

Coast Salish Summer Festivals: Rituals for Upgrading Social Identity¹

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RÉSUMÉ

Quoiqu'on ait étudié plusieurs aspects de la culture moderne des Salish côtiers, peu d'attention a été portée aux fêtes estivales des courses de canoë. Ce mémoire a pour but d'étudier ces fêtes estivales en tant qu'événements rituels servant à valoriser l'identité sociale des Amérindiens. En tant qu'institution de rechange vis-à-vis la "danse des esprits", les fêtes permettent aux groupes et aux individus qui sont orientés vers la culture blanche d'atteindre un rang social et des buts culturels. L'essor des fêtes estivales est une réponse à l'interaction culturelle accrue entre les Amérindiens et les Blancs depuis 1945, interaction sans changement de la perception blanche en ce qui concerne le rôle de l'Amérindien.

INTRODUCTION

Every summer throughout the United States and southern Canada, many Indian peoples hold various types of annual, public weekend celebrations or "pow-wows". Some whites who attend

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these celebrations smugly dismiss them as commercial imitations of a once rich and exotic culture, romantically close to nature, but now lost for all time. Perhaps for similar reasons anthropologists have neglected until recently to study "pow-wows".

Although "pow-wows" have been part of modern Indian life for at least the last fifty years, few anthropologists have written about these events in a systematic or rigorous manner. One usually sees in the literature brief discussions within the contexts of larger issues, particularly plains Pan-Indianism. Pow-wows are usually seen as events which reinforce group solidarity and maintain or express "Indian identity" (for example, Howard 1955; Lurie 1968:201; Thomas 1968:83; Corrigan 1970:253; Lurie 1971:450-1). Few attempts, however, have been made to clarify the nature of "Indian identity" and its relationship with contemporary ceremonialism in a specific social context.

During the summer of 1968 I gathered data on Coast Salish pow-wow-like celebrations known locally as "canoe races", "sports days", and rarely, "pow-wows". In the literature they have been called "summer gatherings" (Suttles 1963:521), and referred to as examples of "neo-Indian culture" (Duff 1964:104). But since none of these terms characterizes the events as wholes, they have been called "festivals" in this paper. The festivals expressed a constant theme not found in other Coast Salish celebrations — namely, the direct expression of an Indian identity to large numbers of assembled whites. This expression of identity has been reported in a general manner by other observers (Verma 1956:124-5; Suttles 1954:90; Suttles 1963). A recent study by Kew (1970) describes some summer festivals and relates them with other Coast Salish ceremonialism to status, identity, and deprivation theory. However, the interrelationship between specific aspects of Indian social identity, the summer festivals, and Indian-white interaction remains to be examined in detail and in historical perspective.

The examination here argues that, unlike contemporary Coast Salish ceremonial institutions which focus largely on relations within the native community, the summer festivals address themselves largely to Indian-white relations. In this respect the festivals are social rituals in which Indians who have internalized white-middle class values, but who are at the same time rejected

by their white reference group, improve their self-images and upgrade their social identity in the eyes of whites and Indians. This is done by acting favourably toward whites within the expectations of an Indian social identity perceived similarly by both whites and Indians. The development and growth of summer festivals since 1945 is seen here as a response to increased Indian-white interaction, but with little or no change in white expectations of the role of Indian.

INDIAN SOCIAL IDENTITY

The approach taken in this paper, like the "interactionist" analyses of Erving Goffman (1963) and Bernard James (1961, 1972), sees social identities as the underlying assumptions of role expectations in social interaction and as cognitive categories reinforced by social interaction. Consequently, an examination of identity expression and management should reveal certain motivations.

A social identity is the "complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural" for members of a particular social category (Goffman 1963:2). These attributes are not confined to socio-economic criteria such as social status or occupation, but also include personal traits such as honesty, intelligence, and appearance. Extreme statements of social identities are called stereotypes. In established or routine settings, the attributes of social identity become normative expectations anticipated by all interacting parties. For Indians, the expectations of their social identity underlie interaction with whites.

The "complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural" for the Coast Salish and neighbouring Indian peoples has been noted by several observers (Hawthorn *et al* 1958:70-71, 381-82, *passim*; Lewis 1970:213, 215-6; Colson 1953:130-133). These attributes, defined by whites and in terms of white values, are largely negative. Indians are seen as childlike and simple. They are believed to lack the potential to develop as rapidly as whites socially, economically, educationally and morally. Whites expect Indians to be dirty and unsanitary. Indians are deemed amoral, irresponsible, lazy and ambitionless. They are thought to live for the present, especially for satisfaction of their immediate needs and desires.

They are expected to have a weakness for drink, an inability "to hold their liquor."

The above identity results from white judgments of an unfortunate reality. As an ethnic group the Salish probably have the lowest socio-economic status in the area. Their position in the general economy and in any specific occupation is marginal. Salish men tend to work in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations such as fishing, logging, mill work, longshoring, construction and general labour (Verma 1956:106-7; Robinson 1963:89-93; Kew 1970:49-56). Some of these jobs, especially in the fishing and lumbering industries, are seasonal, so that men may be unemployed for long periods of the year. The proportion of unemployment among the Coast Salish is much higher than in the nearby white communities. Consequently, a considerable portion of each Salish reserve depends on welfare, unemployment insurance, old age pensions and family allowances. On one of the more prosperous reserves in March 1967, 27 out of 62 households were entirely dependent on welfare payments (Kew 1970:54). Such families often supplement their income slightly from sales of home-produced handicrafts, particularly Cowichan sweaters and small carved totem poles.

Salish participation in white-dominated occupations is hindered by a general low level of formal education and lack of vocational training. In the late 1950s few Vancouver Island Salish graduated from high school, very few completed vocational training, and none had graduated from a university (Robinson 1963:91). Educationally, the Salish appear to conform well to the trend of British Columbia Indians as a whole. In 1966, twenty-six Indians — only one in 1600 of the total registered Indian population of the Province — attended university, in contrast to one in 60 of the non-Indian population (BCIAC 1967:16). Those Salish who do remain in school are often oriented to acquiring specific occupation skills, and set their goals on the minimum grade requirements for entrance to vocational schools. In the 1960s Indian enrolment in vocational programs increased steadily, with courses in logging, heavy duty mechanics, and automotive mechanics being the most popular (BCIAC 1961-1968).

The Coast Salish awareness of their disadvantaged condition is heightened by the close proximity of reserves to the more

prosperous, comparatively immense non-Indian community. The Salish who sponsor the festivals live mainly in southwestern British Columbia and in the northeast Puget Sound region of Washington. These people occupy scattered reserves within or near to cities such as Vancouver (population, 1966 census, 410,375), Nanaimo (15,188) and Victoria (57,453). The governments of such cities provide recreational facilities and social welfare programs superior to those on the Indian reserves, but the Salish can take advantage of these only marginally, because on-reserve Indians are not municipal tax payers. Compared to the large surrounding non-Indian population, the Coast Salish under discussion numbered in 1968 only some 7300 persons in British Columbia (calculated from DIAND 1975) and a much smaller number in Washington.

Facts of the disadvantaged condition of the Salish and resulting Indian behaviour support white perceptions of the negative attributes of Indian social identity. Whites visiting poor reserves are often struck by the inferior quality of housing, facilities, and clothing (see Lewis 1970:115-118). News media sometimes report extreme cases of neglect, squalour, accidents and drinking on Indian reserves. Some whites visit beer parlours to watch the antics of drunken Indians; for this reason one such beer parlour in the fieldwork area was known locally as "the zoo".

The disadvantaged condition of the Salish has been the concern of white patrons: missionaries, school teachers, social workers and government officials. The ideal goal of these white agents is to bring about a reserve life style compatible with white standards and expectations. In attempting to do this, white patrons empirically verify Indian inferiority to Salish and whites.

Conventional wisdom of the 1950s and 1960s suggested various ways of reforming the disadvantaged condition. For many whites the panacea of Indian problems was education. The Salish were encouraged to complete secondary school (grade 12) or enough grades for entrance to a vocational or technical school. Some whites maintain that social welfare should not be given so readily to Indians (and other poor) because it breeds apathy and laziness. Others see the reserve system as the root of Indian problems, and advocate abolition of the reserves. Some people recommend that more Indians, especially young people, should move off the reserve

into the greater non-Indian society. Such widely held platitudes show little insight into contemporary Indian life. They are based on the assumption that when the Indian is assimilated into middle-class white society his socioeconomic problems will disappear.

Coast Salish who emulate whites also perceive themselves in terms of the negative social identity. When interacting with whites, Indians may explain their behaviour, or excuse themselves, within the identity framework. For example, a Salish lady avoided an interview situation during my fieldwork, by stating matter-of-factly, "I don't know much about these things. I'm just a dumb Indian."

Most often, Indians and whites use an exemption mechanism to deal with the negative aspects of social identity. Indians will show that in their cases the negative attributes do not apply. These Indians as individuals meet or have tried to meet white expectations: their houses, clothing and persons are clean; the husband works steadily; they don't drink or drink only moderately; and their children are well along in school — unlike some other families on the reserve. Such persons may also echo the solutions to Indian problems as perceived by whites. Similarly, whites may extoll Indian friends or Indians they have known by pointing out the Protestant-ethic virtues of these individuals.

