THE SQUAMISH: A STUDY OF
CHANGING POLITICAL ORGANISATION

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming to
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Anthropology, Criminology and Sociology

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The field work for this study was carried out during the period December 1954, to April 1956, in whatever time I could spare from my studies at the University of British Columbia, and from my summer employment. While attending the University during the fall term of 1953, I had paid occasional visits to my Squamish informants living in the Mission and Capilano Reserves, North Vancouver.

During the summer of 1955, at my request, Mr. Tim Moody, Secretary of the Squamish Band Council, kindly invited me to be a guest in his house. This gave me an opportunity to develop first-hand acquaintance with Squamish family life, and to make the friendly contacts so useful for this kind of field work. To him and his family, I am very much indebted for generous hospitality and many other acts of kindness which made my stay in his house enjoyable and profitable.

I attended six meetings of the Band Council and one general meeting of the Band, in which I was introduced to everyone present. Besides this I talked to about eighty members of the Band with conversations lasting from two or three minutes to three hours. Techniques employed for obtaining information included observation, for example, observing a meeting of the Band Council; participant observation, for example, participating in a house party; and interviewing with a minimum of direction, for example, letting the informant talk freely without breaking his narrative with frequent questions. No formal questionnaire was used. Instead, with the help of a general guide

1. Reliability of participant observation is limited, on the one hand, by the degree of acceptance of the observer by the group, and on the other, by his capacity to observe objectively in spite of being somewhat subjectively involved as a member.
containing a list of topics and questions, I steered the conversation to elicit the information I needed.

Notes were taken in longhand during the interviews. These notes were rewritten as soon as possible. An effort was made to retain the original wording of the informants. However, sometimes in the interest of clarity, and brevity, I have found it necessary to alter the wording of my informants, but always care has been taken to retain the original meaning. When necessary, in order to conceal the identity of my informants, I have used fictitious initials.

Political scientists and anthropologists have generally neglected the study of the political organisation of the North American Indians. To be sure, scattered references to political organisation occur among the published works of many students of North American Indians; but studies specifically devoted to political organisation are rare. In particular, no comparative study of the magnitude of the "African Political Systems," by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, has so far been published. Bearing in mind this gap, this study has been undertaken with the hope that it would be of use not only to students of contemporary Squamish culture, but also to students of comparative political organisation and culture change in general. I hope that the general hypotheses suggested by this study will be found worthy of being tested by the latter.

The study provides a description of Squamish political organisation before White contact, as well as of that which exists today. As to the first, my information has been mainly obtained from one informant and from available published works on the subject. Of course I talked to other informants, but found them confused, vague, and in general of not much help in providing specific details.
On the other hand, I found my main informant Louie Miranda honest, accurate, well-informed, quick to follow questions, precise in answers, and very willing to help. He welcomed my questions because they helped him remember the things which he was on the verge of forgetting. Others from whom I obtained some useful information about the pre-contact Squamish include Tim Moody, Andrew Paull, Mrs. Christine Jack, Isaac Jacob, and William Baker Sr. To all these, and in particular, to Louie Miranda and Andrew Paull, my grateful thanks. The information about the present was obtained from informants too numerous to mention by name. I am grateful to all of them for their willing cooperation.

Many thanks are due to members of the Squamish Band Council, officials of the Indian Affairs Branch, and many others who helped in numerous ways.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Professor Larry B. Hawthorn for valued counsel and guidance throughout the study. Without his encouragement and generous support, it would not have been possible to complete this study. I am particularly grateful to Professors Belshaw, Jamieson, Magele, and Suttles for providing information, encouragement, and many helpful suggestions. In addition, I am indebted to Gloria Cranmer for the typing of the preliminary draft and to Surjiet Johal and Elvi Waik for the final copies.

Behari L. Verma

2. I consider his statements accurate because they were consistent, specific, as well as in general agreement with the published data available and with the statements of other informants, who were unable to supply specific details.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There are a number of legends about the origin of the Squamish Indians. One recorded by Hill-Tout describes how the first Squamish was created, and how his descendants lived and multiplied until a flood came and destroyed all except one man and his wife who managed to escape in a canoe. The descendants of this couple were later destroyed by cold and famine caused by a prolonged snow storm. One man and his daughter survived. From these two the Squamish trace their descent. One of my informants gave a different version of this legend. He claims that when the flood came two canoes of people escaped. One canoe landed at Garibaldi mountain and the other near Seattle. "The Suquamish tribe there speaks the same language as we do." Another legend recorded by Barnett concerning the origin of the Stawamus Stamas people (a sub-group of the Squamish), goes as follows:

"...A certain hwa'te'cal went into training for supernatural power. Searching for Sin'alke, the double-headed serpent and following its trail marked by blow flies, he arrived at a lake somewhere in Squamish territory. There he swam and purified himself until he dreamed of the serpent who instructed him in what he should do upon the actual encounter. Following the instructions, the boy built a raft, paddled into the lake, and, when the Sin'alke showed itself, thrust four spears in each of its heads as they appeared on opposite sides of the lake. As he stepped ashore he fell unconscious and remained so for four days dead, with blow flies around his mouth. In this trance state he received further communication and warrant for his power. As a token of his experience, he took a bone from the decomposed body of the Sin'alke and later used it to kill goats by simply pointing it at them. His glance, like that of Sin'alke had the same effect. He was gone four years and upon his return became a powerful doctor. He married many times and became the ancestor of the Stawamus people. He was their first man."2

The legend narrated to me differs from this in some respects. I was told that Kwatacatal was lazy, and used to sleep with his wife till late in the morning. One day his father who disapproved of this practice threw a pail of cold water on him and his wife, and told him to go and kill Sinakalke. He took four years to kill Sinakalke. After he obtained a bone, which had the power to kill anything by mere pointing, he started back home. On the way, he killed the inhabitants of various villages by pointing the bone at them, and then revived them by use of herbs and his power. The chief of each village gave him his daughter in marriage. My informant believes that it was through these marriages that all the Squamish villages, except Cheakamus, became first related. Cheakamus became related by subsequent marriages. In this way all the present day Squamish trace their descent from Kwatacatal.

Racial, Linguistic, and Cultural Affiliations

The Squamish are a sub-group of the Salish-speaking people who have been living around the shores of Georgia Strait. They were apparently closely related to the neighbouring Salish groups, from whom Squamish often chose their spouses. The genealogies of the present day Squamish indicates intermixtures with Spaniards, Hawaiians, Filipinos, Latin Americans, Irish, English, Germans, and Europeans of some other nationalities. Because the Squamish Indians are located on the North shore of Burrard Inlet, near a harbour of international importance, they have a greater chance of intermixture with sailors and others of various nationalities than many other Indian groups. There are a few Squamish, who claim to be "full-blooded" Indians - apparently with a great deal of pride, and a feeling of superiority over "those half-breeds." Yet at least one person's claim to "full-blooded" status was denied by another who claimed to have private knowledge to the contrary, and the claims of some others may be open to challenge also.
Squamish speak a dialect of the Salish language which is different from that spoken by any neighbouring Salish group. Barnett claims that their nearest linguistic relatives are the Nootsack of Washington. Some of my informants hotly deny this. One of them said, "When I was young, we played with Nootsack children. We shouted to each other in Squamish. They never understood us." At the same time he claims that the Suquamish of Washington speak a language similar to Squamish. "Some of our people actually talked to them." This was supported by some other informants.

As to their cultural affiliations, Barnett sums them up as follows:

"The Squamish have affiliations with the Sechelt, but their permanent homes having been remote from the sea, they do not fit in very well with any subculture area. Their social structure is practically identical with that of the rest of the whole area and has particular features which match with Sametch and Maskwiam features; but their material culture shows an up-river adaptation, an orientation which very likely at one time characterized also the Homalco and Klahane, and perhaps even the Sechelt and Staidman."

**Location and Natural Resources**

The Squamish, at present, believe that they occupied territories on both shores of Burrard Inlet up to the head of Howe Sound, and about forty miles up the Squamish Valley on both sides of the Squamish River, from time immemorial. From traditions, Hill-Tout recorded the names and location of ninety Squamish villages. Of these, twenty-two were on the right bank of the Squamish River; thirteen on the left bank; eight on the east side of Howe Sound; thirteen on the west side; five on various islands in Howe Sound; twenty-one from Coal Harbour to north of the north arm of the Fraser River; and eleven on the north side from Point Atkinson to Burrard Inlet.

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Hill-Tout indicated that this list was not complete, and that his informants could not recall the names of several villages on the upper end of the Burrard Inlet, which had been long abandoned. At least two of the place names-štotoni and tewos, enumerated by Hill-Tout as village sites were not village sites at all, according to Chief Louis Miranda: the first was merely a pair of trees leaning on a cliff, and the second a big mountain.

Hill-Tout, Duff and Barnett recorded statements from their informants that the Squamish moved into Burrard Inlet along with the White settlement in this area, and that a group closely allied in language and kinship to Musqueam originally lived there. My Squamish informants strongly deny this. Barnett believes that Squamish permanent villages were located on the Squamish river; but they camped at Burrard Inlet during the summer. On the contrary, both Musqueam and Squamish claim that they had their permanent settlements at Burrard Inlet, and they both talk of Chief Capilano's "fort" at the First Narrows. From the genealogy of Chief Capilano, it appears that he was the son of a Squamish father and Musqueam mother. Similarly, genealogies indicate the majority of the present day Musqueam are descendants from Squamish males who married Musqueam females and who settled there. If we allow the Squamish claim to Burrard Inlet to stand, as Barnett does, then, according to Coast Salish custom, Musqueam descendants of Squamish males would have a claim to settle at Burrard Inlet too. Therefore, both sides could claim Burrard Inlet as their territory. However, there is no way of separating all the facts from fiction at this late date and this controversy is merely of historical interest. It has no relevance to the status of land recorded as owned by the Squamish at Burrard Inlet. At the time of White settlement the Squamish were already settled at Burrard Inlet and in due course they were allotted reserves both at Burrard Inlet and Squamish River on what were believed to be their traditional sites. A brief description of each of the reserves follows.
Mission Indian Reserve No. 1

This reserve is called Mission because the Order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate established their Mission here, and only Christian Squamish stayed here. It is situated on the North shore of Burrard Inlet, less than a mile from the center of the City of North Vancouver. Third Street and the Pacific Great Eastern Railway track cut across it. Thirty-eight acres in area, it is the most populous Squamish reserve accommodating a little over seventy percent of the Squamish population. Most of the people living in it earn their living by longshoring or working in the saw-mills. A church, school, community center, and a cemetery are located here. It, therefore, forms the nucleus of Squamish community life. Water and electricity supply is obtained by arrangement with the City of North Vancouver. The foreshore of the reserve is leased to the Vancouver Harbour Board in return for fifty percent of the rental.

Seymour Creek Indian Reserve No. 2.

This reserve is situated on the north shore of Burrard Inlet adjoining the proposed Second Narrows Bridge. It was quite well populated in the past, the population being fifty in 1896. At present there is no one living in it; the last family having migrated to Mission Reserve in February, 1956. This reserve is very important from the industrial point of view, and a part of the reserve is already under lease to private companies. It has a total area of 147 acres. The B.C. Electric Company recently bought twenty-three acres for $55,000. At present (1955) negotiations are going on for sale of land to the Provincial Government for the proposed Second Narrows Bridge.

On the north end of the reserve is a gravel pit leased to Highland Sand and Gravel Company. At present, no gravel is being taken out.

**Indian Reserves No. 3 and 4**

These two reserves belong to the Burrard Inlet Band. In 1923 when all the Squamish Bands amalgamated to form a single Squamish Band, the Burrard Inlet Band decided to remain separate. I shall not deal with these reserves as the Burrard Inlet Band does not form part of this paper.

**Capilano Indian Reserve No. 5**

Capilano Reserve is situated on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, in close proximity to the Lions Gate Bridge, spanning the First Narrows. One end of the reserve touches Marine Drive linking North Vancouver with West Vancouver. It is the second most populous Squamish reserve, containing about twenty per cent of the Squamish population. There is a playground where, besides the usual games, an annual Pow-wow is held by the Capilano Community Club. It has an area of 293.5 acres; part of it is leased, and a part has timber of little commercial value. By virtue of location near an industrial area, the land here is of high value. Traditionally, there was a fishing station on the Capilano River passing through the reserve, but now no fishing is done there. To be sure, two fishermen live on the reserve, but they both work on seine boats. Most of the other residents are either longshoremen or sawmill workers.

**Kitsilano Indian Reserve No. 6**

Kitsilano Reserve is situated on the south shore of False Creek, adjoining the city of Vancouver. It had an area of about 69.5 acres. Only
a few acres are left now; the bulk was sold to the Department of National Defense for a sum of $652,358.

**Skowishin Indian Reserve No. 7**

Situated on the left bank of the Squamish River about twenty-five miles from its mouth, this reserve has an area of 100 acres, part of which is covered with timber of fair quality. There was a fishing station here, but no one fishes there any more. A part of this reserve is being sold to B.C. Electric Company for a power house. It has been lying uninhabited for a long time.

**Chuckchuck Indian Reserve No. 8**

It is situated on the right bank of the Squamish River, three miles above No. 7. It has an area of 0.15 acres. An old fishing station and a cemetery are located in it. It is not being put to any use at present.

**Poyam Reserve No. 9 and Skowishin No. 10**

These are both old cemeteries situated on the left bank of the Squamish River with an area of 0.67 acres and 0.10 acres respectively.

**Cheakamus Indian Reserve No. 11**

This is the biggest Squamish reserve covering an area of 4,046.5 acres, on the left bank of the Squamish River between Cheam Creek and Cheakamus River. It is largely covered with hardwood, alder, maple, and cottonwood, and scattered softwood trees. Only two families live in it.
Yookwit Indian Reserve No. 12

It occupies an area of twenty-three acres on the right bank of the Squamish River, close to the mouth of the Cheakamus River. There is an old fishing station, but now no one fishes nor lives there.

Pequosin and Skamin Indian Reserve No. 13

Like No. 12, this reserve is situated on the left bank of the Squamish River, close to the mouth of the Cheakamus River. It has an area of 111.8 acres, largely covered with timber. It is not inhabited at present.

Waiwakum Indian Reserve No. 14

It has an area of thirty-seven acres. It has an old fishing station and at present is not inhabited.

Aimwuck Indian Reserve No. 15

An old fishing station and camping ground on the Squamish River covering an area of 27.45 acres. Some land has been lost by erosion. Formerly it was occupied intermittently, but is now not occupied at all.

Senachem Indian Reserve No. 16

It covers an area of sixty acres on the left bank of Kowtain Slough, Squamish River. There is some excellent farming land, not being used at present. Six families including two single men, most of them loggers, live there.
Kowtain Indian Reserve No. 17

Like No. 16, this is situated on the left bank of the Kowtain Slough. It has an area of 57.50 acres including some farming land, not being utilized at present. Two families live there.

Yekwaupaum Indian Reserve No. 18

It is an old fishing station. About fifteen acres of land were sold to the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. On the remaining 4.5 acres two families live at present. Both of them are engaged in logging.

Burial Ground Indian Reserve No. 19

It is a cemetery covering 2.25 acres.

Nemusquam Island, Squamish Island, Skwulwailum Island and Aktsam Indian Reserves No. 20 to 23

These four reserves covering a total area of 447.02 acres have been sold to the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.

Stawamus Indian Reserve No. 24

It is situated at the head of Howe Sound on the eastern shore. It has an area of 141.5 acres, all of which except forty acres have been sold to the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. On the remaining portion, seven families including two single men are living at present. All of them are engaged in logging except one, a fisherman.

Kaikalakum Indian Reserve No. 25

It is a fishing station on the western shore of Howe Sound opposite
Woodridge Island. It is thirty-three acres in area, of which thirty-two acres have been leased to a pulp company and the remaining one acre has been kept for the fishing station.

**Chekwelp Indian Reserve No. 26**

An old fishing station, it is situated at the western shore of Howe Sound, covering an area of 34.50 acres. Two lots have been leased to Whites who have built summer homes there.

**Burial Grounds Indian Reserves No. 26-A and 27**

Both are cemeteries covering an area of 0.50 acres each.

**Defence Island Indian Reserve No. 28**

It is thirty-three acres in area. A part of it is an old cemetery, and the rest is covered with timber of some commercial value.

**Population**

According to Hill-Tout, each of the ninety villages recorded by him was supposed to have a population ranging from fifty to several hundred. This would yield an estimate of Squamish population anywhere between 8,000 and 16,000, prior to the smallpox epidemic of 1782. On the other hand, Mooney calculated that in 1780, the Squamish population was about 1,800. To Kroeber, even Mooney's figures seem generally a little high for the Coast Salish of British Columbia. In view of this, and the evidence already quoted questioning the

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accuracy of his recording of village sites, I am inclined to view his estimate of the Squamish population as too high. How much too high? That I cannot say. The figures available in this regard are largely speculative, and there is no way of ascertaining the facts. However, there is a general agreement that as a result of contact with diseases brought to North America by whites, the Squamish population was considerably reduced. During the smallpox epidemics of 1782, 1852 and 1862, the Squamish losses were probably as high as that of their neighbouring native groups. Sutlles believes that another factor contributing to the decline in the population of the Coast Salish was the increase in raids from northern Indians, especially the Yukulta, who, it appears, received firearms a few years earlier than the Salish. These raids "persisted until the 1850's or even later."

It appears from the Indian Agent's Report 1896-97 that by then, the Squamish population, excluding that of Burrard Inlet Band, was reduced to 347. And the figures obtained by me in December, 1955 indicate it to be now 712. Thus, Squamish population has been more than doubled within the last fifty-nine years. The Immigration Department Census of May/June 1954 indicates the following age and sex distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age and Sex</th>
<th>Under seven</th>
<th>Seven and under 15</th>
<th>16 and 21</th>
<th>21 and under 65</th>
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CHAPTER II

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE PRE-CONTACT SQUAMISH

The title needs some explanation. The term "pre-contact Squamish" refers to the Squamish people as they are believed to have been before they changed their ways of living under the impact of White contact. And the term "political organisation" refers to "on the one hand, the whole complex of institutions by which law and order are maintained in the society, and, on the other, all the institutions by which the integrity of the group is maintained in relation to neighbouring communities of similar kind and protected against attack from without."

According to Radcliffe-Brown, "in studying political organisation we have to deal with maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organised exercise of coercive authority, through the use, or the possibility of use, of physical force." He therefore defines political organisation as "that aspect of the total organisation which is concerned with the control and regulation of the use of physical force." Herskovits feels this definition is "narrowly drawn" but it is useful for dealing with many different forms of political organisation. To him, "Political systems order the relations between groups by means of diplomacy and warfare", and "control conduct within the group by the exercise of law". However, his definition is equally narrow because he, too, subscribes to the view held by Radcliffe-Brown, Hoebel and others that a norm is legal if its observance can be ensured as a last resort by the absolute coercive force of the recognised authority. I feel that force, morals, attitudes, reason are some of the many factors which contribute to the

1. Notes and Queries on Anthropology, 1951, p. 132
maintenance of law and order. Which of these factors is of greatest importance in what situation is a matter of empirical investigation and not to be decided beforehand by definition. Therefore, points which we must explore, as Herskovits himself points out but does not consistently adhere to are:

"......What is the role of all these ways of achieving order in the lives of the people? What variation is to be seen in the form they take? With what degree of effectiveness do they function?"

Bearing these questions in mind, I have adopted the above quoted definition which views law as a resultant of the whole complex of institutions.

When specialised governmental institutions appear, the political organisation of society becomes increasingly concerned with execution of group policy in economic and other matters not directly related to maintenance of law and order. This feature, not being a universal feature of political organisation, has not been included in the above definition but has been stated separately, as it later becomes relevant to my discussion of Squamish political organisation.

Since pre-contact Squamish society did not have any specialised political institutions, diffused instruments of social control, such as gossip, ridicule, respect, approval and disapproval, constituted the core of its political organisation. Therefore, in order to understand Squamish political organisation, it is necessary to understand Squamish social organisation and the way that diffused instruments of social control operate within it so as to regulate the political behaviour of its members. Under the circumstances, I shall first give a description of the social organisation of the pre-contact Squamish society and then pick out the features which perform political functions and indicate the manner of their operation.

The description which follows is based on the published accounts of

pre-contact Squamish culture and Coast Salish culture in general, written by Barnett, Boas, Duff, Hill-Tout, Suttles, and detailed verbal accounts by my main informants.

Pre-contact Squamish society consisted of a number of politically and economically autonomous house groups. A number of houses located in proximity constituted a village. A cluster of villages, linked with common language, common culture, and kinship ties formed a recognisable unit. It was not a named unit prior to White contact; but after White contact, it came to be designated as the Squamish Tribe, probably deriving its name from the Squamish River on which its constituent villages were located.

The Squamish were separated by language from other neighbouring groups; but a broad similarity of culture, and ties of kinship rather loosely connected them with neighbouring groups such as Musqueam, Sechelt, Yale and Fraser River groups.

The Squamish villages neither singly nor collectively had developed the kind of specialised institutions implied by the term "government". Each house group managed its affairs largely independently of other house groups.

The amount of respect commanded by each house group head varied with his personal attributes, wealth and important privileges owned by him, and the numerical strength of his own group. This tended to set one house group head above all others in terms of prestige. Enhanced prestige did not, however, carry any privilege to have any say in the affairs of house groups other than one's own. The Squamish social organisation can, therefore, be understood only by gaining an understanding of the nature of social interaction within a house group and between house groups.
The Squamish plank houses were of the common Salish shed type, described in detail by Barnett. Only a brief description pertinent to this paper is presented here. The houses were rather large. Some of them were about twenty-five feet wide and sixty feet long. Often two or more units of this size were erected together with a permanent partition separating them. Each house had a front and rear door. The front door was usually located at the corner of the wall facing the waterfront. Each extended family usually had its own fire. However, sometimes more than one extended family shared the same fire. The fireplaces were located on the corners, a short distance from the wall.

Along with walls a three feet wide bed platform ya'ywas was erected for sleeping. Sleeping portions of each family were curtained off by mat canopies. Louie Miranda felt that his people did not attach too much importance to curtains, and that they were not always used. "Even when curtains were used, nobody shut himself off completely. At least one side was kept open," he said.

According to Barnett, the Squamish did not build stockades of logs for protection against enemy attack; but instead they built subterranean rooms fitted with tunnels with secret passages inside the houses. Louie Miranda states that the Squamish did build a stockade at Yekwaaupsum, now Indian Reserve No. 18.

4. For definition of extended family, see pp. 17-18.
5. The composition of this group was uncertain. It usually fluctuated between an elementary family and an extended family. For definition of elementary family, see pp. 18.
Membership

A house group was usually consisted of one or more extended families, genetically related when more than one. A male head of the house group; his sons, their wives and children; his unmarried daughters; his brothers, their wives, sons and unmarried daughters formed the nucleus of the house group. Conversely, a son might take up residence at his father-in-law's place, or a younger brother and his children might decide to set up their own house. Thus a house group recruited its members from those born to the members of the house group, those married to the members of the house group, and from other relatives who chose to join and were found acceptable.

Vacation of membership occurred by death and voluntary or involuntary change of residence. The latter may be further divided into the following categories:

1. Marriage. Married daughters usually, and married sons sometimes, decided to live at the house of the parents of their spouses; but they retained the right to come back and become members again.

2. Segmentation of the House Group. Due to over-crowding, conflict or some other reason, some members of the house group might decide to set up a new house group or join some other house group already established.

3. Slavery. Loss of membership might also occur as a result of an individual's being captured by enemies and kept as a slave. In these cases the loss of membership became permanent only if the house group failed to get its member back by force or ransom.

4. Punishment. If an individual became a persistent social nuisance, the house group might decide to leave him alone and move themselves away to another locality. As another variation of this, the culprit was taken to a distant place and left there.

