COAST SALISH GAMBLING GAMES

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines in detail the histories and customs of Coast Salish gambling games, and looks at the game structure and its attending spirit power affiliations.

Three principal sources of data were employed in the explication of the thesis: (1) pertinent ethnographical data recorded in published reference literature and archival documents, (2) information acquired from various museums on the relevant material culture in their collections and the attending documentation, (3) empirical data collected in the field through direct game observation and the interviewing of informants.

The study concludes as the circumstance of Coast Salish gambling games suggests that these games are not just a simple set of rules, and that the games discussed here have, on the other hand, meaningful functions and serve as a form of social expression. As a social mechanism, Coast Salish gambling games are a forum for supernatural power. The existence of power is seen as the basic influence in Coast Salish life, and as such, powers are given meaning as ontological expressions. The gambling games are seen to be an expression of man's power affiliations. Power is an element which may affect the outcome of each gambling event, and the gambling games thereby may be an endorsement of power favour.

In view of this concept, Coast Salish gambling games appear to be useful devices to measure the differential degrees or strengths of power among players. Further, it can be said

that one of the functions of these games is that they give tangible and observable verification of the influence of power.

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the gambling games of the Coast Salish, who inhabit the south-western coastal and lower Fraser River Valley areas of mainland British Columbia, the southern and south-eastern coastal areas of Vancouver Island, and the north-western and western coastal areas of Washington State. The larger Coast Salish ethnic division consists of a number of smaller ethnic sub-divisions, the names and approximate locations of which are indicated on the accompanying map (see Figure 1).

The thesis examines in detail the histories and customs of Coast Salish gambling games, and looks at the game structure and its attending spirit power affiliations.

Coast Salish gambling games, are not just a simple set of rules, and the games discussed here have, on the other hand, meaningful functions and serve as a form of social expression.

Firstly, pertinent ethnographic data recorded in published reference literature and archival documents written by anthropologists, ethnologists, missionaries, explorers, and lay-students of Indian culture, are examined in some detail. In addition, information acquired from various museums on the relevant material culture in their collections and the attending documentation is incorporated here. This ethnographic study deals with the three Coast Salish gambling games - Dice, Disc, and Hand. Each game is documented separately, in terms of the devices used, the game circumstance, rules, and playing process (including any variations in play), and the data covering socio-

Figure 1. Ethnic sub-divisions within the Coast Salish area.

logical aspects concerning such elements as professional gamblers, skill and strategy, and supernatural help. Particular attention is paid to criteria by which a successful gambling venture is ensured. Further, brief mention is made regarding the age of each game, and with regard to the Hand game, changes in the form of the game are discussed.

Secondly, the empirical data collected in the field, through direct observation and the interviewing of informants, are systematically documented. Information acquired through direct observation, collected on five separate occasions and in two different locations when the only existing gambling game of aboriginal origin, the Hand, Bone, or Slahal game, was being played, is documented. The game setting and circumstance, organization (including teams, players, placing of bets), devices used, rules, playing process (including any variations in play), and end-game (including the disposition of winnings), are fully described. Although almost the entire body of information recorded here is taken from direct field observation, certain actions which appeared latent or ambiguous, were clarified and verified by supplementing the field observation method by two other methods of enquiry: consulting relevant material from recent reference sources, and interviewing informants. Reference literature provided necessary background and basic information prior to entering the field and thereby made the field situation more comprehensible; recent ethnographic data is consulted in order to verify the present findings. The

interviewing of informants especially has served to clarify and verify both the data acquired through observation and the interpretations placed on the observations, and has allowed for the acquisition of new information not readily observable. Conclusions are reached with regard to the present day significance and function of the games.

Thirdly, data obtained from literary sources and interviews concerning the Coast Salish concept of power, and in particular, the relation of this concept to the gambling games, are compiled, documented and analysed. Although, up to this point, the study contains, for the most part, ethnographic description based on the reference literature and on field work, it is from among this information that we become aware that Coast Salish gambling games serve as a form of social expression. This social mechanism is a forum for supernatural power. The existence of power is seen as the basic influence in Coast Salish life, and as such, powers are given meaning as ontological expressions. Coast Salish gambling games are seen to be an expression of man's power affiliations. Power is an element which may affect the outcome of each gambling event, and the gambling games thereby may be an endorsement of power favour.

The question is asked: What is power? The character of power, different kinds or classes of power, means of acquiring of power, sources of power, and the demonstration, loss, and re-acquisition of power, are discussed. References to gambling powers are included wherever possible and whenever information is available, and 'personal' accounts documenting specific

cases involving gambling powers are cited. The discussion of the power concept is seen to be a necessary prerequisite to the understanding of the Coast Salish gambling games in relation to the existence of specific powers which had influence on and were manifested through the gambling circumstance. Although data collected through interviews on this subject, yielded good, but only little, information, such data are systematically recorded. Brief mention is made of the present-day status of the power concept and its relation to gambling games, and of the notion of 'luck'.

In order to acquire information on the specimens used in the Coast Salish gambling games, museum fieldwork was undertaken, and local museums having a quantity of relevant material culture, were therefore visited and their collections examined. These museums were: the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria (December 1968); and, The Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle (May 1969). In addition, further, but limited, data were obtained by corresponding with some 130 museums throughout Canada, the United States, and Europe (including eastern Europe), and with a number of archaeologists who had worked in the Coast Salish area.

Empirical data were collected in the field through direct game observation. Slahal games were observed at the Cultus Lake Indian Festival, held at Cultus Lake, B.C., in June of 1969 (1 game), 1970 (2 games), and 1971 (3 games),

and, at the Stommish Festival, held on the Lummi Indian Reservation, Gooseberry Point, Whatcom County, Washington, in June of 1970 (3+ games), and 1971 (2+ games). Further data acquired, in addition to that based on game observations, included photographs of the game action and tape recordings of the gambling songs.

A few informants were interviewed in order to acquire, clarify, and verify specific information on various ambiguous or not readily observable aspects of the games. The principal informant was Mr. Louis Miranda, now 80 years of age (August 1972), himself a Squamish Indian presently residing on the Mission Indian Reservation in North Vancouver. At one time, Mr. Miranda was an active slahal game player, and although he stated that his principal role in the games was "to just sing for our people", he also participated, on occasion, as both 'mixer' and 'pointer'; recently, he has taught students (of both Indian and non-Indian origin) how to play the game. Interviews with Mr. Miranda were conducted in July and December of 1971. In addition to data on the game structure and play, Mr. Miranda provided the information concerning gambling game powers.

Another informant was Mr. Walker Stogan, now 56 years of age, who presently resides on the Musqueam Indian Reservation in Vancouver. Mr. Stogan has been, on occasion, an active participant in the games, and was observed in attendance at the 1971 Cultus Lake games. The interview took place in September of 1970.

A brief meeting with another informant, Mrs. Pearl Warren, occurred during the June 1970 Stommish Festival, at the Lummi Indian Reservation, where Mrs. Warren actively participated, as a 'mixer', in the games. This was followed by a visit, in August 1970, to Seattle, where Mrs. Warren worked as the Director of an Indian organization, and where a short interview was held. Mrs. Warren is of Quileute and Makah (a Nootka group) origin; it was estimated that she was in her 50's.

Further data were sporadically collected, whenever possible, from Indian observers present at the slaha games. As such, information was acquired under extremely informal circumstances.

CHAPTER II - ETHNOGRAPHY

Evidence in the form of rare archaeological finds, early reference sources, museum collections, field observations and information including folk tales and myths, acquired from native informants and recorded in ethnographies, established the existence of those games involving the laying of wagers as bets, that is, of gambling games.

Pertinent historic and ethnographic documentation, whether found in published reference literature or in archival materials, was written by a variety of 'scholars': anthropologists, ethnologists, missionaries, explorers, and lay-students of Indian culture. These materials, which form, by far, the greatest portion of the information available on the games, usually only gave little other than brief descriptions of the games and their rules. Even this was often sketchy, inconsistent and vague. Further, it was not possible through this means, to establish whether the games existed prior to the time of 'contact'. Although John Kendrick, in 1789 on the Lady Washington, appeared to have been the first to travel in Coast Salish waters, little further was known, since (according to the Provincial Archivist, Willard Ireland) a journal of the voyage, if one was kept, has not yet been discovered. The journals of Manuel Quimper's 1790 voyage on the Princesa Real (Wagner, 1933), and George Vancouver's 1792 voyage on the Discovery (Vancouver, 1798), mentioned nothing of the games or of gambling, even though both journals gave descriptions of the Indians and some of their activities. The first information obtained, on the presence of gambling, was a brief mention, dated 10 August 1833,

in William Fraser Tolmie's journal (1963: 225), of a fight between the "Klallum and Nusqually" where the "Klallum" accused the "Nusqually" of "foul play in gambling". Paul Kane's documentation of the disc game in his 1846-1848 "Wanderings" (1968: 152) was the first piece of descriptive material obtained.

The quality of the documentation of the relevant gambling devices in museum collections was found to be poorer than that which appeared in the reference material. Therefore, except in a very limited way, this material could not be used as a supplementary source of information of any real value.

Nevertheless, from such information, although scanty and apparently full of discrepancies, some attempt was made to present a basic description of the games. The quality of reporting and the interest of the writer in the subject probably contributed to the level of accuracy and to the quality and quantity of the information acquired. Reasons for discrepancies in game description might have been attributed to, for example, regional variations in the game rules, and time differentials between the various reports. However, this could not be verified since for most of the ethnic groups, only one account existed for any of the games. Where more than one account per game per group had been written, those accounts normally were separated by a time gap, over which discrepancies between the reports most surely would have occurred. As such, each account for each ethnic group was considered as occurring once only, and was not treated as the norm, especially through a time perspec-

tive. However, for the Coast Salish area as a whole, a generalized over-view of the games was established, and additional details were added from those few accounts where such was available.

Through this evidence, it was found that, for the Coast Salish, there existed three basic gambling games: dice, disc, and hand (3 forms). It was found that the dice and disc games and two forms of the hand game were no longer played, and that the third form of the hand game had persisted up to the present. The dice game was a game in which a number of objects, small enough to fit in the hands, and which for this purpose were termed dice, were thrown, their final resting position determining the count. The disc game was a guessing game, in which a number of round discs were bundled together and divided in the hands, the object being for the opponent to guess in which bundle was concealed the 'odd' disc. The hand game was a guessing game in which one, two or four objects, of which one of the two or two of the four were marked, were held in the hands, the object being for the opponent to guess in which hand was held either the one object, or the particular object or objects to be guessed.

1. DICE GAME

The game of dice was most commonly called smēta/ē' (Boas, 1891: 571), or a similar form thereof, and more locally

Quinault, Twana, and Puyallup - Nisqually respectively, smá't'aem (Olson, 1936: 131), sba't'o (Elmendorf, 1960: 234), and be'tela (Smith, 1940: 218). For the Squamish, the term smatni' - 'dice game' appeared in the dictionary (Kuipers, 1969: 56).

The upper incisor teeth from beavers were the dice usually used in the game, although muskrat teeth (Eells, 1877: 90 and 1889: 649) and bone or ivory "carved in the shape of beaver teeth" (Gunther, 1927: 276) (Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Cat. No. AA 1134) (Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Cat. No. A 3592) were occasionally used. A set usually consisted of four teeth, except in at least one case where a set of five is recorded (Smith, 1940: 218). On one side of one or more of the four teeth per set, were incised a variety of linear or circular designs; such incisions were blackened, giving prominence to the design. Dice bearing linear designs showed lines crossing or near parallel to each other, or arranged in chevron fashion, and those with circular designs consisted of a row of small circles, single or two-concentric, nucleated or without single central 'dots', or simply of a number of 'dots'. Linear and circular designs did not appear in combination on a single die, but rather remained separate, thus distinguishing the corresponding value of each die or pairs or groups of dice within any one set (see Figure 2). The combination of dice with linear designs and those with circular designs to form any one set also varied widely. In addition, dice bearing no markings what-so-ever on either side were used with die or dice carrying

Figure 2. Dice. Ivory (beaver teeth).
N.W. Washington. (Thomas Burke
Memorial Washington State Museum,
Seattle. Cat. No. 1-1434-1,2,3,4).

Figure 3. Dice. Ivory (beaver teeth).
Cowichan. (Provincial Museum,
Victoria. Cat. No. 2372).

either type of design (see Figure 3). However, the most usual grouping was a pair with linear designs and a pair with circular designs to form one set of two pair. Additional, not so common, dice sets ranged among: two marked (circular design) and two plain dice, one marked (linear design) and three plain dice, and three marked (circular design) and one plain dice. All such sets originated from groups also using the more common type of dice set mentioned above. No set included all three kinds of dice (circular, linear, plain), but only a maximum of two kinds. Further, one set has been located (Provincial Museum, Victoria, Cat. No. 1174) which bears linear designs on all four dice, one pair being distinguished from the other through the doubling of the single line pattern; and one set has been recorded (Pettit, 1950: 12) as having "identical designs" on one side of all four dice. Often, one die in the set had some string, skin, or some similar material tied around its central portion (see Figure 2), and although a die bearing a circular design usually would be so marked, dice with both linear designs and no design (plain) were also found. This particularly marked die was called iHk'ak'?'ē'sen (Boas, 1891: 571), khes (Curtis, 1913: 94), klēs (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 64), and appears in Gibbs' Nisqually dictionary as kēs - "the highest or four point of the dice" (Gibbs, 1877: 325). The presence of this die in a dice set gave an additional dimension to the scoring possibilities of the game. Further, observation of museum specimens revealed that the proximal ends of the teeth were often plugged

with wood or some other material.

The two kinds of die, whether circular designed and/or linear designed and/or plain, in any one dice set were distinguished from each other through a male-female type of designation, where one kind of die would be termed as male and the other kind as female. Therefore, each set of dice included both male and female die or dice. Here, again in keeping with similar variances involving the dice, there appeared to have been no set rules regarding which kind of dice were male and which kind were female. Although female dice were usually those bearing circular markings, dice with linear designs were also found to be designated as female; no evidence was found to indicate that plain dice were female. Male dice covered the range of the three types of dice. For one group, Klallam, John Raub (in Culin, 1907: 155) indicated that the two dice marked with dots were called swaika, men, and the two marked with chevrons were called slani, women; on the other hand, Gunther (1927: 276), again for the Klallam, described that one plain die with a black string tied around the centre was called swē'tka, man, and that the three other dice bearing dots were called sla'ni, women. Similar terms of reference appeared for the Songish (Lkú'ngén) (Boas, 1891: 571) as slā'naē, women (two dice with circles), and suwē'k'a, men (two dice with crossed lines). For the Puget Sound region, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 64) gave the terms as stata da, women (two dice with dots) and stōbōbe, men (two dice with lines), and for the Quinault,

Olson (1936: 131) gave them as K²liK²ukliK²u, woman (two dice with dots), and Ka'djow, man (two dice with lines).

What information that is available on the rules and process of play is sketchy and sporadic. Therefore, many of the observations recorded here, originated as isolated instances, and as such, cannot be said to have been representative throughout the Coast Salish area as a whole.

The dice game was considered a woman's game and was played by two opposing players, although sometimes there were "two or three on each side" (Eells, 1889: 649). Spectators supporting either one of the players were, at times, present (Smith, 1940: 218). The players knelt or were seated at the opposite sides of or around a blanket or mat. All four dice were held in the hand by one player, apparently shaken, and thrown onto the blanket or mat in front of the players. Although only one account (Swan, 1857: 158) actually stated that the dice were shaken in the hand prior to being thrown, further evidence indicated this probably to have been the norm, since observation revealed that the beaver teeth were "thrown as dice" (Gibbs, 1877: 206) or "thrown after the manner of dice" (Eells, 1877: 90). Whatever the case, the dice, because of their size (averaging 2-3 inches total length) and awkward curved shape, were probably shaken between both hands and thrown either from one or both hands.

Scoring was based on the arrangement in which the dice lay on the blanket or mat following the throw, and the counts given, for the most part and with a few exceptions, appeared to have been fairly uniform. Based on the most common type of dice set

consisting of four marked dice of two pairs - one pair 'female' and the other 'male', the scoring in part was as follows:

(1) The highest count (of four) was obtained when the Kēs - "the highest or four-point of the dice" (Gibbs, 1877: 325), or that die specially marked with string wrapped and tied around its middle, was up (that is, the marked surface faced upwards), and the remaining three dice down (that is, the marked surface faced downwards), or when the string-marked die was down, and the remaining three up; in either case, the player who threw the dice won four counters or sticks (see below); evidence indicated that this four-point score was in effect when one of the die in the set being used, was so marked with string; (2) When all marked faces of the dice were either up or down, the player won two sticks; (3) When both male dice were up and both female down, or when both female were up and both male down, the player won one stick.

Information acquired on the scoring of the remaining dice combinations does not altogether agree. If one pair of dice was up or down and the other divided, unless it counted four, then it counted nothing (Eells, 1877: 90 and 1889: 649) - (Eells did not give the scoring for any of the remaining combinations); the resulting combinations from all other throws counted as nothing (Gunther, 1927: 276 and Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 64). Olson (1936: 131), who described the game on the basis of a dice set which did not contain a string-marked die, recorded that (a) if one pair of dice was up or down and the other divided, the player lost one stick; (b) if one die from each pair was up and one from each down, the player lost one stick; (c) if one die was

up and the second die of that pair down along with both dice from the other pair, the player lost one stick. Only vague and incomplete information exists regarding the scoring of a game involving dice which were not of the common two-pair type. Such dice sets consisted of, for example, three female dice bearing circular markings and one male die bearing no markings (that is, plain). One report (Eomendorf, 1960: 235) indicated that if the male die fell with its "white side down", then "the casting player scored one point"; another (Smith, 1940:218), mentioned that when the die "turned upon its belly" or lower side, the throw was lost, and a cry of k'e'is was given by the opposing player and her supporters. Smith (1940: 218) went on to say that k'e'is was the name given to the male die, as well as to its position in the losing throw. Similar terms have been given to the string-marked die (see above), and, in his Nisqually dictionary, Gibbs (1877: 325) gave kes as "the highest or four-point of the dice". An additional account (Gunther, 1927: 276) indicated that, in the case of a dice set consisting of one plain but string-marked die (male) and three marked (circular design) dice (female), if the female dice were down it counted four sticks, and if only two female dice were down and one up, it counted two sticks, and that all other throws counted as nothing.

As mentioned above, score was kept by counters or sticks. The counters were usually made of wood and were, for example, of elderberry twigs (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Cat. No. 85965), or of cedar wood (Glenbow Foundation, Calgary,

Cat. No. AA 1134). Their length ranged from the more usual 3 to 4 inches, up to some $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Cat. No. AA 1134). In addition to wooden counters, further sources recorded that radial or leg bones of birds, measuring some 3 inches in length (Culin, 1907: 156 - United States National Museum, Cat. No. 130990) (Eells, 1889: 650), and beans of some type (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 64), were also used in this way. Game counters totalled anywhere from ten to forty plus; according to Olson (1936: 151), each woman "started with 100 tally sticks". Boas (1891: 571) further observed that, for the Songish,

According to the value of the stakes, thirty or forty sticks are placed between players.
(Boas, 1891: 571)

Score was therefore kept through the exchange, receipt and loss, of counters. A winning throw counting four, two or one was recorded by the winning of an equivalent number of counters by the player throwing the dice, who received the counters won, either from her opponent (Wilson, 1866: 285), in which case both players would have started playing with an equal number of counters (Olson, 1936: 131), or from a central pile placed, for example, between the players (Boas, 1891: 571); Eells (1889: 650) reported that each player kept her own tally. As mentioned earlier, a losing throw usually counted as nothing. Olson's information on the Quinault (1936: 131) which recorded that losing throws were scored by the loss of one counter, in addition to the loss of the dice, provided an exception. Although data is sparse, what there is suggests that normally, as long as the throwing player won, she continued to play, but when the throw was lost, the player in turn lost

the dice to her opponent. On the other hand, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 64) maintained that a player continued to throw the dice until "she threw number four", following which "she passed the dice on" to her opponent. Occasionally, both players each used their "own set" of dice (Elmendorf, 1960: 235), in which case, the dice would not be exchanged upon a losing throw. The game ended when one of the players won all the counters or when the agreed upon score was reached.

Prior to game commencement and by agreement, "the players settled the number of points to be played for" (Elmendorf, 1960: 235), and "decided how many times all counters must be won by one side" (Gunther, 1927: 276). In the latter case, it is reported that all counters had to be won three times in order to win the game (and thereby the wager).

The number of tally-sticks varied from fifteen to forty, but as a game could be won only by exhausting the opponent's store three times in succession, an entire day was usually required for a single wager to change hands.
(Curtis, 1913: 94)

Thirty is a game, but they generally play three games --- (Eells, 1889: 649)

There are twenty counters and if the stakes are high they must often be won three times.
(Gunther, 1927: 276)

When one player won all counters and/or reached the agreed-upon score, she won the game and thereby the stake, the winning of which appeared to have been the primary objective of the game (Elmendorf, 1960: 234-5). Wagers were placed prior to game commencement both by the players and by the spectators if they so chose (Olson, 1936: 131). The goods staked were

money and clothing (Eells, 1877: 90 and 1889: 649) and such other things as mats, basketry and dried fish (Gunther, 1927: 276), and "such articles as they [the women] also used for potlatch gifts" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62). Two accounts (Boas, 1891: 571 and Gunther, 1927: 276) have recorded that the value of the stake played a decisive role with regard to the number of counters used and to the number of times the counters had to be won before the game was completed. The length of each game involving the limited but repeated winning of all counters would have been considerable, especially if the counters should number towards forty, and Curtis (1913: 94) reported (above) that one day was required "for a single wager to exchange hands".

Game analysts referred to dice games, such as that described, as being purely games of chance (Culin, 1907: 44) (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959: 597) (Csikszentmihalyi and Bennett, 1971: 48). Culin defined dice games as "those in which the hazard depends upon the random fall of certain implements employed like dice" (1907: 44), and Roberts, Arth, and Bush catagorized games of chance on the criteria that "chance must be present and both physical skill and strategy must be absent" (1959: 597). However, a few of the accounts documenting Coast Salish dice games, indicated that this may not always have been the case, and that the outcome of the game was not necessarily one of pure chance, that the fall of the dice was not entirely random, and that even some amount of physical skill was present. Eells recorded:

They sometimes learn very expertly to throw

the one with the string on it differently from the others by arranging them in the hand so that they can hold this one, which they know by feeling a trifle longer than the others. (Eells, 1877: 90 and 1889: 649-650)

In other accounts:

It is said that some women were very clever with the throwing and were not above real cheating. (Olson, 1936: 131)

There are no professional gamblers among them as among the men but there are some women who know how to throw winning combinations. (Gunther, 1927: 276)

Some women "knew how to throw". (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 64)

As mentioned, cheating was considered as an attribute of the game (Olson, 1936: 131) (Smith, 1940: 218). In addition, the game analysts attempted to correlate the games of chance (the dice game being one) with supernatural forces and religious ceremonial activities.

Games of chance specifically seem to have emerged from the divinatory aspect of religious ceremonials. The purpose of divination is to secure guidance from the unpredictable powers that rule over the destiny of man and fill him with anxiety over the future. (Csikszentmihalyi and Bennett, 1971: 47)

--- games of chance appear to be associated with religious activities. It is commonly thought by many peoples that the winners of games of chance have received supernatural or magical aid. (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959: 601)

Again and again, outcomes are attributed to the intervention of magical or supernatural forces. (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959: 602)

However, although the Coast Salish dice game may have had at one time significance as a divinatory device, and may have

involved the intervention of supernatural powers, no evidence, not even among myths and folk tales, have been found to substantiate the former, and only one reference (Olson, 1936: 150) has been located in support of supernatural aid. Elmendorf (1960: 235) went so far as to say that "no spirit power was used in playing the dice game".

No further information exists with regard to the circumstances of the game, except that evidence indicates that the game appears to have been played at such occasions as potlatches (Gunther, 1927: 276) (Eells, 1889: 647).

