

Stó:lō Exchange Dynamics

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The historical debate over Aboriginal resource use has occurred primarily within a judicial system where Native people are compelled to try and define their Aboriginal rights against government's policies which all too often reflect agendas set by vested economic commercial interests. In the recent Van der Peet v. Regina case (August 1996) the courts determined that a Stó:lō woman, Dorothy Van der Peet, had not demonstrated that in selling salmon she was exercising an Aboriginal right. This paper argues that such a decision says more about the inadequacy of courts as a theatre for recreating Aboriginal history than it does about actual events in the Stó:lō people's past. By applying linguistic analysis within an ethnohistorical model of social/spatial distance the author hopes to rekindle debate outside the court system over the antiquity of Aboriginal market economies. He demonstrates that within traditional Stó:lō society a broad range of economic activities occurred, and that the post-contact era was characterized not by the adoption of a new market exchange system, but by increased activity within an already existing market exchange economy.

Échanges dynamiques stó:lō

Le débat historique sur l'utilisation des ressources par les Autochtones s'est passé essentiellement à l'intérieur d'un système judiciaire où on oblige à ces derniers la défense de leurs droits d'autochtones contre des politiques gouvernementales reflétant bien trop souvent des agendas mis en place par des intérêts économiques commerciaux dévolus. Dans le cas récent de Van der Peet v. Regina (août 1996) le tribunal a déterminé qu'une femme stó:lō, Dorothy Van der Peet, n'avait pas démontré qu'elle exerçait un droit autochtone en vendant du saumon. Cet article avance qu'une telle décision en dit plus sur l'insuffisance des tribunaux et sur les tribunaux comme lieux où l'histoire autochtone est recrée que sur les événements du passé de la population stó:lō. Dans cet article, l'auteur applique une analyse linguistique à l'intérieur d'un modèle ethnohistorique de distance sociale et d'espace,

tout en espérant de ranimer le débat sur l'antiquité des économies de marchés autochtones à l'extérieur des tribunaux. Il démontre qu'à l'intérieur d'une société stó:lō traditionnelle un grand nombre d'activités économiques se sont produites et que l'ère après contact était caractérisée non par l'adoption d'un nouveau régime d'échanges du marché, mais par la croissance d'activités à l'intérieur d'une économie d'échanges du marché existante.

"I fancy your basket, I wonder if you would take this sweater?' You see, strange Indians would sell to each other, but with your family you share." (Stó:lō Elder Rosaleen George, age 76, March 1966)

Introduction

This paper documents Stó:lō (pronounced "Stah-low") exchange dynamics from the immediate pre-contact era to the present. Contrary to the position of the Crown counsel in *R. v. Van der Peet* the Stó:lō adopted a market economy from Euroamericans¹ in the nineteenth century, it is possible to demonstrate that a full complement of Stó:lō exchange mechanisms existed on a socio-economic continuum prior to the arrival of Europeans. To do this, linguistic and ethnohistoric analysis will be applied within a socio-spatial model. Evidence indicates that traditional Stó:lō exchange dynamics expressed themselves in a full range of economic guises. Trade and exchange were both social and economic activities. Altered circumstances associated with the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1827, the 1858 gold rush, and subsequent Euroamerican settlement did not introduce a new exchange economy. Rather, these events and processes precipitated incremental shifts in emphasis within existing Stó:lō exchange patterns towards increased open market exchange.

Historiography and Methodology

It is perhaps indicative of the separateness of interests between academic historians and certain other segments of Canadian society that recent discussions about the mechanics and dynamics of Aboriginal exchange networks have been driven and shaped by litigation and occur outside the realm of peer review and open debate.

Attempts by Aboriginal groups to define their hunting and fishing rights within the realm of market exchange have resulted in fierce corporate and government opposition,² resulting in litigation. Because of the confrontational nature of the court system, arguments tend to be presented within a mutually exclusive, "win-lose" paradigm. Such was clearly the case in the recent *R.*

v. *Van der Peet* (Supreme Court of Canada Decision, August 1996). This "landmark" Aboriginal rights court case began in 1989 after a Stó:lō woman, Dorothy Van der Peet, was arrested for selling eight sockeye salmon to a non-Native neighbour in Chilliwack B.C. Mrs. Van der Peet caught the fish at her hereditary family-owned fishing site in the lower Fraser Canyon. Her lawyers argued that in selling the sockeye Van der Peet was exercising her unextinguished Aboriginal rights. In attempting to deny the existence of this right the Crown counsel argued that there was no evidence supporting the Stó:lō position that their ancestors participated in a salmon trade prior to contact. This "all or nothing" position precluded an appreciation of the complex nature of traditional Stó:lō exchange dynamics. Moreover, it necessitated the construction of a supporting false model of traditional Stó:lō social structures which argued that pre-contact Stó:lō society lacked any semblance of formal structure or cohesiveness.

Crown counsel's strategy effectively mitigated against the presentation of competing models of social structure, or more sensitive in-depth descriptions of trade and exchange. As such, rather than offering alternative models and approaches to understanding the dynamics of exchange, the Stó:lō defence focused solely on providing evidence for the existence of exchange in the past. Unfortunately, due in large part to constraints inherent in litigation, the evidence and arguments presented by the defence did not distinguish between different kinds of trade and exchange. As such, they did not explore the full range of traditional exchange activities and the social/historical context in which they occurred.

Much of the discussion in *Van der Peet* focused on archaeological evidence. But, as Robin Torrence pointed out, archaeology "lacks a coherent methodological framework for exchange."³ Artifacts found in the ground cannot tell us how they came to be there, much less explain the complex social relations that they are sometimes thought to imply. Indeed, even in the rare occasions when archaeological analysis can determine where an object originated (as in obsidian discovered in the Fraser Valley sourced to locations in Oregon) it does not necessarily tell us the nature by which it came to be transported there, or the route.

Moreover, archaeologists are limited to an analysis of those tangible trade commodities that are durable enough to have survived the acidic Fraser Valley soil. Only rarely do environmental circumstances permit the preservation of exchange items (such as water-saturated deposits).⁴ Available data is further limited by archaeological recovery. Analysis involves materials that have left the system of exchange, such as objects found in burial sites. However, this cannot provide a direct measure of frequency of use for it is impossible to know if a burials consist of a representative

inventory of a person's possessions. In addition, archaeology does not tell us what happened on a single day or during any single exchange activity. Rather, it provides hints that ultimately may illustrate a series of events over a relatively broad time span.⁵

Compounding these methodological problems is the limited number of systematic archaeological investigations conducted throughout Stó:lō territory, and a frustrating lack of substantive analysis and documentation of materials found. Such unfinished work provides a small data base from which to hypothesize, draw conclusions and identify the existence of exchange and exchange routes, etc. Stó:lō people concur with Roy Carlson in questioning how much can be realistically inferred when only a fraction of the data base exists.⁶

In August 1996 the Supreme Court of Canada declared that Mrs. Van der Peet had not demonstrated that she was exercising an Aboriginal right when she sold her fish. However, the court did not declare that such a right did not exist among the Stó:lō. Rather, the justices decided that they were prepared to recognize the existence of an Aboriginal right to sell fish among those Aboriginal communities who could demonstrate, among other things, that the sale of fish was an integral component of their society prior to contact. In the court's opinion, Mrs. Van der Peet had not demonstrated that her sale of fish was consistent with a pre-existing Aboriginal right. However, they did not say that Mrs. Van der Peet, or any other Stó:lō, did not have such rights. In other words, in the absence of a competing model to that presented by Crown counsel, the court adopted an outdated anthropological model based on core culture traits to assess a First Nation's eligibility for market-style Aboriginal rights. Such a model is not only based on outdated anthropological theory, it also forces Aboriginal communities to define their rights in terms of twentieth-century Euroamerican definitions of market economy. This is ironic, given the 1990 *Sparrow* decision in which the Supreme Court declared that Aboriginal rights are not frozen in time. It would seem that while Aboriginal rights are not frozen in time, they must coincide with an interpretation of market economy that springs from a temporally specific (late-twentieth-century) definition of market exchange.

Discussion on Coast Salish/Stó:lō exchange continues to occur within a justice system that is viewed with suspicion by many Stó:lō people. Since this paper is in many ways a reaction against models arising from the litigation paradigm, it too falls somewhat into this category. Acknowledging the limitations of this model, I hope that the following analysis might revive discussion outside of the courtroom about Aboriginal exchange dynamics. While every attempt has been made to be inclusive and involve various members of the Stó:lō community in this study, I caution readers

that the perspective presented remains that of an outsider.

In approaching this subject, I began by talking with Stó:lō people who had given the matter of traditional market exchange serious contemplation. They, in turn, provided the parameters for the study. Next, I reviewed my own field notes dealing with trade and exchange, compiled over the past four years, and complemented them with taped or transcribed interviews conducted by other Stó:lō Nation staff members. In addition to published Coast Salish ethnographies, I also reviewed Wilson Duff's and Marian Smith's unpublished Stó:lō field notes. This was followed by a review of the transcripts of Stó:lō elders and expert witnesses who had testified in the Van der Peet litigation. Finally, I met with a number of anthropologists specializing in Coast Salish ethnography. It was on the recommendation of Dr. Bruce Miller, University of British Columbia (UBC) that I turned to the models of social-spacial distance developed by Marshall Sahlins (1965, 1972) and applied by Miller (1989) to frame my discussion.⁷ Dr. Mike Kew (UBC) reinforced my own impression about the importance of linguistic analysis.

This discussion of Stó:lō exchange dynamics is placed within a social and historical context. First, a model of social-spacial distance is constructed in the hopes that this will "connect concepts of centrality and exchange."⁸ A linguistic discussion of Stó:lō verbs associated with exchange follows, accompanied by a relatively detailed description of various forms of exchange known to have existed among the Stó:lō in pre-contact times.

Stó:lō Socio-Spatial Universe of the Early Nineteenth Century

The traditional territory of the Stó:lō, or "River People," as identified in 1995 for the B.C. Treaty Commission, consists of the entire lower Fraser River watershed downriver of Sawmill Creek in the Fraser Canyon: It stretches east to the Cascade Mountains, north to include the headwaters of the Harrison, Stave and Pitt lakes, east to the Strait of Georgia, and south beyond the U.S.-Canadian border including the Chilliwack and Nooksack drainages. Most Stó:lō people continue to live in villages along the major waterways. Halq'eméylem, the traditional language of the Stó:lō, is divided into three distinct dialects (upriver, downriver, and island). The Stó:lō are mainland Halq'eméylem speakers. The island dialect is spoken by their relatives living along the shores of southeast Vancouver Island. Kin ties are traceable throughout the entire Halq'eméylem language region, as well as with people from neighbouring linguistic groups.

Marshall Sahlins observed that to better distinguish between the various types of exchange it is useful to think of social distance as a reflection of

physical distance. He documented this phenomenon in numerous culture groups throughout the world and over time, concluding that "the distance between poles of reciprocity is, among other things, social distance."⁹ In *Stone Age Economics*, Sahlins demonstrates that

Reciprocity is inclined toward the generalized pole by close kinship, toward the negative extreme in proportion to kinship distance. . . . The several reciprocities from freely bestowed gift to chicanery amount to a spectrum of sociability, from sacrifice in favour of another to self-interested gain at the expense of another.¹⁰

Social distance and geographical distance tend to be directly related, and "it is not only that kinship organizes communities, but communities kinship, so that a spatial, co-residential term affects the measure of kinship distance and thus the mode of exchange." In other words, geographic distance reflects or maps onto a determinant social distance. Thus, while friends and family typically engage in gift giving or balanced reciprocity, non-family exchange more often takes the form of market exchange.

