Mayer (1970),[6] and others. Some sociological sources have also been used: Merton (1968), Brim and Wheeler (1966), and others. Concepts drawn from the above authors are cited and their value is self-evident in the text. As a result, I will present no detailed review of the literature in the Introduction.

I think it practical and useful to outline some of my own ideas and assumptions about the process of socialization in a cross-cultural context so that there will be no confusion about terms and ideas as the text progresses. While the majority of my ideas are

6. See Mayer (1970), p. xiii ff. for a review of the socialization literature in social anthropology.

based on traditional theory and data derived from these three fields, they have been mediated by personal and professional experience. They are my own to the extent that they depart from the traditional views of the standard literature.

Beliefs and Assumptions

The general literature on socialization leads one to believe that early childhood learning and experience determine a person's perception and, therefore, his behaviour throughout life. The early learning theorists[7] agree that non-verbal learning is the most significant of human experiences. They argue that the overlay of learning and experience in subsequent years cannot erase these early established patterns, beliefs, and perceptions. While I agree that early experience and especially non-verbal learning are highly significant, I believe that experiences in later life can also prove to be highly significant in shaping an adult's perceptions and behaviour. I shall submit the data on Squamish second and third processes of socialization as arguments of this point.

In the anthropological literature, there is a tendency to relate adult personality characteristics to specific child-rearing patterns without reference to later experience. An example of this is Honigmann's (1949) work on the Kaska in which he states that the practice of high indulgence in infancy, followed by abrupt weaning

7. See Mowrer (1950, 1960) and Thorndike (1969), and others.

and a severe drop in nurturance, produces adults who are alienated and incapable of expressing affection or anger. He does not relate this directly to the fact that life is dependent on hunting and trapping for the Kaska and that, like many other land-based egalitarian groups, the Kaska have institutionalized avoidance of conflict. It is a matter of adult priorities that the Kaska and other Athapaskans avoid overt conflict and its repercussions. Their lives depend on the cooperation of hunting partners and the small domestic group. The Kaska are capable of expressing anger, and do so in a variety of ritualized and highly sophisticated ways. In the same sense, mothers who are capable of withdrawing nurturance must be capable of expressing affection. In general, the culture and personality literature fails to take account of the complexities of human nature exhibited by the diversity of personalities to be found in any human group, even when children are exposed to similar or identical socialization practices. The intervening variable of varied experience as the individual ages must be considered.

Much of the literature on socialization divides the process into two major segments: primary and secondary. Much of it fails to distinguish between the general process and the specific child-rearing practices. In this thesis, I wish to use a broad definition of socialization which includes, but is distinct from, child-rearing practices. My work does not follow the traditional pattern of looking at the individual's development in terms of dependency, nurturance, discipline, and other such topical categories. Instead, I describe the social en-

vironment of the child in which a number of people, concrete practices and teachings, and abstract considerations penetrate. I do not link child-rearing practices with adult characteristics but attempt to show that the ethos and life-styles of community members provide an atmosphere and restricted range of choice for anyone within that system. When the person leaves the system, he uses other personal skills and characteristics which the situation provides him with or demands of him. In other words, while early childhood experiences provide the child with a base from which to view the world, his *gestalt*[8] alters constantly to accommodate the situations in which he finds himself. When contiguity and continuity of experience are lacking, then the individual has to <u>resocialize</u> rather than simply add to his primary experience.

The general literature discusses primary and secondary socialization as though they were distinct and separate processes. In my opinion there should be a very clear distinction made between the process and the agents. Secondary agents are people who do not belong to the natal family group which starts the socialization process of the infant. They come second; they follow the primary socializers, providing educative skills and expanded social experiences. For the child, the contact with secondary socializers is often the first significant contact with "strangers." However important as such contacts are, and however significant the learning which occurs after the child

8. "The whole is greater than the sum of its parts" is very applicable here.

emerges from his natal group, the process of socialization which occurs is reinforcing his early learning, not altering it.

The exception to this is provided, of course, by minority groups who do not participate in the majority culture. For the Capilano Indian children from one segment of the reserve, the contact with secondary agents of socialization is an opposing and disruptive fact of experience. It does not reinforce primary socialization, it attempts to resocialize the individual. In other words, it becomes his second socialization process, not simply a contact with secondary agents in the primary process.[9]

I feel the terminology must be clarified. I propose to use "second socialization" as the term denoting a second process, not merely a contact with secondary agents. I have not found this distinction made in the literature on socialization; I feel it merits considerable thought. One of the major reasons why schools often fail to reach Indian children is because of this type of discontinuity of process and experience which seeks to supplant rather than reinforce the primary experience. To the extent that schools succeed, the individual Indian child starts to become bicultural. To the extent that schools fail, they turn the child back to his primary group for reinforcement.

The process of socialization implies the learning of a culture so that an individual may behave appropriately in most instances.

---

9. For children of the other faction, contact with secondary agents is a reinforcement of the primary process similar to that of whites.

He learns the rules of behaviour and this learning is based on initial experience which has been positively or negatively reinforced; it is also based on direct teaching; often, it is based on the perception of cues in social situations which inform the individual about the expectations of the group. Children learn their own culture in this way but they only learn it partially in early years. Some learning must await adult experience and situations. The Capilano child learns by doing and by listening, by imitating, and by adage. He forms some concepts early but must await his time to act them out. For example, most Capilano children can tell you what the criteria of being a "good" Squamish person are; however, these are criteria applied in varying degrees at different ages and some must await adulthood. The socialization process is a life-long one for the Capilano person.

While this first process is on-going, the Capilano child moves into his second socialization process.[10] He goes to school and begins to learn the culture of the whites. This process is mediated in a significant way by parents and older siblings so that it may be minimized or interrupted at various points. If the primary group reinforces the second process, then the Capilano child becomes bicultural. That is, he learns at a steady rate how to function in two cultures. If the second process is too severely in opposition to his on-going primary process, then the individual is forced to reject the second and

10. For those from one faction there is no significant second socialization process. See Chapter IV, p. 247 ff.

concentrate on the first. More usually, the primary process is the most effective while the second one makes some progress until the individual ceases to participate in it. The juxtaposition of the two makes many individuals uncomfortable and uncertain. If the primary process is not completed, and the second one is only minimal in its impact, then the individual develops a strong sense of ambivalence; the process of identity formation is either delayed or incomplete. It is important, I think, to note that the first and second processes of socialization for the Capilano child are simultaneous rather than sequential. This distinguishes the Capilano child from his white counterpart whose secondary agents reinforce and prolong the primary process so that most white individuals do not go through a second socialization process in childhood. I will show that the developmental tasks (Erikson, 1963) of the Capilano child are more complex and difficult to fulfil than the similar tasks of the white child for exactly this reason. The tasks do not differ significantly but the context in which they must be resolved is different.

Finally, I wish to note that the context in which socialization proceeds is all important. The type of attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours which children develop relate to their total environment, not just to their social experience. Some literature on reserve populations tends to view change as deprivation or cultural loss. Some data are misinterpreted. For example, it is not unusual to find the move to nuclear households described as a loss in family alliances and a contributor to the breakdown of traditional and reciprocal rela-

tionships. Seldom do the studies account for the daily interaction pattern of all members of the group and the high mobility of the children involved. I will show that at Capilano the mobility of the children enables them to be socialized by a large number of kin, not only by their parents and siblings. Although the adjacent white community tends to view Capilano as an impoverished and deprived island within the metropolis, the Capilano people do not use the white community as their reference group. They are generally positive about their reserve life and this positivism is communicated to their children. Capilano is a safe and good place to live by many criteria; that makes the process of socialization there one of strength and warmth.

I also wish to add a new term to the literature: I call the process it describes "tertiary" socialization. In contrast to the second process of socialization, which occurs simultaneously with the primary socialization of Capilano children and youth, the third process can only follow the first and second processes. It is experienced by adults only. The process is analogous with that of true second socialization of white adults. It may never occur for most Indian adults. When it does, it changes the life-style of the individual considerably. The process will be discussed later in the thesis so an explanatory case example will suffice here. "A" is a man in his fifties; he comes from a "big name" family. He grew up on the reserve where he lived in an extended kin group and learned the Squamish ways. He did not learn his native language and left his community at the age of eight to attend the residential school. There he learned the "ways of the white" mediated by the school personnel. He finished

Grade VIII and then obtained a series of laboring jobs. He continued his second socialization in this way and by going to war. As a veteran, he returned to his reserve and spent some time readjusting to life there. Soon he returned to the city where he became regularly employed on the docks. Slowly he began to learn something about his own culture and people. He became a member of the Shaker Church. He continued in highly-paid employment for a number of years. About the time he reached his forties, he decided to claim his name and privileges, sponsor his daughter as a spirit dancer, and become politically involved in Band affairs. In order to participate in ritual events in his own community, he had to undergo a process of socialization. The Squamish describe the process as one similar to "learning to be a person." It is equated with rebirth and there is a period of child-like status during which the rules, the language, and the behaviour are learned. For "A," it was not a return to his primary experience because it involved new cultural content as well as adult perceptions and feelings. Nor was it related to his second socialization which enabled him to participate in white society. It was a third process of socialization which drastically altered his life-style, his commitments, his feelings, and his perceptions. This tertiary process of socialization ranks equally with primary and second processes in impact and significance. Some literature describes such events as significant, but isolated, instances which alter part of an individual's cognitive set but not his total life. In contrast to such analysis, I offer the above example in which the total purview of the individual was altered and his perceptions and behaviour with it.

There is a small body of writings on the Salish. None of the recent writings deal with socialization. The most recent research on the Squamish was a political systems study done by Richard Band (1971); the theses done by Varma (1954) and by Philpott (1963) dealt with the economic system of the Squamish. A biographical work on Andrew Paull by Paterson (1962) deals with a number of historical events in the development of the Squamish. Works by Wike (1945), Robinson (1963), and Lane (1953) provide useful reference material on the Salish spirit-dancing complex. Suttle's articles (1958, 1963) on intervillage ties, private knowledge and other features of Salish social organization are extremely valuable references and the ones most related to socialization. Claudia Lewis' (1970) work on Cowichan families is also a helpful source. Duff's publication (1964) and that of Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson (1958) provide historical information on the area which permits some assessment of change. Barnett (1955) is the only complete ethnographic study which is available for reference and it contains little detailed data on the Squamish. Kew's work on the Musqueam (1970) provides much information on contemporary reserve life of the Salish. However, it does not deal specifically with socialization.

In using these sources, and in doing the socialization study, I hope to synthesize the ethnographic details presented by the various authors. My study is not a complete ethnography but it adds a new component to the literature. It should aid Northwest Coast ethnographers to develop new perspectives on contemporary Salish life.

To summarize: I depart from the standard literature on the following major points:

1) The process of socialization must be defined as more than child-rearing practices;

2) Socialization is a life-long process, not one that ends with the significant events of early childhood;

3) It is important to distinguish process from practice; process involves unconscious patterning and responsiveness; practices are conscious, rationalized, and part of the process;

4) Socialization can be segmented into first, second, and third processes; these processes may be conjoint and sequential; where the first two occur, they are conjoint for some Indian children in an urban center;

5) Agents should not be confused with process;

6) Practices and processes should not be directly linked with adult behaviour and personality characteristics; cultural features and social experience mediate the beginning and end results of socialization;

7) Reference groups can remain internal even when the group is surrounded by a majority culture;

8) Social environment appears to be the main determiner of the quality of life at Capilano; this makes the reserve a good place to live and strengthens the impact of the socialization processes.

Explanation of Key Terms

Socialization: The process of learning through which a person acquires behaviour, attitudes, values and beliefs as well as language, cultural cues, and other cognitive and affective aspects of the group of which he is a member. The process begins at birth and continues throughout life although identifiable phases are completed at varying times. Socialization may be divided into sequential processes I shall call first, second or third socialization. The division between the processes is only in part an arbitrary one, for while they may be concurrent, they more often occur in sequence.

First Process of Socialization: The process which begins at birth in the nuclear and extended family. It is during this process that the child learns his identity, the expectations placed upon him as a result of belonging to a certain family, the roles to which he may aspire as an individual, and the developmental tasks which must be accomplished in any given age period and fulfilled in a culturally determined manner.

Second Process of Socialization: The process in which the child or adult is exposed to a different cognitive and cultural set which he aspires to learn. The degree of success which the individual experiences as a result of his voluntary or involuntary exposure determines the degree to which he may become bicultural. When the first and second processes are in too great an opposition, the individual is usually forced to select one or the other; since any individual is dependent

upon the extended family and close friends for his affirmation and gratification, the probability of selecting a second process that is in strong opposition is low. For some individuals the second process is concurrent with the first, as at school entry; for others, it is a later experience.

Third Process of Socialization: This process is one experienced in later childhood or in adulthood, and is usually dependent on the completion of the first and second processes. It will be concurrent only to the extent that the first two are still in effect. The process involves the decision of the individual to undergo a process of resocialization which will significantly alter his life-style and with it change those attitudes, values, perceptions and behaviour attached to the first and second processes. The process can tend to make an individual unicultural again, as in the case of one who discards the learning attached to his first or second process. It can also make him bicultural in the case where he discards his first process of socialization and adheres to the second and third ones.

Anticipatory Socialization: The process of anticipatory socialization is a process within a socialization complex, and is not a complete process in itself. The concept denotes the first stage of entering a second or third process wherein the individual begins to consider, to perceive and to value some aspects of another cultural group. He then aspires to membership in that group and becomes oriented to pursuing learning which will enable him to participate fully in it. When he consciously aspires to attain roles in a group outside of the

one in which he normally lives, he seeks appropriate socializers and socializing situations.

Another type of anticipatory socialization may occur unconsciously when parents teach children certain behaviour which they know will benefit the child should he aspire to enter the other group. Parents who manifest behaviour and values not generally available within the reserve culture have usually had some partial second socialization in the group to which they aspire and to which they seek to orient their children. Others may have the aspirations without the means of implementing them and therefore are unable to provide their children with the anticipatory socialization they think they should have.

It is important to note again that these terms represent theoretical and analytical constructs which have an unavoidable arbitrariness. In reality the processes are far less clear and the boundaries of each process are more fused than any discussion can portray. The degree of consciousness in both the experience of the learner and the goals of the socializing agent is also extremely variable and often indiscernible.

Squamish Use of English Terms

English is the language used by the Squamish people in general. Some individuals, especially among the elderly, still speak their own language but there are no homes in which Squamish is the main language. English is in use now by four generations. Members of the youngest two generations speak only English; members of the third one

speak English and may understand some Squamish; members of the eldest are bilingual. English was learned in residential schools and passed to children by parents who spoke it as a second language. In general, children in school today have a firm command of English but are aware that local people use it in a different way from that of their school peers. One high school student told me she was not eager to return to school because she would have to use "proper English" again. She, like her parents and siblings, prefers to use the Squamish variant.

It is impossible and irrelevant at this time to discuss fully the use of English by the Squamish. Some usages, however, are presented in this thesis. I think it is useful therefore to define those terms which have a specific Squamish usage different from that of other English-speaking people in the area. The Squamish have terms for each of these concepts but use Musqueam or English terms because their own language is not in use.

Good People: This is a term used often with a broad meaning as in the smokehouse when the host may greet people as "my good people" or may refer to a person as "my good cousin." In a specific usage, good implies that the individual meets the criteria attached to the role he is filling. For example, a good Squamish woman is one who respects the elderly, meets kin obligations, meets her husband's needs, takes particular care of her children and runs her home efficiently given the means she has. It also implies certain personal characteristics such as generosity and kindness, honesty, and hard work. The term has a further traditional reference to the important taboos and behaviour

a Squamish girl needed to know from puberty on in order to become an honorable and reputable person. Such concepts involved the practice of chastity, fidelity, fertility and a host of similar characteristics. A good Squamish man met similar criteria placed upon male behaviour. A good Squamish person today is one who knows the Squamish ways of doing the proper thing in any circumstance.

Proper Behaviour: This term has a broad referent which demands that individuals behave in the defined Squamish ways which are considered acceptable in a variety of circumstances. The same behaviour may be evaluated differently under different circumstances. A man may be acceptably or properly drunk on a Saturday night in the bar or in his home. The same behaviour on the same night is highly improper if he enters the smokehouse and embarrasses his extended family or disrupts proceedings.

Big Name Person or Family: A big name family is one in which members have a claim to names which have prestige within the Salish area or within the local Squamish area. The bigness of a name is relative depending on the occasion and the area in which it is used. Big names at an event in Capilano may not be so big at an event in Lummi. On a daily basis, the self-definition of bigness is individually determined by internal reference, however. An individual with a big name is expected to live up to his name by behaving properly in any circumstance.

No Name Families: Those families or individuals who have no claim to names in the judgement of families who claim big names. Most of the families with such a designation do not attempt to lay claims to

names or to other ritual property. Part of a child's socialization is learning which names he may have the right to inherit.

Those People: A term of reference to Squamish people outside the self-defined inclusions of the group of people reckoned as relatives and friends by the speaker.

Relatives and Friends: Those people who can trace a genealogical link to the speaker or who have a well-established and recognized social relationship with him.

Strangers: Any one not defined as a relative or friend.

Ritual terms are defined in Chapter III but some general definitions may be of use here.

Smokehouse: The place where ritual events take place. Alternate terms are bighouse which traditionally meant a dwelling but which in current usage means the cedar buildings where ritual events are held. A more recent term also in use is longhouse. Smokehouse is heard most generally.

Dancer: An individual who has been initiated as a spirit dancer; a new term used locally is singer.

Baby: A new dancer who is in the first year of dancing and undergoing socialization as an initiate.

Babysitter: A relative or friend who stays with the initiate throughout his first dance season.

Spirit Power: The quality of the spirit hosted by the dancer which enhances his positive characteristics and behaviour.

Spirit Song: The chant used by the dancers to demonstrate the presence of spirit power; the song is personal property.

Indian Doctor: A senior dancer who has curing power especially for spiritual illness and distress; he can also cure physical illness.

Curer: An individual with strong personal power who can alleviate the physical illness of another individual; he does not cure spiritual illnesses. A new term recently heard for this category of person is a worker, that is, someone who "works on" the illness of an individual.

Speaker: An individual who speaks on behalf of an extended family at formal events such as a reception or funeral or at ritual events in the smokehouse. The speaker can also be the family host acting for the corporate group; he need not be, but often is, a dancer.

Methodology

In 1968, I approached the Squamish Band Manager to request him to discuss with the Band Council whether a health survey might be of value to the Band. Dr. Termansen and I agreed to collect any information that the Councillors might feel was of value to them; we were primarily interested in mental health. We also offered to meet with Band Council and other Band members when the study was completed and to submit recommendations to them about improving health care services and facilities.

The vote on the project was taken at midnight at a Council meeting three months after our initial request to do the study. No one

with whom we had consulted was there to speak about it with the result that the decision was negative. In an attempt to ascertain the reason for rejection, and to determine whether the matter might be reconsidered, Gloria Webster and I visited some of the Councillors and other Band members. Two Councillors agreed to raise the matter again, as they felt the project had not been carefully considered and might be of value to the Band. They did so, and at their next meeting, the Council voted unanimously in favor of allowing us to proceed.

The health survey was completed in 1969. After general information was collected and a few family studies were done on a more specific basis, the report was circulated to all families at Capilano; the Council held a Band meeting to discuss the findings and recommendations. Half of the survey participants, and about ten other Band members, attended the meeting. Comments were received from other participants as I saw them from time to time in subsequent months.

At the time the study was completed I requested permission from the Band Manager to remain on the reserve to continue the family studies. I had already received agreement from five families at Capilano to participate on a weekly interview basis. I explained that I wanted to learn about and observe child-rearing practices. Since I had a child of my own who was known on the reserve by several families, this was not viewed as an exceptional interest or request. By this time also, I had made some friends and they were willing to have me in their homes on a casual basis. The usual assurances concerning confidentiality were given and have been observed. This was no problem ex-

cept when it came to thesis writing; some significant data have had to be omitted because of their personal nature and because individuals could too easily be identified. One major problem of writing has been my increased reluctance to write anything about people I have come to admire and respect so fully.

The family studies were carried out in a variety of ways. I visited the selected families for a minimum of two hours weekly. Sometimes visits stretched through an afternoon; some included meals; some observations were made while participating in a family activity which went on for a number of hours. In general, only the mother and children were present. I made an attempt to discuss socialization with fathers but these attempts were seldom successful. Often, while visiting with a mother, the children's grandparents or other relatives would come to visit. Such occasions gave me the opportunity to solicit information from these extended family members; these contacts sometimes resulted in an invitation to also visit in their homes.

In initial visits, I attempted to direct conversation to specific child-rearing practices and philosophies. As I became more familiar with this material, I was able to elicit information on "ideal" goals which were part of the Squamish ideology. I found that people evaluated their own practices not in terms of their results in the direction of children's behaviour but in terms of how members of opposing groups did not follow similar and "proper" practices. I also sought to identify generational differences in socialization goals and procedures; this was facilitated by the fact that some families had three or more generations living in the area.

By using a check list, I was able to obtain information on the same topics from each family. I attempted to regulate my observations on several phases of behaviour by concentrating on one or two items each visit. Since I was in the area for almost five years, I was also able to continue informal discussions, to observe the growth and development of some of the children, and to note reactions to changes in marital status of parents, the transiency of relatives in the household, and any other significant changes in life-style.

In the process of collecting data from families, my status in the community changed; this affected my access to some homes. I tried to select families for the study so as to include young and old parents, different socio-economic groups, members of the various factions, and such related factors. Some individuals refused to participate in the intensive family studies. This altered the possibility of careful selection. Since I had already been on the reserve for a year collecting data, I had made some friends and some enemies. The latter were automatically eliminated from the sample and the former did not represent the Band although they did represent different age and economic groups.

As friendships became more meaningful, it became easier to spend more time with certain people than others. It also meant that I could involve the extended family of a few individuals. This provided me with enough work to eliminate the necessity of seeking out other families. The data I have, therefore, are highly selective and perhaps somewhat biased. The obvious bias is the female one; I was completely

unsuccessful in obtaining information on socialization from adult males. I did, however, observe male behaviour among children and adults. The bias is valuable since it made me more aware of the differences in treatment of children by male and female parents. It also made me more sensitive to the interaction between males and females in general. The other bias is that the data were solicited from friends in the intensive family studies; this may have affected the nature of the information given as well as my interpretation of it. My judgement is that the information was freely and honestly provided. The main criticism of the analysis may be that it is somewhat defensively positive.

In the spring of the second year of my research, a major event took place which greatly altered my status in the community. I was "recognized" as a member of the Charlie family. My grandfather, Dominic Charlie, announced at the last ritual gathering of the year that my daughter and I were to be recognized as his grandchildren and treated accordingly. He and my grandmother, Josie Charlie, paid Band elders to witness the announcement. Since then, I have learned to behave appropriately at a number of ritual events and in a variety of social gatherings. I meet the responsibilities placed on me as though I were a daughter; and I am treated like a sister by Dominic's children: Barbara, Sally, and Steve. In the same way, my daughter, Sandra, fulfils her obligations and values her special status. My daughter, Taanis, is also treated like a family member but her status is different since I had not yet adopted her when the announcement was made. She does not enjoy the privileges accorded to Sandra.

The announcement of my new status followed several months of close association with the Charlies. The process of tertiary socialization which I underwent was not smooth; nor was it facile. I do not plan to describe it here because it is a personal experience. It did provide me with many insights into my topic, however. As a result my data, as well as my life, have been enriched. The change in status did not automatically bring me acceptance by members of the extended family, or by others in the community. In some cases, people who ignored me previously were no longer free to do so because of the dependency of their status on proper behaviour. In order not to insult my grandparents, people had to recognize me at certain times such as ritual gatherings. At other times they were free to greet me or not; some chose to do so!

My daughter and I found that our relationships with several families altered perceivably. Children with whom Sandra used to play no longer stayed around the area when she appeared. Instead, she began to accompany her cousins to various activities, and to remain within her grandparents' yard. She began to undergo a second process of socialization.

Some of the people with whom I had previously been friendly, and in whose homes I had been free to visit, attempted to dissuade me from spending time with the old people and their associates. When it became clear that I was committed, they stopped acknowledging me at all; I have not been in any of their homes since 1971. Although the factionalism operates stringently, the balance remains relatively stable. I lost some friends but gained others.

At the time that I was acknowledged as a member of the Charlie family, I had completed my formal period of research on the reserve. Since then, I have added to it by observation and discussion. During the summer of 1971 my grandfather spent a month with us in Calgary. During that time, he instructed my children and myself in a number of ways. We had ample opportunity to discuss the changes which had occurred in his lifetime in child-rearing, in marital relationships, in parent-child relationships, and in many ideological things.

As a member of a family, I became exposed to many situations, all of which increased my knowledge and some of which forced me to alter my ways so that I would not shame my relatives. Although Barbara is nominally my aunt, we share the concerns of sisters, and I have appreciated her friendship and help through the past few years. I have also learned from her children. With Barbara, and later with Sally, I have learned what it is to be a contemporary Squamish woman and mother. We have shared many thoughts about socialization.

I am not a Squamish by virtue of my family alliance but I have learned some of the values attached to being a good Squamish; I have also learned to laugh and tease; I have learned the comfort of being part of a women's group. I do not share identical experiences with my family, even when we are in the same circumstances; but I have learned to perceive some of the essence and to translate it into my terms to pass on to my children. Such transactions are rich in warmth and reciprocity even if they are not equivalent in perception of content and process.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SOCIO-HISTORICAL FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY SQUAMISH SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Contemporary reserve society at Capilano is structurally very diverse. This is a direct result of the internal and external events which occurred as the reserve system was established and as people responded to urbanization. This chapter will refer selectively to the historical events which the Squamish people feel have played a significant part in determining the present structure and composition of the Capilano reserve. External events include the development of Vancouver, the shift from a subsistence to a cash economy, the establishment of reserves, and of a mission and residential school, land rentals and development, the introduction of federal health and welfare schemes, and the amalgamation of the Squamish-speaking reserves.

The information on internal responses leading to cultural change and to the contemporary structure of the reserve has been obtained from elderly informants at Capilano. In addition, accounts of the same events have been obtained from young people. The younger people base their reactions and behaviour on their perception of events which they have experienced and frequently also on their interpretation of those events which have been described by parents and grandparents. The configuration of events, and their reflection in contemporary behaviour, seldom reflect any accuracy of historical fact. What attitudes and behaviour more often reflect is a reaction to reinterpreted histor-

ical fact. Therefore, I will report the Squamish interpretations of historical events without attempting to report other viewpoints.

Prior to discussing the contemporary patterns of life at Capilano, it is useful to consider some of the earlier patterns which contributed to patterns of life at Capilano at present. Information on traditional life is drawn from the literature and from accounts of the recent past given by elders in the Capilano community. The perspective reflected is that of the Squamish from whom the information was obtained.

Traditional Squamish Society

The starting point of any narrative regarding the past is usually some point in the early childhood of senior storytellers who range in age from 70 to 97 years. Allowing for some time distortion in such narratives, and for some romanticising of the past, the accounts present a picture of life in the bighouses which concur with those recorded by Barnett (1955) and others.

The Squamish people occupied a large territory at the time of contact. People travelled over the area in extended family groups from summer camps to winter villages. Summer was spent fishing, berrying, and gathering roots for the winter; fall was spent in hunting and food processing. In winter several extended families gathered in permanent villages at the mouths of the rivers and on the beaches. Winter was also the time for ritual gatherings and elaborate visiting and entertaining.

The principles of social organization among the Squamish were primarily cooperative. While individuals did own certain properties, most notably names, masks, songs and dances, the economic activities of the group required cooperation among kin groups. Housing arrangements were communal although families lived in distinct areas and owned their house boards and a variety of household effects. A typical domestic group in a bighouse consisted of a man and his marital family, his brothers and their families, possibly a daughter and her family, and occasionally male cousins and their families. There were no political chiefs but a senior man in the bighouse provided guidance and protection. He acquired and maintained great respect, authority, status, and prestige by providing adequately for the members of his large household. Status was primarily acquired through industry, generosity and dignity. The most prestigious people were also the wealthiest. Such individuals could command the services of a large number of people who provided them with fish, game, roots and berries, which could then be redistributed, so enhancing the reputation of the household head (Barnett, 1955).

Power was linked to social status and this was linked to wealth. The head of a bighouse had no power over other heads or members of the village unless he established it through some activity in which his prowess was recognized by his peers. A man who was an expert hunter might acquire leadership in hunting; he would determine where people went and how they hunted. The same man would not have similar power when the fishing season was in process unless he also

was the best fisherman in the area. Roles, status, and power shifted seasonally, therefore, within the village but remained relatively consistent within the individual bighouse.

An outward manifestation of wealth was property which could be displayed. Real property consisted of houses and their furnishings and also of hunting and fishing equipment. Families tended to use certain hunting and fishing areas exclusively, even if cooperatively. Clamming areas were open to all; root and berry plots were held by individual families. Weapons, blankets, masks, dancing equipment, and ritual knowledge were individually owned (Barnett, 1955; Drucker, 1963).

Inheritance followed descent lines which were bilateral. Primogeniture was the expressed rule in the inheritance system and sons were favored. However, personal aptitudes and qualities were often the actual basis upon which hunting, technical, and ritual knowledge and property was passed down. For example, if an individual were not considered to have the personal characteristics suitable for occupying an honorific position or name, the rules of primogeniture were ignored in order to pass those privileges to the next of kin who had the requisite personal characteristics. Property and privileges could also be acquired through marriage. There were no rigidly proscribed mates; first and second cousins were not considered marriageable. Marriage could occur between housemates as well as among people from different Salish villages. The system of Salish endogamy with local exogamy was preferred. Such arrangements enhanced the economic system and provided for persistence of intervillage ties (Suttles, 1963).

Among the Squamish, individuals were ritually protected at critical times of the life cycle. The most elaborate and important rituals were those of purification which took place at birth, at death, at female puberty, and at spirit dancer initiation as well as at certain types of curings. Isolation of the female at the menarche and at childbirth was practiced; at such times women were secluded either behind screens in the bighouse or they were housed in separate huts in the woods. Ritual events were supervised by an older person with special knowledge who was paid by members of the family to perform such services. Following any period of ritual isolation, it was mandatory for the family to publicly announce the individual's change in status.

The gathering held to announce the new relationship of the individual to his group always involved the distribution of wealth. This was the recognized mechanism by which public announcement could be made and it was the only means by which change could be witnessed by the important people from all the villages. People without access to wealth had no means of publicly demonstrating their position in society. Because it was impossible for an individual to personally own all the goods needed for such ceremonies, an individual host called on his affinal and consanguineal kin groups to help finance such gatherings. They helped by lending blankets and by providing food and personal services. Relatives then called on each other to repay debts which they had acquired and to reciprocate services rendered.

People maintained social control in a variety of ways; the primary one was gossip. There was institutionalized avoidance of open conflict. Conflict was dealt with ritually. On a daily basis, if a

person could not live affably within the extended family, he (or she) could claim kin ties in a number of other bighouses and seek accommodation there. In this way, a person removed himself from intolerable personal friction. A person who broke a rule, or who behaved inappropriately, was gossiped about. Other people came to know about the misdemeanor and shame was cast upon the extended family. People believed that children and adults should be taught by elders how to behave properly on all occasions. Redress for inappropriate behaviour could be made ritually. For example, if a son had not lived up to his name, then his father, or grandmother, or any high-status relative could sponsor a gathering, apologize to the offended parties and pay for the insult. The issue was resolved in this way at least for the time.

Grandparents were responsible for educating grandchildren about proper behaviour; this included ritual behaviour. Parents left their children with older relatives while they were occupied in harvesting and other economic pursuits. Since all lived in the bighouse, children were also exposed to the admonitions of many relatives. In general, parents had little direct involvement in rearing children during the traditional period. People believed that until individuals reached a considerable age they did not know how to behave. Therefore, young parents (and particularly wives who had married-in) were under constant supervision and evaluation by senior members of the household. There was constant emphasis on "knowing how to behave," "living up to one's name," "becoming a good woman" throughout the lifetime of any individual. Part of this learning was the acquisition of ritual know-

ledge and becoming familiar with one's place and position in certain events. For example, a boy who was to inherit his grandfather's name and ritual privileges was expected to be more observant and sensitive during ritual events than one who had no such claim. A person also learned "private morality and knowledge" (Suttles, 1960) which helped him to recognize people of different status than himself and to behave differently toward them. Such knowledge also defined for the individual his status in the group and the appropriate behaviour attached to it.

In summary, the traditional Squamish constituted a group in which there were concepts of worthiness differentiating categories of people. There was no clear-cut ranking system among the Squamish although people were assigned a status position at birth. Those who belonged to the high-status families were expected to live up to their names and to behave appropriately. The criteria of appropriateness included concepts of industry, generosity, and responsibility. Appropriate behaviour also required familiarity with many rules, considerable knowledge of kin, and knowledge of behaviour suitable to daily interaction as well as at special ritual events.

People lived in bighouses on the beaches and at the mouths of the rivers during the winter months. In the summer, family groups moved to fishing grounds and to areas with root and berry patches. There was continuing contact among local groups as they travelled and traded. The economy of the Squamish was dependent upon the circulation of goods and on the exchange system which was institutionalized and

manifest during the winter gatherings. The arrival of the whites precipitated many changes.

Urbanization Begins

In the early 1800's Simon Fraser discovered the river now known as the Fraser. The Hudson's Bay Company established the Fort Langley post in 1827 and Fort Victoria was established in 1843. In the next decade, considerable immigration of whites into the area took place as the presence of gold on the Fraser River became known. These events, while bringing the Indians into contact with explorers and miners, did not immediately change the living patterns of the Indian groups.

The changes began with the establishment of the New Westminster settlement in 1860. It became the port of arrival for immigrants and the major distribution center for the Interior. In 1863, the first sawmill was opened. It was located on Burrard Inlet and ultimately became known as Moodyville. Many of the older men still living on the Northshore, or at Squamish, obtained their first employment in the mill at Moodyville and later across the Inlet at the Hastings Mill. The latter became the small city center from which Vancouver evolved. The Squamish also began to earn a cash income from working in the newly-established canneries and from selling fish to them. Such employment drew in the Squamish people of Howe Sound. Employment was seasonal and families travelled as units to the employment sites. They substituted work in the canneries for their summer fish encampments and occu-

pations. At the same time, they continued their traditional fishing patterns as well as their gathering of foods.

The establishment of the urban commercial centers raised the question of allocation of land. This did affect the lives of the local Indian people. Reserves had been established by Douglas earlier although he had left the Province by the time the Squamish land issues arose. The amalgamated Squamish tribes had 28 reserves allocated in the area of Burrard Inlet and Howe Sound. A description of the Northshore reserves as they existed in the early 1900's is appended. An entry on June 21, 1915 shows that Capilano (Kapilano) became reserve number five. It consisted of 425.50 acres occupied by approximately 265 people. The village site included the homes of the people, a Roman Catholic church, and a fishing station at the mouth of the Capilano River. The area was already accessible by road, rail and water and was valued at $359,000. This figure was exceeded only by the value of the acreage at the Mission reserve (No. 1) and the unoccupied False Creek reserve (No. 6) under negotiation.

The people who lived at Capilano originated from a variety of places within the Squamish area. They had moved from their ancestral grounds,[1] from the beaches, and from "up Howe Sound." Descendents of all these people still inhabit the Capilano reserve. The people from Seymour Creek relinquished their land as did the people known as the "West Vancouvers." This West Vancouver area was included in the origi-

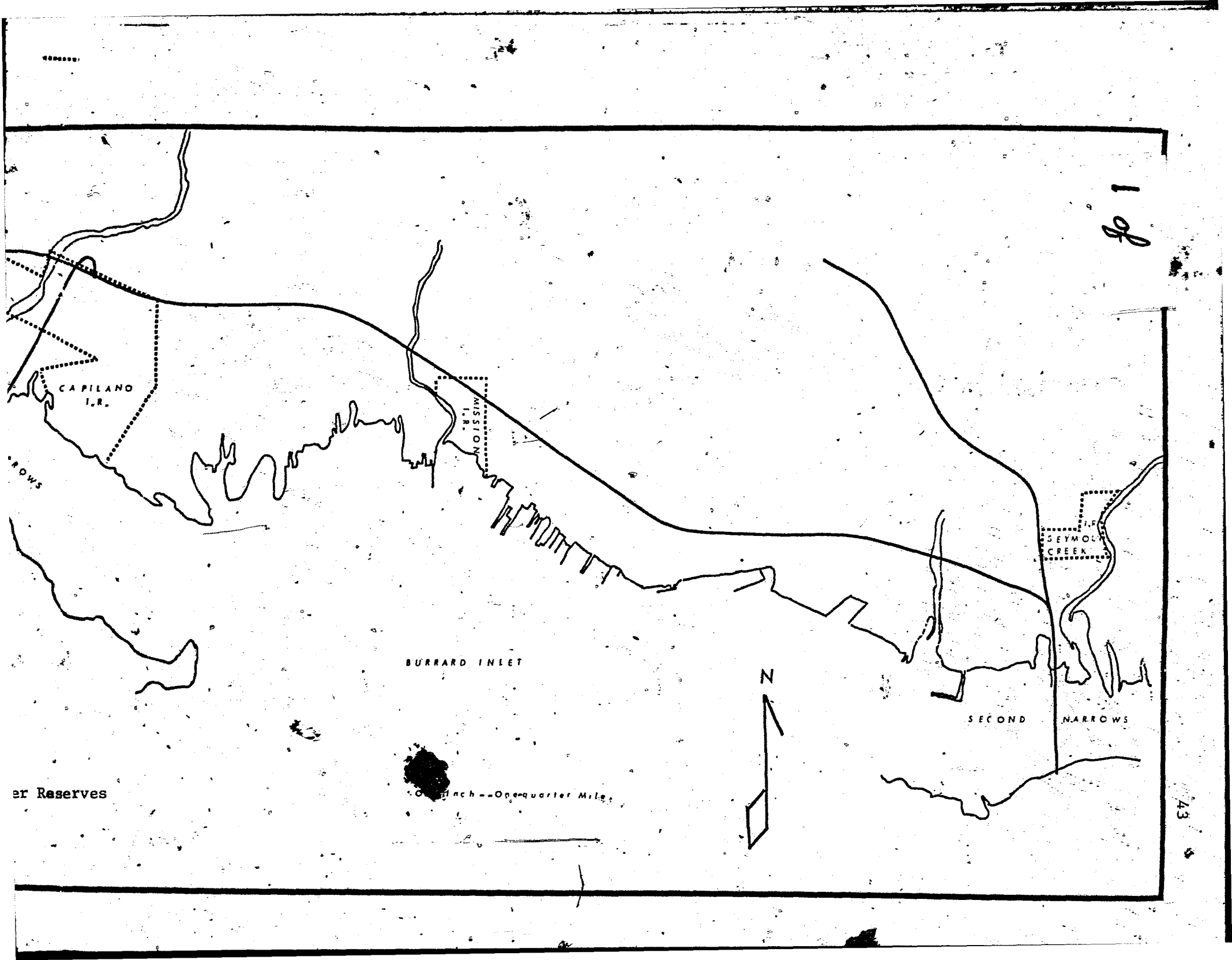
1. Currently, Lumberman's Arch in Stanley Park.

nal Capilano reserve but came to be known by the local Squamish as the "West Van" reserve after the two sections were separated by the First Narrows Bridge (Lion's Gate) (see Map 1). Apart from the several reserves in the Howe Sound area, the main reserves now inhabited by the Squamish are at Mission and Capilano. While the people at the Mission reserve (frequently referred to as the "North Van" reserve) and at Capilano maintain fairly close contact with each other, the Burrard people are apart as a result of their decision to stay separate when the other Squamish-speaking groups amalgamated in 1923.[2] The relationships between the people at Mission and Capilano are extremely close. In general, they consider themselves "the same people" although they continue to make local distinctions when asked where they are from. The term "Squamish" has come to be used locally in relation to the people from Mission, Capilano, and those from the reserves located in the Howe Sound area.