Evidence from both written records and museum collections has established that the dice game had fairly wide distribution throughout the Coast Salish area, having been played by the following ethnic groups: Chehalis, Chemakum, Chemainus, Comox, Cowichan, Cowlitz, Klahuse, Klallam, Lummi, Nanaimo, Nisqually, Pentlatch, Puyallup, Quileute, Quinault, Sanetch, Seshelt, Skagit, Skokomish, Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Songish, Sooke, Squamish, Squaxon, Twana.

Although there is no information as to when the dice game reached extinction, an approximate guess could probably be made on the basis of such vague indications as the use of the present tense for game description, and the few mentions given of players 'still living'.

The beaver tusk game, however, has been played by Indians still living. (Pettit, 1950: 121)

There is no literature early enough to indicate that the dice game originated in pre-contact times, that is, prior to the

1789/1790 period; there exist neither adequate archaeological data nor museum records which might be employed here. The only evidence of beaver teeth, marked in similar fashion as those used in the dice game, and which were acquired through excavation, was at the Provincial Museum in Victoria. In 1933-34 a number of specimens were excavated by a Mr. C. Godfrey from his property at Cadboro Bay, near Victoria. Among these, was a set of four beaver teeth, two incised with lines and two with dots, which were found some one and a half feet below the surface. Later, in 1966, this site, now designated as DcRt-15, was more fully excavated by the Provincial Museum. The beaver teeth, as mentioned, were found along with a number of other specimens, some identified as Early Developed Coast Salish (pre-contact up to 1000-1500 years BP), and some as post-contact. As such, no conclusions can be drawn here.

2. DISC GAME

Unlike the dice game, the disc game had importance not only as a simple gambling game, but also as an activity of ceremonial significance. Its ceremonial aspects included inter-village challenge and competition, the invocation and supposed intervention of spiritual powers, special songs, heavy betting and expenditure of property. Remarking upon these aspects Smith reports:

The disc gamble was the high point in challenge

affairs. In addition to testing the abilities of the leaders, it drew every man and woman of their respective villages into the contest, for this was a true ceremonial occasion in which the powers of the main protagonists were keyed up to fullest performance by the powers of their supporters. (Smith, 1940: 206-207)

Slähä'lem (Boas, 1891: 541) or a similar form thereof, was the term by which the disc game was most commonly called. Other terms used included: slahα'l and lahα'lαB (Elmendorf, 1960: 235), lelāhā'l (Hill-Tout, 1903: 393), slαhα'l'b (Smith, 1940: 218), sukuma't (Olson, 1936: 130), suwextdz (Dorsey-in Culin, 1907: 250). In addition, Elmendorf (1960: 238) gave the term swα'K'xαc', Smith (1940: 218) the term swαxts, and Boas (1891: 571) the term wuqk'ats, when referring to the inter-tribal, inter-village ceremonial version of the game. According to Gunther (1927: 276), when the game included singing and dancing, it was referred to as wa'q!Kats.

The game was played with a number of small marked discs made of wood, and although the wood was usually of yew, maple and dogwood were also used.

Younger Wild Woman asked Yew. He said, "You are quite nice looking, that tattoo looks well on you." She told him, "They will go a long distance to obtain you. They will carve needles from your wood, and even [spirit-] power poles and fish clubs will be made from you. People with power will scrape your hard surface and make little flat discs for gambling games. Large wagers will be made over you, even slaves will be wagered." (Jacobs, 1959: 149)

In addition, discs were also made from the wood of at least four shrubs: syringa (mock orange) (Smith, 1940: 219); elder

(Provincial Museum, Victoria, Cat. No. 10850); probably squash-berry (Viburnum edule), as this most closely resembles E.C.

Cherouse's description:

The present casters or trundles are made of a shrub that grows in rich bottom lands and is called by the Indians set-ta-chas. The shrub is the genus Viburnum, and I would call it the wild snowball tree. (in Culin, 1907: 253)

and, saskatoon berry (Amelanchier alnifolia?) which was referred to by C.F. Newcombe in his catalogue (manuscript, Provincial Archives, Victoria) as "service tree, tishnats (A. alnifolia)" (in describing "Gambling Disks" from Chemainus, Vancouver Island, specimen no. 85488; 190-). (It is interesting to note that in the case of Newcombe's identification, that species of saskatoon berry, Amelanchier alnifolia, is presently only found east of the Cascade Mountains, whereas that of A. florida is the Coastal variety.) In addition, Adamson documented the following:

To soapwood, he [Moon] said, "The future generations will make gambling sets from you. You'll be cut into little wheels (about an eighth of an inch thick). When you're finished, you'll be round and smooth (the lal). The inner bark of the cedar will be peeled off, and when dry, will be smashed on either side, and then rubbed together until soft. The wheels made from you will be concealed in this. From your sprouts, children will make arrows." He said to brush (the reddish-brown bark of which can be peeled off), "Little gambling wheels will be made from you." (Adamson, 1934: 162)

Further, on the manufacturing of the discs, E.C. Cherouse remarked:

They boil the trundles during three or four

hours, and when dried they scrape them with shave grass until they are well shaped, polished, and naturally coloured. (in Culin, 1907: 253)

and Gibbs reported:

These disks are made of the yew, and must be cut into shape with beaver tooth chisels only. The making of them is in itself an art, certain persons being able by their spells to indue them with luck, and their manufactures bring very high prices. (Gibbs, 1877: 206)

The discs measured some $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness. The surfaces usually were very smooth, and were worn probably through handling. A game set nearly always consisted of ten discs; however, sets of eleven (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Cat. No. IV A 2031, in Culin, 1907: 249) (Smith, 1940: 219), and twelve (Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle, Cat. No. 188) (Olson, 1936: 130) have been recorded. Players often had several sets of discs, occasionally of different kinds of wood (Elmendorf, 1960: 237); in some cases different sets would number six or more (Eells, 1889: 648). Each such set was distinguished from the others by means of different markings and/or varying sizes (Eells, 1889: 648). During the game, a player normally used one set so long as luck attended it, but changed sets when his luck changed.

The discs in each set bore a variety of markings of which particular ones were essential to and played a part in the game process. Although the kinds of markings were fairly standard throughout the Coast Salish area, there appeared to have been

an almost limitless number of combinations of these markings used within each set of ten discs. Such markings were primarily of black, white and/or red colouring (usually of paint) which appeared on the faces and/or sides (edges) of the discs. In addition, other kinds of markings, which may or may not have appeared in combination with those of a coloured nature as just mentioned, were raised rims entirely around the periphery on both faces, and/or incised marks in a circle around both faces but immediately on the inside of the raised periphery rim (see Figure 4). Further, many discs and sets of discs had a number of minute pin-like holes bored into, but not through, the face surfaces. This was observed in relevant specimens in museum collections, and noted in Culin (1907: 253). It is difficult to say, without proper microscopic examination, whether those holes were made by man or by a wood-boring insect or by both. At any rate, no evidence exists to the effect that either discs with holes or those with raised rims with or without incised surfaces, played a part in the game process. (Many discs, originally manufactured from the transverse cuttings of woody stems or branches, lost their pithy centres; this resulted in a hole through the central area of the discs. However, this was not considered as a distinguishing feature.)

Only those discs, bearing certain colour markings or remaining plain (that is, with no colour markings), appeared to have been the only functional game devices, and to this end, each disc in a set was so designated. The word 'certain' serves

Figure 4. Discs. Wood (dogwood).
Skokomish. (Thomas Burke Memorial
Washington State Museum, Seattle.
Cat. No. 1/11203 A-J).

Figure 5. Discs. Wood (elder).
Clemclemaluts - Cowichan
(Provincial Museum, Victoria,
Cat. No. 10850 a-j).

as a qualifying factor, since a number of sets were entirely or partly made up of discs bearing painted designs on one or both face surfaces; such designs as have been observed, consisted, for example, of solid blocks of black colour covering one or two portions of one or both faces, black dots, black lines following the curve of the disc, or any combination of these (see Figures 4 and 5). These designs apparently played no part in the game, and discs which bore them, also bore colour markings on their sides. Of importance to the game was the colour of each disc, or, the colour markings which appeared on the sides of each disc. Therefore, for every set of ten (or whatever) discs, each disc was designated in one of the following ways: black, white, red, or plain; or, of the sides, black, white, red, plain, black and white, or black and plain. (It should be noted that a plain surface at times may have been referred to as 'white', especially in opposition to black; nevertheless, white discs did exist as distinct from plain discs (Olson, 1936: 130).)

There appeared to have been no set rules with regard to the combinations of discs in any one set. A set included any number, except the total, of similarly or differently marked discs with any combination of features; for example, one set of ten included the following: four discs completely plain; two discs with raised rims, incised lines, and coloured (black) linear and circular designs on both faces, each face of the same disc being different; three discs with coloured (black) linear

and circular designs; one disc with slightly raised rims, but remaining plain; of those same ten, eight had half black, half plain sides, one had a completely plain side, and one a completely coloured (black) side (Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle, Cat. No. 7972). Other sets were not so diverse, and occasionally, simply consisted of, for example, "one white and nine black discs" (Boas, 1891: 571). For sets where the distinguishing features, necessary to the game, were those colour markings which appeared on the sides, the usual combination in any one set, included discs with sides of black, plain, and black and white or black and plain. The numbers of discs, in a set, with each kind of colour, varied greatly. Whatever the case, for each set, at least one disc stood out as different from the others. Occasionally, two discs, although different from each other, were both different from the remainder:

Of the ten disks, one is quite plain on the edge, another is blackened all around, and the edges of the rest are partly plain and partly blackened. (C.F. Newcombe catalogue, manuscript, Provincial Archives, Victoria, specimen no. 85488)

In this latter case, one usually had a totally black side, and one a totally white side. It was these one or two specially marked discs which played the principal role(s) in the game.

Occasionally, the different kinds of discs in each set were designated by particular terms, and the most common of these was that of male-female. Again, there was no set pattern as to which kind of discs were male and which kind were female. John Raub (in Culin, 1907: 249) described the disc "with a white edge" as "SwaiKa, man" and that "with a

dark edge" as "slani", woman". On the other hand, Elmendorf (1960: 237) stated that the "black-edged ace disk was the slahx'1", also designated as the "male", stiba't slahx'1". Occasionally, other terms were included or substituted: "six females, half black and half white; one male, all black; three odd, all white, chatosedn" (Dorsey, in Culin, 1907: 250); or where two discs "edged with black or white" are called "chiefs" and "the others", "slaves or servants" (Cherouse, in Culin, 1907: 253); or where seven were called "women", two called "witnesses", and the tenth was the "man". (Curtis, 1913: 93). Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 62) referred to the "disc which is different" as stō'mic.

There is a fair quantity of information available on the game process, and as such, the following description will provide an overall view of the game in general for the entire Coast Salish area. Any notable variations in play and circumstance will be interjected where necessary.

The disc game was usually considered a man's game, and no evidence exists to substantiate that women at any time were the actual players, except possibly for one vague mention (Pettit, 1950: 12). However, women, in addition to men, were often present, and occasionally participated as active team supporters. This was especially the case when the game was an inter-village, inter-tribal affair.

This is the men's game, as a general thing, but sometimes all engage in it. (Eells, 1889: 648)

It is considered indecent for women to look on when the men gamble. Only when two tribes play against each other are they allowed to be present. (Boas, 1891: 571)

Women also participated in the spiritual aspects of the game.

Another form of this game is called the tamanous game. A large number of people who have a tamanous, including the women, take part in it,while one man plays the other members of his party beat a drum, clasp their hands, and sing; each one, I believe, singing his or her own tamanous song to invoke the aid of his special guardian spirit. (Eells, 1889: 649)

Nevertheless, information maintained that the game was played "between men only" (Elmendorf, 1960: 236), that only men were the "protagonists in this game" (Smith, 1940: 219), and that only the men "shuffle the disks" (Eells, 1889: 649).

Men played either as two individual opponents or in two opposing teams. Normally, the game was played between two men "who might be co-villagers, in the daytime and at any season" (Elmendorf, 1960: 238). For that form of the game involving ceremonial activity and inter-group competition, the play was between teams "from different winter villages" and "was played only after dark and usually in the winter" (Elmendorf, 1960: 238). Each team may have had, for example, "two rows of players" (Eells, 1889: 648), or "eight on each side in addition to the Indian who actually does the playing" (Sammons, in Culin, 1907: 252). However, whether played on an individual (two opponents) or a team basis, the game involved only two active but opposing protagonists at any one time. In the case of team play, it is not known how such a player

was chosen to represent his team, except that the "challenging team shuffled the discs first, selecting its best gambler as salu'p player" (Elmendorf, 1960: 239). On the other hand, if the player should "fail repeatedly another from this group would take his place" (Gunther, 1927: 276).

The two opponents played seated or kneeling on the ground, facing each other up to, for example, some "fourteen feet apart" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62), at the ends of or on, one 'long' mat or two smaller mats, one being used by each of the two players. In the latter case, the mat was rolled out in front of the player towards that of his opponent. There may have been a space between both mats as indicated in Sammons' report (in Culin, 1907: 252). Occasionally, where only one mat was used, a ridge was made across the breadth of the mat and midway between the two players; this ridge may have been not only a "raised crease" (Elmendorf, 1960: 237), but also another mat, tightly rolled, and fastened in the same position (Olson, 1936: 130). Similarly, individual mats were "rolled up somewhat at the front" (Olsen, 1936: 130). The rolled or raised portion of the mat served as an obstruction against which the players rolled the discs. The playing mat, tsila'lyan (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62) or slaha'lematt (Gunther, 1927: 275), was considered an essential piece of paraphernalia, necessary for the game. Normally, it was made of rush, had a smooth surface, and when laid out, was pinned to the ground by four or six wooden sticks, tsō'x!oi'atci (Haeberlin and

Gunther, 1930: 62). The sticks were some "twelve inches long, of pencil thickness, and carved at one end" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62); the only woods of manufacture reported were those of ironwood (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62) and maple (C.F. Newcombe catalogue, manuscript, Provincial Archives, Victoria, specimen no. 19733).

While the two opposing protagonists played seated from the ends of the mat(s), the remaining players on their respective teams and/or their supporters, either were seated along the sides of the mat(s), or were 'clustered about' the two opponents. The term 'supporters', here covers a range of individuals, reported to be onlookers, singers, drummers, dancers, betters.

To begin play, some mechanism was employed to decide which player or team was the first to mix the discs and which was the first to guess; Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 62) simply indicated that the two sides "agree on the one to start", and Elmen-dorf (1960: 239) reported that the "challenging team shuffled the discs first", while Olson was more specific:

To start the game each man shuffled his discs ...and then placed them one by one in the bundles of bark...The bundles were then shuffled very rapidly...The bundles were then held one on each knee for the guessing. The first man to miss a guess had to guess first, and the game began with the other repeating the same performance in hiding, shuffling, etc. (Olson, 1936: 130-131)

From here, the game proceeds as follows.

One of the two opposing players, referred to as t^uslo'p (Smith, 1940: 220), or səlu'p player (Elmendorf, 1960: 238), normally began by shuffling, in his hands, one set of discs. Following this, he placed the discs into a bundle of finely

shredded inner cedar bark (see Figure 6), q'we'lo (Elmendorf, 1960: 237) or s'ts'hai'te (Gunther, 1927: 275) or tupsoe (Swan, 1857: 157). The discs, wrapped in and hided by the cedar bark, were then thoroughly mixed, again in the hands. Following this, the one bundle of cedar bark with concealed discs, was divided into two, carefully enough so that the discs remained hidden. Each of the two smaller bundles contained half of the total number of discs in the set, that is, usually five each. The player then placed these two bundles on the mat in front of him, one under each hand. At this point, his hands either remained stationary, or moved each bundle around quickly "with a circular motion, each hand moving counterclockwise" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62), or "backward and ~~backward~~ forward from right to left" (Boas, 1891: 571). This movement continued until either the player decided to stop, or his opponent made his guess, which he eventually did with a hand gesture towards one of the two bundles.

The guesser follows the bundle which he chooses with his forefinger. When he stops his finger and raises it slightly his guess is made. (Gunther, 1927: 276)

Smith went on to say that even after the initial guess, the two bundles (or sections) of discs were kept in motion, under the hands of the "holder" or were switched from one hand to the other, and eventually were stopped, following which the guessing player had the opportunity of changing his original selection.

Figure 6. Bundle of shredded bark (cedar).
Skokomish. (Thomas Burke
Memorial Washington State Museum,
Seattle. Cat. No. 1/11203 K).

Figure 7. Counters. Wood (elderberry).
Cowichan. (Provincial Museum,
Victoria. Cat. No. 2373).

After the guess had been made the holder moved the sections around on the mat before him, always passing the right hand away from him and toward his left and the left hand under the other toward him and to the right. The guesser continued to point at the section he had chosen and followed its movement with his finger. The holder could switch or "throw over" the sections from one hand to the other to confuse the guesser. When the holder brought the sections to a halt, the guesser confirmed his choice or changed it. (Smith, 1940: 220)

In order to further confuse the guessing player, "a bunch of straw, moss, or anything of a like nature" (Sammons, in Culin, 1907: 252) was occasionally used to hide the hands of the mixing player as he moved the two bundles around the mat.

As mentioned before, there were one or two specially marked discs in every set, which were important in the game. When the guessing player made his selection, he chose, by hand gesture, the one bundle of the two which he believed contained the specially marked disc. Depending on the combination of colour markings in any one set, this one 'odd' disc, according to the available information, was black, red or white, or had black or plain sides (edges). The terms 'male' or 'chief' were also used when referring to the disc to be guessed. Contrary to this process of guessing for the specially marked disc, Haeberlin and Gunther indicated:

The disc which is different is called
stō'mic The other player, (B)
must guess which bundle does not contain
the stō'mic. (Haeberlin and Gunther,
1930: 62)

However, this proved the only exception. Where only one disc in a set was specially marked, the guessing process seemed

relatively simple; however, where there were two discs that were not only different from each other, but also different from the remainder, some way of indicating for which one the choice would be made was required. To this end, the following two excerpts were provided.

Each man had 12 yew wood discsTen of these were left their natural colour, one was coloured white, another black The guesser used the same gestures in making a choice as were employed in the game of slahal, but indicated whether he was guessing for the black or white disc. (Olson, 1936: 130 - 131)

Each player has ten discs of woodthere are but two pieces of value; one has the edge blackened entirely round, and the other is perfectly plain, while the others ~~have~~ have different quantities of colour on them, varying from the black to the white He has bet either on the black or the white one, and now, to win, has to point out which of the two parcels contains it. (Swan, 1857: 157)

Following the guess, the mixing player took the bundle chosen and rolled the discs, one by one, out of the shredded cedar bark, and across the mat towards the midway barrier. The other bundle is unwrapped, by the mixing player, and the discs "placed in front of himself" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62). A win or a loss was based on the guessing player's ability to choose the bundle containing the disc designated for selection. Normally, if the guess was correct, the only action taken was the reversal of the roles of the two opponents, the guessing player becoming the mixer, and the mixing player, the guesser. In addition, a correct guess was accompanied, on occasion, by the receipt of a point or counter (see below),

credited to the guessing player.

Each guess meant a count either for the guesser or for the holder, depending on whether it was correct or not. (Smith, 1940: 220)

By way of exception, Boas reported:

If the guesser guesses right he rolls a stick over to his opponent, who is the next to guess. (Boas, 1891: 571)

If the guess was wrong, the guessing player usually forfeited a point or counter to the mixing player, and the mixing player continued to shuffle the discs until his opponent guessed correctly. However, Boas (1891: 571) reported that the guessing player was in receipt of a counter from his opponent, should the guess be wrong; other than that, the mixing player continued as before. Contrarily, Smith (1940: 220) maintained that if the guess was incorrect, it was at this point that the roles of the two opponents were reversed, that is, the guessing player becoming the mixer, and the mixing player, the guesser. At the time the roles became reversed, either the discs, formerly in play, were simultaneously transferred from one player to his opponent, or the player in the new role of mixer, produced and used his own set. A player used "the set bringing him the best luck, changing sets if his luck changed" (Elmendorf, 1960: 237).

As mentioned above, score was kept through the exchange, receipt and loss, of counters. The counters or tally sticks, s'tcē (Gunther, 1927: 274), 'sxa'ts! (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62), Xa'c' (Elmendorf, 1960: 237),

sxats (Smith, 1940: 220), were made of wood and were, for example, of spiraea (C.F. Newcombe catalogue, manuscript, Provincial Archives, Victoria, specimen no. 85459), elderberry (Provincial Museum, Victoria, Cat. No. 2373), ironwood (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62), or of willow or maple (Smith, 1940: 220). Their length was 3-4 inches, and they totalled anywhere from ten to eighty. The counters were plain cylindrical sticks usually split lengthwise into two, so the one surface was flat enabling the stick to lie without rolling; occasionally, one end was slightly pointed (see Figure 7). Each of the two opponents or teams began the game with an even number of counters, ranging from five (Boas, 1891: 571) to forty (Olson, 1936: 131) each. The counters lay in a row side by side, usually on a small board, sxeta's (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62), which was situated between the two opponents but parallel to the mat(s). Each player's or team's counters were placed towards their end of the board, and were separated from those of the opposition, normally by a space. Occasionally, a player in receipt of a counter, apparently drew it not from his opponents's allotment, but rather from a centre 'pot'. This 'pot' contained an even number of counters which were divided into two portions, each portion being separated from the other by a specially marked counter. Elmendorf (1960: 237) reported that such a counter, ta'wwe, "the middle", was used for this purpose. In addition, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 62) indicated that two such counters, darker than the

others, and called k^utl, "half way", were similarly used; and Smith (1940: 220) noted that "four sticks", qwa^htk², distinguishable from the others, "marked the middle stage of the game". Prior to game commencement, the number of points in a game or counters to be used was decided upon, usually by mutual agreement between the players, but occasionally by the value of the wager (Eells, 1889: 648).

Normally, the scoring procedure involved the simple exchange of counters between opponents. However, where a 'pot' of counters existed, different rules applied. In one case (Smith, 1940: 220), the winning player, as points were made, shifted a counter from the centre 'pot' to his end of the tally board, and when there were no more in the 'pot', he then took counters from his opponent. Elmendorf (1960: 237) outlined a similar process, but reported an additional move whereby the "counters already won by the opposing side had to be "won" back to the center before they could be moved to one's own side and score as points"; that is, "counters were won only from the "pot" ". On the other hand, Haeberlin and Gunther recorded a different method of scoring:

The counting is as follows: If B guesses wrong the first time A receives two sticks. After that he receives only one stick for each wrong guess. If B guesses right the first time he receives no sticks, only the right to play. Then if A guesses wrong the first time B plays, B gets two sticks, provided he himself had guessed wrong two or more times while A was playing. If he guessed wrong only once, he receives only one stick now. (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 62)

Only one account (Elmendorf, 1960: 239) mentioned the presence of a special scorekeeper, basXa'c', who was "appointed to watch over the tally sticks and move them".

The game ended when one player or team had acquired all the counters, thereby winning the game. Contrary to this, Boas (1891: 571) reported that that player or team winning all the counters, lost the game (see above, re: guessing). Occasionally, if the stakes were high, it was required that the counters be won twice by one side, before the winner was declared (Gunther, 1927: 276). On the other hand, Elmendorf (1960: 238) recorded that the number of games to be played was decided by the opponents prior to commencement, and that this number was represented by "special, larger, carved tally sticks" which were "stuck upright in the ground" on the winning side to mark the games won; all "had to be won by one side in order to decide a match or set of games".

The winner of the game won the stake. Although there is little information regarding the betting aspect, it appeared that generally, the wagers were placed prior to game commencement and that "no bets were paid" until all counters had been won by one player or team (Olson, 1936: 131). Nevertheless, bets occasionally were made on the outcome of a single point (Curtis, 1913: 94). The few accounts which touched on this subject mentioned that money was staked. In addition Sammons (in Culin, 1907: 250-252) listed the following: blankets, wearing apparel, canoes, buggies, wagons, harnesses, horses, cows,

dogs, rifles, watches. The simple form of the disc game played between co-villagers and without any ceremonial attributes, involved some betting, but the stakes remained nominal. On the other hand, betting was at its heaviest in games of an inter-village and ceremonial nature. On these occasions, "power demonstrations in the form of gambling games were backed by all of the group's available property" (Smith, 1940: 150).