7. This term literally means place of origin or ancestry. It does not fully correspond to the term house group; but I think this is the nearest Squamish equivalent available.
As already mentioned the house group was both a local and a kinship unit. To be precise, the house group contained only a part of the widest kinship unit. Since kinship was not confined to one house group, members of one house group usually had stronger kinship ties with some members of another house group than with some of their own, for example, a brother might have had his married sister living in her husband's house group and his cousin's unmarried daughter in his own. This permitted individuals to change residence from one local unit or house group to another, and also acted as a pull towards binding into a larger kinship unit the various scattered house groups. Notwithstanding this, the Squamish house groups achieved only a loose sense of unity, the reason being that kinship ties, although creating a strong sense of unity between specific individuals, when extended to other members of the respective house groups, became increasingly weaker according to the distance of the relationship.

In addition to the members of the house group, a few slaves, too, usually lodged in the same house. The number of slaves varied according to the wealth and social position of the head of the house group. The slaves were acquired by capture, purchase or gift, and were lost when they died, escaped, were ransomed off, forcibly freed by their kindred, or given away by the owner as a present. In exceptional cases a slave might acquire the status of a free man and become a member of the house by marriage. Only one such case was brought to my notice.

Structural Divisions within the House Group

In the house group, as already mentioned, some members were more closely related to one another than to others. This resulted in the formation of a number of clusters of closely related members, usually having a common fire and a common store of food. These clusters constituted autonomous groups within the house group and usually consisted of a man and his wife or
wives; their unmarried daughters; their sons and their wives and children; and some other relatives, say, the mother-in-law of the son, daughter's husband, or wife's sister. I call this group an extended family and its head, the head of the extended family.

Each extended family contained one or more elementary families. By elementary family I mean the wife or wives, and the children of a male. I call this male the head of the elementary family. The elementary family was the smallest economic unit within the house group. The distinction between the elementary family and the extended family is important because when segmentation in an extended family occurred, it usually occurred on the basis of the elementary family. The elementary family, therefore, formed the closest kinship, economic, and political unit.

Ownership of Property and Inheritance

Ownership is best defined as the sum total of rights which various persons or groups of persons have over things; the things thus owned are

8. There is no Squamish term for either extended family or elementary family; but the divisions correspond to the sociological realities of Squamish life. I have a feeling that these divisions were real in the Squamish mind; but they were never strictly demarcated. This looseness in demarcation helped to uphold the unity of the house group because it facilitated sharing of property between various sub-units, and their representation as a single unit to outside groups. On the one hand, the Squamish recognised the functional importance of these distinctions, but on the other, they were amicis to forget them, as if they never existed, because they conflicted with the principle of the unity of the house group. The problem of reconciliation of conflicting loyalties to a smaller and a larger unit is present everywhere. It is sought to be resolved in two opposite ways, often subtly combined: one by making clear-cut boundaries between units and specifying rights, duties and obligations; and the other, by keeping the boundaries fluid and blurred so that, when necessary, their existence may be completely denied in order to emphasise the unity of the group. The latter method is in harmony with the diffused nature of the Squamish political organisation.
property. Among the Squamish, as elsewhere, the nature of property rights which individuals or defined groups have over things varied with the nature of things owned; for example, an individual had a right to exclusive use of spells Siwi'ñ owned by him. He could sell or otherwise dispose of them as he liked. But in the case of an inherited family fishing site, although he was the owner, his brothers and other members of his house group also had a right to make use of it. He could not sell it; but he had a decisive say as to which member of his descent group should inherit it from him. Since it was customary for the oldest son to inherit the family fishing sites, he usually decided in his favour. In case he had no sons, he might let his nephew, his daughter or brother inherit it. According to Louie Miranda, if the daughter inherited a fishing site, she and her husband and their children could use it, but she could not allow her in-laws to use it. On the other hand, members of her father's house group retained the right to use the site. Notwithstanding all this, she was the "boss" and she could, as a last resort, prevent from using the site anyone who could not get along with her.

Objects owned included material objects - fishing sites, houses, tools of various kinds, food blankets, animal skins, articles of dress and ornamentation, and slaves; and non-material things - songs Syo'wan, dances, guardian spirit power, rights to participate in specific ceremonial performances mek'wteh, private knowledge of spells Siwi'ñ, and skills and formulas conferring professional efficiency of various sorts.

Inherited names, and rights to specific dances, songs, and other ceremonial performances mek'wteh, to the extent of their importance indicated how high born the owner was. Knowledge, skills, guardian spirit

10. I am indebted to Dr. Suttles for clarification of my views on the subject.
power, magic, and dances were supposed to aid the owner in successful performance as a hunter, healer, warrior, sportsman, ritualist, canoe maker and so on. Successful technical performance meant a concurrent gain in material property.

A generous sharing of material property with others in formal ceremonial feasts and in informal routine of life was essential to uphold and enhance one's inherited status. All ceremonies connected with birth, puberty, naming, marriage, death, and other important events in an individual's life cycle provided an opportunity and a challenge to him and to his house group to demonstrate his and their status by a liberal distribution of property. An individual was, therefore, under constant pressure to gain material property and share it with his fellows. But in order to outdo others seeking similar ends, he was strongly motivated to keep beyond their reach his private knowledge, spells, songs, skills, and other non-material property which helped him to maintain his competitive advantage. For example, a canoe maker did his best to keep secret the nature of his supernatural connections and his occupational know-how. No one was allowed to watch him at work, and it was a serious personal offense for any one to try. Thus, non-material property, as a means to maintenance of competitive advantage, and as a symbol of high social status, came to be protected, cherished and accumulated.

The triangular relationship between material property, non-material property, and liberal distribution of material property as a condition for attainment or maintenance of high social status, stimulated economic productivity, prevented hoarding, and balanced the effects of differential productivity by ensuring a more even distribution of material goods. In addition,

it had important political consequences which I propose to discuss towards the end of this chapter.

As already stated, fishing sites were individually owned. But members of the owner's house group, and all others residing in the same village, usually connected by kinship ties, also felt free to make use of them. Since one's social status depended on one's willingness to share liberally one's material property with others, it was not a thing to do to stop someone from catching fish from one's property. Clam beds, hunting sites, and berry and root fields were open to everyone. But there was a vague feeling of ownership about them too. People of a village looked upon certain adjacent sites, traditionally used by them, as theirs, and did not like people from other villages making use of them. But, according to Louie Miranda, "They could not openly stop anyone. Usually, a person would not go if he was not welcome."

Important family names, songs, dances, family privileges, tools, blankets, slaves, and most other significant material and non-material property was owned by males. The property owned by females included articles of personal use, inherited names from female ancestors, knowledge of ritual, dance, songs, spirit power and knowledge peculiar to female occupations - midwifery, weaving, and basket making.

The sons usually inherited from their fathers and daughters inherited from their mothers. However, as Louie Miranda pointed out, "Mothers sometimes gave to their sons names given to them from their father's side. Mother's side was important and was not to be neglected."

The most important privileges, ceremonial performances, dances, and songs belonging to a house group were usually inherited by the eldest son. However, the order of birth was not the only determining factor. If the eldest son failed to show aptitude, lacked industry, initiative, wisdom, or was otherwise felt to be incapable of representing his house group properly, he was passed over in favour of a younger but more suitable son, or even in favour of a brother or his son, who normally would have trailed behind the sons with regard to the order of inheritance. As Louie Miranda said, "In the old days, people looked upon the oldest son as the one going to succeed a chief (house group head). If he was not capable, the family might decide to give the chance to the one next to him. Whether he was capable or not, the family alone decided."

The order of inheritance with regard to names was also supposed to be the same; but in practice, any child who caught the fancy of an older member of his kinship group, might inherit from him his name. According to Louie Miranda, a father could give his name to his son in his lifetime; if he did not, the son could take it later only with the consent of the family.

**Status Differentiation within the House**

In the house lived the members of the house group, and the slaves. Members of the house group were united by kinship ties, and were, of course, free men. The status of a member varied with the degree of respect which he commanded relative to other members. Obviously, with respect as an index, a general consensus about the status of a person would have been hard to obtain, except by way of some sort of rough classification. It is this sort of classification to which Barnett, Duff and Suttles refer, when they state

that the freemen among the Coast Salish were divided into high and low, or nobles and commoners. But according to Hill-Tout, the Squamish freemen were divided into "threefold divisions of chiefs, nobles and common people." I disagree with this. I think Barnett and others quoted above are correct in taking the position that the so-called chiefs were merely house group heads who did not constitute a class apart from the nobles. This conclusion is also supported by Louie Miranda, who said, "They did not have any chiefs in the old days. They had aiums, the fellows who were respected for their soundness, and good deeds. They were respected; but this did not mean they had more control. When the White people came, they appointed chiefs whether people respected them or not."

Order of birth, ownership of material and non-material property, liberal sharing of material property with others, industry, humility, occupational efficiency, correctness of behaviour measured both in terms of morals and etiquette of the society, were the qualities which commanded respect. A head of the house group was supposed to have these qualities. By virtue of being the first in order of birth, a prospective head of the house group inherited important material and non-material property which gave him a good start over others. In addition, special attention was paid to his training and education from childhood to develop in him the habits and qualities which commanded respect from others.

The head of the house group was not a chief, as the term goes. He was a leader; but his leadership was based on the respect and confidence which his personal qualities inspired. He could not order anyone around.

It was up to others to act or not upon his advice.

The house group head, in his capacity as an extended family head, as well as an elementary family head, was a rival and an equal to others occupying similar positions within the house group. Therefore, in his capacity as a house group head, he was under pressure to reconcile his sectional interest with the interest of the whole house group, to play up his role as one above sectional interest and concerned with the well-being of all, and to play down his role as a rival seeking personal or sectional gain.

The following statement by house group head Louie Miranda, pertaining although to his contemporary life, illustrates this traditional pressure. He said, "The boys come and borrow money from me. I cannot say no. If they don't return, I would not go after them. They probably don't have it, or need it for their own use. You see, those boys are working and I am not. Sometimes I need money real bad, but I would not go and ask. My wife sometimes goes and collects from them. I appreciate her collecting the money, but I say to her, "Mother, you should not do that." Those boys might need it. But the boys come back and borrow again." Even in the face of financial privations, Louie Miranda's refusal to come down to the level of the boys is significant.

The qualities, such as generosity, good manners, honesty, industry, wisdom, skill, which the Squamish demanded from the head of a house group or for that matter from any good man, facilitated, to the extent they were realised in practice, the reconciliation of the sectional interest with the interest of the whole house group, and softened rivalry with respect. The respect commanded by the head of the house group gave an air of expert authority to his advice. Also the fact that he controlled most of the important material and non-material property of the house group, gave him a certain influence over others who coveted his support.
The Squamish obtained their slaves by purchase or by capture. In all cases, however, the slaves were members of the outside groups, initially captured during a war. They were usually captured young and reared as slaves. My informants insist they were not mistreated. They worked for their master and received subsistence from him. The possession of a slave indicated that the owner was a rich man, and where he had captured them himself, a good fighter. According to Barnett,

"Not everybody could afford to own slaves. Their economic productiveness scarcely outweighed the expense and nuisance of having them around. Primarily they were an evidence of a fighter's prowess or of the rich man's ability to buy and keep them."

But Barnett does not explain why their economic productivity was so low that they became primarily an evidence of a "rich man's ability to buy and keep them." I think the explanation is that, according to Squamish belief, the economic productivity of a person depended not only on hard work, but also on professional skill and supernatural aid. And a slave was least likely to have an opportunity to acquire the latter. It is, therefore, likely that his productive capacity was defined as poor, and for the owner, his economic value became less important than his prestige value.

The slaves were not allowed to participate in ceremonies. Their hair was cut short to indicate their status. A slave had little chance to become a free man unless his kinsmen managed to set him free by force or by ransom. However, in some exceptional cases, a slave became a member of his master's house group by marriage or by adoption. In these cases the master distributed property to re-instate his former slave in his position. But the stigma of slavery was such that no amount of property distribution

could fully wash it out. People kept it in mind for generations. But it was considered extremely bad manners to remind some one of his former slave status. A person guilty of such an indiscretion had to atone it by distribution of property. One Squamish warrior captured a Yukulta woman of high family and later married her. Notwithstanding her high birth, she was technically a slave at the time of her marriage. To wash off the stigma of slavery and to restore her to her original status of a free woman, property was distributed. This story was related to me on more than one occasion by different informants. One informant commenting on this story said, "I don't know why her descendants try to conceal it. Nobody cares about these things any more." It was through this woman and her husband that peace and friendly relations were established between the Squamish and their traditional enemies, the Yukulta. A gift distribution was held on the occasion of the formal declaration of peace.

Sexual attraction between a slave and a member of the master's house group sometimes led to sexual relations, likely to stigmatise the honour of the house group. For example, an unmarried daughter of a Squamish man of high status became pregnant as a result of sexual intercourse with a slave. The father took the couple with him in a canoe for seal hunting. But by some pretext, he left them stranded on a rock, surrounded by sea, and paddled home. They were probably drowned as the rock was supposed to be covered by water during high tide. One informant, however, felt that the man left the couple on the rock because he wanted to give them some chance to escape alive. The seduction of a high-born girl was strongly resented even when the seducer was not a slave; but the reaction to the act varied, among other things, with the social position and attractiveness of the seducer.

13. This story is corroborated by a similar one recorded by Barnett. Barnett, 1955, p. 208.
as a son-in-law.

**Nature of the Economy**

Like other Coast Salish groups, the Squamish lacked agriculture, animal husbandry, metallurgy and a system of writing. Fishing, hunting and gathering constituted the main sources of food supply. Nature was quite bountiful and ordinarily there was abundant supply of food. Fish constituted the staple diet of the Squamish. Other items of food were: meat of mountain goats, ducks, deer, water fowl, porcupine; eulachan and seal oil; clams; bulbs; berries and roots of various kinds. The Squamish had access to many kinds of fish, salmon, herring, trout, eulachan, and sturgeon, to mention only a few. Although some fish was available throughout the year, most of the catch was made during the summer or early fall when fish runs were at their height. On the other hand, hunting provided fresh meat during winter. Surplus fish, berries and other food were dried or smoked in summer and kept in store for use in winter.

Although everyone was supposed to do some hunting, fishing and wood-working, men also specialised in some specific activity, such as canoe building, making household utensils, and mountain goat hunting. Technical training and private knowledge or spirit aid of some sort were pre-requisites for any kind of specialisation. For example, it was necessary to have knowledge of the habits of the animals in order to become an efficient hunter. According to Barnett,

"...every man aspired to acquire a spirit helper of some sort, for he could not hope to excel in anything without the specific assistance which was guaranteed to him by a spirit in a dream or some supernatural experience."

Weaving, basket making, root digging, midwifery and cooking food in the house

were supposed to be womanly occupations. Men and women both took part in skin
dressing. Doctoring was practiced by anyone having power and the requisite
knowledge of herbs.

The following description of Coast Salish technology by Suttles
provides an excellent summary:

"Coast Salish technology was basically simple. Knowing how to work
stone enabled men to produce cutting blades; knowing how to twist
or spin vegetable fibres enabled them to make a variety of cordage. With these they made wood-working tools, and with woodworking
tools they made the great cedar-plank house they lived in and the
great cedar canoes they travelled in. With cutting-blades and
cordage they made the great variety of spears, arrows, harpoons,
hooks and nets that they used in taking fish and game."

Technology, private knowledge, skills, habits of industry and liberal sharing
of material property, each reinforcing the other, contributed to the economic
well-being of the Squamish.

Every event of importance involved the distribution of property.
Birth, naming, puberty, marriage, funeral, validation of status after some
significant breach of etiquette, all involved such a distribution. Members
of the house group assisted the individual involved with blankets, food
and other property for distribution. In the quest for status by gift-giving,
none wanted to be outdone by others. As soon as possible, the receiver made
a return gift to the giver equal or a little more than equal to the value
of the gift received. On receipt of a return gift, the receiver distributed
a part of the gift to all those who contributed towards the making of the
original gift, in proportion to what they gave. This was also the principle
underlying the distribution of property in the feasts called potlatches, a
name derived from Chinook jargon. I shall omit the description of the
potlatch here, as it has already been described so often.

Interaction between House Groups

Interaction between house groups located in the same village was, for obvious reasons, of a more intensive nature than the interaction between house groups located in different villages. Members of one house group usually sought mates from the other house groups in the village. Need for defence against enemy attacks, participating in common ceremonial feasts, economic matters of mutual concern, informal friendly contact as neighbours, all these ties, however weak, created a sense of unity among the members of the different house groups located in the same village.

The heads of the house groups informally talked things over and decided on a future course of action. Similar consultations were carried out between the heads of the family units within the house group. In each case, any one was free to dissent from majority opinion to follow his own judgement. But no one could disregard the opinion of others often without incurring a loss of status. Common understandings about the good and desirable (for example, a good man was supposed to respect other people's property rights and when opportunity arose, make appropriate return gifts for the gifts received) and respect for the opinion of those who were reputed to have sound judgement, narrowed down considerably the possibility of frequent disagreement.

Status differentiation between house groups followed the same principles as within the house group. Some house groups were ranked low, others high. The lowest ranking members of the poorest house groups were usually ranked lower than the lowest ranking members of wealthy or high ranking house groups. As already stated, high ranking individuals were

22. See also page 20.
23. Barnett p. 243-244.
considered nobles and others commoners. The rank varied with the respect commanded by each individual. Therefore, the terms nobles and commoners, although useful as a rough classification, are somewhat misleading as they lump together people holding different rank. Any individual who commanded respect from others might be addressed as a siem Si' a'm. This term did not mean "political chief". Its meaning was roughly equivalent to Mister or sir in English.

Kinship

Kinship ties were the strongest links uniting individuals living in various houses located at one place or scattered over a large area. An individual depended on his kingroup χων’c’a’γωμ for protection and support. We have already noted that kinship made possible residential mobility and social intercourse over a large area. The Squamish counted kinship up to six generations on both the father's and mother's side. Equal importance was attached to kinship on both sides. The widest kinship unit χων’c’a’γωμ therefore was a bilateral kinship unit consisting of relatives up to the sixth degree on both the father's and mother's side. The following table shows the term used to designate members of the group.

Parent-child

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<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>m’a’n</td>
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<tr>
<td>mother (in address: ṭa’l’a, ṭa’l)</td>
<td>či’gα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (plural: m’a’n m’a’n)</td>
<td>m’a’n</td>
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(Informant also gave: S’hα’γο’T girl, daughter, from S’hα’γαγ, woman; and swe’qα’o’T, boy, son, from swe’qα, man, but these are probably primarily terms that designate status in the life cycle rather than kinship terms.)
**Siblings**

- $\text{kho'pic}$: older sibling (pl. $\text{ku'pko'pic}$) p o sb ch
- $\text{sqa'q}$: younger sibling, p y sb ch
- $\text{a'yi'i}$: sibling of opposite sex

(a term $\text{s'e'i}$ may be used for $\text{kho'pic}$, but it seems to mean merely "senior", that is, it may be used to express the relative age of unrelated persons.)

(The terms $\text{s'w'aq}$ and $\text{sqo'naq}$ seem to be equivalents of $\text{sqa'q}$, $\text{s'a'gaq}$, which means a group of younger siblings.)

(In using the terms $\text{kho'pic}$ and $\text{sqa'q}$, sex is indicated grammatically as: $\text{ni'f}$ in $\text{sqa'q} \text{ t'e'wa}$, "This is my younger brother." $\text{ni'f}$ in $\text{sqa'q} \text{ C'a'wa}$, "This is my younger sister.")

"Cousins are called $\text{kho'pic}$ and $\text{sqa'q}$ depending on relative seniority of descent, that is, parent's older sibling's children are all "older siblings", regardless of actual age relative to the speaker.

(Special terms exist for eldest, $\text{sc'in}$, and youngest, $\text{sa'ut}$; also say $\text{ho'isi saut}$, "very youngest".)

**Grandparent-grandchild**

- $\text{sc'le}$: grandparent
- $\text{e'mac}$: grandchild

**P sb-sb ch**

- $\text{si'si}$: uncle
- $\text{s'a'fre}$: aunt
- $\text{s'a'ye}$: sb ch
- $\text{woysa'q'ya e}$ dec p sb
- $\text{swernima'it}$ dec sb ch

**Great-grandparents, etc.**

- $\text{s'ca'maq}$: great-grandparent, great-grandchild
Raids were carried out on enemy groups to take revenge or to test the power of a novice warrior. There was little open warfare. It was customary to make a surprise attack in early hours of the morning. After overpowering the enemy, men were usually killed and their heads taken as trophies; women and children were either killed or taken prisoner; the house and other property was destroyed. Squamish carried out raids against Yukulta, Cowichan, Nimpkish, Lillooet, and perhaps others. My informants proudly mention their victories against the Yukulta. But these accounts do not give any specific details about techniques of warfare. For example, I was told once a Squamish warrior made a raid on the Yukulta and captured a number of...
slaves. One of them was a beautiful woman whom he decided to marry. Another
time, a daughter of a Squamish warrior was stolen by the Yukulta. He
immediately followed the Yukulta raiders. He destroyed their settlement but
he did not get his daughter back because they had sent her to some other
place. There was no specialised organisation to defend against or attack
enemies. If any warrior felt like making a raid on an enemy group, he
collected his kinsmen and others willing to go along, and carried out the
raid.

Life Cycle

A conspicuous aspect of Squamish life was the number of taboos
which an individual was supposed to observe to ensure his own well-being or
that of his group. For instance, eating of cod fish and liver of ducks was
tabooed for pregnant women because it was supposed to make delivery hard.
New-born twins, and to a lesser extent their parents, were believed to be
particularly susceptible to supernatural influence, and contact with them
was tabooed because it was supposed to injure the twins or the person coming
in contact with them. They and their parents were therefore secluded in the
woods for a year. All these taboos derived their logic from certain inter-
connections between the world of things and the world of spirits. For example,
the belief that by self-purification, fasting and bathing, one could obtain
guardian spirit power from animals, which was supposed to confer various kinds
of professional efficiency. Taboos provided well-tried conventional under-
standings for manipulating both these worlds to promote human well-being.

A brief account of major events of life cycle now follows:

Birth

At the time of delivery, a woman was secluded in one corner of the

house. She was assisted by women specialists or midwives who had the experience and the "word" (spell). Different midwives used different concoctions to ease the birth. Men were not supposed to be present at the time of delivery. The midwives were given something for their services; but it was not strictly a payment. Commenting on this, one informant said, "When you do something, you are kind of expecting that they give you something as a mark of appreciation, to express their thanks; but it was not considered a payment." Squamish kept the navel string of the child under the bark of a tree; if it was lost or destroyed, the child was supposed to come to harm. The after-birth was disposed of in the woods by the child's father or the midwife. If it was destroyed in any other way, the child was supposed to be injured, or the mother rendered barren.

Naming

Four days after the birth, guests were invited and the child was given a name. Distribution of property varied with the status of the parents. In addition to this name, the child might later be given other important names by his father, grandfather or any other kinsman who took a fancy to the child. The person giving the name also distributed property on behalf of the child to validate his own status and that of the child. Such property distributions on behalf of the child gave the child an early start in the competitive struggle for status.

Education

In childhood, children received their training from some members of the grandparent generation in the house. The children were forced to get up early in the morning. After getting up, they were asked to bathe in the cold river water, and to rub their bodies with spruce boughs to make them clean. Habits of industry and cleanliness were inculcated from the early

years. With the growth of age and understanding, the children were taught
etiquette and behaviour befitting a respected man or woman, both by example
and word of mouth. The importance of their names were impressed upon them,
and they were specifically told that a man's name lived forever and that they
should not do anything to bring disrepute to it. The value of correct
behaviour, habits of industry, and active seeking of respect from others
by liberal distribution of property were repeatedly impressed on them. This
emphasis on seeking respect from others was a powerful instrument of social
control. Instructions to the girls with regard to the behaviour appropriate
to their sex and status were given by some member of the grandmother's
generation or by the mother. Occupational training was given to both
boys and girls by letting them help the older members with their daily
occupations. Knowledge of the family genealogies, private knowledge for
occupational success, and methods of seeking a guardian spirit were also
taught by grandparents.

Adolescence.

