

QUANTIFYING “TWO SIDES OF A COIN”:

A Statistical Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network

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INTRODUCTION:

AMONG THE MANY CONTRIBUTIONS Wayne Suttles made to the study of indigenous Northwest Coast cultures before his death in 2005 was a model of Coast Salish social relations that has become the predominant theory of the region’s Aboriginal social organization. His ideas, some of which evolved from collaborative work with the late William W. Elmendorf, were first presented in a series of articles published in the early 1960s (Suttles 1960, 1963, 1968, 1987b; Elmendorf 1960). Suttles proposed that Coast Salish society divided itself into localized units integrated by a regional network that served to redistribute people, food, and information throughout the larger area. Marriage ties established economic connections and led to social and political alliances, thereby permitting an individual’s participation in activities beyond one’s own village and, in Suttles’ view, minimizing risk in an unpredictably varying natural environment.

The existence of such networks has become a “given” of Northwest Coast ethnography, and numerous researchers have addressed broader issues that arise from Suttles’ insight, not just among the Coast Salish but also throughout the region generally. Certainly things have changed since Barnes (1972, 5) highlighted the distinction between the analytical as opposed to metaphorical uses of the network concept, remarking at that time that “the supply of mathematical tools available far outstrips the supply of social data to which the tools might be applied.” Over the next several decades, anthropologists began combining traditional ethnographic approaches with formal mathematical models to examine the relationships among social entities and to move research from consideration of the *attributes* of social units to the *relations* among such entities. Collections such as that compiled by Schweizer and White

(1998) demonstrate the utility that social network analysis continues to hold for the structural analysis of human social and behavioural research, focusing on the linkages and relations as well as on groups and individuals (on other current network analysis, see Wasserman and Galaskiewicz 1994).

Kinship and marriage, Bourdieu (1976, 141) observed, grow out of practical and complex strategies. They are fundamental to the constitution of the network and are part of the entire system of “biological, cultural and social reproduction.” Similarly, Elmendorf and Suttles saw intervillage marriage as the preadaptive element that facilitated integration in the Coast Salish region. A basic pattern of marriage, parenthood, the economic maturation of dependents, and their marriages and possible dispersion seems to be the framework upon which Coast Salish people facilitated exchanges and contrasted social groups. The relationship between kinship and exchange is perhaps most obvious in the context of marriage.

In this article, I address the fundamental question of the evidentiary basis for the assumptions concerning the extent and incidence of village exogamy within Central Coast Salish society that purportedly underpin Suttles’ model, and I examine the density and length of the threads that form the social and cultural network. The article has several purposes. The first is to present the results of statistical analysis I completed in 1995 and supplemented in 2000 concerning Central Coast Salish social relations (Kennedy 1995 and 2000).

While analysis of the assumed network was long overdue, and publication of the results has been similarly tardy, discussion of Coast Salish social organization and people’s relationship to place continue to have currency, notably in the context of British Columbia’s unsettled Aboriginal land claims. Indeed, competing land claims and overlapping boundaries have reawakened an interest in the structure of alliances. Metaphorically – and, more recently, some would say “experientially” – social boundaries and concepts of territory appear to lose their salience as anthropologists grapple with the recognition that categorical distinctions may be unhitched from the idea of rigid boundaries (Barth 2000, 17). In light of the hypothesized extent of village exogamy among the Coast Salish, it may be tempting to view the region as linked by kinship into an undifferentiated web of relations without territorial boundaries. Nevertheless, I believe that an investigation of kinship and marriage in terms of the people’s own conceptual world shows support for Suttles’ (1992) notion of the “two-sides of the coin,” as he referred to his later and more nuanced model of exchange.

I do not wish to resile from my view that the network is a crucial dimension of this model of social relations and, as such, provides a powerful metaphor for the way in which individuals potentially have many homes, or at least access to resources, in several places. However, I do contend, and will discuss briefly in this article, that Aboriginal Coast Salish people thought about their social and residential groups in terms that distinguished them and associated them with place. Moreover, as I discuss in this article, it is my opinion that the data indicate that an individual's affiliation with a local group provided for a distinct identity and that explicit protocols determined membership in such a group.

CENTRAL COAST SALISH

Focused around the Strait of Georgia is a group of Aboriginal people known to anthropologists as the "Central Coast Salish," a cultural classification Suttles (1990) adopted for his editing of the Northwest Coast volume of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians*. A significant unifying feature of this cultural grouping of speakers of Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Clallam was their reliance on the salmon fisheries of the Strait of Georgia region and the sharing of a few other specific cultural traits. Linguists apply a similar term, "Central Salish" – which should not be confused with the cultural classification "Central Coast Salish" – to a grouping consisting of the ten distinct Salishan languages of the Strait of Georgia/Puget Sound Basin (Thompson and Kinkade 1990, 34-5).

The linguistic diversity of the region was not mirrored culturally as the contiguous Central Coast Salish residential groups shared many features of culture. Individual families within a village could also hold rights to specific cultural practices not shared with other villagers, yet be extended to kin in other communities (Elmendorf 1960; Suttles 1987b). Parts of a village could even differ in speech, such as the village of "Mahly," a settlement now within Musqueam I.R. 2, which was said in earlier times to have been a community of both Musqueam Halkomelem and Squamish speakers.

The basic residential units of Central Coast Salish society were the family, household, local group, winter village, and tribe (Suttles 1990). One or more related households comprised the local group, the residential unit identified as "gentes" and "clans" by Boas (1889 and 1891) and as "septs" or "local communities" by Hill-Tout (1907, 308). Often the local group acquired its name from a site it occupied seasonally. Though some local groups had their own villages, some wintered together, occupying

sections of joint villages and named for their relative location within the village. In practice, a local group likely consisted of an elite household, together with some dependant ones, although in some villages people of very low status resided separately or in places where they would be first exposed to attack.

Apart from their residence in households, villages and tribes, worthy – and thus wealthy – people also belonged to a cognatic descent group called by a term often translated as “one family” or “one blood” (see Kennedy 2000 for a review of this term); in the 1930s, Jenness (1934-36, 52) referred to such a group as “a House,” in the sense used by European nobility. Members of this group shared descent from an illustrious ancestor, and they shared rights to the estate of the group, consisting of inherited rights to resources, names, and ceremonial activities.

Unlike the clans or Houses of the north coast, the Central Coast Salish cognatic descent group was not a bounded or discrete group as individuals could potentially activate membership in a number of such groups, drawing upon kinship connections through either parent or grandparent. Still, while membership was optative – there was an element of choice or personal selectivity – other cultural rules determined the nature and instigation of membership, as I review below.

It is this seemingly paradoxical situation – diversity and continuity operating hand-in-hand – that Suttles (1987b) set out most succinctly in his article “Cultural Diversity within the Coast Salish Continuum.” Ethnographers on the Northwest Coast now see that earlier assumptions about the homogeneity or isolation of the constituent groups comprising Coast Salish communities are untenable and that the region is best seen as an area of cultural diversity within a social and biological continuum. The contiguous Coast Salish constituted a social continuum composed of a number of name-bearing social entities, most of which consisted of only several villages, each linked with several others to form a regional network. Yet while Suttles (1987b, 243) concluded, “we can find no clear evidence for social or cultural boundaries,” he also cautioned that the existence of the social network linking people throughout the region did not mean that the local groups, villages, or tribes were simply temporary collections of people. Supporting ideology linked people to place, while at the same time the social system permitted the movement of people, information, and goods across a vast landscape. These complementary aspects of the social system were what Suttles (1992) called the “two sides of a coin.”