Smith continued:

Slaves, guns, and horses, sometimes inheritable and consequently inalienable, might be included in bets. But bets did not normally include personal or inheritable property such as canoes, houses, weapons and tools. With the exception of these the losing group was often completely impoverished. In matching bets of its opponent, a village sometimes even lowered its standards, losing in slaves and personal property what it could ill afford to be without. Similar to this was the occasional betting of "extra" wives. Betting might, therefore, occasion a sudden, drastic shift in economic goods.

To somewhat offset such a shift it was not unusual for men to take a bet back after they had lost it. Only men of some prestige dared attempt this but a leader might demand the return of all his group's property. When it was done forcefully with little consideration for the rights of the winner, it was called sqwedqwedá'le and was an open assertion of enmity. Done in a "good spirit", however, it was followed by the presentation of a gift to the winner, who had waived his rights, and caused no ill feeling. This practice was known as abakalig^v, the same term used when a young man took his wife for her first visit to her parents. It explains why groups which were said to have "lost everything" sometimes actually retained the greater portion of their material possessions. (Smith, 1940: 150)

While singing and drumming or beating on a plank may have taken place during the playing of the smaller version of the game, it was primarily linked with the ceremonial form. Special songs were associated with the game and players obtained these either through inheritance (Gunther, 1927: 277) or from their guardian spirits, "which had conferred on them disk-game power" (Elmendorf, 1960: 238), lahα' l e' šalt (Elmendorf, 1960: 489-490). Elmendorf went on:

Skill in disk-game play was a function of the class of spirit powers designated as q'w a' x q, powers otherwise exhibited largely in ceremonial forms. Disk-game songs could be identified as q'w a' x q by a characteristic rhythm with rapid drum beat. (Elmendorf, 1960: 238)

The mixing player, upon commencing to shuffle the discs, began his own special spirit song which he used to invoke the assistance of his guardian spirit.

On taking the disks this player started his disk-game spirit song, which was picked up by the song leader and drummers and the rest of his team; after one or two repetitions the audience joined in the song, singing as loudly as possible. The songs were only those of q'w a' x q power and were sung only when play was actually going on. (Elmendorf, 1960: 239)

Gunther (1927: 276) indicated that it was that "group of people who bet" who were the ones that sung. Whatever the case, both men and women were involved in this activity. In addition to the singing and drumming, hand clapping, foot stomping, dancing (Gunther, 1927: 276) (Curtis, 1913: 94), and gesturing, especially with the arms, accompanied the game, and although the

players were involved to some extent in the singing and gesturing, the performing of these activities was mainly the function of the supporters. At times, only one individual from each team would be assigned the duty of drumming for his side (Sammons, in Culin, 1907: 251).

Although the information available was somewhat unclear with regard to who sings when, it was evident that the singing, drumming, gesturing, and so on, were tactics employed by the mixing team in order to divert the mind of the guesser on the opposing team. Stern (1934: 70) also included such distractions as "side remarks" and "magic phrases". The attention of the guessing player was most certainly pre-occupied with studying his opponent, and pondering the situation prior to making a guess; he studied the facial expressions of the mixing player in an attempt to place his guess according to what he read (Gunther, 1927: 274). At any rate, Elmendorf (1960: 238) indicated that "neither side sang until it had won its first point".

Since the risks taken in an inter-village gamble were considerable, especially with regard to those of an economic nature, every avenue for success was employed.

If the disk game gambler should find a small fungus on bullrushes or on a salmon-berry bush, he takes it off and mixes it with the shredded cedar bark of his gaming outfit. This brings luck. If they do not have some of this fungus they always pray to SE a.wa' tci, the earth, for success in their game.

A gambler has a person who helps him by wishing confusion on the opponents.

This person sits somewhere out of sight while the game is going on. He mentions first the name of the person against whom he is wishing and then says, "Your eyes are dull; your mind is dull; your guesses are wrong." A person who wishes against another is called c'qwi'te. The gambler pays him unless he is one of the people betting on his side; then the wisher does it to make the side successful. Women as well as men do the wishing. The person who is wished against is called qwa'et'ai'yo. With these aids and sureties of success, the gambler fares forth to win his fortune. (Gunther, 1927: 274)

Supernatural aid was believed indispensable to successful gambling, and the game was usually played by "professional" gamblers, nukslaha'lem (Gunther, 1927: 275) who were men having the suin ("magic") of gambling (Stern, 1934: 70).

In the intercommunity game disk-game professionals, with the proper q'wa'xq spirit power, challenged guest gamblers from another community and acted as sponsors and hosts for a feast, hiring a song leader or master of ceremonies (sx^was'a'lsab). Host villagers and nonplaying guests from the challenged village attended as a ritual audience (q^wa q^wa'w'gkd) and by their help in singing created the ceremonial setting within which the spirit powers of the player could best operate. (Elmendorf, 1960: 239)

Through both the person of the "professional" gambler and the nature of the disc game spirit songs, assistance was invoked from an intangible power - a power, the intervention of which it was believed, dominated the outcome of the game. The winning player and team were considered as having been able to better monopolize their power resources. When a player's "luck" ran against him, "his guessing became bad and the singing of his

side was weak" (Olson, 1936: 131). If a player failed repeatedly to guess correctly, another from his team took his place (Gunther, 1927: 276).

The length of each game varied, and where there were a large number of counters, games were reported to last, in one case, four days (Eells, 1889: 649), and in another, up to a week or more (Smith, 1940: 220).

The form of the disc game as played between co-villagers normally took place during the daytime and at any season. On the other hand, the ceremonial, inter-village games were played at night, during the winter, and within big wooden houses. On these occasions a fire would be used for light. Quarrels frequently arose during the game.

Each player usually brought his own personal gambling paraphernalia to the game; these included discs, counters, gambling mat with pins and shredded cedar bark. These devices were regarded as ceremonial objects, and when they were not in use, they were "kept together and well cared for" (Smith, 1940: 219).

Evidence from both written records and museum collections has established that the disc game, like that of the dice game, had fairly wide distribution throughout the Coast Salish area. The game was played by the following ethnic groups: Chehalis, Chemakum, Chilliwack, Cowichan, Dwamish (?), Klallam, Lummi, Nanaimo, Nisqually, Puyallup, Quileute, Quinault, Samish, Sanetch, Skokomish, Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Songish, Twana.

In his Cultural Element Distribution List for the Gulf of Georgia Salish, Barnett (1939: 252) recorded that the Comox, Klahuse, Pentlatch, Sechelt and Squamish groups did not engage in the disc game; later, (1955: 262), he stated that the game was "restricted to groups south of the Sechelt and Comox".

Again, no information is available as to when the disc game reached extinction, or whether or not it originated in pre-contact times. The earliest description of the game appeared in Paul Kane's record of his 1846-1848 "Wanderings" (Kane, 1968). Documentation on two sets of gambling devices found in the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle (Cat. Nos. 7969 and 7972) record that both of these were acquired from the Samish in 1916 and were considered at that time to be "over 70 years old". In addition, Elmendorf recorded:

He [dukwibat] tried to get rid of the disk game, slaxh'a'l. He threw the disks away several times, but they kept coming back, so he let them remain. And we still have that game. (Elmendorf, 1961: 35)

3. HAND GAME

Slaxha'l (Smith, 1940: 216), the hand or bone game, developed through three different forms, the last of these having persisted up to the present time. These forms differed in that the number of devices used in play was either one, two, or four, and although the rules changed accordingly, the

objective remained somewhat the same.

The hand and disc games resembled each other in a number of ways, and these similarities included inter-village competition, power demonstrations involving special singing and supernatural help, professional gamblers and betting. For the disc game, the status of the 'professional' gambler was essentially one of a ceremonial nature, whereas the "development of gambling as a profession" seemed to have been "tied exclusively with the bone gamble" (Smith, 1940: 207). Hand game players competed on an inter-village basis for personal prestige; betting was not heavy. Nevertheless, the "social significance of games for prestige" remained "differentiated from that of the challenge contests" (Smith, 1940: 207).

The one device form of the game was played with a small piece of bone or a small stick or stone. Both the two and four device forms were played with two or four cylindrical bones or pieces of wood usually shaped to resemble the bone implements. Although these 'bones' normally were made from a section of bone from the lower foreleg of a deer, horse shank bone was also used (Elmendorf, 1960: 240). The wood 'bones', according to one account (Smith, 1940: 210), were made of ashwood; another account (Costello, 1895: 51) mentioned that "sticks of green alder" were used.

The bones measured approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference. Although the dimensions of the bones varied somewhat, it was

considered important that careful attention be paid to their size. This was due to the fact that the bones were made to be held lengthwise in the player's fist, and therefore were cut to measure the width of the hands across the knuckles (Elmendorf, 1960: 240). The hand was a factor determining the size of the bones since each player made his own set with particular attention to his own ability to handle them (Smith, 1940: 211). In addition, care was also taken to ensure that both bones in a pair were equal in weight and balance (Smith, 1940: 211). The bones were near-cylindrical to cylindrical in shape; one specimen (Provincial Museum, Victoria, Cat. No. 10042) was slightly curved throughout its length. Occasionally, the bones bulged in the centre area, having a convex surface which tapered slightly towards the ends. The ends were cut squarely, and in a number of specimens, the bone reinforcement structure, lying through the centre, was still present. Other specimens had hollow centres; in others, the ends had been plugged usually with wood; and still in others, small wooden discs of the same dimensions as the rounded ends of the bones, were added to both ends and secured by various means, one being by the use of screws (Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle, Cat. No. 1/8) (see Figure 8).

The bones were made in pairs - a set of two bones consisted of one pair, and that of four bones, of two similar pairs. However, a set of three bones, one of which was so marked so that it could be used in cheating, has been documented (Pro-

vincial Museum, Victoria, Cat. No. 2368) (see Figure 9).

Bones were either entirely plain or marked, normally with various linear and/or circular designs incised usually in 'bands', around the outer circumference of the bone and into its surface; such incisions were darkened, usually in black but occasionally in red, giving prominence to the design (see Figures 8, 9, and 10). Linear designs ranged from simple, single narrow or wide bands, to bands of crossed and/or parallel lines; circular designs were either simple circles, nucleated or without single central dots, usually arranged in bands but occasionally, differently patterned. Linear and circular designs appeared both alone and together on any one bone; such marked bones were occasionally found paired with plain ones. More common however, was the pairing of a plain bone with one simply marked, around its central area, by one or more bands of black, or by the addition of a band or bands of, for example, leather (R.H. Lowie Museum, Berkeley, Cat. No. 2-5679), black thread (Elmendorf, 1960: 240), or sinew, held firm by pitch, (Smith, 1940: 211), which were set into a groove in the bone surface.

Both bones constituting a pair resembled each other in their surface designs, should any be present, but differed through the inclusion or exclusion of markings around the central area; as such, one bone of the pair was so marked and one was not. This was essential to the game. Accordingly, the bone with markings around its middle was referred to as the 'marked' bone, and that without such markings, thereby remaining

Figure 8. Bones. Bone. Quileute?
(Thomas Burke Memorial Washington
State Museum, Seattle. Cat.
No. 1/8 a,b).

Figure 9. Bones. Bone. Cowichan.
(Provincial Museum, Victoria.
Cat. No. 2368).

Figure 10. Bones. Bone. Puget Sound
- Twana?
(Thomas Burke Memorial
Washington State Museum,
Seattle. Cat. No. 226).

plain in this area, was referred to as the 'plain' bone. The plain bone, however, if not entirely plain, often had designs, but these were located towards one or both ends of the bone (see Figures 9 and 10). The marked bone was so distinguished both by linear and circular designs, appearing singly or in combination around the middle, or as previously mentioned, by the addition of a band or bands of leather, black thread, or sinew. There seemed to have been no rules with regard to the combinations of designs which appeared either around the middle of a bone or elsewhere on its surface. Such markings apparently were left to the discretion of each player when making his own set of bones.

Bones were variously marked with fine, incised lines so that each man could identify his own and protect his set from attempted duplication on the part of his opponents or enemies. (Smith, 1940: 211)

The bone used for cheating, as mentioned above, (Provincial Museum, Victoria, Cat. No. 2368) (see Figure 9), was found to be one of a set of three bones, which consisted of one pair, one marked one plain bone, and the cheating bone. The cheating bone was so marked that one side of its total length was similar to the plain bone, while the other side resembled the marked bone. An incised line around either end of each of the bones comprising the pair, was absent from the cheating bone; by way of explanation of this inconsistency, Smith offered:

The cheating bone never duplicated the bones of one's own set: it was a way of beating the power of the opponent, a power which

lay, in part, in his bones. (Smith, 1940: 216)

Both pairs of bones in a two pair set usually were identical.

Two pairs of bones, both identical, of which the two marked bones bear a design other than geometric, have been located in two separate museums. (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Cat. Nos. 19748 and 19749, and, Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle, Cat. No. 226) (see Figure 10). On one side of these marked bones, along with an incised design, around the middle, of three bands of nucleated circles separated from each other by two parallel lines, are two incised zoomorphic (wolf or dog-like) heads, lying upside-down to each other and facing in opposite directions. In addition, on one of the cut ends of one bone in each of the two pairs, are incised four nucleated circles.

In the case of wooden bones, markings were usually created by removing the bark from the wood; for the marked bone, a strip of bark was normally left around the middle (Smith, 1940: 211) (Ells, 1889: 648).

As in the dice and disc games, the two bones of a pair were usually each designated male or female - one being male, the other female. Here also, no pattern was observed as to which bone, marked or plain, was male and which was female. Smith (1940: 211, 216) described the plain bone as female, s/d de, and the marked one as male, stobe; on the other hand, Elmendorf (1960: 240) reported the plain bone as stiba't slaha'l, "male hand-game bone", and the marked

one as sta'day skah, "female hand-game bone". For one group, the Klallam, Gunther (1927: 274) recorded sla'ni, woman, as the plain bone, and swē'tka, man, as the marked bone; again for the Klallam and using similar terms, John Raub (in Culin, 1907: 299) gave the reverse. Further, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 63) designate the plain bones as sto'bobe, men, and the marked ones as statadei, women.

The hand game was mainly played by men, and although Elmendorf (1960: 240) maintained that it "was played by men only", both Smith (1940:209) and Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 63) indicated that women did play, and occasionally became known as gamblers. In addition to adult men and women, "young men and older boys" were reported to play the game (Eells, 1877: 89 and 1889: 647).

Although, at times, the game was played between only two players, any number could play, and the more usual form was that of competition between groups or villages, each being represented by a team. In view of the latter, Smith^{was/}observed:

The bone gamble ^{was/} always played between groups which considered themselves distinct one from the other. Meetings were arranged between such groups expressly for gambling and the game likewise featured at all gatherings of two or more groups whatever their avowed intent. (Smith, 1940: 209)

When only two opposing individuals played, and occasionally in the case of inter-team competition (Eells, 1877: 89 and 1889: 648), one device or two devices (one pair bones) were used. However,

the usual number of devices found in team play were four (two pairs bones), and as such, only two players per side handled the bones (one pair each) at any one time. In addition to the one or two protagonists required on each side, a team numbered up to, for example, two (Olson, 1936: 130), six (Eells, 1877: 89 and 1889: 648), or fourteen to sixteen (Smith, 1940: 209) players.

The opposing individual or team players sat, knelt or squatted on the ground and, in the case of teams, in two roughly parallel rows, facing each other, some six feet apart (Eells, 1877: 89 and 1889: 647). According to Commander Mayne (1862: 276) who described two versions of the one-device form of the game, ten to twelve players sat in a circle. Further, Olson (1936: 130) indicated that a team of two players faced an opposing team of two players across a mat. And Costello (1895: 51) reported that a fire was built in the area between the two teams. However, on the ground directly in front of each team was laid a 'drumming' board L! pa'at'sid (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 63), upon which the players beat with a stick, te! a'x'adid (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 63) or sa'p'tad (Elmendorf, 1960: 243). According to Elmendorf (1960: 241) the board of one team was some four to six feet distance from that of the opposing team. Occasionally, the drumming board was raised slightly off the ground, some three or more inches, and supported on stones (Smith, 1940: 209-210), or on a shorter board (Costello, 1895: 51), thus

giving resonance as it was pounded.

Normally, in the case of the four-device form of the game, each side had one team leader, č'a'tə/ə/ or č'a'təwə/ (Elmendorf, 1960: 241), or tə'dtə/ (Smith, 1940: 216), who acted as protagonist on behalf of his team during the game, and who knelt or sat in the middle of the row of players. The leader's primary function was to guess the position of the bones when they were held by the opposing side. Since he usually did not manipulate the bones himself when they were held by his team, the leader assigned both pairs, one to each of two players on his side. While his players were shaking the bones, he led the singing and drumming for his team (Elmendorf, 1960: 241). Normally, leaders were great gamblers whose participation insured success and who had "hand-game gambling powers", slahə/ c'š'a'lt, (Elmendorf, 1960: 241-242, 489-490).

Such spirit power as possessed by a leader, gave him "luck in guessing" (Elmendorf, 1960: 241-242), and "helped so to enliven the bones when they were on his own side that their position could not be guessed by the opponents" (Smith, 1940: 210).

However, Smith went on to say:

Leadership, however, was not permanent and the great gamblers entered the games only when the success of their side lay in the balance. So long as a leader was winning for his side he stayed in the game; if his side was losing he got some other player to guess for him or voluntarily gave up his place to another leader. Leadership might, therefore, shift several times in the course of a night's play. (Smith, 1940: 210)

Smith continued, reporting that a "second" sat beside the leader and acted as deuteragonist during the game.

Beside the leader sat a "second". The second might guess the position of the bones at the leader's request. In the main, however, his role was that of second-in-singing and not directly related to the game as such. When the leader changed the second might remain. (Smith, 1940: 210)

Behind each team's row of players, stood its respective supporters. Although the supporters, consisting of both men and women, were nonplayers, they helped with the singing and drumming, and participated in the betting. Any number were present, and may have totaled a hundred or more (Densmore, 1943: 66).

The opening play, SKI'qtəwəl (Elmendorf, 1960: 241), or Ke'ktwəl (Smith, 1940: 216), determined which team started holding the bones and which was the first to guess their position. Normally, in this play, two opposing players, usually the leaders, each held and concealed in the hands one pair of bones; occasionally, the two opponents held only one bone from each pair (Olson, 1936: 130). For either case, each of the two players simultaneously guessed each other, by attempting to locate which of the opponent's hands concealed the bone to be guessed. On occasion, only one player held a pair of bones, while his opponent guessed (Elmendorf, 1960: 241). The guess was made by a simple gesture of the guesser's right hand. In the case where two opponents each held one pair of bones, if the players both guessed correctly or if they both

missed, the play was repeated; if only one of them guessed correctly while the other missed, then the team of the successful guesser began the game by holding both pairs of bones, whereas the "more difficult task of starting the guessing fell to the leader who lost the opening play" (Smith, 1940: 212). When only one player concealed the bones, one team started by holding and the other by guessing depending on a correct or incorrect guess by the opponent. Occasionally, the opening play involved not only the determination as to which side was the first to hold the bones or the first to guess their position, but also the receipt or loss of a point, counter, or tally stick. Smith (1940: 212) reported that the "opening play of the game counted as any other ", and Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 63) observed that if one of the two opposing leaders "guesses right he gets the two cylinders, and one tally stick". On the other hand, Elmendorf (1960: 241) recorded that "no point was scored", and in addition, that "neither side sang during the ski'gtawəl".

The objective of each play, for all three forms of the game (one, two or four device), was the guessing of the location of, that is, which hand concealed, the bones or stick or stone (one device form), or the particular bone, one of a pair, to be guessed (two and four device forms). Again, for all three forms, each play appeared to have progressed somewhat the same, except primarily in the case of the four device form, where two opposing teams, each having a leader, competed. In addition,

because of the obvious differences among the three forms, especially with regard to the number of devices used, guessing and scoring varied accordingly.

Following the opening play, in which the competitors were two opposing teams, each consisting of a row of players and a leader, and in which two pairs of bones were used, the leader losing the initial play and thereby starting the guessing, passed or threw the pair of bones he had been holding across the space between the two teams to the leader of the opposing side. The receiving leader then had the set of four bones (two pairs) on his side. He shook the bones in his own hands and then passed or threw, in succession, one pair to each of two players on his team, calling the name of the player to which a pair was being assigned (Smith, 1940: 212). Usually, the two players were seated one on either side of (but not necessarily immediately next to) the leader, but occasionally both were on one side of him (Smith, 1940: 212). In this form of the game, the player or players assigned the bones were referred to as the 'holder', t^odsaxetih (Smith, 1940: 216), or as the 'shakers', yad'a'xadab - "work the arms" (Elmendorf, 1960: 242). In addition, players who had "the proper magic" recited words over the bones at the time play began (Stern, 1934: 70).

In the one-device form of the game, one player held, in his hands, a piece of bone, stick or stone which was passed rapidly and dexterously from one hand to the other and "shifted

behind the back, etc.," (Gibbs, 1877: 206). The player's hands "kept swinging backwards and forwards" and "every now and then he would stop" (Mayne, 1862: 275). His opponent or a player on the opposing side then attempted to guess in which hand the object held was concealed.

In the two-device form of the game, one player held one pair of bones; in the four-device form, two players, both on the same team, each held one pair of the two-pair set of bones, usually having been assigned them by the team leader. The player or players holding the bones then shuffled them by shifting them from one hand to the other, while usually hiding their hands behind their backs, under their shirts or a coat lying across the knees, under a mat or blanket, in grass (Barnett, 1939: 252), or, under "loose-hanging neck cloths" or "in the old days ...beneath a piece of skin suspended on their chests" (Smith, 1940: 212). After the bones had been shuffled, the holder or holders presented both hands, each one concealing one bone of a pair, to the view of the opponent or opponents. The hands holding the bones were kept, not only in view, but also usually in constant motion until after the guess was made and the bones exposed. This motion was referred to as 'shaking' the bones (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 63) (Smith, 1940: 212) (Elmendorf, 1960: 242), and simply involved the backward and forward or sideward movements of the hands and arms in which the hands, concealing the bones, moved away from and towards the player's body, crossing in front of his chest. Smith outlined in some

detail, various ways in which the bones were shaken.

...with the upper arm steady, lower arms swung full to the sides and then brought forward so that the fists almost touched. The bones could also be shaken in unison, with one forearm bent across the chest, the other bent upward and out making a right angle with the upper arm, the fists not far apart and the motion slower and closer to the lap in front and faster on the upward swing. Opponents were apt to object to this type of shaking. Other types were: with short swings in unison arms bent at the elbows; and back and forth in short swings, arms bent at the elbows ...One type which has been recently introduced and was not used in the old days is an up and down motion in which the bones are held vertically, the arms bent and the hands moving together. In all the older ways of shaking, the bones were held more or less horizontally, the palms of the hands turned to the ground. In none of the types described did the hands ever cross above each other. (Smith, 1940: 212-213)

On the other hand, to show that he was not cheating, a player occasionally folded his arms, across his chest, and placed his hands upon them, where they remained motionless and in view of the opposing side (Smith, 1940: 213).