Another means of reducing status differences between whites and Indians is to appeal to the positive, redeeming attributes of Indian social identity. These are also recognized by both whites and Indians, but often overlooked by whites. The positive attributes are embodied in the ideal of the romantic redman who was everything he is not today: noble, proud, warlike, aggressive, energetic, sober, unspoiled, and close to nature. Although whites seldom express these romantic attributes, except perhaps during celebrations evoking the white pioneer past, white residents in the area hold notions of the romantic ideal. Many whites believe that Indians are close to nature, and therefore comprehend the habits of fish and game, and seasonal changes better than whites. More complex romantic notions of Indian identity have not yet been documented for white residents in the area, but such beliefs undoubtedly exist. For example, during a study of Coast Salish canoe building in 1965 I went into a hardware store to purchase a roll of paper for tracing wooden templates used by a canoe

builder to gauge the symmetry of his race canoe hull. I mentioned to the hardware store owner that I was studying a canoe under construction nearby. He then remarked how amazing it was that Indians require no training and no measuring device for making canoes, because Indians build canoes from "instinct".

The Salish also believe in the romantic aspects of their social identity in a general sense. Some will express the notion that Indians were without disease and serious want before the arrival of whites, who destroyed that way of life. Notions of the romantic past are probably reinforced today by continuations of traditional patterns, especially in winter ceremonials involving spirit dancing, displays of prerogatives and potlatching.

Because the past romantic ideal is the only aspect of Indian social identity acceptable to both Indians and whites, both peoples appeal to it in reducing status differences in various situations (see for example, James 1961). A white politician attempting to relate to Indians may point out that he has Indian ancestors (Deloria 1969:10-11), or is an "honorary chief", or has an "Indian name". White anthropologists especially attempt to establish favourable relations by appealing to the romantic past. But most appeals to the romantic ideal are made by Indians, who are usually of lesser status in Indian-white social contexts and generally discredited in relation to whites. Indian appeals range from reminding whites of Indian closeness to nature (for example, Cardinal 1969:78-79), to giving whites "Indian names", and to wearing ceremonial costumes when confronting white politicians, as in the presentation of the "Citizens Plus Paper" or "Red Paper" to the Canadian government in 1970.

The redeeming quality of the romantic ideal and success in meeting white standards are the bases of Indian-white interaction. They are a constant theme expressed in a circuit of several week-end festivals held annually throughout the area each summer.

THE CONTEMPORARY SUMMER FESTIVALS

The summer festivals begin in early May of each year and continue until late June or early July. However, occasional festivals or festival activities may also be held in August or even during

the Labour Day weekend. In 1968 the festivals held in the area were as follows:

<i>Festival</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date (1968)</i>
1. Corpus Christi Indian Sports	Quamichan Lake (Duncan, B.C.)	May 11-12
2. Saanich Indian Water Sports	Tsartlip reserve (Brentwood Bay, B.C.)	May 18-19
3. Coal Tye Day	Newcastle Island (Nanaimo, B.C.)	May 25-26 (May 24th week- end)
4. Squamish Indian Potlatch	Mission reserve (North Vancouver, B.C.)	June 1-2
5. Cultus Lake Indian Festival	Cultus Lake, B.C.	June 8-9
6. Lummi Stommish Water Carnival	Lummi reservation, Wash.	June 22-23
7. Indian Day	Stanley Park, Vancouver, B.C.	July 13-4
8. Makah Day*	Neah Bay, Wash.	August 26 weekend

* This is a non-Salish festival included here because of Salish attendance and ties with the Salish discussed later in this paper.

Festival organization

Each festival is organized and directed by a committee usually representing a single Indian band, or in some cases, a few nearby bands. The committee is formally structured according to the model of local white middle-class social or service "clubs" with elected executive officers of chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer. They set up subcommittees to take charge of specific tasks such as advertising and water sports, etc. People volunteer to serve on the various committees, or are appointed to them by the executive officer.

Effectiveness in relating to whites appears to be a criterion for committee membership. Most festival organizers and enter-

tainers are frequently band councillors, ex-band councillors, and their kinsmen. Such persons had or have dealings as band councillors or occupationally with whites, and emulate the more affluent white middle-class standard of living. The festival organizers often hold their positions year after year, and may belong to other white-designed or white affiliated organizations on the reserve. For example, one festival chairman was also a band councillor, chairman of the band's Canadian centenary celebrations, head of community planning, head of a church sodality, and head of the alcoholics anonymous (Baxter 1967:19).

Another basis of recruitment for offices and tasks is kinship ties. Of the seventeen persons belonging to the 1968 Cultus Lake Indian Festival committees, only four different surnames were represented, and nine persons had the same surname. Reciprocity between kinsmen appears basic to recruiting people for undertaking tasks.

An important white-oriented organizational feature is patron-broker ties with the white community. These take two forms. A white patron, often the reserve priest who attempted to establish athletic or social clubs that developed into the festival, encourages white businesses and organizations to support the festival by contributing prize money, trophies, or services. This kind of relationship was formerly more common, but now Indians have generally replaced such go-between white patrons. These whites now tend to play marginal roles as advisors and sometimes as festival treasurers, because the whites have no kinship ties in the Salish community, and therefore are not subject to monetary and other demands of kinsmen.

The second form of patron-broker relationship occurs between the festival committee and a municipal office or non-Indian community organization that sponsors a large national or civic celebration locally, and seeks to integrate the Indian festival or festival activities into the program. This relationship provides better monetary support and publicity for the Indians than the other relationship. Reasons for white support are not entirely clear, but it appears that whites value the colourful festival activities for attracting tourists.

Festival goals

The official or ideal goal of each festival is to improve social and recreational facilities on the reserve by raising money for construction of a recreation centre or community hall. (Although such facilities are greatly needed on most reserves, festival committees do not deal directly with other pressing matters such as overcrowded housing, education upgrading programs, or native land claims.) The primary source of festival funds is profits from sales of barbecued salmon dinners and refreshments at Indian concession stands set up at the festivals. Sales of programs and raffle tickets also bring in some income. Sometimes souvenirs and handicrafts are sold. Bingo is sometimes played. White visitors may be charged admission or parking fees. At the Lummi Stommish a small sideshow gives the festival a percentage of its profits.

However, these means of raising money simply cannot produce the thousands of dollars required to build a modern community hall or recreation centre. Despite the varied sources of income over many years, no festival has come remotely near to attaining its official goal. Usually the committee manages to cover the expenses of the annual festival, and have some money left over for next year's festival. This appears to be the practical goal of most committees.

Festival presentations

The festivals focus on a series of "Indian" entertainments in a non-traditional context oriented toward both Indians and whites. For Indians the festivals are like small country fairs. They attract Indians throughout the Coast Salish area and some from the Interior Plateau as both onlookers and participants. Foot races and novelty races with small cash prizes are held for Indian children. Frequently baseball, soccer or lacrosse matches between different reserves are held. The principal events, long exciting races in "war canoes" from specific reserves, are followed intensely by Indians and whites. Other major events are the "Indian princess" contest and "Indian dancing" with interspersed speeches from performers and a master-of-ceremonies. Some Salish attend

primarily to play slahal, a traditional gambling game. In the evening Indian teenagers may attend a rock 'n' roll dance held in a nearby hall. For most Salish the festivals are occasions for get-togethers; people go among cars and houses, renewing ties with kinsmen and friends. This visiting, often involving many small parties, goes on during the day and well into the night.

Although Indians put on the festivals and attend in large numbers, festival presentation in both general setting and primary events is strongly oriented toward whites. Large festivals advertise through posters, newspapers and local radio stations to attract white visitors. Most festivals sell programs and attempt to follow closely their program schedule. An Indian master-of-ceremonies selected for his ability to speak English well explains to whites the significance of entertainments. These are presented as distinctly "Indian" and traditional, but in fact only a few are performed in an exclusively Salish context, and most have no context outside the festivals.

Orientation toward whites is for reasons of financing and status. Indian attendance alone is usually insufficient for food concessions to make enough profit to cover expenses. In order to cover the expenses of the present and following festival and contribute to the recreation centre fund, large numbers of white visitors are required. Depending on the weather and extent of advertising, a few hundred to a few thousand whites will turn out over a weekend. A financially successful festival demonstrates the effectiveness of the committee in realizing the practical goal of holding the festival, and supports the ideal, long-term goal, thereby raising the status of festival personnel on the reserve.

Orientation to whites also appears to result from social and psychological needs of the Indian organizers. These persons, who tend to interact more with whites than other band members and emulate the more affluent white life style, feel a need to upgrade their social identity in relation to whites. The Indian controlled festivals, unlike usual Indian-white situations with Indians in an inferior relationship, provide an optimum situation for upgrading identity. Within the festival situation speakers and performers address whites in terms of the "exemption mechanism" and the

romantic ideal. We will now examine status and identity upgrading in specific festival presentations.

White dignitaries

To promote public relations the festival committee invites white dignitaries as special guests at the festival. These persons are political or business patrons, or potential patrons, of the band(s) sponsoring the festival. Persons who the committee believes have improved the general well being of the band are also considered as guests.