RECOGNITION OF A REGIONAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Recognition of a regional social organization did not emerge with the work of Suttles but, as reviewed by Bruce Miller (1989), grew with the development of ideas current in anthropology beginning in the late nineteenth century. Marian Smith (1940) presented an adumbrated attempt to distinguish local social units and networks in Coast Salish. Other anthropologists compiling ethnographies in the decades following certainly recognized the existence and the far-reaching nature of the Coast Salish community, noting that it was not limited to the village or even to the village cluster commonly called, in this area, an "ethnic group" or "tribe" (Suttles 1951; Barnett 1955; Elmendorf 1960; Snyder 1964; Collins 1949, 1966, 1974; Kew 1970; Amoss 1978). Still, it was Suttles' analysis that resulted in a model that regionally integrated systems of kinship, economics, and prestige.

From the time of Suttles' original analysis, a new generation of anthropologists began to build up a picture of a more nuanced regional organization that demonstrated the permeability of boundaries and groups, explored the enduring relationships between Coast Salish people and place, and maintained the importance of the social network. The exceptional nature of Coast Salish kinship networks in contemporary society has been described by Amoss (1978) and by Kew (1970), whose computations of post-1900 rates of Musqueam intermarriage, along with accounts of intercommunity ceremonial activities, supported Suttles' assertions that the Aboriginal pattern persisted. Over the next few decades, acknowledgment of social networks within and beyond Coast Salish formed the basis of further discussion, which investigated specific dimensions of the regional model. Following Suttles, Hajda (1984), working with the journals of early explorers and fur traders, mapped a Greater Lower Columbia region in which politically independent villages were linked despite linguistic, cultural, and ecological diversity. Blukis Onat (1984) put forward an explanatory residence-resource model that viewed the region as a system capable of adjusting to local environmental fluctuation.

Mitchell (1983) surveyed seasonal movements resulting in alterations in settlement size and composition, changes relating to the political aspects of Northwest Coast societies. He noted that seasonal aggregates sometimes brought together people from different winter villages or even those speaking different languages. Most of these interactions were peaceful, regardless of the lack of a complex political administration.

Tollefson (1987), while seeking to assist landless Puget Sound tribes gain legal standing, addressed political structure within the Southern Coast Salish area. Bruce Miller and Daniel Boxberger (1994) provided a summary of that area's social organization in response to Tollefson's (1987; 1989) recognition of protohistorical chiefdoms in the area, arguing instead that it was mid-nineteenth-century American government policy that created both chiefs and the tribes they ruled.

Flowing directly from Suttles' and Elmendorf's work, Bruce Miller (1989) proposed that the ability to control communication (i.e., co-utilization of resources, marriage, ritual exchange, trade, and coalition) is a kind of political power. Employing measures of graph-centrality and using data said to reflect the period between 1805 and 1855, Miller examined interaction between sets of social relations (the tribes noted in Puget Sound's historical and ethnographic literature) within the framework of Sahlins' (1965) economics of reciprocity. Among his findings, Miller concluded that the strength of centrality correlated with the relative closeness of ties between tribes, noting that, among groups with adequate and predictable food supplies, marriage and the co-utilization of resources are closely related.

Mooney (1976; 1978; 1988) also employed Sahlins' linking of social or kinship distance and types of reciprocity in her 1970s examination of contemporary networks of economic assistance among Aboriginal Coast Salish households in the Victoria area. Discovering that exchange does tend towards the unsociable extreme as genealogical distance increases, so long as only one's own community is involved, Mooney (1976, 344) also determined that exchange among distant kin was the least sociable, with non-kin transactions falling between the two, meaning that generosity within one's own community can override the lack of genealogical connection. Significantly, both Miller's and Mooney's work found strong support for Suttles' (1963) claim that "community" boundaries cross-cut those of individual villages or reserves/reservations. Also inspired by Sahlins' model and presumably by Mooney's commentary is Carlson's (1996) examination of Aboriginal Stó:lo exchange dynamics.

More recently, studies of Coast Salish social organization have moved beyond the biological and social connectedness of kinship, and its role in exchange, into studies emphasizing the power of place and its relationship to residential groups. Jay Miller (1999) has explored the role of religion and, in particular, the shamanic odyssey in the Puget Sound people's maintenance of continuous associations between localized groups and their immortal ancestors. Connection to place is

also a central theme of Bierwert's (1999) poststructural ethnography, which addresses the means by which places provide agency and power to local people and the attachment felt when these Coast Salish people recapitulate the performative knowledge of their ancestors which connects them to this landscape. It is this perspective that Thom (2005) regards as being closest to his own in his Cowichan-focused investigations. From this theory of the "senses of place," Thom explores the relationship between meaning and power embodied and experienced in place, as well as the social systems of property and territory that form indigenous land tenure systems.

Thom (2005) concurs with Kennedy (2000) in recognizing the cognatic descent group and residence groups as property-owning units that maintained a social and spatial salience within an expansive social network, with territories held by various levels of residence groups united by speech, identity, property, history, and geography. Additionally, in addressing the challenges of competing land claims, Thom (2005, 408) draws upon the phenomenological anthropology of Ingold (2000) and Jackson (1998) as well as Barth's (2000) revitalized concepts of border and boundary, and he argues that the melange of territorial boundaries that form the overlapping land claims can be reconceived as circles of inclusion, recognition, and mutuality.

While I, too, draw upon ideas of relatedness and difference to suggest that the Aboriginal Coast Salish could hold, simultaneously, discrete notions of identity (Kennedy 2000), Thom's analysis diverges from my own in his recognition of what he calls the "Coast Salish World." This is a mapped area encompassing all the territories for which the elders involved in the Hul'qumi'num treaty process had told stories recalling some form of association and, thus, the totality of the lands that these Halkomelem people and their known ancestors have experienced (Thom 2005, 405). Thom's Aboriginal clients see borders and boundaries as arbitrary and artificial, and as a colonial mechanism by which government can weaken the "potential of the Coast Salish people as a Nation" (401). While such a perspective, I would contend, highlights the expansive social network, it also obfuscates the deep-rooted ties of local groups to place and the recognition that, through village-exogamous marriage, families – not tribes or speech communities – formed ties with neighbouring families, facilitating access to resources not otherwise extended to non-kin.

Another recent study, this one focusing on what creates variation among the (mostly) Southern Coast Salish, has adopted a relational perspective, rather than a genealogical model, to re-examine what the

author calls the “anchored unfolding of life and locality” (Eberts 2005). Influenced strongly by Ingold (1998 and 2000), the author maintains that the Puget Sound people “continually inhabit localities through practically adapting to the exigencies of these localities,” despite relocation from their aboriginal territories (Eberts 2005, 244).