Throughout the shuffling and shaking processes, the player or players or team leader doing the guessing, watched very carefully the movement of the hands of the opponent or opponents holding the bones. A good guesser watched for and followed signs which indicated to him the probable position of the bone to be guessed. Such signs were contained in facial expressions, which enabled "professional gamblers" to "place their guesses according to what they read on their opponents's countenance" (Gunther, 1927: 274), or in the eyes of the opposing player,

thereby causing players to have kept "their eyes down while they had the bones" (Duff, 1952: 127). Smith added:

The holder was apt to favor the hand which contained the plain bone, hold that shoulder slightly higher or contract the muscles of the eye on that side. The good guesser followed these signs. (Smith, 1940: 213)

In addition, and as mentioned before, great gamblers usually obtained guardian-spirit assistance in guessing. Nevertheless, care was taken by the supporters who did not watch the players as they shuffled the bones "for fear that, if they knew the bones' position, their expression might betray it" (Smith, 1940: 212), and, as mentioned, by the players holding the bones, who when shaking them "kept their heads down and avoided looking at the opposing leader, who would attempt to catch their eye" (Elmendorf, 1960: 242).

During shaking, if the opponent has not yet made a guess, a holder occasionally shifted the bones again behind his back or under his shirt. When the guesser felt he knew the position of the bones, he made his guess, ta tse co? (Smith, 1940: 216). As soon as the guess was made, the holder or holders stopped shaking the bones and revealed their position. In this play, the guesser attempted to guess correctly for one bone of the pair or, in the four-device form, for one bone of both pairs. Although the bone to be guessed was usually the unmarked (plain) one, this was not always the case, and the guess occasionally was for the marked bone. Again, by way of discrepancy, the plain bone was referred to either as female or as male; therefore,

the usual guess would have been for the female or plain bone or for the male or plain bone.

Guessing for all three forms of the game was done by a quick gesture, usually made by the right hand, "which left no doubt as to the meaning intended" (Elmendorf, 1960: 242). Normally, the gesture was emphasized by the other hand being slapped down on the guesser's chest or on the upper part of the arm doing the pointing. In the one or two device forms of the game, the opponent or a player on the opposing side made a simple gesture pointing to that hand of the holder which was thought to conceal the object in play or the particular bone to be guessed. In the four-device form of the game, a player or the team leader on the opposing side made the initial guess for both pairs of bones. The guess was based on the relation of the bones to each other, and as such, it was possible for the bones (one from each of the two pairs) to be guessed to have been held in any one of four positions. Therefore, the gestures made by the guesser corresponded to the way in which he thought the bones were held. If, for example, the plain bones were to be guessed: (1) if they lay to the right of the guesser and in the left hands of the holders (MPMP - where P=plain, and M=marked), tsa'atci (Smith, 1940: 216), the guess was made by the left arm of the guesser crossing his chest pointing to his right with fist closed but index finger extended (Smith, 1940: 213), or by motioning with the extended forefinger of the right hand to the right, ax^wé' éxq

(from č'uxqi'd, "push away") (Elmendorf, 1960: 242); (2) if they lay to the left of the guesser and in the right hands of the holders (PMPM), qa'atci (Smith, 1940: 216), the guess was made by the right arm of the guesser crossing in front of him pointing with fist closed but fore-finger extended towards the left, ax^wt'i'č' (from t'ič'i'd, "pull toward oneself") (Elmendorf, 1960: 242); (3) if they lay in the centre or neighbouring hands of the holders (MPPM), āgstegwis (Smith, 1940: 216), the guess was made with the right arm extended before the guesser with fist closed, hand back up and palm toward body, but forefinger extended pointing downward, ax^wv'sal, (from usi' /, "dive") (Elmendorf, 1960: 242); (4) if they lay in the outer hands of the holders (PMMP), pa/eq'ēs (Smith, 1940: 216), the guess was made with the right hand held before the guesser with three fingers closed and forefinger or little finger extended and thumb upright, with hand palm or back up or with palm toward body, pa'ak'es (Elmendorf, 1960: 242).

By way of exception, Costello (1895: 52) reported that although four (two pairs) 'bones' (alder sticks) were used and two players did the playing, two players were "selected on the other side to do the guessing". In addition, Olson (1936: 130) described a similar action in which "the opposing two guessed, each at the same time and each directing his attention to the man opposite."

Following the guess, the holder or holders revealed the

position of the bones. A win or loss was based on a correct or incorrect guess for the location of the device or of that particular bone to be guessed. The courses taken following either a correct or incorrect guess, varied within any one of the three forms of the game played. Normally, each guess meant a count for one side or the other. As such, when the guesser was correct, his side usually received one or two counters (see below); in addition, at this point the roles of the two sides became reversed, as the right to hold the 'bone' or bones passed to the former guessing side. When the guesser was incorrect, his side lost one or two counters, and the opposing side continued to play until a correct guess was made. In one case, the occasion of the exchange of holding and guessing roles between sides, was opposite to that just mentioned.

So long as a guesser was successful the counts went to his side and he continued to guess. When he missed the count went to the other side and the bones were thrown across for his side to hold. (Smith, 1940: 214)

Normally, in the four-device form of the game, if both pairs of bones were guessed correctly, the guessing side won both pairs of bones, the right to play next, and occasionally, two counters; if both pairs of bones were guessed incorrectly, the guessing side forfeited two counters and the opposing side continued to play; if one pair of bones was guessed correctly while the other pair was missed, then the guessing side won only one pair of bones but, at the same time, forfeited one

counter.

Following a guess, the bones were returned to the leader, (Smith, 1940: 212), who either redistributed them to the holders on his side or threw them across to the leader of the opposing side. If a holder was guessed correctly several times in succession by the opposing side, the leader often reassigned the bones to another player on his side. Although the guessing was normally done by the team leader, others had the opportunity to guess but only by permission of the leader (Densmore, 1943: 65); on occasion the leader requested that his 'second' guess in his place (Smith, 1940: 210).

As mentioned, score was kept through the receipt and loss of counters. The counters or tally sticks, SXxts (Smith, 1940: 216), Sxa'ts! (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 63), Xa'c'tad (Elmendorf, 1960: 242), were made of wood, such as cedar (Costello, 1895: 51), and were plain cylindrical sticks, usually sharpened at one end to enable them to stand upright in the ground. They measured a recorded minimum of 5 inches (Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Cat. No. AA 1248), to an average of some 8-12 inches, to a recorded maximum of 18 inches (Smith, 1940: 214). Although the counters usually totalled ten or twenty per game, or five or ten per side, quantities of "20 or 40 marker sticks for each team" (Olson, 1936: 130) and "as many as eighty are played for" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 63), have been recorded. On the other hand, scoring occasionally was done in multiples of ten, and ten-point tally

sticks were used for this purpose (Smith, 1940: 214-215) (Elmendorf, 1960: 242-243). The two opposing players or sides each began the game with an even number of counters, and the number used or the number of points to be played for was agreed upon by both sides in advance of the beginning of the game. On each side, the counters usually were stood upright in the ground in a row in front of the drumming plank and, in the case of team play, in front of the team leader. According to Elmendorf (1960: 243), "their tops inclined toward the opposing side". On occasion, the counters were laid on a common plank set to one side (Olson, 1936: 130). In addition, if the scoring was done in multiples of ten, for each ten points to be played for, a ten-point tally stick, similar to the other counters, was stood upright in the ground to one side of the drumming planks but between the two sides. For example, if the game was for 40 points, four of these ten-point tally sticks, in addition to ten game counters (five per side), were used (Elmendorf, 1960: 243). When a point was won, usually the counters were initially drawn from the allotment in front of the receiving side, one stick being taken from the row in front of the drumming plank and placed behind, upright in the ground with its top leaning toward the team leader (Elmendorf, 1960: 243), or placed "between his [the leader's] knees or otherwise shifted...so that it could be distinguished from the upright sticks" (Smith, 1940: 214). When its counters, from in front of the drumming plank, had been won by either side, subsequent counters were

won from those of the opponent's, which were tossed across from one side to the other. When ten counters had accumulated on one side, and where applicable, one ten-point stick was shifted, "by men appointed by the leaders" (Smith, 1940: 125), from its central position toward the winning side. In this case, the ten-point sticks, or "end sticks - sádsagwis" (Smith, 1940: 216), moved to one side or the other whenever ten counters were accumulated. When one side lost ten counters, then a ten-point stick, should that side possess one, moved back to its original position; when no ten-point sticks remained in the middle, then they were drawn from those of the opponents.

Although information is sketchy, the score was also kept through the direct exchange of counters, where a win was recorded by the receipt of a counter from the opponent and a loss, by the forfeit of a counter to the opponent. The score was usually kept by the leader in the case of team play, or by "two of the players, one for each side" (Eells, 1889: 648).

The game ended when one player or side had acquired all counters, or, where in use, all ten-point sticks, thereby winning the game. Occasionally, and according to the size of the stakes, a side was required to win all counters a number of times, and perhaps up to "four or five times if the stakes are high" (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 63). Pettit (1950: 12) recorded that "in meetings with other tribes it was customary to play until one side or the other had won two games".

The winner of the game won the stake. Game wagers were

placed prior to the commencement of play by players on both sides, and according to Swan (1857: 158) "each article staked is put before the owner, and whoever wins takes the whole pile". Supporters partook in betting among themselves (Olson, 1936: 130), and "shakers ordinarily placed individual wagers before each turn with the bones" (Elmendorf, 1960: 242). According to Olson (1936: 130), "bets were collected only when one side had won all the counters". Although Smith (1940: 207) maintained that betting was not heavy, especially in comparison with the disc game, Stern (1934: 70) reported that betting on the outcome "is very intense, many valuables being wagered", and Pettit (1950: 12) surmised that, traditionally, "betting was so heavy that there had to be a rule against a man's betting his wife or his children". Little was recorded about the nature of the wagers except for brief and vague mentions of money, clothing and 'valuables'. However, Mayne (1862: 276) mentioned that blankets were staked, Costello (1895: 51) listed: "Two canoes, a silver watch, two ponies, \$1.50 in silver, a coat, a shirt and some other things...", and Curtis (1913: 70) included guns, ammunition, and slaves as gambling wagers.

Throughout the game, singing, drumming, and beating on the 'drumming plank' took place. These activities were normally limited to the side holding the bones, while the opposing side concentrated, in silence, on the guessing. Players, including holders, led by the team leader (where present), and helped by their supporters (both men and women), sang while the bones

were in motion. In addition, players, excluding holders, but including, and again led by, the team leader, each beat, with a stick, on the 'drumming plank' in front of them. Two or three players at one or both ends of the row beat upon drums. Singing occurred usually prior to but not during the opening play; it was again resumed, along with the beating, while the bones were being shifted and 'shaken'. On the other hand, Costello (1895: 52) reported that the singing (etc.) began at that time when the hands came into view during shaking, but following shuffling. Further Elmendorf (1960: 243) indicated that the singing stopped when the leader on the opposing side guessed.

As with the disc game, the hand game also had its own songs, but "always distinct in rhythm and melody from disk-game songs" (Elmendorf, 1960: 244). Each team sang "its gambling spirit songs....led by one who has a gambling spirit song acquired in a dream" (Stern, 1934: 70). Such songs were used by great or professional gamblers to invoke the assistance of their guardian spirits. As mentioned previously, the great gamblers generally played as leaders and, with their spirit power affiliations, their participation in the games ensured success. Smith (1940: 210) reported that beside the leader sat a "second" whose primary function was that of "second-in-singing". As such, the "second" acted as "interpreter or intermediary between the individual with the power and the rest of the people" (Smith, 1940: 101). Singing "strengthened the hand-game gambling powers of one's own team" (Elmendorf, 1960: 243-244),

enlivened the bones enabling them "to take on an action almost their own" (Smith, 1940: 216), and confused the opposing guesser (Elmendorf, 1960: 244) (Duff, 1952: 127).

Cheating was recognized as an inherent part of the game, and was performed "only by the great holders, by men who 'knew how to shake' " (Smith, 1940: 215). Cheating was executed in a number of ways. Exchanging the bones was accomplished by throwing the bones, saxwálte (Smith, 1940: 216), "from one hand to the other during the shaking" (Smith, 1940: 215). Further, if the exchange was either "seen or heard by the other side, the play was repeated or the point for it was lost" (Smith, 1940: 215). Elmendorf (1960: 242) termed the action of "exchanging the bones in front of the body" as syip'wi'dəč, and described it as follows:

This was done by passing one hand over the other, turning the lower one palm up, and making the exchange rapidly and unobtrusively, if possible while the opponent pointer was glancing at the other bone shaker.
(Elmendorf, 1960: 242)

Contrary to Smith's statement, Elmendorf (1970: 242) reported that the cheat "was not penalized if detected". Great manipulative dexterity was required if this form of cheating were to have been successful, and such a skill was usually acquired in private practice (Elmendorf, 1960: 242). Eells added:

Some grow so expert at this game that even if the guess of the opponent is right the player can afterward change the bone to the other hand without its being detected.
(Eells, 1889: 648)

Further, according to Barnett (1955: 262), excessive cheating was the reason that the one-device form of the game was replaced by the two-device form.

Another form of cheating was accomplished by slipping a band of sinew over the plain bone, co'legwis (Smith, 1940: 216), so that it appeared similar to the marked one. This form was successful so long as the holder exposed only one and not both bones. A third method was the use of a 'cheating' bone, dsatsi/kkxqwis (Smith, 1940: 216), as described above (for specimen, Cat. No. 2368, Provincial Museum, Victoria), which made it possible for that bone to be shown, following the guess, as either male or female. Cheating was important not only with regard to the obvious gaining of points, but also and especially in relation to the competitive, prestige and power aspects of the game.

Cheating was never resorted to more than two or three times by either side during a night's play. The points won in this way did, of course, help the cheating side. But the importance of cheating was out of all proportion to the value of these points. The cheating bone never duplicated the bones of one's own set: it was a way of beating the power of the opponent, a power which lay, in part, in his bones. Throwing the bones was a means of showing mastery over those of the opposing side or of complete accord with those of one's co-player. An undetected cheat was soon noised around. A gambler, even if detected, never admitted that he had cheated and the doubt cast a gloom on the assurance of his opponents. Had he, then, the power to cheat their power? (Smith, 1940: 215-216)

The hand game was played outside, generally in the summer,

but occasionally, "winter games seem also to have been carried on in the open" (Smith, 1940: 209). Although Smith (1940: 209) maintained that the games were "always played at night, never in the daytime", other reports indicated that games began during the daytime and extended far into the night. More specifically, Densmore (1943: 66) recorded that a game was played "every Sunday afternoon at Chilliwack, extending far into the evening" and that upon occasion it was played "in the evening during the week". Normally, the game was played between different village groups. "Meetings were arranged between such groups expressly for gambling" (Smith, 1940: 209), or on the other hand, the game was played at large gatherings such as potlatches, or 'more recently', berry or hop picking. A game lasted anywhere from "hours" (Pettit, 1950: 12), to several days, depending on the number of points or counters to be won.

In the old days the bone gamble had four, and frequently six, end sticks to be played for. Such a game often took a full week to play off. (Smith, 1940: 215)

Although the hand game, like both the disc and dice games, is classified as a game of chance, and although Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959: 597) categorized the games of chance on the criteria that "chance must be present and both physical skill and strategy must be absent", documentation indicated that elements of both skill and strategy were present in the hand game. Physical skill used in cheating has already been discussed.

Methods of strategy and skill were used by both the guessing and holding sides. According to Densmore (1943: 65), "skill depends largely on a study of averages and probabilities", especially with relation to the relative location of the bones. To prevent this, Smith (1940: 210) suggested a counter-strategy whereby the bones "were constantly shifted to different holders to prevent the opponents from "getting on" to the way in which they were held".

Evidence from both written records and museum collections has established that the hand game, like those of the disc and dice games, had fairly wide distribution throughout the Coast Salish area. The game was played by the following tribal groups: Chehalis, Chemakum, Chemainus, Chilliwack, Comox, Cowichan, Klahuse, Klallam, Lummi, Nanaimo, Nisqually, Pentlatch, Puyallup, Quileute, Quinault, Sanetch, Sechelt, Skokomish, Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Songish, Squamish, Twana.

The hand game was played in three different forms depending on whether one, two or four devices were used. It appeared that the game was originally played with only one device.

Elmendorf reported the following:

Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century a pair of bones was not used. The game was then played with a single ace or "male" bone, one player guessing which of his opponent's closed hands held this. Some professional players in FA's youth (early 1870's) still used a single bone; the practice was then old fashioned. (Elmendorf, 1960: 240)

In addition to the above, early reference material on the game

documented the one-device form: Swan (1857), Mayne (1862), Wilson (1866), Gibbs (1877), Eells (1877 and 1889), Boas (1891). This one-device form eventually became that involving two-devices and two opposing players; and "in recent times" (Elmendorf, 1960: 240), the four-device game involving two teams of opponents was more frequently played. This last form of the game, which has persisted up to the present, was usually an inter-group affair, and team organization, originally based on the "now extinct winter-village community", became "based on reservation community or general geographic affiliation" (Elmendorf, 1960: 244). The hand game, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, superseded the disc game in popularity, and Elmendorf (1960: 240) observed that the game's "surge of popularity was a phenomenon of the reservation period".

No substantial information exists to establish whether the hand game originated in pre-contact times. Elmendorf (1960: 240) vaguely indicated that the game "was known to and played by the Twana prior to white contact", and Densmore related the traditional origin of the game:

The traditional origin of the slahal game was related by Jimmie O'Hammon, chief of a band of Squamish Indians living on the Squamish River. He is known as "Chief Jimmie Jimmie" and his group is known as O'Hammon's Band. He said that slahal was played before the flood, when all the people spoke the same language. Only one bone was used at that time and the players "hugged themselves with their arms" when playing. After the flood, there still were people who played the game, but many languages were spoken and the people were "all split up". When Christ came and changed the people into

animals, there were some who were not changed, and they preserved the game, so it has come down to the present day.
(Densmore, 1943: 67)

CHAPTER III - EMPIRICAL DATA

The following is a description of the only Coast Salish gambling game of aboriginal origin still being played today. This game is usually referred to as the Hand, Bone, or Slahal game; it is a fast-moving guessing game accompanied by singing, drumming and other percussion, shouting, and gesturing. Although it is usually described as a game of chance, slahal involves not only elements of chance, but also those of strategy and skill.

The data recorded here were collected in the field through both direct observation and the interviewing of informants. Reference literature provided necessary background and basic information prior to entering the field, and thereby made the field situation more comprehensible; recent ethnographic data is consulted in order to verify the present findings. The interviewing of informants especially has served to clarify and verify both the data acquired through observation and my interpretations placed on the observations, especially where certain actions appeared latent or ambiguous, and has allowed for the acquisition of new information not readily observable.

Large inter-group slahal games were observed on five separate occasions and in two different locations, and were played at various times during those days on which the summer Indian festivals took place. The summer festivities period runs approximately from the middle of May to the middle of July, and although the festivals exist ostensibly for competitive canoe racing, other events such as lacrosse games, Sunday morning

mass, and slahal games take place. Games were observed at the Cultus Lake Indian Festival, held at Cultus Lake, B.C., in June of 1969 (1 game), 1970 (2 games), and 1971 (3 games), and, at the Stommish Festival, held on the Lummi Indian Reservation, Gooseberry Point, Whatcom County, Washington, in June of 1970 (3+ games), and 1971 (2+ games).

Although the games played at both the Cultus Lake and Stommish Festivals were essentially the same, a few differences were observed. For example, the games held at Cultus Lake began in the early evenings, following the canoe races; those played during the Stommish Festival began in the early afternoon, while the canoe races were still in progress; in both cases, games usually lasted well on into the night or the early morning hours. The participants in the Cultus Lake games consisted primarily of players and supporters from Vancouver Island (usually Duncan area), lower British Columbia mainland, Northwest Washington (usually Lummi Indian); the participants at the Stommish games included not only those players and supporters present at Cultus Lake, but also representatives from the Yakima Indian group. As such, there were differences in team composition, and in the repertoire of gambling songs. At no time did women participate as team leaders or pointers at the Cultus Lake games; on the other hand, at the Stommish games, both men and women participated as leaders and pointers. However, there did not appear to be any established patterns with regard to the sex of opposing team leaders and pointers, as both men and women opposed members

of the same and opposite sex.

(Throughout the chapter, only the transcriptions of Squamish words have been used, and these have been taken from Kuipers' 1967 and 1969 publications on the Squamish language. Other than this, all data recorded, unless otherwise noted, have come from field note sources.)

The sləhi'l , s-k'a'-k'/tʰ (Squamish), literally "bone used in gambling game" (Kuipers, 1967: 293), game commenced when there were 'enough' players to form two opposing sides or teams approximately equal in size. This may have been the result of a group decision to play, and/or of an informal challenge from a representative or representatives of one group to another. The participants of one side distinguished themselves from members of the opposing side on a we/they basis by using different sets of criteria. Opposing sides or teams, for any one game session, were arranged along those lines, the distinguishing criteria of which were, for example, national/geographic (Canadian versus American, Vancouver Island versus Northwest Washington), or ethnic (Musqueam versus Lummi), or ethnic/geographic (Fraser Valley versus Lummi), or some other combination or variation. Individuals who wished to participate, but who did not fit precisely into a defined team category, played for or supported whichever side they chose, or that side with which they felt 'most closely allied'. This is a loose statement on the subject of which there was conflicting information. One informant maintained that participants allied themselves on a

fairly rigid kinship basis. Conversely, other informants maintained that no definite criteria were used in team composition. These informants stated that an individual allied himself with a particular team, primarily on the basis of his belief in that team's ability to win; that is, an individual played for or supported and bet on that team which he thought would win. Further, informants maintained that anyone could play with whomever he chose, and that, for example, a woman could even play against her own husband. Observation supported the existence of variations in team composition. From a number of participants who appeared regularly at the games observed, several were seen playing together on the same side during one session, but opposing each other in another encounter. Nevertheless, there were for all would-be participants, necessary criteria by way of which individuals recognized their team alliances. When the question, "What teams are playing?" was asked, the usual reply was, "British Columbia versus the Americans", or more specifically, "Duncan versus Lummi", or some other variation, still using, however, the ethnic/geographic distinctions.

Each side or team consisted of the actual players and their supporters both of whom served, more or less, as active game participants. The players were those individuals who were involved in the actual playing action of the games; the supporters were not necessarily involved in the playing action, but participated, usually by singing, gesturing, and/or contributing to the initial team wager or 'pot'. The players themselves were similarly involved in that they also sang, gestured, and contri-

buted to the initial wager. In addition to actual players and supporters, groups of spectators were also present, and made side-bets while the game was in progress. In addition, both players and supporters were also involved in the side-betting activity. Any individual who contributed to the initial wager had the opportunity of becoming involved in the playing action, since it was maintained that if an individual had bet on the game, he or she should have the opportunity of 'handling the bones'.

The two opposing sides arranged themselves in two roughly parallel rows about fifteen feet apart, facing each other, usually, but not always, in an east-west position. With the addition of more and more participants prior to game commencement, the ends of these rows become joined so as to eventually form an ovoid-like playing area. Those individuals choosing to participate in the game action as mixers, seated themselves in front of their respective teams, either on some object such as a bench, chair, stool, or log, or on the ground in a kneeling-sitting position, where the kneeling position becomes one of sitting as the buttocks rest on the calves and ankles. Behind these players stood their supporters; behind and often intermingled with the supporters, stood the spectators. The number of actual players on either side ranged anywhere from approximately ten to twenty, or more, depending on the number of individuals wishing to participate. However, observation revealed that 'big' games remained more or less intact for one or two games, (that is, where each game ended with one side winning

the initial wager), and that, as continuous playing went on throughout the afternoon and/or evening, smaller gaming groups broke off from the main, original game unit, to form smaller games which were played in an adjacent area. Although there were no fixed rules as to the number of players or spectators on each side, it was advantageous to both sides to be approximately equal in size, especially so with regard to the total team wager. In addition, it also gave each side a more equal opportunity, in that there was a similar range in the numbers of players from which were chosen those two who mixed the bones during any one play (one turn per side). Both men and women of all ages participated as players and supporters. Through observation, the average age of both players and spectators was estimated to be approximately 40 years of age. Elderly, middle-aged, and young adults participated, although the latter who did so were relatively few in number. Children did not play, but were present at the games.