While the debate over the meaning of market exchange continues, for the purposes of this paper it will be defined as negotiated or contracted exchange among individuals or groups wherein X is exchanged for Y at a specific time and place with no commitment to future exchange (reciprocity, by contrast, implies further exchange). It is important to note that this definition does not necessitate the linking of market exchange to capitalism. Market exchange can occur as barter, where participants exchange goods, commodities or labour, or it may take the form of buyer exchanges where money, or a trade item with a standardized value, is traded for goods, commodities or labour.¹¹

At the risk of building a model that over-structuralizes a society that in practice was dynamic, adaptive and somewhat fluid, I suggest that it is possible to divide immediate pre-contact Stó:lō society into three broad overlapping categories reflecting social and physical distance (Figure 1). To do this I apply linguistic analysis; that is, I create categories based upon the following Halq'eméylem groupings: *xwélmexw* (people known to exist), *siyá:ye* (close friends and family), and *lats'umexw* (different people).

The Stó:lō referred to all people whom they "knew" or "recognized" as *Xwélmexw*; an expression some contemporary Halq'eméylem speakers translate as "people of life," or simply, "people." *Xwélmexw* were people "known to exist" in the literal sense. They lived within the known world. The degree of "closeness" between *Xwélmexw* determined the nature of one's social and economic interaction. When discussing what he interpreted to be the meaning of his elder's understanding of "the whole world," current elder

and Yakweakwoose smokehouse leader Frank Malloway provided the following explanation:

My Elder used to say that [winter Spirit Dancing] would go around the whole world, and I used to often wonder “what do you mean it goes around the whole world?—Goes right to China and comes back?” And then I was looking at a map of the Coast Salish territory, and it sort of goes in a circle: Sechelt, Nanaimo down to Victoria, across to Neah Bay, you know, and up to Nooksack and it comes back, and its almost like that’s the only world the Coast Salish knew. And I was thinking “that’s why they described their territory, the Coast Salish territory, as going around the world.” And those are the only people who practise Spirit Dancing, the Coast Salish. If you go out of the territory north, they don’t practise it. You go too far south and they don’t have it.”¹²

Within this vaguely defined but well appreciated geographic boundary, and among Xwélmexw, a broad range of exchange activities occurred, ranging from family gift exchange to potlatches, market exchange and even labour

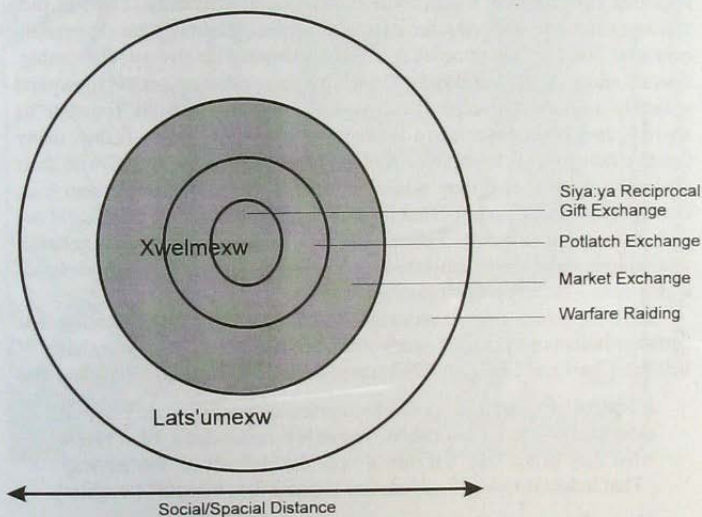


Figure 1: Stó:lō Social/Spatial Distance

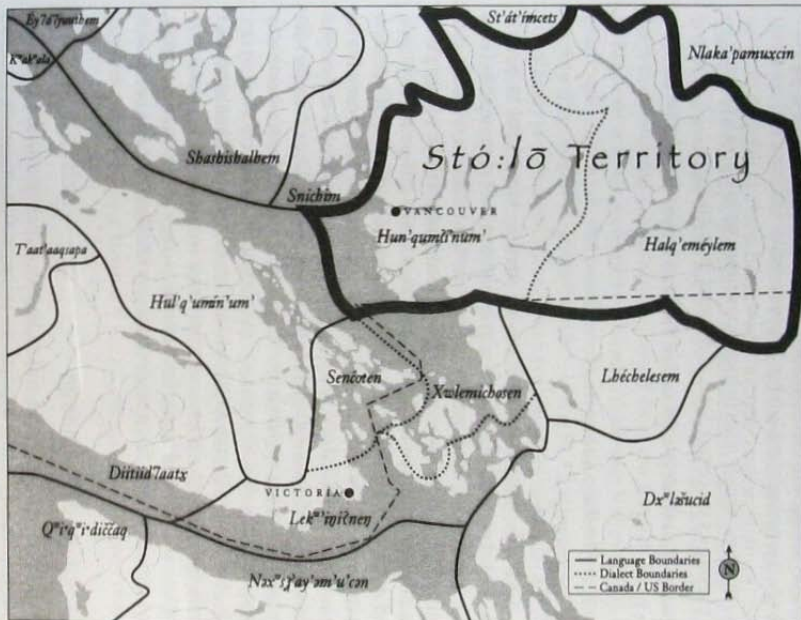
brokering. Materials were also exchanged through the medium of gambling, and even raiding. The diversity and range of exchange possibilities among Xwélmexw serves as a reminder that in pre-contact times the Stó:lō had no formal political organization beyond the extended family level. Thus, different family networks within Xwélmexw territory had independent and shifting relationships with one another (see Figure 2).

Within the broad definition of Xwélmexw there exists a variety of sub-classifications. In fact, there are over 100 Halq'eméylem words describing different human relationships (e.g., father, aunt, great-great-great-great-grandparent, cousin of great-great-great-great-grandchild, etc.). Here I focus on the category of *siyá:ye*, a term that roughly translates as "friends and family." The expression *siyá:ye* does not replace other more specific terms for social relationships, but rather within the Stó:lō world view it reflects a generalized social grouping. A *siyá:ye* is someone held in special regard. *Siyá:ye* are at the centre of Stó:lō people's social universe, and in traditional times¹³ typically lived relatively close to one another (within a day or two's canoe ride). The inclusiveness of this term illustrates that, within the Stó:lō world view, close relatives, in-laws and friends were often regarded as occupying positions of similar social proximity. The fact that siblings and cousins are all referred to by the same Halq'eméylem expression, *qeló:qtel*, helps to illustrate the social inclusiveness of the *siyá:ye* relationship. Special marriage alliances were formed with more distant people to expand a family's social universe. This would bring more people together as *siyá:ye*, and thereby increase a family's access to resources. Today, many Stó:lō elders express the opinion that people tended not to "trade" with their *siyá:ye* in the way that they would with people less familiar to them (i.e., through market exchange). That is, with family and friends, people did not seek to maximize profit. That would be "insulting." Rather, exchange among *siyá:ye* typically expressed itself through the "sharing" of resources and wealth—reciprocal gift giving.

Elder Rosaleen George recently summarized this process stating that "strange Indians would sell to each other, but with your family you share."¹⁴ Bill Pat-Charlie of Chawathil elaborated on this description, explaining that

If you sold another Indian a fish around the reserve [someone you were close to, a *siyá:ye*], I don't know, you were some kind of a, I don't know what they called you, but they'll razz the Hell out of you anyway: "That Indian is trying to sell another Indian a fish, humph!" [laughter]

Yeah, if you sold a fish to another Indian, well, sometimes there back in them days if you were short on money for booze or something we would sell to another Indian to get money to get a bottle. That's what



The lines on this map indicate an approximation of the region in which Aboriginal languages are spoken. The language names are given as spoken & written by native speakers of these languages.

Map by Brian Thom - Design by Jan Perrier Design © 1997

Figure 2: Approximate Xwélmexw Territory: "The Whole World"

they used to razz us about.

Question: What kind of things would they say?

Oh they'd say "another Indian selling to an Indian, he must be poor. Must be pretty damn poor." [laughter] Things like that.

Question: Would you sell to another Stó:lō or another Indian if they were not a relative, and lived far away?

Oh yeah. Some people want fish and sometimes we just give it to them and sometimes we charge for it, if we need the money.

Question: You wouldn't get razed the same way if you . . . ?

No. No.

Question: Just if it's a close friend or relative?

Yeah, yeah.¹⁵

As Mr. Charlie's comments indicate, at various times Stó:lō people established exchange relations with people who were not recognized—who were not *Xwélmexw*. Such people were referred to as *Lats'umexw*, or "different people." *Lats'umexw* people existed on the fringe of any given Stó:lō family's social universe. They sometimes spoke different languages, practised different customs and generally behaved "differently." After a Stó:lō person established relationships with such people they ceased to be *Lats'umexw*. Individual Stó:lō people came into contact with *Lats'umexw* people in a variety of ways. Often they met at regional trading centres where they engaged in market exchange trade and barter, or the *Lats'umexw* may have ventured into Stó:lō territory to conduct a raid, or vice versa. Similarly, Stó:lō people may have met *Lats'umexw* people when attending a potlatch with distant *siyá:ye*—*siyá:ye* who would have invited other people unknown to the first family from a distant village. With communication came understanding, and "differences" became known: *Lats'umexw* became *Xwélmexw*.¹⁶

The Language of Exchange

The following discussion relies heavily upon the *Halq'eméylem Classified Word List*¹⁷ and the generous assistance of students and elders participating in the Stó:lō Shxweli Language Program.¹⁸ These people and sources provided over 40 Halq'eméylem verbs associated with trade and exchange which I grouped according to their position within various Stó:lō exchange context. My groupings reflect standard anthropological classifications found in many ethnographies and are as follows: 1) *siyá:ye*

reciprocal gift exchange, 2) potlatch exchange, 3) labour, 4) market exchange (barter/trade/sale), 5) gambling, 6) raiding/warfare and 7) other issues (e.g., ceremonial medicinal payment).

When studying Aboriginal exchange dynamics the question inevitably arises of whether these activities were practised during the pre-contact era. This question can in part be addressed by applying linguistic techniques. In this way, it is possible to determine if a Halq'eméylem word is Indigenous or if it is derived from borrowed Chinook jargon, English, French or Chinese. For example, the Halq'eméylem word for a domestic dog, *sqwemá:y*, is Indigenous. The Stó:lō are known to have domesticated dogs prior to contact, which they called *sqwemá:y*. In contrast, the Halq'eméylem word for a domesticated cat, *púc:s*, is derived from the English word *pussycat* after domesticated cats were introduced to the Fraser Valley during the 1858 gold rush. Likewise, the word for pig, *kweshú*, comes from the French *cochon*. Pigs were brought to the HBC farm at Ft. Langley in the 1830s. The Halq'eméylem *kweshú* is thought to have been borrowed from either French Canadian HBC employees or French Roman Catholic missionaries.

Dr. Strang Burton (a linguist specializing in Halq'eméylem) was kind enough to review the Halq'eméylem verbs and, with the generous assistance of a number of his colleagues at UBC, concluded that all are Indigenous in origin (not borrowed). However, Dr. Burton cautions that we cannot assume that all non-borrowed, Indigenous, Aboriginal words necessarily developed in the pre-contact era from non-introduced customs, practices or objects. It is possible that Stó:lō people might have witnessed something "European" and assigned to it a new Indigenous name that did not borrow from or bastardize the English or French word used to describe it. For example, the term *Chichel Siyá:m* translates directly as "high above respected leader" or God above. Both words in the expression are Indigenous. However, anthropologists and Stó:lō alike continue to debate whether the concept of a single supreme being predates contact.¹⁹ It would seem, however, that if *Chichel Siyá:m* is an Indigenous term describing a post-contact concept, it represents the exception and not the rule.