The lines of inquiry developed since Suttles presented his first thoughts on social networks have demonstrated that indigenous statements and practices of relatedness are infinitely more dynamic than is the initial recognition that the network concept could be useful for describing how bits of social life linked and distinguished groups of Coast Salish people. Yet Suttles’ model continues to have relevance for developing understanding of the Aboriginal people’s relationship with the coastal environment, particularly, in my view, in an arena of contested land claims. In an area where the primary mode of social relations was based on kinship and the emphasis of property was on rights of use, one established access by means of persuading others that one had rights either inherited or acquired through marriage. Hence, a quantification of the framework upon which such rights could extend still seems important for an understanding of the more nuanced conceptions of how such practices were experienced.

SUTTLES’ MODEL OF THE REGIONAL COAST SALISH SOCIAL SYSTEM

Suttles (1960, 1963, 1968, 1987b) and Elmendorf (1960) argued persuasively that Coast Salish families protected themselves from sporadic and unpredictable shortages in their food supply, and from other groups who may have coveted these same resources, by forming networks. The strategy was accomplished by the common acknowledgment of rules and ideology that associated individuals with localized groups, and, through the act of marriage, patterned exchange linked such groups residing in different communities where other resources might be available. Thus, environmental variability presented a problem overcome by arranging, through marriage, formal alliances with families, who, with good planning, lived in areas with different long-term resource cycles, thereby compensating for local shortages. The establishment of such networks permitted individuals relocation or visits to villages where and when their kin required more labourers or where food was more readily available.

In Suttles’ view, village-exogamous marriage (i.e., marriage outside of one’s own village), along with a preference for patrilocal residence (i.e.,

residing in the groom's village), provided an adaptive response to the Northwest Coast environment. Alliances made with affines residing in other villages also provided children of the marriage with the potential of using inherited property associated with two distinct families and at least two distinct geographical areas. One marriage thus established a series of exchanges that potentially provided for ongoing exchanges across the generations.

TESTING THE MODEL

Suttles based his contention that such a network existed mainly on qualitative data, including several genealogies that he collected in the 1940s and 1950s, showing how families commonly obtained a non-local spouse for their child. He supplemented this with genealogical data available in the ethnographic literature (e.g., Boas 1894, facing 454) as well as some obtained from more contemporary colleagues, such as Hawthorn (1952).

A pattern seemed to emerge. Coast Salish genealogies indicating the identity of the individuals' natal village appeared to support assumptions that many residents of a village came from outside. Titleholders, in particular, frequently married individuals of similar status from other settlements, and such marriages could cross linguistic and cultural borders. Nevertheless, the proposition remained untested, and the presumed rates of exogamy and postnuptial residency remained little more than estimates, a situation that Suttles (1987a), himself, acknowledged.

A preliminary word needs to be included here about the nature of the material upon which I based the analysis. It became obvious to me, during the course of an extensive compilation of Squamish-focused genealogical data in the 1980s, particularly with reference to nineteenth-century baptismal and marriage records, that such data could be used to test hypotheses concerning the extent and intensity of the Coast Salish network. Through baptisms and marriages of elderly people, the period covered by these church records extends back to the years of meaningful first contact in this area in the early 1800s. Members of the Catholic Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate began baptizing Squamish and neighbouring Central Coast Salish groups soon after the missionaries' arrival in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia around 1860. Elderly people baptized during the missionaries' first years of proselytizing included individuals born in the early nineteenth century. This earliest generation reflected in the church records came after the smallpox epidemics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries (Boyd 1994, 1996), which led to severe depopulation and village remnants joining to form new settlements. Certainly, the people met by missionaries were successors of indigenous groups, but their organization in the early nineteenth century was the product of several generations of contact. Thus, I cannot say with absolute conviction that the quantification of marriage for these people reflects patterns of exogamy prior to these epidemics or other socially disruptive factors. I do suggest, nevertheless, that marriages or baptisms of people born in the first half of the nineteenth century reflect the norms and ideals of the Central Coast Salish before the significant change to their economic system or the subsequent relinquishment of use rights brought about by settlement colonization, factors that likely affected later marriage trends.

The bias of these Oblate records is that they pertain only to those people converting or adhering to a Christian faith. Men practising polygamy in the mid-1800s were excluded from marriage and baptism, although the priests did not banish their “innocent” children to the same dark fate, and thus the baptisms of the offspring of “pagans” were duly recorded. Used together with other census data, and with statistics providing the ratio of Christians to “pagans,” a presumption with a high degree of validity can be made that most souls were counted.

The strength of the Oblate records, at least for this area of British Columbia, rests in the accuracy that can be attributed to the data they contain. Respondents at major life events gave the information to resident priests, who quickly gained some familiarity with the phonology of Coast Salish languages. Each person had an opportunity to state his or her indigenous name or that of their child, their English name (if they already had one), and their age and associated village. Additionally, the records often gave a tribal affiliation. Baptisms of multiple children provided collateral information and variant transcriptions of the parents’ personal names. This was ideal for confirming the correctness of my reconstruction. Consequently, these data presented a significant opportunity for nominal linkage across generations. As a cautionary note, however, I do emphasize that linguistic expertise is required to reconstruct records containing ancestral names and to make linkages of variant transcriptions.

Table 1 provides examples of marriage and baptismal records that united Squamish families from several Squamish villages. The examples reproduced here trace three generations of marriages, the second generation of which involved George Kwalken’s three marriages and the second of which involved one of his sons by his third wife. Records

TABLE 1:

Sample of marriages and baptisms of intermarried Squamish families.

Marriage 25 December 1867, at New Westminster	George Sh-houkoalten, age 20 to 25 years, son of hehelken and Teamia (dead) of the camp Stamas (Skroomish) 2 nd Suzanne Pakr-nate age about 20 to 25 years, daughter of Souekraious and (dead mother) of the camp Tortakroumaë (Skroamish). The sponsors are James Sleroltou and Annie Tartenat. Father J.M.J. Lejacq.
Marriage 17 August 1869, at New Westminster	George Kwāl-ken, about 26 years, Indian Skromish, born at Stamas, son of Tle-hèl-ten-ant, marries Elizabeth Tlelhi, about 26 years, born at Kaoutène (Skromish Tribe), daughter of Tsiwēlten of Kaoutène, and [unmarried] partner Slēkia of Cowitchan. Sponsors are Tle-hél-ten and Joseph Manātleten, relative of spouse. Father Jayol, at New Westminster.
Marriage 20 October 1884	George Kwalken, of age widower of Elizabeth, of the village of Mission, and of this Mission, and Henrietta Axten, of age widow of Michel Kwisemkren, of the village of Mission.
Marriage 21 January 1895	George Tsa-teslt-hou, old widower of Suzanne Tsoto (Serérenem), and Henriette Azten, old widow of Michel Kwisemkren, of the tribe Squamish and of this Mission. Witnesses are Harry Kwisalshen and Tom Séolshen. Father Paul Durieu.
Baptism 4 September 1870, at New Westminster	Lucie, two years, daughter of Stsetelm ^h , Skeromish, Ekouex, and of Tlialtenat.
Marriage 21 February 1887	Isaac Kwiachelkre, son, age of majority, of Kwiachelkre and of Slawate, of the tribe Skwamish, and Lucie Tsetastenate, age 20 years, daughter of Tsetelmoh and Tlialtenate of the tribe Skwamish and of this Mission. Sponsors are George Chouat and Tom Séolshen. At the Mission, Burrard's Inlet, Father Paul Durieu.
Baptism 16 May 1892	Emilie age six weeks, legitimate daughter of Isaac Kwiat-selkre and of Lucie Tsetastenate. Sponsors are Joseph Nachat and Marianne, spouse of Daniel. At Squamish Mission, Burrard Inlet, Father Paul Durieu.
Marriage 13 July 1909	Harry [Henry] Georges, aged about 19 years, son of Georges and Harriett George of Mission, North Vancouver, and Amly Isaac, aged about 17 years, daughter of Dick Isaac and Lucie Jack of same place. Witnessed by Chief Tom and Ernest Isaac. Father Peytavin.