Out of the participants on each side, one player was, prior to game commencement, designated as 'leader' and thereby, as 'pointer', S-t'am-a'is. He functioned, on the opposing or 'guessing' side, as the active antagonist of the 'playing' or 'mixing' side. As such, he was the most important participant on his side, and on him rested the success or failure of the gamble. The choice of leader was a group decision made either prior to or during the assembling of team participants. By 'group decision', it was meant that each side had one player who

was usually the leader for that side, and was such because he or she was known to be a good guesser or pointer. This did not mean that other participants on the team could not nor did not have the ability to function as leader. On the contrary, leadership was not permanent and occasionally changed several times during a single play, and/or during a game. Successive games usually saw changes in leadership, especially since, between game periods, the composition of the sides was most likely to change. Prior to the commencement of a game, the leader-elect may wish not to undertake this position, in which case another participant, known to be capable of functioning as leader, assumed the responsibility, usually upon request from team members. Information acquired indicated that although so-an-so did the guessing, so-and-so and so-and-so were also guessers some of the time; but for 'big games', there was usually only one man that did the pointing, or guessing, for his side. Field observation substantiated this to some degree, in that some four or so individuals consistently reappeared as leaders for one or more game periods. During any one play or game period a leader occasionally delegated another player to guess for him, or gave up his place to another leader. If the former was the case, the leader normally re-entered, again as pointer, whenever he chose to; if the latter was the case, then he forfeited his position and function to another leader, and thereby did not re-enter as leader during that game period. The criterion on which the entering, leaving, re-entering and

change of leadership in the game was based, was that of 'luck'. As long as a leader was successful as pointer, and thereby winning for his side, he stayed in the game; as soon as his side began losing on his account, he either delegated another player to guess for him or relinquished his position to another leader. The leader positioned himself, in the middle of the seated row of actual players, in front of his team. At most of the games observed, one player, who sat next to the leader, acted as a 'consultant' or 'second' to the leader. Prior to making a guess the leader occasionally consulted with his 'second' regarding the position of the bones.

While the participants of both sides or teams assembled and arranged themselves prior to game commencement, the initial wager was made and the bets subsequently booked. Wagers were placed individually by team participants, and each team booked their wagers, independent of the opposition, up to the point where it appeared that the last wagers had been made. Since the wager from one side must equal that from the other side, the leaders, at this point, consulted, with regard to the sum total of the independent wagers. If one team's wager was less than that of the other team, then the leader solicited additional wagers from among the participants on his team, in order to bring the sum up to that of the opposing team. For example, it was observed that prior to one game, one team had wagered \$48.50, the other team wagering only \$33.75; the other team, being short, subsequently called for the additional \$14.75 from its partici-

pants. The game did not start until the wagers from both opposing teams were equal. Any individual wishing to support a team demonstrated concrete proof of his support by contributing to his team's wager. As a contributor to the wager, an individual could choose either to participate in the actual playing action as a player, or to remain only as a supporter. Any individual participating as a player, had contributed to the team wager. As the total game wager was considered a 'pot' bet, the betting of one individual against another of the opposing group did not occur here, but rather, in the form of side betting, during any one play, after the commencement of game action.

Each team booked their own bets. Wagers were placed in the form of American and/or Canadian currency. Although there were no set amounts that participants were required to bet, wagers remained small - \$1, \$2, \$5, and sometimes, \$10 per person. Bets were booked by one player on the team, usually a female player, who noted the amount and the name of the contributor, in writing in a small notebook used for this purpose; the leader, himself, occasionally booked his team's bets. The money was collected either by the player booking the bets, who later turned it over to the leader, or directly by the leader himself, at the time the wager was being recorded. While being collected, the money forming the wager was either held in the hand, or collected in some type of receptacle, such as a hat or a drum turned upside down (see Figure 11). When it appeared as if all bets had been placed and that no further wagers were forthcoming,

Figure 11. Collecting and booking the team wager or bet. (Cultus Lake, 1971).

Figure 12. Two leaders counting out the money for the 'pot'. (Cultus Lake, 1970).

The two opposing team leaders consulted, with regard to their respective wagers, and as mentioned before, if one team was short in comparison with its opponent, then that leader solicited the remainder required to even the wager, from participants or would-be participants on his side. When both teams' wagers were equal, then the two leaders together counted out the money for the final time (see Figure 12), and upon completion, wrapped it in a scarf provided for this purpose by one of the teams, and placed it in the centre of the area between the two opposing sides (see Figure 13). Late bets were accepted up until the time of the final count; after this point, no further wagers were made; the 'pot' bet remained wrapped in the scarf throughout the game, and could not be touched until that game was completed. It was essential that the bets were booked accurately, since the contributors to the wager of the winning team stood to gain double the amount of their initial contribution, and this could only be determined through thorough and accurate booking.

In addition to the foregoing, there were a number of other pre-game activities which took place. If it was getting dark, a fire was built and/or another light source erected in the centre of the area between the two opposing teams; if this was not the case, then these activities were postponed until required. If fire was available, the surfaces of drums were warmed, causing the deer-hide skin surfaces to become more taut, thus producing a more resonant sound. In addition, a long, narrow, wooden board was placed on the ground in front of the players of a team;

Figure 13. The 'pot', wrapped in a scarf, between the two teams. (Cultus Lake, 1970).

short wooden sticks were also collected and used, by the players, to beat the board in front of them. This was used as a percussion device which accompanied the singing.

Following the laying of the initial wager and the placing of the 'pot' bet, in the scarf, in the centre of the area between the two teams, the two leaders returned to their respective sides and took their place among the players. At this time, one of the two leaders produced the devices, bones and counters, to be used in the game. Although both leaders had a set of gambling devices at their disposal, which usually they themselves had brought to the game, only one set was used.

Two kinds of necessary devices were used in the game. The first of these were two pairs of 'bones' which were held and mixed in the hands of two of the players on the mixing team; that is, each of the two players held one pair of bones. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the bones were originally manufactured from a section of bone from the lower foreleg of a deer; the hollow ends of the bones were plugged with wood. These bones were some $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and were cylindrical to ovoid in shape, but with truncated ends, and circular in cross section. The bones were used in pairs, one of the pair being plain in the centre area, the other being marked here by a band around the circumference; designs and markings were usually incised into the bone's surface and coloured usually black, but occasionally, red; a copper band around the central circumference was occasionally used to distinguish the marked bone. Although

such bones are still being used today, wood is the material of most recent manufacture. These more recent wood bones had a smooth surface and were approximately of the same dimension and shape as those mentioned above. They were made from such material as broom handles, and were painted in a variety of colours as, for example, high gloss red with a yellow band, distinguishing the marked bone. As already indicated, the game required two pairs of bones, two players each holding one pair. Each pair consisted of one unmarked bone and one marked bone; the unmarked bone was usually referred to as the 'female', and the marked one as the 'male'. Although this is usually the case, my Squamish informant maintained that the 'white' or unmarked bone,

t'a'm-en, was the male, s-yi'-yi?qa, and that the 'black-band' marked one, x'i'k'-en, was the female, s-λa'-λn²ai. Nevertheless, the unmarked bone was of most importance as it was the one to be guessed in the game; my Squamish informant referred to the marked, female bone as the "escaped one".

The second of the two kinds of devices required for the games were the counters or tally sticks. These usually consisted of eleven (although this number varied) round, wooden, smooth surfaced sticks of some twelve inches in length and from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 1" in diameter. These sticks usually were slightly pointed at one end, thus facilitating their being stood upright in the ground. The sticks were cylindrical in shape; some sets had grooves cut into the wood surface to form a band or bands around the circumference. The sticks were painted various colours as, for example,

alternating rings in high gloss yellow and black, or in red and green. Ten of the eleven sticks were the counters proper and were in play during the game action, serving to keep score.

All ten counters were usually identical in appearance; occasionally, five differed ^{from/} the remaining five in, for example, colour. The eleventh stick was not identical to the other ten in that it was usually larger in size, and had a different arrangement of colours, or some other distinguishing feature.

This stick was usually referred to as the 'king' stick, although 'kick' and 'bull' were alternative names. It was in play both during the initial play-off between the team leaders prior to the actual game commencement and, on occasion, during the last play of the game. The winning of the 'king' stick by one of the teams, following the initial play-off, signalled the beginning of play.

Of the ten (usual) actual counters in play, each team started, prior to game commencement, with five, although each played for all ten during any one game. Both team leaders placed their five counters immediately in front of them, upright in the ground, but in a row in front of and parallel to the 'percussion' board, lying on the ground in front of the seated players. The 'king' stick was also placed upright in the ground, by the leader providing the playing devices, but further in front of his counters towards the centre of the area between the two opposing teams. This same leader then tossed over, to the opposing team leader, one pair of bones, and he himself retained the other pair.

This was the beginning of the initial play-off, t'a-t'mi'ti?, which decided which team started mixing the bones and which was the first to guess their position. The 'king' stick was in play at this point, and the team that won the initial play-off, and thereby the first to mix the bones, also gained possession of the 'king' stick. This gave the team, winning the 'king' stick, one extra play or gamble at the end of the game, should the team be losing.

The initial play-off was a brief event and took place without any formality and without any singing, drumming or gesturing. Here, the leaders of the two opposing teams each held in their hands, one pair of bones, that is, one marked bone and one unmarked bone. Concurrently, both leaders quickly mixed the bones in their hands, and after some ten seconds or so, held out their arms in front of them, one of the pair of bones clenched in each fist. At this point, each leader, either both together or in turn, tried to guess in which hand his opponent held the unmarked bone. All guessing was done by gesture, and here, in the case of the initial play-off, the leaders guessed each other with a nod of the head or by a hand gesture. Following the guesses, the leaders opened both hands, either both together or in turn, to show the position of the bones. If one leader guessed correctly for the unmarked bone, then his side received both pairs of bones, the 'king' stick, and the opportunity of being the first side to mix the bones. In this case, the other leader, having made the wrong guess, had the task of being the first to

start the guessing. If, on the other hand, both leaders guessed each other wrongly, then they both again mixed and guessed the bones until such time that one leader won and the other lost. The same happened if both leaders guessed each other correctly. Although the leaders did not place side-bets on the outcome of the initial play-off, other participants did so, prior to and sometimes during, but not following, the actual mixing of the bones by the leaders. That is, all side-bets were placed prior to the commencement of guessing.

With regard to side-bets, a bet was solicited by a participant on one team, from any participant or from a particular participant on the opposing team; all side-bets, to be valid, were evenly matched. Such bets were small, and usually ran from about one to three dollars. Side-betting was done on an individual basis, and the money from both opposing side-betting partners appeared together, in the area between the two opposing teams; the money was either thrown or placed together, usually being weighted down by a stone or stick. The side-bet was always based on the success of the bettor's team, and on the failure of the opposing side. Following the outcome of the play, on which the side-bet had been placed, the winner collected that amount initially wagered by himself plus an equal amount matched by his opposing partner.

The winning of the 'king' stick and thereby, the concluding of the initial play-off, signalled the commencement of the game. The leader of the team winning the initial play-off usually lay

the 'king' stick on the ground, immediately in front of him, but behind the percussion board. Occasionally, it was covered with a scarf or some other material. He then took both pairs of bones in his hands, at which point the participants on his team began to sing and the game action commenced.

At the outset, the leader of the mixing team usually held and mixed both pairs of bones in his hands. This was done in front of his body, no effort being made to conceal the hands. The leader also gestured with his body and/or hands and arms, holding the four bones together between both hands, and/or holding each pair separately with the hands apart and the arms outstretched and/or folded in front of and perpendicular to the body, or some other combination. The leader occasionally chose to roll the bones on the ground under the palms of his hands, and/or to blow on the bones while both pairs were between his hands. Further, the leader often began singing and beating on the percussion board before turning his attention to the bones (see Figure 14). After a minute or so had passed, the leader prepared to toss or pass both pairs of bones to two players on his team. These two players were chosen, by the leader, from those seated in front of his team, and he indicated his choice by a hand gesture, by reaching over and touching the intended mixer with his hand or with the bones, and/or by a nod of his head. This was followed by his tossing or passing one pair of bones (that is, one unmarked and one marked bone) to each of the two players (see Figure 15). The two players chosen, usually

Figure 14. Leader singing and beating percussion board prior to distributing bones. (Lummi Reservation, 1970).

Figure 15. Leader tossing one pair of bones to a player. (Cultus Lake, 1971).

sat one on either side of the leader, but not necessarily next to him. On rare occasions, the leader chose to mix one of the pairs of bones himself. Although the players to whom the bones were tossed usually accepted their leader's choice, they did have the alternative of not wishing to hold the bones, in which case, the leader chose another player and the bones were passed on to him. Occasionally, the leader chose one of the participants standing, as a supporter, behind the players; in this case, room was found among the seated participants for the new player. Both men and women participated as players, and at the discretion of the leader, mixed the bones. If a player, chosen to mix the bones, had been beating a drum or the percussion board, he ceased upon receipt of the bones, and either passed his drum or beating stick to an adjacent player, or placed them on the ground in front of or beside where he himself was sitting. Before mixing the bones, a player usually held them together, between his hands, or singly, one in each hand, gesturing with his hands and arms and/or showing the bones to the opposing team; occasionally, he tossed them in the air, both together or one after the other, and/or he blew on them, and/or rolled them between his palms and/or on the ground beneath his palms.

The bones were then mixed. They were held in the hands and mixed by rolling both bones between the palms of both hands and by interchanging the position of the bones from one hand to the other. During this process, the hands were concealed, so as to make it more difficult for the opposing team leader to

guess their position. The player holding the bones hid his hands and mixed the bones in a variety of ways: behind his back, under his shirt and/or jacket, beneath a blanket or piece of clothing resting on his knees, beneath or behind a scarf or hat resting on the top of the hands or held in the mouth, between the thighs (especially if the player was kneeling on the ground), behind an adjacent player, and/or behind a drum held and beaten by an adjacent player (see Figures 16 and 17). Each player had his own method by which he mixed the bones, and this was not necessarily the same as that of his team partner who was mixing the bones at the same time. Female players usually mixed the bones beneath a blanket or piece of clothing resting on the knees, or beneath or behind a scarf resting either on the top of the hands or held in the mouth. Although the players mixing the bones did not participate as percussionists, they did partake in the singing of their team's gambling songs. However, as the mixing process, which usually took some minutes, proceeded, the player's concentration on his mixing activities eventually eliminated him from the singing group.

After several minutes, the mixing of the bones ended, and the players brought their hands out of concealment, into view in front of their bodies. Although there was no pre-arranged signal between the two players mixing the bones, this action usually occurred more or less at the same time; when the hands appeared following the mixing process, one bone of the pair was concealed in each hand. When a player presented both hands to

Figure 16. Mixing bones
under a
sweater.
(Lummi Reser-
vation, 1971).

Figure 17. Mixing bones behind a drum.
(Lummi Reservation, 1971).

the view of his opponents, he usually kept his hands moving in a constant, rhythmical motion, usually referred to as 'shaking', until after the guess was made and the bones exposed. This action took several forms: the upper arm steady by the side, with the lower arms swinging full to the sides and then brought forward so that the fists almost touched; the arm bent at the elbow to form a right angle, with the arm swinging from the shoulder forward and backwards at the sides; the arms at the sides, but bent with the hands holding the bones vertically and moving up and down; the arms bent with the hands holding the bones more or less horizontally, with the palms of the hands turned to the ground, and with the arms moving slightly forward and back from the shoulders (see Figure 18); and/or a small variety of other similar motions. There were times, however, when players, after having presented both hands to the view of the opposing team, chose to keep their hands and arms motionless until the guess was made; (occasionally, the pointer, on the guessing team, indicated by gesture that this stance be taken). In this case, the player threw his arms in front of his chest, placing his hands upon them (see Figure 19), or held his arms at full length out in front of him with his hands some distance apart, or kept one hand on each knee. After several minutes, when the leader or his delegate from the opposing team was ready, a guess was made. The initial guess always tried for both pairs of bones. Following the guess, one or, usually, both of the hands of each player opened and the bone or bones revealed

Figure 18. 'Shaking' the bones (one method).
(Lummi Reservation, 1970).

Figure 19. Holding the bones motionless (one method).
(Lummi Reservation, 1970).

(see Figures 20 and 21). If the guess was correct for both pairs, then the two players holding the bones tossed them over to the opposing side. If the guess was wrong for both pairs, then the mixing team received two counters from the opposing (guessing) team which were tossed, by the leader of the guessing team, towards the leader of the mixing team, who then collected them and either placed them on the ground immediately in front of him, but behind his team's percussion board, and under a scarf if one was being used. Occasionally, he gave them to an adjacent player, usually a female, who usually wrapped a scarf around their lower portion, and then, holding them, moved them about in front of her in full view of her own and the opposing teams. If this were the case, then, following a change of turns, these counters were eventually placed behind the percussion board. If the guessing team guessed wrongly for both pairs, then the mixing team proceeded to mix the bones again. In this case, the bones did not usually go back to the team leader for redistribution, but were mixed again by the same two players. However, the leader occasionally redistributed either one or both pairs of bones, and he did so at this time. The player mixing the bones, following a wrong guess by the opposing team leader, held one or both bones in full view of both teams, and usually moved his arms about in gesture (see Figure 21). Following this brief action, the player got down to the business of again mixing the bones. If the opposing team leader guessed correctly for only one pair of bones, then the player, whose bones were thus

Figure 20. Revealing both bones following incorrect guess. (Cultus Lake, 1971).

Figure 21. Revealing one bone following incorrect guess. (Lummi Reservation, 1970).

guessed, tossed them over to the leader of the opposing team (see Figure 22). The player, whose bones were guessed incorrectly, either retained them to play again, or tossed them to his own leader for redistribution. For only one incorrect guess, the leader of the guessing team tossed over to the leader of the mixing team, only one counter. Counters were forfeited so long as incorrect guesses were made (see Figure 23). When both pairs of bones had been guessed correctly and thereby won by the guessing team, the play changed sides, and the former guessing team now became the mixing team, and the former playing team, the guessing team. If the leader of the guessing team consistently guessed incorrectly, especially for the remaining pair of bones, excitement mounted on the mixing side, and the player mixing the bones, occasionally, following an incorrect guess, passed the bones either back to the leader, or to some other player on this team (in this case, usually an older person), who, with hands in full view, held the bones between the palms of both hands, and/or blew on the bones, and/or rolled the bones on the ground underneath the palms of the hands with one bone under each palm (see Figure 24). Following this the bones were then returned to the player (see Figure 25) who recommenced mixing. (When I described to my Squamish informant this action, where an old woman received the bones from the mixer, blew on them and rolled them on the ground under her hands, before returning them to the mixer (see Figures 24 and 25), he remarked that she was giving them (the bones) the 'Indian' power, siy?i'n?.)

Figure 22. Tossing correctly guessed bones to other team. (Lummi Reservation, 1971).

Figure 23. Forfeiting counter to other team following incorrect guess. (Lummi Reservation, 1970).

Figure 24. Rolling the bones, on the ground, under the palms.
(Lummi Reservation, 1971).

Figure 25. Returning the bones to the mixer. (Lummi Reservation, 1971).

Side-betting occurred in the same manner as mentioned above. Such bets were usually placed by the supporters and spectators standing behind the row of players, and occasionally by the seated players. The two players mixing the bones and the leader normally did not participate in this activity. It was possible to place side-bets for each and every guess of the bones, whether for both pairs or for only one pair, and occasionally, this was the case throughout an entire game. When both pairs of bones were in play, then the opposing side-betting partners bet either on the success or failure of the guess for both pairs on one try.

The team mixing the bones sang gambling songs to the accompaniment of drumming and the beating of sticks upon the percussion board by the seated players. Other percussion, such as hand clapping, two beer cans, two rocks, or two wooden sticks being beaten together (see Figure 26), were also present. The drums were usually made of a round, bent wood frame some two to three inches wide, over one side of which deerskin was stretched; on the other side there were usually two lengths of wire running across the backside of the drum on two planes and attached to the rim of the frame. Where the two wires intersected, a cloth-like material was wrapped around the wires, to provide a more comfortable hand grip. The drums were beaten with a wooden drumstick; one end of the stick was bulbous and usually wrapped in some material such as cotton or leather. Anyone of the participants could contribute to the percussion

Figure 26. Two-stick percussion.
(Lummi Reservation,
1970).

sound, but it was usually those seated as players who were involved in this activity. In addition to the singing and percussion, there was a great deal of gesturing, sometimes accompanied by shouts, on the part of the participants. Gesturing took such forms as the moving of arms and hands and the imitating of the hand signals used in guessing the bones.

Occasionally, words of a taunting nature were shouted by the mixing team to the guessing team; one such word was qi'x-us - 'blind'. All this was designed to confuse and disconcert the guessing side.

There was some discrepancy in the information acquired regarding the gambling songs themselves. Observation indicated that the team leader or some other player or players on that team began both the singing and the percussion. Whatever the case, the leader appeared to play a prominent role with regard to this activity, and usually sang, drummed, or beat the percussion board just prior to his mixing the bones and subsequently tossing them to two of his players. Information obtained, through observation and subsequent interviews, indicated that anyone could start and/or sing a gambling song. However, one informant denied that this was so, and claimed that although anyone could join in singing a particular gambling song, that song was initiated only by its owner. Further, this informant was able to pick out, from a tape recording, one song owned by a particular family. Each team appeared to have a repertoire of gambling songs. (For some examples, see Figure 27.) This

a. (American side)

Handwritten musical notation for 'a. (American side)'. The first staff is in 4/4 time, starting with a whole note, followed by a triplet of eighth notes, and then a series of eighth notes. Below the staff, it says 'DRUMS + STICKS' with a rhythmic pattern of 'x x x x x x x x etc.'. The second staff is labeled 'TRANSITIONAL PASSAGE' and shows a change in time signature from 4/4 to 3/4, with notes and rests. The third staff continues the melody in 3/4 time, also labeled 'TRANSITIONAL PASSAGE'.

b. (Canadian side)

Handwritten musical notation for 'b. (Canadian side)'. The staff is in 4/4 time, featuring a series of eighth notes and a triplet. Below the staff, it says 'DRUMS + STICKS' with a rhythmic pattern of 'x x x x x x x x etc.'. The notation includes repeat signs at the beginning and end of the phrase.

c. (American side)

Handwritten musical notation for 'c. (American side)'. The first staff is in 4/4 time, featuring a series of eighth notes and a triplet. Below the staff, it says 'DRUMS + STICKS' with a rhythmic pattern of 'x x x x x x x x etc.'. The second staff continues the melody, showing a change in time signature from 4/4 to 3/4, with notes and rests.

Figure 27. Slahal songs. (Cultus Lake, 1969).
(Transcribed by W. Stuart).

was evident since many of the songs were repeated, even within any one game, with or without slight variation. During any one game, there were, occasionally, one or two songs which were repeated more often than the others. It was observed that these songs usually recurred when the mixing side was losing, and that such songs were again sung because they had been used formerly at a time when the side was winning. Consequently, it was hoped that these songs would again bring luck. At any one point during the singing, a player, or any number of players, often chose to change the song. In this case, the voice or voices of the player or players overrode those of the other singers; if only one player chose to change the song, he usually stood up and accompanied the change with loud drumming or beating. Further information acquired maintained that the gambling songs were not taught but rather learned through presence at the games. The pitch of the songs were higher and stronger at the beginning of any one play, and usually became lower and weaker just prior to the guessing of the bones. If the guess was incorrect, the songs again swelled up to a higher and stronger pitch. When both pairs of bones had been guessed correctly, the mixing team stopped singing, and the opposing team, whose turn it now was to mix the bones, began to sing their gambling songs.