Siyá:ye Gift Exchange

At the centre of Stó:lō exchange practices is the Central Coast Salish family gift exchange.²⁰ As the list in Table 1 of associated verbs indicates, family gift exchange has traditionally centred around food. It is interesting to note that while the verb *yáxstet* is associated with giving something away and supposedly not expecting anything in return, every Stó:lō person I spoke to indicated that food gifts are reciprocal. Historically, as well as contemporarily, such exchanges occurred whenever people travelled to

Table 1: Verbs Associated with *Siyá:ye* Gift Exchange

to visit	<i>latsut</i>
to give/share food	<i>má:mt</i>
to give something away and not expect anything in return	<i>yáxstet</i> , or <i>yéxchet</i>
to share	<i>áxwet</i>
to share food with someone, give someone food	<i>áxwet</i>
to serve everybody	<i>lhaxáls</i>
to serve yourself	<i>lhaxem</i>
to give away extra food	<i>axwé thome</i>

other villages to meet informally with parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents etc. On such visits people always brought food items (such as fresh or preserved fish) that were not readily available to their host's family, so as not to be a burden and to show their appreciation for the hospitality. In return, the guests could expect to be "thanked" by their hosts by receiving wealth items before they departed, and food on a future reciprocal visit. As is documented below, similar exchange also occurred among in-laws.²¹

The nature of informal reciprocal family gift exchange appears to have changed little since the arrival of the Euroamericans. Elder Rosaleen George recently explained that today when family members arrive from out of town expecting to spend the night they

... bring a gift, but they don't make a big deal about it. They just quietly give them [the host family] a sack of salmon or whatever when they arrive, and then the [host] people will give them [the guests] something to take back with them when they go home. You never say anything, you just *know* you will get something back, but you don't *expect* anything.²²

As Mrs. George indicates, the gift giving is reversed and repeated when the guests become the hosts. While these gift exchanges are always discussed within the context of an ideal and balanced reciprocity, in practice this is not always the case. When discussing specific examples of family gift exchange, contemporary Stó:lō people often explain that it is customary for wealthier family members to give more to "less well-off" family members, regardless of whether they are hosts or guests. Such "unbalanced" reciprocity is typically explained by Stó:lō elders as a reflection of "manners" or wealth, and therefore may be thought of as part of the process whereby Stó:lō people

establish and demonstrate their status among families or rank within families.²³

Within the context of intra-family exchange, it is considered extremely bad taste for any exchange to occur in the form of "buying or selling." Among some contemporary Stó:lō elders, the thought of exchanging anything with a family member in any way other than as a gift is unthinkable. An elder was recently asked if it was socially acceptable to sell something to a family member, and she unhesitatingly replied, "No, you just have to share with family." The interviewer then related how he had purchased used electronic equipment from his mother for \$100. He asked the elder if she would ever consider selling something to her son. Her response came in a look of shock, quickly followed by embarrassed laughter. Upon composing herself she reiterated between giggles that "No, you're not supposed to sell to your family."²⁴

The Stó:lō practice of reciprocal family gift exchange is so important that it transcends the physical world. Spirits of deceased ancestors are described as "always being hungry," and therefore in need of regular feeding by special spiritual leaders known as *hi'hiyeqwels*. Individual families normally employ *hi'hiyeqwels* to conduct such "burning" ceremonies at least twice a year in the spring and fall (times when the "spirits are travelling"), but they can be held at other times "if they are needed." For example, burnings usually accompany funerals.

At burnings, women prepare plates of food (and sometimes other items such as clothing) that *hi'hiyeqwels* burn in specially prepared fires. Through the fire these items are transformed into spiritual gifts. Spirits who are "cared for" and "fed" are content, and therefore less likely to trouble the living. They will also be more likely to assist their living relatives through benevolent behaviour when called upon in prayer. It is important to note that the exchange associated with burning ceremonies not only involves gifts to the spirit world, but reciprocal exchange among the living as well. Typically this occurs among attending family members at the shared meals that always follow burning ceremonies.

Expanding *Siyá:ye* Exchange Networks

The gift exchanges described above take place between blood kin or close friends, and except for the special burning ceremony for the dead, are relatively informal events. As mentioned, the *siyá:ye* network can be expanded through marriage to include in-laws. At this level, exchange takes on a more prescribed ceremonial nature. Suttles has documented that the most important Stó:lō in-law relationship remains that between the husband's and wife's parents—*skw'élwés* (a relationship Suttles defines as "co-

parents-in-law").²⁵ Historically, marriage alliances were carefully orchestrated between upper class families. Once established, these alliances created bonds of obligation between in-laws—obligations that often expressed themselves in reciprocal gift exchange. Arranged marriages potentially served a number of purposes, ranging from creating peaceful relations and facilitating the sharing of food, to securing access to family owned fishing sites, all of which may be thought of as expressions of exchange.

Wayne Suttles described Coast Salish marriage alliances in these terms:

The [marriage] arrangements usually included preliminary negotiations by members of the prospective groom's family, a vigil kept by the young man at the girl's house, and an exchange of property between the two families. This exchange was the wedding itself. It was held in the bride's house. The groom's family brought wealth for the bride's family; the bride's family gave wealth, perhaps nearly an equal amount, to the groom's family; and the bride's father also gave, if possible, an inherited privilege or privileges, such as a name or the right to use a rattle or mask, to the couple for their child or children. . . .²⁶

Suttles further explained that "the two families could continue to exchange property for as long as the marriage endured." In his 1952 ethnography, *The Upper Stalo Indians*, Wilson Duff elaborated on the continuing significance of exchange visits among co-parents-in-law:

[A]n important feature of the seasonal round of activities were visits paid to relatives, usually during the slack period in the fall. Up river people, for example, would go down to Musqueam at this time to visit relatives and pick cranberries with them. These visits sometimes lengthened into winter-long stays or even permanent changes of residence.²⁷

An historical account of such visits is provided in the *Fort Langley Journal* for the 28 August 1829, in which the author described the arrival of "a number of Sinnahomes in two large canoes." He explains that "their main object is to visit some of their family connections in this quarter." On 8 April 1830 he notes that "about 50 of the Fall Indians (Tetins [upriver Stó:lō]) in eight canoes arrived in the Musqueam camp this evening by Special invitation to eat shell fish &c &c."²⁸

William Elmendorf further confirmed that, among neighbouring Coast Salish people from the Puget Sound basin, elaborate food gift exchanges among co-parents-in-law continued long after the initial marriage ceremony:

Village composition was further complicated by the frequent reciprocal visiting between affines in different communities, accompanied by

economic exchange; typically, gifts of food from the visitor's community were reciprocated either by foodstuff obtainable in the locale of the host community, or by gifts of chattel valuables. Obviously, inter-village marriage was basic to a complex regional system of production, distribution, and redistribution. . . .²⁹

In his autobiographical *Among the Ankomenums [Halq'eméylem] or Flathead Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, the Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby provides a first-hand account of an Island Halq'eméylem marriage ceremony (exchange) he witnessed in Nanaimo in the 1860s. This wedding took the form of an elaborate gift exchange, which created obligations between the co-parent's in-law—obligations that ultimately expressed themselves as ongoing formal visits and gift exchanges.

Crosby provided a vivid first-hand description of an arranged marriage that corresponds perfectly with accounts collected by ethnographers a century later. He explains how even after upper class family leaders had concluded preliminary marriage negotiations, the prospective groom still had to remain seated outside his potential bride's house for three days and nights waiting for a sign of acceptance. If the woman's kin found the suitor agreeable he was invited to partake of a meal, after which he returned to his own village an engaged man. A few months later he returned to his fiancée's home where he and a large delegation of his family were specially received by the bride's father. A general atmosphere of celebration then spread throughout the bride's community as the wedding exchange began:

In the lead came a band of the principal chiefs, old warriors and musicians, gorgeously painted and feathered up, standing upon a platform which was built on top of two large canoes lashed together. In their midst was the young man himself, well dressed in European style. The singing continued until they got to the beach. . . . The young man and the painted warriors stepped out and quietly walked to the chief's house, all the rest following. . . . The day was then spent in resting and feasting. In the evening a great reception was given, when all the great dancers of the Nanaimo's, by their dancing and song welcomed the strangers. Feasting and dancing were now the order of several days.³⁰

Crosby's account continued, stating that a few days after the wedding:

. . . a very large and beautiful new canoe, gaily painted [was drawn up on the beach in front of the bride's home], the bow and stern carved and ornamented in colours with animal and bird like designs. Inside the house we found crowds of people, all painted up, dancing and scrambling

for goods. A great number of mountain goat skins were gathered at one end of the house. Busy hands tied them together in a long string of robes down through the middle of the house. Immediately an excited scramble followed. . . . Sometimes half a dozen men, getting hold of a skin, would tear it in pieces, eager to get their part of the prize. Sometimes a man would cut a skin into separate pieces if more than one person had a hold of it. The same repeated with many other goods.

Many of those who gathered, Crosby explained, sang a song proclaiming the great deeds the boy's ancestors had performed, as well as his own good qualities. Meanwhile, older women prepared the girl for her departure, painting her face and dressing her in bright clothes.

The women then paraded single file to the waiting canoes. Men piled their loads of new blankets into the canoe and the bride was seated towards the back middle section of the boat. More blankets were then piled in around the bride until only her head showed. Hundreds of blankets were thus sent as dowry. Speeches were then made whereby a representative of the bride's father told of how he was a great chief whose people had been leaders for generations. The groom's family is told to care for her and that they are responsible for protecting her from northern invaders. Then an old spokesman for the groom stood up in a canoe and said that he heard what had been said, but it was not only the Nanaimo's who were great people, and he promised the girl would be cared for. Then the groom's family threw many beautiful muskets ashore to show how wealthy they were. Then the Nanaimo ran to their houses and got muskets and gave them to the boy's people saying they were wealthy too, all the while speeches were made. Then the groom prepared to leave, but first gave the bride's father his fancy clothes.

Suttles claimed that post-wedding ceremony exchanges between co-parents-in-law were conducted with a great deal of ritual, mirroring the initial marriage celebration. For example, the Halq'eméylem word for a visit between co-parents-in-law is *k'welwesen*, which means "to paddle" and refers to the journey between villages. Upon deciding to visit one's co-parents-in-law, arrangements were made for members of one's own community to help transport the food that would serve as items of exchange. Hosting families always invited members of their own community to share in the food of such feasts. They also hired a special "speaker" to "pay" those who had helped transport the food, and to "thank," with compensation, the co-parents-in-law for bringing the food.³¹

Payment and the thanking at a *k'welwesen* took a variety of forms. Those who assisted in transporting the food were paid not only for their

labour, "but for the canoes themselves, the paddles and even the bailers."³² In other words, exchanges occurred that were in many ways analogous to the purchase of labour and the rental of equipment. Suttles summarized such exchanges, stating that "everywhere one can take food and expect to receive wealth."³³

In the context of Coast Salish family and affinal exchange, it is important to note Suttles' convincing argument that food and wealth are intimately related; indeed, in many cases they are synonymous. By sharing food, a person redistributed wealth and therefore increased, or validated, one's status. Having productive in-laws who brought gifts of food enabled people to host feasts for other members of their family and village. This in turn elevated a person's status, while it maximized the distribution of resources. In-laws from distant locations collected and processed food in their locale, then arranged for it to be transported to their in-law's house, where it was redistributed among their in-law's village. At the same time, those members of the visiting family's community received payment from the hosts for their labour and the use of their transportation equipment. This wealth was then taken back to their home, where it once again entered the exchange economy.