reproduced here for George Kwalken and two of his wives contributed information for the pre-1850 sample. These data provide both the village and tribal affiliation. By 1884, the time of George's third marriage, he had moved to the Squamish Christian community set aside as Mission IR 1. It was here that his son Harry (a.k.a. Henry) George was born and married.

I supplemented information from the Oblate records with other genealogical data, including, but not limited to, the following: Joint Indian Reserve Commission censuses 1876-77; Canada Censuses 1881, 1891, 1901; Indian Affairs Membership books; Pay Lists; and historical correspondence files; and, significantly, the outstanding knowledge of ancestral names possessed by Squamish chief Louis Miranda (1892-1990). These data were all entered into the genealogical database program called "Roots," a commercial software program available in the late 1980s that had been designed for social historians and medical researchers as well as for family genealogists. At that time, personal computers had only just become standard hardware in a home office, and very few software programs were available. While a greater and more sophisticated choice of genealogical software programs are now available, the Roots program provided ample capacity for data management and dispensed with the cumbersome genealogical charts common to anthropologists who were undertaking such analysis prior to the 1980s. By the time I completed the initial statistical work in 1995, the database held information pertaining to over eight thousand individuals.

Although I initially focused on compiling a comprehensive database of Squamish relationships, and secondarily for the four speech communities of Central Coast Salish, the captured relationships branched off in all directions, as networks do. I was able to add five thousand more individuals to the database prior to the statistical analysis I completed in 2000. The additions came from, in part, the Oblate records from the northern Puget Sound area that Oblate missionaries began compiling in 1848. As well, I collated information from various collections of ethnographic notes, notably the Nooksack work of Paul Fetzer, and various census rolls, among them the data compiled by special agent Charles Roblin during his circa 1920 review of the ancestral affiliations of landless Aboriginal people in Puget Sound.

I restricted the population used for the study to those people born prior to 1900 in order to reflect most accurately the indigenous situation as it was after initial contact and before membership affiliation was altered too much – at least in British Columbia – by application of the Indian

Act, 1876, which assigned individuals, by legal decree, to Indian bands. The sample was stratified into three periods: (1) individuals born prior to 1851, (2) individuals born between 1851 and 1876, and (3) individuals born between 1877 and 1900. The first of these periods corresponds to the first time-period delineated by Edwin Allen (1976) for his study comparing riverine (Nooksack) and littoral (Lummi) marriages. However, employing the same first temporal parameter as the Allen project did not permit direct comparison with his results as the units of analysis differed between the two studies. Presumably Allen examined Nooksack "tribal" or regional (riverine versus littoral) exogamy rather than village exogamy because of the limitations of his Nooksack and Lummi data. Since the Oblate data permitted my study to focus on the *village* as the unit of analysis, I could more appropriately test certain hypotheses derived from the ethnographic literature with respect to village-exogamous marriage and forms of postmarital residency. Thus, I could compare results of the two projects only for rates of exogamy beyond the speech community. Allen's study is somewhat comparable to Norton's (1994) analysis of marriages recorded in a Puget Sound sacramental register of the 1880s, where the tribal or political affiliation of both spouses is noted for 176 marriages.

A fuller account of the methodology summarized here can be found in Kennedy (1995). I followed several steps in compiling the samples and performing the analysis. First, the computer identified all men born within each of the three temporal strata. Either male- or female-targeted runs could be employed in compiling the sample, inasmuch as the focal variable was "marriage"; however, I used the former due to the higher number of males than females identified in each time period. The sample size decreased significantly from the total population after the application of several criteria. I required only those men with a documented birth date (or approximate birth date), thereby excluding from the sample men who were possibly alive during the relevant time but whose presence within one of the three strata I could not confirm with documentation. I also excluded from the sample all marriages that lacked the pertinent data for *both* spouses (i.e., date of birth and primary village affiliation). Village affiliation was of particular importance as the unit of analysis I chose was the village.

Such stringent requirements eliminated many cases from the sample used to test village-exogamous marriage. To determine the type of postmarital residency in each period also required knowledge of the descendant generation's residency. Consequently, cases could only

be used that had the full complement of information for at least two consecutive generations occurring within the prescribed time. Such a requirement further reduced the sample population.

My procedure was to quantify and to test a few of the assumptions made in the ethnographic literature concerning Central Coast Salish village exogamy and the maintenance of the social network and, thus, to examine whether support actually existed for Suttles' and Elmendorf's model of social relations.

For many decades, a presumption of exogamy and patrilocal residency had prevailed in Northwest Coast ethnology, expressed in such statements as the following from the work of Barnett, Suttles, and Elmendorf:

Residence, with few exceptions, was patrilocal, which brought it about that a man and his brothers, with their extended families in the male line, lived under one roof. (Barnett 1938, 129)

The couple usually lived in the household of the husband's family ... My rough guess is that residence was with the husband's people in three out of four cases. (Suttles 1951, 290)

The central Coast Salish social organization was seemingly looser than that of the Chinook. Village exogamy was preferred but residence was ambilocal so neither the household nor the village formed any kind of definable kin group. (Suttles 1968, 65)

"Patrilocal" now seems misleading if not plain wrong, since it may imply a clearly formulated rule that a couple should live with the husband's family, whereas the (Central) Coast Salish asserted that a couple was free to live with either family. *In practice perhaps two-thirds (the data have not been properly pulled together) of all couples did live with the husband's family*, but those who lived with the wife's family did not suffer any loss of status because of it. (Suttles 1987a, 14; emphasis added)

Characteristically, wives and mothers in the non-slave portions of households were married in from other villages, which might not all belong to the same linguistic group. (Elmendorf 1971, 359)

Hence, I developed five hypotheses for the analysis, three of which I present here, with the first obvious hypothesis being: "Most marriages are village exogamous." The null hypothesis was that there is no difference in the frequency of types of exogamous and endogamous marriages; thus, each type would have equal value in a sample of marriages. The population was sampled for three periods, and each sample was

examined to determine whether the initial assumption was acceptable. For all hypotheses, Chi-square was used to test the significance of each distribution. The data for the samples are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2:
Rates of Exogamous and Endogamous Marriages for Three Samples.