The mixing team sang, drummed, and gestured, while, in marked contrast, the opposing, guessing team remained silent and, for the most part, still. Although the leader of the guessing team usually did the pointing, thereby guessing the

position of the bones, he occasionally chose not to guess, probably because he felt that his guess might be wrong, or because he had, several times before, guessed incorrectly. In this case, he either appointed another guesser, with the option of himself resuming the role at a later time, or he relinquished his leadership altogether. While the two players on the opposing team were mixing the bones, the guesser carefully studied both players, and during this time, occasionally conferred with a player next to him who in this respect, served as a 'second' to the guesser. The guesser, while studying the opposing team, went through a variety of gestures such as, for example, holding one arm across the chest with the elbow of the other arm resting on the hand of the folded arm and the chin resting in the hand of this other arm; both arms brought forward and bent at the elbow with clenched fists touching the forehead; one arm folded in front of but away from the chest, the hand of which is resting on the other arm which is outstretched perpendicular to the body; and so on. While the guesser was contemplating his move, a few participants on his team occasionally engaged in gesturing, in a silent attempt to mimic the kind of hand sign which the guesser might use to guess the position of the bones. Only after the two opposing, mixing players had presented both hands, each one concealing a bone, did the guesser begin to make his move. His initial movement was one of gesturing, as mentioned earlier, and of making sporadic, 'false' guesses. The two mixing players were aware of

these actions, especially since a false guess was quickly followed by further gesturing. When the final guess came, no gesturing followed, and in order that the two players definitely knew that they were to reveal the bones, the guesser gave some indication, usually a nod of the head. When both pairs of bones were in play, the guesser always guessed for the two pairs at once; that is, the one guess given covered both pairs.

All guesses were made by hand signals and represented the position of the bones as a 'mirror' image, as viewed by the guesser. As mentioned before, the guess was made for the two unmarked bones, and was based upon the relation of the bones to each other. Therefore, it was possible for the unmarked bones, one from each pair, to lie in any one of four ways. The unmarked bones lay to the right of the guesser or in the left hands of the mixers, to the left of the guesser or in the right hand of the mixers, in the centre or in neighbouring hands, or in the outer hands. Corresponding hand gestures or signals made by the guesser for guessing both unmarked bones at once were as follows (see Figures 28 a-d). The left arm of the guesser, being thrown across in front of, but away from, his chest, pointing to his right, fist closed but with index finger extended and the palm side of his hand facing toward his chest, or, the right arm extended in front of his body, fist closed but with index finger extended and palm toward the ground moving from immediately in front of his body out towards the right, indicated that the unmarked bones were to the right of

a.

or

b.

or

Figure 28 (a, b). Hand signals used when guessing for both pairs of unmarked bones.

C.

or

Figure 28 (c). Hand signals used when guessing for both pairs of unmarked bones.

Figure 28 (d). Hand signals used when guessing for both pairs of unmarked bones.

the guesser or in the left hands of the mixers (see Figure 28a). This gesture was reversed (see Figure 28b) when the guesser indicated that both unmarked bones were to his left or in the right hand of the mixers (see Figure 29). The right arm extended before the guesser, with the hand clenched and index finger pointing downwards, tx-mi'q'-s, palm turned either toward or perpendicular to the body, or, right arm extended but with palm exposed and hand extended and pointing downward, the hand parallel to the body, indicated that the unmarked bones were in the centre or in neighbouring hands (see Figures 28c and 30). The right hand held before the guesser, three fingers bent, with either index finger (usual), spiq'o, or fifth finger extended pointing left and thumb more or less upright and with the palm towards his chest, or with both right and left arms extended away from but respectively to the right and left of the body, with fists closed, index fingers extended, and palms towards the ground, indicated that the unmarked bones were being held in the outer hands (see Figure 28d). All gestures were sudden and quick, and at times, were accompanied by the guesser's other hand coming across and hitting his chest or the upper part of the arm doing the pointing (see Figures 29 and 30).

Following the guess, the bones were revealed. If the guesser was successful in locating the unmarked bones of both pairs, all four bones were then tossed over towards his team; the leader collected the bones from the ground and the former

Figure 29. Hand signal guess for both pairs of bones (one method). (Cultus Lake, 1971).

Figure 30. Hand signal guess for both pairs of bones (one method). (Cultus Lake, 1971).

guessing team then became the mixing team, and as such, began to sing as soon as the correct guess was verified. In this case, that is, when the guess was correct for both pairs, no counters were either forfeited or won. If the guesser was unsuccessful for both pairs, he tossed two counters over towards the leader of the mixing team, and then prepared to guess again for both pairs. If he guessed one pair correctly and the other incorrectly, the pair correctly guessed was tossed over to the guessing team, and for the pair guessed incorrectly, the guessing team forfeited one counter; the guesser then prepared to guess again, but this time for only one pair.

There were various methods of guessing for the final pair of bones. Here, the guesser usually held the pair already guessed correctly, and mixed them in his hands. His hands occasionally were concealed while he mixed the bones. When he was ready to make the guess, he usually held the bones, one in each closed hand, in front of him, with arms either bent or outstretched, opening up his hand or hands to reveal the position of either one or both bones (see Figures 31 and 32). The position indicated, by way of mirror image, the corresponding location and arrangement of the bones as held in the hands of the opposing player. That is, if the unmarked bone was in the guesser's left hand, the guess indicated that the corresponding unmarked bone was being held in the mixer's right hand. Alternatively, he occasionally placed the bones on the ground, one under each palm, and then lifted one or both hands to reveal the

Figure 31. Guess for
one pair of
bones.
(Cultus Lake,
1971).

Figure 32. Guess for one pair of bones.
(Cultus Lake, 1971).

bones' position. Again alternatively, he sometimes chose to guess for the one remaining unmarked bone with a simple hand gesture either to the right or left. In addition, while mixing the bones and prior to making the guess for the last pair, the guesser usually gestured with his hands and arms in a manner similar to that when guessing for both pairs; he occasionally blew upon the bones while mixing them in his hands. Guessing recurred until both pairs of bones had been guessed correctly, and subsequently transferred to the other team for their turn.

As indicated, score was kept through the loss and acquisition of counters. Although each team usually commenced with five counters, the number occasionally varied. In addition, the team winning the initial playoff acquired the 'king' stick. At the beginning of the game, the five or so counters were placed upright in the ground in front of each team's percussion board (see Figure 33). When the guessing team began losing, its leader drew counters from the team's original stand and tossed them over to the leader of the mixing team who, in turn, either placed them behind the percussion board, normally under a scarf or some other piece of clothing, or gave them to a player, usually a female, who held them in her hand and moved them about in full view of both teams. If the latter were the case, the counters were usually held in a scarf which was wrapped around the lower portions of the sticks. Nevertheless, the counters were eventually placed behind the percussion board, following the completion of the one play. The guessing leader

Figure 33. Position of counters at game commencement. (Cultus Lake, 1971).

Figure 34. Position of counters in tally keeping. (Lummi Reservation, 1970).

continued to draw counters from the original stand until the supply was depleted, in which case he then drew upon the resource of counters which his team had won from the opposition, and which lay behind the team's percussion board. However, if the guessing team had none of these, and the opposing mixing team still had counters from their original stand, upright in the ground, then subsequent losses, incurred by the guessing team, were recorded by the leader of the mixing team. Since each team played for the total number of counters (usually ten), originally divided in half - half (usually five) going to each of the two sides - an accurate tally was recorded in a number of ways. Here, for example, the leader of the mixing team moved the required number of counters, from his original stand, forward from their vertical position so that they pointed towards the guessing team, but still remained in the ground (see Figure 34). Alternatively, he moved the required number of counters from those in his original stand, placed them on the ground, in front of the upright counters, in the area between the two opposing teams. (Eventually, these counters were placed behind the mixing team's percussion board. This occurred when the play changed sides.) Occasionally, he removed those counters won, which were lying behind his team's percussion board, and arranged them in front of his upright counters again in the area between and in full view of the two opposing teams. When the leader of the mixing team had used up the remaining counters from his original stand of five, as an indication of the guessing

side's loss, and if the guessing side did not originally win the 'king' stick, then the game was over, and the team possessing all the counters won. On the other hand, if the guessing team did possess the 'king' stick, then it was the 'counter' for which the last play or gamble was made.

The foregoing has described only one method of scoring. The other, and probably that most commonly used today, involves the direct and continual loss of counters by the losing team. In this method, there are usually more than five counters on each side and the loss of all by one team signifies the loss of the game. Here, the opposing mixing team does not record losses incurred by the guessing team, as outlined above.

When all counters and the 'king' stick were on one side, that side won both the game and the 'pot' bet. The leader of the winning team collected the wager from the area between the two opposing teams, untied the scarf, and proceeded to distribute the winnings accordingly, on the basis of the information recorded at the time the bet was placed. Since winning and losing the initial wager was a double or nothing affair, those on the winning side, who had contributed to the initial wager, gained double the amount of their original bet. The winnings were usually distributed by the team leader, who called out the names of the contributors, who in turn came forward to collect their bets. Prior to or following the completion of the distribution of the winnings, bets were placed and booked for the next game. While this was being done, both teams had the opportunity of

taking a brief recess.

Today's Slahal game still has importance. The continuance of this game into the modern Indian circumstance must be attributed to social factors, such as the maintenance of intergroup ties, the establishment and endorsement of individual status, the sense of personal achievement through contribution to successful group action, and the reaffirmation of Indian identity. (Similar assessments were made in Kew (1970), Suttles (1963), and Joseph (1968).)

CHAPTER IV - POWER

The Coast Salish believe in the existence of supernatural powers which influence all levels of Salish life and which are given meaning as ontological expressions.

The Twana view of the world and its relations to human activities was based on explanations or interpretations of cause and effect utterly at variance with any mechanistic or materialistic scheme of causality. To the Twana most situations sprang recognizably and sometimes predictably from antecedent causes, but relations between antecedent and resultant situations were almost always conceived in terms of forces or agencies apart from observable physical causality. The Twana scheme was not capricious or uncontrollable; it was interpreted as causal and logical throughout, but not as mechanistic. (Elmendorf, 1960: 480)

The Twana concept of guardian spirits and spirit powers involved throughout the idea of magical causality, the directing of supernatural forces by well-defined practices to bring about effects which were in large part observable and physical conditions. (Elmendorf, 1960: 523)

Coast Salish gambling games are seen to be an expression of man's power affiliations. Specific gambling powers have influence on and become manifest through the gambling circumstance. Power is that attribute which is the difference between winning and losing, is that element which charges the outcome of each gambling event. The gambling games are thereby an endorsement of power favour, and are, in fact, examples of power in action.

What is 'power'?

It was generally reported that the Coast Salish believed that any individual human being could enter into a special kind of personal and potentially helpful relationship with one or more supernatural beings, forces or powers, usually referred to as 'guardian spirits'. Such guardian spirits were "named, describable entities which granted specific abilities or powers to human recipients" (Elmendorf, 1960: 491). Further, the "specific character of guardian spirits was shown by their distinction from other types of supernatural beings in terminology and concept, in their special partnership with human individuals, in their functions as helpers of their human owners, and in the special body of ritual observances and acts with which they were associated" (Elmendorf, 1960: 485).

Nevertheless, contradictions concerning these concepts and their inter-relationships exist. For example, Smith (1940: 56) stated that for the Puyallup-Nisqually, the supernatural was neither 'guardian' nor 'spirit', and in preference to these terms, the word 'power' was substituted. Here, in fact, the concept of the supernatural and that of power were synonymous. On the other hand, the term 'power' (Swja'm'), in Katzie usage was synonymous neither with 'guardian spirit' nor with the supernatural in general (Suttles, 1955: 6). Suttles continued,

It ['power'] is evidently sometimes conceived as an entity, but more often the term seems to mean simply "strength" or "ability" in a physical as well as a

spiritual sense and possibly derived from several sources. (Suttles, 1955: 6)

Subsequently, Suttles emphasized the necessity to

... distinguish among the several possible sources of "power": the s'x'/yə ("guardian spirit" in the usual usage; literally the term seems to mean "vision") the syəw'i'n' ("prayer" in Jenness's usage) and the təx'w'te'n (here "community ritual," literally "cleansing"). (Suttles, 1955: 6)

In the study of the Katzie which preceded that by Suttles (1955), Jenness (1955: 41) noted that the being that bestowed 'power' on a man was his 'guardian spirit', and was called his s'a'/yə. Although, as quoted above, Suttles acknowledged the term s'x'/yə as meaning 'guardian spirit' in general usage, his literal translation was 'vision'.

The conceptual relationships between 'guardian spirit' and 'vision', and between 'power' and 'vision' were substantiated elsewhere. For example, Elmendorf (1960:485) explained that although "there was no single general term in the Twana language for guardian spirit, the word nearest to an inclusive class term was s'x'/i'x'w, "that which one encounters in a vision experience," from α/i'x'w, "to obtain power from a guardian spirit in a vision-encounter" ". Similarly, the Squamish used the following terms: ʔə'li - 'dream', ʔi-ʔə'li - 'to dream'; s-ʔə'li - 'dream, vision, guardian spirit', s-ʔə'/i-s - 'see in dream', (Kuipers, 1967: 302, 388). The s-ʔə'li of the Squamish appeared identical to the s'x'/yə of the Katzie, and this relationship between 'guardian spirit' and 'vision' was

further confirmed by Kew (1970: 123) who stated that one Musqueam man defined the relationship between the human being and the supernatural force or power as " "... what you see in your dream" ".

The concept of 'power' will become more intelligible throughout the following discussions concerning the different kinds of power, the sources of power, the acquisition, demonstration and loss of power.

In general, for the Coast Salish, the ethnographic literature reported that usually two major classes of 'guardian spirits' were recognized: those conferring shamanistic powers, and those conferring non-shamanistic or 'lay' powers. In addition, Elmendorf (1960: 483) noted that there were, for the Twana, other 'supernatural beings' "not classed as or functioning as guardian spirits, but whose relations with human beings might have on occasion important and far-reaching effects". Further, a "large but definite number of supernatural beings whose relations to human beings were indifferent or occasional and accidental" were also included (Elmendorf, 1960: 484). On the other hand, Gunther (1927: 290) stated that among the Klallam there did not seem to be "a rigid distinction" between shamans' spirits and laymen's spirits, and the same spirit could have been of either kind. Yet again, even further removed from the two-class distinction, Olson (1936: 142) reported that shamans "did not constitute a class apart" as it was probably thought that every man was "his own shaman", and that a shaman "was

merely an ordinary individual who had been particularly fortunate in acquiring exceptionally potent guardian spirits".

Among those groups reportedly recognizing the two 'classes' of spirits (shamans' and laymen's), each interpreted these categories on the basis of slightly differing criteria.

Elmendorf (1960: 485, 487) reported that the Twana referred to those spirits conferring diagnostic and curing or shamanistic powers as swa'daš, and to those conferring non-shamanistic or 'lay' powers as c's'a'it, and that although the latter "conferred a great variety of different powers" all had in common the feature of "not permitting diagnosis or, except in rare cases, treatment of illness".

Elmendorf continued:

The two categories of shaman and lay powers involved almost wholly different sets of spirits. A very few shaman spirits, eg. cougar, raven, occasionally granted specific lay powers for war, hunting or gambling, instead of curing powers, but those cases were exceptional. Further, the acquisition, control, and use of shaman spirits required, ... a different set of ritual activities which proceeded according to a different sequence pattern from those associated with lay-spirit acquirement and use. The dichotomy of these two kinds of guardian spirits was profound and basic, reflecting real structural differences in the culture itself. (Elmendorf, 1960: 487)

Lay spirits "can be classified according to the type of being or object used by the Twana to describe the form of the spirit" (Elmendorf, 1960: 487), and spirit powers were further subdivided and grouped into numerous named categories according to their power functions. Included among the more important

=c'sa'lt or lay-spirit powers were wealth powers, war powers, soul-recovery powers, messenger powers, disk-game gambling powers (lahx' /), hand-game gambling powers (slaha' /), land-mammal hunting powers, sea-mammal hunting powers, and ceremonial powers (q'wa'xq) ("exhibited in levitation or animation of paraphernalia at ceremonies") (Elmendorf, 1960: 489-490). These 'ceremonial powers' were previously mentioned in the discussion on the disc game (above), where:

Skill in disk-game play was a function of the class of spirit powers designated as q'wa'xq, powers otherwise exhibited largely in ceremonial forms.
(Elmendorf, 1960: 238)

Elmendorf (1960: 490) further noted that "guardian spirits themselves, as distinct from their conferred powers and ceremonial functions, could not be neatly fitted into the power-classification scheme" and that "the same lay spirit might customarily confer two or more distinct powers, on different human recipients at different times". For example, Wolf spirit might have functioned as war power in one case and as hunting power in another; a few spirits usually conferring shaman power, might have occasionally granted some lay power, for example, cougar might have conferred either shaman or war powers. Although, spirits whose power fell into both categories (shaman and lay) were rare, "those granting two or more kinds of named lay powers were numerous" (Elmendorf, 1960: 490-491).

Elmendorf (1960: 487) recorded that this primary distinction of shaman and lay spirits or spirit powers was

common to other groups in the general geographical region of the Twana.

Thus, to the Twana swa'das and c'ša't corresponded the Straits Salish (Klallam) terms sx^wna'm and stk'e'yin, and the Puget Sound sx^wda'b and skə/detut. Both the Twana and the Puget Sound terms for lay-spirit power show an etymological connection with the words in these languages for "dream, dreaming" (Twana, c'a'šalt), although the experience of guardian-spirit acquisition (α/ε'x^w) was not interpreted by the Twana as dreaming. (Elmendorf, 1960: 487)

This last observation was of particular interest in view of the earlier discussion (above) regarding the conceptual interpretations of guardian spirits and power.

Elmendorf concluded by recapitulating:

...guardian spirits were named, describable entities, which granted specific abilities or powers to human recipients. There was a native classification of spirit powers into two major categories of shaman and lay, the latter sub-divided into numerous further power categories. Major distinctions in associated rituals and ceremonial acts accorded with native power classification. Spirit-power functions were not exhausted by the classification, which included only the more important powers and the better-defined ceremonial forms. Finally, the power classification was not also a formal classification of spirits, but of the power functions and ceremonial functions of spirits. More than one of these functions might be inherent in or granted by a single spirit. (Elmendorf, 1960: 491)

Gunther (1927: 289 ff.) made no mention of the Straits Salish (Klallam) terms sx^wna'm and stk'e'yin, as recorded by Elmendorf (1960: 487). As noted above, the Klallam did not seem to make a rigid distinction between shamans' and

laymen's spirits and that the same spirit may have been either one or the other. Gunther continued:

It is not the kind of spirit but the manner in which it is acquired that determined whether it can be used for curing.
(Gunther, 1927: 290)

Nevertheless, Gunther (1927: 291) maintained that some of the layman's spirits may be used in curing. For the Klallam, nearly all spirits were believed "to bestow wealth or some power by which wealth and prestige may be obtained" (Gunther, 1927: 291). Although unnamed, Gunther (1927: 274) recorded that there were spirit powers which gave help in gambling, and that the sun was especially powerful for this, as well as for the accumulation of wealth; a "person who received power from the sun could not be overcome by any shaman" (Gunther, 1927: 291).

Unlike Gunther's 1927 monograph, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) distinguished the two kinds of spirits for the Puget Sound, in similar terms as recorded by Elmendorf (1960: 487). Here, shamanistic spirits were x^udā'b and lay spirits, sklaletot (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 67). Shamanistic spirits helped their owners effect cures and were believed to have possibly been 'dangerous'. On the other hand, lay spirits either brought luck in the acquisition of wealth, and thereby, rank, or were war spirits conferring success in war. Lay spirits were considered 'harmless' (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 67). Further, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 68) reported that in the "realm of spirits there was reflected the social

system of their believers", that, in general, a "powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank", and that "a person of low rank usually got only a small spirit". Here also, spirits which conferred assistance in gambling were listed among those bestowing 'lay' powers. For example, q!wo'xq!, a spirit "known to the Snuqualmi and Snohomish", helped to catch deer, to cure its owner when ill, and in gambling; it lived in the mountain, travelled around the world, and had a pole and a feather hat (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 71). The spirit, ts!a'q, acquired more often by women than by men, helped women make good baskets and mats, thereby making them wealthy, and helped men in hunting and fishing; it also travelled around the world, and had a house and a servant; to those individuals seeking this spirit, ts!a'q gave various kinds of implements, which included gambling sticks (Haeberlin and Gunther, 1930: 71). Under the power category of "Spirits for acquiring property", probably analogous to the 'wealth power' categories found in other sources, Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 74) listed q!vo'xqen, which consisted of two spirits (both called by the same name), one travelling by land and the other in a canoe by water, these "were not powerful, but good for bringing wealth"; the water spirit, having no house, travelled around looking for wealth to bestow on that individual with this power, and having no servants, it met the seeker himself; the land spirit had the same powers; the individual who had this spirit "could gain wealth easily, especially by gambling".

Smith, who, as mentioned earlier, reported that the supernatural, for the Puyallup-Nisqually was neither 'guardian' nor 'spirit', and substituted instead the term 'power' (1940: 56), documented two kinds of power: sqalálitut and t'dáb (1940: 58). t'dáb was "the regular word for shaman and it indicated, at the same time, the powers of shamans and of warriors" (Smith, 1940: 60). The shaman's activities were "always defiantly competitive but, with the exception of the curing ceremony, his sorcery was carried on under apparently normal and pleasant social conditions without ceremonial or magical adjuncts"; a shaman "had the ability to control the movements" of his own or "of other shamans' powers, with similar resultant effect upon health" (Smith, 1940: 60). Further, a shaman "could send his power, or it could wander without his volition, in search of powers weaker than itself which it might conquer", thus resulting in constant struggles between powers such that every accident or misfortune "was viewed in the light of such attempts" (Smith, 1940: 60-61). Any element of personal aggression was considered t'dáb; therefore, warriors were t'dáb because "in them these elements were stronger than the sqalálitut which was characteristic of the leader" (Smith, 1940: 62).

Nevertheless, although t'dáb powers had wide distribution "in the average person", they were "overbalanced and held in check by the possession of stronger sqalálitut" (Smith, 1940: 62).

Sqalálitut consisted of any of those powers which

"differentiated personalities or was connected with the enhancement of prestige", which included powers having to do with "general wealth accumulation", such that individuals "with wealth power were lucky in economic pursuits, the particular nature of their profession or special skills being determined by other of their powers" (Smith, 1940: 59).

Further, "many of the sqx la'litvt powers were related to ceremonial"; powers "related to personality traits found no expression in ceremonial", and those "connected with economic success or with wealth had, likewise, their main ceremonial expression in the giving away of goods upon the occasion of a ceremony instigated by another person" (Smith, 1940: 59).

Smith continued:

There was, further, a whole group of phenomena, constituting out of the ordinary occurrences such as the appearance of salmon trout out of season or the unusually successful accomplishment of some ordinary act, which took place without reference to ceremony and which were explained as manifestations of power. These are related with great relish and prestige was enhanced by them as well as by occurrences at ceremonies. Ceremonies often involved an open competition for prestige. The disc gamble and other power rivalries such as the challenge of eating power...might, indeed, effect an immediate and direct realignment of social and economic forces. (Smith, 1940: 59-60)

As did Elmendorf (1960: 487), Smith (1940: 58-59) also made a linguistically oriented observation which again was of particular interest in its relation to the earlier discussion (above) involving the conceptual interpretations of guardian spirits and powers: the term sqx la'litvt was linguistically

related to sqa'at - "dream", but "dreams were not related to power" and the "trance of the power quest was nothing like sleeping, dreams themselves furnished no powers nor likelihood of power".

Unlike the above sources, Smith (1940: 68), in presenting a list of powers, made no attempt "to separate shaman power from other types of power since any such separation would be inaccurate as well as artificial". Within this list is found: "Chicken hawk. A good gambler" (Smith, 1940: 68). Although there was only the one direct reference between a specific, named power, chicken hawk, and gambling, there were indications here, as elsewhere, that success in gambling was related to wealth powers; here, tió'tlax (Smith, 1940: 71), was the strongest and thereby, the most desirable.