In light of these Indigenous exchange processes, it seems reasonable to assume that marriages between Stó:lō women and HBC employees at Fort Langley required some sort of exchange ceremony to be regarded as legitimate by the Stó:lō community. It is also possible that the upper class Stó:lō families may have regarded the chief factor and officers, because of their positions of authority over others at the fort, as somehow being the equivalent of family leaders, and, after the formation of marriage alliances, as co-parents-in-law.³⁴ This appears to have been the case when James Murray Yale married the daughter of the Kwantlen Chief:

The Quitline Chief and his Brother came in with about 20 skins small and a large—which they traded for blankets—These being the principal Indians of this neighbourhood and who at all exert themselves to collect Beaver we have thought it good policy in Mr. Yale to form a family connection with them, and accordingly he has now the Chief's daughter after making them all liberal presents. . . .³⁵

There can be no doubt that this gift giving was of a different nature than that practised by contemporary British society. Archibald McDonald found the Stó:lō practise so onerous and detrimental to achieving "overplus" that he bitterly complained of being invited to Stó:lō celebrations and being expected to provide "gifts" to the hosting family—his ceremonial co-parents-in-law. With some resentment, he later referred to Yale's wife as the

"lady that has cost so much goods."³⁶

As stated previously, exchanges among relatives and in-laws were not restricted to simply food itself. Often the exchanged wealth took the form of "access to food." This is perhaps best understood within the context of family-owned and controlled resource sites. Coast Salish people had firm and sophisticated concepts of land and resource ownership long before contact with Europeans. As Suttles explained, "Not all, but the best camas beds, fern beds, wapato ponds, and clam beds were owned by extended families with control exercised by individuals. Most duck net sites were so owned [as were] the houses standing at weir sites, which were necessary for smoking the catch."³⁷

Among the Stó:lō the most important family-owned resource locations were, and remain, fishing sites in the lower Fraser Canyon in the vicinity of Yale. Wilson Duff explained that

... nominally the station was owned by the head of the family; however, all of his descendants could claim the right to use it, and he was considered extremely selfish if he forbade anybody, related or not, use of the station. . . . The dip net was usually made and owned by the owner of the [fishing] station, who left it at the water's edge for the others use. . . . [In former years] most of the stations in the canyon were owned by the families in the villages close by, although, through the web of kinship, most people all along the river could and did claim the right to use at least one. In more recent times, however, because of the movement of population down river and further intermarriage, the nominal owners have come to be scattered as far afield as Musqueam.³⁸

Contemporary Stó:lō people, with few exceptions, continue to access canyon fishing sites through hereditary rights, expanded by marriages.

Information collected from Stó:lō elders by Wilson Duff suggested that polygamy was "fairly common among rich men who could afford several wives."³⁹ In this way, families incurred obligations for exchange over broad regions. Genealogies collected by Duff from elders living in the 1940s showed that in eighteen of twenty-five cases Stó:lō men married Stó:lō women. He noted that "only three found wives in their home village, but seven more found wives within about ten miles."⁴⁰

It is important to emphasize that, in the context of expanding access to resources as described above, exchange mechanisms are somewhat removed from the actual resource extraction activity. That is, the exchange (movement of goods from one location to another between different people) is facilitated through the actual marriage ceremony wherein new access rights are acquired. It is this exchange of access rights that makes possible subsequent

resource extraction and the indirect exchange of material items.

In traditional Stó:lō society food could be translated into wealth. Wealth, when redistributed, could in turn be transformed into status. Thus, the relationship between exchange and status was both intimate and complex. Reverend Crosby described how it was common at important gatherings for people to tell of "the great deeds" of their ancestors.⁴¹ Such story telling was the most public means of asserting a person's right to hereditary privileges. The Stó:lō define high status families as those whose members "know their history." Knowing your history refers to knowing good manners, proper moral behaviour (information shared with children by their grandparents and great aunts and uncles) as well as knowing one's family history and genealogy. Knowing ones' ancestors was crucial to being able to demonstrate one's hereditary right to access certain family-owned resource procurement sites.

"Potlatch" Exchange

"Potlatch" is a Chinook jargon term, and not Halq'eméylem, and therefore fits somewhat imperfectly when used to describe any single Stó:lō exchange activity. Indeed, the expression "potlatch" has been used to describe a wide range of ceremonial exchange activities occurring at different periods of time among various Northwest Coast societies. However, the Stó:lō have two types of exchange ceremonies that they often call potlatches (see Table 2). For this reason, and because of the term's general application among Euroamericans, I apply this expression when discussing exchange practices characteristic of interaction of the stage beyond family gift exchange.

In the words of 1930s Coast Salish ethnographer Homer Barnett, the major social significance of a Coast Salish potlatch ceremony was

... to make a public assertion of every fact or event which contributed to an advance or change in [a person's] social position. Such an assertion always had to be made before formally invited guests from outside [the person's] extended family, who listened to [the] announcements and vouched for [the] claims. . . .

In recognition for their attendance and participation in legitimizing such claims, among the guests, the host "distributed presents in the form of blankets, skins, planks, food, etc."⁴² Barnett's informants explained that every such potlatch distribution

... was in effect an assertion or reassertion of some claim to distinction on behalf of the donor or some member of his family. No one could

Table 2: Verbs Associated with Potlatch Exchange

to give a potlatch feast	<i>tl'etl'áxel</i>
to potlatch	<i>lhít'es</i>
to potlatch (short form)	<i>tl'áxil</i>
to give/invite someone to a potlatch feast	<i>tl'e'áxel</i>
to invite	<i>laxt</i>
to throw poles for a scramble after a potlatch	<i>wá:ls</i>
to give something away expecting payment/trade in return	<i>ixemstex</i>
to paddle to a gathering acting as a courier of someone else	<i>k'welwetsel</i>
to take food home after a gathering feast	<i>smaq'oth</i>
to lend	<i>tsélhtet</i>
to lend something and expect payment in return	<i>l_xemstexw</i> , or <i>e_ximstexw</i>
to repay a debt	<i>léwlets</i>
to thank (co-parents-in-law)	<i>ci't</i> (Suttles)
to step on someone (outdo them in a potlatch)	<i>emitem</i>

raise a house or grave post, be married, or name a child and expect the matter to be taken seriously if he did not "call the people" as witnesses. To "call the people" meant that guests "received a gift or at least a portion of food."⁴³

In a subsequent study of the potlatch, Suttles accepted Barnett's descriptions, but departed somewhat from his interpretation. Suttles argued that the Coast Salish potlatch's most important function was

... to be found neither in the expression of the individual's drive for high status nor in the fulfilment of the society's need for solidarity, neither in competition nor in cooperation, but simply in the redistribution of wealth. To appreciate this, one must accept that "wealth" and "food" were "separate categories of goods," and that "food was evidently not freely exchanged with wealth."⁴⁴

Contemporary Elder Rosaleen George echoes this sentiment, expressing the belief that "you are not supposed to sell food. Food is for everyone."⁴⁵ However, as Suttles demonstrated, the link between food and wealth was

strong:

A man who could produce more food could release some members of his household from food-producing activities and let them produce wealth, and he could attract more food producing and wealth producing persons to his household as wives for himself (polygamy being permitted) and his sons, brothers, and nephews, and as sons-in-law. . . . Thus food could be indirectly converted into wealth. . . . And finally . . . food could be taken to affinal relatives and wealth received in return.⁴⁶ This then appears to have been the most important mechanism for directly converting food into wealth.⁴⁷

To better appreciate the significance of potlatches and family gift exchanges to the circulation and redistribution of resources and wealth, it is necessary to describe in greater detail the actual practices of a Stó:lō potlatch.

Most potlatches took place in the summer or early autumn when travel was easy, and typically were not associated with the spiritual winter dance ceremonial.⁴⁸ Because of its complex function within Stó:lō society it is impossible to think of there existing a single "type" of potlatch. For example, while the larger co-parents-in-law exchange celebrations are sometimes described as potlatches, typically the verb "to potlatch" was used to describe ceremonies known in Halq'eméylem as *xe'lak*,⁴⁹ *tl'etl'áxel*⁵⁰ or *lhít'es*.⁵¹ Duff discussed the various forms of Stó:lō potlatches in some detail, noting that the "paying-off" potlatch, whereby a person or family paid off debts accumulated over decades, was "probably the most typical type" of Stó:lō potlatch. Stó:lō Elder Robert (Bob) Joe of Tzeachten provided Duff with the following detailed account of a hypothetical paying-off potlatch:

A man is getting old, and he is going to pay off all his debts. With the help of his brothers and other relatives, he has been saving up for this for a long time. He has lots of things to pay off for. When his child was given his name, he had to give a party and had to pay the speaker who announced it. Some of his friends had helped to pay for the party, and now he had to pay them back. Maybe he has several naming feasts to pay for.

Over the last ten or maybe thirty years one or more of his family had died, and he had to pay for the funeral. Certain officials had bathed the body and prepared it for burial, and that had to be paid for. A few times he had hired people to change the blankets around the remains of his dead relatives, or to make a new grave-box. Maybe he built a new

house, and called the Pilalt tribe to help him. When he did these things he had not paid all the people, but had announced that there would be a gathering in the future to pay for them.

The time had come. "I am going to finish my work." He is going to settle for all the work he had hired people to do, even though it was done thirty years ago. Not only that, but he is going to pay back for all the gifts he got at other potlatches, maybe blankets or a canoe.

His own house is probably too small, so he uses the biggest house around, and pays the owner. The size of the house limits the size of the potlatch, but he wouldn't build a new house especially for it. The Potlatch gathering is called "Xe'lak."

Everybody, old and young, comes to the potlatch, not just those who worked. Probably the old man has a grandson or granddaughter to whom he wants to give a name, and that is the first thing they do. The boy's new name is announced, and several prominent people are called on to witness this name giving. They are paid right there. The old man announces, "I'm going to settle, but instead of men, it's this boy who will do the paying." The people know it is the old man who really pays.

All the occasions for which this potlatch is paying off are taken up in the order that they occurred. One to three speakers are hired to speak for the boy. The speaker, prompted by the old man, tells the people what each person did and how much he is being paid.

They are paying off for a funeral. Those who worked are paid first. Then comes the people who brought gifts and food, blankets, etc., to the funeral. The speaker names each one, calls him, and tells what he gave and what he is being paid back, and the boy pays back something more than what he gave. How they remember is beyond me. When all are paid for the that occasion, *laha'y*, "that's all," and the boy pays off the speaker.

Then they pay for the changing of graves. The young man may pay the same speaker or another one might be called. Everyone who helped gets paid with interest. There are two or three runners to carry the stuff; the speaker gives it to the runner. A rich man being paid for some service may take it in a different way. He gets a man to speak for him: "I have just been given a blanket." He names a couple of prominent people and says, "They will bring it over to me," and when they do, he gives them something.

Then he pays for the naming, and later for the house building, in the

same way. Then he pays the other debts he owes. If he had once given a dinner, and a man from Chehalis had brought some ducks, he pays them with interest. He doesn't forget anything.

After he has paid off all the occasions, and paid off all his debts, he announces, "We have paid everything, but don't leave, we are not finished yet. We have a lot of stuff left over and we are going to give the young people a time of their own." They call that a "scramble" [*wá:ls*]. There is a big platform in the house, and the host or speaker throws things down so that anybody present can scramble for it. They throw those big blankets, 15 yards long. You grab as much as you can in your arms. A man comes with a knife and cuts off what you have; that's yours. (It is taken home, unravelled, and rewoven.) They may throw down several things at once. When they've done inside, they go outside to the river. Sometimes they have a platform at the edge of the river; sometimes they have a canoe, away out, and they scramble stuff from there. The people go out in canoes or swim, and dive in the water. After the scramble the potlatch is over. If it was in winter time they dance the *smitla* [winter dance], but most were held in the summer or fall because fire wood was so hard to get. The potlatch might last three or four days. The sponsor family fed all the people, maybe twice a day. The food was put in long platters and sent around to where the people were camped.⁵²

As evinced in Bob Joe's account, early contact-era potlatching embodied complex social and economic activities within a broader exchange system. Potlatching served a number of purposes, ranging from enhancement and demonstration of an individual's or family's status, to fulfilling a community need for strengthening solidarity. Moreover, the potlatch must not be considered as "frozen in time." Its purposes and meanings shifted to accommodate the changing nature of the society it reflected and affected. However, most students of Coast Salish ethnography now agree with Suttles that the most important function of the early contact era potlatch was "the redistribution of wealth."⁵³

Homer Barnett's down-river and Vancouver Island Halq'eméylem informants explained for him how a potlatch host attempted to "make the size of his gift accord with the recipient's ability to return more than was given him."⁵⁴ However, the potlatch debt system should not be oversimplified. Barnett also provides the following model for understanding potlatch indebtedness, and by extension, the dynamics of potlatch exchange:

Donor A at his potlatch might give twenty blankets to B. When B in his turn gave a potlatch, he invited A and gave him any number that he

wished, let us say fifty. This gift was called by a term signifying "thanks for coming to my potlatch." At the same time, but separately, so that the distinction was clear, B added twenty blankets which were in reality a repayment of A's twenty blankets. It was considered in bad taste to allude to them in that way, but some people piqued by the smallness of the number given to them, did say scornfully, "This is what I got from you." Otherwise, the twenty blankets would be referred to as "this is what goes with it," the "it" meaning the fifty blankets given as "thanks for coming." When A again called a potlatch and called B's name, he would give him any number he pleased, say twenty-five, and then add fifty more as a return of the fifty given to him by B. Obviously, such changes could go on indefinitely, and the two donors could potlatch each other as often as they liked with no more capital to draw upon than fifty blankets. The important point, and the one which is clear in the minds of the informants, was that the two separated parts of the gift, the "thanks for coming" and the return, were conceptually and actually distinct. . . .⁵⁵

In the early years of Fort Langley, the post's men were quickly integrated into the Stó:l̓ ceremonial potlatch exchange system. Due to the nature of the exchange, with incurred interest debt, their participation was immediately regretted by Chief Trader Archibald McMillan. An entry of the *Fort Langley Journal* makes the following observation:

Messrs: Annance & Yale with six men were at the Indian feast; from which they returned; ate with 16 beaver as their share of the distributed property. This is a common practise with the principal Indians of this quarter—the real motive I believe is more from poverty & avarice than the professed spirit of generosity and greatness with which the presents are made: because its well understood that every one who receives, acknowledges a debt of at least 20 p. cent above the actual value of what he got. Five or six new & old of our blankets—one or two of their own manufacture—15 or 20 white sheep skins—a number of cassors [*sic*] or kettles—leather robes & 3 or 4 fath ms of beaver beads [*sic*] besides the beaver to our gentlemen were the principal presents—I understand there was but little to eat.⁵⁶

Labour

Aside from the gift-giving, exchange also took the form of payment for labour (Table 3). "Paddlers" who assisted in transporting food and other items to a distant village for exchange ceremonies were paid for their labour and their equipment rental. Such payment was not expected to be returned

Table 3: Verbs Associated with Labour

to give money	<i>óxwest</i>
to pay someone for services (i.e., a speaker pays paddlers)	<i>q'áwet</i>
to hire someone	<i>iyáqw</i>

or exchanged.⁵⁷ Similarly, “speakers” were, and are, “hired” by host families to speak on their behalf at all large gatherings. Payment was made in the form of blankets or other valuables. Today, speakers hired for gatherings are still given a blanket, which is draped over their shoulder. The host family then pins money to the blanket as an additional payment. “Witnesses” who are specially called and identified at gatherings are given coins by the host family in exchange for their commitment to remember the “work” that was done, thereby legitimizing claims made during the ceremony.

In addition to discussing the continued practice of labour brokerings at potlatches and naming ceremonies, I was reminded by a respected Stó:lō community member to also include a discussion of the continuity of this sort of traditional labour exchange at contemporary funerals. After a death, family members typically depend on certain people to perform special duties. Gravediggers are “hired,” as are pallbearers and cooks. The family also gives money to people who attend the wake, and in particular to the one or two people who spend the entire few days and nights before the funeral visiting and assisting the family of the deceased. The funeral choir is also compensated, as are the people who assist the priest.⁵⁸ At the subsequent burning ceremony, the *hi'hiyeqwels* and his assistants are likewise given money, blankets and food. Most of these payments are deferred until everyone is gathered together for a large meal after the funeral. At this time the family directs the speaker to call all those who assisted them and publicly present them with money—the amount of which is “called out” and publicly recognized. After the family makes these payments, the process is reversed, with the assembled guests presenting gifts of money to the family. As each gift is received the speaker calls out the donor’s name and identifies how much money is being given to the family. Significantly, at this point, most people who had just previously received payment for their services from the family (e.g., pallbearers) direct the speaker to announce that they are returning the money to the family. At Stó:lō funerals, people take great care to remember how much money each of the various guests gave to the family. It is expected that these gifts will be returned to the donor’s family at some time in the future when their family suffers a death.⁵⁹ As such, these

payments have not only social value, but are also evidence of market exchange.⁶⁰

Though modified by altered social circumstances, pre-contact exchanges of labour for wealth continued after contact. The Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley was quick to exploit opportunities presented by Stó:l̓ labour. Locals were employed as seasonal labourers at the fort to assist agricultural production and food processing and preservation. Stó:l̓ people were also hired to gather wood for staves used in making barrels and the production of split rail fence material. Letters were transported by Stó:l̓ people hired as postal carriers between Fort Langley and Forts Nisqually, Kamloops and later Victoria. Intertribal trade routes even allowed letters to be communicated between Langley and sites as distant as York Factory and Fort Colville.⁶¹ Essential supplies for the commercial operations of Fort Langley, such as salt, were delivered from Fort Victoria by Katzie and Kwantlen Stó:l̓ couriers.⁶² Wealthy Stó:l̓ leaders also rented their slaves to the fort and collected their servants' wages for themselves.⁶³ Numerous examples document the innovative manner in which Stó:l̓ people adapted to new labour opportunities during the fur trade and gold rush era.⁶⁴ Suffice it to say that compensation for labour in the form of non-utilitarian wealth was not unknown to the Stó:l̓ before the arrival of Euroamericans. The Stó:l̓ simply adapted an existing economic exchange activity to take advantage of new labour opportunities.

Barter/Trade/Sale/Contract Production

Pre-contact Stó:l̓ market exchange took a number of forms, all of which typically involved exchange between unrelated people who sought advantage over their trading partners (Table 4). To determine whether a transaction is either a form of a reciprocal family gift exchange/potlatch or a form of market exchange, it is useful to apply the following measures: Reciprocal gift exchange and potlatch involve no bargaining or haggling and are initiated by the act of giving. In contrast, market exchange involves negotiated costs and is initiated by an offer to either dispose of, or acquire, something.

As explained, prior to contact, wage-style payment expressed itself in a variety of forms, such as payment of paddlers, speakers or witnesses. Other examples of Aboriginal labour took the form of "contract production." Contract production occurred when people required the services of someone with specialized skills who was not within their extended family *siyà:ye* network. Such a situation encouraged Stó:l̓ people to negotiate and commission the creation of special prestige items from outside their kin group. Stó:l̓ oral traditions refer to a man from Wahleach (a village

Table 4: Verbs Associated with Barter/Trade/Sale/Contract Production

to trade (can only sell to non-family members)	<i>iyáqt, or iyóqlhstel</i>
to sell (can only sell to non-family members)	<i>xwoxwíyém</i>
to sell something	<i>xwoxwíymét</i>
to buy/exchange for money/items (only with non-family)	<i>alqá:ls, or iléqet</i>
to buy something	<i>iléqet</i>
to cheat someone	<i>ehó:yt</i>
to be cheated in a trade	<i>ts'its'í:l</i>
to send something	<i>lépetst</i>
to send for something	<i>tssálèm</i>
to send someone	<i>tseá:t, or tssát</i>

between Hope and Chilliwack) who was renowned as an expert carver of mortuary figures. His work was commissioned by unrelated people up and down the Fraser River. In this way, he translated his labour into wealth.⁶⁵

In the 1940s, Stó:lō Elder Harry Joe of Seabird Island explained for Marian Smith how his grandmother had told him that “every man would have a small canoe. Not every man built his own canoe, but most of them did. Otherwise, you would buy a canoe from any place.” Joe’s reference to buying canoes from “any place” is an example of commercial exchange occurring between non-related individuals from different villages.⁶⁶ Elder Bill Pat-Charlie remembered as a child that people from all along the Fraser River approached a man from Chawathil named Peter Joe who “used to rent canoes [as well as] sell them, and sometimes they’d order for a canoe somewhere and he’d fix one. . . .”⁶⁷ Early historical references in the *Fort Langley Journal* make mention of “large war canoes which are used as luggage boats.” These canoes are described as being up to “50 ft. length” and “6 to 7 in breadth across the middle” and elaborately decorated with carvings and paint. While such canoes were widely used by the Stó:lō, traders explained that “the natives here do not make these large canoes themselves but procure them from the Yucletaws and other nations to the northward.”⁶⁸

Ethnologist Bernard Stern, writing of the Lummi Coast Salish of Puget Sound, noted that “barter relations were maintained with neighbouring tribes on the mainland from as far north as the Fraser River to as far south as the White River and with tribes on the adjoining islands.”⁶⁹ Similarly,

William Elmendorf, in writing of the Twana Coast Salish people of southwest Puget Sound, described how a family in one village lacking the skills to properly cure fish addressed the problem by arranging for an unrelated specialist from a neighbouring community to come and work for them for a set price for a fixed period of time.

With the establishment of Fort Langley in 1827 the Stó:lō extended market exchange trade relations to Euroamericans. The *Fort Langley Journal* described trade occurring between the Stó:lō and the HBC even before construction of the fort was completed.⁷⁰ Moreover, some of the goods the Stó:lō sought from the fort's storehouse (such as sea shells) were non-European. That such goods were requested indicates that in engaging the HBC in trade the Stó:lō were extending a pre-contact market exchange system, and not adopting a new commercial activity. Moreover, the fact that furs, salmon, sturgeon and bark were traded to the fort in abundance before marriage alliances were forged indicates that the Stó:lō did not depend on the formation of marriage ties, nor was it imperative that *siyà:ye* or co-parent-in-law relations be formally established as a prerequisite for trade. The fort's chief trader justified the marriages as a means of "reconciling" his employees to the place, but cementing good trade relations with the Stó:lō and their Vancouver Island neighbours was probably uppermost in his mind. It has been suggested that these marriages facilitated trade, and that Stó:lō motivations paralleled those of the HBC, namely to better secure access to HBC trade goods. While possible, such a general assumption obscures potentially more subtle and complex exchange dynamics. As such, it must be reconsidered in light of the foregoing discussion of family exchange.

As has been demonstrated, the Stó:lō had been practising market exchange non-affinal trade before the establishment of Fort Langley. Furthermore, more than two generations of sporadic exchange relations with maritime fur traders at the mouth of the Fraser River no doubt provided them with valuable experience in how best to extend such relations to non-Aboriginals. Significantly, the Fort Langley marriages were initiated by the HBC and not the Stó:lō, yet, as has been noted by many historians and anthropologists, the Stó:lō appeared willing if not eager to accommodate.

To the Stó:lō, marriage alliances with the men of the fort appear to have been initially viewed as a means of engaging the Euroamericans in a reciprocal gift exchange network. As I have shown, such relationships would have led Stó:lō families who engaged in them to expect more open access to the fort's selection of products. Moreover, if we cease to interpret the Stó:lō as viewing trade with the fort as a series of individual enterprises, and instead consider that the Stó:lō likely regarded the fort as a resource

site, the marriages can be regarded within a different cultural context. As explained, the Stó:lō accessed valuable family-owned resource sites (such as canyon fishing rocks and productive camas beds) by arranging marriages. Thus, the Stó:lō appear to have considered the fort itself as another productive resource site, which, if properly cared for, would continue supplying them with new goods. Bearing in mind that the Stó:lō did not distinguish between close family and friends as Europeans did, instead referring to both as "*siyá:ye*," it appears that Fort Langley's chief trader was regarded as a family leader (*siyá:m*) who controlled access to the valuable new resource site. Officers, and to a lesser extent the employees within the palisades, were seen as members of the chief trader's *siyá:ye* group. From a Stó:lō perspective, access rights to the fort for marriage to any of the fort's employees should have secured some degree of co-parents-in-law. Thus, by entering into marriage alliances, the Stó:lō were attempting to secure more favourable exchange arrangements than those offered by straight barter trading market exchange; they were trying to establish special co-parent-in-law reciprocal access rights to the HBC men's productive resource site.

This interpretation is supported by the journal's descriptions of Ni-ca-meus and Joe (prominent *siyá:m* who had female relatives married to men at the fort). Both of these Aboriginal leaders channelled the exchange of other Aboriginal people to the fort through themselves. Their actions were consistent with a *siyá:m*'s prerogative to regulate access to a family resource site.⁷¹ Eventually, after McDonald curtailed HBC participation in, and attendance at, Stó:lō potlatch and affinal exchange gatherings, the Stó:lō no doubt perceived that marriage alliances would provide fewer advantages in exchange than might otherwise be anticipated had the marriages been between upper class Stó:lō families. The Stó:lō seem to have accepted or adapted to the Euroamerican's strange behaviour and apparently decided to continue exchange relations more within the domain of market exchange rather than reciprocal in-law exchange.