Adolescent boys and girls were encouraged to seek a guardian spirit
by bathing, fasting and undergoing physical hardships. Toughening the body,
capacity to bear hardships, and development of self-reliance were also emphas­
ised. The boys usually secluded themselves in the woods to seek guardian
spirits. Guardian spirits were supposed to confer varying kinds of powers
ranging from the ones providing success in hunting and fishing to shamanistic
powers of varying potency, including the power of clairvoyance. Each spirit
also conferred its own song or dance.

At the time of her first menstruation, a girl was secluded for
eight days because during this period, she was considered to be very
susceptible to supernatural influence, which might endanger her life or the
life of others in contact with her. Her mother and a ritualist looked after
her during this period. Laziness was one of the worst qualities which a Squamish could possess. Therefore, in order to save the girl from becoming lazy, she was encouraged to busy herself with wool twisting, or basket weaving. A ceremonial feast involving distribution of property followed the end of the period of seclusion.

In the case of a boy, onset of puberty was recognised but there was no specific ceremony held to mark puberty. A feast was, however, given to mark his first hunt.

Marriage

According to Hill-Tout and my informant Tim Moody, marriage was supposed to be prohibited up to the sixth degree of kinship on both father's and mother's side. But according to Louie Miranda, kinship after the third or fourth degree was not considered a serious bar to marriage. Sometimes, even second cousin marriages occurred. Old people first objected to them, but after the marriage stoically accepted the fact. "I guess he did not want to treat his sister mean," was the usual rationalisation offered. This was the Squamish equivalent of what in White society is called "making an honest woman of her." Marriages were arranged by the parents. I was told of two cases in which daughters were forced by their parents to marry men they did not like. According to one informant, about a hundred years ago, there used to be a ceremonial dance during which, if a man lifted up his son and another man responded by lifting up his daughter the children had to marry each other when they grew up. It was the boy's side who initiated the marriage proposal. When the proposal was publicly made, the girl's side expressed surprise and responded as if the proposal was unwelcome. The boy then sat on the doorstep of the house of the girl's father for four days without eating. Nobody took any notice of him. After four days, however, the girl's family indicated

the acceptance or rejection of the proposal. Elaborate ceremonial feasts, display of privileges and gifts, and counter-gifts of property marked the completion of the marriage. Sometimes a boy and girl eloped when the parents of the girl objected to the match. However, the elopement was later legitimised into marriage by the usual exchange of property. A brother was free to marry the widow of his brother by blanket marriage. A widower was given the first choice of marrying the sister of his deceased wife. Explaining the reason for this my informant said, "you see, our people liked to keep the family together. They would not like the children of their daughter to be mistreated by another woman." He distinctly denied that there was any preference for marriage outside the village. "Our people did not object to them; but they did not do anything to encourage them." Barnett on the other hand believes that they did have a preference for marriage outside the village and above all, for "extra-tribal marriage".

Marriages were polygynous, and it was not uncommon for a rich man to have three or four wives. Reaction to adultery varied. It might result in the murder of the seducer and mutilation of the spouse, or merely beating the wife might be considered sufficient. Divorce was a common occurrence. When asked about the grounds of the divorce, an informant said, "Oh, she don't have to have any grounds, I have heard my old man say, you can't hold a woman if she don't want to stay." There was little ceremony for divorce. A woman moved to her parents' house or started living with another man as his wife after some exchange of property taking place to validate the marriage.

Sickness

Ordinary bodily troubles were supposed to be cured by the use of herbs, bark of certain trees, and eating of different kinds of foods.

Informants pointed out to me with pride how their kinsmen or neighbours were cured by traditional Squamish medicine after they had been declared incurable by the White doctors. Quite a few people still have knowledge of herbs traditionally used to cure many minor and some serious ailments. In order that sickness might not result by breach of taboos at the time of birth, puberty and other occasions of life crisis, the services of a ritualist, a person with requisite skill and magical formulas or the "word", were obtained to ensure that the correct procedure had been followed. An illness which occurred because of soul loss, malevolent efforts of a shaman, or because ghosts had interfered with an individual's soul, could only be cured by a shaman or an individual gifted with specialised power to deal with such cases. Soul loss occurred when a soul left the body and did not come back. After losing his soul the individual was supposed to die gradually unless his soul was restored.

Death

After death, the body was left in the house for four days. Certain people were called to sit up with the dead body. Anybody might be called at the discretion of the family; but those who were called and sat up were paid. Before touching the body the ritualist was supposed to rub certain herbs on his hands. After this, he rubbed the same herbs on the corpse. The body was then washed and wrapped in a new blanket. All the time the body was kept facing east. When the preliminary preparations were over, the body was taken out to the cemetery through a hole in the wall, which was later repaired. Explaining the reason as to why the body was taken out through the wall instead of the door, an informant said, "Our people believed that the ghosts of the dead come back to the house the way they go out, and any one coming in contact with the ghost will die." In the cemetery the body was placed on a platform supported by posts and a tree, and a shed-like enclosure was made to

cover it. There was a great deal of weeping and wailing. Mourners gave expression to their grief by praising the deceased and bewailing the closeness of the deceased to them. Personal possessions valued by the deceased were put with the body. Other material possessions were either burnt or distributed to anyone who might like to take them. The name of the deceased remained taboo until it was given to somebody living. The members of the elementary family of the deceased as well as the house in which he lived, were supposed to be purified after the funeral.

Throughout this discussion of the Squamish social organisation my emphasis has been on delineating, in their proper context, those features that perform political functions. These features, occurring as they did in a related way, constituted the political organisation of that society. Since references to these features have remained scattered and almost buried beneath a mass of other details, I shall now pick them out of their context and present them together. This involves interpretation, simplification, and possibly some violence to individual facts. But I think this procedure would add to the clarity of my presentation.

1. Harmony between education of the child and adult life. The child's education was geared to the development of positive attitudes towards active participation in the struggle of winning respect from others, which was the most persistent theme of the Squamish adult life. This gave the power to others to control the behaviour of the individual insofar as it deviated from the common norm of good conduct.

2. Inculcation of positive attitudes towards hard work and liberality in distribution of property. This tended to utilise individual self-assertion for the economic well-being of the society.

3. Fostering of the belief that an individual can manipulate the supernatural
to promote his well-being provided he approached it properly, that is, in a conventional manner. What was believed to be true of the supernatural was also true of the individual's relations with his fellowmen. Thus the attitude towards the supernatural and fellowmen complimented each other and together reinforced tradition. Education of the child by the grandparent was another factor stabilising tradition. The tendency of the aged person to remember clearly the days of his childhood contributed towards making him an understanding teacher. On the other hand, having the charge of the education of the child gave him to some extent an opportunity to perpetuate himself in his grandchild. It is significant in this connection that grandparents more often gave their names to their grandchildren than to their children. Thus, the education by grandparents, and the attitudes towards the supernatural and fellowmen tended to reinforce each other and to contribute to the stabilisation and veneration of the tradition.

4. The individual's dependence on the kin group for support against injury from others. This made him aware of the value of retaining their goodwill, which he could easily do if he respected the traditional obligations of kinship and avoided embroiling them in trouble through picking up quarrels with the neighbours. Kinship obligations, therefore, reinforced political control and stabilised tradition.

5. Emphasis on leadership by those who were respected and wealthy, and emphasis on a liberal sharing of their material property with others. Respect reconciled the individual's actual submission to authority by giving him a feeling of freedom. But leadership based on respect may demand and obtain greater subjection of the individual than leadership based on an official status, such as the presidency of a modern state. Simmel aptly points out this aspect of leadership when he says,
"Superiority through prestige consists in the ability to 'push' individuals and masses and to make unconditional followers of them. Authority does not have this ability to the same extent. The higher, cooler and normative character of authority is more apt to leave room for criticism, even on the part of its followers. In spite of this, however, prestige strikes us as the more voluntary homage to the superior person."29

Wealth gave the leader the economic power to back his own decisions and to reward those who chose to follow him. Liberal sharing of property by the leader gave the followers not only a vicarious satisfaction of identification with a respected person, but also concrete satisfaction in terms of material rewards.

6. The fear of ridicule and gossip. In a society where winning of respect from others was so important, the fear of gossip and ridicule became a powerful instrument of political control.

7. The combining of criticism with support. An individual in need might be given support by his kinsmen; but they might tell him later to mend his ways. This method of combining personal solidarity with criticism and making criticism appear impersonal and objective was an excellent device for eliminating conflict and removing error.

8. Fear of retaliation by the wronged individual and his kinsmen was a deterrent to aggression because retaliation by kinsmen was by and large quite certain; perhaps even more certain than by law in the modern society.

9. Narrow range of alternatives. There were very few, if any, additional alternative modes of behaviour available beyond those few provided by the Squamish culture itself. The same was true of geographical mobility. An individual might move from one house group to another; but the opportunity to evade social responsibility by moving away was very limited.

The purpose of the above is not to show that the political controls were impregnable; but merely to show what kinds of controls there were and how they were organised. Complete obedience to all social norms is never fully realised. As elsewhere, violations of the norms occurred in Squamish society. Informal pressures and retaliation by the individual wronged, or his kinsmen, attempted to restore balance. If an individual became an insufferable nuisance, others by mutual agreement might force him into exile or themselves move somewhere else leaving him to his own fate. A murder might start a feud among the kinsmen of the parties involved. I was told of one case when after the occurrence of a murder, ten families moved out of a village fearing that a feud might start. A shaman with great spirit power was feared, and sometimes he got away, literally with murder. But he could not afford to do it very often because besides other considerations, another shaman might be asked to counteract his power. However, I do feel that ill-treatment of the weak by the strong and unscrupulous was likely to go unchecked merely because the society lacked specialised governmental institutions. Relative rigidity of tradition, and subjection of the individual to subtle but powerful informal controls was an essential feature of the pre-contact Squamish society which on the surface appeared to be strongly individualistic.

Two tentative hypotheses are suggested by this study:

1. Rigidity of tradition, and thorough subjection of the individual to subtle but powerful informal controls is likely to be a feature of any society lacking in specialised governmental institutions.

2. There is likely to be a positive correlation between education of the children by grandparents and a slow pace of change in a society.
CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT RELATIONS – ESTABLISHMENT OF RESERVES

In this chapter, I shall attempt to trace the policies followed by the Provincial and Dominion Governments, which led to the establishment of the present day Indian Reserves in British Columbia, and the effects of these policies on the contemporary political organisation of the Squamish Indians. For this purpose I will have to deal with not only verifiable historical data available but also with some unverified statements of Squamish informants. Inclusion of the latter is fully as essential to the understanding of political organisation as is the former because human beliefs, however based on error, have some real consequences in influencing human behavior.

While writing this chapter, I have been able to consult a manuscript prepared by the Indian Research Committee of the University of British Columbia. I have followed its presentation closely on the history of land policy which I give in the first half of this chapter. I have also used a large amount of their wording of facts and issues. However, for the views expressed here, the responsibility is entirely mine.

In 1849, the Hudson’s Bay Company took charge of the newly established colony of Vancouver Island. The Company was mainly interested in trade with the Indians; and its policy was, therefore, primarily directed towards maintenance of harmonious relationships with them. Conscious efforts to change the Indian mode of life by introducing western techniques and values were relegated to secondary importance, perhaps lest they promote discord and jeopardize trade.

In regard to land for settlement, the Company was entitled to make
use of lands after extinguishing any Indian rights that the Crown considered itself under an obligation to extinguish. The nature of these rights was not then specified. The Company, however, occupied wild lands without compensation to the Indians, as Crown lands. Also in some cases, the Company bought from the Indians, lands that they viewed as owned by them. In short, during the Company rule, no consistent single policy with regard to land was developed.

By the Act of Parliament, August 2, 1858, the Colony of British Columbia was created, and James Douglas became the first governor. He was faced with a frontier situation, where his chief concern was to facilitate an orderly colonisation by Whites, with the least antagonising of Indians who, being in great majority could, if provoked, present a serious danger to the existence of White settlers. The interest of White settlers demanded that more land should be made available. On the other hand, the Indians did not relish the prospect of losing land which they had hitherto considered their own. This clash of interests presented a situation full of explosive possibilities. No immediate solution of the problem was in sight and the pressure for more land for White settlement continued with increasing persistence. Some settlers attempted to buy land direct from the Indians. Douglas did not approve of this practice and put a stop to it, on the grounds that all lands belong to the Crown in fee, that is, the Indians held land subject to the Crown, and no one could, therefore, claim ownership rights to the land by the mere fact of buying it from the Indians, or otherwise possessing it without the consent of the Crown. What was intended was to assert the rights of the Crown, and not to deny the rights of the Indians, which, whatever their nature, were now deemed to be subject to the Crown.

1. The Journals and Sessional Papers of B.C., 1876, Papers relating to Indian Land Question, p. 15.
Thus the Colonial Government, acting in the name of the Crown, acquired the monopoly of dealing directly with the Indians, in respect of matters relating to land. It was hoped that by this measure Indians would be saved from any fraud and violence which might have occurred in the case of land hungry White settlers dealing directly with the Indians. It is uncertain how much Indians actually benefitted from this, as occasional cases of White-Indian violence did occur, and the principle that all lands belong to the Crown in fee was later interpreted as a distinct denial of any Indian rights to Crown lands.

In order to satisfy both Indians and whites, Douglas wanted to pay to the Indians of Vancouver Island a small sum of money as compensation for extinguishing their title to the land acquired for settlement. For this purpose he requested a loan from the Imperial Government. Supporting his request for a loan he wrote:

"As the native Indian population of Vancouver Island have distinct ideas of property in land, and mutually recognise their several exclusive possessory rights in certain districts, they would not fail to regard the occupation of such portions of the Colony by white settlers, unless with the full consent of the proprietary tribes, as national wrongs; and the sense of injury might produce a feeling of irritation against the settlers, and perhaps disaffection to the Government that would endanger the peace of the country.

Knowing their feelings on that subject, I made it a practice up to the year 1859, to purchase the native rights in the land, in every case, prior to the settlement of any district; but since that time in consequence of the termination of Hudson's Bay Company's Charter, and the want of funds, it has not been in my power to continue it."3

The Secretary of State in his reply recognised the necessity of extinguishing Indian title; but refused to grant any loan, as in his view, it was "a purely Colonial interest" and that Colonial Government should be

2. Ibid., p. 45.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
able to raise funds necessary for this purpose.

If the loan had been granted probably the same policy might have been followed in respect of similar land required for settlement purposes on the mainland, that is, the Colony of British Columbia. As the loan was not granted and the Colonial Government was unable to raise the necessary funds from other sources, Douglas' plan to extinguish the Indian title never went through. Since the pressure from White settlers for more land continued it was felt expedient to deny all Indian rights to what, as already stated, were now deemed as Crown Lands.

As to the establishment of reserves both in the Colony of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, the suggestion first came from Lord Lytton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who in a dispatch dated December 30, 1858, suggested that Governor Douglas explore the feasibility of settling the natives permanently in villages, in the fashion adopted by Sir George Grey for settlement of Kaffirs in South Africa. Governor Douglas in his reply stressed the necessity of training the Indians to "habits of self-government and self-reliance", and proposed that:

"Every family should have a distinct portion of the reserved land assigned for their use, and to be cultivated by their own labour, giving them however, for the present, no power to sell or otherwise alienate the land; that they should be taught to regard that land as their inheritance; that the desire should be encouraged and fostered in their minds of adding to their possessions, and devoting their earnings to the purchase of property apart from the reserve, which would be left entirely at their own disposal and control; that they should in all respects be treated as rational beings, capable of acting and thinking for themselves; and lastly, that they should be placed under proper moral and religious training, and left under the protection of the laws, to provide for their own maintenance and support."
Apparently, to Douglas the laying down of Indian reserves did not mean erecting a fence within which Indian rights of ownership with regard to land and other property were to be confined. On the contrary he wanted to encourage them to buy property outside the reserves, which unlike the reserve land, they could sell. Even restrictions on the right to sell reserve land were viewed by him as temporary. This liberal and humane view of the Indian situation was to some extent lost, as we shall see later, by the Government of British Columbia.

In line with his emphasis on the Indian's being self-supporting, Douglas favoured the establishment of large reserves on the mainland. A part of these reserves were meant to be leased for revenue, which was to form a capital fund to be used for the improvement of Indian communities, financing of schools, and to promote development of agriculture, so as to reduce the necessity for the Indians to depend on the Government. At least ten acres per family were to be laid out as reserve lands. Mr. McColl, the official responsible for the surveying and laying out of Indian reserves claimed that he received verbal instruction from Governor Douglas that "all lands claimed by Indians were to be included in their reserves, that the Indians were to have as much land as they wished, and that he was in no case to lay off a reserve under one hundred acres." It was however, soon felt that the reserves laid out by McColl were too extravagant. In a dispatch dated August 28, 1867, Joseph W. Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Land and Works suggested to the Colonial Secretary that the reserves be reduced either by disavowing "McColl's authority to make these reserves of the extravagant extent laid out by him and instead to survey off the Reserves afresh either on the basis of .... ten acres to each grown man,

7. Ibid., p. 16-17.
8. Ibid., p. 42.
or of such extent as may, on investigation, be determined to be proportionate to the requirements of each tribe,9 or by buying a greater portion of these lands back from the Indians. The Colonial Secretary in his reply approved the former course on the grounds that "the Indians have no right to any land beyond what may be necessary for their actual requirements."

As to the right of the Indians to preempt land under the same conditions as anyone else: A Squamish Indian named Snat was the first to request permission to preempt land in New Westminster. The Chief Commissioner of Land and Works referred his case to the Colonial Secretary, who accepted the principle that Indians should be treated on a par with whites with regard to preemption of land and acceded to Snat's request for preemption of land. I understand from one of my informants that in this case Snat was acting on behalf of Squamish, Musqueam, and a number of other Indian groups who contributed money to defray the cost of the preemption. If this be true, as I believe it is, the Indians had begun to realise the value of land as well as the advisability of taking some common action to establish their claim on an adequate amount of land. It appears that the Indians started preempting land on a large scale and the Government felt it necessary to impose some restrictions on their exercise of their right to preempt. The Chief Commissioner of Land and Works presented the situation to the Colonial Secretary in the following words:

* A question has arisen as to Indians preempting lands precisely as a White man could. I understood His Excellency to say that there is nothing to prevent their doing so, provided, of course, they fulfil all the terms required by the preemption proclamation.

I shall feel obliged by receiving official instructions in respect to the above. Such instructions appear to be very necessary in connection with the progress of the survey of the

9. Ibid., p. 41-42
10. Ibid., p. 45.
country, the more so as I understand Indians are preempting 'extended order' along the River and elsewhere to considerable extent and that such extent is likely to increase very considerably and very rapidly.'\(^{12}\)

In his reply dated July 2, 1862, the Colonial Secretary stated:

"... Provisions will be made for permitting Indians to hold land under preemption on the following conditions:

1st That they reside continuously on their farms.

2nd That they build thereon a house of squared logs with shingled roofs, not less than 30 feet by 20 feet, and side walls 10 feet high.

3rd That they clean, enclose, and cultivate 1st year 2 acres of woodland, or 5 acres of prairie land. 2nd year and afterwards, till the end of the 5th year, 3 acres of woodland, or 5 acres of prairie land.

4th That no power shall be given to convey such land without the consent of the Governor having been first obtained.'\(^{13}\)

This proved to be an effective check to any further Indian efforts to preempt land. Only one case of preemption occurred after this.

The survey of the Indian reserves was proceeding at a rather slow rate. There were a number of clashes between White settlers and Indians over land boundaries. Whites were invariably victorious in these clashes. There was widespread discontent among the Indians over the smallness of their holdings. This was the state of affairs when the Colony of British Columbia in 1871 became a Province of Canada. Since then all matters relating to Indians have become the responsibility of the Dominion Government. To recapitulate, the following were the principal features of the Indian policy of the Colony of British Columbia before it handed over the charge of Indian affairs to the Dominion government:

1. Indian title was assumed as non-existent. Hence the question of paying annuities in return for extinguishing Indian title, as done in many parts of Canada, did not arise.

\(^{12}\) Loc. cit.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 25.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., Appendix A p. 9.
2. The survey of Indian reserves was not yet completed. Indians continued to occupy the sites, which they claimed to have traditionally occupied. Whenever survey was completed small reserves were established on the basis of ten acres per family of five. As no accurate census of Indians was available many inaccuracies crept in, resulting in an inequitable allotment of land. The yardstick of ten acres per family of five, was indiscriminate with respect to variations in local needs, for example, the needs of the Interior Indians as distinguished from those of the Coast Indians.

3. Notwithstanding cases when individual prejudice made the law ineffective the Indians were viewed as meriting equal treatment before the law. It was believed that by education they would learn to comport themselves as equal citizens. However, the Government did little to provide this education, except in an indirect way by providing employment to some Indians living in the Interior as police, labourers, servants and messengers. In general, the policy was to extend to the Indians equal protection under law, and to let them mingle freely with Whites, so that they might thereby learn white techniques and values.

The Dominion Government took charge of the Indian affairs under Clause 13 of the terms of Union in 1871, which provides that:

"...the charge of the Indians and the trusteeship and management of the land reserved for their use and benefit shall be assumed by the Dominion Government and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government shall be continued by the Dominion Government after Union. To carry out such a policy, tracts of land of such extent as it has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose, shall from time to time be conveyed by the Local Government to the Dominion Government; and in the case of
disagreement between the two Governments respecting the quantity of such tracts of land to be so granted the matter shall be referred to the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.\textsuperscript{15}

The above clause made two assumptions, not quite borne out by facts, namely that the Province had a liberal policy, and that reserves had been already laid out so that necessity for adjustment would arise only "from time to time.\textsuperscript{16} Commenting on this clause in a memorandum dated November 2, 1874, the Minister of the Interior stated that:

"... whereas in British Columbia ten acres of land was the maximum allowance for a family of five persons, in Old Canada the minimum for such a family was 80 acres; and a similar contrast obtained in regard to grants for education and all other matters connected with the Indians under the respective Governments. Read by this light, the insertion of a clause guaranteeing the aborigines of British Columbia the continuance by Dominion Government of the liberal policy heretofore pursued by the Local Government seems little short of a mockery of their claims.\textsuperscript{17}

Prior to this controversial memorandum, the Dominion Government passed an Order-in-Council dated March 21, 1873 recommending that the local Government should assign 80 acres of land to every Indian family of five.\textsuperscript{17} The Provincial Government in reply offered 20 acres per family of five or to each five persons. The Dominion Government then suggested that 20 acres of land be assigned to each head of the family regardless of the number of family members, that is, 20 acres for each adult and his dependents. The Provincial Government assented to the suggestion but insisted that this grant is intended not "to affect or unsettle reservations before established, but is confined to the cases in which at the time of the Confederation, the original tribes were not provided with land set apart for their exclusive use."\textsuperscript{18} In view of this attitude of the Provincial Government the survey of

\textsuperscript{15} Report of the Government of British Columbia on the Subject of Indian Reserves, 1875, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{16} The Journal and Sessional Papers of B.C., 1876, \textit{op. cit.} p. 152.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 114.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 143.
Indian reserves which was being carried out by Commissioner Powell was suspended in September, 1874.

The suspension of survey was a source of disappointment to many Indians who had hoped that a survey of their reserves would soon be carried out and their grievances regarding inadequacy of the quantity or quality of land would be removed. In addition, they complained that in a number of cases (the Provincial Government admitted only four such cases) their traditional good quality lands, cultivated or cleared by them, even their burial grounds had been preempted by Whites. Moreover, White settlers who had leased wild lands prevented Indian cattle from grazing in those lands. Heamed in by white settlement, they began to be painfully aware of the meanings of the White concept of property. All this created an acute sense of discontent and insecurity among the Indians. Friends of the Indians, such as Father Grandidier, and the Bishop of British Columbia wrote letters to the Dominion Government protesting against the treatment meted out to the Indians. Pointing out the seriousness of the situation Commissioner Powell stated, perhaps somewhat dramatically, "If there has not been an Indian War, it is not because there has been no injustice to the Indians, but because they have not been sufficiently united." And the Dominion Government repeatedly urged the Provincial Government to put a more liberal interpretation on Clause 13 of the terms of Union of 1871.