Events Attached to the Introduction of the Indian Act

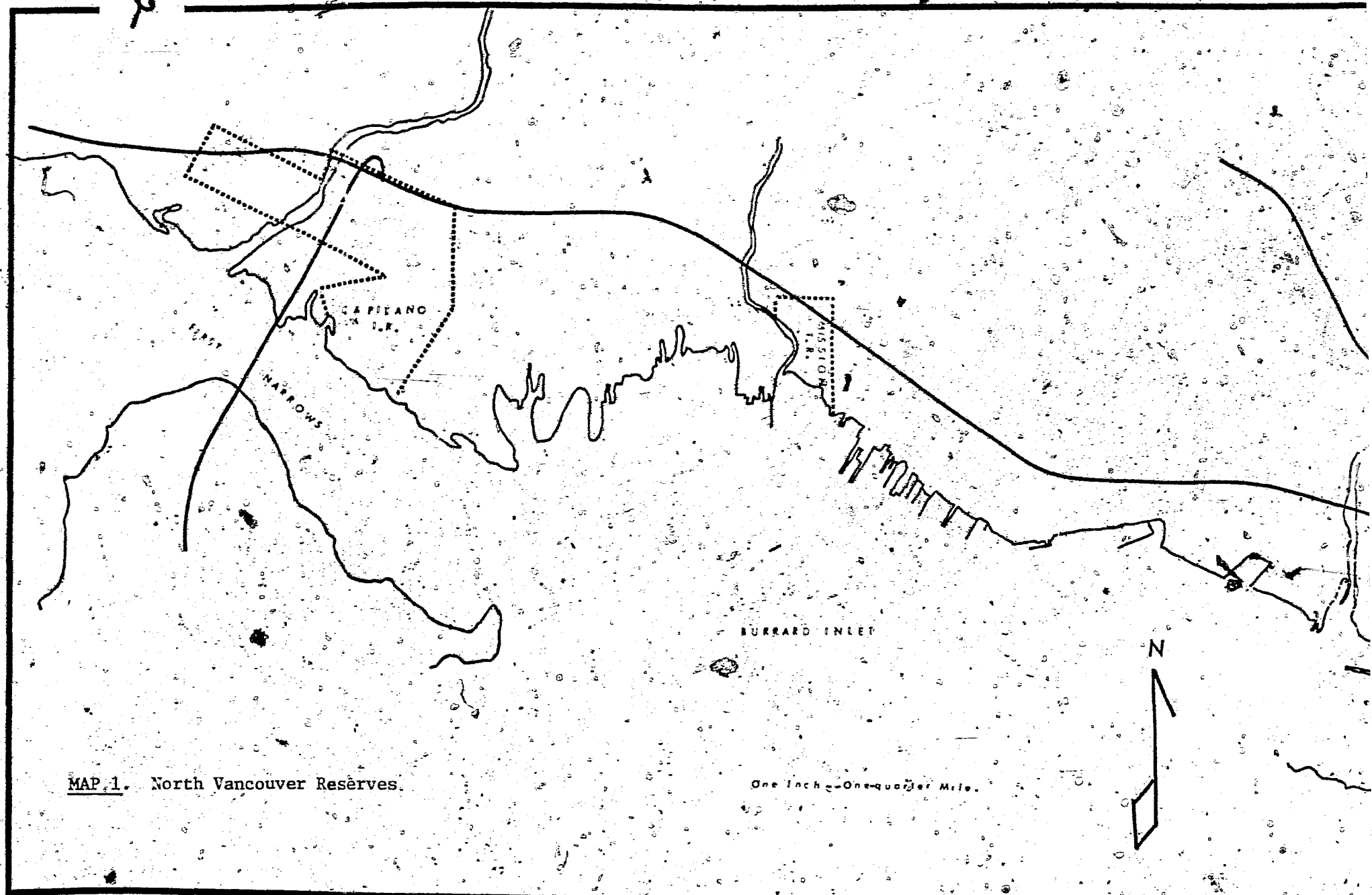
The Indian Act of 1867, the land settlements negotiated by the Commissions during the 1800's and early 1900's, when combined with urbanization and development in the Vancouver area, changed the lives of the Squamish people. The Act defined who Indians were, the conditions by which reserves could be administered, and in general set out the terms under which Indians could live their lives. Under the terms

2. It should be noted that the Burrard people had only recently become a Squamish-speaking group.


CAPILANO I.R.
MISSION I.R.
SEYMOUR CREEK I.R.
BURRARD INLET
SECOND NARROWS
N
One-quarter Mile

er Reserves

2 of 2



MAP 1. North Vancouver Reserves.

of the Act, 16 Squamish-speaking local groups amalgamated into a Band in July of 1923. Since the local groups had consisted primarily of extended families, the amalgamation meant a considerable change in the nature of political relationships of individuals to each other. The political system established by the Act required an administrative unit of a chief and council for legal and practical purposes. The Act provided for hereditary or elected chiefs[3] to administer any legal unit, such as the reserves, occupied by the amalgamated group. The Squamish opted to appoint the senior heads of the households as their "chiefs." The position became hereditary and people now talk about "hereditary chiefs" meaning the senior sons of the extended family heads at the time of amalgamation.[4] This pattern of forming a council of "hereditary chiefs" persisted until the Act was revised in 1951. The revised Act eliminated reference to hereditary chiefs. Nevertheless, it remained the practice among the Squamish for family groups to elect their members to council. The composition of the present Council reflects the voting power of the larger families which have the most members eligible to elect their kin. No longer are all major family groups represented.

Descriptions of Squamish life as it was when the Act came into being, and when land arrangements were made indicate that the

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3. Until the 1951 revisions which mention only the election of chiefs.
4. The Squamish Band Council still has 16 councillors making it unique in Canada. Usually, the number of councillors is determined by the population, e.g., one councillor is allowed for every 100 people in the Band.

Salish had a well-established and viable social system. The system of beliefs penetrated the fabric of everyday life and provided sanctions for economic and ritual activities. The residence patterns, combined with the marriage alliances, provided individuals with a stable socio-economic system. The large winter gatherings combined features of economic, social, and religious organization and seemingly met the needs of the local people. The move to reserves, the shift to a cash economy and the restrictions of the Act served as barriers to continued traditionally-based social progress. Such innovations added new dimensions to the Squamish social system. As a result, some overt aspects of Squamish life underwent considerable change, for example, the religious and economic systems. As in most processes of social change, parts of the culture remained relatively unchanged and ultimately became anachronistic to contemporary life styles. Such uneveness of change contributed to the ideological and political factionalism found in the community at present.

Agents of Social Change

One of the major agents for change was the Roman Catholic Church. It established a mission and a residential school on the Mission reserve in 1898 and built churches at Mission (1866) and Capilano. The mission provided service to all the Squamish people in a variety of ways.

Missionization of the Squamish[5]

Capilano people report that the clergy exerted considerable pressure on them to abstain from participating in Squamish rituals. The missionaries regarded the rituals as contrary to Christian beliefs and practices. They viewed the economic distribution which took place at ritual gatherings as contrary to good Western economic practices. The pressure applied by the local clergy was successful in diminishing ritual activities and especially spirit dancing for a number of years; it did not eliminate it entirely except in a few communities (e.g., Burrard and Sechelt). The current revival of ritual gatherings and spirit dancing in particular will be discussed in Chapter III. It is important to note here that the revival of Squamish rituals is supported most strenuously by those adults who spent several years in residential schools when they were children. There they were taught how evil their own religious and social affairs were. The strength and bitterness with which some people are reviving their ritual complex attests to the success of the missions in communicating their messages about the negative aspects of being Indian to the children.

One of the features of the Squamish belief system is that it can encompass divergent features without dichotomizing them. The Squamish religious background into which the Catholic missionaries came was not greatly dissimilar to the Christian one but it was broader. The Squamish perceived the universe as unitary; there was free passage

5. Squamish rituals are discussed fully in Chapter III.

for humans, animals, and spirits in any of the existing realms. This background enabled many Squamish people to attend Catholic services and also to continue to participate in their own rituals. This unitary purview was not shared by the priests who continued to press the Squamish, especially through their children, to give up their own practices and participate solely in the Catholic ones. Most of the Squamish people converted to Catholicism.[6] Throughout the Salish area, people kept their own rituals operative on a less conspicuous scale. The greatest involvement of Salish people in continuing their own religious practices is reported[7] for Kuper Island and some Vancouver Island groups. Others, like the Burrard people, gave them up entirely and are not currently involved in the re-emergence of ritual activities in various local areas.

To educate a generation of people away from their parents, especially when the socialization process is in direct conflict with that of the parents, undermines the persistence of important cultural values. The socialization process in the bighouse was carried out by close kin who had significant relationships with young children. The socialization process of the residential schools was carried out by strangers, not relatives. The strangers' values were in opposition to some basic values of the Squamish culture. For example, use of the Squamish language and participation in ritual events was prohibited.

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6. Lemert (1954) notes that Indian groups tended to convert as units rather than as individuals.
7. By some Capilano dancers.

The schools also brought different categories of people into contact; at home, they would not have had contact with each other. Many older Squamish people complain about the inappropriate or difficult marriages of their children. They attribute these difficulties to the fact that their children met mates in school whom they would not have met had they remained at home in the protection of the extended family groupings.

Reports about schooling from the people who were among the first students in the early residential schools are primarily negative. Much of the anti-white sentiment that is expressed today is based on feelings about early childhood encounters with missionaries -- the first whites that most children had seen. The frequency of the tales, despite their local variations, attests to their influence. In some instances one senses that some of the tales have become somewhat like myths -- stylized and told for certain generalized effects and purposes rather than reporting events that actually happened. Such tales convey the misery remembered by the current parent generation as a result of their residential school experience. In essence, the tales center on the trauma of having learned in early childhood years that one was a worthy and important person within the community only to have the belief destroyed by whites who denied the worth of anything Indian. The children soon gained a sense of unworthiness on the sole ground that they were Indian. This perception was carried into their adult lives, often receiving confirmation in other white-Indian settings.

Some basic Squamish values unfortunately aided the negativeness of the mission input. For example, one person reported that she had always been able to believe and trust adults and felt that when they said something it was absolutely true. She assumed when she went to the mission school that the adults there also spoke the truth. Therefore, when she was told that she must give up her Indian language, customs, and ideas because they were wrong, she believed the teachers. The harshness of the discipline administered if one used the local language reinforced her conviction that being an Indian was a bad thing to be. However, since she was an Indian she felt she couldn't do anything except "feel bad about it; I really believed that I was a bad person." This sense of unworthiness persisted for many years after she left the school. It was reinforced by tales of cousins and sisters who felt the same way and by other negative experiences with whites in the community. It is only now, in her late forties, when she wants to give her children some sense of dignity and pride in the family and in themselves, that she has begun to re-evaluate the feelings she has about her own worth. Her case is not unique and was reported many times over.

By the time that the first generation of children had been raised out of the bighouses and had spent three or four years in residential school, other changes occurred in the Capilano community. The introduction of a cash economy was a significant change which contributed to other changes in life style.

A New Economy for the Squamish

The Squamish continued to exploit their environment; these natural products decreased in importance as items of ritual exchange or as items on which their subsistence depended. At the same time, wages from employment became the basic source of income of the local communities.

Most of the men found employment either at Moody's mill or at Hastings mill. When New Westminster and then Vancouver were established as major ports, longshoring was a major source of employment for the Indians. Some men also went to work in the woods as loggers but the occupation of choice was longshoring; that preference persists today. Indians were preferred as employees on the docks and subsequently have gained access to permanent labour unions, high wages as gang bosses, and considerable status.[8] Employment was sometimes seasonal. This permitted families to go berrying or fishing for supplementary income and food.

Women's roles changed markedly as a result of cash employment. Men left the household to work and the extended family ceased to be the economic unit. Generally, young mothers also stopped seasonal activities and became responsible for raising their own children. This was reinforced by the move to nuclear households. Women ceased to make any significant contribution to the household economy. Some women obtained seasonal work in the canneries. There was also some

8. See Philpott (1963) for a full description of employment for the Squamish.

fishing and some crop picking done as family units. As the market for Salish (Cowichan) sweaters increased, women began to earn money as knitters. They also made baskets. Income from these activities supplemented the household economy. However, there was also a general pattern which allowed women to retain such funds for personal use.

Continuing Traditional Trends in Contemporary Squamish Society

Major shifts have occurred in the social organization of the Squamish people over the past 70 years. The economic shift from a collecting economy to a cash economy was made without undue difficulty and has yielded considerable material advantage to individuals and to those of the Squamish Band in particular. The shift, however, altered the exchange system within the Coast Salish area; the result was a change in personal and group relationships. For example, it is easy for a household head to provide for extended family members if the circulation of food and other goods is based on a local land and sea economy and the system is closed. However, when the system is opened by the introduction of cash, and when cash is acquired primarily through the employment of males, then it becomes difficult financially for a man to provide for more than his nuclear family plus a few other individuals. Now, a Squamish male who is gainfully employed must consider even more carefully than in the past which kin he can provide for. This means that he must change some relationships with collaterals and affines if the original relationship requires regular provision of food or cash. The idea of responsibility to kin alters considerably

and while one should lend money to some close kin, others have to be refused. Thus the whole system of recognizing kin, of making loans which could be repaid within large extended families, and of establishing ritual claims, has had to be altered substantially. The financial costs of ritual events will be considered later. Suffice it to say here that more individuals now have to forego their traditional claims to ritual property because they have not been able to amass the wealth to finance an important gathering.[9]

The economic base at Capilano in 1967 was the cash income of people in longshoring, millwork, logging, and transfer payments.[10] Table 1 shows the occupation of the Capilano men in 1967, showing a distribution that is common for the Squamish people. Only union men are guaranteed regular employment and income. As a result, an individual's wages are good on a monthly basis but are not evenly spread throughout the year. Table 2 shows the income range of 26 heads of households.

When Squamish people regrouped in nuclear households and gained a living from wages, they began to desire more material possessions obtainable only with cash. This was another reason why the economic shifts forced a reduction in the recognition of responsibility for kin. After people have bought necessities, they use their wages to

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9. Individual accounts comparing the frequency and opulence of gatherings held 50 years ago to those held currently all agree that past gatherings were "bigger" than current ones. These statements may not be factual nor can such reports be checked in detail. The evaluation must be accepted as it stands, therefore.
10. Old Age Pension, Family Allowance, Welfare, Band redistribution, etc.

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONS OF 26 HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Occupation	Number
Longshoring	11
Millwork	4
Skilled trades[1]	4
Unskilled labour[2]	2
Business owner	1
Other[3]	4

1. Fisherman, logger, autobody worker, carpenter.
2. Casual employment.
3. Band Manager, carver, two retired.

TABLE 2

SHOWING MONTHLY INCOME RANGE OF 26 HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Range	Number
1. Under $300	0
2. $301 - 400	2
3. $401 - 500	1
4. $501 - 600	7
5. $601 - 700	4
6. $701 - 800	7
7. $801 - 900	1
8. $901 - 1,000	1
9. Over $1,000	0[1]

1. Overtime pay in longshoring raises some individuals from positions 4 through 7 to $1,200 - $1,500 in busy months. The household head who runs his own business, reported to bring his income to $20,000 annually, also receives over $1,000 in the summer months.

purchase items of furniture and luxury items such as cars and televisions. Table 3 indicates the material property of a sample group of families at Capilano. While freezers can be considered a profitable investment, since they are primarily used for storing fish and deer meat obtained without cash expenditures, the number of colour televisions shows the desire for luxury items as well. Such items rank high in the hierarchy of economic decisions. For example, $600 could be spent either on a colour television or on a naming ceremony for a child. Several families have colour televisions sets but few have had their children named even among the group of families with strong ritual orientation. With these shifts in the values and perceptions of the Squamish people, the previous values of sharing and responsibility for less fortunate kin cannot easily prevail.

Some of the expectations which formed the rationale for the traditional economic system still prevail in the cash economy and have altered to accommodate it. What we see at Capilano is a dual system of status-wealth evaluation. The people who currently hold the political power are those people who have permanent jobs and who are able to accumulate wealth. However, power is not determined only by wealth since some Council members are not wealthy. Nevertheless, some councillors are able to lend cash and perform other favours for kinsmen who repay the debt by voting en bloc. In this manner, wealth and political power become conjunctive. The expectations of Squamish people are that wealthy and powerful relatives will provide for them. This is a traditional concept and it still prevails even though the

TABLE 3

SHOWING GENERAL INFORMATION ON 26 HOUSEHOLDS

1. Rents	Range is from $0 to $50 monthly, deducted from Band redistribution funds (less than 10% of income).
2. Income	Range is from $301 to $1,000 monthly; average $610 (see Table 2).
3. Schooling	Range is 0 to Grade XII. Average is Grade VIII; no significant difference between males and females under 35 years of age; over 35 years, females have an average of four years more schooling than males.
4. Nuclear Family Size	Range is from 1-14 members; average is 6.03 members.
5. Utilities	-- All homes have heat, light and water.
	-- 11 homes have space heaters; 15 have oil furnaces.
	-- All homes have refrigerators.
	-- 11 homes have wood or oil cookstoves; 15 have electric stoves.
	-- 20 homes have wringer washers; remainder have none.
	-- Only 4 homes have dryers.
	-- All homes have television sets; 12 of these are colour sets.
6. Cars	23 families own a car but not all are in working order; of these, 3 families have two cars.

criteria for positions of power and the ways of accumulating wealth have altered significantly.

The expectations of young people and the elderly are identical as they state them, but differ substantially in their origin. The elderly consider that their younger and powerful kinsmen should provide for them because "that is what the Squamish always did; that's the way we do it." Younger people, however, link support in elections with the expectation of being rewarded at an early date with some favour such as a job, use of a car, a new house, welfare, or related financial benefits. Strong resentments are aroused when such debts are not paid. As in traditional days, the individual who does not meet his perceived debts is gossiped about. However, he is also gossiped about if he does pay his debts in this fashion. ("Oh him -- well what can you expect; he only wants things for his family. He gave X welfare when Y couldn't get it. What else can you expect from an X?"). Gossip occurs in any case but the difference is whether those gossiping are close kinsmen or from another extended family group. Also, as will be shown later, the social system is now considerably more diverse than it was in the traditional and closed system. Gossip now serves only to make some people uncomfortable; it has lost its strength as a method of social control since there is now no way to keep the system closed and to effectively isolate the errant individual.

Another change in the social patterning of Squamish concern for kin and one which is directly affected by the economic changes is reflected in the current system of caring for relatives. In traditional

society, the Squamish provided for people unable to care for themselves. This accomplished several things: it made the provider a good Squamish and increased his status; it ensured that no one within the community suffered from cold or hunger. It did these at the cost of reinforcing the negative image of the incompetent relative. As mentioned earlier, orphans were often a part of a man's bighouse. Children of relatives unable to care for them would be cared for by another branch of the extended family. In part, helpless children are still cared for in this way in contemporary Squamish society, but it is not common. The prevalent situation is that a few relatives care for children and are paid by Band welfare funds to do so. Most children have to leave the reserve.[11] Elderly people sometimes live in the household of a daughter or a son but more people are going to hospitals and nursing homes. Their bills also are paid from the Band's welfare fund. Recently, a Band-operated home providing nursing care for the elderly has been established on the reserve. In the same way, the Band has decided recently that children of unmarried mothers may be registered as Band members. The Band now provides welfare for both mother and child for six months, and for the child on a continuing basis if the mother does not obtain employment. As a consequence, the elderly and very young have relatively traditional means for beginning and ending their lives within a family and reserve setting.

11. In 1967, of 47 children not living in their mtal homes, 6 were being cared for by relatives on the reserve; the remainder were in white foster homes.

Patterns of residence which prevailed traditionally are reflected in the tendency of brothers and first cousins to build their homes in clusters and to try to obtain space in the same area for their sons upon marriage. Women generally marry-in; they are often related to other women in the area because of the traditional pattern of marriage which is Salish endogamy but Band exogamy.[12] As a result, sisters and cousins live in close proximity to each other. At present, only three households have a member of the grandparent generation in them; this does not conform to the traditional residential pattern of the bighouse. However, parents live close to their sons; as a result, adjacent generations do have considerable contact. Currently, grandparents are not responsible for child rearing and seem to have little direct control over their sons' households except in a few cases. Women of adjacent generations sometimes form strong alliances. In such cases, the grandmother exerts considerable influence on her daughter-in-law and her grandchildren. The traditional socializing role of the grandparents is present where such alliances exist.

Men form alliances too. Male groups consist of brothers, fathers, and cousins of both generations. They tend to share occupations so the traditional pattern that men from an extended family work together has prevailed. For example, one longshoring gang is made up of a father, his three sons, and a nephew. More will be said about male

12. There are other variations which are becoming prevalent: Squamish women are marrying white men (R. Band (1971, p. 11) states that 40 women married-out over a period of 9 years). Band endogamy is also practiced (6). In three cases, white women have married-in. There are also 5 women from non-Salish Bands who have married-in.

and female alliances; for the moment, it is only important to note that in spite of the reduction in kin recognition, alliances persist between kin who are close collaterals. These male groups and the female alliances are extremely important in the maintenance of individual, family, and community stability.

The Squamish changed from a traditional religion to Catholicism without undue difficulty. Some of the cultural features which facilitated the change were inherent in the Squamish belief system. Religion was a focal point of Squamish life; it permeated all aspects of life in one way or another. For example, the guardian spirits which individuals sought were believed to enhance their positive personal characteristics. If people acquired additional spirit help in daily activities they became wealthy and of high status. This meant they were able to be good Squamish by providing for others. All of the beliefs about the universe, about their original ancestors, and about the necessity for indulging in placatory rituals were central to Squamish religion. Catholicism was also introduced as being central to the lives of good people. The concepts of generosity, industry and responsibility are also inherent in Catholic dogma. Evidence of reliance on spirit helpers can be found in the tales of saints and guardian angels; the rituals for placating God and his assemblage are well documented. The Squamish understood these parallels and accepted them with facility. While the Squamish set out to complement their religious system, the missionaries set out to destroy it in the belief that it could have no place in Catholicism. The pressure placed on individuals to disavow

their religious activities is confirmed by many Capilano people. The Squamish adapted to Catholicism without, it seems, the ready realization that their own religion would be diminished or destroyed. This resulted in serious cultural loss for them. The Squamish people currently talk about the grief they felt in the years during which they could not have their winter rituals. And it is especially the current generation of youth who express their bitterness at the fact that they have been "deprived" of learning their religion. They talk of the ways in which they can regain it from grandparents who are still hesitant to instruct them in case they may offend the local clergy. Beliefs and traditions are difficult to erase. In spite of the impact of Catholicism on the people of Capilano, there is a strong residue of native beliefs even among the staunchest Catholics who still attend church. These are made explicit most often at times of bereaval but also appear in other contexts.

The major impact of the missionaries was felt not only in the religious realm but also in the personal one. Children who were in residential school learned to equate statements about Indian culture with statements about themselves. For example, the lack of freedom to speak the local language, to see parents, to participate in ritual gatherings when combined with statements about "savages" and "civilizing" people resulted in the individual formulating a negative and derogatory self-image. This will be detailed later but for the moment one need only note that the serious practice of Catholicism has not survived

many years.[13] In contrast, individuals' negative concepts of self have lasted over 40 years; some may never be altered.

In traditional society, curing was done by a number of individuals. The Indian doctor[14] was responsible for curing those illnesses which were believed to be associated with the spirit world. In these cases, the doctor performed the curing ceremony in the presence of the family and often in the presence of a larger group. The doctor as well as older spirit dancers with special knowledge used ritual tokens and their own spirit power to draw out evil objects and to restore individuals to health. Some individuals in the community had expert knowledge of local herbs, plants and roots which were of medicinal value. They used these for curing physical illnesses and for treating injuries such as lacerations, knife wounds, and broken bones. Currently, ritual medico-religious practices are being revived. In addition, Squamish Indians use local western medical resources available under the provincial medical health plan.

Traditionally, social control was maintained primarily by public knowledge, that is, people living in the close proximity of communal houses were familiar with the expectations of the society and the individual breaches of such expectations. Socialization was consistent and was reinforced in a variety of ways. It would have been impossible for an individual to have grown up in a bighouse without knowing what was

13. Most Squamish people are Roman Catholic but few at Capilano attend church or participate in Catholicism in any significant way.
14. I am using the English terms used by the Squamish people.

expected of him as a member of his particular family as well as knowing the general rules attached to ritual activities and social events. The communality and the small size of the group provided relatively homogeneous orientation for group members. The diversity of the present situation has made some individuals uncertain about what is expected of them and about what constitutes ideal behaviour. This condition is a reflection of the conflict between people who have varying degrees of acculturation and economic status. At each level, individuals define their own behaviour as "ideal" and reflect derogatively on varients practiced by others. The confusion for children emanates in addition from the practices suggested by church, school, and government personnel.

More Recent Significant Events

Several events have occurred in the 1960's which have resulted in additional changes on the reserve at Capilano. The appointment of a Band Manager in 1963 heralded the beginning of major control of reserve affairs by the Squamish people themselves. At the same time, this move reinforced the power of a Council which is not uniformly representative of the people it serves. The benevolence of Council is directed at a particular segment of Squamish society. For example, it is easier for relatives of Council members to obtain housing, welfare, and other benefits. Such inequity crushes the hopes of a community who naively predicted that the appointment of an Indian person as an administrative officer would mean increased benefits for all.

Several federal-provincial agreements have been recently made in the areas of health, education, and welfare. The first provincial government contract in welfare services was made in 1965 in order to provide child protection services on the reserve. It was this contract which enabled the Band to pay relatives to care for children and to pay them the same amount that white foster parents would receive in similar situations. The appointment of an Indian welfare worker to handle all welfare requests as well as child placement took place in 1966. The first appointee was a Cree who was treated as a stranger. She left after being on the reserve about eight months. An additional worker from the local reserve was appointed to develop youth and recreational programs. His role was confused with that of the social worker and as a result he was placed under severe strain by relatives who felt he failed to give as much to his expectant kin as to other people.

In 1965 the local federal (and Catholic) day school was closed down and all Capilano children were obliged to attend the local public schools. Parents offered comments on why the local Catholic schools refused to enter into any agreements for the education of the local Indian children. Many parents feel that the resistance to admitting Indians into the local Catholic schools was a reflection of the continued negative perception of Indians by clergy. One person explained: "It's all right to have Catholic school on the reserve but they don't want us mixing with their nice religious white kids. Well, it doesn't matter; the public school is better anyway and I'm glad that's where my kids are now. I wasn't very happy at first but now I wouldn't change

them to the Catholic school anyway." The major complaint of Capilano parents was not that they opposed integrated education but that a major change affecting their lives was once again made without consultation. It should also be noted that in the two years prior to its closure, the reserve church school had provided time and space for cultural activities such as craft classes, Indian dancing, and language classes. These were all taught by the local Squamish people.

Originally, health care was provided to reserve residents through the regional office of the Indian Health Services which was located in Vancouver. Clinic hours were from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., five days a week. Indian people who became ill during the night or on weekends were not able to contact doctors or obtain advice or treatment unless their illness was so acute that it forced them to go to the emergency clinic of the contract hospital.[15] Since the federal doctor did not come to the reserve, the difficulty of getting to his office was often overwhelming, especially for young mothers with many children who were unable to find babysitters or to afford transportation across town. As a result, health services were utilized only for acute situations and many individuals became acutely ill unnecessarily.

Public health services were provided by contract with the provincial public health services; a public health nurse was assigned to the reserve for half-a-day a week. Reports show that in the initial years of the contract the nurse did spend time on the reserve carrying

15. The only hospital authorized by Federal Health Services to admit Indian patients was St. Paul's in Vancouver.

out the usual public health activities. However, in the last three years, she has seen only the school children in the school nurse's office. When the hepatitis epidemic occurred in 1969 no public health officials visited the reserve, even after two deaths occurred. By comparison, in the wealthy British Properties (north of the reserve) there were fewer cases of hepatitis. Families there received visits and information from the public health officials and were given gamma globulin. Public health services continue to remain under contract to the reserve but the personnel have decreased services stating that they have no authority to act on the reserve and therefore may only advise. They feel that this incapacitates them to function adequately. In general, then, public health services are lacking. British Columbia entered the federal medicare plan in 1969, and this automatically made every British Columbia resident eligible for medical coverage. With the change from Federal services to Provincial services, the Squamish people became eligible for the same services as all other Canadians including choice of doctor and of hospital. The result has been that Squamish people now use local medical services at the same rates and for the same reasons as do their white neighbours.[16]

Another major event which occurred during the 1960's was the rental of reserve lands on the northwest side of the Fraser River. The rental of this land for a large shopping and apartment development resulted in increased income and good housing for the people who lived

16. Termansen and Ryan (1970).

on that reserve. Under contract with the Band, the municipality of West Vancouver pays a considerable sum of money for the lease which goes into Band revenues. In addition, at the initiation of the development of the complex, individuals were compensated for housing which they had on the West Vancouver reserve regardless of quality. Thus, some individuals who lived in one-room shacks on the creek obtained between $6,000 and $8,000 to apply towards a new house.[17] The people on the West Vancouver reserve were then relocated at the Capilano reserve. When this occurred, they obtained relatively large lots upon which to put their houses. Most of them bought old houses from the Vancouver area where freeways were going through and put them on new basements. The result is that the area where people relocated is a pleasant residential site with relatively large and attractive houses. This relocation was resented by the original Capilano residents who live in old, wartime housing which is currently condemned by the Band as well as by other official groups. Theoretically, the original members of the Capilano reserve were to get new housing as a result of increased Band revenues. However, this has not materialized. The result is that extended families are split and, even where the kin link is irrelevant the splitting of the "haves" and "have nots" has been extremely rigid. At the moment, it is important to note that the lease of the land and the subsequent acquisition of good housing have reinforced the divisiveness among the Capilano people.

17. It has not been possible to check these figures; they are probably escalated by reporters.

It would be impossible to finish this chapter without a reference to the policy on Indians as proposed in the White Paper of the Department published in 1969. That Paper has so far served to bring together Indian bands from all over the Province (as well as at a national level) to discuss the ramifications of implementing such policies. If these committees, such as the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs and the National Indian Brotherhood, succeed in remaining integrated and effective, that in itself will be an historical event of note. To date no national Indian organizations have been able to survive their own factionalism. This has reduced their power in negotiating with Federal government. At a more individual and social level, the considerations of the White Paper are seen by the Squamish as extremely threatening. If the stated policies were implemented, there would be a loss of legal status, of special services and privileges. Such threats cannot be viewed lightly. It is noteworthy that the individuals who have been chosen to respond on behalf of British Columbia Indian groups are the young, educated Indians whom the Bands feel can "speak to the whites." In addition, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs has hired lawyers and other resource personnel to provide them with the data they need to confront government officials. Most significant, however, is the threatened loss of identity and of "Indianness." Again, the White Paper may be the start of the process of merging historical feelings, observations, and frustrations. As well, it may help young Indian people reassert their Indian identity, their rights, and their unwillingness to be manipulated by the Federal government. Since this

thesis focuses mainly on identity the question which the White Paper poses is a vital one; that is, if the White Paper policies are implemented, in what ways will Indians be able to continue to identify themselves as Indians?

Summary

It is obvious that certain historical events have contributed to the differentiation of structure and of interaction on the Capilano reserve. Several events stand out as significant ones which affected the perceptions, feelings, and life style of the local Squamish people in many ways. Events such as the Indian Act, the establishment of reserves, and missionization have certain irreversible features which are not likely to be assuaged by implementing the 1969 Policy Paper on Indians. Federal-provincial agreements on health, education, and welfare have created a system of services characterized by certain restraints which have discriminated against Indians in general. Such restraints have inhibited the Indian people from obtaining services equal and similar to those provided for the majority of Canadians.

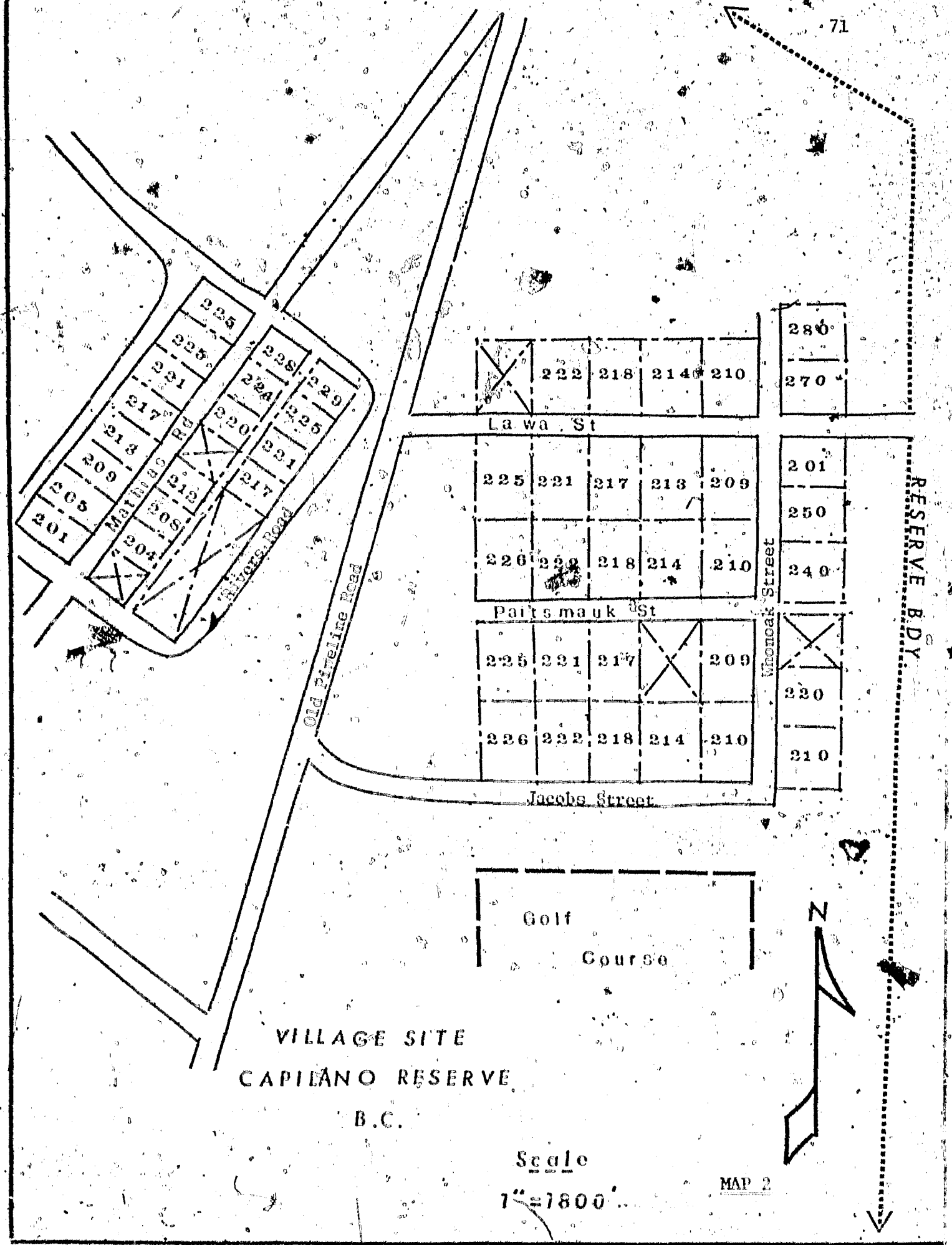
The continuity which persists despite the shift from traditional patterns to contemporary ones is an important feature of Squamish social organization and one which it is necessary to consider when evaluating the effect of urbanization of the Squamish. Many changes are perceived as negative by a number of Squamish people. The people in power, however, tend to accentuate the positive effects of social change and to disregard the negative ones.

The traditional Squamish people held concepts concerning the relative worth of certain family names, extended family groups and individuals. Such concepts differentiated various categories of people although there was no clear-cut ranking system. Socialization was directed toward informing children about their status within the family and about the status of others. Attitudes and behaviour towards others were determined in major part by the knowledge an individual had about another's status.

The system of residential schooling brought categories of people into contact who might otherwise have been kept apart from each other. As a result, the definition of status became unclear as the years progressed and individuals of certain status married the "wrong" category of person. As agents of social change, the school and church also disrupted the Squamish belief system, reduced the use of the Squamish language, and altered the process of socialization by removing children from their homes. Such occurrences account in major part for the attitudes of contemporary Squamish toward Catholicism and their own religion, toward marriage and fertility, toward whites and towards themselves.

The shift from a collecting economy with a system of circulating resources to a wage economy based on cash altered the range of kin for which any senior household head could provide. It also reduced the kin alliances of corporate family economic activity. This strengthened the nuclear family unit rather than the extended one; in some cases this was reinforced by the shift to nuclear households.

The patterns which are described for contemporary Squamish households in Chapter II illustrate the effect of the legal, historical and social factors discussed above.



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Mathias Rd
Rivers Road
Old Pipeline Road
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Lawa St
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240
Paitsmauk St
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221
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209
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222
218
214
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220
210
Whonoak Street
Jacobs Street
RESERVE BDY
Golf
Course
N
VILLAGE SITE
CAPILANO RESERVE
B.C.
Scale
1"=1800'

MAP 2

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE AT THE CAPILANO RESERVE

The Physical Setting

The Capilano Reserve is located south of Marine Drive in North Vancouver on the east side of Lion's Gate Bridge. No signs mark its boundaries or admonish the visitors that they are trespassing on Indian land. The reserve entries from the east and from the west sides bring the traveller into considerably different environments even though the distance between the two ends is only a matter of five or six city blocks. Entering from the east, one sees wide streets, large homes with fences and lawns, garages, and street lights. Entering by the west side, one sees dilapidated small houses, dusty, narrow roads, few street lights, no lawns and fences.

The differences seen readily by the stranger walking through the reserve do not reflect a simple economic difference exhibited by the quality of housing. These geographical and economic features are symbolic of much deeper differences between residents which are part of a pervasive social and political patterning as well as the economic and geographical ones. The two "sides"[1] are geographical markers of a factionalism that pervades the small reserve and one which reinforces con-

1. Speakers from each side refer to the counterpart as "the other side."

siderable intergroup conflict. The conflicts are also sustained by the complexities of the class system, the existence of a power elite, and by the degree of traditional orientation and activity which members of each side share.