Gambling

Outside of the exchange and trade activities discussed thus far, there were and remain other mediums of exchange, one of which was gambling (Table 5). Like the more commercial barter trade, it appears that traditionally gambling only occurred between unrelated people. Barnett explained that, prior to a major potlatch ceremony, people from distant villages arrived a few days early to enable them to participate in gambling competitions. Typically, people engaged in competitive sports and wagered on the outcome. Among Halq'eméylem speaking people there were a number of

Table 5: Verbs Associated with Gambling

to gamble (especially in playing <i>slahal</i>)	<i>ehà:l</i>
to bet	<i>théxes</i> , or <i>xethós</i> from "push money"
to lose (as in a bet)	<i>í:kw</i>
to win (as in a bet)	<i>tl'exwáleq</i>
to lose something, and you won't get it back	<i>aqwólam</i>
to beat someone (in a contest)	<i>tl'ítl'exwtò:l</i>

gambling games, one of which was a form of shinny that involved teammates passing two small blocks of wood connected by a ten-inch string using hooked vine maple branches in an attempt to throw the blocks into the opposing team's goal. Another gambling ball game referred to as "keep away" also involved teams with goals at either end of a field. "Hoop and pole" or "hoop and arrow" games involved people shooting at targets through rolling hoops. Wagers were often placed on the outcome of canoe and running races. However, the most popular gambling games were guessing games that usually involved concealing sticks or disks in a person's hand. Opponents tried to guess which hand held the marked item. Variations of this game are often referred to as *slahal*. During the playing of *slahal* the gambler's assistants sang and beat rhythm on a plank drum. Not just the players, but also spectators engaged in betting.

Traditionally, women and men gambled separately. This probably stemmed from the different spirit power associated with each gender. Women who were pregnant or menstruating were especially potent spiritually. To this day, men are reluctant to gamble against a pregnant woman, or a woman "on her cycle." One common betting game played exclusively by women involved dropping marked beaver teeth dice onto a blanket.⁷²

Marian Smith explained that Coast Salish gambling often involved large amounts of wealth. In discussing the Puyallup and Nisqually she referred to gambling games being "backed by all of the group's available property," that is, the entire collective wealth of a family living in one village:

Slaves, guns and horses, sometimes inheritable and consequently inalienable, might be included in bets. But bets did not normally include personal or inheritable property such as canoes, houses, weapons and tools. With the exception of these the losing group was often completely impoverished. In matching bets of its opponent, a village sometimes

even lowered its standards, losing in slaves and personal property what it could ill afford to be without. Similar to this was the occasional betting of "extra" wives. Betting might, therefore, occasion a sudden, drastic shift in economic goods.⁷³

Smith goes on to explain that to offset a major gambling loss it was "not unusual for men to take a bet back after they had lost it. Only men of some prestige dared attempt this but a leader might demand the return of all his group's property." If such action were taken forcibly in a manner insulting to the winner it was considered an "open assertion of enmity." If done in a good way the winner waived his right to his spoils and was then given a gift by the group's leader.⁷⁴ However, even if a person lost most or all of the family's liquid wealth, the potlatch economy likely ensured that he or she could quickly rebuild assets by calling in debts owed by others.⁷⁵

Since gambling accompanied most inter-village ceremonial visits, it must have been responsible for a significant degree of the redistribution of property and wealth in pre-contact times. Traditional gambling activities remain an important medium of exchange for many contemporary Stó:lō as well. Most summer gatherings (canoe races, pow-wows, etc.) include *slahal* games as ongoing side entertainment. It is not unusual for contemporary big winners of *slahal* tournaments to make thousands of dollars and bring home an assortment of material wealth.

Raiding/Warfare

Thus far, discussion has focused on exchange relations between relatives and known or recognized strangers. All such trade occurred within a relatively close social spacial grouping. On the fringe of any people's social universe were others who were "different"—for the Stó:lō these different people were known as *lats'umexw*. Sometimes the relations between *lats'umexw* people was violent, and such violence was almost inevitably associated with exchange—exchange in the form of raiding (Table 6). I include this discussion, not because it is an indication of what might be considered legitimate market-style exchange, but because it represents the

Table 6: Verbs Associated with Raiding/Warfare

to rob someone	<i>qá:lt</i>
to make war	<i>xéylé x</i>
to go steal women	<i>kwál_s</i>
to fight	<i>iyátl'</i>

sort of exchange activities typical of relations on the periphery of a people's socio-spacial universe. The frequency of raiding and warfare, contrary to the assertions of Chief Justice Allan McEachern in his 1992 decision in *Delgamuukw v. B.C.*, should not be taken as an indication that Aboriginal society lacked organization or was any more "nasty brutish and short" than European society—contemporary or historical.⁷⁶

Oral traditions, ethnographic and historical documentation, and archaeological evidence all demonstrate that inter-village violence was common among the Coast Salish.⁷⁷ Readers should be aware, however, that today many Stó:lō people do not like to speak about these activities for fear of hurting people's feelings or reviving old disputes.⁷⁸ Motivations for raids ranged from such things as a young warrior wanting to test his newly acquired spirit power (typically associated with aggressive creatures such as hornets or mosquitoes), to aggressive community members wanting to acquire quick and "easy" wealth, to family members seeking revenge for some perceived wrong (e.g., the placing of a curse).⁷⁹ In all instances, raiding involved the redistribution of wealth.

A typical raid was the one that occurred on 19 October 1827 between a group of Cowichan and Musqueam against the Chilliwack. It was described by the author of the *Fort Langley Journal* in the following terms:

The war party of Cowitchens returned this afternoon from their expedition. They have murdered one man and a woman, and taken several women and children prisoners who as a matter of course become slaves. . . . The greater number of the canoes were laden with dried & fresh provisions, baskets, mats, and other furniture, the spoils of the camp of the unhappy creatures that they surprised.⁸⁰

Not all raids resulted in counter-attacks. People often sought to ransom captured family members. This was the case following the raid described above when a lone member of the Chilliwack community stopped at Fort Langley to exchange a few beaver skins to supplement the goods he intended to use to "ransome one of the women who was taken by the Cowitchens." Two days later the successful Chilliwack man returned from Vancouver Island "with his wife and other females, whom he had ransomed."⁸¹

Trade of Fish and the Existance of Regional Trade Centres in Stó:lō Territory

Having now documented the major types of exchange practices along a social-spacial continuum, I now turn my analysis to a more detailed discussion of a particular aspect of market exchange, that involving the trade or sale of fish. It is a well documented fact that the governors of the

HBC intended to shut down Fort Langley soon after it was established because of poor fur returns. Indeed, the fort's journal and official correspondence from its initial years of operation show that much time and energy was devoted to trying to coax and coerce the Stó:lō to become more active hunters and suppliers of pelts—with little result.⁸² It was only after the HBC traders realized that they could profit from the Stó:lō salmon trade that the HBC allowed the fort to remain in operation. By redirecting Fort Langley's focus to the Stó:lō salmon trade, the HBC tacitly acknowledged the Stó:lō people's control of Fort Langley's economic destiny. The fort failed to impose an extension of their continent-spanning fur trade economy on the Stó:lō; rather, the Stó:lō seem to have compelled the HBC to adopt their Indigenous salmon trade economy.

As the previous discussion of the Van der Peet trial illustrates, debate over the antiquity of the Stó:lō salmon trade has consumed much litigative energy and financial resources. The belief that the Stó:lō only learned to trade fish after the arrival of Euroamericans is a pervasive myth propagated by the commercial fishing industry and others with vested economic interests in monopolizing the exploitation of this resource. However, nowhere in the HBC records is there any indication that the men at Fort Langley needed to teach the Stó:lō how to trade salmon. Indeed, the *Fort Langley Journal* shows that, immediately upon the arrival of men sent to build the post, the Stó:lō offered them salmon and sturgeon.⁸³ The fact that the Stó:lō did not shift their trade focus from salmon to furs—even after the HBC made a concerted attempt to encourage this, and despite the prolific population of marketable fur-bearing animals in the lower Fraser River watershed, and even though their salmon trade rapidly grew to meet Fort Langley's demands—indicates that salmon trading was familiar and predated the arrival of the HBC.

Certain Halq'eméylem place names support this contention. For example, the Halq'eméylem name for the mouth of Timon creek is 'é'yxyl, a term meaning "bring(ing) a load of food by canoe for trade."⁸⁴ Likewise, the Halq'eméylem name for a location opposite Greenwood Island near Hope, also means "place to trade salmon."⁸⁵

The migration of ocean-based Coast Salish people to the lower Fraser Canyon each summer (as documented in the *Fort Langley Journal*) also offers clues to the antiquity of the salmon trade and the nature of certain Stó:lō exchange activities. The *Fort Langley Journal* described literally thousands of Aboriginal people paddling up the Fraser to "the great fisheries" near Yale each summer.⁸⁶ The numbers of people passing the fort were so large that they were described as "swarms." However, the purpose of this migration was never made entirely clear. On their return, the ocean-

based people passed the fort with canoes loaded with salmon, generally assumed to have been caught by themselves. If this is the case, did they have their own fishing sites, secured through marriage and blood ties (as Duff postulated), or did they arrive as interlopers and simply occupy the fishing grounds of others?⁸⁷ Another possibility, to my knowledge not discussed in published discourse, is that the lower canyon may have been a major Indigenous trade centre.⁸⁸ Large numbers of unrelated people may have been drawn to the canyon by its abundant resources and special climatic conditions. People would have arrived with items to trade with the Stó:lō for wind-dried fish. Even today, with a vastly reduced population and including only mainland Stó:lō fishermen, there are not enough canyon fishing spots to go around.⁸⁹ Pressure on sites must have been far greater in the past (despite larger salmon populations), conceivably too great to allow peaceful productive fishing activity if the Cowichan, Nanaimo, Saanich, Squamish and others fished there as well. However, archival sources indicate that the interaction of these thousands of visitors with the local upper Stó:lō was generally peaceful. Indeed, the migration of ocean-based people to the lower Fraser canyon requires greater study.

Lending support to the hypothesis that the lower Fraser canyon was a major regional trade centre are statements by Stó:lō elders in the 1940s recorded in Marian Smith's field notes. Harry Joe explained to her that when the coastal people arrived in the canyon during the Stó:lō fishing season:

They would stay for about a month. They didn't hunt then, they stayed right there. . . . They would take the fish back and trade them for something else. People up here got clams from them and they went down themselves to dig clams. People would go down there after the fish dried and get something for the dried fish, like clams. I remember seeing clams and the old people go with fish (dry). Just lately quit—my grandfather. They brought clams back fresh in the shell, sometimes they brought dried ones. Someone else would have dried them. Would bring a whole canoe full of clams. The man who brought them back would gather friends and would divide them up and be paid whatever they want to give him. They thought clams were good to eat. The people dried (on the coast) the great big ones only, and brought the others fresh.⁹⁰

Confirmation of the existence of other Northwest Coast regional trade centres associated with the major salmon runs is provided by James Teit, who described the "Fountain" near the border of the Shuswap and Lillooet territories as "a noted resort for trading and fishing."⁹¹ Similarly, the "Dalles" on the Columbia River was renowned as a trade centre, and attracted many people from as far away as southern Puget Sound every

year.⁹² There have also been studies showing the existence of a trade centre on the Nass River.⁹³ By way of comparison, the area around Sault Ste. Marie in Ontario, which has similar geographic features, was also a well documented trade centre based on fish runs.⁹⁴

Thus the canyon fishery was probably only the largest of a number of Stó:lō regional trade centres. In discussing the up-river Stó:lō people's desire to access salt-water clams, Homer Barnett wrote

... the Fraser River groups did like them and were eager to gather them and trade them when they could. The desire to trade, in part, would explain the congregation of clam diggers, sturgeon catchers, and sockeye fishers on favourably located Lulu Island. All could fish and trade to mutual advantage.