In 1876, the Province and the Dominion agreed to set up a Joint commission to survey Indian reserves in British Columbia. The Commission was to follow a "liberal" policy and allot land to each nation (language group) of Indians with due regard to their "habits, wants and pursuits", to

the amount of territory available in the region, and to the claims of White settlers. It was also agreed that in the event of any material increase or decrease in population of a particular nation, the reserve, that is, "the land held in trust for use and benefit of the nation" shall be proportionately reduced or enlarged. In the case of reduction, cut off land would revert to the Province and in the case of enlargement any extra land necessary would be allotted from Crown Lands. In 1899 the Commission was reduced to one member, Dominion Commissioner Powell. The Commission was abolished in 1910. It appears that it had satisfied virtually no one, least of all the Indians.

Indian dissatisfaction on land matters continued. Their hunting, fishing and trapping activities, unrestricted pursuit of which the Indians considered their right, came to be increasingly regulated by government departments. At times prosecutions occurred for breaches of these regulations. Indians also complained about the shortage of pasture lands for grazing their cattle. It was alleged that some Indians were prosecuted for grazing their cattle on their traditional pasture lands, now leased by Whites. 22 By this time some Indian leaders had acquired a fair understanding of White governmental institutions, Canadian law, and their own rights under that law. They, therefore, began to explore legal avenues for presentation and redress of their grievances. In this they were assisted by some Whites, lawyers and others. They built up a strong case, supported by documents, aimed at compelling the Dominion and Provincial Governments to recognize Indian title and make adequate compensation for it. They also carried on agitation for a judicial decision on their grievances.

claim to Indian title. This agitation took the form of sending deputations and submitting petitions to the authorities. In 1909 a petition was sent to the King for permission to submit Indian claims to the Privy Council for decision. A number of deputations of Indians presented their grievances to the Dominion Prime Minister, when he visited British Columbia in 1910. In the same year a deputation of Friends of the Indians waited upon the Prime Minister of British Columbia.

In 1912, the Dominion Government appointed Mr. J.A.J. McKenna, as commissioner to negotiate with the Provincial Government for the settlement of the Indian question. This led to the McKenna-McBratney agreement of 1912. This agreement is important as in it the Province agreed to relinquish its reversionary right in Indian reserves "subject only to a condition that in the event of any Indian tribe or band in British Columbia at some future time becoming extinct, then any lands within the territorial boundaries of the Province which have been conveyed to the Dominion, as aforesaid for such tribe or band, and not sold or disposed of as hereinbefore mentioned, or any unexpanded funds being the proceeds of any Indian reserve in the Province of British Columbia, shall be conveyed or repaid to the Province." Now the Province interprets becoming extinct as including band enfranchisement. This has an important bearing on the Indian attitude towards band enfranchisement.

The above agreement also led to the appointment of a Joint Royal Commission of the Province and the Dominion to allocate Indian reserves. An Order-in-Council was passed in 1914 by which it was proposed that the question of Indian title would be referred to the Exchequer
Court of Canada for decision on the condition that if the Indians won the case, they would accept the findings of the Royal Commission on the reserve question and accept "benefits to be granted for the extinguishment of title in accordance with the past usage of the Crown." Indians, of course, refused to accept any such condition in advance, so the question of Indian title was never tested in a court. The Nishga tribe presented a petition to His Majesty's Privy Council direct for judicial decision with little effect, as the Privy Council has no original jurisdiction.

The Commission after determining the needs of the Indians, allocated reserves, cutting off land already held and adding more land where necessary. The land cut off by the commission was estimated to be 47,058 acres valued at $1,522,704, and land added, 87,291 acres valued at $444,853. The Indians complained that they got poor land in place of their rich land. Of course, the richness in land relates to the sort of use made of it, and the kinds of prospects of use it offers. The Commission after having made its report was dissolved in 1916.

The Indians refused to accept the findings of the Commission. From the very start, they objected to the terms of reference of the Commission. As the McKenna–McBride Agreement provided that the report of the Commission, if agreed to by both governments, would operate "as a final adjustment of all matters relating to Indian affairs in the Province of British Columbia", and as the final adjustment would logically preclude the opening of question of Indian title, the Indians felt that the Commission was in fact dealing with the Indian title by ignoring it, although the Commission was not supposed to deal with it at all under its terms of

23. Ibid., p. 55.
24. Ibid., pp. 122-123.
reference. Now after seeing the recommendations of the Commission by which, as indicated by the figures quoted above Indians were short-changed with respect to the monetary value of the land taken away from them, they had little incentive to accept the report of the Commission. The organization known as the Allied Indian Tribes rejected the Commission's report on the grounds that the question of Indian title should be dealt with first, the land allotted was inadequate and of poor quality, inequalities between tribes, in respect of area and value were not adjusted, the powers of the Secretary of State for the Colonies under Clause 13 of the terms of Union Agreement were ignored, water rights were not adjusted and that it was unfair that the proceeds from the sale of cut-off reserves should go to a trust fund for all British Columbia Indians and not to the trust fund of the tribe concerned. ^ Controversies also arose with respect to compulsory enfranchisement and the reversionary right of the Province. In 1920, the Indian Act was amended to give the Governor General-in-Council discretionary powers to dispose of the lands of Indians who get enfranchised. This by implication made the reversionary right of the Province subject to the discretion of the Governor General-in-Council.

The report of the Commission was confirmed by the Dominion Government on July 19, 1924. This was to be a final adjustment of all Indian questions between the Dominion and the Province. Before confirming the report, however, the Dominion Government did negotiate with the Indians to set some "reasonable compensation", which the Dominion Government might supply in order to settle the question of Indian title out of court. ^ But the Dominion felt that Indian demands were too

extravagant and the matter was dropped.

Indians continued to press for the recognition of Indian title. The Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia presented a petition to the Parliament in June 1926, for permission to obtain a decision on the question of Indian title by reference to a court. The same year a Special Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed to "inquire into the claims set forth in the above petition". The Committee after examining the evidence put forward by the representatives of the Indians and Dominion officials concluded that British Columbia was a conquered territory (the occasional clashes of a local nature between a few groups of Indians and Whites, referred to earlier in this chapter, were taken as evidence of conquest) and that the Crown's right to land was not burdened by any Indian title; the Indians were given full opportunity to test their claims in court, which they did not avail themselves of, the Committee, therefore, recommended that the matter be "regarded as finally closed." With regard to hunting and fishing for food, the committee felt that the most liberal view of the Indian situation should be taken in the application of the restrictive laws to Indians. In lieu of payment of annuities as was done in many other provinces of Canada, the Committee recommended that $100,000 should be expended annually for providing education, medical care, development of agriculture, stock raising and irrigation projects for Indians. The Indians, of course, were anything but satisfied with the recommendations of the Committee. A trail of bitterness was left behind. The Indians felt they had been cheated of their heritage by the Whites, and all their efforts to obtain a fair deal have been frustrated by the Whites, with

27. Ibid., p. VII.
whom the decision rested. Insofar as the perception of the past colours the judgment of the present, the wrongs done by the Whites to the Indians as they live in Indian memory, are important factors influencing Indian attitudes toward Indian administration and the Whites in the abstract. This applies to the Squamish among other groups.

The Squamish took an active part in the Indian struggle to secure adequate land for their use, from the very start of the contact period. It was a Squamish named Snat who was the first Indian to apply for permission to purchase land in New Westminster on a par with the Whites, and was granted the same in 1862. Chief Joe Capilano, a Squamish, along with two other chiefs, waited on King Edward VII, in 1906, and presented their grievances to the authorities in London. Andrew Paul, the former secretary of the Squamish Council, claims that the late chief Joe Capilano told him that some authorities in London asked the chief to take up the question of Indian title with the Government of Canada. This, according to Andrew Paul, is the beginning of the struggle for recognition of Indian title. The Squamish also took an active part in the work of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia. In 1923, a meeting of the representatives of most of the Indian tribes in British Columbia was held in Squamish Reserve Number 1, North Vancouver and four Squamish representatives participated in it. It was at this meeting that two Indian factions, the Independent Party and the Allied Tribes were merged together to form an independent party called the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia. Andrew Paul, Secretary of the Squamish Council, as secretary of the Allied Indian Tribes, gave evidence before the Special

28. Ibid., p. 133.
29. Ibid., pp. 175-176.
Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1926, to support the claim for Indian title. Paul was also a witness before the Special Committee to amend the Indian Act in 1946. Some other members of the Squamish band have also been active in the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. For example, Tim Moody held the position of secretary and Edward Mahanie is at present business agent. The history of the Indian land question has, therefore, some personal significance for some prominent members of the Squamish community.

Apart from the general complaint against the treatment received by the Indians of British Columbia, the Squamish have some specific complaints about their own loss. I was repeatedly told that Mission Reserve Number 1 used to be much larger than it is today. They say that they have lost the original map, so they cannot validate their claim. Andrew Paul claims that "Chief Snat went thrice to Victoria to get this reserve laid out for the Mission. When it was done it was 777 acres." On the other hand, the following extract from the petition of Snat dated 1869 indicates that at best the reserve was not more than 200 acres:

That we are fifty married men and 16 young men....and we respectfully demand that there be left for us 200 acres of land having 40 chains of frontage along the sea. Surely 200 acres for 50 families and 16 young men, who may hereafter have families is a very small portion indeed, when compared to 160 acres which the government allows to each single White family.

The 40 chains frontage that we demand along the sea should be so marked off that we may have 20 chains each side of our own church....It is the 20 chains East that above all we wish to have to build our houses on...because it is the only place we can approach at low water, and this is precisely the portion of land or frontage which the Whites to our very great regret and sadness, wish to have us deprived of. 30

30. Journal and Sessional Papers of B.C., 1876, op. cit., pp. 76-78.
An entry under the petition states "This reserve was laid out by the authority of the Governor on the spot." I presume that the reserve laid out was 200 acres. Incidentally, in the correspondence relating to this reserve, the following remarks made by two officials of the Department of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works indicate the attitude of these officials toward Squamish and also reveals the nature of relationship between Whites and Squamish at that time:

The Squamish are squatting on every piece of good land about, and disputing with White men who want to settle. The Squamish never ventured into Burrard Inlet until 1859 or 1860.

The Squamish is a troublesome tribe and likely to give the scattered White population of the Inlet a good deal of trouble. The murder of Crosby and the recent murder of Perry will naturally create very bad feeling between the Whites and Indians, which any dispute about land will tend to heighten.\footnote{31}

The present acreage of the above reserve is 33.62 acres.

If our assumption that as originally laid out the reserve was 200 acres is correct, the Squamish suffered a considerable loss as the value of this land, in view of its location in the heart of the City of North Vancouver, is certainly very high.

Another complaint generally voiced is about the cutting off of land from Capilano reserve. The Royal Commission, 1913–1916, ordered Capilano reserve to be reduced by cutting off approximately 130 acres of land. This land was also very valuable. The reduction was a double disappointment for the Squamish, who had hoped that the Commission would allot them even more land. The fact that the Squamish were the only Indians in New Westminster Agency who suffered such a loss, made it perhaps even less bearable. One informant blamed a leading Squamish for the loss of

\footnote{31. Journal and Sessional Papers of B.C., Loc. cit., pp. 74–75.}
this land. "You see, he talks too much, he has something wrong in the head. He told the surveyors: 'I have too much land, I don't know what to do with it.' So the Government repossessed a part of our land."

Besides these major complaints, there are stories told in a vague sort of way, the informants very often unable to give any specific details; but all these stories have one central theme, how Whites took advantage of the ignorance, simplicity, or generosity of the Indians in the sale or lease of land, timber and gravel. For example, one informant told me about the sale of a plot of land to West Vancouver Municipality. "They wrote to us: 'We don't have much funds, we can only afford to pay so much.' Our chiefs being very generous accepted the offer. After the deal was completed, the West Vancouver Municipality divided the land into plots and sold each plot for ten times the value they paid for the whole land." For the construction of the bridge at Second Narrows the Provincial Government is acquiring some Squamish land from Seymour Creek reserve. Andrew Paul, who was recently appointed advisor to the Squamish Council on the sale of land charged the Provincial Government with offering more money to White owners than to Indians for similar lands. Last year a utility wanted to buy a piece of land from the Squamish and made an offer of $50,000. The Indian Superintendent asked an assessor to evaluate the land and submit a report. The assessor recommended the acceptance of the offer. Commenting on this to a Band meeting, Andrew Paul said, "They are a bunch of racketeers. (Enthusiastic applause from the audience). We should not accept the offer till we get an evaluators' report from the evaluator nominated by the Squamish Council." It was unanimously decided to make acceptance of the offer conditional on a
favourable report from an evaluator appointed by the Squamish Council. This evaluator also recommended acceptance. But in the meantime, the company raised their offer to approximately $55,000. This was accepted. There was a general feeling that it was a very wise move to make the acceptance conditional. Another informant told me, "This Band sold a lot of land to the Railway for $3 an acre. We did not get paid for the timber. It had more value than the land." Commenting on a proposal to sell land one man revealed a difficulty that prevented more effective negotiation. He said to a prominent council member while they were drinking together, "I don't have the proper vocabulary to speak. If I had to speak, I might tell the Agent that he is a crook, giving us a dirty deal, and I might say that these councillors are a bunch of 'yes-men'. I don't want to say it in this way."

While the question of Indian title is virtually a dead issue, the question of foreshore rights is very much a live one as far as the Squamish are concerned. The controversy centers around the point of whether the Vancouver Harbour Board has any legal claims on the foreshore in front of Indian reserves. At present the Vancouver Harbour Board gives fifty percent of rentals to the Squamish from the foreshore in front of Squamish reserves. Andrew Paul claims that the Royal Commission, 1913-1916, recognized the Squamish as owners of the foreshore of their reserves, with full ownership rights. But after the Quit Claim Deed issued by the Dominion Government in 1918, they received only fifty percent of the rental, he states. He doubts the legality of this Quit Claim Deed as no agreement of Indians to the surrender of their foreshore rights was ever obtained. In the Band meeting held in July 1954, he expressed these views and said, "I consulted an international lawyer about this and he said my opinion was well founded." Regardless of the accuracy of his statement, his
The audience was in complete accord with him on this point. The specific issue which stimulated this controversy was the removal of gravel by a gravel company from the foreshore of Capilano reserve, at low water mark. The company obtained a permit from Vancouver Harbour Board and started taking out gravel without making any deal with the Squamish. The Squamish claim they own the gravel removed by the company, and they insist on being paid at the usual rates. The last I heard about this was that the Indian Superintendent was taking up this matter, and there were also negotiations going on with the company.

Matters relating to land form the major part of the agenda of the Squamish council. Requests for removal of gravel, sale of timber, grant of right of way, lease or sale of land are some usual items which form the agenda. Sale of land when approved by the Council must by law be referred to a general meeting of the electorate of the Band for approval.

Sale of land is a major political question among the Squamish. The subject generates strong emotions, sometimes contradictory emotions from the same individuals. A number of conflicting attitudes are brought to bear on the subject. On one side there is always the temptation of ready cash, on the other, there is a great concern for the future of the children and holding on to land for the next generation. This conflict is particularly accentuated in individuals with large families. As each child or adult gets an equal share of the proceeds, the larger the family, the bigger the amount of money received. Moreover the parent of a large family is pressed for more money. On the other hand, he has more people to worry about for their future security. Also there is a feeling that
due to industrial development the prices of land are rising and that is
would be sound business sense to wait. For example, one man commenting
upon the proposed sale of land in Seymour Creek said, "On one hand I
stand to gain $2000 from the sale. We really need that money. On the
other hand, I don't like the idea of making a sale now. The price might
get higher, our band is expanding and the kids should have some land to
stay. Land is like a bank account." He also added, "We are trying to
get back land cut off from Capilano Reserve. Our selling the land will
confirm the Government's view that we really have too much land, and we
won't get our land back." There is also a feeling that Whites are not
offering a fair price for Indian land, and that the Branch of Indian
Affairs is not opposed to this. One informant, who was very much opposed
to any land sale said, "What could I do when all these people voted in
favour of the deal, and the Commissioner and Indian Agent were present.
The Agent said, 'I congratulate the council members of the Squamish Band
for making a very wise and sound decision.' He did not tell them they
were all being suckers." He also accused the councillors of being mere
"yes-men." I do not think his judgment about the members of the Squamish
Council is any more accurate than his judgment of the officials of the
Branch. The real problem lies in the Council's lack of knowledge about
real estate values, and legal and other matters connected with land. Since
they know little about it themselves, and decisions have to be made, they
therefore depend on the information and the opinions presented to them by
the Superintendent for decision. This makes the councillors appear as
"yes-men." In turn the motives of the Superintendent too become suspected
as they may have no way of knowing whether he is being sincere or insincere.
From the fact that the Superintendent has all the data and records, and makes all the contacts, the Council gets very little opportunity to obtain the information which would be necessary to make a sound decision on its own.

Fear of losing their land or being forced to pay taxes on land makes the Squamish suspicious of any move to extend the franchise to them. The clause of the old Indian Act allowing for compulsory enfranchisement of Indians at the discretion of the Minister was opposed by the Squamish also for this reason.
CHAPTER IV

THE SQUAMISH BAND COUNCIL

After the extension of White settlement and government the Squamish Indians, like other Indian groups, developed a trustee-ship relationship to the Government of Canada. Traditional Squamish village sites were declared as reserves. Their boundaries were clearly demarcated and, according to the Squamish, considerably reduced. As already mentioned, in pre-contact Squamish society, a number of villages connected by linguistic, cultural and kinship ties formed a recognizable unit, bearing no name. This unit was a rather loose in-group, not amounting to a political unit, but having some political relevance. The administration began to call it the Squamish Tribe.

The Squamish Tribe, so constituted, was administratively divided into a number of bands. A band is a body of Indians for whose "use and benefit in common," reserves are set apart, moneys are held by Her Majesty, or is declared by the Governor in Council a band for the purpose of the Indian Act, 1951.\(^1\) And a reserve is a "tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty and is set apart for the use and benefit of a band,"\(^2\) Thus a new economic and political unit owning land and moneys in common was imposed on existing units. This new unit roughly approximated a traditional Squamish village which being usually a local kinship

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1. Indian Act, 1951, Section 2 (1) (a).
2. Ibid., Section 2 (1) (o).
group used and owned land in common, broadly speaking. Of the house
group heads in the village, one was appointed a chief by the government. The
government also recognized one of these chiefs as head of the Squamish
tribe, but I understand that he, being Catholic, was not recognized as head
chief by non-Catholics. At the time when different Squamish bands amalgamated
to form a single Squamish Band, the Squamish tribe consisted of seventeen chiefs
representing bands owning the following reserves.

1. Chief Moses Joseph Mission Indian Reserve No. 1, Stawa-
mus, No. 24.
2. Chief Jimmy Harry Seymour Creek, Indian Reserve No. 2.
3. Chief George Burrard Indian Reserve No. 3, and In-
lailawatoosh, Indian Reserve No. 4.
4. Chief Mathias Joe Capilano, Indian Reserve No. 5.
5. Chief Andrew Kitsilano, Indian Reserve No. 6 and
Cheakamus, Indian Reserve No. 11(d).
6. Chief Jimmy Jimmy Skowishin, Indian Reserve No. 7,
Graveyard, Indian Reserve No. 10,
Chuckchuck, Indian Reserve No. 8 and
Peyam, No. 9.
7. Chief Tom Cheakamus, Indian Reserve No. 11 (a)
8. Chief Charlie Cheakamus, Indian Reserve No. 11(b)
9. Chief Frank Baker Cheakamus, Indian Reserve No. 11(c)
10. Chief Edward Joseph Poquosin and Skamin, Indian Reserve
No. 13.
11. Chief Henry Jack Waiwakum, Indian Reserve No. 14 and
Ainwucks, Indian Reserve No. 15.
12. Chief George Williams Seaichem, Indian Reserve No. 16.
13. Chief Billy Kowtain, Indian Reserve No. 17.
14. Chief Edward Williams Yekwaupsum, Indian Reserve No. 18 and
Burial Ground, Indian Reserve No. 19.
This amalgamation took place in the year 1916, after a movement started to bring it about. It is not quite certain from whom the proposal first originated. According to Louie Miranda, Andrew Paull was the first to originate it. Some others contest this and assert that Andrew Paull first opposed it and supported it only when it gained acceptance. My information on the whole supports Louie Miranda.

The amalgamation plan at first met with considerable resistance. It was rather a foreign idea, and the old Squamish chiefs found it hard to grasp its full implications. Some of them saw in it a threat to their status. However, the supporters of amalgamation won over the opposition and also convinced the rather lukewarm Administration of its desirability. Thus, on July 23, 1923, various Squamish bands amalgamated into one unit. The credit for this does not go to any single individual. A number of people worked to bring it about and they all deserve credit.

Apart from the personal inclinations of the leaders, the following appear to be the factors which stimulated the need for amalgamation and facilitated its realisation.

There was a conflict between the White concept of ownership of land and that of the Squamish. We have already seen that Squamish had merely a vague sentiment of ownership in respect of clam beds, berry and root fields and hunting sites. In respect of the land, with regard to which ownership was recognised, for example, fishing sites, the ownership rights were not
centralised in one individual, but were diffused in a complex manner among
the members of the widest kinship group in varying proportion. For example,
a house group head was the owner of a fishing site, his brothers had a claim
to use it, and a distant relative had a claim to the owner's courtesy for
permission to use it. The last claim, although considerably weak, was as
real as the earlier claims. The White concepts of ownership did not make
allowance for this sort of claim. Land was allotted to the members of a
band who were all considered to be equal owners. Members of a band were
supposed to own land unburdened with claims of close kinfolk, who were members
of other bands. But the Squamish continued to be guided, though to a limited
extent, by their traditional concepts of ownership. People moved from one
band to another closely related band and settled there. In addition,
bilateral descent, polygynous marriage, easy divorce and remarriage between
members of various bands and kinship groups, created a situation in which each
Squamish came to be related to every other, often in more than one way.
Thus what was supposed to be land allotted to and owned by one band, came
to be burdened with all sorts of claims of ownership from the members of
other bands. Since written records of kinship were rarely kept, the loss
of memory due to the passage of time tended to confuse the situation still
further.

However, all this did not present any serious problem until cash
became increasingly important in Squamish life and land became an important
source of ready cash. Whenever land was sold, the distribution of proceeds
became a serious problem. In the absence of proper records, it was extremely
difficult to determine who should rightfully receive a share and who should
not. Every time that land was sold and cash was distributed, a number of
petitions were sent to the Indian Affairs Branch claiming that some people
were erroneously left out and others similarly included. It would appear
from the following examples that this became a recurrent feature.

1. Sale of Kitsilano Reserve. The Provincial Government bought the Kitsilano Reserve for about $300,000 of which $200,000 was distributed to the families resident on the reserve at the rate of $11,000 per family. The rest was added to the capital account of the Band. The prospect of getting such a large sum, in ready cash, was sufficient inducement to some to agree to the sale. But there were some who offered resistance, as one informant told me, "I told the lawyer, I cannot buy a decent chicken house with eleven thousand dollars; you want me to sell the house." However, due to the fear of losing the land by expropriation, and the immediate prospect of getting $11,000, the opposition was soon won over and the sale was finalised.

Louie Miranda, Louis Lewis and some others received eleven thousand dollars each. Louis said to me rather wistfully, "It was a lot of money. I don't know where it went." Apparently, neither did any of the other recipients know where the money went. About forty other individuals, who either were not consulted or left out of the distribution sent a petition to the Indian Affairs Branch questioning the legality of the sale, on the grounds that they, representing the majority of the rightful owners of the Kitsilano Reserve, were not a party to the sale.

The purchase of Kitsilano Reserve by the Provincial Government at a low price, is believed to have developed into a regular political scandal and according to Mr. Murray, Member of Parliament, resulted in the overthrow 3 of that government. The Dominion Government refused to recognise the sale.

After lengthy correspondence between the two governments, the Provincial Government offered to relinquish its claim to the reserve if the money paid 4

3. Special Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider Bill No.79, Minutes of Proceeding and Evidence No. 4, p. 16.
4. Loc. cit.
by them was returned with interest. The Squamish and the Dominion Government accepted this condition. Since the interest amounted to thousands of dollars, some Squamish who did not understand the situation accused one of their leaders of seeking bribes from the Government. One of them said to me, "I don't understand why he agreed to pay back $350,000 when we received only $300,000. I guess he figured on getting something for himself."