There are 49 household heads living in 43 households on the reserve. (See Table 4 showing population distribution.) Of these, 17 houses are in the old section. The pattern of residence is traditional in many aspects. Although households generally contain nuclear families, fathers and their brothers, as well as their sons and cousins, live in adjacent houses. Sometimes the streets are named for families as is the case where three brothers live in a row beside their widowed mother. Their sister's residence is displaced in the sequence by a cousin's house (See map 3 for an example of family linkages). The geographical division of the houses reflects the extended kin grouping of different families. The fact that the economic elite occupy one major segment of the "better" side is a constant and visible source of irritation to opposing extended families.

The West Side

This side of the reserve is known as the "old" section. It is made up of wartime houses, most of which hold a bedroom, bathroom and kitchen-living area. People have subdivided the units in a variety of ways so that some have separate kitchens and others have bedrooms. The floor space in most is approximately 600 square feet but in a few it is only 400 square feet. Two or three families have added closed-in porches which serve as kitchens or bedrooms. All houses are heated with space

TABLE 4

SHOWING COMPARATIVE HOUSEHOLD POPULATION OF CAPILANO RESERVE (49) AND SELECTED SAMPLE (26) BY AGE AND SEX

	Sex	Age Range				
		0-19	20-25	26-35	36-55	55+
Population at Capilano	M	65	4	13	19	4
	F	64	7	10	18	6
TOTAL		129	11	23	37	10
Selected sample population	M	48	9	11	7	5
	F	43	11	9	9	5
TOTAL		91	20	20	16	10

or wood heaters; none have basements. Seven houses are condemned by the Band and public health officials as unfit for human habitation. Two houses in this area burned down in the past three years and will not be replaced. Band Council plans to move people out of that area and to build them new houses on the golf course land when the lease expires within the year.

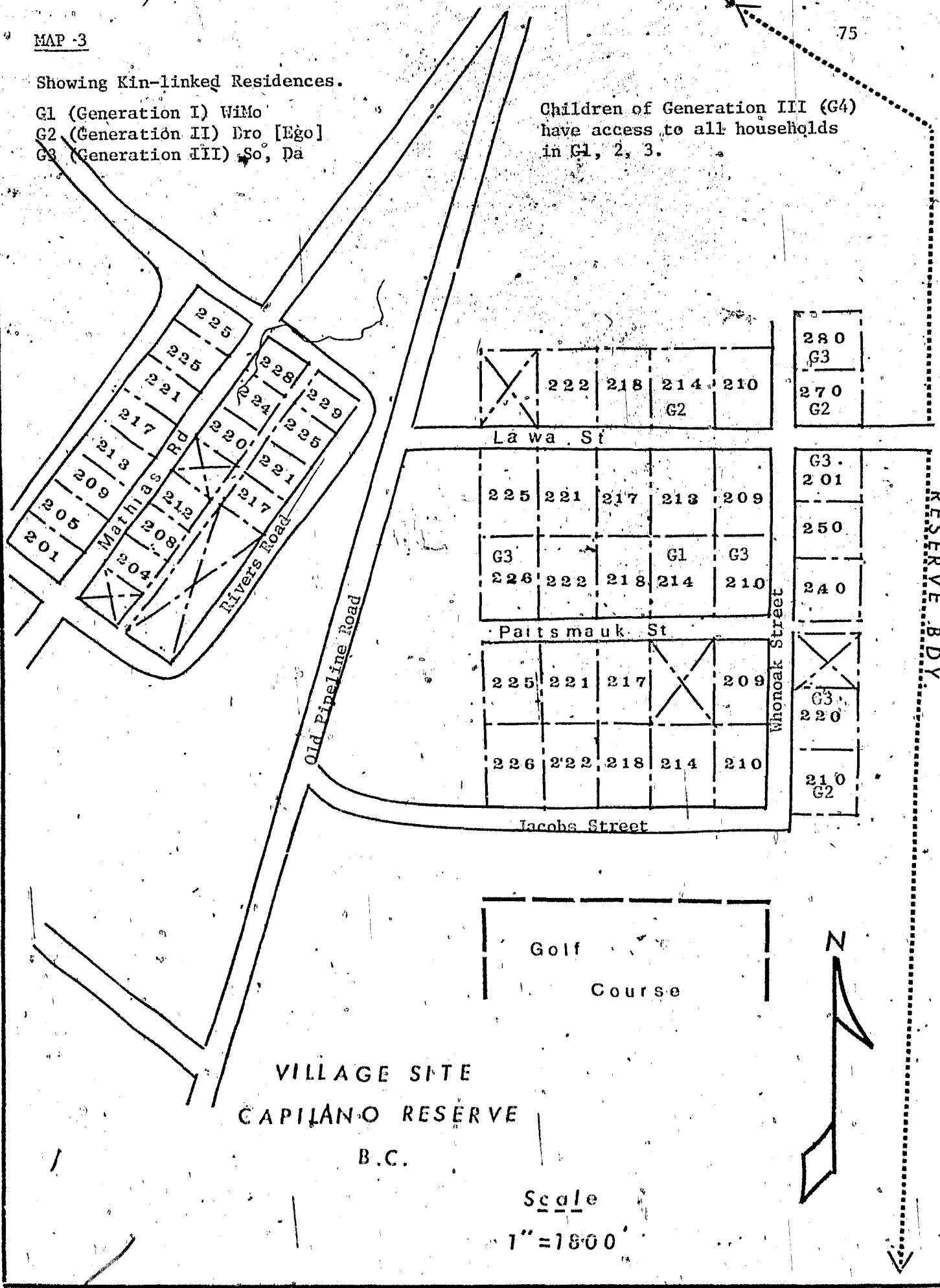
Some of these small houses hold as many as 14 people and with the exception of two couples in retirement, all hold a minimum of six people. Rats can be seen at times, and the muddy road combines with many unpainted exteriors to give a depressed and oppressive atmosphere. In contrast, many of the interiors have been painted or panelled; the interior atmosphere can be warm and gay. In other cases, interiors match exteriors and afford the occupants few pleasantries.

MAP -3

Showing Kin-linked Residences.

G1 (Generation I) WiMo
G2 (Generation II) Bro [Ego]
G3 (Generation III) So, Da

Children of Generation III (G4) have access to all households in G1, 2, 3.



Houses are owned by their occupants with a few exceptions where relatives are renting from the owner who may live elsewhere on the reserve or in town. The Band Manager stated that cost of the units to household heads was $1,200 about 20 years ago. They have been paid for at the rate of $25 per annum deducted from Band redistribution monies. Although they are owned by the household head, the Band continues to service the houses and to repair plumbing, heaters, etc. Money is also available for paint and interior finishings if the household head is unemployed. If he is employed, then the Band lends him the money without interest to make improvements.

Seven families on welfare live on the two streets filled with these small houses. In contrast, only one family is on welfare on the other side of the reserve. The heads of three families in this area are whites; they are renting the houses from Band members who own them. Apparently the Band has no objection to such arrangements even though neighbours complain that whites are living on the reserve. The whites are men married to women from the Band which may explain the reluctance of Council to force them to move elsewhere.

Two of the family heads on Mathias and River Roads are retired longshoremen. Six others currently are employed on the docks and one works for the Band. The remainder (10) are on welfare (4), employed casually and on welfare (3), or are too ill to work and on compensation of various sorts (3) (see Table 1).

Of the families on Mathias and River Roads, 10 claim to have traditional high status and have been given, or have a claim to, "big

names." Of the current parent generation, eight couples have had their Indian names bestowed on them but only one family has held a naming ceremony for their sons. Daughters in that family have yet to have their names bestowed. Eight families attend smokehouse activities, and six families have at least one partner who is an initiated spirit dancer. One man has herbal knowledge and was a dancer when he was younger. He still attends the dances but never participates. His reasons for not participating relate to a heart condition and to his belief that things "are not done properly any more." Therefore, he would prefer not to be involved. He no longer practices herbal medicine except for crisis intervention within his immediate family.

At the time of data collection, only one man from this side of the reserve was on Council, one was a lacrosse coach and one woman was head of the education committee. The lack of representation of this group on Council and on Band committees is noteworthy.

Residence patterns in this area do not adhere to the more traditional structure seen on the other side. Daughters rather than sons live beside their parents. Two white brothers live across from each other in rented houses; one of the wives lives beside her parents. The only other linkage is a small cluster of three houses where a man, his daughter, and his sister and their families occupy adjacent households. Of the 17 houses, five are rented to "outsiders," two of whom are the whites already mentioned. One house burned last year. One fire the previous year took the lives of four children but the house was repaired and is still occupied by the father and his three remaining children.

One would expect the residence pattern, and other features of life on Mathias and River Roads, to be more integrated than they are because of the low level of involvement with Council and the relatively high level of involvement within the smokehouse. However, the preferred pattern of marriage[2] has not prevailed in this nucleus of big-name families. Daughters, rather than sons, are living beside their parents. Two sisters are living beside their brothers. In two cases, women are married to whites but living near their own parents. The rest of the group is constituted of strangers.

In general, the material quality of life on Mathias and River Roads is rather uniformly poor due to density of household population, low income, and lack of political power. The emotional quality of life varies among households, sometimes in relation to income, but more commonly in relation to the capacity of the mother, and the rate of alcohol consumption of either or both parents. Since many of the household members are active in traditional activities such as canoe racing, spirit dancing, and the quasi-traditional lacrosse and hockey, drinking tends to be sporadic.[3] The economic aspect of drinking cannot be overlooked. It takes money to drink heavily and to hold parties frequently. Few people on Mathias and River Roads can afford to drink in any heavy amount or for many days. As well, three families in the area are firm members of Alcoholics Anonymous.

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2. Band exogamy, patrilocal residence.
3. Drinking is prohibited for dancers during the ritual season (November to March) and for participants when spring training for the canoe racing begins.

Children on these streets were both more friendly and more hostile than the children from the east side. On Mathias and River Roads I was always greeted either with curses or with open pleasure. The curses usually related to my refusal to take a child somewhere that he or she thought she should go. A typical instance occurred one day when a 5 year old trotted down the muddy street without shoes on to greet me. She then informed me that her shoes were wet and that she needed a ride to school tomorrow! I replied that I would not be on the reserve the next day to which she responded, "Fucking white man; you never do nothing for no one!" Apart from difficulty in considering her rage seriously, I was somewhat hesitant to knock on her parents' door when it came time to see them! Parents were generally more guarded on this side than on the other since they assumed that I, like most whites -- and perhaps like their economically elite relatives on the "other" side -- would be superior and disparaging. It took considerable effort to make contacts and to maintain them.

The diversity of families on Mathias and River Roads was also found on the other side with one notable exception. There was no power base on Mathias and River Roads at all since only one individual from this area was on Council; he was more involved with people on the other side than with his neighbours. The people on Mathias and River Roads tended to be genuinely hostile and bitter both with regard to whites and to other Indians. The main thrust of their bitterness was more internal than external, however. They felt they had been put in their low economic and powerless positions by the manipulations of a few

people from the other side, most of whom they considered to be recent immigrants to their reserve. As a result, they felt "put down" constantly and were much less secure in their dealings with me and with others than were the people from the other side who operated from a firmer economic and power base.

People on Mathias and River Roads believed that their socio-economic and political situations were not likely to change. The impact of this recognition was to make them value their traditional culture, especially religion, more highly. There was great eagerness to have children named; adolescents and older school children were actively pressuring their parents to name them. The naming ceremony was seen as a means of equalizing some of the disparities of income and power by rendering them irrelevant. They became irrelevant in the sense that although it cost money to hold a naming, money *per se* was not the end of the ceremony. While some individuals could achieve status through being elected to Council and by accumulating wealth from employment, the people on Mathias and River Roads could reclaim a traditional status and power which operated outside the "Council-employment" criteria for recognition. They could have the same personal satisfaction while at the same time disparaging the latter system. In this behaviour, they were joined by the economically non-elite from the east side. This added to the impetus for a return to the smokehouse and for personal recognition within a system which was viable for them. As a result, people who would normally not have cooperated did so and were able to force the Band to rebuild the smokehouse which had burned down two years earlier.

Such an achievement was no mean feat for people whose one political representative was opposed to "that kind of nonsense." A major contributing feature of the movement back to the smokehouse was explained by parents as an attempt to give their children something of which to be proud. It is a reaction to the bitterly recalled insults of the mission teachers who had made being an Indian something less than being human. Many of the mothers were just beginning to realize what they had suffered in terms of their own concepts of self-worth. Now they had one or two adolescent children and with more children coming along, they felt they needed "something Indian" to hold firm as a source of pride. Since they could not look to positions of contemporary wealth or power to fulfill such needs, they were turning back to the one remaining system which held some promise of legitimizing their Indianness.

Youths added their own dimension to the movement by pointing out that they did not know about the religious and cultural connotations of being named or becoming a dancer. They admitted that they liked the prospect of being "special" people. More important was the idea that an Indian name emphasized their Indianness and their separateness from whites. They wanted to be very separate on their own terms since within the integrated schools they felt that they were already socially separate. Whether such means can achieve and fulfill the goals mentioned remains to be seen. It would seem that for this interim period the rebuilding of the smokehouse, and the announcement of intent to hold a naming -- or to become an initiate -- provide sufficient gain to compensate for the many negative features of life on Mathias and River Roads.

The Other Side: East

When the reserve was first established, it encompassed considerable territory on the river. Much of the land was rented to the Harbours Board and to logging and milling companies. Ultimately a bridge was built which separated the eastern section from the western section of the reserve. As a result, the separation became solidified in the minds of the people and they began to refer to themselves with separate place names. Eventually, the west side of the reserve had an offer to sell some land to developers of a large shopping complex.[4] The money involved ran to a reported six figures. It was to be paid in part to the Band and in part to individuals as compensation for loss of their homes. The offer of the developers was accepted by the Band and a major shopping complex was built.

The question arose as to where the dispossessed people would relocate. The Band decided that an unoccupied portion on the east side of Capilano Reserve would be allocated to them and that they would resettle there. Tales of the move, and of amounts of money involved, sound like stories of early gold-rush adventures. Figures as low as $2,000, and as high as $25,000, are mentioned when one asks about compensation for lands and homes. There is no feasible way of checking such figures since there are no available records of settlements with individuals. What is evident is that people on the east side of the reserve have excellent homes some of which would probably sell now for $15,000 to

4. This "west" is the portion of the original reserve; the east-west referred to earlier related to the current reserve area.

$30,000 were sales permitted. Figures which I have recorded as purchase prices for sizeable homes, bought in the urban area and transported to new foundations on the reserve, vary from $5,000 to $8,000. Many of these homes have four to six bedrooms, a large living-room area, substantial kitchens, and bathrooms; some have finished or partially-finished basements. Most are in good repair, both on the inside and out, while others show signs of interior wear but are well-maintained outside.

Approximately 75% of the homes on the east side have lawns and about 50% have fences. Of the total number of houses (26), only three appear to be in the poor state of the majority of houses on the west side, that is, small, in bad repair, and overcrowded. Of the three, one could be renovated to fit in with the rest; the two others are subject to the same condemnation as the post-war housing on the other side. The spacious houses are well-furnished. Furnishings include beds for all individuals, a contrast to the west side where several children sleep on floors or share beds. Colour television sets are found in 50% of the homes and most have freezers. With few exceptions, most household heads have cars and in three cases wives have their own cars as well.

It is interesting that even though the houses are more spacious the number of children on the east side is considerably less per family than it is on the west. The average family size consists of four to five children and only two households have more than ten occupants.

Patrilocal patterns of residence prevail (see Map 3). One street is occupied by a widow and her three children with their families. Just around the corner is another son and his family. Running across this street is another which houses two brothers and their sons. Directly around the intersection live another brother and a cousin. The one traditionally oriented family has a daughter and her family, as well as a grandchild, within the household; a daughter married to a white lives beside them. Across the street are the adult sons of the old man's brother. The remainder of the street consists of relatives with the exception of one family from Northern British Columbia; even then, the man is married to a local girl.

The men on the east side are all employed with two exceptions. Most work as longshoremen and have for many years. One man is retired; another is on welfare because he has ulcers and cirrhosis; until two years ago he was also a longshoreman. A few men take time off occasionally with compensation for injuries sustained while at work; their loss of income is not significant. Incomes are high; longshoremen earn from $800 to $1,500 monthly; one individual who runs his own business is reputed to clear $20,000 per annum (see Table 1). Five women are employed full-time. In addition, four wives supplement the household incomes by knitting the famous "Cowichan" sweaters.

Six women hold Band committee positions. Nine men are Councillors from this area and represent the major family enclaves mentioned above. In addition, the Band Manager lives here, and the grandson of the late and last hereditary chief is now head of the British Columbia Union of Chiefs. No white men live on this side of the reserve but one

white woman has married-in and is part of one of the large extended families. In addition, most of the women have married-in from outside the Band. They represent Mount Currie, Alert Bay, various Vancouver Island points, and Interior Salish villages. Two families from Northern British Columbia are renting houses; all others are occupied by the owners. The houses were paid for by the money accrued from the shopping center complex; they were placed on new foundations, renovated, repaired, and furnished with loans from the Band. These loans are repaid at the rate of $50 per annum taken out of redistribution monies of each adult but not of the children. No interest in charged. Repairs are the responsibility of the owner except for those few cases where household heads are on welfare or pensions.

The economic and power base is clearly located on the east side of the reserve. Since nepotism is a quasi-traditional practice,[5] then the political base is reinforced by continued election of kin by the extended families. Socially, the two major families are in opposition to each other; politically, they align in order to obtain maximum advantage from their political positions, especially when other segments of the Band appear to threaten their power. One family tends to dominate both the political and economic scene and as a result is the constant source of criticism. One major feature of this extended family group is that its genealogy is under constant evaluation within the community; some Band members claim that a "white" element had somehow

5. That is, if one considers the traditional responsibility of the wealthy and powerful household heads.

manipulated the Band so that this extended family became a *bona fide* segment of the Band at some point in history. It is common to hear gossip about this family's lack of claim to traditional status and the complementary statement that they should not be on the reserve.

Without the historical and genealogical data, there is no way that such statements can be evaluated. It is true, however, that this one extended family has not claimed any names, refuses to participate in smokehouse affairs, is not involved with ritual summer events, and runs a "counter-culture" of chicken dances, tomahawk-and-feather-type activities which even some of the high-status people participate in for their own amusement. Some Band members resent the public image which is portrayed by this family to the general public and feel they have no way of communicating their own important views and culture because of their private and ritual nature.

With the exception of one family, youths on the east side are oriented toward making money in a white world and do not seem to feel that they will have any difficulty in doing so. This is a realistic orientation since their fathers and uncles are making good incomes through employment in white settings. Additionally, most youths from the east side aspire to some political power as well as good income because they have models within their families on wich to base their expectations of success. These matters will be dealt with more fully in the chapter on socialization. It is important to note that while these individuals draw their prestige and status by having power and money to display within the reserve, their children look consistently outward and expect to live off the reserve and work at remunerative pro-

fessional jobs. They are not interested in Indianness; they are primarily concerned about power and money. They do not consider the fact that they are members of an Indian Band which will inhibit (or help) them in any way from achieving such goals. In actuality, off a reserve they would be difficult to distinguish in appearance or behaviour from whites pursuing similar occupations and life-styles.

Band members express a variety of concerns about the structure and patterns of social organization prevalent on the reserve. Some of these are discussed below in order to provide the context for the discussion presented later on patterns of socialization.

Membership

One of the primary concerns of any human group is how to define its members. A group readily defines "insiders" and "outsiders" but the differentiations made within those categories are not as easily perceived. All people at the Capilano reserve define themselves as "insiders" because of their membership in a distinct extended family group. They can trace their family history to a common ancestor. It is in this genealogical process that the differences appear between those people who have "privileged knowledge" (Suttles) and those who cannot trace ancestry "properly." These two categories of people are labelled by the Squamish in a variety of ways. The most familiar terms used are big-name families versus no-name families, noble versus commoner, important people versus nobodies.[6]

6. There are other categories of people based on different criteria. However, these are the major categories and the ones into which all corporate groups fall.

These categorizations immediately communicate the idea that one person has about the qualities of another. There are many types of related issues attached to the categorization. For example, big-name people are supposed to behave in certain ways toward each other and differently toward no-name people. This is a traditional concept which was attached to the classification of people in the bighouses, especially the head and his relatives who had certain types of responsibilities toward less fortunate and less knowledgeable relatives. The quality of being a good Squamish is attached to expectations of fulfilment of kin needs by those who hold wealth, power, and status. Traditionally, those were the big-name people who acquired their wealth, and subsequently their power and status, from being able to accumulate more natural resources than anyone else. They then redistributed these to their less fortunate kin and added to the concepts of their bigness. Secret knowledge and advice was passed from family head to descendants so that sons and grandsons could maintain the family name by knowing where the best fishing grounds were, how best to use their skills, how to behave appropriately on ritual occasions, and what rituals to engage in in order to be most successful. Such access to information, skills, and ritual advice was theoretically not available to the no-name people. If contemporary trends are any reflection of the past, it is more than likely that the knowledge and advice was withheld in certain instances and passed on in distorted form in others. The latter process, which will be discussed in Chapter III, functions very adequately to make "fools" of unknowledgeable people on certain ritual and social occasions.

There is no question that the dichotomy between the two major categories of people which traditionally might have been easily and rigidly defined still exists now but the edges are blurred. Wealth and power no longer depend on ritual knowledge or on secret knowledge of natural resources and the spirit and natural skills involved in acquiring them. The shift to a cash economy has enabled some of the no-name people to acquire a different set of advantageous skills and knowledge and to use them in the same ways as did the big-name people in the past. That is, they are used to contain people in a powerless position, making them dependent upon those with wealth and power. This enhances the status and prestige of the already powerful. So a new class of elite has arisen without necessary reference to traditional family history.

While the new elite has come into being and controls the reserve, the old ideas about status have not yet adjusted to accommodate either the new elite or the ramifications of a cash economy based on certain legal and administrative restrictions. Band management is not just a function of redistribution of wealth; it is restricted by conditions of the Act and by Band policy. The fact that some people acquire more wealth and power than others within that context is noted as a further complexity when trying to sort out the various processes which determine categories of people and benefits to be derived from that categorization. It is apparent that the ideology which persists in defining categories of people is anachronistic in the contemporary situation. Nevertheless, the elite tends to keep such anachronisms alive by behaving in ways which can fit into the traditional explanations. For example,

nepotism which is widely practiced fits in nicely with the old concept of the senior head of the bighouse providing for kin in a variety of ways. One of the most severe criticisms that Councillors face from relatives is that they are not providing sufficient benefits to their kin. On the other hand, as soon as Council decides to give X a job, or a house, or welfare, the Ys protest that they are being unfairly treated. Since Council is voted in by large kin groups, the few solitary members elected by other families receive heavy criticism for not having sufficient power to provide their kin with similar advantages. The criticism then is reduced to a traditional argument. That is, the statements made are that some people are poor and powerless because the no-names have taken over the roles that should be held by the big-names. As a result, people feel they suffer at the hands of an "ignorant bunch of people who don't know how to behave." When some favour is received, it is explained by some as their due and no thanks are given because "that's the way it should be; he is just behaving right." Such perceptions tend to be generational; young people under 40 operate from contemporary concerns and ideologies but are judged by the older people with traditional terms and expectations.

An individual's family of birth determines his status to the extent that traditional concerns are still alive. There is a dual system of evaluation of status at Capilano but the halves of the system are not entirely mutually exclusive. Children of the new elite consider[7]

7. That is, the putative no-names who control the reserve and who are perceived as having considerable wealth and power.

themselves as members of the elite. As such they expect preferential treatment from their relatives and refuse, or are not permitted, to associate with other categories of people. Big-name families, who are not part of the new system, are also a self-defined elite group who cite their traditional heritage and assume that their children will restore them to their legitimate positions of power. In this way, the two systems are parallel. The children of the big-name families are becoming bicultural in their knowledge and expectations. For example, they are expected to attend school and to succeed so that they will acquire the knowledge necessary to reclaim their rightful positions as contemporary rulers of the Band. At the same time, they are learning their traditional culture, know their names and history, even if it has only been "thrown at them."[8] Therefore, they are becoming contenders for prestigeful community positions.

The above may appear to be a long and complex consideration of membership. It is vital in understanding some of the contemporary factionalism, however, to understand the ways in which membership is ascribed, obtained by birth, or achieved through marriage. There appear to be a variety of rules which are stated where the actions of people belie the statements.

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8. This phrase denotes the awareness of the smokehouse participants that an individual has claim to a certain name and various privileges even though they may not have yet been formally installed in the smokehouse. Such "thrown-at" status is usually recognized by contemporary Salish because they recognize the inability of many parents and grandparents to pay for proper ritual bestowal ceremonies. This will be further explained in Chapter III.

Membership Through Marriage

The Salish apparently had some latitude in following their rules for marriage. The preference was for local exogamy; first cousin marriage was prohibited. However, the fact that housemates often married in the past is evidence that local endogamy was also quite common (Barnett, 1955). The more important goal in marriage was to choose a mate of at least equal status. Local exogamy was preferred because it insured that economic exchanges could occur through a network of affinal ties along the Coast. Marriages were arranged in the past but no individual was forced to accept a parent's choice if not willing to do so. The arrangement was an economic and a social one designed to maximize access to resources and to give progeny and extended kin claim to considerable personal property from both families. Since the Salish system of descent was bilateral, children could inherit names and other ritual privileges from both sides of the family. In keeping with the traditional concepts of wealth and status, the more such property one could claim, the bigger the name of the extended family became.

An analysis of the contemporary Band patterns of marriage indicates that the pattern is still largely traditional. The majority of marriages reflect the pattern of local endogamy; exogamy is also found. About one-fifth of the women have married-in from other Bands, or are white. The bilateral system of reckoning descent still prevails and residence is still primarily patrilocal.

The permanence of contemporary marriages is difficult to assess. Five households have been disrupted by divorce, two by desertion,

and two by death of one spouse due to abuse of alcohol in the past year. Such disruptions are seen by some parents and grandparents as a function of marrying down or marring out. The latter includes marriage to members of other tribes as well as to whites; there is little differentiation made between marrying a white or an Indian if the Indian does not belong to the Salish tribe.[9] Many grandparents and parents indicate that one of the major problems contributing to the failure of marriage and in marrying-out are a direct result of the educational system. They claim that individuals who would have been carefully protected from unsuitable marriage partners by their extended families in the bighouses met their partners while in residential and public schools. These contacts led not only to the breakdown of the system of arranged marriages, but also to the difficulties of the couples themselves in adjusting adequately to marital situations.

Of the 26 households which were studied thoroughly, six women belonged to non-Salish Bands at the time of marriage; seven marriages reflect the practice of local exogamy, and ten are endogamous. One white woman married in and two Squamish women married whites but live on the reserve. Of the 26, one household contains a single man and two contain families from Northern British Columbia and cannot be considered in the Squamish sample. Of the remaining 23, only 12 marriages would be considered as lying within the realm of proper which leaves their

9. Band, 1969: 11, reports that from 1958 to 1967; 91 Squamish married out; 49 were female and 42 were male. It should be noted that this constitutes a loss to the Band of only the females due to the membership provisions of the Act.

status still unresolved. Of the proper marriages, traditionalists would argue that from the viewpoint of the male, three married up and two married down; the remainder married partners of equal status. This means that the discussion of status is bounded by relationship to only one of the partners since, in endogamous tribal marriages, a man marrying up means a female has married down.

The status issue really reflects upon the children since children have to meet expectations of kin from both sides. A child is considered primarily as the property of the mother since she is held almost totally responsible for socialization. Where a man has married down, his progeny are often abused by his extended family because they can never meet the expectations for proper behaviour. No matter how well they behave, they are still considered inadequate because they have been brought up by their mother who is considered to be of a lower status. The same rule applies in reverse. Children of high status mothers get lauded by her kin for behaviour which overcomes their paternal ancestry!

Membership of young children seems to be determined by female descent and the mother's status rather than by bilateral criteria. Later, children can be "redeemed" by claiming their paternal names and privileges but even then many are viewed by grandparents as unsuitably reared. Similarly, wives who have married in (which is equated with marrying up for them) never seem to acquire full right of membership within the Band, or within the community, on a social or ritual basis. The same exclusion seems to operate with regard to adopted children. A single example illustrates both of these points.

A was born on one of the Squamish reserves. Her mother tended to wander and there was some question as to whether A was the product of the legal union of of some other alliance. The Squamish people seemed to feel that the latter was the case. This was confirmed in their minds when the mother left the child with her legal husband and went to live with another man. The legal husband then adopted the child and the girl lived with him and other children of his second union. When time came for her to marry, she married a man from a big-name family in another reserve. By strict interpretation, her marriage was one of local exogamy and of only slightly less than equal status, since her father was from a big-name family also but not as big as her husband's. Nevertheless, the woman's status within the community is that of an outsider; she is constantly fighting to have her membership recognized by asserting her marital status rather than her natal one. The claim does not work, however, and she herself contributes to its failure by making statements like, "I don't know if that woman was my grandmother or not." No high-status persons would be without such knowledge and were they, they would never admit it. Additionally, in a drunken state, she often challenges people to throw her off the reserve and adds, "But, you can't hurt my sons; nobody can say they don't belong." With the proclivities of the Salish for bending the rules, this is a good example. Her status is reckoned by her mother's and the father's adoption is rendered irrelevant. Her husband's family, which is large and traditionally powerful, regards the children as <u>his</u> and therefore accords them due respect.

In another instance, a man married a girl from an Interior reserve; she too left to wander and ultimately died on skid road. The children are considered hers, however, even by his family which is big-name; the children are seldom included in any ritual or significant events. The Squamish offer no explanation of the ways by which they arrive at such conclusions about membership. However, once a stand is taken, the rigidity of ascription seems to be irreversible and can cause immeasurable grief for those labelled outsiders and for their progeny.

Outsiders

Like members, there are several categories of outsiders. Salish from reserves other than that of the speaker are considered marginal people if they cannot trace a relationship through a common ancestor.

Members of other Indian tribes, or Metis, are always "visitors" or "strangers." Visitors are marginal people who have some established social link with the speaker but no affinal or consanguineal one. Whites and Indians can be considered visitors or strangers. Visitors naturally have more acceptance because of their established social ties. Strangers have little acceptance if they do not know specific people on the reserve or if they have what is considered an irrelevant reason for being there. A curious Cree meets as much hostility as a curious white if he enters the reserve.

In general, visitors and outsiders tend to be regarded as homogeneous; individuals are assumed to reflect group characteristics. Thus, all individuals are treated initially with suspicion, some overt hostility and some covert, as in the complete refusal of people to admit the presence of the other. The process of categorizing strangers and visitors then proceeds and they are accepted into the group on some marginal basis, reclassified, or rejected. The criteria used in determining which category the person will be placed in depend on the initial entry of the individuals, their purpose in being there, and the way they handle formal and informal contacts. It does not seem to be critically linked to ethnicity.[10]

Summary: Class, Status and Power

The geographical division of the reserve reflects a surface image of the divisiveness of the Band which is cross-cut by considerations of membership. Membership is determined by family of birth, family of adoption, and family ~~of~~ marriage. Class, status, and power are concepts which add to the complexity of evaluating the position of an individual within the society. The confusion is increased when one realizes that the system of evaluation is bifold including overlapping traditional and contemporary criteria.

The traditional structure of class, status and power has already been described (Chapter I). In the contemporary society, there

10. I have often felt embarrassed by being given special attention at local ritual events while visiting Indians of high status from another group were completely ignored. This behaviour was defined as proper since I was "recognized" as a marginal member of a local family.

are two classes, one based on traditional criteria of names and descent; the other is based on Western socio-economic criteria. In a few cases, big-name people also fit the economic criteria of the new elite, but in general they tend to be in lower income brackets and not involved in current political administration. The new elite depend on elective rather than hereditary position and on wealth gained from regular employment to maintain their position of status. Status is clearly linked to power in these instances; power is the ability and position to make decisions concerning the lives of other people, especially economic ones relating to housing, welfare, and Band development.

The second system, the residual traditional one, continues to operate within the smokehouse and is gaining momentum. In this system hereditary status is the most important and is firmly linked with the concept of class discussed earlier. The highest status people are those who can trace the longest family histories with the greatest number of big names and privileges. The highest status people within the smokehouse have power in the sense that they make decisions affecting the ritual lives and activities of dancers and other participants.

The overlap between the traditional and the contemporary systems is found in the ideologies attached to the two. In the traditional system, people of high class, status, and power were expected to care for the members of their bighouses who were always relatives. One of the means of legitimizing a big name was through generosity to poorer and less effectual kin. To be a good Salish was to be industrious,

accumulative, and generous. Among many Salish people the expectation is still very strong that those in power, and economically well-off, will provide for kin, especially those in the ascending generation and collaterals. However, the expectation is based on traditional concepts of what is proper held by those over 40 years of age. In contrast, the same expectations are held by younger people based on their observation of the practice of nepotism by Council members.

Nepotism fits very nicely into a traditional ideology even though it is contemporary in its setting and the nepotists belong to the new, not the old, elite. A Councillor is elected by a group of extended kin on the assumption that if he gains a position of power, he will also be in a position to grant financial and other benefits to those voting for him. The observed practice through the granting of jobs to relatives, the giving of welfare, or assignment of houses is well-known. In other words, Council members operate in the same way that big-name people and household heads did in earlier times. The personnel has changed, not the ideology or practice. Kin groups in power by election, or by association, are considered good Squamish by those who benefit. Those not on the receiving end because they are members of opposing extended families base their criticisms of nepotism on traditional arguments. The "ignorant" Councillors behave "badly"; "they don't treat us right because they weren't brought up properly; they have no names, what can you expect?" Members of big-name families who are a minority on Council, suffer the severest criticism; "the no-names can't be expected to know how to behave but the big-names

should." Seldom were any explanations offered which were based on economic, legal, or other types of criteria related to the realities of a Band administration subject to restrictions of the Act, Band policy, and corporate law.

To conclude, the main points I wished to establish in this chapter related to a series of considerations reflected in patterns of residence, the allocation of power, class, status and wealth. Although some old elite families live within the wealthy area of the reserve, their traditional ties are inoperative if the members of the middle generation are involved in contemporary Band politics and economics. The remainder pursue traditional patterns of life and feel poor and powerless. Most of the latter group live in the old section of the reserve in conditions which reflect their poverty. The divisiveness is cross-cut by membership in opposing extended family groups, each of which sees itself as superior to the other. The binary oppositions reflected in the elective versus the hereditary system of leadership, and in the class issue stated in big-name -- no-name terms, complicate the factionalism further. Ideologies anachronistic to each other serve to evaluate people's roles and positions, especially those in public power positions, but the contradictions in ideology are not necessarily conscious. And all these matters determine the values, perceptions, life-styles and socialization practices of the current parent generation. Socialization within the ritual group of families is presented first in Chapter III while that of the new elite families is discussed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTEMPORARY SMOKEHOUSE: SETTING FOR RITUAL SOCIALIZATION

The traditional perspective on spirit dancing, naming, curing and purification has been outlined in Chapter I and by a variety of authors: Barnett (1939); Lane (1952); Wike (1945); Suttles (1960); Robinson (1963); Kew (1970).

Squamish people report that when they still lived in the big-houses, patterns of life were intricately linked with each other and with spirit life. There was no perceived opposition between the human and spirit worlds; both inhabited the universe cooperatively. As a result, the economy depended as much on access to spirit guidance as on skill in hunting and gathering; political power depended on an individual's ability to convert material and social resources into prestige. Status came from being economically and politically superior. The big-name families had greater access, not only to resources convertible into wealth and power, but also to spirit help.

The integration which made the social system work depended on the system being closed. When it was opened by the shift to a cash economy, the intrusion of missionaries, the establishment of reserves with nuclear households, then the ritual aspects of Squamish society suffered as well as other parts. In addition, the Indian Act was revised to make potlatching illegal. This was mainly enforced among Northern groups and the Southern Kwakiutl. No specific mention was made in the Act of excluding the gatherings of the Squamish from the restric-

tion although their activities did not represent "potlatching" within the legal definition. As a result, the law was interpreted by many Squamish to mean that no gatherings could be held. The fact that their Kwakiutl friends were incarcerated in jails within Salish territory served only to make the prohibition more immediately relevant to them. Ritual activities diminished considerably as a result. The few that were continued were held in private homes with only close kin in attendance. Many people simply gave up their ritual practices; in places like Burrard and Sechelt, the lack of traditional ritual practice, when combined with the negative reinforcement of Catholicism, resulted in the almost complete loss of ritual knowledge and activity. More isolated places like Kuper Island continued the ritual activities. Ritualists there are now the source of information for the re-education of adults and youth wishing to revive the practices.

Ritual Personnel[1]

Traditionally there were several categories of ritual persons. The person with power was the "Indian doctor." An Indian doctor was a person who had extraordinary spirit power; that is, he had the help of several types of spirits. In contrast, ordinary individuals

1. The term ritualist is mine. The Squamish refer to these people as "dancers with special power." Since this does not discriminate between people who are doctors, who cure with herbs, or who oversee ritual events, I have inserted these terms to maintain clarity of reference in discussion. I have not used the Musqueam terms (see Kew, 1970) which the Squamish use because they are clearly borrowed and also because they are used less than the English terms cited.

had access generally to only one spirit helper. The Indian doctor spent many years training to become a good practitioner. The usual number of years considered adequate for training was twelve. After the first four years, and upon evidence of special power, the individual could act as a ritualist under supervision of senior doctors and dancers. The training of a doctor usually began with ritual purification as a small child. All children had to bathe ritually in the cold mountain streams but Squamish people advise me that children destined to become "special people" give evidence -- interpretable only by "knowledgeable" people -- of their special qualities very early in life. The fact that the interpretation of cues was usually done by grandparents with whom special children were reared, begs the question of whether the position was not, in fact, hereditary. People assure me that becoming a doctor did not follow rules of primogeniture and of special privilege to sons of senior sons. However, of the existing doctors, and in these accounts of the ones previously known by Squamish elders, the grandfathers were ritualists and sometimes doctors themselves. It seems reasonable to assume that old men wished to pass their special knowledge to close and special relatives; they chose to pass it to bright and favorite grandsons or granddaughters whom they were charged with rearing.

The training of a doctor was rigorous. From an early age, the children were kept informed about the world of spirits from which they could draw power when the time for their vision quest arrived. They learned about their natural world too; especially, they learned how to collect plants for special teas and tonics known to make people well. They learned to withstand the cold streams and the brushing with

cedar boughs as part of a purification process designed to make them clean and worthy recipients of spirit powers. They learned about the dangers of some evil spirits and about the hierarchy of power which enabled some spirits to abduct others of lesser degree. They learned the taboos associated with sexual matters and with food. They heard stories of the many ghosts and spirits which inhabited the worlds of man, the sea, the woods, and the spirit world. Filled with these stories, skills, and attitudes, the young children reached pubescence.