Suttles' monograph on the Coast Salish of the Haro and Rosario Straits also reported two major types of spirits: shamans' spirits, x'wne'm, and laymen's spirits, s'a'li'a (mainland dialects) or skwin'agot (Vancouver Island) (1951: 328). Power bestowed by spirits "ranged from longevity, good health and general well-being to special abilities which lead to specialization" for example, "in hunting or fishing, in crafts, in the control of ceremonial paraphernalia, or in the control of spirits and souls" (Suttles, 1951: 328). According to Suttles (1951: 339), perhaps the principal thing which set the shaman apart from the layman was "his ability to see and grasp souls and powers". (Similarly, the Musqueams also believed that the shaman had

these same abilities and powers. (Kew, 1970: 125).) Here, as in other Coast Salish areas, curing was also a function of the shaman's power. The shaman's spirit "resided in his body except when it left on some errand" (Suttles, 1951: 328). Certain kinds of layman's spirits conferred powers on individuals which "led to specialization as seeresses, mediums, gamblers, warriors and probably others" (Suttles, 1951: 328). Suttles (1951: 311) presented only one piece of documentary evidence naming a specific gambling power source, in which he reported that a certain Lummi man, (Cawicet), the son of a warrior, "began as a shaman" and then "became a gambler"; he had "a shaman's power from si'nzqi (a two-headed serpent), a wealth power from the sun, and a power from a black diving duck which was either a wealth power or a gambler's power"; the man "became wealthy, mainly through gambling".

It was of interest to note here that there appeared to been a relationship between gambling and wealth powers (mentioned before), that the sun was a source of wealth and/or gambling powers (see also Gunther, 1927: 274), and that any individual could have had more than one power and that these powers could have been of the shaman and/or layman kind (to be mentioned again).

In addition, Jenness (1955: 55) listed "Small Black Water-bird of Unidentified Species" (the Katzie name being Sq^wa'q^wac'), as a source for wealth-gambling powers:

Since this bird was generally the first to discover objects floating on the sea and called all other birds to the banquet, it

(X) had power to give its protégés great wealth so that they, too, could invite their countrymen to potlatches. (Jenness, 1955: 55)

In a relevant footnote, Jenness (1955: 55) noted Suttles' (1955: 5) reference to this particular species of bird probably as having been the murrelet; Suttles (1955: 5) reported that this bird was "the guardian-spirit of the Lummi man Ca'wicut", and probably was the same bird referred to in his 1951 monograph as "black diving duck" (Suttles, 1951: 311).

As already mentioned, Olson (1936: 142) reported that, for the Quinault, shamans "did not constitute a class apart", but rather, were ordinary individuals "who had been particularly fortunate in acquiring exceptionally potent guardian spirits". The "average man controlled spirits which aided him in hunting"; in addition, there were "spirits which were wealth-giving", and others which enabled individuals "to be successful at whaling, in war, or gambling" (Olson, 1936: 141). The most potent of the spirits which could be controlled were those whose powers were primarily useful for curing, some of these, however, effecting malevolence; also potent were those spirits known as tcita'kwikule "(he who comes from the dead place)" who were adept in the search for lost souls "who have started toward the land of the dead" (Olson, 1936: 145-146). Olson (1936: 150) documented five gambling power spirits: laa'opat ("sit down"), who sat down; tsele'utnisam ("kneels"), who knelt; toat'kala'xuts ("collar bone"), who was headless; ekwata'topat ("lie down"), and xwik'la'lasuk ("stand up"), who stood up. The "owners of the first two always assumed the

pose of the spirit (sitting or kneeling) while gambling" (Olson, 1936: 150). In addition, Olson (1936: 150) recorded that, in one particular case, the spirit, xwik²la'lasuk, came to its owner "in the form of a salmonberry bird (Skwit)".

Similarly, Kew (1970) did not distinguish between different kinds of power, and stated (1970: 125) that the powers of the Sx^wne'm, "Indian doctor", were "of the same order of supernatural relationship as those possessed by any dancer". Kew (1970: 123), recognizing the s'a'lyə as the "supernatural force or power", the "guardian spirit of the literature", or as "one's vision", noted that this "supernatural force or partner" (s'a'lyə) conferred upon the individual "at the time of his visions, a syə'wan". The syə'wan was spoken of "as if it were a force residing within the individual and occasionally possessing him" (Kew, 1970: 124), and as such the syə'wan was believed to mean 'power'. Further, "the syə'wan might confer special abilities to achieve success in everyday life or in fishing, hunting, gambling, and so on" (Kew, 1970: 126).

The Squamish distinguished between s-na'ʔm, the power possessed by the sx^oʔu'mtn ('medicine man/shaman/Indian doctor'), and siy^ʔi'nʔ, the 'magic' power possessed by a k^ociʔc ('person with magic power') (Kuipers, 1967: 287, 294, 340, and 1969: 62). Although Kuipers (1969: 57) recorded that sna'ʔm, the power proper to the sx^oʔu'mtn, is "exercised through dancing and singing", while siy^ʔi'nʔ, the power proper to a k^ociʔc, is "exercised through words", the

sləp'ɪnʔ was the power referred to when the Squamish talked of 'spirit dancing' and 'spirit singing' (reference: field notes), the latter of which included special songs which were owned by individuals and which carried a specific power, to give, for example, success in a gambling venture. (More will be said about 'spirit power' songs later.) For the Squamish, the sləhi'l, gambling power, was generally referred to as s-k'a'-k'ɪtʃ (reference: field notes), (from k'a'-k'ɪtʃ - 'to gamble'), literally translated as the "bone used in gambling game" (Kuipers, 1967: 291, 293, 339). Kuipers (1967: 291) also mentioned that sləhi'l was the "West Coast word" for k'a'-k'ɪtʃ. Nevertheless, a Squamish informant made the following references: "...he had the gift of sləhi'l, s-k'a'-k'ɪtʃ, ... they said that was his help", and, "... he gave him the sləhi'l, the s-k'a'-k'ɪtʃ, and that's the way he was going to earn his living, he was going to be a professional gambler..." (reference: field notes).

The importance of supernatural powers cannot be underestimated in view of Coast Salish life and belief. To the Coast Salish, spirit help, through the acquisition and control of supernatural power, was "the great necessity, since without it man was impotent" (Elmendorf, 1960: 481). All human successes and failures were explained in terms of personal relations or lack of relations with supernatural powers:

Human beings unaided by spirit power
were poor, weak, miserably ineffective,
their efforts in any direction foredoomed

to failure. With the help of powers conferred by supernatural beings they could attain to a high degree of individual success and excellence in technical skills or other lines of endeavor. (Elmendorf, 1960: 481)

Since every individual characteristic and culture complex "was understood and was thought to operate through power" (Smith, 1940: 56), the "concept of guardian spirits and their relations to man furnished a framework of explanation capable of accounting for, or rationalizing, most of the important facts of human life" (Elmendorf, 1960: 482).

Power "was obtained through questing or it came unsought" (Suttles, 1951: 327); occasionally, it was inherited. Questing, the usual method of acquiring power, involved a training process which began in childhood and continued through to early adulthood. Such training included acts of cleansing and purification of both the body exterior and interior through cold water bathing, scrubbing and by fasting, through physical privation, and by frequenting isolated or lonely places, remote from the village, and occasionally, being those spots where spirits were believed to visit, or being specific places where specific spirits were known to inhabit. In addition, training also involved the observance of a variety of taboos.

Emphasis in training was from the outset on laying the basis for a later successful spirit quest by the novice. The essential requirements were seriousness of attitude or mental concentration, and ritual purity of the novice. These were the mental and physical prerequisites to attracting the favorable attention of guardian spirits

of any kind. (Elmendorf, 1960: 492)

The emphasis placed on the degree of training involved in the questing method of power acquisition, ranged between such apparent extremes as expressed, for example, by Olson (1936: 143) who reported, for the Quinault, that the "supernatural helpers which came to a man in his youth could be acquired only by means of prolonged ritual", and by Smith (1940: 57), who noted that, for the Puyallup-Nisqually, "special quests were sometimes undertaken but were not necessary, there being a consistent attitude, shown also toward leaders, that the greatest reward came not to persons who made terrific efforts to receive it but to persons naturally equipped", and as such, "people were strong because of their power and strong people got more or stronger powers". The difference between these two accounts appeared to have been the result of differing attitudes involving, on the one hand, the quest for a specific power:

From earliest childhood he was impressed with the necessity of obtaining shamanistic power. Over and over he would be told that distinction in hunting, in gambling, or in any other pursuit depended on it.
(Olson, 1936: 143)

A youth who especially desired to get the ocean spirit walked along the beach...
(Olson, 1936: 145)

and, on the other hand, the acceptance that the individual had to "'take what came to him'" (Smith, 1940: 58). However, it was possible that both attitudes could be maintained where strong emphasis lay on pre-quest training:

Often it was not known by the seeker what type of spirit might appear to him, although purposive quests specifically for shaman spirits might be made.
(Elmendorf, 1960: 502)

Although apparently differing accounts existed, the Coast Salish usually adhered to the combining of the two attitudes, that is, training, normally lengthy in duration, was a prerequisite to the acquisition of power, and that the actual spirit quest could be for an unspecified or a specified power. Nevertheless, it was generally believed that power, obtained through questing, "could ensure outstanding success in practically any field" (Duff, 1952: 97).

Further, Elmendorf (1960: 491) recorded that although the "most frequent or normal method", whereby the individual "acquired control of and received power benefits from a guardian spirit", involved a "series of patterned activities extending over a considerable part of his childhood, adolescence and early maturity", these activities "formed complexes of traits which followed each other in a regular order at different periods in the individuals lifetime"; as such, they "constituted a sequence pattern of complexes, each of which had to be manifested in behaviour in order to bring about appearance or expression of the subsequent complex". Elmendorf subsequently documented the sequential pattern as applied to lay-spirit powers (c'sa't):

The sequent complexes in this normal pattern of guardian-spirit acquisition may be formulated as: (1) training of novice; (2) guardian-spirit quest; (3) vision encounter of spirit;

(4) suppression or dormancy of vision experience; (5) spirit dance, ceremonialization recall, exhibition and control of encountered spirit. (Elmendorf, 1960: 491)

Similarly, the sequence pattern as applied to shaman spirit powers (swa'das'), differing from that of lay-spirit power acquisition, was also recorded:

For shamans the sequent complexes were:
(1) training of novice; (2) spirit quest;
(3) vision encounter, with true bodily possession of novice by the spirit;
(4) continued uncontrolled possession of novice by spirit, manifested in displays of magic power by novice;
(5) a control period, during which the uncontrolled possessing power abated and the possessed novice shaman obtained purposive use of it; (6) direct use by the new shaman of his controlled power in curing or malignant victimizing. (Elmendorf, 1960: 501)

Both the lay power and shaman power sequent complexes, as listed above, were similarly, but not so concisely, recorded elsewhere for groups other than the Twana.

As mentioned above, power also came unsought. Power received in this manner came through various means and for various reasons. For example, Duff (1952: 97) recorded that certain individuals "were born with supernatural abilities to see souls and ghosts, see what is occurring in distant places, and foretell the future". Power also came unsought "to those who would not normally have been considered fit subjects" (Smith, 1940: 58). Similarly, power was conferred, as a gift, upon particular individuals: "...it [s-k'a'-k'itx'] was given to him as a gift because he was

disabled" (reference: field notes). Occasionally, it came unbidden if "one accidentally became receptive" (Smith, 1940: 58). An individual who controlled "a score of spirits" did not need to go in quest of each (Olson, 1936: 143). In addition, Olson (1936: 143) inferred that guardian spirits came, in this way, during the later years of an individual's life. Further, Kew (1970: 123) noted that power might have been "conferred upon or induced to come to an individual" by the action of persons who already had such a spirit.

Unsought power "was also obtained through inheritance, the spirit owned by an ancestor coming to the person possibly without his even wanting it" (Suttles, 1951: 327). Dead relatives' spirits were also inherited, again unsought by the recipient (Elmendorf, 1960: 498) (Olson, 1936: 145). Children "who were thought to look or act like deceased relatives were said to have been visited by that relative's power" (Smith, 1940: 57). Smith (1940: 116) continued by documenting "a sort of prearranged inheritance consummated only at death" which involved the transfer and possession of power through c'yo'k', ceremonial objects; the recipient of c'yo'k' "had usually played an important role in the donor's power demonstrations for a long time". Elmendorf (1960: 498) maintained that power "inherited from the dead did not represent a specific kind of guardian spirit or of spirit powers, but merely a relatively rare method of getting spirit power, lay or shaman". Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 67) recorded that among the Snohomish, "a boy usually got the

spirit that had been in his family before, either in the paternal or maternal line". Elmendorf (1960: 499) spoke in similar terms in relation to a specific Skokomish family, and then concluded that the "existence of a pattern of spirit inheritance within a kin line made it possible for certain powerful spirits to become a valuable sort of family property, recurring spontaneously generation after generation and in some cases limited to a particular kin group".

Generally, for the Coast Salish, power, in theory, came to "anyone who was physically clean and pure" (Smith, 1940: 56-57), or "to the sufferer" (Suttles, 1951: 327). This applied to both boys and girls, men and women, although it was usually the case that girls "did not search for supernatural powers as assiduously as boys" (Olson, 1936: 141). According to Suttles (1951: 327), power "was also obtained by older persons, especially during ritual purification after some crisis or during grief after some tragedy". However, there appeared to have been divergent opinions regarding the status of the recipients of power in general, and of specific types of power. Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 67, 68) maintained that "powerful spirits only came to men who could fast long and endure many hardships", and that such powerful spirits "would appear only to a man of high rank" while "a person of low rank usually got only a small spirit". In addition, Elmendorf noted the following:

23 The spirit-power factor in social evaluation connects with social-class distinctions in terms of an ideology which

explains all individual success, and indeed the outcome of most human actions, as the result of possession and use of guardian spirits. Differences in social performance between lower-and upper-class persons could hardly escape explanation in these terms.

...an individual's relation to his guardian spirit was the 'sine qua non' of all social attainment. For fullest exercise of upper-class prerogatives the acquirement of a guardian spirit of a particular type, one of the class of "wealth powers" (*s'iya'lt*), was vitally necessary. The principal function of this class of spirits was to provide the wealth and good fortune necessary to social prestige. Wealth powers could ordinarily only be acquired by persons of "good birth" who had been rigorously trained for the spirit quest. ...Wealth powers were thus by their nature powers possessed only by upper-class persons, and the behavior of the wealth spirit itself in conferring power only on the upper class was interpreted in terms of the social-evaluation factors of birth and training of the human seeker. (Elmendorf, 1960: 334)

On the other hand, Gunther (1927: 289) stated that the "best spirits" were acquired by "orphans and others who have fared badly socially, for they will make the greatest effort", and as such, through the securing of a powerful helper, individuals improved their social status. The Quinault believed that "even those of noble blood could not aspire to great things and were likely to lose their wealth and prestige" without supernatural aid, and that a poor man "of low caste" could "rise to a position of wealth and influence if he controlled or owned potent helpers from the other world" (Olson, 1936: 141). Individuals who were "dirty, slovenly, untrained, without important family connections" occasionally "got good power"

and became influential men" (Smith, 1940: 58).

But poor-boy-meets-spirit-and-makes-good stories are numerous and some of them are told of actual people, so we may assume that a man without inherited fishing sites and without ritual knowledge could also become wealthy and attain high status. (Suttles, 1958: 501).

"Power was obtained in a vision or a dream" (Suttles, 1951: 327). Although 'dream' was one of the mediums through which power came to the individual, the comments concerning the state of 'dreaming' noted above (Elmendorf, 1960: 487; Smith, 1940: 58-59, footnote) were taken here into relative and analytical consideration. Both Elmendorf and Smith made linguistic comparisons between the terms for the lay-spirit type of power and the 'dream/dreaming' state. In addition, the Squamish term s-pə'li, meaning 'dream, vision, guardian spirit' was etymologically linked with that of pə'li, 'dream' (Kuipers, 1967: 302, 388); further, Kew (1970: 123) made mention of the Musqueam relation between supernatural power and what was seen in one's dreams. In addition, Densmore (1943: 67) recorded an old song "concerning a man who dreamed about slahal bones", and that in the dream the man may have been told "how he might become a successful player". Stern (1934: 70) also mentioned that gambling spirit songs were acquired in a dream. Further, Duff (1952: 103) reported that the spiritual vision encounter experience was called a dream (su/ia). Although Elmendorf (1960: 487) and Smith (1940: 58-59, footnote) maintained that the experience of guardian-spirit or power acquisition was neither related

to nor interpreted as 'dreams/dreaming', evidence from other sources seem to have supported an opposing position, whereby the dream-state was validated as a legitimate mechanism for the acquisition of supernatural powers. These discrepancies may have been merely the result of differences in linguistic translation and interpretation, or they may have signified real differences between ethnic groups and each group's individual belief in the supernatural.

Nevertheless, relevant ethnographic evidence reported that power was generally obtained through a vision encounter with a 'spirit' or 'power source'. In addition, the vision appeared to have been experienced while the individual was in, for example, an awake-like, a dream-like, or a trance-like state. Occasionally, an individual passed through more than one of these states in the vision encounter process.

Contact with the spirit took the form of a vision experience. This was the initial vision encounter (ᠰᠢᠨᠵᠢᠨᠠᠨ) whereby a spirit established personal relations with his human partner.

.....
The vision, in an active, waking state, was not sharply distinguished from a trance, an hallucination in a semi-conscious state. The latter was the reported condition of the spirit seeker during most of the experience resulting from the appearing of a spirit, but the experience usually began as a true vision, a wakeful, delusional appearance. (Elmendorf, 1960: 494)

Elmendorf continued by analyzing vision encounters into stages:

(1) the seeker first hears or sees a supernatural manifestation, or the spirit

itself; (2) he then behaves ritually, walks up to the manifestation, embraces it, puts his hand in its mouth, and so on; the ritual action varying with different spirits; (3) the seeker then goes into a true trancea state compared to dying but conceptually and terminologically distinct, in which the spirit appears in human form, transports the seeker to its house, and shows him symbols of the powers it will grant, and sings him a song which the seeker will afterwards use in calling on the spirit or in demonstrating ceremonially his possession of it; (4) the seeker "comes to".....in the spot where the vision encounter began. (Elmendorf, 1960: 494-495)

This process, whereby an individual, undergoing a vision-encounter, was transported to the home of the spirit or power in order to receive information through instruction and observation, to be taught specific songs and dances, and to be given or to make certain paraphernalia, appeared to have been the general case for the Coast Salish. Such songs, dances, paraphernalia, behaviour, and so on, acquired in this manner, constituted "the outward manifestations of the relationship" between individual and supernatural force (Kew, 1970: 123-124).

However, Smith (1940: 58) reported that, although, theoretically, "power was received in a trance", whereby the recipient became "like a dead body", was "transported to the "home" of a power" for the purpose of receiving information, and then was "retransported either to the same or another spot", this behaviour "applied only to a few powers", and rather, "extraordinary but not hallucinatory experience was indicated". Smith (1940: 58) concluded that, from "the individual point of view any queer or out of the ordinary

experience, whether had under the conditions of asceticism enjoined by the quest or during the pursuit of everyday occupations, might communicate power". This concept was reiterated by Gunther (1927: 298) who noted that any "unusual experience at any time may bring with it a vision". Olson (1936: 144) recorded that the vision itself "was terrifying in nature".

As noted occasionally throughout previous discussions, special spirit songs were conferred upon individuals normally at the time of the vision encounter experience. According to Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 67), a feature "common to all spirits" was that they had songs, "each spirit having words and tunes of his own". Spirits "gave to their owners songs which when sung brought the power conferred into full play" (Suttles, 1951: 328). Suttles continued:

A shaman's spirit gave its owner a song, (SK^wana'san).certain kinds of layman's spirits gave their owners songs which could be used as shamans' songs were used. These were the powers which led to specialization as seeresses, mediums, gamblers, warriors and probably others. These type of songs each had separate names. Certain other laymen's spirits gave their owners songs called SIV'an, which I shall call simply spirit songs. Because the songs of shamans and other specialists were essential to the operation of the spirits of these specialists, these songs were sung whenever needed. (Suttles, 1951: 328)

Further, Suttles (1951: 357) maintained that the spirit song was "conceived as being something more than a vocal performance", and that it had "a permanent existence as a spiritual entity,

perhaps even as a physical entity". As such, it stayed "within the body of its owner" and may have moved "around within its owner's body" (Suttles, 1951: 357). The general notion, according to Suttles (1951: 363), was that because a song existed "as an individual entity", it could not "be present in more than one person at a time", although there were instances of "something very close to the possession of the same song, through inheritance, by several persons at the same time". In accordance with this notion, songs acquired through spiritual means were considered, not only to be closely connected with power, but also personal, and as such, at ceremonies, "anyone who had a song might start singing it, then it was taken up by the second or song leader and finally, by all of the people who were present" (Smith, 1940: 102). Whatever the case, such songs could only be started by the owner of the song. Further, at a potlatch, groups of individuals having the same guardian spirit, sang their songs together; although two people may have had "an experience with the same spirit", they did "not necessarily get the same song"; the tunes may have been alike but the words were always different. (Gunther, 1927: 290). Occasionally it appeared that certain spirit songs, carrying specific powers, were sung at times when such powers were not in play. For example:

The drum beat in Twana hand-game songs was similar to that of the shaman-power songs used in diagnosis (ywa'd.ab), but faster; the melody in some was reminiscent of shaman songs. Any shaman could use his shaman-power (su'daš) song for playing the hand game. However, most hand-game

songs were distinct, used only in the game and never for doctoring.
(Elmendorf, 1960: 244)

Again, as mentioned above spirit songs were usually acquired at the time of the vision encounter experience. Duff, however, documented four ways by which spirit songs were acquired:

The first was by unsolicited seizure during the winter dancing season, resulting in a dream or vision experience in which a song was learned, and usually followed by four days' training and a "run" in the forest "to get the complete song". The second was similar, except that the seizure or "fit" did not come unsolicited, but was induced by the actions of older dancers. The third and fourth could occur at any time during the year: the song was learned in an ordinary dream, or was heard emanating from some natural object such as a tree in the forest. (Duff, 1952: 103)

Further, Suttles (1951: 357) recorded an account which stated that the spirit song came when one was sleeping and that one then woke up hollering, in that it "comes on your breath and makes you holler". In addition Gunther (1927: 277) reported that spirit songs, such as those belonging to professional gamblers, were acquired not only through a spiritual experience, but also through inheritance.

Power came from a wide variety of sources, a number of which have been specifically mentioned above, and usually appeared, during the vision encounter experience, in a variety of forms. Generally, "the sources of spirit power were living things, natural objects, natural forces, monsters, and, rarely, even man-made objects", and usually were "what we would regard

as living creatures" (Suttles, 1951: 327). Suttles (1951: 331) continued by stating that shamans "got their powers from living things, things that we would call inanimate, and things that we would call supernatural". According to Elmendorf (1960: 487), "the majority of lay spirits represented some living species of animal". Although Suttles (1951: 327) stated that mythological beings "were not sources of power", Elmendorf (1960: 488) reported that a number of spirits "were purely mythical beings, anthropomorphic or of uncertain physical form", and that this category included those spirits conferring wealth, war and a few other powers. Further, shaman powers were "mythical monsters of extraordinary potency" (Elmendorf, 1960: 500). Smith (1940: 59) reported that the lay-type of spirit power, sqal'd'itut, interpreted as "powers which differentiated personalities or was connected with the enhancement of prestige", might have been "either animal or abstract". Similarly, shaman and warrior, t'da'b, were also connected "with either animal or abstract powers" (Smith, 1940: 62). Olson (1936: 141) recorded that spirits "which came from the land of the dead seem to have been the commonest type", and that others might have been "powers of the air, monsters, or other creatures". Continuing, Olson (1936: 142) maintained that with "the possible exception of powers which came from submerged logs, from forked trees, or from the bones of the dead", "all spirits and powers were personified", "ageless, usually sexless, and never died". Although there seems to have been some correlation of spirit

and ability or power conferred, for example, "a certain man with a blackfish spirit was a sea-mammal hunter and a certain man with a wolf spirit hunted deer" (Suttles, 1951: 330), this was not always the case.