The dignitaries include a wide range of whites. In 1967 the Lummi Stommish committee invited a local congressman and the public relations man from the International Aluminum Company which at that time employed about thirty men from Lummi. In 1968 the Lummi invited the attorney general of Washington State, who was then running for the office of governor. In 1967 the Coal Tyee Club of the Nanaimo band invited Arthur Laing, then minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to attend Coal Tyee Day and receive an "Indian name". In 1960 the British Columbia minister of Public Works and the priest to the Cowichans were invited to open the Corpus Christi Indian Sports, and were made "honorary Indian chiefs" (BCIAC 1962:18). Other dignitaries invited to festivals have included members of Parliament, members of the Legislative Assembly, local mayors, aldermen, and high ranking clergy such as the bishop of Victoria.

The dignitaries are usually asked to make a brief speech to open the festival proceedings. Sometimes dignitaries are made "honorary chiefs" or given "Indian names". These acts enable both dignitaries and Indians to share the favorable romantic aspects of Indian social identity embodied in a chief or Indian name, thereby removing status differences between powerful dignitaries and less powerful Indians.

Also, the association of the dignitary with the festival committee members increase their status before their people. If the dignitary consents to open the festival, he implicitly accepts it, and by extension approves the work and goals of the festival committee.

Indian "war canoe" races

The most thrilling aspect of festival afternoons and the main attraction for both whites and Indians is the "war canoe" races. They include several events that focus on fifty-foot long cedar dugout canoes. These are raced over a three or four mile-long course by crews of ten paddlers and a steersman. The crews are usually organized in a sports or athletic club representing a reserve. Other canoes, however, are individually owned, and recruit crews from kinsmen and friends. Many canoes also have a women's or "kloochman" crew of young women, who, directed by a male steersman, race the large canoe over a shorter course in a novelty race. Other races frequently held include a six-man event in the large canoes, and races for small individually owned one-man or two-man canoes. Winning canoes receive cash prizes of up to about \$10.00 per paddle for the first canoe. Several festivals also award trophies, usually donated by local white merchants, for the major race events.

The present pattern of canoe racing developed from indigenous response to white influences. During white settlement of the area in the late 19th century, centres of Victoria, Vancouver, and La Conner celebrated national holidays such as Victoria Day (May 24), Dominion Day (July 1), and the Fourth of July, by organizing field sports and regattas sponsored by local white merchants and yacht clubs. At these celebrations special events were set up exclusively for Indians. In water sports these included various canoe races with cash prizes of set amounts per paddle for winning canoes. For years the races used conventional Indian work canoes. However, a few years after oared racing shells and sculls were introduced into the white regattas in the 1890s, the first "war canoes", essentially copies of racing shells with added prow and stern pieces like those on Nootkan or "Chinook" canoes, appeared. During and following World War I the popularity of regattas and white sponsorship of Indian canoe races declined, and so did canoe racing. In the 1930s and especially following World War II canoe racing throughout the area experienced a revival. Since the late 1950s the number of race canoes in the area has slowly increased through restoration of old, damaged, or abandoned canoes and by construction of new ones, so that in 1968 as many as twenty-two

large canoes were entered in races at the large festivals such as the Lummi Stommish and Cultus Lake Indian Festival. This revival has occurred largely within the contexts of the summer festivals, and can be understood in terms of factors later discussed here that generated the growth of summer festivals among the Coast Salish.

It should also be noted that despite white influence many indigenous patterns remain in the canoe racing. For years, perhaps until the mid-1950s, canoe teams devoted much more time to training, and observed a greater body of canoe lore and religious practices. These included purification with cold water baths, emetics, continence, and observance of menstrual taboos. Today comparatively few teams train in a very traditional manner, and most have a short training period of a few weeks before the racing season. Some crews still take magical precautions to ensure success and to ward off spells, and have associated with them an elderly person skilled in such matters.

The canoe racing is especially important for upgrading Indian identity, because in the fieldwork area canoe racing is distinctly Indian sport evoking the favorable romantic ideal of the Indian of old. Most Salish are proud of the races and their canoes. Sometimes Salish will refer to the large dugouts as "war canoes" before whites, and consequently bring to mind the favorable ideal.

Indian dancing

More than any other festival event, Indian dancing presents an image of the favorable romantic ideal to whites, not only in terms of costumes worn by the dancers, but also by the commentary between dances. The image presented relies on features that whites identify with the general category of "Indian". Little attempt is made to present an *ethnic*, Salish image. Consequently very few performances and only some costume items are traditionally Salish, like those used in contemporary indigenous ceremonials such as winter spirit dancing.

Indian dancing consists of a series of songs and dances often performed by small family troupes of less than a dozen people who may range in age from grandparents to pre-school children. A few single performers with their own repertoires and costumes

usually entertain as well. The attire of the troupes and single performers from the Coast Salish area varies considerably. Some men wear buckskin outfits and headbands, but more wear the Coast Salish black paddle shirt of the initiate winter spirit dancer, and a plains-like feathered headdress and beadwork. Mock initiate spirit dancer headdresses and real spirit dancer "hair hats" or "feather hats" are seen rarely. Small children wear plains-like costumes adorned with feathers and beads. Women wear moccasins, headbands, and buckskin dresses or long, similarly patterned cloth dresses. Musical instruments used are small tambourine drums from winter dances and slahal, rattles, sticks and drumming planks.

The songs and dances performed by the Coast Salish dance troupes, for example, the "dance of the serpent", the "war dance", the "dance of the salmon", the "maiden and warrior dance", "love songs" and "farewell songs", come from various sources. Many appear to be slahal songs. Other songs and dances appear to be borrowed from Plateau or Plains tribes. Still other performances are obvious inventions, some of them comic.

Performers express or imply a long traditional continuity of their songs, dances, and costumes, but this has little basis in fact. Performers do not sing the individually owned spirit songs of winter dancers which do have a traditional context. And, although parts of spirit dance outfits, such as paddle shirts or feather hats, may be worn by performers, *complete* authentic spirit dancer costumes (see Barnett 1955: plate XXVII; Hawthorn 1967: figs. 200, 202) are absent from the festivals. In short, the performances, except for the masked dance or swaihwe (phonetics in Barnett 1955), are executed only in situations involving white audiences.

The swaihwe (see Barnett 1955: plates XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX) is a prestigious ceremonial prerogative used for purification at life crises. But in recent years some swaihwe dancers have also performed for white audiences in situations involving very prestigious whites. At the 1968 Indian Day swaihwe dancers opened the Indian dancing shortly after the lieutenant governor of British Columbia completed his speech opening the festival.

Some dance troupes at the large festivals come from outside the Coast Salish area and put on dances which may have different

contexts than those of the Salish. At the 1967 Corpus Christi Indian Sports, dancers in Plains regalia came from Warm Springs, Oregon, and from Saskatchewan to take part in a dance competition sponsored by the festival committee, which also paid for part of the troupes' travel expenses. At the 1968 Indian Day, a Kwakiutl dance troupe from Alert Bay and a mixed Plains-Plateau Salish troupe from Seattle entertained hundreds of whites in Stanley Park.

Whether the performances are by Coast Salish or by visiting dancers, they follow a common pattern and express notions of Indian identity, usually by stressing the traditional, romantic aspects of identity in the commentary between numbers. Each dance or song is introduced by the troupe leader, single performer, or master-of-ceremonies, who announces the name of the dance, for example, the "war dance", and explains its significance.

There's some of my people are here from my reservation. They're gonna wonder why I'm doing this [dance], but nevertheless, that I belong to the people that took care of one another by havin' their ceremonial dances which the God has given to the people before the Lord's time. Before the Lord's time it was a good many centuries that God came upon my ancestors and many other people that's here. Their ancestors was in the same place. That this dance I'm givin' is really a ceremonial from God. And, not only that, but they used it as a protection when they went out to war to go to different tribes, and they used it when they danced before they leave.

A Lummi dance troupe leader, who was the most outspoken performer at the festivals, emphasized the continuation of a noble, unique tradition by means of his dance troupe, thereby associating the favorable attributes of the romantic past with contemporary people:

...our people here in Lummi will remember, and always remember, the meaning of the feather, the heritage that was handed to our people. We here in Lummi still exercise the Treaty Day, when the Great White Father sent to our lands a man speaking on his behalf to the Indian people. While our people were meeting with that man, they put on the feathers and wore them proud with honor and dignity, that the marks they placed on this paper that was sent from Washington was gonna be honored and respected among the people, that, whenever our Indian people was in need of help, again he was gonna send another person to come and speak on his behalf.

... I'm glad and proud of our Indian people here in Lummi. Especially the young people that are standin' wearin' the feathers,

rememberin' the meanin' of these feathers and livin' it, and showin' their people that they still understand and will carry on the tradition that is theirs. We haven't borrowed this. This is ours. And, I'm proud of each one that comes to dance and perform the Indian dance of their peoples.

So, you see, ladies and gentlemen, what our Indian people do is real in their lives, because they have this thanksgiving that they show [in their dances], that is portrayed each time that they're called upon the winter or summer to portray the life of the Indian people.