At puberty, the male child was expected to go on a vision quest. It was on this quest that individuals first encountered their spirit helpers and obtained some sign of their possession. The youth who was destined to have special power and to become a doctor could anticipate hosting several spirits. It is not clear from the literature, or from informant accounts, whether all of these were acquired simultaneously or in successive encounters and quests.[2]

When the human body became the host of a spirit helper, the individual began to show signs of "spirit sickness" and was "cured" by becoming a spirit dancer. This process will be described later in detail. For the moment it is important only to note that the initiation as a spirit dancer gave the individual the opportunity to publicly demon-

2. The literature relates information on the (or a) vision quest implying an initial solitary contact. Elders, however, talk of an individual's increased ability to mature and handle a variety of spirit powers. The implication is that some individuals have successive encounters with spirits. It was not possible to check contradictory statements of various people because of the privacy of the knowledge as well as the lack of knowledge of some Squamish dancers on such matters.

strate his spirit power. The dance was done to an individual song, both of which were the "property" of the individual; the song, which characterized the spirit, was sung by others only to help the dancer display his spirit. Once initiated, the individual had special status within the community and was expected to behave appropriately; he was treated with deference.

The young man training to be a doctor would become an initiated dancer, and would spend the first four years learning to control and use his power effectively. It is this concept of control which dominates the Coast Salish spirit complex. The Salish are not possessed by their spirit power except during the period of spirit sickness; they possess a spirit helper which they control in a variety of ways and which they honour through public display, careful personal regulation of behaviour and avoidance of "dangerous" behaviour or situations which might offend the spirit and force him to leave. Should this happen, the spirit helper takes the life spirit or soul with it and the person dies. It would be especially important for the young man training as a doctor to follow the regulations carefully and to guard against loss of his spirit powers.

After four years the individual is considered familiar and safe with his spirit power. He then has options about some regulations, and also about the frequency with which he will publicly honour his spirit by dancing. It would be at this stage that the aspirant doctor would begin to assist with initiations and curings. The senior ritualist might ask him to feed the fires. This is a protective process designed to keep spirits lodged there from coming out to seek company

or food, thus endangering new initiates who have "weak" power; they could also possibly get in the way of dancers and cause a person to fall. Falling places the dancer in grave danger since a sudden jolt or fall can dislodge a resident spirit through a person's orifices. Or the young man might be asked to help with a ritual bathing, administer a tonic to someone who was ill, carry the cedar root rings around to draw out any sickness (the rings identify sick people and then the doctors can "work" on them), or to help in the performance of any of these rites.

After four years of performing the above acts as assistant to the senior ritualists, and continuing to learn about the very complex system of curing -- especially spirit sickness, soul-loss and similar things -- the man would be qualified. He could then direct activities and supervise smokehouse rituals so that dancers and obersvers would be safe from loss of spirits or from evil spirit power.

The following four years would be spent learning from senior practitioners how to deal with the dangers of the spirit realm. One such experience might be to participate in the search for a lost soul. The most typical situation reported was the account of soul-loss by an individual whose mate had just died. In this situation, the soul of the deceased wanders for four days after it leaves its host, seeking the company of its closest friend. This usually would be the marital partner but also could be a favorite child or grandchild.

The Squamish elders report that if the living are not adequately protected by the proper funeral rituals, then the wandering soul can "get

by" the mourners and "snatch" the soul of the mate. The mate then sickens and prepares to die; it is up to the doctor to both diagnose and treat the illness. He has four days in which to capture the lost soul and restore it to its owner. The search for the lost soul involves great danger for the doctor who must journey to the land of the spirits with his own spirit; there, he may encounter malevolent or more powerful spirits who may abduct his soul so he may also lose his life. He must prepare for the journey carefully with ritual purification, with protection of down and cedar root, and with assistance from strong-spirited ritualists. Among some Coast Salish, a spirit board was also used as a medium of entry into the spirit world. The search began in the graveyard but it also took place elsewhere, including a trip by boat to the sea, where presumably the doctor could go into the spirit world of the sea in his search. If he were successful, he brought the soul back attached to the spirit board, or to a rattle, or to a cedar root ring. He threw it back into its owner; he then stayed close for four days to ensure that it did not depart its host again.

Once a doctor in training had performed some of these acts successfully, he was considered to be qualified; his services were demanded and paid for. Often people hired him merely to be in attendance at ritual events. The belief was that because the doctor had such strong power, he would be able to sense if there were evil spirits or ghosts in the smokehouse and could then perform the appropriate rituals to protect the dancers. Also, if someone took ill because of malevolent power being thrown at them, or for other reasons, he could cure them.

Many times the doctor would be paid to be there even if he had no specific work to do. He was paid additionally if he did the work.

The current system of training seems to be closely related to the old although with the change in ritual pattern, which will be mentioned later, the rules of procedure and the time element have altered. At this time I know of only two young Salish men in training, one American and one Canadian. They are both being trained by the same old man, the only doctor I personally know.

There is, however, a woman on Kuper Island who has curing power but who is not trained as a doctor. She does not seem to be available in the same way that other curers[3] are but rather will suddenly be inspired to work on someone in the middle of an ordinary dance. For example, one night when she was at a dance in Musqueam, she suddenly stopped in front of an old man who was partially paralyzed and who had severe arthritis. She stood before him and trembled so quickly that it was not possible to see her hands. The singers increased their volume and tempo; the old man stood without assistance for the first time in many months. When he sat again, she decreased her tempo and continued her own spirit dance. The man's family, and some other witnesses, wept openly and she was given payment by many groups in the house.

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3. The Squamish do not have terms for people with different types of curing power. They differentiate the doctor from others by the use of the term "doctor." Others who have various curing powers are referred to only as people with "special" power.

Ritualists

Ritualists are the people who are charged with the day-to-day operation of ritual events in the smokehouse.[4] They oversee the putting-down, standing-up, and general activity of the initiates. They also assist the doctors in some curings. They attempt to ensure that all ritual activities are appropriately carried out. While their activities require special knowledge, and therefore some training under the supervision of senior men, they do not necessarily require special spirit power to perform their duties. They are usually initiated dancers. They must have strong power since during the curings they are in contact with other spirits which could endanger them. They are paid for their services; their main responsibility is to help the host family holding the gathering to do things properly and to carry out the work of the evening for the family.

Traditionally, each smokehouse had its own senior people, and visiting senior dancers had no special status unless they were asked to help with a curing or with an initiation. Currently, there is a shortage of knowledgeable senior dancers; two brothers from Musqueam are usually in charge of all Mainland smokehouse gatherings whether or not they are held at Musqueam. The only exception to their being in charge is if the gathering is in the United States. In this case, the dancers from La Conner and Lummi are in charge. Occasionally, at Rosedale or Sea Bird Island or other places, the Lummi and Musqueam ritualists will

4. An alternate term might be "senior dancer."

assist each other if it is a large gathering with a lot of work to be done.

There are other ritualists in the various communities on the Mainland but they are men in their late 70's and 80's who have retired for a variety of reasons, one major one being that they do not consider smokehouse affairs to be in proper order; therefore, they do not wish to participate. Four Squamish men whom I know fall into this category.

Currently, only men are ritualists. I understand from the Squamish people that there were a few women through the years who also had special powers. Women do have considerable ritual knowledge, however. While the present ritualists are men, I have seen some of the very old women call out and correct them when they did not pronounce a name properly, or when they failed to follow some correct procedure.[5] Such procedural knowledge was part of the heritage of the big-name people, and not the restricted privilege of the ritualists. This would reinforce the concept presented above that it did not take special power to be a ritualist but that it became a vocation for some individuals who performed the services for fees. It is only in the last few years, when ritual activities have been increasing, that the lack of knowledge and procedural familiarity has made the position a special one based on restricted knowledge not shared by the general population.

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5. It should be noted that speakers, i.e., those individuals who formally speak for families at namings, etc., are not necessarily dancers; the role is a secular one.

As the ritual activity becomes more common, the position will probably revert to the more traditional one of a fee-for-service without any aura of special power about it.

Herbalists[6]

Both men and women were herbalists in the traditional society. Being a herbalist meant that one had the skills and knowledge to collect local plants and use them for curing physical complaints and injuries. Many plants were used for tonics, that is, to restore vitality to a person who had suffered a long illness. Some were used as emetics. Both of these were usually the fluid collected from boiling leaves, roots, or barks. In addition, poultices were made to cure wounds and people seemed to know about splinting limbs in order to stabilize broken bones. Women were given postpartem teas which presumably hastened the delivery of the placenta and prevented bleeding. Some teas were also given to young girls who were pregnant (prior to marriage) in order to abort them. Premarital pregnancies were not looked upon favourably by the Squamish. The only abortions carried out for married women were in cases where twins were present. The Squamish did not like twins; they believed that they had special power and that it was malevolent. I understand that in these latter abortions an attempt was made to keep one child alive since destruction of a living being was not the point; destruction of one twin meant the remaining one would be free of the constant threat

6. Again, this term is mine. The concept is a Squamish one, however.

of malevolent power from his counterpart. The surviving twin was considered special and treated deferentially.[7]

Herbalists were also responsible for making paint for the dancers. Ochre was the pigment used and the base was fish oil; later it was lard. Currently, cold cream is used if ochre is being added. More commonly, the current paint for dancers is oxblood or black shoe polish. Few people know how to make paint now. My grandfather made it and gave it as a gift to new dancers in the family. He claimed to be the only Squamish left with the knowledge. His source of ochre was at Squamish in a place difficult to reach. He could not go because of his age and arthritis. He would not allow any of us to go because he said it had to be handled ritually or it would hurt the dancers when it was mixed. He talked about teaching his senior grandson the necessary rituals but he never did so since the latter did not attend smokehouse activities.

There are two men at Capilano Reserve who were herbalists. Neither practise publicly now except in circumstances of serious family illness. One will make paint still and give it as a gift to his relatives who are new initiates. He would practice more frequently except that many of the plants and barks he needs are gone from the immediate area and he is too old and infirm to go the long distances he must to obtain the materials. He was unable (or unwilling) to explain to me

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7. If a woman carried twins without knowing it, when they were delivered the family was required to live in the bush by themselves for four years.

or others what barks and roots he needed for making some of his teas. He did not know sufficient English, and his wife's translations were not adequately descriptive to allow us to find what he needed.

There are several grandmothers on the reserve who prepare potions for sick children but their families told me that they had never done it for fees and, in fact, did it only in critical moments for the family. In the past, however, women were quite active as herbalists and, like other services, they were paid for their potions and assistance. Mid-wives, for example, always brought the necessary post-natal brews with them to a delivery; they were also the ones who administered the abortion potions.

There seems to be no revival of herbalism among the Squamish at this time. Such a revival could be lucrative if Indian herbalists wished to ply their wares and skills to the growing numbers of organic health food and folk medicine enthusiasts. The demand is low among the reserve group, however, since western medicine is now used by the majority of people. Of the 49 families, I am aware of only three who use herbal teas regularly; these they use in addition to pills, antibiotics, vitamins and similar drugs of the western medical genre.

The Smokehouse

The term smokehouse has come into use to replace the term bighouse.[8] The term derives from the recognition that fires are built

8. My family sometimes use the term longhouse. There seems to be no single term of choice and the three are used interchangeably.

and activities take place "where the smoke is." Many communities which are reviving spirit dancing and other ritual events do not have smokehouses; they use their community halls for these activities. Such arrangements have both positive and negative features. The halls are located closer to residential dwellings than are the smokehouses. This tends to disturb people and to draw in curious passers-by. One advantage is that kitchen and bathroom facilities make the use of the halls more convenient. In terms of atmosphere, there is no doubt that the smokehouse dances are more dramatic. However, dances there are more expensive as hosts must pay for wood and a fireman; cooks must cook on wood stoves. In the halls, there are no costs for fires and wood; cooking is done on electric or gas stoves. Halls tend to be smaller than smokehouses and therefore attendance must be limited. The fact that halls are used for a variety of other non-ritual activities also tends to complicate matters since some dancers feel that they require ritual purification prior to use for dances.

Barnett (1955) and others have described the traditional bighouses which were used for ritual as well as mundane events since people used them as dwellings. Contemporary smokehouses have an interior design similar to the bighouses but the exteriors are considerably different in design and material. The house at Tulalip has vertical cedar planking for walls, a gabled roof, heavy cedar beams, entry posts, platforms, three fire holes, and a dirt floor. It has no kitchen as the community hall is adjacent and is used for seating people to eat; it has a large, well-equipped electric kitchen. This house is rather interesting

not only because of its traditional design but because it is currently the largest smokehouse on the Coast. It was built by three brothers in a community that has not held dances for over 50 years. People there have been out of the bighouses for so long that many cannot recall any living person who was a dancer. At this time it is the only place that can hold the large international dances. It is used for the big dances at Christmas and Easter when people have time to travel and participate for several days at a time. In 1969, when the house was used for the first time, there was rumour that the three brothers would be jumped and taken either to the Island or to Lummi for initiation. To my knowledge, they still have not become initiates.

The appended diagram shows the floor plan of the contemporary smokehouses. There are two entries but only one is used for guests arriving; the other is used by the local people for bringing in wood and water. After the evening work begins the latter is used by people needing to leave, or to use outhouses. The position of the kitchen varies in a few smokehouses but that is not significant. The kitchen is usually an addition leading out of the rectangle by a center door or at one end. Most smokehouses contain bleacher-type benches and these are widened temporarily with planks when tents for the initiates are required for sleeping. Most houses have a minimum of four rows of seats and a maximum of six. These seats follow along the four walls and the seating plan is carefully worked out. Hosts usually sit on the left wall adjacent to the entrance. The purpose of this seating plan is that dancing starts in a counterclockwise rotation and the rules of courtesy demand that the hosts dance last.

As stated earlier, guests enter initially by one door only. They stand at the entry until the host or his delegate (a family often hires a senior dancer or big-name person to greet and seat guests) walks over and greets them. The role of hosts is important as he must know who the people are without asking them and how important they are. This knowledge determines where they are seated. Members of bands sit in groups together and so are readily identifiable as visitors from their community. The most important people sit on the bottom bench which is closer to the fire and which makes them more accessible to people circulating with gifts and money. Their family members sit behind them in order of importance. Young dancers sit behind old people until it is time for them to dance; then they are given room on the front bench. Older, long-term dancers would normally be important people and would be in the first row. The youngest and unnamed people sit in ascending rows; whites, unless they have a close relationship to an important person, always sit on the top bench. It is normally easy enough for the host to recognize people from out of town; it is not always so easy for him to know who are the important people; guests not properly seated are insulted. Retribution must then be made by the family sponsoring the ritual gathering.

Strangers entering the smokehouse alone are never recognized or seated by the host. The only way they might gain entry is if someone in the gathering recognizes them and decides to make them their guest. Such a person will then go over to the entrance, speak to the person, sometimes introduce them to the host, and lead them back to the section where members of his group are seated. It then sometimes becomes awkward

to provide seating if the group who has been watching this action does not feel like recognizing the individual. They will simply not shift positions and will be very involved in talking or looking elsewhere. Strangers can be white or Indian. I have witnessed some very awkward instances when I was seated in the second row and Indians whom I knew came in the door and were not acknowledged. On one occasion, such a couple wandered around, talking to people they knew, sitting in the seats of people who were eating and having to move as they returned. They were forced to leave when everyone was seated and the evening's work was about to begin.

When I first began attending the dances in 1965, it was not uncommon to have to walk through a large group of drunks and of derisive youths who had come to make fun of the proceedings. They would gather outside the entrance and would catcall at all entering. Whites were particularly prone to being elbowed and ridiculed as they entered. Later, with more courage from beer, they would push into the entryway where they would be prohibited from entering any further by a line of husky men who seemed to be just standing casually in front of the entry. In actuality, they were paid by the sponsors to stand there. If a youth pushed his way through, they would escort him back to the entry. Occasionally, one or two would imitate the dancers and this was considered cause to be "jumped" or "grabbed" as an initiate at some later time. The noise level was high and it was a source of irritation and anxiety to everyone because of the dangers inherent in the situation. They could easily distract or trip a dancer. On several occasions, I have seen them throw bottles at dancers. On the one occasion on which

the aim was direct, I saw four senior men, including the Lummi doctor, leap to their feet and take chase. Since it happened at Lummi, the tribal police who were there also gave chase and arrested the youth. His family later paid for the insult by sponsoring a large gathering for the dancer who had been hit.

In the last season in which I attended dances (1971), there were no drunks around the doors and no derisive youth catcalling or throwing things. Nor were there guards at the door. It was perfectly easy to walk from cars to the smokehouse without being physically or verbally insulted. Similarly, when the bars closed no groups of drunks descended upon the smokehouse. In the two previous years I saw a total of six drunks in the smokehouse. They were individual cases in which wives and mothers hastily subdued the person into silence or sleep, or they removed them to the cars. In any event, they did not insult dancers or disrupt the proceedings.

The only explanation that I can give for the change is that when the groups were disrupting the dances, dancers were a minority out of favour in the community. They were considered strange and there was some active effort on the part of many people to discourage them from participating in dancing. Such attitudes provided no negative sanctions against the disruptive behaviour of youth and young adults. However, in the past few years attitudes have changed. Even those people who do not wish to be dancers are in general support of a revival and a return to a significant Indian activity. They condemn disruptive behaviour and help to keep the drunks at home or away from the area. The secrecy and fear which surrounded dancing is also no longer as prevalent; this

diminishes the aura of mystique which drew in the curious. It also removes the threat which some people felt when "grabbing," rather than "jumping,"[9] was the main means of recruiting dancers. The lack of threat likely reduces the motivation to attack and disrupt. As a result, the dances are safe and respectable; the prevalent atmosphere which is established is one of dignity.

Once people have arrived at the smokehouse and have been seated, they are invited to the kitchen to eat. Sittings usually consist of 30-50 people depending on the smokehouse involved. Food ranges from native dishes of fish, venison, or chicken stews with bread and fruit, to more elaborate roasts, cold meat, salads, and fruit. Tea and coffee are always available. When the group is finished, dishes are washed and the table is reset for the next group. I have seen as many as 1,500 people served a meal within a few hours in this manner. One can only admire the efficiency and goodwill with which cooks, dishwashers, and waitresses keep things moving with courtesy and charm. One never feels rushed and one always feels welcomed and well-fed. Having been on the serving side as well as that of guest, I can only add that the camaraderie which evolves in the prepration of food and in the serving of guests, adds a binding quality to existing relationships. Usually, people in the kitchen are relatives of one degree or another.

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9. The difference in terms signifies more willingness on the part of potential dancers to become involved. The violence suggested by the term "grabbed" is reduced somewhat in the term "jumped." The latter term is current and new dancers report that no one has been "grabbed", i.e., taken involuntarily to the smokehouse in the past four to five years.

Hosts always await the arrival and feeding of all invited guests. This may mean a delay in the start of activities if ferries or car pools are late. As a result, some evening gatherings do not get under way until midnight with some people having arrived at seven. The period of arrival and of waiting for late arrivers and for people to be fed is not a waste of time. It is this period which is used to divest oneself of the mundane world, the pressures, the propensity for haste and for action. It is also a good time to visit and to gossip and to observe. It is also a time for joking, for commenting on how things are being done, of wandering while one can, of wondering if the fireman is going to fall into the fire or smoke everyone out, and of watching the situation generally. It is a comfortable and a relaxed warm time. It is a period of getting to know people better and of establishing new contacts. It is a period during which everyone begins a metamorphosis. Stripped of the veneer, people begin to relate in important and meaningful ways albeit they assume a different series of roles. The sense of warmth and acceptance flows through the large group minimizing differences and maximizing their common interest in attending the gathering. People begin to focus on the importance of the events which are about to transpire. By the time the work begins, the group is ready. To walk in and begin immediately would be devastating. The adjustment which takes place in the waiting time is vital to the success of the gathering upon which people must concentrate and in which they will be involved for many long hours almost totally unaware that they are weary.

The dancers also use this time to prepare themselves. New dancers who have difficulty controlling their song, call out and draw the drummers to them. They then dance in front of their local group. This also gives drummers the opportunity to learn the songs of the new initiates which they may not have learned yet. It also gives ritualists time to work on dancers and doctors an opportunity to cure a minor ailment without much circumstance.

Smokehouse Activities: Dancing, Curing, and Naming

The Dancing Complex

Traditional dancing is described by Barnett (1955); Lane (1952) describes the dancing period of the 1950's and Robinson (1962) deals with the 1960's; Kew (1970) describes Musqueam gatherings of the late '60s and early '70s. Each provides a complementary background for the material which I wish to present here on the changes occurring within the contemporary complex.

I witnessed these changes in the 1965-1970 period. I have no doubt that the changes will continue until the smokehouse activities and schedules are congruent with a Canadian life-style. While purists, both Indian and white, sometimes argue that the changes reflect a significant socio-cultural loss, I would argue that the changes enable people to maintain the complex. The increasing involvement of youths, funds expended, and the increasing regular attendance of adults attest the growth of the smokehouse culture. The argument made by some Squamish and anthropologists that because content and form are no longer identical to

traditional practices means that what exists now is not Salish, is also hardly logical. What now exists is Salish in terms of what Salish people are now by self-definition.

While some of the old people deplore the changes, it is these changes which are restoring their status and social function to them as a generation. It is the changes which are permitting the youth to gain a strong sense of Indian identity which in turn gives them strength in many other situations. It is the changes which are providing a bridge back to a cultural, social, and personal integrity which can only enhance the daily lives of the Salish people.

Traditionally, the symbolic link between all aspects of life was expressed through ritual performances, especially purification and dancing, in the bighouses. Gatherings provided the occasion for reassertion of political and economic status, of social position, and for demonstration of spirit power. Because the system was closed, it was possible to keep family history, social status, and political affairs orderly. Criticism and gossip enabled people to be openly aggressive and to resolve their differences in the large gatherings. This reduced the tensions of living together in such close proximity and it enabled large extended groups to maintain cooperative contacts for economic and political purposes.

The opening of the system by the shift to reserves, to wage employment, and to an elective system of political power, drastically changed the means by which social control could be maintained. It also fragmented the mechanisms and ideologies of the smokehouse in ways which effectively disrupted the integrity of the Squamish social system. Where

the world view of the Squamish had previously incorporated humans, animals, and spirits along a continuum, it now began to isolate these categories. Where the economic balance based on a system of resource exchange had been carefully maintained, it now became increasingly inequitable as some family heads went to work for wages which they did not share with extended families (especially affines). Where political power had been vested in those of highest status and closely linked with economic skills as well as social ones, it now became elective and people of no name could control the lives of the big-name people. As a result, family history became greatly diminished as a means of establishing the basis for social and political superiority. Many important things diminished and ceased to be operative. The bighouses began to fall into disrepair and ultimately became the churches of the few traditional people rather than the center of many Squamish activities. Meanwhile, Western clerics attempted to alter the last stronghold of the Squamish -- their religion. Many Squamish shifted to Catholicism but some continued to keep their rituals alive in the privacy of their homes and by means of very small gatherings of closely affiliated kin.

In contemporary society, participation in the smokehouse allows for social and political status only within the group which gathers for any ritual event. There is no parallel set of positions within the current Band system of political power and economic base. While money circulates in the smokehouse, and gatherings are financed at various levels, the system no longer serves its former economic function.

The function of money within the smokehouse is ostentation. If a person can finance a large gathering, feed his guests well, and distribute considerable funds, he will gain status. He will not necessarily regain his distribution monies at someone else's gathering. He must consider his expenditures as an acquisition of social status and not as a direct economic investment the return from which will be guaranteed.

The focus of ritual power rests with the senior dancers in the smokehouse. These are very few in number and their power is circumscribed by the nature of their activities. Outside the smokehouse, where the real base of power is, they have little or none. With a few notable exceptions, men who hold power in the Band political system do not belong to the smokehouse. And while a few Councillors are also dancers, they generally hold minor positions on Council and none in the smokehouse.

Socially, the status system within the smokehouse is beginning to revive but with some considerable change. Social and political status within the bighouses was based on family history and status. In a contemporary Western system, traditional name means nothing unless the Squamish individual has other special means through which he can accumulate money and power within the political system of the current Band administration. Within the contemporary smokehouse, names and family history have become somewhat confused in many instances so that individuals having dubious claim to status through names can legitimize that status if they have sufficient funds. With the exception of a few old people, no one can assert with certainty that an individual cannot claim a certain name. As a result, he may be gossiped about but no one will stop him. Once the name is acquired, the status attached to it is also acquired.

During the 1950's and 1960's, the smokehouse was a center for religious gatherings of people who still believed in things like spirit power, and who had traditional concepts of importance of their family within the system. As a result, there was some modicum of sense of importance, power, and legitimate claim to proper treatment. As such, attendance reinforced a sense of personal worth and fulfillment for adults. Comparatively few of the youths were involved. People still feared offending the priests and, until the revision of the Act in 1952, it was still illegal to gather for ritual purposes if distribution of goods and money was involved. Some families kept the system alive but larger gatherings collected a modest 50 to 500 people while small dances might draw as few as 20 people.

With the revision of the Act in 1952, no mention was made of Indian gatherings. This removed the fear of fines and imprisonment for those caught in ritual gatherings which involved distribution. It also brought into the open those people who still wished to participate but who had feared to do so.

Squamish people recall that, about this time, the power of the Catholic church over the lives of Indian people was declining. People who had not been openly defiant now became so. Young parents, reared in the Roman Catholic residential school system, began to realize what the church had accomplished in the destruction of their sense of self-worth, their language, and culture. So, while many did not join the smokehouse in reaction to Catholicism, several families did stop attending church and they did stop openly opposing smokehouse activities. Other people began to learn something about it and more went to observe the big dances.

People began to search for ways in which positive images of Indians could be reinforced even if only among themselves.

Attendance at dances in 1970 averaged about 125 for small dances, and from 500 to 3,000 for big dances. The number of initiates over the past three seasons now averages about 30 people. Communities which have no smokehouse have people initiated in other communities. The average age of new dancers is 18-25 years. The average cost of an initiation runs from $800 to $2,000, depending on size, type of food, and number of kin available for helping; it also is determined by whether a single family is sponsoring the event or whether a combined family group is doing so.

Becoming a Dancer

Traditionally, anyone could become a dancer and the means of doing so were to go on a successful vision quest. Success in the guardian spirit quest produced a set of symptoms, readily interpreted by the local group, and reacted to by the ritualists. Symptons were cured through the initiation process. Once initiated, the dancer had special status and subsequently also had special responsibility. The special status acquired by the dancer was not related to his social status ascribed by birth. Since high-status people had more wealth than lower-status people, they could sponsor larger and more elaborate gatherings to demonstrate their spirit power (and social position and wealth), and so enhanced their status again.

Not all people were successful in their quest for a guardian spirit but presumably everyone desired to obtain spirit power since they conceived that having a spirit helper made life fuller and easier. A spirit helper enhanced the personal qualities of an individual, making him more efficient and expert at whatever he/she did. Thus, men became better hunters and providers with a spirit helper; women had healthier children and became more skilled in food gathering and preserving if they had spirit helpers. Having a spirit helper also endangered one's existence unless special precautions were taken through ritual purification, and other means, to protect the individual from having his spirit dispossessed by a stronger one, or a malevolent one. Loss of spirit power could mean death to the individual because if the spirit left its host it might take with it the individual's life force or soul.

In general, people desired to acquire spirit power more than they feared it. Spirits were expressed through a song and an individual expressed the song through dancing, that is, the sense of power filling the individual with the song also moved him to dance. The dance could only be done by the individual and the song was sung by singers with drums who helped him get his song out. It was sacred personal property and dire results came of another individual's imitating a dancer's song or dance.

A change in English terminology has occurred in the past five years. Dancers have become "singers," initiates have become "babies," attendants have become "babysitters." The changes may reflect a more purist ideology since, in effect, the important part of spirit expression is the song and not the dance. The shift in the other terms may

also be a function of transferring Christian concepts. Indian dancers who are English speakers, and who were -- or are -- Catholics, have adopted the terms used by the church in reference to rebirth through spiritual activity. The Squamish refer to naming ceremonies in the smokehouse as "baptisms." The "baby" term is used as part of a concept that through spirit initiation the individual is being reborn, knows nothing, and must be carefully taught how to behave. The socialization process is the responsibility of the babysitters and the ritualists who maintain the rules. A change in behaviour is often expected of initiates and sometimes is the reason for initiation. For example, a person who is beginning to drink heavily may be sponsored as a dancer by a concerned family. The initiation often stops the drinking and the individual becomes a "new" person. He also becomes a "better" person and so old and new concepts merge in the ideology of rebirth and resocialization. Spirit quests are no longer demanded in order to become a dancer. Traditionally, a person encountered his, or her, spirit while on a solitary stay in the woods, or in a menstrual tent. Now, power may be "breathed" into a person by a ritualist, and especially by a doctor who knows that an individual wishes to become a dancer. A person may also acquire spirit power by association with someone who has "strong" power. Some Squamish believe that spirits cluster in constellations and someone with "strong" power will also have hovering nearby a collection of "weak" powers, one of which could come to lodge in an individual constantly exposed to them. A ritualist, or a doctor, who has more than one spirit helper could give one to an aspiring dancer.

Once an individual becomes a host to a spirit power, he sickens in the same way that his grandparents and members of other generations did. He begins to get disoriented; he sleeps a lot and is difficult to waken; he is listless while awake, or he is very volatile and uncontrollable — "not at all like himself"; he begins to weaken and cannot eat. He is sick. The Squamish refer to such symptoms as "spirit sickness."

An individual with the above symptoms is providing clear evidence to the community that he wishes to become a dancer and that he is in possession of a spirit helper.[10] He is sick because becoming the host of a spirit power is personally overwhelming and the average human cannot cope with the experience alone. He needs specific ritual help, constant care, and he needs to learn how to handle his power so that he, and not the spirit, is in control of his mind and body. This requires initiation and the direction of the knowledgeable people.

Once the family calls the doctor in to treat the symptoms of the individual, a commitment is made on their part to pay his fees and to sponsor a gathering. In actuality, this is decided earlier when the family member announces his or her intent to become a dancer and seeks the help and advice of a number of people, especially relatives who are

10. Some Squamish claim that this process of sickening is unconscious and that they are not aware of their spirit power until they become aware of the significance of their illness. Others state that they consciously seek the illness state which is confirmation of their success, particularly in acquiring power which has been derived from someone else, i.e., has been "breathed into" them, etc. Whether conscious or unconscious, I believe the symptoms express their own reality as well as that of effective socialization into the dancing complex, i.e., the symptoms are culturally determined.

dancers. Funds for initiation are obtained in a variety of ways. The aspirant dancer may earn them. I know of two cases where young girls played Bingo, regularly winning from $25 to $100 a week and saving it until they had sufficient funds to sponsor themselves. Another person won a car which she sold and then had all the money she needed to hold her initiation. Families sponsor children in instances where they can afford it, and while some wives may play Bingo, knit sweaters, and do other work, their husbands are expected to also contribute earnings towards their ceremonies or those of their children. Sometimes individuals must sponsor themselves as families are opposed to their involvement. Increasing pressure is being placed upon parents by youths who wish to become dancers or, more commonly, who wish to claim their names.

The initiation ceremonies take four days and depending on financing may also include a naming ceremony and a purification ceremony. The individual is lodged in the smokehouse in a "tent." The tent consists of an alcove of blankets hung from rafters to form a private cubicle where the person is put down. Sleeping bags or more blankets are used for mattresses and covers. During the time of initiation, the individual is kept isolated from other initiates also in the house, from family (except for the sitter who is kin), and from contaminating articles and food. He is fed ritual foods after a period during which he may only drink tepid water through a reed. Initiates use their own dishes and usually have kinsmen as babysitters. Babysitters are responsible for the protection of initiates from contaminated dishes, food, contact with non-ritualists, and a variety of other people and things.

The aspirant dancer is jumped while in attendance at a spirit dance. Both the individual and the family know that at some point in the evening, the individual will be jumped by other dancers. People coming to attend the event prefer to sit in areas distant from the family involved so that they will not be endangered by loose spirits or if they have power themselves, their power will not desert them in the presence of stronger ones. Also, people coming in close contact with new spirit powers are in danger of having one lodge in them. If they wish to avoid becoming sick, they need to avoid the close contact at the time of the jumping. Usually the ritualists will warn family members just prior to the jumping so that they may leave the smokehouse. Close kin do not like to see their mates or children jumped and often will go to a friend's house and await the news that the intiate has been put down. They then return to the smokehouse, pay the dancers who jumped the individual, and the witnesses. They ensure that the individual is comfortable for the night, and they return home with relatives who keep them company during the remainder of the initiation. Such company involves comfort but it also means considerable help with food preparation for the nightly rituals and for the large gathering on the fourth night when the person is costumed and stood up to perform publicly for the first time.

The jumping is perceptibly violent. The initiate is usually seated on the first or second row of seats. Four dancers, accompanied by the ritualists of the smokehouse involved and sometimes by the doctor as well, will come from a corner or the kitchen and suddenly take hold

of the person. The dancers grab the person by the arms and legs; one holds the head. They then run around the fires, calling out, and shaking and pummeling the individual. Sometimes they bite as well.

The effect can make the individual hysterical or unconscious. Naturally, the victim screams. If he is well socialized in smokehouse ritual, his screams assume some regularity of sound. This is interpreted as the spirit's song beginning to emerge. If a person has been unconscious momentarily, when he recovers he moans or cries out; people accept this as evidence that the spirit has lodged within the individual. The person is then put down. He is clothed in a heavy sweater. A kerchief is put over his face so the spirit cannot escape through eyes, ears, nose or mouth; a belt or tie of some sort is put around his waist to control his movements as he can be quite disoriented. He is then bedded down for the night. One fire is left burning and the sitters take up their vigils.

During a jumping, other new dancers are carefully protected from the excitement by being put in their tents or by having their heads covered with several blankets. The excitement could dislodge their new powers. The excitement causes them to call out or attempt to dance. They are permitted to call out but not to dance and kin will form circles around them should they stand up. While the jumping can be upsetting because of its violence -- and because of the seeming chaos as other dancers call out, tremble with excitement, and generally add to the noise and confusion -- there is also a strong underlying sense of concern, warmth, and protection which communicates itself to all present.

Morning comes early in the smokehouse because witnesses and sometimes ritualists must go to work. Therefore, ritual activities must be completed before seven or eight o'clock in the morning. These activities include the ritual bathing of the individual which simply means that buckets of cold water are thrown at the initiate who is semi-stripped and in the middle of the floor.[11] He is then dried with cedar boughs and dressed by the sitters. Sometimes, on the fourth day, there may be more elaborate *swaixwe* purification; then people will be invited, masked *swaixwe* dancers will come and witnesses will be paid. Following the bathing, or purification, the initiates drink water through a reed and then are worked on. This involves sitters and ritualists drawing out the song of the initiate. The ritualists work on all initiates in the tents in turn. This goes on through the day with intervening periods of rest and meals for those initiates and attendants who are permitted to eat, i.e., the initiates who have passed their four-day period and who have been stood up. Initiates must stay in the smokehouse for the four days of their initiation, but may stay for their first season if they wish. Otherwise, they go home but must be constantly attended and remain in costume until it is ritually removed at the end of the first dancing season.

Through the next three days, then, the initiate basically learns how to behave as a dancer. He learns to use his staff, to enter and exit with face the right way, to eat the proper foods according to

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11. Dancers are still taken to the mountain streams in the Squamish area on occasion.

rules which prohibit anything too hot or too cold and all alcoholic beverages.[12] He becomes more confident of his dance and of his song.

On the fourth day of initiation the family calls special guests to witness the "standing up" of the new dancer. While people have been in the smokehouse each night to lend support to the proceedings, those gatherings are informal and casual. A spirit of camaraderie and relaxation prevails and people who attend are usually relatives. No one is there by invitation and apart from tea or coffee, no food is served, nor are people met by a host and seated. Attendance of "regulars" at these informal events sometimes is a good predictor of who next season's dancers may be. On the fourth night, the family of the initiate sponsors a small dance and invites local people to attend. On this occasion, a family member greets and seats guests; food may be served before or after the dancer is stood up. Events begin around 7:00 p.m. and end about 10:00 p.m.; this is because small gatherings are held on week nights and people like to get to bed early. The longshoremen, and some of the mill workers, must be at work by 7:00 a.m.

The initiate is first costumed. The costume is much like that described in the literature[13] except for a few innovations. A dancing shirt is sometimes borrowed by the individual if he cannot afford to have one made. These are made of black velvet, sometimes sequinned.

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12. I have seen ritualists use the tape recorder to record a new dancer's song when it was particularly difficult so that they could listen to it repeatedly and so the initiate could pick it up when he was too fatigued to produce it. I have also seen the tape recorder used when ritualists had to learn new names and found them difficult to pronounce.
13. Barnett, 1955; Lane,1953; Robinson, 1963.

They have rows of wooden paddles which sway freely as the wearer moves. The paddles indicate the person is from a Salish band. The sequins are for effect when the moving firelight flashes off them. Prior to donning the dancing shirt, the initiate usually wears a heavy sweater (Cowichan or facsimile). The harness is worn under the shirt or is fixed so that it becomes a belt. Most male dancers wear knee socks; some of the American men wear red and black sweaters and matching socks; the Canadians tend to be more diverse and have no similar "uniform." All male dancers wear anklets of deer hoofs which are sometimes strung on a stick which is rattled if a person does not intend to dance. If he is dancing, however, he wears his hoofs around the ankles. Most men wear runners to dance while women wear ballet-type slippers or loafers. All dancers wear kerchiefs and some pull them down over their eyes while they dance. Established dancers wear paint on their face, either black or red. Oxblood shoe polish or ochre is used for red; black shoe polish or cold cream with ashes is used for black. All dancers put their paint on privately and most enter the smokehouse wearing it; some will adjourn to their cars to put it on later in the evening. A dancer who comes in painted but decides not to dance will remove his paint privately.

Initiates are painted by the ritualists or by a senior dancing kinsman on the night they are stood up and on the occasion of their first dance of the next season. They leave their paint on from the time it is applied the night they are stood up until the end of the dancing season. At this time they are ritually uncostumed and their paint is removed.

The initiate is covered with ochre paint, is in a cedar or wool harness, has a dancing shirt put on in some cases, and is handed a staff.

The staff has eagle or chicken feathers, cedar streamers, and deer hoofs on it at the top. The dancer carries it constantly. In addition, the initiate dons a headdress or bonnet on the night he is stood up. The bonnet peaks high above the dancer's head and sends long strands of natural sheep wool and/or human hair down the front and back of the initiate's head. This head piece also has cedar strips and eagle or chicken down in it. All of these materials are designed to keep orifices covered so that the spirit cannot escape. A modern addition to both staff and bonnet is a series of ribbons which bear the name of the new dancer and the date on which they were stood up. Usually, this is done in ballpoint pen but the more elaborate ones are embroidered or sequinned. These are distributed the night of the first dance and are treasured by people receiving them as items of esteem.

When not dancing, new dancers wear heavy shawls or blankets which they use to keep warm in the smokehouse but which they also pull over their head should a curing or a jumping be in process or should there be some concern about avil spirits being in the house. The blanket provides insulation against danger of spirit or soul-loss.