However, Barnett was cautious about extending the existence of the Lulu Island "trade centre" activities prior to the contact era: "there is no way of knowing how old the custom of congregating here is; even the trading incentive may not have been strong enough to bring these potential enemies together aboriginally."⁹⁵ It would seem that Barnett's caution was excessive, given the description of the large, apparently relatively pacific gatherings in the canyon and at the mouth of the Pitt River described in the *Fort Langley Journal*. The Pitt River congregations were centred around the annual wild potato harvest.⁹⁶ The possibility that trade among unrelated people did not accompany such regionally attended harvests appears unlikely. As one prominent scholar specializing in Stó:lō ethnography observed, "it is reasonable to assume that the opportunities for trade such gatherings offered did not go unexploited."⁹⁷

If regional trade centres where unrelated people engaged in negative reciprocal trade did in fact exist within Stó:lō territory, it would be reasonable to assume that there would be evidence for their continuation, potentially in a modified form, into the post-contact era. Restrictive fishing legislation and the alienation of land near the river's mouth would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to continue these activities without alterations in location and form. Thus, it is possible that the well documented trade activities associated with weekend rests in hop yard labour may have been reflective of earlier practices. Until mechanized picking machines rendered Aboriginal labour obsolete in the 1950s, the Fraser Valley hop yards acted as regional trade centres for the vast majority of the Aboriginal people living as far away as Puget Sound, Vancouver Island and Kamloops. Many Stó:lō elders share stories describing the trade activities associated with the hop fields. The following account by Edna Douglas is typical. She related that "the hop yards became very popular places for trading food. It was like a public market. . . . Hop yard trading occurred on the weekends,

starting Saturday—they would go on all Saturday and Sunday. . . . Every tribe brought what they had at home and laid it out—laid their blankets out and put their goods on it. The people just wandered around trading what they wanted." She also clarified that the major trade item in which the Stó:lō dealt was fresh and wind-dried salmon.⁹⁸

Certainly Fort Langley assumed the role of a regional Aboriginal trading centre. Not only did Aboriginal people travel to Fort Langley to trade directly with the fort, but with each other as well. The fort journal documents numerous instances, such as the account of a Stó:lō man from "up river" referred to as the "Doctor" who arrived to trade furs with the fort, after which he negotiated a separate deal for a slave with "Joshia" from Cowichan.⁹⁹ To a lesser extent, Fort Hope and Fort Yale no doubt played similar roles.¹⁰⁰ Later, Fort Victoria became the major trade centre for a much broader region, attracting Aboriginal people from as far away as the Queen Charlotte Islands. Indeed, by the 1850s Stó:lō people were beginning to bypass Fort Langley and direct their attentions to the larger, better supplied and more populous Fort Victoria. Chief Trader James Murray Yale complained bitterly to his superiors that not only were Stó:lō people still unenthusiastic pelt traders, but even their interest in salmon trading was now waning due to the huge profits they made engaging in market and labour exchanges of another kind with HBC employees at Victoria.¹⁰¹ Suffice it to say that the Stó:lō were quick to take advantage of changing market situations and new exchange opportunities.

I do not wish to create the impression that regional trading centres were the only, or even the most common, vehicle for exchange. As previously stated when discussing the immediate pre-contact era, much commercial trade both before and after contact was conducted on a small scale and on a personal level. Elder Edna Douglas' testimony again provides a concise description of what may be considered typical Stó:lō trade relations with non-Aboriginal people in the twentieth century. Mrs. Douglas's grandmother (who lived on the Seabird Island Reserve) regularly sold fresh salmon to local Agassiz and Chilliwack merchants, communicating only in Chinook. Likewise, her grandfather frequently took sturgeon and caviar to buyers in Vancouver in the 1920s. Mrs. Douglas's aunt made baskets all winter: "those baskets that she made were the way that she clothed the family. She had a route in Vancouver and a route in Bellingham that she'd go and trade for good used clothing."¹⁰²

Other Issues Related to Exchange

Most of the major exchange activities traditionally engaged in by Stó:lō people have now been outlined, as well as some that extended well beyond

contact, even to the present. To more fully appreciate the multifaceted nature of Stó:lō exchange, it is necessary to also review the exchange that occurred between spiritual healers and their patients, as well as the issue of money or exchange units of standardized value, and intellectual exchange.

Suffice it to say that most of the people consulted for this study prefer to use a healer from within their extended family or network of *siyá:ye*. It is not uncommon, however, for people to travel relatively great distances to visit a special healer in times of great need. Payment for such services is very different than payment for labour (e.g., to a "paddler") or for services (e.g., to a speaker) or for "contract production" (e.g., for the commissioning of a mortuary post or canoe by an unrelated expert). It also differs from family or in-law gift exchange. Indeed, in some ways it appears to be a combination of a number of exchange processes. To this day most spiritual healers will not accept payment of any kind for their "work," nor is it offered. Instead, they will receive gifts of appreciation, or "thanks." After being helped, people present their healer with a token of their appreciation, but in doing so always make it very clear that "this isn't payment, this is a gift."¹⁰³

Stó:lō oral traditions emphasize the distinct nature of exchange between spiritual healer and patient. One healer recently shared a story that had been passed on to her about her great-great-grand uncle, Ey:iá. She explained that Ey:iá had been a good man who had contracted smallpox. However, instead of dying, he had been visited by Jesus and spiritually healed.¹⁰⁴ Jesus told Ey:iá that from that time onward he would have the ability to heal others, but that he was "not to take anything" for what he did—"just tobacco and smoked fish." In other words, he was forbidden to accept payment, but could take small tokens of appreciation.¹⁰⁵ Henceforth, Ey:iá was always eager to assist people, but was careful to accept nothing more for his services than gifts of tobacco or dried fish. However, the story ends with a discussion of how Ey:iá's greedy wife began to follow around after him and demand payment from the people he had helped. And "it wasn't long after that that Ey:iá went blind; and after that, he was gone. That greed is still in that family line."¹⁰⁶ This and other similar stories are well known among Stó:lō people, and make clear the special exchange dynamics surrounding spiritual healing.

Money is also worth placing within an historical context. In Halq'eméylem there are different ways of counting different things. For example, "two people" translates as *lhxwále*, two trees as *lhxwá:lhp*, two wives as *islá:ltexw*, and two dollars as *lhí:xwes*. The only other thing counted like money is blankets, and in particular, goat wool blankets.¹⁰⁷ This confirms what has been suggested by early historical records, namely that at least as long ago as the early historic period and probably prior to

contact, blankets were accepted as a common currency with a standardized value.

Conclusion

There can be little doubt that altered circumstances associated with the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1827, the 1858 gold rush and subsequent Euroamerican settlement did not create a new exchange economy so much as they caused certain types of pre-contact exchange activities to be emphasized and somewhat adapted to new circumstances. This is demonstrated not only in linguistic analysis of Halq'eméylem exchange verbs, but in the ethnographic and historic record as well. The range and diversity of non-borrowed Halq'eméylem verbs dealing with exchange provide a basis point for understanding the pre-contact nature of these activities. Stó:lō exchange dynamics were complex, flexible and dynamic. Aboriginally, they included the full spectrum of exchange activities, ranging from family gift exchange to potlatch reciprocity, contract labour brokering, market exchange, gambling and even raiding. It would also appear that market exchange occurred not only through individual contacts, but through the medium of large regional trading centres associated with various resource procurement activities, the most significant of which were associated with the lower Fraser canyon fishery. It is hoped that this paper will stimulate further discussion not only on Stó:lō exchange dynamics, but also on Aboriginal patterns of exchange generally.

Acknowledgements

This paper is an outgrowth of an earlier research project which was designed jointly by the Stó:lō Nation and Parks Canada. Funding for the earlier research paper was provided by Parks Canada.

I am indebted to the Stó:lō elders and cultural experts, past and present, for their dedication to preserving, promoting and sharing their knowledge about Stó:lō traditional culture and history: in particular, Rosaleen George, Bill Pat-Charlie, Sophie Charlie, Frank Malloway, Tilly Gutierrez, Sonny McHalsie, Gwen Point, Steven Point, Diane Charlie, Pat Charlie, Ginny Peters, Helen Joe, Herb Joe, Robert Thomas Sr., Henry Pettis, Edna Douglas, Wes Sam, Robert Joe, Nancy Phillips, Harry Joe, and Edmund Lorenzetto.

I would also like to thank Heather Myles, who shared ideas with me while working on a related project; Dr. Strang Burton, Dr. Brent Galloway, Dr. Bruce Miller and Dr. Mike Kew, for their helpful suggestions during the initial stages of research; and Sonny McHalsie, Brian Thom, Tracy Joe, Sarah Eustace, Dr. Arthur Ray and Dr. Bruce Rigsby, for their constructive comments on earlier drafts.

I appreciate the role Freida Klippenstein, Fur Trade and Native Site Historian, Parks Canada, Western Region, played in building bridges between the Stó:lō Nation and the Fort Langley National Historical Site and her role in securing the funding that made possible the initial stages of research and analysis. Finally, I

would like to express my respect and admiration for Grand Chief Clarence Pennier, Executive Director, Stó:lō Nation Aboriginal Rights and Title Department. His guidance, judgement and special management style made this project not only possible but thoroughly enjoyable.

Though it is not customary in a paper of this scale, I feel it is important to note that while this project was conducted under the auspices of the Stó:lō Nation, I alone am responsible for the content and interpretation and any errors or omissions.

Notes

- 1 I chose the somewhat cumbersome and awkward expression "Euroamerican" because of its general applicability over a broad temporal period. "European" does not account for the uniquely North American identity of most of the people discussed in this paper, while the term "Euro-Canadian" cannot apply until after 1871. I rejected the expression "non-Native" to escape defining people in the negative. In the Stó:lō Halq'emylém language the term for Euroamerican is *Xwelitem*, which translates literally as "hungry people."
- 2 Diane Newell's *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) provides an excellent overview of the way federal and provincial policy consistently worked to undermine Aboriginal commercial fishing rights while promoting corporate commercial interests, all in the name of "conservation." See also Terry Glavin, *Dead Reckoning: Confronting the Crisis in the Pacific Fishery* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996).
- 3 Robin Torrence, *Production and Exchange of Stone Tools* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 38.
- 4 David Burley, "Inter-regional Exchange in the Gulf of Georgia During the Marpole Phase, 490 BC. to A.D. 500," in *Networks of the Past: Regional Interaction in Archaeology*, ed. Peter D. Frances, F.J. Kense and P.G. Duke (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1979), p. 401; and C. Renfrew, "Trade Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication," in *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, ed. J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), p. 40.
- 5 Renfrew, p. 40. I am indebted to Heather Myles (an archaeologist working for the Stó:lō Nation) for providing the assessment of archaeological evidence presented here. See Heather Myles, "The Usefulness of Archaeology in Understanding Sto:lo Trade and Exchange" (Stó:lō Nation Archives, Chilliwack) (hereafter SNA).
- 6 Roy L. Carlson, "The Early Period of the Central Coast of British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, no. 3 (1979), p. 337.
- 7 Marshal D. Sahlins, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange," in *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, ed. M. Banton (London: Tavistock Press, 1965); Marshal Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1972); and Bruce Miller, "Centrality and Measures of Regional Structure in Aboriginal Western Washington," *Ethnology* 28, no. 3 (1989).
- 8 Miller, p. 266.
- 9 Sahlins, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange," p. 144.
- 10 Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, pp. 196-97.