Occasionally performers assert Indian identity by telling jokes or relating anecdotes based on cultural and social differences between Indians and whites. At the 1968 Indian Day Pageant, one elderly Salish performer told the following anecdote:

I'm very pleased that I can talk your language [English]. Your language was a hard thing for me to learn in my olden days, ladies and gentlemen. I think I'm a young guy — 79 years of age, now. [Crowd applauds.] I'm gonna tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that I'm pleased to talk your language. In my days I didn't understand one word of English. They tooked me into school. When I was in school I could not understand nobody that talks to me over there.

When I started learning how to talk English, the first word I learned... was "no". The second word... "yes". And everytime I say, "yes", I say, "yes!!!" [Enunciates strongly.] Now, ladies and gentlemen, I learned those two words in English. Finally a boy come along a lot bigger than I was. He asked me if I wanted to fight. I said, "yes!!!"

Then I was cryin' and cryin', when the teacher come along. He asked me, "what are you crying for?". Well, the little Indian that speaks my language told to the teacher, he says that a big boy come along and asked if he wanted a fight. He said, "yes!!!" And the teacher says, "well, you know better not to tell him. Next time, you say, 'no'."

Well, I took that, ladies and gentlemen. I kept that in mind: "no!!". And a couple of days later on I met the same boy. He asked me if I got enough the other day. I said, "no!!". [Laughter and applause from the audience.]

A visiting performer from Washington State told a short ethnic joke based on Indian identity:

Well, a little Swede boy and a little Indian boy got together one day, and the little Swede started bragging about his Swedes. He said, "we have doctors, we have lawyers, we have politicians, we have writers, we have — oh, we have... Everything you name, we got."

So, the little Indian boy says, "we're kind of famous, too. We're proud of ourselves. When you go down the street and you see little

kids playing around, did you ever see them playing cowboys and Swedes?"

At Lummi the "war dance" in the Indian dancing prompted the master-of-ceremonies to make the following remark emphasizing his Indianness.

You know, where I work, whenever the fellows, the [white] people that I work with — if they offer me any trouble, I say, "watch it, we might have a little racial problem here." And whenever they get a little huffy toward me, I tell them, "you better not give me any trouble, unless you have enough wagons to make a circle."

Occasionally the master-of-ceremonies and other speakers will make much more explicit statements regarding their people and identity in relation to whites. They will point out that Indians, like whites, are also human beings, and have an equally worthwhile culture.

If you have been somewhat reluctant in the past to come to the Indian country because you may have had some fears about what makes an Indian tick, let me assure you that we are a friendly group out here at Lummi. When the first whiteman came to this country our Indian people from Lummi went out there on Bellingham Bay and gladly escorted those people to the beaches, not knowing, of course, what the future was going to be for us descendants. Our people have been continually plagued since that time by misunderstanding, by lack of interest, by misjudgments, by hearsay. The Indian people are emerging and joining the society to which they belong. We have a great culture in this country. I think if you know the history of this United States, you'll find that many of the foods that you eat were first introduced to the people by Indian people of this country. Many of the finer things have been retained by society, that was started by the Indian people. If you don't think we're sometimes proud of these things, ask an Indian that knows these things, and he will tell you.

One elderly lady performer in a Lummi dance troupe emphasized that Indians, like whites and other peoples, were human too:

And this is the first year that I am going to say these things [she begins to weep], but nevertheless we look forward to one another, no matter what colour, no matter what tribe, no matter where they come from, but they're all human beings! [sobbing] God created this world for each and everyone to live and carry on, no matter what religion you belong to, but still you belong to your race of Indian, white, coloured, or any colour, but still we're human beings! We all have the same kind of hearts, and the same kind of ways of doing things.

More rarely, a speaker will refer to definite white injustices toward Indians, such as establishing Indian reserves without compensating Indians for the loss of their lands:

...the Indian had so much, now he's barely hanging. One time the Indian people used to live throughout the land. They didn't have no boundaries. Today the Indian is placed in a situation where they have to be in a small, little place. The government gave the Indians that land. How do you like that? Not only here in B.C., but also in the States.

In the States not too long ago, a whiteman stepped up to me, and he told me that he was an American. I said these words: "If you're an American, you'd be speaking my language."

Every once in awhile I'd step out in the field with the very old people to help fight the Indian cause over here in B.C. ... in the Indian cases [establishment of Indian title to white occupied lands] that's coming up, the decision will be made against the Indian.

On another occasion the same speaker from Lummi pointed out to whites that Indians have a distinctive social identity which they would not like imitated:

Anyone that does have a tape recorder now, I will ask you to please turn them off, because this is all that the Indian people have left of their tradition, their heritage, their life. It has been proved in Seattle today, the Boy Scouts of America is dancin' the Indian dance. This is why [recording is not permitted]: these are family songs and family owned, and we would like to have them because of the young people that is comin' behind.

The Indian princess contest

Linked with the Indian dancing is the presentation of the winner of the Indian princess contest which resembles local white beauty contests of forty years ago. Teenage contestants, their families, and sponsoring clubs, if any, sell raffle tickets in support of the festival. The girl with the most ticket sales in her name becomes the "native princess" or "Indian princess". The two girls with the next highest ticket sales are also usually acknowledged as well. Dressed in a long buckskin or similar cloth dress, headband, and mocassins, the princess and runner-up contestants are presented to the festival audience. The princess may receive a small gift or a warbonnet symbolizing her status as princess of the

festival. She usually makes a brief acceptance speech before the festival audience, and is given a seat of honour. The master-of-ceremonies and dance troupe leaders praise the princess and the other contestants for their efforts, and hold up the girls as models of industry and achievement for other young people to emulate.

In recent years two large festivals which have gained strong publicity and other support from the white community have patterned their princess contests after the local contemporary beauty contest by adding official sponsors, talent criteria, and judging committees. In the 1967 Corpus Christi Indian Sports, princess contestants represented certain clubs on the reserve, and made short speeches judged by the mayor and council of Duncan at a tea held in a local hotel.

In 1968 the princess contest at Indian Day, integrated with the Vancouver Sea Festival, was for the Indian Princess of British Columbia. The winner would represent British Columbia in the competition for the National Indian Princess held later that summer in North Battleford, Saskatchewan. All Indian Day contestants, except for a girl from the Tsimshian area and another from Chase in the Interior Plateau, came from the Coast Salish festival area. Each contestant was sponsored by an Indian organization or band. A committee of mainly Indian judges evaluated the girls on personal criteria. Contestants had to be single, between 18 and 25 years of age, and "native girls" of Indian status living either off or on the reserve. They had to have "good character", "poise", and a "pleasant personality". The girls were expected to have achieved "a reasonable standard of education" and the ability to express themselves well. They also had to have their own "Indian costume" and some knowledge of their Indian language and their own community. Each contestant was required to demonstrate the above criteria by giving a brief talk on an Indian topic of her choice before the judges and the audience.

The above criteria are especially important for upgrading social identity in that they stress qualities which most whites believe are lacking in Indians: good character, poise, ability to express oneself well in English, and educational achievement. At the same time the girls also demonstrate by means of their costumes and expressed Indian lore that they have retained traditional culture,

and therefore should be associated with the favorable attributes of the romantic ideal.

Internalization of the unfavorable identity attributes is especially understood in the girls' speeches. Most sounded very apologetic, and resemble testimonials in that contestants stand before pro-white Indian judges and a white audience to demonstrate how they as individuals are exempt from the negative attributes of their social identity, because they have met or tried to meet white expectations socially and educationally. The Indian topic presented often includes a discussion of Indian problems in platitudes used by whites: the reserve system holds Indians back; welfare makes the Indian ambitionless; Indians should move into the white community; and education is the solution to Indian problems.

The first contestant, sponsored by the *Native Voice*, an Indian newspaper in Vancouver, gave a lengthy talk:

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the Sea Festival Indian Day Princess Contest... I had a very much different upbringing than a good many Indian young people. I have never lived on an Indian reservation, but that does not mean I have been completely out of touch. I lived in West Vancouver most of my life. I am now twenty years of age, and I lived there for — oh — approximately sixteen years. Living so close to my friends on the reservation, I was able to meet and contact with the Indian people and their way of life. I attended --- Secondary School in Vancouver, where I graduated in 1966. While I was there I was engaged in many activities. And since the school had such a wide range of socio-economic levels, I felt that I had a very broad outlook on life, and because of this broad outlook, I am able to draw opinions and make decisions on a very large number of things... I completed high school with a 75 percent average, and entered university at U.B.C. [University of British Columbia] in arts, and continued in the next year in the faculty of science. I have now been accepted into a program of dental hygiene in the faculty of dentistry. I will study for a few years on this program, and then I will be qualified to work in public health or in a dental office.

After that I would like to study my Indian culture and learn the languages, traditions, and dances of the Indian people from all over B.C., and learn about Indians in the rest of Canada. I had a slight opportunity to do this last summer by attending the Canadian Indian workshop at U.B.C. This was sponsored by the Canadian Indian Youth Council and was a six-week program studying sociology and anthropology ... We studied Indian history, culture, and gave our own opinions on the Indian outlook on life and the hope for Indians in the future.