As mentioned, power usually appeared during the vision experience in a number of forms. Generally, at the outset of the vision encounter, the spirit appeared to the seeker in its original, natural form, and then "assumed human form as the vision experience progressed" (Elmendorf, 1960: 494). This state normally persisted until the seeker had received the information or instruction and paraphernalia conferred upon him, and had learned the song and dance performed by the spirit, following which the spirit "turned into its "true" form of animal, bird, fish, etc., and disappeared" (Duff, 1952: 103).

Following the vision encounter, there usually was a period of time, perhaps lasting several years, during which the spiritual experience was 'supressed'. A seeker, who had obtained spirit power was "expected to "forget" the vision encounter until the occasion of his first repossession by the spirit at a winter spirit dance" (Elmendorf, 1960: 495). On the other hand, Suttles (1951: 329) reported that specialists (seeresses, mediums, gamblers, warriors, and others) "apparently began to use their abilities as soon after they acquired their spirits as they felt strong enough", and that shamans "often did not use their powers until middle age". In addition, the "abilities conferred by laymen's spirits evidently could be used immediately or soon after the spirit

experience", but the song "need not be sung at that time or ever", and because "the identity of the spirit was kept secret the owner did not have to commit himself on the nature of his ability" (Suttles, 1951: 329). Gunther (1927: 290) maintained that if the individual, upon returning from a spiritual experience, told of it immediately, "he could never put his power to use".

In addition to the conferring of a specific power, by the guardian spirit, on an individual, the relationship between spirit and human partner required that the power be demonstrated. Powers were usually demonstrable through luck, skill, attainment, or by whatever means through which the power might be manifested. There appeared to have been "a strong tendency to associate each kind of power, or formal manifestation of power, with a particular kind of guardian spirit" (Smith 1940: 482). On the other hand, possession of some spirits "was perhaps evidenced only by patterned song and dance forms exhibited at ceremonies" (Smith, 1940: 482). For the Twana, this was the normal method of power demonstration, such that "final recall and control of a vision-acquired guardian spirit took the form of a winter-spirit-dance ceremonial (scc'u'ctab) some years after the vision encounter" (Elmendorf, 1960: 496). Elmendorf listed in sequence, the characteristic features of the spirit dance complex:

- (1) illness of the human spirit owner in early winter, caused by his vision acquired spirit returning at that season and attempting to induce him to exhibit ceremonially;
- (2) diagnosis of the illness

by a shaman as as/a'batəb, "being looked at by a vision-acquired spirit," or bi'a'lastəb əti's e'sa'lt, "you are being made sick by your power"; (3) sponsoring by the patient of a spirit dance, involving: (a) inviting in of guests who act as "audience help" (q'aq'w'qxd) by supporting the sponsor in singing and dancing; (b) ritual summoning of the patient-sponsor's guardian spirit by the treating shaman, who dispatches his own spirits to bring it to the sponsor; (c) possession of the sponsor by his spirit, which enters his body, begins to sing its song "from inside" of him, and induces the sponsor to dance and perform other ritual actions depending on the nature of the possessing spirit; (d) subsequent exhibition of his spirit by the sponsor during several successive nights, by singing and dancing plus other, variable, ritual acts demonstrating the power granted by the spirit. (Elmendorf, 1960: 496-497)

The entire ceremony "removes the cause of the as/a'batəb illness and ensures full subsequent rapport with and control of the sponsor's spirit" (Elmendorf, 1960: 497). Elmendorf continued:

Following the first spirit dance were usually later annual "visits" by the now controlled spirit to its owner in winter, necessitating repetition of the spirit-dance procedure without shaman diagnosis...being necessary. Not all spirits required these subsequent annual performances. Often spontaneous repossession of the human spirit owner at someone else's spirit dance, accompanied by brief dancing and singing, satisfied the annual desire of a spirit for public exhibition by its owner. On such occasion a brief public account of the spirit owner's vision, sufficient to identify the kind of spirit, might be given. This was termed bi'a'p'tudəbət, "telling about power". (Elmendorf, 1960: 497).

The above accounts have been included in some detail since, to a greater or lesser extent, other Coast Salish groups

exhibited a similar form of power demonstration. However, both Gunther (1927: 290) and Haeberlin and Gunther (1930: 67) mentioned that when an individual was visited by his guardian spirit, and thereby became ill, a shaman was not called in, and instead, the individual's friends, none of whom had the same guardian spirit, came and helped him sing his songs, only if he started them. When the spirit was "satisfied," it left its owner, who then became well again (Gunther, 1927: 290). In addition, Suttles (1951: 330) reported that although the "source of power" or "identity of the spirit" was usually kept secret, "the dance that accompanied the spirit song and sometimes the spirit song itself" might have hinted at the identity of the spirit, and if this was known, "the spirit song might be called after it".

According to Elmendorf (1960: 497), both shaman and lay-wealth spirits did not require, from their owners, this form of public demonstration or exhibition "according to the regular spirit-dance form". Further, the lay-wealth spirits "did require public ceremonial exhibition by their owners but this took the form of singing of his wealth spirit's song by the sponsor of a S'iwa'd give-away feast", thereby "publically demonstrating or validating possession of those lay spirits which granted wealth powers" (Elmendorf, 1960: 497-498).

Although Elmendorf (1960) did not make mention of other such lay-spirits outside of those which granted wealth powers, it would appear self-evident that powers, such as, for example, gambling powers, would have manifested themselves in similar

public demonstration appropriate and relevant to a direct, observably verifiable exhibition which validated possession of the particular power. For example, it would seem that an individual with a gambling power would have exhibited and thereby verified his possession of that power by a demonstrated skill through the obvious means of the actual gambling game circumstance. Since the gambling circumstance made use of gambling power songs, these were sung, the primary purpose usually being to invoke supernatural aid during play. In a similar sense, Smith reported the following:

When individuals...called upon their powers for aid in a particular situation or crisis which arose in their lives, these occasions incorporated the elements of the ceremony except that they were without public meaning and were matters of concern only to the individual. Occasions of this kind involved two elements: the call to the power to come and show his strength, and the manifestation of the power's presence in some extraordinary circumstance or event, a manifestation which is called here a "power demonstration" because the point of view should be consistently from the human's side of the partnership if descriptions are to be accurate. The true ceremonies included a third element: the participation of other people who joined in the effort to strengthen and encourage the power by the combined force of their own powers and by their good will. (Smith, 1940: 100)

Smith concluded:

Getting the power meant a justification for its use and an assurance that that use would succeed. Since all the facts concerning the reception of power were kept secret at least until the power was demonstrated, there was every opportunity for the individual to make constant adjustments between what he had conceived an experience to signify and what it had then helped him to accomplish.

As the final criterion of power was always achievement, such adjustments meant no insincerity. (Smith, 1940: 58)

Meeting the ceremonial requirements of one's power was of primary importance. Failure to do so "caused a friction which resulted in the illness or ultimate death of the human who was thus stubborn in refusal" (Smith, 1940: 60). Further, bodily weakness caused by fatigue or physical illness occasionally caused "the power to become detached or dislodged", again causing "illness and ultimate death if the power could not be recovered" (Smith, 1940: 60). Kew (1970: 126) concurred with Smith in that death might result if the individual, in a relationship with a supernatural being, did not achieve the manifestation of his power (Sya'wan). If the power became detached or dislodged from the body, it was usually considered "lost". In such cases a doctor/shaman was consulted, and by "singing his doctor song (sk'ana'san) he could bring the power into full play" so that he could "send it out in search" of the "lost soul or power" (Suttles, 1951: 339). Smith (1940: 96) indicated that "the 'lost' soul was returned to the body by a simple shaman curing ceremony", and that it was found in a "familiar locality". Specifically dealing with gambling, Curtis recorded the following:

When continual gambling losses warned a man that his good luck had been carried away by spirits of the dead, or when dreams in which he seemed to be in far distant places showed that his very soul was being enticed to the underworld, he had recourse to the medicine-men whose special powers enabled them to recall the wandering spirits and things and men. (Curtis, 1913: 110)

Following an initial successful vision encounter, subsequent questing and obtaining of other spirits usually occurred. Ordinarily, "a youth did not stop his search for power with the acquisition of one spirit but continued until he controlled a number", and spirits may have continued "coming to a man at intervals until middle age or later" (Olson, 1936: 141). In addition, some spirits "conferred two or more distinct kinds of power, usually on different human owners" (Elmendorf, 1960: 482).

The foregoing has been presented in some length in order to give as complete a picture as possible of the power concept as it was viewed, in its varying forms, by the Coast Salish. This was entirely necessary if there is to be a thorough understanding of the study in question, Coast Salish gambling games, in relation to the existence of specific powers which apparently had influence on and were manifested through the gambling circumstance. Through these means, Coast Salish gambling games were seen to be an expression of man's power affiliations.

Although the foregoing was not entirely or specifically concerned with gambling powers, pertinent references were made wherever possible. Throughout, the assumption has been that gambling powers, relevant to the class of powers usually referred to as layman or lay-spirit powers, were acquired by the same means and from the same sources as were other such

powers in this class. In addition to the references made in the proceeding discussions, 'personal' accounts, documenting specific cases involving gambling powers, gave concrete evidence of this assumption.

During his youth one of Old Pierre's uncles who lived at Lummi was an inveterate gambler. One day he lost everything he possessed, even a slave whom he wagered. When his relatives reproached him the next morning, he refused to eat, and at night stole away in a canoe to Deception Bay, near the island of Anacortes, where many supernatural beings dwell in the water. After purifying himself here for some days, he tied together two logs, set them afloat on the ebbing tide, and drifted out, with two heavy stones beside him. As soon as his craft reached the open water, he gripped the two stones in his hands and dropped overboard. Instantly he lost consciousness, yet could hear the supernatural beings say to him: "Poor man, there are only warrior spirits here. The spirit chief that you are seeking dwells far away to the south-east. You must go thither."

When he regained his senses, he was lying at the edge of the woods. Still fasting, he paddled to the south-east, bathed, and purified himself for two days. Then once more he drifted out to sea on two logs and drowned himself with two stones in the open water. This time he dreamed that his vitality entered a house that was filled with goat's wool blankets and that the inmates said to him: "So you have come at last, poor man. We will help you. Just as I call all the birds and fish of the sea to potlatches, so shall you call all your people. You shall give eight potlatches during your lifetime. Now watch us gamble."

The bird gave him the power of winning whenever he played the gambling game slaxel'am. Consequently the man became very rich and gave eight potlatches, one every four years. (Jenness, 1955: 55)

A slahal player bet his two wives and lost them. He went away back in the hills, swimming, training. Two loons came around, playing. He was tired and went to sleep.

The loons talked to him and took him into their home. They were two girls. They trained him how to see the white bone of slahal, by throwing it away somewhere and asking him to find it. At first he couldn't, but later he could, and he was ready. They gave a new slahal song, and also something that they didn't have in those days. He went back and staked this thing against his wives and won them back. Then he won everything from the man who had beaten him. He got the power to gamble, but he couldn't doctor. (Duff, 1952: 103)

About 1870 all the Puyallup went over to Snoqualmie Falls where they had heard there was a good gambler. All the gamblers went and they bet everything they had. Stáushal was a great Puyallup gambler. He went and bet his only race horse on the game. When they got there and the bets had been fixed and the game arranged, he went to sleep. He was just tired and went to sleep. But he told them first that if they started losing they'd better wake him up. It was a long, sixty stick game. When they had lost over half the points they halted the game and called stáushal. He took the lead. The bones were on the Puyallup side and he said, "We'll play with my bones now." He had a little set of small bones, which he had bought from the Haida. When he sat down, he began to sing a new song which none of them had ever heard before. He guessed the bones, when they got on the other side, seven times running. This broke the luck of the Snoqualmie. They changed shakers and tried everything but about daylight the Puyallup won. They won the horse racing, too, at that time. (Smith, 1940: 217)

It [the spirit] came to her in the form of a salmonberry bird (skwit) in a canoe. She heard its song and its directions to turn around. Then she saw two marked beaver teeth dice lying in the canoe of the spirits. She always gambled with these and seldom lost, and during her lifetime became quite rich from her winnings. She once staged a gambling bout with the most famous woman gambler of Puget Sound. The game was played at Elma and onlookers bet large sums on the

outcome. Each woman started with 100 tally sticks. A half day passed before the contest was over. W.M.'s mother would prepare for an important contest such as this by singing her spirit songs for two or three days. (Olson, 1936: 150-151)

A man from Washington Harbor had gone over to Whidby Island to gamble and had lost everything he took with him. He paddled home in the fog, drifting along without caring whether he lost his way or not. He struck a rock with his paddle and this became his power. After arriving at home he did not eat for many days. This made him an expert at the disk game, s/aha'lem. Another man secured success in playing the disk game for his whole tribe. He was walking along the road at Jamestown when he heard a disk game song although there was nobody near him. It was a calm, windless day. He looked up and saw two cottonwood trees moving their top limbs just the way a player moves his arms in the disk game. From that time on the Klallam always won when they played the disk game during the hop picking season. (Gunther, 1927: 274)

The man who had the most power won. Once when my grandfather was alive the Nisqually played the Oyster Bay. All the Nisqually went. They played five nights and neither side had won. The Nisqually turned to my grandfather and asked him to have pity on them and to play. He took the seat and the Oyster Bay people all laughed because he was so old. He told his power and shook the discs. Three times he shook and neither time did the other side guess him. Then he got up and said they would win and turned the game over to someone else. It only took that same night for the Nisqually to win. He had put life in the bones with his power. He was a great leader. (Smith, 1940: 220-221)

"You have to get a special vision for s/aha'l. The gambler may see the s/aha'l bones in his vision. My cousin Solomon Balch (da'ax'wat), a Klallam who lived at Lummi, was hop picking at Puyallup. He had no luck in the gambling at the hop picking. He lost everything and had to walk home. On the way he lay down by the

road to sleep, and he got a slaha'l song from a hazel bush there. (Balch's drum, in HA's possession, had an eagle on its face, in black paint, holding a slaha'l bone in either foot.) My brother (informant FA) has his own slaha'l song, from loon spirit. He used to be head man on the Skokomish team (in intertribal gambling)." (Elmendorf, 1960: 244)

Data collected, through interviews, on the subject of gambling power yielded good, but only little, information. Nevertheless, the information acquired not only served to corroborate that already recorded, but also indicated current beliefs regarding the status of power as an influence in the game circumstance.

A Squamish informant, 79 years of age, who, himself, once played the bone or hand game, slahal, although he did not have the slahi'l power, the sk'a'-k'tx', provided this information. (Throughout the remainder of the chapter, only the transcriptions of the Squamish words have been taken from Kuipers' 1967 and 1969 publications on the Squamish language. Other than this, all data recorded, unless otherwise noted, have come from field note sources.)

For the Squamish, the slahi'l, gambling power, is generally referred to as sk'a'-k'tx', (from k'a'-k'tx' - 'to gamble'), literally "bone used in gambling game" (Kuipers, 1967: 293). (Kuipers, (1967: 291) mentioned that slahi'l is the "West Coast word" for k'a'-k'tx'.) In addition, the term siw'i'n?, literally "magic power" (Kuipers, 1969: 62), is

used when reference is made to power, in general.

Such power is obtained when one gets a vision, and the vision is, in fact, the power. When an individual gets a vision, he apparently becomes sick and "dies".

...they said that was his help when he came back to life, because when a person is sick, our people say, when he gets a vision, that vision is his power for helping him whenever he does anything.

The vision is said to come from "He who Guides, Protects and Provides", and one "gets it in his dream", s-ʔə'li, (from ʔi-ʔə'li - 'to dream') literally "dream, vision, guardian spirit" (Kuipers, 1967: 302). An individual would know that he has the gambling power because it would be related to him by means of the vision which he would get in his dream; he would be told: "this is going to be your gift"; this would be his power.

In the past, the 'professional' gamblers usually had the gambling (sɪəhi'l) power, the s-k'a'-k'/tɣ, which was obtained through vision experience. Nevertheless, an individual could have become a 'professional' in gambling without supernatural aid or power. (This was substantiated by Duff (1952: 102) who recorded that men "could become excellent hunters, fishermen, warriors(?), or gamblers without spirit help". In addition, Kew (1970: 308) reported that although "special capabilities in playing slehal were thought sometimes to be given by supernatural helpers, the s'ə'ya,the supernatural helper merely endows the fortunate individual with a greater ability than he would otherwise

have".) One such man was A.B., who did not have the s/ahi' power, but practised towards his ability and became known as a professional. Known as the "flybone king", A.B. became regarded as professional, for when he held the bones he "couldn't be caught", that is, the pointer on the opposing team was unable to guess the location of the white, plain, unmarked bone, t'am-tu. This was primarily because he "really knew how to switch", saiq'-a'č (literally "switch hands": Kuipers, 1969: 61), that is, switch the bones from one hand to the other during 'shaking', before the guess was made. A.B. practised towards this skill before a mirror, everyday for five years. Although the ability to switch was commonly considered as cheating, and although it was known that A.B. continually practised this, thereby causing his team to win, he could not be caught in the act. By means of his skill, therefore, A.B. "brought the sticks [the counters] back" to his team's side. Therefore, an individual could have become a 'professional' gambler either through acquiring power or by practise. However, the 'professional' who had the power usually earned his reputation as a pointer.

Although "most powers are given by seeking", my informant felt that as "the gambling power is just a small thing", individuals would probably "ask for it", perhaps they would "go out and bathe a little while for it", but they "didn't have to go through too much". Unlike this, the power, s-na'pm, required to become an Indian doctor, sx°pu'mtn, involved a lengthy period of cleansing:

...you've got to go out, you've got to go
cleanse yourself, for days, months, years...

However, in the case of gambling power, "it was given to them".

One man, B.G.T., had the gift of sləhi', s-k'a'-k'/tʰ;
it "was given to him as a gift because he was disabled",
having gone blind as the result of a smallpox epidemic.

...and then he says..."a person came and
told me that this was my help, my assistance",
he was going to take care of him, and he gave
him the sləhi', the s-k'a'-k'/tʰ, and that's
the way he was going to earn his living, he
was going to be a professional gambler...

In addition, the sləhi' power "was going to be eyes for him",
and it "led him wherever he went". As such, it appeared that
the sləhi' power conferred, on B.G.T., not only the ability
to be a professional gambler and thereby, earn a living, but
also the gift of 'sight', although he remained blind.

At one time, B.G.T. played the slahal game against
C.R., who was reputed as also having the sləhi' power, and
who proclaimed:

"I've got the power. I can play the game."

The game was played during hop picking time "so we had about
25-30 on each side", but B.G.T. and C.R. were "the ones that
were going to match their power". My informant, who sat next
to C.R., reported that even before the players, mixing the
bones for the opposing team, showed their hands, prior to the
guess being made, C.R. would tell him [my informant] in what
position the unmarked bones, the ones to be guessed, would
lie when they were finally revealed, following the guess.
C.R. never missed.

...he is just a sort of mind reader, he could read that person's mind. That's the power, that's the slahil power.

Eventually, B.G.T. started losing and "he got confused".

Then "the others started pointing and that threw him right out so he quit."

...I think [C.R.] had a stronger power than [B.G.T.]therefore, there is such a thing as power.

When a gambler is pointing "he says it's not him that's pointing, it's the power in him telling him what to do."

The gambler "knows when the power is right in him and he knows when the power is not there". My informant reported that sometimes he saw B.G.T. play "when he wouldn't point; he wouldn't even take the bones; sometimes he wouldn't touch the bones", because the power was not there.

In another case of power demonstration, my informant remarked that he had "heard a person say that a fellow had such a strong power that he could look at a bone and the bone would split", that is, "the bone would split right open" and therefore would be of no more use and would be thrown away. Although my informant did not witness this power exhibition, two close relatives both said that they had seen it happen.

A particular Indian doctor, U.B., who "would go into a trance and would eat fire - that was the Indian power he had", played slahal during one hop picking season and lost. It was believed that U.B. was not using his power while playing for if he did, his opponents "wouldn't have a chance".

Although U.B. had the Indian doctor power, he never had the slahill power, but it was felt, nevertheless, that "he could use that Indian power as the doctor in the slahal game" and that if he did, he would never be beaten.

An individual with the slahi' power could become wealthy because of that power, and my informant cited a case where a young man from the United States had the power and "nobody could beat him". Consequently, "he was rolling in wealth".

Professional gamblers having the slahi' power did have special songs. B.G.T. "sang his own song; he had a special song". Such songs came "into a dream"; this is how they were obtained. On the other hand, C.R. "sang any song at all". Players having no power, would sing songs drawn from a large repertoire of 'gambling songs'. Some songs never "seemed to draw any sticks", and some would be lucky. Such a song would be sung repeatedly until it started "to lose its magic", and then the players would switch to another song.

Although it is still believed today that some individuals possess and rely on the slahi' power, and that the power can win games, there appears to be, in this case, a rapidly declining acknowledgement of the power concept and its accompanying manifestation in the game circumstance: "...don't believe in power,...believe just in the game". However, it is maintained that "on the West Coast" (West Coast of Vancouver Island, around Alberni and Port Alberni) and "up in the Douglas region" power is still a viable mechanism required for success in the gambling, slahal, games. My informant stated that

"they say on the West Coast it's still like that today; they depend so much on their power when they're playing the game, and therefore they say they go for one or two nights, three nights, four nights, before they can complete the game because they're so evenly matched with their power". Whereas the West Coast players "depend a lot on their power", the Squamish "depend on luck". Both game process and outcome are seen in terms of luck, and some players are 'just luckier than others'. (However, it is of interest to note that qualities of skill and strategy evident in the game, for example, in being able to study one's opponent and assess patterns in either the mixing or guessing processes, interfere with the idea of 'pure luck', in that 'luck' endorses the notion that the forces which bring about events and cause things to happen, are beyond the control and influence of the individuals.)

CHAPTER V - CONCLUSION

The foregoing has examined in detail the histories and customs of Coast Salish gambling games, and has looked at the game structure and its attending spirit power affiliations.

Firstly, pertinent ethnographic data recorded in published reference literature and archival documents, and information on the relevant material culture in museum collections, were presented. Here, the gambling games of the past have been closely examined and systematically documented. Secondly, further background information has been supplied by the documentation of the empirical data collected in the field through direct observation and the interviewing of informants, concerning the only gambling game of aboriginal origin still played today. Thirdly, from among the preceding ethnographic information, I concluded that Coast Salish gambling games served as a form of social expression. This social mechanism was found to be a forum for supernatural power. The Coast Salish concept of power, and in particular, the relation of this concept to the gambling games, was therefore discussed in light of the data obtained from literary sources and through interviews.

In the study, it is concluded that the circumstance of Coast Salish gambling games suggests that these games are not just a simple set of rules, and that the games discussed here have, on the other hand, meaningful functions, and, as a forum for supernatural power, serve as a form of social expression. The existence of supernatural powers are seen as the basic influence in Coast Salish life, and are given meaning as ontological expres-

sions. I conclude that Coast Salish gambling games are an expression of man's power affiliations. Power is an element which may affect the outcome of each gambling event, and the gambling games thereby may be an endorsement of power favour. In view of this concept, Coast Salish gambling games appear to me to be useful devices for measuring the differential degrees or strengths of power among players. Further, it can be said that one of the functions of these games is that they give tangible and observable verification of the influence of power.

Further study would be better served if a larger body of data were available, and if a consistency of information were discernible. Future investigation of Coast Salish gambling games should deal more specifically with the ritualistic aspect of gaming and its connection with the people's cosmology.

Nevertheless, the study, as completed, is a description of historic and present-day Coast Salish gambling games. Although this kind of ethnographic recording is of major importance, there remain, however, other frontiers of exploration which require further research. With this beginning, it would be of interest to explore the possibilities of showing the similarities and inter-relationships between Coast Salish gambling games and other ceremonies, and, in a broader aspect, to explore the general human condition of gambling games. There are obvious and striking facts about gaming, and gambling in particular, that are persistent and apparently universal to the human condition, for which study is required to reveal, if possible, the existence of latent human motive.

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