	VILLAGE EXOAMY	VILLAGE ENDOAMY	TOTAL
Pre-1851	89.4%	10.6%	100% (X = 113)
1851-76	82.3%	17.7%	100% (X = 141)
1877-1900	78.5%	21.5%	100% (X = 102)

The null hypothesis was rejected. There was less than one chance in 100 that such distributions could have occurred by chance alone. Statements in the ethnographic literature concerning Central Coast Salish peoples' preference for village exogamy receive strong support from analysis of these samples. The decreased percentage of village exogamy for those individuals born between 1877 and 1900, in my view, should not be seen as a change in marriage preference as excluded from the sample were cases of race-exogamy, where one spouse was of non-Aboriginal ancestry. Such marriages can be viewed as effectively equivalent to those categorized as village exogamy, although I restricted the sample to indigenous residents.

The second hypothesis stated: "Most intervillage marriages result in patrilocal residence." The null hypothesis was that there is no difference in the frequency of exogamous marriages and their cross-classification with three common forms of postnuptial residency. The data were drawn from those used in testing hypothesis one. I excluded cases where the form of postnuptial residency was obscure. Moreover, I excluded from the 1877-1900 sample those individuals for whom data were missing and, significantly, those individuals who were raised off-reserve or whose spouse was a non-Aboriginal. Retained in the sample were people of mixed ancestry who grew up on an Indian reserve. Although the descendants of many of those people excluded from the sample are now registered First Nation members, the non-Aboriginal identity of particular ancestors precluded some individuals' inclusion in the sample used for testing indigenous village exogamy.

In the samples, neolocal-exogamy refers to the practice of a man marrying a woman from another village and establishing a home in

yet a third settlement. The proportion of neolocal-endogamous marriages, that is, a couple of the same village marrying and moving to a new settlement, ranged from 1.7 percent of all marriages (1851-1876) to zero (1877-1900).

TABLE 3:
Total Number of Exogamous and Endogamous Marriages in Each Sample.

	VILLAGE EXOAMY	VILLAGE ENDOAMY	TOTAL MARRIAGES
Pre-1851	80 (87%)	12 (13%)	92 (100%)
1856-76	96 (79.3%)	25 (21%)	121 (100%)
1877-1900	80 (78.5%)	22 (21.5%)	102 (100%)

Table 3 compares the rates of exogamy and endogamy for each of the samples, while Table 4 presents the data cross-classifying exogamous marriage with types of postnuptial residency for each of the three periods. The null hypothesis that there is no difference in the frequency of types of marriages cross-classified with three forms of postnuptial residency has been decisively rejected for all three samples. The observed frequency of exogamous-patrilocal marriages has fluctuated from 75 percent of all exogamous marriages for the early period of individuals born pre-1851 to 56 percent for individuals born between 1851 and 1876 to 67 percent for individuals born between 1877 and 1900. Since the Chi-square values indicate rejection of the null hypotheses at the .001 level of significance, I conclude that there is a statistically meaningful relationship between marriage type and postnuptial residency.

TABLE 4:
Frequency of Village-Exogamous Marriage Cross-Classified with Type of Postnuptial Residency for Three Periods.

	PATRILOCALITY	MATRILOCALITY	NEOLOCALITY	TOTAL
PRE-1851 EXOAMOUS	69 (86%)	6 (7.5%)	5 (6.5%)	80 (100%)
1851-76 EXOAMOUS	68 (71%)	6 (6%)	22 (23%)	96 (100%)
1877-1900 EXOAMOUS	68 (85%)	6 (7.5%)	6 (7.5%)	80 (100%)

In his study of the Northern Straits Salish, Suttles (1951, 290) estimated that "residence was with the husband's people in three out of four cases." Subsequently, he commented with respect to Central Coast Salish generally: "in practice perhaps two-thirds ... of all couples did live with the husband's family" (Suttles 1987a, 14). The earliest sample used in this present study (pre-1851) supported Suttles' initial estimate of 75 percent and was higher than his subsequent estimate of two-thirds. In this same early period, 13 percent of all marriages were endogamous.

The second sample (1851-76) used to test the second hypothesis quantified the marriages of individuals born during a period characterized by an epidemic and by social disruption brought about by encroaching industrialization. Infant mortality was obviously high in this period, although I have yet to extract this lamentable calculation from the database. Nor do I have any indication what it may have been among individuals born in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Despite the number of people excluded from the sample for this 1851-76 period, due to death or to incomplete data, the information for this time span reflects the turbulent era. Village exogamy is still above 75 percent (96 of 121 marriages in the sample are exogamous), but only 68 (or 71 percent) of these 96 marriages have patrilocal residency. During the same period, 23 percent of exogamous marriages (18 percent of the entire sample) established neolocal residency, a rise from 6.5 percent in the previous time period. Factors such as migration, and the coalescence of formerly vital villages now reduced by disease and circumstance, likely account for this increase. A reduction in polygyny may be reflected in a decrease in patrilocal residency as men would no longer be maintaining a household with wives from several communities; however, in this Squamish-focused sampled population, the overarching influence of the Roman Catholic Church in creating Christian communities likely accounts for the increase in neolocal residency. The 1851-76 sample also exhibits an increase in village endogamy from 13 percent to 21 percent. It appears that, as aggregated villages became larger during this period, those men (or their parents) who so desired could find a bride residing in their own village.

The later sample (1877-1900), representative of the time immediately after the establishment of Indian reserves and the legal recognition of Indian bands in British Columbia, reveals that patrilocality was still the preferred postnuptial residency for exogamous marriages (85 percent) and constitutes 66 percent of all marriages. Interestingly, this was the figure that Suttles (1987a, 14) subsequently proposed after rejecting his

own earlier estimate, for which this present study provides support. The data clearly indicate that exogamy continued to be the preference around the turn of the twentieth century, while increased village endogamy (21.5 percent in the 1877-1900 sample) appears to have been made possible by a larger population.

The third hypothesis stated: "The incidence of intergroup marriage will be higher with groups who are regarded as 'friends' than with groups who are regarded as 'enemies.'" When calculating the rates of village exogamy and endogamy for hypothesis one, I also determined the rate of exogamous marriage beyond the speech community (a marriage, for example, between a Squamish individual and a spouse from a community that predominantly speaks a different language). The proportions of speech-community exogamy as a percentage of exogamous marriages are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5:
Number of Marriage Alliances Between Members of Two Speech Communities, Expressed as a Percentage of Total Exogamous Marriages having Complete Data.

	PRE-1851	1851-76	1877-1900
TOTAL EXOGAMY	n = 101	n = 116	n = 80
SPEECH-COMMUNITY EXOGAMY	42 (41.6%)	39 (33.6%)	30 (37.5%)

A further analysis of augmented data (in Kennedy 2000) focusing on Lummi (Central Coast Salish) found the rate of village-exogamous marriage to be similar to the results of my 1995 study. While 62 percent of Squamish people married within the speech community, I found that only 40 percent of Lummi people followed this practice, likely reflecting the smaller population base of the latter group. Lummi marriages for individuals born prior to 1876 (and most of the sampled individuals did marry before 1876) joined Lummi families with three other speech-communities, with the greater number finding spouses with Northern Lushootseed speakers. In terms of individual tribes, however, individuals favoured Nooksack and Skagit.