2. Sale of Reserves to the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. The Pacific Great Eastern Railway bought a number of reserves at the head of Howe Sound near the mouth of the Squamish River. Distribution of the proceeds of this sale presented similar problems. Many persons, claiming to be legitimate owners, were left out.

3. Right of Way to the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. Later, the Pacific Great Eastern Railway acquired a right of way through Capilano and Mission Reserves. This again resulted in what has been described to me as a somewhat random distribution of the proceeds; for example, I understand, George Johnston received a share and his brother received nothing.

4. Sale of Timber at Cheakamus. Distribution of money obtained from the sale of timber at Cheakamus Reserve presented similar difficulties. The Indian Agent approached the chiefs, who were unable to give him a satisfactory list of their lineages.

It is obvious from the above that the problem of distribution of cash income from land was acute. Mutual quarrels, bickerings and threats of violence ensued. It is said some murders also took place. The principle of harmony between kinsmen, the most important tie uniting the Squamish people, was put to a very severe strain. In the face of this threat to Squamish
Kinship unity, the factors making for unity of the total group were more and more emphasised and those making for separateness were deemphasised. Thus the circumstances were overwhelmingly in favour of seeking a solution in terms of amalgamation. To enable the reader to assess the accuracy of this statement, a discussion of the factors weighted against amalgamation would be relevant here. The following are some of these factors:

1. Resistance to change or preference for the habitual and customary.
2. Fear of the unknown and untried, therefore, unpredictable.
3. The idea of amalgamation presented a threat of status to some of the existing chiefs, for example, one chief feared that amalgamation might result in majority rule and he might have to bow to the decision of the majority, consisting of the members of other kinship units.
4. The industrial development in the vicinity of some reserves presented to some chiefs and their kinsfolk a prospect of getting rich without being forced to share income with others. One chief, first agreed to the amalgamation and later changed his mind for this reason, among others.
5. Another chief who was at first a vigorous supporter of the move for amalgamation, but changed his mind at the prospect of a rise in the value of his land, as a result of the building of a bridge in the vicinity at Second Narrows. However, he was later persuaded to agree to amalgamation.
6. A number of people had a grievance that they were not given their share of money at the time of a distribution. Some of these were waiting for the opportunity to show that two could play at the game. The idea of amalgamation, therefore, had little appeal for them.
It would appear from the foregoing that factors making for resistance to amalgamation were by no means negligible. However, persons opposing amalgamation could not suggest any alternative plan which, while retaining the separateness of various Squamish bands, would provide a satisfactory solution to the problem of distribution of cash income from land. In the absence of any such plan, the dissention was likely to be further intensified. Hence, the circumstances were weighted in favour of amalgamation only in the sense that available alternatives were narrowed down to two: rational solution through amalgamation or persistence of conflict. Moreover, the plan for amalgamation, although representing a major economic change, involved, in the beginning, only minor changes in the social and political organisation. This largely accounts for the fact that advocates of amalgamation were able to get an endorsement of their plan by almost unanimous vote. Chief George of Burrard and his group did not agree to join. He and his group were allowed to remain as a separate band.

Under the amalgamation plan, various bands agreed to amalgamate together to form a single band which was henceforward to be called the Squamish Band. Properties, interests, trust accounts, etc., of all these bands were also to be treated as belonging to a single unit. Each member of the Squamish Band was henceforward to have an equal share in the distribution of cash income from land.

The First Squamish Band Council

After the amalgamation, the sixteen hereditary Squamish chiefs named above, each representing those residing in his reserve or reserves,
organised themselves into a band council, representing the Squamish Band. This arrangement was later approved by the Indian Affairs Department. There was no formal election. It was generally assumed that each chief had a right to represent his people in the council as he had done before its formation. Thus the formation of the Squamish Band Council, in the beginning, represented only a minor alteration in political organisation. The relationship between a chief and his people and his reserve remained virtually unaltered. However, a new organisation came into being to deal with the problems affecting the interests of the whole band.

Besides the chiefs, the council also had a secretary to handle correspondence and to maintain records. He was not a member of the Council and therefore had no vote. However, he had the privilege of voicing his opinion subject to the Council's prior permission. Andrew Paull, the first secretary, was one of the top leaders of the Allied Indian Tribes, an organisation which at one time claimed to represent most of the Indians of British Columbia. At present, he is the president of the Grand Council of the North American Brotherhood, an organisation with membership in all provinces of Canada. He is an outstandingly effective speaker, well-versed in legal matters affecting the interests of the Indians. His voice, therefore, had a decisive influence in the Council. Often, he represented the Council in dealing with the Indian Affairs Branch, and also claimed to be a spokesman of all Indians in dealing with the Whites. Thus, the position of secretary, in spite of inherent lack of vote, came to have an importance not enjoyed by the voting members of the Council.

The replacement of chiefs in the case of death continued to be carried out for some time in an adaptation of the traditional manner. The chiefs after consultations with the immediate family of the deceased chief
appointed a successor. About twenty-two years ago, new members were elected to the Council. Although like chiefs, they were entitled to hold office indefinitely, their status was that of a councillor of the Squamish Band and not that of a chief. In an attempt to explain the significance of this change, one Squamish said, "Then some new men were elected. They were elected by secret ballot, not appointed like they used to be. They were not given any place. They were put as councillors of the Squamish Band as a whole, and not as chiefs of a place. This was a big change. Lorne Nahanie, Simon Baker, Harry Newman and Thomas Williams were the ones who were elected."

The unity of the Squamish Band thus found a new political manifestation. Henceforward, the members of the Council were to be the representatives of the whole Band and not of a particular section, and they were to be elected through secret ballot by the majority of the adult members of the Band. The following appear to be the factors which would have favoured this change:

1. The concentration of not less than three-fourths of the entire population of the Squamish Band in Mission and Capilano Indian reserves created a new sense of local unity, and also rendered superfluous the appointment of chiefs as representatives of localities from which the majority of residents had already moved. Both of these reserves were already represented by their respective chiefs. The fact that three out of four newly elected members reside in Mission and one in Capilano also lends support to the view that the need for further representation in the Council of other reserves was not felt.
2. A diffusion of White preference for election by majority as opposed to appointment on the basis of kinship.

The procedure for election remained somewhat uncertain, andBand members including councillors continued to have doubts as to what procedure ought to be followed. The minutes of the latest meeting of the Band held to elect six new councillors to fill in existing vacancies on the Council, bear witness to this uncertainty. This uncertainty was further accentuated by the considerable controversy going on in the Band as to the advisability of retaining the traditional Band Council, or electing a new one according to the procedure laid down in Section 73 of the Indian Act.

According the provisions of Section 73, a band cannot have more than one councillor for every one hundred members. This would have meant considerable reduction in the number of existing members of the Band Council. Moreover, it would have forced the existing hereditary chiefs and appointed councillors to stand for election. At first, the consequences of electing Section 73 were not fully realised by those whose status was to be adversely affected and they offered little organised resistance to this move. Thus at a duly held Band meeting, the majority of those present voted in favour of electing according to Section 73. Soon afterwards they realised their mistake and the old chiefs, their followers and others opposed to this move began to agitate for reversal of this decision. A rumour began to circulate that the chief supporter of the move to elect Section 73 was trying to get control of the Council by putting in his own favourites. Although I cannot understand how he could do this except by majority approval, a petition signed by the majority of the electorate of the Band was sent to the Indian Affairs Branch, requesting that a new Band meeting be held to decide the issue.
as the previous decision was made only by the majority of those present and not by the majority of the total electorate of the Band. Therefore, a new meeting of the Band was called. Sensing the heavy odds against them, the supporters of the move to adopt Section 73 walked out, and the move was defeated.

In spite of the above decision, however, the vacancies in the existing Council were filled by a procedure closely resembling the one prescribed in Section 73. The following extract from the minutes of the meeting casts some light on the election procedure adopted, as well as illustrating the uncertainties in the minds of the people as to the exact nature of the procedure to be followed:

Dennis Paull referred to an old custom whereby each Chief was appointed to look after a special reserve. Was this custom to continue?

Chairman (Indian Superintendent) ruled that anyone might be elected at large, but the Council after the election might nominate any of the new councillors to look after a special reserve.

Ed Hahani enquired whether women may vote?

Chairman answered in the affirmative. He also announced that one person may nominate as many as he pleased, but he hoped that the nominations would be spread around.

....Ralph Lewis rose to say that nominations in absentia were illegal, and asked why women could not be elected to the Council.

Chairman replied that nominations in absentia were legal, but the nominator must be certain that the nominee would accept office, if elected. With regard to the second point, the chairman was bound by the custom of the Band. Dennis Paull enquired whether the old Band custom in elections was to be maintained, whereby anyone elected had to have certain qualifications. Chairman replied that any male member over twenty-one could be nominated and elected and that the vote would decide whether a man should be on the council or not. That was democracy.

The last sentence from the extract shows that as for their
White neighbours, the word democracy has an emotional appeal for the Squamish too. The above extract also gives us some indication of the role of the Indian Superintendent in changing the Squamish political organisation. The part that other Indian Superintendents played to promote or retard the above changes can only be speculated on.

Thus we now have a council of the Squamish Band, consisting of members, some of whom are chiefs, nominated on the basis of kinship and some are councillors, elected through secret ballot on the basis of adult suffrage. Membership is supposed to last until the death or resignation of the member. However, there is a provision for suspension or dismissal on grounds of being convicted of an "offence."

Paragraphs 80-85 of the Indian Act, 1952, specify the legal powers and jurisdiction of the Band Council. It appears that the jurisdiction of the Band Council is roughly as extensive as that of some local or municipal government. However, unlike the latter, very little power rests in the former. The Minister in charge of Indian Affairs can disallow any by-laws passed by the Band Council "within forty days after a copy thereof is forwarded to the Minister..."

The following is an outline of the subjects which fall within the jurisdiction of the Council:

- Admission or expulsion from Band membership.
- Health, including measures to prevent spreading of infectious disease.
- Prevention of trespass on Band property, both by animals and humans.
- Maintenance of roads, bridges, ditches, drinking water supply, etc.
Construction, maintenance and allotment of buildings.
Allotment of land to members.
Regulation of hawkers, peddlers and other salesmen.
Authorisation of expenditure of Capital and revenue monies.
Problems relating to use and maintenance of natural resources such as timber, fish, fur-bearing animals and other game.
Imposition of fines not exceeding 100 dollars or imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days or both for infringement of Council by-laws. (Incidentally, this does not seem to have been used by the Squamish Band Council so far.)

The Structure of the Band Council

In the above discussion relating to amalgamation as well as to the manner of appointment of Council members, I have also touched upon related aspects of the structure of the Band Council. Here I shall trace the changes in the structure of the Band Council from time to time and also speculate about the political significance of these changes.

At the time of amalgamation, the Squamish Band Council consisted of sixteen chiefs. There were no head chief. The head chief they used to have died prior to amalgamation. After his death it was felt that no one else merited this recognition and since then no one has carried this status. This seems to have been lending an added importance to the position of the secretary, who has been acting as a liason between the Squamish Council and the Indian Affairs Branch, between the Squamish Council and Whites, and to a lesser degree between the Squamish Council and other members of the Squamish Band.
In 1934, Andrew Paull was replaced as secretary by Tim Moody who has continued to hold this position to date. Since August 1955, Tim Moody has also been elected as a councillor, along with five others. He polled the highest number of votes of all those elected. This means a change in the status of the secretary, who contrary to earlier practice, is now a voting member of the Band Council. It has also been decided to hire Miss Barbara Baker as part-time assistant secretary, to assist the secretary in carrying out his secretarial duties. This attests to a growing recognition of the importance of the job of secretary as well as to the increasing popularity of the present secretary.

The former secretary was also one of the candidates for election; but he trailed far behind the list of successful candidates. His son, though faring much better than the father, yet failed to get elected by two votes. At the time of election, there was a strong rumour going on that the former secretary, Andrew Paull, was trying to get control of the Council by putting up his puppets as candidates for the Council membership. All those whom rumour described as his puppets were defeated. It is hard to say how much effect this rumour actually had on the result of the election.

There are different versions of as to why the former secretary was removed from his post. It is generally conceded even by most of his opponents that he is a man of considerable ability. A sociometric test administered in 1948 by a University of British Columbia student, to ascertain the leadership possibilities among the Squamish people by collecting their opinions as to the person they thought did the most for
them, gave him, next to Louie Miranda, the second highest rating. His opponents, however, accuse him of opportunism and of trying to serve his own ends by exploiting the difference among various chiefs, and of other types of self-service. I looked into one or two charges, which were specific enough for verification and felt that they were either based on complete misunderstanding of his position, or were merely a rationalisation of opposition on other grounds such as personal and family rivalries, and the belief that he wants to throw out of the Band any Squamish of mixed descent. The last belief is also based on error. A number of Squamish of mixed descent are his close relatives and friends, and a number of others his bitter opponents. It is the latter who are the object of his hostility, not the former. However, I understand lately there has been a rapprochement between him and his rivals.

For a while sixteen chiefs or councillors and a secretary constituted the structure of the Squamish Band Council. Periodic meetings were held under the chairmanship of the Indian Superintendent, who usually set the date for the meeting. The Superintendent brought in a lot of cases requiring approval of the Council in addition to a number of cases received by the secretary from the band or from outside for the information or decision by the Council. Therefore, the agenda for the meetings was and still is usually very heavy. The meetings lasted a long time and the Superintendent often tended to cut short discussion to speed up decisions. Matters which could not be decided on the spot were sometimes referred to a committee of councillors chosen for the purpose of making recommendations to the Council, for example, the question of payment of bills of one applicant from the Band funds was
referred to a welfare committee chosen that very day. Problems relating to allottment of houses were dealt with by a housing committee.

I was present at the Band Council meeting held in December 1954, when the welfare committee was formed. This gave me an opportunity to witness the process of formation of this committee.

Mr. F.E. Anfield, the Indian Superintendent, stated that $15,000 had been appropriated for assistance to Band members for the whole year. "In the month of September alone we paid out $1,389; $620 to those on relief permanently, and $769 to those on relief temporarily. This when multiplied by 12 comes to roughly $15,000 a year. The winter is just starting now and the number of people on relief will increase." He further added that, "The time has come for making a definite positive system for handling it. I do wish to discuss it. The system earlier was that councillors phoned and we issued relief. Now we have changed to order books. The relief is issued even when the order is phoned. But the method of notifying should be improved. If we have a relief committee on the Council, it could send a note............ We should have a system to find out whether there is a need and how much should be given." Then he quoted cases where he felt that relief was abused. Tim Moody pointed out the necessity of phoning in emergency cases. Mr. Anfield conceded this point but after quoting a case in which he felt that the emergency phone call was misused, he said, "We officials of the Indian Affairs Department are trustees, we are legally responsible." Tim Moody pointed out again the necessity of phoning for relief in some special emergency case. Mr. Anfield again conceded this necessity, but after quoting another case in which he felt
that the emergency phone call was misused, he said, "I do feel we are entitled to a committee. Now Denny Paull and Ed Charlie phone to me for issuing relief. I don't think it is fair to them." Tim Moody said that he thought there had been a committee; it might have gone out of existence. A motion was made to form a relief committee of five Council members and secretary Tim Moody. A member objected to the word relief and the word welfare, suggested by Mr. Anfield, was substituted for it. The motion was passed unanimously. Thus a welfare committee came into being. This committee was to meet every week to discuss cases of relief and to send its report to the Indian Superintendent. However, in the case of an emergency, a request for relief could be sent by phone call.

The Indian Superintendent played a similar part in relation to other committees mentioned below.

Recently the Squamish Band Council asked Mr. Anfield to nominate members to form a number of consultative committees of the Council. Mr. Anfield claims that this idea originated from him. At any rate, existing committees of the Council were reconstituted and new committees were formed. So the following nine committees came into being:

Standing Committee

Simon Baker Chairman
Thomas Findlay Member
Louie Miranda "
Sam Baker "

3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relief Committee</td>
<td>Moses Joseph</td>
<td>Sam Baker</td>
<td>Alfred Jacob</td>
<td>Ed Charlie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Committee</td>
<td>Louie Miranda</td>
<td>Gordon Band</td>
<td>Alvie Andrew</td>
<td>Dennis Paull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Allowances and Old Age Pension Committee</td>
<td>Tim Moody</td>
<td>Lorne Mahanee</td>
<td>Gordon Band</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Committee</td>
<td>Lorne Mahanee</td>
<td>Ed Charlie</td>
<td>Joe Johnston</td>
<td>Alfred Jacobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget and Finance Committee</td>
<td>Tim Moody</td>
<td>Moses Joseph</td>
<td>Dan Baker</td>
<td>Thomas Findlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemeteries and Roads Committee</td>
<td>Dennis Paull</td>
<td>Mathias Joe</td>
<td>Alvie Andrew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Matters, Lease and Sell Applications Committee</td>
<td>Simon Baker</td>
<td>Moses Joseph</td>
<td>Joe Johnston</td>
<td>Dennis Paull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alvie Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Findlay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sports Grounds Committee

Simon Baker
Dan Baker
Thomas Findlay
Dennis Paull
Chairman
Member

Explaining to me his stand on the formation of these committees, the Indian Superintendent said, "The Council of sixteen, as a unit, cannot work out any details. The Council should be broken up into consultative committees with functions of study and recommendation. For instance, the housing committee has been given the authority to make repairs up to $500, and the relief committee to make recommendation with positive power for issue of relief. The most damage that would be done is that somebody who is not entitled to it may be given relief. It is working out fairly well. The only committee which is not working well is the land committee." Then he added, "There should be an Assistant Superintendent to look after that Band alone. I would not mind taking the job myself."

In part, this illustrates a conflict in policy between paternalism and independence. On one hand, the Superintendent would like to see the Band making their own decisions and achieving a measure of self-government, and on the other hand, he would like to prevent them from making any mistakes, even though it prolonged their dependency. It seems to me this conflict is not an attribute of the personality of the Superintendent; the administration of the Indian Act necessarily involves this kind of conflict, which may tend to be incorporated into the personalities of the officials.

It is true also that these committees do provide an opportunity for discussion of issues free from any possible inhibition imposed by the presence of outsiders, such as the officials of the Indian Affairs Branch. By
discussing the pros and cons of a case in a committee, the councillors are in a better position to present their stand clearly and effectively in the council. This could also act as an effective check to any possible attempt at "railroading" by the Indian Superintendent. They also make for the formation and execution of a clear policy in such matters as relief and providing employment in projects like the painting of houses. The latter undertaking which in the past was left to the discretion of one councillor, nominated by the Indian Superintendent, was until recently, a source of considerable discontent.

I had an opportunity to attend one meeting of the housing committee. The principle item on the agenda was the preparation of a priority list for allotment of houses to the applicants. The business proceeded smoothly and efficiently. The respective needs of the applicants were discussed and priorities fixed without much controversy. In addition, the committee decided to formulate a clear policy for distribution of paint to householders, as the one followed in the past was considered inconsistent and unsatisfactory. The differences of opinion, when expressed, were merely hinted at. Nobody contradicted anyone directly. When I brought this to the attention of Tim Moody afterwards, he said, "It is our tradition. We don't say the other fellow is wrong, we say, 'we think this way'".

**Functions of the Band Council**

M To assess the functions of the Band Council, one should bear in mind that the Band Council operates with rudiments of autonomy,
under the supervision of an organisation controlled by White society, to which Squamish are related as a subordinate ethnic minority. Section 3 of the Indian Act, 1951, dealing with Indian Administration, reads as follows:

(1) This act shall be administered by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, who shall be the superintendent general of Indian Affairs.

(2) The Minister may authorize the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration or the chief officer in charge of the branch of the Department relating to Indian Affairs to perform and exercise any of the duties, powers and functions that may be or are required to be performed or exercised by the Minister under this Act or any other Act of the Parliament of Canada relating to Indian Affairs.

Thus a Minister of the Dominion Government has been made responsible for the administration of Indian affairs, and has been given the power to delegate authority to subordinate officials. In this way, the Indians become politically linked with the Dominion Government through a chain of hierarchy extending upward from Indian Superintendent and his staff to the Minister. The avowed goal of this administrative hierarchy is to educate the Indians so that as citizens of Canada, they may be able to attain equality of status with their neighbours, the White citizens. As the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration said, "We want to make him (the Indian) equal in every respect. We want to assist him economically. We protect him for that purpose. We are trying to raise his standard of living...."We are not going to promise to give him what the
White man does not have." What the Minister seems to have had in mind was economic, social and political equality both with regard to privileges and obligations.

Once this goal is reached in respect of Squamish and all other Indians, it logically follows that there would be neither any need for an Indian Act, nor for an organisation to administer it. In other words, the goal of the Indian Affairs Branch, the organisation responsible for the administration of the Indian Act, is to work for its own extinction by removing the very basis of its own existence. And the Band Council to the extent that it educates the Indians for self-government and prepares for attainment of equal status with Whites contributes towards the successful achievement of this goal by the Indian Affairs Branch. The formation and successful functioning of standing committees of the Squamish Band Council indicates that it does make a contribution in that direction, however modestly.

On the other hand, the existence of a paternalistic Branch of Indian Affairs with powers to act in an authoritarian manner in dealing with Indians is contrary to White values of individual freedom, free enterprise and democracy. To the extent that the Band Council educates the Squamish for self-government and efficient management of their own property, it strengthens these values.

For the Squamish, the function of the Band Council is firstly to provide them with an organization through which they may act to promote their economic, political and cultural interests and safeguard them from any possible in-road from outsiders; secondly, ito decrease considerably

5. Special Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider Bill No. 79, Minutes of Proceeding and Evidence, No. 8, 1956, p.217.
direct contact between White officials and individual Squamish and save both sides from considerable botheration; thirdly, to educate them for self-government; and lastly, to some extent reinforce social control within the community.
CHAPTER V

THE SQUAMISH TODAY

I have already indicated that only seven of the Squamish Reserves are now inhabited. About eighty five per cent of the population lives in the Mission and the Capilano Reserves located on the North Shore of Burrard Inlet, and the rest in the Cheakamus, Seaichem, Kwotain, Yekwaupsum, and Stawamus Reserves. My field work was confined to the former; but I was able to obtain some information about the latter by talking to people who occasionally visited those reserves or were otherwise in a position to know something about them. The inhabitants of these seven reserves constituting the entire population of the present day Squamish Band are represented on the Band Council by sixteen councillors. Of these sixteen, four are hereditary chiefs, one of whom has been elected secretary. The way in which different Squamish Bands merged to form a single Squamish Band and how the present Squamish Council came into existence have been discussed in a separate chapter. In this chapter I shall be mainly concerned with the description of the contemporary political organisation of the Band in the context of its social organisation. Historical details will be presented where necessary and feasible; but the emphasis will be on the present. The discussion on housing indicates the role of the Band Council in providing better housing, and supplements data relevant to group cohesion.

The House Group

The House

The traditional big cedar-plank houses do not exist anywhere now. The last one of these houses stood at the Cheakamus Reserve. It belonged to Louis Miranda's step-father who used to live in it with his wife; his step-
son Louie Miranda and his wife; and his father's sister's son's son Alec Julian. After his death in 1917-1918, surviving members of the house group moved to some other place. The house remained uninhabited till it fell down about eight years ago. This completed the replacement of traditional cedar-plank houses by White-style frame houses. Most of the frame houses have consisted of a large sleeping room, a kitchen, and an outhouse. A few houses had bathroom facilities inside. During the last twenty years very few individuals have built new houses for themselves, and with the increase in population, the pressure on the existing housing space increased. In addition, many houses due to deterioration by age became obsolete. These causes resulted in overcrowding and poor housing conditions. The Mission Reserve, where about eighty per cent of the Squamish population was then concentrated, was the one which was worst affected by over-crowding. In order to improve housing conditions and to relieve over-crowding in that Reserve, the Squamish Band Council started a housing project in 1948. The Band Council at first requested the Indian Affairs Branch to approve the grant of $400 from Squamish Band Funds to each Squamish family head for the purpose of house improvement. This was approved. In addition the Band Council obtained approval to buy forty-eight wartime houses for providing new houses to the band members. According to Simon Baker, about twenty-eight of these houses were allotted to the families who had old obsolete houses that had to be torn down, and the rest were allotted to the families who had no houses of their own. Most of the latter were located at Capilano Reserve, near the play-ground. In this way the pressure of population was diverted from the Mission Reserve to the Capilano Reserve, and the Capilano Reserve became the second most populous Squamish Reserve.