- 11 I am grateful to Dr. Bruce Rigsby for providing me with this useful definition of market exchange.
- 12 Frank Malloway, conversation with Heather Myles and Tracey Joe, 17 June 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 13 By "traditional times" I do not mean to imply that a single traditional culture existed in unchanging form for all time prior to contact. Rather, I use the expression to refer to the immediate pre-contact and early post-contact society as described in the ethnographic literature and contemporary Euroamerican observations (late 1700s – early 1800s). Due to the relatively recent meetings of Aboriginal people and Euroamericans on the Pacific Northwest Coast, reconstruction of this crucial period in Aboriginal history can be made with less fear of the problems associated with ethnohistoric "back streaming" than is the case for studies of east coast Aboriginal peoples.
- 14 Rosaleen George, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson, 14 March 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 15 Bill Pat-Charlie, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson and Tracey Joe, 5 June 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 16 Presumably the first Euroamericans to contact Stó:lō people might have been considered *Lats'umexw* before they were ascribed the definition *Xwelítem*.
- 17 Brent Galloway, "The Structure of Upriver Halq'eméylem: A Grammatical Sketch," in *Tó:lméls Ye Siyelyólexwa, Wisdom of the Elders*, ed. Edna Bobb et al. (Sardis: Coqualeetza Education Training Centre for the Stó:lō Nation, 1980).
- 18 I am especially indebted to Elders Rosaleen George and Tilly Gutierrez, and their dedicated student Diane Charlie. Dr. Strang Burton provided assistance on numerous occasions, and Drs. Brent Galloway and Mike Kew also made themselves available on a more limited basis.
- 19 See Diamond Jenness, *Faith of a Coast Salish Indian* (Victoria: Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir no. 3, 1955); Wayne Suttles, "The Plateau Prophet Dance Among the Coast Salish" in *Coast Salish Essays*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1987); Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia* (Victoria: Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir no. 1, 1952); and personal communications with Dr. Brent Galloway, Sonny McHalsie and various Stó:lō people.
- 20 Wayne Suttles, "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish," in *Coast Salish Essays*, pp. 15–25.
- 21 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 19. See also Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, Rosaleen George and Tilly Gutierrez, interview and personal communication with Keith Thor Carlson, February and March 1996 (tape recordings, SNA).
- 22 Rosaleen George, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson, 13 March 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 23 Personal communications with Sonny McHalsie, Gwen Point, Steven Point and Pat Charlie. For a discussion of Coast Salish concepts of social class see Suttles, "Private Knowledge, Morality, and Social Classes among the Coast Salish," in *Coast Salish Essays*; and Brian Thom, "The Dead and the Living: Burial Mounds and Cairns and the Development of Social Class in the Gulf of Georgia Region" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1995).

- 24 Rosaleen George, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson and Brian Thom, 14 March 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 25 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 18.
- 26 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 17.
- 27 Duff, p. 76.
- 28 British Columbia Archives and Records Services (BCARS), Fort Langley Journal, 28 August 1829 and 3 April 1830 (hereafter Fort Langley Journal).
- 29 William W. Elmendorf, *The Structure of Twana Culture: Pre-White Tribal Lifeways on Washington's Hood Canal* (Pullman Washington: Washington State University, 1992). p. 304. See also pp. 141, 257-63, 284-86, 306-09.
- 30 Thomas Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums; or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907), pp. 88-95.
- 31 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 19.
- 32 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 19.
- 33 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 19.
- 34 Jennifer Brown demonstrated how this was certainly the case at HBC forts along the west coast of Hudson Bay. Using anecdotal evidence she argued that certain features of feudalistic British society encouraged the adoption of social relations within the HBC posts that reflected the primordial British family with the chief factor as father. See Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).
- 35 Fort Langley Journal, 13 November 1827; see also 20 January 1829.
- 36 Fort Langley Journal, 20 December 1828.
- 37 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 20.
- 38 Duff, p. 77.
- 39 Duff, p. 79.
- 40 Duff, p. 95.
- 41 Crosby, pp. 88-89.
- 42 Homer Barnett, *The Coast Salish of British Columbia* (Eugene: University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in Anthropology, no 4, 1995), p. 253.
- 43 Barnett, p. 253.
- 44 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 23.
- 45 Rosaleen George, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson, 14 March 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 46 In this context, it is important to note that Suttles distinguished between taking food to "affines relatives and wealth received in return," and the fact that "food was not freely exchanged with wealth," Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 22.
- 47 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 22.
- 48 Duff, p. 87.
- 49 Adapted from Duff, p. 88.
- 50 Rosaleen George, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson, 14 March 1996 (tape recording, SNA).

- 51 Galloway, p. 140.
- 52 Duff, pp. 88–89.
- 53 Suttles, "Affinal Ties," p. 23.
- 54 Barnett, p. 257.
- 55 Barnett, p. 258.
- 56 Fort Langley Journal, 22 January 1829.
- 57 Bob Joe in Marian Smith's Field Notes, 5:556. (Copy on file at Coqualeetza Archives, Chilliwack B.C.) (hereafter CA).
- 58 Such assistants perform duties not unlike those fulfilled by altar servers at a non-Stó:lō Roman Catholic mass. Traditional Roman Catholic altar servers may be employed in addition.
- 59 Information used for the description of funerals in this paragraph was acquired from Sonny McHalsie and through personal observations.
- 60 Thus far I have been unable to determine when the exchanging of money was adopted, and whether or not it replaced the exchange of another object with a standardized value. There is linguistic evidence to suggest that goat wool blankets, and later HBC blankets, had standardized values similar to money (personal communication with Dr. Brent Galloway, March 1996).
- 61 BCARS, Fort Langley Correspondence Inward, 1844–55; see also, Fort Langley Journal.
- 62 See, for example, Fort Langley Journal, 8 March 1830.
- 63 See Keith Thor Carlson and Albert McHalsie, "Aboriginal Slaves at Fort Langley," *BC Studies* (forthcoming).
- 64 See Keith Thor Carlson and John Lutz, "Stó:lō People and Development of the BC Wage Labour Economy," in *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History*, ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Chilliwack: The Stó:lō Heritage Trust, forthcoming).
- 65 Sonny McHalsie, personal communication.
- 66 Smith, Field Notes, no. 25, Add. MSS 2794, BCARS, p. 2.
- 67 Bill Pat-Charlie, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson and Tracey Joe, June 1996 (tape recording, SNA).
- 68 Fort Langley Journal, 25 August 1827.
- 69 Bernhard J. Stern, *The Lummi Indians of Northwest Washington* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 7.
- 70 Fort Langley Journal, 25 June 1827.
- 71 See, for example the Fort Langley Journal, 25 November 1828; 12 December 1828; 13 January 1829; and 13 May 1829.
- 72 Barnett, p. 262.
- 73 Smith, Field Notes, no. 25, BCARS, p. 150.
- 74 Smith, Field Notes, no. 25, BCARS, p. 150.
- 75 Sonny McHalsie, personal communication, April 1994.
- 76 For a comprehensive critique of McEachern's decision see *BC Studies*, Special Issue, no. 95 (August 1992).

- 77 For ethnographic descriptions, see Barnett, Elmendorf and Duff. For historical accounts see the Fort Langley Journal and the reports of A.C. Anderson (BCARS). For archaeological documentation, see Jerome S. Cybulski, "Culture Change, Demographic History, and Health and Disease on the Northwest Coast," in *In the Wake of Contact: Biological Response to Conquest*, ed. Clark Spensor Larsen (New York: Wiley-Liss, 1994).
- 78 Frank Malloway in conversation with Heather Myles and Tracey Joe, May 1996 (transcript on file at SNA).
- 79 Barnett, pp. 271-76.
- 80 Fort Langley Journal, 19 October 1827.
- 81 Fort Langley Journal, 20 and 22 October 1827.
- 82 As late as 1852 this remained a problem for the traders at Fort Langley. In a letter to Governor George Simpson, J.M. Yale wrote that the local Stó:l̓ḥ did not like to hunt for the fort's trade, and cannot "be easily persuaded to follow an occupation they dislike; merely to gratify our will." BCARS, Yale Family Papers (Add. MSS, 182, folder no. 6), J.M. Yale to George Simpson, 22 October 1852 (hereafter Yale Family Papers). By way of contrast, the Stó:l̓ḥ trade in fish remained high throughout this period.
- 83 Fort Langley Journal, 8 and 9 July 1827; and 2, 3, 6, 14, 17, 18, 20, and 23 August 1827.
- 84 Brent Galloway and Allan Richardson, "Nooksack Place Names: An Ethnohistorical and Linguistic Approach," presented at the 19th International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages, 10-12 August 1983, Seattle, University of Washington, p. 158.
- 85 "S'olh Temexw: Stó:l̓ḥ Place Names Binder" (manuscript, SNA).
- 86 An unpublished preliminary demographic study by Stó:l̓ḥ Nation Archaeologist Gordon Mohs indicates that the contact era Stó:l̓ḥ population was likely between 7,000 and 28,000. See Gordon Mohs, "Ethnoarchaeology of the Stó:l̓ḥ Indians" (manuscript, SNA). An unpublished manuscript by Robert Galois shows that estimates of contact era Aboriginal population for the Fort Langley trading area run as high as 60,000; Robert Galois, "Aboriginal Populations in the Vicinity of Fort Langley" (manuscript, SNA).
- 87 It is interesting to note that, to my knowledge, ethnographic research among island Halq'eméylem speakers has failed to uncover any oral tradition concerning their involvement in the traditional Fraser canyon fishery.
- 88 K.R. Fladmark, "An Introduction to the Prehistory of British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, no. 6. (1982), postulates that, if the ethnographic situation can be used for an analogy, "regional trade centres may have existed in conjunction with seasonal fisheries near the mouths of major rivers, including the Columbia, Fraser, Skeena, Nass and others. . . ."
- 89 I recognize that even with the impact of highway and railroad construction there remain more sites suitable to dip netting than there are sites for gill netting (a more contemporary and popular technology). While no quantitative analysis has been done to determine if there would be enough sites for all mainland Halq'eméylem fishermen, there can be no doubt that there are currently not enough readily available sites to adequately meet current mainland Stó:l̓ḥ demands.

- 90 Smith, Field Notes, no. 25, BCARS, p. 7.
- 91 James Teit, *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition: The Thompson Indians of B.C.*, vol. 1, part 4 (New York: Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 1900), p. 267.
- 92 Erna Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1(5) (Seattle: 1927) p. 212.
- 93 See Arthur J. Ray, *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People* (Toronto: Lester Publishing, Key Porter Books, 1996), p. 16.
- 94 Victor P. Lywty, "Ojibwa and Ottawa Fisheries around Manitoulin Island: Historical and Geographical Perspectives on Aboriginal and Treaty Rights," *Native Studies Review* 6, no. 1 (1990), pp. 5, 25-26.
- 95 Barnett, p. 68.
- 96 Fort Langley Journal, 5 October 1827.
- 97 Dr. Mike Kew (University of British Columbia), personal communication, 4 March 1996.
- 98 Edna Douglas, Testimony in *R. v. Van der Peet* (Provincial Court of B.C., Cloverdale, 1990).
- 99 Fort Langley Journal, 15 September 1828.
- 100 Very few records remain concerning Fort Hope and Fort Yale. There are no surviving journals for either of these posts.
- 101 Yale Family Papers, Yale to Simpson, 22 October 1852.
- 102 Douglas, Testimony in *R. v. Van der Peet*. I am aware that my arguments concerning the probability of the existence of regional trade centres (particularly ones associated with the Fraser Canyon fishery) are based primarily on negative evidence, i.e. providing potential reasons to explain why coastal people may not have been fishing themselves or participating in family or in-law gift exchange, and therefore might have been there to trade.
- 103 Gwen Point and Helen Joe (two Stó:lō spiritual healers), personal communication.
- 104 Many Stó:lō oral narratives of the early contact era as well as the mythical period surrounding the beginning of time make references to what might appear to be Christian concepts. These references should not be taken out of their Indigenous context and dismissed as indications of post-contact phenomenon. Sometimes Christian terms are used because there is no readily apparent English equivalent for a Halq'eméylem term. Moreover, the Stó:lō spiritual world is dynamic and interactive. Distinctions made by some mainstream Canadians between the spiritual world that was (e.g., as described in the Bible) and the spiritual world that is today do not always apply to Stó:lō epistemologies.
- 105 Three separate Stó:lō people have volunteered the opinion that this is what was meant by Jesus' command.
- 106 Gwen Point, conversation with Keith Thor Carlson, 25 October 1995 (tape on file, SNA).
- 107 Galloway, pp. 33-35.