If hypothesis three is correct, incidents of hostility between groups with extensive intermarriage, particularly between villages within a particular speech community where most marriages occur, should be exceedingly rare, at least during the temporal span of the samples. The Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley journal records a few such

occurrences of Halkomelem-speaking people from Vancouver Island attacking groups of Upriver Halkomelem, but the data are not adequate to assess the relative rate of marriage between these specific hostile groups. Slave taking appears to be a factor in some of these raids, but it is unclear whether it was causal. Suttles (1989, 253) states that the two traditions of conflict between neighbouring Coast Salish groups that he recorded involved the acquisition of territory for its resources. In at least one case, a Lummi attack on the Nooksack River, the records show considerable intermarriage between these groups in the post-1850 period. Oral traditions from this area indicate that intermarriage between the families of titleholders sometimes concluded periods of intergroup hostility. Some Squamish families tell how their ancestors ended animosity with the Lekwiltok people from beyond Cape Mudge on Vancouver Island – a group that had been troublesome to the Coast Salish in the first half of the nineteenth century – by sending an envoy to meet with them and by validating the marriage of a Squamish titleholder to a Lekwiltok woman of high status who had been previously enslaved (Matthews 1955, 199–201).

The testing of hypothesis three required knowledge of intergroup hostility involving a particular group, in addition to a sample of marriages that occurred during the time of intergroup hostility and shortly thereafter. In 1995, a reasonably-sized sample of such information was available in my database only for Squamish. Hence, the sample used to test the hypothesis consisted of eighty-two exogamous marriages of Squamish individuals born pre-1876 that allied a Squamish household with a non-Squamish household (there are no documented incidences of intervillage hostility within the Squamish speech community). A review of ethnographic and ethnohistorical records reflecting the early historic period documented Squamish hostility with Lekwiltok, Haida, Chilcotin, and Lower Lillooet. A Squamish marriage to a Chilcotin is included on Table 1. The 21 January 1895 marriage of George Tsa-teslhou to Henriette Axten notes his prior marriage to “Suzanne Tsoto (Serérenem).” “Serérenem” is the priest’s transcription for the Squamish term applied to the Chilcotin, which is derived from the term “war” and is cognate in the Comox and Sechelt languages as well, indicating the relationship between these Coast Salish people and the Chilcotin.

The null hypothesis assumed that there was no difference in the frequency of marriage between Squamish people and their friends and Squamish people and their foes for the sampled period. Table 6 presents these data.

TABLE 6:
Squamish Marriages with Friends and Enemies.

	FRIENDS	ENEMIES	TOTAL
MARRIAGES	76	6	82

The computed Chi-square value indicated rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .001$). There is a statistically significant difference between the rates of Squamish marriage with groups who did and groups who did not engage in ongoing hostile relations for this sampled time.

DISCUSSION

The corpus of genealogical data I used for the statistical analysis was very useful in determining the extent and intensity of the network established through marriage, and it supplemented the mapped marriage fields compiled by Elmendorf (1960, 302, Table 2) and Suttles (1987b), illustrating the geographical range from which Central Coast Salish men obtained wives. This is shown in Figure 1, presenting the overlap of the marriage field for members of Musqueam, Squamish, Lummi, Nooksack, and Twana (Southern Coast Salish) men born prior to 1880. For this mapping I used the tribal identification of individuals as noted in the historical data, particularly the church records, to make it compatible with the mapping compiled previously by Elmendorf and Suttles. I have added to the map, as location markers, some tribal and village names that appear in the historical records examined.

Most Central Coast Salish people simply married within their own speech community or within that of an immediately neighbouring group that shared an underlying set of common propositions about the nature of the world. Alliances of a longer distance were infrequent but known, as was reported in the journal kept at Fort Langley on the lower Fraser River in the late 1820s. The traders' journal observes one marriage between a Cowlitz man and a Clallam woman, a distance of some 240 kilometres overland. Additionally, some Island Halkomelem and Sooke men obtained mates from the neighbouring Ditidaht and Nuuchahnulth villages, speakers of languages belonging to different language families. The census data recorded only two marriages between Squamish and Athabaskan speakers, specifically the Chilcotin.

This analysis supports suggestions in the ethnographic record that multilingualism within a village was common, inasmuch as 38 percent of Central Coast Salish born in the nineteenth century obtained mates

whose "father-language" was different. Marriages between distant tribes occasionally united families speaking different languages and were ostensibly a way in which potential enmity could be suppressed or former foes could be allied. Though I attempted to test a hypothesis that would examine whether extended households individually may have apportioned marriage alliances to different communities to ensure hospitality and protection from all directions, the sample was not sufficiently large for the results to be meaningful as the size precluded the proposition's being framed in terms of probability.

While this analysis found support for the proposition that marriage allied families residing in different villages and thus created a network without boundaries, Suttles (1987b, 248) pointed out that the network operated hand-in-hand with the association of specific groups with specific areas. He further argued that the long-rooted association of people with specific places "distributed people in the environment in a way that provided a fairly good (not necessarily perfect) ratio of people to resources." Such practices, he observed, "kept local groups in place as long as the resources were there," and, after that, families made choices, calling upon kin and expecting the host to grant access. Significantly, in my view, the expansive social network did not create a regional free-for-all, driven by the moral ethos of kinship and affinity, with an attendant erasure of ownership or "territory." Rights of descent and intermarriage, as Snyder (1964, 74) noted for the Skagit, provided special privileges "to food areas beyond those of their village, band or tribe"; however, it was "a breach of etiquette, if not wholly unauthorized, to send as guests persons in the name of a village or band, and not a particular family."

Residential boundaries may have been permeable, and at times elusive, but boundaries of identity and property relations did exist. Suttles (1987b, 248) proposed that, while family heads developed strategies to maintain their claims to place and control of resources through a large corpus of identity markers, their ties beyond the village were with their in-laws, regardless of the language they spoke – a relationship that Snyder (1964, 75, 389-91) characterized as tense. Property relations placed families in opposition and competition. Marriages tied together a large number of people, yet intergroup fighting over resources or vengeance seems to have been common, with survivors seeking refuge among their kin.

Elsewhere (Kennedy 2000), I have examined indigenous concepts of property, noting the association of particular cognatic descent groups with specific sites and resources, and, more generally, the proprietary interest in resources assumed by residence groups. Richardson (1982,

95-7, 101) also reviewed property relations, finding that owned areas provided the surplus necessary for the pursuit of prestige and were not a prerequisite for survival. More recently, Thom (2005) reviewed evidence of owned resources, including the presence of “joint title” territories, and discussed how disruptions in local social and knowledge systems have created intergenerational challenges in maintaining customary laws and protocols. I refer the reader to these studies for their comprehensive reviews of property relations. Given this web of kinship, in the present article I restrict my discussion to considering what constituted membership in a local group and how an individual activated his relocation to another hub in the network, especially since so many options were seemingly available.