My best success, so far, has been getting through school. I was involved in many service organizations... I feel athletics are an extremely good way of expressing myself, because I have the opportunity to travel from Vancouver through British Columbia as far east as Montreal. And several other trips have taken me to San Francisco and points between ... I have also won myself several honours. Recently I was awarded the --- Award as the outstanding Indian athlete in this region.

And now for my opinions on Indian life in general. I would like to see the Indian youth continue to move away from the reservation. I am merely saying I would like to see them experience life in a non-Indian community. I think they should also take advantage of the many opportunities for education and employment. It has been my experience that if you go forward with desire and a pleasant personality, that people are willing to give everything they have to help you out. And it would be ideal for Indian students, youths, and all other people involved with Indians to go forward and give everything they have to develop a well-balanced, happy relationship between all people: the Indians, non-Indians, Europeans, people of every walk and nationality.

I would like to thank the *Native Voice* for being my sponsor, and wish you happy days here at the Vancouver Sea Festival. Thank you.

The next contestant, Miss Musqueam, began her speech with a legend explaining how the name of the village of Musqueam originated, and then presented her views on modern Indians:

In those days [when Musqueam originated] survival and the economic welfare of the tribe depended on the cooperation and support of the neighbours. The advancement of the Indian today is awful dependent upon the harmony and cooperation among non-Indian people. Higher education is provided for by the Indian Affairs Branch... We need an education to adapt to off-reserve life. This year, over one quarter of our people are living off the reservation. We need an education to promote the economic development of many of our reserves. No one becomes a financial genius overnight. We need an education... to learn a more historically and accurate background of our people. We must not be content with second best standards. We must improve in all with the welfare of others. Service and the concern with others in all we do is our only solution.

My personal ambition is to complete high school and to take a course in hotel and motel management at the British Columbia Institute of Technology. I realize my success will be my own responsibility as a human being. Being an Indian will not affect it in any way. I must walk freely and gladly with my fellow Canadians...

The master-of-ceremonies thanked Miss Musqueam, and then presented Miss Squamish, who began by describing her background:

I was raised partially in Squamish and in the State of Washington... various fields I have come across are cashier, waitress, short-order clerk, trainee in electronics and aircraft within the past year. I participated in nursing school, looking after children to and from school. I had the privilege to be a sub-teacher at times which I enjoyed. In between times I took up-grading this past year. I would like to accomplish my future goal in the field of electronics. I am also a Homemaker member. My interests are reading: autobiography, medical, history, and Indian culture; sewing and the outdoor life: swimming, hiking, horseback riding, and travelling around the potential locality in Squamish near my hometown which has become well known throughout the world for the ski resort of Whistler Mountain. I like traveling also, and can mingle with various peoples of various nationalities which I had the opportunity of meeting across Canada as far as Montreal, Quebec. Recently to the south, of Long Beach, California, and throughout Oregon and back through the State of Washington as a member of the head of Howe Sound [the location of Squamish].

Our history descends from there. The word "Squamish" means strong north wind. Our people were of a kind heart, were of a friendly nature, who met and welcomed Captain Vancouver, the first explorer on the shores of our sacred hunting grounds, which is now Stanley Park. The hand of friendship was extended from that day 'till now. The change of our times is great, and in them, progress to all people. We feel with pride the first Indian princess, Pauline Johnson, who became part of Canada as a poetess of Indian lore, a monument that became part of history in Stanley Park. [Pauline Johnson's ashes were scattered on Siwash Rock in Stanley Park.] May we all remember the honour she has brought to our people, to the present day of the Indian Friends Society.

In my opinion of the Indian people, I'd like to see the younger generation who is now in their youth to continue on and have a better education to help one another as a brother between other nationalities, and that we'd all be one. I'd like to see more participants interested in the Indian culture which I myself am interested in.

The following contestant, Miss Chase, made a brief, barely audible speech which related without apparent bitterness the estrangement she felt as a child in the public school system and in white society now. She regrets dropping out of school, and wants to continue her education somehow.

The master-of-ceremonies thanked her, and introduced Miss Vancouver Indian Centre, a Tsimshian girl who has moved into Vancouver. She wore a long brown dress decorated with a large frog formed of buttons.

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the Indian Sea Festival. I am honoured to be here today, representing the Vancouver Indian Centre at the B.C. Princess Pageant. My name is ---, an Indian, otherwise known as Kwınsebas. We do not have an English translation for that. I was born on the Kitwanga reserve of the Tsimshian tribe.

The Tsimshian tribe has three main clans: the Eagle, Wolf, and Frog. As you may have seen from the design on the front of my dress in buttons, I myself belong to the Frog Clan... The Frog God warned of danger by croaking, and if one of the gods or demi-gods was on the verge of doing wrong, it [the Frog] would croak and the god would stop immediately. The totemic frog holds this symbol as a teacher of truth and honesty.

I am twenty-one years old and I have been living on the reserve 'till I was around ten years old. From there I spent a year each in Prince Rupert and Terrace, attending a country school. Again, I moved close to my village, living with my grandmother until I completed my grade 11. For my last year of high school I boarded in Hazelton where I held a part-time job as a sales clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company, and also held a position of social representative in the latter part of my last year. Prior to graduation I moved to Vancouver for five months and took a general commercial course in the Vancouver Vocational Institute. After completing my course I moved on to ... Prince Rupert, and worked as an engineering clerk in the Columbia Cellulose Company. During my year in Prince Rupert I bowled in a few of the Company leagues and was also a member of the Native Benevolent Association. The purpose of the club was to provide entertainment for young adults living in Prince Rupert. I again moved closer to home and worked as a admitting clerk in the --- Hospital in Hazelton. Although Hazelton didn't offer much in line of entertainment I played softball for the hospital team and sang for the nurses residence. Three months ago I moved to Vancouver, and am now working as a general office clerk for the firm of ---. The last three months I bowled in the league for the --- Tyros United Church group. I am again playing softball for the same league.

Although I have moved away from my reserve for the last four years, I would not help but feel and see the problems endured by our Indian people today. First, lack of education. A great majority of our population has never completed or continued their education further than our Indian day-schools which offer classes to grade seven. Our parents did not go much further, but seem to get along. But what about our young generation? They need encouragement, but fail to receive any from home, because as long as Indian Affairs is here to provide us welfare, they will never realize the meaning of education in today's standards of living. Our main problem seems to be the

reluctance to leave home and face the outer society. We feel self-conscious ... and scared to go. And yet, we cannot be blamed for it, because sheltered in one small community, no means of communication, and our only people Indian people to associate with, we are scared of the outside society. It would be just like getting a man of a different race and bringing him to the reserve. I'm sure that he will feel out of place because he is not used to living this way.

Last, our lack of employment. Most reserves do not offer any means of employment other than seasonal fishing. For villages near a city, they seem to lack the qualifications that is needed for employment. This may not come true to ... reserves, as they are situated in the south. But my village, where I come from, it is a matter of 80 miles to the nearest city. To prove my point, I would like to take my village. It has a population of around 300, and as far back as I can remember, there has only been three of us that have graduated from the village. I was the last one to graduate, three years ago. Out of a population of 300 or more that isn't right.

Finally, the last contestant and winner, Miss Duncan, was presented. She began her speech with a greeting in Halkomelem:

...in my language that means "how are you?" If you feel the same way I do, you must be pretty cold. Before I tell you about myself, I'd like to tell about how our reserve started a long time ago. The first man who was dropped on the mountains near Duncan was Gjalituk. He was dropped on the mountain... now known as Mt. Prevost. While he dropped the earth trembled. The Good Maker supplied him with a great deal to eat. He had berries, fish, and wild animals. But, being that he was alone, he became lonely. One night he had a dream of a maiden. The next day he looked for a wood stump and carved an image of the maiden that he dreamed of. He thought of a way of trying to make this wood come to life, so he built a big fire and placed the stump beside the fire. Looking at the stump, he realized that there was something missing. He then made a blanket from goat wool.

From this fire, people from the south noticed the flames. Two girls had noticed, and their parents had noticed. The parents said to the girls, "which one of you is going to travel to find this man, and make him your husband?" Both girls began their journey over the mountains and came to Swehwis. When they got to Gjalituk's camp, they saw what he had made, so they pushed the wooden image into the fire, and as they did this, it screamed. Gjalituk heard this and ran back to his camp, and found they had destroyed his mate. He then asked why they had done this. The oldest one scolded him for trying to make an image which only the Creator could do. The oldest one then said to Gjalituk, "I will be your mate." But Gjalituk would not

accept this. After coaxin' he accepted, which left the younger sister to journey to the next mountain to look for Gjalituk's younger brother... This is how Duncan started. The families grew and grew, 'till finally, here I am.

My name is Cukcukalwitz, or --- ---. I come from Duncan and have lived there most of my life. I was educated in Duncan, where I graduated. In between that time I have gone to school in Mission City [St. Mary's Indian Residential School] and Victoria, at St. Ann's Academy [an integrated girls' convent day and boarding school]. I graduated at --- Junior High School, and was offered a job as a teacher's aide at the old ... [Indian day] school for an orientation class. Since I liked my work so much and children, I plan on continuing next year. If I feel I can take the responsibility as a teacher, I will continue and become a teacher. And I hope to see more Indian youths continue on with their education, for Indians I feel are one of the most beautiful people, and I imagine you feel the same way about your own people. Thank you very much.