For the allotment of these houses preference was given to the
individuals who had large families. A special housing committee of the Band Council was created to deal with matters relating to housing. The Committee assessed the applications for the allotment of houses in terms of the needs of the individual applicants, fixed priorities, and submitted its decisions to the Band Council for approval. The purchase of houses is still continuing and sixteen new houses have recently been ordered. The housing committee has been reconstituted and established on a permanent basis since last year.

The new houses vary in size. A table indicating variations in size in respect of forty-one of these houses is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Rooms</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Number of Houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26' x 26'</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26' x 28'</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26' x 32'</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (double storey)</td>
<td>26' x 28'</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these new houses purchased by the Band Council, five enterprising individuals built their own houses. Simon Baker who built his own eight-roomed house is now planning to build a second new house. He proudly confided to me that the house he plans to build will be 1290 square feet and will cost him $12,000. In addition there are some old and not too old houses both in the Mission and the Capilano Reserves.

All the houses now have bathroom facilities inside the house. Most of them are provided with electricity, running water and sinks. The Band Council arranged for the plumbing, insulation and painting of the houses. At first the Band Council merely provided the paint and left it up to the individual house owners to paint their own houses. But many houses remained unpainted, and there were complaints that the amount of paint supplied to A
was less than that supplied to B or more than that supplied to C. The Band Council therefore took on itself to arrange for the painting of the houses. In addition the Council decided that in future the new houses bought from the Band Funds should be given to the occupiers painted and all ready for use. After this it is up to the occupying families to look after their own houses.

The price of a new house was calculated to be $1400. I have already mentioned that the Branch of Indian Affairs approved a grant of $400 to each Squamish family head for house improvement; but the family heads who did not have a house of their own could not receive this grant. In order to compensate them, the price of the house was reduced by $400 and each recipient of a new house was expected to pay into the Band Fund $1000 without interest, at the rate of $50 a year. The total money spent on housing from 1951 to 1955 was calculated as $141,855.11 by the Indian Superintendent.

Out of the thirty-six houses which I visited I found twenty-eight fairly well looked after and clean, and the rest somewhat disorderly and dirty. Some families spend a great deal of time and energy to keep the house in a clean and presentable condition, and others just let things slide. Most of the houses are furnished with sofa sets, chairs, tables, cupboards, refrigerators, and cooking stoves. The quality of the furniture and other possessions varies with financial position and the personal tastes. About forty per cent of the house owners have television sets installed in their houses. Both children and adults are quite fond of watching television. Boxing matches seem to be the top favorites. If there is no television at home the children often and the adults sometimes visit the homes of uncles, aunts, cousins, or brothers. Commenting on this, one man said to his wife,
"Mother, we had better get a T.V., if we want to keep the kids home." and another who has a television set at home said, "These kids are getting real smart. They see things all over the world on T.V."

Most of the houses have one or more photographs of the family members or relatives as decorations on the walls or at the tables. Calendars, framed printed landscapes, totem poles, athletic trophies, and framed certificates of merit are some other articles of display and decoration.

Size of the house group

A table indicating variations in size in a sample of thirty-six house groups is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Number of House Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average size of the house group is five, but the average does not indicate the extent of overcrowding. About ten houses, each containing from seven to twelve people are overcrowded.

Membership

As a rule membership in the house-group is based on kinship. An unrelated Indian from another group might occasionally stay overnight; otherwise visitors staying overnight are generally relatives. An exception to this was my own stay in Tim Moody's house. I am perhaps the only
unrelated, non-Indian who has ever stayed in a Squamish house for more than a month. It was an unfamiliar and somewhat difficult situation for the members of the house group to face, especially the children. I was addressed as Mr. Verma for a few days; but this form of address was discordant with the informal character of the interpersonal relationships within the house group. On the other hand my first name Behari was felt to be difficult to pronounce. At last Tim Moody redefined my status to suit the house group and I became Uncle Harry in relation to the children. Thus my integration to the house group was facilitated by redefining my status in terms of kinship. The following table illustrates the kinds of kinship groupings which characterise modern Squamish house groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Composition</th>
<th>Number of House Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband, wife and siblings</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband, wife, siblings and wife’s siblings</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband, wife and wife’s siblings</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and siblings</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and siblings</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father, siblings, and grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two single males</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widower</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious from the above that the elementary family has become the commonest kinship grouping in a house group. The ties of common residence no longer knit together distant relatives into a functioning local unit. With the replacement of polygynous marriage with monogamous marriage
the character of the elementary family has also changed. Now an elementary family consists of a married couple and their unmarried children. Children after their marriage, as soon as possible, set up a new residence of their own. In this way marriage results in the formation of a new elementary family and a new house group. Grandparents have been deprived of their traditional role of educating the young. Now they live in separate houses and are often lonely. An old widow said to me, "I feel kind of lonesome. My family cannot visit me very often." She is not altogether neglected by her children, and she herself admitted that they occasionally come and give her some cash or presents. The basic problem is that children, living as they do separately, cannot satisfy the constant need for companionship of the aged parents. It seems to me that with the rise to dominance of the elementary family the Squamish are increasingly faced with the resulting problem of the care of the aged, the orphans, and the children from the broken homes. The question of the care of the aged was discussed in the Band Council meeting held in February 1956. Tim Moody suggested that the Ladies Goodwill Club should be requested to take some interest in the matter. Councillor Simon Baker undertook to visit the old people and report their needs to the Council. Commenting on one old couple, Simon Baker said with some feeling, "I don't want to say this but I wish their grandchildren would visit them sometimes. They are nice companionable people. If you do something for them, they give you a dollar or so. They don't want to squeeze anybody." Lorne Nahanees said, "There is something more involved in it. If the girls go they think they are after their property."

As to the care of the orphans and children from broken homes, according to the principal of St. Paul's School, the school is looking after
fifty-nine such children from the Mission and Capilano Reserves.

I have already noted that education of the children by grandparents is likely to be a factor making for a slow rate of change in a society. To the extent that this is true, the rise to dominance of the elementary family and the consequent separation of the grandparents and grand-children is a factor making for acculturation.

The contemporary Squamish house group is the smallest and the closest local, kinship, political, and economic unit. Being so closely knit, it is likely to resist attempts by outsiders to come within its fold; an example is the hesitancy in providing accommodation to a distant relative. The absence of distant relatives in the Squamish house group is both a cause and a consequence of the structure of the house group expressed materially in the small size of the house itself. This trend is likely to continue, as when once initiated it is logically self-perpetuating.

**Food**

Preparation of food is a woman's task. The Squamish usually eat three meals a day—breakfast, lunch and dinner. However, this is not a fixed routine. One may eat whenever one feels hungry, and it is not uncommon to skip preparing a lunch or breakfast. Most of the time North Vancouver stores are the source of food supply. Food bought from the store is sometimes supplemented by fishing, but this is a rare occurrence except

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1. The figures given by the principal include also children from what are considered immoral or unsuitable homes.
in the case of commercial fishermen's families. In the Capilano and Mission Reserves only two families keep poultry and to my knowledge only one family grows some vegetables in the backyard garden. Exchange of food between families occurs; but it is so slight that informants are inclined to say "Oh, no more of that; everybody looks after his own family." "Youngsters now they are changing. In my days if I had some food or something I would take it to my cousin and say 'you use it;' but not these youngsters."

Fish is no longer a staple of diet. Old people still like fish; but the younger generation has a strong preference for meat. For example, Mrs. Denny Jack said, "I still like fish; but these youngsters don't like it any more." And Mrs. Moses Joseph said, "We eat more meat than anything else. My children don't like fish. My daughters wrinkle their noses at fish. What if they had to work in the fish canneries?"

Beef, bacon, sausages, eggs, butter, tea, coffee, vegetables, rice, bread, etc., constitute the daily diet.

Dress

As with food, Squamish dress is also identical with that of Whites. The same department stores, Eatons, Woodwards, and others cater to the needs of both Whites and the Squamish. Some individuals dress

2. I noticed two cases of exchange of food. In one case a box of paint was exchanged for cherries and in the other, a man who had come from fishing sent some fish to his wife's sister.
like middle-class Whites and others like lower-class. Individuals show considerable variations in quality, style and cleanliness of dress. Cowichan sweaters either knit at home or bought from the store are also occasionally worn.

Interpersonal

The husband is the head of the elementary family as well as the head of the house group, in the cases where the house group includes others in addition to the elementary family. The interpersonal relationships between the spouses are in general characterised by informality, friendliness and equality. Notwithstanding this, however, the male as a husband, father and bread-winner still occupies a superior position. K. bawled out his wife on two different occasions in my presence. P. said to his wife, "Men have things to discuss. Women should not interfere in their conversation." Children are admonished and occasionally spanked for misbehaving. H. slapped his son when he was showing temper tantrums. It is the father who is usually asked to administer discipline, especially to the male children, though on the whole parents are indulgent towards their children.

In addition to cooking, cleaning the house, washing the family laundry, sewing, knitting, and washing dishes are generally attended to by women. Children sometimes help with washing the dishes and setting the table. Older girls assist the mother with cooking. In all these activities there is no strict demarcation of duties. If the wife is busy, a husband may attend to the baby, change his diapers, feed him or just hold him in his arms for a while. Older children look after the younger children.

3. This occurs less often in families where children don't get along well with each other.
especially when parents go out for shopping, visiting or some other purpose.
I was able to observe this pattern in Tim Moody's house. As soon as the
parents went out, the oldest child automatically assumed the role of the
parents, and the younger children responded to his authority as if they
recognised its legitimacy. If the children are young, a cousin or an
aunt or some other relative will come to look after the house for a short
time. Baby sitters are also employed. According to Vilma Baker, baby
sitters are paid about twenty-five cents an hour. Apparently the Squamish
have not yet fully accepted the status of a baby sitter as a wage earner.

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

Excepting land, public building, and moneys owned by the Band
as a whole, all property is individually owned. Property owned by
individuals includes houses, cars, household equipment, radios, television
sets, sewing machines, washing machines, cooking utensils, clothes,
jury, cash, bank accounts, insurance policies, food and many other things
as in the White society. Indian names are still treated as personal property;
but they are losing their importance. For example, Howard Williams said,
"Oh, I don't give my children an Indian name. I can't even spell my own."
However, older persons and some younger persons still attach importance
to Indian names. A lot of gossip and grumbling goes on among the older
persons that so and so who is using such and such name has no right to do
so and that the name should properly go to the speaker's grandson.
Mathias Joe—Squamish, and Andrew Charles—Musqueam, both claim the name
Capilano (Kečpiłəməkw). On the other hand, Mrs. Andrew Christina Jack,
who claims to be a great-grandchild of Chief Capilano, says she has a
right to hold that name and that she would like to give it to one of her
grandsons. Spells and guardian spirit power and dances have little signific-
ance for most of the modern Squamish. Older people have still belief
in their efficacy; but regret that all this has been lost and that the
young fellows look down upon it as superstition. Some of the older
people are in conflict whether to believe in these things or not. For
example, A.B. said, "Souls were visible to specialists only. My mother
was gifted. She could see the souls. She was lying down sick and saw the
spirits of the dead coming down. She said, 'I see the spirit of the
dead coming down. There must be some death below. I saw them hit the
boy and break his arm.' We went down and found out that two men had
drowned in Burrard Inlet and a boy had his arm broken like she said.
Young people think this is superstition. Sometimes I think so too; but
after seeing so many things with my own eyes I think there is something
in it."

In regard to land, if a band member needs land which is unoccupied,
he applies to the Band Council and the Council locates him, subject,
4 of course, to the approval of the Minister.

If the land is already occupied by some other band member, he is
supposed to negotiate with him direct and pay him for the improvements,
5 which the original occupant might have made. However, before making
payments it is in the interest of the new occupant to get legal recogni-
tion of his deal by obtaining the approval of the Band Council and

4. The Indian Act, Chapter 149, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952,
Section 20.
5. Ibid., Section 24.
the Minister. Other possible methods of acquiring land are by inheritance or by purchase from Whites, although, as far as my knowledge goes, there has been no purchase from Whites. Inheritance and location by the Band Council are the usual methods for acquiring land.

An individual may distribute his property during his lifetime or just make a will. According to Louie Miranda, "Nowadays often a will is made. If there is no will made, things would be equally divided between all children." No will can, however, become legally effective without the approval of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration who has the power to declare void any part or whole of the will if he is satisfied that the will was made under duress; the testator lacked testamentary capacity; and the provisions of the will are capricious, vague, inequitable, against the Indian Act or the public interest.

Indian Moneys.

Indian Moneys are moneys "collected, received or held by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of Indians or bands." These are two kinds: capital moneys and revenue moneys. The capital moneys are the moneys "derived from the sale of surrendered lands or capital assets of a band", and the revenue moneys are "all Indian moneys other than capital moneys." While the capital moneys are meant to be used for specific purposes such as buying farm machinery or works of lasting value, the revenue moneys may be used for any purpose likely "to promote the general progress and welfare of the band or any member of the band."

6. Ibid., Sections 45-47.
7. Ibid., Section 1 (h).
8. Ibid., Section 62.
9. Ibid., Sections 64-68.
The Squamish Band has, at present, accumulated $434,737.57 in capital moneys on which the Dominion Government pays five per cent interest. The interest is accredited to the revenue moneys of the Band. Another source of revenue moneys for the Squamish is the income from land, derived by means other than sale. The income from each of these means is given below:

Long term leases. $10,501.00 per annum
Yearly permits to use and occupy. 2,000.00 " "
Right of way. 100.00 " "
Interference with riparian rights. 2,735.00 " "
Miscellaneous 75.00 " "
Total $15,411.00 " "

Special features of the Indian property.

The property rights of an Indian are defined by the Indian Act, Chapter 149, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952. Of the 123 sections of the Act, at least four-fifths are related to property rights. Therefore for an understanding of the nature of Indian property rights, the reader is advised to read this chapter in conjunction with the Indian Act. Here I shall merely describe special features of the Indian property rights which distinguish a part of Indian possessions from the White possessions. The following are these special features.

1. Exemption from seizure. All personal and real property of an Indian or a Band, except that which is conditionally owned, for example, a television set acquired on an installment plan on which a part of the payment is still due, " is not subject to charge, pledge,

10. The Indian Act, Chapter 149, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952, Section 88.
mortgage, attachment, levy, seizure, distress or execution in favour or at the instance of any person other than an Indian." Among the Squamish there are some who are under the impression that even the conditionally owned property is not subject to seizure. Some of them, however, pay installments because if they did not pay the White stores might stop issuing goods on credit to the whole Band. As one informant said, "If I don't pay installments on my television, they can't take it away. But I don't want to do that because if one Indian does not pay, it comes on the whole Band." In addition to the property actually situated on the reserve, all property purchased by Her Majesty with Indian moneys or given by Her Majesty to the Indians by grant or agreement is "deemed always to be situated on a reserve." 11

2. Exemption from taxation. Section 86 of the Indian Act, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952, exempts from taxation "the interest of an Indian or a band in reserve or surrendered lands" and "the personal property of an Indian or a band situated on a reserve." In the Squamish thought this privilege is sometimes confused with a completely different matter, exemption from sales tax. They raise a question about the legality of the Provincial sales tax in respect of commodities purchased with the band funds or Indian moneys by the band or the individual Indians who are granted band funds for buying commodities for personal use.

3. Exemption of land from seizure. Section 29 of the Indian Act exempts reserve lands from seizure under legal process.

4. Restriction on sales of land. Land can be sold only by surrender to Her Majesty. A surrender is valid when approved by the majority of

11. Ibid. Section 89.
electors of the band at a duly constituted meeting and accepted by
the Governor in Council. If the surrender is assented to by the
majority of the electors present, and not by the majority of the
electors of the band, another meeting may be called to revote the
surrender. 12 And if the surrender is again assented to by the major­
ity of the electors present, the surrender is treated as if it has
been assented to by the majority of the electors of the band. Among
the Squamish the voting is carried out by secret ballot. 13

No one but a member of the band concerned is allowed to re­
side, occupy or use a reserve except by special permission of the
Minister of Citizenship and Immigration who can grant such permission
for a period not exceeding a year. 14 However, it seems to me this
section of the Indian Act is, in practice, interpreted as if it applies
to the Whites only. This exclusion of Whites on the one hand ensures the
inviolability of Indian property and on the other it constitutes to some
extent a barrier to Indian-White intermixing. Trespass on an Indian
Reserve is a punishable offence; but as the Indian Act does not clearly
define trespass, the situation regarding trespass remains somewhat
ambiguous. 15

The exemption from taxation and exemption from seizure of
property confers on the Indians, in a sense, a privileged status
relative to Whites and the Indians are anxious to hold on to these
privileges. They are suspicious of any proposal for extension of

12. Ibid. Section 39, Sub-section 2.
13. Ibid. Section 39, Sub-section 3.
15. Ibid. Section 30-31.
franchise lest it prove to be a trap for compulsory "enfranchisement" and lead to the loss of these privileges. The usual excuse is "our people are not ready for franchise." Weighed against the concrete advantage of tax exemption, the right to vote in a Federal Election seems to be of dubious advantage. Here a word of explanation is needed to clarify the terms franchise and enfranchisement. Franchise means the right to vote in the Federal election. It carries with it a loss of personal property tax exemption unless an individual is a veteran.\textsuperscript{16} Enfranchisement on the other hand means loss of Indian status and acquisition of full citizenship rights and duties including payment of taxes.\textsuperscript{17} Thus while enfranchisement always involves loss of Indian status, exercise of franchise by an Indian does not necessarily do so.

The Sources of Income.

The Squamish derive their income from wage-earning occupations, handicrafts, unemployment insurance, Old Age Pension, Family Allowance, Workmen's Compensation, relief budgeted from the Band Funds, and periodic distribution of cash income from land. Of these, wage-earning occupations are the most important for they constitute the principle means of income for most of the able-bodied adult Band members. A table indicating the distribution of wage earning occupations in respect of sixty-five persons is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number of person employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longshoremen</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawmill workers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishermen</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loggers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{16} The Indian Act, Chapter 149, Revised statutes of Canada, 1952 Section 86, sub-section 2.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. Section 108-109.
Clerical workers (women) 4
Business agent of Native Brotherhood 1
Teachers 2
Lawyer (unqualified) 1
Welders 1
Hair dressers 1
Casual workers 4
Miscellaneous 6

Total: 65

The above table is meant to indicate the range of variations in wage earning occupations and not the statistical variations; the sample covers all of those in certain occupations such as teacher, lawyer, business agent, clerical worker, hairdresser and welder, while it covers a smaller percentage of others such as longshoremen, sawmill workers, loggers, etc. It is my impression that the number of those engaged in longshoring would slightly exceed the number of all others combined. Next to longshoremen, sawmill workers, loggers and fishermen are numerically most important. Longshoring is preferred because "it is the best paid labour job around here." Moreover "you can work steady if you like; but if you don't want to go, you just phone you are not coming. You don't lose your job." Another pleasant feature of longshoring is that "you don't get stuck at one place, you go from ship to ship."

A couple of old persons felt that the Indians are being discriminated against in getting a job. In general, however, there is a feeling that "there is no discrimination," and that the "guys who don't get jobs are lazy." According to Harry Newman, "There are quite few lazy boys around here. Anybody who tries can get a job."
Most of the married women keep themselves busy looking after the house and the family. Some of them occasionally work in canneries or do dishwashing and house cleaning. There is some resistance on the part of the men to sending their wives to work, especially when there are a few children to look after. For example, Tim Moody's wife worked in a motel for three or four days. After this, when she again received a telephone call for work, Tim Moody forbade her and said, "You will go to work over my dead body." To my knowledge, among the single girls, four are office workers, one a teacher, and one a hairdresser.

During the summer some Squamish go to the State of Washington for berry and hop-picking. It is mostly the teenagers, women and unemployed men who go. There is a reluctance among the longshoremen, saw-mill workers, and other steadily employed men to leave their jobs and go picking. For example, Ernest Newman, Henry Baker, Stan Joseph, Harry Newman and many other steadily employed men have not gone berry picking for years. Mrs. Moses Joseph said, "Every time you go, never bring much money back; what is the use?" On the other hand, Mrs. Larry Joseph feels that "If you are a good picker, you can make twenty-five to thirty dollars a day between yourself and your husband." But she, too, has not gone for the last three years because, "It is hard with the kids." I noticed that a certain amount of good-natured bantering goes on between married men on the subject of their wives going for berry picking. One man whose wife had gone berry picking said to another with a grin and a wink hinting at the scandalous, "Oh, it would do her good." In general pleasurable and monotony-breaking aspects of the summer excursion to berry fields are more stressed than those relating to money-making. According to Liola Johnson, "Not much money, we go just to get away from here." Alec Julian pointed out another
function of berry picking when he said, "Quite a few girls go to the States, get married, never come back." And he gave two examples. I have a feeling that the present pattern of summer migration to berry fields by teenagers, school children, unemployed men, some housewives, and occasional employed men is not likely to be materially disturbed in the near future unless employment opportunities in the United States become unattractive or more attractive opportunities for summer employment develop in Canada. In connection with this subject, I had an opportunity to consult a more detailed report of a study entitled Seasonal Labour of British Columbia Indians in Washington State made by Dr. H.B. Hawthorn and students of Anthropology of the University of British Columbia, in 1948. In general, my findings agree with the above report; but there are two significant differences: 1. The Squamish made no statements like those recorded on page four of the report making unfavorable comparisons between the treatment accorded to the Indians by the Whites in Canada and in the United States. 2. I am inclined to be more optimistic about the future of these migrations than the authors of the report. The first point of difference is probably due to improved relationships between the Squamish and the neighbouring Whites. An evidence of this is a general feeling among the Squamish that "there is no discrimination in employment" and that "there are some very nice White people in North Vancouver." The reason for the second is that there does not seem to be any strong pressure against the continuance of the present pattern of migration.

Handicrafts.

Totem pole carving, basket making and knitting seem to be the only handicrafts which the Squamish have. Totem pole carving is confined to men and the school boys. I know of ten men who do totem pole carving.
Of these seven derive the bulk of their income from wage earning occupations. The remaining three are old or disabled men, and they supplement their meagre income from totem pole carving by relief or pension. "Pretty hard to sell them" is the general complaint. I saw some totem poles made by school children; but it is doubtful that they are able to sell very many of them. Louie Miranda showed me a Japanese-made totem pole and said, "They were selling them as Squamish totem poles. We bought one as a souvenir. Our people find it hard to compete with machine-made totem poles."

Baskets are made by three or four old women. As both the demand and the output are very small, the income from this source is almost negligible.

Knitting is more widespread. Young girls, middle aged housewives, and even some old women who can see well occasionally knit. Things knit are baby's socks, sweaters, women's lace, and rarely Indian sweaters. Most of the knitting is done for family consumption or for gift giving. For example, members of the Ladies Goodwill Club knit "socks and things" for giving a shower for the new born babies.

As regards Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pension, Old Age Assistance, Family Allowance, and Workmen's Compensation, the Squamish Indians are entitled to receive these benefits on a par with Whites at the rate sanctioned from time to time.

Occasional Distribution of Capital Moneys.

Up to "fifty per cent of the capital moneys of the band derived from the sale of surrendered lands" can be distributed "per capita to the members of the band" in accordance with Section 64, Clause (a) of the Indian Act, Chapter 149, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952. The grant of $400
to each Squamish family head for house improvement represents one such distribution. Negotiations are at present going on for the sale of some land, and many Squamish look forward to another distribution of capital money.

Relief.

The Squamish Band has its own programme of providing relief or social assistance to its needy members. About $15,000 has been budgeted this year for relief. At present twenty-eight band members are on permanent relief. In addition, about fifteen members request temporary relief each month. Ten dollars per adult and five dollars per child are provided as food relief. In addition, fuel, clothing, and other necessities of life are provided according to need.