Numerous examples in the ethnographic literature indicate that most individuals resided in the village where they were born, or into which they married, and travelled only to where they had kin. It would be highly unusual for a total stranger with no kinship connection to show up seeking permanent accommodation as, throughout the Coast Salish region, mobility was mostly within the geographical area in which an individual had recognized kin. All strangers were suspect and chanced being enslaved. Snyder (1964, 435) commented that those who were not neighbours, and thus regulated their lives differently, could not even be “human,” for, not understanding “the feud, the snub, the verbal innuendo,” they were capable only of physical, and not social, destruction. Certainly, throughout the Coast Salish area some people were more welcome than others. When anthropologist Hermann Haeberlin (1916-17, Book 1, 11) asked Snohomish hunter William Sheldon if members of other tribes would hunt or fish in his territory, Sheldon replied, “Yes, if they had friends or relatives in the other country. If they were strangers, then it may mean that they were looking for trouble and the stranger might get into danger.” Individuals who did not approach openly and establish their kinship ties were particularly suspect. Collins (1974, 118) surmised that the Upper Skagit regarded the Nlhakapmux (Thompson) as strange because they camped in the woods in a secretive way and did not openly approach the nearest village to identify themselves.

The basic residential units of the Aboriginal Coast Salish society were the family, household, local group, winter village, and tribe (Suttles 1990), although use of terminology varies in the ethnographic literature, with “ethnic group” sometimes substituted for “tribe” and “local group” sometimes synonymous with “village.”

Throughout the Coast Salish region, Aboriginal people recognized the local group as a significant social unit as it represented a constant referent for an individual's self-identification. An individual was born into a village, and others recognized him or her as a resident of a particular winter village, even though at other times of the year some of the village's residents dispersed to other resource locations. Others addressed an individual using a personal name bestowed upon him/her by the elders of the resident descent group to which he/she belonged, a significant affiliation that provided an individual with access to property belonging to the corporate group. As I have reviewed elsewhere (Kennedy 2000), the descent group's *estate* – as Jenness (1955) referred to the material and intangible property of the group – included names of First Ancestors and other illustrious ancestors who attached individuals to specific places and corporate property. The bestowal or taking of an ancestral name was an important ceremonial occasion, always witnessed publicly and, for families of high status, accompanied with the distribution of property. An individual's primary name came from the resident group, which for most Central Coast Salish people was the descent group of his father.

Despite eligibility or secondary interest in other social groups with whom an individual could link ancestry, the broad array of social possibilities usually narrowed down to one. A child could receive a name from his mother's village if he was raised there or even if he had visited this village for any length of time (Jenness 1934-36, 55). Consequently, active membership in this descent group, which formed the core of all upper-class households in Aboriginal society, depended upon recognized blood ties, at least part-time residency, and the activation of membership by the attainment of a "name-title" at a publicly witnessed ceremony. Descent, residency, or property, taken alone, could not confer full membership.

Such distinctions between full and temporary affiliation are important for understanding the limitations of social membership within the structure of the seemingly fluid web of kinship. Though this study supported earlier suggestions that Coast Salish men generally affiliated with their father's descent group, an individual had options to activate his affiliation with other such groups and reside for periods in other communities, as circumstances required.

Every Coast Salish person had an everlasting connection with his or her birth village – a tie never broken, even at death. So persistent was an individual's membership in his or her home village that, if death occurred some distance away, Coast Salish families commonly hired an

undertaker to retrieve the body for interment at their own site (Kennedy 2000). War captives, according to Haerberlin (1916-17, Book 39, 33), went to the afterworld of their original tribe after death, although those born into captivity were needed by their masters in their afterworld and thus remained with them.

The rights extended to an in-marrying spouse require comment. As patrilocal residency occurred in 75 percent of village-exogamous Central Coast Salish marriages, most women did not have natal rights to the property of the group with whom they resided after marriage. Women who "married out" did not lose their rights to the family's descent-governed property and occasionally participated in wealth distributions alongside their brothers when visiting their natal village on ceremonial occasions. Still, examples in the ethnographic literature suggest that a wife acquired a temporary membership in the household group of her husband. Her investment of labour was certainly essential to the economic well-being of the extended household, and her support and participation in intervillage property distributions undoubtedly often placed her with the host group.

Among the Central Coast Salish, the impermanent nature of a woman's membership in her husband's household is evinced by the procedure that occurred in the event of her spouse's death. While a widow's children were automatically members of their father's group, in most areas her loss would result in an ambiguous situation for herself. She would either return to her own family, especially if she was childless, or, if children were involved, the husband's kin would sometimes arrange a levirate marriage so that she and her children might remain close to the property of their deceased father's family (Boas 1891, 576; Jenness 1934-36, 94-5; Suttles 1951, 290-1, 299-300; Duff 1952, 79).

Levirate and sororate marriages have been reported as customary, yet not the rule. Barnett (1955, 196), for example, denied that levirate marriages occurred commonly and reported that the widow usually returned to her natal home, the children taking with them any rights they had obtained through their father. His statement is not in accord with other researchers who considered that both forms of marriage were common, if not the rule; such arrangements looked after the interests of the children.

Marriage created social obligations not just for the bride and groom and their parents (Suttles 1960), but also for the young couple's siblings. Such relationships and responsibilities were reflected in their future children's use of special kinship terms after a parent's death. Indeed,

throughout the Central Coast Salish area, some significant terminological change occurred upon death of a linking kin, the feature of classificatory kinship systems that Murdock (1949, 101) called "decedence."

Of course, marriages did not always work out and couples separated. In the case of divorce, according to Barnett's Coast Salish consultants, "matters of inheritance and child rearing were the main problems, and these were decided in accordance with patterns of alignment and support applicable to the extended family group." Male children always stayed with their fathers, Barnett reports, and sometimes girls did, too, while babies went with their mothers. As men held and manipulated property, "both boys and girls could normally expect greater expenditures of property for their social advancement from their fathers than from other male relatives" (Barnett 1955, 195).

The status of an adopted child also requires comment when considering the determinants for membership. Ethnographic sources tell us next to nothing concerning the subject of adoption, mostly, it would seem, because child rearing occurred within the family, as reflected in the alteration of kinship terms. Barnett (1955, 137) reported with respect to the Central Coast Salish that seldom did parents permit a child to be adopted outside the immediate family, "for to do so put it in a class with slaves or at best made it the neglected servant of its adopters." If there were too many children in a family to receive proper care, Barnett noted, then an uncle, cousin, or some other near relative would take one or two of the children to rear them. Throughout the region, an important reason for maintaining a child within the group was the restricted transmission of property rights to resident descendants. When adoption brought about changes in residency, an adopted child retained access to the property of the consanguineal kin of both natural parents, and did not receive additional property belong to the adopting parents' descent groups. To quote Jenness (1955, 75): "Attached to these ancestral names were certain rights and privileges to which adoption gave no claim." The child would not acquire rights belonging to the families with whom the child shared no kinship. Hence, adoption did not confer full membership upon the adopted individual.

CONCLUSION

My statistical analysis of the extent and intensity of networks created by marriage supports the insightful model of Coast Salish social relations developed fifty years ago by Wayne Suttles. Using a large database of actual marriages that took place over several generations, which provides

information relating to name(s), age and parentage, as well as village and tribal affiliation, I have shown that most marriages were, indeed, village-exogamous (over 78 per cent for all time periods examined), and most post-nuptial residency was patrilocal, just as the earlier ethnographies had suggested. For individuals born prior to 1851, 42 per cent of village-exogamous marriages in the sampled Central Coast Salish population united spouses who did not speak the same language. This figure was supplemented with an examination of Lummi marriages that found 60 per cent married outside the speech-community, a figure that likely reflects the relative size of the Lummi's population base. Such findings support Suttles' proposition that village-exogamous marriage was a strategy employed to obtain access to non-local resources. Since a family could expect to harvest resources at the invitation of their in-laws, or obtain a surplus from them, it was a clear advantage to arrange marriages for one's children in a number of locations, some distant, regardless of the language or dialect the in-laws spoke.