During the standing-up ceremony, the initiate is removed from the tent, stood up, and dressed in his costume. Then the fires are fed. This usually involves the throwing of bread and of ochre into the fires. One belief is that fires contain spirits who may come out if they are not fed or if they are not ritually recognized. Loose spirits in the house are dangerous because they have more power than the weak new dancers, and could abduct the newly-lodged spirit helpers. Spirits also hover near the floor in the house and are malevolent and mischievous in

their attempts to trip dancers. Tripping can also dislodge a new spirit or even an old one. Therefore, spirits in the floor vicinity are placated by a ceremony which includes strong dancers running cedar root rings over the floor about one foot above it, and by the deposit of down. This makes the floor safe for the new dancer and ensures that spirits living in the fires will not attempt abduction. With the completion of these ceremonies, the singers begin the new dancer's song and the initiate dances around the fires. He is held by the harness by a sitter because often dancers are weak from the experience of initiation; additionally, they cannot see very well with their bonnets so could stumble or fall into the fires. It is the grave responsibility of the sitter to ensure that nothing of this sort happens.

When the new dancer is seated again, the members of the family may make speeches of thanks to those who assisted; they will publicly pay the doctor, ritualists, sitters, cooks, and witnesses. Their responsibility is discharged with these payments and with the feeding of the guests. One sitter is retained for the season to keep constant care of the new dancer. Throughout the remainder of the season the dancer pays people to walk as witnesses behind him while he is dancing and to help him be seated.

After the initiation ceremonies are completed, other new dancers living in the tents must dance and have the privilege of doing so before the older dancers. Then any dancer in the house may dance. At these small dances the rules of dancing in a counterclockwise rotation do not apply. When the dancing is finished people are served a light meal and then leave for home. The new dancer may accompany wife or

parents home, or may opt to stay in the tent for the season. Most go home. With the increasing number of out-of-town initiates coming to another community for initiations there are usually five or six tents occupied in the smokehouse, as these dancers cannot go home where there is no one to supervise them.

In talking to some of the younger and new Squamish dancers, it became apparent that, although they were behaving appropriately, in general they had little specific knowledge of what they were doing and why. None could explain to me, for example, why they had to put their paint on privately. Few knew the symbolism of their costumes; fewer knew the religious ideology attached to many of the rituals in which they were involved. I asked some why they were involved in the complex when they were not familiar with the rituals and beliefs attached to the complex. Most responded that they wanted to be "special" people; some felt that being a dancer was better than doing nothing; others saw it as a means of salvation from abusive drinking, or from illness such as depression, marital conflict, and "nothingness." Some saw it as the most anti-white, anti-Christian thing they could do.

In talking to some of the older dancers, it became clear that they were perceiving a different set of motivations and behaviour. Where youths appeared to be following the rules (but did not know them), older people perceived them as espousing a religious commitment that signaled a return to traditional ways. Where new dancers did not behave appropriately, old people feared for them and criticized the ritualists for not teaching them properly; but new dancers were not afraid.

New rules began to be devised in order to accommodate people who wished to be dancers but who did not want to give up good jobs in order to do so. People had to stay in the smokehouse from November to March, and this meant that if they were employed they could not go to work. Subsequently, they lost their jobs. Now, dancers need only stay in the smokehouse for four days. Only in the cases of the unemployed must they keep their costumes on for the ritual season. However, if a person who is initiated is employed, he can take off his costume to go to work. The old people question this, but the new dancers explain the lack of danger by insisting that the doctor can "work on" an initiate so that he is not in danger when at work. I have never seen this kind of "working on" and so cannot describe it. This change readily reflects the ability of the dancing complex to adapt to the exigencies of contemporary life-styles.

Small Dances and Big Dances

During the time of the study, I attended a series of small dances and regularly attended the big dances. The frequency and the attendance of both altered measurably during the five years I was involved. Four new smokehouses were built on the Mainland in 1970 to 1971; two old ones, one on the Mainland and one on Vancouver Island, burned down.

The increase in attendance at dances has necessitated the curtailing of invitations to dancers in all communities. For example, where the Vancouver Island people used to be regularly invited to big dances at Musqueam, it would now be impossible to seat them since people

from Aggasiz, Capilano and Mission, and Lummi fill the smokehouse. The Rosedale, Agassiz and Capilano people use the Musqueam smokehouse for their gatherings, although in 1972 people at both Capilano and Sardis built new smokehouses.

Rather than present further general description of dances, I will give accounts of several which I have attended which illustrate many of the points already mentioned, and others which will be noted as we go along. The first item describes an instance in which the system of "grabbing" was still prevalent, and the problems which occurred as a result of the procedures followed.

In 1965 on the Island a girl was "grabbed" at the request of her husband's family. The reason for their request was that they felt their son had married-down. They were a big-name family while the girl came from a no-name family. Both the son and his wife had begun to drink heavily. His parents felt that this was the result of the influence of the girl's family who were abusive drinkers. The young couple spent considerable time there and were getting involved in the regular drinking patterns. His family felt, therefore, that if she became a dancer it would make a good woman out of her. They arranged the "grabbing" without their son's knowledge. They also arranged to pay the costs of a large gathering.

One day, as the girl was going to visit her family, she was "grabbed" by four men. They took her to the smokehouse. Her husband was not told where she was but found out later that night. He gathered some of his friends, went to the smokehouse, and beat up the attendants. He rescued his wife; in a borrowed car they headed for the safety of Seattle.

Both families were mortified. The son's family was shamed by his behaviour, especially the fact that he had beaten up ritualists and other dancers. Her family felt shamed that their daugher would not bring honour to them by persevering through a very difficult ordeal. Both families had to find some means of restoring their status and good name. The boy's family decided to sponsor two nieces who wanted to be dancers; they decided to make it a very big dance. The girl's family was not sure what to do, and they did not have the money required to sponsor anything since they were on welfare.

In Seattle, the young couple were having second thoughts. He had a job at home which he wanted to keep. She was unhappy and lonely without her family. Both wanted to go home but were uncertain what reception awaited them. They decided that she could become a dancer; they headed homeward. They arrived on the night that the nieces were being stood up. They went directly to the smokehouse. People inside heard with amazement what sounded like a cry of a very weak, sick dancer. While proceedings inside stopped, and ritualists pondered what to do, a messenger came in. He announced to the gathering that the couple had returned, wished to make up the insult of their earlier behaviour, and that the girl was beginning to suffer spirit sickness and needed the doctor's attention. The messenger also announced that her family would pay, not only for her initiation but for the one in process; this would be the retribution of her family to his and to the ritualists. The offer was accepted, the girl was brought in, money circulated, the nieces' ritual was concluded; a new dancer was added to the list. The reported

cost of the initiations, and the payments to restore good names, amounted to $2,500. The figure was confirmed by several family members.

A Big Dance

Big dances are always invitational. One of the present measures for offsetting the high cost of sponsoring a dance, or an initiation, is for several families to combine events so that expenses are shared. Without the possibility of accumulating sufficient subsistence foods, and with relatively low incomes, it is impossible for a nuclear family to host a gathering of 1,000 people. Therefore, extended families group to hold very large gatherings which make it not only a "big time" but also financially feasible. At a big dance a minimum of 500 people will attend and maximum attendance is from 1,000 to 3,000 persons. People enter the smokehouse and wait to be seated by the host who has been hired by the family for the night. To ensure proper recognition, sponsors ask an older dancer or big-name person who knows everyone to seat them in order of importance. After being seated, another family member will invite a group of people (30 to 50) into the kitchen to eat. When dances continue all night, breakfast is also served, especially to those people who have to travel considerable distances. When all have arrived and have been fed, the work of the evening begins. The work consists of namings, curings, and dancing. Here I will consider only the dancing.

I attended the first big dance of the 1970 season. It was held in the community hall at Rosedale. I drove my grandfather and nine other Squamish to the dance. Our party arrived at 7:30 p.m. on Sat-

urday and left at 5:00 a.m. on Sunday. We took the usual blankets to sit on, pop to drink, and chocolate on which to munch. We also took 50¢ pieces, in case they were needed for distribution, and two drums. The dancers brought their paint, shawls, and drums. We thought we were going to a smokehouse but we were directed to the community hall since the new smokehouse was not yet completed. The dance was sponsored by the initiates from the previous year; the work of the evening included ritual painting, three namings, one curing, and eventually a series of rituals designed to help a dancer who had fallen.

On arrival, we were greeted by the Musqueam ritualist who, with the Lummis, was running the event for the dancers and the Rosedale people. We were seated appropriately with the old man and the dancers in the first row and the rest of us in the second. The children had to give up their chairs and sit on the floor when more guests arrived. We were invited to eat. We had a choice of foods. The native foods consisted of duck soup, barbecued salmon, bannock and fruit. There was also a choice of roast beef, cold ham, salad, fruit, bread, buns, and cake. Tea and coffee were served. When we finished eating we returned to our seats and gossiped about people coming in the door. Many people came to greet my grandfather. We also wandered about to greet friends until it became too crowded. I was one of three whites in the audience. One of the others was the white wife of a Rosedale dancer.

The evening opened with a casual air. It seemed as if the older people were saying "let the young dancers run their affairs for tonight." at 10:00 p.m. the ritual painting of the previous season's initiates began. They then returned borrowed dancing shirts, baskets

in which they had kept their dishes, and bonnets. This was surprising. Theoretically, headdresses must not be loaned because one individual's power may be stronger than another's and abduct it when the person returns the bonnet. However, that evening one hair bonnet was used in turn by seven dancers; three were returned to previous owners.

After the initiates had returned their paraphernalia, they acknowledged the assistance of many people and publicly paid cooks and sitters. Two naming ceremonies followed; one woman was worked on for cancer and one man for his arthritis. The previous year's initiates then commenced the dancing, followed by guests.

The Lummis were the first to dance; they were seated on the right inside the main entry. About the fifth person to dance had a dancer behind him carrying what appeared to be a carved staff. He followed the dancer's step in imitative steps and he waved the staff instead of his hands. He was not painted but the dancer ahead of him was. The first dancer completed one circle and began another. This is unusual since the normal pattern is to circle once only. The two dancers made the second circle and passed the entry; they were within 20 feet of their seats when the second man fell.

Falling is a major catastrophe in spirit dancing. Explanations for falling rest on two alternatives. One is a natural cause occasioned by someone who trips the dancer, or who throws an object out on the floor over which the dancer can trip. The other explanation is a supernatural one which relates to the presence of malevolent spirits which trip the dancer. This phenomenon usually threatens every dancer

present because if malevolent spirits are present they can harm innumerable people.

As soon as the dancer fell, the pleasant casual air which had been in the hall dissipated quickly. It was replaced, after a gasp and a hushed silence, with an atmosphere of extreme anxiety closely akin to group panic. The man who had fallen was lifted from the floor by six men and held prone; he appeared to be in a state of collapse. The dancer returned to his seat where he was assisted and his carved staff was picked up by another dancer who completed the circle with it and handed it back to him. The doctor from Lummi spun into the center of the floor and began to speak in Straits Salish. He then began to translate for himself. He was visibly upset. What he had to say related to the fact that the Chief of the Rosedale Band had been killed by a train the previous week. The wake had been held in this community hall. The doctor pointed out that he had advised the young people not to hold the gathering at Rosedale because of the closeness of the time to the danger period following the death. He said he had not wanted to order them to cancel the dance or to hold it elsewhere. However, he commented that even on driving up that day he had told his wife that he felt something disastrous could happen. At this point he began to weep. He continued to speak in Straits Salish and did not translate again.

The old doctor had begun his speech by yelling in English, "You young people sit down; we'll handle this in the old Indian way." He had then begun his talk in Straits Salish. When he began in English, I assumed it to be a translation rather than a continuation of his com-

ments. His concern was that the four days of safety required following the funeral, during which time souls wander in search of other souls, would expire only at midnight on the Saturday on which the dance was to be held. This was considered to be an insufficient margin of time for safety of the dancers. However, the young dancers sponsoring the dance were not really aware of the reasons for his concern; if they were, they were not sufficiently concerned to act on his advice. As a result, they had exposed everyone to danger.

While the doctor spoke, drums were being passed in the audience to collect funds for the relative of the man who had fallen to pay those who had picked him up and to pay the doctor to work on him. One woman who was an aunt of the man who fell had appeared to be very drunk earlier. She sobered immediately when the man fell and was of great assistance to him and others in the family. Many people began to cry and there was no doubting the extreme anxiety with which the incident was viewed.

The doctor had stopped speaking, the money had been counted and acknowledged, when another disturbing event took place. The wife of the man who had fallen began to tremble, to cry out, and to sing her song. She had reportedly not danced for 15 years; she was not painted. The drummers did not know her song; nor could they seem to learn it. Several old people went over to try to recall the song and to help her. But they did not succeed. As a result, she did not dance and that meant that she, too, had to be worked on by the doctor. This event added to the strain. From this point on the young dancers sponsoring the event

stayed very much in the background. The Lummi dancers and the doctor assumed charge and the dancing began again on a regular basis.

The reassurances, the distribution of monies, the speeches and other remedial measures took until 2:00 a.m. Dancing then began again and ended at 5:00 a.m. Breakfast was served, a call having gone out to the Rosedale community for supplies when it became apparent that people would need to be fed again. Prior to breakfast, and the subsequent deparutre of people, the doctor announced that "*sqwi'dēlic̓*" would be performed at Lummi on the following day; he invited people to follow them there now. *Sqwi'dēlic̓* is a purification ceremony performed to clear the area of evil spirits and to protect the dancers. The purification did not occur until the following weekend when it was held at Tulalip where the largest number of people could attend. The dancers explained that the delay was due to the fact that people had to work during the week and that the Lummi people needed time to collect and prepare food.

The *sqwi'dēlic̓* performance was informative and impressive. The doctor who had been so active at Rosedale began the evening with a speech about the need to protect dancers and to purify the house. One young ritualist from Lummi began the ceremony by helping to direct a mask-like piece of wood which had been laid on the floor at one end of the smokehouse. It was a simple one made of cedar and had very crude eyes and mouth carved out.[14] It was not painted. Four men raised the

14. The question has been raised as to whether this was not a *skwidelic* board with four holes. The dancers with whom I attended the event agree with my observations, i.e., that it was "like a mask; it had three holes for eyes and nose." It was used like a board and its deviant form, if it is deviant, might be explained by the fact that (continued . . . .)

mask about 8 inches off the floor and the young ritualist began to move his hands; the mask followed his movements and the men appeared to have difficulty holding it so it would not fall as it moved in arcs around the house. The young ritualist guided the mask around each of the three fires four times; at the end of this circle, the carriers changed and new men began to run the mask through the house. Twelve carriers in all transported it during the ceremony; two were white; only about half were initiated dancers.

Two events occurred while the mask circled the house a total of 12 times. The first occurred during the sixth circle when the mask stopped at the seat of the doctor; it rubbed all over his body and face.[15] As soon as this happened, he ran into the center of the floor, between two fires and sang his song in a very powerful and beautiful voice. This caused many people to rise to their feet. The second event was a result of the first. When the doctor went into the center, a young man behind him seized the mask and could not let it go. Gradually, the carriers eased it away from him and continued on their journey. When the purification of the house was completed, the doctor resumed his seat and the normal dancing began. About 2,500 people were in attendance.

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14. (Continued . . . .) it belongs to a man who was just becoming involved in assisting with ritual events, i.e., he claimed the hereditary right to use it but may not have had sufficient ritual knowledge to make it "properly." On the other hand, it could be an innovative form.
15. The Squamish belief is that the mask has its own power and momentum.

Curings

Another important event which occurs in the smokehouse are curings. Minor curings involving the administration of herbal potions are done by a person with herbal knowledge in the homes of the patients. Curings needing the attention of the ritualists and doctor are done sometimes in the homes with witnesses. More frequently, they are done in the smokehouse. These curings usually involve spirit sickness, soul-loss, or some mental anguish that the individual feels. Some curings are also directed to physical complaints especially those deemed to be terminal such as cancer and tuberculosis in an advanced stage.

I witnessed three curings which I suggest are typical. The three types I witnessed had to do with physical complaints, spirit sickness, and soul-loss.

The doctor at one gathering sent the cedar root ring around the house to "draw out" illness. The belief is that the ring has power to confront malevolent spirits lurking in the house, or in human hosts, causing the latter to become ill. The means of curing, then, is to first identify in whom the sickness is lodged, and secondly to draw it out. On this one night the root ring stopped in front of a friend of mine who has cancer. As soon as it stopped, the ritualists came over and surrounded her while the doctor chanted in front of her and using his hands made beckoning motions with his carved stick. Meanwhile, the ritualists sang, rattled their sticks, and supported the girl. I do not know what cues indicated that the evil spirit causing illness had left the girl except, perhaps, that she appeared to go limp after five minutes.

The second physical curing that night was performed on a man with a sore arm which was prohibiting him from dancing. I was able to see this curing very well because I was sitting behind the man when the root ring stopped over him. This meant that we had to move quickly, pick up children and miscellany from the floor, and push back chairs in order to give the ritualists room to work. My daughter had been asleep under my chair and I picked her up and held her. While they waited, the ritualists rubbed the cedar root ring over her. The doctor then had room to work on the man and asked him where his illness was. The man replied that his shoulder was arthritic due to an old injury. The doctor began to sing and to call out in Straits Salish. At the same time, he rubbed a rattle over the arm and made catching movements as if to indicate that he was attempting to catch the spirit on his rattle. When he was satisfied that he had succeeded, he announced this in Straits Salish; one of the ritualists translated for the group. The doctor then leaned over the man and whispered in English, "A good hot bath would help too."

The third curing dealt with soul-loss and was much more dramatic, although it was judged to be less successful than the previous two. A man had died leaving an elderly widow. She was suffering from symptoms of soul-loss when the four-day mourning period had ended. She was brought to the smokehouse by her son who was afraid that she was dying. She was seated in the center of the floor and the doctor spoke to her for a few minutes. He then asked for family members to come and stand with her. About 30 people came and stood in rows behind her. The doctor then instructed the ritualists in procedures. They all knelt while he sang a

very beautiful song quite unlike any dance songs. This song was a plea to his spirit powers to aid him and protect him in the search for the lost soul. The ritualists then began to shake their sticks as the doctor rose to his feet and calling in Straits Salish went reaching into the corners of the house and along the floors. After making his journey he returned to where the ritualists were still kneeling. He then instructed them to feed the fires which they did. He then began the same journey again. This time he returned with his hands cupped as if holding something. He asked the ritualists to sing his dance song, and he danced with his hands in the same position. He then went over to the old lady and "threw" the spirit in his hands at her. She did not respond. The old lady was taken home by her relatives. She died a week later.

Namings

Naming ceremonies are the last events which will be described. Naming ceremonies vary from community to community and are the least ritualized events held in the smokehouse. While names used to be given shortly after birth, at puberty, at marriage, and upon other occasions, they are now given only at one point in a person's life. A person now also usually receives only one name. A group of people may be named in a single ceremony; I witnessed one ceremony where four generations of the same family received their names concurrently.

Genealogical links are not as clearly known as they used to be. With the exception of a few old people, not many families can trace their histories sufficiently well to have absolute assurance that their claim to a name cannot be challenged. Genealogical knowledge varies in

several communities with some families having little knowledge and others being quite well informed. Whether such differences directly reflect the variance of class is not clear. Listening to people attempting to establish their claims, however, it is evident that their information is sparse. Means for checking are not readily available often because of their embarrassment involved in asking someone else about these things. Three naming ceremonies, of the many I witnessed, stand out as illustrative of several points. They show the chaos which is prevalent in holding ceremonies without sufficient knowledge and information at hand to conduct them properly; they show the importance to youth of having a name; and they show the dignity and solemnity with which traditional customs vest the situation.

The first naming ceremony I attended was chaotic and broke many of the conventional procedures and legitimacy which exist. It was a joint ceremony at which 12 people from two extended families were given names. In one case the grandmother sponsored her sons and their families; in the other, a mother named her seven sons. The latter ceremony was the one in which I was involved because the mother of the men is my grandfather's daughter by his first marriage. I was invited to the naming by one son with whom I have a close relationship, and by my grandparents who wanted transportation and assistance. It was also at this gathering that they announced the special relationship they had with my daughter and me and asked the group to "recognize" us.

On the way to Squamish, where the naming was being held, my grandmother wept and my grandfather sat in numbed silence. The cause of the grief was that the boys' mother was "stealing" a name. She was

giving one of her sons a name which should have been vested on the senior son of her brother (himself a senior son). That grandson was reared by my grandparents in their home and he had been carefully socialized to take over the old man's privileges. The old people were saving up for a ceremony at which they would name all the grandchildren. The name in question had been informally "thrown at" the boy already. The daughter did not know this or chose to disregard it.

It was impossible for the old man to tell his first-born daughter that she could not use the name. This was one of those situations where "people should know better, especially her." There is no facile or acceptable way in which such errors can be corrected before they are made, except by teaching children very early in life all they need to know about family history. This had not been done because the woman had never lived with the old couple as a child; she was raised by her mother who had deserted my grandfather early in the marriage which had been arranged. Therefore, the shame fell primarily on the woman but it fell also on my grandparents. In our ignorance, several of us were prepared to say something to the woman, but we were asked not to by the old people because "she should know; the 'big' people will know too; they will not embarrass us by witnessing it; they will know how we feel; they will help us."

We were at the hall at 3:00 p.m., and greeted by the host, a senior, big-name uncle. We were seated in a front seat close to where the namings would be done. People came over to say "hello"; we did not circulate at all. The speaker for the day was from Musqueam, a curious situation since he did not know the Squamish language or names while the

host did and could have filled this role. While we waited the sponsor for the other family arrived in her wheel chair and set about to instruct the speaker on proceedings and names. A tape recorder, and mimeographed sheets of the names to be installed, were used to help the speaker learn the names. He tried but even with coaching from the old lady and from his uncle, he mispronounced several names and was corrected during the ceremony by the old lady.

The ceremonies began when the hall was full of older people from a variety of communities. The younger people were there too and many were busy helping in the kitchen and elsewhere. One man had been reclaimed from skid road for the afternoon in order to give away his name to one of his nephews. He looked uncomfortably sober. He only received $5 for his name, another insult. He had a relatively big name and the people felt that he should have been paid considerably more for his generosity in releasing his name. The minimum figure which they mentioned was $25 but no one would estimate a proper maximum.

The naming of the old lady's grandchildren proceeded with due ceremony and propriety. At its conclusion, there was an exodus, particularly of the old people, including the old lady who had just finished her naming ceremony. My grandmother informed me that people were leaving because "they will not stay to witness the insult to us; they are our friends. The people who are staying don't know enough to leave." We, however, were admonished by her to stay and help them bear the insult. The Lummis had arrived but waited outside.

The naming of the seven sons was carried out completely in English, a direct contrast to the previous one which had been conducted in Halkomelem and translated into Squamish and English. When all the people had re-entered the hall after the completion of the second naming ceremony, my grandfather stood to speak and announced that my daughter and I should be regarded as his grandchildren from now on. We were stood in the middle of the room while he, and a few dancers, spoke on our behalf citing transportation and other assistance we had provided to dancers. Friends of the old man, and of his vintage, stood to speak on his behalf; others called out to acknowledge that they were witnessing the announcement. My grandmother and her eldest granddaughter were making a distribution to these speakers and witnesses at this time. It was a simple affair which had a warmth and acceptance in it which helped ease the tension and pain associated with the earlier events. The presence and cooperation of the older people helped reassure my grandparents and added to the solemnity of the occasion for my daughter and myself.

A more traditional naming ceremony took place in the winter of 1969 at Rosedale. A young man who had been initiated the previous season was given his great uncle's name. The great uncle was also a dancer but he was an elderly man; he felt that the boy who was beginning his ritual life should have a name by which he could be referred to. He decided to give him his name which then meant that the uncle would have to be addressed by his Christian name; no two people in the same family line can use the same name simultaneously.

The ceremony began with the boys being draped in a wool blanket. The ritualist announced that the boy's uncle was dispossessing himself of his name in order that the boy could use it. He then announced that from here on the boy would be known by his Indian name, and that his uncle would be called by his English name. At this point the uncle was led into the center and draped with several blankets by the boy's mother and wife; several people went up and gave him money. Dollar bills were pinned to both the uncle's and the boy's blankets. Four old men in the assembly rose to speak lauding the uncle for his generosity. They were given 50¢ pieces and blankets. When the speeches admonishing the boy to "live up to his name" were completed, his uncle painted the boy's face and the boy danced.

It was a short, impressive ceremony which had dignity and grandeur. It was clear that the gift of the name was greatly appreciated by the boy and his family, and that the uncle was increasing his stature with his generous releasing of the name. This naming was more typical of traditional Salish procedures; it was completely done in the local language; the use of blankets, the quiet ceremony, and the dignity with which it was carried out, attested a well-established ceremonial complex.

The final naming to be described was held at Tulalip in 1969. Over 500 people were in attendance. The boy being named was about 12 or 14 years of age. He had been born to a woman at Tulalip but had been released for adoption to white parents in early infancy. His adoptive parents felt that he should have some contact with his own people, and that he should be permitted to engage in some traditional activity. They

had asked the community to name him. I assume they paid for the event since no mention was made of a local sponsor during the naming.

The doctor from Lummi officiated. He announced that the boy had been returned to the reserve to take his rightful place among his own people. He then went into a long speech about the negative results of allowing Indian children to be adopted by whites because they are then lost to their own people and have no Indian identity! The boy was draped in a blanket and a kerchief was placed on his head. The ritualist then asked if all the relatives of the boy would identify themselves to him. About 45 people stood up and they were asked to come to the floor and walk with the boy around the fires; they did so. The boy was then seated. No money or blankets were distributed and no speeches were made when the statement of his name was made. This may have been due to the fact that the name was in dispute, was not a Salish name, or that no one knew the name, or the boy, sufficiently to speak on the occasion.

While the ceremony was somewhat sparse, ritually speaking, it did bring comments from people around us. The essence of the comments was that the naming of the boy was seen as a very positive step and as a means of reclaiming children lost to the Band. It may be that this ceremony was a forerunner of others which will enable off-reserve Indians, or people of Indian descent who are no longer legally Indians under the Act, to have some significant contact with their communities of birth.

Summary

Socialization in a ritual setting is an important part of contemporary Squamish life for a large section of the population. Activities in the smokehouse are increasing and families who have not participated for a number of years are now claiming names and helping with the initiation of relatives. Attendance of the Salish throughout the area has increased over the past five years as has the number of new dancers. Such trends reflect an increased concern about self-worth and about general Squamish identity. The trend will likely continue.

For many, the socialization process which they undergo in the smokehouse is a second or third process. It is a voluntary one and it is undergone for a variety of personal and family reasons. One major function of the increased activity of the smokehouse families has been to restore a socializing role to the grandparent generation. Parents as well as children are now in the process of learning genealogies, family history and privilege and some of the Squamish philosophies and beliefs.

The smokehouse rituals have altered to accommodate a cash economy which requires the daily presence of men at work. The ritual season runs from November through March and during this time, initiates are only required to spend four days in the smokehouse. Previously, they were lodged there for the season. Individuals may also be "worked on" so that they may safely continue employment while undergoing ritual socialization. Economic costs of sponsoring ritual gatherings and events may be borne by a collection of extended families rather than by one alone.

The importance of acquiring an Indian name has varying meaning for individuals. For some people, the naming ceremonies fulfill their desire to be recognized within a social complex which puts high value on traditional status and more so on the very act of claiming. For others, especially youths, some of whom are uncertain about the belief system and the accuracy of their family history and rightful claims to names, the ceremony affirms their Indianness. If one has been at least partially socialized in white society, there is sometimes a point at which such ties must be disclaimed and self-worth becomes focussed on the issue of specific Indian identity. Claiming a name or becoming a dancer thus becomes the most un-white thing one can do. I anticipate that this ideological concern with Indianness will increase among the Squamish and that it will become more important for many individuals to have any name than for a few to have the right name.

Individuals not involved in the ritual complex have alternate forms of socialization. These will be discussed in the following chapter on daily socialization of old and new elite families.

CHAPTER IV

THE SQUAMISH FAMILY: SETTING FOR DAILY SOCIALIZATION

This chapter provides the information necessary to an understanding of the daily pattern of life at Capilano which is the context for socialization of children. I will report some general concepts held by the Squamish which affect their choice of socialization practices; these reflect some traditional ideas as well as contemporary ones. As well, I will describe two family situations which represent the two main life-styles on the reserve. The presentation will make the two selected families appear to be opposite in values, orientation, and goals of child-rearing. While such complete contrasts do exist among families at Capilano, there is also a considerable overlap in all of these areas. Orientations shift from time to time; and, while some families may be seen as contrasting completely, others overlap in their concerns and perceptions at different times. This generalized material is not presented as immutable fact, therefore, but as a representation of the stance of various families at any given time.

Squamish Beliefs and Attitudes About Conception and Birth

Some elderly Squamish women reported that they were taught by their grandparents that conception was the result of penetration by a spirit. Men aided in this process of "opening the way." The child was perceived to be part of the woman and part of the spirit. Paternity was thus social not biological. The father's instruction and presence was important to children, especially sons, and since he was viewed as

the person who had made conception possible, he was expected to develop a warm and meaningful relationship with his children. Monogamous relationships were viewed as important since the ability to conceive was also dependent on ritual purity involving both the man and the woman concerned. A mate had to be from the proper category of person as well. People who adhered to the regulations had successful healthy pregnancies and bore healthy children. Some people believed that the child found the spirit through whom he had been conceived when he undertook his spirit quest.

Children who were born defective, or who were deformed, were the result of a breach of regulations, or taboos, associated with pregnancy. The birth of twins was also viewed as a result of a breach of the regulations by one of the parents. People who had twins were expected to leave the community so that others would not be placed in danger by the malevolent power twins were believed to have. In some cases, if a mid-wife could discern that a woman was carrying twins, she would attempt to abort them, or there would be an attempt to abort one and keep the other alive. When a woman produced an epileptic child, people believed that she had broken the food taboos associated with pregnancy; she, rather than the child, was avoided and shamed. The incidence of epilepsy in children does not seem to have been high, that is, people recall only one or two cases in their lifetime.

Only a few women at Capilano said that they had heard the above concepts associated with pregnancy and birth. Two of the older women who had been midwives attested to the accuracy of such "old" beliefs but hastened to add that they had learned differently as they grew older.

At the same time, they expressed some concern about the lack of proper procedures followed by young people today, about their perceived promiscuity -- especially that of the men -- and about the lack of knowledge young people have in caring properly for their children. The older women particularly opposed the practice of contraception, becoming sterilized (except if ill), and aborting. They viewed such attitudes and practices as major contributing factors to the breakdown of the family. There was a mixture of traditional and Catholic moral judgments stated and implied in a variety of conversations on such matters.

Most of the women with whom I talked were aware of the means and physiology of conception. All have knowledge about most of the contraceptive measures available to them. Only a third of the women at Capilano use such devices; 15 women have had hysterectomies or tubal ligations. Several women spoke of wanting to have tubal ligations but they had not yet confronted their husbands on the matter; they stated that the men would not allow them to be sterilized if they knew about it. Some of the women who had been sterilized had done so at the time of the birth of their last child and without the husband's knowledge or consent. Only one man on the reserve had been voluntarily sterilized.

The value attached to producing children is extremely high. Men view large families as evidence of their masculinity and ability to provide well. Women feel that their femininity is proven by bearing children, being good mothers, and raising their children properly. Their expectations and sense of worth are closely linked with having proved they can produce and raise children. A woman is not considered to be a good woman by either women or men unless she can, and will, have

children. Young wives who do not conceive within the first few years of marriage are looked upon with suspicion, concern, or disdain depending on whether they are "trying" to have children or avoiding it purposely. People speak of women as being "of no use to a man" unless she is fertile and productive. Most men and women seem to share this belief. Since the value of children is a basic concern, people consider the choice of a mate carefully in most instances, tolerate less than satisfactory relationships, and view sterilization, abortion, and divorce from cultural as well as economic and personal perspectives.

Sterilization

The only ground for sterilization which is generally approved is when a woman has cancer which has been diagnosed and if she had tried some treatment over a period of time which has been ineffective. While such a procedure is accepted, the statements which surround the event are generally negative: "she had to have an operation"; "the doctor told her she would die if she didn't do that"; "she didn't have any choice." People console and comfort the individual and take care not to offend her by bringing young babies to her house until she has recovered from the effect of knowing she cannot bear any more children. Women who have not proven they have cancer, and who presumably decided with their doctors that they would have a voluntary ligation, sometimes defend themselves by stating, "the doctor did that to me when I had my boy; I never knew that he was going to do that; they do that to all the Indian women who come in to ... hospital." It is possible that some women signed the sterilization forms without full thought; it is unlikely that the oper-

ation was performed without a signature since such a procedure would be illegal. Some doctors stated that they performed the operation without consulting the husband when informed by the wife that the husband was living with someone else. Such medical decisions fail to take account of the fact that most husbands live with someone other than their wives at some point but that they ultimately return to their original marriages. While some women may regret becoming sterile under such circumstances, others -- who have borne the burden of caring for children in the absence of husbands and their incomes -- decide unilaterally that they have had enough children.

Abortions

The older women state that some abortive potions were used by midwives under certain circumstances. The procedure described most frequently was the administration of a herbal tea which caused severe contractions, thus causing the foetus to be expelled from the uterus. According to reports, such procedures produced no bleeding or complications but was only done prior to four months gestation. Nor were abortions done frequently, or without some family pressure on the individual. A grandmother might abort a granddaughter who had been sexually indiscreet and who did not wish to marry the man involved. Sometimes it was the family who refused to allow the girl to marry if the man was not considered to be a suitable mate. In many cases, pregnancy simply hastened the marriage if the families concerned were agreeable to the union. A good Squamish woman did not become pregnant prior to marriage. There was, therefore, considerable shame attached to premarital sexual involve-

ment and if a marriage were not arranged, occasionally a discreet abortion was requested from a knowledgeable person. It was important to the girl's future that her pregnancy not be widely known since such knowledge would decrease her status as a potential mate.

Abortions are attempted at Capilano at the present time. The four cases which occurred in 1968-70 were ones which involved married women. In two cases, they were successful and in the other two, they failed and the pregnancy was completed. Potassium permanganate is used to produce contractions. It also produces severe bleeding which can require a dilatation and curettage. Should the foetus have not been expelled, the dilatation and curtetage completes the abortion. Such procedures subject the woman to a high risk. The permanganate can literally burn holes in the uterus; it can cause severe bleeding without expelling the foetus; it can cause continuing minimal bleeding without accomplishing its end; it causes excruciating cramps which can persist as long as a week, and it induces severe vomiting in some cases. It may also harm the foetus if it is not expelled.

Legal abortions would be readily available to most Capilano women requesting them on economic grounds and on grounds of mental and physical health. This is a recent situation, however, since prior to the introduction of medicare, the contract hospital for all Squamish was St. Paul's which was Roman Catholic; no voluntary sterilization or abortions were permitted there. In general, Squamish women do not seem to be aware of the availability of legal abortions. In addition, the cultural features associated with the need to be fertile which were dis-

cussed above remain a major concern in any decision-making. A self-induced abortion can be overlooked as a result of a hastily-made decision: "she was upset; she wouldn't have done it if she had thought about it"; "she did it after X beat her up; she wanted to punish him by taking his child away"; "she was drunk; she'd never had done it in her right mind." A legal abortion based on a voluntary decision could not be as culturally acceptable.

No abortion attempts were made by young unmarried mothers during the study period. They seemed to accept their pregnancies and children with equanimity. In most such cases, the mother and child lived with her parents. The incidence of such pregnancies is not high; three unmarried women had children during the time of the study. While pregnancies prior to marriage still evoke gossip and concern, the repercussions are not severe and both mother and child are accepted in the community. The gossip stops with the birth of the child since people do not want to hurt the child or make him think he is unwelcome. The Band, which used to refuse registration of progeny unless Squamish paternity could be proved, now registers the children under the mother. In addition, they pay the mother from welfare funds for six months and then continue to support the child if the mother is not employed. One individual explained the change in policy to me as evidence that the Band had realized that "we need more Indians."

Birth

The birth of a child is always considered an important event even when parents have expressed ambivalence or negative feelings about

another pregnancy. Once the child comes, he is welcome. Apart from the reinforcing of feelings of femininity and masculinity which have been discussed above, the child brings his own special characteristics and interests into the family. People watch him daily to determine how he is growing, which of his ancestors he will be similar to, what his nature will be. Young siblings and elderly grandparents all await his unfolding.

In the past, children were delivered by a midwife, usually a grandparent or senior aunt. The event was a ritual one in which pregnancy was terminated by the birth and by the following ritual purification. The child came into the world and into the presence of his extended female kin. He and his mother were carefully tended by such kin until she regained her strength and he began to acquire his. Older siblings participated in the birth if they were female and they assumed responsibility for his care from the outset. His birth was a family event as well as a community one.

In present Squamish life, children are born in hospital. The event is no longer a ritual one nor is it one in which the extended family can participate until the child comes home from the hospital. The child is delivered into a circle of strangers rather than kin; the mother is tended by strangers too until the time she arrives home where a relative or older child may assist her while she recovers from the delivery. Most young Capilano mothers have never seen a child delivered nor participated in ritual events surrounding the birth of a child. They do not regret their hospitalization, therefore, and most view their stay there as a relief from normal family responsibilities and as a "holiday." This

is particularly true of women who have several young children at home; they feel that their hospital stay gives them time to recuperate before they have to care for a large family again in addition to the new baby. Some doctors assist the mothers in extending their stay beyond the standard five days in order to allow them this full recovery time.

A newborn baby is treated deferentially. Most young Squamish mothers disclaim any knowledge about the spirit world and the possibility of spirits residing in an infant host. Some, however, have been told stories by grandparents who believe that the child will only stay alive if the spirit which helped to conceive it is satisfied with the treatment the child receives. If not, the spirit will abduct the life force of the child. The high rate of infant mortality[1] which prevails among Indian groups lends some credence to fears about the vulnerability of neonates to early death, whatever its genesis: Such concerns reinforce the practice of high indulgence in the handling of small infants: he must be kept comfortable, clean, happy, and satisfied. The activity of several family members is directed to this end at any given point in time. The reality of the lack of care afforded some children sometimes explains a death or, if the infant survives, is explained in terms of his having a "strong" spirit.

Squamish people do not directly express any beliefs in reincarnation. However, some family behaviour and statements provide evidence that there is some element of such a belief. Some children are given

1. British Columbia Indian birth rate is 38.61/1000; infant mortality is 77.44/1000 (Termansen and Ryan, 1969).

the name of a deceased relative before birth. When the child is born, older relatives will comment that he looks like the family member after whom he is named. Since there is a prevalent belief among some Squamish that the souls of the dead become spirits or "ghosts" who hover in the vicinity of the deceased person's home, I conclude that the belief may also be linked with the traditional theory of conception. The child might be imbued with the spirit of the relative after whom he is named. A few people refer to such beliefs with more than casual frequency. As the child grows, personal characteristics which are similar to the ones formerly possessed by the deceased relative are perceived, reinforced, and nurtured.

The role of grandparents in the care of neonates has altered considerably since they no longer act as midwives and generally do not live with the parents of the newborn child. In the past, the placenta was handled ritually; the grandmother cut the umbilical cord and wore it around her neck; this ensured the child protection and healthy development. The grandparents named the child and instructed the mother on its physical and spiritual care. The father was permitted to see the child but he was not allowed into the delivery tent and had no close contact with the child during the first four months of his life. It was the grandfather who provided the cradle board now no longer used. It was the grandparents who had the ritual and social knowledge to pass to the child, the leisure time in which to tell stories, the time to play with the child while his parents were involved in economic pursuits. In general, such roles have greatly diminished and have in most cases become extinct. Grandmothers do not have access to the child at birth nor to

the cord and placenta. Cradle boards or baskets are seldom used; grandparents infrequently live with their children and so are not involved in the direct care of the child in the early months. Often, their social contact begins when the child becomes mobile and can come to visit them. Some grandparents are only in their 40's and have young children of their own; they are not interested in providing additional care for their young grandchildren; nor do they have any significant ritual or social knowledge to pass on to such grandchildren.