An unusual departure in princess contests was the bestowal of an Indian name on the 1968 Lummi Stommish princess as a brief event included in the afternoon Indian dancing. This event is described here in detail because of the value of the speeches and the ceremony itself in throwing light on Indian identity. Although the naming was included with the Indian dancing, it apparently was not a festival performance or a scheduled part of the proceedings. While the ceremony lacked the elaboration of contemporary name givings in the big house (cf. Kew 1970:173-180), it was certainly not just another dance event, and was probably a real naming with significance in the Coast Salish community. The naming was arranged by the princess's maternal grandparents. A speaker came forward, called forth several witnesses, and explained the history of the name. He began by explaining to whites the significance of an Indian name:

Probably some of you are wondering why this has to take place. Well, let's face the fact. The day is upon us when the lowly Indian has to prove his identity. Our fishing rights is at stake. That's the only thing that the Indian has got left of what he possessed. The wealthiest people on earth — today, that's all they've got — just a portion of their fishing rights. And the day is upon us when we, the Indians, are going to be required: can you prove your identity? Do you have an Indian name? Do you carry on your Indian culture? Can you do them? Can you exercise them? Those are some of the things that is upon us. And so, therefore, the grandparents of this young lady saw to it that before this girl goes to wherever she's going to go [on

scholarship to France for part of the summer to study French] she will be able to prove her identity by having an Indian name.

You know, anyone can be a Dan, Swanson, Johnson — whatever he might be. But it takes an Indian to be given an Indian name from way back — four or five generations. Only those people that inherit that right can have that Indian name and possess it. So, therefore, that's what this ceremony is going to be about. So, therefore, it's generally customary that witnesses be called to witness the naming ceremony, so that no matter where this girl will travel among the Indians, she will be known by that Indian name from these witnesses. So, should at anytime that this girl be in your presence, and if you don't know her Indian name, you call upon these witnesses. And these witnesses are supposed to know her Indian name.

Then the speaker called out the Indian and English names of several persons, and asked them to come forward to be witnesses. Those named came from a wide range of reserves in the area: two people from Lummi, one from Nooksack, one from Penelakut, one from Somenos (a Cowichan reserve), one from Tsawout, and two persons from unmentioned locations. When those present among the called witnesses had assembled near the speaker, he continued the naming ceremony.

And, now to you witnesses and everyone that's present here, to you Indian people, it's customary that when an Indian name is brought out like this, you must know the background of the Indian name that's being given, so that there'll be no question about the Indian name. No one will be able to step out and say, "well, that Indian name belongs to me. It belongs to my family." And, so therefore, this ceremony must take place. These witnesses must listen to the background of these Indian names, so that if they hear of anyone claiming a right to that Indian name, then they will verify that they were present, and there was no one requesting clarification on the Indian name. And, so therefore, these witnesses are going to listen to what is about to be said.

This Indian name that is to be given to this girl belonging to [the girl's MoMoFaSi] ... [the maternal grand-mother's] aunt, a sister to her father. That lady left no one. I understand a little bit that she did have grandchildren, but they're completely lost to our race. No one knows their whereabouts, and so therefore... [the grandmother] has decided that she would give this Indian name to her granddaughter — which is right in as much as it was her aunt. You witnesses, this Indian name that you're going to hear belonged to ... [the grandmother's] aunt, who was a sister to her father. And so, therefore, she has the right to bestow that Indian name to the next of kin. So, therefore, she has chosen that their granddaughter will have this Indian

name. This Indian name is Skwheel-tee-uk. Skwheel-tee-uk! That's a Skagit name, Skwheel-tee-uk. In English it was translated, Falling Star, Skwheel-tee-uk! Skwheel-tee-uk! So this young lady is Princess Falling Star in the English. In the Indian, it's Princess Skwheel-tee-uk.

Thank you, witnesses, should at anytime anyone question what is that young lady's Indian name. So therefore, I take pleasure in introducing the one that is receiving this Indian name. I present to you, Princess Skwheel-tee-uk or Falling Star. Thank you. [Applause from audience.]

Princess Skwheel-tee-uk or Falling Star ... will be able to prove her identity: I am Princess Skwheel-tee-uk of the Skagit and Lummi. Thank you. [Applause from audience.]

Then the witnesses went over to the princess to congratulate her, and were paid, thus completing the naming ceremony.

The Indian baby show

The "Indian Baby Show", formerly a special event only at the Corpus Christi Indian Sports, is worthwhile mentioning as an event for upgrading social identity. The baby show, partly initiated by the Indian Affairs health nurse, was set up in 1949 to promote better child care among Indian mothers. Several classes of baby contestants were set up and judged by a doctor and nurse as to which child was the healthiest. Parents of winning children received a trophy and prizes donated by local businessmen. In the early 1960s businessmen reportedly did not donate enough prizes to support the show, and the festival could not afford it, so the show was discontinued. The baby show was obviously a response to a commonly held white belief that Indian parents neglect their children and that Indian children in particular suffer from poor nutrition, inadequate clothing and poor hygiene.

Slahal

Slahal, also called the "stick game" or "bone game", is a gambling game often played at the festivals. Since the mechanics of the game, its strategy and setting are described in detail elsewhere (Dewhirst n.d.:7-12; Kew 1970:297-310), they will not be discussed here.

Slahal, unlike other festival events, is not geared to entertain whites, and no efforts are made to explain it to white onlookers.

It is an Indian game for Indians. Several experienced players attend the festivals primarily for opportunities to play slahal and win money. Usually a side of players largely includes persons having close affinity by reserve and kinship. At the 1968 Cultus Lake festival, largely Cowichans played Lummi and Yakimas. At Neah Bay in 1968, Salish consisting largely of Cowichans played their Makah hosts.

Slahal relates to upgrading identity very limitedly. It is sometimes advertised on festival posters and in programs. The beautiful singing and drumming and crowd around the plays provide interest for white onlookers, but little entertainment value.

Summary

The above material shows that although the contemporary summer festivals are put on by Indians for Indians, the celebrations focus on Indian-white relations at several levels.

The festival committees ideally address themselves to the relative deprivation of Indians compared to whites. Festival organizers, often past and present band councillors and their relatives who emulate an affluent white middle class life-style, attempt to realize this on the reserve by raising money for construction of a recreation centre. For this reason and practical considerations of covering festival expenses, the festivals are oriented toward attracting many white visitors to make a good profit from concession sales.

Festival committees also cultivate ties with current and potential white patrons who include politicians, businessmen and clergy. These patrons are invited as guests of honour to the festivals, where they interact with festival chairmen in an Indian-controlled situation which reduces status differences between Indians and white patrons. The association of festival organizers with white patrons maintains or increases the status of the festival committee in the eyes of Indians, and makes the festival goals and efforts more credible.

Festival presentations challenge commonly held white notions of Indian inferiority. Indian speakers and performers operating within the social identity framework attempt to upgrade Indian

identity. They show that Indians are exempt from negative judgments by meeting white standards of achievement and character. Although performers profess to display traditional culture, they present a non-traditional, distinctly Indian image which evokes the favourable romantic attributes of Indian social identity.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUMMER FESTIVALS

All the contemporary summer festivals have developed as a ritual institution centred around Indian-white patron-broker

TABLE 1

The Development of Summer Festivals

<i>Festival</i>	<i>Origin Date of Precedent Event</i>	<i>First Year of Festival</i>	<i>Year of Organization Change</i>
1. Corpus Christi Indian Sports	ca. 1932 (<i>Cowichan Leader</i> , 17 May 1934)	ca. 1946 (estimated from respondent's data)	ca. 1953 (estimated from respondent's data)
2. Lummi Stommish Water Carnival	?	1946 (from respondent)	ca. 1955 (estimated from respondent's data)
3. Cultus Lake Indian Festival	no precedent event	1958 (<i>Chilliwack Progress</i> 10 June 1959)	?
4. Saanich Indian Water Sports	mid-1950s (from respondent)	1960 (BCIAC 1961: 17)	1963 (estimated from respondent's data)
5. Squamish Indian Potlatch	?	1960 (<i>The Citizen</i> 20 May 1964)	1961 (<i>The Citizen</i> 11 May 1961)
6. Indian Days Pageant	Capilano Indian Pow-wow ? ca. 1948 (Verma 1956: 123-4)	1963 (BCIAC 1964: 15)	?
7. Indian Day	Indian Days Pageant? 1963	1968 (?)	?
8. Coal Tyee Day	no precedent event	1967 (from respondent)	1967 (from respondent's data)

relationships since 1945. White individuals and institutions played a major role in starting and supporting all the festivals. However, Indian-white festival relationships have moved gradually toward Indian organizational autonomy with a general shift from mainly a few on-reserve patrons to various off-reserve white patrons and supporting institutions. This shift and the growth of festivals among the Coast Salish since 1945 (Table 1) accompany increased socio-cultural interaction between the Salish and the dominant white society.