Additionally, about 75 per cent of all exogamous marriages for the early period of individuals born pre-1851 were exogamous-patrilocal. Again, my analysis provides statistical support for Suttles' proposition that the residential groups (local groups, villages and tribes) were as important as the network itself – the other side of the same coin. These named groups had both a social and spatial salience.

At the core of wealthy Central Coast Salish households was a group called by a term translated as “one family” or “one blood,” whose members all believed themselves descended from the same apical ancestor and shared inherited rights. In theory, the group's privileges belonged to all those claiming descent from the ancestor. In practice, a resident elite managed the group's corporate property, an estate that encompassed both real and incorporeal assets, including rights to resources and a body of name-titles passed down through the generations, and shared these assets with co-resident members, including those avowing a putative sense of commonality of ancestry, as well as the occasional visiting in-laws. Among high-class Coast Salish families, who were largely exogamous, maximum security for themselves and their progeny was ensured by a combination of village-exogamous marriage and patrilocal residency.

A blood relationship was only one organizing feature of such descent groups, however, and an individual required acquisition of an ancestral name, along with residency and the investment of labour to activate one's full affiliation with a particular local group with whom he did not reside by birth. Kinship alone was not sufficient to claim full rights, while at

the same time, it was the basis for membership. Because a Central Coast Salish person could claim membership through either parent, and, as my analysis has confirmed, parents and grandparents often came from different villages, an individual was at least potentially a member of more than one group. While flexible bilateral descent groups allowed for choice of residency, most men maintained their strongest affiliation with one particular village and a descent group resident there, bringing their spouse or spouses to reside with them.

Suttles (1987b, 248) proposed that family heads developed and maintained their claims to place and the control of resources "through symbols of local identity." To this, I believe, should be added that a protocol embedded in cultural rules governed the process and guided admission to membership, preventing the Coast Salish region from being a free-for-all. Clearly, full membership in a village required kinship, a name, residency and labour. Visiting may have been common, and in-laws welcome, but residence, history, labour and strategy narrowed an individual's options for membership to one group.

Although critics have claimed that Suttles' model is based largely on an impressionistic survey of the resource base, despite his ecological perspective (Donald 1997, 304), and that it suffers from the problem of equifinality (Ferguson 1983; Miller 1989, 268), for fifty years his model has remained the prevalent theory of social relations for the Coast Salish region. Moreover, it has been widely cited. My genealogical and statistical analysis of the underlying premise of this theory – that marriages were predominantly village exogamous and patrilocal – provided no surprises, only support and numbers for an aspect of Suttles' theory that had, until 1995, remained untested. What is remarkable is that the data exist to enable this quantification to be undertaken, and thereby provide a more solid foundation for a more nuanced view of the Coast Salish world.

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Map showing overlap of marriage field for members of Musqueam, Squamish, Lummi, Nooksack, and Twana born prior to 1880.

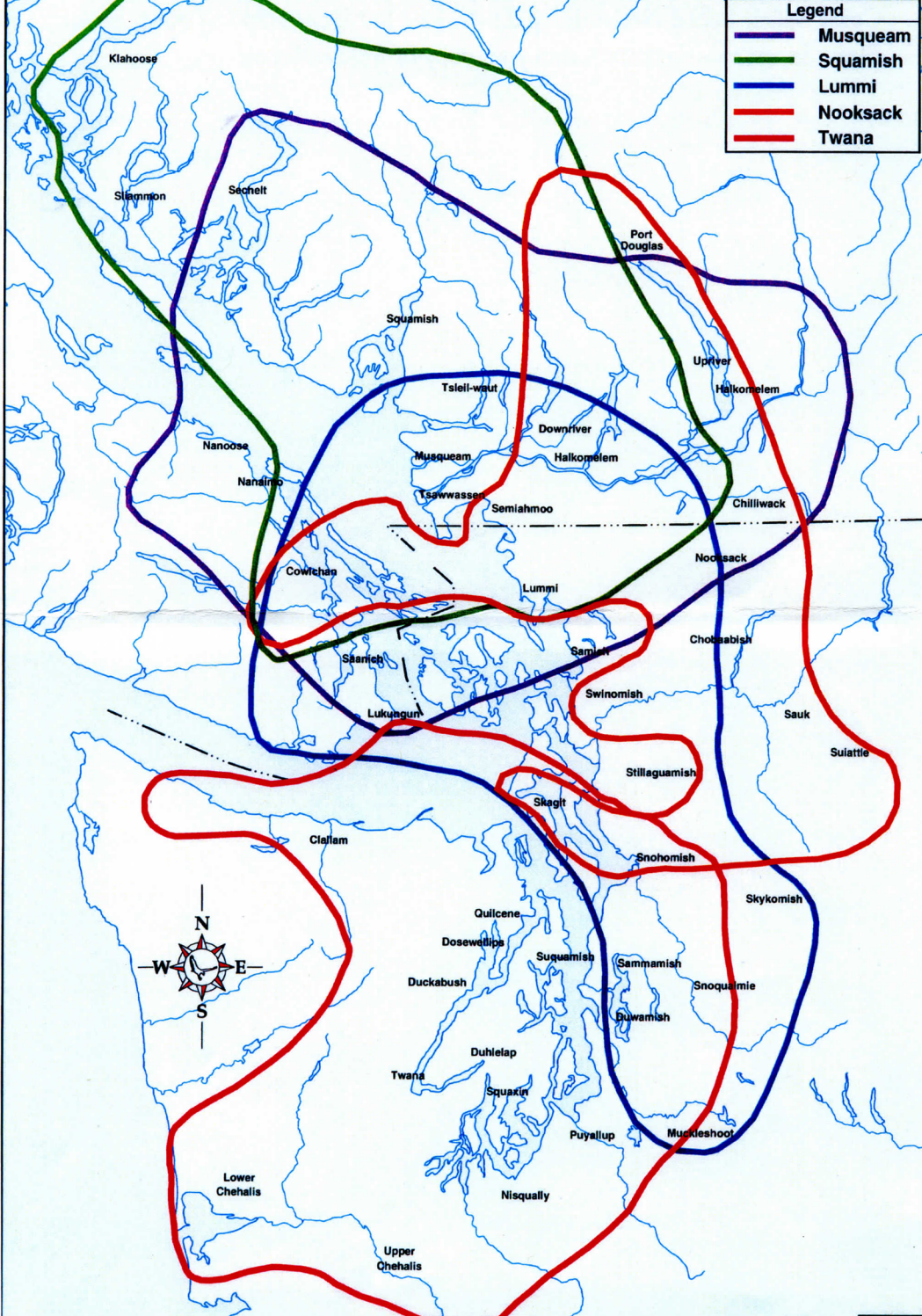


Figure 1

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