Religion

A little over ninety per cent of the Squamish are Roman Catholics, eight per cent Protestants, and one per cent Shakers. One old woman confessed a liking for Jehovah's Witnesses; but said, "I don't go even there. It is too much for me now."

Catholic Church.

Catholicism was first introduced to the Squamish by Oblate Fathers. I have no information whether prior to the arrival of Oblate Fathers some elements of Christian belief had diffused to the Squamish from other sources. Father Fouquet who visited Burrard Inlet in 1860 was the first missionary to preach Christianity to the Squamish. According to Father Bellot, Father Fouquet performed the first baptism on the shores of
Burrard Inlet on March 25, 1864.  

Many Squamish believe that Father Fouquet came to Christianise the Squamish at the request of Chief Snat. The story goes that the Governor once issued orders to exterminate the Squamish because they had murdered a few Whites. When Snat heard of this, he approached Father Fouquet, who was then living in New Westminster, and promised him that he and his people would become Christians if he would persuade the Governor to withdraw his orders. Father Fouquet consented and approached the Governor who, on his request, withdrew his orders. A Mission was then established at what is now known as Mission Reserve. Thus started the inroads of Christianity on the traditional Squamish belief system and way of life.

In 1866 the Squamish erected their first chapel, which was named St. Paul's Church. This chapel lasted about twenty years and was then replaced by a larger building with one steeple. Both Whites and the Squamish worshipped together in this church until a new church was built for the White population in North Vancouver. In 1910, St. Paul's Church was enlarged, remodeled and provided with an additional steeple. In this way the present day Squamish Church came to be built. The Squamish are quite proud of their church and perhaps justifiably so because it is a beautiful and impressive building, and is one of the oldest on Burrard Inlet.

Father Fouquet was succeeded by Father Paul Durieu who later became the Bishop of New Westminster. He worked among the Squamish for thirty years, and is reported to have exercised, with the co-operation of the chiefs, a great deal of influence on Squamish life. He appointed watchmen to police his parish, even arranged a number of marriages between the

18. Father Bellot, B.C., M.B., undated.
Squamish and people of mixed descent of both sexes. The present day Bakers and a number of others are offspring of these marriages. Another influence of the Mission has been that since the opening of the Mission, the Mission Reserve has been open for residence to all Christian Squamish and not merely to the members of house groups or kin group of the chief as has been the usual practice among the Squamish.

Bishop Durieu died at the Mission Reserve in 1899. Since his death the control of the priests over the Squamish seems to have gradually decreased. In this connection the following remarks by Father Bellot are significant in that they show how he viewed the situation as the local priest. Father Bellot wrote:

From 1912 to 1921 there was no resident priest on the Indian Mission. Then the Indians, accustomed to the guidance and the vigilance of their former missionaries, thought they were abandoned, and with the influx of undesirable Whites and the example of a few renegade Whites, decline set in. So, when in 1921, the place was taken up by the present incumbent, Rev. Father E.C. Bellot, O.M.I., the task proved to be a very ungrateful and arduous one. The authority of the chiefs challenged and almost gone, the new generation free and insubordinate, the bad example of their surroundings, the admission among them of mixed blood, and the example of a few renegades, all lessened the influence of the priest and rendered his work strenuous.

Father Bellot was later able to claim some improvement; but he conceded that he was far from inspiring "the first fervour" in his parish. E provided some evidence of Father Bellot's success when he said to me, "I used to go to church when Father Bellot was there. When he left I stopped going." As to why he stopped going he said, "I got fed up with

the gossip of the priests. They tell you what you should not do. They should not bring these things over there." He was referring to are usual comments of the priest against excessive drinking and other supposed moral failings of his parish.

At present the position of the priest appears to be little more than that of a religious technician on whom one calls only when some technical matters relating to religious ritual are to be attended to. As Father Morice said, "After being here for three years, I don't remember anyone ever paying a social visit to me; not even Andrew Paull. He, too, comes only when he has some business." He tried hard to remember any exception to this statement but failed. Referring to church attendance Father Morice said, "Church attendance is not very good in any class, young or old. An average of about fifty adults and fifty children attend Sunday Mass. There is no appreciable difference between men and women. Attendance seems to depend on families." My own observations support the statement of Father Morice with regard to the number of those attending the church, and family as a factor influencing church attendance. As to whether this constitutes good attendance or not, I think Father Morice is in a better position to pass judgement on this than I.

The church is not at present taking any part in organising recreation. The previous priest, Father Clark, organised boxing, lacrosse and basketball. Of these boxing is still continuing under the guidance of Alec Strain. Other games, as organised activities have disappeared. Individual players still play as members of White teams. Father Morice formed a square dancing club which failed due to lack of response. M.J. gave a different version of this square dancing club. He said, "I
organised the young people up to fourteen for square dancing. Then the
religious group came and asked if I would organise with the church. As
soon as religion entered into it, the kids thought something was put on
them and they sort of petered out. It is wrong that way. Let them have
their own choice of recreation." N.J. has again got the club running, and
now he is determined to "keep the religion out."

Shaker Religion

John xʷələqʷələq̓ə from Vancouver Island introduced the
Shaker Religion. Commenting on how Shaker Religion came to the Squamish
Louie Miranda said, "I was about twenty when Shaker Religion came in.
John xʷələqʷələq̓ə was the one who brought it. He came to the Squamish
in 1913. I remember, we sold the Kitsilano Reserve at that time. Before
that my mother's aunt was hop-picking in the States. She told us the
stories she had heard about what Shakers could do." Billy Williams and
Isaac Joe were the first to join. Many others, including Louie Miranda,
followed suit. Louie Miranda later became one of the five elders of the
Shaker Church in British Columbia. But gradually the number of Shakers
began to decline. Some died, others, including Louie Miranda joined the
Catholic Church, and there was little fresh recruitment from the younger
generation. About half a dozen Shakers are still left.

The Shaker Church is located behind Isaac Jacob's house adjoining
Park Royal in West Vancouver. Isaac Jacob was the shaker minister until
his death two weeks ago. William Baker Sr. is the Church elder. He claims
to have seen Jesus six times and the Virgin Mary a few times. With his
power he used to do some healing too; but "no more now." Commenting on the
efficacy of Shaker healing he said, "My first wife got paralysis; I don't
know how many years she got that. When she joined the Shakers she run like
anything." William Baker Sr. has so far successfully resisted all attempts by Catholic priests to convert him. Describing one interview between him, his wife, and the Catholic priest he said, "He told us that we follow the devil. He told us everything about Christian. We listened. When he finished I said, "Thank you father; I take your good word, not bad. I see my light all the time I pray. When I don't get it, I confess my mistake, and the light comes again." Another Shaker felt that "Catholic Church too much fooling the Indian." Poor attendance at the Catholic Church is a source of some delight to the Shakers. For example, a few months before his death Isaac Jacob said with obvious satisfaction, "I heard that priest is getting tired. Every day drinking - Friday, Saturday. Nobody comes to the church."

Shakers are quite proud of the fact that they don't smoke or drink, and when comparing themselves with Catholics they don't fail to point out this fact. As William Baker Sr. said, "When my wife told the priest 'My husband does not smoke or drink! His wife got red in the face." Thus for the Shakers, abstinence from drinking and smoking, besides being a good habit in itself, is also a symbol of moral superiority over those Catholics who drink or smoke.

On the other hand, commenting on the relationship between Shakers and the Catholic Church, Father Morice said, "They were all one time or other Catholics; and for the most part they still believe in the Catholic Church. I have not seen anyone who would spurn the Church. When they are near death or something like that they return to the Church. Some are Shakers because at present their mode of life does not fit the Church. They seem to have come by it because their present standing (the common-law marital standing of some Shakers) does not allow them to be Catholics. Also there seems to be a kind of philosophy back of it that they are practicing both kind of religion and not given up either; a sort of pragmatism that they are playing
safe in both religions. If one does not bring salvation, the other will."

On further questioning he said, "They don't seem to think there is any break between their practices and those of the Church. They believe that they are continuing to honor God." The above statement is full of insight, and is most likely to be true of those who came back to the Catholic Church or who wish to come back but cannot due to their marital standing. However, marital standing and playing safe do not explain the behaviour of the man who is proud of being a Shaker, and who believes that he has seen Jesus six times. It would seem to me that he would be the last person to worry about his salvation. The explanation of this man's behaviour and the behaviour of others who do not come back to the Catholic Church would seem to lie in the fact that they believe that their religion is superior.

There is little controversy at present between the Protestants and the Catholics. Protestant children attend the public school and the Catholic children mostly attend the local St. Paul's School.

Last year Jehovah's Witnesses started a house to house campaign to seek converts in the Mission Reserve. The members of the Squamish Band Council who are mostly Catholics did not like this. They passed a resolution in the council requesting the Indian Superintendent to prohibit the entry of Jehovah's witnesses in the reserve. Commenting on this, William Baker Sr. said, "I told them (other councillors) it is against the law. You can't do that to any religion; but they passed that. They did not listen to me."

The local school is St. Paul's School. It is located in the Mission Reserve on the south side of Keith Road. It was founded in 1898. Since its inception it has been run by the Sisters of the Child Jesus, an order founded
in France three centuries ago. It serves as both residential and day school.

According to Johnny Gonzales, this school was built by the Squamish Indians with their own labour and under the supervision of their own head carpenter, Logger Joe. It is a double storey building with four class rooms for teaching and five dormitories for providing residence to the students. The building is rather old and Sister Michaela, the school principal, feels that "It is not a proper accommodation for the school."

The present enrollment of the school is 142 - sixty-six boys and seventy-six girls. Of these twenty-one boys and twenty-eight girls attend day school, and all the rest attend residential school. All the day students come from the Mission and Capilano Reserves; but residential school students come in addition from Burrard, Pemberton, Nanaimo, and Musqueam. With the exception of orphans, illegitimates, and children from broken or "unsuitable" homes, the students from Mission and Capilano Reserves are not usually admitted to the residential school.

Formerly there were only three teachers on the staff of the school; but recently one more has been added. In addition there is a caretaker who also gives training to the boys in making furniture.

Sister Michaela feels that Indian parents are very much interested in the education of their children; but the children are not quite as serious as the White children; especially boys. In addition, a number of girls are interested in teaching or nursing while their parents want them to have more vocational training.

Besides providing education and a foster home for the underprivileged children, the school also provides for its students opportunities for participation in athletics. There is a well equipped auditorium which according to Andrew Paull "is one of the best in British Columbia." Alec Strain is the
director of school athletic club, called the Totem Athletic Club. His specialty is boxing; but he also directs softball and tumbling. For the last six years the club has been holding an annual boxing tournament for the Native Indians, the Buckskin Gloves Tournament. The Squamish are quite proud of the boxing accomplishments of their boys who have won a number of championships.

**Attitude towards the local school.**

There are a number of complaints against the school; but they are largely directed against the past policy of the school. Most people feel that the school has now improved considerably. The following are some of the opinions expressed about the school:

"They teach too much religion in the school."

"We don't like nuns very much calling us heathens, stupid Indians. They are religious people; it is very mean of them to say these things."

"All that they did was to make us pray. What we know we learned after the school."

"The nuns used to beat us for speaking Indian."

"The school is pretty good now."

"I did not have any high school, the kids get treated better now. They have a good Superior. She is very kind."

"We built this school. We don't have any say in it. The Council tried to get some say in it; but no use. We tried for the last two or three years."

"The teachers are good; but kind of crabby." (a student)

**Attitude towards education.**

The parents want their children to be well educated. There is a general feeling that education is a good thing, and that it is the only way
to compete with the Whites. As Denny Paull said, "We have some very bright kids here. We want them to have a good education. They should have good clothes and everything provided so that they can compete with Whites. The way I see it, the only way we can compete with Whites is to get the kids educated. We can't go back now." And Lorne Nahanece wants his little boy to be very well educated because "we need somebody with brains and education to look after these people."

Some older people who did not have enough opportunities to get education feel that the kids don't realise what they have got. They are "getting it too soft." Henry Baker said, "Now these kids are having so many opportunities; they don't appreciate it. I wish I had them. I would have been something. Things have sure changed within last thirty five years."

Louie Miranda on the other hand expressed his disappointment with the results achieved by modern education. He said, "I don't know what happens to these boys after getting education. There is nothing wrong with education, nothing wrong with the church; but our pagan ancestors were more honest than present day educated Christians. The old honesty of the Indian is no longer in existence. Even there are old people who are not honest." However, he felt that it is not the fault of the church or education but of the parents who do not set a good example to their children, and of the young people themselves. He blamed the young people because "it is not a good excuse that a boy is bad because he had a bad home. It makes a difference; but it is up to the person himself. There are some very good boys from very poor homes."

Credit and Community Welfare Organisations.

The Squamish have five organisations besides the Band Council that are concerned with the organisation of community resources to satisfy the
credit and welfare needs of the community including recreation. Of these the Capilano Community Club recruits its members mainly from those living in the Capilano Reserve and Co-operative Credit Union from those in the Mission Reserve. Others have members living in both Capilano and Mission Reserves. A brief description of each of these organisations follows.

Co-operative Credit Union.

Father Clark, who was the parish priest from 1945 to 1952, is believed to be the founder of the Co-operative Credit Union. From the records of the Union it appears that the inaugural meeting was held in February, 1952, at the residence of Father Clark. Eleven persons attended the meeting.

Commenting on how the Credit Union came to be formed, James Mahanee, the present president said, "We saw the working of the other co-operative organisations on the Coast. We looked into the rules and regulations of the Central Credit Union Association. They gave us literature on how to form a credit union, different methods of running it, office bearers etc., it was quite interesting to us. We had never done such a thing."

After the formation of the Union, periodic meetings were held to educate the members about the manner of its working. It appears from the minutes of the Union meetings that George Payton, President of the Civic Employees Union, as guest speaker, gave a talk on different methods of running credit unions. He also invited the executive of the Credit Union to attend the executive meeting of the Civic Employees Union to familiarise themselves with the procedure. The invitation was accepted.

To start with the organisation had only ten members; but within a year the membership rose to sixty. To become a qualified member, one must pay one dollar initiation fee and buy a five dollar share. For the share it was not
compulsory to pay at once. One could pay fifty cents a month or more. No limit was set on buying shares. Members were encouraged to deposit with the cashier at least fifty cents every month to acquire a share. Interest was fixed at two percent of the unpaid balance. At the end of year all the money received was to be distributed between shareholders.

In addition to the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, the executive of the Union included a supervisory committee, and a credit committee, each consisting of three members. Thomas Findley was elected the first president and Father Clark first treasurer. An account was opened in the Royal Bank to deposit the available cash. In April 1951, a four member board of directors was elected, with president as one of the members. In 1953, when new office bearers were elected, James Mahanee became president; and he continues to hold office since then.

It seems the Credit Union made a good start, and soon it was able to circulate considerable amount of money in loans to its members. The following balance sheet indicates the financial position of the Union in the year 1953, after which the decline started.

**Balance Sheet April 30, 1953.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>Liabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash in hand at Bank</td>
<td>Shares 1313.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans, personal</td>
<td>Undivided surplus 503.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued Interest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid membership dues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1816.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Real Liabilities              |                              |
| Shares less loans             | 587.75                       |
| On hand                       | 105.69                       |
| Total                         | 482.06 (Must be collected from loans which are in excess of shares) |
At present the Credit Union has virtually stopped functioning.
Commenting on this failure James Mahanee said, "Before I became president, there was no control on loans. Loans were issued in excess of shares. It would have worked alright if we had kept loans close to the shares, say double the amount of shares. But we did not restrict loans at all. We had no way of collecting money other than by voluntary payment. It was one of our decisions, we would not force anybody to pay." Another factor for the failure of the Credit Union was winter unemployment and loans to widows. As James Mahanee said, "We had a few hard winters, and many of our people were unemployed. Also lots of our members were widows. You can't force a widow if she has children. You can't force her to pay if she falls behind." I have a feeling that another perhaps no less important factor was that some people who could have paid did not pay because they did not have to. However, I don't have any evidence to support this conclusion.

As to the future of the Credit Union, James Mahanee is fairly optimistic about it. He confided to me that he is waiting for the next distribution of capital moneys. He is sure that he would be able to collect the loans then. After the loans are in, he is determined not to follow the mistakes of the past. Of one thing he is sure, that it is worthwhile to revive the Credit Union. "It is surprising how much money you can loan this way," he said.

Capilano Community Club.

Simon Baker has been the president of the Capilano Community Club since its beginning in 1948. Explaining to me as to how the club came to be formed Simon said, "Dan Baker, Joe Baker and myself were sitting around the house. All of a sudden it came to our mind that we should start some
activity. Everybody thought it was a good idea. We started serving tea for raising funds. The first year we had a little sports on the beach. Fifty people came and everybody enjoyed himself. This was more or less the beginning of our annual Pow-wow. The next year we did really well. We brought the idea to the Council and with their help put up a bigger show. Since then we are putting these shows - more or less eight years ago. You see, we had a new housing project. Our population here was getting very big. We thought we should do something for our people."

Major activities of the club are holding of a Pow-wow, assisting the old with food, groceries, etc., and providing facilities for sports and an annual Christmas tree for the children.

The Pow-wow lasts for two days. Its programme includes competitive sports, Indian dances, bingo, and sale of Indian arts and crafts and foods. Indians from the Mainland and Vancouver Island come to participate in the games or just to see the show. Prizes and trophies were awarded to the winners in competitive games. At present there are eight trophies, all donated by White firms.

The club expects that the Pow-wow should not only meet its cost, but also yield a surplus to finance the activities of the club all the year round. Donations from shipping companies and other White firms; sale of advertisements in the programme sheets; sale of food stuff, Indian arts and crafts, and programme sheets; bingo games; and sale of entry tickets are the principal means employed for raising funds.

The club makes every effort to meet the White expectations of a “real Indian Pow-wow.” Many Squamish, both old and young, paint their faces; wear feather head dresses, buckskin clothes and other Indian costumes ranging from the Plains to North West Coast; carry wooden spears, rattles and drums
in order to pose as "real Indians." On the whole, the programme is designed to be exotic and entertaining rather than informative. Some of those "real Indians" enjoy being the target of attention and obligingly pose for anyone who requests their photographs. Others resent this, perhaps because they feel that these costumes have no relation to their day to day life. For example, one young girl said contemptuously, "Yes, real Indians! I gave them even my autographs."

The Club held its latest election in February, 1956 and elected the following office bearers:

President
Vice President
Secretary
Treasurer
Programme Chairman
Arts and Crafts
Welfare

Simon Baker.
Gordon Band.
Miss Barbara Baker.
Mrs. Gordon Band.
Dan Baker.
Mrs. Simon Baker.
Mrs. Ernest Rivers.

Ladies Goodwill Club.

Ladies Goodwill Club started about twenty years ago. According to Mrs. Stan Joseph Sr., former secretary of the club "Nurse Harriet was the one who helped us to get started." Formerly the club used to be quite active. It used to hold bazaars, rummage sales, sales of home cooking and benefit dances. The funds raised from these activities were used to help the sick, old, and the disabled members of the Squamish Community. Of late, the activities of the club have been limited to holding an occasional benefit dance to aid some particular individual and giving showers for the new born babies. Nobody seems to be much interested in the club now. This is probably due to lack of enthusiastic leadership. For example, Mrs. Ernest Rivers, the present president said,
"I have been president for the last twelve years. I have tried to get out; but nobody wants to take it."

**Squamish Athletic Club.**

Squamish Athletic Club used to be quite active in the past. Later it died out for want of interest. Recently Louie Miranda took interest and revived it. The activities of the club centre around training crew and making other necessary arrangements for Squamish participation in canoe racing at Lummi, Vancouver and other places. The club is short of funds. Louie Miranda said to me, "I have to spend some money from my own pocket to run it." He is reluctant to ask the Council for assistance. "It is my club. I don't want anybody to interfere with it. I have too much Indian pride to ask for assistance," he said.

**Orchestra.**

The Squamish Orchestra has been in existence, off and on for years. At present a committee, consisting of Tim Moody, Andrew Paull, Chief Moses Joseph, and Willard Joseph, is responsible for its management. Whenever any dance is held in the community hall, the local orchestra provides the music. So far as my knowledge goes, members of the orchestra are not paid; but play just for the fun of it.

**Kinship and Interpersonal Relationships.**

Kinship terms borrowed from the English Language have almost replaced the traditional Squamish kinship terms. A few persons who usually converse in Squamish use traditional kinship terms. However, they too, while speaking in Squamish, frequently make use of English terms. Older persons sometimes refer to their cousins, nephews and nieces as brothers, sisters and daughters but this practice too seems to be on the way out.
Most of the Squamish believe that they are all somehow related to one another; but in general they remember their specific relationship to one another only up to two or three generations. Beyond this they vaguely refer to each other as cousins, nephews, and nieces without bothering to ascertain the exact nature of their relationship. For one thing, it is not very important to know the precise relationship, as interpersonal relationships between kinsfolk are not so much guided by determinate kinship obligations; but by mutually acceptable personal standards of behaviour. This implies greater variations in interpersonal relationships between kinsfolk and less predictability of behaviour on the basis of kinship alone.

My observations of the interaction between kinsfolk show that out of a large number of kinsfolk an individual selects only a few for friendship and social visiting. The persons selected are often close kinsfolk; but closeness in terms of kinship alone does not determine selection. Distant kinsfolk who are "nice to get along" or are "good company" may be preferred to less congenial but more close kinsfolk. The following illustrate some of the variations in selection of kinsfolk for personal friendship and social visitings.

1. A visits and receives visits from K, T, and F. In the beer parlour too, they prefer to sit together. K. is on one hand P's mother's sister's grandson and on the other his wife's sister's husband. T. is his wife's sister's husband, and also a distant cousin. T. is his distant nephew as well as older cousin. With his two sisters, father's brother, and a step brother his interaction is very limited. One of his sisters is more intimate with his wife than the other.

2. M, a widow, associates more frequently with her father's brother, her sister, her father's brother's daughter, less frequently with her brother
and rarely with her stepson. Her stepson, who calls her "towns worst slop," related to me scandalous gossip about her sexual relations with other men and consequent venereal infection.

3. Willard Joseph prefers the company of his brother Stan Joseph, and wife's brother, Percy Paull and wife's sister Helen Paull visits his house frequently.

4. Stan Joseph likes to drink with his brother, Willard Joseph; his grandmother's nephew's eldest son and next door neighbour, Lennet Baker; his father's brother's son, Larry Joseph; and grandmother's younger brother's grandson, Thomas Baker.

5. L. more frequently receives visits from his wife's sisters and their husbands than his brothers and sisters. His father's sister's granddaughter, Mavis, is his wife's "good friend." She looked after his house when he and his wife had gone to Squamish for logging.

6. Henry Baker invites to his home only his brothers and their wives for a "friendly chat" or a "drink."

7. Alfred Jacob usually associates with his daughter and next door neighbour Mrs. Albert Guss; his wife's brother's son, Gordon Band; and wife's mother's daughter's husband, Ernest Rivera.

From the above it is obvious that the Squamish usually choose their friends on the basis of kinship and personal congeniality. In the absence of personal congeniality, kinship ties fail to hold and the relationship between individuals becomes an empty formal one without vigour and content. Personal congeniality may be based on community of interest, habits, tastes and any other personal attributes which makes individuals prefer and seek each other's company.

What is true of interpersonal relationships in general is also true
of specific kinds of interpersonal relationships such as voting for electing members to the Band council, formation of cliques both among councillors and other band members, and any other kind of leader follower relationship.

The above analysis goes contrary to the beliefs held by many Squamish with regard to the importance of the role of kinship in community affairs. I shall now present these beliefs and examine their validity in the light of facts available. Many Squamish believe that:

1. The electors of the band cast their votes on the basis of kinship alone.
2. The majority of the electors of the band are Bakers. They can, therefore, easily elect their own men to the Council.
3. There are three cliques in the Council: Baker, Paull, and Nahane.
4. Membership of the cliques is based on kinship, and all councillors belong to these cliques excepting three or four who are neutrals.
5. Kinship considerations influence the decision of the Council members on individual requests for financial and other assistance. As a majority of the councillors are Bakers they can dominate the Council and favour their own kinsfolk.