Naming

Any child can have a number of names. He may receive one prior to birth but he will not use it until some time later; he may receive an Indian name; he may be called by a nickname and never by his Christian name. Names may be installed on him at different times so that his terms of reference in childhood, young adulthood, and old age may all be different. Traditionally, Squamish people did not name their children until the danger period (4 months) had passed, and they knew the child was a permanent family member. During this period he was referred to with a term which meant youngest child, younger brother or sister, etc. A newborn child might have a ritual name "thrown at" him at birth but this would not be used until he had it installed at a later time. In addition, he might inherit other names at adolescence, marriage, the time of birth of his first child, and similar significant times. Ritual naming has been described in Chapter III; terms of reference are now English. Some parents, and particularly grandparents, do not refer directly to a newborn child but refer to "the boy," the "baby," "him."

Hospitals (acting for Canada Statistics) demand that the child be registered under a formal, and usually Christian, name. The Act also demands that the child be registered shortly after birth (30 days) if he is to receive a Band number. Such procedures overlie any residual cultural patterns of dealing with the neonate without a name. Some patterns prevail, however, and a child called "baby" or "sonny" at birth may be introduced in his 40's by statements like, "This is my baby"; or "This is Sonny, he's my baby."

The avoidance of use of specific names may also relate to the taboo placed on the use of names of the recently deceased. Names of individuals who have died are still not used until after a year's lapse and sometimes longer. If a family participates in ritual events, they will have a memorial about a year after the relative has died (it is sometimes held much later if money is not immediately available). During this memorial, ritual property of the deceased is purified and then may be passed to those who have the right to use it; names are released at this time also. Families who do not participate in such events often adhere to the name taboo nevertheless. If the child is to bear the name of a recently-deceased relative, another must be found until the minimum year lapse has passed.

Death

The death of any Squamish person brings grief to all. It is the one life-crisis which merges all factions and evokes a universal response. While adults are greatly mourned when they die, the death of a child seems to evoke a deeper, longer-lasting grief than is evidenced for adults.

The deceased remain family members, spoken of in the present tense, counted in geneologies, recalled in stories. The grief expressed by adults who have lost adult relatives is not equivalent to the continuing grief expressed over the death of a child. A wife mourns her husband but her grieving terminates after a period of time. No mother, grandmother, sibling or cousin ceases to grieve for a dead child. Tears come when the name is mentioned; young children become adults who still miss their sibling; grandchildren are told about the child who died. The value of children cannot be disputed.

General Squamish Beliefs Associated with Socialization

Most Capilano families share the belief that children should be highly nurtured in infancy. The nurturance can be provided by any adult and by siblings. Young girls often become "mothers" in role before puberty through being the primary caretaker of a younger sibling. By the time they produce their own children, they are highly competent to care for them. Nurturance takes the form of constant attention, feeding on demand, acquiescing to the natural rhythm of the child as far as weaning and toilet training are concerned. In order to obtain such care, the child needs to be where the adults are; he is mobile at an early age, therefore, being taken by an adult to a gathering, shopping, to do laundry; siblings take him to the corner store, the baseball game, and to many of their other activities. In this way, the rhythm of adult and older sibling activities is also maintained. If it is not possible to take the child to such activities, the grandmother, an aunt or another relative will be asked to care for him over a short period. Members of

that household will treat him to the same attention that he receives at home. Such care is optimal emotionally.

Squamish people share the belief that children should be left free to develop in their own ways restricted only by minimal safety features. This concept of autonomy is made explicit in many ways within the culture; individuals are viewed as ultimately responsible for their own affairs; if they make bad decisions, they are to be pitied not condemned. In the same way, if the child must learn by doing things the wrong way, he will be allowed to make his mistakes and learn from them. The autonomy which young children have helpsmature them and enables them to be much more independent and innovative than their white counterparts. Such autonomy also brings the child into conflict with the school personnel who find it difficult to accept that attendance and other matters are the child's decisions, not parental ones.

Disciplinary philosophies are also shared by many Squamish. The stated ideal behaviour is that no parent should discipline a child harshly, either verbally or physically. Few Squamish mothers hit their children or scream at them. When such behaviour does occur, it is noted as unusual and generally is reflective of some family crisis. Generally, children are spoken to quietly and firmly. The adage that speaking in a quiet voice forces someone to listen is well illustrated at Capilano. Verbal control is prevalent but not abusive. Children are teased about silly behaviour, talked about at length for serious infractions, and talked to about undesirable behaviour observed in other children. Great importance is placed on the value of not giving other people the chance to gossip; children learn early that some of their behaviour can shame

the name of the family. Such knowledge places full responsibility on the child himself but it also has the positive effect of leaving him free from continuous harping and imposed controls. Occasionally, verbal controls are stated in projective terms. Children are warned that certain behaviour may provoke a deceased relative who will haunt the child or rebuke him in some way from the spirit world. Use of projective agents is not general but for the few, they are real and effective.

Most Squamish people share a body of expectations about what constitutes good behaviour. Such ideals are articulated through the concepts of class and status and the appropriateness of any given behaviour at any given time for an individual perceived in certain categories. What is appropriate for one household, therefore, is not necessarily seen as appropriate for another. However, the means of arriving at such a decision are shared, i.e., acceptability is attached to roles, names and family corporate status. The focus of Squamish socialization is not physical development or early resolution of developmental tasks. The focus is on the development of more abstract qualities needed to become a good Squamish person. Such expectations evolve around concepts of honesty, reliability, respect, kindness, generosity, and similar characteristics which involve concern with others rather than onself. The process is reciprocal, however, for a child who learns these things early is treated in a like manner early and receives a great deal of satisfaction from the positive verbal statements as well as the reciprocal services he receives.

Squamish people generally prefer children to form their peer groups on the reserve. Peer groups are made up of siblings and cousins.

Few children have friends outside the reserve setting or outside their extended families.[2] The term "friend" usually refers to a relative of the same sex with whom the child has a particularly warm relationship. The impact of peers in socializing each other should not be underestimated but the effect is usually one of reinforcement since nuclear groups within the extended family tend to share the same values, perspectives and behaviour. Thus a child who is a member of one nuclear household is defined as a member of an extended family; he uses the other households as his own; his peers are relatives and they all share the basically similar social atmosphere, restrictions, and privileges. Young parents look to their siblings to reinforce their ideas about ideal socialization, and to deal with some of the problems which arise in one household but which can be resolved while visiting in another. Models, as well as processes, are shared in this way.

In Squamish society, a generally-held belief is that children are primarily the "property" of women; women are essentially responsible for their socialization. This belief is reflected in the relative lack of contact that males have with children in the first few years of their lives. Men do not share responsibilities for the care of small children. They spend little time with them until they are old enough to talk, walk, and to participate in some degree with the father in some of his activities.

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2. At the time of the study, only one family allowed their child to visit school friends off the reserve. No white children were seen on the reserve during the same period.

In contrast, male siblings do care for their younger siblings but this service tends to drop off as the older boy ages. Generally, an older boy will only care for a younger boy, and after 12 years of age males consider demands for such services as unreasonable. On the other hand, children are also viewed as the "property" of the extended family. This means that it is acceptable to the parents, and to the child, if a relative of any degree comments positively or negatively on the behaviour of the child. Such comments reflect the consensus that children are members of a corporate domestic group any branch of which can be enhanced or shamed by the behaviour of any single member.

Finally, in general, Squamish people believe in the continuity of the socialization process. Therefore, socialization can cover a broad spectrum of time, of agents, and of ends. In contrast to the popular white, middle-class socialization model which views socialization as ideally terminal at some point in early adulthood, the Squamish feel that any person can learn different behaviour as children or adults which will effectively determine their life situation. They view things as task-oriented and as well content-ordered. The ritual socialization which is tertiary for some Squamish adults is a good example of such concepts and behaviour. Even if a person is not involved in something as dramatic as becoming a dancer, he can still always learn ways to become a better Squamish person. It is to this concept of being a good Squamish that all roles, behaviour and evaluations attach.

Old Elites and New Elites: Differential Socialization

The information presented in this section is drawn from observations of a variety of families. I have placed the families on a continuum using a variety of economic and social criteria such as income and involvement in the smokehouse. I have clustered the families at each end and drawn from them gross models of typical families on the reserve. One cluster constitutes an extended family composed of nine households. The family consists of three senior men (brothers) and their progeny who are currently resident on the reserve as family heads. Their progeny are also noted on the Kinship Chart One and constitute the parents and children (two generations) whose socialization practices were observed. All homes were visited over a period of months but intensive interviews were carried out over a 12-month period in households 2, 2a and 2d (see Chart Two, appended). In reviewing the information received from other families of the same status, income, and orientation, I can see no significant disparities in information or interpretation. Therefore, I draw generalizations from these nine households which apply equally to other Capilano families. In the same way, the information gathered in the intensive contacts with the three families mentioned does not differ significantly from that of the other six. Therefore, I use data from all nine households to form the composite family discussed below as the new-elite family.

I gathered information and compiled it in the same way for the old elite family. While there is an old elite family also consisting of nine households at Capilano, I had continuing access to only one of

those households. Therefore, I have selected for discussion another family which consists of three households at Capilano. Four other households connected to that corporate group are at Squamish where income, housing, and village relationships differ in some significant ways from the urban reserve. Therefore, I have not drawn from that information for the composite family presented below. The family under discussion is listed on Chart Two as family 1, 1a and 1d. The family consists of senior parents, their adult son and daughter, and their progeny.

I have used the composite model for several reasons. First, it is unreasonable to identify any single family, or household, and to present them as representative of anyone but themselves. Since most families share more characteristics than they differ in, it is reasonable to present a "typical" composite which is not identical with but is similar to the "real" family. Second, in looking at several households of the same extended family, it is possible to assess the similarities and differences present in household routines and procedures relating to children. One gets a continuum of exposure and reinforcement which the child experiences since, in fact, he is present in each household for lengthy periods at different times. While his experience in his nuclear family is unique to that household, it is mediated by other relatives and thus becomes different, common to that of his cousins, and thus something quite different from his initial exposure. Third, the use of composite models allows for depth as well as analytic generalizations; a detailed account of a particular family and their days fails to accomodate such questions of depth and applicability.

The data were collected in several ways: 1) initial entry into households was obtained through the health survey mentioned earlier; 2) I spent a minimum of two hours a week with each household which agreed to participate in interviews and child observations; 3) I had contact with members of the extended family as they came in and out of the household in which I was visiting; some of these led to interviews with grandparents or with parents' siblings; 4) I attended most ritual and recreational events held on the reserve which members of the study households attended; I was able to observe children at these as well as mother-father, mother-child, and father-child behaviour; in addition, many relatives attended such events so it was possible to see the child with several members of his extended family simultaneously; 5) I was sometimes invited to specific family gatherings and these afforded special opportunities to observe relationships and behaviour of adults and children; 6) I spent some time in bars with friends and was able to talk to the men in such circumstances.

The data collected have some inherent biases as outlined in the Introduction. The most notable one is the female one; approximately 90% of my time was spent with women and their children. Male views and observations of male behaviour are therefore lacking. This may not be entirely negative since women are primarily responsible for children in any society. However, such a bias leaves certain questions unanswered, for example, the question of whether men are excluded actively from the socialization process in the early years or whether they simply are not there by their own choice. It also raises the question as to when the

identification process of small boys begins and what models are available to him in the absence of fathers. These questions can only be partially answered with the data I have.

Some of the statements which appear in the discussion of the families will appear erroneous to Squamish readers and perhaps to others. One reason for this is the unperceived discrepancy between ideal behaviour as stated in the philosophy of socialization and the observed behaviour. My descriptions follow the latter, linking to the former where possible. The statement of discrepancy is not a judgment, simply a statement. People often describe behaviour in terms of their aspirations rather than in terms of the real alternatives available to them. Young parents are more idealistic than older ones. In addition, some explanations of how the observed behaviour differed from what the parent said was happening, or would happen, may be in error; the observer is not always in the position to evaluate what is being observed. An example of such a situation is the apparent lack of concern observed on the part of a parent when a child is in a potentially dangerous situation. One might deduce that parents do not care if the child is injured. This is not so, and if there is a lack of commands, or the child is not removed from the situation, one must turn for explanations to the concepts of autonomy and to the philosophy of non-intervention. There is no lack of concern or affection; some situations simply do not call for intervention in the perception of the parent. One cannot only observe and discuss, therefore; one must also learn the philosophy and beliefs which determine the perceptions which induce behaviour. Where such learning is imperfect, as it is in my case, one can only offer cautious interpretations and continue to seek information.

The Important People: Old and New Concepts Defining Elites

Squamish people often refer to a person as "important." This term is used in a variety of ways by different people. The people who are elected to Council are "important" when they are acting in that capacity. This means the individual draws power from his position and that both his role and his access to political power enhance his status in the community as long as he behaves in ways defined to be appropriate to his role and status. People who have favours or jobs or cash to give away are important to know, and important to the family who depend on them for such benefits. A man also adds to his importance if he has a position of note in the white world, i.e., as a union executive, or as a director of a club. Money (and its obvious expenditures), political power and position, and a demonstrated ability to deal with the white world constitute the criteria attached to being part of the new elite. Since success at each of these things produces visible results, people are able to evaluate the degree to which a family is elite. The term includes the ascription of a superior status to those families which meet the criteria; the status is self-defined but it has to be shared by others in the community in order to be functional. Such concepts define the new-elite families at Capilano and are shared by others including the old-elite families.

The old elite draw their importance from another realm. Traditional names, knowledge of family history, right to use ritual privileges and property, spirit dancer initiation, and similar traditional criteria determine who are members of the old elite. Such criteria are

not particularly visible except at ritual gatherings, and therefore are shared more among the old-elite families themselves and not by the community as a whole. In a few cases only do the ascriptions overlap; for example, one member of Council in 1969 was a spirit dancer and the Band Manager's daughter became an initiated dancer during his tenure; in addition, both he and his wife had claim to big names. In neither case was the Council member one of the major participants in the smokehouse. Within the smokehouse, the old-elite families have varying status and continue to pass names, information, and property through the generations. Within the reserve community, however, they suffer generally from low income, poor housing, political powerlessness, and limited contacts with whites on their own terms.

Each group uses its own cluster of families as a reference group set in opposition, in many instances, to the other group. The sense of importance does not cross the boundaries established by the different reference groups and therefore is not generally reinforced; rather, it is often threatened. Each group accuses the other of inappropriate behaviour towards important people. As an example, one man stated to me that X who was on Council was related to him through his first cousin; he informed me that the individual had promised him a house for several years and had not yet assigned it; he stated that X had not met his promise because he was "stupid about those things; he doesn't really believe I'm related to him." He went on to say that the individual had the right to a big name but had never claimed it because he didn't know what to do to get it. He concluded the statement by saying that the Council was run by "a bunch of no-names who don't even know who their

families are; all they think about is their brothers." The general ideas expressed by this man were that no-name people were in control of the world and would ruin it because they did not know how the world operated. One of the first premises of appropriate government was to acknowledge big-name people and to act like the old heads of the big-houses did, i.e., to be concerned and generous to all relatives not just to immediate and consanguineal kin. Faced with some questions about the budget and operation of Council, the argument of this individual and others remained the same: if the people on Council knew their names and family history, they would behave more appropriately.

When I discussed the question of leadership, responsibility and privilege of Council members with X, I tried to determine whether the concepts expressed by the person who criticized him, were general and considered valid by Council members. I was informed by X that "nobody believes that garbage anymore except a few doddering old people." When I indicated that some affairs in the smokehouse included a lot of young people, X informed me that "those young people are beginning to act like savages again; how are they going to get jobs or learn anything when they are acting like a bunch of wild men? It's really crazy." Such statements reflect not only the differences in perception of two individuals but define the major social and religious differences between various groups at Capilano. Such differences imply major oppositions in values, beliefs, and socialization means and ends as well as many other areas.

New-Elite Family Socialization

A baby born into a new elite family comes into a relatively large and well-furnished home. He arrives from hospital with new clothes, new blankets, and often in a plastic baby carrier. Sometimes he is nursed; if so, he is weaned usually in the first year to a bottle. Often he is on the bottle when he leaves hospital. He and his mother are picked up at the hospital by the father in a good car of this year's vintage. The house, husband, and other children, have been looked after by a girl (of Indian ancestry) hired for the week of mother's absence. The girl may stay on for an extra week or two until the mother recuperates. Grandmother may have come with her son to pick up the baby also; if not, she visits on the day of his arrival. Aunts and cousins also come by to drink tea, discuss the birth, and catch mother up on the gossip. When darkness falls, the boy is placed in a bassinette or crib in his parents' room and is tended from there throughout the nights. Often mother will have time-saving devices to help her: a night light, a bottle warmer, disposable diapers or diaper service.

Father does not help with infant care; he sleeps through the night. Sometimes, if the baby is too noisy, he will sleep elsewhere from time to time: at his mother's, sister's, brother's, or with friends in town. The time of pregnancy, and the few weeks after delivery, are occasionally the periods in which husbands choose to seek other female companionship. This increases his wife's emotional stress and she may express resentment toward the baby. Two mothers informed me that the reason that one of their children was sickly, or difficult to manage,

was because they had been angry and resentful toward them and did not give them proper love and attention when they were small infants. The crisis passes in most cases and father returns to see his new family member. As the baby grows he may play with him or hold him from time to time.

The boy keeps to his own rhythm; he sleeps, eats, and wakes to his internal timer and is gratified to find his needs met as he demands. He begins to stay awake longer and to respond to his parents, siblings, and other relatives. The latter begin to comment on his appearance, his manner, and his proclivities. Will he be like uncle or like a cousin? The speculations begin with the first signs of socialization: a trust and an outwardness that includes the adult world.

The boy does not lack for anything; he has good clothes, good food, and constant company. He may, by four or six months, share an older sibling's room. He is in his crib by now. He has toys; he sometimes has a yard or balcony to play on, sleep on, or from which to watch the world. He is never alone except when he himself slips away in sleep.

When he is a toddler his mother begins to toilet train him; he is put on the pot from time to time; if he wets, nothing is said, or a mild statement is made that he might have used his pot. He can eat when he likes and often what he likes. He shares the chips and pop of the older children, and may even go to the corner store with them to return bottles and spend the pennies. He visits his grandmother and his aunts, and he may eat or sleep there. He is a person now, consulted about his wishes, free to be wherever and whatever he chooses. The philosophy of autonomy is in full sway.

As the child wanders from household to household within his extended family, he may establish a special relationship with one of his relatives. That individual will do special things with him: tell a story, take a walk, go to town, go shopping and indulge the boy with a gift or treat. This relationship will remain stable over the years, and the boy will be the favoured child of that family constellation. This may result in bestowal of privileges later in life in the form of a job, a house, a trip, or whatever. Often such relationships evolve because the youngster reminds the adult of one of his children when he was younger, or of a lost relative, or a close friend. With the selection of a favorite household, the child may decrease his visits to other kin. In these ways, he becomes subject to the socializing influence of a variety of kin, both adults and peers.

As soon as the child begins to walk and talk, he is regarded as a person capable of making certain decisions regarding his own activities. At the same time, parents begin to decrease the degree of indulgence and make some demands on the child. He is expected to be: obedient, to come when he is called, to help with small tasks, to find his own sweater if going out, and to do a variety of things which are appropriate to his age. It is anticipated that he will fight with his siblings but be constrained in his manner of attack; he is expected to be polite to his elders but not necessarily to his parents. His toys are facsimiles of his older siblings' activities: miniature hockey sticks, lacrosse sticks, and baseballs. He begins early to imitate his older siblings and to separate the tasks which are male and female. He goes out to play the rough games with his brothers and cousins; his

sister stays in with her mother or plays quietly in another area. Sex-typed behaviour is well-established by the time the child reaches four and should he divert into less masculine activities, he is quickly informed by older siblings, or teased by parents, for "acting like a girl; boys don't do that."

By the time a boy is four he has also established a more active relationship with his father. They will roughhouse together; they will go to games and other male activities together, leaving mother and female siblings at home. Sometimes they will just ride in the new car, or go to the liquor store, or go to a relative's household such as father's brother's or his cousin's. The male bond begins to solidify at this time and the separation from mother begins. This is not to say that his affection for mother ceases. It does begin to change, however, and as a result as the male bond increases, so does mother's treatment of him change. By the time he is six mother will cater to him as though he were a man and he will be subject to little, if any, maternal control. Influence is another matter; mothers retain their influence over sons in an affective way even though it may not be expressed behaviourally. Grown men speak of the gentle and the accommodating mothers they had when they were small and they maintain considerable respect and affection for them as adults. It is as though the parental relationship were bifurcated in those early years separating into distinct realms of relationships which seldom overlap. Since the early years of marriage often include many volatile encounters between parents and long separations from each other, it is not surprising that children view parents as belonging to separate realms. Other cultural features reinforce the bifurcation since mother's

kin are reckoned as affines and father's as consanguines. Criticism of parents by relatives also tends to separate the categories of people seen as mother and father: statements like, "how can the child know what to do when his mother comes from THAT family?" can only leave the child with the impression that mother is very separate from father, not only biologically but culturally and socially.

The earliest evidence of male bonding is seen in the reaction to a drunken father arriving home. Children learn social cues early, and by two or three are aware of the tensions or fear created by the arrival of a drunken father. His arrival is perceived in several ways: if he is in the car, a relative may see him driving unsteadily down the road and will phone the news to his wife; or, he may be weaving his way home on foot and a child will run ahead to warn the family of his arrival; a tow-truck with an identifiable car in tow always alerts the members of one family that their father has been drinking in town and hired the truck to bring him home because he could not drive; finally, a taxi entering the reserve with a solitary male is always the basis for speculation that the passenger is drunk. Small children playing outside will alert their mothers to any of these occurrences. Mothers then react in a variety of ways: they may gather up the children and go out the back door to their mother-in-law's house or to an adult sibling's household; they will stay there for a number of hours, or for the night, depending on the state the husband is in. If he is asleep after a while, they will go home; if he is disruptive they will not return until he settles down. Alternately, the wife may call the children in, lock all the doors and leave her husband the choice of finding a place to sleep. Children under

five tend to be fearful of drunken fathers, to cling to their mothers, or to run independently to their grandmother's or an aunt's. About the end of the fourth year, or in their fifth, the male bonding has altered their perception of such events. Boys become passive watching their fathers approach; they cease to warn their mothers; they sit on the steps watchful and attempting to assess whether they are in danger of abuse. From that time on they sometimes learn to help their fathers to bed, or cater to his demands for food or additional drink, if the mother and younger siblings have departed. They do not always feel happy or comfortable about the situation, but they do not turn away from it. This increases their sense of separateness from the mother but their behaviour is also reinforced by her; it is "good" to help their father; it is their responsibility to "stick with the family." The male "service" orientation is a part of mother's heritage also. The cultural demands of the situation increase both male and female bonding for just as sons are meant to help fathers, daughters are meant to help mothers.

During and after such incidents children are exposed to much conversation among kin about proper and improper behaviour. Criticisms of father for drinking or philandering may be put in terms of shaming the family. At the same time, generosity to kin in forms of gifts is also spoken of in terms of good Squamish behaviour.

The enculturation of children continues in a more verbal way as the child increases in age; deviant toddler behaviour was controlled with threats of repercussions from projective agents, "the police will get you; the bogey-man will take you away." As the child's verbal ability increases, threats are translated into more recognizable form and

children are spoken to, spoken at, and spoken about. In addition, they are privy to all the gossip which takes place in their house and in the other households to which they have access. This means that they have ample opportunity to determine what is acceptable behaviour under given circumstances, and what is not. The new-elite mothers also are quite directive in their methods of socialization, and children are frequently told what they can or cannot do. The incidence of intervention is also high so that children are stopped from continuing or starting activities which are seen as inappropriate. For example, a new elite mother seeing her child, or a neighbour's child, throwing stones at a house or another child will go outside and yell at them to stop. If the activity continues, she will go out and physically remove her child into the house. Inside, she will scold him and may inflict a punishment such as confining him to his room for the afternoon, or saying that he may not go to an outing that evening. She may also threaten him with projected punishment from his father when he comes home. Seldom are such punishments or threats followed through. A child confined to his room for the afternoon is usually outside again within a few minutes; seldom do mothers report to fathers the misdemeanors of the children.

By the time the child reaches six years of age, he is well-informed about his kin, he has developed certain expectations with regard to benefits derivable from them, he knows some of his responsibilities toward them, and he has accomplished some of the major tasks of early childhood: weaning, sphincter control, walking, talking, responsibility, identification with an extended family; he has become a member of a peer group, has a high degree of autonomy and independence. He also

has some defined concepts about the social order of which he is a member and he shares some adult expectations attached to political and economic status. His view is set toward becoming like his male relatives and the male bonding has already altered his perception of, and relationship with females, especially his mother and sisters. Aggression is still expressed physically but teasing is becoming a predominant form; he is acquiring more verbal skills to deal with a variety of people and situations. Shouting insults across the street to non-kin children is a favorite pastime and one which is a good measure of the child's concepts of kinship, the most socially repugnant status others can have, and an understanding of their role and status in the social order. The statements shouted across the playing field are seldom random and they have a telling significance. An example of such behaviour occurred one day as I was walking toward a household in Family 2. The children were coming home from school and as I reached the door simultaneously with the six-year-old boy, he and his four-year-old brother began to shout at six-year-old and nine-year-old boys from Family 1. The latter were walking across the lawn of household 2 and were told, "get off our lawn; you're nothing but dirty whites; we don't even know you." The response came immediately; the six-year-old started hitting the four-year-old while the nine-year-old shouted, "we're more Indian than you; we don't have red hair and we know how to behave; we've got names and you don't; you don't know nothing and your father is always drunk; you're a bunch of nobodies."

The exchange tells us what the children have learned from adults in their own homes; it tells us that being white rather than Indian

is perceived as negative, and that one important way to hurt someone is to call him white; it also tells us that certain categories of people do not "know" each other socially even though they may not understand the reasons fully; it also tells us that the process of identification is strong and well-ingrained by this age as is evidenced by the references to names, nobodies, and drunkenness as measures of status and appropriate knowledge and behaviour. Such insights, commitments, and loyalties will increase within the children as they grow older; they contribute inevitably to the maintenance of the social and political divisions characteristic of the reserve.

At six the child enters school. He may have attended kindergarten in North Vancouver but he will not have attended the one held in the old federal school on the reserve. New elite parents do not believe in segregated education, and feel that the sooner the children "learn how the whites live, the better off they will be. They have to work and live with them so they may as well start now." Children from new elite homes arrive at school on time, in clean clothes, and with the expectation that they will be in daily attendance and will learn what the school wants them to learn.

The members of the parent and grandparent generation of new elite families have higher levels of formal education than do those in the old elite families. Most of the men, for example, have sufficient education to have entered the union and trained in the use of highly complex machinery for loading and unloading at the docks. Some hold executive positions with the union, and some have important positions on Council involving administration of large sums of money. Such

responsibilities bring good wages as well as prestige. As a result, sons and sons of sons, internalize goals to work with their fathers, cousins, uncles and grandfathers. Education is stressed as one means to that end.

Mothers in the new elite group also tend to be emphatic about the value of education. Some have finished Grades X or XII, and recognize that they would have to get additional education or training were they to seek employment. Since some wives express the desire to leave their husbands from time to time; they feel encumbered by their lack of formal education. They recognize that they are "trapped on the reserve unless I get some training so I could support myself and the children." They tend to project their own desires onto the children, therefore, and assist them by ensuring that the children are properly clothed, fed, and get to bed on time so they can get up in the mornings. Children in the new elite homes lose some of their autonomy, therefore, when they start school. Their bedtimes become restricted, their time to come in from play is set, and they do not have the choice of attending school or not.

The school emphasizes such things as cleanliness, orderliness, promptness, and regularity of attendance. In addition, it requires competitiveness, attentiveness, and politeness. To the degree that Indian children meet these demands, it accepts them. To the degree that they do not, it rejects them and becomes punitive toward them. Tardy children are sent to the principal; dirty children are sent home; irregular attendance is a matter for criticism; reluctance to compete results in the child's being ignored and sometimes being classified as dull. To

the extent that the new elite children meet the demands of the school and the old elite do not, the school serves as a reinforcer of the perceived value and superiority of the children from new elite families and the negative rejection of the value of children from other families. As a result, the children of the new elite do succeed at a better rate and are more accepted within the school culture.

Although the children are in contact with whites for the first time, their attitudes are not especially negative toward whites and the process of socialization which follows their admission to school is not entirely discordant with their primary socialization at home. In other words, the goals set by parents and shared by children are obtainable in major part through schooling. The schooling process becomes one which is convergent with the primary one and not in opposition to it. It is a continuation of many of the things already stressed at home and reinforced by the image of highly paid fathers, uncles and grandfathers from work in a white world. It is not a second process of socialization therefore; it is a supplementary primary process which broadens the child's experience and purview without in any way disrupting his initial learning.

It is important to note too that when teachers criticize other children from the reserve, or send them home for being dirty, that the children from new elite families do not equate statements about those children with statements about themselves. They have always viewed themselves as different from those other children and the school merely confirms those differences. Attacks by school personnel on "Indianness" do not penetrate the Indian children from new elite homes;

they consider themselves separate from the objects of attack. Such attitudes also make the children more amenable to learning the skills and characteristics valued by the school and shared by the home. There is little conflict for the children of the new elite in school.

The days of the school-age child are taken up with schooling. Most children from the reserve eat their lunch at school returning home in the late afternoon. They do not go to the homes of their white schoolmates, nor do those children come to the reserve to play. Occasionally, they may walk towards home together but the groups break up at the boundary of the reserve. At the eastern boundary there is a park, and occasionally Indian and white children mingle there for a while after school. Seldom is the period a long one. The Capilano child is subjected only to the socialization influence of the school, therefore, not to that of white mothers and peers. At the elementary level no Capilano children participate in school games or teams after school hours.

The minimal contact with whites serves several purposes: it does not disrupt the Indian socializing influence of the home; it reinforces the intensity of family relationships consolidated by peer groups consisting of relatives rather than strangers; it emphasizes "Indianness" and its separateness without necessarily making an issue of it. At the same time the school contact reinforces those characteristics which parents see as important to the achievement of occupational goals.

The socialization process continues at home. Peer groups assume more importance for the prepubertal child and are broadened through

various activities to include nonkin. For example, most boys at Capilano start playing lacrosse and junior hockey just prior to school entry. Such activities involve team effort and teams cannot be made up only of kin. These activities also broaden the perception of ethnic identity and of cohesiveness among children from the reserve. At four, one was a member of a particular family and all others were strangers. At six, whites are strangers and while one is still a member of a privileged and superior group -- this family rather than that one -- one also is a member of a broader group -- a teamwhich plays in opposition to white teams. The first fading of the many divisive lines of identity is experienced at this age. The self-identification as a member of the Capilano reserve becomes more important than the identity as a member of a particular family. Such flexiblity in definitions of membership become increasingly important as the individual grows older and his affiliations with a variety of groups become more complex. Such flexibility is also the forerunner of the ability to define and redefine situations as they occur. Although ascription of status appears rigid, its behavioural component is often amazingly flexible.

The elementary school years bring no new elements into the socialization process. Rather, it is a period of growth and development which broadens the individual's experience and perception. Considerable learning takes place in social skills. The ascription of status to self and others becomes a major preoccupation for as the child approaches puberty it becomes essential that he know with whom he may properly associate and whom he may or may not regard as a potential mate.

During the later elementary school years there is a return to the indulgence and autonomy afforded the infant and toddler. Parents still insist on school attendance but bedtime hours are not so rigidly enforced. Absenteeism is permitted on various occasions and not particularly questioned. For males, drinking often begins around 10 to 12 years and, while this behaviour is not approved by mothers, it is not overtly curtailed or disapproved unless it results in drunkenness. "Part of the culturally accepted male image is involvement in drinking. Since male identification began early, it is also completed early, and "boys" of 10 to 12 are viewed as entering manhood, i.e., "young men." It is not extraordinary that they should act as men, therefore. In several homes, children drink with parents and participate with adults at social gatherings in a variety of homes.

Use of drugs is not acceptable culturally, however, and this difference offsets the Capilano youngster from his white peers. At the time that white students become involved with drugs as an option to alcohol, Capilano children are becoming increasingly involved with alcohol. In a period of four years in which records were kept, I note only one incident of the non-medical use of drugs and that was by a youth from the Mission reserve who used LSD and was subsequently hospitalized. This case was exceptional, distressed many people, and was blamed on his association "with those white kids; he always hung around with them instead of his cousins; we told him he'd get into trouble with them but he didn't believe us." On the other hand, it was not exceptional to have a beer with families where youngsters joined the group, or to hear of some of the older youths having beer parties in one or another household.

When Capilano children finish elementary school they enter the local junior high. Here the schooling process differs markedly from the elementary system. Timetables are worked out individually and students need only be at school when they have classes scheduled. This leaves them considerable free time and also places the responsibility on them for working out their schedules and study periods. In contrast to elementary school, there are more social and sports activities in which students may join. As well, the school services a larger area and thus has a more diverse social and economic group from which students may choose friends. Also, relatives from Mission attend the same school now, and the number of Indian students in the school is significantly increased. The atmosphere is different, the controls fewer, and the opportunities for diverse social experiences greater. Such factors alter the socialization of Capilano children significantly.

The children of the new elite families remain in a top position at this educational level. They have the money to buy clothes which are modish for the peer group at any particular time. They have the money to participate in after-school gatherings at malt shops, and to buy their lunches rather than bring them. They can afford to go to shows and to take a date. It is at this social level that meaningful relationships between Capilano and white students occur. Some result in marriages. These are not always approved but neither are they entirely disapproved.

Peer relationships evolve into a variety of activities and groups. Some groups are entirely male or female; others are heterosexual. Some are mixed Indian and white; others are segregated. Capilano students

participate in several school teams and activities. They may give up participating in the all-Indian lacrosse team or baseball or hockey and play on a school team. Or, they may play on both. More time is spent away from home and from the homes of relatives. Youths come and go as they wish at home and demand meals at their convenience. Uniforms for teams are maintained by mothers. Transportation is expected from fathers or mothers. Indulgence continues. At the same time, some responsibilities are met: care of younger siblings, help with packages, errands to the store or to a relative's, care of the lawn, and similar things. The individual is also expected to maintain a passing average in school in spite of his increasing social activities. Fathers, uncles, and grandfathers begin to discuss how and when he will start his employment on the docks, who will sponsor him for membership in the union and related concerns. Political awareness also increases after elementary school. The child is privy to innumerable conversations involving Band politics but such conversations become more meaningful as he realizes the effect that such conversations and subsequent informal decisions have on his or the family's welfare. The youth begins to develop expectations attached to his perceived privileged status. He expects help in obtaining a job; he expects to get a house if he marries; he expects to be financially maintained until these things transpire; he expects to be treated deferentially within his family groups, and in general. He selects his friends, carefully avoiding those categories of people he has learned not to know; he does not involve himself with smokehouse activities and, like his parents, decries their regressiveness; he looks to the white society for his social contacts, his pleasures, and his job.

The child has become an adult. In the process he has been reared in an indulgent and autonomous way; at the same time, he has been provided ample direction and instruction so that he has acquired the knowledge of kin necessary for day-to-day encounters. He has had the experience of being a member of an in-group -- the extended family -- and a larger Indian group -- the Capilano. He has also been exposed to "strangers" some of whom have been Indian and most of whom have been white. With the latter he has formed some ties restricted only by cultural boundaries and he has shared goals of continuing education, sports activities, and occupational goals. As well, he has been able to establish social relationships with peers who were relatives in pre-school days, and with peers who were non-kin, and some who were white in school days. As a young man social relationships have also been established with a heterosexual group. Now, as a young adult, he looks once again to the support of kin to enlist him in the longshoring union or some other occupation of choice. Since his senior male kin have positions of power within the unions and within the Band, it is likely that his expectations will be met. As well, such senior kinsmen will continue to socialize him in ways amenable to the group, and to the maintenance of their power within the group. He is fully socialized now. Unless he diverges in a major way from the life-style in which he has been raised, he will not undergo any further process of socialization but rather he will experience continuing socialization as an adult into additional roles of husband, father, foreman, and friend in the same cultural context.

Socialization Into Old-Elite Families

Many of the characteristics of atmosphere and procedure *vis-a-vis* an infant found in the new elite homes are also found in the old elite homes. Therefore, this section will be a discussion of the situations and practices which vary rather than a repetition of the total situation. Some differences start at birth. Old elite families tend to be less wealthy and less well-housed than the new elite families. As a result, the child and mother arrive home to an overcrowded house, filled with members of two generations, and sometimes with the children of a sibling as well. The baby may have new clothes for the occasion but it is more likely that he is wearing hand-me-downs from an older sibling. It is also unlikely that he will have a new carrier or furniture of his own. He will sleep with his mother until the next child comes or until he is old enough to move into an older brother's bed. Most of his siblings will be sharing beds as well as rooms. No domestic help will have been hired in the absence of his mother. Rather, the child's grandmother, or an aunt, will have cared for his older siblings, and will help his mother out in the first few weeks of his arrival. His kin surround him from birth and he shares their household. If he is fortunate, he may become his grandparent's favorite, and he may continue to live with them even if his parents should move. In any event, he will maintain closer ties with his immediate kin than does his new elite counterpart. This is a function not only of his residence but also of his later participation in ritual activities.

The rhythm of his days is similar to that of the other child. He is permitted to grow, develop, and mature in his own way. Likewise, he is highly indulged in infancy and gradually expected to share in tasks and responsibilities. He sees little of his father initially, and does not form any active relationship with him until he is walking and talking. At that time, he begins his male bonding with father, brothers and cousins.

Since the Squamish share most beliefs about rearing children with indulgence, independence and autonomy, his rate of progress in childhood tasks such as walking, talking; weaning, and toilet training are accomplished at about the same rate as that of the new elite children. On the other hand he learns different things as well. Aggression is not tolerated with such complacency for one thing, and for another he sees a greater part of adult life since playing and sleeping space is also eating and talking space. His bedtime hours are more casual and he can eat constantly or not at all. He has a heavier load of chores also because his mother may be working and his grandmother may need help with laundry and bringing groceries home. In any event, he accompanies her to the laundromat and to shopping on foot. If it is very far, and things are very heavy, he may get to ride home in a taxi. Few, if any, of his relatives own cars. Those who do drive old models.