Festival histories

Most festivals originating before 1960 were initiated and supported by white patrons in on-reserve institutions. These were social or athletic clubs controlled or influenced by whites, often missionaries who promoted white middle class norms among the Indians in an effort to salvage them spiritually and socially. Social-athletic clubs were a means of teaching young Indians organizational skills and leadership based on the white "club" model. The organization and activities of the clubs under white influence were precedents that developed into the contemporary form of festival with complete Indian control. This pattern can be seen in four festivals: the Corpus Christi Indian Sports, the Saanich Indian Water Sports, the Squamish Indian Potlatch, and the Cultus Lake Indian Festival.

The oldest continuing festival, the Corpus Christi Indian Sports, is essentially a gradual addition of sports and other features to the annual Corpus Christi celebrations first held at Quamichan in about 1889. Through the efforts of the priest, war canoe races with prize money and trophies were added to the celebrations in the early 1930s. In about 1943 an Indian became chairman of the Corpus Christi Sports committee, and the resident priest who had been chairman remained as treasurer. In 1946 the committee decided to make a profit from white attendance to construct a community hall, and food concession stands were introduced for earning money. In 1962 a princess contest was introduced. In 1967 the festival received even greater support from the white community, and featured dance troupes and a parade through Duncan.

By this time patrons included prominent politicians and businessmen in the white community.

The Saanich Indian Water Sports, probably influenced by the example of the Corpus Christi Sports, began in the early 1950s as a school picnic at Tsartlip, where Indian children from the four bands on the Saanich Peninsula attend an Indian day school operated by the Catholic Church. Through the Catholic Youth Organization, a Church sponsored social-athletic club for young Indians, the missionaries had canoe races and concession stands added to the picnic, and encouraged the development of the festival. In the early 1960s the priest gave up his role as secretary-treasurer of the festival committee, which became an all-Indian committee representing the four Saanich reserves.

The Squamish Indian Potlach first took place officially in 1960 (*The Citizen* 20 May 1964; 26 May 1966). It was reportedly started by the parish priest of St. Paul's Church on the Mission reserve (*The Citizen* 20 May 1964). The aim of the festival was to raise money for the restoration of St. Paul's Church. By 1961 the priest ceased to be "executive director" of the celebration, and assumed the position of treasurer; a committee of Indians of the Squamish band then appears to fully run the festival (*The Citizen* 11 May 1961). By 1963 the festival had expanded and developed a wide range of entertainments: canoe races, salmon barbecues, souvenir sales, Indian dancing, folk dancing, marching bands, a parade, and circus rides (*The Citizen* 23 May 1963). In 1964 and in 1966 the festival was opened by the mayor of North Vancouver (*The Citizen* 20 May 1964; 26 May 1966), which suggests that by this time the festival received considerable support from the local white community. Attendance for 1964 was estimated at 3000 persons (*The Citizen* 20 May 1964).

The Cultus Lake Indian Festival officially first took place in 1958 as a contribution of the Stahlo bands in the Chilliwack area to the British Columbia centennial celebrations (*Chilliwack Progress* 10 June 1959). Newspaper accounts show that in at least the first few years of the festival a priest served as an advisor and spokesman of sorts for the festival (*Chilliwack Progress* 7 June 1960; 6 June 1961). The festival appears to have been an immediate

success with estimated attendance ranging between 3000 and 8500 during the first eight years (*Chilliwack Progress* 1958 to 1965).

In contrast to the festivals just described recent festivals were initiated and sponsored by non-reserve white patrons, often committees or societies acting in the interests of cities or municipalities. Their goal is less to improve the lot of Indians and more to promote tourism. The main promotion device is the romantic image of the Indian, which is not only exotic in itself, but also evokes for whites romantic notions of their own pioneer past. Consequently the non-reserve patrons have initiated festivals or festival-like activities during important anniversary and centennial years.

Although off-reserve white organizations initiated recent festivals whites tend to have played a minimal part in directing and organizing them. Shortly after the festival was set up, the Indians became more or less autonomous of white influence. Off-reserve white support of the recent festivals and continuing old ones has enabled festival committees to realize a greater profit and to increase their status due to better white publicity, attendance, and sponsorship. Examples of this pattern are the Indian Days Pageant, Indian Day, and Coal Tyee Day.

In 1963 the Indian Days Pageant was first held on the Capilano reserve of the Squamish band. It was the first effort of the Northwest Indian Cultural Society incorporated in February, 1963, by a group of Indians and non-Indians "concerned primarily with bringing about a greater unity between the tribes of the Province and with promoting better understanding and appreciation of the ability, skills, and traditional culture of the Indian people" (BCIAC 1964:15). The last newspaper coverage of this festival was in 1967 (*The Lionsgate Times* 10 August 1967). Judging from the similarity of events, personnel, and white patrons, the 1968 festival appears to have been integrated into the Vancouver Sea Festival, and called "Indian Day".

Indian Day, held in Stanley Park, Vancouver, B.C. was integrated with (and presumably heavily sponsored by) the Vancouver Sea Festival committee, which organizes an annual week-long celebration to promote mid-summer tourism. Consequently,

the Indian program was geared primarily for the entertainment of whites. It emphasized Indian dancing by polished troupes from Seattle, Alert Bay (Kwakiutl), and Burrard (another Salish reserve). A canoe race and the contest for Indian Princess of British Columbia were held. Other performers, speakers, and organizers came mainly from the Squamish band. Indian participation and sponsorship also included city Indian organizations such as the Vancouver Indian Centre and Nasaika Lodge for Indian Girls.

Coal Tyee Day was initially organized and sponsored by the Empire Day Society in charge of the 1967 Victoria Day (May 24) celebrations for Nanaimo. The publicity and financial support from the Empire Day Society and additional finances from efforts of the Nanaimo band members made the first Coal Tyee Day a great success with an estimated attendance of 6000 persons. After expenses there was enough money to finance Coal Tyee Day of 1968 and some recreational activities for the Nanaimo band. Unlike the gradual and painful beginnings of other festivals Coal Tyee Day became a success immediately because of good support from the city of Nanaimo.

In 1968 the most recent development in the summer festivals was the Makah attempt to participate in the Coast Salish festival circuit. Although the Makah are a non-Salish people they have intermarried with Salish groups on both sides of the border since before the mid-19th century, thereby having some intervillage ties which are one of the bases of association at the festivals. In the spring of 1968 the Makah Tribal Council paid a Salish canoe builder to build two "war canoes" at Neah Bay. The Makah set up a canoe club, and began hard training for the Salish canoe races. The Makah also invited the Salish to attend the 1968 Makah Day, where canoe races and other events were scheduled.

Makah Day of 1968 expressed a different relationship to the Salish guests in contrast to that expressed to whites in the Salish festivals. The celebration did not attempt to make money or appeal to whites. Most people who attended were Indians. Indian visitors were given free lodging and free meals. Unlike the Salish festivals, Makah Day expressed an *ethnic*, Makah identity to the Salish, rather than a general Indian social identity. Nearly all the dancing sessions proudly presented Makah songs, dances, and costumes,

and emphasized that they were "Makah", instead of "Indian". I saw no warbonnets, no Plains-like dances, and very few white visitors. However, according to Colson (1953:135, 257) such features were present in the early 1940s when a sudden influx of whites in military and construction projects made the ratio of white to Indian residents of Neah Bay roughly equal. Today Makah residents of Neah Bay outnumber whites, and did not emphasize a stereotyped romantic Indianness to whites at Makah Day in the manner described by Colson (1953:135).

In other respects Makah Day resembled Salish festivals. A princess contest took place, as well as canoe races and sports, but in the form of logging contests and motorcycle races. In the future the Makah may commercialize their festival to raise money for construction of a community swimming pool. Apparently a tendency toward commercialism in promoting white attendance had existed during the early 1940s (Colson 1953:111, 189).

So far, this paper has examined festival development largely at the level of the festivals themselves. However, festival development appears related to broader, concurrent contexts of cultural change.

Festivals and increased Indian-white interaction

The development and growth of summer festivals parallels increased cultural, social and political interaction between the Salish and the dominant white society since World War II. Most notably, many socio-political restrictions which maintained a more isolated reserve subculture have been relaxed or removed, resulting in changes in reserve life and increased interaction with whites. A general response to this among the Coast Salish has been a movement toward group solidarity. This is generated in contemporary ritual institutions such as the summer festivals and winter spirit dancing.

Before the late 1940s the social and political life of the Canadian Salish was more confined to the reserve than it is today. Indians were not legally permitted to consume liquor, and were consequently more restricted in their social relations with whites. Indians were also not permitted to vote in national and provincial

elections, and therefore had little to offer white politicians. Political representation to the outside society was largely through the Indian Affairs Branch, which advised the bands on legal, technical and business matters. Education was acquired in segregated Indian day schools or residential schools, both operated by clergy. This restricted society was maintained directly by three officers: the superintendent or "Indian agent", the priest, and the hereditary chief. Although the dynamics of interaction between each officer, the band and the dominant white society have not been described, they strongly suggest patron-broker models similar to those presented recently (Paine 1971). The power of these patrons, especially the priest, diminished as a result of socio-political changes and increased interaction of Indians with whites.