From a list of the band electors compiled in December, 1955, it appears that out of 305 electors, forty five bear the surname Baker; twenty three, William; twenty one, Lewis; and fourteen, Paul, Nahane and Joseph each. It is obvious from the above that each of these groups, as a unilateral kinship group, does not constitute a majority of the electors and therefore does not have the power to elect anyone at will. However, I have already stated that the Squamish attach equal importance to kinship on both father and mother's side. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to enquire whether any of the groups stated above; especially Baker, Paull, and Nahane constitute
a distinct bilateral kinship group. If not, the statement that cliques are formed on the basis of kinship alone becomes untenable, and this is in fact the case. The following genealogies indicate that Baker, Paull, Nahance, Joseph and Lewis do constitute a single bilateral kinship group and that councillors who are supposed to belong to different cliques are in fact closely related. This dismisses the suggestion that Bakers constitute the majority of the electors of the Band and that cliques in the Council are based on kinship.

The question now arises, Are there any cliques in the Council? if so, what is their nature? After attending six meetings of the Band Council, talking to most of the councillors, sharing their confidences, and checking and rechecking their statements with one another, I am convinced that there is no such thing as Baker, Paull, and Nahance cliques in the Band Council. For one thing, there is only one Paull and one Nahance in the Council. So far as my knowledge goes Councillor Nahance is a group to himself, and he does not usually receive much support from any other councillor. It is, therefore, meaningless to talk of a Nahance clique. Councillor Paull commands considerable respect from other councillors including those who are very much opposed to his brother, Andrew Paull. I doubt very much if he has a clique of his own.

However, personal rivalries and differences of opinion on some subject of current interest sometimes lead to formation of shifting alliances and cliques. In addition, by virtue of personal congeniality, mutual respect, and close kinship, some members are more close to one another than others; for example, Tim Moody and Gordon Band. The belief that there are Paull and

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20. See opposite page. (130a)
I. The above genealogy has been simplified a great deal for the sake of clarity. Most of these individuals are related in more than one way.

II. X mark indicates that the individual is a member of the Band Council.
Baker cliques in the Council was made plausible by the fact that many of Andrew Paull's opponents have been Bakers. There are some indications that Andrew Paull and many of his Baker and other opponents are now getting reconciled. According to Louie Miranda, the Council has now given him the right to speak in the Council meetings.

A number of Squamish claim that they cast their vote on the basis of merit and not on the basis of kinship. For example, Louie Miranda said, "I go by a man's character and not by his name." However, some people who themselves claim that they vote "for the right person" and not their relatives accuse others of doing the opposite.

As to the charge that kinship considerations influence the decision of the council members on individual requests for financial and other assistance, my observations do no support it. In the six Band Council meetings I attended, all the decisions made by the Council were unanimous. There was therefore little possibility of one group of Councillors favouring their kinsfolk over others. The only substance I can see in this charge is that sometimes a councillor may strongly put forward the case of a particular kinsman to convince the Council that the individual deserves assistance. Other councillors are usually familiar with the case and know whether the request is proper or not. One way or other the decision is usually unanimous.

Traditionally, the Squamish interpersonal relationships have been regulated by kinship obligations. Today although kinship has become less important in their lives, the traditional mode of explaining interpersonal behaviour in terms of kinship still persists. Viewed in this light, the accusations that people vote only for their own relatives and that council members help only their own kindreds represent merely familiar and handy explanations of situations which people either don't understand, are unwilling
to understand, or simply find it expedient to misrepresent.

**Interpersonal Relationships between the Squamish and the Whites.**

A discussion of practically any aspect of Indian life involves, at some point or another, a reference to Indian-White relationships. A number of these references will, therefore, be found scattered throughout this paper. The discussion which follows provides a supplement to these references with special emphasis on interpersonal relationships between the individual Squamish and individual Whites.

Interpersonal relationships, between the Squamish and the Whites, in North Vancouver and adjacent areas where they work or visit, seem to be fairly cordial. Many friendships are formed on the job or the play-ground. There is a great deal of good natured joking and "kidding around" between individual members of both groups. Fellow workers often invite each other for a beer. In some cases, both Squamish and White fellow workers visit each other's home; but in some other cases, Whites pay an occasional visit to Squamish homes without receiving a return visit from their Squamish friends.

The following represent some of the opinions and attitudes held by the Squamish about White fellow workers and others.

"Oh, they are all right. You get the odd one or two who think that they should get superior positions even though they are new on the job."

"I have lots of White friends. I visit their home and they visit my home."

"Most of them White people are good fellows to work with."

"We get along very well. No discrimination and no hard feelings. They don't mind taking orders from me. I am their boss. Quite often the people I work with visit me."
"There are good people in every people and there are bad ones, too. Much depends on what kind of a man you are. Scots are known for their stinginess. I know of a Scot who would have given his shirt to me."

"We used to chum around with White people in Vancouver. Sometimes they came over here."

"You see there is something strange. Between Chinese, Japanese and Whites there remains some distance of being a different group. This feeling is not there between Natives and Whites."

There is a general feeling among the Squamish that teenagers now "are mixing more with Whites," and have "lots of White friends." A number of Squamish believe that most Squamish boys have White girl friends. I myself occasionally observed two or three White girls and Squamish boys walking through the Mission Reserve with arms around each other's waist. Commenting on this Lorne Nahanee said, "Indian boys and girls get along pretty well with Whites. That is why Whites are afraid to let the Indians join the White schools."

Pre-marital pregnancy among the Squamish girls is generally attributed to Whites; especially the White "scum" in the dance halls. As Louie Miranda said, "Our girls get pregnant before marriage now because they have not known our own Indian ways. Neither they know anything about the White ways. These girls know a little bit of English; but they don't know much about the White ways. They go to the dance halls and get mixed up with the scum there." I think at least some of these pregnancies occur as a result of pre-marital sexual intercourse with the Squamish males. Local gossip supports this conclusion. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that "necking" and "petting" between Squamish boys and girls, in jalopies, on the beach and other places, leads to a certain amount of sexual intercourse. Because of the secrecy involved in these
matters, I cannot say for certain how many of these pre-marital pregnancies are attributable to Squamish males and how many to White males, scum or otherwise.

Quite a few marriages take place between the Squamish and the Whites of both sexes. Some persons feel that only "down and out" and "no good" Whites marry Indian girls. However, it is not unusual to hear a Squamish mother claim that her daughter is married to "a nice White boy."

All the Squamish I interviewed, claim that they don't find any difficulty in getting credit from White stores. "We all can get credit. That is the way I got my television." "We can get credit the same as everybody else." "I am pretty lucky in getting credit," are some of the usual replies. This shows that in general individual Squamish have established a relationship of trust with the owners or management of White stores.

In spite of increasing person to person appreciation between members of both groups, stereotypes of White and Indian in the abstract still persist. For example, a proposition for a real estate deal, by a White organization or an individual, is apt to raise in the minds of many Squamish an uneasy feeling and an unspecifiable suspicion that the rapacious White who robbed them of most of their heritage, is now out to take whatever is left of it. They suspect a trap, and if they cannot find it, it is all the more reason to be cautious. Many who are ordinarily proud of the shrewdness and wisdom of their people become for the moment true believers in the superior cunning of the White. The fact that sometimes their fears are found partly justifiable, lends support to the convictions already held. The motives of the officials of the Indian Affairs Branch also become suspect. After all they too are White. I have given this description a sharp focus for the reason that a description of a stereotype should approximate it. For a
balanced view of the situation, this should be read together with my de-
scription of Squamish attitude towards land which is given in a separate
chapter. Here it will suffice to mention that the intensity with which this
stereotyped conviction is held varies with individual Squamish, and not all
Squamish have it. Not all those who bitterly complain against the White be-
lieve in all that they say. Complaining is a shrewd from of bargaining and
and in addition yields diverse satisfactions, varying with the individual,
his mood and motives of the moment. For example, one Squamish said, "Oh, we
know we are now getting good price for the land. We just like to kid the White."

"Dog eat dog White civilization" is another stereotype which supports
the stereotype of rapacious White. One day in the beer parlour a woman of
mixed descent from the United States commented on the backwardness of Indians
of Canada as compared with those of the United States. In reply, one Squamish
said with a slight edge in his voice, "You see our Indians out here don't like
the dog eat dog White civilization. That is why they don't want to change."
The woman at once changed her tune and by way of apology started commenting
on her own ignorance.

On the other hand many Whites have little appreciation of the changes
which their neighbours, the Squamish, have undergone. Their image of the
Squamish for that matter of any other "real Indian" resembles partly that of a
child playing Indian and partly that of "Western" movies. Feathers, exotic
costumes, spears, tomahawks, totem poles and tipies constitute some of the
elements of which this image is composed. The Squamish are quite aware of
this image and in fact many of them have derived their own conception of the
"real Indian" - their ancestors, from the same sources as their White
neighbours. As already mentioned, to make their Powwow a commercial success,
The Squamish try their best to approximate this image of the "real Indian;"
but not without some contempt for the intelligence of their audience.

Habitual drunk, dirty, lazy, just emerging out of "savagery," needing to be looked after, man of artistic temperament, child of nature, are some other stereotypes built around the Indian.

The principal of the St. Paul's school told me how at first the kids from a neighbouring public school refused to play with the team from her school; but after having been persuaded to play once, they came to play again and again, and have now formed many friendships. This is an example of person to person contact breaking the stereotypes. However, person to person contact, even a friendly one, does not always result in breaking of stereotypes. Sometimes it confirms old ones or creates new ones. For example, one White in North Vancouver who has had considerable contact with the Squamish considers them people of artistic temperament. To the chagrin of Alex Strain, the boxing instructor of St. Paul's school and trainer of a number of champion youngsters, he refused to believe that Indian kids could fight as good as White kids. This simply did not fit in with his conception of an Indian as a man of artistic temperament.

Law and Order.

Law and order is related, on one hand, to the operation of diffused instruments of social control, and on the other, to the working of specialized governmental institutions, if present in a community. I shall now examine how these two ways of maintaining law and order operate among the Squamish.

As to social control, the individual is less dependent on the community than in the past. If he so chooses, he can now move out of the Squamish Community and live among the Whites; and some Squamish in fact do so. Even while living among the Squamish, an individual may not associate much with
his Squamish neighbours, and may seek recreation, friendship and prestige among the whites. As one man said, "I don't mix much with people here. I don't even know what my next door neighbour is doing." Therefore, the control of the community over the individual has considerably weakened.

What is true of the community as a whole is also true of the kinsfolk, and to a lesser extent of the family. Members of the family do not usually tolerate even well meaning interference and advice from outsiders, relatives and others. One day a drinking party at the house of one of the Baker boys turned into a brawl. The wife of the boy was very much disturbed, and according to her own statement "was on the point of leaving the house."

Councillor Simon Baker admonished the boys for this. Later, when another councillor suggested to the wife that someone should speak to the boys politely about this, she said, "The boys are already against me. I don't want anybody to speak to them. You will make them all the more sore against me." And the matter was dropped at that.

Within the family, the children, so long as they are young, remain under the control of parents, but by the time they approach adolescence, they are pretty much on their own. However, in some families, parents exercise considerable control over their children. As Louie Miranda said, "My boy does not go anywhere without my and his mother's permission." Tim Moody exercises similar control over his children. And on the other hand, in some families, parents are afraid of their children. For example, an adolescent girl, in the presence of guests, admonished her parents for drinking, which, to her puritan outlook derived from the school, was a shameful behaviour. The parents acted very submissive and tried to soothe her anger.

Members of the Totem Athletic Club, and the Squamish Athletic Club are under some compulsion to abstain from drinking and sexual indulgence dur-
ing training for tournaments. Although informal group pressure is there, the
boys usually abstain voluntarily because they themselves consider it right.
The leaders of these organizations exercise some influence over their members,
but the influence is mostly based on personal respect and affection which a
leader wins by being generous and polite to the members and by interfering
least in their private lives. As Louie Miranda, leader of the Squamish
Athletic Club said, "I don't like to ask the boys, even my own son, to do
anything for me, unless it is something which must be done. The boys are
always willing to do things for me."

Of the councillors, those who are hereditary chiefs are less
reluctant "to speak to the boys" than others who are merely elected council-
lors. This is because they are "oldtimers," and also because in the past,
it was considered right that a chief should do so. However, the legitimacy
of their doing so is now increasingly questioned, because "these chiefs are
not the kind of men the old chiefs were." I think the above argument does
not fully explain the loss of influence by chiefs. Since the social
organisation from which the chiefs derived their influence has changed
radically, I doubt it, whether it would have made much difference, if these
chiefs were the kind of men the old chiefs are believed to have been.

Petty thefts, adultery, teen age delinquency, breaking window panes
and causing other damage to property by youngsters including teenagers, are
some problem areas where social control is less than the community says it
wants.

I came across three cases of petty thefts. Henry Baker one day
complained to Tim Moody that a fellow has stolen paddles from his canoe
and sold them. He did not mention the name of the thief, but said, "He lives
on the south west side of the Mission Reserve." When Tim Moody mentioned a
name, he said, "Yes, that is the one. He does not do any work. Always carries a pack on his back, puts things in it, and sells them for booze."

Then Tim Moody suggested that it would be safer to keep the canoe in the canoe shed. But Henry Baker felt that it would not be of much use because "young punks would break in anyway."

There is a reluctance to inform police in cases like this, probably because handing the individual to police for a petty theft is considered too much punishment, and also because resort to police is a bothersome and time consuming affair. This attitude seems to be shared both by the Squamish and lower class Whites. For example, one day a White came to Tim Moody and complained that a Squamish has stolen a radio, a battery, and a few other things from his car parked near the Mission Reserve. After mentioning the name of the thief, he said, "I don't want to drag him to the police. I would be satisfied, if he returns my things." Tim Moody did not try to settle the case himself, but referred it to Moses Joseph who is the hereditary Chief of the Mission Reserve. Chief Moses Joseph, and Councillor Edward Charlie then went to the culprit's house and told him to return the stolen goods. At first he denied the charge, but when Chief Moses Joseph pointed out the stolen goods lying in the house and threatened that the matter would be reported to the police if he did not return the goods and pay the cost of the damage done to the car, he admitted his guilt, and said by way of an apology, "I was too drunk. I did not know what I was doing." Of course, nobody accepted this as a valid explanation. The goods were finally returned and the matter was dropped without reference to police.

The delinquent behaviour among the teen age boys and others of similar maturity largely expresses itself in breaking window panes, damaging
and stealing property in the community hall and other places in the reserves, and occasional drunken brawling at the dances held in the community hall. The question of damage to property was discussed at a meeting of the Band Council, and the councillors seemed to be at a loss as to how to "control these youngsters." "These boys know boxing. It is hard to handle them." "I threatened one young fellow; later six of them were waiting for me." "The boys have been behaving pretty good lately." These were some of the opinions expressed by the councillors. At the suggestion of the Indian Superintendent, it was decided to hire a husky Squamish boy as watchman to handle the boys. Some councillors also murmured ascent to a further suggestion from the Indian Superintendent that "It would be best to get hold of the worst hoodlum for the job." Teen age drinking is not defined as delinquency. Therefore, it does not constitute a problem from the Squamish point of view.

Adultery is a matter which is left to the people immediately concerned to settle. It is rumoured that a few years ago a man committed suicide because his wife was involved with another man, but this is the only case of its kind which the Squamish remember. Suicide as a way of release from misery has little appeal for the Squamish. Only two cases are believed to have occurred in living memory. Separation of the spouses appears to be the usual reaction to adultery. Sometimes, when the wife is the guilty party, wife beating may occur on initial discovery. I have not heard of any murders committed on that account. I know of quite a few Squamish men and women who are living together, but are legally married to someone else. However, most of these unions appear to be as stable as regular marital unions between mutually compatible couples. These are, therefore, cases of common law union and not of adultery. Squamish reaction to them varies from amused tolerance, quiet contempt, to behind the back hostile utterances; but there is a general agree-
ment that these are not the right kind of unions and "people kind of look down upon them."

Behind the back ridicule and gossip is the main reaction of the community to breaches of social norms. However, use of gossip is not confined to these cases. It is also used for self-glorification, and to soil the reputation of others. In addition, it is an interesting pastime, and for at least one or two among the Squamish, almost a way of life. The following are some examples of the kind of gossip indulged in. "That girl B. has an illegitimate child. They blame a White boy for it. I know who done it. Don't tell anybody. It is G. her grandfather who done it."

"L. is a very smart man, but very selfish. He can't fool the people any more now." "Nobody speaks to D. He is living in concubinage with his brother's wife." "N's mother came to me begging for help. I told her, your son is a big shot why don't you go to him. Oh, I am kind of kind hearted. I helped her anyway." "Nobody likes J. Talks too much. A man without foundation trying to make a big man out of himself. Everywhere they get me and ask me to talk to him."

The Squamish have a tolerant attitude towards premarital pregnancy. The girl suffers few social disabilities on that account. Some people are sympathetic, and even have a good word to say about the girl. A young woman summed up the general attitude when she said, "I don't look down upon unwed mothers, but I would be ashamed if I had a child before marriage."

Sections 87, 104, 105, and 106 of the Indian Act, 1952, define to what extent the laws in force in the province are applicable to the Indians of that province, and also make provisions for the enforcement of these laws. In brief, subject to the provisions of the Indian Act and of any treaty and any other Act of Parliament, all laws in force in the Province are also
applicable to the Indians. Royal Canadian Mounted Police are responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and local police magistrate or stipendiary magistrate has jurisdiction to try cases arising from alleged violation of law by Indians.

Thus the power to decide what behaviour is legal, and the power to punish for transgression of law, has now shifted outside the Squamish Community. This together with the reduced dependence of the individual on the community for employment, recreation, friendship, and prestige has resulted in a self-perpetuating trend towards progressive weakening of social control in the community, and increasing reliance on police and other outside authorities for maintenance of law and order. For example, now when a dance is held in the community hall, the Council Secretary requests the police to patrol around in case there is a fight among the boys. The police once or twice pass in front of the community hall to make known their presence. Often this alone proves sufficient to keep the boys in check. Another case in point is the one already quoted about the man who did not return stolen goods till he was threatened that the matter would be reported to the police.
CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS

Here I shall recapitulate, in brief, the salient features of the political organisation of both pre-contact Squamish and the present day Squamish, compare the two and present whatever conclusions and hypotheses this study suggests.

Pre-contact Squamish society consisted of a number of politically and economically autonomous house groups. Members of the house groups were linked together by kinship ties and local ties of common residence in a large cedar house. A number of houses located in proximity constituted a village. A cluster of villages linked with common language, common culture, and kinship ties formed a recognisable unit. This was not a named unit prior to White contact.

The Squamish were separated by language from other neighbouring groups, but broad similarity in culture, and kinship ties rather loosely connected them with neighbouring groups such as Musqueam and Sechelt.

The kind of specialised institutions implied by the term government were not developed by the Squamish. Each house group managed its affairs more or less independently of other house groups. But if anything came up of common concern, the heads of the house groups met and worked out a plan of action. The house group heads varied in rank which was based on respect, not a formal office. The highest ranking house group head in the village acted as a leader, but the authority of the leader did not extend beyond
offering advice, and he had no say in the affairs of any house group other than his own.

The society was stratified into freemen and slaves. The slaves were the captured aliens and constituted the lowest stratum. Among the freemen there were high and low, and nobles and commoners. Since the rank varied with the degree of respect commanded by each individual, the terms nobles and commoners represented merely a rough index of rank. Wealth, liberal distribution of property, ancestry, order of birth, industry, occupational skill, and good manners were some of the qualities that commanded respect.

In the absence of specialised governmental institutions, law and order was maintained by subtle but powerful diffused instruments of social control. These included among others development of a positive attitude towards conventional behaviour, slow rate of culture change, narrowness of alternatives available, little escape from social responsibility, linkage of wealth, liberal distribution of property, and respect, leadership by the respected and wealthy, fear of gossip and ridicule, necessity of retaining goodwill of kinsfolk by observing kinship obligations, and fear of retaliation by the individual wronged and his kinsfolk.

With the extension of White settlement and government the Squamish lost their independent status and became the subjects of Her Majesty. The traditional, loose but identifiable unit, based on linguistic, kinship and cultural ties, came to be called the Squamish tribe, by the Administration and others. The Squamish Tribe was divided by the Government into a number of bands owning lands, moneys, and some other property in common.
The division into bands meant an imposition of European concepts of village and property on the Squamish. The result was that traditional Squamish villages, which were rather loosely knit units deriving their unity more from kinship ties than local ties, became clearly demarcated and strongly knit units deriving their unity more from their legal status as a band owning property in common than from the ties of kinship. However, the Squamish also continued to observe, with varying degree of strictness, their traditional concepts of property and kinship obligations. This resulted in land owned by one band being burdened with all sorts of ownership claims from kinsfolk who were the members of other bands. Later when the land became a source of cash income, it became almost impossible to determine who should rightfully receive a share of the income and who should not. People began to complain that they had been erroneously left out from this that or other distribution of cash income. Mutual threats of violence between kinsfolk and social disharmony ensued.

Out of the house group heads in a band, the government appointed one as a chief who was to represent his people in dealing with the government and to have some responsibility for maintenance of law and order among his people. However, the final legal responsibility for the maintenance of law and order came to be vested in the executive and judicial organs of the government, such as police and judges. This continues to be the case today.

The social disharmony resulting from conflicting claims of ownership of land, referred to above, was resolved in 1923, by a voluntary merger of various bands into a single band owning land, monies and other property in common. Thus the present day Squamish Band came into
being. A Band Council, consisting of sixteen hereditary chiefs representing various constituent units, and a secretary, was formed to administer the affairs of the Band. Gradually, election by secret ballot, rather than appointment on the basis of kinship, came to be the procedure for the replacement of Council members. The members were and still are supposed to hold office for life. During the course of time some members died and one resigned, and their place was filled either by appointment or by election. Thus the Squamish Band Council today consists of sixteen members some of whom were appointed on the basis of kinship, and others elected. The secretary now is an elected member, and has paid assistant secretary to assist him.

Today the Squamish culture is changing fast, and is becoming increasingly like that of the Whites. The former distinctions between slaves, freemen, nobles, and commoners have all disappeared. To be sure there are individuals who command greater respect than others, but on the whole the society has become more equalitarian. All members are equal owners of the property owned by the Band.

Kinship as a factor influencing the behavior of the individual has also become weak. Formerly one's kinsfolk were one's friends. Today it is not necessarily so. Personal congeniality is becoming a factor of increasing importance in determining friendship and behavior towards kinsfolk. What is true of friendship is also true of other kinds of interpersonal behaviour including voting for electing councillors, formation of cliques, and taking sides in other political matters.
Development of positive attitudes towards conventional behaviour, narrowness of available alternatives, and slow rate of change contributed to the political stability of the Squamish society of the past. But today the situation is strongly in favour of culture change. The large number of alternatives of behaviour which are available, control of the education of the children by people who advocate a different way of life; economic dependence on White society, continuous exposure to White cultural propaganda through radio, television, press, advertisement, films, church, social workers, doctors, Indian Affairs officials; material success and prestige for orientation towards White culture; all these factors favour culture change. In the absence of effective social control the individual motivation for change is likely to be guided more by personal fancy than by social considerations. Therefore, the situation is very favourable to accommodation and development of a large variety of tastes, habits, values including different orientation towards White culture. In other words weakness of social control favours rapid but uncoordinated culture change. If this be true, one function of the weakness of the social control in the Squamish community today is to facilitate culture change in the absence of any planned programme of culture change. Thus while the political organisation of the pre-contact Squamish was oriented towards maintenance of a stable cultural tradition, by subjecting the individual to subtle but powerful informal control the Squamish political organisation of today facilitates culture change by interfering least with the individual motivation for change.

The above data give strong support to the hypothesis that rigidity of tradition, and thorough subjection of the individual to subtle but powerful informal controls is likely to be a feature of a society lacking in specialised governmental institutions.
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