Methods of control are similar between households but the old elite families tend to be less directive and to intervene less in children's activities. As a result, the child in the old elite family has a less contained situation than that of the new elite child. However, greater emphasis is placed on him learning who his kin are and

restricting himself to that group. His mobility may, in fact, be more circumscribed than his freedom of action would indicate. In general, most of the old elite children I observed played inside their grandparents' house or yard or that of an uncle. In controlling the child, a different range of projective agents are used, and more emphasis is placed on the importance of not bringing shame to the family name. For example, the two are sometimes combined when the presence of a deceased relative is made real in the statement, "you'd better be careful how you behave or aunt .... will get after you; she can see you, you know, and she might get mad at what you're doing; she doesn't want to be ashamed of you." As in the other home, the child is early exposed to gossip about the inappropriate behaviour of other children. A typical statement reprimanding a child would be to accuse him of behaving like the A's. Gossip would then continue about the A's, and their uninformed behaviour, and what shame it would bring to his family, the B's, were he to behave in that way. The harshness of such statements increases as the child grows older so that a rebuke stated in this manner and in an offended or derisive tone can be extremely hurtful.

Teasing as a form of control is much more noticeable among the old elite than among the new. The focus of discipline in the old elite homes is primarily preventive rather than corrective. The issue then is to impress upon the child the inappropriateness of his behaviour so he will not repeat it. A child who hears his deviant behaviour discussed with anyone who enters the house over a period of a week seldom engages in that behaviour again! Not only does he get the feedback directly but it can haunt him into adulthood. Some of these accounts turn into myth-

like tales offering great amusement to the listeners. As the child grows older, he learns to cope with such teasing and even to reciprocate with tales about the teller in a way which unites the generations in a recognition of human fallibility. Such moments can be warm and loving as well as derisive.

Shaming as a form of control is always negative and always punitive. When an adult shames a child it is usually for behaviour which the family feels will bring shame to all members which will need to be resolved as a group. Few young children are shamed but older children and youths sometimes get into difficulties which the family feels are shameful. Old elite families emphasize kindness, generosity, and honesty among other qualities which are desirable in an adult. An older child who will not share something, or who lies, or who is caught stealing, would bring shame to the family. Such instances are not frequent but they do occur. Usually, the statement of the reprimand is put in terms of shaming the family name rather than in any terms of breaking the law or similar broader terms of reference.

Additionally, the child from the old elite family has claim to a name. He will usually be informed of this name or people will refer to the fact that he will receive it formally when he is old enough to "live up to it." Not only does this give the child some sense of pride, it also helps him to become more aware of what constitutes proper behaviour for his family. His grandparents will tell him stories relating family origin and will also talk to him about the "big times" when all the important Salish people gather and honour each other. He will be reminded at the end of such stories about his responsibility to

keep his name proud and to pay suitable homage to relatives and senior people with bigger names.

The child in the old elite home also has the opportunity to learn traditional hospitality at an early age. In contrast to the new elite homes where even young relatives are sent to their own homes to eat if dinner time arrives, old elite families will serve whomever is in the house at the time the food is ready. As a result, cousins often eat in one household and, if adults are present, they will also stay. Reciprocity is high so that people eating in one household two or three times a week may appear at a later time with groceries for the household head or a gift of some sort. Alternately, some service will be provided such as babysitting, or laundry, or shopping, or a drive to a doctor, etc. Although the new elite child has entree to a number of households in his extended family, he does not live in an extended family situation but rather moves from one nuclear household to another. This is different from the experience of the old elite child who is surrounded by kin of adjacent generations who eat and sleep with him and who use his home as theirs, and vice versa.

By the time the child from the old elite family reaches six, he is more socially and culturally developed than the child from the new elite family. He is more socially apt because he has had a broader array of continuing exposure to a large number of people within one household. He knows how to share more and he has developed a full responsibility for day-to-day tasks and sibling care. He is more culturally developed because he has had greater exposure to legends, folktales, family histories, references to the spirit world, family name, responsibility,

and the like. His contacts with whites and with the city and other places have been more restricted. He is less oriented to going to school because the topic of education or of employment has not been a major one debated within his household. He may not have had any exposure to educated models within his own family.

As a result of these differences, the old elite child enters school with a different experience and perspective from his new elite classmate. He may have attended the reserve kindergarten where the staff were people he knew and where all the children were Indian. This does not necessarily prepare him to meet the white school and its personnel. Some of the Capilano children are as much strangers to him as the white children because he has not been permitted to play with them. Their presence may be of little comfort to him. In addition, the old elite child may not have adequate clothing by school standards nor may it be clean enough to be acceptable to school personnel. Unlike his new elite friends, he may be sent home to clean up in the first week of school.

The school starts a second socialization process for the children of the old elite. It is not a continuation of the primary process as it is for those children from new elite families. The type of English spoken in his home may be dissimilar to that the teacher uses. The method of instruction certainly is; in school it is directive and interventionist. He is not able to observe and then act; he must follow verbal commands. Nor is he allowed to make a mistake and then find his way back; instead, he is corrected in midstream so that he cannot learn through his errors.

The old elite families do not oppose education but sometimes the pattern of their lives prevent children from attending school. If the family has been at a smokehouse function and arrives home in the early morning hours, no one will rise to get the children off to school. So he may miss school often. He may have to babysit a younger sibling if an adult relative is not available. Funds are not so prevalent that sitters can be paid. In addition, it is an important part of his learning to become a good Squamish for him to help with vital chores rather than attend solely to his own needs. For similar reasons he may be tardy. As a result, the school personnel begin to view him as "Indian." This perception devalues him as a person and lowers the teachers' expectations for him. The result is that he lowers his own level of aspiration and never develops the interest and motivation he might were he treated like the more acceptable children of the new elite or like his white classmates. Just as his living situation is corporate, so are some of his experiences. His cousins begin to empathize with him; they begin to share the resentment and the disinterest too. They turn their energies elsewhere. The pattern of negative reinforcement strengthens.

As his primary socialization continues at home, his secondary one begins at school. He may also be introduced to ritual activities which one might term as his anticipatory socialization. The latter experience does not culminate until he is an adult but he becomes familiar with smokehouse activities and may get involved in helping or attending on a regular basis. It is about the time that he reaches his upper elementary or early junior high school years that he will have his name installed. Such an event is the end result of many years of socializing

within the family setting. With the public installation of his name, he publicly takes on ritual responsibilities. He must now attend certain functions, help on behalf of the family, and learn more specifically how to live up to his name.[3] Not only do such activities require time, they also require psychic energy. Both of these withdraw the individual from the active pursuit of studies. As a result, he may have to repeat upper elementary and early high school years. With each grade repetition he becomes a candidate for withdrawal from school before completing Grade XII.

Anticipatory and actual socialization into the smokehouse involves youths in the dilemma of determining their identity. Having an Indian name, and being a participant in ritual activity, heightens an individual's sense of "Indianness." It also separates him from those who do not participate and especially from the white world. The young Capilano child from the old elite family learns early not to discuss his ritual activities with peers. Part of this reticence is appropriate to the nature of ritual. Only the initiated share the understandings attached to the significance of ritual events. On the other hand, if an individual is dependent on his ritual status for his identity and sense of worth within a group, then some of the information about that status

3. My cousin received an important name from his grandfather the winter he was 11 years old. He felt honoured to have the name and lived up to it accordingly within the family. His first public responsibility came on the day of his grandfather's funeral. He, as senior male child with the biggest name, had to speak on behalf of the immediate family to thank the people for helping to comfort the family. As a 13-year-old in the depth of his grief, he brought great honour to his name and his "presence" was commented on highly by all the important people.

must be shared publicly. Unlike the new elite youths who can draw on public knowledge of their family status and use it to impress peers, youths who are learning to be important people in another realm have little to share. For some this creates a dilemma but if they have been well-socialized, it simply turns them back to their immediate family and their extended kin for affirmation.

The individual then faces an additional choice: he can become bicultural and continue to pursue both his primary and second socialization, or he can reject his second process and become more involved in the primary one. For those who choose the bicultural path, the process is not easy because of the conflicting values expressed between the two reference groups and because of the demands each makes on his time. Naturally, the primary group has more strength because it is in that group that the individual is accepted, cherished, and needed. Such emotional gratification is less easy to find in the second group, although it is not impossible. In addition, the youth has to face the reality of recognizing that he needs a modicum of formal education if he hopes to obtain employment. Such conflicts are not easily resolved, especially when the timing of the two major processes is temporally conjoint rather than sequential. Some individuals flounder becoming well-socialized in neither system; others make a choice. In either case, the degree of conscious conflict is high for the youths of old elite families, especially the males. The new elite youths have a smoother process because they are not subjected to a second socialization process until the primary one has been completed. Some never go through a second process at all in new elite families.

Socialization of Females: Old and New Patterns

The socialization of females does not differ essentially from that of the males except in role orientation. Female infants are treated with the same respect and concern as are males. The level of nurturance and indulgence does not vary along sex lines. The rate of independence and autonomy does not vary ideologically; in some instances it does differ in practice since male children tend to wander farther from home while female children stay close to their mothers or grandmothers. As with all children, the play activities of girls are less rough than those of boys; body sports do not constitute a major activity for girls in the way that lacrosse and hockey do for boys. Female children spend more time with adult females and less with peers in their first ten years of life. There is a tendency for female groups to have broader ranges in age than comparable male groups. The same patterns prevail, however; cousins and siblings constitute the peer group. The play group bifurcates very early with males and females forming their own groups about ages three and four.

A female child shares many of the same tasks that young males do. She fetches things, she helps carry out things, she helps an elder to a car, and similar activities. About age four, female roles begin to emerge more clearly. Help with food, help with laundry, and similar female responsibilities begin to be shared by the adult woman and the young girl. Infant care is still the responsibility of the oldest siblings, including males, but as the male approaches ages 10 to 12 his responsibilities decrease and that of the older female sibling increase.

Thus, in a family with a 10 year old boy and an 8 year old girl, the girl will be charged with the major caretaking of an infant sibling. In the same way, if a meal is needed she rather than the older boy will prepare it in the absence of an adult. Such patterning is a result of the division of labour along sex lines. It is also a reflection of generally prevailing attitudes that evolve from a predominantly patrilineal system. Women are viewed as the people who accommodate men and help them to achieve their goals. This is not a statement implying a superiority or inferiority of one sex. Rather, it is a statement which clearly defines roles and which places an important value on women's services. Women draw satisfaction from being in a position to help men; men in turn contribute to the status of women by doing important things which bring the family honour, or good income, or whatever. Even when the system does not appear to work, and men abuse women or women fail to accommodate men, women can still draw their status from being able to keep their households running in the face of adverse economic and emotional conditions.

A young girl learns at an early age that one of the aspects of being a good Squamish woman is not only to be able to run a house efficiently, to know family history properly, and to have similar skills, but also to be able to maintain an adequate level of performance in the face of adversity. In fact, women who have not faced such difficulties are not considered "proven" by senior women and peers. Thus, when father comes home drunk, the young female must stay with her mother, help with the younger children, and run messages and information between households. In this process, she is learning how to be a good Squamish

woman in the face of adversity. In contrast, her brother's appropriate behaviour must be to turn his back against the women and help his father, or at least not leave him alone.

Young girls assume responsibilities early, releasing their mothers to attend to their fathers in many instances. For example, one of the problems associated with abusive drinking is that men lose their drivers' licences on drinking charges. In several new elite households, wives rise at 5:30 a.m. to make their husband's breakfasts and to drive them to work because they do not have valid drivers licences. In such cases, older female children are assigned the tasks of getting breakfast and getting children ready for school. In the same way, young girls will prepare dinner for the family while mother drives male children to the lacrosse or hockey game. Many other activities involving services to males take mothers away from home, leaving young girls in charge of younger siblings.

At school, female children perform in much the same way as males, although they tend generally to miss more school because of the family responsibilities mentioned above. In general, girls from the new elite homes persist longer in school than do old elite family females. One reason for this is that females in old elite homes get involved in more tasks associated with ritual events than do males. If it is a gathering in which the family is helping, all females will be expected to help in the kitchen, with distribution, etc. Men do not work in food preparation nor at serving. As well, some females are asked by families to help with a new dancer or to be a "sitter." If the girl

assigned is also in school, the rate of absenteeism soars and failure in certain grades is almost ensured during the winter session.

The nature of the female bonding, the clarity of roles ascribed to females, and the cultural support for females not working all contribute to less conflict for the female in determining a sense of identity and worth. The value of a woman's service is immediately visible. The importance of her presence in keeping a household going is equally easily perceived. It is not the same for the male for he may earn the money in a non-visible way, i.e., out of the community. He may also spend his cheque, or a major portion of it, before he gets home. He may also be absent from home for a period, living with someone else. His presence is often viewed as neither helpful nor desirable on the part of the female.[4] Such behaviour and lack of visibility makes men's roles appear less important than those of women. In any event, women perceive that their roles are clearer and that they are culturally not individually determined. The identity crisis comes only if women reject their prescribed roles. I met no women at Capilano who actively did so. Female socialization differs from that of the male in content but not in process.

Summary

Many traditional beliefs about the life cycle have fallen into disuse. Taboos and rituals associated with significant life events

4. Some females claim they flourish when their husbands are gone, and that it is the only time they have enough money and food, i.e., when they are on welfare.

have generally given way to Christian or non-Squamish concerns. Although practices have been discontinued, some of the beliefs adhere. Twins, for example, are still regarded with some concern although no special ritual is followed when twins are born, nor is the family isolated either physically or socially from the community.

Children are still highly valued within the Squamish community as evidence of virility, as companions and helpers, and simply for themselves. For this reason, sterility continues to be viewed with concern. The birth of a child is an important event for the extended family.

The Squamish have well stated theories and practices associated with child-rearing. Children are highly nurtured and pass through developmental stages during which certain expectations are held for their behaviour as well as reinforced. The child is an integral part of a family unit not an individual to be involved only part of the time in adult activity. While expectations for suitable behaviour are high, disciplinary measures are primarily verbal and are based on shaming the individual into more appropriate behaviour. Great reliance is placed on oratory as a means for instructing individuals and providing them with information as to what constitutes acceptable as well as proper behaviour. Discipline is thus preventative rather than corrective.

Many Squamish share similar values with regard to rearing children. However, the processes and practices involved differ substantially among old and new elite families. The composite cases provided illustrate these similarities and differences.

The school provides some Squamish children with their second socialization process; for the others, it is a continuing but variant form of the first process. For the child from the old elite home, the path falls away into a forest of unlinked and unfamiliar expectations and concerns, many of which conflict with his on-going process of enculturation. The dilemmas begin to emerge. Soon he will be faced with conscious decisions about his identity, his continuing socialization, his involvement in ritual matters, and his life goals. No one will be able to help him make these decisions but he will continue to receive the support and affection of kin. Similarly, his new elite friend will have to make decisions affecting occupation and life goals but for him the task will be easier because of the strong male models and the availability of help from these senior kinsmen who have positions of authority in the occupations he wishes to pursue.

The division of the sexes is accomplished long before puberty. As noted, girls receive the same nurturance as boys but their lifestyles diverge early. They are expected to help men, and to learn to be good women and wives. Towards this end they become "mothers," at least in role behaviour, by the time they are ten years of age. Although females stay in school longer than males, only one woman at Capilano had a job outside her home during the time of the study. Models are lacking for female roles other than wife, mother, aunt, and friend. Such roles emphasize female bonding in the same way for girls as the male bonding does for men. The groups are not in opposition but serve the same function: personal support during crises and company during good times. As

in other cultures, the Capilano female matures long before the male. At 15 years of age, most Capilano females are women capable of establishing sound relationships, capable of running a household, and capable of coping with adversity. Men await their 20's before settling and even then the culture allows them greater freedom if not license. Men work hard but have considerable freedom from family responsibility. Women work hard and have little freedom from responsibility. The meeting of this responsibility is viewed as an achievement and the good Squamish woman has proven her mettle by meeting all demands placed upon her.

The socialization of two groups of Squamish children has been presented in an overly simple manner. The process in detail is a complex one and the impact of the white world has been both accommodated and refuted. While the details of day-to-day schedules, contacts and processes have not been presented, the gross patterns, the beliefs which underlie those patterns, and the cultural atmosphere which allow those to be operative, have all been dealt with at length. It is this patterning which is important to an understanding of Squamish family life. The patterns will become more explicit in the following chapter which links major theoretical concerns with the data presented. As well, the tertiary socialization process will be considered.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF SQUAMISH SOCIALIZATION

In presenting the material on Squamish socialization the general pattern of relationships within the extended family and outside of it has been described. Also, the goals and beliefs affecting the choice and directions of the Squamish child-rearing process have been outlined. The data are available to provide the day-to-day schedules of the families involved in the intensive studies. These have not been included because it is too easy to focus on such detail and thereby ignore the prevailing patterns which mediate the practices.

No rigid age-grading categories have been provided. Rather, the descriptive account allows the reader to watch the child develop subject to the cultural conditions by which he is bound. Although the Squamish define age-grades and do have terms of reference for them, their main focus is on the maturation and competence of the child. He is not measured in terms of general behaviour appropriate to his age. A child is judged according to whether any single item of behaviour fits his maturation level. Such evaluations consider not only his developmental and maturational stage but his degree of effective socialization as well. Often the parents rather than the child are found wanting if the child behaves inappropriately in a social or ritual situation.

Two main results must follow from socialization. The first is that the new member of the society must become enculturated. That is, he must learn the beliefs, values, mores, language and thought, and similar basic attributes of the group into which he has been born.

For the Squamish child this aspect also subdivides into two sections because he must become a Squamish; but he must do it in a way which is acceptable to a segment of that population: an extended family within the Capilano group. The second major aspect of socialization is the elaboration of the basic process into a broader one which enables the individual to function in the white world. As has been pointed out, for the children of the new elite, this is a continuing first process because they, as a segment of the Squamish people, are intricately involved in the economic and political systems of the larger society. For the child from the old elite family, the process becomes a second socialization experience equivalent in many ways to the first but essentially different from it. Anticipatory socialization may be a part of the first process as it is for the new elite youth who aspire to employment as longshoremen. Or it may be a part of the second process as it is for the youth of the old elite families. Their anticipatory process is linked to ritual socialization not to entry into the white work force.

The question of tertiary socialization is presented as a new and necessary one. The concept applies only to an adult who has undergone enculturation in his own group, has emerged from that into a second group, and finally undergoes a different process as an adult. While first and second processes of socialization can be sequential or concurrent, the third must follow the second and not be concurrent with it. In general, if we adhere to the use of first and second concepts as I have defined them, the third process is not one which new elite adults would undergo. If they have an adult socialization into a very different

manner of life, then the process would be a second one by definition. The children of the old elite families undergo a second socialization in the school. They would not likely undergo a third process as adults unless there were exceptional circumstances.

A case illustration best describes the third process. The most dramatic example I have of tertiary socialization involves a man in his late forties. A was born at Squamish into a big name family. He spent his infancy being cared for by his mother and grandmother in the way described earlier for Squamish infants. His name was thrown at him at the time of his birth but he was also given a Christian name. By the time he reached seven years of age, he was well socialized as a Squamish boy and was a valued person within his family. At seven, he was taken by the RCMP to the residential school at Mission. He lived there for the next eight years. During this time he ran home twice. On the first occasion his father returned him to the school. On the next, the RCMP came for him.

The school provided his second process of socialization. At the residential school he learned many things. He learned to follow the rituals and dogma of Catholicism and to forget the things he had learned about Squamish religion. He learned that he could overcome his Indianness if he tried hard enough and he did try. He began to believe that the education he was receiving would help him obtain employment later and enable him to live appropriately in the city. He learned how to dress and to eat differently from his accustomed ways also. By the time he was 15, he had been well socialized into the residential school pattern of beliefs and behaviour.

When A left the residential school, he had the equivalent of Grade 4 education. He had lost most of the behavioural and speech patterns of his own family and he was oriented toward being more white than Indian. Although the process had been effective, it was incomplete and it might have been partially reversible had he returned to his family when he got out of school. However, he stayed in the city. He later enlisted in the army although he was under recruitment age. He was a big man and few Indian people have birth certificates. They accepted him. He went to England and to Europe in the course of his training and duties over the next two years. This effectively completed his socialization into the white society. He travelled, he spent a great deal of time with his buddies, and he made sufficient money to support himself. He returned home to Capilano where his natal family had now moved. He was not familiar with reserve life nor was he happy. He began to drink heavily. After a few years, he decided that such a life was not particularly happy or comfortable. He reduced his drinking and sought employment. He joined the Alcoholics Anonymous. Through the influence of an uncle he went to work on the docks. He became a good worker and ultimately was made a foreman. He began to involve himself in Band affairs. He married a big name girl and started a family.

The story might have ended there as he had successfully selected from the white culture those attributes which meshed with the Squamish culture even though he was not at that time aware of the convergence. He was a hard worker, acceptable within his own community and among his fellow workers. However, the pressure of his Band political involvement began to distress him. In his position as an important

Council member he was subject to considerable pressure from kin. Some of these kin were not even people he knew because as a child he had learned about who some of his kin were but not about all of them. It was difficult for him to accept such demands in a cultural context but he could not refute the relationships. Work was also taxing. So, although he had money, a good job, a new car, and a nice house, he was not a happy person. He developed ulcers; he became tense and irritable. He started to think about the nature of the conflict. Why did his relatives harass him? Why did they refer to his lack of appropriate behaviour in not according relatives privileges which he did have access to? What did people mean when they accused him of not living up to his name?

He began to visit the smokehouse and to attend some functions there. He was not sure that what he saw was important or real from the viewpoint of the business world in which he functioned. He was little more than curious. However, he did turn to something very close: the Shakers. There he began to learn about the comfort of a group of friends and of a religious commitment which he had been lacking. Because the few Mainland Shakers are also sometimes involved in the smokehouse, he attended more functions there with them. He began to realize that the ritual events which people attended gave them a deep sense of worth and of belonging. He realized that there was great comfort to be drawn from this. He himself did not choose to become a dancer, but his daughter did. Although his wife was an initiated dancer, she had not attended the gatherings for several years. She attended now with him and began to dance again. He decided to sponsor his daughter's initiation.

It was at this point that his third process of socialization began. It was not a reversion to the primary process because the content and goals differed significantly. Furthermore, he was to undergo and experience this process as an adult. This made a difference. Although he was hosting his daughter's initiation, he did not know the rules. He did not know people by their Indian names. He did not know whom the important people were and whom he could afford to by-pass. He took several steps to learn: he sought information from his wife and from other relatives who did know how to behave in the smokehouse; he asked his senior maternal aunt to install his name; he began to solicit funds for a new smokehouse at Capilano.

During the process of his enculturation into the smokehouse group, and especially during his daughter's initiation, he suffered many insults. He was welcomed as the prodigal son into his "rightful" role -- that of a big name person behaving properly in the smokehouse. However, people did not always rush to assist him and some seemed deliberately to misinform him. Some people kept silent. Those individuals associated with him who possessed the information he needed to proceed properly might have been withholding information or they might have simply been following the protocol of non-intervention. In any event, this process of tertiary socialization which he underwent was not an easy one for him. He had to rethink many things; he had to learn about the relative importance of a large number of people in a new system; he had to learn not only a new vocabulary but the concepts attached to it; he had to spend considerable sums of money for people to assist him since he was not knowledgeable.

He learned well, however, and some of the more critical people began to relent, impressed with his sense of determination and commitment. He became very committed, and in talking with him it seemed as though the process had been like a rebirth. He stated that he had not known his own culture was as rich and as worthy as it is; he felt that the acceptance he had gained within the smokehouse group had many compensatory features which offset the stress he suffered at work. His attitudes toward many things and people changed. He started to learn the ways of the important people in the old elite group. In a sense, one might say that he was bicultural in his outlook and status since he was still an important person within the new elite definition and now he was similarly important within the old elite group. In this position, he became less vulnerable, more acceptable within the community generally and he certainly was more at peace within himself.

His experience had made him a different person with considerably altered perceptions and priorities. The third process did not displace the second one. It added a completely new dimension to the individual who then became somewhat adept at maintaining two sets of statuses of equivalent importance. He continued to be an important person in one realm and added the ritual one to it. He became "more Indian" than he had ever been; his own concepts about his identity changed as much as those of people in the community did. This was the major change -- the matter of self-identification -- that took place and the one which most seriously illustrates the effectiveness of the third socialization process. One is only partially socialized if one acquires the modes of

behaviour of the subgroup; but, if one acquires the concepts and feelings attached to the behaviour, the change is more intense and likely to be more enduring.

A Review of Some Basic Socialization Concepts as They Apply to the Squamish

Mayer (1970: xvi) conceptually distinguishes between two main aspects of socialization. He talks about "vernacular" and "observer" models. He distinguishes the two as process and practice respectively. In defining these, he states:

> By socializing practices I mean vernacular activities for which socialization (inculcation of role playing skills or attitudes) is explicitly claimed by the actors as a deliberate aim. Along with the activities properly so-called, I would include the associated vernacular beliefs or theories. Thus, socializing practices include initiation rituals and all explicitly initiatory institutions and practices; explicit vernacular theory and practice regarding the training of children and young people for adult roles; the same regarding the training of adult aspirants to given roles; informal but deliberate exercise of socializing pressures, as by teasing, of those who seem to discharge their roles ineptly; vernacular opinions -- not necessarily endorsed by the observer -- about the suitability and effectiveness of socializing techniques ....
>
> In a given culture, the body of conscious, deliberate socializing practice and theory, as just defined, constitute a "system" and the anthropologist can hope to deal with it by the regular techniques of his discipline.

The Squamish material presented clearly constitutes a system in the sense that Mayer uses it. I have presented the vernacular model of the Squamish by describing their philosophies of child-rearing, the beliefs attached to the choices made about fertility, conception and abortion. I have discussed the techniques involved in the maintenance

of the system, i.e., non-intervention, indulgence, and the like. Mayer subsumes practices under process linking the two. I have found this a useful way of determining the impact and direction of Squamish socialization. The disparities found within the model, that is, between the statement of Squamish socialization theory and practice, are attributable in part to observation and interpretation. They may also be due to the different rates of change affecting different parts of the culture. It is possible that in some cases mothers have changed their practices without necessarily changing their theories.

Early writers in anthropology who dealt with the socialization of various groups seem only to have touched on one or two parts of Mayers' vernacular model. Writers such as Malinowski (1954, 1960), Firth (1964), Mead (1928, 1930), Benedict (1934, 1938), Kardiner (1947), Whiting and Child (1953) and others deal with socialization in terms of kinship, puberty rites, marriage, household practices, cultural determinants of personality, and similar topics. While such writings provide us with good information on some major aspects of socialization, they do not inform us about the total pattern throughout a life time nor about the concepts and perceptions which the people themselves attach to the practices. Many of these descriptions follow the tenet of the early learning theorists (Mower, 1950, 1960; Thorndike, 1969) that primary socialization is completed by puberty or that it at least determines any further adult development. In presenting the Squamish material, I have attempted to be both more inclusive and broader in reference. I report the Squamish views of socialization but my selection of data has been predicated upon what Mayer calls the construction of one's own model of "actual" social-

izing processes (1970: xxi). He suggests that this is a useful checking device against which to determine more fully the relationship between theory and practice from both the [Squamish] viewpoint and from a comparative base. Some of the concepts used in constructing my model are spelled out in the Introduction. Others appear throughout the body of the thesis; some bear repetition here.

In soliciting the information about socialization of Squamish individuals, I often used a comparative framework with which to test out the theoretical implications of the observed practices. For example, I had many discussions with mothers about their recall of their own socialization processes. I asked them to tell me whether some of the procedures they now used were based on a feeling that the process to which they had been subjected adequately accomplished the goals they now defined as important. We also discussed the disparities between what one would like to be able to do, and what one is able to do, within the given situation of day-to-day relationships and exigencies. In addition, we talked about what I did with my child, as opposed to what they did with their children, and whether these differences accounted for one person becoming a definable "Squamish" and the other not. It was in these exchanges that the patterns became clear and the lack of importance of any conflict between a single practice and a general pattern became certain. It is not the single practice which determines the child's behaviour but the total system of relationships as well as those physical, emotional, and philosophical concerns which set the context for becoming a Squamish.

To reinforce this point even more, it is worthwile remembering that any individual can learn the overt socialization practices of a given group and apply them. A person cannot as easily learn the cognitive and affective components of the process. It is the latter which are the main determinants of becoming a Squamish. It is here that the Gestaltist concept that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts applies. In presenting the Squamish material, I am convinced that the difference between the sum and the whole lies in that quality of Squamish life which determines perceptions, affective responses, and identity. This Squamish quality is not something which is readily definable or observable but it is the essence of life at Capilano which links the many phases of different relationships into a meaningful whole. It is neither practice nor vernacular theory, though these in part determine certain relationships and social boundaries. It is a combination of events, symbolic interaction, philosophy, historical concepts, family history, and experience.

Erikson touches on such matters when he discusses the total cultural panorama. He states (1964: 152)

> Human strength depends on the total process which regulates, at the same time, the sequence of generations and the structure of society. The ego is the regulator of this process in man.

Later he adds, (Ibid.: 219)

> Much depends on the interplay of generations in which human strength can be revitalized, or human weakness perseverated into the second or third generation.

It seems to me that the human strength to which Erikson refers is the essence of the first process of socialization. It is in the first

few years of his life that the Squamish child develops special relationships with kin in the adjacent and alternating generations. It is in infancy that the Squamish child experiences the nurturance and indulgence which establishes the basic sense of trust and of worth. These feelings and perceptions are the result of certain practices (holding, rocking, talking, meeting needs as required, etc.); they are carried out not only by mother, but by a wide variety of kin. The structure of the social group is such that the sequence of generations can take hold. It is in this process too that the child can draw on the strength of the grandmother, or an aunt or uncle, or siblings, if the parents are lacking in their own situation. This allows not only for the interplay of generations in an important way but also provides the revitalization needed in each. Where such processes are inhibited by cultural, economic, or other conditions, the human strengths may fail to be revitalized and may weaken.

Identity formation has not been discussed in any specific manner within the body of this report. However, it has been one of the underlying themes which permeated most of the description of the emerging adult. In order to be a full member of any group, a person must first have some strong sense of self and a conviction that the self is acceptable generally. Any departure from such convictions result in turmoil and in distress for the individual. The process of developing an adequate self-image and identity begins at birth. It begins as a reflection of others into one's own self. The infant Squamish has a good beginning in this sense since among his kin there will always be at least one caretaker -- if not in fact more -- who will love him and care for him will-

ingly and carefully. Since he is surrounded by many kin from birth on, the strong attachment to a single nurturant figure does not occur and therefore never has to be undone. The Squamish child matures within a social structure that strengthens him even as it challenges him. When he goes to meet strangers for the first time in school, he is surrounded by kin and he has already established a good sense of identity and of worth. Only if he does not have sufficient intergenerational involvement does he become vulnerable.

Erikson comments succinctly on some of these points when he discusses identity. He states (Ibid.: 91)

> Identity formation goes beyond the process of identifying oneself with others .... It is a process based on heightened, cognitive and emotional capacity to let one's self be identified as a circumscribed individual in relation to a predictable universe which transcends the circumstances of childhood .... Young people must become whole in their own right .... The wholeness to be achieved at this stage I have called a sense of inner identity. The young person in order to experience the wholeness must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future, between that which he conceives himself to be, and that which he perceives others to see in him and expect of him.

It seems to me that the sense of identity which Erikson elucidates above is much earlier developed in children such as the Squamish who are perceived and expected to be "persons" from the age of mobility onward. The reinforcement for perceiving one's self as a person is present from that time on although it is circumscribed by family membership and by the predictable Squamish universe. The wholeness may be somewhat disrupted for the old elite youth in the sense that he may not be able to anticipate the continuity of being which Erikson mentions unless he seriously becomes bicultural ... or turns inward to the group

for reinforcement. For the new elite child, the continuity has long been established in the form of available models and anticipations.

Erikson adds some interesting points (Ibid.: 93-94)

> True identity, however, depends on the support which the young individual receives from the collective sense of identity characterizing the social group significant to him, his class, his nation and his culture. To be a person identical with one's self presupposes a basic trust on one's origins and the courage to emerge from them .... Identity connotes the resiliency of maintaining essential patterns in the processes of change. Thus, strange as it may seem, it takes a well-established identity ot tolerate radical change, for the well-established identity has arranged itself around basic values which cultures have in common.

He adds, (Ibid.: 96)

> The danger of any period of large-scale uprooting and transmigration is that the exterior crises will, in too many individuals in generations upset the hierarchy of development crises and their built-in correctives and that man will lose those roots that must be firmly planted in meaningful life cycles. For, man's true roots are nourished in the sequence of generations and he loses his taproots in disruptive developmental time, not in abandoned localities.

Not all families at Capilano share the strengths which were described for the selected families discussed. These families were not included in the discussion because the focus of the material was to understand how the Squamish socialization processes worked -- not how it failed. However, I think it is worth introducing some comments at this stage about those families who lack strong and effective socialization theories. The Erikson comments pinpoint the difficulty. Parents who are now doing the socializing at Capilano belonged to the generation which was removed from the influence of their families and raised in residential school. This process attacked Indian culture; it did not reinforce it. The basic trust in one's origins which Erikson states is

vital to establishing a firm sense of one's self could not develop in children who were raised in residential school because those origins were attacked and invalidated. Because the children were in residence, the attacks could not be withstood by their parents who saw them infrequently if at all. It is these Squamish parents today who express the most negative feelings about self, about Indians, and about whites. They were not able to maintain the "essential patterns" in the residential school and so they suffered serious cultural loss. In the same way, they were unable to plant their roots in "meaningful life cycles" and so suffered the loss of contact with adjacent generations and in disruptive developmental time.

These parents who had such experiences are now just beginning to put down their tap roots. Many are urged on by youths undergoing the similar if different task of definition of self. Parents and children agree that they must be able to perceive themselves as Indians (for that is the perception others have of them). At the same time, the definition of what constitutes "Indianness" must be self-defined. While parents work out within themselves their quandary of worth, their children are re-establishing meaningful contacts with grandparents. This means that their socialization will be more adequate than it might have been otherwise. The link between alternating generations has closed the circle, once again restoring to the senior generation their primary importance as cultural custodians and socializers.

Bicultural socialization has been mentioned several times but not outlined in any detail. The term was introduced by Polgar (1960: 217) to refer to the availability of concurrent alternatives for social-

ization of individuals in situations of pluralism. In examining the socialization of Mesquakie boys he found that being faced with such alternatives, even when they appeared to be in opposition, did not lead to marginality or to superficial behavioural adaptation. Rather, he found that the teenage boys he studied developed a dualistic identification and became able to perform varying sets of roles in both white and Mesquakie cultures (Ibid.: 228-229). In the same ways, the children of the new elite are in fact bicultural and to a lesser degree so are the childern of the old elite. In the former case, the new elite children have bicultural models in their families. The old elite families have some but not many models who operate equally effectively in both cultures. This is not to say that the latter are not able to cope with and benefit from the white culture. It does say, however, that they have not adopted many white patterns, values, concepts and percepts as their own, or in a primary way. It would be unusual, therefore, to find an old elite youth who was bicultural unless he were not living in his own home, or spent a considerable portion of his time with white socializers. Bicultural socialization does not imply, by definition, a partial adaptation to white culture but rather an equal one. It is important to reassert here that the Squamish who are categorized as bicultural are still Squamish. Whites accuse them of being Indian; Squamish accuse them of being white. In fact, the hostility implies their success at being both.

In discussing the success of some Squamish at becoming bicultural it seems important to note that such a process in no way infers that Squamish parents wish their children to assimilate or become white.

While some would prefer somewhat unrealistically that their children not learn anything of the white ways, most would like to see their children have a strong sense of pride in their Squamish origins and accomplishments while at the same time learning and benefiting from the white world. This ideology would lead, if it were accomplished, to full bicultural socialization of all Squamish. It would be the selective process in which the best parts of both cultures were integrated within one individual. However, the conscious selection of cultural content is not an easy one and too few of us are aware of the cognitive sets and affective determinants which interact in the unconscious selection of cultural patterning.

As McElroy (1972: 11) points out, bicultural socialization may, in the final analysis, be a simple but adaptive strategy to maintain cognitive balance, that is, it is a way to effectively cope with the disjunctions between the native system and the white one. It may be one "aspect of a strategic pattern for reducing tension and reinforcing group solidarity in difficult, ambiguous or potentially disruptive situations" (Ibid.: 15).

Festinger (1962) discusses the need of any individual to maintain a psychic balance. The lack of such balance he calls "cognitive dissonance" and links it with defensive or regressive behaviour designed to restore the balance. It would appear that when McElroy discusses the adaptive strategies of the Eskimo children in becoming bicultural, she is describing innovative attempts to remove the sense of cognitive dissonance which Festinger has put forth. McElroy, in her analysis, adds the group context present when the group is in an ambiguous

situation. For the Squamish, the need to redress imbalance and to maintain some sense of group solidarity in the face of ambiguity is an important one. Such behaviour is easily observed both in groups and in individuals. The man who underwent the tertiary socialization process described in the text was certainly attempting to establish some sense of inner balance. In the same way, kin groups who gather for ritual events or for ritualized drinking parties are making a corporate attempt to reduce group tension and to resolve the ambiguity which may be distressing various family members. The young man or woman who becomes a spirit dancer also reduces any sense of ambiguity attached to confusion of identity or sense of importance. The more "Indian" one becomes, the less ambiguous is the lack of being white. School children faced with the devaluation of the white teachers readily resolve their reactive dissonance by turning back to the primary group. In this way they also eliminate the need for constant confrontation of conflicting and disruptive orientations.

Summary and Overview

The model of socialization which has been presented here, is that of a social system which operates in two ways: 1) through the family which structures the range and nature of the child's most important social relationships, and 2) through the broader environment which the parents mediate according to the social structure of the Squamish as they perceive it. In addition, parents at Capilano attempt to provide anticipatory socialization by reinforcing the influence of the school or by reinforcing a combination of Salish and white systems.

The psychological costs involved for parents and for children make the process of socialization an uneven and sometimes difficult one. Thus the two goals of socialization which Wallace (1970) cites (replication of uniformity and organization of diversity) are met, one in the family and one in the larger Squamish and white society.

Adult socialization has also been discussed. It is notably different from that of the child in that it is a synthesis of old concepts and behaviour as well as the learning of new. An important part of adult socialization which must await maturity is learning socially acceptable ways of dealing with conflicting demands. As well, adult socialization is for increasingly complex and varied roles. A child need only be a child and act out the role of a specific family member. An adult must do that and occupy many other roles: father, son, council member, dancer, longshoreman, cousin, and friend.

The major points which I have presented are:

1. Socialization is a process which involves child-rearing but it is also one which is continuous throughout life.
2. The primary group provides the basis for children to acquire the knowledge and skills demanded for survival within the society; it also provides the means through which a child acquires his group and personal identity.
3. The process of identification is completed earlier by Squamish children than by those in the surrounding white society. This opens the opportunities in childhood for anticipatory socialization and for biculturation in adolescence. This could be a very useful finding but its application is dependent upon many characteristics of

the individual's society, his reference groups, his peer group, and the non-intervention of outside agencies which could arrest development and maturation.

4. Using Erikson as a major reference, I have concluded that the socialization of residential school children precluded their maturation to a point where they could "send out tap roots" so vital to the persistence of the culture and the continuity of viable socialization practices. Therefore, I assert that the current parent generation were incompletely socialized and therefore are unable now to firmly socialize their children. Nevertheless, the current youth generation is stabilizing and youths have begun to mature and to send out tap roots. Youths are demanding more concrete Squamish references and knowledge and this has restored the relationship and socializing function of alternating generations. I predict that their children will have strong and stable identities which will possibly make them truly bicultural.