These changes began in 1949 when Indians in British Columbia were allowed to vote in provincial elections; in 1960 they obtained national suffrage. In 1951 the revised Indian Act provided for band chiefs to be elected as opposed to continuing with the tradition of hereditary chieftaincy. Also, Indians were permitted to consume liquor in public drinking places, but still could not legally have it in their homes. In 1962 restrictions on sales of alcoholic beverages to Indians in British Columbia were removed.

Educational reforms also took place. In the early 1950s, Indian children began to be integrated into the British Columbia public school system. The general extent of integration for the Coast Salish under discussion, who account for about one-sixth of British Columbia registered Indians, is suggested by the following figures for the Province as a whole. In 1949 only an estimated 82 Indian children, roughly 0.32 percent of the registered Indian population, attended non-Indian schools (BCIAC 1960:8). But, by 1967, 57 percent of the Indians attended public schools (BCIAC 1968:16). This continuing program of school integration has resulted in more Indians staying in school longer and completing more grades.

More and more Indians are gradually moving into non-Indian communities. In 1961, 17 percent of the total provincial Indian population lived off the reserve, in contrast to 26 percent in 1967 (BCIAC 1968:10. Cf. Stanbury 1975:301). Figures for the Coast Salish are significantly lower, but nevertheless reflect the trend

to off-reserve living. In 1962, 9.0 percent of the Coast Salish lived off the reserve, in contrast to 16.8 percent in 1967, and 30.2 percent in 1973 (Stanbury 1975:301). The lower percentages for the Coast Salish are probably due to the proximity of their reserves to urban centres, which means that many urban advantages can be enjoyed without relocating one's household. Hence, the Coast Salish percentages likely indicate more interaction with whites than would appear, and may reflect even higher interaction than the physically higher percentages of off-reserve persons reported by Stanbury (1975:301) for native cultural groups in rural areas.

There may also be an increase of Indian membership in non-Indian organizations off the reserve. Data on this point are not available, but increased Indian enrolment in the British Columbia Girl Guide Association suggests integration into other non-Indian associations. In 1969 only 36 Indian girls belonged to the Association (BCIAC 1961:14). By 1964 that number had grown to at least 200 children and 11 adult Indian leaders (BCIAC 1965:19).

As institutions in the outside society have provided more and more services and as interaction with the white society has increased, the power of white patrons in the pre-war and early post-war reserve society was undermined and reduced. Indian bands now deal more directly with the outside white society than through white patrons of the reserve society. Today the enlarged "outside" patrons and brokers include: members of Parliament, members of the Legislative Assembly, representatives of nearby city governments, civic officials, school trustees, school teachers, real estate brokers, consultants and contractors. The festival guests described earlier also indicate the range of outside patrons.

Despite increased interaction with the dominant white society, the stigmatized Indian social identity underlying Indian-white interaction persists (for example, see Lewis 1970:215-216). The urban setting appears to involve, for yet undetermined factors, most negative experiences for off-reserve Indians in British Columbia. Stanbury's study based on 1971 field data reveals that highest perceived discrimination occurs in towns of more than 25,000 people (Stanbury 1975:323). More of the off-reserve Coast Salish sample reported negative experiences with stores, cafes,

government offices and landlords than off-reserve Indians of other cultural/linguistic groups; the Coast Salish sample contained the second highest percentage of native people reporting negative experiences with the police (Stanbury 1975:323). Stanbury's data strongly suggest that more negative judgments from whites accompany increased Indian interaction with whites in more urbanized settings. This increases the need to define a more acceptable social identity and more favourable self-images.

A general response to this problem is a movement toward increased group solidarity, which is expressed in different ways and in different social contexts. In the white dominated public school system, Salish children tend to band together and develop a sense of group consciousness or group identity (Lewis 1970:213; Kew 1970:83). Adults demonstrate and maintain group solidarity through ceremonial institutions, especially winter spirit dancing and the summer festivals — both of which have flourished since 1945. These institutions promote group solidarity in different contexts.

Winter spirit dancing which combines traditionally based guardian spirit dancing and potlatching (see Suttles 1960, 1963; Robinson 1963; Kew 1970) maintains ethnic solidarities and expresses tribal or *ethnic* identities *within* the Salish community (Suttles 1963:519-520; Kew 1970:204-209). The winter dances are a Salish institution, exclusively for members of the Salish community. Whites are absent or attend in small numbers only by invitation from Salish friends. The dances receive wide support and varying extents of participation from most persons in the Salish community, even from those prominent in the summer festivals. Such persons tend not to become spirit dancers, but may potlatch and support kinsmen who are dancers or Indian name recipients.

The winter dances appear not to meet many new personal and community needs brought about by growing acculturation and urbanization. Persons emulating a white middle class life style have difficulty participating fully in the winter dances. Seclusion as an initiate dancer for the duration of the dancing season, from roughly mid-November to mid-April, could result in a man losing his job unless arrangements were made for him to work during

the day; even then, it would be difficult to work effectively. Full participation would also require greater distribution of wealth, which by white values, should be saved to better the individual and his immediate family. Furthermore, someone wishing to participate completely and successfully in the winter dances would have to be able to speak or at least understand Halkomelem, the language used in most speeches and rituals. An active involved participant would also require a good knowledge of family histories and prerogatives.

This traditional knowledge is often lacking in young people. In the last three decades there has been a growing failure to pass on traditional knowledge. The number of persons raised in the ways of the last century has declined. Migratory jobs and compulsory formal education in residential schools for large portions of the year removed young people from the influence of elders, especially during adolescent years when ritual knowledge, names, family histories and prerogatives would be learned. Salishan languages are rapidly declining; most young people use English almost exclusively.

Stanbury's study of the growing phenomenon of off-reserve life gives some indication of cultural decline. Of five major cultural/linguistic groups in the province, the Coast Salish sample was lowest in speaking their language at home (3.9%) and in teaching their language to their children (34.6%) (Stanbury 1975: 228-229). Paradoxically, the Coast Salish rated highest for visiting their reserves, attending Indian ceremonies, belonging to Indian organizations and reading Indian publications (Stanbury 1975: 232). This behaviour would appear to reflect the movement toward Indian solidarity in response to increased Indian-white sociocultural interaction.

The summer festivals, in contrast to the winter dances, offer another alternative for persons who can participate only limitedly in the winter dances because of acculturation and cultural decline. The summer festivals, however, address themselves to a different social context: Indian-white relationships and Indian social identity, rather than ethnic identity. The festivals provide a ritual framework for promoting the solidarity of *Indians* vis-a-vis whites.

The festivals replace some of the lost indigenous culture with Salish and distinctly "Indian" folk materials (songs, myths, dances,

costumes, etc.) explicitly to counteract white cultural influences and the negative Indian social identity. Although the folk materials are no longer integral to the indigenous cultural system, they do engender a sense of pride and favourable self and group images, particularly in young people. The chairman of the Lummi Stommish explained that Indians were taught to be ashamed of their culture; they were regarded by whites as "thieves" and "savages", and were "not given a fair shake in history." He claimed that Indian culture has been "chopped off for one hundred years", and that the dance troupes give young people some cultural background which is generally lacking. Other respondents and festival performers expressed feeling pride in the "Indian" festival activities.

The Salish themselves believe that the festivals promote solidarity on the sponsoring reserves and generally among the Salish community. One chairman believed that his committee and the festival did a lot toward bringing people on the reserve together. Another chairman stated that the sports and festival activities give purpose and meaning to young Indians.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Rather than viewing the Coast Salish summer festivals as survivals or vestiges of traditional culture in an isolated social system, this paper has examined the social manifestations of the festivals in both contemporary and historical perspectives. Whereas traditional Salish institutions, especially the winter spirit dances, are concerned with relations and solidarity within the Salish community, the festivals focus on asymmetrical Indian-white relations in which the Indian is usually socially, economically, politically and morally inferior. In the festivals Indians upgrade their inferior status and identity in relation to whites by presenting to whites, and to themselves, favourable romantic attributes of Indian identity and evidence of attaining white standards. The improved identity presented in the festivals counteracts white cultural influences on highly acculturated young people who lack meaningful identity symbols and a positive identity vis-a-vis whites. The festivals also serve as an impression management and status upgrading device in dealing with white patrons, and as means of attaining higher status and socio-cultural

goals for persons who emulate the more prosperous white middle class life style.

The general effect of all these functions is to promote social solidarity among Indians in relation to the white world which sees the Indian negatively. The development of festivals and increase in indigenous ceremonialism such as spirit dancing since 1945 are aspects of a general movement toward solidarity among the Salish. This is in response to increased white cultural influences brought about by removal of socio-political restrictions which once kept reserve societies more isolated from the white world. Today the Coast Salish are exposed to greater white cultural influences and more frequent Indian-white interaction with more negative experiences than before World War II. This has increased the need for greater solidarity and a more positive social identity.

Little data on contemporary "pow-wows" among other Indian peoples are available for comparative purposes. Quite likely many aspects of the Coast Salish example also apply to "Pan-Indian" pow-wows on the Plateau, Plains and mid-West. As long as Indian-white interaction increases with social barriers to Indians remaining, summer festivals and other rituals for upgrading social identity will probably increase among the Coast Salish and other native peoples.

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