5. I have outlined some general features of Squamish life style and ideology which affect the goals and manner in which their children are socialized. Some of these features are substantially different from those of white society and even show major differences within the Squamish group itself.

6. I have assumed that for those individuals who wish to take part in the economic life of the majority society, there is a necessity to participate in a process of anticipatory socialization. I have concluded that if the primary process was completed without disruption, the second process could effectively be completed during

adolescence. For some, it is; for others, that process may never occur, or it must await the completion of developmental tasks vital to a positive and full sense of self.

7. I have demonstrated that the second process of socialization which takes place in the school cannot be successful for children of the old elite because of the perceived discrepancies in cultural goals, attitudes, and values.

8. I have demonstrated that certain legal and historical events have contributed to the differentiation of structure and of interaction at the Capilano reserve. The definition of status and the economic and power base of any family are in part determined by such events. This affects the orientation to, and subsequently the ends and means of, the socialization processes of the different families.

9. The major agent of social change was the church. Missionization of the Squamish took place largely within the residential school and resulted in disrupting the socialization process of the family. Not only did the residential school offer the opportunity for a second socialization process, it sought to overlay the first. As a result, many of today's parent generation reflect negative attitudes and ideas about self-image. Bitterness expressed by some individuals toward whites blocks the effectiveness of the first socialization process and offsets some of the opportunity for entering an effective second one.

10. Discussion has focussed on the dichotomy of traditional and contemporary concerns. This dichotomy is not an actual one but is used as an analytic construct. The overlap between the old and new is

considerable and is seen both in the fusion of old cultural ways with the new as well as in the anachronistic explanations for new practices and goals involved in socialization.

11. The increased participation on the part of many Squamish in the ritual complex attests the importance of ritual in contemporary life. Socialization in the community of the smokehouse not only provides the individual with a second or third process of socialization but has also restored a socializing role to the elderly.

12. The affirmation of Indianness can be found in a number of ways within the Squamish society but it finds its most dramatic expression in the naming and spirit dance ceremonies of the smokehouse. The complex may move further away from traditional ideology and practices as individuals evolve adaptive mechanisms for keeping the ritual practices alive in a contemporary manner. For example, given the ethnic opposition of whites and Indians, it may become more important to reassert Indianness by claiming any name than to hold back because family history and genealogical ties are confused. Any names for many may be better than the right names for the few.

13. Models are becoming increasingly available for all processes of socialization. Role behaviour appropriate to varying orientations is determined in the first socialization process within the extended family. In the second process of socialization, children of the new elite families have more available models within the kin group than do children of the old elite. For some roles, all children must look outside the community and to white models. The number of models available for the patterning of ritual behaviour

is increasing although in effect the availability of knowledgeable people has not increased. Some contemporary ritual functionaries have assumed their roles without necessary knowledge or sanction. As a result, some ritual activities have a chaotic presentation which is decried by the knowledgeable. This may bring about the needed instruction so that the complex will retain a fundamental core as well as an innovative function.

To conclude, the Squamish value children highly. Their theories and practices of socialization generally reflect their concern about raising children properly in the Squamish way while not limiting their anticipatory socialization so that they may choose to become bi-cultural. Basic human concerns merge with cultural ones to integrate a system of child rearing which reflect a basic respect for the child and a deep concern that any child be able to maximize his situation, abilities, and opportunities.

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ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE—TABLE A—REFERENCE AND GENERAL

No.	OCCUPIED OR UNOCCUPIED	PAGE SCHEDULE	VISITATION AND INSPECTION	ACREAGE	PER CAP. ACREAGE	GENERAL CONDITION	COMMUNITY BUILDINGS	FACILITIES OF ACCESS	VALUE	SPECIAL
18	Do	100	Do	10.00	8.03	Fishing station, hunting base and location on Pender Harbour, Malaspina Strait.	None	Water	$1,500.00	
19	Do	100	Do	6.50	8.03	Fishing station, orchard and garden at Garden Bay, Pender Harbour.	None	Water	$1,500.00	
		100	Do	0.35	8.03	Graveyard on Garden Bay, adjoining No. 19.	None	Water		
20	Occupied	100	Do	3.40	8.03	Camping ground, garden and fishing station on Pender Harbour, opposite Gerran's Bay.	None	Water	$200.00	
20A	Do	100	Do	1.00	8.03	Fishing station on Gerran's Bay.	None	Water	$100.00	
21	Intermittently	100	Do	1.25	8.03	Fishing station and camping ground on rocky island in Pender Harbour, Malaspina Strait.	None	Water	$2,200.00	
22	Occupied	100	Do	35.00	8.03	Fishing station and garden area on the eastern shore of Agamemnon Channel.	None	Water	$700.00	
23	Do	100	Do	60.00	8.03	Orchard tract and fishing station at the mouth of Eagle Creek, Wulffsohn Bay.	None	Water	$1,200.00	
1	Do	100	June 13 and 20, 1913	38.00	16.59	Village site on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, adjoining and virtually forming part of the City of North Vancouver.	R. C. Church, Priest's House, Band Hall	Rail, road and water	$728,500.00	*Has water system, street lighting, sidewalks, etc.
2	Do	100	June 21, 1913	147.00	16.59	Semi-cultivable tract on the north shore of Burrard Inlet.	None	Road and water	$125,000.00	
3	Do	100	June 23, 1913	275.00	16.59	Semi-cultivable area on north shore of Burrard Inlet, 2 miles east of No. 2.	R. C. Church	Road and water	$15,000.00	
4	Intermittently	100	Do	33.00	16.59	Fishing station and hunting base on Indian River, at the head of the north arm of Burrard Inlet.	None	Water	$10,500.00	
5	Occupied	100	June 21, 1913	425.50	16.59	Village site and fishing station at the mouth of Indian River, opposite City of Vancouver.	R. C. Church	Road, rail and water	$359,000.00	
6	Unoccupied	101	Do	69.48	16.59	Fishing and camping place on north shore of False Creek at its mouth, virtually within Vancouver City.	None	Road, rail and water	$465,920.00†	*Abandoned by the Indians for public requirements. †Value to be arbitrated; upwards of $1,000,000 has been offered.

New Westminster Agency—Al

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE—TABLE A—REFERENCE AND GENERAL

TRIBE OR BAND	RESERVE	No.	OCCUPIED OR UNOCCUPIED	PAGE SCHEDULE	VISITATION AND INSPECTION	ACREAGE	PER CAP. ACREAGE	GENERAL CONDITION	COMMUNITY BUILDINGS	FACILITIES OF ACCESS	VA
Do	Smeshain	18	Do	100	Do	10.00	8.03	Fishing station, hunting base and [illegible] on Pender Harbour, Malaspina Strait.	None	Water	$1,5
Do	Sushkie	19	Do	100	Do	6.50	8.03	Fishing station, orchard and garden at Garden Bay, Pender Harbour.	None	Water	$1,5
Do	Graveyard			100	Do	0.35	8.03	Graveyard on Garden Bay, adjoining No. 19.	None	Water	
Do	Sallahius (1)	20	Occupied	100	Do	3.40	8.03	Camping ground, garden and fishing station on Pender Harbour, opposite Gerran's Bay.	None	Water	$2
Do	Sallahius (2)	20A	Do	100	Do	1.00	8.03	Fishing station on Gerran's Bay.	None	Water	$1
Do	Sekaleton	21	Intermittently	100	Do	1.25	8.03	Fishing station and camping ground on rocky island in Pender Harbour, Malaspina Strait.	None	Water	$2,2
Do	Saughnaught	22	Occupied	100	Do	35.00	8.03	Fishing station and garden area on the eastern shore of Agamemnon Channel.	None	Water	$7
Do	Coquemeets	23	Do	100	Do	60.00	8.03	Orchard tract and fishing station at the mouth of Eagle Creek, Wulffsohn Bay.	None	Water	$1,2
Squamish	Mission	1	Do	100	June 13 and 20, 1913	38.00	16.59	Village site on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, adjoining and virtually forming part of the City of North Vancouver.	R. C. Church, Priest's House, Band Hall	Rail, road and water	$728,5
Do	Seymour Creek	2	Do	100	June 21, 1913	147.00	16.59	Semi-cultivable tract on the north shore of Burrard Inlet.	None	Road and water	$125,0
Squamish (Burrard Inlet Band)		3	Do	100	June 23, 1913	275.00	16.59	Semi-cultivable area on north shore of Burrard Inlet, 2 miles east of No. 2.	R. C. Church	Road and water	$15,0
Do (And Musqueam)	Inlailawatash (Indian River)	4	Intermittently	100	Do	33.00	16.59	Fishing station and hunting base on Indian River, at the head of the north arm of Burrard Inlet.	None	Water	$10,5
Squamish: (Kapilano Band)	Kapilano	5	Occupied	100	June 21, 1915	425.50	16.59	Village [illegible] and fishing station at [illegible] mouth of [illegible]lano River, opposite City of Vancouver.	R. C. Church	Road, rail and water	$359,0
Squamish Tribe	Kitsil[illegible] or False Creek	6	Unoccupied	101	Do	69.48	16.59	Fishing [illegible] and camping place [illegible] shore of False Creek at its mouth, virtually within Vancouver City.	None	Road, rail and water	$465,9

2 of 2

Analysis of Evidence—Table A—Reference and General

No.	Occupied or Unoccupied	Page Schedule	Visitation and Inspection	Acreage	Per Cap. Acreage	General Condition	Community Buildings	Facilities of Access	Value	Special
7	Intermittently	101	Aug. 17, 1915	100.00	16.59	Fishing station and timber area on the left bank of Squamish River, 25 miles from its mouth.	None	Road	$3,000.00	*Indians say 3 acres of best land lost by erosion.
8	Intermittently	101	Do	0.15	16.59	Old fishing station and graveyard, on the right bank of Squamish River, 3 miles above *No. 7*.	None	Water		
9		101	Do	0.67	16.59	Graveyard on the left bank of Squamish River.	None	Water		
10		101	Do	0.10	16.59	Graveyard on the left bank of Squamish River.	None	Water		
11	Intermittently	101	Aug. 17, 1915	4,046.50	16.59	Pasturage and timber area on the *left bank* of the Squamish River, between Chemai Creek and Cheakamus River.	None	P.G.E.R. and Road	$128,000.00	
12	Do	101	Do	23.00	16.59	Fishing station on the right bank of Squamish River, opposite mouth of Cheakamus River.	None	Road and water	$1,500.00	
13	Do	101	Do	111.80	16.59	Fishing station and hunting base, on the left bank of the Squamish River, near the mouth of Cheakamus River.	None	P.G.E.R., road and water	$6,500.00	
14	Do	101	Do	37.00	16.59	Fishing station, on the left bank of the Squamish River.	None	P.G.E.R. and road	$2,000.00	
15	Do	101	Do	27.45*	16.59	Fishing station and camping ground.	None	Water	$500.00	*Considerable area lost by erosion.
16	Occupied	101	Do	68.00	16.59	Summer pasturage and farming area on the left bank of Kowtain Slough, Squamish River.	None	P.G.E.R. and road	$10,000.00	
17	Do	101	Do	57.50*	16.59	On the left bank of Kowtain Slough and including island.	None	Road	$10,000.00	*Approximately 5 acres of cultivated land lost by erosion.
18	Do	101	Do	4.50	16.59	Fishing station.	None	P.G.E.R. and road	$4,000.00	*Balance of old Reserve sold to P.G.E.R. Co.
19		101	Do	2.25	16.59	Graveyard.	None	Water	$1,000.00	
20		101		13.00	16.59					*Sold to P.G.E.R. Co.
21		101		416.50	16.59					*Sold to P.G.E.R. Co.
22		101		188.23	16.59					*Sold to P.G.E.R. Co.

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE—TABLE A—REFERENCE AND GENERAL

TRIBE OR BAND	RESERVE	No.	OCCUPIED OR UNOCCUPIED	PAGE SCHEDULE	VISITATION AND INSPECTION	ACREAGE	PER CAP. ACREAGE	GENERAL CONDITION	COMMUNITY BUILDINGS	FACILITIES OF ACCESS	VA
Do	Skowishin	7	Intermittently	101	Aug. 27, 1915	100.00	26.59	Fishing station and timber area on the left bank of Squamish River, 25 miles from its mouth.	None	Road	$3,0
Do	Chuckchuck	8	Intermittently	101	Do	0.15	26.59	Old fishing station and graveyard, on the right bank of Squamish River, 3 miles above No. 7.	None	Water	
Do	Poyam	9		101	Do	0.67	26.59	Graveyard on the left bank of Squamish River.	None	Water	
Do	Skowishin	10		101	Do	0.10	26.59	Graveyard on the left bank of Squamish River.	None	Water	
Squamish Tribe: (Cheakamus Band)	Cheakamus	11	Intermittently	101	Aug. 27, 1915	4,046.50	26.59	Pasturage and timber area on the left bank of the Squamish River, between Chemai Creek and Cheakamus River.	None	P.G.E.R. and Road	$128,0
Squamish Tribe: (Yookwitz Band)	Yookwitz	12	Do	101	Do	23.00	26.59	Fishing station on the right bank of Squamish River, opposite mouth of Cheakamus River.	None	Road and water	$1,5
Do	Poquiosin and Skamain	13	Do	101	Do	121.80	26.59	Fishing station and hunting base, on the left bank of the Squamish River, near the mouth of Cheakamus River.	None	P.G.E.R., road and water	$6,5
Do	Waiwakum	14	Do	101	Do	37.00	26.59	Fishing station, on the left bank of the Squamish River.	None	P.G.E.R. and road.	$2,0
Do	Ahwucka	15	Do	101	Do	27.45*	26.59	Fishing station and camping ground.	None	Water	$
Squamish Tribe: (Seaichem Band)	Seaichem	16	Occupied	101	Do	68.00	26.59	Summer pasturage and farming area on the left bank of Kowtain Slough, Squamish River.	None	P.G.E.R. and road	$20,0
Squamish Tribe: (Kowtain Band)	Kowtain	17	Do	101	Do	57.50*	26.59	On the left bank of Kowtain Slough and including island.	None	Road	$20,0
Do	Yekwaupsum	18	Do	101	Do	4.50	26.59	Fishing station.	None	P.G.E.R. and road	$4,0
Do	Burial Ground	19		101	Do	2.25	26.59	Graveyard.	None	Water	$1,
Do	Memiquum Island*	20		101		33.00	26.59				
Do	Squamish Island*	21		101		416.50	26.59				
Do	Skwulwailum*	22		101		188.23	26.59				

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE—TABLE A—REFERENCE AND GENERAL

No.	OCCUPIED OR UNOCCUPIED	PAGE SCHEDULE	VISITATION AND INSPECTION	ACREAGE	PER CAP. ACREAGE	GENERAL CONDITION	COMMUNITY BUILDINGS	FACILITIES OF ACCESS	VALUE	SPECIAL
23		202		239.20	16.59					*Sold to P. G. E. R. Co.
24	Intermittently	202	Aug. 27, 1915	40.00*	16.59	Village site on eastern shore of Howe Sound, at its head.	None	Water	$50,000.00	*Balance of Reserve of 141.50 acres sold to P. G. E. R. Co.
25	Do	202	Do	33.00	16.59	Fishing station on western shore of Howe Sound opposite Woolridge Island.	None	Water	$3,000.00	
26	Do	202	Do	34.30	16.59	Fishing station on western shore of Howe Sound, opposite Keats Island.	None	Water	$4,000.00	
26A		202	Do	0.50	16.59	Graveyard.				
27		202	Do	0.50	16.59	Do				
28		202	Do	33.00	16.59	Old burial place.		Water	$100.00	
	Occupied	203	April 29, 1914	604.25	12.085	Village site and farming area on the Gulf of Georgia, near Point Roberts.	R. C. Church	Road and water	$120,000.00	
1	Do	202	Feb. 19, 1915	1,524.50	42.08	Village site on land on north shore of Malaspina Strait, east of Harwood Island.	R. C. Church	Deep water	$60,000.00	
2	Do	202	Do	2,055.00	42.08	Fishing station and farming area on Gulf of Georgia, opposite No. 1.	None	Deep water	$50,000.00	
3	Do	202	Do	200.00	42.08	Farming area of indifferent character on Smelt Bay, Cortez Island.	None	Deep water	$2,500.00	
4	Intermittently	202	Do	395.50	42.08	Fishing station at the head of Theodosia Arm, Malaspina Inlet.	None	Deep water	$4,500.00	
5	Occupied	202	Do	53.00	42.08	Fishing station at the head of Freke's Anchorage, Malaspina Inlet.	None	Deep water	$1,500.00	
6	Intermittently	202	Do	45.00	42.08	Camping place, fishing station and hunting base on Gifford Peninsula, Malaspina Inlet.	None	Deep water	$100.00	
7	Intermittently	202	Sept. 4, 1915	283.00	16.07	Fishing station and grazing area on small island in the Fraser River.	None	Water	$2,850.00	
8	Occupied	202	Do	39.00*	16.07	Potential farming plot on the left bank of the Fraser River, opposite No. 1.	None	Water and C.N.P.R.	$1,000.00	*Less allowed-right-of-way of C. N. P. R. and acreage lost by erosion.

Analysis of Evidence—Table A—Reference and General

Tribe or Band	Reserve	No.	Occupied or Unoccupied	Page Schedule	Visitation and Inspection	Acreage	Per Cap. Acreage	General Condition	Community Buildings	Facilities of Access	V
Do	Ahtsum*	23		102		229.20	16.59				
Do	Stawamus	24	Intermittently	102	Aug. 27, 1915	40.00*	16.59	Village site on eastern shore of Howe Sound, at its head.	None	Water	$50
Do	Kaikalahun	25	Do	102	Do	33.00	16.59	Fishing station on western shore of Howe Sound opposite Woolridge Island.	None	Water	$3
Do	Chekwelp	26	Do	102	Do	34.50	16.59	Fishing station on western shore of Howe Sound, opposite Keats Island.	None	Water	$4
Do		26A		102	Do	0.50	16.59	Graveyard.			
Do	Burial Ground	27		102	Do	0.50	16.59	Do			
Do	Defence Island	28		102	Do	33.00	16.59	Old burial place.		Water	
Tsawwassen	Tsawwassen		Occupied	103	April 29, 1914	604.25	12.085	Village site and farming area on the Gulf of Georgia, near Point Roberts.	R. C. Church	Road and water	$100
Sliammon	Sliammon	1	Do	102	Feb. 19, 1915	1,924.50	42.08	Village site on land on north shore of Malaspina Strait, east of Harwood Island.	R.-C. Church	Deep water	$60
Do	Harwood Island	2	Do	102	Do	2,695.00	42.08	Fishing station and farming area on Gulf of Georgia, opposite No. 1.	None	Deep water	$5
Do	Pauk anum	3	Do	102	Do	200.00	42.08	Farming area of indifferent character on Smelt Bay, Cortez Island.	None	Deep water	$2
Do	Toquaaz	4	Intermittently	102	Do	395.50	42.08	Fishing station at the head of Theodosia Arm, Malaspina Inlet.	None	Deep water	$3
Do	Tokenatch	5	Occupied	102	Do	53.00	42.08	Fishing station at the head of Freke's Anchorage, Malaspina Inlet.	None	Deep water	
Do	Kahkayay	6	Intermittently	102	Do	45.00	42.08	Camping place, fishing station and hunting base on Gifford Peninsula, Malaspina Inlet.	None	Deep water	
Sumass	Yaalstrick	1	Intermittently	101	Sept. 4, 1915	283.60	16.07	Fishing station and grazing area on small island in the Fraser River.	None	Water	
Do	Lackaway	2	Occupied	102	Do	39.00*	16.07	Potential farming plot on the left bank of the Fraser River, opposite No. 1.	None	Water and C.N.R.	

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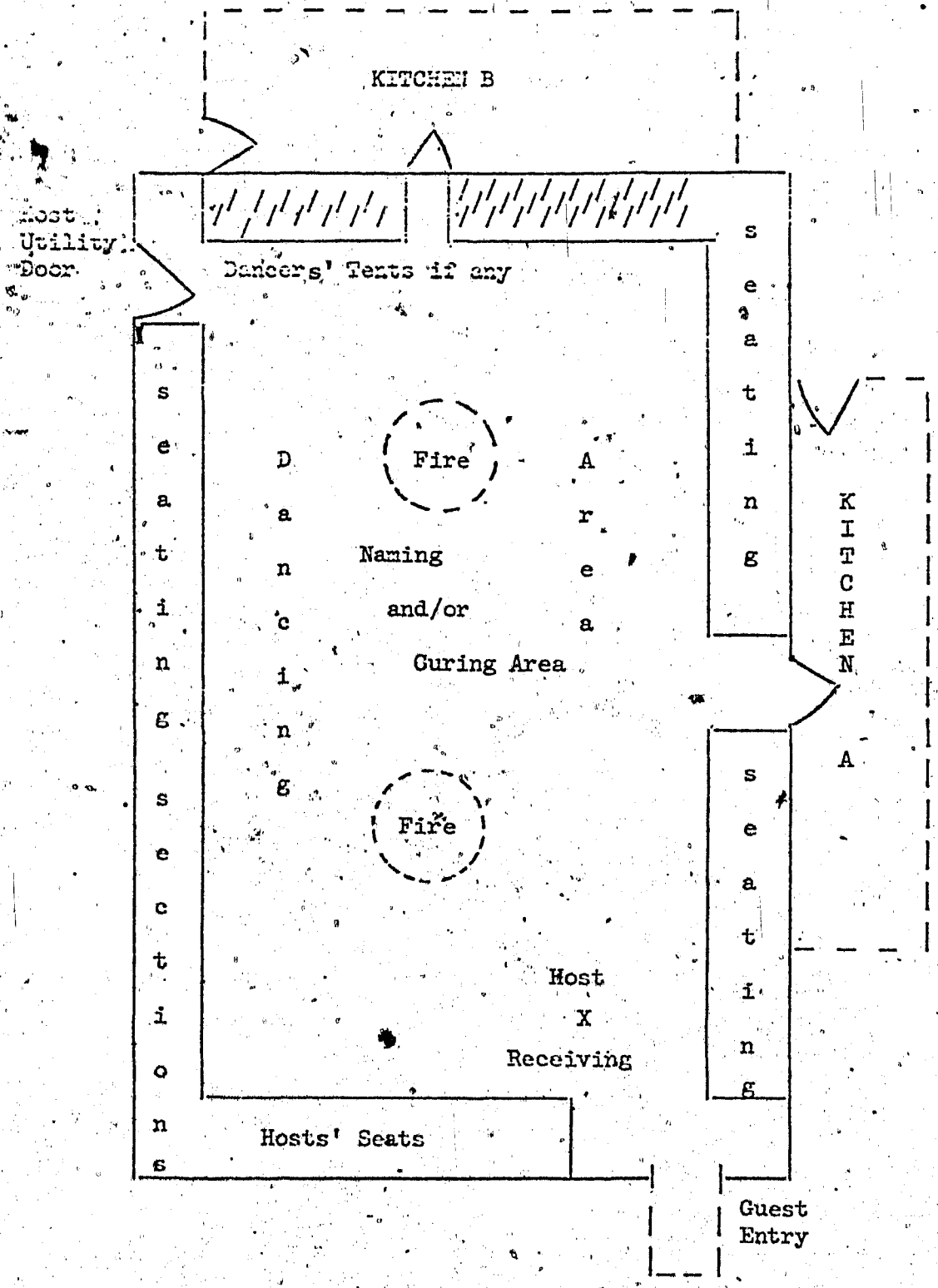
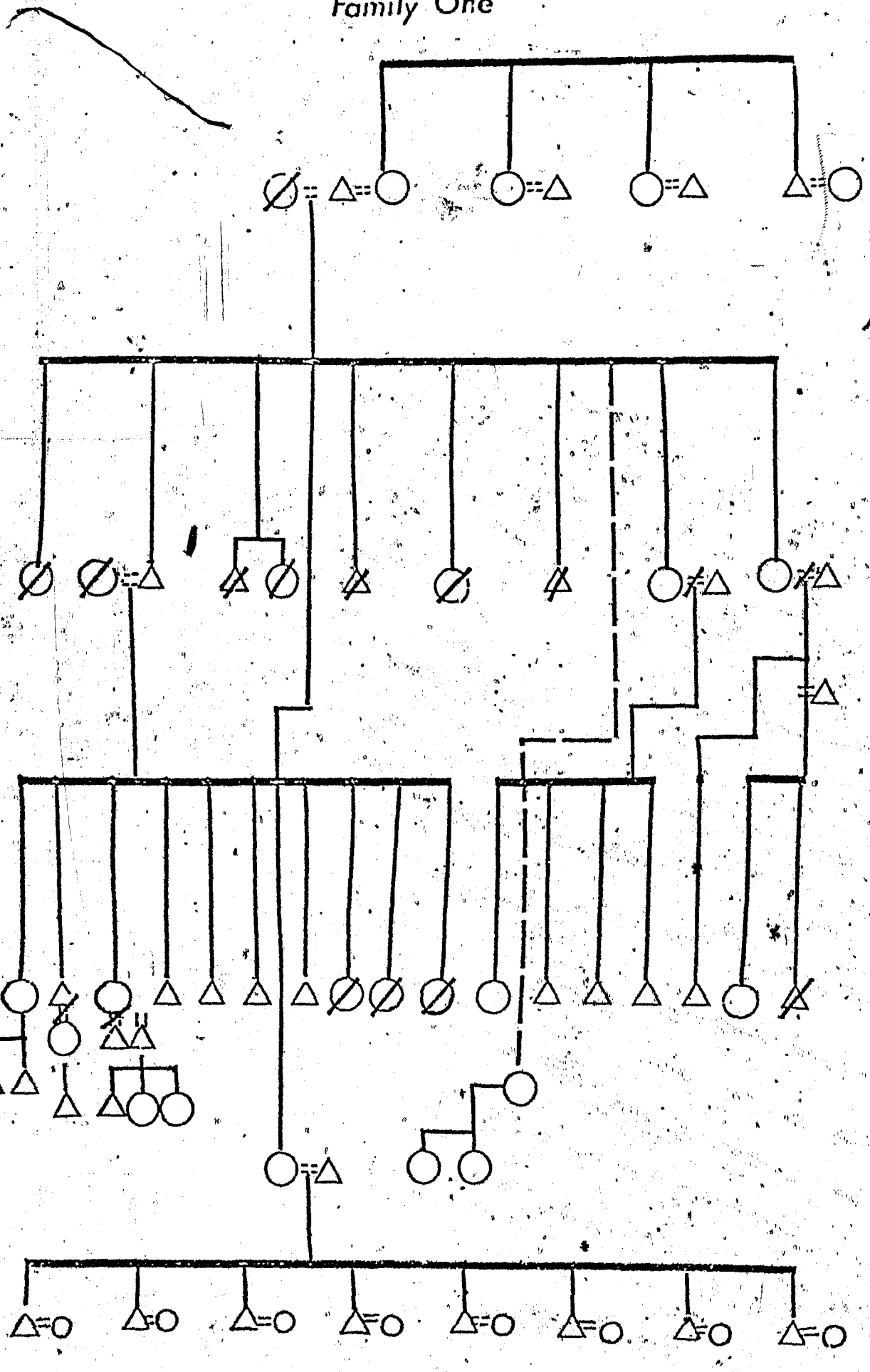
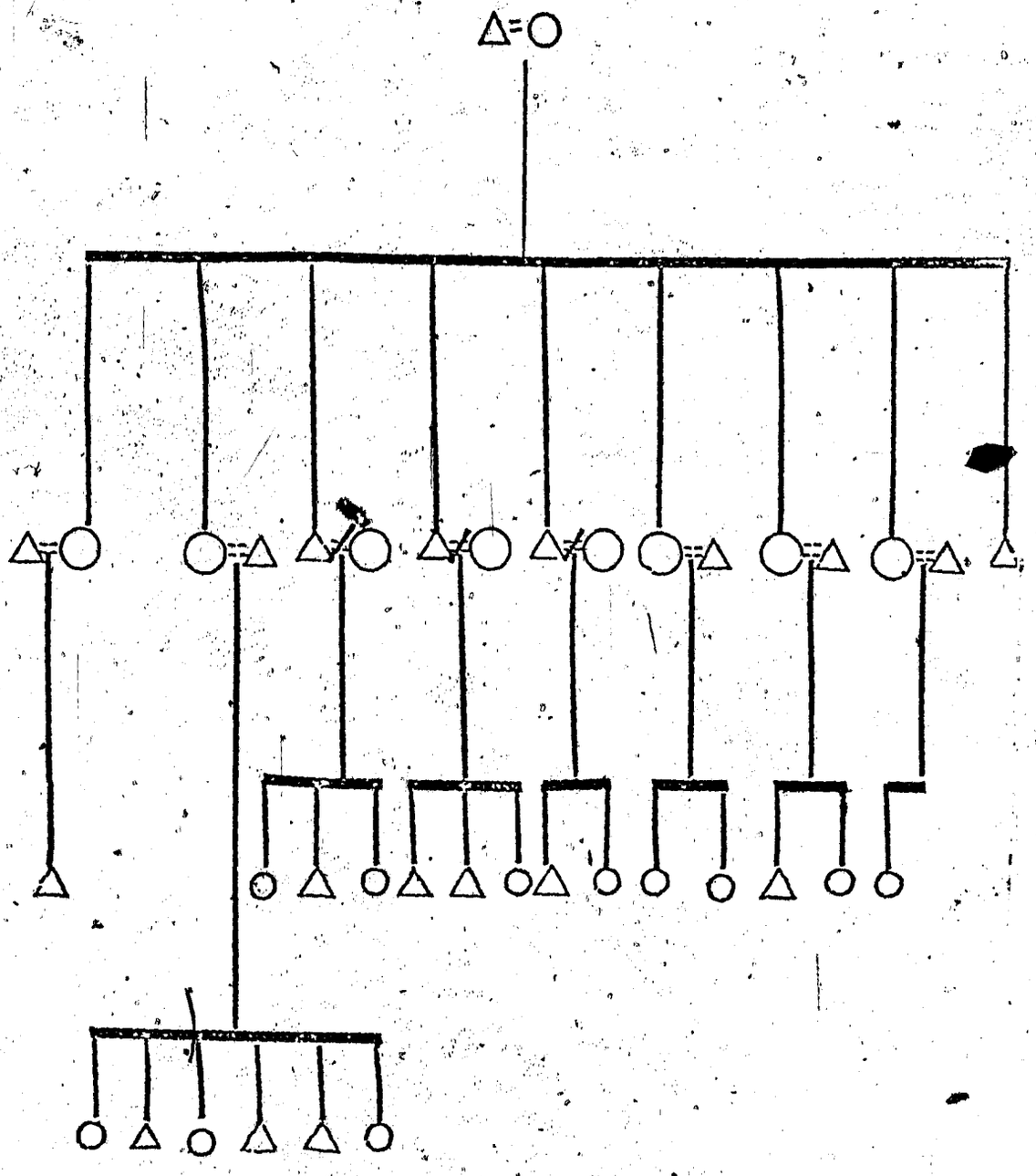


SMOKEHOUSE FLOOR PLANS(A AND B)

Family One

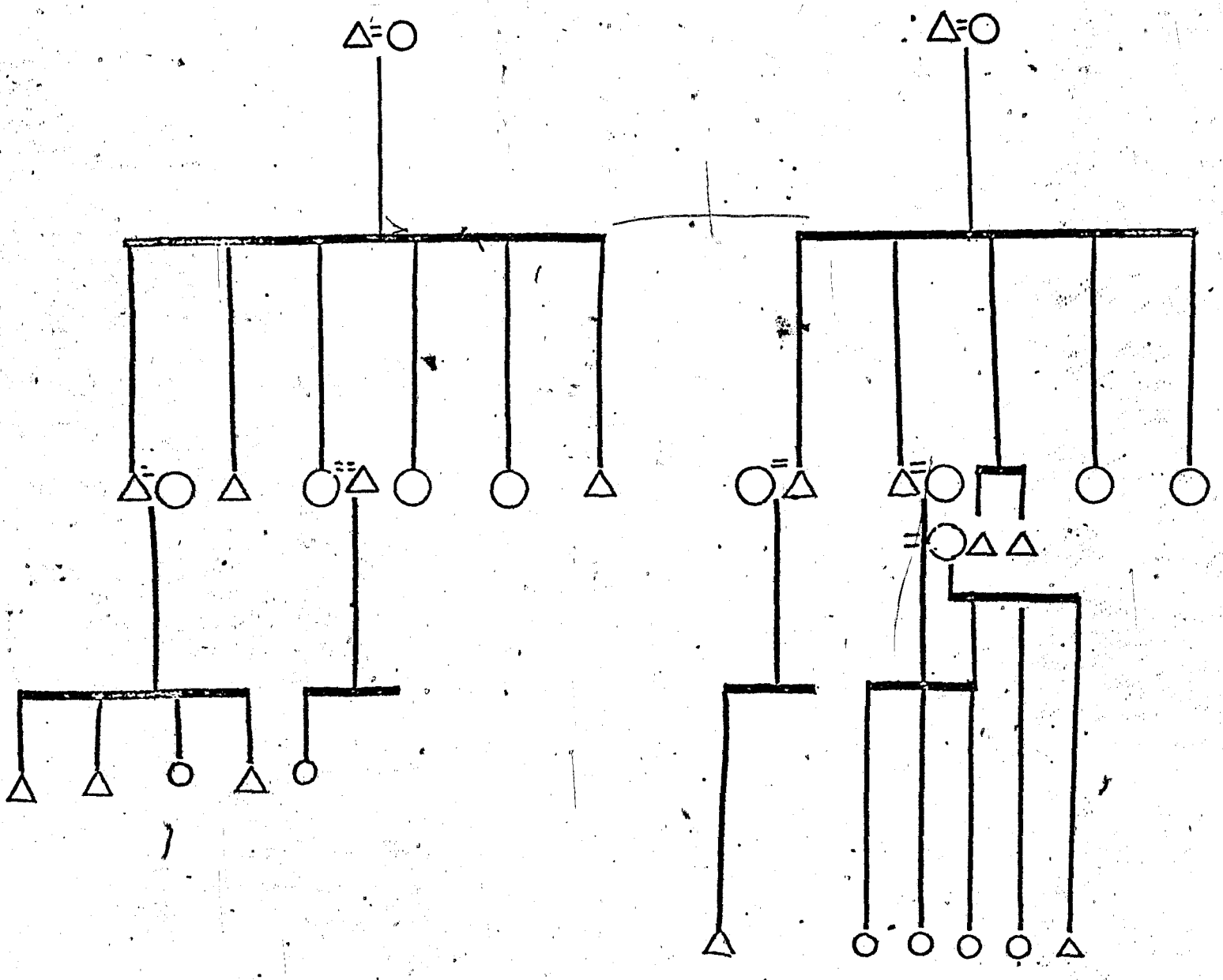


Family Two A



Family Two B

Family Two C

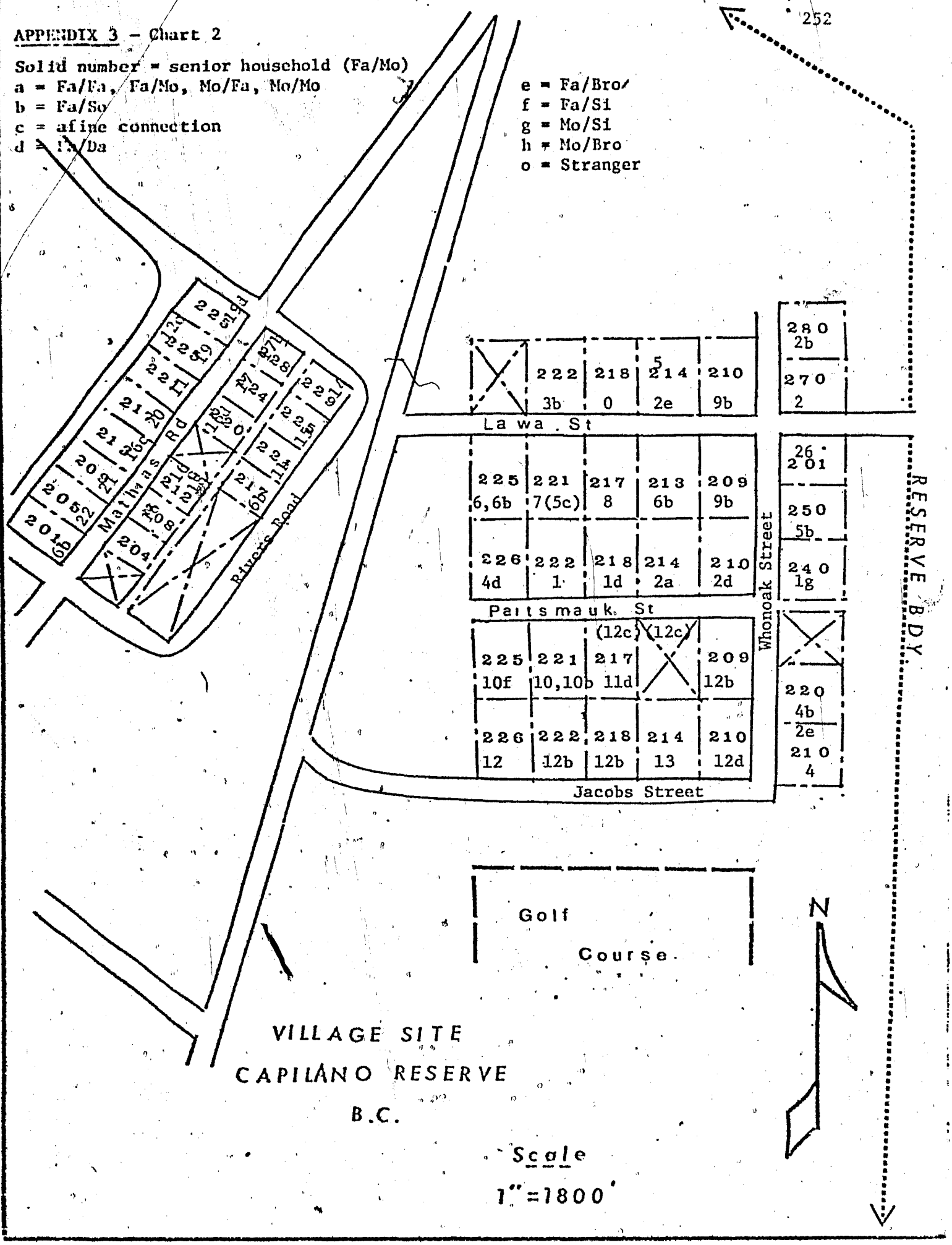


APPENDIX 3 - Chart 1

- male
- female
- married
- separated, divorced
- twins
- deceased
- single mother
- adopted

APPENDIX 3 – Chart 2

Solid number = senior household (Fa/Mo)
a = Fa/Fa, Fa/Mo, Mo/Fa, Mo/Mo
b = Fa/So
c = affine connection
d = Fa/Da
e = Fa/Bro
f = Fa/Si
g = Mo/Si
h = Mo/Bro
o = Stranger



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ASSOC " " " "

PUBLICATIONS:

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